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**Fourth Quarterly Report and Interim Evaluation
for
The Asia Foundation-Agency for International Development
Partnership Program**

Increasing Women's Political Participation in the Asia-Pacific Region

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Table of Contents

Background	1
Asia Foundation-AID Partnership	1
Program Framework	2
Key Results and Summary of Evaluations	4
Institutionalization of WIP	12
Complementary Activities using non-AID funds	13
Conclusion	15

Appendices

1. Program Context and Objectives
2. Needs Assessments
3. Bangladesh evaluation conducted by Kim Hunter, TAF Program Officer in Dhaka
4. Indonesia evaluation conducted by Dr. Sarah Maxim, outside consultant
5. Nepal evaluation conducted by Josefina O. Dhungana, outside consultant
6. Pacific Islands evaluation conducted by Kathy Hawley, outside consultant
7. Philippines evaluation conducted by Marianne Quebral, outside consultant
8. Sri Lanka evaluation conducted by Jennifer Thambayah, TAF Program Officer in Colombo
9. Thailand evaluation conducted by Darunee Tantiwiranond, Ph.D., outside consultant
10. Regional reports written by TAF WIP unit staff

Table of Contents

Appendix

1	Program Context and Objectives
2	Needs Assessments
3	Bangladesh
4	Indonesia
5	Nepal
6	Pacific Islands
7	Philippines
8	Sri Lanka
9	Thailand
10	Regional Activities

Background

In 1993, The Asia Foundation, in partnership with the United Agency for International Development, launched a comprehensive program to increase women's political participation. *in AFR*
The Foundation is pleased to present an interim evaluation and report on the first year of the program, hereafter referred to as Phase I. The Phase I grant period was August 31, 1993 through September 30, 1994. In Phase I, in-country projects in seven countries in which AID operates were supported that responded to each national political environment regarding women's political participation. These in-country projects were complemented by three regional workshops to promote networking and solidarity among women and women's groups in the Asia-Pacific region to accelerate women's full integration into political processes. Interim evaluations were conducted either by outside consultants or Asia Foundation staff to record progress toward the program objectives, record outputs, note areas that require attention, and inform future programming. A comprehensive program evaluation is planned in the latter half of Phase II of the Women in Politics (WIP) program. Evaluations on the in-country and regional activities are included in the Appendices attached.

Asia Foundation-AID Partnership

The Women in Politics program was launched as a partnership program between the Foundation and the Agency for International Development in recognition that both organizations are committed to bringing women fully into political processes as an essential part of their efforts to further democratic development and foster more pluralistic civil societies. In the first year, AID funds were used to support in-country projects in seven Asian and Pacific Island nations (Bangladesh, Indonesia, Nepal, the Pacific Islands, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Thailand) and complementary activities designed to link individuals and organizations working to increase women's political participation across the region to promote sharing of ideas, models, and strategies that are working to empower women. The Foundation utilized its own funds and funds from two private foundations to bring women from non-AID countries as resources and participants to regional workshops to make the program truly regional in scope. This partnership worked successfully to advance progress in individual countries and to link women's organizations working on these issues throughout the region for the first time. The networking that has been fostered through this program is creating a regional dynamic that is central to the success of the program overall and to accelerating women's political participation in countries from Fiji and Papua New Guinea to Bangladesh and Nepal.

Asia Foundation field offices in the seven AID countries commissioned needs assessments in each country to identify barriers and opportunities to women's political participation to insure that activities were well targeted. TAF field offices consulted with local USAID Missions to discuss approaches in addressing women's participation. In many cases, USAID representatives participated in or observed in-country and/or regional activities

that took place in their country in Phase I. The Foundation believes that this partnership program has enhanced both organizations' programmatic focus on this important issue.

Indeed, in a number of countries, Asia Foundation field offices have subsequently developed other partnership programs with their local USAID Mission to support projects aimed at empowering women. Further, it has advanced the Foundation's capacity to implement a regional program that utilizes its network of field offices and extensive contacts for leveraged impact. The accomplishments of the program in the first year highlight the importance of interaction between in-country initiatives and regional activities. Ideas, models, and strategies were shared for real value added. At the same time, associations and bonds were formed that serve as bridges between countries in the region that not only enhance efforts to empower women, but encourage cooperation between countries in other areas as well.

Program Framework

Phase I activities were designed to increase women's political participation through three objectives:

- To reduce barriers to women's full participation in political processes
- To increase women influence on decisionmaking so that women's issues are given the attention they merit
- To build networks between individuals and organizations working to increase women's political participation within and between countries throughout the Asia-Pacific region

The WIP program utilizes a framework that defines a systematic approach to the complex interrelationships that affect women's ability to participate at all stages and in all aspects of political processes. Activities to meet program objectives included expanding research and information dissemination on women's issues; increasing gender awareness; promoting policy and legal reform; enhancing women's leadership skills; building capacity of advocacy organizations; encouraging collaboration within and across borders among women and women's groups; strengthening mechanisms to promote accountability of decisionmakers; portraying women in non-traditional roles through the media; and facilitating sharing of information, strategies, and resources within and among countries.

For most countries, the regional activities served as an important catalyst and resource for the work underway in each country. The regional interaction helped to encourage actors in the region to work together to support each other's efforts and identify areas of collaboration, whether at the national, bi-lateral, sub-regional, or regional level that extend well beyond the actual activities carried out under the Foundation's overall Women in Politics program. Evidence is accumulating that the WIP program has successfully served as a catalyst for

important new initiatives and directions for increasing women's political participation in individual countries and within the region.

KEY RESULTS AND SUMMARY OF EVALUATIONS OF PHASE I PROJECTS

There is mounting evidence that the anticipated "multiplier effect" is working to accelerate progress in individual countries and build linkages across the region. Enhancement and proliferation of models, strategies, tools, and techniques is underway among women and women's organizations that are attributable, either wholly or in part, to the opportunities that were provided to network within the region. Through three regional meetings/workshops that were held in Phase I, participants from countries throughout the region met with their colleagues to discuss common barriers to women's full political participation and to share experiences, strategies, and view points. New channels of communication were forged across borders with the intention of advancing women's interests within policymaking processes and opening up systems to include women as decisionmakers.

In Phase I, AID funds were used to support in-country activities in seven countries in which AID operates, and participation of women from 10 to 23 countries in regional workshops. Non-AID funds were used to support efforts in other countries in the region and to bring participants from non-AID countries to regional meetings. Progress in Phase I resulting from opportunities provided by both AID and non-AID resources is apparent even though activities have been underway for less than one year.

A summary of progress in each country toward the three program objectives follows. Preliminary evaluations carried out in each country included in the AID grant are attached as appendices along with relevant news articles or other materials related to that country's activities supported under the AID grant. The evaluations were conducted by outside evaluators and/or Asia Foundation staff in each country. The evaluators were directed to evaluate each country program based on the expected outcomes and evaluation criteria set out in the Phase I workplan, and assess the impact of regional activities on the in-country program. The Foundation's WIP unit prepared reports on the regional activities that are provided under the Regional Program section of the Appendix. The evaluations were drawn on in designing the second year of the program. It should be noted that this evaluation is viewed as preliminary because activities were underway for nine months or less at the time this assessment was conducted. An in-depth, comprehensive evaluation of the program is planned for the second half of Phase II.

Evaluation by Objective

Objective I: To Reduce Barriers to Women's Full Participation in Political Processes.

Projects in Bangladesh, Indonesia, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Thailand were implemented to address Objective I.

- In Bangladesh, lack of awareness and accountability regarding issues of concern to women in political parties and among policymakers is a serious problem that limits women's inclusion as candidates as well as introduction of platforms and legislation

favorable to women. Women for Women's project on "Placing Women's Issues on the Nation's Policy Agenda", despite a late start due to delayed government clearance, worked with MPs, politicians, political party leaders, and women's groups to raise awareness of issues of concern to women, encouraged support for a women's agenda, and developed a series of recommendations for integrating gender issues into party platforms. Recommendations for improving women's status at the local government level will be printed and disseminated among local government representatives. The short duration of the project limited the impact of these activities, but the project components that were completed laid the groundwork for wider impact in the next several months.

Women for Women organized a seminar for Members of Parliament, "Women and Politics: Empowerment Issues," which included six political parties that took place despite an organized boycott of Parliament. Women for Women also arranged individual closed door secession with party workers and MPs in order to sensitize political parties to gender issues. A workshop for local government representatives was organized where participants formulated recommendation for improving women's status at the local levels.

- In Indonesia, one of the major barriers to women's ability to participate as equal citizens is a lack of enforcement of laws, policies, and international conventions that ensure women's equal rights *de jure*, yet *de facto* often fail to achieve intended results. Convention Watch was established as a monitoring organization to assess implementation of the U.N Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and to pressure the government to enforce CEDAW, particularly for women in the workplace. Although it is too early to evaluate the impact of Convention Watch on Objective I, important initiatives were started that have the potential to reduce barriers to women's full and equal political participation. These initiatives include increasing awareness of women of their rights and the ways in which they are discriminated against, as well as greater accountability on practices versus policy. For example, there is a policy of equal pay for equal work, however, in practice women are often paid less than men. Convention Watch is exposing such discrepancies to force practice to follow policy.

Additionally, a TV series is being produced and aired on national networks portraying women in non-traditional roles that is reaching thousands of Indonesians. This project is targeted on changing attitudes toward women's status and roles which has traditionally served to limit women's options to participate in their societies.

- In the Philippines, a permanent Women in Politics unit of Congressional Research and Training Service (CRTS) has been established. The project, "Enhancing the Capacity of Advocates to Monitor Legislation and Policy Reform," achieved all of the outputs it had outlined in the plan for action including: legislative monitoring and briefings; preparation of issue briefs on legislation affecting women and issue briefings for

women's groups, case studies on the lobbying activities of women's groups; needs assessments of women's groups in provincial areas followed by legislative advocacy training; an analysis of women in the Ninth Congress and a workplan for future analysis leading up to the 1995 elections; participation in three regional workshops. The evaluation notes that "Generally, the activities accomplished went beyond the number specified...CRTS' WIP program... is in a critical start-up phase for a broader program that would address the emerging needs of women in political decisionmaking." Further, the participation of the Director of CRTS in the Asia-Pacific Women in Politics Network "will significantly substantiate all local efforts." CRTS' Women in Politics Program has the potential to play an important role in reducing barriers to Filipinas participation in politics and has, through its regional interactions, already begun to be an important resource for the region. Key results included three legislative briefing sessions which focused on the "Anti-Rape Bill" and the "Women Empowerment Act." (See Philippines Appendix for Plan of Action).

- In Sri Lanka, the Centre for Women's Research (CENWOR) project for "Promoting Women as Leaders and Raising the Visibility of Women's Issues Through Increased Gender Awareness and Accountability" conducted a field survey which included interviews with over 400 women, from differing backgrounds, to assess perceptions of their role in national and provincial politics and decisionmaking. The results of this survey will be used to develop training materials on gender sensitization and women's empowerment that will be used in workshops during Phase II. The project is still in a too nascent of a stage to accurately assess progress on reducing barriers; however, publication of the survey is expected to raise awareness of gender issues and inform future training to increase women's participation in their societies. Additionally, production of a "watchdog" newsletter, modeled after the Gender Watch Group newsletter in Thailand that holds leaders accountable on women's issues, is underway.
- In Thailand, a documentary video, has been produced portraying women as leaders in non-traditional roles. The twenty minute video entitled, "Power in Women" contains the life and work stories of five women leaders who committed themselves to women and community development. A description of the highlighted women is included in the Thailand Appendix and a copy of the video is available from The Asia Foundation on request. The video was tested at all WIP workshops supported under the AID grant and met with positive response. Plans are now being made to broadcast "Power in Women" on at least three national television channels.

Efforts are also underway to establish a Thai businesswomen's group modeled on the Emily's List concept of women supporting women candidates that was presented at the first regional workshop. This endeavor will aid in reducing a formidable barrier to women's success as candidates--lack of financial resources. A nationwide Gender Watch Group (GWG) has been established with the aim of building accountability and increasing monitoring capacity in Thailand. Gender Analysis (GA) was designed as a conceptual tool that can build interrelationships between gender parity and

development policy. GDRI has since adopted the GA concept in workshops in order to assess institutionalization and integration of gender concerns in policymaking and policy implementation.

Objective II: To Increase Women's Influence on Decisionmaking so that Women's Issues are Given the Attention They Merit

Projects in Bangladesh, Nepal, Thailand, and a Regional Workshop were implemented to advance Objective II.

- In Bangladesh, The Centre for Analysis and Choice (CAC) project on "Strengthening and Fostering Women's Leadership at the National and Local Level" established a Women in Politics unit that is the only organization in the country that works with women on improving the skills needed to increase women's representation in and influence on decisionmaking bodies. CAC is developing the capacity to train women in political leadership skills and to enhance women's candidacy for national and local level elections. CAC's WIP unit is providing a critical avenue for women to exert greater influence on decisionmaking processes by supporting women's representation as decisionmakers. An unexpected outcome emerged from Phase I of CAC's WIP program. A resolution presented in a concluding CAC workshop recommended the formation of a non-partisan political women's caucus. CAC's activities also generated increased interest in women's issues resulting in an additional one-day session on the proposed "Muslim Family Law Bill", 1994. (see Appendix) This session was a significant accomplishment because there is no tradition of public debate on proposed legislation in Bangladesh, and the country is currently experiencing a serious political religious backlash to changes in women's status. Open discussion of proposed legislation that will significantly affect women among a group that included MPs, representatives of NGOs concerned with women's issues, and selected participants from the WIP workshops for unsuccessful women candidates is a small but important change in the political environment. One of the reported trends outside of the urban areas is the emergence of women NGO leaders and members running for office.
- In Nepal, the Civics and Advocacy Training for Rural Women's Groups, Curriculum Development and the Advocacy Training for Women Advocates projects were implemented to further the second objective. A well written, systematically presented curriculum has been developed for illiterate and semi-literate women which assures maximum individual participation. This curriculum is included in the Nepal Appendix. This curriculum has the potential to significantly advance the ability of rural women in understanding local policymaking processes and influencing decisionmakers and decisionmaking processes. The curriculum will be utilized in actual training programs in Phase II, at which time the effectiveness of the curriculum and training will be tested.

The Advocacy Training for Women Advocates project is considered a major success. The project generated unprecedented media coverage of women's issues, drawing attention to problems and raising awareness. The project assisted individual organizations by enhancing their efforts and catalyzing a breakthrough in cooperation among women's organizations. The National Coalition of Women was thus formed and vowed, for the first time, to work together across party, religious, ethnic etc. lines to advance a women's agenda; however, sustaining the momentum is proving to be a challenge. While new alliances were forged and women's issues were given high visibility, additional steps must be taken to translate the euphoria and solidarity palpable at the project's finale into an effective women's advocacy effort.

- In Thailand, training workshops, sponsored by the Gender and Development Research Institute (GDRI) at the We-Train Center, are underway which are designed to enhance rural women's understanding of policy processes. Means to influence these processes has increased participants' knowledge of and ability to participate in political processes so that their views will be considered. The initial training workshop, "Mainstreaming Gender Issues in Policy Planning and Programming at the Local Administration Level," needed more focus and was thus disappointing in its effectiveness. Therefore, the second workshop, "Mainstreaming Gender Issues in Policy Planning and Programming at the National Level," was redesigned to incorporate recommendations and evaluations from the first workshop. Both workshops integrated field trips into the agenda. The field trips received high marks from the participants, who viewed the visits to local government offices to be very useful. The main outcomes of the workshops included participants learning how to mainstream gender into policy planning and programming and creating regional plans of action. The participants plan to conduct a series of seminars for key members of political parties to pressure them to reserve seats for women in the party's executive committee, on the candidates list, and increase the recruitment of women. They also committed to producing a roster of potential women candidates and urging each political party to create a Women's Affairs Section. One seminar was broadcast nation-wide via the Parliament radio channel. One important outcome was that following the workshops, several women leaders who had participated in the workshops established a new national level Women in Politics Group.
- The third regional project, organized by the Gender and Development Research Institute (GDRI) under the auspices of the Asia-Pacific Women in Politics (APWIP) Network, was a workshop on "Putting Gender Issues on the Policy Agenda" that was held in Bangkok, September 26-30, 1994. Forty women from 23 countries gathered to examine tools and techniques used to place gender issues squarely on the agendas of decisionmaking bodies and policymakers. A report on this workshop is included under the regional section of the Appendix. Equally significant to the workshop was the networking that occurred among the participants. Many participants have never met their colleagues in the region before. Two members of parliament attended from Thailand and Vietnam. Women from South Asia agreed to exchange materials and

remain in contact. The APWIP Network expanded its outreach to additional countries, organizations, and individuals.

Objective III: To Build Networks Between Individuals and Organizations Working to Increase Women's Political Participation Within and Between Countries Throughout the Asia-Pacific Region.

Projects in Nepal, The Pacific Islands, and two Regional workshops were carried out that furthered this objective.

- In Nepal, in order to examine how women's groups advance common interests, members of women's advocacy groups participated in a study/observation tour to three Asian countries; Thailand, India, and the Philippines. While some aspects of the tour could have been better organized and more carefully targeted on the individual goals of each participant, all of the participants concurred that the overall tour added a new dimension of knowledge and exposure to women's activities in the countries visited. One of the project's strengths was the opportunities identified for international networking. Exposure to institutions, such as India's National Commission for Women, provided useful models and contacts. Observing how counterparts in the region successfully built coalitions and conducted outreach, mobilization, and lobbying on specific women's issues broadened the participants' perspectives. Whether the project has a major impact on coalition-building among women's advocacy groups is undetermined at this early stage. The project did generate a resource book which profiles NGOs and institutions of the three countries visited. This book is intended to be circulate as an international networking tool, at a later date.
- In the Pacific Islands, the first Regional Roundtable on Women in Politics for eleven island nations was held in Suva, Fiji, February 14-18, 1994. Twenty participants, including Members of Parliaments, aspiring politicians, and NGO personnel attended the Roundtable from the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa. Utilizing shared information and communal energy, The Suva Roundtable produced a plan of action which highlighted four points. First, a commitment was made to utilize local media by holding press conferences publicizing the Roundtable. Second, a political education program was devised, to consist of courses and workshops promoting WIP. Third, a WIP lobby group was created to hold political parties accountable on women's issues. Finally, a renewed, vigorous commitment was made to pursue the mutual goal of promoting WIP in all countries of the Pacific Island region. This forum was the first of its kind designed to highlight the importance of women's participation in the political process and to develop organizational structures which will continue the goals and discussion of the Roundtable. By all accounts, the Roundtable was a catalyst that stimulated important initiatives in individual island countries to increase women's voice in the political process and linked women in the Pacific region working to empower women for the first time. A resource person from the APWIP

Network helped the groups form an agenda for the Roundtable and helped to facilitate the conference. According to many participants, her work in Korea greatly inspired them and they left greatly energized and empowered with new initiatives in mind a number of which have been acted on since the Roundtable including in Fiji, Papua New Guinea, and New Caledonia.

- In Fiji, a new Women's Affairs Center was established following participation of Fijian women leaders in regional and sub-regional meetings which highlighted models in other countries and examined the role of the media in advancing women's issues. The Center is effectively using the media to highlight issues of concern to Fijian women and lobbying decisionmakers on their policy decisions. The Center has increased media attention by utilizing the tools and techniques presented at the first regional workshop. Some of the press clippings from Fiji are included in the Pacific Islands Appendix. The Women's Affairs Center is already playing an important role in raising attention to issues of concern to women and encouraging cooperation among women's organizations in the Pacific Islands region.
- In Papua New Guinea, under the leadership of a woman who participated in the first and third regional meetings, as well as in the Pacific Islands sub-regional meeting, a Women in Politics Center has been revitalized with new office space, staff, and an ambitious agenda for raising awareness, training women to run for office, and putting gender issues on the national agenda. By her own account, the leader of this rejuvenated Women in Politics Center was greatly inspired and energized to increase women's awareness and encourage their voice in policymaking after she met other women working to empower women at the first regional meeting.
- Within the region, two region-wide workshops were held in Phase I. Full reports on these workshops are included in the regional section of the Appendix. The first workshop was held in Manila, January 16-21, 1994, and brought together women from 15 Asian and Pacific Island countries. An effort was made to ensure that the program was targeted on priorities identified by women from the region and to explore networking needs and opportunities. The five-day workshop identified four priority areas: 1) raising awareness; 2) building leadership capacity of women; 3) legal reform and changing cultural attitudes toward women; and 4) promoting access to information that will empower women. There were also workshops on media as an advocacy tool and resource mobilization. Participant evaluation indicated that new and important concepts to advance women's empowerment were presented during these workshops. Each participant developed a personal action plan and a number of women have taken many steps toward their defined goals since the Manila meeting. The meeting concluded with the formation of a regional network, The Asia-Pacific Women in Politics (APWIP) Network. The APWIP Network was established as a regional resource in response to a unanimous, strongly voiced consensus that a central communication and coordination clearinghouse was absolutely critical to acceleration of progress in women's empowerment.

The second regional meeting was a strategic planning meeting for the APWIP network to outline its goals and objectives, and plan activities for the first year. APWIP has already published two regional newsletters and has held a regional workshop on tools and techniques for putting gender issues on the policy agenda. APWIP has begun to facilitate linkages among women and women's organizations in the region that are fostering solidarity in the region. Copies of the APWIP newsletter are included in the regional section of the Appendix. APWIP is an important development in the region to link women working to empower women and raise the visibility of the importance of women's participation in political processes as essential to progress in other areas. APWIP plans to hold a panel presentation at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in September 1995.

- The development of national organizations as regional resources responding to the needs and requests of less politically developed countries, was an important step in Phase I which significantly advanced cooperation in the region. Centers in Korea, Thailand, and the Philippines are becoming significant resources for the region by presenting models, strategies, and techniques that are working in their countries, and then supplying expert consultants to help other countries adapt them to their political systems and environments. These resource organizations in turn, are gaining insight and experience dealing with barriers to women's full participation in other cultures with different political systems which enriches their own national approaches.

Institutionalization of Women In Politics as a Cross-cutting Issue within the Foundation

The Foundation has taken a number of steps to institutionalize the issue of women in politics in recognition that a program explicitly focused on women's political participation is needed to strengthen the Foundation's longstanding policy of integrating women into its programs. Most important is the establishment of a Women in Politics unit that has primary responsibility for the program. The WIP unit coordinates all of the Foundation's women in politics programs, designs and implements regional activities based on needs and priorities identified by field offices and grantees, and reports to AID on the WIP program. The WIP unit also plays a central role in reviewing projects, maintaining program coherence, and evaluating projects.

In Phase I, the Foundation initiated women in politics task forces, both in the field and in San Francisco, to provide advice and guidance on the program, to establish fora for discussion and review, and to identify opportunities to build on and expand the program. The San Francisco WIP task force meets quarterly, and includes the WIP unit, the Foundation's two Vice Presidents, and representatives from a number of other units who have particular expertise and/or interest in the issue. The field task force, made up of Representatives, Assistant Representatives, and Program Officers from the Foundation's offices in Asia and the Pacific, met twice in Phase I, in Japan in October 1993 and in Thailand in April 1994 --- to discuss the program framework and project developments.

The task forces have served not only to provide a structured venue for program input, review, and evaluation, but also to involve a broad spectrum of Foundation staff in the development of the WIP program initiative. This involvement, in turn, has generated more interest in and enthusiasm for the program. The task forces have been instrumental in developing a systematic approach for programming on this issue so that in the future women in politics will be a regular part of the Foundation's annual program development process. The field task force recommended that in fiscal year 1996, all country programs include components of the WIP program framework outlined above so that women in politics will be addressed consistently and comprehensively within The Asia Foundation.

One area currently being explored by the task forces is how to join the work that is being carried out in the Women in Politics program with the Foundation's environmental programs. The Foundation has identified women in environmental decisionmaking as a key area, one that is a natural extension of the Foundation's work in both women in politics and the environment.

The task forces have also encouraged greater gender awareness in all of the Foundation's programming -- now all field offices are formally reviewing how women are being (and will be) affected by projects, and making recommendations on how projects can be altered to positively impact women. Finally, the task forces have stimulated the formation of a TAF Gender Watch Group in the Foundation to monitor progress on achieving gender equality and promoting gender sensitivity within the organization to ensure that the

Foundation's internal and external values are consistent.

All of the countries in which the Foundation operates addressed the issue of women's participation in their FY95 program plans. Each of the participating field offices has used its own funds to support additional projects that complement and strengthen the AID-funded projects. Field offices that were not included in the AID grant were and continue to be encouraged to support participants in regional women in politics activities with their country budgets. Through this process of adopting a systematic foundation-wide approach to promoting efforts to increase women's political participation the Foundation has demonstrated its commitment to this issue as an integral and important part of its overall efforts to support democratic development.

Examples of complementary activities carried out with non-AID funds

The projects supported with the grant from USAID was only a part of the activities supported to advance women's political participation. Most country programs supported WIP activities using their own Asia Foundation General Grant funds. These included both in-country projects as well as participation in regional workshops. The synergy between regional activities and in-country activities is analogous to building blocks that are mutually reinforcing for a sum greater than the individual parts. Some of the complementary initiatives supported using non-AID funds include:

- In Bangladesh Women for Women developed a handbook on women for government officials that includes statistics on women in education, labor, health, politics, law, and rights, and recommends steps for improving discrepancies between men and women and identify areas of discrimination.
- In Mongolia, the Foundation has supported the development of women's NGOs including the Liberal Women's Brain Pool (LEOS) which is now the largest NGO in Mongolia with over 500 members. The founder and director of the LEOS attended the first regional workshop where she met her peers from across the region for the first time. She has maintained contact with many of them and has visited several of them since that meeting, in their countries. She was attended a meeting of the East Asian Women's Forum as a result of those contacts where she had a role in drafting a platform for Beijing from East Asia. She has stated that the Mongolian women's movement was dramatically affected by what she learned from her peers in the region.
- In the Pacific women participated in the sixth Pacific Regional Women's Conference in Noumea, New Caledonia. The participants established new contacts and follow-up discussion has occurred via monthly satellite links, where the Fiji National Council of Women has been able to promote APWIP's activities. Papua New Guinea Women in Politics (PNGWIP) hosted a Public Awareness Promotion, which promoted women in politics within the Papua New Guinea media and acted as a recruitment mechanism for (PNGWIP) using some of the techniques presented at the first regional workshop.

- Sri Lanka's participation in the Regional Workshop on Women in Politics was useful as far as CENWOR was concerned as it "helped to focus on the political participation and leadership roles of women in Asia. Membership in the APWIP network will consolidate programming links and the exchange of information and ideas. The discussions at the workshops provided useful inputs on developing the framework of the project" (Grantee report: Jayaweera). Meetings with grantees indicated that they were interested in the techniques used in other parts of Asia put gender issues on the policy agenda.
- In Vietnam, the Foundation sent a senior member of the Vietnam Women's Union to all three regional workshops and, at the Union's request sent a consultant to help them start a leadership training program for women at the local level. To date over two hundred women have received training in leadership skills development and have been encouraged to run for local office.
- Asia Foundation field offices sent members of the APWIP Network to the first Asia-Pacific Women in Politics Congress held in Manila in June 1994 to facilitate networking with other women in the region and introduce the Network. The Congress submitted a statement to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women as input to the proposed UN Platform for Action that will be discussed at the Beijing World Conference on Women.

CONCLUSION

In Phase I, with both AID and non-AID support, the Foundation was able to support a number of new initiatives to increase women's access to and voice in political processes as well as foster networking and collaboration among individuals and organizations working to empower women in the political arena. There is evidence that proliferation of models, tools, and strategies is taking place and new initiatives have been sparked in countries across the region. While initial progress is quite encouraging, the Foundation recognizes that the road to women's full participation is neither linear nor smooth. There have been and will continue to be set backs as efforts are stalled, altered, or abandoned for one reason or another. However, the overall assessment of the first year of this new program is extremely positive. Important initiatives have been started or furthered, new channels of cooperation have been forged within and across borders, and spaces have been created or expanded that enable women to participate more fully in the decisionmaking process that fundamentally influence their lives. Although the program is very new, both AID and the Foundation can take pride in the achievements to date. Important steps have been taken in this critical area of democratic development through the AID-TAF partnership program to empower women as full and equal citizens in their societies with the same rights, privileges, responsibilities and opportunities as men.

Opportunities for increased women's participation in decisionmaking processes are enhanced by the trend toward more democratic systems that is occurring throughout the region, as well as from increased international recognition that women's representation and voice in decisionmaking are essential to advancing women's status in other areas. This creates a positive programming environment for assisting local initiatives aimed at increasing women's full participation in political processes which advances democratic development in the region. The Foundation believes that this initial year of the partnership program to Increase Women's Political Participation in the Asia-Pacific Region has successfully laid the groundwork for a comprehensive multi-year effort that can help to accelerate progress in individual countries and in the region as a whole.

PROGRAM CONTEXT

In every region of the world, women face formal and informal barriers to equal political and economic participation at the national and local levels. Economic and social disparities between men and women are widening, not narrowing, with women continuing to lose ground. Women are the majority of the world's poor and the number of women living in poverty has increased by 50 percent since 1975. Women earn 30-40 percent less than men for the same work, hold only 10 to 20 percent of managerial positions, and make up less than 5 percent of the world's heads of state.

Historical, cultural, and religious factors have contributed to and are perpetuating women's exclusion as equal decisionmakers in the societies in which they live. While an increasing number of women hold jobs in the public sector, their representation decreases rapidly as pay and status levels increase. In almost every country in the world, women hold only a small fraction of senior positions in national and local decisionmaking bodies. Often they do not fully understand how to organize effectively to advance their interests. Moreover, women do not yet adequately recognize or fully utilize the vote as a powerful tool for ensuring that their interests are included in decisionmaking processes.

Women's underrepresentation is a global problem shared by rich and poor, developed and developing countries alike; for example, in the United States today women make up only seven percent of the membership of the Senate. Traditional elites -- mainly rich and powerful men -- continue to dominate political structures throughout the world. Opportunities for women are blocked by a vicious circle of poverty, limited education, and low status in the countries in which they live. In many countries women are denied basic human rights and are treated as property that can be battered, burned, bought, and sold.

Discrimination against women cuts across religions, socio-economic classes, cultures, customs, professions, and national borders; it serves to deny women equal access to and participation in political processes that may be democratic in theory, but in practice are not because they are not representative of the views, voice, and interests of the female half of the population of every country. Indeed, women's under-representation and limited ability to participate raise questions about the legitimacy of democratic systems.

Statistics on women's representation in decisionmaking bodies are important indicators of the extent of women's exclusion from positions of power. According to the U.N. Study on Women in Politics and Decision-Making in the Late Twentieth Century : in 1987, women in Asia and the Pacific, on average, made up only 3.6 percent of all decisionmaking bodies and less than 5 percent of parliaments; in 39 Asian and Pacific Island nations there were no women at either the ministerial or senior level positions. The Inter-Parliamentary Union reports that as of June 1993, women made up less than 10 percent of Asian and Pacific Island parliaments regionally; female percentages in senior government positions are even less. When viewing the region as a whole, the progress of some countries in getting women into decisionmaking positions must be weighed against the declining numbers of women in others.

Across the Asia-Pacific region 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 gain access to new earning opportunities to improve living conditions for their families. New Asian leaders are finding that they must move quickly from the role of politician to that of policymaker in order to satisfy popular demands for economic prosperity and more equitable distribution of the benefits of growth. New democracies are fragile creatures. In countries lacking longstanding democratic traditions and political cultures, popular commitment to democracy may last only as long as government performance is sufficiently in accord with prevailing expectations and a broad spectrum of the people begin to benefit from the changes that are taking place.

One of the greatest challenges of emerging 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 populations 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 spite of the existence of women in development programs in many countries that are explicitly intended to bring women into the process; few population groups have been more systematically excluded from the development process than women. As one study notes, "It is not simply a question of there being no true democracy if fifty percent of the population is excluded in addressing core societal issues--of equally critical importance is the fact that women bring to these processes a set of values and perspectives grounded in everyday reality of the home and the family and an understanding of the economic and social inputs required to sustain them." (The Development Gap: Oct. 31, 1993) There are examples in virtually every country of development efforts that have failed to achieve their objectives partly because they overlooked women's input and roles in their design and implementation and/or were based on inadequate understanding of how women would benefit from or be adversely affected by such efforts. Failed development efforts have dire implications for all of society, not just women.

The interrelationships between women's educational, health, fertility, and economic status are complex; but there is no doubt that women's status has significant consequences for their children, their families, their communities, and their societies. Debates on where to focus efforts to increase women's status have raged for decades, with inadequate attention given to the need to empower women to be able to make full, valued, and self-directed choices that reflect their own priorities. Some argue that women's advancement in such areas of education and formal economic activity will facilitate their participation in decisionmaking. Yet, the reality is that without political participation, women are denied equal access to the very resources that would advance their status, such as education and health care.

There is mounting evidence that there is a close reciprocal relationship between the general advancement of women and the participation of women in decisionmaking; and that

until women are brought into development processes as decisionmakers, full participants, and stakeholders, sustainable development will remain an elusive goal. No nation can afford to not utilize all its human resources. Equal partnership between men and women is essential for national development and global survival; women's political participation is a critical avenue for achieving equal partnership.

**INCREASING WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION**

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

Phase I

- Objective I.** Reduce Barriers to Women's Full Participation in Political Processes.
- Objective II.** Increase Women's Influence on Decisionmaking so that Women's Issues are Given the Attention They Merit.
- Objective III.** Build Networks Between Individuals and Organizations Working to Increase Women's Political Participation Within and Between Countries Throughout the Asia-Pacific Region.

Needs Assessments

To inform program development, in 1993 The Asia Foundation commissioned needs assessments on the status of women and the barriers and opportunities to their full participation in most of the countries in which it operates.

Identifying common barriers and priority needs

A number of common barriers emerged in the needs assessments. Traditional attitudes toward women and women's proper roles, held both by women and men, are a major deterrent to women's active participation in politics; politics has been considered predominantly the domain of men. Because women have been largely excluded from the political arena, they lack skills and experience in such things as financing a political campaign, securing financial resources, building a constituency, packaging a message, using the media effectively, and developing their own networks. Poverty, illiteracy, and lack of free time to take on additional responsibilities and activities all limit women's participation.

For many women, the absence of accurate and unbiased sources of information hinders awareness of the ways in which they are discriminated against. Women are often ignorant of their rights and of the possibilities for changing the status quo to give them a voice in decisionmaking and open up opportunities for them to participate as equal citizens within their respective societies.

Violence against women is common in most of the countries reviewed; it serves to limit women's independence as voters and activists, and deters them from aspiring to leadership positions. In some countries, violence against women is just beginning to move from the private to the public domain and be discussed openly as a critical issue. In Mongolia the term domestic violence is almost unknown although violence against women is certainly not--it has simply not yet been brought into the realm of public discussion.

Identifying opportunities

With some exceptions, most of the countries of the Asia-Pacific region are making progress in the direction of 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. Other countries such as Vietnam, Laos, and China are emerging from varying degrees of isolation, motivated in part by a desire to participate in the tremendous economic growth taking place in the region.

This trend toward more democratic, pluralistic systems of governance is creating new opportunities for historically disenfranchised groups to use democratic processes to bring their concerns and interests into the political arena. Women are still by far the largest disenfranchised group. But women across the Asia-Pacific region, as elsewhere around the globe, are speaking out against discrimination, challenging barriers to equal participation in all

aspects of their societies, organizing to form new associations and coalitions, and seeking elective and appointive office in record numbers. These women recognize that in order for their views and interests to be given the attention they are due, they themselves must become active as voters, as advocates, and as leaders. They are coalescing support on behalf of women's rights and equal opportunity that is fundamentally altering the political environments of their countries so that the half of the population who are female begin to be represented in a manner commensurate with their number. There are initiatives underway in all countries across the region to increase women's access to decisionmaking processes, facilitate their access to leadership positions, and strengthen their abilities to advocate on issues that directly and explicitly affect women. However, these initiatives need to be supported and expanded.

Every country does not have to reinvent the wheel. Much has been learned that can be adapted among varying political, social, and religious cultures. Opportunities must be created to enable women and women's organizations to work together within countries and across borders. Working together, women will be better able to build on successes 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. The importance of facilitating linkages among women throughout the region who are working to increase women's participation and empowerment should not be underestimated. The potential of regional cooperation to exponentially expand and strengthen each country's own efforts is significant, and has already begun to be evidenced.

In addition to the existence of a positive program environment, reinforced by growing pluralism in the Asia-Pacific region, the needs assessments identified other opportunities to increase women's participation. In many countries, local level elections are scheduled to take place over the next five years; women are gearing up to run for these offices. Another opportunity is the emergence and proliferation of NGOs working to enhance women's leadership capabilities and advance their entry into decisionmaking bodies, as well as to influence policymakers to address inequalities and problems of concern to women. NGOs are playing an increasingly important role in putting pressure on male-dominated systems--including political parties--to include women and take women's concerns seriously. NGOs also serve as important leadership training grounds for women and offer women opportunities to participate in policymaking outside formal political processes. NGOs can also provide a political base as well as a network of women from which support and advice can be drawn.

In India, women's organizations have worked to increase and mobilize women voters, which in turn has pressured nearly every political party to pay special attention to organizing women, including women's issues in their platforms, and campaigning among and choosing them to contest elections. However, NGOs often lack adequate resources to expand and improve their work, and for the most part, have few opportunities to learn how organizations in other countries are dealing with similar problems.

Opportunities for women to become full participants in democratic systems have never been greater, and women are, albeit slowly, making inroads that are fundamentally altering the political landscape. The challenge lies in accelerating the process of empowering women so

that decades, or even centuries, are not required to raise women's status so that they enjoy the same rights, privileges, and opportunities as men.

Individual country needs assessments follow.

BANGLADESH

The Status of Women in Bangladesh

While a few Bangladeshi women have reached the upper echelons of government--currently both the Prime Minister and Opposition Leader are women--having women in leading decisionmaking positions has not necessarily led to a marked improvement in conditions for the majority of Bangladesh's women (some are of the opinion that the dynastic traditions represented by the present incumbents have actually set back the cause of women). Women have limited involvement in elected politics, and are not fully represented in the civil service and local decisionmaking bodies such as Family Law arbitration councils and courts. Women who succeed in becoming legislators and educated professionals have been able to compete mainly due to family connections and access to financial support. Most Bangladeshi women, however, still lack access to basic social and economic resources, and suffer from high rates of illiteracy, malnutrition, abuse, and exploitation in the labor force. The patriarchal organization of the family unit and the subordination of women under Islamic law diminish the social and legal independence of women.

Bangladeshi women face fundamental obstacles to participating in political processes. One major obstacle is a high rate of illiteracy; female educational levels are 70% lower than male levels, with a female illiteracy rate of 75% compared to 50% for males. The Bangladeshi government has begun to address low literacy rates by focusing on enrollment and drop-out rates at the primary level. The goal is to double the number of girls who complete primary school by providing stipends and food as incentives--raising the rate from 32% to 64% by 1995, and 90% by 2000. Still, only 34% of girls are enrolled in secondary school, and 66% of those leave school before graduating.

Bangladeshi women today are confronted with a paradox: on one hand they are confined to their traditional role within the home as dictated by religious and cultural traditions, and on the other, they are being forced into the formal workforce for economic survival. Between 1985 and 1989, the number of women in the civilian labor force jumped from 3.2 million to 21 million (vs. 27.7 to 29.7 million men). Women dominate the garment industry, the leading export industry, responsible for half the country's foreign exchange.

The government of Bangladesh has advanced women's issues in successive five-year plans and established a Ministry of Women's Affairs in 1978, but the Ministry has maintained a disappointingly low political profile. Through a quota system, there has been an attempt to increase the number of women in the Civil Service and within semi-governmental and autonomous corporations. Since the introduction in 1976 of a 10% quota in the Civil Service, increasing numbers of women are taking the entrance exam and being recruited into its ranks. However, only a handful of women hold top positions. In the 1991 parliamentary election, women standing for election made up only 1.5% of the candidates.

Within local bodies, quotas that exist are not always filled, nor are there mechanisms in place to enforce them. At the national level, Parliament reserves 30 seats for women, appointed by the elected members. Without constituencies, however, the appointed female members are

not perceived as legitimate legislators and as a result, have little influence. This problem is compounded by the lack of cooperation between the appointed female MPs, who are usually in need of training, and the experienced, elected female politicians on setting an agenda on women's issues.

Since 1978, political parties have been required to have women's wings, although these wings have not yet played a substantial role in policy formulation or implementation. Parties themselves often operate undemocratically, marginalizing women and operating under the control of a powerful few--predominantly men. Networking among women political leaders themselves has also been extremely limited, as revealed in recent interviews. Overall, patron-client relationships dominate elections at the local and national levels, further hindering the emergence of non-traditional leaders, especially women. So despite evidence of improvement in some areas, in general, governmental progress on women's issues has been slow due to the depth of serious social, political, and economic constraints. Men still overwhelmingly control the means of production, including land, relegating women to perpetual second class status.

Barriers and Opportunities

The Constitution of Bangladesh guarantees equal rights for men and women, and Bangladesh has ratified most of the U.N. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). In practice, however, Shariah Law takes precedence over the Constitution in issues of inheritance, divorce, child custody, and marriage, usually in favor of men. Moreover, in a purdah society such as Bangladesh, women's mobility is significantly restricted, which limits their ability to be successful activists. Politics continues to be viewed traditionally by men and women as a male domain, one that is unfeminine and inappropriate for women.

In recent years, women's participation in economic development and public policy formulation in Bangladesh has been bolstered by the emergence of a large number of NGOs focusing on income generation, consciousness raising, legal rights, and other areas of concern to women members. Women's activism has largely been channeled through women's NGOs, rather than electoral processes, involvement in the latter of which, for most women, is limited to voting. Bangladeshi NGOs have made significant progress in poverty alleviation, income generation, and meeting other basic needs of women; indeed, some like the Grameen Bank have become models for the developing world. The NGOs serve not only as channels for influencing policy and networking, but as important training grounds for future women leaders. At the local levels, women are increasingly moving from the NGO sector into local leadership positions. This is a recent development, as most women's NGOs have traditionally pursued their agendas independently of political parties and electoral processes. Moreover, channels of communication between current women leaders and NGOs are beginning to evolve, but are still weak.

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 mechanisms to raise consciousness on women's issues and provide greater voice for women in decisionmaking processes at all levels.

INDONESIA

The Status of Women in Indonesia

Inspired by the declaration of the UN Decade of Women in 1970s, the Indonesian government embarked on a new policy to enhance and further integrate women into the development process. During that decade, a distinct women's agenda, defined within the context of the family, was set forth by new organizations such as the Dharma Wanita, whose membership includes wives of civil servants, the PKK movement (Family Welfare Program), and the Ministry of Women's Affairs.

Since that time, women's status in the areas of health, education, nutrition, and employment have improved. Literacy rates are nearly 90% for urban women and 75% for rural women; although the percentage of women that attend beyond primary school is only about 16% in urban areas and 6% in rural areas. A new program raising the level of compulsory education from six to nine years for all children is scheduled to begin in 1994. Nevertheless, the number of women that go on to secondary education may continue to be limited by the prevalence of early marriage -- 30% of urban women and 40% of rural women marry by the age of sixteen.

Despite these educational constraints, Indonesia's rapid economic and industrial growth has led to increasing numbers of women securing jobs in the formal work force. There have been some very successful businesswomen, as well as many active businesswomen's groups, particularly in outlying provinces. Women have also been extremely active in the environmental and consumer movements. However, working women still face gender-based discrimination in the areas of promotion, recruitment, and wage differentials. Sex discrimination is especially apparent in low paying jobs, the majority of which are held by women.

Rural populations are increasingly being displaced from their traditional agricultural work as a result of technological innovations and the Green Revolution. Since training in new technology has mainly been targeted to men, young women have flooded urban areas seeking employment, often in the manufacturing sector. There women are often denied basic rights and needs such as maternity leave, and even toilets. Workers' health and safety precautions are often neglected and many factory owners refuse to adhere to the minimum wage laws mandated by the government. Since restrictions on strikes were lifted in 1989, however, cities like Jakarta have witnessed unprecedented waves of strikes by factory workers, primarily young women.

While the number of women appointed to government positions has grown steadily, there are still few women in top decision-making positions, both within elected bodies and the civil service. As voters, women have tremendous potential to make their interests known; in fact, the 1992 election registered more women voters than men (55.1 million vs. 52.5 million). However, within Indonesia's system of proportional representation, voters cast their ballots for parties, not candidates. As a result, political parties hold the power to select their own representatives, few of whom are women.

Barriers and Opportunities

Although Indonesia has adopted a number of measures designed to eliminate discrimination against women, such as the UN Convention on Political Equality for Women which mandates equal pay for equal work in the civil service, paid maternity leave, and reserved positions in high ranking institutions for women, implementation has fallen far short of intent. In practice, women are not treated equally in the work place, under the law, or in the family, nor are they represented in positions of power commensurate with their numbers. All indicators point to the fact that it is still difficult for Indonesian women to enter fields that have been traditionally dominated by men; a culture of patriarchy within the political realm limits women's access to resources and opportunities, thus perpetuating their disadvantaged position.

Indonesian women themselves are divided. On one hand some non-governmental organizations have criticized the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Dharma Wanita for trying to uphold the traditional divisions of labor between men and women and monopolizing scarce resources available for women's programs--thereby restricting the development of alternative channels for action on women's issues. On the other hand, these NGOs recognize the undeniable gains achieved by the Dharma Wanita in improving the welfare of women as wives and mothers. The ability of NGOs to put forth new agendas is also restrained by the threat of existing laws that stipulate that NGOs cannot function solely as mass-membership organizations. Grassroots organizations must be subsumed under a government-affiliated umbrella organization or established political organization recognized by the government. The government may also legally abolish any organization that is engaged in activities to cause public disorder; receives foreign financial support without government approval; or provides help to foreign interests in direct opposition to the national interest. While the government has not taken action on these provisions, the threat alone has proven to be a powerful constraint.

Nevertheless, Indonesian women today have unprecedented opportunities; the issue of sheer survival no longer consumes most Indonesian women's lives as it has in the past. Existing labor laws, marriage laws, and other policies with non-discrimination clauses provide tools for women to question and challenge unfair treatment. The Indonesian government has demonstrated a responsiveness to international pressure by the United Nations and other bodies to address gender inequities. The U.N. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) has been ratified, thus creating a positive atmosphere and new opportunities to utilize CEDAW as a tool in the process to develop an agenda that would eliminate discriminatory laws, policies, and practices.

The Asia Foundation proposes to support the activity described below, using funds from the AID WIP Grant and its own funds, for the establishment of an organization dedicated to encouraging greater awareness of discrimination against women and promoting action that will result in opportunities for women to participate in all aspects of society.

NEPAL

The Status of Women in Nepal

The introduction of multiparty democracy in Nepal in 1990 was accompanied by great expectations, both political and material. For Nepal's women, the prospect of a new Constitution and a popularly-elected representative government meant the potential to reform women's social and legal status, and to forge a new role for women within the policymaking arena.

Traditionally, women's disadvantaged status in the areas of education, health, and economic participation has restricted their mobility and denied them the basic tools necessary for political participation. Females are notably absent at all levels of Nepal's educational system--1992 UNICEF statistics show literacy rates of 50% for men vs. 17% for women in rural areas (where 90% of Nepalis reside) and 79% vs. 48% in urban areas. And according to a recent study conducted by the Institute for Integrated Development Studies in Nepal, the gap in literacy rates is widening. Nepalese women's lives are dominated by immediate survival issues and a heavy domestic workload. Girls begin working longer hours than boys from age five, and by the age of ten, their work burden of 7.3 hours per day is nearly that of an adult male. Nepal is one of only three countries in the world in which the life expectancy for women (53) is lower than that for men (56). Overall, preference for sons permeates the lives of girl children, limiting their access to health care, food, and education.

In theory, Nepal's new Constitution protects women against sex discrimination and exploitation, namely trafficking and slavery. In practice, however, these constitutional provisions lack enforcement mechanisms and are not consistent either with existing laws or common societal practices that continue to discriminate against women in matters of citizenship, divorce rights, inheritance, and trafficking. The patrilineal inheritance system provides inheritance rights to parental property only if a woman is over 35 and unmarried (and remains unmarried); rights to a husband's property are similarly restricted. Women still need the written consent of a husband or father to borrow money or conduct other financial transactions.

The problems of female illiteracy, poverty, and restricted decision-making power are further compounded by the relative isolation of most Nepalese women, 90% of whom reside in rural areas. They are generally unaware of the few legal rights they do have, due to lack of access to reliable information.

Barriers and Opportunities: Women were active participants in the People's Movement of 1990 that led to the dissolution of the Panchayat System and the introduction of multiparty democracy -- hundreds were arrested, tortured, or jailed for protesting. Despite their sacrifices and contributions, women are notably absent from the newly defined democratic government. Expectations that were raised during the People's Movement about the potential of democratization to improve the status of women have not been realized. The majority of Nepal's women still struggle for survival; only the wealthiest and most elite have opportunities to reach positions of political power.

Nonetheless, multiparty democracy has fostered a freer atmosphere for activists, leading to the formation of increasing numbers of rural and urban women's NGOs, as well as the development of a women's media. Women's advocacy groups are beginning to emerge and test their capabilities on a broad scale, often learning by doing. Some groups have been able to rise above party affiliations to coordinate women's advocacy efforts across party lines. Unfortunately, professional jealousies and lack of cooperation still plague the urban women's activist community, hindering effective action. Women's groups have been unable to pressure the government to implement its articulated policies on women--notably the U.N. Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women and Nepal's Eighth Five Year Plan, which pledges to integrate women at all levels of governance and establish a national organization for women. As result, there have been no major changes for women at the policy level since the establishment of democracy. Overall, effective urban women's advocacy activities are scarce, despite an ever-expanding organized women's sector. The lack of cooperative spirit limits networking between urban groups, creating new barriers instead.

Part of the problem also resides in the low number of female legislators. At the national level women are only 10 of 265 members across both houses. No party nominated more than 5% women to run for office, the minimum number of women required by the new constitution. One female MP called women in Nepal "their own worst enemies," reflecting the tendency of female candidates and elected officials to put party loyalty ahead of women's issues. There are no women ministers in the present government. Only two of seventy-five Chief District Officers are women, and in 1993, no women passed the Public Service Commission exam, which determines eligibility for careers in the government bureaucracy.

In rural areas, the barriers to women's activism are more fundamental, as discussed above. In a survey conducted for this needs assessment, rural women stressed securing male permission and a heavy work burden as the primary barriers to their involvement outside the domestic sphere. When women did express interest in politics, they complained of lack of money and general support for women in the political arena. Moreover, rural women have extremely limited access to reliable information. The women who were surveyed reported rarely listening to the radio, usually regarded as the primary information source for rural Nepalis, because of a lack of free time. Rural women's primary information source is either the men in their families or the leader of their organized women's group, who is sometimes a fellow village woman and sometimes an NGO representative.

Countering these obstacles, however, is a tremendous enthusiasm among rural women to learn more about their role in participatory government and to forge creative possibilities for self-advocacy. Perhaps most striking is the degree to which the more educated and independent rural women's groups recognized the potential power of group action. In both urban and rural areas, a democratizing environment has largely eliminated fear of government control and surveillance, so women are freer to concentrate on the task of forging alliances across political and personal barriers.

Overall, the most fundamental barrier to women's political participation in Nepal is "lack of awareness": of rights, opportunities, existing processes, and resources. Women, as a poorly educated and largely illiterate group, have little access to reliable information. This factor,

considered with women's limited mobility, early marriage, and restricted decision-making powers, and further compounded by an absence of strong, active networks committed to bringing women together in pursuit of common causes and lack of experience in taking collective action, conspire to exclude women from the political sphere.

PACIFIC ISLANDS

The Status of Women in the Pacific Islands

In the eleven Pacific Island States in which The Asia Foundation programs, the status of women varies among regions (Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia), among island countries, and even within national borders. In all States, however both laws and customs discriminate against women. Illiteracy rates are generally higher for women than men. In most countries, women traditionally have had no decisionmaking authority; bride "buying" is still practiced in some states, reinforcing the pervasive attitude that women's primary functions are to bear children and work in the home. Even in matrilineal groups women possess little or no decisionmaking authority. Until recently, it was unusual for women to work outside the home. Violence against women is pervasive throughout the South Pacific and has reached epidemic proportions in some Island States, with highly negative implications for women's ability to participate independently of their husbands.

Barriers and Opportunities

Although conditions and customs vary, Most women in the eleven South Pacific societies included in Foundation programs face common problems and common barriers to their full participation in the political process that affect . Many rituals and taboos, which discriminate against women, continue to be practiced in spite of modern constitutions which generally endorse women's rights as equal and do not allow discrimination on the basis of sex. In practice, however, women are discriminated against with respect to citizenship, marriage, land tenure, and inheritance throughout most of the Island Nations, which reinforces the status of the male as the dominant partner rather than an equal partner.

Women's contribution to and participation in the economy and in agriculture are not recognized despite the fact that women are involved at all levels of agricultural production. Preconceived ideas of women's roles and male-dominated policymaking structures result in women being left behind in the use of modern agricultural technology which further limits their ability to be competitive with their male counterparts.

Women have traditionally been excluded from the domain of decisionmaking and are seriously underrepresented in decisionmaking bodies at all levels, and indeed have been largely excluded from political processes. They do not always understand how politics affect them or the importance of their vote in electing leaders who will be accessible and accountable to them. Women's inability to access political institutions prevents women's issues from being brought to the forefront and dealt with effectively. In most rural areas, women are marginalized within the customary decisionmaking forums, such as village meetings, where many decisions are still made exclusively by men. Women who do step into the political arena are at a tremendous disadvantage in this male-dominated environment which makes it difficult for them to be heard even by other women. Suspicious and hostile husbands, fathers, and brothers are reluctant to let "their" women support women activists--thus perpetuating male control.

The situation is compounded by the contradictions between customary and modern law

throughout the Pacific, which present a special dilemma for Pacific women. Customary laws are more compatible with cultural traditions and can respond to local issues in a more timely, less costly, and relevant manner than over-burdened, understaffed courts. But customary laws are often more discriminatory against women and leave them with no recourse other than the formal court system, which is largely inaccessible for those who lack financial resources or do not possess an understanding of their basic legal rights. Thus Pacific women have no good recourse either in the informal or formal legal systems.

A major hurdle for women candidates is within political parties. They have great difficulty obtaining party nomination or may be put up as token candidates in races that they do not have a chance of winning to appease the female electorate. Women are also reluctant to run for financial reasons as running a campaign is expensive and time consuming and women have traditionally been discriminated against both in land ownership and inheritance--the foremost basis of wealth in these predominately agrarian societies.

Another somewhat ironic hurdle is that many potential young women candidates hold secure, well-paid jobs which they do not wish to relinquish; entering politics means potentially jeopardizing this new-found freedom. And the once that have entered politics are often reluctant to take up women's issues either because they do not perceive a need to approach problems from a gender perspective, or because they are satisfied with the status quo and do not see women as a separate and/or important constituency.

In the last decade, Pacific Island women have demanded more attention to their particular needs and problems and have increasingly organized around particular issues such as violence against women, discriminatory laws etc. The Pacific Resource Women's Bureau (PRWB) was created in 1982 as a regional coordinating center for Pacific women as a result of a series of women's meetings and in response to the U.N. Decade for Women. PRWB has an ambitious agenda and works in coordination with the national women's councils of the region, which now number 17.

Although some Pacific Island States have quite effective women's lobbying organizations and activist NGOs, consensus is that they need to organize themselves more actively and more efficiently with respect to the political process. The needs assessment for the Pacific Islands, commissioned by The Asia Foundation, specifically recommends bringing women who are involved in the political process together in a regional conference so that they may compare experiences, and exchange ideas and tactics. The proposed conference will help to establish networks between individuals and organizations throughout the Pacific. The needs assessment also endorses the idea of two separate sub-regional conferences in Polynesia and Melanesia to address specific problems with regard to women's participation in politics in these particular environments.

NGOs to enable them to develop their leadership skills. NGOs and professional associations serve as important training grounds to enhance women's leadership capabilities and are important stepping stones to the inclusion of women as leaders in decisionmaking bodies at all levels.

PHILIPPINES

The Status of Women in the Philippines

The women's movement in the Philippines has its roots in the political consciousness and activism at the end of the 1960s, which articulated a national democratic alternative to elite rule, foreign domination, and social injustice. Out of this movement, the Free Movement of New Women (MAKIBAKA) emerged as the women's arm of the national struggle and began integrating women's concerns and campaigns into the political reform efforts of the time. Even after the imposition of martial law in 1972 when MAKIBAKA and other national democratic organizations were declared illegal, women continued to organize.

Conditions for women deteriorated during the martial law years, evidenced by the growth of the sex tourism industry, military sexual abuse of women prisoners, and the exploitation of women workers in export processing zones. Women's groups emerged around these pressing issues, and by the early 1980s, over a hundred women's organizations were on the scene, many of which are still active today.

An unrelenting economic struggle continues to create intolerable burdens for many Filipinas. The cost of living has risen 27% over the last two years without a corresponding improvement in wages or earning possibilities. Of the working age population of 20.19 million women in July 1992, 56.7% were unemployed with women receiving only 37 centavos for each P1.00 men receive in wages. Jobs for women are predominantly in social and personal services, retail trade, and manufacturing, with little access to executive and managerial positions. The same gender bias is seen in government employment: although 95% of the country's teachers are women, 90% of higher positions in schools and in the Department of Education are filled by men. Though the literacy rate for women virtually equals that for men and there are actually more women with college degrees, women's employment tends to be confined to the low-end of the wage scale.

Women's total health situation is poor. Existing health services are minimal and those that are available to women (one doctor for every 800 women) focus primarily on reproductive health issues. Rape and incest are prevalent and one women's group estimates that up to 80% of women experience battering. However, as yet no law specifically defines or penalizes domestic violence, and institutional services for women victims of violence are grossly inadequate.

While the ratio of men to women within the civil service is 50-50, there is not a high proportion of women at senior levels nor a corresponding level of attention to issues of concern to women. Within national elected bodies, the disparities are even greater--10.6% of the House of Representatives are women and four members of the 25-member Senate are women. A study of the records of women who do hold high-level appointive positions or elected office suggests that their agendas have not included women's issues. Similarly, a lack of gender perspective seems to exist within the bureaucracy, except for the few agencies

with women-oriented mandates, such as the Bureau of Women's Welfare. At the local level, a provision in the local government code reserves a seat for women as sectoral representatives on provincial, city and municipal councils; however, the program will not be implemented until Congress passes an enabling law, and the likelihood of this happening is unclear. Other promising plans designed to improve the status of women from advocacy agencies and NGOs such as the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW) and the Organization of Women in Politics (UKP) have had little impact.

Recently, however, recognition of a lack of effective legislation for women has led to the development of a women's caucus within the House, the Philippine Organization of Women Elected Representatives (POWER), concerned with passing legislation and increasing the focus on gender issues. Still, women who do reach positions of authority usually succeed as a result of family connections and financial resources rather than identifiable constituencies; so far a "women's vote" does not exist within the present electoral process, and there has yet to evolve a forum for issues of concern to women that might galvanize a women's vote.

Barriers and Opportunities

While fundamental equality between men and women is stipulated in the 1987 Philippine Constitution and no legal barriers exist to prevent women's full access to participation in the political life and processes of their country, patriarchal values among both men and women still prevail. Men are perceived as being more qualified to manage public affairs and become involved in the "dirty business" of politics. This perception is held by women as well as men, and presents one of the major barriers to women's political leadership. Instead, women's influence within the realm of formal politics has been limited to a traditional role, as auxiliary forces to charm, entertain and persuade voters: for instance, the 'Osmena Pearls', the Blue Ladies of Marcos, and for Mrs. Aquino, Cory's Crusaders.

Moreover, with such a high percentage of women living in poverty, the pool of women who have the time and resources--both educational and financial--to participate in politics is limited. Indeed, for the majority of the population, voting is the only means of participating in formal political processes. However, the political awareness and experience that arose from the protest and opposition movement to the Marcos regime have evolved into effective, albeit more informal, forms of political expression. To activate debate and exert pressure on policymakers, NGOs and other mass-based organizations have utilized campaigns, demonstrations, strikes, and other creative forms of action to give a voice to those groups largely excluded from mainstream political life.

NGOs in the Philippines have become the main vehicles for women's political activism, and have been increasingly using informal methods to address gender-specific concerns such as violence against women. With this action, however, comes a growing recognition among women's NGOs of the need to formulate legislative agendas to affect change. In the 1992 elections, a number of NGOs set forth broad principles on women's

issues, but there were few successful legislative proposals. To set more realistic agendas and concentrate efforts and resources to enhance chances of legislative reform, a greater understanding of legislative processes, through education and leadership training, is needed and being sought.

The Foundation proposes to support a cluster of activities that will increase the capacity of NGOs to carry out effective advocacy programs that are designed to promote greater attention to women's issues, legislative initiatives that will benefit women, and make women legislators more aware of and responsive and accountable to women's groups and on women's issues.

SRI LANKA

The Status of Women in Sri Lanka

The overall status of women in Sri Lanka improved considerably with the adoption of progressive social policies in the 1940s which introduced free health care, including maternal and child care programs, and free education from primary to tertiary levels. In the past two decades, Sri Lankan women have made significant economic gains, and have risen to leadership and managerial levels in their professions and entered the civil service in increasing numbers. In Sri Lanka women are now on par with, or even fare better than men in many areas including education, health, and life expectancy. Women also vote in virtually equal percentages (70%-80%) with men, and are politically conscious. However, despite these gains, women do not play an active role in politics nor are they represented in decisionmaking bodies or policy formulation. The combination of other factors, including slow economic growth, ethnic conflict, and traditional attitudes have proven to be powerful forces that limit women's involvement in political processes.

Literacy rates are high for both men and women, and are remarkably high for South Asia--83% for women and 90% for men; under 40 years of age, there are no disparities. Within universities, 42% of the student population are women. While poverty and indifference in low-income neighborhoods, remote rural villages, and plantations still work to keep girls out of school, even these barriers seem to be declining significantly. Moreover, more than five decades of free health services, including maternal and child care programs and food subsidies, have led to a substantial improvement in the health status of women in all socio-economic strata.

In the past two decades, there has been a substantial increase in the number of women entering the official labor force, professions, and non-traditional areas of employment. Despite this, the majority of women are still concentrated in what are perceived to be gender-appropriate occupations in agriculture, assembly line industries, education, health services, and domestic service, and there has been very little change in the gender division of labor within the household. Recent studies indicate that women work on average 14 hours a day, compared with nine hours for men.

The right of women to participate in the political process with men on an equal basis was embodied in the grant of universal adult franchise in 1931. Every Constitution since then has safeguarded this right. The UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which protect women's civil and political rights, was adopted by the Government of Sri Lanka. These principles were embodied in a Women's Charter promulgated by the government in 1993.

Barriers and Opportunities

Despite the absence of legal discrimination, effective female participation in electoral politics remains negligible. Women in mainstream politics have often launched or been drawn

into their political careers when male relatives died or were debarred from elections for one reason or another. Women have played prominent roles in Sri Lankan politics, but in isolated instances. Currently only 12 of 212 MPs are women and only 1 of the 23 Cabinet Ministers is a woman.

All major political parties have a network of Kantha Samiti (Women's Wing) for the purpose of mobilizing women throughout the island. But the Women's Wings are politically active only at election time, particularly at rallies and demonstrations. The existence of women's wings has not guaranteed a role for women within the party hierarchy or party decisionmaking. Outside of election time, the Women's Wings are relegated to running income generation and welfare activities. The commitment by political parties to women's issues and the advancement of women within their own hierarchies has been minimal.

It is mainly as voters that women are effective in the political arena. Voting patterns indicate that the percentage polling in general elections is over 80%. Women's voting rates tend to be consistent with high rates overall. Two micro-studies conducted by the Centre for Women's Research indicate that women also demonstrate a very high level of political consciousness regarding public issues as well as independent decisionmaking.

The reasons for women's failure to make the leap from their activist roles as voters into mainstream politics are both structural and cultural. Structural barriers include lack of access to men's formal and informal "old-boy networks" which underlie political negotiations and communications. Women are also excluded from the informal apprenticeship system in which young politicians are trained in the art of politics under the guardianship of a senior politician. This system is deemed inappropriate for women. The prevailing climate of violence directed against politicians, both in the fight against terrorism and fighting among and within parties also dissuades women from entering the political arena.

The dual roles women play at work and home also preclude their entry into the political marketplace. At the stage in their lives when young male politicians are making their mark, most women are involved in childbearing, childcare, and domestic responsibilities. Cultural prejudice results in Sri Lankan women being regarded by society as unable to cope temperamentally with the rough and tumble that pervades politics. This perception makes it almost impossible for women to secure financial backing to enter politics; the few who do enter are largely ignored by party bosses. Thus there is no representation by women in the central and working committees of recognized political parties. The slander and vilification that is commonplace in political debate acts as an additional deterrent to women.

Lack of visibility of women in mainstream politics is echoed by the low visibility of women at decisionmaking levels in other spheres. Although the number of women in higher education and other professions has increased markedly in recent years, decisionmaking authority remains the domain of men for many of the reasons noted above.

There are some well-established women's NGOs operating in Sri Lanka focusing on equal status, equal pay, and equal opportunity issues, but their ability to monitor and influence decisionmaking and policy is limited. NGOs and professional associations are key representatives and advocates of citizens' concerns and must be sensitive to women's issues and women's empowerment; they offer a unique channel for women to participate in the informal political processes of the country. Women need experience as leaders in their own parties and NGOs to enable them to develop their leadership skills. NGOs and professional associations serve as important training grounds to enhance women's leadership capabilities and are important stepping stones to the inclusion of women as leaders in decisionmaking bodies at all levels.

The Asia Foundation proposes to support a three-phase project conducted by a leading NGO and the Sri Lanka Women's Bureau to increase the number of women actively participating at decisionmaking levels within NGOs, parties, and professional associations--which already have a mandate as advocates on public policy issues. This project is a first step towards moving women and women's issues to the forefront of formal politics through public advocacy channels.

THAILAND

The Status of Women in Thailand

The socio-economic situation of most Thai women has improved substantially over the past three decades and is reflected in increased levels of employment, income, education, and health. Thai women made up 47% of the labor force in 1991, the highest percentage in Asia. However, women still lag behind men in a number of areas.

There has been an enormous influx of women from the agricultural sector into commerce, service, and manufacturing. Until 1991, women were not recognized as farmers by the Ministry of Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives; training opportunities for women were mainly confined to home economics. A change in policy has since given women the opportunity to receive training in agricultural production, marketing, and management, and has provided women with access to agricultural credit schemes. Nonetheless, women still form only 15% of trainees in all the National Institute of Skill Development of the Department of Labor.

In 1991, it is estimated that women working in the export sector of manufactured goods and in tourism generated significant amounts of foreign currency. However, despite women's significant contribution to economic growth, they are still concentrated in the lowest paid jobs and earn less than men in most sectors and overall, remain worse off economically.

In the past three decades, the literacy rate for women has increased from 60% in 1960 to 91% in 1991. However, the education level attained by the majority of Thai people is still very low, especially that of women. In 1990, Thai women had received an average of 3.3 years of education and men 4.3 years. Under 10% of men and women complete secondary school and only 1% complete tertiary education; women and men are virtually equal at all levels of university education.

The status of women's health has improved substantially over the last three decades as demonstrated both by the figures for life expectancy, which has increased from 58 years in 1960 to 68 years in 1990; and the infant mortality rate which fell dramatically from 103 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1960 to 28 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1990. The patient-doctor ratio has improved significantly, and a substantial percentage of the population now has access to health services, safe water, and sanitation.

Despite these improvements, there has been an alarming increase in the incidence of AIDS and AIDS related diseases among Thai women in recent years. The number of women infected with the HIV virus is estimated at several hundred thousand. Recent reports indicate that 75% of women patients are under 25 years of age, and the incidence of AIDS is higher among women than men for people under 19 years of age. AIDS looms ominously on the horizon for Thailand, with estimates of the negative impact on economic development as a result of depletion of the human resource pool and demands on the health care system projected to threaten economic growth.

Barriers and opportunities: Presently, women occupy less than 10% of decisionmaking positions in Thai government and public administration. Women constitute less than 5% of all elected Members of Parliament, appointed Senators, and provincial council members. Only one of 49 cabinet ministers is a woman and there are no women in the important ministerial position as Permanent Secretary. In Thailand's 61 years of democracy, women have made up only a small fraction of the total of the elected Members of Parliament and appointed Senators. Locally, about 1% of elected village heads and sub-districts heads are women, and there are no female district officers in the country. At the current rate of growth, it will require more than 500 years for Thailand to have equal number of men and women in decisionmaking positions at the national and local levels.

Several structural barriers exist to women's participation in formal politics. The belief that only men can be competent leaders is one of the greatest barriers to women's entry into politics. It also has implications on women's economic opportunities; women are expected to assume total responsibility for child care and household chores which limits their employment options. It also restricts their involvement in political events as events are often organized for the convenience of men and do not accommodate women's domestic responsibilities.

Another major barrier to women's leadership in government has been their absence in senior positions in the military. Although Thailand adopted an electoral system in 1932, since that time it has witnessed 17 successful coup d'états and 11 unsuccessful ones. In that time, Thailand has been ruled by civilian leaders for a total of only 12 years. The net effect of having military controlled governments has meant the virtual exclusion of women in senior positions.

Women's current political status should be considered in light of the watershed events of May 1992, when tens of thousands of demonstrators gathered in Bangkok to protest the selection of General Suchinda Kraprayoon as Prime Minister. Thai troops opened fire on unarmed protesters, bringing the confrontation to the brink of chaos when the King intervened and a civilian was named as Prime Minister to head an interim government. These events catalyzed political awareness and public participation throughout the country; 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 an historic event, one which demonstrated the power of collective action to pressure political leaders to be more accountable to the public.

Throughout the events of 1992, women's groups played a significant role. Prior to the May incident, grassroots women's organizations from throughout most 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 issue-specific questions. The forums were covered on regional radio and national television broadcasts, reaching several million voters.

Women in Politics Program
Bangladesh

Evaluation

I. Accomplishments

A. Centre for Analysis and Choice: Strengthening and Fostering Women's Leadership at the National and Local Levels

Objective II: Increase Women's Influence on Decisionmaking so that Women's Issues are Given the Attention They Merit.

Purpose: to increase the number of women running for and holding political office and leadership positions.

Expected Outcome/Impact: Establishment of a permanent Women in Politics unit within CAC responsible for training trainers, with requisite techniques, materials, and research capacity. Training would begin at the national level and be expanded to the grassroots level.

Evaluation Criteria: Completion of a baseline analysis of women's candidacy in last two elections; development of a long-term strategy for the establishment of a Women in Politics unit within CAC; action plan for future projects that relates to existing NGOs and women leaders, and complements and builds upon established resources.

CAC's letter of agreement was signed on March 2, 1994. Achievements: 1) completed baseline analysis of women's candidacy in the 1991 parliamentary election; 2) developed long-term strategy for the establishment of a Women in Politics unit with CAC; and 3) completed an action plan for future projects that complements and builds upon established resources. These achievements have laid the groundwork for CAC's long-term WIP program, which has the potential for considerable impact on the number of women running for and holding political office and leadership positions.

Discussion: CAC made effective use of phase one WIP funds to develop its long-term program strategy, which will contribute to the achievement of the expected outcome/impact of this activity. During phase one CAC completed a baseline analysis of women's candidacies in the 1991 parliamentary election. Although CAC originally anticipated conducting this analysis for both the 1988 and 1991 elections, it was decided that the 32 women who contested the 1991 election would provide a satisfactory and more manageable study group.

During the project period CAC organized a total of four workshops for women candidates who unsuccessfully contested the 1991 parliamentary elections. The workshops probed the motives of women candidates contesting the election, the difficulties faced during the campaign, and identified what the participants would do to advance a women's agenda if elected. The participants also formulated guidelines to improve the lives of women in Bangladesh. At the concluding workshop on August 18th, a draft resolution summarizing the obstacles to greater participation of women in politics and providing suggestions to remove the impediments was presented and adopted in the session. The recommendations are quite broad, including the development of

women candidates' campaigning skills, a program of voter education, use of the media to give wider exposure to women candidates, placing limitations on campaign expenditure, and maintaining an atmosphere conducive to free and fair elections. The recommendations received wide exposure through their write-up in the July/August 1994 issue of CAC's "CAC News," which is distributed to Members of Parliament, senior government officials, NGOs, and libraries. [See Attachment I.]

The phase one in-country activities were complemented by an observation program and APWIP activities that provided opportunities for Ms. Yasmeen Murshed, Director, CAC, to meet women political activists in the U.S. and Asia. Although the in-country activities informed the formulation of phase two of CAC's WIP program, these contacts were decisive in helping CAC to shape and refine its program plan.

Two unexpected outcomes emerged from phase one of CAC's WIP program. The resolution presented in the concluding workshop recommended the formation of a non-partisan political women's caucus. Bangladesh's political process is dominated by party affiliation, and the promotion of women's political interests by a non-partisan group would be an important development in the political culture. CAC plans to help establish the caucus in phase two of the WIP program.

The interest in women's issues led CAC to convene an additional one-day session on the proposed "Muslim Family Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1994." (The legislation was drafted by CAC's legislative drafting unit—established with Foundation support—at the request of Farida Rahman, one of the appointed women Members of Parliament.) This session was a significant accomplishment because there is no tradition of public debate on proposed legislation in Bangladesh, and the country is currently experiencing a serious political-religious backlash to changes in women's status. Open discussion of proposed legislation that will significantly affect women among a group that included Members of Parliament, representatives of NGOs concerned with women's issues, and selected participants from the WIP workshops for unsuccessful women candidates in the 1991 parliamentary election, is a small but important change in the political environment, if not sufficient in itself to enact policy change. Achieving that goal will require more debate and organized advocacy, but this is a positive start. The issues inherent in this legislation are controversial, but if the risks are judged to be acceptable for a first effort the proposed family laws amendment might provide a good opening for the non-partisan women's caucus to advocate on women's concerns. The Foundation will explore this possibility with CAC.

CAC's WIP unit made progress toward the formation of its advisory group. It has now screened the list of women who have shown an interest, identifying the most promising candidates. The advisory group will be convened during the coming year.

Phase two of program implementation, comprehensive training of women candidates and their staffs in campaign management, is expected to contribute toward increasing the number of women running for and holding political office and leadership positions. CAC is an urban-based public policy organization with excellent connections with the urban political elite and middle class. It is approaching its work with rural women cautiously, expecting to draw from its experience working with a smaller number of women who are interested in

national office to establish its training program for women running for local government office. There are legitimate concerns about the larger numbers of women at the local level that raise questions of strategy, cost-effectiveness, and manageability, as well as the possible need for non-formal training materials and techniques if substantial numbers of women running at the local level are not literate. In addition to implementing its campaign management training program for women running for national office during phase two, CAC will organize exploratory planning meetings in three rural areas, similar to the working groups conducted this year in Dhaka with women who had contested the 1991 parliamentary election. One of the strategies under consideration involves collaboration with BRAC's schools of non-formal education.

This project was intended to target existing NGOs and women leaders, and initially the primary need was perceived to be women's leadership training. Phase one activity determined that at the national level the unsuccessful women candidates have not come from NGOs, but from political, trade union, or social work backgrounds. CAC found that this core group of women do not require leadership training, but rather more specialized training in campaign management and politics. The need at the local level is uncertain, due to a lack of data on women union parishad members. One of the reported trends outside the urban areas, however, is the emergence of women NGO leaders and members running for local office. Research in this area may help determine other effective intervention points that will further increase women's political participation. If CAC's experience in phase one is repeated, the focus at the local level may also be political rather than general leadership skills. CAC's planning meetings in rural areas will help to identify the backgrounds of women entering politics at the local level.

B. Women for Women: Placing Women's Issues on the Nation's Political Agenda

Objective I: Reduce Barriers to Women's Full Participation in Political Processes.

Purpose: to increase awareness among national and local government politicians, policymakers, and party workers in order to place women's issues on the political agenda, highlight these issues in the policymaking process, and recommend specific policy reforms.

Expected Outcome/Impact: The inclusion of women's issues in political party platforms; more active participation of women in party leadership; new benchmarks for measuring the accountability of parties on women's issues; legal and policy reform benefitting women at the national and local levels.

Evaluation Criteria: Publication and wide distribution of local government reform strategies; increased press coverage of women's issues; attendance at seminars; introduction of policy reforms.

The government granted approval for Women for Women's WIP program on June 16, 1994, when WFW officially started its new series of activities. During the project period (3.5 months) Women for Women completed all the prescribed seminars, and is ready to publish the reports. The short duration of the project period limited the impact of these activities, but the project components that were completed laid the groundwork for wider impact in the next several months.

Discussion: Despite the late start of these activities, Women for Women completed all of the initial outputs prescribed in the letter of agreement, which represents significant organizational strength. The outputs were:

1) Seminar for Members of Parliament, Politicians, Party Leaders, and Workers on "Women and Politics: Empowerment Issues," which included representatives of six political parties, and was significant because it occurred during an opposition boycott of Parliament. Discussants included representatives of women's organizations, and specialists on governance and public policy. The plenary session, which identified key issues for women's political empowerment, led to individual sessions with four political parties.

2) Working sessions with four political parties: Women for Women met individually in closed door sessions with party workers and Members belonging to the Bangladesh Nationalist Party, Awami League, Worker's Party, and the Jamaat-e-Islami Party. The purpose was to sensitize political parties to gender equity and empowerment issues involved in economic empowerment, violence toward women, development, and political participation. The expected impact is better representation of women's issues in party platforms, and improvements in women's participation in the party. Women for Women drafted a report that highlights the positions of the four political parties on women's empowerment, provides a framework for further consideration of issues relevant to women's empowerment, and recommends further actions. It is anticipated that the report will be printed and distributed, with the publication plan under consideration by Women for Women. The report would be pertinent to party workers, women's groups, and voter education programs aimed at women because it provides party positions on issues such as the Uniform Family Code and participation in the economy. Because these were organized as closed door working sessions, however, Women for Women plans to obtain clearance from each of the participating political parties to ensure that there are no sensitivities about publishing this information.

3) Workshop for Local Government Representatives on women's development with a special emphasis on the legal issues and the role of local government representatives in women's empowerment. This meeting had strong representation from the elected women chairpersons of union parishads (seven of thirteen participated), for a total of 16 women and 14 men from 17 union parishads. NGO personnel at the union parishad level and representatives of the National Institute of Local Government (NILG) also participated. Women for Women used this opportunity to draw on representatives of key organizations working on behalf of women, including ADAB, the apex NGO organization in Bangladesh, BRAC, the largest indigenous NGO in Bangladesh, and Ain-O-Shalish Kendro, a women's organization focusing on women's legal rights. The participants formulated a series of recommendations for improving women's status at the local government level which will be printed and disseminated among local government representatives.

While the initial outputs (the seminar, individual sessions with parties, and workshop) were completed, wider exposure of the issues has been limited because the summaries of discussion have not yet been printed and disseminated. The three-and-a-half month duration of this grant limited the potential for achieving the more substantive outcomes (such as policy reform) during the project period. Given the duration, the expectation that policy reforms would be introduced during the project period was overly ambitious.

The seminar, workshop, and party sessions organized by Women for Women all generated a broad array of recommendations regarding women's political participation, ranging from issues such as women's restricted access to education to barriers to running for office. These activities were successful in increasing awareness among national and local government politicians, policymakers, and party workers although the recommendations show that the general level of knowledge about these issues may be broader than expected. The greater weakness is linking awareness with policy or procedural reform. Therefore, the next steps in the process, i.e. placing women's issues on the political agenda, highlighting the issues in the policymaking process, and recommending specific policy reforms, are crucial for ultimately reducing the barriers to women's full participation in political processes.

There is one sign that Women for Women's activities have led to increased attention to the needs of women union parishad members. Shortly after the workshop for local government representatives, NILG approached the Foundation to support training for these women. While institutional concerns make further Foundation support to NILG unlikely, the institute's interest in a non-traditional program area is a positive attitudinal change. The Foundation is exploring other more targeted program initiatives involving women union parishad members.

II. Context

There have been two recent developments relevant to the project. They do not require changes in strategy, but increase the urgency of Women in Politics activities and provide an additional opportunity for the Foundation. The first development concerns the timing of the next national elections. The elections must be held no later than February 1996, but it is possible that early elections may be called. If that occurs, CAC will expedite its campaign training program for women candidates.

In another development, during the past year there has been a rise in Islamic extremism, including threats against the feminist author Tasleema Nasrin, and attacks against NGOs working to improve the status of the rural poor, including family planning clinics, non-formal schools, and other NGO facilities. Contrasted with a seminar on "Women in Politics" conducted by the Dhaka Business and Professional Women's Club in January 1994, where there was no mention of "fundamentalism," this topic consistently emerged in most of Women for Women's discussions as a critical constraint on women's participation in the political process. This presents an opportunity for the Foundation to explore research or other activities examining the effects of religion (as opposed to social tradition and religious interpretation), on women's political participation, to help identify strategies to address this issue.

III. Regional Activities

The activities included the following:

- First Regional Women in Politics Meeting in Manila (January 17-21, 1994): CAC (Parveen Anam).
- APWIP Planning Meeting (April 4-6, 1994): CAC (Yasmeen Murshed).
- First Asia-Pacific Congress of Women in Politics (June 21-24, 1994): CAC (Yasmeen Murshed).
- Gender Development and Research Institute: Putting Gender Issues on the Policy Agenda: Strategies and Action From Asia and the Pacific (September 25-29, 1994): CAC (Farah Kabir).

Discussion: CAC's participation in APWIP activities contributed to the formulation of the long-term strategy for its WIP unit. The most productive session was the APWIP Planning Meeting in Bangkok, which provided the opportunity for Ms. Yasmeen Murshed to meet and work with women political activists in the region. These contacts, along with those made during her participation in the AWID Conference in 1993, and her observation program in the United States in 1994, have directly advanced the formulation of CAC's long-term WIP plans by providing information about possible approaches, materials, and resource persons. CAC's WIP unit will continue to draw on the experiences of these individuals and organizations in the development and implementation of its campaign management training in phase two. CAC has taken on the responsibility for publication of the APWIP newsletter. Although intended as a service to the membership of APWIP, it also helps CAC to maintain active linkages within the region.

Three of the regional activities made less significant contributions to in-country programs. The Gender Development and Research Institute's workshop, "Putting Gender Issues on the Policy Agenda: Strategies and Action From Asia and the Pacific," brought together 40 women from 20 countries. The agenda was too full and was very broad, but the program did provide excellent opportunities for networking, and for gathering material for the APWIP newsletter. One benefit was that CAC made connections with Dr. Norma Mansor, associated with Malaysia's NCWO, which is also conducting training for women. CAC will contact Dr. Mansor in order to better inform its plans to conduct women's campaign management training. APWIP and the GORI workshop received broader coverage in-country through the publication of an article by Ms. Kabir article in a leading English-language newspaper, the Daily Star. [See Attachment II.] This workshop occurred too late in the project period to assess more substantive contributions to in-country WIP programs.

The First Asia-Pacific Congress of Women in Politics, organized by the Center for Korean Women and Politics, should be considered unsuccessful. Although APWIP's participation was intended to bridge difficulties with the Congress, personal differences between key members of the respective groups greatly diminished the potential impact of this activity. Organizational problems, chiefly limited time for discussion, also reduced the effectiveness of the activity in drafting a common regional platform for the UN Conference on Women in FY95. Although CAC included a photograph of the Congress in the APWIP

newsletter as a conciliatory gesture, it would appear that there is limited potential for collaboration between APWIP and the Congress.

The First Regional Women in Politics Meeting provided a good introduction to the issues, but it contributed only minimally to CAC's program. This was primarily because WIP in-country activities had not begun at that time, but also because the agenda was very broadly drawn.

IV. Complementary Activities/Cumulative Impact

There were two directly complementary activities implemented in Bangladesh, including an observation program for Ms. Yasmeen Murshed, Director, CAC, in Washington, D.C., and a handbook on women for government officials, a publication being prepared and published by Women for Women. The observation program contributed more to the overall impact of the in-country WIP activities, partly because it was scheduled early in the project period, and partly because it had a narrow focus closely related to project aims. In contrast, Women for Women began the handbook late in the project period, immediately after receiving government approval for the project in June 1994. Women for Women has made timely progress, and the handbook will be completed during the first quarter of FY95. The pocket handbook, modelled after the Government of Bangladesh's annual statistical handbook, will provide baseline data on women that will raise awareness among government officials and can be used to monitor improvements. It is too early to assess the impact of this complementary activity.

The individual activities are described below:

Centre for Analysis and Choice: With non-USAID funds, and as a component of our total support to CAC's WIP unit, the Foundation supported an observation program in the United States for Ms. Yasmeen Murshed from May 23-27, 1994. The purpose of the observation program was to establish linkages with organizations focusing on women's political leadership and participation, appraise available training and other materials for adoption or adaptation for use in Bangladesh, and gather information on approaches to problem solving regarding campaigning tactics, funding issues, and training of trainers. The Foundation organized an excellent program for Ms. Murshed, with well-targeted appointments. The contacts and materials informed the formulation of CAC's long-range strategy, and also benefitted APWIP's plans to develop curriculum training modules.

Women for Women: With non-USAID funds, and as a component of our total support to Women for Women, the organization is publishing a handbook on women for government officials. The handbook will include statistics on demography, education, labor force and economic activity, health and nutrition, politics and empowerment, and law and women's rights. It will highlight existing gaps in gender disaggregated data. The handbook will also recommend steps for improving discrepancies between men and women, including the identification of areas of discrimination. The Foundation and Women for Women have discussed the draft manuscript, and publication will follow immediately after Women for Women completes the agreed-upon revisions. While the impact will not be immediately visible, the handbook is a good first step in gathering information on women. It provides written backup for the issues discussed in the Women for Women seminars, and will be distributed to a wider audience.

The potential impact will depend upon appropriate follow-up and follow-on activities, to ensure that the information is used.

V. Program Issues

1. Problems in project design, implementation, and/or program administration:

Program administration was the single most problematic issue in the implementation of this project. There was a significant level of detail required at all stages of planning and implementation. For grants that are relatively small, this level of detail made administration more time-consuming than other grants. Indications are that this will become more, rather than less, common in USAID-funded programs, so it serves as a warning sign. The other aspect of program administration was caused by USAID/Dhaka's open dissatisfaction with the central funding arrangement. The result was the perception by USAID/Washington that there were major difficulties in relations between the local mission and the Foundation's Bangladesh office, which was not at all the case.

2. Suggestions for improvements in identifying/planning/implementing regional activities:

The regional activities appeared to be identified and planned on a somewhat ad hoc basis. This led to difficulties in trying to ensure complementarity with in-country activities. Although the regional activities generally provided opportunities for networking, a stronger conceptual link with the in-country activities and participants would help to consolidate and expand WIP aims. There are two possible strategies that would help to address this issue, each applicable at a different stage in the planning process. One is to hold in-country planning meetings prior to APWIP-supported regional activities. The general issues to be discussed in-country would be approved in advance by the APWIP core group, to guarantee a well-defined in-country agenda that would contribute toward a common agenda for the regional meeting. This approach would bring different country perspectives into a regional forum, help to ensure strong linkages, and promote more effective complementarity. Another possibility, which would occur at an earlier stage in the planning process, is to organize in-country planning meetings to identify important issues from each country's perspective. These issues would be used to help shape APWIP's broad program agenda.

3. Impact of program focused on one issue programmatically? institutionally?:

Although the Bangladesh office's in-country program has always included women, and women are the primary beneficiaries of the population and community legal assistance programs, this is the first time there has been a systematic focus on the role of women in governance. The WIPP increased attention to this area in Bangladesh's in-country program. In FY95, using USAID/Dhaka funding, the Dhaka office will support voter education initiatives focusing primarily on women. It is exploring other expanded WIP program opportunities with USAID/Dhaka.

কেন্দ্র বাতী

CAC NEWS

A BULLETIN OF THE
CENTRE FOR ANALYSIS AND CHOICE

বর্ষ ২ ■ সংখ্যা ১ ■ জুলাই-আগস্ট ১৯৯৪

অ · ন্যা · ন্য পা · তা · য়

সাক্ষাৎকার : মাননীয় সংসদ সদস্য	২-৩
বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় সংসদ : ক্রমবিকাশের ধারা	৭
Parliamentary Committees in Bangladesh	৮-১২
Commentary on the Muslim F. Laws ...	১৩-১৪
Parliamentary News in/ Abroad	৫-৬
Aids in Parliamentary Practice	১৫

CAC Seminars

The Centre for Analysis and Choice will hold a one-day seminar on **public opinion polling** on *Sept. 17, 1994* at Hotel Purbani

International. Dr. Mahar Mangahas of the Philippines Social Weather Stations will conduct the seminar.

The purpose of the seminar is to introduce the subject of scientific opinion polling and to examine the prospects of developing a capability for public opinion polling in the country.

It is expected that academics, media people, experts involved in research and survey, and opinion leaders will participate in this seminar.

And then on *Sept. 20, 1994* CAC will organize a one-day workshop for Members of Parliament on **Administrative Reforms in Bangladesh**.

This workshop will be held at Hotel Sheraton's Top of the Park. It is expected that Communications Minister Oli Ahmed, M.P. who is also the Chairman of a Cabinet committee on administrative accountability and reforms, will inaugurate the workshop.

UNDP Resident Representative Eimi Watanabe will be a special guest while Dr. Muzaffar Ahmed will be the moderator. Dr. A. Rab Khan of BISS will be the resource person for this workshop.

WIP WRAP UP SESSION

The Women in Politics program of the CAC held its concluding session of Women in Politics workshops on August 18, 1994 at the CAC conference room.

Eleven of the twenty-two participants of the WIP workshop series attended the session.

A draft resolution summarizing the obstacles in the way to greater participation of women in politics and suggestions to remove these impediments was presented and adopted in this session.

The recommendations included these:

1. To enhance the participation of women in parliamentary election political parties require to nominate women candidates in greater numbers. In keeping with the system of reservation by political parties of nomination for women candidates to elective office introduced in other countries of the region a 10% reservation for women in political parties was suggested.
2. Women candidates should be provided financial support in consonance with that provided to male candidates by political parties.
3. Steps may also be taken to help women candidates raise funds.
4. Against the backdrop of the present negligible representation of women in politics the system of reserved seats may continue and be increased to facilitate greater participation of women in future. However, in the long run reserved system should be abolished.
5. To increase the number of women in the rank and file of the parties, the political parties need to make room for women in their hierarchies.
6. Women members of political parties require to work within the parties to change the present system. They will have to both motivate women to join parties and exert pressure on male leadership of political parties to encourage participation of women political activists at all level. Women networks may also act as advocacy or pressure groups and extend support.
7. Sensitize male political leadership of women issues and generate support for women's cause.
8. Informal networks to help identify and prioritize women issues within and outside the parties need to be set up.
9. The political consciousness of women should be raised.
10. A national women's support organization may be organized on a non-partisan platform. It would work to identify women issues, highlight them and extend support to all women irrespective of ideology and party affiliation.
11. Women politicians require to maintain communication and dialogue with women's organizations. They should also maintain close links with women voters.
12. Try and highlight the potentials of women and their competence as candidates to men.

সিএসি বার্তা ধারাবাহিকভাবে মাননীয় সংসদ সদস্যগণের সাক্ষাৎকার প্রকাশ করছে। এ পর্যায়ে লক্ষ্মীপুর-৪ আসনে নির্বাচিত সংসদ সদস্য জনাব আবদুর রব চৌধুরী এবং টাঙ্গাইল-৪ আসনে নির্বাচিত সংসদ সদস্য জনাব শাজাহান সিরাজ -এর সাক্ষাৎকার প্রত্রস্থ হলো।

মাননীয় সংসদ সদস্যদের নিকট সিএসি প্রতিনিধির প্রশ্নমালা ছিল নিম্নরূপ :

১. সার্কভুক্ত দেশগুলির বর্তমান রাজনৈতিক অবস্থার আলোকে পঞ্চম জাতীয় সংসদের অবস্থান ও গুরুত্ব সম্পর্কে আপনার মন্তব্য কি?
২. সাংবিধানিক পন্থায় বাংলাদেশে সংসদীয় গণতন্ত্রের বিকাশের ধারা কিভাবে নির্বিল্ল হতে পারে?
৩. নির্বাচনী এলাকার জনগণের আশা-আকাঙ্ক্ষা বা চাহিদার প্রেক্ষিতে নির্বাচিত জনপ্রতিনিধিগণ কতখানি কার্যকর ভূমিকা রাখতে পারছেন?
৪. নির্বাচনী এলাকার উন্নয়নে সংসদ সদস্য যাতে অধিকতর অবদান রাখতে পারেন, এজন্য আপনি কি পরামর্শ দিবেন?
৫. বর্তমান সংসদে সংসদীয় পদ্ধতির সরকার ব্যবস্থার প্রবর্তনের পর সংসদীয় কার্যক্রম সম্পর্কে জনমনে আশ্রহ বেড়েছে। সংসদ ও সংসদীয় কমিটিসমূহের কার্যকারিতা নিয়ে বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় পর্যায়ে একাডেমিক ডিবেট ও বিভিন্ন সংগঠনের উদ্যোগে সেমিনার/ওয়ার্কশপ অনুষ্ঠিত হচ্ছে। এই প্রেক্ষিতে সংসদের মাননীয় সদস্যগণ দলমতের উর্ধে কিরূপ সময়োপযোগী দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি নিতে পারেন?
৬. 'সিএসি বার্তা'র মাধ্যমে আপনি কী আহ্বান জানাবেন?

প্রশ্নমালার ক্রমানুসারে সদস্যদের উত্তর নিম্নে সন্নিবেশিত হলো।

“সংসদের কাজ না থাকলে সংসদীয় পদ্ধতি হোক বা প্রেসিডেন্সিয়াল পদ্ধতিই হোক ব্যর্থ হয়ে যাবে”

১. একথা বলার অপেক্ষা রাখে না যে জাতীয় সংসদের গুরুত্ব অত্যন্ত বেশী। কারণ গণতন্ত্র বর্তমান যুগে সবচেয়ে শক্তিশালী আন্দোলন এবং জাতীয় সংসদ বা নির্বাচিত সংসদ গণতন্ত্রের প্রতীক। সার্কভুক্ত সবগুলি দেশেই বর্তমানে সংসদীয় গণতন্ত্র চালু আছে। এই প্রেক্ষিতে আমাদের দেশে গণতান্ত্রিক সমাজ ব্যবস্থা এবং রাষ্ট্র ব্যবস্থা চালু রাখা শুধু রাজনৈতিকভাবেই প্রয়োজনীয় নয়, অর্থনৈতিক ও সামাজিক উন্নয়নের জন্যও এটি পূর্বশর্ত।

২. গণতন্ত্র বা সংসদীয় গণতন্ত্র কোনটিই সম্পূর্ণ বিপদমুক্ত নয়। কারণ প্রত্যেক দেশেই অনেক ব্যক্তি এবং গোষ্ঠী উচ্চাভিলাষী হয়ে থাকে যারা আইনের শাসন বা গণতন্ত্রের বাইরেও তাদের ক্ষমতার বলয় বিস্তার করতে চেষ্টা করে। তাছাড়া গণতন্ত্র কার্যকরী করার জন্য যে গণতান্ত্রিক মানসিক অবস্থা ও মননশীলতা প্রয়োজন, গরীব অশিক্ষিত দেশে সেটা অনেক সময় আমরা ভুলে যাই।

জনমতই হচ্ছে গণতন্ত্রের প্রকৃত রক্ষা কবচ। সংসদীয় গণতন্ত্রের পক্ষে যত বেশী সচেতন জনমত সৃষ্টি হবে ততই এর ধারাবাহিকতা নির্বিল্ল হবে এবং এটি বিকাশের সুযোগ পাবে। এখানে অবশ্যই আমাদের সহনশীল ও ধৈর্যশীল হতে হবে।

জনাব আবদুর রব
চৌধুরী

মাননীয়
সংসদ সদস্য
২৭৮ লক্ষ্মীপুর-৪



সাময়িক প্রতিবন্ধকতা বা ছোট খাট বাধা বিয়ে হতাশ হয়ে বিকল্প অবস্থার চিন্তা-ভাবনা-আলোচনা করা কখনই উচিত নয়। এবং সংসদীয় গণতন্ত্রের পক্ষে যেখানে যে সুযোগ পাওয়া যায় সেখানেই সচেতন নাগরিকের দৃঢ় অবস্থান নিতে হবে।

৩. জনগণ তাদের নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিদের সাংবিধানিক দায়িত্ব ও কর্তব্য সম্বন্ধে সচেতন নন। তাদের সমস্ত বৈধ ও অবৈধ দাবি দাওয়া নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিগণের নিকট তারা উপস্থাপন করেন। যেমন চাকরি বা চাকরিতে বদলী, বিদেশে যাবার জন্য পাসপোর্ট, ভিসা ইত্যাদি। এরূপ অধিকাংশ চাহিদার ক্ষেত্রে নির্বাচিত জনপ্রতিনিধিগণ কোন কার্যকর ভূমিকা রাখতে পারেন না। অন্যদিকে সামাজিক অনেক দাবী দাওয়া বা আশা-আকাঙ্ক্ষার ব্যাপারে তাঁদের কার্যকর ভূমিকা রাখার যথেষ্ট অবকাশ আছে। যেমন স্কুল কলেজ উন্নয়ন, রাস্তাঘাট নির্মাণ ইত্যাদি। কিন্তু দৈনন্দিন প্রশাসনিক ব্যাপারে সংসদীয় গণতন্ত্রে সদস্যগণের আইনগত কোন ভূমিকা নেই অথচ সাধারণ মানুষের দৈনন্দিন হাজারো সমস্যা রয়েছে প্রশাসনিক বিষয়ে।

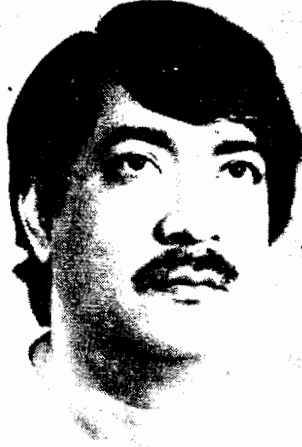
বর্তমানে প্রশাসনিকভাবে উর্ধ্বতন কর্মকর্তাদের পরিদর্শন বা তদারকি অনেকখানি শূন্য বা অকার্যকর আছে। ফলে গ্রামের গরীব, অশিক্ষিত সাধারণ মানুষ তাদের দাবী-দাওয়ার ফল বা ন্যায় বিচার পেতে ব্যর্থ হয় এবং এসবের বিরুদ্ধে তাদের প্রতিনিধির কাছে প্রতিকার দাবি করে। থানা এবং জেলা স্তরে প্রশাসনিক অব্যবস্থা বা ব্যর্থতার বিষয়ে নির্বাচিত জনপ্রতিনিধিদের সক্রিয় ভূমিকা পালনের সুযোগ থাকা প্রয়োজন বলে মনে করি।

৪. অনানুষ্ঠানিকভাবে হলেও এলাকার উন্নয়ন কর্মসূচীতে সংসদ সদস্যগণের মতামত এবং সুপারিশ নেয়ার রেওয়াজ প্রচলিত আছে। উন্নয়ন পরিকল্পনা প্রণয়নে এবং বাস্তবায়নে নির্বাচিত জনপ্রতিনিধিদের সঙ্গে কার্যকরী আলাপ-আলোচনা এলাকার উন্নয়নের জন্য একান্ত প্রয়োজন।

৫. সংসদের কার্যকারিতা এবং কমিটিসমূহের কার্যকারিতা নির্ভর করে দেশ এবং সরকার সংসদের কাছে কি কি বিষয়ে মতামত / সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণের দায়িত্ব দিতে প্রস্তুত আছে তার ওপর। শুধু বাজেট পাশ এবং সময় সময় দু'একটি আইন পাশ করাই সংসদের দায়িত্ব নয়। সুপ্রতিষ্ঠিত গণতান্ত্রিক দেশের মত বাংলাদেশের জাতীয় সংসদেরও অধিকাংশ সময় অধিবেশনে অংশগ্রহণ ও দায়িত্ব পালন করা উচিত। প্রধান রাজনৈতিক ইস্যুগুলি সংসদেই আলোচিত হওয়া উচিত।

সংসদীয় কমিটি কেবল থাকলে হবে না, কমিটির সামনে পর্যাপ্ত কাজ থাকতে হবে। কমিটির মাধ্যমে পার্লামেন্ট কাজ করে থাকে কারণ সংসদে আলোচনার গভীরে যাওয়ার সুযোগ নেই। কমিটিতে ক্ষমতাসীন ও বিরোধীদলীয় সদস্য সমান ভূমিকা রাখতে পারেন। তাই কমিটিকে সত্যিকার মিনি পার্লামেন্ট রূপে কার্যকর করা দরকার। সকল আইন ও আইনের অধীন বিধি বিধান (Legislation and Subordinate Legislation) যদি সংসদে সম্পাদিত (acts of parliament) হয় তাহলেই সংসদে অসংখ্য কাজ এসে যাবে। সংসদের কাজ না থাকলে সংসদীয় পদ্ধতি হোক বা প্রেসিডেন্সিয়াল পদ্ধতিই হোক ব্যর্থ হয়ে যাবে।

দেশে কোন্ ক্ষেত্রে কোন্ আইনের অভাব রয়েছে, কোন্ আইনের সংশোধন (৬ পৃষ্ঠায় দেখুন)



জনাব শাজাহান
সিরাজ

মাননীয়
সংসদ সদস্য
১৩৬ টাঙ্গাইল-৪

“কমিটিতে আমরা সর্বসম্মতভাবে সিদ্ধান্ত নিতে পারি। দলীয় স্বার্থের উর্ধ্বে আলোচনার সুযোগ পাই”

যেটুকু আইন আছে মানতে হবে। কালাকালীন বাতিল করতে হবে।

সংবিধান কোন ব্যক্তি বা দলের নয়, জাতির রাজনৈতিক, সামাজিক, সাংবিধানিক বিকাশের জন্য সংবিধান। কিন্তু যখনই কোন সংসদ গঠিত হয় আমরা এটি ব্যক্তি বা দলের স্বার্থে ব্যবহারের চেষ্টা করি। এ কারণেই সংসদ শেষ পর্যন্ত থাকে না। জাতীয় পর্যায়ে ঐকমত্য সৃষ্টি করতে পারলে সংসদ টিকে যেত। কিন্তু এতে আমরা সকলে ব্যর্থ হচ্ছি। যার যার সুবিধামত গণতন্ত্রকে ব্যবহার করছি। জাতীয় সংসদ জাতীয় স্বার্থ রক্ষার সর্বোচ্চ সংস্থা। দলীয় স্বার্থে এটি ব্যবহার করলে আমরা একে টিকাতে পারব না। তাই সঠিক পথেই আমাদের মানসিকতা চলা উচিত।

সংসদকে সত্যিকার আইন প্রণয়নের সংস্থা হিসাবে আমরা গ্রহণ করতে পারিনি। কোন আইন পাশ করলে কৃষক-শ্রমিকের মুক্তি আসবে, নিরক্ষর মানুষ দ্রুত শিক্ষা লাভ করবে, শিল্প কারখানার প্রসার ঘটবে, দারিদ্র দূর হবে, এসব বিষয় সংসদে যেভাবে আলোচিত হওয়া দরকার তা হয় না। অনেক আইন এক ঘণ্টার মধ্যে পাশ হয়ে যায়। একশত বৎসর সামনের চিন্তা করে আইন পাশ করা দুই বৎসর কথার কথা, এক বৎসর আগের কথাও ভাবি না। বিল নিয়ে পর্যাপ্ত আলোচনাও করিনি।

শুধু সংসদে বসা যথেষ্ট নয়, সংসদে আমরা যে সব কথা বলি সেগুলি জনগণের কাছে পৌঁছাতে হবে। সংসদের কাজ সম্পর্কে জনগণকে অবহিত করার সুযোগ কোন পার্লামেন্টে পাইনি যদিও সচেতন জনমতই সংসদীয় গণতন্ত্র রক্ষার শেষ অবলম্বন।

৩. এক কথায় বলা যায়, জনগণের আশা-আকাঙ্ক্ষার প্রেক্ষিতে সংসদ সদস্যগণ কার্যকর ভূমিকা রাখতে পারছেন না। সংসদ হচ্ছে আইন প্রণয়ন সংস্থা এবং সংসদ সদস্যদের প্রধান কাজ হচ্ছে আইন প্রণয়ন করা। কিন্তু দেশে গণতন্ত্রের অব্যাহত চর্চার অনুপস্থিতি এবং আর্থ-সামাজিক কারণে জনগণের ধারণা এম. পি. হওয়া মানেই এলাকার সার্বিক উন্নয়ন। এর প্রধান কারণ হচ্ছে আমাদের স্থানীয় সরকার প্রতিষ্ঠান দুর্বল, অকেজো এবং সত্যিকার অর্থে নেই বললেই চলে। যে পর্যন্ত না জনগণের নীচের স্তরের কার্যকর সংস্থা হিসাবে স্থানীয় সরকার প্রতিষ্ঠানকে সক্রিয় করা যাবে সে পর্যন্ত সংসদ সদস্য এ ক্ষেত্রে কোন কার্যকর ভূমিকা পালন করতে পারবে না। সংসদ সদস্যগণ, ভাল সরকার পরিচালনা ও জনগণের কল্যাণ যাতে নিশ্চিত হয় এ ধরনের আইন প্রণয়ন করবেন। কিন্তু এর বদলে আমাদের কাছে জনগণ এমন সমস্যা নিয়ে আসেন যার সমাধান ইউ পি চেয়ারম্যানরা করতে পারেন। ভোটের জন্য এমপি'দের বিভিন্ন প্রতিশ্রুতি দিতে হয়। এসব যতটুকু দরকার ততটুকু করতে পারি না। কারণ তদবির করতে না পারলে উন্নয়নের কাজ হয় না। বিরোধী দলীয় সদস্যদের পক্ষে এটা খুব কঠিন কাজ। দেশে এমন কোন আইন বা পদ্ধতি নেই যা দ্বারা এলাকার উন্নয়নের কার্যক্রম স্বাভাবিকভাবে নেয়া হবে। তাই ইচ্ছা থাকলেও আমাদের নির্বাচনী এলাকার জনগণের জন্য বেশি কিছু করার উপায় নেই। সকল এলাকার জন্য সুনির্দিষ্ট পন্থায় বাজেটে বরাদ্দ দেয়া হলে এলাকার উন্নয়ন নিয়ে আমাদেরকে অতিরিক্ত চিন্তা-ভাবনা-তদবির করতে হয়না। এ ধরনের অতিরিক্ত কাজে জনগণের জন্য অধিকাংশ সময় দিতে হয় বলে সংসদীয় কাজগুলিও সঠিকভাবে করার সুযোগ পাইনা।

৪. এরূপ অবস্থার প্রেক্ষিতে আমার পরামর্শ হলো সরকারের স্থানীয় সংস্থাগুলিকে পূর্ণ গণতান্ত্রিক সংস্থারূপে শক্তিশালী করে জনগণের নীচের স্তরের কার্যকর সংস্থা হিসাবে প্রতিষ্ঠিত করতে হবে। এই সংস্থাগুলোর মাধ্যমে স্থানীয় উন্নয়নের জন্য সরাসরি বাজেট বরাদ্দ আসবে। এভাবেই নিশ্চিত হতে পারে স্থানীয় জনগণের চাহিদা ও আশা-আকাঙ্ক্ষার প্রতিফলন।

৫. অন্যান্য সংসদের তুলনায় পঞ্চম জাতীয় সংসদে সংসদীয় কমিটিগুলো ঘন ঘন বৈঠকে বসছে। কমিটির এত বেশী বৈঠক আর কোন সংসদে হয় নি। সংসদে আলোচ্য ইস্যুতে অধিকাংশ ক্ষেত্রেই দুটো পক্ষ হয়ে যায়। কিন্তু কমিটিতে খুব নিরপেক্ষভাবেই আলোচনা হয়। এখানে সরকারী ও বিরোধীদলীয় সদস্যগণ মিলে প্রায় ক্ষেত্রেই আমরা সর্ব সম্মতভাবে সিদ্ধান্ত নিতে পারি। দলীয় স্বার্থের উর্ধ্বে আলোচনার সুযোগ পাই। এখানে কোন সিদ্ধান্ত জাতীয় স্বার্থের পরিপন্থী হয় না। ফলে সংসদীয় কমিটি মিনি পার্লামেন্ট রূপে কাজ করছে। এটা একটা ভাল দিক। কিন্তু কমিটির সিদ্ধান্ত বা সুপারিশ কার্যকরী করার জন্য কোন আইন বিদ্যমান না থাকায় এর কার্যকারিতা খুবই কম। এই প্রেক্ষিতে কমিটির সিদ্ধান্ত 'Mandatory' করার আইন থাকা দরকার।

কমিটির কার্যক্রমে মানুষের মধ্যে যথেষ্ট আগ্রহ দেখা যাচ্ছে। এখানে কি আলোচনা বা সিদ্ধান্ত হয় তা বাইরে থেকে জানার সুযোগ নেই। আমি মনে করি কমিটির কার্যক্রম প্রচার মাধ্যমে আসা উচিত, জনসাধারণের জানা উচিত। তাহলে সিদ্ধান্ত নিতে সুবিধা হবে। দলের উন্নতি হবে, সংসদেরও উন্নতি হবে।

সংসদীয় কার্যক্রম সম্পর্কে এই প্রথমবারের মত সংসদের বাইরে বিভিন্ন সংগঠন।

১. আসলে বিশ্ব রাজনৈতিক প্রেক্ষাপটেই দারুণ পরিবেশগত পরিবর্তন এসেছে। অর্থনীতিতেও এ পরিবর্তন লক্ষ্যণীয়। ইউরোপ আফ্রিকা সহ বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলের দেশগুলি অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের জন্য সকলে মিলে চেষ্টা করেছে। এসব অঞ্চলে পারস্পরিক সহযোগিতার মাধ্যমে রাজনীতিরও পরিবর্তন দেখা যাচ্ছে। বিশ্বব্যাপী উন্নয়নের ধারায় পিছিয়ে পড়া অঞ্চল হিসাবে সার্ক গঠনের গুরুত্ব অনেক।

বর্তমান বিশ্ব প্রেক্ষাপটে এককভাবে কোন দেশের উন্নয়নের ধারণার পরিবর্তন হয়েছে। আঞ্চলিক রাজনৈতিক সমঝোতা, অর্থনৈতিক সহযোগিতা এবং সম্পদের যৌথ ব্যবহার উন্নয়নের নতুন দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি ও কৌশল রচনা করেছে। এই প্রেক্ষিতে সার্ক দেশসমূহের মধ্যে পারস্পরিক সমস্যা ও বিরোধগুলি দ্বিপাক্ষিক ও আঞ্চলিকভাবে মিটিয়ে ফেলার জন্য রাজনৈতিক সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ করা যেমন প্রয়োজন তেমনি প্রত্যেকটি সদস্য দেশের সরকার ও সংসদের এ ব্যাপারে বিশেষ ভূমিকা নেয়া আবশ্যিক।

বাংলাদেশে দীর্ঘ সংগ্রামের পর ১৯৯১ সালে অবাধ ও নিরপেক্ষ নির্বাচনের মাধ্যমে জনগণের সংসদ প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়েছে। তাই এই সংসদের দায়িত্ব অনেক। বাংলাদেশের অনেক সমস্যা রয়েছে। উজানে বাঁধ থাকার কারণে বাংলাদেশের পানি সমস্যা এবং বন্যা সমস্যা প্রকট। জাতীয় আঞ্চলিক বা আন্তর্জাতিক সকল সমস্যাই সংসদে খোলামেলা আলোচিত হওয়া উচিত।

এসব সমস্যা সমাধানের জন্য জাতীয় স্বার্থে সবার আগে দরকার রাজনৈতিক দলগুলির মধ্যে ঐকমত্য। এই ঐকমত্যের সর্বোচ্চ ফোরাম হলো সংসদ। অবশ্য এই সংসদ তার দায়িত্ব পালন করতে সক্ষম হবে কি না সেটিই এখন বড় প্রশ্ন।

২. আসলে আমরা সকলে গণতন্ত্রের কথা মুখে বলি, কাগজে বলি কিন্তু গণতন্ত্রের চর্চা দলেও নেই, রাষ্ট্রীয় পর্যায়েও নেই। দলে গণতন্ত্র না থাকলে রাষ্ট্রেও থাকে না। অন্যান্য সংগঠনেও গণতন্ত্র অচল হয়ে পড়ে। গণতন্ত্র অব্যাহত রাখতে হলে একে অপরের প্রতি শ্রদ্ধাশীল হতে হবে।

সংসদীয় গণতন্ত্র মানে বহুদলীয় ব্যবস্থা। কিন্তু বিভিন্ন দলের মধ্যে প্রতিযোগিতা যদি প্রতিহিংসা বা প্রতিশোধমূলক হয় তাহলে গণতন্ত্র চলে না। দুঃখের বিষয় পরস্পরের মধ্যে প্রতিহিংসা আছে, কিন্তু বিশ্বাসের প্রতিযোগিতা সৃষ্টি হয়নি।

'৯১-তে অবাধ নির্বাচনের মাধ্যমে বর্তমান সংসদ প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়েছে। এই সংসদকে সংবিধান ও বিধি ('Rules') অনুসারে পরিচালনা করতে পারলে বর্তমানের অচলাবস্থা সৃষ্টি হত না। এই অচলাবস্থার পরিণতি সম্পর্কে আমরা শঙ্কিত। সংবিধান আছে কিন্তু সরকার যেমন তা মেনে চলছেন বিরোধীদলও না।

সকলে চিন্তা করতে হবে আমরা গণতন্ত্র রাখব কি না। যদি রাখতে চাই তাহলে

বিএনপি সংসদীয় দলের ৩০ আগস্ট অনুষ্ঠিত সভায় একটি নতুন বিষয়ের সূচনা হয়েছে যা অবশ্যই গুরুত্বের দাবী রাখে। পত্রিকার প্রকাশিত প্রতিবেদন অনুযায়ী দলীয় সংসদ সদস্য বেগম ফরিদা রহমান আনীত মুসলিম পারিবারিক আইন সংশোধন সংক্রান্ত বেসরকারী বিল সদস্যদের আলোচনার জন্য উন্মুক্ত করে দেয়া হয়েছে। তাঁরা ইচ্ছামত বিলের ওপর খোলাখুলি বক্তব্য রাখতে পারবেন। অর্থাৎ এ ক্ষেত্রে দলীয় হুইপিং থাকবে না। এটি বাংলাদেশে সংসদীয় গণতন্ত্রের ইতিহাসে একটি উল্লেখযোগ্য ঘটনা।

দলের মধ্যে গণতন্ত্রের চর্চা, বিভিন্ন জাতীয় গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ইস্যুতে সংসদে বিতর্কের ক্ষেত্রে দলীয় সদস্যদের ওপর আস্থা, গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বিষয়ে মতামত প্রদানের ক্ষেত্রে সদস্যদের ব্যক্তিগত বিচারবুদ্ধি প্রয়োগের স্বাধীনতা— এসব প্রশ্ন সব সময় উচ্চকিত না হলেও, রাজনীতির অঙ্গনে বিদ্যমান রয়েছে। এই প্রেক্ষাপটে বিএনপি সংসদীয় দলের উল্লেখিত সিদ্ধান্ত একটি ইতিবাচক পদক্ষেপ হিসাবে বিবেচিত হতে পারে। অন্যান্য দলের সংসদীয় দলের মধ্যেও বিষয়টি নিয়ে আলোচনা হওয়া উচিত। সংসদের ফ্লোরে নানা কৌণিক মত প্রকাশের পরিবেশ সৃষ্টি হলে সংসদ প্রাণবন্ত হবে, দলের মধ্যে বিভিন্ন জাতীয় ইস্যুতে বহু মতের চর্চায় গতিশীলতা আসবে, যা নিঃসন্দেহে গণতন্ত্রের বিকাশকেই সহায়তা করবে।

উল্লেখ্য যে গত ১৭ আগস্ট ১৯৯৪ সেন্টার ফর এনালাইসিস এণ্ড চয়েস ফরিদা রহমান কর্তৃক সংসদে উত্থাপিত মুসলিম ফ্যামিলি ল'জ (এ্যামেণ্ডমেন্ট) বিল, ১৯৯৪-এর ওপর একটি সেমিনার আয়োজন করে। সংসদ সদস্য, বিভিন্ন মহিলা সংগঠন ও বেসরকারী সংস্থার প্রতিনিধি, বিশিষ্ট আইনবিদগণ এতে অংশগ্রহণ করেন। সেমিনারে এই বিল পাসের প্রয়োজনীয়তার ওপর সর্বসম্মত সিদ্ধান্ত হয় এবং সংসদে এটি পাস করার জন্য সুপারিশ করা হয়।

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সংসদীয় স্থায়ী কমিটিসমূহের কার্যক্রম

কমিটি ব্যবস্থা সংসদীয় সরকার ব্যবস্থার একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ অঙ্গ। সংসদীয় স্থায়ী কমিটিসমূহের মাধ্যমে গণতান্ত্রিক সরকারের নিবাহী বিভাগের জবাবদিহিতা নিশ্চিত করা হয়।

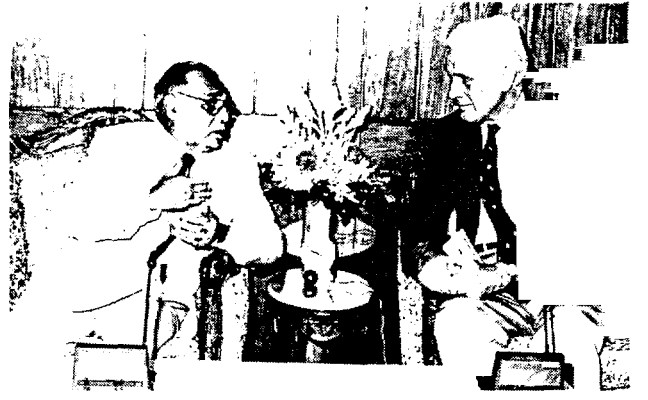
বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় সংসদের স্থায়ী কমিটিসমূহ নিয়মিত কার্যক্রমের অংশ হিসাবে বৈঠক অনুষ্ঠান করে এবং বিভিন্ন মন্ত্রণালয়/ বিভাগের কার্যাবলী সম্পর্কে পর্যালোচনা, সরেজমিন পরিদর্শন ও প্রয়োজনীয় সুপারিশ করে থাকে।

সংসদীয় স্থায়ী কমিটিসমূহের কার্যক্রমের গুরুত্ব হিসাবে সিএসি বার্তা কমিটির বৈঠকসমূহের তথ্যপঞ্জী ধারাবাহিকভাবে প্রকাশ করছে। বর্তমান সংখ্যায়, প্রাপ্ত তথ্যের ভিত্তিতে, ১৬ জুন ১৯৯৪ হতে ১৫ আগস্ট ১৯৯৪ পর্যন্ত সময়ে অনুষ্ঠিত বিভিন্ন কমিটির বৈঠকের বিবরণ নিম্নে প্রদত্ত হলোঃ-

কমিটির নাম	বৈঠক	তারিখ
কার্য উপদেষ্টা কমিটি	৩৬ তম বৈঠক	২৮ আগস্ট '৯৪
পরিকল্পনা মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	২৪ তম বৈঠক	২৯ জুন '৯৪
	২৫ তম বৈঠক	২৮ জুলাই '৯৪
সংস্থাপন মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	২০ তম বৈঠক	২৫ জুন '৯৪
	২১ তম বৈঠক	২৫ জুলাই '৯৪
যোগাযোগ মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	২৯ তম বৈঠক	২৯ জুন '৯৪
	৩০ তম বৈঠক	৩১ জুলাই '৯৪
স্বরাষ্ট্র মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	১৯ তম বৈঠক	২৫ জুন '৯৪
	২০ তম বৈঠক	৩০ জুলাই '৯৪
কৃষি মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	১৮ তম বৈঠক	২৯ জুন '৯৪
	১৯ তম বৈঠক	০৮ আগস্ট '৯৪
পররাষ্ট্র মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	১৭ তম বৈঠক	১৯ জুন '৯৪
	১৮ তম বৈঠক	২৩ জুলাই '৯৪
ডাক ও টেলিযোগাযোগ মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	১৮ তম বৈঠক	২৩ জুন '৯৪
	১৯ তম বৈঠক	২৬ জুলাই '৯৪
বেসামরিক বিমান ও পর্যটন মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	২৮ তম বৈঠক	২৫ জুন '৯৪
	২৯ তম বৈঠক	২৩ জুলাই '৯৪
তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	২০ তম বৈঠক	২৯ জুন '৯৪
	২১ তম বৈঠক	৩০ জুলাই '৯৪
প্রতিরক্ষা মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	১৭ তম বৈঠক	২৬ জুন '৯৪
	১৮ তম বৈঠক	২৪ আগস্ট '৯৪
আইন, বিচার ও সংসদ মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	৩২ তম বৈঠক	২৬ জুন '৯৪
	৩৩ তম বৈঠক	১৯ জুলাই '৯৪
স্বাস্থ্য মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	২২ তম বৈঠক	০৩ আগস্ট '৯৪
ধর্ম মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	২০ তম বৈঠক	২৩ জুন '৯৪
	২১ তম বৈঠক	২৬ জুলাই '৯৪
বাণিজ্য মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	৩১ তম বৈঠক	২৬ জুলাই '৯৪
সেচ, পানি উন্নয়ন ও বন্যা নিয়ন্ত্রণ	১৫ তম বৈঠক	২৩ জুন '৯৪
	১৬ তম বৈঠক	১৩ আগস্ট '৯৪
শ্রম ও জনশক্তি মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	২১ তম বৈঠক	২৮ জুন '৯৪
	২২ তম বৈঠক	০৯ আগস্ট '৯৪
বস্ত্র মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	৩৩ তম বৈঠক	২০ জুলাই '৯৪
মহিলা ও শিশু বিষয়ক মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	২৭ তম বৈঠক	২৭ জুলাই '৯৪
মৎস্য ও পশু সম্পদ মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	২২ তম বৈঠক	২৬ জুন '৯৪
	২৩ তম বৈঠক	২৭ জুলাই '৯৪
	২৪ তম বৈঠক	১৩ আগস্ট '৯৪
শিল্প মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	২১ তম বৈঠক	৩১ জুলাই '৯৪
সরকারী প্রতিশ্রুতি সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	০৪ তম বৈঠক	০১ আগস্ট '৯৪
যুব ও ক্রীড়া মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	১৬ তম বৈঠক	২৩ জুলাই '৯৪
সংস্কৃতি মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	২৮ তম বৈঠকের	
	মূলতবি বৈঠক	০৫ জুলাই '৯৪
	৩০ তম বৈঠক	০৭ আগস্ট '৯৪



কোরিয়া প্রজাতন্ত্রের বাজেট ও হিসাব সম্পর্কিত সংসদীয় কমিটির চেয়ারম্যান, বি-প্রেজেন্টেটিভ কিম ইয়ং টায়-এর সঙ্গে বাংলাদেশ সংসদীয় দলের সদস্যগণ



স্পীকার শেখ রাজ্জাক আলীর সঙ্গে সিপিএ প্রতিনিধিদলের নেতা মাইকেল কলভিন

বিদেশে বাংলাদেশ সংসদীয় দল

থাইল্যান্ড ও দক্ষিণ কোরিয়াঃ

সরকারী হিসাব সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটির চেয়ারম্যান জনাব এল কে সিদ্দিকীর নেতৃত্বে পাঁচ সদস্যের একটি সংসদীয় প্রতিনিধিদল আগস্ট মাসের গোড়ার দিকে থাইল্যান্ড ও দক্ষিণ কোরিয়া ভ্রমণ করেন। প্রতিনিধিদলের সদস্যবৃন্দ ব্যাঙ্কে কম্পট্রোলার জেনারেল এবং অডিটর জেনারেল এর সঙ্গে বৈঠকে মিলিত হয়ে থাই পার্লামেন্টের আর্থিক ব্যবস্থাপনার কাজ সম্পর্কে অবহিত হন। তাঁরা থাই পার্লামেন্টের স্পীকারের সঙ্গেও সৌজন্য সাক্ষাৎ করেন।

সিউলে প্রতিনিধিদল বাজেট ও হিসাব সম্পর্কিত বিশেষ কমিটি (Special Committee on Budget and Accounts)-এর চেয়ারম্যানের সঙ্গে বৈঠক করেন যিনি একজন এমপি। এখানে Bangladesh Korea Parliamentary Friendship Association-এর সাথেও প্রতিনিধিদলের মত বিনিময় হয়। এই সমিতির সভাপতি মুন চাং মো বাংলাদেশের অতিথিদের মধ্যাহ্ন ভোজে আপ্যায়িত করেন।

প্রতিনিধিদলের অন্যান্য সদস্যরা হচ্ছেনঃ

আনোয়ারুল হোসেন খান চৌধুরী এম পি (বিএনপি), মেসবউদ্দিন খান এম পি (আওয়ামী লীগ), ডাঃ টি আই এম ফজলে রাব্বী চৌধুরী এম পি (জাপা), এবং পার্লামেন্ট সচিবালয়ের উপ সচিব ইউসুফ জাহাঙ্গীর সিকদার।

কায়রো :

দুই সদস্য বিশিষ্ট একটি সংসদীয় প্রতিনিধিদল জনসংখ্যা ও উন্নয়ন সংক্রান্ত আন্তর্জাতিক সম্মেলনে (ICPD) যোগদানের জন্য ২ সেপ্টেম্বর ১৯৯৪ কায়রো গিয়েছেন। Bangladesh Group of Asian Forum of Parliamentarians on Population and Development (AFPPD)-এর আমন্ত্রণে তাঁরা এই সম্মেলনে যোগ দিচ্ছেন।

এই প্রতিনিধি দলের নেতৃত্ব দিচ্ছেন জনাব শাজাহান সিরাজ এম পি। তিনি AFPPD-এর চেয়ারম্যান। এই সংগঠনের সদস্য বেগম ফরিদা রহমান এম পিও সংসদীয় দলে রয়েছেন।

৭ম পৃষ্ঠায় পব—

জাতীয় সংসদ

এছাড়াও সংসদ সদস্যগণ কর্তৃক সংসদে উত্থাপিত প্রশ্ন, মূলতবী প্রশ্নাব, জরুরী জনগুরুত্ব সম্পন্ন বিষয়ে মনোযোগ আকর্ষণ, সিদ্ধান্ত প্রস্তাব, বিশেষ অধিকার প্রশ্ন ইত্যাদি দ্বারা সংসদের কাছে সরকারের জবাবদিহিতা পূর্বের তুলনায় বহুলাংশে নিশ্চিত হয়েছে। পঞ্চম জাতীয় সংসদের আর একটি উল্লেখযোগ্য বৈশিষ্ট্য হলো, এই সংসদে সংসদীয় কমিটিগুলি অতীতের যে কোন সময়ের তুলনায় অত্যন্ত উল্লেখযোগ্য ও কার্যকরী ভূমিকা পালন করে আসছে। কমিটির মোট সংখ্যাও অতীতের যে কোন সংসদের তুলনায় অনেকগুণ বেশি। বর্তমানে কমিটি ও উপ কমিটির সংখ্যা প্রায় ১১২ টি। এই সংসদীয় কমিটিগুলি এক একটি 'মিনি পার্লামেন্টের' ভূমিকা পালন করে আসছে।

বাংলাদেশে সিপিএ পার্লামেন্টারি দল

কমনওয়েলথ পার্লামেন্টারি এসোসিয়েশন (CPA) এর যুক্তরাজ্য শাখার ৬ সদস্য বিশিষ্ট একটি সংসদীয় প্রতিনিধিদল ৫ সেপ্টেম্বর বাংলাদেশ সফরে ঢাকায় এসেছেন। এই সফরকালে তাঁদের বিভিন্ন কর্মসূচীর মধ্যে রয়েছে জাতীয় সংসদের স্পীকার শেখ রাজ্জাক আলীর সঙ্গে তাঁর অফিস কক্ষে সাক্ষাৎ, সংসদের অধিবেশন দেখা, সংসদে বিরোধীদলীয় নেত্রীর সঙ্গে সাক্ষাৎ করা। এছাড়া প্রেসিডেন্ট আব্দুর রহমান বিশ্বাস, আইন বিচার ও সংসদ বিষয়ক মন্ত্রী মীর্জা গোলাম হাফিজ, স্থানীয় সরকার পল্লী উন্নয়ন ও সমবায় মন্ত্রী ব্যারিস্টার আবদুস সালাম তালুকদারের সঙ্গে প্রতিনিধিদলটির দেখা করার কথা রয়েছে। ১০ সেপ্টেম্বর প্রতিনিধিদলটি স্বদেশ ফিরছেন।

প্রতিনিধি দলের সদস্যরা হলেন :

১. মাইকেল কলভিন এম পি (কনসারভেটিভ) নেতা
২. জ্যাক আসপিনওয়াল এম পি (কনসারভেটিভ) সদস্য
৩. আন্দ্রে বিনেট এম পি (লেবার) সদস্য
৪. রজার গডসিফ এম পি (লেবার) সদস্য
৫. ডেভিড হিঞ্চলিফ এম পি (লেবার) সদস্য
৬. ভিসকাউন্ট ওয়েভারলি লর্ড সভার সদস্য

এছাড়া মিসেস কলভিন এবং মিসেস ওয়েভারলিও সফরসঙ্গী রয়েছেন।

সংসদ সদস্য রওশন আলীর জীবনাবসান

যশোহর-৩ আসন হতে নির্বাচিত সংসদ সদস্য এবং আওয়ামী লীগের অন্যতম কেন্দ্রীয় নেতা এ্যাডভোকেট এম রওশন আলী ১৯ আগস্ট ১৯৯৪ হৃদরোগে আক্রান্ত হয়ে যশোহর জেনারেল হাসপাতালে শেষ নিঃশ্বাস ত্যাগ করেন। মৃত্যুকালে তাঁর বয়স ছিল প্রায় ৭৪ বৎসর।

জনাব রওশন আলী পঞ্চাশের দশকের শুরুতে আওয়ামী লীগে যোগ দেন। আওয়ামী লীগের মনোনয়ন নিয়ে তিনি ১৯৭০ সালের নির্বাচনে জাতীয় পরিষদ সদস্য, ১৯৭৩ ও ১৯৯১ সালে সংসদ সদস্য নির্বাচিত হন। একাধিক মুক্তিযুদ্ধে তিনি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা রাখেন।

রওশন আলীর মৃত্যুতে প্রেসিডেন্ট আবদুর রহমান বিশ্বাস, প্রধানমন্ত্রী বেগম খালেদা জিয়া, জাতীয় সংসদের স্পীকার শেখ রাজ্জাক আলী, সংসদে বিরোধী দলীয় নেত্রী ও আওয়ামী লীগ সভানেত্রী শেখ হাসিনা এবং অন্যান্য রাজনৈতিক দলের নেতৃবৃন্দ গভীর শোক প্রকাশ করেন। শোকবাণীতে তাঁকে একজন 'অভিষ্কৃত পার্লামেন্টারিয়ান', 'নিবেদিত প্রাণ সমাজকর্মী', 'দেশ প্রেমিক' ও 'সংগ্রামী আত্মনিবেদিত নেতা' হিসাবে স্মরণ করা হয়।

ভারতে বিরোধী দলের সংসদ বর্জনের কর্মসূচী প্রত্যাহার

দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকার পার্লামেন্টে মহিলা স্পীকার

ভারতের প্রধান বিরোধী দলগুলি ১৭ আগস্ট ১৯৯৪ তাদের পার্লামেন্ট বর্জনের কর্মসূচী প্রত্যাহার করেছে। দুই বৎসর পূর্বে সংঘটিত ভারতের সর্বাপেক্ষা বড় অর্থ কেলেঙ্কারির ব্যাপারে সরকারের যথার্থ ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণে অসহায় প্রতিনিবন্ধে আগস্টের শুরুতে বিরোধীদলগুলি পার্লামেন্ট বর্জন করেছিল। ভারত সরকার বোম্বাই স্টক এক্সচেঞ্জ শেয়ার কেলেঙ্কারির ব্যাপারে তাদের প্রতিবেদন পুনর্বিবেচনার আশ্বাস দিলে বিরোধীদলগুলি পার্লামেন্টে ফিরে আসে।

সৃষ্ট অচলাবস্থা দূর করার প্রয়াসে সরকার এবং বিরোধী দলগুলির মধ্যে এক সিদ্ধান্ত অনুযায়ী লোক সভার স্পীকার এবং রাজ্যসভার চেয়ারম্যান পৃথক পৃথকভাবে বিরোধী দলগুলির সাথে বৈঠকে বসেন। আলোচনার ফলে সিদ্ধান্ত হয় যে শেয়ার কেলেঙ্কারি রিপোর্টের যে সকল বিষয়ের ওপরে সরকার ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করেনি, যেগুলির ক্ষেত্রে আংশিক ব্যবস্থা নেয়া হয়েছে এবং যেগুলি নিয়ে সদস্যদের আপত্তি রয়েছে সে সকল বিষয় সরকার পুনর্বিবেচনা করে একটি সংশোধিত রিপোর্ট পেশ করবে। ১৭ আগস্ট সরকার ও বিরোধী দলগুলির মধ্যে এ ব্যাপারে একটি চুক্তি স্বাক্ষরিত হলে বিরোধী দলগুলি পার্লামেন্ট বর্জনের অবসান ঘটে।

একজন ভারতীয় বংশোদ্ভূত মহিলা দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকার পার্লামেন্টে স্পীকার নির্বাচিত হয়েছেন। গণতান্ত্রিক দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকার প্রথম প্রেসিডেন্ট হিসাবে নেলসন মেণ্ডেলা নির্বাচিত হবার পর ৪৪ বৎসর বয়স্ক ঝানু আফ্রিকান ন্যাশনাল কংগ্রেস (এএনসি) নেত্রী ডঃ ফ্রেন জিনওয়াল সর্বসম্মতভাবে বর্ণবাদ মুক্ত প্রথম পার্লামেন্টের স্পীকার নির্বাচিত হন।

ডঃ জিনওয়াল একসময় জোহান্সবার্গে মেণ্ডেলার অফিসে কাজ করতেন। তারপর বর্ণবাদী সরকার ২০ বৎসর তাঁকে প্রবাসে থাকতে বাধ্য করেছিল। প্রবাসকালে তিনি তানজানিয়ায় এ এন সি-র পক্ষে কাজ করেন এবং এক দশকেরও বেশি সময় লণ্ডনে এ এন সি-র প্রধান মুখপাত্রী ছিলেন। ১৯৯০ সালে দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকায় ফিরে এসে ডঃ জিনওয়াল এ এন সি-র গবেষণা বিভাগের প্রধান হয়ে মেণ্ডেলার অফিসে আবার যোগ দেন। ডঃ জিনওয়াল কিছুকাল নারী অধিকার উন্নয়নের জন্য অক্সফোর্ডে কাজ করেন এবং উইমেন কোয়ালিশনের নেতৃত্ব দেন। ১৯৯১ সালে শাসনতান্ত্রিক সংলাপের সূচনাকালে তিনি এ এন সি-র প্রতিনিধিত্ব করেন।

সাক্ষাৎকার : জনাব আবদুর রব চৌধুরী (দ্বিতীয় পৃষ্ঠার পর)

প্রয়োজন এ ব্যাপারে সংসদ সদস্যগণের আরো সচেতন ও সক্রিয় হওয়া দরকার, অধিকতর বেসরকারী সদস্য বিল আনার উদ্যোগ দরকার। প্রত্যেক সংসদ সদস্য সংসদীয় কার্যক্রমের অংশ হিসাবে যে সব উদ্যোগ নেবেন তাতে সংসদ সচিবালয়ের সহযোগিতা করা দরকার।

তাছাড়া যোগ্য ব্যক্তিকে যথাযোগ্য স্থানে বসিয়ে দলীয় নেতৃত্বে গতিশীলতা আনা এবং দলে গণতন্ত্রের অনুশীলন প্রয়োজন।

৬. বাংলাদেশে রাজনৈতিক ও সামাজিক উন্নয়ন এবং গণতন্ত্রের প্রাতিষ্ঠানিক রূপ দানের মত সিরিয়াস বিষয়গুলির দায়িত্ব শুধুমাত্র রাজনৈতিক নেতৃবৃন্দের ওপর চাপিয়ে দেয়া ঠিক হবে না। এ ব্যাপারে সবার দায়িত্ব রয়েছে। গণতান্ত্রিক প্রক্রিয়ার সহায়তায় নিয়োজিত সিএসি'র মত গবেষণামূলক সংগঠনসমূহ এ ক্ষেত্রে উল্লেখযোগ্য ভূমিকা পালন করতে পারে।

সাক্ষাৎকার : জনাব শাজাহান সিরাজ (তৃতীয় পৃষ্ঠার পর)

সংস্থা সেমিনার, ওয়ার্কশপ আয়োজন করছে। এটা যদি আরো ১০ বৎসর আগে থেকে হতো তাহলে আমরা আরো উপকৃত হতাম। এই চর্চা (practice) যত বাড়বে সংসদীয় পদ্ধতি সম্পর্কে মানুষ তত বেশী সচেতন হবে। বিভিন্ন দলের মধ্যে সংঘর্ষমূলক অবস্থার উন্নতি হবে এবং জাতির অনেক উন্নতি হবে বলে মনে করি।

৬. সংসদীয় বিষয়াবলীর উন্নয়নের সহায়তায় সিএসি যে উদ্যোগ নিয়েছে তা সমর্থনযোগ্য ও ফলপ্রসূ বলে মনে করি। সিএসি'র এ উদ্যোগ সংসদীয় পদ্ধতি সম্পর্কে কমিটি সম্পর্কে, ব্যাপকতর ধারণা লাভে; দলের একে অন্যের প্রতি আচরণ, সংসদের মাধ্যমে গণতন্ত্রের প্রাতিষ্ঠানিক রূপ দান এবং জনগণের আশা-আকাঙ্ক্ষা পূরণে উন্নততর দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি গ্রহণে অবদান রাখবে বলে আশা করি।

From page 1—

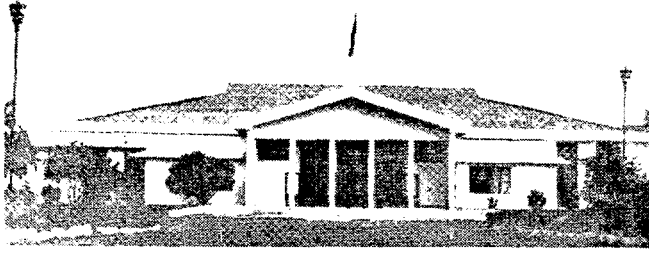
WIP WRAP UP SESSION

- CAC may provide skill development and leadership training to aspiring women politicians.
- Workshops may be organised for women wishing to contest in next elections. They may be helped with preparing campaign strategies, fund raising, and media coverage.
- Steps ought to be taken to prevent the use of black money and muscle power in elections.
- Measures should be taken to implement election rules relating to expenses.
- Try and mobilise men supportive of women's cause against the misinterpretation of religion regarding participation of women in politics.
- Ensure the fundamental right of women to vote. Create awareness and mobilise resistance against 'fatwabaz'.
- Create greater awareness of the provisions of the Bangladesh Constitution and UN conventions concerning women.

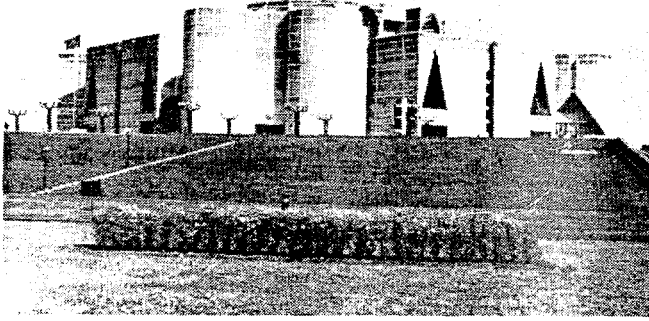
It was also recommended that to help put into effect the recommendations a copy of the draft may be sent to the Chairpersons and General Secretaries of the political parties. The participants expressed their desire to support CAC in future to help materialise some of the suggestions which have emerged in these workshops.

৪র্থ পৃষ্ঠায় পর—		
কমিটিসমূহের কার্যক্রম		
কমিটির নাম	বৈঠক	তারিখ
সমাজ কল্যাণ মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	২৪ তম বৈঠকের মূলতবি বৈঠক	২৩ জুন '৯৪
খাদ্য মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	২৪ তম বৈঠক	২৩ জুন '৯৪
	২৫ তম বৈঠক	২৮ জুলাই '৯৪
ভূমি মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	১৩ তম বৈঠক	২৩ জুলাই '৯৪
স্থানীয় সরকার ... মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	২৫ তম বৈঠক	১৭ জুলাই '৯৪
অর্থ মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	১৮ তম বৈঠক (২য় যৌথ বৈঠক)	১৪ জুলাই '৯৪
গৃহায়ন ও পূর্ত মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	২৭ তম বৈঠক	২৮ জুন '৯৪
সরকারী হিসাব সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	২৮ তম বৈঠক	৩১ জুলাই '৯৪
		১৯ জুলাই '৯৪
		২০ জুলাই '৯৪
শিক্ষা মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	৩২ তম বৈঠক	২৯ জুন '৯৪
	৩৩ তম বৈঠক	৩১ জুলাই '৯৪
নৌ পরিবহন মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	৩১ তম বৈঠক	১২ জুলাই '৯৪
পরিবেশ ও বন মন্ত্রণালয় সম্পর্কিত স্থায়ী কমিটি	২২ তম বৈঠক	১৯ জুন '৯৪

☆ প্রতিবেদনে উল্লিখিত কার্যক্রমে কোন কমিটির কোন তথ্য অন্তর্ভুক্ত না হয়ে থাকলে সেই অনিশ্চিত ক্রটির জন্য আমরা দুঃখিত।



পুরাতন সংসদ ভবন



নতুন সংসদ ভবন

বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় সংসদ এবং এর ক্রমবিকাশের ধারা

উম্মে এনিনা বিলকিস, এডভোকেট

আধুনিক রাষ্ট্রীয় ব্যবস্থায় সরকারের যে তিনটি Organ বা বিভাগ রয়েছে তার মধ্যে আইন সভাই হচ্ছে অধিকতর গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। Modern Government গ্লে Prof. Hitchner and Prof. Harrold বলেছেন "The Legislature is that organ of government intended most immediately to be voice of people. এক কথায় আইন সভা জনগণের কর্তৃত্বের হিসাবে কাজ করে। যে কোন রাষ্ট্রীয় ব্যবস্থা ও কার্যক্রম আইন সভাকে ঘিরেই আবর্তিত হয়। আইন সভা তথা Legislature বলতে এখন পার্লামেন্টকেই বুঝায়। কারণ legislature is a place where representatives of the people assemble together to formulate the will of the people which is expressed in the policy of government. অর্থাৎ রাষ্ট্রীয় ব্যবস্থার কেন্দ্রবিন্দু হচ্ছে Parliament. এই Parliament বা আইন সভা বিভিন্ন রাষ্ট্রে বিভিন্ন নামে পরিচিত। বাংলাদেশের আইন সভার নাম হচ্ছে "বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় সংসদ"। সংবিধানের ৬৫ নং অনুচ্ছেদে বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় সংসদ প্রতিষ্ঠার বিষয় সম্পর্কে বলা হয়েছে যে, There shall be a Parliament for Bangladesh (to be known as the House of the Nation) in which subject to the provisions of this Constitution, shall be vested the legislative powers of the Republic.

বাংলাদেশ গণ পরিষদ। স্বাধীনতার অব্যবহিত পরেই রাষ্ট্রীয় কার্যক্রম পরিচালনার জন্য বাংলাদেশের প্রথম সংবিধান প্রণয়নকল্পে গঠিত বাংলাদেশ গণপরিষদ এর কার্যকাল শুরু হয় ১৯৭২ সালের ১০ এপ্রিল এবং সংবিধান পাশের মধ্য দিয়ে এই গণপরিষদ ১৯৭২ সালের ১৫ ডিসেম্বর বিলুপ্ত ঘোষণা করা হয়। অতঃপর ১৯৭৩ সালে প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয় বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় সংসদ। স্বাধীনতার পর সুদীর্ঘ ২৩ বছরের

রাজনৈতিক ইতিহাসে বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় সংসদ বিভিন্ন পর্যায় অতিক্রম করেছে। জাতীয় সংসদের গঠন। বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় সংসদ একটি এক কক্ষ বিশিষ্ট আইন সভা এবং এর সাধারণ আসন সংখ্যা ৩০০টি। নির্বাচনী এলাকাসমূহ হতে জনগণের প্রত্যক্ষ ভোটের মাধ্যমে এই ৩০০ আসনে ৩০০ জন সংসদ সদস্য নির্বাচিত হন। ১৯৭২ সালের মূল সংবিধানের ৬৫ (৩) অনুচ্ছেদে বলা হয়েছে যে, সংবিধান প্রবর্তন এর তারিখ থেকে পরবর্তী দশ বছর পর্যন্ত মহিলা সদস্যদের জন্য পনেরটি আসন সংরক্ষিত থাকবে। পরবর্তীকালে দ্বিতীয় ঘোষণা (পঞ্চম সংশোধনী) আদেশ ১৯৭৮ (Second Proclamation (fifth amendment) Order, 1978) দ্বারা মহিলা সদস্যদের জন্য সংরক্ষিত আসন সংখ্যা পনেরটির স্থলে তিরিশটি এবং মেয়াদকাল দশ বছরের স্থলে পনের বছরে বর্ধিত করা হয়। অর্থাৎ দ্বিতীয় জাতীয় সংসদে মহিলা সদস্যদের জন্য সংরক্ষিত আসন ছিল ত্রিশটি এবং তৃতীয় জাতীয় সংসদে তা বহাল থাকে। তবে চতুর্থ জাতীয় সংসদ গঠিত হওয়ার আগেই উল্লিখিত সংরক্ষিত আসনের মেয়াদ উত্তীর্ণ হওয়ায় চতুর্থ জাতীয় সংসদে মহিলা সদস্যদের জন্য কোন সংরক্ষিত আসন ছিল না। কিন্তু চতুর্থ সংসদেই সংবিধানের (দশম সংশোধনী) আইন, ১৯৯০ দ্বারা পঞ্চম জাতীয় সংসদের প্রথম বৈঠকের তারিখ থেকে পরবর্তী দশ বছর পর্যন্ত মহিলা সদস্যদের জন্য সংসদের পুনরায় ত্রিশটি আসন সংরক্ষণের ব্যবস্থা বলবৎ করা হয়। অর্থাৎ বর্তমানে মোট ৩৩০ জন সংসদ সদস্য সমন্বয়ে বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় সংসদ গঠিত। সংরক্ষিত আসন ছাড়াও মহিলা প্রার্থীগণ সাধারণ নির্বাচনে অংশ গ্রহণের মাধ্যমে নির্বাচিত হয়েও সদস্য পদ লাভ করতে পারেন। সংবিধানের ৬৫ (৪) অনুচ্ছেদে সংসদের বৈঠক রাজধানীতে অনুষ্ঠানের কথা বলা হয়েছে। কোন সাধারণ নির্বাচনের পর সংসদের প্রথম বৈঠকে সংসদ সদস্যদের মধ্য হতে একজন স্পীকার ও একজন ডেপুটি স্পীকার নির্বাচন করা হয়ে থাকে। সংবিধানের ৭২ (৩) অনুচ্ছেদ অনুসারে রাষ্ট্রপতি পূর্বে ভেংগে না দিলে প্রথম বৈঠকের তারিখ হতে পাঁচ বছর অতিবাহিত হলে সংসদ আপনাপনি ভেঙ্গে যাবে।

প্রথম জাতীয় সংসদ : প্রথম জাতীয় সংসদ নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠিত হয় ৭ মার্চ ১৯৭৩ এবং জাতীয় সংসদের প্রথম অধিবেশন অনুষ্ঠিত হয় ৭ এপ্রিল ১৯৭৩। এই সংসদের কার্যকাল ছিল প্রায় দুই বছর সাত মাস। ৬ নভেম্বর ১৯৭৫ এই সংসদ বাতিল ঘোষণা করা হয়। প্রথম জাতীয় সংসদে আটটি অধিবেশন অনুষ্ঠিত হয়। দ্বিতীয় জাতীয় সংসদ : দ্বিতীয় জাতীয় সংসদ নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠিত হয় ১৮ ফেব্রুয়ারী ১৯৭৯। এই সংসদের প্রথম বৈঠক অনুষ্ঠিত হয় ২ এপ্রিল ১৯৭৯। দ্বিতীয় জাতীয় সংসদও মেয়াদ পূর্তির আগেই ২৪ মার্চ ১৯৮২ বাতিল ঘোষিত হয়। এই সংসদের কার্যকাল ছিল প্রায় তিন বছর। দ্বিতীয় জাতীয় সংসদ আটটি অধিবেশনে মিলিত হয়।

তৃতীয় জাতীয় সংসদ : তৃতীয় জাতীয় সংসদ নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠিত হয় ১৯৮৬ সালের ৭ মে। এই সংসদের প্রথম বৈঠক অনুষ্ঠিত হয় ১০ জুলাই ১৯৮৬। তৃতীয় জাতীয় সংসদের স্থায়িত্ব তুলনামূলকভাবে সবচেয়ে কম, মাত্র এক বছর পাঁচ মাসের মত। ১৯৮৭ সালের ৯ ডিসেম্বর এই সংসদ বাতিল ঘোষণা করা হয়। তৃতীয় জাতীয় সংসদের মেয়াদকালে অনুষ্ঠিত অধিবেশনের সংখ্যা চারটি।

চতুর্থ জাতীয় সংসদ : চতুর্থ জাতীয় সংসদ নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠিত হয় ১৯৮৮ সালের ৩ মার্চ। ১৯৮৮ সালের ২৫ এপ্রিল এই সংসদের প্রথম অধিবেশন অনুষ্ঠিত হয়। এই সংসদের মোট কার্যকাল ছিল প্রায় দুই বছর আট মাস। ৬ ডিসেম্বর ১৯৯০ চতুর্থ জাতীয় সংসদ বাতিল ঘোষণা করা হয়। এই সংসদে সাতটি অধিবেশন অনুষ্ঠিত হয়।

পঞ্চম জাতীয় সংসদ : ১৯৯১ সালের ২৭ ফেব্রুয়ারী পঞ্চম তথা বর্তমান জাতীয় সংসদ নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠিত হয় এবং এই সংসদের প্রথম অধিবেশন অনুষ্ঠিত হয় ৫ এপ্রিল ১৯৯১। ইতিমধ্যে এই সংসদের পনেরটি অধিবেশন অনুষ্ঠিত হয়েছে। তুলনামূলকভাবে বর্তমান জাতীয় সংসদের কার্যকাল ইতিমধ্যেই বিগত চারটি সংসদের কার্যকালকে অতিক্রম করেছে।

পঞ্চম জাতীয় সংসদকে সবচেয়ে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ সংসদ বলে বিবেচনা করা যায়। কারণ এই সংসদের দ্বিতীয় অধিবেশনে ৬ আগস্ট ১৯৯১ সর্বসম্মতিক্রমে সংবিধানের দ্বাদশ সংশোধনী বিল সংসদে গৃহীত হয়। সংবিধানের এই দ্বাদশ সংশোধনী দ্বারাই সুদীর্ঘ ষোল বছরের রাষ্ট্রপতি শাসিত সরকার পদ্ধতির পরিবর্তন ঘটিয়ে এদেশের প্রায় বার কোটি মানুষের আশা আকাংখার প্রতিফলন স্বরূপ দেশে পুনরায় সংসদীয় পদ্ধতির সরকার ব্যবস্থা কায়ম করা হয়। উল্লেখ্য যে, ১৯৭৫ সালের ২৫ জানুয়ারী সংবিধানের চতুর্থ সংশোধনী দ্বারা সংসদীয় পদ্ধতির সরকার ব্যবস্থার পরিবর্তে দেশে একদলীয় শাসন ব্যবস্থা ও রাষ্ট্রপতি শাসিত সরকার পদ্ধতির প্রবর্তন করা হয়েছিল।

পঞ্চম জাতীয় সংসদের দ্বিতীয় উল্লেখযোগ্য কার্যক্রম হোল সংবিধানের অনুচ্ছেদ ৭৯-এর পুরোপুরি বাস্তবায়ন। এই সংসদের চতুর্দশ অধিবেশনে ১১ মে ১৯৯৪ জাতীয় সংসদ সচিবালয় বিল, ১৯৯৪ সংসদে গৃহীত হয় এবং এই বিল পাশের মধ্য দিয়ে জাতীয় সংসদের সার্বভৌমত্ব নিশ্চিত করা হয়। (৫ম পৃষ্ঠায় দেখুন।)

Parliamentary Committees in Bangladesh: Structure and Functions

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Introduction

The unicameral legislature of Bangladesh known in Bangla as *Jatiyo Sangsad* meaning 'House of the Nation', and generally referred to as 'Parliament' in English, has an elaborate committee system of 50 parliamentary committees, some of them with one or more sub-committees. The system, based on an express provision in the Constitution, has a number of characteristics which are to be found in parliaments of countries practicing the parliamentary form of government, while, at the same time, it has its own unique characteristics. We mention a few of them below and deliberate on others as we continue the discussions:

- A large number of committees with a diverse range of activities has been provided for in the Rules of Procedures; a detailed working procedure for them has also been prescribed;
- Parliamentary committees have powers to send for persons, papers and records; and
- Meetings of the committees are held in private and report of a committee is placed before parliament; disclosure of its contents is not permissible.

The term 'Parliamentary Committee' means a committee appointed by parliament or nominated by the Speaker in accordance with the Constitution or the Rules of Procedure. A committee consisting solely or partly of members of Parliament constituted by the government of any other authority cannot be termed a Parliamentary Committee. Incidentally, there is a ruling to this effect by the Speaker of the British House of Commons. The ruling quoted by Eric Taylor in his book 'House of the Commons at Work' is reproduced below in part:

"The title 'Parliamentary Committee' has a technical meaning and can be properly used only by a body appointed by one or both of the Houses of Parliament. Its use by bodies not so appointed is, as the Hon. Member says, apt to mislead the public by suggesting that the body has an authority and power which it does not in fact possess. It ought not to be impossible to find some other term to designate bodies, entirely or partly composed of Members of Parliament but not appointed by Parliament, which would sufficiently indicate their connection with Parliament without giving rise to misconception."

Article 76 of the Constitution provides for the appointment of a parliamentary committee only with Members of Parliament. This provision precludes others from membership in a parliamentary committee. Thus, Ministers in the cabinet who are not members of Parliament do not qualify to be members of parliamentary committees.

The Secretary of the Bangladesh Parliament is the ex officio Secretary of every parliamentary committee and sub-committee. As it is well-nigh impossible for him to serve all the 50 committees and their sub-committees, he is allowed under the Rules to authorize any officer of the Parliament Secretariat to perform his

duties in relation to a committee or a sub-committee.

Classification of Committees

The parliamentary committees may be classified into three broad categories: Select Committees; Special Committees; and Standing Committees.

Select Committees

Of the various types of parliamentary committees, Select Committees on Bills are probably the oldest. Parliamentary rules or standing orders providing for reference of a Bill to a Select Committee at its 'Second Reading stage' are almost universal. This is a very old practice in the British House of Commons, where these committees are, however, known as 'Standing Committees'—not select committees—apparently for the reason that they had largely permanent membership in earlier times.

The Rules of Procedure of the Bangladesh Parliament provide for four alternative motions which can be made by a Member-in-charge at the commencement of the Second Reading stage of his Bill. These alternative motions are:

- Motion for immediate consideration of the Bill;
- Motion for reference of the Bill to the Standing Committee on the concerned Ministry;
- Motion for reference to a Select Committee; and
- Motion for circulation of the Bill for the purpose of eliciting public opinion.

If he decides to make his motion for reference to a Select Committee, he also specifies the names of Members to be included in the Committee and the date by which the Select Committee should submit its report to Parliament. If the Member-in-charge makes his motion for immediate consideration of the Bill or for reference of the Bill to the Standing Committee on the concerned Ministry, then any other Member by way of amendment can move that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

The only exception is an Appropriation Bill in respect of which no motion is moved, by practice, other than for its immediate consideration. When the Minister for Finance as Member-in-charge of an Appropriation Bill moves the motion for its immediate consideration, no other Member moves any motion including motion for reference to a Select Committee by way of amendment. There are good reasons behind this practice. An Appropriation Bill which seeks to provide legal basis for withdrawal of money from the consolidated fund of the Republic is introduced only after the 'demands for grant' have been discussed and voted upon by Parliament.

The powers and functions of Select Committees have been prescribed in the Rules of Procedure. The following procedural points with respect to them appear to be worth mentioning:

- Members of a Select Committee are appointed by Parliament and there is no mention in the Rules about its strength in terms of membership.

- A Member-in-charge of a Bill becomes a Member of the Select Committee in respect of his Bill, even if his name has not been included in the motion for constitution of that committee.
- A minister who is not a member of the Select Committee may address the committee with permission from its chairman.
- A Member of a Select Committee may propose amendments to any of the provisions of the Bill after giving one day's notice but the chairman of the Committee may allow amendments to be proposed without such notice.
- A Select Committee may hear expert evidence and representatives of special interests affected by the measures proposed in the Bill.
- A Select Committee has to report to Parliament within the time specified in the motion constituting the Committee. Where no such time has been specified, the report of the Committee has to be presented to Parliament within three months from the date on which the motion was adopted. The time is further extendable on a motion to that effect.
- Any member of a Select Committee may record a note of dissent on any matter or matters connected with the Bill or dealt with in the report on that Bill.
- The chairman, or in his absence any Member, of a Select Committee, presents a report of the Committee to Parliament. Every report is printed and a copy is made available to every Member of Parliament. The Bill as reported by the Committee is published in the official Gazette.

Special Committees

Rule 266 of the Rules of Procedure provides that "Parliament may, by motion, appoint a Special Committee which shall have such composition and function as may be specified in the

motion." There is no other mention in the rules about Special Committees, leaving room for interpretation and decision by the Speaker under Rule 316 which reads as follows:

"Any matter arising in connection with the business of the House or its committees for which no specific provision exists in these Rules shall be decided by the Speaker and his decision shall be final."

Recently in the 10th session of the present Parliament, Honourable Speaker Shaikh Razzaque Ali, while constituting a Special Committee argued in favour of having a maximum of 15 members in that Committee. His argument was based on the fact that the largest among the Standing Committees, which we shall soon discuss, has a maximum of 15 Members in it. Although not given as a ruling or as a decision under Rule 316 quoted above, his views on the matter will certainly be cited in the future as an important guideline in this respect.

A Special Committee has to submit its report within the time specified in the motion constituting the Committee. In case the motion does not contain any such provision, Rule 209 requiring report to be submitted within one month would apply with the proviso that this time limit is further extendable by a motion to that effect.

Standing Committees

All committees of the Bangladesh Parliament, other than Select Committees and Special Committees, can be termed as Standing Committees, although the word 'Standing' is not used in the Rules before most of them. Some of the Standing Committees are nominated by the Speaker, while the rest of them are appointed by Parliament. Some positions of chairmen of the Standing Committees are held ex-officio, while others are appointed by Parliament. There is no uniformity in the strength of committees in terms of their membership. The table given below indicates the strength of each of the committees and the mode of appointment of the chairmen/members in the committees.

TABLE

Sl. No.	Name of Committee	Appointment of Committee	Number of Members *	Appointment of Chairperson
01.	Business Advisory Committee	Nominated by Speaker	10	Ex officio (Speaker)
02.	House Committee	do	12	Nominated by Speaker
03.	Library Committee	do	10	Ex officio (Deputy Speaker)
04.	Committee on Petitions	do	10	Nominated by Speaker
05.	Standing Committee on Privileges	Appointed by Parliament	10	Appointed by Parliament
06.	Standing Committee on Public Accounts	do	15	do
07.	Committee on Public Undertakings	do	10	do
08.	Committee on Estimates	do	10	do
09.	Committee on Government Assurances	do	8	do
10.	Committee on Private Member's Bills & Resolutions	do	10	do
11.	Standing Committee on Rules of Procedure	do	12	Ex officio (Speaker)
12.-45.	Standing Committees on Ministries**	do	10	Ex officio (Minister concerned)

* Figures in the Table indicate the maximum number of Members in a committee, except the committee on Petitions in respect of which minimum number of Members has been indicated.

** There are 34 Standing committees on Ministries.

There are four committees where a Minister cannot sit either as chairman or as a Member. These committees include: Standing Committee on Public Accounts; Committee on Estimates; Committee on Public Undertakings; and Committee on Petitions. Any Member elected to these Committees has to vacate his position in the Committee if he is appointed a Minister.

Classification of Standing Committees

Parliamentary Standing Committees play a very important and significant role in the committee system of the Bangladesh Parliament. From policy formulation to investigation, from scrutiny of public expenditure to routine administration, these committees operate in every field of governmental activity including certain house-keeping functions of Parliament itself. Some of these committees have advisory functions to assist the Speaker in the transaction of business in the House or in the management of the Parliament Library or some other facilities like accommodations in the MP's Hostels, etc. Some have investigative or scrutinizing functions, while some of them operate in the area of finance and audit of government expenditures as reported by the Comptroller and Auditor-General. There are still others who have functions of a general nature with respect to each of the ministries of the Government. In our efforts to study the functions of the Standing Committees as entrusted to them under the Rules or by practice, we would first like to classify them into the following categories on the basis of the nature of their main functions: Speaker's Advisory Committees; Investigative Committees; Audit and Finance Committees; Scrutinizing Committees; and Standing Committees of Ministries.

Before we proceed further, two things need be mentioned here. First, the above classification does not enjoy sanction of the Rules or of the Speaker. Second, a Committee placed on one category under the above classification may also have functions of a Committee in another category.

There is one more thing to mention on this question of classification of Standing Committees as suggested above. The Constitution itself has mentioned three kinds of Standing Committees:

- Standing Committees mentioned by name in the Constitution;
- Standing Committees as are required to be formed under the Rules of Procedure; and
- Standing Committees as may be constituted by Parliament in addition to those mentioned above.

But clearly this classification does not serve the purpose for which we have proposed the classification earlier.

A. Speaker's Advisory Committees. The following three Committees may be termed as Speaker's Advisory Committees: Business Advisory Committee; House Committee; and Library Committee. Incidentally these 3 committees are nominated by the Speaker. The Speaker and Deputy Speaker are the Chairmen of the Business Advisory Committee and the Library Committee, respectively.

The main function of the Business advisory Committee is to recommend the time that should be allocated for discussion of Bills and disposal of other business on the floor of the House. But the Committee does not limit its function to mere allocation of time. It generally sits a few days prior to commencement of a session and suggests subjects for discussion on the floor of the House during the forthcoming session. Accordingly, it allocates time for each subject including allocation of time to various parties and groups. On the basis of recommendation by the Business Advisory Committee, the party whips supply the Speaker

with a list of MP's willing to speak on the subject under discussion with the indication of time allowed to each of them. The Speaker, however, can modify the time-table recommended by the Committee but he generally does so after taking the sense of the House.

The second committee in this category known as the House Committee has advisory functions in respect to the following:

- deals with all questions relating to residential accommodations for Members of Parliament; and
- exercises supervision over facilities for accommodations, food, medical aid and other amenities accorded to MPs in the MP Hostels.

The Library Committee considers and advises on such matters concerning the Parliament Library as may be referred to it by the Speaker from time to time. It also considers suggestions for improvement of the library and assists Members in fully utilizing the services provided by the Library.

B. Investigative Committees. Although they operate in two distinctly different areas, the following two Committees may be grouped together and termed as Investigative Committees: Standing Committee of Privileges; and Committee on Petitions.

In all Parliaments, the Committees of Privileges enjoys a dignified position. It sits to give Judgment if anyone has committed any breach of privileges of Parliament, its Committees and its Members. Ordinarily, privilege means the right to do or say things without risk of punishment. A.S. Hornby, renowned lexicographer, has used the following example while clarifying the meaning of the word, 'privilege':

"A Member of Parliament may say things in the House of Commons which might result in libel case if said outside of Parliament."

The constitutional provision regarding parliamentary privileges in Bangladesh is to be found in article 78 quoted below:

"(1) The validity of the proceedings in Parliament shall not be questioned in any court.

(2) A Member or officer of Parliament in whom powers are vested for the regulation of procedure, the conduct of business or the maintenance of order in Parliament, shall not in relation to the exercise by him or any such powers be subject to the jurisdiction of any court.

(3) A member of Parliament shall not be liable to proceedings in any court in respect of anything said, or any vote given, by him in Parliament or in any committee thereof.

(4) A person shall not be liable to proceedings in any court in respect of the publication by or under the authority of Parliament of any report, paper, vote or proceeding.

(5) Subject to this article, the privileges of Parliament and of its committees and Members may be determined by Act of Parliament."

No law has yet been enacted determining the privileges. A question of privilege gets priority over other notices and may be raised in Parliament with very short notice; if the notice is acceptable to the Speaker, it is generally referred to the Standing Committee of Privileges under Rule 169 "for examination, investigation and report." The Committee examines every question referred to it and determines with reference to the facts of each case whether a breach of privilege is involved and, if so, the nature of the breach, the circumstances leading to it and makes necessary recommendations. The Committee has

traditionally been chaired by the Speaker in all five Parliaments since 1973 and has include senior Members of Parliament. The Committee is often required to ask for papers to be submitted to it and for persons to appear before it for clarification of the matter under its consideration.

The other investigative committee is the Committee on Petitions which originally had the jurisdiction to consider petitions in respect of a Bill under consideration of Parliament. The scope of the Committee's functions has been widened by an amendment of the rules in 1992 to include any pending matter in Parliament; and any matter of public importance, subject to certain conditions. This Committee is also required to call for papers for submission to it and to ask for persons to appear before it for disposal of matters under its consideration, so as to be able to report to Parliament with suggestions for remedial measures.

C. Audit and Finance Committees. Three committees which can be placed under this group are the following : Standing Committee on Public Accounts (also known as public Accounts Committee); Committee on Public Undertakings; and Committee on Estimates.

It is the practice in the Bangladesh Parliament, as also in Indian Lok Sabha and Pakistan National Assembly, that the yearly reports of the Auditor-General relating to public accounts of the Republic stand referred to the Public Accounts Committee as soon as they are laid in the House. After the Comptroller and Auditor-General submits, as he is required under a constitutional provision, his reports to the President of the Republic, the President causes them to be laid before Parliament, generally through the Minister for Finance.

The main function of the Public Accounts Committee is to oversee:

- that the monies shown in the accounts as having been disbursed were legally available for the service or purpose to which they have charged;
- that the expenditures conform to the authority which govern them; and
- that every re-appropriation has been made in accordance with the provision made in this behalf under rules framed by competent authority.

If any money has been spent on any service during a financial year in excess of the amount granted by Parliament for that purpose, the Committee has powers to examine with reference to the facts of each case the circumstances leading to such an excess expenditure and make recommendations of its own.

The Public Accounts Committee also has the duty to examine the statement of accounts showing the income and expenditure of state corporations, trading and manufacturing schemes together with balance-sheets and statements of profit and loss. This provision in the rules makes room for duplication of work with the Committee on Public Undertakings as may be seen in the next paragraph.

In relation to 23 corporations/boards/authorities listed in the fourth schedule of the Rules of Procedure, as well as corporations/bodies created after the adoption of the said rules and corporations established under the Bangladesh Industrial Enterprises (Nationalisation) Order, 1972, the Committee on Public Undertakings performs the following functions:

- Examines reports and accounts of these bodies and also of the Comptroller and Auditor-General on these bodies; and

- Examines whether the affairs of the public undertakings are being managed in accordance with sound business principles and prudent commercial practices.

The Committee is also vested with functions in relation to these bodies as have been entrusted to the Public Accounts Committee and the Committee on Estimates in relation to other bodies. The Committee has, however, been mandated by the rules not to examine and investigate any matters of major governmental policy as distinct from business or commercial functions of the undertakings and matters of day-to-day administration of the undertakings.

The other committee in this group is the Committee on Estimates whose functions are in the area of policy and performance evaluation with respect to estimates which the committee takes up for examination or which are referred to it by Parliament. Rule 235 has assigned the following functions to this committee:

- To report what economies, improvements in organization, efficiency or administrative reform, consistent with the policy underlying the estimates may be effected;
- To suggest alternative policies in order to bring about efficiency and economy in administration;
- To examine whether the money is well laid out within the limits of the policy implied in the estimates; and
- To suggest the form in which the estimates shall be presented to the House.

The term 'estimates' means "annual detailed statements of the public expenditure proposed to be undertaken by the Government" in a financial year. In Bangladesh, annual financial statements of public expenditure are broken into several demands for grants each of which is presented in Parliament in the form of a resolution on the basis of heads of accounts.

Ordinarily, a separate demand is made in respect to each Ministry but the Finance Minister is authorised by the rules to include in one demand, grants proposed for two or more Ministries or Departments or make a demand with respect to expenditures which cannot be readily classified under one Ministry or the other. Several demands for grants of the same nature are referred to as estimates in Bangladesh context.

As we continue the discussions, we shall observe that there is scope for Standing Committees on Ministries to contribute to the formulation of policy with respect to the concerned Ministry, but the Committee on Estimates appears to be the one only that has been formally entrusted with the function of formulating alternative policy for consideration of the government.

D. Scrutinizing Committees. The following three committees may be placed under this category: Committee on Government Assurances; Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions; and Standing Committee on Rules of Procedure.

The Committee on Government Assurances has the duty to scrutinize the assurances, promises, undertakings, etc. given by a Minister, from time to time, on the floor of the House and to report on the extent to which such assurances, promises, etc. have been implemented by the Government and, where implemented, whether such implementation has taken place within the minimum time necessary for the purpose. Thus, this committee has a lot of follow-up functions.

The Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions has the function to examine every Bill seeking to amend the Constitution, notice of which has been given by a private

Member, before a motion for leave to introduce the Bill is included in the 'orders of the day'. The Committee also has the duty to examine all private Members' Bills after they are introduced in Parliament and before they are taken up for consideration. The Committee may also classify the Bills according to their nature, importance and urgency and indicate the priority of their consideration.

The other committee in this group is the Standing Committee on Rules of Procedure which reviews the rules relating to matters of procedure and conduct of business in Parliament and recommends amendments or additions to them. Any Member of Parliament may seek amendment of the Rules through a prescribed manner. His amendments may be disposed of by the House itself or may be referred to this Committee for report. Usually all motions seeking to amend the rules are referred to the Committee which has to scrutinize them in great detail before reporting back to Parliament.

E. Standing Committees on Ministries. Standing Committees on Ministries, at present numbering 34, are the largest group of Standing Committees, each performing identical functions in relation to respective ministries. Beginning with only 11 committees in 1974, there have since been a steady increase in their number, functions and frequency of meetings. It may not be an exaggeration to suggest that these committees now form the core of the parliamentary committee system in Bangladesh. These Committees, each of which is required to meet at least once a month, have the following functions to perform:

- ❑ To examine draft Bills and other legislative proposals;
- ❑ To review the enforcement of laws and propose measures for such enforcement;
- ❑ To review the work relating to the Ministry.
- ❑ To inquire into any activity or irregularity and serious complaint with respect to the Ministry;
- ❑ To examine any Bill or other matters referred to it by Parliament; and
- ❑ To examine any other matter within its jurisdiction, etc.

If a meeting of a Committee is not held as stipulated in the Rules, the Speaker is authorised to convene a meeting of the Committee.

Incidentally, the Parliament of Bangladesh was among the first few parliaments in parliamentary democracies to put into practice the concept of having a Standing committee on each of the ministries. These committees were created as far back as 1974. In the British House of Commons the equivalent of Standing Committees on ministries, known there as "departmentally-related 'Select' committees" were first set up in 1979. In the Indian Parliament the "departmentally-related 'standing' committee" have been set up only last year in March. Shri G.C. Malhotra in a recent article says:

"The 29th of March 1993 was a red-letter day in the history of the evolution and strengthening of the parliamentary system in India. On that day, both Houses of Parliament adopted the report of the Rules Committee of the respective Houses recommending the setting up of 17 new departmentally related Standing Committees of Parliament."

Thus, even though we may not claim the Standing Committees on ministries to be our own innovation, we are certainly entitled to the claim that we are among the pioneers to set up these committees with as comprehensive a network as would cover all activities of the government in each of the Ministers.

There is an impression in certain quarters that Standing Committees of *Jatiyo Sangsad* are all headed by Ministers. That it is not true should be evident from the Rules we so far discussed. Only one kind of Standing Committee, i.e. Standing Committees on Ministries are headed by Ministers and these committees did not form part of the parliamentary committee system in many parliaments until very recently. Moreover, functions assigned to Standing Committees on Ministries in *Jatiyo Sangsad* are very different from those in most parliaments with a parliamentary form of government.

The functions of the Standing Committees in the Bangladesh Parliament are not similar to those of the Indian Parliament. While the powers of Indian committees to consider *demands for grants* appear to be somewhat similar to those of the Committee on Estimates, there appears to be nothing in the Indian committee system that would match the powers of our Standing Committees to review the 'enforcement of laws' and "the activities of the Ministry" or to inquire into any activity or 'irregularity' or 'serious complaints.' A review of the activities of a Ministry or a review of the enforcement of laws relating to a Ministry in a parliamentary committee in the presence of a Minister is expected to bring about direct inputs into the policy of the government relating to the subject. On the other hand, such a review in the absence of the Minister could find the Committee and the Minister in a position of confrontation against each other. Thus, the author of this article maintains the view that powers and functions assigned to the Standing Committees on ministries in Bangladesh by their very nature demand the presence of Ministers in the respective committees.

Conclusion

It is difficult to assess the impact of the Standing Committees on ministries on the policies of the Government in Bangladesh on account of a host of reasons. The Parliaments in Bangladesh has not lived long enough to make such an assessment. Moreover, there have been several shifts from one form of government to another including martial law, not allowing reasonably sufficient time for the committees to be effective.

Only during the tenure of the present Parliament, particularly with the re-adoption of parliamentary democracy have the committees started their work with all seriousness. The committees have been meeting almost regularly and the process of reporting to Parliament has just commenced. Yet, it can be safely asserted that there has been a positive impact of committee deliberations on Government policies. The minutes or summary of deliberations of each meeting bear testimony to this. Decisions and recommendations in the committees as reflected in the minutes indicate unanimity in committee deliberations. Secondly, some Committees take a look at their deliberations in the previous meeting and appraise themselves of actions taken by the Ministry with respect to those deliberations, although strictly, the ministries are not required to implement recommendations of a committee until the same are presented in the House in the form of a report.

An evaluation of the committee system after most of the committees have reported would indicate whether reforms in the existing committee system are called for.

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Commentary on The Muslim Family Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1994

Barrister Akhter Imam

The objective of the proposed bill, as has been elaborated by Mrs. Farida Rahman, is to bring about certain amendments to the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961 in order to make it, shall we say, more expensive to have an extrajudicial divorce, popularly known as talaq and also to increase the punishment, with a minimum imprisonment for one year, in case of contravention of the provision of notice of divorce and the payment of dower. The effectiveness of talaq has also been deferred till the full compliance with both the conditions.

The Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961 (Ordinance No VIII of 1961) was made and promulgated to give effect to certain recommendations of the Commission on Marriage and Family Laws.

This Ordinance brought about fairly radical but limited changes in diverse areas of Muslim Family Laws such as succession, polygamy and talaq, besides improving the enforcement of the wife's claim on maintenance and dower. The Ordinance also amends the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929 (XIX of 1929) by redefining 'child' to mean a person who is below 21 years in case of a male and 18 years in case of a female, and the Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act, 1939 (VIII of 1939) by inserting an additional ground for the husband taking an additional wife in contravention of the provisions of the said Ordinance.

The problem of amending Sharia law has its roots in Islamic jurisprudence. According to the classical theory, Islamic law is "the revealed will of God, a divinely ordained system preceding and not preceded by the Muslim state controlling and not controlled by Muslim society". Since direct access to revelation of the divine will had ceased upon the death of our Holy Prophet, the Sharia, having once achieved perfection of expression, was in principle static and immutable. Muslim legal philosophy has been essentially the elaboration and the analysis of Sharia law in abstracto rather than a science of the positive law emanating from judicial tribunals.

The function of Muslim jurisprudence has essentially been to tell the courts what they ought to do, rather than attempt to prophesy what they will in fact do. In contrast to legal systems based upon human reason, such a divine law possesses two major distinctive characteristics: (a) It is a rigid and immutable system, embodying norms of an absolute and eternal validity, which are not susceptible to modification by any legislature authority. (b) For the many different peoples who constitute the world of Islam, the divinely ordained Sharia represents the standard of uniformity as against the variety of legal systems which would be the inevitable result if laws were the product of human reason based upon the local circumstances and the particular needs of a given community.

Of the four major sources of Islamic laws, the Holy Koran, Sunna (hadith or tradition), Ijma (consensus of opinion) and Qiyas (analogical deductions), the Holy Koran and Sunna constitute the fundamental sources or roots of Islamic laws. It is interesting to note that of the 6000 verses, only 200 verses of the Holy Koran deal with legal principles and leaving out those concerning the State, only about 80 verses deal with the law of personal status.

The legal verses naturally embody general/broad principles without explaining or expounding them. As the Holy Koran and the divinely inspired sunna or the holy prophet are of divine

origin and immutable more of its principles can be changed by any human beings.

It is however, ijma, the consensus of opinion of highly qualified legal scholars of any generation, which laid down the vast body of principles which put the flesh to the bare bones of Islamic law as contained in the holy Koran. The validity of *ijma* as containing a binding precedent is based on a sunna of our holy prophet that God will not allow his people to agree on an error. The doctrine of ijthad meaning "one's own exertions" i.e. denoting the exercise of one's reason to deduce a rule of sharia law, was used for the development of Islamic law during the formative period of its growth. About the 9th century, most of the schools acknowledged that ijthad was the privilege of great scholars of the past deserving the title of "mujtahids" who became rare and consultation among them also became impossible as the Muslims spread far and wide. As such, by the 10th century, it was generally agreed that all principles had been completely settled and by ijma itself all the schools held that ijthad was no longer open. This came to be known as the closure of the "gate of ijthad" (bab-al-ijthad).

None was then considered qualified for independent reasoning and all that could be done was to explain and apply the principles and very rarely to interpret. It has not been possible to find new principles by ijthad ever since. Among the reasons given for this closure, respect for the towering genius of the juris consults of the formative period who all died by the 10th century lay at the root, besides the instinct sharia in the face of foreign invasions. This doctrine of ijthad was itself based on the application of some distinct principles istihsan (equity) by Hanafis, istislah (consideration of public interest) by Malikis, *Maslaha or istishab* (discovery of sound precedent). In all these schools except the Hanbalis, in spite of their differences, there is always a general agreement on the broadening principle, all intended to harmonise and liberalise the original principles. The Hanbalis as traditionists, did not however accept the doctrine of ijthad but formulated their doctrine of *usul* i.e. roots based on Hadis i.e. traditions.

If the Islamic scholars today are unable to reopen the closed doors of ijthad because they don't possess the necessary qualifications, legislation and, to a certain extent, liberal judicial interpretation of the root principles, wherever possible, may be regarded as the only alternative. But there is considerable opposition to the legislatures and courts playing the role of mujtahids, besides the inherent conservatism of the Islamic world making reform almost out of place in Islamic law giving rise to such highly conservative sentiments that "Islam reformed is islam no longer". The doctrine of *taqlid* (following), appears to grip Islamic jurisprudence. But the need and desire for reform proved stronger than the resistance to it.

Opposition to *taqlid* and incitement to individual ijthad has been the chief motivating force. As early as in the 13th century, the Hanbali scholar Ibn-Taymiyya claimed the theoretical right to individual ijthad. The great Egyptian jurist Muhammad Abduh, in 1898 and his master Jamauddin Al-Afgani opposed taqlid and advocated the reinterpretation of the principles, embodied in the divine revelations as a basis for legal reform. In India, scholars like Ameer Ali and Iqbal pursuing the same theme, had claimed the right to independent thinking. Like Abduh, Iqbal searched for a text to support his neo-ijthad and relied upon Sura 29. 69. "those who exert themselves in our parts we will surely guide". Iqbal had argued that the exercise of ijthad or independent judgment was not only the right but also the duty of present generations if Islam was to adapt itself successfully to the modern world.

However, prior to such open and explicit recognition of ijthad as a juristic basis of reform, a number of changes were effected which combined traditional authorities with wholly novel precepts

and thus represented a mid-way stage between taqlid and ijtiihad proper, usually classified as quasi-ijihad e.g. Egyptian law of Testamentary Dispositions of 1946 (rule of obligatory bequests), Syrian Law of Personal Status of 1953 (husband's right of polygamy and unilateral repudiation restricted), Tunisian Law of Personal Status of 1957 (Polygamy and extra-judicial divorce prohibited outright), Algerian Ordinance of 1959 (all divorce judicial), Moroccan Code of 1958 (polygamy prohibited) Iraqi Law of Personal Status of 1959 (polygamy severely restricted and no extra-judicial divorce) Pakistan / Bangladesh's Muslim Family Laws Ordinance of 1961 (moderate reforms compared to recent Middle Eastern legislation).

In Pakistan/ Bangladesh, however, the problems of the juristic basis of reform have not commanded the same attention as they have in the Middle East. The criterion of social desirability rather than Koranic injunctions of financial capability and impartial treatment appear to be the basis of the reforms relating to polygamy. In regard to talaq, the Ordinance could only go as far as to provide a cooling-off period and an arbitration council to mediate but the talaq becomes effective with the expiry of the statutory period. It is worth noting that Lebanon's Law of Personal Status in 1948 prohibits polygamy outright and makes repudiation ineffective until confirmed by the Quadi and if repudiated without reasonable cause., the Quadi is empowered to award damages to a wife.

We may thus conclude by saying that era of taqlid now appears as a protracted moratorium in Islamic legal history. Stagnation has given way to a new vitality and potential for growth based on a new synthesis of law and morality. It is thus amply Clear that reform is not impossible.

Modern reformers have laid great emphasis upon Quaranic precepts concerning treatment of woman as well as upon the statement of our holy Prophet that "of all things permissible, repudiation (Talaq) is the most abominable."

In the sub-continent, like in most Islamic countries, the Islamic law of Crimes, Evidence, Sales and Obligations are not applied and certain pure doctrines of Islamic law have also been watered down by judicial pronouncements e.g. Mushaa, Wakfs (by legislation), minimum age of marriage, polygamy, inheritance, legacies, talaq etc. The government and courts have thus not found themselves powerless to make reforms e.g. Ottoman Civil Code known as Mejlle in 1877' having great influence on the law of other Muslim countries, Egypt's Law of Evidence etc. The Pakistan / Bangladesh Muslim Family Laws Ordinance furnishes an example of reform based on the exercise of the Siyasa powers or the powers of the state.

We must not however lose sight of another critical development since the early days of Islam i.e. the development of the " nuclear family" vis-a-vis the agnatic family of traditional Islamic Society. The nuclear family is limited to the parents and their lineal issue. This has inevitably meant that within this immediate family circle, the female as wife, mother or daughter occupies a much more prominent position and plays a more effective and responsible role than hitherto. Over the past few decades, the movement for the reform of traditional family law has gathered increasing momentum throughout the Muslim World and undoubtedly the most significant and striking aspect of it has been the progressive improvement in the legal status of woman.

In the light of the aforesaid analysis of the jurisprudential difficulties of reform of Islamic law in a predominantly conservative Muslim country, and the basis of the modern movement for reform, I believe that the time has come for a more radical approach towards reforms in certain areas of personal law e.g. talaq, polygamy, inheritance, legacy, wills, maintenance, dower, domestic / family realities of modern times.

তত্ত্বাবধায়ক সরকারের দাবি মানতে হবে

- শেখ হাসিনা

আওয়ামী লীগ সভানেত্রী ও সংসদে বিরোধী দলীয় নেত্রী শেখ হাসিনা বিএনপি সরকারের পদত্যাগ এবং নির্দলীয় নিরপেক্ষ তত্ত্বাবধায়ক সরকারের অধীনে নির্বাচনের দাবিতে আগামী ১০ সেপ্টেম্বর ঢাকা অবরোধ কর্মসূচীকে সর্বাত্মকভাবে সফল করার আহবান জানিয়েছেন। গত ৫ সেপ্টেম্বর মিন্টো রোডে ঢাকা মহানগর, ঢাকা জেলা, মানিকগঞ্জ, গাজীপুর, ময়মনসিংহ, টাঙ্গাইল, নরসিংদী, মুন্সিগঞ্জ, কুমিল্লা (উত্তর) কুমিল্লা (দক্ষিণ) আওয়ামী লীগ ও তার অঙ্গ সংগঠনের নেতাদের এক যৌথ সভায় বক্তৃতাকালে তিনি এ আহবান জানান।

শেখ হাসিনা বলেন, সরকার ব্যর্থতা, অযোগ্যতা, দুর্নীতি, দলীয়করণ, স্বজনপ্রীতি ও সন্ত্রাসের ভূমিকা গ্রহণ করায় দেশে গণতন্ত্র প্রাতিষ্ঠানিক রূপ লাভ করেনি। তিনি সরকারের পদত্যাগের এ সংগ্রামকে এক দফার আন্দোলন হিসাবে পুনরায় উল্লেখ করে বলেন, অবরোধ কর্মসূচী সফল করে এ সরকারকে পদত্যাগ করতে ও তত্ত্বাবধায়ক সরকারের দাবি আদায় করতে হবে।

সংসদ বয়কট নিয়ে হাই কোর্টে মামলা

বিরোধী দলের অব্যাহতভাবে সংসদ বর্জনের বৈধতা চ্যালেঞ্জ করে দায়েরকৃত রীট আবেদনের শুনানীর তারিখ আগামী ৮ নভেম্বর ধার্য করা হয়েছে। মামলার অন্যতম প্রতিপক্ষ জাতীয় পার্টির ভারপ্রাপ্ত সংসদীয় নেতা ব্যারিস্টার মওদুদ আহমদ ১ সেপ্টেম্বর তারিখে আরো সময় চেয়ে শুনানী মুলতব্বী রাখার আবেদন জানান। তিনি বলেন, সংসদ বর্জন একটি রাজনৈতিক ইস্যু। সমস্যাটির সমাধানের ব্যাপারে সরকার ও বিরোধী দলের মধ্যে আলাপ-আলোচনা শুরু হয়েছে। সুতরাং আদালতের বাইরে এ সমস্যার একটি সমাধান হয়ে যেতে পারে। এছাড়া মামলার জবাব দাখিলের জন্য সময় প্রয়োজন। মামলার অপর প্রতিপক্ষ সংসদে বিরোধী দলীয় নেত্রী শেখ হাসিনার পক্ষে ব্যারিস্টার কে এস নবীও সময় প্রার্থনা করেন।

পক্ষান্তরে রীট আবেদনকারী মোহাম্মদ আনোয়ার হোসেন খানের পক্ষে ব্যারিস্টার মোহাম্মদ আলী সময় প্রার্থনার বিরোধিতা করে বলেন, রীট আবেদনটি একটি জনস্বার্থ ও জনগুরুত্বপূর্ণ মামলা। জনগণ কোন ইস্যুতে অব্যাহতভাবে সংসদ বর্জনের জন্য সদস্যদের নির্বাচিত করেনি। সংসদে জনগণের দুঃখ দুর্দশার কথা তুলে ধরা এবং তার সমাধানের দিক নির্দেশনা দেয়ার জন্য জনগণ সদস্যদের নির্বাচিত করেছেন। সুতরাং জনস্বার্থেই মামলাটির দ্রুত নিষ্পত্তি হওয়া দরকার। উভয় পক্ষের বক্তব্য শুনানি শেষে সুপ্রিম কোর্টের হাইকোর্ট বিভাগ রীট মামলার শুনানির দিন ধার্য করেন।

এর আগে জাতীয় সংসদের স্পীকার ও সংসদ সচিবের ওপর রুলনিশি জারির জন্য জনাব মওদুদ আহমদের আবেদন হাইকোর্টের ডিভিশন বেঞ্চের নাকচ হয়ে যাবার পর জনাব মওদুদ সুপ্রিম কোর্টের আপীল বিভাগে আবেদন করেন। আপীল বিভাগ ৩১ আগস্ট উভয় পক্ষের বক্তব্য শোনার পর আবেদনটি নাকচ করে দেন।

উল্লেখ্য, মোহাম্মদ আনোয়ার হোসেন খানের রীট আবেদনের প্রেক্ষিতে হাই কোর্ট বিভাগ ২৮ জুন বিরোধী দলীয় নেত্রী শেখ হাসিনা, জাতীয় পার্টির সংসদীয় দলের ভারপ্রাপ্ত নেতা ব্যারিস্টার মওদুদ আহমদ এবং জামায়াতে ইসলামীর সংসদীয় দল নেতা মওলানা মতিউর রহমান নিজামীর ওপর রুলনিশি জারি করেন। রুলনিশিতে কোন্ আইনগত ক্ষমতা বলে তাঁরা অব্যাহতভাবে সংসদ অধিবেশন বর্জন করছেন এবং তাঁদেরকে আদালত থেকে কেন অবিলম্বে সংসদ অধিবেশনে যোগদানের জন্য নির্দেশ দেয়া হবে না সেই মর্মে কারণ দর্শাতে বলা হয়।

The present initiative by Mrs. Farida Rahman is a laudable attempt in the right direction, however / tentative or a cautious the effort may be. It is now incumbent on us not only to support her initiative but also to follow it in right earnest.

[This is an abridged version of a paper presented at a workshop on Muslim Family Laws (Amendment) Bill which was organised last month by CAC.]

গণতান্ত্রিক প্রক্রিয়া অব্যাহত রাখার জন্য সংসদে আসুন — প্রধানমন্ত্রী

প্রধানমন্ত্রী ও সংসদ নেত্রী বেগম খালেদা জিয়া ২৬ আগস্ট ১৯৯৪ চলমান গণতান্ত্রিক প্রক্রিয়া অব্যাহত রাখার লক্ষ্যে জাতীয় সংসদের শরৎকালীন অধিবেশনে যোগদান করার জন্য বিরোধীদলীয় সংসদ সদস্যদের প্রতি পুনরায় আহ্বান জানিয়েছেন। বৃড়িগঙ্গা সেতুর নির্মাণ কাজ উপলক্ষে জিজিরায় আয়োজিত বিরাট জনসমাবেশে বক্তৃতাকালে তিনি এই আহ্বান জানান। প্রধানমন্ত্রী বলেন, জনগণ তাদের উপর যে দায়িত্ব ন্যস্ত করেছে এবং তারা জনগণের নিকট যে অঙ্গীকার করেছিলেন তার প্রতি শ্রদ্ধা প্রকাশের জন্য বিরোধী দলের এম.পি'দের উচিত হবে সংসদ অধিবেশনে যোগ দিয়ে দেশ ও দেশের জনগণ এবং উন্নয়নের সমস্যা সম্পর্কে আলোচনা করা।

বিরোধীদলীয় সংসদ সদস্যদের লাগাতার সংসদ বয়কটে বিষয় প্রকাশ করে প্রধানমন্ত্রী বলেন, জনগণ তাদের এবং দেশের সমস্যা সম্পর্কে কথা বলা ও গণতন্ত্রের ভিত্তি সুদৃঢ় করা ও জাতির উন্নয়নে প্রয়োজনীয় পরামর্শ দেয়ার জন্য তাঁদেরকে নির্বাচিত করেছে। কিন্তু তারা বিরোধী দল হিসাবেও কোন কর্মসূচী, দিক নির্দেশনা এবং প্রস্তাব দিতে ব্যর্থ হচ্ছে।

টঙ্গী পৌরসভার মডেল নির্বাচন কার্যক্রম এগিয়ে চলেছে

দাপুনিয়া মডেল নির্বাচনের আলোকে টঙ্গী পৌরসভা মডেল নির্বাচন কার্যক্রম এগিয়ে চলেছে। প্রত্যেক ভোটারকে আই ডি কার্ড সরবরাহের জন্য নির্বাচন কমিশন ভোটারদের তথ্য সংগ্রহ করে ডাটা বেইস তৈরি করেছে। এই পর্যায়ে ভিডিও ক্যামেরা ব্যবহার করে ভোটারদের ছবি ডাটা বেইসে আনা হচ্ছে। নির্বাচন কমিশন সূত্রে জানা গেছে, এটি অত্যাধুনিক পদ্ধতি এবং এতদঞ্চলে প্রথম।

এই মডেল নির্বাচনের সার্বিক কার্যক্রম তত্ত্বাবধানের জন্য স্থানীয় গণ্যমান্য ব্যক্তিদের সমন্বয়ে ৫৬ সদস্যবিশিষ্ট একটি স্টিয়ারিং কমিটি গঠন করা হয়েছে। প্রধান নির্বাচন কমিশনার বিচারপতি মোহাম্মদ আবদুর রউফ ৬ আগস্ট ১৯৯৪ এই মডেল নির্বাচন কার্যক্রম আনুষ্ঠানিকভাবে উদ্বোধন করেন। উদ্বোধনী অনুষ্ঠানে প্রধান নির্বাচন কমিশনার বলেন, নির্বাচন প্রক্রিয়ায় ভোটারদের প্রত্যক্ষ অংশগ্রহণের মাধ্যমেই সত্যিকার অর্থে একটি অবাধ ও নিরপেক্ষ নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠান সম্ভব। তিনি বলেন, এই লক্ষ্যেই টঙ্গী পৌরসভার মডেল নির্বাচন প্রক্রিয়ায় ভোটারদেরকে নির্বাচন ব্যবস্থাপনার দায়িত্ব দেয়া হয়েছে।

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Books

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□ **Anti-Defection Law and Parliamentary Privileges.** Dr. S. C. Kashyap, N.M. Tripathi, Bombay

Articles

□ **Rationalizing Parliamentary Systems.** G. Brennan; A. Hamlin. *Australian journal of Political Science*, v. 28(3), Nov. 1993

Subjects: Democracy; Elections; Parliaments; Party discipline;

Presidential systems; Westminster system; Australia overseas comparisons; Public choice

□ **Parliamentary discipline: an informal survey of opinion**
B. Brown *Canadian parliamentary review*, v. 17(2), Summer 1994: 14-16

□ **Parliamentary accountability.** *Parliamentarian*, v.75(1), Jan. 1994: 55-60

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□ **Can the Senate cope with executive accountability?** Sen M. Beahan. *House Magazine* (Canberra), v. 13(18), 6 July 1994: 5-12, tables

Subjects: Parliament Executive relations; Senate; Senate Estimates Committees; Accountability

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D. Hynd. *Legislative studies*, v. 8 (1) Spring 1993

Subjects: Public service accountability; Senate Estimates Committees.

□ **Parliamentary oversight of public service performance: Australian developments—U.K. and U.S. perspective.** Ian Marsh. Australia. *Task force on Management Improvement; Australia. Management Advisory Board;* [Canberra: The Task Force] 1992

Subjects: Parliamentary committees; Public service management; Auditing; Public service accountability

□ **The recall of elected members [Canada]** P. McCormick *Canadian parliamentary review*, v.17(2). Summer 1994

Abstract: Explains how the recall device allows for elected members to be subjected at any time to the review of the people who put them in office.

□ **Parliamentary committees and the public interest,** Harry Evan's *Legislative studies*. v 8 (1), Spring 1993

Subjects: Legislation Committees; Lobbying; Parliament Executive relations; Reform; Public interest

□ **The role of parliamentary secretaries** M. Healy. *Legislative studies*, v.8(1), Spring 1993

□ **Obstacles and opportunities for parliamentary reform [Canada]** P. Manning. *Canadian parliamentary review*, v.17(2), Summer 1994: 2—5

□ **Women in Parliament** J. Carlton. *Canberra bulletin of public administration*, no 76, Apr. 1994

Subjects: Women members; Affirmative action; Political image; Political participation; Sex discrimination; Voting



Keynote speaker Farida Rahman MP, Moderator Ziaur Rahman Khan MP and Panelist Akhter Imam Barrister at Law



Participants of the seminar

Muslim Family Laws

CONSENSUS FOR AMENDMENT

The Women in Politics Program of the Centre for Analysis and Choice organized a full day seminar on August 17, 1994 at the WVA auditorium, Dhaka, on "The Muslim Family Laws Amendment) Bill 1994" tabled in the Parliament by Begum Farida Rahman, M.P. It was attended by Women Politicians, representatives of different women's organizations and NGOs, and members of the Press.

The objective of the seminar was to create an opportunity for women and their representatives to discuss, clarify and, if necessary, amend or add to the proposed bill.

Member of Parliament Ziaur Rahman Khan, Barrister-at-law, was the moderator.

Begum Farida Rahman initiated the discussion with the presentation of the keynote paper. It was elaborated and enriched by a group of panelists comprising Salma Sobhan, Barrister-at-law, Akhter Imam, Barrister-at-law and Hafeza Asma Khatun, M.P.

During the course of the seminar Gazi Shamsur Rahman, Chairman, Press Institute of Bangladesh, joined as Guest Speaker and made valuable contributions to the discussions.

In the afternoon session open discussion from the floor was

invited. This seminar provided a platform for individuals of different parties and ideologies to interact and express their views. The discussion helped to highlight that changes in Islamic laws are permissible. Moreover, Islamic laws are not used in all spheres of life in Bangladesh. Rather, civil law is enforced. The view was expressed by a majority of the participants that

such laws may also apply to marriage and divorce. There was a general consensus that the proposed bill should be passed in its present form. Ideally, however, women and women's representatives should work to prohibit polygamy or for that matter bigamy from the country altogether. It should be made punishable by law. Deterrents such as proposed in the bill may not be satisfactorily effective. Rather, they may lead to or cause an increase in violence against women. Therefore, all agreed that the ultimate aim should be to work toward the prohibition of polygamy.

Secondly, the dower money should be fixed in a manner so that it will adjust to the inflation rate. One suggestion made was that if a man wants to divorce his wife fifty percent of the dower money should be paid directly to the wife and fifty percent to the court even before the divorce becomes final.

It was opined by all that there is need for more dialogue to create awareness and understanding of the laws, provisions and practices to develop a fair and equitable system.

Two clear lines of thinking emerged from the discussion. A few of the participants were in favor of bringing amendments or reforms provided the principles of religious law remained intact and changes were in keeping with the law prescribed. A majority, however, differed and prescribed amendments of a civil nature leading to uniform laws beneficial to all women in the long run.

It may be noted that BNP parliamentary party in a meeting on August 30, 1994 decided to permit its members to vote for or against as they deem fit on this amendment in the parliament



Panelist Hafeza Asma Khatun MP speaking in the seminar



Panelist Salma Sobhan, Barrister at Law speaking in the seminar



সিএসি বার্তা

সেন্টার ফর এনালাইসিস

এন্ড চয়েস-এর মুখপত্র

সেন্টার ফর এনালাইসিস এন্ড চয়েস (সিএসি)

বাড়ী ৬৫ সড়ক ৬এ ধানমন্ডি ঢাকা

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(sent by email on 11 October, 1994)

CONFIRMATION COPY

THE ASIA FOUNDATION

MEMORANDUM 94 OCT 10 10 51 25 October 11, 1994

TO: Debbie Garcia/Courtney Norris, WIP
CC/DIST: Carol Yost, Washington
FROM: Jill Tucker, Indonesia
SUBJECT: WIP Phase I Interim Assessment/Evaluation
REF: Courtney's memo of September 2 and fax of September 13

This memo contains an assessment of the WIP programming context in Indonesia, the value of WIP's regional programs, and discussion of complementary projects in Indonesia, followed by separate assessments of our two active WIP projects. As you know, the assessment of the Convention Watch project was completed by Dr. Sarah Maxim, a local consultant.

Programming Context

In view of the specific objectives of the Indonesia office's WIP projects, especially as both touch upon the roles and rights of women workers in Indonesia, the programming environment has not changed significantly. In a September 1994 statement, the Minister for Manpower, Abdul Latief, conceded that many women workers are legally unprotected due to poor law enforcement. He stressed, however, that his ministry is aware of the problem and is taking action, including the issuance of stopgap ministerial decrees, to temporarily improve the welfare of women workers. Included in the decrees issued by the ministry were increases in the minimum wage enacted in early 1994. Enforcement of this and other decrees remains problematic. In addition, women workers continue to be concentrated in the manufacturing and industrial sectors, with only 0.2 percent of the nation's female labor force employed in white collar jobs.

In August 1994, Mrs. Titi Sumbung, the Director of the Melati Foundation, a women's organization focusing on management, training and research related to women (and a Foundation grantee) publicly expressed her concern about the greater emphasis that has been placed upon women's participation as workers as opposed to their access to the decisionmaking process. "Women...are being given the role as executors," said Mrs. Sumbung, "and only a few of them are involved in the decisionmaking process or in the planning stages of development programs."

The Foundation's WIP programs, that focus on enforcement of laws relating to women, and on increasing women's access to "nontraditional" roles including those entrusted with decisionmaking, address these critical issues facing women in Indonesia today.

While the programming context has not changed in a manner that would warrant a change in strategy, the overall atmosphere in which nongovernmental organizations operate has changed significantly since the commencement of the WIP program. In June 1994, bans were

65

placed on three widely-read news weeklies, causing many to seriously question the government's commitment to its stated policy of "openness." The bans have had a chilling effect on freedom of speech, which plays a part in both of the Foundation's WIP projects. (See assessment of Open University project, attached, for a vivid example.)

The press bans were followed by the issuance of a 17-page draft decree by the Interior Ministry intended to regulate the activities of nongovernmental organizations. The decree includes new rules for the establishment of NGOs, and a list of requirements that existing NGOs would need to fulfill. Under the decree an organization could be closed if it is deemed to be "undermining the authority [of the state] and/or discrediting the government...hindering the implementation of national development" or engaged in "other activity that upsets political stability and security." In the wake of the press bans that were also justified in part on the grounds of national stability and security, the draft decree has stifled the hopes of many who benefitted from the government's short experiment with "openness." The NGO community is protesting the decree, but the final outcome of the government's effort is still uncertain.

WIP Regional Programs

WIP's Regional Activities appear to be an excellent forum for mutual support and exchange of ideas among women involved in WIP activities in all Foundation countries. The way in which the Indonesia office benefits in the future will depend in large part on the selection of participants to attend these meetings and workshops.

In particular, the Indonesia office agrees with Courtney's comments on diversifying conference/workshop participation. Younger participants who may be more intricately involved with day-to-day project activities may benefit in more practical ways, and can apply their learning to actual project activities. In addition, policymakers themselves, such as Mrs. Astrid Susanto from BAPPENAS, should continue to be invited to these forums, regardless of whether they are participating directly in a WIP-funded activity.

The Indonesia office is in the process of developing WIP-related activities that may or may not be funded with USAID/WIP funds. We would like to be able to invite grantees involved in these projects to such forums, even if the funding for their participation would need to be borne by non-USAID/WIP sources.

Complementary Projects

The Indonesia office is implementing a number of non-USAID-funded women-related projects, but none that were active in FY94 could be said to have added to the impact of the WIP projects. Examples of these GG-funded projects include an effort with Yayasan Melati (mentioned above) to provide community development and leadership

training to women in East Timor, and the Forum for Islam and Women's Empowerment's workshop to discuss the relationship between women's empowerment and Islamic teachings.

We are aware, however, of efforts undertaken by other organizations that complement our WIP work. A project funded by the Swiss Development Corporation enabled the Institute for Women and Children of the All Indonesia Worker's Union (the one government-sanctioned trade union), to publish a series of comic books explaining aspects of Indonesian labor law regarding women in the workplace. The comic books were distributed to women workers.

In June 1994, an Indonesian NGO called Women's Solidarity held a week-long workshop on the elimination of discrimination against women, which was attended by 53 women's activists from all over the archipelago. The workshop focused partially on using Indonesia's signing of the CEDAW as a mechanism for influencing the Indonesian government.

A long established NGO, and former grantee of The Asia Foundation, Yayasan Annisa Swasti located in Central Java, focuses all of its work on research and activism related to women workers.

It is likely that there are other organizations also focusing on the rights of women workers, however, it would be extremely difficult for the Foundation to assess the cumulative impact of these efforts. Nevertheless, these efforts and the early 1994 labor demonstrations held in northern Sumatra and in other locations across the country have focused public attention on the rights of all workers, male and female, in Indonesia's manufacturing sector.

Project Assessment: Open University Television Series
"The Evolving Roles and Rights of Women"

As of October 1994, the Open University has completed all six scripts for the television series entitled "The Evolving Roles and Rights of Women in Indonesia," and has begun production on two broadcasts.

Script-writing workshop and script development

The Open University held a script-writing workshop from August 1-5, 1994, in which all six scripts were developed. The 18 participants were divided into groups of three, with one scriptwriter, one subject matter expert and one media expert per group. Each group was given primary responsibility for the development of a script. All of the scripts were then reviewed by the larger group of experts and film directors, and have been revised in response to their input. The Asia Foundation has copies of all scripts, in bahasa Indonesia. The Open University anticipates that these will undergo further revisions during production.

The three program foci and the titles of the two broadcasts under each are as follows:

1. Women's Role Development
 - a. Spread Your Wings
 - b. Let Them Run
2. Women and the Law
 - a. Oh Woman
 - b. Divorce and the Rights of Women over their Children & Property
3. Women in the Workforce
 - a. Yes, That's My Fate
 - b. Women Workers

Production

Production started in September 1994. The Open University began production with the last two broadcasts focusing on women in the workforce since those scripts were deemed to need less revision than the others. After filming approximately 40 percent of the broadcasts, the producers encountered an unexpected problem: the guest speakers they had approached earlier became hesitant about appearing on nationwide television to discuss this sensitive issue. Their hesitancy reflects the chill on freedom of speech that has resulted from the programming context discussed earlier.

In mid-September the Open University staff met to finalize their list of guest speakers and they believe that they have selected 15 individuals who will be willing to appear in their broadcasts. The list includes prominent figures in government, business, technology, education and law. All but one of the proposed guest speakers is female.

The Asia Foundation has not yet attended any production sessions, but expects to attend some in October 1994. Project activities are proceeding on schedule to allow for April/May 1995 broadcast of the series. Despite the difficulties the Open University has encountered with regard to guest speakers, the project has achieved the expected outcomes at this stage. The scripts contain the information described in the program plan and production is on schedule. An evaluation of the impact and effectiveness of the series will be possible only after broadcast.

Project Assessment: Convention Watch

Background:

This project has now officially been underway since January 1994. It developed out of The Asia Foundation Women In Politics (WIP) program and in direct response to a needs assessment conducted by Ms. Smita Notosusanto of the Women's Studies Program at the University of Indonesia, which looked at the general concept of WIP, but as oriented towards its applicability to an Indonesian context. As a result of Ms. Notosusanto's work, it was decided that what was needed in Indonesia was better and more thorough awareness about women's rights. This issue of awareness, it was felt, could be best approached by highlighting Indonesia's compliance with, and

enforcement of, the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which it signed in 1980, and which was later integrated into the Indonesian legal code as Law No. 7 of 1984. The Convention Watch project was developed as a result of this needs assessment and incorporated as part of the WIP mandate for Indonesia. It is run by the Graduate Women's Studies Program at the University of Indonesia, located at the campus of the university's graduate school in central Jakarta. Project coordinator is Ms. Anita Rachman, a lecturer in the Graduate Women's Studies Program.

Project Objectives:

Although the CEDAW treaty generally emphasizes women's rights and the need to end sexual discrimination, the Convention Watch group has chosen to focus primarily on Chapter 11 of the treaty which discusses discrimination in the workplace. Women's experiences in the workplace environment, most specifically in the factory, were to be addressed through a variety of activities this year.

Timeframe:

Activities were to be conducted originally over a nine-month period, from 1 January to 30 September 1994. The end date will now be proposed to be extended for a further three months to allow time for completion of all activities.

Project Activities:

As per the Letter of Agreement signed by The Asia Foundation and the project leaders at the University of Indonesia, the following activities for Convention Watch were specifically outlined:

1. Establishment of a working group to monitor and assess the attainment of the implementation and socialization of CEDAW.
2. Creation of an information base for research activities conducted by the group.
3. Development of public education through training programs, media campaigns and publications (leaflets, brochures, posters).
4. Organization of seminars and workshops to strengthen the implementation of the program.

All of these activities were to be oriented on the issue of Women in the Workplace.

Implementation:

Convention Watch is organized into two working groups, each divided again into two smaller groups. The Monitoring and Critical Evaluation working groups, headed by Nursjahbani Katjasungkana, the director of the *Solidaritas Perempuan* NGO, are responsible for examining CEDAW and Indonesian law to check for compliance and discrepancies, for monitoring CEDAW implementation in the workplace and to conduct research related to these ideas. The Socialization and Publications groups, headed by Tini Hadad, the vice-director of the Indonesian Consumers' Association (YLKI), are expected to engage in information dissemination and public education about

CEDAW and about women's rights and the need to fight discrimination in the workplace. The following activities have taken place or been carried out by the different working groups since Convention Watch officially got underway in January 1994:

Monitoring and Critical Evaluation - Activities have included a review of Indonesian law for compliance with CEDAW; an assessment of CEDAW itself and its effectiveness and applicability to third world countries; a study of the implementation of Indonesia's Law No. 7/1984, the extent of its incorporation into other laws and regulations and the actual impact or effectiveness of these laws in eliminating discrimination; a case study of discrimination against women factory workers at a local textile factory through study of legal aid documentation; and field work and interviews based on assessing general knowledge of CEDAW and opinions about sexual discrimination among a select group of key respondents representing a cross section of Indonesian society. The latter project was preceded by a pre-test in which a more limited target group was interviewed. The various research and monitoring activities were concluded with separate workshops in which results were presented and discussed among the Convention Watch participants.

Socialization and Publications - A working seminar was held on May 19, 1994 to introduce Convention Watch and the need to push for further socialization of CEDAW into the Indonesian context. This seminar involved people from the government, the Parliament, the legal and academic communities and NGOs. Another seminar, designed to continue this type of socialization campaign and co-sponsored by Kompas newspaper, Indonesia's major daily newspaper, will be held on October 18, 1994, and will be addressed by Indonesia's Minister of Manpower, which should increase its newsworthiness. An ongoing media campaign has brought about the publication of a number of articles about CEDAW and sexual discrimination in a variety of mass-market publications, including Kompas, and in several popular women's magazines. Radio call-in shows about CEDAW have been held every few weeks on a number of private FM radio stations in Jakarta with various members of Convention Watch, as well as some other women activists, being interviewed on the air about CEDAW and available to answer questions from listeners. Two prominent leaders of Convention Watch were also interviewed by Jakarta's main private TV station in July for a special report about CEDAW and discrimination in Indonesia.

The final results of this first year of Convention Watch activities from all the working groups will be presented in a plenary meeting at the end of October. The Convention Watch participants will all join in assessing what has been accomplished and in translating the results, particularly from the research sub-field, into further action and activities. It will also be proposed that documentation center for all the activities be established so that project results can be readily available to project participants and to other interested organizations, including the United Nations and local and international NGOs.

Evaluation:

The Convention Watch project, as originally envisioned, emphasizes broadening awareness of CEDAW and its provisions, specifically as they relate to women at work, within Indonesia. Although it would be possible to apply the activities related to this focus throughout the country, the general emphasis has been on Jakarta, and significantly lately, the educated middle and upper classes, through media promotion, research projects and seminars. The focus on Jakarta is predominantly due to the project being run through the University of Indonesia and the limited manpower within Convention Watch, even though project participants hope to broaden the base of activities beyond the capital region in the coming months.

At this point in time, the overall theory behind the Convention Watch project seems to be mainly designed towards shaping the opinions and actions of the policymakers and "agents of change" within the government, legal community and in the media. The project, despite that part of the research group which has looked at women factory workers, is not oriented towards activities at the grassroots level, which means that outputs are hard to measure and actual progress towards greater awareness of the need to eliminate sexual discrimination not easily monitored. Convention Watch is a project for the long term and real results can only be expected as the group's activities and awareness programs are processed and acted upon by the target audience and by the public at large.

With these caveats in mind, however, actual implementation and development of this program has still been on a more reduced scale than had been outlined in the original proposal. A number of substantive activities were proposed at the beginning of the implementation period to fulfill a variety of different purposes, yet some have moved forward very slowly, such as the intention to produce leaflets about rights for women workers, or have been abandoned, such as an initial plan to interview and work with women factory workers. Other activities have taken a lot of time to be organized and brought to fruition, most specifically the seminars and field research work. The project leaders have acknowledged their slow progress to The Asia Foundation and the general extension granted to the project is supposed to give them more time to follow through on their initial goals and expectations.

A general problem in terms of the actual implementation of activities from the broad outlines and original concept is that the key instigator of these ideas, Ms. Notosusanto, the author of the original needs assessment, is now studying in the U.S. and so is not available generally to help organize or oversee the program, although she did provide much needed guidance during her recent summer break. The members of the Advisory Board, as well, are often out of the country or busy with a number of other activities and it seems to have been difficult at times to maintain a general momentum and sense of purpose to the project, despite the obvious efforts of the project coordinator.

The other members of Convention Watch as well, beyond those of the Advisory Board, are all well-known and well-respected activists, scholars, writers, etc. and have a great potential to make things happen in Indonesia, particularly in terms of women's rights and women's issues. Nevertheless, it has been difficult over the past several months of this project to bring all these women together and move towards the achievement of real substantive results, within the framework of the Convention Watch project itself. All of the members already have many different demands on their time and Convention Watch is not always their first priority, despite their general agreement that the project is a useful and effective approach. Each working group also, once they do meet, are not always prepared to coordinate their activities with those being developed by the other groups, or may even not know what is being discussed or prepared in these other groups. Activities, therefore, although usually effective once implemented, do not always seem to represent a unified and directed program.

There also has been a consistent debate within the members of Convention Watch as to what exactly is supposed to constitute the "workplace." Many members have maintained that domestic servants and market traders, who are not covered by CEDAW because of the informal nature of their employment but who do make up a significant part of the workforce within Indonesia, should be addressed by project activities. This debate has now apparently been resolved, with all working groups now agreeing that the focus on women in the workplace should include both the formal and informal sectors. It should be noted, however, that the myriad other varieties of women workers in Jakarta and elsewhere in Indonesia, including salesgirls, clerical staff and office workers, have not so far been included directly within the scope of the project. It may be assumed that the media promotion campaign would be expected to involve these women, yet it is not possible to evaluate this possibility with any degree of certainty.

Although all of the activities have not always been carried out exactly as planned, the women involved in Convention Watch, who are all highly motivated and well-connected, are often able to carry the message about discrimination and women's rights forward in ways which are not even always connected with the project directly. The project coordinator, Anita Rachman, is regularly asked to participate in radio talk shows about women and women's issues and so is able to stress CEDAW and its implementation even when such an activity has not been specifically programmed by the Convention Watch participants. Participants within the Women's Studies faculty at the University of Indonesia refer to CEDAW in their courses and have also recruited students and lecturers from other faculties to assist in the collection and tabulation of research, which is also a form of socialization and consciousness raising. Other Convention Watch participants are very visible in the world of Jakarta's intelligentsia and so are commonly able to give a certain heightened awareness to women's rights within the circles they come into contact with, regardless of whether or not Convention Watch is involved. Participants also expect that the

results of this year's activities will be presented to the Indonesian delegate to the annual CEDAW review which will take place next February, and in particular their own commentary on the necessity of including informal sector workers within the general guidelines of action against sexual discrimination.

Of the Socialization activities which have taken place, all seem to have received a good response. The May seminar involving outside participants reached the conclusion through a final questionnaire that many of those attending, including Parliament members, judges and lawyers, had been unaware of CEDAW prior to the seminar and were emphatic in requesting that further socialization programs about the law and sexual discrimination be carried out. The radio shows as well have been popular with listeners and Convention Watch members who have participated in these programs report that many callers do ask questions about CEDAW or, most commonly, how to confront problems of discrimination in the workplace. Research activities assessing the compliance with CEDAW in Indonesian law have also been useful in terms of creating baseline data from which further approaches to the issue of sexual discrimination may be developed. The other research activities, involving the case studies of workers and the interviews with key respondents, should also provide similarly helpful sources of information.

The project has also served a significant secondary purpose in terms of bringing together, despite recurring logistics problems, women leaders from many different groups to brainstorm solutions to the problem of sexual discrimination in Indonesia. These women are also able to see and present the theoretical underpinnings to why discrimination should be addressed, and can point to the benefits to the family and to the life of the nation as a whole if women receive fair and equal treatment at work. This ability is a useful tool for the later stages of the project which will stress action towards equality and fair treatment in the workplace.

The past ten months of work by Convention Watch have created a heightened awareness of CEDAW among certain groups in Indonesia, specifically in Jakarta, and has uncovered generally how little is known or understood about CEDAW and sexual discrimination. However, this result has been relatively easy to accomplish given the almost complete lack of awareness before Convention Watch began its activities. The question remains as to whether or not these activities and the general level of consciousness raising can lead to action and improvements in women's lives at work. The issue of approaching and integrating the informal sector of women workers with the formal sector has also not been clearly resolved. Problems also continue due to the collective leadership structure of the group and the lack of a clear chain of command.

Consequently, it should be concluded that although Convention Watch has succeeded in its plan at increasing awareness of CEDAW and has, to some degree, promoted linkages among different sectors, possibly leading to change and action in the future, actual change and an increased compliance with CEDAW has not yet happened. Regardless

of this conclusion, however, Convention Watch has the potential to bring about change eventually, if its activities are developed with this focus in mind, and if the particular organizational style and management structure of the group is encouraged towards greater cohesion.

74

EVALUATION OF THE WOMEN IN POLITICS
PROGRAM (WIP), PHASE I,
OF THE ASIA FOUNDATION - NEPAL OFFICE

Submitted to:

The Asia Foundation - Nepal

October 24, 1994

By:

Josefina O. Dhungana
Consultant

TABLE OF CONTENT

	<u>Page No.</u>
<i>EXECUTIVE SUMMARY</i>	
BACKGROUND	1
Phase I WIP Program Activities	2
Methodology	4
EVALUATION FINDINGS	5
A. PROJECT ACCOMPLISHMENTS	5
1. Civics and Advocacy Training for Rural Women's Groups - Curriculum Development for Field-Based Women Field Workers	5
2. Advocacy Training for Women Activists The Visit of Robin Morgan	7
Assessment of Impact	8
Media Coverage	8
Progress or Status of Follow up Activities	9
Extent of Mobilization of Women Around Issues of Concern	11
Creating New Alliances between NGOs/Building Coalition and Greater Cooperation Among NGOs	12
3. Exposure Tour for Women Activists	15
Assessment of Impact	17
Recommendations Solicited from Interviewees and Those of the Consultant on Strengthening the WIP Program in Nepal	18
B. CONTEXT/SITUATION ANALYSIS FOR THE NEPAL WIP PROGRAM	22
C. VALUE ADDED FROM THE REGIONAL ACTIVITIES TO IN-COUNTRY PROJECTS	22
D. COMPLEMENTARY PROJECTS IMPLEMENTED WITH NON-AID FUNDS	23
1. <u>Asmita</u> Publishing House	23
2. Dalit Mahila Sangh	24
3. ABC-Nepal	25
Assessment of Impact	25
E. PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED/SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT IN IDENTIFYING/PLANNING/IMPLEMENTING REGIONAL ACTIVITIES	26
F. IMPACT OF HAVING A PROGRAM FOCUSED ON ONE ISSUE PROGRAMATICALLY VERSUS INSTITUTIONALLY	27

REFERENCES

ANNEXES

- A - List of Persons Interviewed
- B - Terms of Reference for this Evaluation

GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABC-Nepal	Agro-Forestry, Basic Health and Cooperatives
CVICT	Centre for Victims of Torture
DECORE	Development Communication and Research Consultancy Group
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
IIDS	Institute for Integrated Development Studies
MPs	Members of Parliament
NPC	National Planning Commission
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
SCOPE	Society for Constitutional and Parliamentary Exercises
SUSS-WLSP	Society for Underprivileged Society/ Women's Legal Services Project
TAF	The Asia Foundation
UNICEF	United Nations Children and Educational Funds
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VDC	Village Development Committee
WDO	Women Development Officer
WID	Women-in-Development
WIP	Women in Politics
WSPG	Women Security Pressure Group

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

After one year of implementing the Phase I of the Women in Politics (WIP) program. The Asia Foundation conducted an interim evaluation of this program, utilizing the services of an independent consultant. All relevant project documents available at the TAF office were reviewed and a total of 24 women activists - a mix of organizers and participants in all the activities organized during Robin Morgan's visit, including two former women MPs; all the four NGO women activists sent for study tour; and those involved in the curriculum development were interviewed.

The major accomplishments of the Phase I WIP activities, and their impact, to date were as follows: 1) at the time of this evaluation, the Didi Bahini has submitted a draft of the curriculum guide for field workers. Still to be completed are the following: solicitation of the input of fieldworkers and facilitators; final component review by specialists; review by implementing NGOs; illustrations development; and translation. 2) The visit of Robin Morgan include several coalition building and advocacy activities which benefitted a wide cross section of Nepali women activists. The Morgan's visit seems to have the widest impact, given the extensive media coverage that brought visibility to the women's issues; and the wide interactions that created opportunities for enriching the participants, and building the platform for coalition building. On the other hand, the undercutting among the various groups and individuals was also obvious, and due to various factors, attempts for sustaining the momentum for building a strong women's coalition has not been that effective and successful as expected. 3) the exposure tour of four women activists in Thailand, Philippines and India suffered due to lack of adequate coordination and planning. Despite the limitations, overall, the observation tour has added a new dimension of knowledge and exposure to women's activities in these countries, and has provided them a wide range of international networking possibilities. Much is yet to be seen on the impact of this activity on the advocacy and coalition building goals.

Among the recommendations to strengthen the WIP program in Nepal include the following: aggressive consolidation of the pledged follow-up activities of the Morgan's visit, and a sequel activity to this focusing more on methods, skill development, strategy formulation and developing action plans; spurring the women's movement from the grassroots; arranging more exposure opportunities for the women Members of Parliament who would get elected this November, focusing more, among others, on sharpening their advocating skills; utilizing the genuine rural or grassroot-based NGOs, other groups such as the micro-credit women's groups, literacy and neo-literate groups, youths etc.; harnessing the mass media's potential for effective agenda-setting function; efficient coordination and planning of observation tours and regional activities; and, for strengthening the coalition building process, organizing group activities that would provide more meaningful experience of working together, interacting and strengthening the bond that is so crucial in the coalition building process.

The regional activities participated in by Nepalese women activists can be said to have added to the values of the in-country programs. There is also to a large extent, a cumulative impact of combined AID and non-AID funded projects on addressing the problems.

BACKGROUND

There was almost universal political transitions in many countries of the world during the last ten years. The advent of new democracies also brought forth the challenge of expanding the scope of broad base popular support vis-a-vis the emerging new leadership. On the other hand, particularly in Asian countries, while women comprise half of the population, but they participate the least in political processes, and consequently, benefit the least from the democratic institutions and processes.

In Nepal, along with the environment of dawning democracies in the world, a changed political context brought about by the people's movement in 1990 ended the 30 years reigning partyless system and gave way to the multi-party system. The 1991 parliamentary election in Nepal is considered to be a significant landmark in Nepalese political history. In effect, the 1990 Movement saw the fruition of several changes, basically structural political changes, including the "fission and fusion" of various political parties, and the requirement in the political parties of 5 percent women candidates in the election.

Despite these changes, Nepalese women remain marginalized in the political processes. While hopes were high that these changes can likewise manifest in reforming women's social and legal status, the basic requirements for women to be able to actively participate in these processes, viz. basic education, access to information, mobility and economic productivity, remain yet to be fulfilled.

If there is one outstanding manifestation of the new air of freedom brought about by the democratic change in Nepal, is the emergence of nongovernmental, volunteer groups and political organizations of various persuasions. Within it came the growth of women-managed NGOs and women's advocacy groups. To this date, however, the central challenges to a strong women's movement in Nepal are to encourage the awareness raising process among women about their legal rights and the opportunities available to them in a democratic society, and promote opportunities for cooperative action (Kaufmann and Rademacher, 1993).

Building on its longstanding works with formal democratic institutions and hundreds of NGOs across the Asia-Pacific region, The Asia Foundation launched a program with USAID assistance, the "Women in Politics Program" (WIP), to increase women's representation in decision-making bodies, promote accessibility and influence on the policy-making process and foster greater responsiveness to their concerns. Through increased gender awareness, development of women's leadership capabilities, policy and legal reform, and building networks among women and women's organizations within and across national borders, The Asia

Foundation's specific country activities are targeted on one or more of the following objectives:

- I Reduce Barriers to Women's Full Participation in Political Processes.
- II Increase Women's Influence on Decision-making so that Women's Issues are Given the Attention they Merit.
- III Build Networks between Individuals and Organizations Working to Increase Women's Political Participation Within and Between Countries throughout the Asia-Pacific Region.

After one year of implementing Phase I of the WIP Program in Nepal, The Asia Foundation felt the need to conduct an evaluation of these programs. Under the terms of reference for this evaluation, Josefina O. Dhungana, a communication and media professional, and presently the Executive Director of the DECORE Consultancy Group carried out this evaluation works for the WIP program from October 4 to 24, 1994. This is the report of the evaluation.

Phase I WIP Activities

According to the Program Plan, the first year of WIP programming in Nepal was to focus on addressing two of the most basic constraints to increasing women's participation in the public sphere identified in the needs assessment: 1) the lack of awareness about rights, opportunities and channels for action by the majority of Nepali women; 2) the need to strengthen both existing and emerging networks of women who are uniting for collective action.

For its first year of project implementation, TAF implemented the following projects:

I. Civics and Advocacy Training for Rural Women's Groups

This project aims to enhance the capacity of rural NGOs to increase public access to policy making and conduct governance and gender awareness campaigns.

Under this project is the development of curricula and materials to train staff of rural NGOs in the following areas: gender awareness, human rights, legal literacy and civic education on the processes and structure of government including visits to local offices and Parliament. This project is also to facilitate meetings with other NGOs that could serve as models as well as forums for conveying rural concerns; and following the training, NGO staff is to identify their priority issues, and devise action plans or future advocacy efforts and methods for evaluating their progress.

For 1994, TAF commissioned the Didi Bahini Women for Women Empowerment Program, a sister NGO of the Innovative Forum for Community Development, to develop a civics and advocacy training curricula/materials package for future use by the NGOs. A draft report jointly prepared by Saloni Singh, Chayya Jha of the Didi Bahini, and Anne Kaufman, WIP Consultant of TAF has recently been submitted for comments.

II. Advocacy Training for Women Activists

This project aimed to increase the advocacy and coalition-building skills of women activists and women's advocacy organizations. A major activity under this project is organizing three skills development workshops for women MPs, government officials, NGO activists, and women in media on community outreach and mobilization, raising gender awareness, utilizing the media, drafting legislation and understanding the legislative process.

For 1994, the Asia Foundation implemented two major activities:

- a) the visit of Robin Morgan in June 1994
- b) the coalition building and advocacy workshop (part of Morgan's program)

III. Exposure Tour for Women Activists

The purpose of this project was to enable Nepali women activists and leaders to meet with their counterparts in the region to assess how they are meeting challenges to women's full participation and compare barriers and strategies. Under this project, four members of the Women's Pressure Group including women involved in politics, government, social activism and the media visited three Asian countries with strong women's movements: Thailand, Philippines and India, to see how women in these countries build coalitions, undertake outreach and mobilize large numbers of women, use the media, and advocate to advance a women's agenda.

This exposure tour was organized in May 1994, with the following participants: Saloni Singh, Executive Director, Didi Bahini - Women for Women Empowerment Program; Pancha Kumari Manandhar, Coordinator, Women's Cell of the SCOPE; Manju Thapa, Staff Writer, Asmita Magazine; Mandira Sharma, Officer, Center for Victims of Torture (CVICT); and Sabina Shrestha, Program Officer, TAF.

METHODOLOGY

To fulfill the objectives of this evaluation, the following processes were carried out from which the observations, conclusions and recommendations were based upon.

1. Review of all relevant project documents available at The Asia Foundation's Nepal office.
2. Interviews with a total of 24 women activists - a mix of organizers and participants in all the activities organized during Robin Morgan's visit, including two former women MPs; all the four NGO women activists sent for study tour; and those involved in the curriculum development.

One limitation to this evaluation work is the timing, considering that this work was awarded a week before the Dashain festival and report is due few days after the festival. This largely affected the process of reaching people in their offices, such that a large amount of time was spent sorting out possible interviewees from the list of organizers and participants, crossing out those already out of town, and those still available, but too busy to spend time. Moreover, this evaluation period coincided with the electioneering period for the coming election, and thus, most of the former women MPs were out electioneering in their own constituencies. Nevertheless, with a good amount of luck, the consultant was able to reach and interview a fairly good cross section of organizers and participants, including two former women members of Parliament, Sahana Pradhan and Shailaja Acharya. (See Annex A for complete listing of interviewees).

EVALUATION FINDINGS

A. PROJECT ACCOMPLISHMENTS

1. Civics and Advocacy Training for Rural Women's Groups - Curriculum Development for Field Based Women Field Workers

At the time of this evaluation, a draft of the Rural Women's Advocacy Curriculum Guide had just been submitted to TAF. As per the Work Plan, the Didi Bahini Women for Women Empowerment Center was commissioned to develop a pilot action-oriented advocacy curriculum for use with a wide range of rural women's groups. For this project, the following steps are still to be completed: solicitation of the input of fieldworkers and facilitators; final component review by specialists; review by implementing NGOs; illustrations development; and translation. Didi Bahini proposes to combine the remaining curriculum development activities with some Phase II activities such as Training of Trainers.

According to the three women involved in this work, this draft report could have been "much better" had they had the complete five months time as provided for in the Work Plan, and not only two months time given for them to complete the task. Particularly since this calls for a more process-oriented output, the quality of the work, they felt, was drastically affected by the limited time frame. Nevertheless, they felt confident that they were able to submit a very reasonable output expected of them, though they insisted that it could have been better given more time and resources.

In carrying out this work, the Didi Bahini felt that they were constrained by the lack of institutional support, i.e. equipment, manpower support, etc. that could have otherwise eased up some operational burdens for the institution. On the other hand, according to TAF, the kind of logistic support implied has been built in into the project cost. While Didi Bahini also preferred a more open, frequent and direct communication with TAF, instead of using a sort of "liaison person" for every negotiation and discussion, on the other hand, TAF has, over the last months, spent considerable time with them for guidance (Ms. Wallen and Ms. Kaufman as consultant).

Overall, however, the Didi Bahini representative felt that they benefitted a lot in the various processes of carrying out this task, having the opportunity to widen their scope of knowledge as well.

As given, the objectives of the curriculum are as follows:

1. To raise the rural women's self-awareness and awareness of their rights.
2. To raise the awareness of rural women of the resources and avenues for claiming their rights and for redress when

- rights are violated.
3. To familiarize rural women's groups with and facilitate access to locally available government and non government organizations (NGOs).
 4. To facilitate greater participation by rural women in civic and political processes
 5. To promote self-advocacy skill activities by rural women's groups

As outlined in the report, the targeted participants are the non-literate and semi-literate adult rural women who are active participants in an already established women's group. The groups and their participants must already have a sense of group identity and some experience of group processes, group decision-making and group success. The Facilitators to be involved are the field workers already working closely with the women's groups to be trained as Facilitators. The functional areas of the curriculum given include: gender awareness; human rights; legal rights; local government (resources and processes); local non governmental resources and services; and national government and political processes.

A cursory look at the draft curriculum led this consultant to the following observations:

1. Well written and presented; topics are systematically organized and well-chosen vis-a-vis the learning objectives.
2. The methodology outlined for every functional area/topic of the curriculum was participatory, with maximum individual participation assured in the activities given.
3. The curriculum guide however, has not included the visual aids and support materials that should go along with each functional area. It can also include more case studies, preferably Asian or Nepalese context, so that participants can easily identify with it and relate with the experience. In addition to games and other participatory activities, the monotony of the lecture/ discussions particularly on such "heavy" and seemingly abstract topics as legal rights, human rights, laws and legal protection, etc., can be dissipated using more visually enticing support materials and interesting case studies.
4. The draft curriculum also contained Notes to Facilitator at the end of every topic. While these are good as these provide additional guidelines for the Facilitators, but as they are, these are more on content, rather than on the processes by which a

Facilitator should be alert to. For example, the various processes of group dynamics that a facilitator is likely to encounter in a given topic, should also be briefly noted here. A more thorough version of this however, is supposed to be in the Training Curriculum for Facilitators/Trainers which will be prepared later.

5. The monitoring indicators for participants vis-a-vis follow up activities, should be expounded further after each component, wherever applicable, or cumulatively at the end of the course, or a given period of time during or after the training. Such indicators should be able to demonstrate the women's increased understanding and possible areas of applications of gender awareness, rights, VDCs, etc. - for example: After a given period of time after the training, the women participants should be able to/could have possibly done any of the following:
 - 1) attended group meetings;
 - 2) participated in a particular tangible community activity;
 - 3) encourage someone (a woman with a case of rights violation), or have herself (where applicable) present the case to a community leader, police, VDC official etc.;
 - 4) voiced a particular redress to a family, group, official, etc.;
 - 5) request information, specific assistance or cooperation from a local leader/official;
 - 6) acted on a negative response to a requested action, etc.

2. Advocacy Training for Women Activists

The Visit of Robin Morgan, American Woman Activist and Writer

Robin Morgan's two-week consultancy in Nepal was basically aimed at working with Nepali women activist to develop coalition building and advocacy strategies. She was also to provide technical assistance to Asmita magazine - considered to be the only feminist publication in the country, to develop a new section on feminist theory, and expanding into alternative media. (This will be discussed separately under the heading of Assessment of Institutional Support to Asmita, as this part of Morgan's program was not covered in the WIP program).

The coalition-building and advocacy activities included:

1. A visit to rural women's groups in Baluwa, Sindhupalchowk, arranged by the Institute for Integrated Development Studies (IIDS), who has been working on projects to develop self-reliance among these rural women. This visit gave her first-hand exposure to the situation of the vast majority of rural Nepali women, and allowed her to share information on rural women's movements in other Asian and developing countries.

2. A series of round table discussions with different groups of (primarily) women activists. These discussions were meant to allow as many women as possible an opportunity for exchange with Morgan on strategies for advancing women's rights appropriate to their sector, and to provide Morgan with an in-depth briefing on the state of the women's movements in Nepal. The following focus areas and groups were covered in the round table discussions: gender, violence and advocacy; law and judiciary; journalists; dalit women; government women; planners/researchers; women parliamentarians; WID donors.
3. A three-day coalition building workshop was also organized by Didi Bahini and attended by 30-35 women activists across the political and professional spectrum. Workshop activities covered both feminist consciousness raising techniques to get participants to relate to each other as women, and concrete skill building exercises.
4. A "final speech" program, "The Politics of the Twenty-first Century: Womanpower" was organized by the Society for Constitutional and Parliamentary Exercises (SCOPE), in which the two most prominent women parliamentarians, Sahana Pradhan and Shailaja Acharya spoke on the platform about women's concerns. About 200-250 people attended the well-received program.

ASSESSMENT OF IMPACT

If there is one activity of The Asia Foundation which put the TAF and the WIP program in high profile, and "talk-of-the-town" status, it was the two weeks program with Robin Morgan.

Media Coverage: One major indication of impact is the extensive media coverage, almost everyday during the entire two-week period and few days after, by the national dailies, vernaculars and weeklies - from news items, features and full page interviews, to editorials on women's issues vis-a-vis Morgan's visit. Judging from the bunchload of clippings during this period, it can be said that the media was able to actively and effectively perform its agenda-setting function by feeding the readers with topics on women that people can think and talk about.

Morgan noted later that the sudden and dramatic escalation of media coverage on the women's movement was not necessarily influenced by her presence, but more so because of the events that followed where women's statements and demands reflecting a new tone of confidence, authority and entitlement made news - given that audacity and controversy make for interesting copy; and where women in the media influenced their editors for these coverage. As Morgan advised, given that both factors are within the grasp of the Nepali women's movement, if they persist and

escalate on both these fronts, the media will pick it up automatically and their visibility will be high. After Morgan's visit, Nepal Television also organized a talk program on women in media.

This is already seen to some extent in the print media, when gender equality, girl child and trafficking issues appear occasionally in the news and informal sections of the various newspapers and magazines. During this electioneering period, national dailies like the Gorkhapatra and Rising Nepal carry news of the women candidates in the districts. But as Anita Pandey, staff writer of a national English daily, The Kathmandu Post, noted, the likes of her will still continue to fight their battles with their editorial management to put their prime articles on women where it belongs, as headline, front page materials, not an insider (Note: after she wrote two articles on WID projects as a result of Morgan's visit, her controversial article about a case with the WDO was put on page 8 instead of page 1 as agreed earlier with the editor!).

Progress or Status of Follow-Up Activities:

1. Gender, Violence and Advocacy - the scheduled meeting between women lawyers and social workers working with women in prison, to be initiated by Mandira Sharma has not materialized as it is, but Mandira has approached the LACC, Society for Underprivileged Society - Women's Legal Services Project (SUSS-WLSP), and the Bar Council about this, with the latter showing more positive response, but no concrete action still to date.
2. Law and Judiciary - Strategies were discussed then on coordination among the various legal groups with each focusing on different legal/constitutional research/advocacy issues to minimize duplication and with coordination responsibilities rotating among member groups to minimize the burden on any one group. On the other hand, according to Silu Singh, SUSS Executive Director, she has not heard any progress on this, much less the planned monthly meeting to focus on coordination among women lawyers (first one Sapana Malla indicated to organize then).
3. Journalists - the letter-campaign to support Anita Pandey's (of Kathmandu Post) request to her management of a women's column in the paper, had not materialized yet. Neither has Asmita's plan of calling the next meeting of an ad-hoc national women's journalism group had materialized yet to date. Ms. Pandey feels that everyone tend to be too occupied, and someone or some group more charismatic or influential need to bring the group together, if at all possible.

4. Dalit women (the untouchable, lower caste women which include the occupational groups such as the Damai, Kami, Poda etc.) - Encouraged strongly by Robin Morgan, the four dalit women who attended the discussions, formally formed and registered their own first Feminist Dalit Women's Organization a week after Morgan's visit; applied for funding assistance with TAF-N, and identified the site for their first project activities. The formation of the group was felt significant in view of the insidious, still rampant casteism still prevalent in many parts of Nepal, including the urban centers, which to a large extent affects the slow pace of social mobility and participation of this group in mainstream development. The organization became the first organized group managed and conceived by these women who belong to the traditionally lower strata of Nepalese society. Networking with Dalit Movement in India not yet initiated.
5. Government women - Dr. Prabha Basnyat, Secretary at the National Planning Commission (NPC), has convened an internal meeting (among NPC women staff) to follow up on the issues (re: women in government and other related topics). Padma Mathema, Under secretary and Chief of the Population Division, NPC, is also positive that despite the lag after Morgan's visit, soon they will be convening the women groups in government for networking and working out a plan of action for their coalition (they could not organize earlier because of budget preparation season, the midterm election issue, and the Dashain festival).
6. WID donors - USAID, DANIDA and UNDP, UNFPA, UNICEF and UNIFEM are among the many donor agencies working actively on WID, and following the gender guidelines. A WID Sub committee has been organized under the helm of UNFPA, and a Working Committee headed by DANIDA has been working on the political empowerment of women. UNIFEM has a one year project with the National Planning Commission "Mainstreaming Gender Considerations into National Development". Dr. Marilyn Waring, a former New Zealand MP, was a project consultant and was here in April 1994. UNDP has also initiated a WID Task Group where all program officers are oriented to incorporate WID issues in their programs, monitoring and evaluation. An agenda framework is being developed to be followed in every step of project planning and implementation.
7. Coalition building - The three-day coalition building workshop was well received by almost all participants interviewed. Pledges for networking and future meetings and activities were elicited; an advocacy strategy was formulated; a sense of sisterhood among the participants was strengthened; the issues raised led to intensive discussions

in the media during and even after the workshop (Report of Didi Bahini). After this workshop, two follow-up meetings have been organized: first, by Kanchan Barma Lama of UTTHAN, and second, by SCOPE. In the first follow up meeting, those present selected the topic for advocacy: the mid-term poll and women candidates, but because of poor attendance, no concrete strategy and action plan was drawn. The second one by SCOPE was more brainstorming on raising the quota of women candidates; a working committee was also nominated. The Women Security Pressure Group (WSPG) took the responsibility to follow-up and come up with a common agenda. But because of the upcoming election, no further follow up activities was organized after this.

7. Morgan's report also contained a list of direct and indirect follow up activities for TAF and herself to initiate. Many of these follow-up activities are supposed to be followed-up during Phase II of the WIP program. Morgan's report also anticipated the visit in October of a key person from Gabriella, a large and known women's advocacy and coalition group in the Philippines. Just recently, Sister Mary John Mananzan of Gabriella group in the Philippines was in Kathmandu on a two-week personal visit. Assisted by Shanta Laxmi Shrestha of Lutheran World Service (a coalition building workshop participant), she met with several groups of women activists, including a session with the WSPG group. Unfortunately, TAF did not get information on this, and consequently, was not able to coordinate with her on ways that TAF or the women groups can work with her on a common platform of interest to support the women's movement in Nepal, and in a way, complement the earlier TAF works.

Extent of Mobilization of Women Around Issues of Concern: During the entire two weeks program, all issues revolving on the various concerns of and about women, came alive to the extent of euphoria. As one newspaper write-up puts it, "Morgan's being in Nepal became an excuse for Nepali women to hold up a mirror to themselves and reflect upon their activities and progress."

Both the two women MPs interviewed were elated at the opportunity of meeting a renowned figure like Morgan. Ms. Acharya particularly noted the enthusiasm and sincerity Morgan showed in encouraging them to network with international bodies and international support link groups (Morgan gave her a list for international networking); in standing strong for the cause of women; and on how to go about battling the constraints through appropriate strategies. She acknowledged that she herself "has not understood the depth of the issue." Nevertheless, while the women's issues in general are part of the Nepali Congress party manifesto, she has taken it to herself to issue her own personal manifesto all outlining her programs for women and the community. She said she will continue the effort of advocating in her party

for at least 20 percent representation of women from the local to national levels, as well as pursuing the programs on education and literacy, environment protection and representation of women in all the management of these programs. In the same vein, Sahana Pradhan also acknowledges being inspired by Morgan on bringing more consciousness to women to participate at all levels ("having one woman in a group of 10 men is a good start"). She is optimistic that after the election, the women MPs can unite together and work for their common cause for women's emancipation in Nepal.

It cannot be denied that Robin Morgan is a sensational, dynamite personality, and a brilliant communicator, judging from the way she was able to draw the interest and attention of those who participated in her programs, and the extent she was able to sustain the interest and enthusiasm from all those women. From the words of Ann Kaufmann and Suzanne Wallen, her consultancy was "extremely successful, (Morgan) being a terrific teacher, listener, motivator and discussion facilitator, with unbounded energy and a commitment to the cause of women." To this day, most of the organizers and participants interviewed still hold that high regard for Robin Morgan for being able to reach out to women (and men too) of varied interests and affiliations, and for "energizing" them.

Women journalists interviewed were particularly gratified at the inspiration Morgan brought in them, for helping to "develop the ideas in them, those latent ones having been given the shape and the right words, for giving them the courage to push their editors and management to give due share for women's issues, and overall, for precipitating the women's movement in Nepal by cutting across political lines and interests." For other organizers and participants, Robin's excellent grasp of and long years of experience in the women's movement and using mass media as advocacy tools, her ardent desire to understand the Nepalese situation and build and discuss with the women the strategies - have galvanized them to pursue the cause of women and fight for their rights.

Creating New Alliances between NGOs/Building Coalition and Greater Cooperation among NGOs: In the recommendations in the Needs Assessment and Workplan, TAF envisaged that the advocacy training for women activists will specifically focus on the members of the Women's Security Pressure Group (WSPG).

The WSPG, one of the few national policy advocacy groups or women in Nepal, is said to be the largest and most active women's alliance. The proponents of this group claim that it has cross-political character and size, and that it represents a wide range of political and NGO affiliations. They also feel that they will be able to strengthen advocacy functions and affect policy if

there will be strong advocacy capability in them, in number and in the extent of efforts made or persistency working for a cause. They also feel that they have 'strong grassroots connection' given that the member NGOs are already linked by their programming to the local level. Sahana Pradhan, the WSPG Coordinator is very optimistic about what they have achieved so far and what they can do as a group, particularly after the election.

However, other non-WSPG women activists interviewed were rather skeptical on what WSPG can do, given the "kind of personalities and vested interests" of the key people in them, and the lack of solid achievements to-date, despite the sporadic ill organized picketing to advocate for certain issues (viz. the rape law). A rural-based woman activist has the least faith on WSPG, citing that as it is basically a Kathmandu-based group, it has no wide national and genuine rural following, and therefore, not likely to fulfill its so-called mission. Though she acknowledges the eye-opening opportunity, but she also sensed a political motive in the program, and felt that much ado is focused on "politics" when they in the rural areas have more pressing problems to be addressed.

Dr. Meena Acharya, at some point "indirectly" connected with WSPG, said she pulled away from the group as she felt it is "too political and publicity-minded", and this kind of self-centered works are not within her definition of expanding the women's movement. Jurist Indira Rana qualifies it (for the women movement in general) as inefficient strategizing, where lip service, talks and well-laid out recommendations in reports and seminars are excellent, but the implementation part is weakest and most ineffective, if not total failure.

Given that all the activities during Morgan's visit cut across political party lines and various NGO affiliations, for a while the hopes were high at that time that alas, the opportunity for women activists to work more actively and united for a common cause has been precipitated effectively.

To a large extent, her visit has unleashed considerable energy and collaborative political will among the women. On the other hand, four months after this event, most of the women interviewed, including key USAID executives, felt the momentum seems dying. While that was a high peak that shook them up and (temporarily) knocked them out from their special interest compartmentalization, many of those interviewed doubt whether these women will be able to sustain that momentum and build from it. There are however, some factors contributing to this:

1. Lack of coordination on the various follow-up activities pledged by the many groups during her program, e.g. women in the media, legal community, women in government, etc. To a

large extent, because of the absence of a full time TAF staff member to monitor these follow-up activities, and no other specific institution to carry out the monitoring and coordination on this, very little has been actively pursued (which will be incorporated in the Phase II).

2. To a large extent, the NGO fever, the competition, jealousy and personality-ego differences still has not waned down among the urban women activists. As one WSPG member puts it, managing an NGO is already a Herculean task as they have to continuously advocate for funds and assistance to operate their programs, thus leaving them very little time on working with other NGOs or groups for coalition building. Funding and recognition seem to be common denominators among many of these NGO women activists. One critique cited that there seem to be no genuine woman activist in Nepal selflessly working for the cause of women, given that when one works for AIDS and girls trafficking, one can bet that they receive substantial donor funding; if one joins protest rallies and picketing or joins a non-partisan coalition group, image building and recognition through media visibility is almost assured, or one may be prompted to doubt who benefits from whom?
3. Senior women leaders like Dr. Meena Acharya and jurist Indira Rana concur that the women in various political parties are still guided first and foremost, by their party interest, rather than women's interest. Despite the constitution providing for 5 percent seats for women candidates, not all parties adhere to this. In the male-dominated party system, the women candidates worry more of being given the seat than pushing for party platforms incorporating women issues. Moreover, most of them do not have a strong voice in the central party decision- and policy-making.

In summary, the Robin Morgan's program has an eclectic mix of results. The extensive media coverage brought visibility to the women's issues; the interactions created opportunities for enriching the participants; the situation analysis, the ideas, new approaches and strategies; the courage, confidence, energy and enthusiasm imbued the participants to a large extent, and her presence brought together a wide cross section of women participants across party lines. On the other hand, the undercutting among the various groups and individuals was also obvious, and due to various factors, attempts for sustaining the momentum for building a strong women's coalition has not been that effective and successful as expected.

3. Exposure Tour for Women Activists

The objective of this grant was to see how women in these countries have built coalitions, and undertaken outreach to mobilize large number of women's agenda movement. The expected outcome/impact as outlined on the Work Plan were as follows:

- 1) increased mobilization of women around issues of concern.
- 2) new regional alliances and dialogues.
- 3) enhanced cooperation among women leaders from NGOs, government and media.

On the planning side, it was gathered from TAF files that a series of communications with TAF Manila and TAF Bangkok offices, and the Ford Foundation office in New Delhi, were carried out by the concerned Program Officer in Kathmandu. (The Ford Foundation was requested to arrange for the Indian program as there is no TAF office in India). It was specifically requested that institutions and individuals to be met by the group should address the goal of exposing the group to coalition building, successful use of media laws and legislatures to advance women's rights, women's crisis centers, advocacy programs that battle women trafficking and other forms of violence against women.

In Thailand, the Nepalese team was joined by three Vietnamese participants. Communication from TAF Bangkok office also suggested that since the team wanted to see more advocacy and activism, Thai NGOs would ask for special occasions such as legal training to be held during the observation period. The groups were then exposed to leadership and local government promotion activities for local women in Chiang Mai.

The four women sent for this tour have a more or less unanimous evaluation of this observation tour: it could have been better organized, and therefore, more effective. The following were the observations given by the participants, based on their experiences in the three countries visited:

- 1) Planning stage: Choice of institutions was not well suited to the needs of the participants. In Bangkok, while the Nepalese team was interested to see political leadership, the Vietnamese team was more keen on training. They attended a training session as participants of a Training of Trainers, to which they were not quite prepared. A day was spent in a leadership training for community development workers (LANA women) and because of language barrier and lack of coordination, proved to be useless and irrelevant to the team, particularly given the short period of the observation activities. It appeared that the participants were not adequately consulted during the planning stage on the institutions and individuals that

would meet their specific individual needs, and as a group (for the purpose of observing processes of coalition building).

- 2) The management of the whole activity was relatively weak. While Saloni Singh was supposed to be part of the planning and strategy development for this activity, and supposed to lead the team, but she said she was constrained by the lack of authority and limited information given to her. The four participants observed that while the Philippines trip was well coordinated, the Indian one was ill-organized and weakly coordinated. There was an obvious lack of coordination and systematic arrangement for the visits.
- 3) The participants tend to be too heterogeneous such that the mismatch of needs was obvious. While Manju Thapa of Asmita Magazine was more interested on the use of media to advance women's rights, she was hardly exposed to any relevant institution or individual. Neither were they adequately exposed to women directly involved in politics.
- 4) In the same pattern, according to the participants, the focus tended to be too broad, and programs were too compact given a short stretch of time. While attempting to be broad, the program failed to narrow down on effectively exposing the participants to the building of coalition among the "broad" range of women issues and concerns that they can observe in these countries. The attempt to cover as wide a cross section of women's concerns proved to be unproductive given the short period of time. The focus could have been narrowed down to few and well selected major concerns relevant to the participants, and the methodology part or processes given more emphasis, instead of only briefings and orientations that the limited time was able to permit.
- 5) Despite the above limitations, the participants concurred that overall the observation tour has added a new dimension of knowledge and exposure to women's activities in these countries. Among the strong points were the identification of international networking possibilities, and exposure to such institutions such as the India's National Commission for Women (which gives policy recommendations to the National Planning Commission), and can be a model while adopting the same for Nepal. (Before the dissolution of the Parliament, the Prime Minister has indicated the creation of a National Commission for Women, under his chairmanship, but was not able to materialize given the prevailing

political circumstances). The participants were also able to observe how their counterparts in the region have successfully built coalitions and conducted outreach, mobilization and lobbying on specific issues such as violence against women. The program was also an opportunity for participants to see demonstrations of how women's organizations in other countries have successfully bridged party affiliations, ideologies and class to work together on pressing issues.

Assessment of Impact: It should be understood that observation tours such as this definitely contribute to the participants' level of exposure and possible change of attitudes and perspectives that may manifest in some relevant actions in their own organizations or country activities. But on the other hand, the impact may not be necessarily immediate and tangible, and sometimes, difficult to quantify. Nevertheless, to a certain extent - particularly given the five months that passed since this activity, the following assessment of impact can be given:

1. The expected outcome of enhanced cooperation between the women participants and the NGOs and institutions they represent does not seem evident (yet?) at the time of this evaluation. The participants agreed that each of them was to prepare an individual report of their trip, to be consolidated by Saloni Singh. They had met for few times and submitted the individual report, and the consolidated report is still being prepared. But as far as working collaboratively on other tangible activities, this might be too much to expect among such women who tend to be pre-occupied with their more major concerns in their own NGOs.
2. One tangible group effort after the trip is the profile of NGOs and institutions visited in the three countries, a sort of resource book which they intend to circulate as an international networking tool for interested parties. A draft copy has been done and should this get completed, published and circulated, this can be counted as a tangible impact of working cooperation among them.
3. As for the extent of increased mobilization of women around issues of concern, vis-a-vis the follow-up activities of these four women participants and the NGOs and institutions they represent, individually or collectively, not much can be said at this stage, and perhaps not much can be expected later. Except the article that Manju Thapa wrote in Asmita about her experiences and exposure, there is yet no other tangible manifestation of increased mobilization of women, as influenced by this activity.

4. While linkages and networking were established, but to date, the participants have yet to fully maximize or actively follow up with these networks and linkages for their own or their NGOs's, and the WIP's advantage.

RECOMMENDATIONS SOLICITED FROM INTERVIEWEES AND THOSE OF THE CONSULTANT ON STRENGTHENING THE WIP PROGRAM IN NEPAL

Given that the women's movement in Nepal has not significantly lifted up from its infancy stage, "in spite the various strains of apparent activism", strategies for furthering advocacy works and coalition building must take a new direction and some amount of refocusing. Some recommendations that are reflective of the four basic objectives of the WIP program are given below:

1. On advocacy training (re: follow-up activities of the Morgan's visit), in order to enhance the extent of mobilization of women on issues of concern and strengthening the alliances, TAF should see to it that the follow-up activities as pledged to be done by the various groups and individuals are done, and if not, what deter them from doing so, and the ways by which TAF can assist them in pursuing these activities. The groups' and individuals' interest and pledges to do such tasks can be more "appreciated" by giving them a "push" from time to time and encouraging them for the noteworthiness of the task, and its impact to the women's movement as a whole.
2. In addition to consolidating the follow-up activities of the Morgan's visit, similar activities utilizing the services of a renowned international figure as catalyst and precipitator should be organized after the election among the elected women MPs and women activists, both those from Kathmandu and from the districts, in separate groups or together. However, it was suggested that a more low profile, grassroots oriented personality would be more appropriate for a follow-up activity, focusing more on methods, skill development, strategy formulation, action plans. Program must be well organized and longer (a day or more) to allow more intensive and productive discussions, interaction from both sides (resource person/consultant and participants), and more learning opportunities for the Nepalese women participants.
3. Spur the women's movement from the grassroots. Leadership skills development should begin at the grassroots. More representations of women in the local bodies should be encouraged. While rural Nepalese women were observed to be more politically conscious and active than their urban sisters, they need the proper impetus and an infusion of confidence, assertiveness and the needed skills, and as much as possible better economic well-being in order for them to

actively rally for raising women's issues and work for these concerns in the political spectrum. When grassroots women political leaders will have the opportunity to prove their mettle and polish their leadership and political skills from a lower hierarchy (as VDC Chairman, Mayor, ...), then the range of qualified women leaders at the national level will broaden. Eventually, this increasing number (quantity) and quality will be a definite fighting tool for effectively rallying the women's cause at the national political and development decision making circle.

4. Encourage a new generation of women who can be nurtured to fight from within the political parties or form another political forum. For women MPs, especially the "new" ones who would emerge after the election, WIP can assist in arranging more exposure opportunities especially in Asian countries, including orientations to improve their potentialities and advocacy skills, understanding of how Parliament works, and just "expanding their horizons and broadening their perspectives on various issues and concerns."
5. For an effective WIP program, awareness raising to as wide spectrum of women in both urban and rural areas as possible is a common recommendation solicited from almost all women interviewed. However, as everyone seems to be wary of the seminar-mania in Kathmandu and the little impact these urban-based gatherings generate, action-oriented programs must be focused in the rural areas, using local resources. Instead of the large Kathmandu-based women-managed NGOs, WIP program can tap and use the following groups as entry point for awareness raising and advocacy works, and mass movement for women: genuine locally-based women-managed NGOs and networks, literacy and neo-literate groups, micro-credit women groups, mothers' clubs, youths and high school groups, among others. The existing formal and informal networks in all districts such as those with the Women Development Division of the Ministry of Local Development can also be tapped to reach women groups.
6. The younger generation of women has to be tapped, utilizing their zeal and drive, thus creating a new cadre of progressive minded women that can penetrate the positions of power and authority in the government, in politics, and in the other various development spheres. For this, WIP's civics and leadership training for high school girls is most relevant and should be implemented, preferably on a large scale.
7. To address the needs of the majority of Nepalese women for increased access to information and increased awareness and consciousness about their rights, their potential and the

solutions that can be made within their reach and means (which also reflect Objectives I and II of the WIP program), tools such as the mass media should be harnessed to the maximum, whenever possible. The mass media in Nepal, through the women (and men) in these media, can assist in keeping the issue alive in the minds of the readers/listeners/viewers. The media's agenda-setting function must be utilized to the maximum. The emphasis to the issues, events and persons will make the audiences not only learn of these salient issues affecting Nepalese women, but also how much importance people should attach to the issue. The problems of women must be made salient as political issues meriting the attention of the polity and the different societal groups need to be influenced to change their attitudes about the importance of dealing with this particular issue. As with the experience during Morgan's visit, the media should actively inform the public and the government about the climate of opinion and be able to project the increasing strengths and merits of the women's movement in Nepal.

More competent and progressive-minded women writers/broadcasters/production staff should be encouraged. Given the lack of women stringers in the districts among major papers who can feed news and write features about women, the WIP program can assist in developing and training young women with journalistic potential from these districts. Despite radio as the most pervasive mass medium reaching almost all districts in Nepal, this has not been tapped as a highly potential medium for advocacy and awareness raising to spur grassroots mass women movement in Nepal. WIP program can think about developing issue-oriented radio programs broadcast at prime time about the various concerns affecting women. The moving images of video and cinema (spots screened during film showing intermissions) are also highly effective media and reach a fairly large slice of rural and semi-urban viewers. But the media can only be fully harnessed if there are adequate trained women-power in them. Adequate training on program conceptualization, particularly those that cater to the needs for advocacy and coalition building among women, and the technical know how in production aspects are imperative.

8. The WIP program should make full use of the research process, and research findings, as a planning tool. For example, after a year or two of the WIP program, where at least, several projects and complementing activities have been implemented - completed or ongoing, a more objective, empirical impact evaluation study must be conducted in order to fully assess the merit of the program, vis-a-vis its objectives and the problems that they are trying to address. This study must also be able to identify the strengths and

weaknesses of these projects and activities that can serve as lessons for other projects in the future, and planning guide for future WIP projects. In the same pattern, the value of relevant research studies must also be reflected, among other project components, in defining the project rationale of the proposed projects or those in the pipeline. Professional researchers should be hired to do objective needs assessment and impact evaluation studies that would further guide program planning. As Morgan stressed in the coalition strategy planning, there is a need to push researchers for factual data and do away with statistical "purdah". Data on the work conditions of Nepali women and their ownership of property, and the correlations between these is necessary before lobbying women in the Parliament, carrying out picketing, pamphleteering on the streets and holding demonstration.

9. In order not to lose the merits of observation/exposure tours, TAF as the organizer must work more closely with the participants on basic groundwork to achieve the most from this activity. Adequate planning and coordination are essential. TAF field offices should coordinate well the selection of participants depending on the objective of the trip, and the programs (institutions and individuals to be met) that would best meet the participants' needs for exposure.
10. To strengthen the coalition building processes among both the urban and rural women activists, TAF can think of working on programs involving them as a group and directly coordinated by TAF. In this way, they have a common project to work on, a rewarding and productive output in the end, and an enriching experience of working together, interacting and strengthening the bond that is so crucial in the coalition building process. While most of these women have already known and interacted with each other in many activities of similar themes, but making them work together will further increase their rapport and improve their working, NGO- and "women"-relations. Direct coordination by TAF, or through a more "neutral" individual or agency (non NGO status) will likely be more smooth as this will lessen the jealousy and competition with each other on "who instructs/leads who."

B. CONTEXT/SITUATION ANALYSIS FOR THE NEPAL WIP PROJECTS

The dissolution of the Parliament and the calling for mid term election scheduled for November 15, 1994, have greatly affected the momentum of the women's movement in Nepal. Given that many of the women's organizations are directly or indirectly linked to political parties, everyone was intent on electioneering at this time. This sudden change in the political scenario has had adverse effects on the consolidation of "women power". First, the limited time is a major constraint to the selection, advocating and fielding of the 5 percent women candidates for political parties, such that only a total of 86 women candidates were fielded from all parties, broken down as follows: the Nepali Congress and the UML has only each a total of 11 women candidates; the Rastriya Parajatantra party, 13; Sadbhawana party, 9; all the other parties, 29, and independent women candidates, 12. Second, as Morgan feared, the concerns for women are temporarily "shelved" in favor of the "larger" national crisis.

After the election, the change in the composition of women MPs in the Lower House and the subsequent women nominations in the Upper House (mandated in the Constitution to be at least three - hence, sadly, most party nominations do not exceed three women members) - may warrant a slight change in the strategies for the Phase II of the WIP program. As there will likely be new and fresh faces, mixed with the old, former MPs, the orientation and other programs for these MPs would take into consideration their level of exposure and experience in the Parliament.

C. VALUE ADDED OF THE REGIONAL ACTIVITIES TO IN-COUNTRY PROJECTS

The WIP program, envisioned as a regional activity, has programs that encompass regional networkings, and also in-country activities. The regional activities include the observation tour that provide opportunities for Nepalese women to develop contacts with their peers in the region to encourage cross-fertilization and promote sharing of knowledge and resources.

Another regional activity is the Women in Politics Regional Workshop and Strategic Planning Meeting held in Manila in January 1994 which included a media workshop and strategic planning session on regional cooperation. Saloni Singh of Didi Bahini participated in this, and along with the other participants from 15 countries, established the Asia-Pacific Women in Politics (APWIP) Network to facilitate sharing of information, models, ideas and identify common objectives that can be addressed across borders. As Ms. Singh has also actively participated in almost all of the year's WIP program activities - in the coalition building workshop, in the observation tour and in the curriculum development, it can be assumed that she had a whole gamut of

opportunities and experiences to learn from. However, to what extent and to what level of impact these may have on the in-country activities, is difficult to qualify, nor to quantify as this needs a careful assessment of how she performed in these in-country activities, and a critical analysis of the quality and impact of the expected outputs she has produced under these activities.

The APWIP regional workshop held in September 1994 in Bangkok and participated in by Chandra Bhadra, Consultant, UNIFEM-NPC project (as Policymaker/Planner); Durga Ghimiri of ABC-Nepal (as Woman Advocate) and Manju Thapa of Asmita (as Woman in the media) was another regional activity. All of these women had been active participants in the TAF WIP programs. As with that of Ms. Singh's activity, it is difficult to assess the impact of this trip to the in-country activities, as the indicators for impact may be too broad, given that there are no specific follow-up activities that directly relate these women nor their NGOs/agency, with those of the workshop/conference/tour program follow-up activities, if there are. It is also difficult to define a tangible output that can be easily qualified or quantified in the process.

Nevertheless, in addition to fulfilling the objective of creating networks between individuals and organizations, the above regional activities participated in by Nepalese women activists, theoretically, can be said to have added to the values of the in-country programs, as these same women activists were those actively involved in the TAF WIP in-country programs. A sharpened orientation and perspective to the issue, nationally as it relate regionally or globally; the opportunities for networking created and the global approach as it relate to country strategies and solutions, are only among those that can be regarded as the value-added of the above regional activities to the in-country programs.

D. COMPLEMENTARY PROJECTS IMPLEMENTED WITH NON-AID FUNDS

TAF has also been providing support to the following organizations with non-AID funds:

1. Asmita Publishing House - Institutional Support
2. Dalit Mahila Sangh - Institutional Support
3. ABC-Nepal - Women Leadership Training Program

1. Asmita Publishing House

To assist Asmita in becoming self-sufficient, TAF is increasing support to strengthen the business, advertising and circulation division of Asmita. The Foundation also provided training in

accounting and business management, advanced journalism, English writing and speaking and computer utilization.

The institutional support comprises staff salaries, production costs (printing of 12 issues, paper, articles and photographs), and equipment (2 telephones, 2 computers and 2 filing cabinets).

Robin Morgan also provided a consultancy to Asmita during her stay to assist in developing a section on feminist theory and exploring alternative media. This part of Morgan's program suffered because of her illness, cutting the original four days schedule to only four half days, with the first half day spent in introduction and orientation, and the last, on an in-depth interview. Kaufman reported that this program was least successful partly because of the short time, and the mismatch of Morgan's "big picture" orientation and perhaps Asmita's lack of experience in utilizing consultants. Asmita benefitted from Morgan's generous offer of resource materials (3.5 years back issues of Ms. magazine, and copies of all her books). Morgan advised Asmita on working on alternative income earning activities to sustain its operations and eventually become self-supporting. Also, based on a strategic plan developed for Asmita by an international consultant provided by TAF, Asmita is embarking on strategies to make Asmita self-reliant in the near future.

Asmita Editor Anju Chhetri speaks highly of the support the Foundation has given, as they "are always there when Asmita faces some difficulties (i.e. in maintaining accounts such that the Foundation arranged for a qualified accountant to organize a workshop for Asmita's accountants and those of other Foundation-supported institutions; Asmita also received the assistance of a translator when their own could not meet the standards required). The additional funds given to meet production cost was a substantial help in "keeping them afloat, until they achieve a certain level of self-sufficiency."

2. *Dalit Mahila Sangh*

TAF provides institutional support for this women-managed NGO in the form of establishment (office rent, utilities/maintenance), staffing (executive director, program officer), supplies, equipment and furniture; communication, travel and training to staff and board members (office management and accounts); and support for the women leadership program (training, cooperatives, and field travel). The organization has just received a grant from TAF recently to support its initial establishment cost, hence it may be premature to discuss its complementary impact on addressing problems.

3. ABC-Nepal - Women Leadership Training Program

For the first year of assistance, TAF provided ABC the cost of staffing for one part-time coordinator and two local supervisors. For the second year (1994), assistance is being given for the salary of the additional staff: one part-time coordinator, one office assistant, and two local supervisors. In addition, the Foundation also provided the cost of training for two new districts participants and for the existing six new cooperatives, field travel and seed money for the new cooperatives.

Assessment of Impact of Institutional Support

The key persons in these three organizations were also active participants and beneficiaries of the various AID-funded WIP programs implemented in the first year. Manju Thapa, a staff writer of Asmita was sponsored for the study tour, and along with Durga Ghimiri, President of ABC Nepal, also attended the recent APWIP regional workshop in Bangkok. Also with Durga Sob of Dalit Mahila Sangh, they were among the many participants that benefitted from Morgan's program, as well as members of the WSPG where the coalition building workshop and other programs were addressed to. It is rather difficult to assess whether the non-AID funding (institutional support) has added to the impact of the WIP programs they all have participated in, or perhaps vice-versa. It is nevertheless obvious that since they have already maintained some affinity to TAF (from the previous institutional support assistance given), and having been enriched by the experience and oriented better to the goals of the WIP program, they were able to actively participate and benefit from the WIP programs later.

Also, there are grounds to state that there is, to a large extent, a cumulative impact of combined AID and non-AID funded projects on addressing the problems. The institutional support given, in large way, attempted to strengthen the organizations in eliminating the barriers that deter or prohibit women participation as activists, as well as to develop women's political leadership by enhancing their skills, which are also objectives attempted to be fulfilled by the WIP program.

Also as discussed earlier, the regional activities (including the non-AID funded Bangkok and Manila trips), theoretically, can be said to have added to the values of the in-country programs, as these same women activists were those actively involved in the TAF WIP in-country programs.

E. PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED/SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT IN IDENTIFYING/PLANNING/IMPLEMENTING REGIONAL ACTIVITIES

The WIP program as a regional program adheres to four overarching issues in women's political participation that provided the framework for the program. However, specific country activities were targeted on one or more of the objectives depending on the needs, opportunities and resources available within each country. Assessment of country program achievements and their impact have been discussed at length earlier. For the regional activities, these include activities that provide opportunities for Asian women to develop contacts with their peers in the region to encourage cross-fertilization and promote sharing of knowledge and resources, thus fulfilling the objective of creating networks between individuals and organizations working to increase women's political participation. For Nepal, this includes the observation tour of the four WSPG women members, the participation of Saloni Singh of Didi Bahini in the WIP Regional Workshop and strategic Planning Meeting in Manila, and the participation of three women activists in the APWIP regional workshop in Bangkok in September. Except for the observation tour, there were no problems encountered in the other two inter-country activities. As already discussed earlier, those problems related to the observation tour, in summary, relate to the inefficient planning and coordination that limited the otherwise well-meant and purposive exposure trip.

F. IMPACT OF HAVING A PROGRAM FOCUSSED ON ONE ISSUE
PROGRAMATICALLY, VERSUS INSTITUTIONALLY

TAF-N carried out activities to develop the capacity of several women's organizations that have the potential to acquire advocacy skills. This institutional focus of the WIP program include the study/observation tour for four women activists representing different advocacy NGO groups. The curriculum development (an activity under the civics and advocacy training for rural women's groups program) has been awarded institutionally to Didi Bahini. The advocacy training for urban women activists (with Morgan's visit as a major activity), focused on one issue programatically.

Having a program focused institutionally has its own merits, as it provides opportunities for the institution for learning experiences and professional enrichment, as well as skill development for the staff concerned. On the other hand, having a program focused on one issue programatically allows a broader spectrum of more than one institution to benefit from the experience, as with the round table discussions with Robin Morgan organized by various organizations. Given a more or less the same broad focus (but may have specific varying concerns or goals), and a good amount of well directed planning, coordination and management guidance, a more programmatic focus may carry more weight in terms of the cumulative impact to the organizers and participants, than when the program focus is to a single institution.

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ANNEX A - LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Name	Position/ Organization	Involvement in the WIP Program
1. Sahana Pradhan	Coordinator, Women Security Pressure Group; former MP; UML candidate	Participant - RM programs
2. Shailaja Acharya	Former MP; Nepali Congress candidate	Attended RM's "Final Speech" Program
3. Dr. Meena Acharya	Executive Director, IIDS	Round Table Organizer; RM program participant
4. Saloni Singh	Executive Director, Didi Bahini	RM Activity Organizer; participant, study tour; prepared Draft Curriculum Guide
5. Indira Rana	Secretary, Ministry of Law and Justice	Attended RM's "Final Speech" program
6. Anne Kaufman	Special Projects and WIP Consultant, TAF	Organizer of RM's programs; prepared draft Curriculum Guide
7. Theodora Wood-Stervinou	Deputy Director, USAID	Attended RM's "Final Speech" program
8. Kathleen Ertur	Democracy Prog. Manager, USAID	Attended RM's "Final Speech" program

9. Sally Patton	Chief, Program Development, USAID	Attended RM's "Final Speech" program
10. Anju Chhetri	Editor, <u>Asmita</u> Magazine	Round Table Organizer; RM prog. participant; TAF grantee
11. Manju Thapa	Copy Editor and staff writer, <u>Asmita</u>	Round Table Organizer; Participant, Study Tour and APWIP Bangkok Regional Workshop
12. Pancha Kumari Manandhar	Coordinator, Women's Cell, SCOPE	Round Table Organizer; Study Tour Participant
13. Anita Pandey	Staff Writer, <u>The Kathmandu Post</u>	Participant, RM programs
14. Durga Sob	President, Dalit Mahila Sangh	Participant, RM programs; TAF grantee
15. Mandira Sharma	Officer, CVICT	Round Table Organizer; Participant, Study Tour
16. Kanchan Barma Lama	President, Utthan	Participant, RM programs
17. Silu Singh	Executive Director, SUSS	Round Table Organizer; Participant
18. Shanta Laxmi Shrestha	Program Officer, Lutheran World Service	Participant, RM Programs
19. Jyoti Shahi	President, Women's Dev. Centre, Nepalgunj	Participant, RM Programs
20. Meena Aryal	Executive Director, ABC-Nepal	TAF grantee
21. Neelam Basnyat	Coordinator, Women's Leadership Prog., ABC-Nepal	Attended 1 Round Table Discussion

19. Jyoti Shahi	President, Women's Dev. Centre, Nepalgunj	Participant , RM Programs
20. Meena Aryal	Executive Director, ABC-Nepal	TAF grantee
21. Neelam Basnyat	Coordinator, Women's Leadership Prog., ABC-Nepal	Attended 1 Round Table Discussion
22. Padma Mathema	Under Secretary and Chief, Population Div., National Planning Commission	Participant , RM Programs
23. Chandra Bhadra	Consultant, UNIFEM Project, NPC	Participant , RM Programs
24. Rita Thapa	Coordinator, UNIFEM-Nepal	(*no particular WIP prog. involvement

Note: RM programs - programs with Robin Morgan

ANNEX B - TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THIS EVALUATION

TERMS OF REFERENCE
Evaluation of Phase I of Women in Politics Program

The Asia Foundation's Nepal office has been providing support to a USAID funded Women in Politics program in Nepal. This is the Phase I of the program and as such need evaluation. The terms of reference for the evaluation are outlined below.

- a write up on what the project(s) accomplished to date using the expected outcomes and evaluation criteria in the workplan; it would be useful to have a qualitative assessment of the success of individual activities within each project as well as your assessment, if possible, of the success or impact of the project overall (depending on how near completion it is). What are indications of impact (include media coverage, subsequent developments that are attributable, in part, to the project or project activities etc.)? Relate the project's impact to the objective or problem that the project was intended to address. In some cases projects have only been underway for a short time and an assessment of impact is clearly premature. For those projects just discuss progress to date.
- a discussion of the context for the project(s) in Nepal noting what if anything has changed that would warrant a change in strategy in Phase II such as calling snap elections or a significant event such as the threats against the woman author in Bangladesh that has resulted in a change in the political environment or opened up new opportunities.
- a discussion of the value added (or lack thereof) of the regional activities of Nepal's TAF programs, with suggestions for improvements;
- a discussion of complementary projects that are being implemented in Nepal with non-AID funds; indicate how they have added to the impact of the AID-funded projects; note cumulative impact of combined AID and non-AID funded projects on addressing problems;
- note problems encountered in the project design, implementation, and/or program administration with suggestions for improvements in identifying / planning/implementing regional activities; what has been the impact of having a program focussed on one issue programmatically? institutionally?

Background information on the program activities can be obtained from the Foundation's office in Baluwatar, Kathmandu. Draft evaluation report is due by October 7 and a final report is due by October 10, 1994. Contact person during the evaluation: Lisa Pritchard Bayley, Democracy Program Officer, The Asia Foundation. Tel: 414813, 418345

The Kathmandu Post
Friday, June 24, 1994

Women ask for equal share in all sectors

By a Post Reporter

KATHMANDU - Women here have decided to demand for 50% representation in all levels of the country's government offices and political institutions.

Arriving at a common consensus on the third and final day of the women's coalition and advocacy workshop on Thursday, participants decided as women form 50% of the population they were entitled to reservation as a right.

"Women's rights are political rights", said lawyer Dr Shanta Thapaliya of Legal Aid and Consultancy (LAC), and we have to lobby for them. Women are entitled to equal economic rights, to reproductive freedom, to equal say in the government.

Focusing on the absence of right to equal inheritance between sons and daughters, participants pointed out that the lack of resources in a woman's hands was one of the major reasons for women trafficking, violence against women and prostitution.

"There is a connection and no issue can be looked at in isolation," said MP Sahana Pradhan. With regard to the environment and forests, it is

women who are major dependents of forest products but it is men who are monopolizing the forests that are gradually being privatised, said Dr Meena Acharya from the Institute for Integrated Development Studies (IIDS).

"Even when talking of community forests, you're lumping men and women together, and automatically the attention goes to the power group, leaving women nowhere," said international feminist Robin Morgan, speaking at the workshop.

Discussing coalition strategy planning, Morgan pointed out the need to push researchers for factual data and do away with 'statistical purdah'. "Data on the work conditions of women in Nepal, their ownership of property and to make connections between these is necessary before lobbying women in parliament, carrying out street theatres in villages, picketing, pamphleteering on the streets and holding demonstrations," she said.

Addressing existing loopholes in the law Dr Thapaliya said, laws had to be amended with gender perspective in mind - existing

trafficking laws need to be amended, decriminalisation of prostitution should be pushed and laws against rape must be passed.

Talking about the reproductive freedom of women and multiple pregnancies, it was stressed that the Bill on abortion should not be allowed to go ignored in the next session of parliament, and women's reproductive health should be put on the agenda of international donor agencies.

The process of strategising and organising a united front for women included - media campaigns, legal awareness programmes, reinterpretation of religion, speak-outs, networking, lobbying different social, religious and political groups.

But what is important said Morgan, speaking at the workshop organized by Didi Bahini Women for Womens' Empowerment Program/IFCD and the Asia Foundation - the personal is political and every woman is a politician who makes the transition from family to family and learns to survive. Her problems or constraints is political and her rights are political rights.

Of women's issues

After the restoration of democracy in the country, feminist voices have begun to rise both in amplitude as well as frequency. They are now pressing for greater freedom, equal status with men, legislation against discrimination and harsher laws against trafficking of women, rape and forced prostitution. Armed with the moral backing of international feminists like Robin Morgan they are now demanding equal right to property inheritance and even the reservation of as much as 50 percent seats for women in government offices and political institutions. Another pressing issue that women have brought to the fore is that of reproductive freedom including the right to abortion.

This may be regarded as a move, rather long overdue, in the right direction so long as it sets the ball of social reform rolling, and ultimately leads to the equal participation of women in economic development. But as the saying goes— 'all that glitters is not gold', if reforms are pushed too far too soon it may result in unwarranted social upheavals and family breakdowns which would negatively tell on the social health of individuals.

This is certainly not to deny that women are an oppressed lot in Nepal; but just to sound a note of caution. Any plan of action aimed at improving the status of women has to take into account the existing socio-cultural and religious values and traditions inherited by the people. We certainly want to see more women in the government departments, in active politics, in uniform, in business and in our universities, but do we also

want to see the divorce rate and the number of single parents shoot up? Certainly not. And how far is the argument in favour of equal right to property inheritance practicable? Should a woman be an heiress to her parent's property or her husband's, or both? This is indeed debatable and requires a lot of homework. Similarly, the demand for the provision of job quotas for women does not hold much water, at least for the time being, for the simple reason that we haven't trained a sufficiently large number of women to fill up those positions. Perhaps, giving women equal opportunity and access in all sectors of national life would be a fairer deal as it would foster the spirit of competition.

It is true that in almost all traditional, male-dominated societies, specially in the third world, women are generally confined to the household chores and the rearing of children. And this no doubt is one of the main reasons of the backwardness of these countries. If women, who comprise more than half the total population (at least in Nepal's case), are denied, (not legally but culturally) access to proper education facilities and work opportunities, then, it is as bad as effectively keeping 50 percent of the country's human resources idle. Why should we then be surprised if we find the economy moving ahead sluggishly. The nation as a whole, therefore, stands to gain if women are treated as equal partners in our development efforts; but that is going to take time and effort and a great deal of investment in the education of the girl child. For it is mostly in uneducated families that women suffer at the hands of their male counterparts

The Kathmandu Post
June 25, '94 (Saturday)

The Kathmandu Post
Wednesday, June 29, 1994

Men need to be pulled into decision-making : Shailaja

Shailaja Pandey

Alarming literacy rate of women in Nepal (2 per cent), she said somehow the rest of the women need to be pulled into decision-making processes.

She underlined three areas-agriculture, family planning and forestry where any improvement is impossible without equal participation of women.

Lastly, she expressed grave concern on the recently formed Child and Women Council.

Basically, the policies are made by urban people who

have no concept of the villages and the life there. We urgently need to reorient this policy making process, she said.

Earlier, the US Ambassador to Nepal, Sandy Vogelgesang, informed the women groups gathered at the Russian Cultural Centre for the talk programme, that one of her aims to take a Nepal posting was to promote women's issues.

"You can judge my performance on that yardstick", she said. She added

further that the commitment of her government is there, for women have for too long been without choice or voice.

MP Sahana Pradhan (CPN-UML) said clearly its time for action.

She emphasised women should be encouraged into non-traditional jobs, rather than usual stitching and sewing, that is a low skill job.

Today women's issues are being looked at in isolation, but all issues are women's issues, be it industry or

business.

Lastly Robin Morgan, an international feminist and journalist regaled the listeners with an eloquent and inspiring speech.

She pointed out the irony in the corridors of power regarding upliftment of women, where constitution says "yes", but civil code says "no".

She believes that feminism is very much about the politics of the planet today, and "that's why I call feminism, the politics of 21st century."

Feminism and Nepali women

What Robin Morgan, editor-in-chief of New York based feminist magazine MS had to say about Nepali women was really incredible. Her observation that women of Nepali villages are natural feminists who do not need to be taught must have come as a bit of a shocker to a public reared with the 'take-'em-for granted' attitude. And also the discerning reader, whose daily media staple comprises some report or the other of atrocities committed against women, or articles that deplore gender biases whether in the dietary pattern of the rural folks or at the level of national planning must have swallowed Ms Morgan's observation with a pinch of salt.

However encouraging Ms Morgan's comments may seem, the reality of the Nepali woman's lot certainly leaves much to be desired. Though by virtue of belonging to the same sex, there may be certain basic commonalities between women of the East and West, one still can say that there exists a gulf of a difference to which Mark Twain's "East is East and West is West and never shall the twain meet" might just be applicable.

For feminism in the West did undergo a process of evolution. Women, moved from the status of being the silent suffering majority, to vociferous groups demanding

equality, to radical associations with rather interesting acronyms like (SCUM) Society for Cutting Up Men etc. It is a story of women rising from playing second fiddle to hubby boy and finally asserting their uniqueness and being heard in the process. The politics of the feminist movement in the West is a different matter altogether and Ms Morgan is quite right to point out that bra-burning is not what feminism is all about. One reads these days, that feminists in the West, having attained most of their objectives do not now really want to remain isolated in their uniqueness or united in a mutual male hating society but prefer bonding with men. In Nepal on the other hand, though women are becoming more vocal, they still remain a silently suffering majority. One main reason why the country has not progressed at the desired rate is also because of the women's status. Almost about 50 percent of the population is lagging behind in social and economic backwaters. Deprived of education facilities, lacking in awareness, most Nepali women are economically dependent and therefore socially oppressed despite the immense contributions they make. Nepali women must of necessity be enabled to help themselves. And towards this end, government and non-governmental agencies need to play a more dynamic role.

The Kathmandu Post
Wednesday, June 22, 94

Nepalese women seek empowerment

By a Post Reporter

KATHMANDU - A three day women's coalition building and advocacy workshop began here Tuesday bringing together women from various organizations to work unitedly for empowerment. International feminist Robin Morgan acted as catalyst.

Drawing on her experiences in Nepal in the past few days, Morgan pointed out that her being in Nepal was an 'excuse' for Nepali women to hold up a mirror to themselves and reflect upon their activities and progress.

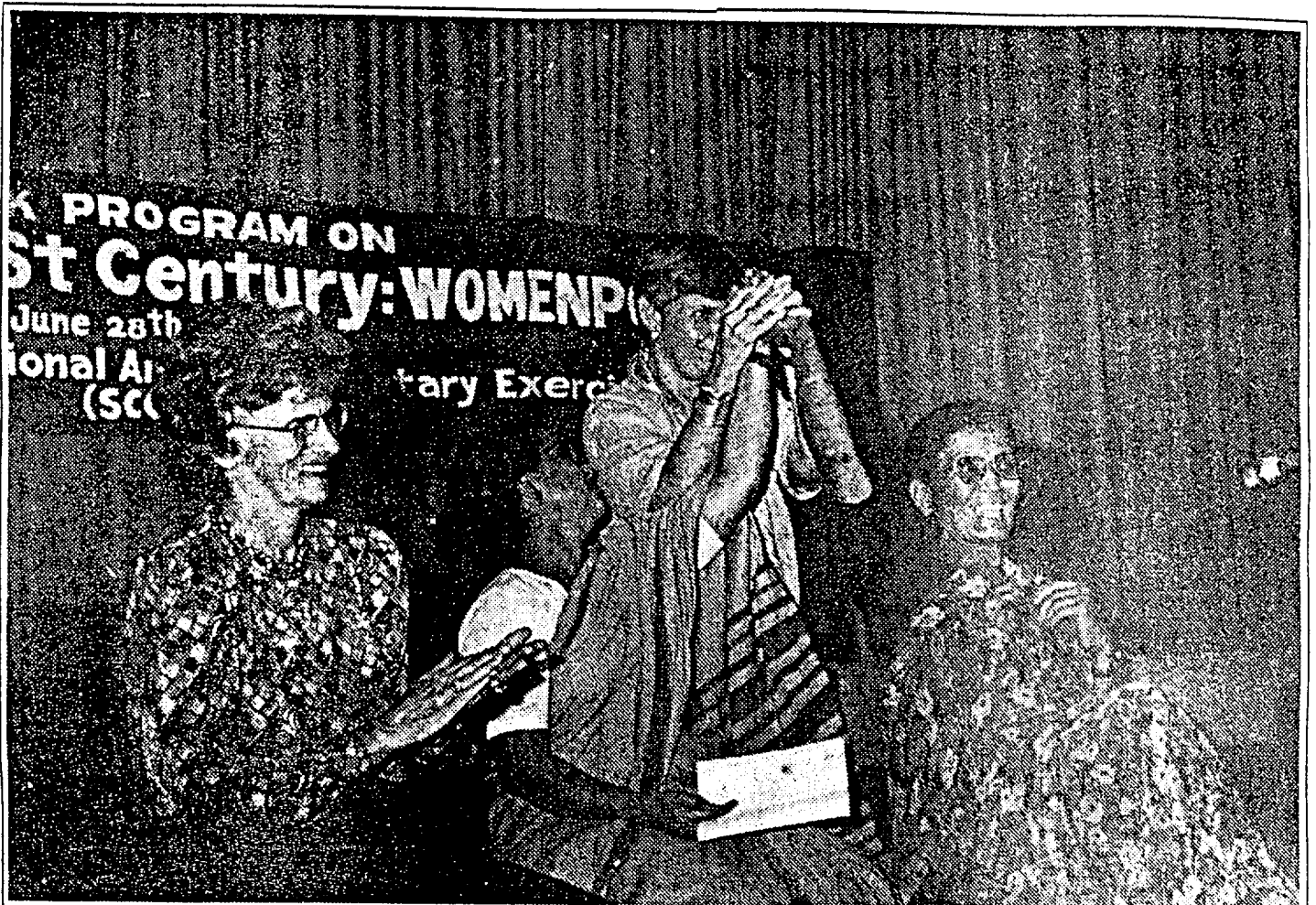
The rivalry and competitiveness among the different women's organizations, the 'horizontal hostility' felt towards one another is not unusual but must be directed at the power above. Women's NGOs must begin to listen to each other, she said.

Organized by Women for Women Empowerment Program /IFCD and the Asia Foundation, the workshop was attended by nearly forty women including leading women activists Sahana Pradhan, Dr Shanta Thappaliya, Dr Meena Acharya and Durga Ghimire. At the workshop MP Sahana Pradhan, also a member

of the Women's Security Pressure Group and Chairman of All Nepal Women's Association said women would have to fight their own battles as men could not be expected to. Lip service alone, promising a change in the system won't work. Women must listen to each other, she said.

During the workshop, participants expressed the need for full participation of women in the country's decision-making. Lack of information among women in rural areas, the disunity among women in the urban areas were outstanding needs wanting to be addressed, it was felt.

The Kathmandu Post
Thursday, June 30, 1994



SISTERS' ARMS : MP Shailaza Acharya, Ms Robin Morgan and MP Sahana Pradhan holding hands together while US ambassador Sandy Vogelsang claps at a SCOPE organised talk programme on 'the politics of the 21st century: Women's power' on Tuesday. *Post Photo*

Feminism not only 'burning the bras'

By a Post Reporter

KATHMANDU- Meeting the press in a tete-e-tete organised by *Asmita* women's magazine on Sunday, Robin Morgan, Editor-in-chief of *MS*, the feminist magazine in New York, banished many misconceptions of feminism, starting from the very first misreported incident of 'burning the bras' twenty-five years ago.

"Eversince we have been denying that it was not a literal act of burning, but one in symbolism. It was an announcement of breaking from the shackles and demanding equal rights, more opportunities, equal pay. In short, any trivialising related

to women had to be stopped," she said emphatically.

Robin Morgan has been one of the torch-bearers of women's movement which started twenty years ago in the US. She is an award-winning journalist and the author of 13 books, besides the classic anthologies — '*Sisterhood is Powerful*' and '*Sisterhood is Global*'.

She was pleasantly surprised on her visit to one of the outlying villages of Kathmandu, where at one meeting as many as 200 women, both activists and residents of the village, gathered and gave vent to their ideas. She observed that women of Nepali villages were natural feminists, without ever having to be taught. "Their analyses of feminism is perfect,

they know what hurts them, they are vocal about it and most probably know the remedy." She suggested that the urban sisters drop the facade and learn from them.

She denounces petered down terms to feminism. "Originally it was termed 'feminist issues' then it came to 'women' and now it is as noncommittal as 'gender issues'. But whatever it is, as long as we get there is all that matters," she quipped.

She congratulated the women for the strong version of feminism of the countries of the South as against that of the North. "Feminism in South is more creative, enraged, inclusive and definitely more interesting."

Her final message was that women are no more a minority not if they form 50 percent of the population. And moreover there is no such thing as 'women's issues'. All issues are of concern to women as they are to men, only the priority in different countries changes.

She added that since women live in a different reality than men, their perspective on a issues, be it economic or political, needs to be aired, since they are half the peoples of the world.

Morgan is here on a short stint as a consultant with the Asia Foundation to work with women's organisations and publications in developing advocacy and coalition building strategies.

DRAFT, 10/8/94

RURAL WOMEN'S ADVOCACY

A CURRICULUM GUIDE

Developed By:

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With Support From:

The Asia Foundation
United States Agency for International Development

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

GENDER AWARENESS

Component Aims
Learning Objectives

Part One: Self-Awareness
Part Two: Gender Identity
Part Three: Division of Work
Part Four: Access and Control of Resources and Benefits

Possible Followup Activities

RIGHTS

Component Aims
Learning Objectives

Part One: Rights and Rights Violations
Part Two: Types of Recourse
Part Three: Taking Action

Possible Followup Activities

VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

Component Aims
Learning Objectives

Part One: Review
Part Two: The VDC -- Structure and Process
Part Three: Working Together With the VDC
Part Four: Leadership and Elections

Possible Followup Activities

OTHER COMMUNITY, LOCAL AND DISTRICT SERVICES

Component Aims
Learning Objectives

Part One: Community Services
Part Two: District Services
Part Three: Advocacy When Services Are Inadequate

Possible Followup Activities

PARLIAMENT AND MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Component Aims
Learning Objectives

Part One: Role of Parliament and Members of Parliament

Part Two: Selecting and Voting for a Candidate

Part Three: Communicating With Members of Parliament

Possible Followup Activities

GENDER AWARENESS

GENDER AWARENESS

COMPONENT AIMS

1. To help participants develop a sense of self-worth and individual identity.
2. To build awareness of how society defines the roles of women and men and how these roles can be changed.
3. To build questioning ability and critical thinking skills.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Part One: Self-Awareness

Participants will be able to:

1. Identify areas of life where they would like a change.
2. Identify the common experiences of being a woman.

Part Two: Gender Identity

Participants will be able to:

3. Identify ways in which society defines women and men.
4. Identify characteristics which are common and different in women and men.

Part Three: Division of Work

Participants will be able to:

5. Describe the division of work between women and men in a household and outside.
6. Compare and describe the different values attached to work done by women and men.
7. Identify possible ways in which tasks can be adjusted between men and women.

Part Four: Access and Control of Resources and Benefits

Participants will be able to:

8. Describe and compare the access of women and men to resources and benefits.
9. Describe and compare control of women and men over resources and benefits.
10. Identify possible ways of increasing women's access and control over resources and benefits.

125

PART ONE: SELF-AWARENESS

Learning Objectives

Participants will be able to:

1. Identify areas of life where they would like a change.
2. Identify the common experiences of being a woman.

Suggested Activities

1. Unfreezing/Introductions (2.5 hours)
 - Collect matching objects (two small stones, two flowers, two scraps of cloth, etc.), and put in a bag. Ask participants to pick one piece.
 - Ask participants to walk around the room to find their partner with the matching object.
 - Have participants ask each other these questions:
 - What is your name? (Your actual name, not your identity as someone's wife, mother ...)
 - Why did you join the group?
 - If you get a chance to change something in your life, what would you like to change?
 - Have participants introduce each other to the full group.
2. Lifeline Exercise (1.5 hours)
 - Ask each participant to think for ten minutes about the significant/memorable events of her life (e.g her childhood, schooling, marriage, childbirth, joining the group, joining literacy classes etc.) Have them draw a line with symbols for each event they think is important in their lives.
 - Let them share their experiences with the others one by one. After everyone has had a chance, ask the participants to compare the pleasant events. Do they find a similarity?
 - Ask the participants to then think of the painful events. Is there a similarity? Why did these painful events occur? Is there a similarity in the causes? Do all of them suffer for common reasons?

PART TWO: GENDER IDENTITY

Learning Objectives

Participants will be able to:

3. Identify ways in which society defines women and men.
4. Identify characteristics which are common and different in women and men.

Suggested Activities

1. Traditional Proverbs About Men and Women (2 hours)

- Divide participants into two groups. Ask one group to think of traditional proverbs about women.
- Ask the other group to think of proverbs about men.
- Let one group share with the full group. Ask participants what kind of role and behaviour have these proverbs given to women? Are they negative or positive? Do they put women on a pedestal for worshipping?
- Let the other group also share and ask the participants the same question. Are they positive or negative? How do they show men?
- Sum up that these are ways that society defines women and men.

2. Women And Men: Differences and Similarities (1 hour)

- Divide participants into two groups. Ask them to think of 5-10 characteristics which are the same (e.g. as human beings both need food, water, love, etc.) and those which are different (e.g. childbearing, need to shave, organs, etc.) between men and women.
- After 30 mins. let participants present before the full group. Choose characteristics one by one and have the group determine if it is something which both women and men can have/do or is it something which only men or only women can have/do.
- Ask the group why they defined these characteristics as only male or only female (physical, religious, social.....)
- Conclude by summing up that the only characteristics of women and men that cannot be changed are physical. The other characteristics like attitude (men should not cry) and behaviour (only women do household work, only men talk to officials) are created by society and can be changed by people in society.

Information Notes for the Facilitator

Our Identity as Women and Men. Our understanding of who we are as men and women is created by society. From the time we are born we are taught that some kind of work (e.g. household work) or a certain type of behaviour (e.g. not going out too much) should be done by women. Some other kinds of work and behaviour (e.g. going out to work and earning to support a family, or being brave and strong) should be done by men. According to society, women should not do men's work and have their kind of behaviour, and men should not do women's work or have their kind of behaviour. These ideas are something we learn. We are not born with them. The only thing we come to this world with is a body with different organs which work in different ways: e.g. women can give birth to a child, men can grow a beard etc. People themselves have made the other rules and formed the different attitudes about what women and men can and should do, and how they should behave.

What Can and What Cannot be Changed. The organs that we are born with cannot be changed. The functions of these organs also cannot be changed (e.g. only women can bear children and men cannot.) What can be changed is what we are taught about what we can and should do, and how we should act. For example, there is nothing about the way men are physically made that stops men from cooking or cleaning the house. There is nothing about the way women are physically made that stops women from working outside the home and earning money, or running for political office etc. The only thing that stops men and women from equal participation in activities inside and outside the house is society's attitudes and beliefs like:

- Women should not be educated or given different opportunities for different kinds of work.
- Only men should go far away from home, only they can go wherever they want and need.
- Women should not go to different offices, they should not talk to men about official work.
- Women should stay at home and look after children.
- Only women can do household work.
- Women don't know enough to decide anything about their lives, so they must be controlled and told how and when to do something.

PART THREE: DIVISION OF WORK

Learning Objectives

Participants will be able to:

5. Describe the division of work women and men do in a household and outside.
6. Compare and describe the different values attached to work done by women and men.
7. Identify possible ways in which tasks can be adjusted between men and women.

Suggested Activities

1. Problem Identification (1.5 hours)

- Ask the group what problems they are facing in the group's ongoing work/project?
- List the problems which constrain them, and then ask them to prioritize the problems.
- Divide participants into two groups and ask them to identify the causes of these problems.
- Ask the groups to present before the full group.
- Ask questions that highlight women's workload as one of the major constraints.

2. Role Play of Division Of Work (1.5 hours)

- Ask one participant to play the role of a husband and go through the activities of a typical day of a man, from the time he wakes up to the time he sleeps.
- Ask another participant to play the role of a wife and go through the activities of a typical day of a woman, from the time she wakes up to the time she sleeps. The other participants should be observers.
- Ask participants to list the activities and categorize them as: household work, income earning work, work done for the community.

PART FOUR: ACCESS AND CONTROL OVER RESOURCES AND BENEFITS

Learning Objectives

Participants will be able to:

8. Describe and compare the access of women and men to resources and benefits.
9. Describe and compare the control of women and men over resources and benefits.
10. Identify possible ways of increasing women's access and control over resources and benefits.

Suggested Activities

1. Comparing Income of Women and Men (2 hours)

- Divide participants into two groups. Ask one group to identify the sources of income of women in their group. Ask the other group to identify the sources of income of the men of their families.
- Let the groups present to the full group. List the sources of income of women and of men separately.
- Ask if women have the power to decide how and when to use the income they have access to?
- Have the group identify the income they do control, and the income they don't.

2. Comparing Spending of Women and Men (2 hours)

- Ask participants to go in their two groups again. Ask one group to identify the items on which women of their group spend money. Ask the other group to identify the items on which men spend their money.
- Let the groups present to the full group.
- List the areas where women spend money and the areas where men spend their money.
- Ask participants to list which expenses women decide, and which expenses men decide.

3. Resource Mapping (4 hours)

- Ask the group to collect stones, sticks, leaves and other similar things to use as symbols/counters.
- Draw a large house on the ground and ask the group to think of all the things (cash, food, goods, grain, knowledge, fuelwood, fodder etc.) that come into the house. Have the group agree on and assign a symbol to each item.
- As the group identifies items, put the collected symbols (stones, etc) inside the house to show what has come into the house.
- Then, ask participants to think of all the things (cash, labour, food, seed, manure etc.) that go out of the house.
- Draw a road going out of the house, and as the participants list items put symbols to show what has gone out of the house, on the road.
- For each item that comes in and goes out have the group identify whether it is men or women, or girl or boy children who: (1) provide the labour; and, (2) decide what happens to the item.
- Have the full group list the items which are in the control of men and the ones which are under women's control.
- Ask participants what they think the reasons are for the existing situation. Do they think the situation can be changed? Ask participants if there are possible ways for them to gain greater access and control of resources and benefits.

Information Notes for the Facilitator

Access and Control over Resources and Benefits. The kind of work that people do earns them resources and benefits.

Resources include money, land, property, credit, time.

Benefits include income, food, produce, shelter, education, health and respect.

Men and women do not have the same access to (i.e. the same chance to reach) these resources and benefits. Women's and men's control (i.e the power to decide what to do) over resources and benefits are also different. The kind of work women do earns them few resources and benefits. Looking after house, children and the old means that women have little time and income. The kind of work that men do earns them more resources and benefits. Along with these resources and benefits men have the power to decide how to use them. Men do not have to ask the women of their family for their permission to do something. Women, on the other hand, are not allowed to make decisions on their own without asking the men of their family.

POSSIBLE FOLLOWUP ACTIVITIES

1. Share knowledge and changed outlook with other members of the family and other groups of the community.
2. Make a conscious effort not to differentiate or allow discrimination between boy and girl children and report back to the group on changes made.
3. Identify supportive male persons/leaders of the community
4. Invite supportive men to their groups for such discussions.
5. Ask them to use their influence to change the attitude of other men of the community.
6. Share with the group changes in work distribution.
7. Share with the group changes in control over income or decisions.

RIGHTS

RIGHTS

COMPONENT AIMS

1. To raise participants' awareness of their rights.
2. To raise participants' awareness of actions they can take to claim or protect their rights.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Part One: Rights and Rights Violations

Participants will be able to:

1. Define what rights ("adhikaar") are.
2. Identify and describe problems of women's rights violations in the community.

Part Two: Types of Recourse

Participants will be able to:

3. Determine and describe different actions the group can take when rights are violated.
4. Identify some rights that are protected by the law or the constitution.

Part Three: Taking Action

Participants will be able to:

5. Simply present a case (of rights violation) to a community leader, police officer, VDC official, court official.
6. Request information, specific assistance, or cooperation from a local leader or official.

PART ONE: RIGHTS AND RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Learning Objectives

Participants will be able to:

1. Define what rights ("adhikaar") are.
2. Identify and describe problems of women's rights violations in the community.

Suggested Activities

1. Group discussion of rights (30-45 minutes)
 - Lead the discussion by asking questions such as: What is the group's definition of the word "adhikaar"? Who has adhikaar/rights (in their family, in their community, in their group, in the nation)? Are they different for different people? Why do some people have more rights and some people have less rights? How is life different for people who have more and less rights? Should all people have the same rights? Why or why not? Should men and women have the same rights? How would their own lives be different if men and women had the same rights? How would their sons and daughters lives be different if they had the same rights?
2. Problem ranking of women's rights violations in the community (2 hours)
 - First brainstorm with the group as a whole about types of problems that women experience which they feel are unjust. Problems that may come up will differ from community to community and may include: lack of control over money, wife-beating, second wives, divorce, property issues, lack of support by husband, widowhood, selling girls into prostitution, lack of education (for selves and daughters), men paid more than women for labour.
 - Divide the group into several teams of four or five to prioritize the top three problems. Facilitator should move from team to team to make sure they understand the task.
 - Compare the rankings and discuss differences between them.
 - Taking the top three from each team, have the whole group vote again on their top three priorities. These will be the three types of problems that the group will use in the next session when developing recourse actions.

Information Notes for the Facilitator

Rights. A right is an action, or a freedom, that a person is authorized to take or have. There are legal rights, which are recognized and protected by the law; there are constitutional rights, which are recognized and protected by the constitution of Nepal; and there are human rights which are recognized by the United Nations, an international body of many countries. There are also rights that have no legal or governmental recognition or protection, but which are traditionally accepted as rights due to community practice or religious belief. Sometimes these different types of rights are in conflict with each other.

Human Rights. The most essential and basic category of rights are universal human rights declared by the United Nations. Many countries around the world, including Nepal, have said that they recognize these rights, although the laws and practice of different countries do not always protect these rights. All people of every race, ethnicity, caste and religion, whether they are rich or poor, urban or rural, male or female, powerful or not should have the same basic human rights. These rights include:

- the right to equality
- the right to fair and equal treatment under the law
- the right to own property
- the right to join an organization
- the right to participate in government and free elections
- the right to education
- freedom from all forms of discrimination
- freedom from slavery
- freedom from torture and violent treatment
- freedom of religion
- freedom of expression
- freedom of information

Because Nepal is new to democracy, many of its laws are outdated and contradict some of these basic human rights. The laws need to be changed and then enforced for basic human rights to have full protection in Nepal. Many traditional beliefs are also in conflict with these basic human rights. Human rights organizations, legal rights organizations and women's rights organizations are working to pressure the government into changing Nepal's unjust laws, and to change traditional beliefs of Nepali men and women that conflict with basic human rights.

Constitution. The constitution is Nepal's highest fundamental law. A new constitution was created after the people's movement for democracy in 1990. The new constitution greatly expands protection for most human rights and basic freedoms in Nepal, such as those listed above. The new constitution also requires that laws which contradict the constitution, such as those laws which do not treat men and women equally, must be changed. Getting laws changed is a long process that involves raising public awareness, taking cases to the Supreme Court to prove that they contradict the constitution, and getting new laws passed in the Parliament. Most of the outdated ones have not been changed yet.

Laws and Legal Protection. Laws are the rules of the country, which are passed by the Parliament, upheld by the courts and enforced by the police. As mentioned above, many of Nepal's laws were created before the new constitution which expanded protection for human rights. These old laws contradict the constitution, and must be changed.

Common Violations of Women's Rights. Violations of citizens' rights take place all over the world. Some common problems that are violations of women's rights in rural Nepal (and many other parts of the world) include:

- wife-beating
- polygamy
- child marriage
- trafficking women into prostitution
- rape and sexual abuse
- denial of property rights
- husband not providing support to the wife and children after divorce
- unequal pay for men and women doing the same labour

Some of these violations are punishable by law in Nepal. Others should be punishable by law according to the new constitution, but the laws have not yet been changed to provide protection.

PART TWO: TYPES OF RECOURSE

Learning Objectives

Participants will be able to:

3. Determine and describe different actions the group can take when rights are violated.
4. Identify some rights that are protected by the law or the constitution.

Suggested Activities

1. Group discussion of different types of recourse (30-45 minutes)
 - Lead the discussion by asking questions like: What can a woman do/where can a woman go if she has a problem? Where do local people usually go to settle disputes? Has anyone in the group or anyone they know had experience going to a community leader, the VDC, the police, the court, the CDO to settle a dispute? Was it a good or a bad experience? Was the solution a good or a bad one? Would they go again?
 - Facilitator can supplement the types of recourse with options listed in the "Information Notes" section.
2. Problem studies: developing different courses of action (1.5 hours)
 - Divide the group into three teams. Assign each team one of the three problems prioritized in the earlier session on problem identification. Explain that each group must come up with three alternative courses of action to solve the problem.
 - Allow each team half an hour to discuss the forms of alternative recourse.
 - Each team presents their problem and the three alternative actions, with questions and discussion by large group.

3. Group discussion of laws (30-45 minutes)

- Lead a group discussion by asking questions like: What are laws? Who makes them? Why? Does the group know of any laws that protect women's rights? If yes, what laws?

4. Specific laws (1 hour)

- Take the first priority problem identified by the group, and explain the specific law that applies in simple terms.
- Ask participants what they think of the law? Is it fair? Is the punishment sufficient? If the law provides alternative solutions, which do they think is better and why? (e.g. In a case of polygamy, the first wife can ask for a divorce and support for five years, or she can remain married and ask for partition of the property.)

Information Notes for the Facilitator

Women's Rights and the Laws

Polygamy is punishable by imprisonment of one to two months and a fine of Rs. 1000 to Rs. 2000. If the second wife knows about her husband's first marriage, then she may also be given the same punishment.

Both wives can demand a divorce and support from the husband for up to 5 years. OR, they can stay married, and demand separation from the husband and partition of the property.

Wife-beating is grounds for divorce. It is not otherwise punishable by law in Nepal, unless the beating is extremely severe.

Trafficking or attempting to traffick women into prostitution is punishable by 10-20 years in jail. Anyone who helps a trafficker can also be punished by 5 years in jail.

Divorce/alimony. A wife may divorce her husband and claim alimony (support) for five years if: (1) her husband takes another wife; (2) her husband drives her out of the house without food or clothes; (3) her husband abandons her or does not support her continuously for three years; (4) her husband attempts to kill her; (5) her husband is impotent.

If both husband and wife mutually agree to divorce, then the wife cannot demand support.

Child support. In the event of divorce, generally, the husband must bear the full cost of supporting the child. But, if the husband's economic condition is weak, and the wife's is stronger, the wife may be required to provide partial support.

Rape. Rape victims may receive one-half the total property of the rapist. The burden of proving rape lies with the victim.

Child marriage. The legal age of marriage for girls is 16 with parental consent, 18 without parental consent. It is against the law for girls under the age of 16 to get married.

Forced marriage. If a woman does not give her consent to get married, the marriage is considered illegal and void.

Property

Stridhan. A woman has complete control over her "stridhan", which includes wedding gifts, "daijo", "pewa", money she earns, property she acquires with money she earns. She does not need anyone's consent to use or sell this property.

Parental property. Married women and divorced women have no right to parental property. A daughter who remains unmarried may claim an equal share of her parent's property after the age of 35. If she marries later, she loses her rights to her parent's property.

Divorced women. A divorced woman has no right to her husband's or parent's property.

Widows. A widow below the age of 30 cannot inherit her husband's property if her husband's relatives provide her with support such as food, clothing and expenses. If her husband's relatives do not support her, she can inherit her husband's property.

A widow over the age of 30 can inherit her husband's property. She loses her rights to the property if she remarries.

Property inherited from husband or father. A woman has complete control over all "moveable" property (jewelry, money, furniture, etc.) she inherits from her husband or father. She can decide how to use or dispose of it, without asking anyone's consent.

A woman has complete control over one-half of the "immoveable" property (land, house) she inherits from her husband or father. For the remaining one-half, she must have male (son/father/husband/brother's) consent.

Bank transactions. A woman can do bank transactions related to her "stridhan" without anyone's consent. If the transaction is related to property inherited from her husband or father, she must have male consent (son/father/brother/husband).

Laws that Conflict with the Constitution. Many of the property laws and the family laws (relating to marriage, divorce, children) discriminate against women. This is in conflict with the constitution, the most fundamental law in the country, which says that men and women must be treated equally by the law. Women's rights organizations are working to get these laws changed.

Use and Enforcement of Laws. For some problems, even where laws exist, they are rarely used or enforced. The reasons for lack of use and enforcement are many and may include: (1) people's fear of government institutions and officials that they do not trust; (2) people's lack of knowledge about their rights, the laws and the process of going to the police or the court; (3) inefficiency within the police and court systems; (4) lack of followup by both victims and police to enforce court decisions. Until people overcome their fears, and begin to use the laws and the existing systems to protect their rights, even good laws will remain ineffective.

Recourse for Rights Violations. There are many different ways to resolve problems of rights violations. A few of these ways include:

Educating the wrong-doer. Informing wrong-doers that what they are doing is against the law. This can be done by a person the wrong-doer trusts, concerned family members, a women's group, other community group, village leaders, elected officials. Sometimes this combination of information and private or public pressure is enough to stop someone from continuing to break the law.

Community education. Educating the larger community about laws. Sometimes this will result in community pressure on those who are breaking the law.

Community Problem Resolution. Using local mediation processes that already exist in the community. The existence, type and effectiveness of these systems varies from community to community.

Taking the case to the VDC. Requesting the Village Development Committee to mediate a solution. The VDC does not have judicial jurisdiction over family cases, and its decisions are only binding if both parties agree to abide by the decision.

Police. Registering a case with the local police.

Chief District Office. Taking the case to the Chief District Office. The CDO's decision is binding except in property rights cases.

Court. Taking a case to the district court.

Resources for Legal Help. Many problems can be resolved without the help of lawyers or other specialists. However, there are a few legal organizations which may be able to provide advice if requested. These include:

The Legal Aid and Consultancy Center (LACC), Jawalakhel, Lalitpur. Phone # 523871, Dr. Shanta Thapaliya, Director. LACC is a legal advocacy organization run by and for women.

Service for the Underprivileged Section of Society (SUSS), Dilli Bazar, Kathmandu. Phone # 410673, Ms. Silu Singh, Director. SUSS is a legal advocacy organization which provides services for poor women.*

Nepal Bar Association.*

*NOTE: Didi-Bahini must contact SUSS and the Bar Association for their permission to list in this curriculum guide.

146

PART THREE: TAKING ACTION

Learning Objectives

Participants will be able to:

5. Simply present a case (of rights violation) to a community leader, police officer, VDC official, court official.
6. Request information, specific assistance, or cooperation from a local leader or official.

Suggested Activities

1. Interacting with officials (4 hours)
 - Divide group into three teams (based on the three priority problems identified) to formulate questions for leaders/officials (VDC member, local policeman, local leader) about how they can help with problem resolution for this kind of a case.
 - Teams share their questions with the large group and discuss.
 - Each team appoints two people to ask the questions.
 - Invite two or three real officials to answer questions.

AND/OR

2. Field trip to offices (1.5 days)
 - Divide group into three teams (based on the three top problems) to formulate questions for officials (VDC member, local policeman, CDO, lawyer, judge) about how they can help with problem resolution, and what the process is for registering a case.
 - Teams share their questions with the large group and discuss.
 - Each team appoints two people to ask the questions.
 - Take on field trip to meet/interview officials at two of the following places: VDC office, police chowki, district police office, CDO's office, district court.
3. Large group discussion to review/summarize the ways in which the various officials met in the training or on the field trip can help with the three specific problems.

4/5

POSSIBLE FOLLOWUP ACTIVITIES

1. Take field trips to the offices not visited during the training.
2. Undertake a community survey to find out whether there are any current instances of the top three priority problems.
3. Educate women about their rights/the laws in those instances.
4. Organize special meetings of the group to learn about laws that apply to other problems not discussed in training.
5. Undertake a community survey to find out if there are instances of problems/law violations for laws covered in special meetings (# 4).
6. Assist women (and men!) who may come to the group requesting help by:
 - finding out if there are laws that apply
 - helping to develop an appropriate course of action
 - helping to access one of the official systems
7. Send letters to women's rights, legal rights and human rights organizations, or MPs about laws that the group feels are unfair and should be changed.

VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

COMPONENT AIMS

1. To familiarize participants with the Village Development Committee (VDC), the unit of government that is closest and most accessible.
2. To increase participants' access to the VDC.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Part One: Review

Participants will be able to:

1. Describe changes that occurred or actions that were taken after the gender and rights components of the training.

Part Two: The VDC -- Structure and Process

Participants will be able to:

2. Identify their ward and VDC members.
3. Describe the basic structure and duties of a VDC.
4. Describe the working process and resources of a VDC.

Part Three: Working Together with the VDC

Participants will be able to:

5. Identify some issues/projects on which the group can work with the ward and VDC members.
6. Formulate questions for and seek information and assistance from ward and VDC members.

Part Four: Voting for a Leader

Participants will be able to:

8. Determine qualities needed for good leadership.
9. Identify requirements needed to vote.
10. Cast a vote for ward and VDC officials.

PART ONE: REVIEW

Learning Objectives

Participants will be able to:

1. Describe changes that occurred or actions that were taken after the gender and rights components.

Suggested Activities

1. Unfreezing (1 hour)
 - Facilitator collects 10-12 pairs of small matching objects (two flowers, two sticks, two rocks, two nails, two spoons, etc.) before the session and places in a bag.
 - Ask each participant to draw one object from the bag.
 - After all participants have taken one object, ask them to walk around the room until they find their "partner", that is, the person who has a matching object.
 - Ask partners to describe their experience of one change that has occurred either for them personally or for the group as a result of the last training.
 - Have each person report her partner's change back to the full group.
 - Facilitator leads a discussion on what actions lead to these changes.
 - Facilitator then leads a group review of followup activities from the "Gender" and "Rights" component that were undertaken by the group after the first phase of training.

PART TWO: THE VDC -- STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

Learning Objectives

Participants will be able to:

2. Identify their ward and VDC members.
3. Describe the basic structure and duties of a VDC.
4. Describe the working process and resources of a VDC.

Suggested Activities

1. Recognition of ward and VDC members (1.5 hours)
 - Divide participants into two teams by counting one/two.
 - Ask the participants of the groups to identify their ward members by name and describe any contact they have had with the ward member. Ask them to identify the VDC chairman and vice-chairman and describe any contact with them.
 - Each team shares information with the large group. If anyone has had contact with ward or VDC members, ask specific questions about the meeting such as: Why did they meet? What happened in the meeting? Was the meeting positive or negative? Did the meeting have any concrete results?
 - If there has been no contact with ward or VDC members, ask the group if they think it would be useful or helpful to meet them? Why or why not? How do they think a meeting could be arranged?
2. Basic Structure and Duties of a VDC (1 hour)
 - Divide participants into two teams. Ask each team to discuss these questions: (1) How many people are there in a VDC? (2) What does the VDC do? (3) What has the VDC done in their community?
 - Each team shares their answers in discussion with the large group.
 - Prepare a list of the work done by the VDC as the participants present.

3. Meeting a Ward or VDC Official for information on duties, working process and resources of the VDC. (4.5 hours)

- Explain that the group will have a chance to ask a ward or VDC official questions about the VDC and its activities.
- Break into teams to develop questions for the official.
- Teams share their questions with the large group. Through discussion, the facilitator can get the group to generate questions about the basic duties, resources and working process of the VDC, if teams did not come up with them. Group appoints several participants to ask questions.
- Either visit the VDC office or invite a ward official or VDC official to attend the training. Participants ask questions of the official.
- Large group discussion and review of information gathered. Facilitator can supplement information as needed.

4. Field Trip to Ward and/or VDC Meetings (3.5 hours)

- Ask the participants to choose 5 women to form a working committee to attend a VDC meeting.
- The working committee attends a VDC meeting as observers. The facilitator needs to coordinate with the VDC beforehand.
- Working committee reports to the group about the discussions held in the VDC. The full group identifies and discusses information or issues that may be relevant to the group.
- This same activity may be used with a ward committee meeting.

5. Preparing for a VDC Meeting (1.5 hours)

- Have the group select two people to be the chairperson and the vice chairperson of a VDC. Facilitator asks for 9 other volunteers to be ward members. Each ward member is given a number 1 through 9, to identify the ward she represents.
- Inform participants that these 11 people form the VDC and they will hold a VDC meeting.
- The remaining participants are community residents. Each participant is also given a number 1 through 9, to identify the ward where she lives.
- Let the vice-chairperson inform the VDC members that a VDC meeting is scheduled after seven days.
- Each ward member must go to her corresponding ward resident and ask what her idea of the ward's priority need is.

6. Enacting a VDC Meeting (1.5 hours)

- Participants acting as VDC members sit in a circle after they get information from the ward residents. This is the VDC meeting. Other participants observe.
- VDC chairperson asks one official from any ward (1 through 9) if she has any ward needs to report on. Ward official reports on the need identified by her resident.
- VDC chairperson asks all the members to discuss the money required, the location and other details.
- Let the VDC vote on the plan. Chairperson informs members whether the plan has passed or not. If it passes, chairperson announces that it needs to be passed by two other bodies before it can be sent to the DDC for approval.

Information Notes for the Facilitator

The Village Development Committee (VDC). A VDC is the unit of government which looks after development activities in the local area. Its job is to work together with local people to identify and solve community development problems. There are 9 ward members, a vice-chairman and a chairman in every VDC. Ward and VDC members are elected by the local people every five years.

Basic Duties of a VDC. A major duty of the VDC is to plan and oversee local development. For this, the VDC must work with the local people to identify problems and needs in areas including education, health, agriculture, forest, drinking water, transportation, and develop projects to address those needs. The VDC is supposed to pay special attention to addressing the needs of women.

The VDC also has some judicial duties such as hearing complaints about wages, boundaries of plots and terrace lands, and disputes over minor transactions.

Finally, the VDC has administrative work such as keeping records of meetings, VDC resources, and birth, death and marriage registration.

VDC Resources. The VDC gets money for development programs from several sources including: the District Development Committee, local taxes and fees.

VDC Meetings. A VDC holds meetings at least once a month, usually in the VDC office. VDC members are informed of meetings at least seven days before the meeting.

Ward Committees. Every VDC has 9 ward committees. Each committee has five members, including the ward representative to the VDC. It meets twice a month to discuss ward needs and projects.

VDC Planning Process. Ward members discuss ward needs and projects with the ward committee and with residents. Based on these discussions, they develop projects to address those needs. They present the project to the VDC. The VDC looks at its resources and decides if it can undertake the project. Before it can actually undertake a project, the VDC must get approval from the Advisory Board, the Advisory Assembly, and the District Development Committee.

PART THREE: WORKING TOGETHER WITH THE VDC

Learning Objectives

Participants will be able to:

1. Identify issues/projects on which the group can work with ward and VDC members.
2. Develop methods for working in partnership with ward committees and the VDC.

Suggested Activities

1. Community/Group Needs Identification (2 hours)
 - Ask participants to identify community or group needs (e.g health, lack of latrines, alcoholism, violence, water system, school building, etc.)
 - Divide the group into two teams, and ask each team to identify the issue most important to them, the ones not so important and the ones which can wait till later to be handled.
 - Teams share their issues with the large group.
 - If different needs are identified by the group for the most important position, start a discussion to identify the top three priority needs.
2. Project Development (1.5 hours)
 - Beginning with priority number one, ask the group to identify what kind of project or activity would address the need? Do this for priorities 1 through 3.
 - Ask the large group if the project for priority number 1 can be undertaken by the group or community on their own, or if it needs the help or cooperation from ward and VDC members? If the project needs VDC help, go on to the next step. If not, ask the same question for priorities number 2 and 3, until the group identifies a project that needs VDC help.
 - After the selection of the project, participants brainstorm about what specific kinds of help they need from the ward committee and the VDC.

3. Requesting Assistance from the Ward Committee or VDC (4 hours)

- Divide participants into two teams again. Each team formulates questions and requests to ask the ward committee or VDC for the specific project identified.
- Teams share their questions with the large group.
- Group selects a working committee of five to ask questions of a ward or VDC official about assistance with the project.
- The working committee arranges an appointment with a ward or VDC official, and then meets with him/her to present the questions and requests formulated by the group.
- Working committee reports to the group about the discussions held with the ward member about possible VDC cooperation or assistance.
- NOTE: If assistance is available the group should follow up.

Information Notes for the Facilitator

Some Examples of Projects Undertaken Jointly by VDCs and Community Groups

Training and Education. Projects have included literacy, skill development and awareness programs. VDCs have arranged the resources and materials; community groups have selected participants, organized and managed the venue.

Rural infrastructure. Projects have included mule track and trail improvement, construction and maintenance of drinking water systems. VDCs have allotted funds and provided technical support; community groups have mobilized people's participation, and managed the work.

Community construction. Projects have included construction and repair of school buildings, community halls, and children's day care centers.

Sanitation, health and environment. Projects have included toilet construction and kitchen gardening, immunization/family planning and eye camps. VDCs have provided funding and technical support; community groups have raised funds and mobilized local participation.

Types of Assistance Available from the VDC. The VDC may be able to assist community groups with projects in several ways:

- Provide limited funding
- Provide relevant information about materials, training or technical assistance available from line agencies
- Advocate and coordinate with line agencies to get materials or training
- Advocate and coordinate with the DDC to get funds, materials or training
- Involve other community members
- Settle disputes

Community Group Input. There are many ways for the community group to cooperate with the VDC for projects:

- Initiating projects
- Raising local funds
- Mobilizing locally available resources and materials
- Mobilizing community support and participation for labour
- Overseeing management of work

PART FOUR: LEADERSHIP AND ELECTIONS

Learning Objectives

Participants will be able to:

1. Determine qualities needed in a good leader.
2. State the basic election process of a VDC.
3. Identify requirements needed to be a voter.

Suggested Activities

1. Qualities of a Good Leader (1.5 hours)

- Divide participants into three teams.
- Ask each team to choose a person from their group who they think would make the best leader, and to discuss why that person would make a good leader.
- Ask teams to share how and why they selected the leader. Lead this into a discussion on qualities needed in a good leader and note the responses.
- Bring discussion to a close by asking if people they elect to be ward or VDC officials should have these same leadership qualities?

2. Voter's List (1.5 hours)

- Ask participants if they have ever taken part in a voting exercise. Let them share their experience.
- Inform participants that they are going to enact a part of the voting process, beginning with the list of registered voters.
- The facilitator should sit with a long paper, playing the role of the VDC official with the voter's list. Participants come up one by one to inquire if their names are on the voting list. While checking, the facilitator asks: (1) how old the voter is; (2) what ward they live in; and, (3) how long she has lived there. If the voter meets the requirements, then the facilitator finds their names on the list. If not, then the facilitator does not find their name on the list, and explains why they may not vote in the local election.

3. Election Process (1.5 hours)

- Ask the three women previously selected for leadership qualities to now stand for ward election. Facilitator asks each candidate questions to determine if she meets the requirements to stand as a candidate: (1) Is she 25 years old? (2) Has she lived in the ward for at least a year? (3) Is she a citizen?
 - Disqualify from running any who do not meet the requirements, and explain why to the group.
 - Give each one who qualifies a symbol from a sample ballot the facilitator has made. (Do not use real party symbols. Make up new ones.) Pin the symbol on participant's sari so it is visible.
 - Demonstrate for remaining participants how they must mark a ballot for the candidate of their choice. Remind them that they should choose their candidate according to her leadership qualities.
 - Voters vote and place ballots in a ballot box. Ballots are counted and the winner announced!
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Information Notes for the Facilitator

Qualities of a good leader. People have different ideas about what makes a good leader. Each group will come up with different qualities. Some characteristics of a good leader might be: ability to listen to different points of view; ability to communicate with all kinds of people; ability to get people to work together in a team; ability to analyze problems and come up with solutions; willingness to compromise when needed; commitment; hardworking; honesty; patience; courage; tolerance; friendliness; farsightedness.

Election process. Residents above 18 years of age who have lived in the ward for one year can vote for a ward member.

Residents above 18 years of age who have lived in the VDC for one year can vote for VDC chairman and vice chairman.

To vote, the voter's name must be on the voting list. The voter's list is posted in the VDC office before the election.

To be a candidate a person has to be a Nepali citizen, 25 years of age, and have lived in the ward or VDC for a year.

POSSIBLE FOLLOWUP ACTIVITIES

1. Form working committees to attend ward and VDC meetings regularly.
2. Regularly report to group and/or community members on substance of meetings.
3. Invite ward or VDC officials to attend group meetings periodically.
4. Develop a specific project to be worked on jointly by VDC and group.
5. Request VDC to hold public meetings on specific issues of group/community concern.
6. Survey ward/VDC members on their top priority issues.
7. Inform community of survey results.
8. Survey community on its top priority issues.
9. Inform ward/VDC of community survey results.
10. Request the record of VDC decisions about specific issues and review the record of VDC decisions of concern to the group.
11. Circulate a petition in the community requesting VDC action on a specific issue.

OTHER COMMUNITY, LOCAL AND DISTRICT SERVICES

OTHER COMMUNITY, LOCAL AND DISTRICT SERVICES

COMPONENT AIMS

1. To familiarize participants with the services available at the local and district level.
2. To increase the ability of participants to access/use these resources.
3. To lessen the fear of participants about visiting different offices.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Part One: Community Services

Participants will be able to:

1. Identify the existing services of the community.
2. Identify ways in which to use the available services at the community level.
3. Request information/services/assistance from selected community offices.

Part Two: District Services

Participants will be able to:

4. Identify the existing services at the district level.
5. Identify ways in which to use the available services at the district level.
6. Request information/services/assistance from selected district offices.

Part Three: Advocacy When Services Are Inadequate

Participants will be able to:

7. Identify possible actions to take when offices are unresponsive or services are inadequate.

PART ONE: COMMUNITY SERVICES

Learning Objectives

Participants will be able to:

1. Identify the existing services of the community.
2. Identify ways in which to use the available services at the community level
3. Request information/services/assistance from selected community offices

Suggested Activities

1. Venn Diagram of Resources (1.5 hours)
 - Divide participants into two groups. Ask them to collect some stones and other easily available items (sticks, flowers, leaves) of different sizes.
 - Explain that they will use these stones as symbols for different community services they know about or have used.
 - Ask them to assign a symbol to each service they know about, and arrange them in whatever way they would like in a given space on the ground. They will have to explain their diagram to the full group.
 - Allow groups between 30 minutes and one hour to make their diagrams.
 - Ask groups to share their arrangements, explaining what services they have identified. Ask them why they assigned particular symbols to the services (e.g. a large stone for one or a small stone for another), and why they have arranged them in a particular way (e.g one symbol placed far away from the others, or closest to themselves).
2. Identifying Problems and Matching Services (1.5 hours)
 - Ask participants to identify community problems. List these problems (using simple diagrams/pictures if helpful).
 - Prioritize the problems to find out the three most important problems.
 - Take one problem at a time and ask participants where they would go to solve these problems. List these responses. (The facilitator can give input from "Information Notes" on community services that the participants may not have identified).

3. Field Trip to Local Offices (1 day)

- Divide participants into three groups and give them one problem each. Ask them to discuss where they have to go to solve the problem, whom they have to meet, and what questions to ask.
 - Organize visits for the full group to at least two of the places chosen. Each group selects two people to ask the questions.
 - On returning from the trip, discuss the information gathered and ask participants to determine if they can use the services and how.
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Information Notes for the Facilitator

Services Which May be Available at the Local and Community Level

Health Post. Provides vaccinations, first aid, family planning aids, medicines, medical counselling.

Agriculture Service Center. Provides fertilizers, seeds.

Cooperative. Provides sugar, consumer goods (e.g. tea, soap etc.), agricultural inputs.

School. Provides primary, middle and secondary education. Distributes material for literacy classes.

Banks/Agriculture Development Bank. Provides account services and loans.

Police Post. Provides help when laws are broken. Registers certain types of cases.

Forest Office. Protects forest, supervises community forest and nursery development, manages users' groups.

Drinking Water Office. Maintains and repairs drinking water supply systems.

Women's Development Office. Organizes women development activities such as income generation and credit programs.

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). There may be a variety of international NGOs, local NGOs, clubs or guthis which also provide services in the community.

PART TWO: DISTRICT SERVICES

Learning Objectives

Participants will be able to:

4. Identify the existing services at the district level.
5. Determine ways in which to use the available services at the district level.
6. Request information/services/assistance from selected district offices.

Suggested Activities

1. Identifying Services at the District Level (1.5 hours)
 - Have participants recall the problems identified in the Community Services section.
 - Divide participants into two groups. Give one group the three most important problems they had identified.
 - Give the other groups three other problems which had been identified.
 - Ask them to discuss which office in the district they think they could go to to solve the problem.
 - Let the groups share with the full group.
2. Community Inquiry about District Services (4 hours)
 - Keep participants in the same two groups. Ask them to identify 3 or 4 respected and supportive persons, leaders or others whom they could ask what district services might be available to assist with the identified problems.
 - Have groups find these persons and ask about available district services.
 - Let them share their findings in a big group.

3. Field Trips to District Offices (1-2 days)

- Keep participants in their same two groups. Explain that they will go on a field trip to some district offices. Ask them to think of questions they want to ask at the offices where they might get help for their three problems.
- Organize visits for the full group to two or three of the places chosen. Each group selects two people to ask questions.
- On returning from the field trip, discuss the information gathered and ask participants to determine if they can use the services and how.

Information Notes for the Facilitator

Services Which May be Available at the District Level

District Development Committee (DDC)/Local Development Officer (LDO). Provides resources for development through VDC, NGOs, users' groups.

District Administration Office (DAO)/Chief District Officer (CDO). Oversees district administration, settles disputes and problems, provides emergency relief.

Women's Development Division (WDD). Organizes, supervises and provides resources for women's programs including production credit, income generation, community development.

District Irrigation Office. Implements irrigation projects, repair and maintenance of existing projects, forms users' groups.

District Agriculture Office. Provides extension work like training, agricultural demonstration on small plots.

District Forest Office. Protects forest, manages community forestry, forms user's groups.

Agriculture Input Corporation. Supplies seeds and fertilisers.

Soil Conservation Office. Carries out landslide control activities (e.g. builds retaining walls, barbed wire), takes preventive measures through users' groups.

Nepal Food Corporation. Supervises grain supply to the district.

Bank. Provides account services and loans.

District Public Health Office. Supervises health posts, coordinates medicine stocks and distribution to health posts.

District Hospital. The hospital provides first aid, treatment of minor ailments, gives medicines, treatment of outdoor and indoor patients.

District Education Office. Provides guidelines for new schools, provides teachers for local schools, distributes literacy materials, organizes literacy classes.

District Police Office. Oversees law enforcement in district, supervises police chowkis.

District Court. Registers, hears and decides cases.

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). There may be a variety of international NGOs, local NGOs, clubs or guthis which also provide services in the community.

PART THREE: ADVOCACY WHEN SERVICES ARE INADEQUATE

Learning Objectives

Participants will be able to:

7. Identify possible actions to be taken when offices are unresponsive or services are inadequate.

Suggested Activities

1. Identification of Advocacy Actions (1.5 hours)
 - Have the full group brainstorm possible advocacy actions when services are inadequate or officials unresponsive. Do this by first posing a problem to the group (e.g. Maya Devi needs to get her daughter inoculated), and asking what should she do?
 - Participants respond (e.g. takes her daughter to the health post, etc.) Facilitator then informs the group of an obstacle to service (e.g. health post closed, no medicine supply, or any other plausible reason), and asks the group what to do next?
 - Participants again respond with suggestions (e.g. goes back again next week, complains to a ward/VDC official, or any other plausible action). Facilitator again poses an obstacle (e.g. the health post is still closed, the ward/VDC official is not helpful), and asks the group what to do next?
 - In this way, the group develops a series of intensifying actions to take (e.g. complains to the DDC, takes a group to the DPHO to ask for supplies, sends a petition to the Health Ministry, etc.) Encourage creative answers (e.g. Maya Devi gathers all of her friends and their babies and holds a sit-in at the health post or DPHO). In the end, Maya Devi finally gets the service she needs.
 - Review the list of actions the group has come up with.

2. Advocacy Game (1 hour)

- Follow the same method as outlined above, but turn it into a game.
 - Divide participants into two teams. As above, the facilitator presents a simple problem (e.g. women in the group want to learn to read) and asks participants what to do? Whichever team suggests a possible step first gets a point.
 - As above, facilitator comes up with an obstacle for every solution proposed.
 - Keep giving points as the teams answer. Declare the team with the higher marks the winner.
 - Sum up the various steps identified.
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Information Notes for the Facilitator

Possible recourse actions when services are not adequate. There are many actions a group can take when offices are unresponsive or services inadequate. These include:

- Go back again to request better help with a group delegation.
- Ask to speak to or complain to supervisor.
- Send a complaint letter to supervisor.
- Inform ward, VDC or other officials.
- Inform the DDC.
- Go to the related district office (if the community level does not respond).
- Write a letter of complaint to appropriate district office.
- Circulate a community petition and send to district office and ministry.
- When all else fails, many groups have taken symbolic group actions. For example, in one district in Nepal, women had been advocating for a water system in their area for many months, and were not getting any assistance. After trying many different kinds of negotiations, they finally held a sit-in at the offices of a local official. They carried empty gagnosis to the sit-in and beat upon them with spoons to emphasize their emptiness. In the end, the office agreed to help, and the village got a water system.

POSSIBLE FOLLOWUP ACTIVITIES

1. Share information learnt with other members of the family.
2. Organize household surveys to identify the most important needs of the women/community.
3. Educate other user groups/community leaders and officials about these problems and needs and support available.
4. Visit district and community offices not visited during training and request information/services/assistance.
5. Choose a project that needs services from one of the offices, request the service and begin to carry out the project.
6. Follow up on inadequate services.
7. Visit the office at the local level and the district level for the third problem identified in the training sessions.

PARLIAMENT AND MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

PARLIAMENT AND MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

COMPONENT AIMS

1. To familiarize participants with Parliament and Members of Parliament, the part of national government and political process that may be most accessible.
2. To facilitate access to elected Members of Parliament.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Part One: Role of Parliament and Members of Parliament

Participants will be able to:

1. Describe the major responsibilities of a Member of Parliament (MP), including the MP's responsibilities to his/her constituency.

Part Two: Selecting and Voting for a Candidate

Participants will be able to:

2. Compare and evaluate leadership qualities of candidates.
3. Compare and evaluate action platforms of candidates/parties.
4. Cast a vote in an election process.

Part Three: Communicating With Members of Parliament

Participants will be able to:

5. Identify community or group issues to raise with their MP or with candidates.
6. Formulate questions to ask of their MP on his/her record and his/her priorities.

PART ONE: ROLE OF PARLIAMENT AND MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Learning Objectives

Participants will be able to:

1. Describe the major responsibilities of a Member of Parliament (MP), including the MP's responsibilities to his/her constituency.

Suggested Activities

1. Large group discussion of role of MPs and parliament (1 hour)
 - Guide a large group discussion by asking these sorts of questions:
 - MPs: Do they know who the MP(s) elected from their district is (are)? Have they or anyone in their community had any contact with the MP? When? What kind of contact? What kind of contact do they think there should be? What do they think the role of the MP is in relation to the community? What do they think the MP does when in Kathmandu?
 - Parliament: What is Parliament's main role? What does their MP do in Parliament? How does the work of Parliament affect their community? Can the concerns of their community or group influence the work of Parliament? If yes, how? If no, why not?
2. Community inquiry on role of MPs and parliament (3.5 hours)
 - Divide the group into teams of four or five each. Assign each team the task of going out into the community and asking different community members what the roles of an MP and Parliament are. Think of different types of people who might be good information resources: senior family members; business persons; ward representatives; school teachers; government officers, etc. Each team should interview 4-5 persons, including some women.
 - Report back to the large group on what they have learned about the major roles of MPs and Parliament according to community members.
 - Facilitator can supplement the information gathered by the group with information contained in the "Information Notes" section on page __.

3. Evaluating leadership (2 hours)

- Divide the group into two teams. Assign one team the task of making up a story of a responsible MP, who provides a positive example of honest leadership and a strong relationship to the community.
- Assign the other team the task of making up a story of an irresponsible MP, who is neglectful of his/her duties in Parliament, and out-of-touch with his/her constituency.
- Give each team the series of picture clues which are included on page __. Tell the teams that they should make their stories as specific as possible. Pick a name for the MP. Is the MP a man or a woman? What district is s/he from? What things has s/he done that make him/her a good or a bad MP?
- Allow each team an hour to make up their stories.
- Each team should appoint one person to tell the story of the MP, while members of the team fill in any points the story teller may forget.
- Lead a group discussion on which is a better MP and why. Summarize at end by listing positive and negative qualities.

Information Notes for the Facilitator

Multiparty Democracy. Since the people's movement of 1990, there has been a new form of government in Nepal called multiparty democracy. In multiparty democracy, there are different political parties which have different ideas about how to govern the country, how to develop the country, and how best to meet the needs of the people. In multiparty democracy, people directly choose their representatives to serve in the Parliament, the national law-making body, through a national election process.

Parliament. The Parliament consists of two houses: upper and lower. The lower house has 205 representatives directly elected by the people. The upper house has 60 members, some nominated by the King and others elected by the lower house and the district councils. The job of the Parliament is to pass laws, policies and programs that address the needs of the country as a whole. Parliament holds its sessions in Singha Durbar in Kathmandu.

Members of Parliament. There are 205 directly elected Members of Parliament (MPs) in the lower house of Parliament. Of the 205 MPs in the last Parliament, eight were women (less than 5%).

Constituencies. Each district has at least one MP. Some districts, with large populations have several MPs. Some districts, with small populations have only one MP. The area and people which an MP represents is called a constituency.

Responsibilities of MPs at the National Level. An MP has responsibilities both at the national level, and at the constituent level. At the national level, an MP's responsibilities include working together with other MPs to create and pass laws; review and approve the national budget; and discuss and approve government policies and programs that address the needs of the country as a whole.

Responsibilities of an MP to His/Her Constituency. In representing a constituency, an MP should: (1) talk with residents and local leaders of the area s/he represents to find out what their needs, problems and priorities are; (2) get their ideas on solutions for local and national problems; (3) inform constituents of his/her ideas on solutions for local and national problems; (4) consider the needs, priorities and opinions of constituents when voting on national laws, policies and programs; (5) keep constituents informed of national policies, programs and laws which affect them; (6) advocate with line agencies and planners for national assistance for local problems when needed (e.g. disaster and emergency relief, and large-scale development projects).

174

PART TWO: SELECTING AND VOTING FOR A CANDIDATE

Learning Objectives

Participants will be able to:

2. Compare and evaluate leadership qualities of candidates.
3. Compare and evaluate action platforms of candidates/parties.
4. Cast a vote in an election process.

Suggested Activities

1. Choosing a Candidate (5 hours)

- Break the group into two fictitious parties. Assign each party names that do not have a real-life equivalent (e.g. "goats" "sheep" "women's party"). Also assign each party a symbol from the ballot paper on page __ of this manual. Do not divide the group along real-life political lines, but mix and match participants with differing political loyalties. (Only do this if you already know participants' political leanings. Do not ask participants about their politics.)
- Explain to the group that each party will have two tasks: (1) to select one person as a candidate for election; and, (2) develop a very simple action platform, identifying three top issues of concern that it plans to focus on if elected.

The party will then choose two people to present their candidate and platform to the large group. The candidate herself will have to clearly describe to the large group why she will make a good representative, and what her leadership qualities and experience are. The second party member will present the platform, explaining why the party felt its three issues were most important.

- Before letting the parties begin their tasks, get the large group to brainstorm a review of leadership qualities and MP responsibilities. Also brainstorm a review of types of issues that are of community concern.
- Break into parties. Give each party one hour to work on candidate selection. After a break, give them one hour to develop action platforms.
- Each party makes its campaign presentation. The other party asks questions.
- Facilitator leads a discussion comparing the candidates, and the party action platforms. Tell the group that they will be voting in a mock election tomorrow, so they should be thinking about which candidate is most qualified, and which party plan addresses issues most important to them. They do not necessarily need to vote for the party/candidate of the group they were in.

2. Voting Process (1.5 hours)

- Before the participants arrive, set up one corner of the room as a voting booth, using a sheet to separate it off. In the opposite corner, set up a table with ballot papers and a ballot box. (Make multiple copies of the ballot paper on page __.)
- Remind participants that their job is to vote for the leader they think is most qualified, and the party which proposes to take action on the issues they think are most important, not necessarily the party/candidate of the group they were in. No one is permitted to pressure anyone else to reveal who they plan to vote for.
- Remind participants which symbol goes with which candidate and party. Show a sample ballot paper to the group and demonstrate the proper way of marking it for each fictitious party. Invite several participants to come up and practice voting also.
- Have participants line up at the ballot table. Hand out a ballot paper and the official stamp to the first participant, and have her go the booth to vote, and then drop her ballot into the ballot box. Each participant votes in this manner.
- Count the ballots and discuss the results of the election with the group. Who won? Why do they think that person/party won?

Information Notes for the Facilitator

National Elections. Generally, national elections are held once every five years, and an MP represents his/her constituency for five years. The 1994 election, which came after only three years, is/was an exception.

Fielding Candidates for Elections. In a national election, political parties field candidates to campaign in particular constituencies. These candidates then compete with each other for local peoples' votes.

Every candidate should be able to demonstrate why s/he will make a good representative.

Candidates should also be able to describe the party's action plan for the country, outlining the major problems to be addressed and how they plan to address those problems. The plan should be realistic. No government can tackle all problems at the same time. Resolving national problems is a slow, step-by-step process.

Party Symbols. Each party is represented by a different symbol assigned to it by the Election Commission.

Campaign Ethics. Candidates and parties should not try to gain votes by intimidating or threatening voters, by bribing them with money or other things, or by making false promises which they can not possibly keep.

Voters' Rights. Voters have the right to vote for the candidate of their choice, and to keep it a secret. Husbands and wives do not have to vote for the same person. Different members of the community, for example, tenant farmers and landowners, do not have to vote for the same person.

Voters have the right to question candidates about their past records as elected officials or in other leadership capacities, their connection and commitment to the community, their priorities for the community and the nation, and the action plan of their party to address problems and development issues.

Voter Registration. To vote in a national election a person must first be registered with the Election Commission. A couple of months before an election, the Election Commission either sets up its own office in the district, or assigns election related tasks to another government office in the district. That office publishes a list of names of all registered voters. If someone's name does not appear on the list, then s/he must go to the office to register. All citizens of Nepal who are 18 years old and who have registered, are eligible to vote.

Voting Process. Voting takes place at a polling place. Election officials, policemen, party volunteers and other observers oversee the process.

Each voter waits in line to have his/her name checked off the voter list, get a ballot and an official stamp before going into the voting booth. No one has the right to go into the booth with a voter, unless the voter specifically requests help.

In the voting booth, the voter finds the party symbol for his/her chosen candidate on the ballot. Next to each symbol is a blank space. The voter must stamp the empty space next to the symbol. (See page __ of this manual for a sample ballot.)

The voter then places the ballot in the ballot box, and returns the stamp to the election official.

Invalid Votes. It is important to cast the vote properly or the vote will be considered invalid. The following mistakes commonly result in invalid votes: voting with a thumbprint instead of the stamp; placing the stamp next to more than one symbol; placing the stamp on the line between symbols; placing the stamp outside of the boxes containing symbols.

PART THREE: COMMUNICATING WITH MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Learning Objectives

Participants will be able to:

5. Identify community or group issues to raise with their MP or with candidates.
6. Formulate questions to ask of their MP on his/her record and his/her priorities.

Suggested Activities

1. Preference Ranking of Important Issues (2 hours)

- Break the group into two teams. One team must identify the top three issues that they would want to talk to their district MP about. The other team must identify the top three issues that they would want to talk with women MPs about.

Each team should be able to explain why they want to talk to MPs about the issues they choose -- simply to give information on local priorities? because they believe certain local problems are also national problems? because they want some help from the MP? realistically, what kind of help do they think the MP can give?

- Each team presents the top three issues to the large group. After compiling a list of the issues, the large group discusses them. Why are these issues important? Why would they want to talk to the MPs about them? What will they tell the MP about them? Are the issues for the district MP and the women parliamentarians the same? Why or why not?

2. Accountability (2 hours)

- Break the group back into the same teams. Each team must develop questions they want to ask the MPs about the top three issues their teams identified.
- Teams share their questions with the large group. Questions might include: What is the MP's personal stand on the issue? What is the party's stand on the issue? Is the issue being raised in the Parliament? What is being done about it at the national level? What could be done about it at the national level? What could be done about it at the local level?

3. Meeting Your MP -- A Role Play (3 hours)

- Each team selects a delegation of four women to meet the district MP or group of women parliamentarians. Two women in each delegation must present the top three priority issues that they wish to talk with the MPs about (identified in the previous activities). The two other women must ask questions of the MP about the issues.
 - If possible, the facilitator should invite respected or supportive local people (local officials, NGO staff, schoolteachers) to play the roles of the district MP and the women parliamentarians. They must be briefed carefully. If not possible, the facilitator should take on these roles.
 - Each delegation holds their MP meeting, while the rest of the group observes. Then the full group discusses how the meeting went. Ask for input from the "MPs" as well.
-

Information Notes for the Facilitator

Accountability of Elected Representatives. Elected representatives are accountable to the people who elected them. Constituents have the right and the responsibility to hold elected representatives accountable. To hold their representatives accountable, constituents need information on the representative's decisions and actions in office. To make responsible decisions and take responsible action, the representative needs to get information from his/her constituents. Both the representative and the constituents must take responsibility for communicating with each other.

Constituents should: (1) inform their MP of their needs, problems and priorities; (2) give their ideas on solutions for local and national problems. They have the right to ask their MP to: (1) give his/her ideas on solutions for local and national problems; (2) consider their needs, priorities and opinions when voting on national policies, programs and laws; (3) keep them informed of national policies, programs and laws which affect them; (4) tell them how s/he voted on a particular issue.

Women Parliamentarians. There are a limited number of women parliamentarians. In the last Parliament, there were only 8 out of 205 in the lower house and 3 out of 60 in the upper house. In the last Parliament, women MPs of all parties formed a "Women's Cell" to focus on women's issues. Nepali women have the right to ask that the women parliamentarians pay special attention to their concerns and priorities.

THE ASIA FOUNDATION
PACIFIC ISLANDS OFFICE

EVALUATION

USAID GRANT No: 49-003-22-01408

WOMEN IN POLITICS (WIP)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

To reduce the formal and informal barriers to women's political participation and promote women's access to elective and appointive office while increasing women's participation as voters and activists, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) provided a grant to The Asia Foundation (TAF) for a Women in Politics (WIP) program. Planned WIP activities included a) Pacific Island representation at a WIP Regional Planning Meeting in Manila, Philippines, b) hosting of a regional roundtable meeting on women and politics in Suva, Fiji and c) two follow up satellite conferences approximately six months after the roundtable, one in Melanesia and one in Polynesia.

Pacific Island participation in the WIP Regional Planning Meeting in Manila, Philippines January 17 - 21, 1994 proved to be extremely beneficial to the success of the regional roundtable meeting.

The main activity funded under this WIP grant was a regional roundtable meeting targeting Women in Politics, hosted by the Fiji Women's Rights Movement (FWRM), in Suva, Fiji from February 14 - 18, 1994. Dr. Sohn Bong-Scuk, the Director of the Center for Korean Women and Politics was invited as the facilitator.

The aim of the regional WIP meeting was to bring together women leaders from eleven Pacific Island nations to plan and discuss strategies to enhance the participation of women in politics at all levels. A conscious effort was made to identify women who were involved and committed to enhancing the status of women. Participants included elected Members of Parliament, aspiring politicians, and members of NGOs that included women in politics in their mandate. In conjunction with this meeting, TAF promoted the concept of how such a meeting would provide the basis for building networks between individuals and organizations working to increase women's political participation within and between countries throughout the Asia-Pacific region.

The general consensus for follow up to this roundtable was for a regional rather than two satellite meetings. The reason being that most participants felt that two meetings, one in Melanesia and one in Polynesia, would only enhance regional division.

In place of the follow up satellite meetings, TAF provided assistance for a Pacific participant to attend an Asia-Pacific Women In Politics (APWIP) planning meeting in Bangkok, Thailand in April 1994 and two participants to the First Center for Asia-Pacific Women in Politics (CAPWIP) Congress in Manila, Philippines in June 1994.

The specific objectives of the regional roundtable meeting held in Suva were to develop stronger roles in women's political leadership, reduce formal and informal arcane barriers to women's political participation, enable the policy making process to be more responsive to the concerns of women, and create networks between individuals and organizations targeting increased women's political participation.

Under this grant the meeting brought together twenty women leaders selected through both government and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and Western Samoa to share experiences and plan strategies and programs which would enhance the political participation of Pacific Island women.

BACKGROUND

The Asia Foundation has been associated with the development of democratic institutions for many years. It has had a resident Pacific program in Suva since 1990. In more recent times requests have increased for support of projects aimed at enhancing the role, status, and legal rights of women. These requests from Field Offices have been in anticipation that TAF would recognize and assist not only the development of democratic institutions but also the need to broadening access to them.

The Asia-Pacific regionally demonstrated interest in supporting women in politics programs generated the submission of The Asia Foundation's proposal to USAID in June 1993 on promoting women's political participation in the Asia-Pacific Region.

The following data which is tabulated in the U.N. Report on the World's Women: Trends and Statistics 1970-1990 clearly indicates that women shoulder a disproportionate negative work-load burden; with economics and social disparities between women and men widening rather than narrowing.

- * 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 world's heads of state;
- * women held only 10 to 20 percent of managerial and administrative jobs worldwide and less than 20 percent of manufacturing jobs;

Women face both formal and informal barriers to full and equal political and economic participation in their countries at the national and local levels. In the Pacific it has been noted that women's access to political power and public affairs has historically been limited primarily to the perception that a woman's place is in the house, not in the world of decision making and public matters.

Some of the reasons why women are under-represented in parliaments worldwide are eligibility for office and recruitment policies, which are, in turn, determined by social backgrounds, personal characteristics, and the social and political position of women in that country. Where women's literacy levels are low there are markedly fewer opportunities for women. Reduced access to education, professional experience, and income levels also act as barriers to women's participation in political activities.

GRANT ACTIVITIES:

A) - Participation in Women in Politics (WIP) Regional Planning Meeting in Manila, Philippines.

Prior to the Pacific Islands Roundtable on Women in Politics (WIP) planned for February 1994, the meeting convener was sponsored to attend the WIP Regional Planning Meeting in Manila, Philippines. The aim of her attendance was to assist in building networks between individuals and organizations working to increase women's political participation within and between countries throughout the Asia-Pacific region. The meeting held from January 17 - 21, 1994 comprised a two-day workshop devoted to utilizing media, informal methods of communications, support networks and financial resources to promote information dissemination, and awareness on women's issues. Additionally it provided support for participants to develop curriculum and training materials for tailoring to country specific action plans. Participants were also encouraged to prepare and make presentations on the needs unique to their countries while identifying regional activities and mechanisms for strengthening in-country efforts.

The attendance of the convener for the Pacific Islands Regional Roundtable on WIP to this Manila planning meeting provided new skills and increased tools to assist the planning of the

roundtable. Specifically, learning to strategize and plan for meetings to increase women's participation in the political process right down to actually drawing up the agenda were just a few of the skills gained during the Manila planning meeting.

B) - Women in Politics (WIP) Regional Roundtable Meeting, Suva, Fiji February 14 - 18, 1994

The Foundation's grant to the Fiji Women's Rights Movement (FWRM) to enable it to host the meeting in Suva was in some ways a blessing in disguise. Being involved at the organizational level has forced the FWRM to think about the next step in the process in their fight for the equality of women.

The meeting was the first of it's kind, in bringing together women from eleven Pacific Island nations to discuss barriers to women's involvement and participation in politics. Roundtable sessions assisted participants in the development of strategies to enhance participation and build networks between individuals and organizations working towards similar goals in the Asia-Pacific region.

The roundtable saw consensus of participants on the following important points:

- * the need to develop strategies to increase women's participation in the political process, especially at the grass roots level;
- * women political leaders must use their office to sensitize both men and women on gender issues;
- * women politicians must become more sensitive to the needs of women;
- * the need for further meetings to be organized at the sub-regional and national levels as problems differ country by country;
- * women need training to improve their ability to communicate with the media, each country to develop it's own strategy as conditions and media may vary widely;
- * women leaders can help the advancement of other women by assisting with political education, leadership training and lobbying;
- * women should not resort to "dirty politics" but instead should stand by their convictions, create their own style of presentation, and provide a more balanced and focused political system.

The following are the major outcomes of the roundtable:

- a) a plan of action was to be drawn up for both the national and regional levels greatly assisted by the knowledge acquired during this roundtable conference;

- b) all participants would make use of the media on returning home by making presentations about this ground-breaking meeting;
- c) participants would carry out political education courses and workshops within existing women's organizations in their country with the desire to promote "women in politics";
- d) the meeting provided participants with renewed vigor and strength to pursue the aim of promoting WIP in their country.

C) - Attendance of Vice-President of the Fiji National Council of Women at Asia-Pacific Women in Politics (APWIP) Planning Meeting, Bangkok, Thailand, April 1994.

The APWIP network role is to facilitate the sharing of resources, skills and ideas, and to assist in the mobilization of resources for capacity building in the region to advance opportunities for effective women's participation in the policy process. Attendance of a Pacific representative to the APWIP planning meeting as a follow-on to previously supported activities under this grant was of extreme importance.

The invitation was extended by the Center for Korean Women and Politics, which has taken a lead role in bringing together women of all Asia-Pacific nations to create and build a network to assist the struggle of women to participate more fully and openly in the political, economic and social decision-making processes. The Center's proactive role in organizing a follow-on APWIP planning meeting with attendance by key women leaders who did not attend the January planning meeting in Manila went a long way to fulfill the APWIP agenda of expanding the vision, dialogue, and scope of APWIP.

The attendance of a Pacific representative with a broad perspective on the needs of the region was extremely beneficial. As former principal of the South Pacific Commission's (SPC) Community Education Training Center (CETC), this representative has worked and travelled extensively in the region with women of all cultures and social standings.

An important outcome of her attendance has been increased publicity on women in politics issues not only in Fiji but throughout the Pacific with information dissemination through the Pacific Women's Resource Bureau based at the SPC in Noumea, New Caledonia. The formation of a Pacific Islands Women in Politics (PIWIP) Network, which will contribute immensely to women's political participation in the Pacific region while strengthening the APWIP network, is well under way.

D) - Attendance of two participants to the First Center for Asia-Pacific Women in Politics (CAPWIP) Congress, Manila, Philippines, June 21 - 23, 1994.

The need to develop an "Asia-Pacific Women in Politics Platform for Action" was the major objective for this first CAPWIP Congress. Participants were invited from a wide range of sectors to provide valuable input and insight towards the formulation of this platform in anticipation that all would provide major contributions to the further development and strengthening of Women's political power in the Asia-Pacific region.

The attendance of these participants to this Congress enabled the Pacific to be part of the formulation of a document that clearly defined and affirmed the role of women in the present day political arena.

Their attendance assisted them in the building of bridges between individuals and organizations where they previously did not exist.

The APWIP Platform for Action document was accepted by the delegates attending the Congress and from reports presented a reasonable, fair and just platform for the APWIP agenda. This document is to be submitted to the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) in January 1995 as input for the proposed UN Platform for Action that will be discussed in Beijing, China at the World Conference on Women later in 1995.

Complementary WIP Grant Activities:

- TAF grant to assist the Fiji Women's Rights Movement (FWRM) to facilitate a regional needs assessment survey on women and politics in September 1993. The needs assessment presented an overview with identification of needs and opportunities in the Pacific as well as recommendations for WIP activities. One of the recommendations presented was for women in the South Pacific involved in the political process to come together in a regional conference. Through this forum they would compare experiences, exchange ideas and tactics leading to networking between individuals and organizations throughout the Pacific. A direct outcome of this needs assessment was the funding of the Regional Roundtable Meeting on Women in Politics in Suva, Fiji in February 1994.

- Consultancy of Dr. Sohn Bong-Scuk, Director of the Center for Korean Women and Politics, to assist the Fiji Women's Rights Movement (FWRM) plan for the Pacific Islands Women in Politics Roundtable Meeting in February 1994. A pre-roundtable, mini-

forum, was held in Suva, Fiji in January 1994.

- A grant provided to the Ministry for Women and Culture to host a one-day workshop on Women in Politics with Dr. Sohn Bong-Scuk serving as the resource person. This public forum was instrumental in raising the awareness levels of women to the fact that a "Women in Politics" meeting was to be held the following month. With the upcoming Fiji elections the timing of this workshop couldn't have been better. The formation of women's wings of the major political parties were direct consequences of this workshop.

- TAF-sponsored attendance of a second Pacific Island participant from PNG to the APWIP Regional Planning Meeting held in Manila, Philippines in January 1994. This provided broader participation by Pacific Island nations representatives.

- A TAF grant to the Fiji National Council of Women (NCW) for the vice-president to participate in the Sixth Pacific Regional Women's Conference in Noumea, New Caledonia May 1994. The theme of the conference was "Rethinking Sustainable Development for Pacific Women Towards the Year 2000". The conference broaden perspectives on issues of concerns to women in the region and highlighted concerns of regional governments. This forum was most useful in establishing contacts, discussing and promoting support for a Pacific WIP network, and interviewing Pacific women/men in positions of power. Through these contacts and initial discussions follow on has occurred through monthly NCW satellite links made available through the University of the South Pacific Extension Services. During these regional satellite programs the Fiji NCW vice-president is able to promote APWIP and the building of a Pacific WIP network.

- TAF grant assisted the Papua New Guinea Women In Politics (PNGWIP) Executive Committee to host a Public Awareness Promotion following their Annual General Meeting in May 1994. This function was attended by over 300 people. The event provided an opportunity for the PNGWIP to raise funds, realizing over K10,000 (USD10,500), which is a strong indication of the extent of support PNGWIP have in the country. An important outcome of this AGM is that PNGWIP now has representatives in all of the provinces. The public awareness promotion has seen increased media coverage on WIP. The fact that PNGWIP is often contacted for comments on local, provincial, and national issues relating to women is a clear indication of it's success.

- Assistance for a third Pacific Island participant to the First CAPWIP Congress in Manila, Philippines, June 21 - 23, 1994. As the Pacific is made up of many countries greater participation in inaugural meetings, such as this first Congress, has more measurable impact. On return participants keep the interest and momentum alive, allowing for exchange of ideas and networking.

- TAF grants have been made to PNG, Fiji and Western Samoa for the establishment of WIP offices. In all countries the major objectives are:

- * to promote the active participation of women in public affairs;
- * to raise community awareness on the impact of socio-economic policies and programs on women and their community.

EVALUATION OF GRANT IMPACT

There can be no question about the impact this grant has had, with it's support providing the means by which society is opening it's eyes to the issues of greater participation of women in the political process.

Five years ago there were few, if any, women leaders active in politics throughout the Pacific region. Countries such as Papua New Guinea and Fiji had a small number of women who actively took part in the political process. These women were but token representatives and quite possibly recognized and treated as such by their male counterparts.

Within the past two years there has been a marked increase in the number of women actively participating in the political arena. In Fiji the major political parties have endorsed the establishment of women's wings in support of a large portion of their constituents. In Fiji's last general election held in early 1994 (shortly after the roundtable) there was a 66% increase in the number of women elected to Parliament. All hold ministerial portfolios. In other Pacific nations women are actively and openly discussing the groundwork for women's branches of political parties. They see, more and more, the need for their own forum to discuss issues relating to the lack of women in the political arena.

Awareness has certainly been heightened and support appears to be increasing for women to assume greater participation in the political process.

Interest should not be allowed to wane, momentum should be maintained. The establishment of a regional political program for WIP groups to conduct strategy workshops and training of trainers, and hosting of an annual roundtable conference to allow the networking process to grow should be encouraged. The outcomes would be increased women's political awareness and increased levels of women's participation in their country's political process.

The aims and objectives of this program were definitely achieved. A true measure of the impact may not be seen in the months ahead, but certainly the program can be credited with an increase in the numbers of Pacific women who will become more actively involved in their national and regional political system over the next few years.

CONCLUSION

This Women in Politics grant certainly had an impact in raising awareness, increasing knowledge, and providing a solid basis for increasing women's participation in politics. It has laid the foundation for building networks between countries, organizations and individuals who support increased roles for women in the political process. This grant has also identified organizations and key workers in the Pacific through which future WIP programs could be facilitated.

TO: Mr. Julio A. Andrews
Representative
The Asia Foundation
Suva, Fiji

FROM: Kathryn E. Hawley
Consultant

DATE: October 6, 1994

SUBJECT: Evaluation of USAID Grant No. 49-003-22-01408
"Women in Politics"

The following report is submitted in response to your request for an evaluation on the USAID grant for "Women in Politics" activities in the South Pacific.

Thank you for giving me the opportunity to evaluate such a program, I found it most interesting.

Regards,

Fiji women forming a new political party

FIFTEEN women are going to form a new political party.

Five of the country's largest women organisations pushed the idea across at a press conference yesterday.

Representatives of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), National Council of Women, Fiji Women's Rights Movement (FWRM), Women's Crisis

By Vashli Ritova

Centre and Women in Development (WID) were all for the idea, which was first mooted before the last elections by women's rights activist and prominent Suva lawyer, Patricia Imiriza Jalal.

It had been on the women's organisations agenda for some time.

The Co-ordinator of the Women's Crisis Centre, Shamima, Ali said women in Fiji live in a "men-are-highly-esteemed" society and if women had their own political party, it would articulate our needs further.

"I believe that those of us (women) who want our cries in the last 20-years heard also think there's something that

we must say", Ms Ali said.

She added that by having their very own political party, women will have a much stronger representation in government.

"When it does happen, it'll be based mainly on women's articulation of the needs we face", Ms Ali said.

The National Council of Women's Vice President, Lili

King slammed current political parties who have nothing going for women on their manifestos.

"I believe Fiji women are at a stage where we can formally

form our own political party so from now on, we are going to be a lot more aware of what the present parties have on their policies for us", Ms King said.

She added that women must be involved in policy-making decisions on every political party and not only to form a women's wing.

Only five of Fiji's nine political parties included fight for women in their manifestos; Soqosoqoni Vakivolawa ni Tautaki, General Voters Party, Fiji Association Party, Fiji Nationalists United Front and the All National Congress.

WID, a world wide United States Peace Corps initiative in the countries where volunteers are serving throughout the world, was represented by its Co-ordinator, Wainitu Caginitiwala.

Her groups contribution centred on training women, who they believe made up half of the population but were being denied.

Mrs Caginitiwala, who's also the Peace Corps Medical Officer, said their philosophy is to integrate women into every aspect of society and raise the awareness of their role and rights.

One of the Co-ordinators of FWRM, Vini Duhki, said she was all for the formation of a party so that Fiji women could have something to champion their causes when the need arose in future.

The women have also called on the media to display a more ethical and responsible standard of journalism which was gender sensitive and gave a positive portrayal of women.

And they are calling on the Pacific Islands Media Association (PIMA), Fiji Islands Media Association (FIMA), and the Fiji Journalists Association (FJA) to include gender-awareness training in the many training programmes they have.

DAILY POST OF MARCH 9

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3. Value of Work (3.5 hours)

- Take each activity listed in the previous exercise one by one. Ask participants about the return women or men get from that work in the form of cash or social prestige.
 - Have participants then examine which tasks could be done either by women or men.
 - Explore the possibility of changing the existing division of task.
-

Information Notes for the Facilitator

Kinds of Work. There are several ways to categorize work done by people, including: household work, income earning work and volunteer work in the community:

Household work includes running a house, feeding and looking after its members, and giving birth. It is mostly manual and time consuming. It is not paid work. It is generally done by women, and society considers it her work.

Income earning work is work done to earn money or get something else of economic value in return. This brings cash into the worker's hand. Both men and women do income earning work but the activity is different for men and women, and traditionally women's activities get little cash return.

Community work includes work done to keep up the culture of the people. Customs like marriages, death rituals, festival celebrations require a lot of organizing and managing. This work is done voluntarily and does not have economic value or much social status. Another kind of community work is work done to improve the lives of the community, such as deciding what the community needs and building it, or participating in local organizations. This work also does not have economic value, but it is given a lot of social value and commands respect.

Invisibility of Women's Work. Women's and men's responsibilities are shaped by society, and society is shaped by people themselves. Over the years it has developed that women have the responsibility to look after children and do housework, while men earn a living and provide support to the family. This division of work forces women to look after the home. The result is that women do not have much opportunity to learn new skills or develop their capabilities, or earn much money or social respect. The work to run a house, feed people, look after old and young is often not considered "work", as it is not paid and does not get much respect from the outside community.

Farmer r Westpac

A 31-YEAR-OLD farmer charged with the \$66 Westpac Bank robbery Walu Bay, Suva, on January 19 was yesterday mandated in custody by Suva Court despite strong arguments for his release by defence lawyer J. Semisi.

Chief Magistrate Sek Naqiolevu ruled that "there is an unacceptable risk" that the defendant Pita Nasedra would abide by the bail conditions if he was granted it.

Nasedra has maintained his innocence through the proceedings.

Women power, :

By BERNADETTE BHAGWAN

WOMEN'S access to political power and the public world has always been limited, Suva lawyer Imrana Jalal said yesterday.

Ms Jalal, who is involved in the Fiji Women's Rights Movement, was presenting a paper at a Women and Politics meeting in Suva yesterday.

Ms Jalal said this happened because of the perception that a woman's place is in the house, not in the world of decision-making and public affairs.

"This sphere is one of the last strongholds of traditional male power."

"Nineteenth Century feminists also accepted the separate spheres argument — that the two spheres were separate but equally important."

"Indeed, the separation of the public from the private is an effective mechanism by which men retain power because it is only by access to public discourse that women achieve power change their lives."

Ms Jalal also looked at why women were vastly under-represented in parliaments worldwide.

"Some reasons are eligibility for office and recruitment policies."

"These are, in turn, determined by social background, personal characteristics, and ultimately and most so-



MS Vakatale (right) and Imrana Jalal of the Fiji Women's Rights Movement at the opening of the Women and Politics meeting in Suva yesterday. PHOTO: KRISHNA MAN.

Vakatale tells why women shun politics

By BERNADETTE BHAGWAN

WOMEN have not stepped forward to play an active part in politics in the past, says the Minister for Education, Science and Technology, Taufua Vakatale.

"This is because they have been too busy with individual struggles to overcome barriers stopping promotion of their status that politics is a communal, not individual, responsibility," she said.

She was speaking at the opening of a five-day regional meeting on women and politics in Suva yesterday.

Ms Vakatale said the meeting was aimed at helping women accept and play their rightful role in society without prejudice or stereotyped attitudes.

"To achieve this, we have to orientate our societies to be people- rather than male-oriented," she said.

"An effective approach to adopt is for greater participation of women in all fields of life, particularly in politics."

Ms Vakatale said the development of human resources entailed growth; true development was what a person perceived, not as perceived by others.

"Real development must come from within the person or the community," she said.

"When we talk of women's participation in politics, we must realise that the desire for participation must come from women themselves."

"In order for women to feel the need, they must first be made to appreciate what they lack, what they are being deprived of and what participation in politics implies."

Only when they saw the inequalities and deprivation they had to suffer, would they feel the urge to take part in politics, she added.

Speaking on women participation in the forthcoming general election, Ms Vakatale said that the large number of women taking part showed that more women felt secure enough to step into politics.

"Women in Fiji have long been a political force; there have been

awareness-raising workshops and seminars where women have learnt to strategise and network."

The meeting was organised by the Fiji Women's Rights Movement and funded by the Asia Foundation and United States Agency for International Development.

Eleven women from Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, Tonga, Western Samoa, Cook Islands, Kanaky, Fiji, Tuvalu and Kiribati are taking part.

The aim of the meeting is to develop women's political leadership, reduce formal and informal barriers to women's political participation, make policy-making more responsive to the concerns of women and create networks between individuals and organisations working to increase women's political participation.

Some topics for discussion during the week include how to introduce women into politics, roles of women's organisations to encourage women's roles in politics, and how to use media and communication tools for increasing women's political leadership.

Women are denied power, says Jalal

By BERNADETTE BHAGWAN

WOMEN'S access to political power and the public world has always been limited, Suva lawyer Imrana Jalal said yesterday.

Ms Jalal, who is also involved in the Fiji Women's Rights Movement, was presenting a paper at a Women and Politics meeting in Suva yesterday.

Ms Jalal said this happened because of the perception that a woman's place is in the house, not in the world of decision making and public affairs.

"This sphere is one of the last strongholds of traditional male power.

"Nineteenth Century feminists also accepted the separate spheres argument — that the two spheres were separate but equally important.

"Indeed, the separation of the public from the private is an effective mechanism by which men retain power because it is only by access to public discourse that women achieve power to change their lives."

Ms Jalal also looked at why women were so vastly under-represented in parliaments worldwide.

"Some reasons are eligibility for office and recruitment policies.

"These are, in turn, determined by social background, personal characteristics, and, ultimately and most sig-

nificantly, the social and political position of women in that country."

She said there was a vast difference in having the right to stand in politics and reality.

"In countries where women's literacy levels are low, there are less possibilities for women."

She added that the recruitment of women also depended heavily on the political climate.

"When countries are involved in armed struggles, political development may be interrupted," she pointed out.

"Having said this, the process of armed struggle and revolution have presented women with opportunities to carve a place for themselves.

"It is the participation of women in struggles or resistances that become the basis for their claim to full participation."

Ms Jalal also told participants that women also faced important barriers like educational levels, professional experience and levels of income.

"Education is an important force determining women's access to paid employment, control of her fertility, her exercise of legal and political rights and chances of involvement in political activities.

THE Fiji Times

EDITORIAL COMMENT

The role of women

WITH an election looming the organisers of a seminar on women and politics could not have chosen a better time.

The seminar, an initiative of the Fiji Women's Rights Movement, opened in Suva on Monday and immediately focused on why politics especially, and public life in general, was a male-dominated domain.

The question of women's participation in all aspects of community, and not just in the traditional wife and mother roles, has been one of the great controversies of the past 100 years or so.

Women claim they are deliberately denied access to education and employment opportunities, they are consistently overlooked for promotion in favour of male colleagues and are discriminated against because of their child-bearing responsibilities.

They can usually produce damning statistics to back themselves up.

There is no law stopping women succeeding in politics and business, but as Suva lawyer Imrana

Jalal said on Monday, there was a vast difference between having the right to stand in politics and reality.

Yesterday's conference sessions touched on the heart of the matter — the overwhelming perception that a woman's place was in the home, and the lack of support for women who decide to break out of this mould.

There are strident arguments — from men mainly, but also from some women — for maintaining a society based on the concept of man as the breadwinner and woman as the homemaker.

These usually run along the lines that if women stayed at home the family unit would remain intact and the kids wouldn't turn feral; if women stayed at home there would be less unemployment because unemployed men could have the jobs the women now have; there's no point voting for or hiring a woman because she will only get pregnant, etc, etc.

On the other hand, it is ludicrous to ignore the pool of potential talent that women represent.

A businessman would soon go broke if he used only half of his machinery; a farmer would be mad if he only planted half his arable land; a thinker wouldn't get far if he only used half a brain!

The world has happily accepted the industrial and nuclear ages, the communications revolution and global travel. There have been side effects, but societies have generally embraced these disruptions to their traditional lifestyles and accepted the benefits.

The issue of women's rights is a slower revolution, but nevertheless it is sweeping across the planet. And it hasn't missed Fiji.

The Fiji Women's Rights Movement is to be commended for its work in promoting awareness of women's plight in attaining greater status, and hopefully through its work and that of others will women be recognised as a truly valuable resource which society can ill afford to ignore.

Feb 16

LETTERS

Intelligent candidates

SIR—I would like to recommend that anyone desiring to hold a high position in the public office be required to sit Intelligent Quotient (IQ) tests.

Strictly speaking it would include candidates for general and council elections.

ship in a shabby and unclean condition. As the voyage progressed, (on both trips), the toilets in both the cabin and saloon parts of the ship soon became extremely filthy.

It was disappointing to note the apparent absence of any of the crew on the two trips in keeping the toilet areas, (or any of the public areas) of the ship clean.

I also observed that the kitchen which serves food



There are enough examples around the world, I for one wouldn't want my children growing up in a society where political differences will be sorted out by hijacking, kidnappings and shootings.

I'm confident all right-thinking people will reject Mr Ali and Labour at the polls

PRITAM SINGH,
Suva

headed 'Chinese meet Congress'

Mr Bill Yee, our president, was not at the meeting. Present at the meeting were Mr Chang Yee - vice-president, Mr Lionel Yee - secretary and Mr Ken Kung - committee member.

LIONEL D S YEE,

Chinese Association of Fiji.

Government

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Women's forum looks at politics

By BERNADETTE
BHAGWAN

WOMEN are born politicians and all they need is a little encouragement, a Women in Politics meeting in Suva heard yesterday.

The meeting was into its second day with participants discussing "How to introduce women into politics — issues into culture and society".

The meeting heard that women had the ability to make decisions and they were always involved in doing that all the time at home.

The meeting felt that to get women involved in politics it was important to get through to women especially at grassroots level.

Some of the ways in which awareness could be brought about was through the organisation of activities involving women, education and training.

Participants agreed that it was important for men to know about the importance of women's involvement in politics.

Some of the best ways to get men involved was to involve men into the awareness work of women so they knew what it was all about and to use men's organisations to get the message of women and politics through.

The meeting suggested that it was men who could talk about this to other men and to get them interested.

Participants described the status of women in politics within their country and the barriers inhibiting women from standing for political office.

Obstacles mentioned were the perception of women's place as being "in the private domain" (in the home); the lack of party support for women; the difficulties faced by women candidates running as independents; the lack of financial resources and sometimes of family support available to women.

The women agreed on the necessity of developing strategies to bring more women into politics and that women political leaders must use their office to sensitise both men and women on gender issues. This morning participants will discuss how to utilise the media.

FIJI TIMES OF FEBRUARY 16

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Election marks new era

By Esita Cakau

THE lack of financial security of women could be a major factor affecting their reluctance to participate in politics, the Minister for Education, Taufa Vakatale told participants at the 1st Pacific Regional Roundtable meeting on Women in Politics yesterday.

Ms Vakatale said while many women might be active advocates of women's rights, the need for security and a stable source of livelihood deterred them from opting for risky political positions.

"This election marks a new era for women, in that there are a large number of women contesting the forthcoming general elections showing that more and more women have been empowered and feel secure enough to venture into the risky world of politics," Ms Vakatale said.

"Women in Fiji have been a political force, there have been awareness raising workshops and conscientious seminars where women have learnt to strategise and to network.

"However, I believe that women have not been more forthcoming to play active politics in the past because they have been too busy with their individual struggle to overcome the obstacles preventing the promotion of their status that taking part in politics is a communal rather than an individual responsibility," Ms Vakatale said.

The week-long meeting is being hosted by the Fiji Women's Rights Movement and sponsored by The Asian Foundation.

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Women's forum hears of recipe of success

PARTICIPANTS at a regional roundtable meeting on women in politics were told yesterday that the recipe for success was passion, knowledge and new ideas.

On the fourth day of the meeting at the Suva Travelodge yesterday, the participants were told that these ingredients together would produce a successful woman.

The meeting heard that in addition to standing for Parliament in their re-

spective countries, these women could contribute to the advancement of other women by helping them with political education, leadership training and lobbying.

Participants were told that the main obstacle in society seemed to be that the world of politics was perceived as being reserved to men.

The meeting ends today with the participants deciding upon a plan of action and a public forum.

FIJI TIMES OF FEBRUARY 18

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197

Learn to deal with media,* women's workshop told

WOMEN need training to improve their ability to communicate with the media, participants at a regional Women in Politics meeting in Suva heard yesterday.

The meeting was looking at ways in which to use the media to promote women's political participation.

Some obstacles raised by participants were a lack of Press freedom because of Government or foreign ownership, the high cost of access to media, and occasional personal conflicts because of the size of the country.

The session was chaired by Charla Hatton, the di-

rector of the United States Information Service.

She said that it was important to know the media, the names of news editors and people dealing with women's issues.

Some other suggestions which she had were to be positive wherever possible.

She urged participants to ally themselves with women in the media.

She said it was very important to have a good relationship with the media.

She told participants not to ignore small or in-house publications.

"If they reach decision-makers, try reaching them."

FIJI TIMES OF FEBRUARY 17

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Embarrassed to say it out loud *

Women always found it embarrassing to say publicly that they want to be leaders, especially in the field of politics.

This was a unanimous sentiment of Pacific Island women attending a regional round-table meeting on Women in Politics in Suva yesterday.

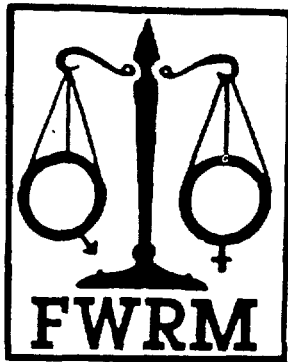
The women expressed a universal Pacific Island society concern that women found it hard to say it out and loud that they wanted to become not only a leader but a Parliamentarian, a Cabinet Minister or even the Prime Minister of her country.

The round-table meeting heard that Pacific women did not have a good society network so they were able to get recognition for what they really wanted.

Participants also came to the conclusion that although socio-economic conditions were not the same in Korea, as where workshop speaker and eminent scholar, Doctor Bong Souk Sohn came from, as in the island countries, the difficulties faced by women attempting to enter politics were the same.

DAILY POST OF FEBRUARY 18

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FIJI WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT

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BALANCE

NOVEMBER, 1993

16 Days of Action against gender violence

For the past two years, women's groups in every region of the world have joined the Global Campaign for Women's Human Rights and participated in the 16 Days of Activism against gender violence. This year from 25 November to 10 December, we once again organise for the campaign with the theme: "Democracy without Women's Human Rights is not Democracy".

In Fiji and the Pacific, the Women's Crisis Centre and the Fiji Women's Rights Movement have spearheaded the campaign and it is once again that time of the year.

The campaign begins on 25 November, the International Day of Protest Against Violence against women, ends on December 10, World Human Rights Day and includes World AIDS Day on December 1 and December 6, to mark the Montreal Massacre, when a man gunned down 14 female engineering students for being "feminists".

The 16 Days of Campaign highlights the prevalence of gender violence against women globally, creates an awareness for such violence as a violation of human rights and promotes women taking leadership on the issue. As part of the campaign a worldwide petition was begun in 1991 calling upon the 1993 UN World Conference on Human Rights

WOMEN'S RIGHTS



ARE HUMAN RIGHTS

The petition, translated into 21 languages, gathered close to half a million signatures in 124 countries. We in Fiji and the Pacific collected nearly 7000 signatures.

This year a revised petition drive continues and a copy is included in this issue of Balance for your use. Our

nating in a March for Peace and Non-violence on December 10.

News from Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea and the Federated States of Micronesia inform us that women there are also organising around the 16 Days.

You can organise in your own

200

Women's rights and democracy

Editorial comments by Imrana Jalal

Democracy is not truly democracy if it excludes women and refuses to recognise women's human rights as a universal human right. Said differently, women's human rights and democracy are intertwined and one cannot be considered without the other. As stated by human rights activists, "the practice of human rights is the practice of democracy. Both begin at home at the grass roots level"

In a democracy all citizens deserve to be treated equally and given the same opportunities. No group of persons can be given discriminatory treatment, yet in the majority of democracies women's human rights are ignored, or at best, treated indifferently. There seems to be an assumption, even by the best-intentioned human rights groups that there is an acceptance of women's human rights, but we know that this is not true. It is not possible for a state to insist that it is a democracy but at the same time deny human rights to the largest group of disadvantaged persons, women.

In Fiji, we speak of democracy yet some very basic human rights are denied to all women of all races in Fiji - nationality and citizenship rights, and gender-based violence, to mention but a few. In fact we could go so far as to say that human rights would appear to be mainly about men's human rights and NOT about women's human rights. We do not have to look very far to see that even the UN Year of the Indigenous Peoples seems to benefit indigenous men rather than indigenous people of both sexes. Witness the restrictions on registration in the Vola ni Kawa Bula to the legal children of indigenous women married to non-indigenous men, but not to the legal children of indigenous men.

This is an outrageous denial of full

human rights to women and their children.

As we begin our celebrations of 16 Days of Activism Against Violence Against Women let us think about the global struggle by women against violence and remember that there can be no democracy until women's human rights are fully recognised as human rights.

The Fiji Women's Rights Movement has recently attracted much adverse publicity. It is time for all good women of all races to reflect and remember for whom we mobilised, to remember for whom we are working. The individual can never take priority over the struggle.

In the struggle for human rights for women and democracy we must be careful lest our hopes and strategies be called "Western" and therefore dismissed. This is a means of preventing women's struggle for advancement and independence. This is another reason why it is important that Fiji women should choose a liberation which is of their own making, a liberation that arises from their own experience as women from the developing world. Women from other countries living temporarily in Fiji can be enormously useful as resource people and can help us attain our freedom the way we see it, not the way they see it.

But in the final analysis our perspective must be that adopted by third world women. Our women leaders must also be women born here, raised and reared in this country, speaking the languages of our people and understanding the needs of the vast majority of poor working women. Otherwise the messenger will be shot and the message will be forgotten. Ultimately our struggle will only be valid if our leaders truly come from us.

Many a victim of domestic violence would contemplate seeking help from church ministers and members. This is especially true here in the Pacific where there are many churches and few support groups and organisations that are available to help the victim and the family of domestic violence.

But sadly, many stories reveal that the church has not always helped women victims of domestic violence. Cultural attitudes of male superiority and the fact that many churches are still dominated by patriarchal conservative decision-making bodies, has contributed to the occurrence of and denial of violence against women, especially here in the Pacific.

Many women who have been injured, insulted, victimised, devalued and dehumanised have sought refuge and help in Christianity and the church, and many have been bitterly disappointed. Take for example the following stories.

Mere says,

"Early in our marriage I went to a clergyman, who after a few visits, told me that my husband meant no real harm, that he was just confused and felt insecure. I was encouraged to be more tolerant and understanding. Most important I was told to forgive him the beatings just as Christ has forgiven me from the cross."

The second story is that of Sarah who writes while struggling to overcome her situation of violence,

"I began attending...my husband's church. A Pentecostal assembly. This was a fundamentalist denomination and its teachings on wifely submission and discipline were interpreted by my husbands Biblical endorsement for his behavior.

Domestic violence and the Christian faith

I was unhappy in the rigid legalistic atmosphere."

Sarah was told to "pray and believe" and to stay within the sanctity of marriage, despite constant beatings. She stopped attending church, feeling betrayed by the very people she believed could possibly have helped her.

People also wrongly assume that violence would never be practiced by a minister, pastor, Talatala, or any other male figure of importance in the church structure. Women who are the victims of such violence are even more imprisoned than others. They have few to confide in, few options to free them as divorce may be seen as a violation of church laws or, unbiblical. She, of all women, masters the art of pretense in order to survive. Her black-eye, her bruised and broken body are always the result of "an accident" She, of all women, is constantly made to feel it is her fault, she must be sinful and deserves what she gets.

Christian literature has also contributed to many unhelpful and negative attitudes toward women. For example, in Larry Christenson's book, *The Christian Family*, he sets out a diagram which illustrates that the husband is "head" of the wife and selectively uses Biblical passages which endorse this, such as Ephesians 5:22-24; "Wives be subject to your husbands, as to the Lord and 1 Corinthians 11:1; "Therefore she (the wife) should be subject to his (her husband's) authority.

In to a



thority over you. What you need is to go home and apologise to your husband, ask forgiveness..." and so on.

Fortunately, now we have such liberating Christian writers as Virginia R. Mollenkott, who speaks of human relationships in terms of "mutual submission and mutual service."

Here, the emphasis is much more on passages such as Galatians 3:28; "There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male or female, for all of you are one in Christ Jesus."

In Rachel Wahlberg's book, *Jesus According to a Women*, she emphasises Jesus's affirmation of women throughout the New Testament. As men and women she encourages us to provide a balance to the centuries of negative attitudes concerning women which have pervaded so much of Christian literature.

Once we see that women and men are equal in the sight of God and that discrimination of any kind is contrary to the Gospel message, then it should

in to vit

"The problem isn't with your husband, but with you. You're a rebellious wife. You resent your husband's au-

thority over you. What you need is to go home and apologise to your husband, ask forgiveness..." and so on. violence of the type we witness today in the family." As Ennio Mantovani of P.N.G. says, "Every citizen and Christian has a duty to make sure that public opinion is created against violence and that legislation is implemented without discrimination of sex."

As children of God, as believers and followers of Christ, Christian men and women must seek and find ways of transforming "the society in which victim-violator relationships dominate, into one in which we strive to live in fairness, justice, and mutual assistance and love."

We not only need to make ourselves available but we must become active participators in educating, promoting equality, speaking



out against the injustice of domestic violence, promoting non-violent conflict resolutions and non-judgmental counseling opportunities.

Let me conclude with a prayer from *Breaking the Silence*:

The whole generation groans.
Gentle mother God,
protect your vulnerable children.
Crucified God,
turn violent people from violence
to service
as you chose peace instead of
violence.
Holy Spirit,
empower us to be people of peace
and grace
who reject violence whatever its
form.

Grant us resurrection life.

In

By Charlotte Bunch

It wasn't perfect, but it was a pretty good start.

The United Nations World Conference on Human Rights opened in chaos over threats by some countries to derail the concept of human rights by subordinating it to national laws. That threat was overcome, and the Global Campaign for Women's Human Rights is particularly glad that the conference reaffirmed that human rights should be universal and indivisible for every woman, man and child on earth.

That is because women are the first to be left out if human rights can be given to some people and not to others. The section of the conference document establishing women's rights as human rights was crucial to us and we are proud that it passed with only minor controversy. It was a major half-step forward and will become a full step when the recommendations are implemented. But it would have meant much less without the affirmation of universality.

As it is, the Global Campaign is disappointed that the conference called for additional funds for the UN Human Rights Centre without setting any timetable or naming a target sum. This conference gave the Centre responsibility for implementing many of its recommendations on women and we are determined that those policies will be carried. We are pleased that the Canadian government gave the Centre a \$500,000 challenge grant to begin its work on behalf of women and we hope other nations will follow Canada's example with grants of their own earmarked for

women's human rights.

The Centre and the United Nations have much to do in order to fulfill the conference mandate on women's rights. As a result of years of work by women around the world, the conference explicitly recognised violence against women as an abuse of human rights. It urged the United Nations to name a Special Rapporteur to monitor violence against women worldwide. It also urged that the UN strengthen the Women's Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, approve the pending Declaration of Violence Against Women and integrate women's concerns into every facet of its operations.

How did all this happen? Women's advocates were recognised at the Human rights conference as among the most organised and successful. Our Global Tribunal on Violations of Women's Human Rights drew more than a thousand people to a jammed auditorium, where women from 25 countries testified to abuses they had suffered under existing human rights laws. The world media took notice.

As Lourdes Sajor, member of the Asian Women's Human Rights Council and Chair of the NGO Women's Caucus, said: "It was no accident."

Women have always organised locally to take action on common problems. As women formed national and eventually international links, they found that one issue united them across culture, class and religion: violence against women.

Women everywhere face the common threat of rape, incest, as-

sault, economic and sexual exploitation and forced pregnancy. This is not random violence; the risk factor is being female. These universal forms of violence - and culture-specific types such as dowry-related murder and genital mutilation - are often dismissed as tradition or religious practice. Despite the pervasive nature of abuse of women, human rights groups have generally taken little notice. Some UN human rights treaties formally bar sex discrimination, but in practice women's rights are not being protected.

A feminist perspective

In 1990, the Centre for Women's Global Leadership decided to focus on redefining human rights from a feminist perspective. The Centre, a project of Douglass College at Rutgers University in New Jersey, works to build women's leadership on global issues. At an initial leadership institute in June 1991, activists discussed ways to promote world dialogue between women's and human rights groups. They also wanted to focus local and international attention on violence against women as an abuse of human rights.

"It seemed such a logical idea - half of humanity is suffering the same kinds of abuses. If it's not a human rights issue, it means women are not even considered human," said Maria Suarez, a journalist with Feminist International Radio Endeavor (FIRE) in Costa Rica.

The kickoff initiative, now an annual event, was the "Sixteen Days of Activism Against Gender Violence", from 25 November, International Day Against Violence Against Women, to 10 De-

207

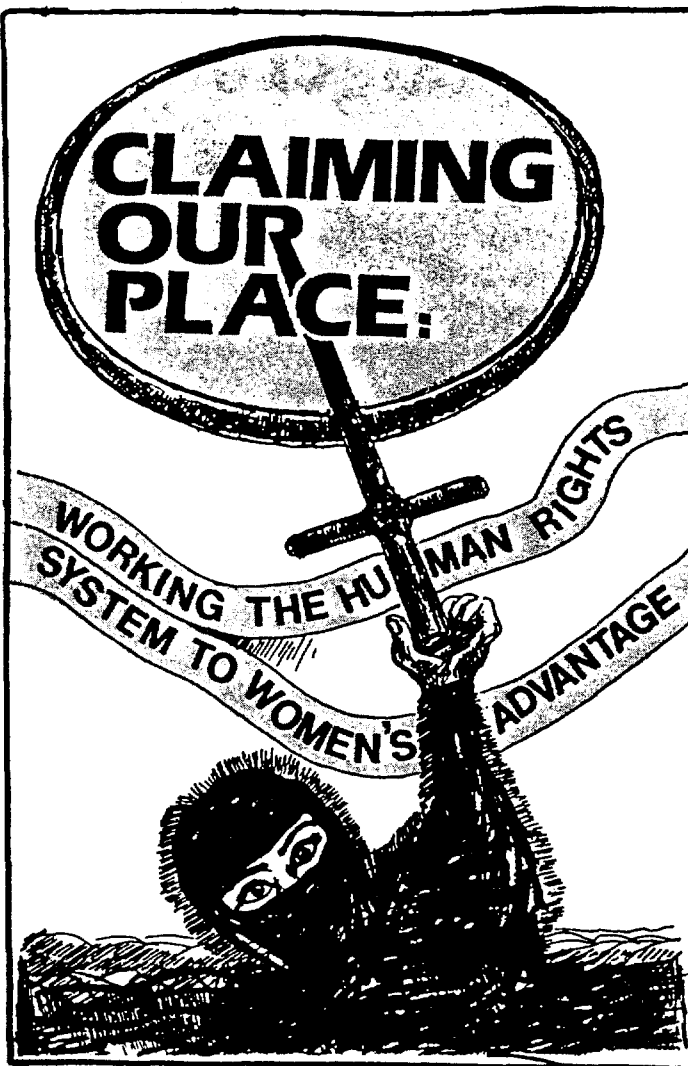
ember, Human Rights Day. The first event launched a global petition drive for the UN to recognise women's human rights at the World Human Rights Conference. Initially co-sponsored with the International Women's Tribune Centre, the petition has since been translated into 21 languages and was circulated and sponsored by over 900 women's groups.

In India, one group gathered several hundred signatures during a demonstration against the failure of authorities to prosecute a physician who had burned his wife to death. In Turkey, women who had been building an underground network during martial law mo-

bilised to gather 20,000 signatures in shopping areas in schools. Eventually, almost 500,000 women in 124 countries signed.

At the second Leadership Institute in 1992, activists decided to hold local and regional hearings to gather testimony on abuses of women. The idea was to flood the UN Human Rights Commission with evidence on the need for mechanisms responsive to women.

Meanwhile, women were keeping track of UN conference preparations. At regional prep-com meetings they pressed their case and drafted document language. When NGOs began to coordinate, women took part. And when governments wrote position papers, women's groups offered facts and



join women from international NGOs in lobbying at the final meeting in Geneva in April of this year.

Moreover, it was decided to cap the campaign with a Global Tribunal on abuses of women's human rights. This way women would be lobbying for official recognition of the issue while also defining it for themselves, in their own forum. Eventually, 33 women were chosen to speak and an international panel of judges recruited to hear the women's testimony.

When the conference opened, women were ready. They took part in all five NGO working groups and the Joint NGO Statement resoundingly affirmed women's human rights. The Global Tribunal was a highlight of NGO events, and

cial delegates.

By their own efforts, women succeeded in placing themselves on the international human rights agenda. The task ahead is to ensure that what has been promised is implemented.

The Sixteen Days campaign continues this year with an emphasis on violence in the family, in recognition of the 1994 UN International Year of the Family. In 1995, the UN will hold the Fourth World Conference on Women.

We want to see a major interim report in that year from the UN on its progress in implementing all the recommendations made by the Vienna conference.

We want timetables, plans for gender parity and gender-awareness training for staff in all UN operations. We also expect govern-

ments to respond seriously, promptly and honestly to a questionnaire that went out to them last year from the Secretariat of the Women's Conference asking them about the status of resident women and on national plans for guaranteeing women's rights. We are not so naive as to think full recognition of women's human rights will now occur automatically all over the world. But we are optimistic that progress will continue, and we guarantee that women will work very hard to see that it does.

Charlotte Bunch is Director of the Centre for Women's Global Leadership at Rutgers University.

From the Freedom Review

A tribute to Oodgeroo Noonuccal

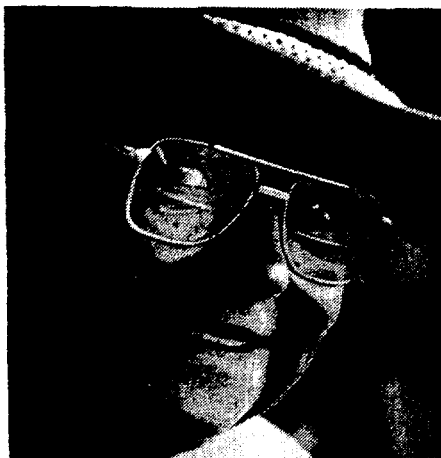
By Arlene Griffen

The internationally acclaimed Aboriginal poet and outspoken activist, Oodgeroo Noonuccal, died in Brisbane on September 16, 1993, aged 72. Oodgeroo, more widely known by her former name, Kath Walker, was buried on her beloved North Stradbroke Island in Moreton Bay east of Brisbane.

This distinguished but down-to-earth and modest woman lived a packed life: domestic servant, wife and mother, wartime member of the Women's Army, political activist, poet, artist, bridge-builder between white and black people in Australia and international ambassador for Aboriginal people.

The decade 1961-1971 was especially busy. During these years Oodgeroo was an indefatigable fighter for Aboriginal rights in Australia, at times making up to ten speeches a day for that cause. In a recent commemorative replay of an interview with her in Australia's Radio National programme, "The Search for Meaning" she said she recalled the sixties as years of hope, not just in Australia, but everywhere in the world. She and other political activists like Faith Bandler, she said, worked ceaselessly to help "stop Aboriginal people from reversing out the back door."

In 1971, Oodgeroo moved to Moongalba, her leased five-hectare "sitting-down" place on North Stradbroke Island. With this as a base in a modest caravan and a collection of outbuildings, she would return to live as she preferred, in the Aboriginal way. Moongalba became an important part of her work on reconciliation, stemming from her preference for "acute analysis to hatred", a place where thousands of students came for educational visits under her tutelage. In 1988, as a reaction against the Australian Bicentennial celebrations, she re-



nounced her European name, Kath Walker, and returned her MBE.

However, it is for her poetry, largely written under the name Kath Walker, that Oodgeroo will most probably be remembered. This poetry gives full and eloquent expression to the burning questions and major preoccupations of her life, all inextricably bound up with her experience of Aboriginality. From her first anthology, *We Are Going*, through later works including *The Dawn is at Hand*, *My People*, and *Stradbroke Dreaming*, her poems are impassioned messages to the world on the subjects dearest to her heart. Her most celebrated poem, "Son of Mine", dedicated to her surviving son, Dennis, is, for example, a telling condemnation of racism:

I could tell you of heartbreak, hatred blind,

I could tell of crimes that shame mankind...

But I'll tell instead of brave and fine,

When lives of black and white entwined

And men in brotherhood combine.

This would I tell you, son of mine.

Oodgeroo's long-time friend and supporter, the poet Judith Wright, indicated the extent of the loss that Oodgeroo's death brings: "She was a legend. Among the people of the Aboriginal communities, reserves and fringes of the cities, her fame put heart into people she could never have reached without the poems and their

success." The example of Oodgeroo's life and her poetry will continue to put heart into all peoples who fight to overcome man's injustice against his fellow men.

The Past

Let no one say the past is dead.

The past is all about us and within.

Haunted by tribal memories, I know

This little now, this accidental present

Is not the all of me, whose long making

Is so much of the past.

*Tonight here in suburbia as I sit
In essay chair before electric heater,*

Warmed by the red glow, I fall into dream:

I am away

*At the camp fire in the bush among
My own people, sitting on the ground,*

No walls about me,

*The stars over me, The tall surrounding trees that stir in the wind
Making their own music,*

Soft cries of the night coming to us, there

Where we are one with all Nature's lives

Known and unknown,

In scenes where we belong but have now forsaken.

*Deep chair and electric radiator
Are but since yesterday,*

But a thousand thousand camp fires in the forest

Are in my blood.

Let none tell me the past is wholly gone.

Now is so small a part of time, so small a part

of all the race years that have moulded me.

Oodgeroo of the tribe Noonuccal
(formerly Kath Walker)

First published by Jacaranda
Wiley, 1970

Declaration calling for change

More than 82 experts and activists from 40 countries representing diverse organisations from all regions of the world met in The Hague, 6 - 9 June 1993 at a Conference "Calling for Change; International strategies to End Violence Against Women" sponsored by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and declared.

We call for the recognition of violence against women as critical global problem that should be on the agenda of human rights and development communities.

Gender based violence is a universal phenomenon which takes many form across culture, race, class, age, mental and physical ability, sexual preference and marital status and is a daily occurrence in women's lives.

Such violence is an attack on the integrity of women and a hinderance to sustainable development. Gender based violence affects the whole society and the world community should address not only its victims but also the perpetrators of such violence.

Violence against women in both private and public spheres is a violation of human rights that constitutes the gravest form of sexual discrimination. As the United Nations Draft Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women notes, violence against women encompasses physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, in the general community and that perpetrated or condoned by the state wherever it occurs. States have a

spond to gender specific violence in both these spheres including affirmative measures to eliminate the conditions that breed such violence. Human Rights NGO's working at the national, international and regional levels should affirm their commitment to the consideration of women's rights as human rights.

We call upon the UN Conference on Human Rights to reaffirm the universality of all human rights and their priority over cultural values and practices and to apply all international standards equally to the protection of women's human rights. We also affirm the indivisibility of the economic, social and cultural rights with political and civil rights and call for the recognition that the eradication of violence against women requires actions in all these areas.

It is a responsibility of the state to seek to eradicate gender based violence within its borders and to change its policies where they exacerbate violence against women in other countries. In particular, northern countries should examine their policies, including development and structural adjustment programs in relation to discrimination and violence against women.

Women around the world, not only as targets of violence but also as active agents for change, are fighting against violence. We join with those globally who are calling on governments and specifically the Human Rights Conference to do the following:

1. Requests all states to ratify the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and withdraw all

plementation procedures of the Women's Convention and enforcement of CEDAW's requests for country reports on violence against women.

3. Recommend to the General Assembly adoption of the draft Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, approved by the Commission on the Status of Women.

4. Call for the appointment of a special rapporteur on sex discrimination and violence against women who is responsible to the Commission on Human Rights and also reports to the Commission on the Status of Women.

5. Require that all UN working groups, rapporteurs, treaty bodies, specialised agencies, as well as all UN Human Rights programs and mechanisms pay attention to gender aspects of all abuses and proposed actions.

Various forms of violence against women breach guarantees established in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women and other human rights instruments, including: the rights not to be arbitrarily deprived of life, liberty and security of the person; the right not to be subject to torture or inhuman and degrading treatment; the right to just and favourable conditions of work; the right to equal protection of the law; and the right to be free of gender discrimination. All appropriate UN bodies as well as NGO's should address gender-based violence as a development and human rights issue.

Women and AIDS - An Open Door

By Mridula Sainath

At the start of the AIDS epidemic the issue of women and AIDS was a closed door, a few years ago it was knocking on the door and today the door is wide open...

WHO estimates that 14 million people worldwide are now infected with HIV and even if all new infections were stopped in their tracks now, the total AIDS cases would still quadruple by the year 2000.

13 million women will have been infected by the year 2000 and 4 million of them will by then be dead.

To bring the statistics to a closer timeframe, a million women worldwide will be infected by HIV this year alone, 90 percent of them by their spouse or steady partner. This is equivalent to one woman being infected somewhere in the world every 30 seconds.

Wherever it strikes the epidemic of HIV/AIDS has an impact far beyond that of individual illness and early death. The virus affects every aspect of women's lives whether or not they themselves are infected. Women provide love, care and support to their partners, brothers, friends and relatives infected with HIV or dying of AIDS.

We need all in our power to prevent new infections in women and to develop strategies to relieve women of the burden of care. A key weapon in this battle is preventative education for young girls before they become sexually

active.

75 percent of all transmissions in women is through sexual intercourse. Now let us examine some factors which further fuel the pandemic in women:

* Women are "biologically vulnerable" and more at risk from sexual intercourse, partly because HIV is more concentrated in semen than in vaginal fluid and the vagina offers a larger mucousal surface for infection to enter. The risk of

sex is unmentionable and added to it is the physical trauma to genitalia which may further contribute to easier entry of the virus.

* Women are also more vulnerable to HIV transmission through blood as many women in the developing world are anaemic and need blood transfusions in child birth or pregnancy.

* Women are "occupationally vulnerable" as HIV/AIDS care providers either professionally as nurses or doctors or as care givers at home.

* Women are more "socially vulnerable" as many cultures have different standards of sexual behaviour in men and women.

Societal factors interact for example, the decision making factors invested in men such as control of income, property, major family decisions,

serve to diminish the degree of control women have over sexual matters.

* Women are more "economically vulnerable" to HIV infection than men and this itself is closely linked to women's social position. The combination and interaction of women's low socioeconomic status, poverty, illiteracy, lack of viable alternatives that enable women to become self supporting all act to limit women's ability to control the conditions in which they are sexually active.

Moreover, personal, social and economic conditions may combine to force women to exchange sex for money or goods to meet



infection maybe greater still in adolescent girls as their more immature genital tract maybe a less efficient barrier to HIV.

* Women also tend to marry early and to more experienced men, who are themselves more likely to be infected from past partners. It is often socially acceptable for men to seek even younger women for courtship, marriage and casual encounters. This trend is increasing as men want to secure uninfected female sexual partners.

* Women are unable to negotiate condom use and usually cannot question their husbands fidelity as this might lead to verbal even physical abuse. In enforced sex and rape the question of negotiating safer

New projects for 1994

The Fiji Womens Rights Movement has many exciting projects planned for 1994 in addition to our continuing project on Women, Work and Economic Rights. In January 1994 we will launch our 3 month Family Law project funded by UNESCAP and the Asia Foundation. Aseries of 12 articles will be published on Family Law, in three languages in all the major media outlets, both newspaper and radio. In addition 6 brochures in 3 languages on the same topic and "how to use the court system", Larry Thomas will be producing a radio play on some aspects of family law with FWRM. We will also be doing research on the possibility of setting up a women's legal aid centre. This will involve negotiations with the government, banks, lawyers, etc. During the last week of International Women's Day we will be doing a two-day paralegal training session for women and Family Law. Those interested in participating may inform Vani. There will be a "Regional Roundtable Meeting on Women and Politics" hosted by FWRM from 7-11 February 1994. During the last week in April (tentative dates 18-22 April 1994) FWRM is co-hosting with the International Commission of Jurists, at the Fijian Hotel, the first (major) regional seminar on "Women and Law in the South Pacific". The Co-ordinator for FWRM for the Seminar is Shamima Ali.

The Interim Management Committee, set up by the Collective, has things under control and will be closely working with our staff and supporting them. There appears to be a most congenial working relationship amongst the members and we all feel positive about FWRM's future directions!

So for all of our members who were concerned about our survival, worry nai karo! Happy New Year to you all!

Women and AIDS - From Page 8

their basic needs and others dependent on them.

Apart from addressing and re-dressing the above issues, if we want to end the epidemic of HIV, a virus which has above all taken advantage of how all of us, across the world, live our sexuality, it is our relationships that we must start to question and transform.

Having only one life partner is not necessarily possible nor even desired by all of us. Whether our experience in sexual relationships has been positive or negative, we are taught not to reveal it.

Perhaps if we begin to name our

value ourselves and our needs more, to take more pride in ourselves as women.

Women need to be valued sexually and to be treated with respect, integrity and care.

Perhaps as more of us are able to seek what we want, refuse what we do not want, express our sexuality, instead of hiding it, where it cannot be exposed and destroyed we may be able to understand the magnitude of the problem and underlying factors. Maybe then we can stem this rising tide of HIV infection in women.

Also unless there is an alliance of

NEWS

Trisa Cheer has left FWRM and we wish her all the best. Zarnita is helping out at the FWRM.

Vani is back from Manila after attending a workshop on Women Violence and non-Violent Action with Salote Malo from WCC.

FWRM Collective Meetings:
1 December, 15 December at FWRM office 1pm.

Imrana Jalal is back in practice trying to combine motherhood and career. She can be contacted on 311 911.

Women's Crisis Centre has a new home:

88 Gordon St
P O Box 12882, Suva.
Ph: 313 300
Fax: 313 650

T-shirts with non-violent messages are on sale at WCC! Check them out!

JOIN THE MARCH AGAINST VIOLENCE 10 DECEMBER FROM 12 midday
For more information call 313 300
Organised by FWRM and WCC

and the poor countries, the "have" and "have nots" can an effort be made to carry forward prevention and caring strategies to meet the overwhelming challenges of HIV/AIDS.

For women in particular, if the total picture of direct and contributory factors are not realised and corrected, this vigorous tidal wave of infection which is now lashing at the hinges of our open doors will our very homes and destroy

The Girl Child

When, in a country daughters are disrespected and demeaned
Tell me truly, can that country be called free?

At the birth of a son there is joy and celebration
But shunned is the woman who gives birth to a daughter

Her own mother gives the girl less of everything

She craves for justice even in her own home

The stove the courtyard and the four walls are the limits of her
world from childhood

She is drowned under the weight of innumerable burdens and
responsibilities

The meaning of childhood naughtiness or innocence, the girl will
never know

She never experiences spontaneous joy and fun

She cannot speak her mind or move freely

Her wings have been clipped, she cannot fly high

A girl is a young plant that gets neither light nor water

She is the flower that would have blossomed but cannot

Half fed and half heartedly educated

She gets only half her wage for her labour

The country got its freedom but she continued to be bonded





PETITION THE UNITED NATIONS TO PROMOTE AND PROTECT THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF WOMEN

After Vienna and on to Beijing,
the Global Campaign for Women's Human Rights Continues...

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights protects everyone "without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language...or other status" (art. 2). Further, everyone has the right to "life, liberty and security of person" (art. 3) and "no one shall be subject to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment" (art. 5). In addition, the 1993 VIENNA DECLARATION OF THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS states that the "HUMAN RIGHTS OF WOMEN AND OF THE GIRL-CHILD ARE AN INALIENABLE, INTEGRAL AND INDIVISIBLE PART OF UNIVERSAL HUMAN RIGHTS," and declares a commitment to eliminate "VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE." Therefore, we the undersigned, call upon the United Nations to fulfill this commitment and to report on its efforts to promote and protect women's human rights at the FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN (Beijing, September 1995).

Name

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*Please send signed petitions to:
Fiji Women's Rights Movement
P O Box 14194
Suva.*

OR

*Women's Crisis Centre
P O Box 12882
Suva.
Fax: 313 650*



In God's Image, April 1985



Special thanks to:

*Associated Media
Asia Foundation*

SENDER:

*Fiji Women's Rights Movement
P.O. BOX 14194
Suva
FIJI ISLANDS.*

ACCESS STRATEGISTS
I N C O R P O R A T E D

204 IVORY COURT TOWNHOMES
GREENMEADOWS AVENUE, QUEZON CITY
PHILIPPINES 1110
TELEPHONE: (632) 634-6969
CELLULAR: (097) 3733713

05 October 1994

Ms. PAMELA HOLLIE
Representative
The Asia Foundation
3/F IRC Building
82 EDSA, Mandaluyong
Metro Manila

Dear Ms. Hollie,

Respectfully submitting to your office the final Assessment Report of the Women in Politics Project as implemented by the Congressional Research and Training Service for period covering February 1 to August 31, 1994.

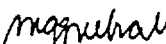
The report highlights the accomplishments of the project as well as the lessons learned in the course of implementation. The findings were based on interviews conducted with critical players in the project in Manila, Bacolod and Lucena. A review of available documentation was also conducted.

I shall be glad to discuss the findings with you. Due to prior commitments which I have scheduled, I shall be available after 6:00 in the evening during weekdays and the whole day of Saturdays.

Thank you for the opportunity to work with you. I hope that we will have other opportunities to work together in the future.

Thank you and warm regards.

Very truly yours,


MARIANNE G. QUEBRAL
Managing Consultant

/Attachments

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY
Women in Politics Project

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The assessment is contracted to evaluate the extent and efficiency of the implementation of the Women in Politics Project as conducted by the Congressional Research and Training Service over the Program Period of February 1 to August 31, 1994. This has been made possible through a grant provided by The Asia Foundation from the United States Agency for International Development. This interim assessment report is made in fulfillment of the requirements of TAF and USAID for the purpose of determining the accomplishments of a funded project.

The evaluation is divided into three phases: (1) Review of Materials and Preliminary Interviews with the Proponent; (2) Development and Identification of Project Indicators for Evaluation; and (3) Conduct of Multi-level Assessment. The assessment will utilize interviews with randomly selected target clientele and project proponent representatives; site inspections as appropriate; and situation analyses for both primary and secondary data. The assessment recognizes that the completed project serves as a start-up phase for a broader program on Women in Politics.

The Women in Politics Project seeks to address the need for information towards a greater participation by women in governance and the policy-making process. The Project envisioned that this will be achieved through the conduct of (1) legislative monitoring and briefings; (2) issue forums; (3) local legislative decision-making; (4) research on "Transformational Politics and Women in the Ninth Philippine Congress: A Critical Analysis"; and (5) participation in the Global Summit for Women.

From the Plan of Action, three legislative briefing sessions were conducted on the following dates: March 24, May 13 and May 30, 1994. Local advocacy seminars were likewise conducted in Quezon, Davao and Bacolod. Continuous monitoring of congressional legislation was pursued by CRTS on a regular basis. Three issue forums were conducted on the following dates: March 2, May 26 and August 4, 1994. The issues deliberated and focused on the "Anti-Rape Bill" and the "Women Empowerment Act". Five seminars were conducted on the following dates: May 17-18 (Bacolod), June 25-26 (Davao), July 22-23 (Quezon), August 4-5 (Bacolod) and August 19-21 (Quezon), 1994. 3 issues of the Legislative Alert, 2 issue briefs, 1 occasional paper on "A Framework for Women's Participation in Politics", preliminary work on 2 local case studies and "Transformational Politics and Women in the Ninth Congress" were accomplished under the Research and Publications Component.

Generally, the activities accomplished went beyond the number specified in the Plan of Action.

Further, Dr. Reyes attended the 1994 Summit which has also led the way for a more active role in the Asia Pacific Women in Politics Program (A/PWIPP). This regional role will significantly substantiate all local efforts.

LESSONS LEARNED.

Program Development. The conduct of a Situation Analysis would be able to direct the course of action to be more responsive and appropriate. The results of this analysis may be used to determine priorities and maximize available resources (local enthusiasm, local networks and existing laws). Further, it will be able to distinguish perceived needs as against actual needs.

Focused Targeting.

- A) Criteria should be identified in selecting participants and target beneficiaries. A conscious effort must be made to approach participants on an organizational level instead of at the individual level. This practice will reinforce sustainability of the program outputs as well as its replication within the organization.
- B) A profile of the participants will guide development of materials and kits such as the need for materials in the vernacular.
- C) Convergence with government agencies will avoid duplication of services and enhance program implementation.
- D) The real objectives of the seminars should be expressed to the participants so that there is an appreciation of the process. At the end of the session, directions may be provided for the next course of action. Several respondents asked the question of "What do I do now?".
- E) Appropriate selection of venue will enhance participation.

Sustainability and Monitoring.

- A) Documentation should be made available to all participants. As such, sufficient allocation in the budget should be made. The documentation will provide guidelines to participants for possible echo seminars and the like.
 - B) The encouragement of continuous communication has proven to be advantageous in any advocacy program.
 - C) Community participation is a critical factor for sustainability. When the community takes ownership of the program, they will most likely assume responsibility for maintaining it.
 - D) Wider cross section for participants would allow more access to other sectors for social mobilization. Through this, a network may be formed covering a broader spectrum of organizations.
 - E) Monitoring of any advocacy project is quite difficult. It is therefore important that Key Result Areas (KRAs) are identified and agreed upon prior to program implementation.
- 205

- F) The linkages formed with a local women's group enabled these groups to take on more responsibilities after program implementation. This capability building process enhances sustainability of the program.

Continuing Advocacy Work. WIPP has succeeded in increasing the awareness of selected women's groups. This momentum should be sustained by making updates constantly available to these groups. Support activities such as Crisis Management Trainings Development of Information, Education and Communication (IEC) materials, as well as the implementation of activities that may be able to address the needs of the male sector as they cope with the evolving role of women in politics.

CONCLUSION

The Women in Politics Program as implemented by the Congressional Research and Training Service is a critical start-up phase for a broader program that would address the emerging needs of women in political decision-making. It is not an easy task that will be accomplished in a short period of time. Instead, it is a long and difficult task that would require a great deal of program development and evaluation.

WIPP is not an end in itself. The questions asked by the participants should be the indicator for the need for other activities. The question they ask is: "What can I do now?".

FINAL ASSESSMENT REPORT

Women in Politics Project

Prepared by: **MARIANNE G. QUEBRAL**

FOREWORD

PURPOSE OF THE ASSESSMENT. The assessment is contracted to evaluate the extent and efficiency of the implementation of the Women in Politics Project or WIPP as conducted by the Congressional Research and Training Service or CRTS over the Program Period of February 1 to August 31, 1994. This has been made possible through a grant provided by The Asia Foundation or TAF from the United States Agency for International Development or USAID. This interim assessment report is made in fulfillment of the requirements of TAF and USAID for the purpose of determining the accomplishments of a funded project.

SCOPE OF THE ASSESSMENT. The evaluation is divided into three phases:

Phase I: Review of Materials and Preliminary Interviews with the Proponent
(3 days)

This phase will involve reviewing the Approved Project specifications and related documents to ascertain the context within which the project is being undertaken. Preliminary interviews with critical respondents will also be conducted. Interviews with the CRTS as well as The Asia Foundation Program Officers will be scheduled to determine the intentions/goals and directions/plans of the project.

Phase II: Development and Identification of Project Indicators for Evaluation
(6 days)

Considering the review of materials and interviews conducted, a listing of project indicators will be identified in close consultation with the critical respondents. These indicators will establish the extent of implementation and its accomplishments, the immediate impact of the project, the strengths and weaknesses of the project and the responsiveness of the target clientele to the project.

Phase III: Conduct of Multi-level Assessment
(6 days)

The identified indicators will be the subject of a multi-level assessment. The assessment will examine the indicators as they affect the community, the project proponent and The Asia Foundation. The assessment will utilize, although not limited to, interviews with randomly selected target clientele and project proponent representatives; site inspections as appropriate; and situation analyses for both primary and secondary data.

LIMITATIONS OF THE ASSESSMENT. The assessment will not seek to determine the extent of any long term impact in view of the limited period that has transpired since the closure of the project. The assessment recognizes that any advocacy or empowerment project

would need at least six months for any significant impact to be measured. This period will correspond to the amount of time needed by the proponent to develop a plan of action, field test this plan of action, mobilize community members and generate the necessary resources to implement the plan of action.

Further, the assessment recognizes that the completed project serves as a start-up phase for a broader program on Women in Politics.

A separate report shall be submitted covering the Financial aspect of program implementation. The Financial Assessment will be prepared by an Internal Auditor of TAF.

PART I: INTRODUCTION

OVERVIEW OF THE WOMEN IN POLITICS PROJECT:

Women in policy making positions have remained a minority at the public as well as private sectors. While no legal hindrances exist to prevent women's full participation in political processes, there remain a smaller number of women in positions of influence. Of late, a growing number of NGOs has stirred public interest in the accountability of political leaders as well as the empowerment of women's groups.

TAF has identified the concerns of women as a theme that cuts across its program foci in its work in the Philippines. These are the: (1) Governance Program; (2) Access to Justice Program; (3) Sustainable Economic Reform Program; and (4) Regional Relations Program. In the course of TAF's work in the Philippines, TAF has provided grants to several non-government organizations as well as government institutions that promote similar program foci.

This led to a partnership between TAF and the CRTS for the Women in Politics Program or WIPP. Corollary to this partnership are other projects funded by TAF that enhance women's participation in politics as implemented by the following: (1) Women's Legal Bureau; (2) Sentro ng Alternatibong Lingap Panlegal (Alternative Legal Assistance Center, Inc.); (3) Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism; and (4) The Congressional Fellowship Program. The programs implemented are within TAF's organizational framework particularly the Governance and Access to Justice Programs.

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES AND MAJOR COMPONENTS

WIPP seeks to address the need for information towards a greater participation by women in governance and the policy-making process. The Project envisions that this will be achieved through the conduct of (1) legislative monitoring and briefings; (2) issue forums; (3) local legislative decision-making; (4) research on "Transformational Politics and Women in the Ninth Philippine Congress: A Critical Analysis"; and (5) participation in the Global Summit for Women.

Legislative Monitoring and Briefings. The outputs defined for this component include: (1) the conduct of at least two briefings on legislative processes and initiatives for women's groups; (2) the analysis of pending legislative initiatives affecting women; (3) monitoring of bills affecting women enacted into law; and (4) development of abstracts of legislation affecting women for the Legislative Alert.

Issue Forums. The outputs defined for this component include: (1) the preparation of issue briefs on legislation affecting women; (2) at least two issue briefings for women's groups, the media and Congressional women; (3) photo documentation of activities; and (4) case studies on the lobbying activity of women's groups.

Local Legislative Decision-Making. The outputs defined for this component include: (1) a needs assessment of women's groups on the local level (Visayas and Mindanao); (2) at least two meetings to provide legislative advocacy assistance to local women's groups with legislative agendas and to brief these groups on national legislative concerns; and (3) case studies of participation of local women's groups in the legislative process.

Research on "Transformational Politics and Women in the Ninth Congress: A Critical Analysis." The outputs in this area include: (1) the first phase of analysis of women in the Ninth Congress; (2) a workplan for future analysis leading up to the 1995 elections; and (3) a monograph for the first phase of research.

Regional Activities. The outputs for this component are: (1) Participation in the 1994 Global Summit on Women; and (2) Production of Women's Participation in Politics: A Conceptual Framework.

MAJOR NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLICY DEVELOPMENT INFLUENCING WIPP

The Philippine Government recognizes the emerging role of the Filipino woman and has in fact, been very supportive of programs and services benefiting this sector. The National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women developed the Philippine Development Plan for Women as a companion plan to the Medium Term Philippine Development Plan. The Plan contains programs and services as implemented and/or targeted by the various GOs and NGOs. Further, the plan

provides a blueprint for developing programs and services for women to address the gaps and improve existing services.

Legislation supportive of the role of Filipino women have been passed such as, but not limited to, the Rooming-In and Breastfeeding Act of 1992 and the Local Government Code.

Internationally, the Philippines' participation in the Women's Congress in Beijing has generated tremendous response from the government as well as the non-government sectors. To date, local conferences have been called wherein consultations with local organizations have been conducted. Additionally, the Philippines participated in the Asia-Pacific Regional Conference.

These delegations have indicated the strength of concern for women in the Philippines, both at the local level as well as the international level.

PART II: REPORT OF ASSESSMENT

Legislative Monitoring and Briefing

Three legislative briefing sessions were conducted on the following dates: March 24, May 13 and May 30, 1994. Local advocacy seminars were likewise conducted in Quezon, Davao and Bacolod. Continuous monitoring of congressional legislation was pursued by CRTS on a regular basis.

The activities accomplished were within the projected time frame. It is noted that the activities were made to coincide with each other to maximize the participation of the groups gathered and the available resources.

On the other hand, the analysis of legislation in both the Senate and Congress should emphasize a review of the nature of legislation, how these will affect women as well as its relevance to the Philippine Development Plan for Women. This implies that while a physical count is made of all bills filed in both houses, content analysis, a review of where these bills originate from and why these bills are being pursued should likewise be made. To go further, it may also include an analysis of why a single bill, giving women representation in the Social Security Commission, was approved for the period covered. This analysis could provide directions for further action such as the need for advocacy efforts or the need for support researches to aid the passing of these bills. If the findings indicate that more men

file bills that are in the interest of women, the question of why women do not file bills to support women could be looked into.

The analysis could also look into the status of existing laws vis-à-vis legislation being proposed. Very often, it is not the lack of laws but the lack of implementing guidelines for existing laws.

For purposes of comparative advantage or disadvantage, total number of bills should be cited alongside bills addressing the concerns of women.

Issue Forum

Three issue forums were conducted on the following dates: March 2, May 26 and August 4, 1994. The issues deliberated and focused on the "Anti-Rape Bill" and the "Women Empowerment Act". Again, the activities accomplished went beyond the number specified in the Plan of Action.

The availability of Issue Briefs has provided significant support to the participants of the Issue Forum. There was, however, a lack of emphasis on the development of "user-friendly" materials that would seek to provide digestible information to lay readers. While the materials were not lacking in information, the use of the vernacular, primer format and/or comics could be explored.

An evaluation of how these position papers affected decision making in so far as the progress of these bills is concerned will provide an efficient indicator of its effectiveness.

Local Legislative Advocacy Seminars

Five seminars were conducted on the following dates: May 17-18 (Bacolod), June 25-26 (Davao), July 22-23 (Quezon), August 4-5 (Bacolod) and August 19-21 (Quezon), 1994.

Greater emphasis should be given to the selection of participants such that organizations are selected instead of individuals. This will ensure some degree of continuity of the program. One problem cited in Lucena was the fact that the participants from the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement or PRRM have all resigned due to some organizational problems. The seminars should also emphasize the role of government in the protection of women's rights as this is their mandate.

The Seminars were very effective in raising the level of awareness of the participants. It would be very constructive if some "how-to's" were provided to the participants as part of the seminar. Through this, the participants would be placed in a better position to plan out a course of action such as in the pursuit of formulating local ordinances. A number of respondents indicated their desire for more information on "What can I do now?"

Documentation should be provided to all participants so that there is an affirmation of what had transpired in the seminar. Case studies are still in the process of finalization.

Research and Publications

Accomplished under this component are the following: 3 issues of the Legislative Alert, 2 issue briefs, 1 occasional paper on "A Framework for Women's Participation in Politics", preliminary work on 2 local case studies and "Transformational Politics and Women in the Ninth Congress".

An inventory, review and analysis of the profile of readers and the circulation of all publications will provide an indication of how effective the format and presentation is. This analysis can serve as the basis for the evaluation of the publications.

Participation in the 1994 Global Summit

Activities planned for this component were successfully carried out. Dr. Reyes attended the 1994 Summit. Dr. Reyes provided an evaluation of the process through a report submitted to TAF. Dr. Reyes' participation has also led the way for a more active role in the Asia Pacific Women in Politics Program (A/PWIPP). This regional role will significantly substantiate all local efforts.

Table 1. Accomplishments versus Plan of Action

ACTIVITIES	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP
Legislative Monitoring and Briefing		1		1				
		1		2				
Issue Forum		1		1			1	
		1		1			1	
Local Legislative Advocacy Seminars			1		1			
				1	1	1	2	
Research								
Reporting	1				1			1
		1			1			1
Participation in the Global Summit	1							
	1							
Planned								
Accomplished								
Number=frequency								

III. LESSONS LEARNED

This section will present various findings under four major headings: (1) Program Development; (2) Focused Targeting; (3) Sustainability and Monitoring; and (4) Continuing Advocacy Work.

Program Development. The conduct of a Situation Analysis would be able to direct course of action to be more responsive and appropriate. The results of this analysis may be used to determine priorities and maximize available resources (local enthusiasm, local networks and existing laws). Further, it will be able to distinguish perceived needs as against actual needs.

Focused Targeting.

- A) Criteria should be identified in selecting participants and target beneficiaries. A conscious effort must be made to approach participants on an organizational level instead of at the individual level. This practice will reinforce sustainability of program outputs as well as its replication within the organization.
- B) A profile of the participants will guide development of materials and kits such as need for materials in the vernacular.
- C) Convergence with government agencies will avoid duplication of services and enhance program implementation.
- D) The real objectives of the seminars should be expressed to the participants so there is an appreciation of the process. At the end of the session, directions may be provided for the next course of action. Several respondents asked the question "What do I do now?".
- E) Appropriate selection of venue will enhance participation.

Sustainability and Monitoring.

- A) Documentation should be made available to all participants. As such, sufficient allocation in the budget should be made. The documentation will provide guidelines to participants for possible echo seminars and the like.
- B) The encouragement of continuous communication has proven to be advantageous to any advocacy program.
- C) Community participation is a critical factor for sustainability. When the community takes ownership of the program, they will most likely assume responsibility for maintaining it.
- D) Wider cross section for participants would allow more access to other sectors for social mobilization. Through this, a network may be formed covering a broad spectrum of organizations.
- E) Monitoring of any advocacy project is quite difficult. It is therefore important that Key Result Areas (KRAs) are identified and agreed upon prior to program implementation.

- F) The linkages formed with a local women's group enabled these groups to take on more responsibilities after program implementation. This capability building process enhances sustainability of the program.

Continuing Advocacy Work. WIPP has succeeded in increasing the awareness of select women's groups. This momentum should be sustained by making updates constantly available to these groups. Support activities such as Crisis Management Trainings, Development of Information, Education and Communication (IEC) materials, as well as activities that may be able to address the needs of the male sector as they cope with the evolving role of women in politics.

CONCLUSION

The Women in Politics Program as implemented by the Congressional Research and Training Service is a critical start-up phase for a broader program that would address the emerging needs of women in political decision-making. It is not an easy task that will be accomplished in a short period of time. Instead, it is a long and difficult task that would require a great deal of program development and evaluation.

WIPP is not an end in itself. The questions asked by the participants should be the indicator for the need for other activities. The question they ask is: "What can I do now?".

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES AND RESPONDENT

- (1) Dr. Socorro Reyes, President
Congressional Research and Training Service
- (2) Elena Paduga, Researcher
Congressional Research and Training Service
- (3) Pamela Hollie, Representative
The Asia Foundation
- (4) Maribel Buenaobra, Assistant Program Officer
The Asia Foundation
- (5) Jesus Enriquez, Consultant
National Economic and Development Authority
- (6) Leonora Papa Medua, Sangguniang Bayan Member
Sangguniang Panlungsod, Lucena City
- (7) Minerva Sulit
Hermana Fausta Development Center
- (8) Norma Gaytano
Hermana Fausta Development Center
- (9) Siony L. Jaca
Hermana Fausta Development Center
- (10) Lydia and Mylene
Organizing for Rural Development
- (11) Elsie Castel
Urban Basic Services Office
- (12) Ruby Chua
Urban Basic Services Office
- (13) Josephine Segundino
City Planning and Development Office
- (14) Anita Rabago
Department of Social Services and Development
- (15) Celia Flor
DAWN
- (16) Dionela Flores-Madrona
Women Information and Service Center

ACCESS STRATEGISTS
I N C O R P O R A T E D

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6 October 1994

MS. PAMELA HOLLIE
Representative
The Asia Foundation
3/F IRC Building
82 EDSA, Mandaluyong
Metro Manila

ATTENTION: MS. MARIBEL BUENAOBRA
Assistant Program Officer

Dear Ms. Hollie,

I am returning the materials which I borrowed in the course of my evaluation of the Women in Politics Project. There are some materials which were also lent to me by CRTS. May I request that these materials be forwarded to them as indicated in the following listing:


- (1) Legislative Support Services in Asia (Book)
- (2) Congressional Studies Journal (July 93 and January 94)
- (3) Issue Brief on Rape
- (4) Women's Participation in Politics: A Conceptual Framework
- (5) Issue Brief on Quota Systems for Women's Political Participation
- (6) Issue Forum on Rape
- (7) Issue Forum on Quota Systems for Women's Political Participation
- (8) Congressional Headlines (Aug 14-26, 1994)
- (9) Legislative Features (April-June 1994)
- (10) Legislative Alert (April-June 1994)
- (11) Documentation Reports of:
 - (a) June 25-26, 1994 Davao
 - (b) August 4, 1994 Bacolod
 - (c) May 17-18, 1994 Bacolod
 - (d) July 22-23, 1994 Lucena
- (12) Legislative Alert (Jan-Mar 1994)

The original copy of the Progress Report for the months of March to May 1994 is for the Asia Foundation's files.

Inasmuch as the final report is also being submitted to your office today, may I request for the balance of TEN THOUSAND PESOS (PhP10,000).

Thank you very much and warm regards.

Sincerely yours,


MARIANNE G. QUEBRAL
Managing Consultant

/As Stated

Congressional Research and Training Service, Inc.

Issue Forum:

RAPE

LEGISLATORS AND WOMEN ADVOCATES DISCUSS

-*IS A NEW ANTI-RAPE LAW NECESSARY?*
-*DO WOMEN'S AND MEN'S DEFINITIONS OF RAPE DIFFER?*
-*WHY DO MALE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE REJECT HBN 4228?*
-*CAN WOMEN SIGNIFICANTLY PARTICIPATE IN LEGISLATIVE PROCESSES?*

Wednesday, March 2, 1994
2 p.m.
Mercedes Concepcion Seminar Room
PSSC Building
Commonwealth Ave., QC

(For more information, call Malou Mirandilla at 98-40-30)

WHAT THE RAPE BILL MEANS FOR WOMEN

There are at least two important things at stake in the current debate on the bill on rape also described as the "women's anti-rape bill" pending in both houses of Congress.

Quite clearly, the protection of women's safety and women's human rights is foremost in the preoccupations of the women's organizations gathered in SIBOL, the coalition that drafted the bill, and of all advocates for the end to violence against women.

But almost as important, the groundwork of study and consultations, drafting the bill, proposing it for filing and promoting and defending it in the face of indifference or hostility constitute both an exercise in political participation and a test of the possibilities and limits of women's involvement in legislative processes. The recognition of the extreme difficulty of this action is providing women with a gauge of their true status as citizens of this democracy.

Rape As Violence Against Women and Human Rights Violation

Rape is not merely a crime, however savage and abhorrent, nor just a peace and order problem. It is an instrument of patriarchal society by which women, all women, are maintained in a state of fear and insecurity by the mere knowledge of the possibility of their being raped. Conversely, the fact that rape is possible confers on all men, because they belong to the class of men, power over women or the possibility of exercising power over women.

For those who do not see or wish to examine the matter of power relations between women and men, the crime of rape can be relegated to the category of police and justice system problems, where it clearly also belongs. But there is a level at which this thinking assumes that rape, along with battering, sexual harassment and other behavior that targets women, is sometimes the inevitable and "natural" hazard of being a woman when confronted with "criminally-inclined" men.

Popular opinion also frequently attributes responsibility for the crime of rape to the use or abuse of drugs or alcohol, or to men's instability or frustration caused by unemployment or other traumas to men's tender psyches. Finally, rape is sometimes seen as having been provoked by the victim herself, through imprudence or provocation. But no woman asks to be raped and there can never be any excuse for this heinous assault on women's human rights and dignity. Any society worthy of respect must act to prevent and to punish the crime, and must give support and justice to the victim.

As a result of the shocking and seemingly unending series of rapes and rape/slays that began over a year ago, public opinion has awakened to the horror of what until recent years was a more hidden phenomenon. Survivors have come forward, families of victims, women's organizations, other advocates and media practitioners have clamored for action and for justice.

Official rhetoric has duly expressed sympathy for the survivors and victims, abhorrence for the crime and resolve to address the problem. And yet, government response has remained merely rhetorical, and many contradictions are manifest.

In a year and a half of savage rape cases, no government task force has been formed, no special services for women set up, no specific responses seen from the NCRFW. Extreme tolerance has been shown for cruel or sensational handling of cases, including media treatment, and of rape as entertainment in the film industry. There has also been continued tolerance of the excruciatingly slow and imperfect functioning of a justice system that often displays anti-women bias.

Most telling, the anti-rape bill filed in 1992 has languished in both Houses of Congress, a testimony to the indifference of legislators. Neither Pres. Ramos nor the Senate has seen fit to include the anti-rape bill among the many bills certified by the President and prioritized by the Senate for urgent action. The inescapable conclusion for women is that there has been no official recognition of the gravity and urgency of the issue.

For many women and for thinking men, on the other hand, the cumulative effect of the almost daily information about acts of violence against women has led to a new understanding. What formerly were thought of as private, intimate or shameful criminal acts can now be seen as part and parcel of a social system that premises, perpetuates and reinforces women's subordination.

Rape is therefore an attack on women's physical, emotional and human integrity. It violates women's human rights. It perpetuates the subordinate status of women and thus constitutes a block to social development. Rape dishonors the society that tolerates it.

The Rape Bill as Women's Political Participation

The present law on rape is outdated, inadequate and unresponsive to women's experience and needs. When women's organizations took upon themselves the task of formulating a new legislative proposal on rape, they were exercising their citizen's right to participate in political processes.

This decision was based on two realities: that women and their interests are grossly underrepresented in policy and decision making, and that on the issue of rape, women are the logical and most able articulators of their experience and needs.

In the course of claiming this right to directly intervene in the legislative process, women have been able to test the space allowed or denied them, the possibility of dialogue or the quality of listening, the value, or lack of it, given to their inputs. Women have had to hear: You have not

been elected to the job. Now is not the time. You are not competent. We know better what's best for you.

But involvement in legislative advocacy has also been an education, far from completed, on the legislative process and the dynamics surrounding it. Women can learn how the legislature works for women or not.

Further, it can serve to identify the few women's allies in the legislature. Perhaps, women's action on this and other "women's" bills may give rise to a new consciousness and commitment to women's cause in some women legislators.

Moreover, the issue of rape and the women's rape bill has served to draw many women into this political arena of legislative advocacy. It is not merely as voters, campaigners, candidates or elected and appointed officials that citizens intervene or participate in political life. A more direct exercise of democratic rights can be insisted upon.

Most importantly, the issue of rape and the rape bill can serve to further the recognition that their best interests must be promoted and defended primarily by women themselves. This is not a form of reverse sexism, but merely a sober assessment that tradition and privilege do not welcome change. The reactions to the women's anti-rape bill make this abundantly clear.

It is the growing awareness of women as a class with specific interests, with their own vision of the future and strategies for change that will one day lead to the existence of a "women's vote." Then, women will be more equal participants in the life of their society.

Conclusion

Pushing the women's anti-rape bill through Congress is a real and desirable goal. The question that arises now is what and how many compromises women are prepared to make, if substantive portions of the bill can be sacrificed for the sake of others that can be retained. Ultimately however, the question has to do with much more than the issue of rape itself. It is a transformational goal that is at stake, for a society of human dignity for both women and men. Women will continue to force open doors towards that transformation.

SIBOL STATEMENT

ref: Women's Legal Bureau, Inc.

tel.nos. 921-3893/921-8053

fax: 921-4389

date: 23 February 1994

ON H.B. 4228 (SIBOL's ANTI-RAPE BILL)

House Bill 4228, the anti-rape bill authored by Reps. Glenda Ecleo and Daisy Fuentes and drafted by SIBOL, a women's legislative advocacy coalition of eleven women's organizations, was deliberated on last 16 February by the House Committees on Justice and Women respectively chaired by Rep. Garcia and Rep. Ecleo. Expectedly, some male members of the said committees rose to the attack of the women's rape bill and spewed out sweeping, inaccurate and grossly erroneous statements relating to the bill, compelling SIBOL to issue this point-by-point rebuttal/clarification.

1. They said:

Rape has been historically and universally understood as penile penetration of the woman's genitals. Such definition of rape should not be disturbed.

SIBOL answers:

The so-called "universal" understanding of rape as penile penetration of the woman's genitals is not necessarily women's understanding of the concept. The present legal definition of rape could not have come from the women who have experienced the horrors of being at the receiving end of men's creative violent fantasies.

It is NOT true that the penis-centered definition of rape is universal. Progressive rape laws that encompass other acts like forced anal and oral intercourse have already found their way into the statute books of some countries and states in the US. The Philippine law on rape is behind the times.

Go to the women and they will tell you that the current law on rape does not reflect their experiences nor does it express their sense of violation. For women, it is immaterial whether the violation is achieved through the vagina, anus or mouth (as in forced oral sex) or whether what is used is the penis, the fingers, or instruments or objects. The degradation of the woman's person and dignity is the same. Let the women determine their violation!

Let us not forget that existing laws are not sacrosanct. They are not immutable. The present law on rape is male-crafted and women through H.B. No. 4228 have now found the collective voice to say this is what rape SHOULD BE. The law on rape should reflect the

experiences of women who have been and continue to be violated. To the members of the Congress, listen to us!

2. They said:

The women's redefinition of rape will go against the general public's understanding of this crime and does not conform to reality.

SIBOL answers:

Who is the general public? If the general public referred to are some male legislators and other male supporters who are scared to write finis to traditional notions of rape and progress to a definition of rape that reflects women's experiences, then they are few. Because the women, who constitute half of the so-called general public, are not with them. H.B. 4228 reflects the realities of women because it was drafted by women who have worked with survivors/victims of rape in police stations, in medical examinations rooms, and in the courts — not to mention the counselling rooms where women have cried out their anguish. Women nationwide have been consulted on its provisions and thousands of groups and individuals have expressed support for the bill. H.B. 4228, especially its definition of rape, is solidly grounded on reality.

3. They said:

Marital rape cannot exist as a crime as it is women's duty and obligation to submit sexually to their husbands.

SIBOL answers:

Read the Family Code and it will tell you that everything in marriage must be consensual — even sex. Read the case of Arroyo v. Arroyo decided by the Supreme Court and it will tell you that no woman can be forced to have sex with her husband if she does not want to.

Thus, to say that women, even when they are raped by their husbands, should not be given the right to go to court is tantamount to legitimizing rape in marriage.

A woman's liberty does not cease to exist because of marriage. That right is guaranteed by the Constitution and all human rights instruments to which the Philippines is signatory.

4. They said:

In making rape a crime against persons and turning it into a public offense thereby allowing anyone to file the case, will heighten the possibility of indiscriminate or false accusations of rape.

SIBOL answers:

Thousands of women victims/survivors of rape have refused to report the crime and remained silent because of the sexist attitudes and values of the police, lawyers and the courts to rape and rape victims/survivors and the social stigma that attaches to a raped woman. Families of victims in many cases have not been supportive and are even discouraging of the former's filing rape charges. Rape victims go through such a trauma that paralyzes many of them into keeping quiet. Thus, a third party who witnesses or who has knowledge of a rape incident may take the initial step towards the prosecution for rape. To allay the fears of some that this may result in the sullied reputation of the alleged victim, measures can be put in place to ensure respect for the privacy of the woman. In any case, the rape victim retains her right not to go through the legal process.

Moreover, classifying rape as a crime against persons and not a crime against chastity is only making it conform to the true nature of the offense. That is, that rape is an assault on a woman's person and dignity.

5. They said:

Mere verbal resistance to rape is not sufficient evidence of lack of consent. And women, with their "Hele hele bago quiere" behavior will be able to lie about their earlier consent to sexual intercourse and unjustly accuse their partner.

SIBOL answers:

The bill simply says that verbal resistance is prima facie evidence that a woman did not consent to the sexual act. This provision of the bill intends to give weight to a woman's verbal expression of refusal to have sex. As of now, trial courts require women to resist tenaciously for there to be rape, without taking into account other circumstances.

If there were really no rape, the accused can always dispute with counter-evidence. This provision then should not put fear in the hearts of men who know how to respect a woman's NO.

6. They said:

The death penalty for heinous crimes takes into account aggravating circumstances

and renders unnecessary a new law with increased penalties.

SIBOL answers:

H.B. 4228 is about broadening the definition of rape to include the various violations that should be considered rape, and about making women-sensitive the procedure for the prosecution of rape cases. It does not propose death penalty and instead proposes to retain the penalty of reclusion perpetua for rape.

R.A. 7659 (increasing the penalty for rape under certain circumstances) does not address the concerns covered by H.B. 4228.

7. They said:

Women advocates and NGOs do not need to intervene in the legislative process. Their lack of capability may lead them to create confusion, legally untenable situations and additional distress for the offended parties or the accused. Legislation is better in the hands of experienced (and predominantly male) legislators who know how best to protect women.

SIBOL answers:

Surely, the legislators could not claim expertise in rape cases, particularly in the experiences and violations of women. Surely also, law-making is not only about legal argumentation and legalese. Law-making is about people; and making a law on rape is about women — women who have been violated since time immemorial. SIBOL believes that the women are the best articulators of their needs based on their life experiences and realities not lived (and can never be lived) by men. Women possess technical expertise — in particular, SIBOL and its supporters include in its ranks experienced women trial lawyers, social scientists, and other advocates — and more importantly, the women who have experienced the violations.

Republic of the Philippines
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Quezon City

First Regular Session

House Bill No. 4223

Introduced by Honorable Ecleo

EXPLANATORY NOTE

Of all the crimes of violence against women, it is rape that meets universal condemnation as the most savage attack on women's physical, sexual, and human integrity. In one sense, this abhorrence appears to defend women. However, it is also evident of the patriarchal definition of sexuality as constituting the central element of women's identity. This makes possible the phenomenon of the profound devaluation of women who have fallen victims to this crime. This vicious cycle must be broken by radical changes of attitude and behavior that the law, too, must promote and reflect.

According to a former AFP Chief, four cases of rape are reported daily. Police sources on the other hand estimate that only two out of ten rapes are reported. These estimates and the many rape cases brought to women's organizations all point to the undeniable reality that rape is an extremely prevalent occurrence.

The tragic silence of rape victims may be traced to interlocking socio-cultural factors compounded by a legal system that is not from women's perspective. And no example can be so illustrative as the present law on rape, which not only is antiquated but is grossly inadequate, insensitive and unresponsive to the women's situation.

Under the Revised Penal Code, rape is classified as a crime against chastity. It is committed by having carnal knowledge of a woman under any of the following circumstances: (1) by force or intimidation; (2) when the woman is deprived of reason or otherwise unconscious; and (3) when the woman is under twelve (12) years of age, even though neither of the circumstances mentioned in the two next preceding paragraphs shall be present.

The classification of rape as a crime against chastity is inconsistent with the true nature of the offense. Nowhere in the present legal definition of rape is it required that the offended party be celibate or a virgin.

Inasmuch as the loss of the offended party's chastity is not the basis for punishing the offender, there is no reason to classify rape as a crime against chastity. But more importantly, rape violates not merely the chastity but the very core of the victim's person, like murder or homicide, which are considered as crimes against persons.

Reclassifying rape as a crime against persons would convert it from a private to a public offense. This would in turn eliminate the requirement that complaints for rape be signed by the complainant under oath, otherwise, the court does not acquire jurisdiction over the case. Thus, a complaint may be filed by any citizen, facilitating prosecution of the offense and diminishing the probability of an offender going unpunished due to the unwillingness of a victim or her family to personally initiate the relieving of her trauma.

The current definition of rape is inadequate inasmuch as it uses penile penetration of the vagina as the index in determining its commission. But rape law, to be reflective of the guarantee of equality found in the Constitution, must be concerned with vindicating the violated rights of a human being. It must surmount the current penile penetration-centered framework to encompass sexual violations using objects or targetting other orifices of the human body. This new approach would also end the notion that only a woman can be a rape victim.

Other avenues for female discrimination exist. One is, ironically, the woman's traditional bastion, the domestic arena. Here a husband is automatically exculpated from liability for the rape of his wife, in accordance with settled jurisprudence. This notion stems from the ancient common law doctrine that a wife surrenders herself onto her husband by virtue of their mutual matrimonial consent and contract. But a husband does not own his wife's body by reason of marriage. What the husband and wife have is a right of consortium which includes the right to have sexual relations with each other but cannot be enforced in such a way as to violate a woman's right to liberty. This anomalous situation in the law must be explicitly cured.

Evidentiary requirements in our present jurisprudence make it extremely difficult for a victim to prove the commission of rape and in fact impose additional burdens on the complaint. The courts continue to admit evidence regarding complainant's sexual history on the theory that prior sexual conduct is indicative of a tendency to consent more readily to the sexual act. Thus the complainant must shoulder the burden of defending the most private facets of her life, an experience most victims choose to avoid by refraining from filing charges against the culprit. These

Victims in rape cases are further discouraged by the skepticism and lack of sympathy displayed by predominantly male investigating officers. Medico-legal examinations become traumatic experiences due to the likelihood of morbidly curious onlookers and the absence of female assistants to provide moral support and solicitude. Accordingly, training programs on rape and gender sensitization should be instituted for law enforcement agents, and rape crisis centers established. And to protect the victim's right to privacy, sanctions must be set up against media entities seeking to capitalize on his or her anguish.

Rape is a transgression not only upon the mores of society and chastity of the individual, but basically upon the fundamental rights of every person. The Philippine Government has the duty and obligation to safeguard these rights in a manner that promotes fairness and equality for every individual in our society. Echoing the principles in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the Constitution declares that "The State values the dignity of every human person and guarantees full respect for human rights." At the same time, it affirms that the State shall recognize the role of women in nation-building and shall ensure the fundamental equality before the law of women and men.

Despite the optimism of international documents and constitutional guarantees, Philippine laws are far from eliminating gender bias and from integrating the women's point of view and experience. Radical reforms in our law, based upon an uncompromising analysis of the Philippine culture, are imperative.

In view of the foregoing, and to realize the true intentions of the framers of our Constitution and the drafters of the pertinent international instruments with respect to the basic human rights of individuals including the fundamental equality of all persons before the law, the immediate approval of this Bill is therefore strongly urged.

(SGD.) GLENDA B. ECLEO

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

True or false: Guide to sexual assault

FIRST of all, my congratulations to the women reporters (and one male) of the *Chronicle* who put together last Sunday's "package" of stories on rape and other crimes of violence against women.

I was especially touched by Germaine L. de Peralta's account, "How I was almost raped and killed," detailing her harrowing brush with a pair of would-be rapists in 1989. The story shows in painstaking detail how easily, casually, one woman, *any* woman, could end up getting raped and killed. As in Germaine's case, it was simply a matter of getting into the wrong taxi cab. Her experience also illustrated the victim's sense of isolation -- despite her screams from inside the cab, and her pleas for help after she jumped off the moving vehicle, no one bothered to help or just ask what was the matter. Even worse was the indifference and rudeness shown by police at the EDSA-Kamias station when she went there the next day to report the near-rape.

Which reminds me of a complaint of a rape victim who went to Quezon City Station 5 in the hope of getting a sympathetic hearing there, since it is the first station with a women's desk "womanned" by supposedly trained police-women.

The victim complains that when the police-woman found out she was 30 and single, the policewoman crudely remarked: "Well, you should be grateful you finally had a taste (of sex)!"

LAST July 31, I reported on the results of a survey sponsored by the Canadian government in which more than half of the 420 women respondents said they had been victims of rape or attempted rape.

Perhaps that is why crimes of violence against women are taken seriously in Canada. Recently, former Sunday Inquirer staffwriter Lani Montreal sent a packet of materials on sexual harassment and other women-specific crimes prepared by the On-

At Large

Rina
Jimenez David



office working on issues of equity in the workplace and violence against women.

Among the materials is a flyer on "Sexual Assault: Dispelling the Myths" that, I feel would be a useful guide in discussing, analyzing and reporting rape and similar crimes. Though written by and for Canadians, the guide is still very much applicable to local conditions:

TRUE or False?

• Sexual assaults are most often committed by strangers.

False. It is estimated that the majority of women (68.5 to 83 percent) are sexually assaulted by men they know.

• The best way for a woman to protect herself from sexual assault is to avoid being alone at night in a dark, deserted place, such as an alley or parking lot.

False. Most sexual assaults occur in a private home (60 percent), and the largest percentage of these (38 percent) occur in the victim's home. The next most common location is someone's car.

• Men are the victims of sexual assault as often as women and children.

False. It is estimated that 27 percent of women (one in four) are raped or sexually assaulted at some point in their lives. Of these offenses, 99 percent are committed by men.

The number of men who have been sexually assaulted is lower (roughly one in five to seven). These assaults largely occur to males under the age of 13, while women are sexually assaulted at any age. In approximately 95 percent of the cases of sexual assault of men, the offender is male.

But regardless of the different rates of the effects of sexual assault on female, male adults and children are extremely serious and can be equally damaging.

• Men who sexually assault women are either mentally ill or sexually starved.

False. Sexual assault is a crime of power, control and violence. Men who assault are "sick," mentally ill or sexually starved. Studies and research on the psychological profiles of rapists overwhelmingly reveal that they are "ordinary, normal" average men.

• ONLY young and attractive women are sexually assaulted.

False. Sexual assault happens to women of all ages and physical types, from all cultural, racial, religious and socio-economic backgrounds, including native, immigrant, rural and elderly women, and women with disabilities. Young women are at a greater risk, however, for "date rape" -- sexual assault by men they know, for example, boyfriends, dates or male classmates.

• Women provoke sexual assault by their appearance or behavior. Women who are sexually assaulted "ask for it."

False. Women always have a right to say no to sexual involvement. What a woman wears, where she goes, what she drinks, whom she talks to does not mean she is inviting sexual assault. The idea that women "ask for it" is often used by men who assault to rationalize their behavior. This attitude is also reflected in the media's portrayal of women and in pornographic material.

• Even though a woman says "no," she secretly enjoys being forced to have sex.

False. When a woman says no, some men don't listen. They think she really means "maybe" or "yes." Some men even believe that women secretly want or deserve to be raped. This is not true. "No" means "no" whatever the situation.

(More tomorrow)

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Two Senate panels endorse bill on rape

By LYNDA T. JUMILLA

TWO Senate committees have endorsed a bill redefining rape, reclassifying it from being a crime against chastity to one against persons, and expanding its scope to include marital transgression.

The committees on constitutional amendments chaired by Sen. Jose Lina Jr., and women by Sen. Anna Dominique Coseteng called Senate Bill 1413 "a landmark law that will change the way society looks at women rape-victims."

SB 1413 was reported out for floor debates amid a surge of sexually related crimes against women, and the inclusion of rape in the proposed list of heinous crimes punishable by death.

In redefining rape, the bill seeks to update the traditional notion of the crime as "having carnal knowledge with a woman against her will."

Rape, the bill states, is also committed with the insertion of any instrument or object or any part of another person's body into the genital or anal openings of a woman.

"Verbal objection or physical resistance in any degree of a woman against any form of sexual harassment or carnal knowledge shall be a strong reason to show lack of consent," it adds.

The victim's sexual history or the nature of her work, it also states, "shall not be construed as indicative of consent, nor shall it be considered as tending to establish improbability of the crime."

SB 1413 seeks to put the phrase "marital rape" in the

statute books.

"The fact alone that the offender is the lawful husband of the offended party will not negate the commission of the offense, if carnal knowledge is committed against the will of the wife and under scandalous circumstances," it points out.

A husband is also considered as having raped his wife if, at the time of the act, he is afflicted with AIDS or any sexually transmissible disease, has abandoned her without justification for at least a year, or has been charged with bigamy or concubinage.

By classifying rape as a crime against person, the bill enables the state to press charges against the offender even without the victim's consent.

Under its present category as a private crime, only the victim, her parents or guardian may file a complaint against the offender.

The bill requires law enforcers to conduct an investigation of a rape complaint within 24 hours from its filing, under penalty of imprisonment or suspension from service.

The bill allows a victim to press for moral damages under certain circumstances.

The bill provides for a package of support services such as the establishment of "women's crisis center" in health units in each municipality for immediate medical examination of, counselling to and other health services for victims.

It also encourages teaching "gender sensitivity and legal management of rape" to law enforcers and barangay officials for better understanding of the trauma undergone by rape victims.

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Cops note rape cases on the rise

Aug 20

THE Philippine National Police yesterday reported a surge in rape cases throughout the country but noted a drop in kidnappings.

The PNP average monthly crime rate showed a 12-percent rise in the number of rape cases nationwide, the highest increase among other crimes.

Senior Supt. Reynaldo Wycoco, PNP deputy chief for police relations, blamed the upsurge in rape cases to the proliferation of smut magazines, newspapers, posters and movies.

Last year, 2,149 rape cases were reported nationwide compared with only 1,046 in 1987. During the first six months of this year, 1,127 rape cases have already been recorded.

Among the latest victims was Eileen Sarmenta, a 20-year-old UP Los Baños student who was gang-raped and later killed in

See COPS, P. 10

Cops... (From page 1)

Calauan, Laguna, on June 29. The town mayor, Antonio Sanchez, and six of his henchmen have been charged with rape with homicide.

Another victim was Roselyn Federico, a 23-year-old cashier who was also gang-raped and killed in Marikina in July. Six suspects have been arrested and charged; one is still at large.

The PNP claimed solving three out of four criminal cases. In a related development, PNP spokesman Supt. George Alifio reported that kidnappings have been waning.

Alifio said that from Jan 1 to Aug. 18 this year, 21 kidnappings cases, involving

30 victims, have been recorded -- eight in Metro Manila, 11 in Mindanao and one each in Central Visayas and Central Luzon.

An anti-crime watch group, however, said its tally showed 91 people had been abducted around the country since January.

At least 180 people, many belonging to rich Filipino-Chinese families, have been seized by kidnap-for-ransom gangs during the past 18 months, the Movement for the Restoration of Peace and Order (MRPO) said.

Six of the victims kidnapped this year died in captivity or in shootouts between

police and the kidnapers, according to the MRPO, a private group formed by local Filipino-Chinese businessmen to monitor the crime situation.

The latest victims were two 12-year-old school girls kidnapped in nearby Bulacan province on Tuesday but rescued by police a few hours later.

Vice President Joseph Estrada, head of the Presidential Anti-Crime Commission in charge of tracking down criminals, dismissed the group's report as exaggerated.

He said only four kidnapping incidents had been reported to the PACC since February when police broke up the notorious Red Scorpion Group. *With a Reuter re-port*

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Woman power and the rape bill

NOW that the bills reinstating the death penalty for heinous crimes are in conference committee, perhaps both houses of Congress would act with greater dispatch on the bill redefining the crime of rape.

The bill, filed in the House by Rep. Glenda Ecleo and in the Senate by Sen. Nikki Coseteng, would redefine rape from a crime against chastity to a crime against persons, make the law more responsive to the reality of rape and its various forms, as well as spare the victim unnecessary trauma while providing funds for counselling and therapy.

In previous columns, I neglected to mention that the bill is actually the result of national consultations conducted by SIBOL (Sama-Samang Inisyatiba ng Kababaihan sa Pagbabago ng Batas at Lipunan), an alliance of 13 women's organizations working for pro-women legislation.

In a letter, SIBOL convenors Eleanor C. Conda of the Women's Legal Bureau and Socorro L. Reyes of the Congressional Research and Training Service, clarify that the draft bills were the result of the integration of "the experience, the needs, and the positions of women from all over the country on the issue of rape."

They add: "The SIBOL bill not only makes significant changes to what women perceive as inadequate, unjust, and outmoded provisions on rape in the Revised Penal Code, it is a rare and important instance of the base expressing itself and participating in political processes. It is a concretization of the much-trumpeted and generally hollow slogan of 'empowerment' that we feel merits attention and support."

HERE'S something for ethics in journalism class:

In the Sunday Times (Aug. 15), a woman -- her face in shadow, dark bars across appropriate body parts -- is pictured standing before a pot-bellied cop.

The caption states: "This dancer was caught dancing naked late Friday at a Novaliches bar, but even at the Novaliches po-

At Large

Rina
Jimenez David



lice station she was not allowed to put her clothes on. The cops thought it was funny."

The caption-writer's anger is obvious, motivated no doubt by a desire to avenge the humiliation forced on the woman by those porcine police at the Novaliches station. At the very least, an investigation by PNP authorities is called for, as well as the suspension of the station chief and the policemen on duty.

It could be argued that without the photo, even the most impassioned description could not adequately portray the woman's degradation. Still, one can't help feeling queasy at the sight of the photo, on the front page of the Times, at that. Where to draw the line between a victim's privacy, and the public good (who knows how many women were similarly victimized by the Novaliches cops)? Comments would be welcome.

TO continue with yesterday's primer dispelling the myths surrounding sexual assault (prepared by the Ontario Women's Directorate):

• It is not really sexual assault if weapons or physical violence are not used or if the victim is not hysterical.

False. Most sexual assaults are committed by an acquaintance who is more likely to use tricks, verbal pressure, threats or mild force (e.g. arm twisting or pinning down the victim) during an assault. This does not change the nature of the act.

And while a woman who has been assaulted may be hysterical, her immediate reaction is more often shock and disbelief -- a response which can be misinterpreted as calmness.

• If a sexually assaulted woman is physically harmed, she will not suffer long-term effects.

False. Even if they have not been physically harmed, women who have been sexually assaulted often suffer from severe psychological and physical health problems. These problems may include depression, confusion, nightmares, eating disorders, anxiety and flashbacks. In five sexual assault victims attempts suicide.

• If there were more counselling services for men who assault, the problem of sexual assault would be solved.

False. In the long term, the problem of sexual assault cannot be solved only by assisting offenders. This approach obscures the systemic nature of sexual violence against women and children. It is also necessary to address cultural attitudes and traditional sex role stereotypes that promote violence against women.

• WOMEN lie about being sexually assaulted, often because they feel guilty about having sex.

False. Sexual assault really happens to people you know, by people you know. Findings from a research study conducted in Winnipeg indicate that 87 percent of sexual assault victims did not report the crime to the police. A further 12 percent told no one at all. An American study found that 42 percent of the victims surveyed never told anyone about the sexual assault.

• A woman who has agreed to sex previously with the same partner (for example her husband or boyfriend) cannot be raped.

False. Sexual assault occurs whenever a person does not want to have sex but is forced to do so.

• If a man -- for example, a husband, boyfriend or acquaintance -- buys a woman dinner or drinks or gives her a present or does her a favor, she owes him sex.

False. No one owes anyone else sex as payment for such gestures.

FRAMEWORK FOR WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

BY

SOCORRO L. REYES, Ph.D.

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WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS:
A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

by

Dr. Socorro L. Reyes
Executive Director
Congressional Research and Training Service

INTRODUCTION

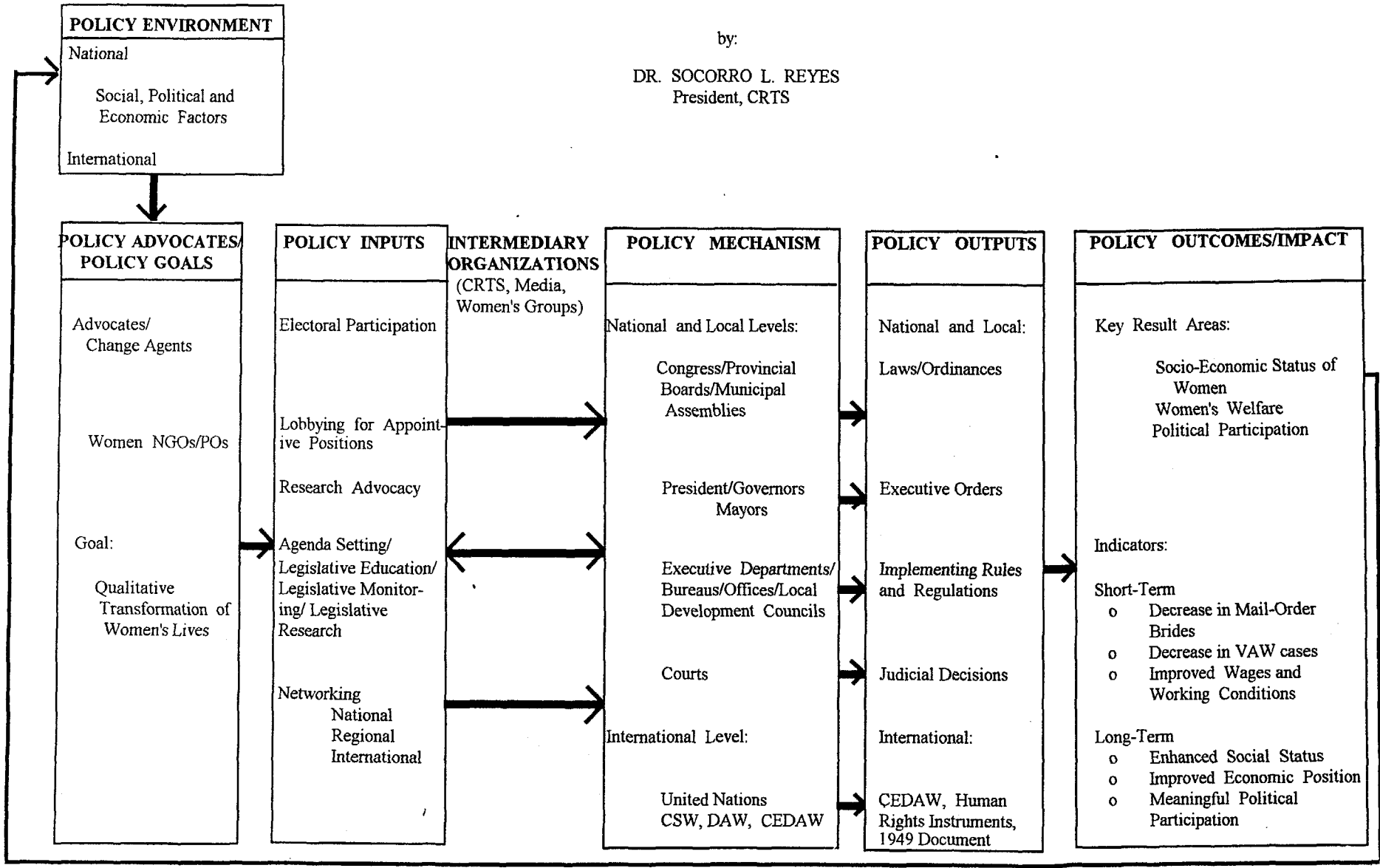
It is commonly believed that the number of women elected to formal positions of political authority in both the national and local levels of government is a most reliable indicator of women's enhanced participation in politics. If that were the case, then the Philippines is in pretty good shape. In the last general election of 1992, there was a marked increase in the number of women elected to public office at all levels of government. In the national legislature, four (4) out of twenty-four (24) seats in the Senate or 16.7% were won by women while twenty-one (21) out of one hundred ninety-eight (198) seats or 10.6% went to women. In the provincial level where 73 positions for governor and vice-governor were at stake, women won five (5) or 6.8% of the former and six (6) or 8.2% of the latter. The women won even more seats in the legislative assembly or provincial board obtaining sixty-eight (68) out of six hundred fifty (650) seats or 10.5%. In the cities, among sixty (60) mayors elected, three (3) were women (5%) and among the same number of vice-mayors (60), there were five (5) women (8.3%). Out of 1,542 municipalities, women became mayors in ninety-eight (98) or 6.4% and vice-mayors in one hundred twenty-two (122) or 7.9%. Finally, women won 1,644 city and municipal council seats out of 13,052 contested nationwide (12.59%).

This paper however argues that in broadening and deepening women's participation in politics, one has to look not only at the quantitative increase in elected women powerholders but its impact on the qualitative transformation of women's lives. More specifically, it suggests a framework which views politics in terms of how policy decisions affecting women are made and how they can affect the process. It also puts emphasis on evaluating the social outcomes of policy outputs in the attainment of policy goals through the development of short-term and long-term indicators of their impact.

FRAMEWORK FOR WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

by:

DR. SOCORRO L. REYES
President, CRTS



POLICY ENVIRONMENT

Very basic in enhancing women's participation in the policy process is understanding the policy environment within which women's issues are embedded and situated. In most developing societies, women's issues are considered by most policy-makers as part of the broader and larger socio-economic problems of society and are not treated as separate and distinct. In fact, they are hardly part of the policy agenda and are categorized as "soft" issues as differentiated from "hard" issues such as economic reform, defense, foreign policy, etc.. Some legislators even consider identification with women's issues as counterproductive and may jeopardize their reelection bids. They claim to have bigger national constituencies composed of women and men.

Yet, women who constitute more than 40% of the work force in the Philippines continue to receive wages lower than men: 37 centavos to the male P1.00 (\$1=P27). Women are predominantly in social and personal services, retail trade and manufacturing, with little access to executive and managerial positions.

Health services for women continue to be poor and deficient. The ratio of professional care to pregnant women is one (1) doctor to 800 women or one (1) nurse for 620 women. Maternal mortality rates stood at 10 deaths to 10,000 live births in 1989. Yearly estimates for induced abortions are between 155,000 and 750,000. In terms of women's nutrition, 70% of the women show signs of nutritional deficiency such as anemia.

The year-end report of the Philippine National Police showed that while there was a general decrease of crimes committed in 1993, there was a marked increase in the number of rape-slays particularly in the National Capital Region. Women NGOs estimate that up to 80% of women in their areas experience battering.

This is the social, economic and political context for women's participation in the policy process. Politics is a means, a vehicle for the qualitative transformation of women's lives.

ADVOCATES/CHANGE AGENTS

The principal change agents in this framework are women's organizations which exist in great numbers in the Philippines. Practically all sectors in Philippine society have an organized group of women: the rural peasantry (KABAPA, acronym for katipunan ng Bagong Pilipina or Union of New Filipinas); urban factory workers (KMK, Kilusan ng mga Manggagawang kababaihan or Movement of Women Workers); the urban poor (SAMAKA, Samahan ng mga Maralitang Kababaihan or Society of Urban Poor Women); the studentry (SAMA-KANA, Samahan ng mga Maralitang Kababaihan or Society of Women Students); church workers (Women Committee of the National Council of Churches of the Philippines); and university-based intellectuals (KALAYAAN or Freedom).

Aside from the sectoral basis, women's groups can also be differentiated by the issues they address: WOMANHEALTH focuses on women's reproductive health rights; the Women's Legal Bureau (WLB) on women's legal rights; the Media Watch of PILIPINA and the Women's Media Circle bat for nonsexism in advertising and other media forms; the Women for Education, Development, Productivity, Research Organization (WEDPRO) works for the protection of the welfare and interests of prostituted women; the Women Studies Association of the Philippines (WSAP) deals with the promotion of gender fair education in all levels of the school system; the Women's Crisis Center (WCC) provides counselling and shelter for victims of rape, incest, and domestic violence; and WICCA (Women Involved in Creating Cultural Alternatives) aims to give a feminist context to the projection of women in all literature forms.

Ideology is another criterion that can be used for categorizing women's groups. The more conservative, traditional groups include the National Council of Women, the Catholic Women's League and the National Federation of Women's Clubs which are strong advocates of welfare measures for women. The more militant and radical groups are organized in a coalition called GABRIELA, the first name of the woman warrior (Gabriela Silang) who fought the Spanish colonizers in the eighteenth century and also the acronym for the General Assembly Binding Women for Reform, Integrity, Equality, Leadership, and Action. This mass-based, nation-wide group not only addresses women's issues like sex-based exploitation in the workplace, domestic violence and rape, mail-order brides, reproductive freedom but also broader national issues like the military bases, the national debt crisis, government corruption, violation of human rights, foreign investments, poverty, etc.. The GABRIELA leadership is also keen on feminism, a framework that is similarly strongly identified with another women's group, PILIPINA which has done pioneering work in research and advocacy in the area of child care and nonsexism in media.

Research and resource centers on women have also emerged: the Women's Resource and Research Center (WRRC), the Center for Women's Resources (CWR), St. Scholastica's Institute of Women's Studies, and the UP Center for Women Studies, to name a few.

Women's organizations have formed networks to strengthen their ties: the **Group of Ten** is composed of GABRIELA, KABAPA, CWR, KALAYAAN, the Women's Committee of the National Council of Churches of the Philippines (NCCP), Women Development and Technology Institute (WDTI), WRRC, WSAP, and WICCA. Another network is the **Women's Action Network for Development (WAND)** which brought together a hundred women's organizations, social development and research institutions, and mixed NGOs with women's programs. These two major networks have linked themselves up in a mechanism called Development Initiatives for Women Alternatives and Transformational Action or DIWATA.

While most of these groups used protest politics like marches,

rallies, and demonstrations to push their agenda in the past, a significant number has mainstreamed in the legislative process to address the needs and problems of women. In fact, new feminist coalitions were formed lately for more effective legislative advocacy. The two major ones are **SIBOL** for Sama-samang Inisyatiba ng Kababaihan sa Pagbabago ng Batas at Lipunan or Consolidated Initiatives of Women for the Reform of Law and Society and **UKP** or Ugnayan ng mga Kababihan sa Pulitika or Union of Women in Politics. The former is a coalition of thirteen women's groups committed to : 1) advance the women's cause in and through the law; 2) help define women's needs and interests through legislation; 3) establish standards in the law for the recognition and guarantee of women's basic human rights; 4) pave the way for the creation of a women's vote and work for its strengthening; 5) complement and strengthen other forms of action for women; and 6) raise the consciousness of women and the general public on the law and the legislative process as they affect women's concerns.

The UKP on the other hand is an alliance of women from nongovernmental organizations, the academe, the bureaucracy and women involved in electoral politics. It aims to strengthen the participation of women in politics and public policy, to advocate and work for more women in decision-making positions in NGOs, the academe, the bureaucracy and other institutions of government.

POLICY INPUTS

Women's groups have provided inputs to the policy process by influencing both the selection of power holders and the formulation of policies by the latter. The former is usually done by providing electoral support for candidates strong on women's issues and lobbying for the appointment of women to cabinet and other important executive positions.

In the elections of May, 1992, the UKP formulated a ten-point agenda which "addresses the phenomenon of oppression as it affects women as well as others who are victims of an unjust socioeconomic and political order." While addressing broad national issues such as peace, environment, and efficient social service delivery, it also dealt with issues specific to women like sexual harassment in the workplace and discrimination in hiring on the basis of sex; reproductive health rights; protection of women from violence; and women's representation in policy-making bodies.

In the matter of appointment of women to positions in the executive branch, UKP came up with a list of names selected on the basis of merit and competence for consideration by the newly-elected President. It also devised a mechanism for the selection of nominees to sectoral seats in Congress for the youth, women, urban poor, labor, cultural communities, veterans/elderly, fisherfolks, other abled, and farmers. Unfortunately, up to now, no sectoral representative for women has been confirmed yet by the Commission on Appointments although two names were already sub-

mitted by the President. Neither is there any woman among those already appointed to represent the peasants, the urban poor, labor, and cultural communities.

Aside from providing support during elections for candidates endorsing the women's agenda and lobbying for the appointment of more women to key executive posts, women's groups also furnish inputs to policy-makers and implementors in the form of data on women's issues such as rape, domestic violence, prostitution, etc. in the course of advocating for the passage of legislation that will address these dangers and protect women. This intervention is necessary as studies show that an increase in the number of women in Congress is not enough to ensure the passage of pro-women legislation. While it is true that in the past Congress (1987-1992) where 10% of the members were women, six laws promoting the interests of women were enacted out of 104 bills and resolutions (5.76%), it is equally true that most of these were introduced not by the women legislators but by men. These laws dealt with prohibition of discrimination against women in the workplace, banning of the mail order bride business, setting up of day care centers in every barangay, increasing maternity leave in the private sector from 45 to 60 days, designation of March 8 as National Women's day, and integration of women as equal partners of men in development and nation-building.

The new Congress elected in May, 1992 with four (4) women Senators and twenty-one (21) women Representatives is expected to fare better than its predecessor but if current trends are any indication of the future of women's legislation, the prospects seem to be not so bright. As of the end of last year when Congress adjourned for a month-long recess, there were 174 bills and resolutions affecting women in both houses. However, except for three bills in the Senate and two in the House which have passed third reading, and seven bills with committee reports, all the rest are pending in the committees. This Congress has barely a year to go and women advocacy groups are fast tracking their lobby efforts to get meaningful legislation addressing women's problems passed.

Top in its list of legislative priorities is the passage of the rape bill which has already passed committee deliberations in the Senate but still awaits committee consideration in the House of Representatives. Considered a radical measure by conservative legislators, the bill seeks to redefine rape from a crime against chastity to a crime against persons, expands its coverage beyond penile penetration of the vagina to the insertion of objects to anal and oral orifices, penalizes marital rape, changes evidentiary requirements, mandates support services for rape victims including setting up of crisis centers, and requires the training of law enforcement officers handling rape cases.

SIBOL is stepping up its advocacy efforts for the passage of the rape bill which includes mail barrage, media blitz, grassroots mobilization, distribution of information kits on rape, etc..The

importance of legislative advocacy in pushing for the women's agenda was underscored in the SIBOL Statement of Unity forged during its launching on July 22, 1992:

Legislative advocacy for women can be a strategy for change. It must establish new levels of consciousness, knowledge and behavior regarding women, and must contribute to public awareness through discussion of issues. Most importantly, women's active involvement in legislative work is one answer to the inadequacy of women's participation in national processes. It is a means of ensuring that women's analyses of and solutions to problems and issues affecting them become part of the legislative process. Finally, it must serve to maximize women's individual potential and help to unite women into a force for social transformation.

INTERMEDIARY ORGANIZATIONS: THE ROLE OF CRTS

As a nongovernmental legislative development organization, the Congressional Research and Training Service (CRTS) has defined its mission in terms of bridging the gap between Congress and the people. To achieve this, CRTS provides training, research, and information services not only to Members of Congress, their staff and the committees but to organizations participating in the formulation of legislative decisions in both the local and national levels of government. While CRTS covers a wide range of policy issues such as environment and natural resources, social justice and human rights, economic reform and local government, it has a special interest on women's issues concretized through its **Women in Politics Program**.

The CRTS strategy is two-pronged: institutional capability-building and broadening citizen participation in the legislative process. The former refers to efforts at assisting the law-making body develop its technical capability to enact quality (i.e., relevant and responsive) legislation through the cultivation of skills such as legislative research, bill drafting, legislative report writing, constituency servicing, etc., and dissemination of information on the systems involved in legislation such as the committee system, floor deliberations, appropriation and authorization of the budget, and legislative oversight.

Building the capability of the law-making institution to respond effectively and efficiently to public needs and demands is a necessary but not sufficient condition for genuine democratization of the legislative process. A vital component is citizen participation and involvement which requires not only an acceptance that like it or not, it is Congress or its local counterpart that enacts laws no matter how bad or low its public image is, but also an awareness of how it does or does not do its work and what strategic options are available to women's organizations interested in making a difference in the formulation and implementation of decisions that affect their lives.

As an intermediary organization in the policy environment committed to make women determine the thrust and direction of public policy on issues impacting on their situation, the CRTS developed a Women in Politics program that has four (4) interrelated components: 1) Legislative Agenda Setting; 2) Legislative Education and Advocacy; 3) Legislative Monitoring; and 4) Legislative Research.

Legislative Agenda Setting

While CRTS is quite critical of the "Increase the Number of Women In Legislatures" strategy which has worked well in advancing the women's cause in the industrialized, developed societies of the West but not quite in the non-Western world, it makes its services available to women and men seeking public office or those already elected in Congress and the local legislative assemblies, who would like to develop a legislative agenda for women. In this connection, CRTS facilitates consultation forums and legislative agenda-setting seminars such as those conducted in Pangasinan in Luzon, Bacolod City in the Visayas, and Zamboanga del Sur in Mindanao (the country's three major island groupings) in the May, 1992 general election under its "Grassroots Women's Political Participation Project."

Drawing largely from women in the grassroots such as peasants, fisherfolks, health workers, and community organizers, the seminar unfolded in two stages: gender sensitivity and agenda setting. The former enabled the women to have an individual reflection about themselves, their experiences as women and identify what factors impede their development as persons. In the process, they were able to surface issues affecting them as women which should be included in the legislative agenda of women and men running for public office at all levels of government. Among these are reproductive health, domestic violence, sex role differentiation in the household and the community, economic empowerment, prostitution, gender discrimination in the workplace, military abuse and rape of women. Beyond the discussion on issues confronting women, the participants agreed on strategies of advocacy such as presentation of their legislative agenda to the candidates in public forums and devising a mechanism to hold them accountable to their electoral promises and commitment.

Using the evocative approach, discussions on women's issues and concerns were done using popular education techniques such as theater arts, community singing, role playing and games. These techniques proved very effective in surfacing the participants' personal experiences which enabled them to identify directly and concretely with the issues and responses that they raised. CRTS' role was to facilitate rather than teach, share rather than preach.

Legislative Education and Advocacy

Legislative education is more than understanding the legislative mill or the various stages of law-making that is usually captured

in diagrams produced by educational institutions, monitoring and rating organizations, or the Secretariat of Congress itself. It involves more than a familiarization with the structures and processes of legislation. It means some degree of intimacy with the constantly changing legislative environment which to our reckoning has the following essential components: entry points, choke points, key informants and access persons.

In the legislative education and advocacy seminars conducted by the CRTS, we alert women's organizations of **entry points** in both the formal and informal structures of political power in the legislature. The former includes the Secretariat especially the committees and the political organization composed of the Speaker, the Protempore, the Majority and the Minority floor leaders. The latter includes the party alliances, shifting coalitions, the trend setters in voting, etc.. As much as possible, we share with them "who gets what, when, and how in Congress."

Choke points or levels at which the advocacy process maybe temporarily stalled or halted while easy to identify may not be that easy to declog or decongest. This is especially true at the committee stage where a bill's life or death is initially decided. In the Philippines where there are no rules limiting the time allotted for committee consideration of legislative proposals, CRTS advises women's organizations to work through the committee secretaries, the Members' technical staff, their consultants, collectively labelled as "**key informants.**" This is now what advocates of the Anti-Rape bill which has languished in the House Committee on Justice since its referral about a year ago, are attempting to do. Except for one hearing, the bill has hibernated reportedly because its provisions are too radical. The other possible course of action suggested is to request for a change of committee with the consent of the Chair of the original committee, of course. This is usually expedited if a functional relationship exists with the committee secretary.

To assist lobby groups in this kind of activity, CRTS has come up with a "Citizen's Guide to Congress" which contains not only office addresses and telephone numbers but also the Members' key staff, their committee positions, etc.. This is of course a risky and tedious task in the Philippines as committee assignments keep on changing depending on the results of intermittent power struggles in the leadership of both houses. CRTS has also popularized the tactics of lobbying through the publication of a comics on the topic.

After the regular subject committees, an extremely difficult **choke point** is the Committee on Rules which determines what bills approved by the various committees will move up to Second Reading for floor consideration and which will never see the light of dawn. This seems to be the fate of the Anti-Rape bill in the Senate whose committee report and consolidated version (Senate Bill 1413 prescribing a special law on rape) was submitted almost a year ago but is not scheduled for floor deliberations yet. CRTS suggests that women advocacy groups work on the staff of the

Committee on Rules to ask their principal to include this bill in Special Orders so deliberations can follow immediately.

Access persons are those in formal positions of authority such as chairs and vice-chairs of committees and subcommittees, sectoral representatives and those strongly identified with key issues who can be expected to initiate, author, defend, and muster floor votes for a bill being pushed by advocacy groups. These access persons must be regularly provided reliable and adequate research data combined with face to face interaction in consultative dialogues. The relationship should be mutually beneficial: the Member should be able to get a lot of mileage from this relationship in terms of winning VOTES which basically requires that advocacy groups develop a strong, big, national grassroots base that can be mobilized during elections.

If there are access persons in Congress, there must be obstructionists, too. In its seminars, CRTS examines possible alternative courses of action that women's organizations might want to consider to win over this group especially if they have the numbers to defeat a legislative proposal or possibly, wield the so-called swing vote.

Legislative Monitoring

Time is of the essence in legislative advocacy but to be able to act promptly, it is necessary that women's groups are aware of the latest developments in the committee, on the floor, and even in the bicameral conference committee. CRTS monitors all bills and resolutions on women's issues in both houses of Congress whether they be on family and marriage, violence, work, health and reproductive rights, creation of new structures, etc.. These are integrated in a quarterly publication called **Legislative Alert** which not only abstracts the essence of the bills but also reports on their status. The material has an executive summary for a quick overview of its contents, an index of bills numerically arranged with title and author for easy reference, and an appendix of sources, glossary of terms, etc..

These legislative monitors are disseminated to a diverse audience of women's organizations on a quarterly basis. Initially confined to the National Capital Region, CRTS will start working on the local level this year in response to the demands of provincial and regional women's organizations for legislative information.

CRTS legislative monitoring is not only focused on Congress but the media as well through its **Congressional Headlines**, a biweekly report on recent legislative developments in major policy areas such as economic reform, education, the electoral system, environment and natural resources, social welfare, social justice and human rights, and women's issues, as covered by major national dailies.

An analysis of the issues raised in women-focused legislation

included in the **Legislative Alert** is done in another CRTS publication called **Legislative Features**, a quarterly which examines the dimensions and implications of legislative proposals on the conditions and status of women in society. This will be expanded this year in a material soon to be released called **Issue Brief** which will analyze in greater detail subjects like violence against women, quotas for women in executive positions, the setting up of a Family Court, and the upgrading of the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women, an agency attached to the Office of the President.

Legislative Research

CRTS regularly conducts an assessment of the legislative performance of women legislators to determine whether an increase in their number contributes to the promotion of the interests and welfare of women. For the Eighth Congress (July, 1987 to May, 1992), CRTS came up with three studies, two using the feminist framework ("Strengthening the Linkage Between Selected Women's Groups and Women in Government" and "Legislative Agenda on Women's Issues for the New Philippine Congress") and another the paradigm of democratization ("The Role of Women Legislators in the Democratization Process: A Case Study of the Philippines").

In analyzing the present Congress (July, 1992 to May, 1995), CRTS will look at the extent to which women in Congress work within the parameters of transformational politics as distinguished from patronage politics in a study called "Transformational Politics and Women in the Ninth Congress: A Critical Analysis." In patronage politics, the relationship between the politician as the patron and the voter as the client is perpetuated by economic inequity where the former has monopoly or near monopoly of scarce resources such as money and land whereas the latter has virtually nothing of these means of production. As a result, politicians can order people around, dictate their electoral choices, and unilaterally determine who will benefit from public policy. Operating within the framework of patron-client relations, the power arrangement involves "the informal linkage between a political leader (patron) who is able to provide material goods and services for his political followers (clients) who, in return for the benefits received from the former reciprocate by rendering personal support and loyalty to their patron. (Lande, 1965).

Transformational politics or new politics works not only for a change of leaders but the system as well. It combines power and principle, personality and program. Thus in this research, there will be an analysis of what women legislators have done on issues such as poverty, protection of the rights of cultural communities, enhancement of people's participation, recognition of the role of women in development, balanced and healthy ecology, and public accountability.

The methods to be used in this research are: 1) review of the legislative agenda of women in the House of Representatives and

the Senate; 2) content analysis of bills and resolutions they introduced as well as those of others that they support; 3) examination of the nature of their committee leadership and membership particularly the substance of their participation in deliberations; 4) scrutiny of their interventions on the floor such as privilege speeches and interpellations; and 5) investigation of their relationship with their functional as well as geographical constituencies.

POLICY MECHANISM

A basic prerequisite for effective participation in decision-making is understanding thoroughly how the mechanism works in both theory and practice at various levels of governance. At the national level, the Philippine Constitution expressly grants the power to make laws to Congress and their implementation, to the Executive. The demarcation however between these two functions is less than clear in practice, as an activist Presidency can in truth and in fact set the legislative agenda, initiate legislation, and expedite their passage through the tool of "certification." Under this practice, any bill certified by the President does not have to undergo the requisite three readings on three separate days and copies of the final bill distributed three days before its passage. Given this situation, women's groups have to expand the scope of their advocacy to include executive departments, bureaus and offices which draft legislation on specific issues for submission to Congress. Among these are the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) which should be concerned with the plight of women migrant workers and other labor issues affecting women; the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) mandated to allocate a specific percentage of development assistance programs for women's concerns; the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) entrusted with the responsibility of providing support services for battered women; and the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW) tasked to integrate women in all spheres of national life.

The executive branch also provides the administrative apparatus that formulates rules and regulations to enforce the laws passed by Congress. It might be useful to know that about half of the bureaucracy are women although studies show that they are mostly in non-policymaking positions. The hierarchy is strongly skewed in favor of men who hold the most powerful jobs. In the present government cabinet for instance, there are only two women: the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Social Welfare and Development, the latter post is however traditionally assigned to women. Several years after the enactment of the laws prohibiting discrimination in the workplace and banning the mail order bride business, we have yet to see the mechanism for their enforcement. The Women in Nation-Building and Development Act apparently is moving ahead with the NEDA and the NCRFW as the lead implementors.

Local executives and legislators are now major players in the

policy process as the Local Government Code of 1991 (LGC) devolved vast powers, functions, responsibilities, and resources to local government units. Formerly confined to the area of general welfare, local legislatures can now enact measures on taxation, salary administration, environmental management, development planning, provincial government administration in addition to being able to contract loans and other obligations, enact their respective budgets, grant franchises and otherwise exercise their corporate powers. Local government units (LGUs) thus provide very fertile grounds for advocacy.

On top of these, the LGC also opened doors for the entry of NGOs and FOS in local policy-making through the setting up of Local Development Councils (LDCs) in all LGUs to assist the local legislature in determining the direction of economic and social development and coordinating development efforts within their respective territorial jurisdictions. NGOs operating in the local unit will constitute not less than 1/4 of the full membership of the council. They should however be accredited by the local legislative assemblies based on criteria that maybe provided for by law. Within sixty (60) days from the start of the organization of local development councils, the nongovernmental organizations should choose from among themselves their representatives to said councils:

Another innovation in the local policy mechanism is the provision for the election of three (3) sectoral representatives in the Provincial Board, one of whom shall be from the women sector. Unfortunately, this has not been operationalized until now due to the failure of Congress to pass an enabling law that will authorize and appropriate money for such election and the local politicians' hesitation to have sectoral representatives sit in the councils.

In the international level, women's groups can work through the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) particularly through its Division on the Advancement of Women (DAW) as well as the Commission for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, all of which usually have country representatives. These special bodies have regular publications that inform women world-wide about meetings, conferences, consultative forums, etc.. They also monitor the implementation of international instruments on women by the signatory countries.

POLICY OUTPUTS

Local policy decisions come in various forms: legislative enactments, local ordinances, executive orders, administrative rulings, court decisions. On an international plane, these are international conventions, treaties, agreements, instruments, etc..

Since the CRTS focuses on legislation, what follows is a brief discussion of the six laws on women passed by the last Congress.

The first law to be passed (July 25, 1988) promoting the interest of Filipino women was **Republic Act 6725** which prohibits discrimination against women with respect to terms and conditions of employment. Considered discriminatory are the payment of lesser compensation to a female employee as against a male employee for work of equal value, and favoring the latter over the former with respect to promotion, training opportunities, study and scholarship grants solely on account of their sexes.

Also one of the earliest laws on women was **Republic Act No. 6949** which declared March 8 of every year as a special working holiday to be known as National Women's Day. Often described as purely celebratory and not effecting any substantial change in women's lives, the law nevertheless draws attention to the role of women and mandates that "all heads of government agencies and instrumentalities, including government-owned and controlled corporations as well as local government units, and employers in the private sector, shall encourage and afford sufficient time and opportunities for their employees to engage and participate in any activity conducted within the premises of their respective offices or establishments to celebrate National Women's Day."

Rampant reports of crimes and abuses against Filipina mail-order brides prompted the Legislature to enact **Republic Act No. 6955** banning the "practice of matching Filipino women for marriage to foreign nationals on a mail order basis and other similar practices including the advertisement, publication, printing or distribution of brochures, flyers, and other propaganda materials." The law holds liable the manager, officer-in-charge, or advertising manager of any newspaper, magazine, television or radio station, or other media; or of an advertising agency or printing company which allows or consents to the foregoing prohibited acts. It also explicitly disallows the use of the postal service for the mail order bride business. The penalties imposed by the law are quite tough: imprisonment of not less than six years and one day but not more than eight years; and a fine of not less than P8,000 but not more than P20,000.

Of great help to working Filipino women is **Republic Act 6972** which requires every barangay to establish a day care center within the framework of the total development and protection of children. If properly implemented, working mothers with children up to six years of age can count on the availability of day care centers with "materials and a network of surrogate mother-teachers who will provide intellectual and mental stimulation to the children as well as supervised wholesome recreation, with a balanced program of supervised play, mental stimulation activities and group activities with peers. This program shall be implemented by the barangay but the Department of Social Welfare and Development will formulate the criteria for the selection, training, and accreditation of barangay day care workers and the standards for the implementation of the social development and protection of children's programs.

Still on the subject of women workers, the Eighth Congress in-

creased the coverage of maternity benefits for those in the private sector from 45 to 60 days to parallel their counterparts in government, during which period they will receive their full salary and other benefits (Republic Act No. 7322). The last legislation on women's concerns enacted by the past Congress promotes the integration of women as full and equal partners of men in development and nation-building (Republic Act No. 7192). Divided basically into two parts, the law provides that the National Economic and Development Authority, with the assistance of the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women, will make sure that "a substantial portion of official development assistance funds received from foreign governments and multilateral agencies and organizations shall be set aside and utilized by the agencies concerned to support programs and activities for women." The other part of the legislation promotes the equality of women with men in entering into contracts, membership in clubs, and admission to military schools.

POLICY OUTCOMES/IMPACT

Policy outputs are meaningful only in so far as they result to desired outcomes or impact based on the attainment of goals and objectives set by women's organizations at the very start of their involvement in the policy process. This underscores the significance of formulating objectives which have measurable end results that determine whether they are getting closer or farther from their ultimate goal.

In this framework for instance, the goal is qualitative transformation of women's lives. The objectives that women's groups can pursue are:

1. To increase the income of women to a level where they can not only provide for their basic needs but also afford to spend on activities for their full development as persons.
2. To eradicate all forms of violence against women.
3. To provide women with comprehensive health care.
4. To enable them to participate in the formulation of public policy decisions affecting their lives.

These objectives should be translated into key result areas (KRA). For objective 1, the KRA of improved socio-economic status for women might be their ability to earn enough in cash and in kind and to access sufficient external resources in order to meet not only their basic needs but pursue other interests as well. Specific performance indicators should proceed from the KRA. A quantified income level must be set as the benchmark. For objective 2, the KRA of protection of women can be measured in terms of the number of rape-slay cases solved, the number of mail order brides rescued or foiled, etc.. Objective 3 should have the KRA of good health for women in terms of specific health results like

life expectancy, nutrition, mortality rates, work attendance, etc.. Objective 4's key result area is responsive public policy for women measured in terms of increased access to decision-making positions, number of laws enacted effectively addressing women's problems, and efficient implementation of these laws through adequate implementing rules and regulations and efficiency of enforcement agencies.

The outcome and impact of these policies will again be fed back to the policy environment and the same process begins.

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UKP Ten-Point Agenda

FY1995
WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

The Sri Lanka program's crosscutting strategy for women's participation will focus on increasing women's access to economic opportunity and influence on democratic processes in the country. The program strategy will target bottlenecks to women's participation by improving the "mobility" of women to participate in the economy and gain access to policy making levels. Those bottlenecks have been identified in the report on the Status of Women (Sri Lanka) published in March 1993, the International Centre for Ethnic Studies study on women in politics, and in the 1993 Women's Charter. Foundation programs that work towards the protection of legal rights, improved policy analysis and advocacy, more professional journalism, and the expansion of economic liberalization will help increase women's participation in the economic and political life of the country.

Grant making Strategy:

Over the past decade, the Sri Lanka country program has included a healthy mix of grants and grantee institutions concerned with women's issues. And even though the Sri Lanka program has made an effort to target women beneficiaries, gender sensitivity has not been a stated policy in the office's grant making strategy. Grantee institutions should demonstrate a commitment to including women in institutional decision making levels, as well as recipients of project assistance. While mandatory numerical targets for women's participation in programs is fine, what is more important is the quality and potential impact of women's participation at decision making levels. An additional criteria in the Sri Lanka programs grant making decisions will be based on the recipient's commitment to increasing the level of women's power and decision making in the organization. Given the high education levels of women in Sri Lanka (equal to their male colleagues) it only makes sense that women begin to take on more responsibility and decision making authority. In addition to programs support to specific women's issues and organizations, gender sensitivity and women's participation will cut across all grant making decisions.

The office will fund a consultant to write a strategic paper which identifies program opportunities that fit the overall goals, objectives and values of the Foundation. The paper will also identify areas where other donors are not working that could be a niche for the Foundation.

Problems to be Addressed

- The dearth of women at policy/decision making levels in formal politics, professional bodies and non governmental organizations. The Women In Politics program will focus on increasing women's participation at these levels. General grant funded programs will seek to increase the participation of women in the areas of law and environment.
- The lack of awareness among disadvantaged women of their legal rights and their inability to access the means to redress these rights. Foundation support for legal literacy and legal aid programs that focus on women will help to empower women.

- The need to overcome gender bias. This will be addressed through the Foundation's media programs which will focus on a gender sensitive portrayal of women and women's issues. Media and mediation training programs will also include a component on overcoming gender bias.
- Increasing women's access to economic opportunities which in turn enhances their participation in economic and political life. The setting up of a business advisory service will address this problem.

Program Strategy:

The Sri Lanka offices program strategy will seek to address the problems outlined above through specific programs under the issue areas set out below:

ISSUE AREA I: STRENGTHENING THE FORMULATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF LAW

- 1) Formal and in-service training programs for judges and lawyers will target women by: increasing women judges access to training; and promoting women lawyers as trainers in continuing legal education programs of the Bar. (Bar Association of Sri Lanka, the Judicial Services Association, and the Judges Institute)
- 2) Legal aid and literacy programs will specifically target women clients and focus on women's legal issues, i.e. alimony, land rights, labor rights, protection against violence. (Legal Aid Commission, Sarvodaya Legal Aid Centre, Women in Need, Open University Legal Aid Program, Lawyers for Human Rights and Development)
- 3) One component of the mediator training of trainers program will help mediators recognize and overcome gender bias in the mediation process. (Mediation Boards)
- 4) The WIP program with Centre for Women's Research and the Women's Bureau will promote the expansion of women leaders in formal politics and the policy making levels of leading NGOs.¹ The WIP program is also intended to increase gender sensitivity of current policy makers in government, political parties, unions, influential NGOs, and professional associations. This will be done primarily through workshops and seminars, and with the assistance of regional consultants. \$30,000 - USAID/WIP

ISSUE AREA II: ENHANCING LEGAL EDUCATION AND PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING FOR ECONOMIC REFORM

- 1) To expand economic opportunity for women, the program will help establish a business advisory, information, and research service for women entrepreneurs (collaborative effort between Sri Lanka Business Development Centre, Agromart Foundation, Women's Chamber of Commerce, and the Post Graduate Institute of Management) \$10,000 - GG

¹ See WIP Program Plan for Sri Lanka

ISSUE AREA III: STRENGTHENING COMMUNICATION FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION AND NATIONAL RECONCILIATION

- 1) Monitoring of the portrayal of women and women's issues in the media. Monitoring committees will sensitize advertisers, journalists, producers, writers and the general public to improve the portrayal of women in the media. This would be done through letters, public programs, and newspaper articles. (Cenwor) \$5,000 - GG
- 2) Journalism and media training programs will contain a component focused on women's issues and gender sensitization.

ISSUE AREA IV: STRENGTHENING PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

- 1) To enhance women's participation in environmental conservation and management of natural resources, grants will be given to women's groups working on these issues. (Women's Development Federation, Ruk Rekaganno)

Evaluation Criteria:

An in-house monitoring system will measure the impact of the introduction gender sensitivity/sensitization to grant making policy strategy. The system will identify the extent to which women are more involved in grantee activities and decision making processes. An assessment will also be carried out to determine if program opportunities identified by the consultant's strategic paper have been pursued by the Colombo office.

WOMEN IN POLITICS PROGRAM - SRI LANKA

INTERIM EVALUATION - PHASE 1

Introduction

The needs assessment that was carried out at the inception of the WIP program in Sri Lanka stated that "the lack of visibility of women in mainstream politics is echoed by the low visibility of women at the policy or decision making level in other spheres. In the areas of higher education and employment the number of women have increased considerably. However, the decision making bodies of educational institutions, professional organizations and societies, trade unions, and non-governmental organizations remain strongholds of male dominance. Despite the numerical increase of women in the membership of institutions and the workforce, there has been no corresponding increase in the number of women at the decision making or policy making level of these institutions or organizations". (Needs Assessment, Women in Politics in Sri Lanka; Kiribamune, Coomaraswamy & Jayaweera)

The Sri Lanka WIP program adopted a strategy that addressed the broader issue of women's participation in civil society rather than restricting the project to women's participation in mainstream politics. The project addresses the participation of women at the decision making or policy making level in non-governmental organizations, professional organizations, trade unions, and political parties. This will have a two fold purpose: it will make institutions and organizations sensitive to women's issues and women's empowerment in relation to the political process, and will actively involve women in the informal political processes of the country, thus opening up opportunities for women to participate in provincial and national politics.

Progress to Date

The initial project involved two grantees, the Centre for Women's Research (CENWOR) and the Women's Bureau of the Ministry of Health and Women's Affairs. (The Ministry portfolios have been revised and the current Ministry is the Ministry of Transport, Environment and Women's Affairs). Despite the initial enthusiasm of the Women's Bureau and their conviction, raise awareness and empower women at the grass roots so as to enable them to become more active in the political life of the country, the Bureau failed to get final clearance on the project from the then Minister. The ostensible reason was that the Bureau could not get involved in a sensitive project at this juncture as the parliamentary elections were due to take place in August 1994.

Thus, the Sri Lanka WIP program could only make a grant to the Centre for Women's Research. The project was divided into three phases' and partial funding was provided for two phases. Phase 1 consisted of a macro-study and a field survey on women's political participation in the broadest terms. The macro-study which involved the compilation of data on the participation of women in the legislature, in political parties, and in decision making positions in governmental and non-governmental organizations, and in associations with a public membership. This report will also contain an analysis of political party manifestos, policy documents, constitutions of political structures, trade unions and representative NGO's in order to determine their gender related policies.

The field survey will consist of urban and rural women's perceptions of their role in national and provincial politics and in decision making or policy making positions in general. Over 400 women were interviewed from widely differing backgrounds and circumstances. The following groups were covered by the survey:

urban women from three sectors - low income, middle class, and affluent,

rural women from three sectors - rural, extremely remote areas, and the plantation sectors.

women from minority groups from two sectors - in the East of the country, which is still a war zone, the groups of women were drawn from internally displaced persons as well as from groups that had been resettled. An area that is outside the war zone but contains a large number of internally displaced Muslims was also covered by the survey. Minority women under the urban and rural categories were also among the interviewees.

Senior researchers at the Centre have also begun interviewing policymakers/politicians and senior administrators.

CENWOR has commenced the collation and analysis of the responses to the field survey questionnaire. Copies of the questionnaire are attached. (Annexure 1) This process has been held up as their computer programmer was unwell for a considerable length of time. However, they expect to be able to release the findings of the survey and complete the final write up of the macro-study by the end of October 1994. An assessment of impact can only be made when these two reports are completed.

The results of Phase 1 will form the basis of activities under Phase 2. Phase 2 consists of the development of materials on gender sensitization and women's empowerment and a training of facilitators workshop conducted by an Asian consultant to provide them with some practical tools in using the materials. The facilitators will be drawn from NGO's, local government agencies and administrative agencies. This will be followed by 10 awareness raising workshops

for the following target groups, NGO's professional associations, political parties, policymakers, administrators and members of the

CENWOR, in consultation with TAF/SL, did embark on a and they identified Remedios Rikken, Executive Director of the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women. Unfortunately, Rikken is extremely enthusiastic about taking up the consultancy, will not be available until December 1994. Therefore Phase 2 of the project will be delayed.

Phase 3 consists of a follow up on the education and awareness programs conducted by CENWOR to determine the extent to which target groups improved opportunities for women to take on leadership roles and making responsibilities. This will be done by assessing the outcomes of elections, policy statements or changes in the organizational charters making women's issues and women's participation an organizational priority.

CENWOR will also publish information on the extent of women's participation in the 1994 parliamentary elections. The study will compare participation in previous elections and attempt to measure progress in improving participation. The study will also include information as to how women's issues were highlighted in manifestos, policy documents, speeches, and public debates.

As the SL WIP program is still in its initial stages, it is still too early to evaluate progress against expected outcomes. The macro-study and the field survey will be available in November and thus the independent persons who will carry out the interim assessment in mid-November will be in a better position to carry out a comprehensive evaluation of the program.

TAF/SL will amend the letter of agreement and extend the grant until March 1994. The second payment on the grant will be made in March 1994.

Current Political Environment

The parliamentary elections held in August 1994 has changed the political environment in Sri Lanka. There is an increased openness and willingness to discuss and debate public issues. It is imperative that this window of opportunity and political parties be held accountable in relation to election promises. This is a time when women's issues and participation should be brought to the forefront. The fact that there were more women candidates entering the political arena, that 10 out of 226 members of parliament are women, 3 out of 10 cabinet members are women, and the Prime Minister who is also the leader of the People's Front Party, a woman demonstrates that there is a change in public perception with more women participating at the highest levels of decision and policy making.

Thus, there will be increased opportunities to work with political parties and government organizations to increase women's participation at the decision making level.

Regional WIP programs

Participation in the Regional Workshop on Women in Politics, in Manila, in January 1994 was useful as far as CENWOR was concerned as it "helped to focus on the political participation and leadership roles of women in Asia. Membership in the APWIP network will consolidate programming links and the exchange of information and ideas. The discussions at the workshops provided useful inputs on developing the framework of the project." (Grantee report: Jayaweera)

Grantee reports on the workshop held in Bangkok in September 1994 on 'Putting Gender Issues on the Policy Agenda' have not been received by this office to date. However, meetings with the grantees prior to departure indicated that they were interested in the techniques used in other parts of Asia to achieve this goal. Thus, regional programs provide wonderful opportunities for the exchange of information and ideas and for establishing links with women's organizations in the Asian region.

Complementary projects

CENWOR's institutional commitment to this project resulted in them together with 43 local NGO's preparing a policy document on women's issues which was presented to all the political parties prior to the parliamentary elections. This document was the basis of several discussions held by this group of NGO's with some of the political parties. The United National Party's policy statement on women's issues was a verbatim copy of this document. Several of the party manifestos quoted this document in part at least.

CENWOR also produced a video, funding for which was provided by NORAD entitled 'Gender Agenda'. The video which was telecast during the parliamentary elections over national television highlighted key concerns and issues that affected women in Sri Lanka. Politicians from all the contesting political parties were interviewed as to their party's response to women's issues. The video was well received and is presently being used as informational material. It will also be used as a tool in the awareness raising workshops for targeted groups to be conducted under the this grant.

Grants that target women or women's issues and thus are complementary to the WIP project are set out in the Sri Lanka/Maldives program budget for FY 1995. The relevant pages are attached. (Annexure 2)

Annexure I

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Women's participation in politics and decision making

Section I

1. Age:
2. Marital status:
3. Number of children: below 5 yrs
5 - 11 yrs
12 - 18 yrs
4. Educational level:
5. Occupation:
6. If married, occupation of spouse:
7. If unmarried occupation of father:
mother:
8. Monthly family income : below 200
201 - 500
501 - 700
701 - 1000
1001 - 1500
1501 - 2000
2001 - 3000
3001 - 5000
5001 - 7500
7501 - 10000
above 10000

Section II - Politics

1. What do you understand by the word politics?:
2. What do you think are your political rights?
3. In your opinion what are the main issues that affect women in Sri Lanka? (e.g. democratic values, human rights, social equity, gender equality, national harmony, civic responsibility)
4. Are you a member of a political party?
5. Should women participate in politics?
 - a) if yes why and how?
 - b) if not why?
6. Would you like to participate in politics?
 - a) if yes why and in what manner?
 - b) if not why?
7. Do you think the number of women in
 - a) parliament is enough?
 - b) provincial councils is enough?
 - c) Pradeshiya Sabhas is enough?
 - d) Gramodaya Mandalavas is enough?

8. Would you like your daughter to participate in politics?
 - a) if yes how?
 - b) if not why?
9. Do you think women are sufficiently aware of the importance of political participation?
 - i a) at local level
 - b) at national level
 - c) at international level
 - ii) if not why
10. Does the education system promote awareness of the importance of political participation among women?
 - i) if yes how
11. Does the media promote awareness of political issues among women?
 - i) if yes how
 - ii) if no why?
12. What are your suggestions for
 - i) making women more aware of political issues
 - ii) making women more aware of political rights
 - iii) encouraging women in participating in politics
13. Do you think there are socio-cultural values that prevent women from participating in politics?
 - i) if so, what are they?

Section III Decision making

1. Do you think women should occupy decision making positions at the highest level in
 - a) government institutions
 - b) professional organisations
 - c) Trade Unions
 - d) NGOs
 - e) CEOs
 - i) if yes why
 - ii) if not what are the constraints
2. Do you think women are adequately represented in decision making positions?
 - a) if not why
3. Given below is a list of words/terms. Please indicate whether they describe political issues
 - a) national debt
 - b) civic responsibility
 - c) human rights

- e) democracy
- f) good governance
- g) structural adjustment
- h) cost of living
- i) free education
- j) women's rights
- k) health services
- ~~l) health services~~
- m) open economy
- n) right to life
- o) corruption
- p) equal opportunity

4. Do you agree/disagree with the following statements?
- a) Politics is to be involved in party politics only
 - b) I fully participate in politics by exercising my vote
 - c) A woman who holds office in a local government institution or NGO is also contributing to the political life of the country
 - d) Only men should participate in politics
 - e) Women do not participate in politics because they cannot spare time from their household work
 - f) Women do not like to expose themselves to the violence in the political environment
 - g) Political activity is associated with slander, character assassination, bribery and corruption
 - h) I believe that party politics can be retrieved from the current level of debasement and abuse
 - i) Good citizenship is good politics
 - j) Women should work towards bringing about necessary reforms and changes for the betterment of society through political society
 - k) women prefer to work under a male head
 - l) women can work as successfully as men in decision making positions
 - m) leadership is a male domain
 - n) women cannot lay claim to decision making positions because they are unable to combine family needs and the demands of the higher positions

B: for policy makers/administrators

1. Do you think women should participate in politics?
 - i) if yes why and at what level (e.g as candidates, ministers, organisers etc)
 - ii) if not why.
2. Do you think there are enough women in politics?
3. Do you think women should participate in decision making
 - i) in the public sector
 - a) if not why
 - ii) in the private sector
 - a) if not why
 - iii) in NGOs/Trade Unions? Professional organisations?

- a) if not why
- iv) in the household
- a) if not why

4. Do you see any obstacles to women participating in
- i) politics
 - ii) decision making
 - a) if yes what are they

5. What suggestions can you make to increase women's participation in politics and decision making

THE ASIA FOUNDATION
THAILAND OFFICE

Year End Progress and Evaluative Report: Women in Politics(WIP)
(USAID Grant No. 493-2750-G-00-3455-00)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY:

For the past decade, Thailand has witnessed an increasing economic growth achieved mainly from the export-oriented products; garments, frozen food, electronics parts, and etc. As a majority of the industrial labor force, Thai women are the major contributors to this economic well-being, but women have not received appropriate proportion of the benefits.

This is due to their gross under representation in decisionmaking positions at all levels. Thai women constitute less than 5% of all elected Members of the Parliament, the appointed Senate, and Provincial Council's members. Locally, about 1% of elected village heads and sub-districts are women.

The objective of Women in Politics Program is to increase women's influence on decisionmaking so that women's issues are given attention they merit. The program aimed to strengthen local understanding of political processes, build accountability and increase monitoring capacity through an established nation wide Gender Watch Group (GWG). The GWG is established now and working at the local level.

Thailand's planned USAID funded WIP activities included 1) Women in Politics Training for Gender Core Group and 2) Production of Documentary Video on Women in Politics.

The main activity funded under this grant was a Women in Politics Training program, hosted by the Gender and Development Research

Institute (GDRI) at the We-Train Center, Bangkok. The first workshop entitled "Mainstreaming Gender Issues in Policy Planning and Programming at the Local Administration Level" was carried out during October 14 - 20, and the second workshop "Mainstreaming Gender Issues in Policy Planning and Programming at the National Level" was conducted during November 17 - 22, 1994.

The complementary activity under the USAID/WIP grant was a documentary video entitled *Women in Power*, produced by the Pa-yai Creation Co. Ltd. The film illustrates through personal vignettes major barriers to women's full participation in political processes. The main purposes of this film are to increase awareness of women's work in the political arena and to raise the visibility of issues that are of particular concern to women.

The USAID funded project is a free standing effort, but builds upon and complements a more comprehensive women in politics program initiated in Thailand by TAF in 1992. The TAF Women in Politics program relates to our larger objective of increasing political accountability through greater citizen awareness of and participation in the emerging Thai political democracy.

BACKGROUND:

Thailand needs an appropriate policy and implementation procedures to cope with the social and political consequences of rapid industrialization and urbanization. The emergence of new values, rules, and ethics which accompany the transition away from an agrarian social base to the more impersonal values associated with market rationality are frequently in contest with traditional, more conservative values. This transition involves a number of changes, some of them very painful, others potentially disruptive, such as the mass migration of women from rural communities to the urban or industrialized area. These consequences have an impact on politics in Thailand. It is timely that the under-privileged groups of people, especially, women, need to participate in identifying

policy issues in the field of economic policy and public finance, law and the judicial process, social policy, and institutional development to achieving sustainable economic development with equity so that all classes will benefit from this economic well-being.

In the near future, there will be a series of elections occurring in Thailand. After the new Tambol (sub-district) laws have passed, each of more than 600 Tambol will have to hold an election in 60 days. The election for members of Provincial Council will be held next year. If there is no interruption in the present government administration, the national election will take place in 1996. These elections offer an opportunity for women to increase their share of political power in Thailand, and to advance the public policy agenda of interest to women in Thai society.

There is an increasing likelihood that the government will accelerate movements towards decentralization of power to local communities in Thailand. This process, too, will enhance opportunities for women to play a more significant role in local government and politics.

For either of these outcomes to materialize, the Thai women's movement will have to develop a sustained program of investment in training and human resource development for women.

EVALUATION CRITERIA:

This evaluation has been conducted through the collaborative effort of the participants (Gender Core Group), GDRI, and The Asia Foundation. Success was determined on the basis of: a) a test of each participant's knowledge of the political process before and after each of the workshops; b) the number of women trained and the multiplier effect from that training; c) whether or not the women trained fulfill their role as trainers upon completion of the workshop; and d) additional data from a questionnaire evaluating the training exercise at the end of the workshop period.

The data for this evaluative report were drawn from: 1) the evaluative report of the first workshop conducted by Ms. Darunee Tantiwiranond, a local hired consultant, who is also a Senior Fellow for the Women's Studies Research Center, University of Wisconsin, Madison; 2) a report from Dr. Suteera Thoomson, GDRI; 3) participants' questionnaires collected before and after the workshop period; and 4) the observation report from Ms. Ruengrawee Ketphol, The Asia Foundation's Program Officer.

EVALUATION FINDINGS:

According to the program plan, the first year of WIP programming in Thailand focused on increasing women's participation as equal citizens in the political process. The program was planned to provide for 30 gender core members, and was organized in two phases. The first phase aimed to strengthen the understanding of local political processes, and the second phase aimed to strengthen the understanding of national political processes.

As part the WIP program, the Foundation has supported GDRI in a separate grant to develop a curriculum for this training program. The workshop curriculum used in both workshops was developed through brainstorming meeting shared by trainers and academics from various fields including NGOs, Government Community Development Workers, and GDRI staff. Gender Analysis (GA) was designated as an appropriate tool that can build interrelationship between gender parity and development plan and policy. Beside necessary knowledge on political processes, GDRI has adopted the GA in those workshops in order to assess institutionalization of and to integrate gender concern in policymaking and policy implementation.

The objectives of the curriculum are:

- 1) to impart conceptual understanding of the gender analysis framework;
- 2) to develop skills in using the gender analysis in local and national governments;

3) to increase an understanding on structure and functions of national and local government through field visits; and

4) to develop an action plan to mainstream a selected issues(s) in policy planning and programming at the local and/or national level.

There has been slightly deviated from the original program description that the election process was not seriously addressed in this curriculum because the course was not aimed to provide for candidates.

ACTIVITIES:

1) First Phase: The Workshop "Mainstreaming Gender Issues in Policy Planning and Programming at the Local Administration"

The workshop encountered a scheduling conflict with the USAID/TAF Asia-Pacific Women in Politics Workshop in September. Therefore, GDRI decided to conduct this first workshop in October in Bangkok instead of Chiangmai in order to save travel costs. Also, the Bangkok location was more convenient for participants from the southern region.

The workshop was carried out at We-Train Center, Bangkok, on October 14 - 20, 1994 including five functioning days and two traveling days. There were 25 participants, seven from the Northeast, four from the North, four from the South, and 10 from the Center. The distribution of participants' occupation were as follows: 10 local leaders, two provincial council members, three university faculty, 10 NGO workers who were mostly GDRI in house staff; researcher, assistant researcher, social worker, program officer, etc.

The workshop agenda scheduled three days of theoretical discussions, and two days of field trips.

1) Theoretical Component:

The course orientation was given to participants upon their arrival. Prior to the workshop's processing, participants were asked to give their aims and expectation for this attendance. Their responses were to gain knowledge in administrative techniques, structures and functions of local government, gender issues, management for solutions, and exchange of experience.

The first session was on the conceptual framework of gender issues. Two male trainers were invited from the Department of Community Development, Ministry of Interior. The trainers applied a participatory approach to stimulate participants to actively discuss the contents. Clustering, cubing, brainstorming were utilized throughout the first session.

The participants revealed through questionnaires that the methodology was very useful, but the concept of gender and its clarification were not up to satisfactory level by the two male trainers.

The second session was facilitated by Dr. Suteera Thomson, GDRI's Adviser. Contents in this session covered the contextual analysis of gender in social, economic and political development. The aim was to illustrate how gender and development and gender analysis have involved out of policymaking process. Inductive reasoning method was applied on discourses such as sustainable development, equal participation, and democracy. Case presentation and group discussion were applied in the topic of mainstreaming gender issues into the local development plan. Other issues for group discussions included "Women and Democracy: New Direction in Local Administration," "Provincial Administrative Organization: Problematic Issues to be Raised," and "Tambol Council and Tambol Administrative Organization: Issues to be Addressed."

Participants made an agreement at the end of the session that gender principle must be integrated in policymaking and implementation processes. They agreed that women must be ready to compete in election at all levels and women must promote

decentralization policy. Participants recommended that understanding of gender analysis needed more time for discussions.

The third session was facilitated by two activists from the Campaign for Popular Democracy on the issues to be considered on the Provincial Council and the Tambol Administrative and Organization and Tambol Council.

The last session of the workshop was organized to consolidate all discussions, information sharing and substantial knowledge about politics into a plan of action. These plans were prepared to carry back to their constituencies as a guide to further action. One similar goal found in each plan was to increase women's participation in local politics. In particular, women should enter politics as candidates to run in all elected positions in local governments, at all levels and at least should share 10 % in the next three years. The two main activities needed to be commenced in order to achieve this goal were political education for voters and political training for women candidates.

2) Field Trips:

The increased understanding about how local government's work, its roles and responsibilities through the field visit was determined by most participants to be more useful than some of the classroom exercises.

On the first day of this field trip, participants were exposed to provincial councilors of Pathumthani Provincial Administrative Organization. Ms. Nipata Amornratanametha, Deputy Governor of Prathumthani Province gave the overview. The meetings with local government officials both from Provincial Administrative Organization and Municipality have helped broaden participants understanding of how the local government functions, the strengths and weaknesses as well as the possible problems and conflicts between the central government and the local governments.

The participants viewed this trip as a very beneficial experience.

On the second day of the field trip, the participants visited Bangkok Metropolitan and Bangkok municipalities as well as Phya-Thai Sub-district. Here they gained knowledge in budget management, management for information system, and the overall planing of Bangkok Metropolitan.

Through questionnaire inquiries, most participants were satisfied with this field study.

2) Second Phase: The Workshop "Mainstreaming Gender Issues in Policy Planning and Programming at the National Administration"

The workshop was carried out at We-Train Center, Bangkok, on November 17 - 22, 1994. There were 33 participants. Of these, six came from the Northeast, 12 from the North, five from the south, and 10 from the central region. Because of scheduling conflicts, a few women from the central region, were available to attend only the theoretical training sessions at the We-Train Center.

Of these women who partially attended, there were two government officials from Community Development Department, Ministry of Interior; Khun Phongsri Chermawadi represented Women Development Division; and Khun Asanee Vathanapradit from Promotion and Dissemination Division. Khun Somjit Tipprapa represented the Population and Community Development Association (PDA). It is very significant that these women who are working in decision making levels of government and NGOs were interested in gender analysis and wanted to learn how to sensitize gender issue in women programs they administer.

Six local women leaders representing the national Gender Watch Group were able to attend both workshops. It is likely that these women will then become the core group of future trainers.

The second workshop was organized like the first, with three days

of classroom discussions, and two days of study trips. The course orientation step, course implementation and training methodologies were similar to the first workshop. Participants' expectation at the second workshop were mainly to exchange viewpoints with other participants on gender issues, to better understand how national planning and programming are carried out, and to discuss the current constitutional issues of decentralization as well as women's rights.

Although the basic organization remained the same as the first class, but, based on the evaluation, efforts were made to adjust the level of discussion and to introduce more effective teaching and learning methodologies.

1) Theoretical Component:

The theoretical discussions began on the second day of the workshop after the participants attended a seminar on Constitutionalism and Democratic Development at the Parliament. The contents and scope of gender analysis were mainly the same as the first workshop including approaches to development, gender identification, gender analysis: concepts and tools, and gender analysis framework. Methodology procedure applied throughout the learning process combined group discussion, group report presentation, lecturing, consolidation of ideas, and recommendations.

Several handouts related to gender statistics showing the disparity number of women in government offices and in other fields were passed to all participants.

On the second day, participants learnt how to mainstream gender into policy planning and programming and the third day was a wrap-up session while each regional group worked on their action plans.

The central group concentrated their plan of action on policy to increase women's representation by encouraging political parties to

have special policy for women. The central group proposed to conduct a series of seminars for key members of political parties to pressure them to reserve more seats for women in the party's executive committee, in the candidate list and recruit more women members. They will urge each political party to set up a Women Affairs Section. The other proposal was to produce a roster of potential women candidates which can be conducted by women NGOs.

Participants from all regions needed more women's forums where local politicians, political parties, and local women leaders can address, debate, and convey the issue of women's political participation. Moreover, the need to set up a non-partisan women in politics group in each region was also addressed in all of the plan of action.

Participants from all regions have built a consensus that women should be involved in the movement of decentralization, promoting women's rights in the Constitution, and integrating women's concerns in the government development plan.

2) Field Study:

Participants spent the first day in the seminar on "Constitutionalism and Thailand's Democratic Development" which was held in the Parliament. The seminar was hosted by the Commission on Democratic Development and was presided over by Mr. Marut Bunnag, the President of the Parliament. Keynote speakers included well-respected academics on Constitutional laws, government administration and government polity. Dr. Prawes Wasee who is holding many distinguished positions as well as a Chairperson for Constitution Development Committee, the Commission on Democratic Development was one of the speakers.

In this seminar participants learnt the importance of legal dimension affected to their status as a citizen and as a woman. The seminar's key speakers introduced the adoption of Constitutional System because this system would improve several

accountability mechanisms, now lacking in Thai politics. The experts explained that these new accountability mechanisms will be included in the new Charter, such as, the Parliamentary Ombudsman, the Administrative Court, and the Election Commission, etc.

Some seminar participants took the floor in the opening session and addressed their concerns in regard to episodes in local communities, particularly the vote-buying problem. Lively discussion occurred between the women leaders and, for the most part, the all make Parliamentary leadership.

The seminar's discussion was broadcast live nation-wide through the Parliament radio channel. Documents on the seminar's contents were distributed to all participants.

The respondents scored "benefit as expected" for their attendance in the seminar for legal theme and scored "benefit more than expected" for democratic development theme. (A copy of the questionnaire attached.)

The other session, held on the same day of the seminar, was on the "Constitution 1994 and Women's Rights: Future Task". It was conducted at the Girl Guides Association, in Phya-Thai Sub-district at the end of the day. Panelists included Khunying Chantani Santabutr, a senior Senator who has fought for the recognition of women's right for almost 20 years; Ms. Nuttip P. Banjongsilp, a lawyer from the Women Lawyers Association of Thailand; and a human rights expert from the Asianet for the Child Rights, Dr. Vitit Muntaporn, one of Thailand's most articulate spokespersons on the issue of human rights.

The purpose of this meeting was to discuss unfair laws toward women both in the civil and criminal codes. There have been a number of government's Acts, Decrees and Regulations that currently discriminate against women. Information about all unfair laws and recommendation for change have been delivered to all participants.

Dr. Vitit Muntaporn proposed that women groups should move forward to establish the anti-discrimination law in order to firmly guarantee the equal opportunity and all existing laws justiciable, despite that the Constitution had guaranteed the equal right of males and females. Besides, he also explained, some key human rights conventions of those related specifically to women and children.

On the second day of the study field trip, participants visited the Parliament. The first session lectured by the President of the Parliament, Mr. Marut Bunnag was basically on the structure and functions, rules and procedures, and the general legislation processes of the Parliament. Participants expressed the interest about the process of how the bills are passed into laws, the process of parliamentary debate, what is the motion, the responsibility of committees, and how to submit the complaints. They met with the Committees on Labor and Social Welfare, Youth Women and the Seniors, Justice and Human Rights, and Policy and Monitoring of Annual Budget Expenditure.

Most of the participants responded that they received benefit from the meeting at the Parliament as they expected.

At the end of the workshop period, the organizer asked every participants to express their views and give recommendation concerning the workshop for further improvement. Participants reacted positively toward this participation. There were some concerns needed to be adjusted next time such as the length of the workshop should be shorter, the differences of languages, the gap of participants' educational background, and workshop's documents should be more adequate than this. Many of them strongly request for a gender training manual to be used in their own training.

The Incomplete Activity:

According to the planned program, after the completion of the workshop, one member of the participants will be selected to take

part in a three-month fellowship program with the Youth, Women and the Seniors Committee of the National Parliament. GDRl has not been able to perform this activity due to the delay in initiating the two preliminary training workshops. This delay meant that by the time the training was completed, the parliament was already well into its yearly closing session. The reason for this delay is related to the need to host another USAID funded WIP program as discussed at the beginning of this report.

GDRl is proposing to reschedule the fellowship activity if USAID has no objection and the program can be commenced when The Parliament reconvene in May of 1995.

ASSESSMENT OF IMPACT:

It is too early to determine whether this modest program of training will have significant impact. A good measure of future impact will be whether the trainees generate greater political involvement in their local communities during the upcoming round of local elections. In the meantime, approximately sixty women leaders and potential leaders from all regions and levels of the country have been given a succinct exposure to the workings of government, the importance of politics, and the rudimentary means for gaining greater access to the system.

According to participants's interviews and through observations, the following assessment of immediate impact resulting from the training can be given:

1. The Participants were given the gender analytical tools that can be used to better analyze the weak points of government policies and laws with regard to gender inequalities and institutionalized bias against fair and equal treatment of women in the economy and the workplace.

relationship between Thailand's well entrenched bureaucratic system and the emerging power of electoral politics. It was accepted that women leaders cannot rely solely on the bureaucracy for redress, but must be more actively involved with electoral politics.

3. For participants currently holding political or other decision making roles thriving to increase people's political involvement, the training has encouraged them to: a) deal with the existing traditional governing system including centralized government, inappropriate voting behaviors, and the lack of qualified politicians; b) to think of more effective strategies and actions to increase voter turnout and to improve qualification of politicians.
4. Women from all regions and from various fields have been able to build a network, not only among women's groups but also democracy, human rights, and law groups.
5. A new Women in Politics group has been formed in Thailand at the national level. Women leaders from the USAID funded training course were active in establishing this new group, citing in part the encouragement they received from the course as part of their motivation to become more organized.

DOCUMENTARY VIDEO
"POWER IN WOMEN"

The Asia Foundation/Thailand has given a contract to the Pa-yai Creation Co. Ltd. to produce the film under the responsibility of Ms. Yupa Petcharit, Managing Director of the company. The 20-minute documentary video entitled "Power in Women" contains the life and work's stories of five women leaders who committed themselves to women and community development. The draft copy was tested for recommendations at the WIP workshop organized by GDRI. Almost all viewers reacted very positively and enjoyed a lot. Many of them asked to have this kind of film shown prior to the workshop's functioning. Some of them reacted a little upset that there is missing a story of woman from the northeast. The Pa-yai Creation staff had planned to tape the training of the GDRI's workshop, but can not do because the delay of the workshop.

The following are summaries of each women's story as presented:

Mrs. Jaidee Sawanga-rom,
Chairperson off Saving Committee
Sub-district Kaoseng,
Songkla Province (South)

Mrs. Jaidee has been working for her community for the past 20 years. Many projects were part of her initiatives, such as coastal recovery, making a better life for slum people, child care center, community saving funds, and several types of campaigns on environment conservation. Most of the projects started with community funds, then supported by the government.

She hopes to have a Coordinating Center for Community Self-Reliance in her community in the future.

Mrs. Thongdee Photiyong
Distinguished Women Leader
Village Donkaew, Sarapee District
Chiang Mai Province (North)

Mrs. Thongdee chairs a number of committees and was elected group leader on a number of projects in her district. Her ultimate goal is to stop the migration of young women into urban area which increases the risk of entering into prostitution. She creates a wide-range of income generation projects, such as handicraft, weaving, non-toxic vegetable planting, community saving funds, etc. One circumstance that made her a success is the support from her family, both husband and children. Finally, she is urging all women to participate in politics and to join in the decentralization movement.

Mrs. Amphan Nanthakwang
Sub-district Head Women
Sub-district Pasang, Pasang District
Lampoon Province (North)

Kamnan (Sub-district Head) Amphan was one of around 80 women Kamnans that constitute only 1% of the total number of Kamnans in Thailand. She has been striving to overcome traditional barriers nurtured in the Thai society for a long time. For instance, women who work outside the home will be faced with a bad reputation of committing adultery. She praised her husband for his understanding and support. She gave some basic information for the ones who want to enter local politics. She hopes to see more women in this area.

Ms. Rukayah Sannakij
Teacher and Director of Child Care Center of Village Huay Oan
Rattaphum District,
Songkla Province (South)

Ms. Rukayah believes in Islam religion. Although she faced a lot of questions of being a Muslim woman, she has never given up her

right to work out of the home for her community, especially for children and for young people. Many young people left to work in factories in the urban area causing the lack of man power in the community to take care of families and children. She started and managed the first child care center with a small fund from donations which is now receiving financial support from the government. She teaches languages for young people in the evening and in holidays. She also helped establish the community saving funds. She suggested to Muslim women that to work for the improvement of community and other lives is not a sin. It is a time for Muslim women to stand up and join her.

Mrs. Wanphen Premkaew
Chairperson of Steel Labor Union of Thailand
Samutprakarn Province (Central)

Mrs. Wanphen has been serving the movement of women laborers for many years. She has fought for equal payment, equal opportunity for employment, social and life insurance, 90 days maternity leave, and improving skills projects for women, etc. Her one important role is to build a good relationship between employer and employees. Training women to have negotiation skills is one of her task. She always hope to see good cooperation from all involved parties; government officials, employers, and laborers. She would like to see NGOs have more involved role, particularly in the development of labor laws.

The Asia Foundation plans to have this documentary video broadcast on at least three national TV channels. We have approached two television stations so far (Channel 9 and IBC T.V. Channel 6). Copies of the Thai version of the tape will be made available to women's training groups and other organizations throughout Thailand.

TAF is beginning to get requests from the United States for the English language version of this video tape.

Training on leadership development concludes

Kathmandu, Jan. 3 (RSS):

The nine-month training programme on "Women's Leadership Development and Management" organized by Women for Women's Empowerment Programme (Didi Bahini) under its second phase programme concluded Monday.

Twenty-six women participants from different twelve Non-Governmental Organizations associated with women development, were trained in leadership development, concept of women development, organizational and financial management and programme and project implementation.

The organization, "Women for Women's Empowerment Programme" has started organizing national-level trainings and seminars under

"Women in Politics Programme" and legal literacy programmes for women at the village level from this year.

Minister for Education, Culture and Social Welfare Modnath Prashrit, distributed certificates to the participants.

Minister Prashrit said the present government has laid emphasis on the promotion of skill-oriented education bearing in mind the unemployment problem resulting from the faulty education policy adopted in the past.

He also gave the information that teachers' selection has already been made pursuant to the government policy of making 11,000 people literate within six years.

Director of the programme Saloni Singh stressed the need of unity among women for their all-round development.



EQUAL RIGHTS: An increasing number of women are starting to demand their piece of the Thai political pie.

A battle of the sexes

Thai politics is undergoing a battle of the sexes, with more women than ever winning elections and taking seats in Parliament, but this change is not coming without a struggle.

"If half of our politicians were women, the politics of our country would be a lot better off," said Prof Dr Prawase Wasi, in his opening remark at a two-day conference on women in politics. "Women, compared to men, are more responsible and tend to be less corrupt."

The conference, held in Bangkok last week, was organized by a group of women calling themselves the Women in Politics Group. Among the core members of the group are seven out of the 16 female MPs from five political parties, both coalition and opposition members.

But some of the male politicians at the conference said women are not able to govern as well as men. Young politician Ekkaporn Rakkwamsuk, one of the few male panellists at the conference, said that men are not yet ready to support women's involvement in politics.

"Politics is a game of power," he said. "Male politicians talk about politics in terms of business. It is a matter of fighting, using all kinds of cunning tactics. Men are more cunning than women. That's why women are often defeated in political games," said Ekkaporn, a Sakon Nakhon Party MP.

Another male panellist, Sophon Suphamong, echoed some of Ekkaporn's opinions. He said women possess a strong maternal instinct to protect the family unit and should stay at home and out of the way of male politicians.

"Parliamentarian politics is a battle for power and wealth. Politics is dirty and nonsense. I would not want to lose any women in that dirty battle ground," said Sophon, managing di-

At a recent conference on political power, male and female panellists wrestled with the question of whether there is a place for women in Parliament.
Varaporn Chamsanit reports.

rector of Bang Chak Petroleum Company.

Women, he said, should band together to find indirect methods for gaining political power. They shouldn't try to become directly involved in the government, Sophon said. "I don't want to see women following men into the political arena. I would have to think hard if my wife wanted to get involved in politics."

In spite of the attitudes expressed by the men at the conference, the women politicians said they will not give up the struggle. Bangkok MP Sudarat Keyuraphan, one of the conference organizers, said the group plans to hold short course training for women to organize a political base of informed women. The Women in Politics Group also plans to target existing women's groups in an educational political campaign. However, more detailed action plans are yet to be drawn up and the group is still raising funds.

"We will start our activities as soon as possible. In the next year we hope to be able to organize women's discussion groups in Bangkok and in four other provinces, one in each region," said Sudarat, newly-appointed secretary general of the Palang Dharma Party (PDP).

The group's major goals, she said, are to increase the number of women voters and to increase women voters' ability to distinguish between good and bad MP candidates.



RISING LEADER: Bangkok MP Sudarat Keyuraphan, secretary general of Palang Dharma.

"And if possible, we would like to encourage more women to be politicians," Sudarat said, adding that the group is bipartisan and will not support any one political party or political leader.

Meanwhile, Assistant Prof Virada Somswasdi, director of the Women's Studies Centre at Chiang Mai University, said politics is not confined to parliamentary activities. "Politics means participating in decision-making processes," she said. "Politics is everywhere and at every level. There is politics in families, and in the community, as well as national and international governmental bodies.

"Just having a democratic political regime is not enough to tell that a country is a genuine democracy," she said. "What really counts is the level of participation of people, both women and men, in policy-making processes," said Virada who also works for the women's group, Gender Watch.

She insisted that to upgrade the

social status of women, all aspects of society must be restructured to give women more economic and political power. "This is not meant to generate hostility between women and men, but instead, to allow for women and men to live together in harmony."

The academic said it will not be easy for women to wrestle political power from the men in charge. Women must look for alternative means to empower themselves by gaining better access to news and information.

"This is not the responsibility of one particular group, one political party, or even people of one sex," Virada said. "Each diversified women's group must work on their own to try to reach their specific goals. However, an agreement must be reached among all these women's groups; that is, to bring about the equality between women and men as human beings."

Long-held stereotypes of women as silly followers of men must first be wiped out before women can truly gain political power and bring about real social change, Virada said. It is essential, she said, for women to work within the established political structure.

"We should not work only with women. There are some good men in our society. We should try to cooperate with them and to increase their numbers," Virada said.

So far, the Women in Politics group has almost 200 members, most of them women community leaders, local politicians and businesswomen. "After we get organized and start up our activities, we will open up membership for the general public," Sudarat said.

Though the relationship between women MPs of different parties is still tenuous, Sudarat remained hopeful. "Women parliamentarians now join forces from time to time to lobby for the passage of laws which benefit women in general," she said. "However, I hope this cooperation will be more permanent in the future."

OUTLOOK

FORUM

A recent forum on "Women in Politics" highlighted the necessity for women to enter national politics. The event was held by the Gender and Development Research Institute and the Association for the Promotion of Women Status — an ad-hoc committee on women in politics. Speakers at the forum say politics and society will improve if more women become decision-makers. Women, according to the conference, tend to place more priority on well-being and harmony than money and power. JUTARAT TONGPIAM notes some of the speeches presented for the first time at a forum discussing the role of women in power.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY



PROF PRAWASE WASU, president of the Democratic Development Committee:



ASSOC PROF DR VIRADA SOMSAWADI, of the Women in Politics Watchdog Group (North):



PANOMWAN YOODEE, of YMCA, Chiang Mai Province:



SOPON SUPAPONG, president of the Constructive Media Foundation:



ARUNEE SRIFO, leader of women textile workers:



EKAPORN RAKKWAMSUK, MP of the Solidarity Party, Sakhon Nakhon Province:

Whenever nature loses its balance, there are crises. This is the case when also referring to men-women relations.

For a long time, men have had dominating roles in society. And that has caused many crises.

There have been problems in many of our social institutions — in Parliament, in the Police Department, and even in the Sangha community.

One of the things we can do to bring about change is for women to work together.

If we have more women in politics, things will be much better. This is because women are generally brought up to feel shameful and fearful of sinful deeds more so than men.

Cooperation in politics must forget party loyalties. To bring about positive changes, women must be led by morality, the desire to seek truth, understanding and effective management.

The duty of developing politics and democracy does not belong to one person, one party, or even one gender. It needs cooperation from people in all sectors to organise their own groups to work toward common goals and interests.

Groups may deal with politics, economics, laws, or whatever.

We need to see politics as something which is beyond Parliament — something which is a part of all activities in life.

We should go beyond gender biases. We don't want only a hero or heroine in politics. For success, we need cooperation from both men and women together.

In addition, we need to address the issue of equal human rights. Both men and women should be equal. But now, many women are still exploited as sex objects. Besides the sex trade, several activities take advantage of women — beauty pageants, for example.

Women, as mothers, have important roles in strengthening democracy in our society.

Democracy as a set of values can be instilled in children early on as part of child-rearing.

Now, parents are too busy working.

Children spend a lot of their formative years at kindergartens. Teachers are mostly women. They are the ones who have influence over the young generations.

They should be aware that they must teach according to the children's ability, not their sexes. For example, not only girls but also boys should learn how to cook, to clean, as well as other household chores.

We should also look more into the role of the media. As it is, the media have great influence over a child's learning process in installing new values about proper gender roles or in perpetuating segregated roles.

Thai women have become one of the most popular export commodities, which is very sad.

For me, women are the embodiment of many virtues. They are unselfish mother who dedicate their time, attention, and care to nurture their children so that they grow up healthy, both physically and mentally.

Men's decisions are based on rationality. Women are more honest with their feelings and they are not afraid to express them.

Politics as an institution has become very weak. Most people jump into politics mainly for power and money. I really don't want to see women lose their kindness, warmth, and honesty by stepping into this dirty battle ground.

However, politics is part of everyone's life. My wish is that if women want to enter politics, they will use their positive power to strengthen society and democracy.

Not all female politicians are working well. They should try more to prove themselves.

I ran in the recent election, hoping to be a voice of our women workers, but I lost. But it did not stop my fighting spirit. I will definitely run again in the next election. A great deal of labour problems need to be solved.

Our representatives, most of them males, have done very little to help women workers in the Parliament.

During my 15 years as a labour leader, I have seen too many easy problems that never got solved.

Sometimes, we have to use the political sphere to pressure for solutions, although we don't really want to get involved with politics.

Most complaints addressed to labour unions now come from women workers. And the number of them are increasing.

Women in politics, if compared to the forest, are like saplings starting to grow.

Most of us are brought up with the idea that women should do women's things excluding politics.

However, politics itself never looks down on the impact of women's influence. Women have long been an important part of political life. Think about what we call the lang baan, or the wives of important people. More often than not they are the ones who are behind their husband's success.

To be successful in politics you need to make yourself known, loved, elected, and trusted.

Politics is similar to boxing. We need to win at the end of the bout. If you lose, you have to wait until the next fight.

For me, trust is very important. It is the public trust in you that will help you stay longer in political life.

Devising strategies for the big time in Beijing

By SAPANA SAKYA

As is usually the case with international conferences, those in attendance are usually from the upper-income brackets of society, because they are most able to meet the costs of travel abroad.

However, in an effort to break this cycle, the Friends of Women Foundation recently organised a meeting entitled, "Grassroots Women for the World Conference," — in other words, the women least able to afford the cost of travel to next year's Women's World Conference in Beijing, scheduled for August 31 to September 8, 1995.

The number of international delegates scheduled to attend the meeting in Beijing is currently projected at 25,000 to 30,000.

Acharn Anchana Suwananon from the Anjari Group, has drawn up a diagram of seminars which will comprise the schedule of events in Beijing.

"There are two meetings planned during overlapping time frames, and these are divided into one meeting for government agencies and one for non-governmental agencies," she explained.

She went on to outline the schedule for several meetings before the Beijing conference, to be held in New York in preparation for the final agenda, organised by various international organisations and the United Nations.

Last week, about 300 women representatives from all over Thailand convened at the Sasakawa Women's Education and Training Centre, of the Association for the Promotion of the Status of Women, to voice their opinions on the major concerns of Thai women, who are not devising their agenda for next year's conference.

The discussions centred on the status of women in six major areas: violence; the environment; industrial development; labour in Thailand and abroad; health; and politics.

"We hope this will serve as a stage for women in industry and agriculture, as well as for women leaders at the regional level, women working in resettlement projects, women in NGOs, housewives in various activities, and others. They will have an opportunity to voice their concerns, because they will be the ones directly affected by policy changes made in Beijing," explained Thanawadee Thacheen, coordinator at the Friends of Women Foundation.

For Thongdee Photipong, a leader from Chiang Mai Province, this is an opportunity to voice the serious concerns of women from her region.

"The status of women in the provinces is still quite low, and they are not on equal terms with their sisters in the city because of a lower level of education," she said.

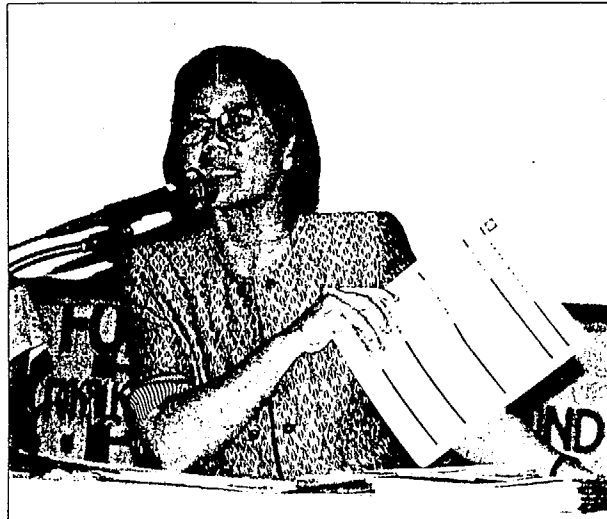
However, over the past 15 years, Thongdee said she has seen positive change in the way women are viewed, and the way they see themselves.

"Before, women were only nominal figures, even if they had positions of leadership. Today, women in office have the power to work for the improvement of their status," she explained.

Thongdee believes women will continue to rise in the political ranks, and will continue to make use of their growing power to effect positive change.

She also believes that men will play an important role in improving the status of women.

"We try to teach that while the roles of men and women are quite different, both are



Khunying Supatra Masdit will lead the Thai delegation to the Women's World Conference in Beijing next August.

The status of women in the provinces is still quite low, and they are not on equal terms with their sisters in the city because of a lower level of education.

THONGDEE PHOTIPONG

necessary. Instead of trying to denounce the man's traditional role of leadership in the family and community, we try to reinforce the image of the woman as a leader in her own right," she said.

"Even if she may still be a follower, she can learn how to follow intelligently."

The significance of gender in development was further

explored by Chanida Chunjaphate, who gave a brief overview of the history of women's development over the years.

"Over the last 20 years in Thailand, statistics show that men are helping out more in the household, but only for about five minutes," she said, adding that it is obvious that women have not

been successful in improving their status significantly.

"The main reason we have failed is because the people involved in changing policies, such as members of parliament, have no consciousness of women's issues — it's an area that is still not given a great deal of thought," she said.

A major reason why signif-



in Doe Video



Thongdee Photipong, an activist from Chiang Mai Province.

icant progress has not been achieved is due to the women themselves, she said.

"The perspective of women on women is still very traditional. For example, many still think that women should not run for political office," she said.

This lack of cohesion among women is an obstacle in Thai society but it isn't unique, Chanida added.

"This is a universal phenomenon — many women still don't think there is a problem," she explained. According to Chanida, working toward significant change means tackling the education systems of both institutions and families, where gender roles are taught.

Chanida believes that the power structures which are

accepted in Thai society such as government, parents, and teachers, should be challenged as well because they are the roots which hold back the ability to enforce a just system of human rights.

"These ideas may seem large," she said, "but individual girls can start the changes in their own roles as mothers or teachers."

Arming legislation with new 'teeth' Palestine women's movement draws attention to social issues

RFCT
by

294

THAILAND

The Politics of Gender

Why Aren't There More Women Ministers?



Thai MP Sudarat Keyuraphan is used to playing in a game dominated by men. But even she was surprised at the way her male colleagues reacted when she pushed for a crackdown on share-price manipulation. "They asked why I didn't limit my attention to the prostitution issue," says Sudarat. The government's deputy spokeswoman has a degree in commerce and accounting and an MBA from Bangkok's prestigious Chulalongkorn University. Even when women are as qualified as men, Sudarat says, they "have difficulties gaining equal recognition."

Thailand's women politicians are understandably irked by the perception that they are parliamentary "flower decorations." Says Sudarat: "Women want to look beautiful. But that doesn't mean they can't work as well as men, that they're beautiful but have no brains." Still, such stereotypes are eroding — albeit slowly. An old Thai saying has it that "the woman is the hind leg of the elephant." It refers to Thai women's oft unsung but vital role as mainstay of the family. Today the saying has lost much of what relevance it had as more women enter the corporate arena. Far from languishing behind the scenes, many hold high-profile executive positions. They have been appointed ambassadors, judges, state prosecutors.

But in politics, women have yet to make major inroads. There are sixteen women in the 360-seat lower house. That's a small jump from the twelve elected in March 1992 or the ten in 1988. Despite his liberal demeanor, Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai has no women in his cabinet. Thailand only recently named its first female provincial governor. Of course Thailand is not the only place where women politicians are in a minority. Khunying Supatra Masdit, 43, a former cabinet minister, notes the same is true in most countries. "All over the world, except for Scandinavian countries, the number of women in politics is still small, even in the U.S."

Still, Thailand's women politicians feel they are lagging behind their counterparts elsewhere in Asia. "We always thought that countries like India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan,

Malaysia and Indonesia were behind us on this issue," says former minister Saisuree Chutikul, 58. "In fact, they're much more progressive." The Philippine Congress has more women than ever. Four of 24 senators in Manila are women, and one is the Senate's No. 2. President Fidel Ramos named two women to his 22-member cabinet. Singapore has three female MPs. Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong says he wants six next time round. And in Malaysia there are two women ministers and ten senators.

In Thailand, reckons Sudarat, 32, "women are always given certain positions, like secretary to this or that commit-

tee, but not with any decision-making power." However, Saisuree says that's because Thai women entered politics relatively recently. "Most of them are young — with little political experience." By contrast, says Margarita "Tingting" Cojuangco, "[Filipino] women have always had a hand in politics." She is governor of Tarlac province and a sister-in-law of the Philippines' most famous woman politician, Corazon Aquino.

Some say women are ill-equipped to deal with the dirty tricks that are a part of politics. "Women's hearts are more fragile," reckons 37-year-old MP Laddawan Wongsriwong. "They may not be able to with-

stand mudslinging tactics." But Sudarat doesn't buy that. "If we're always afraid it'll be like a wall blocking us." In Thailand old habits die hard. Say Laddawan: "It's partly because of our culture and tradition. In the past when male warriors conquered cities, they received the women as booty." And sexism is not restricted to men, says Supatra. "Some women themselves don't trust female politicians. They think women who dare speak out are too aggressive." Laddawan wants to know "why reporters ask female politicians for comments only on women and children's issues. Why don't they ask us about politics or economics?"



Sudarat: "We have the same capability and knowledge. Don't try to block us." Surayuth Singhanak



Surayuth Singhanak — BB
Laddawan

standing times, the government recently amended a law to allow women to become deputy district officers.

Last year activists opened the Center for Asia and Pacific Women in Politics. Supatra, who didn't run for election last time because she wanted to devote more time to women's issues, was chosen director. "Women are not trained to be leaders, while men are," she says. Supatra hopes the Manila-based center will help even the score. Until that happens, Thailand's women politicians will continue to endure overt and subtle male chauvinism. "What I hate most is when they say 'Ladies first,'" says Sudarat. Her advice to men: "We have the same capability and knowledge. Just don't try to block us."

295

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ความเสมอภาค
ของชายหญิง



NGOs thank women MPs for their attempt
to move on female-male equal right in
the new Charter.

The picture includes participants from
GDR1's first workshop "Mainstreaming
Gender Issues in Policy Planning and
Programming"

Arming legislation with new 'teeth'

Women's rights in the spotlight

By JUTARAT TONGPIAM

As arguments regarding constitutional amendments spread like wildfire around the country, they have captured the attention of politicians and government officials, as well as Thai women.

Recently, the Gender and Development Research Institute at the Woman Guides Association of Thailand held a discussion on "The 1994 Constitutional Draft And Women Rights: What Will Be The Next Step?", in which leaders from government organisations and the private sector voiced their opinions on present laws which continue to have an adverse effect on women.

Guest speaker Asst Prof Nuchtip Bunchongsilpa from the Association of Thai Women Lawyers feels that "we need to change the old laws and regulations which are barriers to the development of women's rights."

She cited the fact that many women have faced the embarrassing situation in which their husbands have more than one legally registered wife. This is possible because in Thailand, women must change their status from *Nang Sao* to *Nang* (Miss to Mrs) after marriage, whereas men remain *Nai* (Mr) for their entire lives, regardless of marital status.

"This is just one of several obvious areas of inequality between the sexes, she explained.

"Registrars must thoroughly examine the marital status of both man and woman before beginning the registration process. This will be made easier after the establishment of computer-on-line systems in district offices," she said.

Assistant Prof Nuchtip



Asst Prof Nuchtip Bunchongsilpa, from the Association of Thai Women Lawyers.

We need to change the old laws and regulations which are barriers to the development of women's rights.

ASST. PROF. NUCHTIP BUNCHONGSILPA

also believes that health certificates should be required for both men and women before marriage, in order to detect genetic diseases early on and to prevent them from being passed on to future generations.

Although law reforms will play a significant role in women's development, these changes will be useless if cooperation with government offices is lacking, the Professor said.

In addition, the government should be aware that there are other methods which serve to perpetuate the inequality between the sexes.

Popular songs such as *Chan Rak Phua Khao* (I Love Someone Else's Husband), and *Mai Me Wela Pai Ha Mear Noi* (Not Enough Time for My Mistress) are good examples of media that has an adverse effect on the development of women's rights.

Prof Vitit Muntarbhorn



Prof Vitit Muntarbhorn, Professor of Law, Chulalongkorn University.

The Constitution is supposedly a communal agreement, but in practice, there has never been any real agreement. Thai people still have no equal opportunity law.

PROF VITIT MUNTARBHORN

"In the sex trade, for example, we have five laws, but the real power is still in the hands of the traders and people who benefit from these transactions," he said.

"Moreover, I disagree with the laws that punish illegal immigrants, especially those that jail women and children who have been smuggled into Thailand against their will. They are not criminals, and that form of punishment shows an utter lack of humanity," he declared.

The same goes for the idea that women with HIV should abort their babies, he said.

"They should have the right to decide for themselves, because not all babies will be born HIV-positive," he said.

"What doctors and other people should do is to advise

these women on the full range of their options — not force them to get abortion

As for AIDS patients, Prof Vitit believes that letting them live with their families is better than keeping them isolated, and he feels that the best method for fighting the AIDS epidemic is education.

"Although all Thais are victims of inadequate constitutional rights, women are in an particularly disadvantaged position," he sighed.

However, Prof Vitit maintains hope for the future.

"Women can gain power from their unique teamwork in our developing society," he said. "women's rights in Thailand are not the concern of a person or a group; it pertains to the entire world. There are no boundaries in human rights."

.16

DOCUMENTARY VIDEO
"POWER IN WOMEN"

The Asia Foundation/Thailand has given a contract to the Pa-yai Creation Co. Ltd. to produce the film under the responsibility of Ms. Yupa Petcharit, Managing Director of the company. The 20-minute documentary video entitled "Power in Women" contains the life and work's stories of five women leaders who committed themselves to women and community development. The draft copy was tested for recommendations at the WIP workshop organized by GDRI. Almost all viewers reacted very positively and enjoyed a lot. Many of them asked to have this kind of film shown prior to the workshop's functioning. Some of them reacted a little upset that there is missing a story of woman from the northeast. The Pa-yai Creation staff had planned to tape the training of the GDRI's workshop, but can not do because the delay of the workshop.

The following are summaries of each women's story as presented:

Mrs. Jaidee Sawanga-rom,
Chairperson off Saving Committee
Sub-district Kaoseng,
Songkla Province (South)

Mrs. Jaidee has been working for her community for the past 20 years. Many projects were part of her initiatives, such as coastal recovery, making a better life for slum people, child care center, community saving funds, and several types of campaigns on environment conservation. Most of the projects started with community funds, then supported by the government.

She hopes to have a Coordinating Center for Community Self-Reliance in her community in the future.

Mrs. Thongdee Photiyong
Distinguished Women Leader
Village Donkaew, Sarapee District
Chiang Mai Province (North)

Mrs. Thongdee chairs a number of committees and was elected group leader on a number of projects in her district. Her ultimate goal is to stop the migration of young women into urban area which increases the risk of entering into prostitution. She creates a wide-range of income generation projects, such as handicraft, weaving, non-toxic vegetable planting, community saving funds, etc. One circumstance that made her a success is the support from her family, both husband and children. Finally, she is urging all women to participate in politics and to join in the decentralization movement.

Mrs. Amphan Nanthakwang
Sub-district Head Women
Sub-district Pasang, Pasang District
Lampoon Province (North)

Kamnan (Sub-district Head) Amphan was one of around 80 women Kamnans that constitute only 1% of the total number of Kamnans in Thailand. She has been striving to overcome traditional barriers nurtured in the Thai society for a long time. For instance, women who work outside the home will be faced with a bad reputation of committing adultery. She praised her husband for his understanding and support. She gave some basic information for the ones who want to enter local politics. She hopes to see more women in this area.

Ms. Rukayah Sannakij
Teacher ad Director of Child Care Center of Village Huay Oan
Rattaphum District,
Songkla Province (South)

Ms. Rukayah believes in Islam religion. Although she faced a lot of questions of being a Muslim woman, she has never given up her

right to work out of the home for her community, especially for children and for young people. Many young people left to work in factories in the urban area causing the lack of man power in the community to take care of families and children. She started and managed the first child care center with a small fund from donations which is now receiving financial support from the government. She teaches languages for young people in the evening and in holidays. She also helped establish the community saving funds. She suggested to Muslim women that to work for the improvement of community and other lives is not a sin. It is a time for Muslim women to stand up and join her.

Mrs. Wanphen Premkaew
Chairperson of Steel Labor Union of Thailand
Samutprakarn Province (Central)

Mrs. Wanphen has been serving the movement of women laborers for many years. She has fought for equal payment, equal opportunity for employment, social and life insurance, 90 days maternity leave, and improving skills projects for women, etc. Her one important role is to build a good relationship between employer and employees. Training women to have negotiation skills is one of her task. She always hope to see good cooperation from all involved parties; government officials, employers, and laborers. She would like to see NGOs have more involved role, particularly in the development of labor laws.

The Asia Foundation plans to have this documentary video broadcast on at least three national TV channels. We have approached two television stations so far (Channel 9 and IBC T.V. Channel 6). Copies of the Thai version of the tape will be made available to women's training groups and other organizations throughout Thailand.

TAF is beginning to get requests from the United States for the English language version of this video tape.

Final Report

on

Women in Politics Regional Workshop and Strategic Planning Meeting

Manila, January 16-21, 1994

Summary

The Women in Politics Regional Workshop and Strategic Planning Meeting was held at the Asian Institute of Management in Manila, Philippines, January 17-21, 1994. The meeting was the first regional activity conducted under the auspices of the WIP program and reflected the program's commitment to including Asian and Pacific Island women in all stages of the program from design through evaluation, to ensure that the program addresses the priorities identified by women in the region. To broaden the range of input and experience, the meeting was open to women from across Asia and the Pacific, not only the seven countries funded under the current AID grant. A number of The Asia Foundation's offices (Mongolia, Japan, Korea, PNG, and Taiwan) used their own funds to send a participant to the meeting. Private funds were used to bring participants from Malaysia, Mongolia (one of the two participants from Mongolia), Vietnam, and India. Participants were also invited from China and Laos, but they were unable to attend. In all, fifteen countries were represented including Bangladesh, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Mongolia (two participants), Nepal, Papua New Guinea, Philippines (two participants), Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Thailand, and Vietnam.

The purpose of the meeting was to provide a forum for Asian and Pacific Island women leaders to identify priorities in their countries and across the region, and to recommend a cooperative approach to increase women's political participation building on existing resources and expertise within the region. The meeting was also convened to generate ideas and guidance from some of the region's women leaders on how the WIP program's regional funds could be channelled most effectively.

The meeting consisted of a two-day workshop on the media and resource mobilization followed by three days of presentations and discussion sessions that explored the possibilities for and limitations of adapting tested models and strategies to particular political environments, as well as the potential for regional cooperation and networking.

Setting Priorities

The Asia Foundation had commissioned needs assessments in most of the countries that participated in the meeting to provide an overview of the political context for women's participation in each country (summaries of the needs assessments for the seven AID funded countries were included in the WIP workplan); these informed program development and helped to set the agenda for the meeting.

The priority issues that were identified can be summarized into four areas:

- (1) Raising the awareness of men and women about the ways in which women are discriminated against, women's political, social and economic rights, and the status of women under the law, within the family, and in society;
- (2) Building leadership qualities and skills of women, and raising the self-confidence of women;
- (3) Changing laws, cultural stereotypes, and attitudes that discriminate against women; and
- (4) Promoting access to information that will empower women--on political processes, health, the environment, credit, and training opportunities, as well as the process for obtaining information about other organizations, programs, legislation, etc.

Media Workshop: "Tools for Change: Media and Resource Mobilization for Women in Political Leadership"

The fourth priority area, access to information, is a cross-cutting issue that merited special attention at the meeting. Lael Stegall, an independent consultant, designed and conducted a workshop and served as a facilitator as needed throughout the week. Ms. Stegall recently founded Social Change International, a consultant practice that builds the capacity of citizens to be effective advocates for social change. Prior to this, she was Vice President at the Communications Consortium Media Center, a public interest media center dedicated to helping non-profit organizations use media and telecommunications technologies as tools for public education and policy change. She also has had a long history of involvement with Emily's List and the National Women's Political Caucus in Washington, D.C. Ms. Stegall had previously assisted the Foundation during TAF's October 1993 multi-country Association for Women in Development Forum program; it was during this time that the idea of a collaborative effort on strategic media and women in politics first emerged.

There was only enough time during the workshop to explore media and resource mobilization in fairly broad terms; while the women found this useful, they felt that a more in-depth workshop on the media would be needed to explore the topics within their own country situations. Nonetheless, for many of the participants, the workshop was the first opportunity to approach media as a tool for increasing women's political participation in a systematic way. They examined who controls the media in their countries as a first step toward developing a plan for working with the media, and then pooled their ideas in specific areas: (1) monitoring the media (who, what, and how); (2) teaching women and NGOs how to gain access to the media; (3) working with reporters; and (4) reaching rural

and less-educated women. Ms. Stegall met individually with each participant to discuss her country context and develop an action plan for working with the media.

In addition to this discussion session, a panel on "Women's Media Advocacy at Work in the Philippines" was organized; it included a columnist from a major English daily newspaper; a television news anchorwoman who was formerly media advisor to President Aquino; the Executive Director of Women's Media Circle, a leading monitoring organization; and the founder of the Philippines Center for Investigative Journalism. Some of the key ideas that were put forth are as follows:

-In the Philippines, NGOs can be excellent sources of information for investigative journalists because they often have exceptional access and reliable information. Both journalists and NGOs can benefit from bringing attention to issues that affect women and by portraying a different perspective of women as leaders instead of as victims. Collaborative relationships have been very effective; it is up to NGOs to demonstrate this potential to journalists.

-NGOs must research their local media to determine which outlets and/or reporters they should target, assess who might be interested in their stories, and develop a directory of names, addresses, telephone and fax numbers, etc. NGOs also should foster long-term relationships with the media by regularly sending information to educate and cultivate reporters who might be helpful in the future; monitor the news carefully; and capitalize on "hot" topics by packaging stories so that reporters can see their news value.

-Encourage and support women journalists by giving them exclusives, writing letters to editors about their coverage, and generally helping them rise to top positions. Also, NGOs should attempt to make male reporters more aware and educated about women's issues.

-Create news events that cannot be ignored by any media outlet—understand what is news and what is not news.

-NGOs with experience in this area should draft a media plan on how to portray issues as having news value (Lael Stegall provided the group with a sample plan from Communications Consortium, which focuses on the U.S. context)

-When a media campaign was launched by women's NGOs several years ago around domestic violence in the Philippines, reaching the mainstream media was key—alternative media were not broad enough. Women's NGOs had to be willing to learn from media professionals and work with advertising agencies to make a presentation that would not alienate the public by appearing too radical and would reach and influence as broad an audience as possible. They used their connections within the media to make domestic violence a household word. Eventually their

media advocacy led to mobilization which included initiation of new legislation, training of police, and politicization of the issue.

Discussion that followed on resource mobilization was limited to general principles; there was not enough time to focus on the needs of more than a few countries in depth. Main ideas included: researching potential donors and creating a resource list; cultivation of relationships with potential donors to build trust and credibility; the importance of developing budgets based on needs, not on expected resources; development of business plans that reflect projected expenses and revenues; researching national and local philanthropy; identification of areas of mutual interest with donors; use of the media to increase visibility; research on existing laws and lobbying for legislation that favors tax deductible contributions to non-profits. Participants also discussed innovative ways to popularize and build sustained financial support from constituents—for instance, membership dues/fees and cooperative building ownership.

According to the participants' evaluations, one of the most useful models of the workshop was Emily's List, the American fundraising organization that has raised millions of dollars for women candidates at the national and gubernatorial levels. Many of the participants felt that the basic concept—securing commitments from women voters around the country to contribute each year to the campaigns of at least three women candidates of their choice, regardless of constituency—was one that could be adapted in their own countries. As a founder of Emily's List, Lael Stegall has witnessed its evolution from a group of women seeking contributions from their friends into a major political action committee. Each participant was given a copy of an introductory video on Emily's List.

Models and Strategies

During the sessions that followed the two-day workshop, resource people from both within the group and from the Filipino community presented organizational models and strategies for increasing women's political participation. The participants discussed the potential for adapting these models and sharing existing materials. In the words of one participant, "the presentations of actual efforts...are the most valuable. They show the struggles of actual women trying to bring about women in politics."

A presentation on the Center for Korean Women & Politics (CKWP), presented by its President and founder, Dr. Bong-Scuk Sohn was one of the highlights of the meeting. CKWP was organized to conduct research on women in public office and to provide technical assistance and training to Korean women seeking elected office. Some of the Center's programs include public policy leadership training seminars for young people; lecture series on women in politics; campaign schools for candidates and campaign staff; newsletters and materials on public policy issues and legislation affecting women; and a regular counseling service for prospective candidates to provide practical skills and advice. In the short period since its establishment in 1990, CKWP has developed a sophisticated

media program to promote the work of the Center in the mainstream press and has succeeded in making women and politics a "hot topic" in Korea. For many of the participants, who are established leaders in their own right, the magnitude of CKWP's accomplishments was inspiring. CKWP is one of the few centers of its kind in the Asia-Pacific region. While its main focus is primarily on getting more women elected to office--only one aspect of the WIP program--the majority of participants expressed a need for the kinds of training that CKWP offers, tailored to the specific political context within each country.

Dr. Socorro Reyes, founder and Executive Director of the Congressional Research and Training Service (CRTS), a legislative support organization in the Philippines, reviewed the work of CRTS and presented a "Framework for Women's Political Participation" which she had developed in draft form to generate discussion and input from the group. The framework analyzes the policy environment in the Philippines and establishes where policy inputs are made. CRTS has recently formed a Women in Politics unit to serve as a link between women's organizations and women public officials on agenda setting and program implementation. CRTS also provides training and research services to women in NGOs and the government, and monitors legislation affecting women, the results of which are published regularly in *Legislative Alert*. The framework is a useful tool that could be adapted in other countries--it is essential for advocacy organizations and activists seeking to influence the policymaking process because it illustrates the process of determining what the policy mechanisms are and how they can be utilized to affect change that will benefit women.

Recommendations

The presentations of models and participant discussions were followed by discussions of how models such as these could be tapped as resources, adapted, and utilized across the region. Participants explored the notion of regional cooperation by examining why networks and regional institutions have succeeded or failed in the past. Major impediments include lack of funds for translation of training materials into a language that is common to many countries, unreliable communication systems, waning enthusiasm and diversion of resources in the face of domestic demands and needs, widely disparate needs, and a heavy reliance on a few individuals.

In place of regional training centers that have often collapsed from lack of sustainability, resources, etc., the participants expressed a strong preference for mobile training teams, small training workshops, consultancies, and development of training modules, all of which could be tailored to the specific political environment and barriers that exist in each country. Women's leadership development at the local level, especially the cost-effective "training of trainers" model, was cited as a top priority in many countries. India is one example of a country that has had to undertake a major effort to train women as candidates and leaders, in order to prepare for the upcoming local Panchayat elections, in which 30 percent of the candidates must be women by law. The

Indian participant is a member of the National Commission for Women, which is launching leadership major programs in this area. The Foundation's WIP program will follow their efforts closely and continue to engage India wherever possible.

Participants generated a list of immediate and longer-term recommendations to increase women's political participation in their countries and facilitate sharing of information and resources across the region. These include:

Immediate recommendations:

- * creation of a task force or focus group on women in politics in each country, through the identification of political scientists and other qualified women (if one does not already exist);
- * Public relations event(s) to attract attention to the formation of the task force/focus group;
- * Development of a research or information data base on women in politics within a university or other established organization in each country; and
- * Exchange of materials on a case by case basis.

Longer-term:

- * Development of a guide or study to introduce the concept of women in politics in each country;
- * Sub-regional and regional training of trainers workshops to build capacity in individual countries to develop women's leadership skills and advocacy capability;
- * Mobile training teams to work with existing in-country organizations to build capacity to empower women;
- * Development of new training materials, as well as translation and exchange of existing materials (with translations into English as necessary) that could be altered to meet country-specific needs and environments, including gender-sensitivity manuals and other resources and training materials on women's leadership development;
- * Development of a regional information exchange clearinghouse/network.

Individual Action Plans

Each participant developed a short-term action plan to advance women's political participation in her country, one that would be realistic for her to accomplish given limited time and resources. Some of the highlights from the WIP core group countries include:

Bangladesh – plans are underway to set up a Women in Politics unit within an existing legislative support organization; plans include recruiting university students to do research on failed women candidates in the last election; conducting workshops and training trainers on techniques for reaching the electorate; training to be conducted on fundraising strategies.

Fiji – plans to set up a campaign contribution drive for women candidates in Fiji's upcoming snap elections; colleagues and contacts of Fiji Women's Rights Movement will each be asked to make a small contribution to her chosen candidate—system will be modelled after the Emily's List concept in the U.S. [the elections have taken place, and three women were elected MPs; a women's political action committee was also formed—see attached news clippings]

India – plans to focus on efforts that are already underway for upcoming Panchayat elections; National Commission for Women is preparing training modules to brief village level NGOs in identifying potential women candidates, drawing upon experience of current women leaders; Commission also meets monthly with women MPs to encourage them to take action on women's issues.

Indonesia – plans to convene a Women in Politics meeting for academics who are involved with the upcoming UN Women's Conference Preparatory Meeting in Jakarta in June 1994.

Japan – plans to write an article about the meeting; distribute the information from the meeting to all of the members of her existing network; and launch discussions about developing a Center for Women in Politics in Japan.

Malaysia – plans to start an informal group devoted to women in politics, working with some political scientists who have been doing research in this area; also open dialogue with the women's section in the Prime Minister's office, which has an existing resource center; and draw upon the National Council of Women's Organizations' existing contacts to develop a multi-partisan network.

Mongolia – plans to set up a small women in politics "agency," to coordinate the efforts of all of the different women's groups in Mongolia.

Nepal – plans to conduct a workshop for NGOs, parliamentarians, party activists, academics, media and national women's associations on women in politics; understands the importance of working with other groups in Nepal such as the Women's Rights Pressure Group; believes that women in politics can be an effective theme for her organization.

Papua New Guinea – gained increased awareness of need to reach out to academic community as a resource; now understands critical need for awareness programs for women so that they understand the importance of participating in politics; will present findings at upcoming PNG Women in Politics annual meeting.

Philippines – one of the participants from the Philippines will research local media, determine the principal reporters-broadcasters, find out what types of stories they are willing to feature, and forge more cooperative relationships. She will also do some preliminary research, in collaboration with university, on fundraising in her area to match activities with likely donors or supporters (outside of international agencies).

Sri Lanka – plans to ask political parties why they are not nominating more women; set up a series of workshops to motivate women to take part in political parties and run for office; set up small steering groups to focus on women who are coming forward as candidates and provide them with skills training.

Taiwan – plans to meet with Chair of her organization to discuss results of meeting and her plans; will try to identify other NGOs to work with in setting up a WIP "team" that will spend its first three months developing strategies and programs.

Thailand – plans to conduct a meeting among contacts in the nine provinces to share the results of the regional meeting; will discuss how to support women leaders in upcoming local elections; will seek support to build baseline data on women in politics at local levels; and publicize the work of the Lanna Women's Center at Chiang Mai University by making better contacts with TV and newspapers.

Vietnam – plans to organize a meeting with presidium of her organization, and invite political scientists and other women leaders to discuss the meeting and her action plan; she will try to organize a short training course, set objectives for next election; and prepare curriculum for leadership training and fundraising.

A Regional Network

Most of the women agreed that in the long term, the development of a center in each country (or unit within an existing organization) devoted to women's political participation would be an important and necessary step toward women gaining an equal voice in decisionmaking. Until that is achieved, however, the women felt that they needed some mechanism to facilitate information sharing, cooperation, and representation of women in politics advocates at international forums. Most of the participants took part in a late evening session near the end of the week to come up with a strategy to achieve this. Their recommendation was to establish an informal regional network.

The group debated what to call a regional network; the use of the word "politics"

was discussed at length because of its negative, partisan, and sometimes inflammatory connotations. However, consensus was that it is crucial at this stage to adopt terms that describe exactly what the network will focus on. They agreed that politics represents power in all of their countries, and women should not shrink from using the concept of politics to their own advantage, even in the face of negative reactions from their governments, donors or other women's groups. It was suggested that in those countries whose governments might reject outright 'women in politics' activities, membership in a multi-country network that has a high regional profile might be a first step towards working in this area and breaking down resistance.

In this spirit, the participants voted unanimously to found the Asia-Pacific Women in Politics Network (APWIP). In keeping with earlier discussions about the limitations and/or failures of networks, the consensus was that the APWIP network should function initially without its own office or staff to maximize its flexibility and minimize its operating costs. However, an existing Asian organization was needed to take the lead as resource center and clearinghouse. With some urging from the participants, The Center of Korean Women and Politics volunteered to be the first organization to serve in this role. A statement of unity declaring the formation of the network and its objectives is attached to this summary.

APWIP's goal: To Create a Just and Equitable Society

APWIP's Objectives: To Increase Women's Participation in Policymaking and Decisionmaking;

 To Promote Solidarity Among Women in the Asia-Pacific Region Involved in Political Processes;

 To Create Linkages with Regional and International Networks.

APWIP has submitted an application for registration in the UN World Conference on Women in Beijing (1995) and hopes to conduct a workshop on Women in Politics at the Beijing meeting. Dr. Bohn-Scuk Sohn has already helped to organize the Pacific region's first Women in Politics Roundtable and is going to Vietnam in early April to assist the Vietnam Women's Union with the establishment of a Women's Center for Public Affairs. An APWIP Planning Committee meeting is tentatively scheduled for early April and a newsletter is being developed to report on the activities of the APWIP founders. One major recommendation from the group was for a regional training of trainers program to develop women's local leadership, both within elected politics and NGOs, to be conducted under the auspices of APWIP.

Participants

The convergence of women from many different backgrounds, representing a broad spectrum of experiences and insights, expanded and enriched the discussions of the meeting. However, this diversity of experience also created some difficulties: some participants have worked internationally on these issues for many years, while others had never participated in an international meeting and had limited experience on issues related to women's political participation. Throughout the week, the participants came to terms with their differing levels of experience.

Conclusion

The Asia Foundation's First Regional Workshop and Strategic Planning Meeting helped to establish linkages among women leaders from across the Asia and Pacific region and culminated in the creation of the APWIP Network. Participant evaluations indicated that the workshop on media and resource mobilization presented some new and important concepts to advance women's empowerment, but that more details on both are needed. All participants indicated that the dynamics of contact with their peers across the region broadened their perspectives and strengthened their resolve to improve women's status. All departed with an action plan of immediate next steps that could be implemented with existing resources. The group was proud of creating the APWIP Network and felt that it was an important step for the region to have this resource network both for the information, ideas, strategies, and contacts it offers, as well for the encouragement a network provides to build on and expand their work. The energy and enthusiasm generated over the course of the week was an intangible but important product of the meeting. The meeting was successful both in conveying new information, building linkages within the region, and advancing a regional strategy for increasing women's political participation.

APWIP has submitted a proposal to The Asia Foundation for a Planning Committee meeting to be held in April for the purpose of developing a plan to follow up on the recommendations generated in the meeting. The meeting will provide a small forum that will enable both founding and new APWIP members to accomplish the following: establish APWIP's mission and objectives; develop strategies to address APWIP's objectives; identify measurable end results that will determine whether APWIP is fulfilling its goals; design an implementation plan and key result areas; and draft by-laws. AID has approved funding for a portion of this meeting. Recommendations on additional regional activities are expected to result from this meeting.

STATEMENT OF UNITY

We, the participants of the Regional Strategic Planning Meeting on Women in Politics held in Manila from January 17-21, 1994, representing fifteen countries from across the Asia-Pacific Region do hereby form the Asia-Pacific Women in Politics (APWIP) Network. Its objectives are: 1) to increase women's participation in politics; 2) to promote solidarity among women in the Asia-Pacific region involved in the political process; and 3) to create linkages with regional and international networks.

To attain these objectives, the APWIP Network will, in the first year 1) exchange information, ideas and strategies; 2) develop training modules and manuals to meet regional needs; and 3) develop regional internships and observation programs to facilitate sharing of models and resources across the region. The Korean Center for Women In Politics will serve as the regional resource center and clearing house for the exchange of information and publications. The APWIP Network will also seek separate status in the UN Conference on Women that will be held in Beijing in 1995.

We believe that the APWIP Network is a necessary and critical step to give women a voice commensurate with their number in the political decisions that determine their lives.

THE DAILY STAR

Thursday, October 13, 1994

APWIP Regional Workshop

by Farah Kabir

THE Asia Pacific Women in Politics Network, an informal network that was launched in April this year, organised a regional workshop in Bangkok, Thailand. About fifty women representing over twenty countries including Bangladesh assembled together, to develop strategies for strengthening existing efforts at national and local levels to put gender issues on the policy agenda.

The workshop entitled "Putting Gender Issues on the Policy Agenda: Strategies and Action" from Asia and Pacific, held September 25 to 29, succeeded to bring together women from different areas — representative from the UN, members of parliaments, high government women officials, educationists, professionals, NGOs and grassroot workers at the Women Education Training Centre, Gender Development Research Institute, Bangkok. The Asia Foundation (TAF) provided the financial support and the field offices of TAF in respective countries facilitated the contact and coordination with different individuals who attended the workshop.

The participants felt that social, economic and political structures and institutions require reorientation and restructuring to ensure gender equality in all dimensions.

Globally women hold a secondary position and have been marginalised for far too long. Therefore, equity could be achieved only through improving the status of women and providing them with better opportunities. Enhancing the powers of women and increasing their participation in decision making was considered the path to equity.

During the deliberations certain impediments were identified. It was observed that they were rooted in the cultural, political, economic and social arenas and they were mutually constitutive, each creating itself and the others at the same time.

To help change the present situation targets or actors crucial to the issues were short-listed. These were: political leadership, bureaucracy, legislators, party workers, religious leaders, electorates, interest groups, minorities, individuals in the education systems, pressure groups, civic organisations, NGOs, business groups, and media. Both men and women belonging to these groups required to be sensitised and equipped in women and gender concerns.

The participants unanimously emphasised on research, analyses, accurate interpretation of data and statistics, and dissemination of in-

formation to facilitate change and develop alternative models, choices and options leading to equity in society.

It was also felt that education was essential to develop understanding of the structure, gender compositions, power relations and opportunities of equality available to a democratic polity.

Mobilisation of women in particular and the poor in general were also agreed upon. Such mobilisation would help the formation of support groups, such as coalition or caucus for social or financial support. It would help in articulating and making women's cause visible.

To support national efforts a common regional platform was what the workshop aimed at. The workshop agreed upon certain actions that may be encapsulated into three broad categories, research, analysis and dissemination of information, enforcement of existing laws specially related to women, and advocacy and marketing of gender concerns.

The APWIP regional workshop hoped to foster solidarity among similar organisations, individuals and efforts and strengthen networking. The move for equity gathers strength through such a meet-



Participants in APWIP regional workshop!

APWIP Strategic Planning Meeting, April 4-6, 1994

VISION

APWIP is committed to achieving equality, development, justice, and peace through women's full and equal participation in the political process.

MISSION

To empower women in the Asia-Pacific region by increasing their participation at all levels of the political process and promoting solidarity and creating linkages.

OBJECTIVE

To facilitate, coordinate, complement and support women's organizations in the Asia-Pacific region seeking to increase women's participation in the political process.

APWIP will specifically support efforts to: (1) incorporate women's perspectives and views in the policy agenda; (2) recognize and develop leadership skills among women; and (3) advocate, establish, and enforce a legal framework that promotes the rights of women.

PERFORMANCE INDICATORS

1. Extent to which successful training models and modules in the region are adapted/adopted for in-country use
 - 1.1 Number of member countries who request training and numbers of participants who are trained
 - 1.2 Number of women who attend training that become politically active: as campaigners, candidates, poll watchers, etc.
2. Research on and dissemination of gender/women in politics information
 - 2.1 Increase in supply and demand for information/expertise
 - 2.2 Extent to which information is utilized
3. Membership and Networking
 - 3.1 Increase in members across the Asia-Pacific region
 - 3.2 Increased contact and collaboration among APWIP members and other women's organizations in the region

INTERNAL ENVIRONMENT ASSESSMENT

STRENGTHS:

1. Individuals and organizations that are committed to APWIP that bring different types of expertise, levels of contributions ["organizations" can encompass models, strategies, research, experiences, staff collective knowledge, media connections]
2. Existing networks & contacts of APWIP members within their own countries
3. Collective influence of APWIP as a regional body
4. Ability of member organizations to project APWIP in international community

WEAKNESSES:

1. Lack of: structures, facilities, and equipment; independent pool of resources and funds; diverse needs, languages, political contexts; competing demands on time/resources

EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT ASSESSMENT

OPPORTUNITIES:

1. Favorable climate for working on WIP issues due to 1995 Beijing Conference
2. Increased funding opportunities because of Beijing, as well as the nature of APWIP as a regional (vs. national) body.
3. Women's issues have become a central global concern---receptivity to women's issues
4. The international community----other governments and donors----are applying pressure to focus on women
5. Growing number of organizations that are focusing on women as a component of their primary focus (e.g. environment, agriculture) that are supportive of the WIP agenda

CONSTRAINTS:

1. Negative perceptions of societal attitudes about politics
2. Beijing will attract a great deal of resources, possibly leaving less for other programs
3. Lack of funding
4. Patriarchial systems

5. Differing levels of development/political systems
6. Many organizations are competing for the same pool of limited resources
7. Lack of knowledge, education; complacency, indifference to WIP
8. Perceptions that there are more pressing problems for women, such as poverty and illiteracy--
-women in politics not perceived as a priority

ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITY 1. Training of trainers workshops to build capacity in the region for developing women's leadership skills for: (1) candidates and potential candidates; (2) incumbent politicians; and (3) voters (grassroots and urban-based education)

Clientele

Leadership trainers throughout the A-P region

Resources Available

Organizations with existing capacity/training programs--- e.g. GDRI, CKWP, CRTS, CPLP

Resources Needed

- Funds
- Successful/established leaders as resource people/trainers
- Consultants
- Background Research/Assessment of training needs
- Grassroots leaders
- Materials/equipment

Tasks

- Conduct Training Needs Assessments: "situational"
- Develop generic curriculum (components could include: identification of strengths/motivations; image building; potential leadership development; campaign structures)
- Identify trainers
- Adaptation of curricula by trainers for in-country use

Who is Responsible for What?

Yasmeen Murshed (Director, Centre for Analysis and Choice, Bangladesh) will do initial proposal for curriculum development project. Components of this project will include a curriculum development workshop conducted by Center for Political Leadership and Participation at the University of Maryland. Using results of Bangkok meeting, Center for Korean Women and Politics will notify APWIP members who wish to be involved that they should do a training needs assessment; results of the assessments, as well as

existing curricula will be forwarded to the Center for Political Leadership and Participation. CPLP will design workshop for fall 1994 to support the development of the curricula. Curriculum development team will be assembled to meet following the workshop.

Time Frame

- April 30: Proposal for curriculum development workshop and team meeting is developed by Yasmeen Murshed
- May 15: Training needs assessments will be submitted to CPLP in Maryland
- September: Curriculum development workshop/team meeting takes place

ACTIVITY 2. APWIP Newsletter to disseminate information on women in politics, models, developments, programs

Clientele

APWIP members and other organizations concerned with WIP

Resources Available

CKWP newsletter (can include APWIP component)
CAC--desktop publishing capacity

Resources Needed

- Funds for publication, distribution
- Mechanism for collecting information

Tasks

- Request for information needs to be sent to APWIP members

Who is Responsible for What?

Centre for Analysis and Choice in Bangladesh will use own funds to publish quarterly newsletter; will send set of copies to one contact in each APWIP country

Time Frame

- May 15: Deadline for submissions to CAC for inclusion in first edition
- July: Publication of first edition
- Sept 15: Deadline for submissions to CAC for inclusion in second edition
- Nov: Publication of second edition

ACTIVITY 3. Regional Forum on how to use gender/WIP information to inject women's issues into policymaking.

Clientele

Women's advocates, planners, policymakers, media

Resources Available

Research of member organizations (e.g. Gender Development and Research Institute in Thailand)

Resources Needed

Funding

Tasks

1. Completion of situationals on utilization of gender information in participating countries---i.e. identify who in each country is doing (or using) research on women and successfully getting it into policymaking.
2. Design of module based on situationals and development of framework for seminar on how to utilize gender information in the policy process and policy agenda-setting
3. Project Proposal

Time Frame

- May 30: Situationals submitted to GDRI
- June 30: Funding proposal developed by GDRI
- November: Regional seminar

ACTIVITY 4. CEDAW Regional Meeting

Clientele

Advocates focusing on CEDAW as a tool for increasing women's participation

Resources Available

Organizations like Convention Watch in Indonesia; existing research

Resources Needed

Funding

Who is Responsible?

GDRl

Tasks

Project proposal

Time Frame

April 30: Proposal

July-Aug: Meeting (or if not in 1994, then January 1995)

APWIP Meeting Notes, April 4-6, 1994

Bong-scuk Sohn, through her experiences in Fiji and Vietnam earlier this year, has come to the conclusion that despite different cultures, levels of economic development, political systems, etc. many countries share some common ground in terms of what needs to be done to increase women's involvement in political processes. There is huge demand throughout the region for expertise, skills, resources.

The Asia Pacific Women In Politics (APWIP) Network Regional Workshop

**Putting Gender Issues on the Policy Agenda:
Strategies and Action from Asia and the Pacific**

**Bangkok, September 25-29, 1994
Final Report**

Background

The Asia Pacific Women in Politics (APWIP) Network regional workshop on "Putting Gender Issues on the Policy Agenda: Strategies and Action from Asia and the Pacific" was held at the Women's Education and Training Center in Bangkok, Thailand September 25-29, 1994. The Gender, Development and Research Institute (GRDI), in Bangkok, was responsible for the meeting, including: setting the agenda, inviting participants, managing participant travel, workshop logistics, and rapporteur functions. The meeting was the third regional activity for the Asia Foundation's Women In Politics (WIP) program; the first in a series of APWIP preparatory activities for participation in the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women.

The workshop brought together forty women working in both government and non-government sectors from twenty-three countries to exchange advocacy strategies, and institutional models for promoting women's issues, and to examine tools and techniques for holding decisionmakers and decisionmaking bodies accountable on gender issues. Countries represented were; Bangladesh, Cambodia, Canada, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Taiwan, Thailand, United States, and Vietnam. The workshop was jointly funded by AID, The Asia Foundation, and The Columbia Foundation.

Priority Issues and Framework

Two strategic approaches were identified to frame relevant issues for putting gender issues on the policy agenda, 1) the equity approach, which focuses on equal representation by gender in government and 2) the power approach, which focuses on enhancing women's power to advocate for their interests. The three main stages of policy processes to which the strategic approaches can be applied were identified as 1) policy formulation, 2) negotiation processes, and 3) policy implementation. To integrate gender issues into each stage of political process, advocacy strategies and awareness raising-activities must be rooted in action-based research and presented in a framework that shows women's vital role in development and the limitations of the current political system. Furthermore, women's advocates must understand the linkage between gender, development, and access to resources, and be able to conceptualize women's issues into a framework that connects gender development programs to the current political and resource environment.

Strategies for Putting Gender Issues on the Policy Agenda

I. Country Models

At a plenary session, presenters from Bangladesh, Canada, India, Indonesia, Korea, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, and Thailand discussed country models, conceptual frameworks, legislative initiatives, and advocacy strategies for putting gender issues on the policy agenda. There was general agreement that in order to increase government attention to women's issues,

there must be a responsive political environment. This largely depends on the convergence of government priorities, public activism, and media attention at the appropriate time in political processes. Other factors that contribute to the creation of a political environment responsive to gender issues are increasing the number of women elected into office, portraying women through the media as equal contributors in society who have economic potential and political rights, developing a language that reflects gender realities, and establishing pressure groups to encourage and compliment government efforts to put gender issues on the policy agenda. The role of language in policy processes was identified as a crucial tool for redefining women's roles in society from one of domestication to one of participation in public life. All of the presenters illustrated various needs and effective strategies in their respective countries. Highlights from the presentations include the following:

- The participant from Canada identified the chief barriers to a gender equitable society including a strong central government bureaucracy managed by a predominantly male network; the absence of left-wing or socialist traditions; a weak labor movement; a deeply entrenched class system; a strong church with close connections to government; a society in which the military plays a major role in the power structure; and non-proportional representation in electoral politics.
- One participant from Thailand showed how the recent shift toward a more decentralized government has increased authority of village heads and widened opportunities to promote women's issues. Under recent legislation, two additional seats have been added to village-level administration, which increases opportunities for women's representation in government bodies, and expands the potential for public exposure to gender issues.
- The participant from India demonstrated how the development of an inter governmental organization with oversight power can serve women's NGOs by consulting with government officials on all legislation pertaining to women. The inter-governmental body serves both the public and the government sectors by coordinating NGO interests with legislative initiatives. The presenter from India also highlighted the recent constitutional amendment which reserves one third of all elected positions at the village and local-level for women.
- The participant from Malaysia emphasized the importance of promoting leadership development programs and disseminating information on fundraising strategies for the purpose of identifying political and donor support for women candidates. The Malaysian participant also illustrated five qualities of an effective project strategy; Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic and Timely (SMART).

II. Promoting Legislative Enforcement

The participants agreed that the three main mechanisms for ensuring adequate enforcement of public policy are 1) pressure groups, 2) legislation and 3) inter-governmental organizations.

a) Pressure Groups

The Pakistan model for legislative enforcement demonstrated how non-government pressure groups, which have access to the public and government officials' political positions, have the greatest potential for holding governments accountable for their actions. For example, non-governmental pressure groups can influence political parties and government officials for consistency between public platforms and their votes or decisions through lobbying and public exposure of discrepancies between stated positions and actions. NGO pressure groups can also organize meetings on the grassroots level for the public to meet government officials to discuss policy issues, and develop media campaigns to hold political candidates and government officials accountable for their actions.

b) Legislation

The Swedish model was presented to illustrate strategies for addressing women's issues through legislation. It demonstrated the link between women participating in the work force and increased government attention to women's issues, which resulted in the passage of gender sensitive legislation. New family and tax laws, and new health and employment policies favoring working women were established as part of a movement to promote women's participation in the labor force and to increase the national rate of economical growth.

c) Inter-Governmental Organizations

The participant from Canada reviewed how the establishment of inter-governmental agencies and charters, like the Human Rights Court, the Canadian Charter of Rights (a body of law addressing human rights issues), and other laws pertaining to employment equity are strategies for addressing women's issues through the establishment of inter-government institutions.

Following the presentation of each of the above enforcement mechanisms, it was noted that each strategy utilized in isolation cannot successfully ensure adequate enforcement of laws and policies. Rather, each strategy must be used as part of a holistic campaign to raise public awareness and strengthen the constituency of women's rights advocates working in and outside government to ensure that women and women's issues are represented on policy agendas.

III. Policy Process Framework (See Appendix 1)

A policy process framework was developed to illustrate how issues can be identified and strategic tools utilized in different policy environments. The policy environment was described as the climate for change, given the economical, political and cultural constraints of a given society. The cultural, economical, and political factors which create the policy environment also define women's rights and delineate the need for women's participation in politics. The strategies discussed at the workshop were presented as the tools or methods of strategic intervention for influencing outputs on all levels of policy processes. The strategies are the inputs which stimulate

the policy environment and direct the process of change. Strategies can be applied to numerous aspects of the policy process, including government decisionmaking processes, NGO coalition-building activities, platform formulation for political parties, network development among interest groups, information dissemination by the media, and public consensus building.

IV. Working Group Summary

The two-day plenary session was followed by division into three separate working groups: 1) electoral politics, 2) advocacy strategies, and 3) gender and good governance. The working groups examined strengths and weaknesses of different advocacy strategies, identified emerging areas for research and action, conceptualized strategies for overcoming obstacles to achieving good governance and increasing women's participation in electoral politics, and delineated ways organizations could benefit from the APWIP network. Following the working group sessions, the participants met for a plenary session to summarize the contents of each working group, and to conceptualize the strategies into a policy framework. Strategies emanating from each working group are the following:

a) Electoral Politics

The working group on electoral politics identified the major barrier women must overcome to participate in electoral politics as social attitudes towards women manifested through cultural, religious, political, and economic practices. Leaders from the electorate, bureaucracies, political parties, interest groups, business, the media and religious groups need to participate in activities aimed at raising public awareness of gender issues and increasing women's access to political positions and processes. Strategies for addressing the issues include the following:

- Research on and analysis of barriers to women's access to politics, and identification of avenues for political participation;
- Dissemination of information on women's rights and avenues of access to political processes through seminars, debates, media campaigns and workshops.
- Development of alternative models of women's rights based on different social, legal and political systems;
- Education and training for government officials and NGOs on methods of integrating gender issues into legislative advocacy efforts;
- Monitoring and evaluation of awareness raising programs, workshops, media campaigns, and advocacy efforts for promoting women's participation in public affairs;
- Regular lobbying and/or contact with legislators through visits, by telephone conversations, and/or letters;
- Community mobilization around women's issues;
- Promoting free and fair elections, campaign finance rules, and government accountability to ensure that political processes are democratic.

b) Advocacy Strategies

The working group on advocacy identified strategies for building constituencies on women's issues, using information for the development of new policies responsive to gender issues, and advocating for changes in existing methods of policy implementation. The working group also identified the development of inter-governmental organizations as a strategy for serving the needs of the public and government decisionmakers by providing relevant information on legislative matters pertaining to women's issues. The following strategies were presented as tools for raising awareness, developing gender sensitive policies, and implementing programs aimed to advance women's rights and participation in politics:

STRATEGIES FOR ADVANCING GENDER-RESPONSIVE POLICIES

- Identify, prioritize, and converge on common issues
- Conduct research and needs assessments on women's rights and access to political processes
- Raise awareness among government officials and NGOs on issues, existing laws/legislation, and obstacles to enforcement. Methods of raising awareness include media (radio/TV), public demonstrations, lobbying, and information dissemination through publications
- Coalition-building and networking to strengthen and diversify inputs to policy change
- Coordination between NGO and government sectors to ensure that NGO interests are met through legislative initiatives
- The development of accountability mechanisms in government, and NGO "watch" organizations
- The development of an inter-governmental organization with quasi-legal oversight power to coordinate NGO interests with legislative initiatives

ADVOCACY STRATEGIES FOR POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

- Translate principles of gender equality into policy, law, and law enforcement procedures
- Allocate funds to inter-governmental "watch" organizations to monitor enforcement mechanisms and publicize examples of problematic law enforcement
- Enhance NGO monitoring and government accountability activities. Promote collaboration between inter-governmental watch organizations and NGOs to ensure that government and NGOs have access to information on government responses to public needs

- Strengthen the focal point of NGOs and inter-governmental advocacy organizations by updating the institutional mandate to reflect effective legislative policy implementation and/or adding necessary staff and financial support
- Develop a national body to coordinate NGO participation in political processes

c) Gender and Good Governance

The working group on gender and good governance discussed the conceptual differences between 'women's development' and 'gender development' approaches to political processes. The 'gender approach' is a means of examining hierarchy and power relationships with the aim of building a new ethics in government; whereas, the 'women's approach' represents tangible indicators such as numbers of women in positions, number of spaces available, and the strength of women's voices in political processes. While the gender approach needs further conceptualization, specially for identifying levers of change, its underlying premise is the relationship between power and gender, and how gender is implicated through power relationships in social life, and political institutions and processes. Women's advocates need to examine these inter-relationships, explore how they influence women's access to political processes, and identify entry points for asserting women's issues given the institutional context. Such questions as "what explains the opening up of spaces in government at a particular time and the rigidity of gender roles at another" should be asked in the context of different approaches to gender development programs. Similar questions must be addressed when devising strategies for promoting gender issues and good governance in public policy.

KEY ASPECTS OF GOOD GOVERNANCE

- The creation of democratic processes wherein different interest groups express their concerns and participate in decisionmaking processes
- Transparency and accountability in government organizations
- Mandate of internal governance for actors in democratic processes

STRATEGIES FOR TRANSLATING GOOD GOVERNANCE INTO GENDER-DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

- Make programs more human-centered and gender sensitive through the provision of gender planning tools and creating spaces for local-level participation
- Bridge dialogues between parliamentarians and bureaucrats, public administration reform, workshops with elected women representatives at the local-level on roles and responsibilities including monitoring functions vis-a-vis development programs for women
- Introduce analysis of gender relations with men and women elected representatives at the village level (and the broader public) with the goal of working simultaneously on creating adequate space and voice in gender transformation

AREAS FOR ACTION AND RESEARCH

- Understand the relationship between gender and power
- Examine dominant political procedures and processes, and explore possibilities for opening spaces within existing hierarchies for groups which have been locked out of democratic processes
- Conceptualize and develop levers for restructuring political processes and institutions to include women's interests and participation
- Mobilize the public to participate in politics and advocate for collaborative planning, resource allocation, and utilization of information among all levels of the political system

V. Policy Process Framework

Dr. Socorro Reyes, Director of Congressional Research and Training Service in the Philippines summarized the content of the workshop in a policy process framework which identifies the relationships and steps in the policy process. The framework is attached.

VI. APWIP Network Regional Meeting

The Asia Pacific Women in Politics (APWIP) network held a series of meetings throughout the course of the workshop. Several issues were discussed related to APWIP's role in the region and how it can further facilitate sharing of ideas and resources for women's organizations across Asia and the Pacific.

THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES WERE IDENTIFIED AS POTENTIAL PROJECTS FOR APWIP

- Issue forums on a sub-regional level which would utilize resources and persons from APWIP
- Resource development (training manuals/handbooks/pamphlets)
- Information dissemination throughout the region
- The development of a directory of organizations working to increase women's participation in politics
- Collaboration across the region to share information and explore the implementation of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in various countries

- The development of an "Emily's list" resource mobilization organization to support women candidates in the Asia and the Pacific

In addition to the above activities, possible sub-regional workshops on curriculum development for women candidates were discussed. The main objective of the workshop would be to develop a generic curriculum which could be contextualized for different countries within sub-regions. The curriculum would address questions related to a potential candidate's decision whether or not to run for public office, fundraising and other resources required to manage a campaign, and strategies for building political support. The role of the APWIP secretariat was also discussed. It was suggested that in the future, the secretariat would be responsible for producing and disseminating the newsletter, in addition to its function as an information clearinghouse for the region.

For participation in the Fourth World Conference on Women that will be held in Beijing in September 1995, APWIP must provide the necessary documents, such as the by-laws and a constitution, to register for the NGO Forum. Dr. Socorro Reyes, Director of the Congressional Research and Training Service (CRTS) in the Philippines, offered to prepare the necessary documentation. The group discussed whether APWIP should be a membership organization or a resource base. It was agreed that APWIP could best serve the region as a coordinating body and resource center for NGOs. A possible steering committee to coordinate regional efforts for participation in the Beijing Conference was identified: Dr. Suteera Thomson of Thailand, and Dr. Socorro Reyes of the Philippines for South East Asia; Yasmeen Murshed of Bangladesh and Chandra Bhadra of Nepal for South Asia; Dr. Bohn-Scuk Sohn of Korea for North East Asia; and Au Aruai of Papua New Guinea or Lilli King or Imrana Jalal of Fiji for the Pacific Islands region. The above names were suggestions for the APWIP steering committee.

APWIP newsletter

Volume One ■ Summer
1 9 9 4

Bulletin of the Asia-Pacific Women in Politics Network

i n s i d e

Women in
Panchayat Raj
Page 2

Bridging People
and Congress
Page 3

WIP in Fiji
Page 4

GDRI and its Role in
Gender Development
Page 5

From the Editor
Page 6

Jakarta conference
Page 7

American Women
in Politics
Page 8

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Farah Kabir

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Yasmeeg Murshed
Kumkun Akhtar

APWIP Launched

Asia Pacific Women in Politics network members met in Manila in January 1994 to crystalise their plans regarding the formation and activities of APWIP. As a follow up the strategic planning meeting of APWIP was held in Bangkok from April 4-6, 1994. The meeting was convened by Dr. Bong Scuk Sohn, of the Centre for Korean Women in Politics. Participants from seven countries and representatives from The Asia Foundation's 'Women in Politics' Program attended the meeting. Dr. Socorro Reyes of the Congressional Research and Training Service, Manila served as the facilitator of the meeting and presented the working paper. On the basis of this working paper APWIP's Plan of Action was formulated.

APWIP will continue its informal network structure for the present. A formal structure will perhaps be developed at a later stage.

The APWIP plan formulated at the meeting envisages a vision, mission and objectives for APWIP.

- (a) **Vision** : APWIP is committed to achieve equality, development, justice and peace through women's full and equal participation in the political process.
- (b) **Mission** : To empower women in the Asia Pacific region by increasing their

participation at all levels of the political process. It aims to create regional and international linkages and foster solidarity.

- (c) **Objectives** : APWIP intends to complement, collaborate with and support women's organizations in the Asia Pacific region working towards greater women's participation in the political process.

The specific objectives are :

1. To recognise and develop leadership skills among women.
2. To incorporate women's perspectives and views in the policy agenda.
3. To advocate, establish and enforce a legal framework that promotes the political involvement/ participation of women.

To facilitate the leadership skill training program the first requirement felt was to develop a curriculum for "training of trainers". A curriculum development committee was formed. Dr. Suteera Thompson of the Gender Development and Research Institute (GDRI) Thailand, Ms. Nongyao Nawarat of the Lanna Womens Center (LWC) of Thailand, Dr. Bong Scuk Sohn of the Centre for Korean Women in Politics, have pioneered programs in this field

CONT. ON PAGE SEVEN

329

Women in Panchayat Raj

Non participation of women in the decision making process of government at the local level has been perpetuating male tilted decisions. Balanced development calls for equal participation. The Indian Central Government with its 73rd Constitution Amendment has incorporated a law which provides for the reservation of one-third seats for women in the Panchayats. The proposed Panchayats will have three tiers; one at the district level, one at the taluq or block level, and one at the village level with a woman member as Vice-Chairman or Chairman of the District Panchayat (Zilla Parishad/ Panchayat) and in Panchayat Samities.

The opportunity is being seized by both the Government and many non-government organizations to enhance the participation of women in the rural political process. They are organising training programs for women which aim to train women politicians for participating in decision making. However they have achieved even more. They have motivated elected women in Panchayats to work for social mobilization especially village women to protest any oppression committed against women. The training program is designed to spearhead social mobilization. The ultimate objective is to enable them to contest as members, vice-chairmen of Panchayats & Panchayat Samities. In such capacities they can act as agents of social change and improve the quality and status of the rural women.

One success story is that of the villages of Andhra Pradesh. The literacy movement in the villages empowered women to agitate and stop the government from issuing licenses to arrack traders (traders in country liquor.) As a result of increase in drinking domestic violence had increased. Women organised themselves and protested by picketing in front of arrack shops. Finally it led to the closing of these shops. This was emulated by village women elsewhere such as Saharanpur in Uttar Pradesh. It is quite an achievement because the sugar cane growers support this trade and they have a strong lobby

which influences the decision of the central government immensely.

The National Commission for Women initiated a pilot project in Pondicherry state (the smallest state in India). The project will enable village women to settle their disputes by themselves. With the intention of offering legal and family counselling the National Commission for Women in the village



Mangalore set up a co-ordination committee. After two months these women were able to restore their street lights. Next on their agenda is to get the state Government or municipality to provide better roads for the village.

This act of legislation is expected to usher in women at the grass root level to the decision making and political process. There are concerns because any system of reservation in principle is perceived to be discriminatory in nature therefore, participation is endorsed. However, the existent socio-cultural makeup of Indian society does not, encourage the outright participation of women in public affairs yet. Therefore, the system of mandatory nomination of women in local government was welcomed. Time will judge its merit and demerit.

The Literacy movement in the villages is empowering women

Bridging People and Congress

The Women in Politics Program of the Congressional Research and training service (CRTS) sponsored a timely forum on March 2, 1994 at the Philippine Social Science Centre in Quezon City titled "Issue Forum on Rape". Seventy women and men from different women's organizations, academics, the press and public attended.

This issue has been discussed and debated in the Philippine Congress. The Rape Bill, drafted by a coalition of eleven women organizations called SIBOL (Sama-samong Insiyatibong Kababaihan sa Pagbababong Bates at Lipunau) drew different reactions from the members of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The forum organized by CRTS created an opportunity and provided scope for the advocates and supporters to echo their views.

The panel at the forum was composed of representatives Erasm Damasing, Daisy Avance Fuentes, Andra Domeingo, Luati Automino and Romeo Candazo, CRTS President Dr. Socorro L. Reyes and Atty Evalyn Wosua of SIBOL. Ms. Cicilia Hofmann acted as the moderator.

A briefing on "Legislative Initiatives and Development on Women's Issues" was conducted on March 24 1994 at the Philippine Social Science Center. Twenty-eight participants from eighteen women's organization attended the activity. This quarterly briefing aims to increase the awareness of NGOs and POs of legislation on women's issues pending in the Senate and House of Representatives; identify issue areas that would need prompt action and response from the

women's groups, and share techniques for effective legislative advocacy. The secretaries of Committees on Women in both Houses were invited to share their insights on the dynamics of the Committee. The CRTS-WIPP staff, on the other hand, provided an overview of bills filed and acted upon during the quarter.

The Legislative Alert, a quarterly compilation of Bills and Resolutions with their corresponding authors state and abstract, is made available to the participants.

On May 17-18, the CRTS-WIPP conducted a seminar on "Local Legislative Advocacy of Women's Issues". This activity seeks to promote women's justice and equal participation in economic and social decision-making at the local level by developing their legislative skills and raising the level of policy debate and issues affecting women.



Delegates from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Papua New Guinea and the Philippines at the first Asia Pacific Women in Politics Congress held in Manila, June 21-23, 1994

WIP in Fiji

Women generally have a subordinate role in all areas of modern life, and also rather lower rates of grassroots political participation. It is relatively well established that the proportion of posts held by women within political parties, representative assemblies and National Governments throughout the world is small. Political parties do not promote women at the same rate as men. For empowerment of women it is necessary to recruit women to leading positions in proportion to and sometimes in proportions greater than their share of party membership.

For empowerment of women it is necessary to recruit women to leading positions in proportion to and sometimes in proportions greater than their share of party membership.

Women now are taking more interest in politics, they want to share power. The Asia Pacific Women in Politics (APWIP) network gave information and training to women to encourage Asian women to contribute in politics and to maintain a political base.

Dr. Bong-Scuk Sohn, Director of the South Korean Centre for Women & Politics spent three days in Suva in January preparing for the Pacific Regional Round-table Meeting on Women & Politics in mid-February (14th-18th). Ten countries of the Pacific region were represented in this meeting. In her keynote speech she said that women need to be very organized to share ideas and to disseminate information. She discussed major concerns such as :

- a) *Developing women's political leadership*
- b) *Reducing formal & informal barriers to women's political participation.*
- c) *Making the policy making process more responsive to the concerns of women.*
- d) *Creating networks between individuals and organisations working to increase women's political participation.*

The Constitution of Fiji provides for a parliament consisting of Her Majesty (of the United Kingdom), a House of Representatives and Senate. The House is composed of 52 members. The voters are registered on one of the three separate rolls; a roll of voters for

those who are Fijians, a roll of voters for Indians, and a roll of voters for those who are neither Fijians nor Indians. 22 members are elected each from the Fijians and Indian rolls and 8 from the third roll. The Senate consists of 22 members, 8 appointed by the Governor General, 7 according to the advice of Prime Minister, 6 according to the advice of the Leader of the Opposition and 1 according to the advice of the Council of Rotuma. The term of Senators is 6 years.

The General Election in Fiji was held in February. The youngest woman Theresa Brain won a seat on the Suva City Council election. She competed for the council election with two other women. Theresa believes that women without skills can also enter the political arena.

Another woman Ms. Irena Jay Narayan was the first Indian woman to sit in parliament. She was actively involved in politics from 1965 to May 1992. Ms. Narayan started her political career when Fiji was moving towards independence. Fiji became independent on October 10th 1970.

■ P A K I S T A N

Women Eligible for High Court

In a landmark judgement the Federal Shariat court of Pakistan gave a ruling that women are eligible for appointment to High Court as judges. This judgement was on a writ filed before the court in an attempt to ban women from the judiciary's highest posts.

Khalida Raschid was appointed on June 6, 1994 the first women judge of the Peshawar High Court. In the highly patriarchal society of the North West Frontier Province it was an important event. Khalida Raschid was also the first woman civil judge and senior court judge of Peshawar.

Women today are crossing all the frontiers. Nothing is impossible for a women.

GDRI and its Role in Gender Development

Women who compose nearly half the Thai population play a vital role in social, economic and cultural development of the country. They play an especially active role in the labor market comprising nearly half of the economically active population.

Due to urbanization, modernization, and a changing economy, the percentage of women in the agricultural sector has dropped from 87.6% in 1960 to 57.5% in 1988. These migrants entered the city seeking employment opportunity and income.

Of those economically active in nonfarm enterprises, i.e. commerce, services and manufacturing, there are more women than men. The influx of a large number of female migrants to the city resulted in low-paying jobs for their services. Women dominate the textile, clothing, shoe, food processing, electronics, and tourist industries.

Women are the majority of the poorest in the group regardless of how the groups are divided.

The integration of women in development is a complex undertaking which involves all sectors of traditional and modern economies.

The Association for the Promotion of the Status of Women recognizes the impact of societal attitudes on the integration of women's concerns in the development process. The Association thus expanded its works by establishing a Gender and Development Research Institute (GDRI) to better understand how to deal with these attitudes effectively.

The GDRI began its operation in July, 1990, and formally opened on October 24 1990. The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) provided financial support to GDRI's first project.

GDRI's Objectives are :

- To carry out policy research on gender issues in national development;
- To develop strategies and processes, policy dialogues involving women to participate in establishing priorities and development directions;
- To develop information material for action research on policies and development planning;
- To build consensus and raise awareness of policy makers and planners on the actual role of women in national development;
- Develop strategies and processes to involve the media in the efforts to strengthen the role of women in development;
- To disseminate and provide services on information materials concerning gender and development.

GDRI Activities include the following :

On going project

Participatory Approach to Gender Responsive Policy Research and Development Planning : Strengthening the Role of Women Workers in Thailand Development.

Projects under consideration

Awareness -Raising and Consensus -Building on Gender Issues in Development : Non Governmental Organizations

Gender Issues in Decision -Making and Public Administration : Strengthening the Role of Elected Local Leaders

Factors Influencing Voters on Female and Male Candidates

Making women as One of the Election Issues : Strategies, Approaches and the Election Campaign

Gender Information on the Informal Sector :

Business and Services Including Prostitution - Related Activities

The Gender Watch Group (GWG) was established during the International Women's Week March 1993, to monitor the action of the Thai government and political parties on gender issues . It is a nationwide network of nongovernmental organizations, academic institutions and grass-roots women. The Gender Watch Group through Gender and Development Research Institute (GDRI), its Secretariat, is seeking to put women's rights into the Thai Constitution, to shift political power from men to women, to ensure the policies on workers, prostitution, and job addition. The regional and the national GWG build in their activities, the awareness raising programs on gender issues in regional and national development.

The Gender Watch Group evolved out of organized meetings in Bangkok and in different parts of Thailand to address women's concerns. The impetus for the formation of the GWG arose from the meeting entitled "Policies of Political parties on Women's Issues" hosted by the GDRI in Bangkok, August 16-17, 1991. Eighteen NGOs and GOs working on women's issues gathered to discuss common concerns of women throughout the country. The following day representatives of nine major political parties were asked to come to state their policies on women's issues and to answer questions posed by women's activists. At the time, no political parties had written policies on issues of women's concerns.

Similar meetings were then held at regional and provincial levels to encourage political parties to formulate policies on women's concerns. By the election of March 1992, and September 1992, several of these political parties had developed clearer policies on these issues. Thus the GWG was formed to monitor the implementation of these policies.

From the Editor,

Dear Reader

This newsletter is a very important part of APWIPs' activities because it serves as a link between all the members. I hope that it will enrich the Network by helping us to share our experiences.

Many of us are engaged in pioneering exciting projects that will enhance the role of women in different ways in our respective countries, I hope that you will send us written material and photographs regularly so that the newsletter will become a true reflection of the many facets of WIP programs in this region.

Please write to us soon-the deadline for the next issue is 15th September. Please also give us your comments regarding this issue and suggestions for the next one. We hope to start a Letters page as soon as we get some interesting letters from you.

FARAH KABIR

*Bea Poulin of the CPLP
University of Maryland
shared this poem with
the participants of the
APWIP
Strategic Meeting
in Bangkok.*

**We are in for a very, very long haul.....
I am asking for Everything you have to give**

**We will never give up...
You will lose your Youth, your Sleep,
Your Patience, your Sense of Humor
and occasionally... the understanding & Support
of people that you love very much**

**In Return, I have nothing to offer you but..
Your Pride in being a woman, and
all your Dreams you've ever had for your daughters,
and nieces, and granddaughters...**

**Your future
and the certain Knowledge that
at the end of your days
you will be able to look back and say that**

**Once in your life
you gave Everything you had
for Justice**

*.... From a speech
by Jill Ruckelshaus,
NWPC
National Women's
Political Caucus
1977
California convention.*

FROM PAGE ONE

APWIP Launched

in their respective countries. Together with Ms Yasmeen Murshed of Centre for Analysis and Choice (CAC), Bangladesh they agreed to develop a curriculum for the course.

Ms Deborah Paulin of the Centre for Political Leadership and Participation (CPLP), University of Maryland, was selected to be Resource Person and CPLP, Maryland to be the Resource Centre. It was also decided that a project proposal was to be submitted to arrange possible funding so that the workshop could be held at CPLP, Maryland. The Maryland meeting aims to complete work on the curriculum and to decide where and how the training program will be conducted.

APWIP members decided to publish a APWIP Newsletter to enhance the regional network, strengthen linkages and disseminate information. CAC volunteered to publish the Newsletter as its contribution to APWIP activities. The Newsletter, an English quarterly, was to make its debut in July 1994.

APWIP marked as its third area of activity the collection of Gender Sensitive Information. GDRI was identified as a pioneer in the collection of gender sensitive information. Dr. Suteera Thompson of GDRI was therefore, selected to prepare and outline a Gender Information Development Utilisation project to introduce this vital area of activity to other APWIP members.

To review, evaluate, develop and escalate APWIP activities a high level regional conference was recommended sometime in early 1995. Dr. Suteera Thompson was assigned the responsibility of developing a project to organize funds for the conference.

The formation of APWIP will encourage and provide support to initiatives and activities in the region seeking to develop women's role in the political and policy making process in their respective countries. The sharing of experiences at such conferences as that of Bangkok will save duplication of efforts and provide opportunity to replicate successful initiatives. The support provided by TAF in this endeavor is recognised and appreciated by all.

APWIP has miles to go and a lot to do before its dreams materialise, but it has taken the "first small step" forward.

Jakarta Conference : anything New ?

Farah Kabir

From June 7 to 14 the Second Asia and Pacific Ministerial Conference on Women in Development met at Jakarta to review the implementation of the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the advancement of women towards the year 2000. Women from all round the World attended the Jakarta Conference. Representatives from small countries played an active role during the meeting. It was the representative from Tonga who settled several disputes between India and Pakistan that erupted in the course of the summit. The Senior Officials Meeting was held till June 11, 1994. From June 13 to 14, the Ministerial Meeting discussed and adopted the Jakarta Declaration for the Advancement of Women in Asia and the Pacific. The participants of the Conference echoed the importance of empowering women for sustainable development. They emphasised the strategic role of women as agents of change and beneficiaries of development, and their role in the alleviation of poverty.

In the Ministerial Session, most of the ministers present highlighted their government's position on women and policies adopted by their respective governments for the upliftment of women. However, country studies and research give a different picture. The improvement in the status or position of women in most countries has been negligible. The head of the government may be a woman, like in Bangladesh or Pakistan, but the status of women remains almost the same. Violence against women, economic and social deprivation continue and women are treated as second class citizens in most countries of the region.

At the same venue in Jakarta a parallel meeting was held by the NGO's Forum. It had the psychological effect of a watchdog over government delegations. The NGO Forum demanded a definite mechanism to ensure the governments compliance with their policies and the elimination of gender based persecution of women. The struggle by women's organizations and support by NGO's to women generates hope and offers an opportunity for women to change their lot. One positive aspect to the women's movement in the last 20 years has been that successive governments are now more accountable at international forums about the position of women in their countries.



- Bangladesh
- Cambodia
- Fiji
- India
- Indonesia
- Japan
- Korea
- Laos
- Malaysia
- Mongolia
- Nepal
- Pakistan
- Papua New Guinea
- Philippines
- Sri Lanka
- Taiwan
- Thailand
- U S A
- Vietnam

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American Women in Politics : How They Got There

Progress has been slow but steady over the last 80 years. Here are a few highlights :

1917 : the first woman is elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.

1920 : The 19th amendment to the U.S. Constitution is ratified, giving women the right to vote.

1922 : A women serves in the U.S. Senate for the first time. When Senator Thomas Watson died, Georgia's governor appointed 87-year-old Rebuke Felon to fill the seat... until a special election could be held 7 days later. It was a purely political move. Congress wasn't in session, and Felon had no duties. But she convinced Senator-elect Walter George to let her serve one day in Washington before he officially took office. She made national headlines when she was sworn in on November 21.

1923 : The ERA is introduced to Congress for the first time. The National Women's party was formed in 1917 to campaign for the 19th Amendment. In 1923, the head of the group, Alice Paul, drafted the Equal Rights Amendment and succeeded in getting it introduced into Congress.

1924 : A women is elected governor for the first time. In 1917, "Farmer Jim" Ferguson, governor of Texas, had been impeached and booted out of office. Seven years later his wife, M.A. "Ma" Ferguson, ran as Farmer Jim's surrogate. She won, and was elected again in 1932.

* The first women delegates attended the Republican (118 delegates) and Democratic (182 delgates) national conventions.

1933 : France Perkins becomes the first woman cabinet member. When FDR was governor of New York, Perkins-a reformer committed to improving working conditions-had been his state industrial commissioner. When Roosevelt become President, he appointed her Secretary of Labor. Perkins's legacy includes social security, unemployment insurance, minimum wages, and much more.

1949 : Margaret Chase Smith (R-Maine) becomes the first woman to serve in both houses of Congress. When Clyde Smith died in 1940, his wife Margaret won , then ran successfully for the Senate in 1958. This made her the second woman elected to a full term

following her husband. She served four terms.

1950 : Status report-After the November elections, 9 women in the U.S. House and 1 in the Senate.

1955 : Status report-After mid-term elections, a record 18 women serve in the U.S. Congress (16 in the House, 2 in the Senate).

1961 : The first President's Commission on the Status of Women is established by JFK. The 26-member group (15 women, 11 men, chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt) documented salary discrimination against women for the first time. It also advocated child care, paid maternity leave, and equal pay for comparable work. Untill 1977, it was a major influence on Congress.

1963 : Congress passes the Equal Pay Act.

1966 : The National Organization for Women (NOW) is founded. It was the first mass-membership group of the modern women's movement.

1971 : The National Women's Political Caucus is founded by Betty Friedan, Rep. Bella Abzug (D-New York), and others. Their goal: Equal representation for women at all levels of government.

1972 : The U.S. Senate approves the ERA and sends it to the states for two-thirds majority ratification.

1980 : Status report-After the November elections, women held 19 seats in the U.S. House and 2 in the Senate. The number of women voters equalled the number of men voters for the first time.

1982 : The ERA dies. It failed to gain 3 states needed for ratification.

1984 : Presidential candidate Walter F. Mondale chooses Rep. Geraldine A. Ferraro (D-New York) as his running mate, making her the first woman vice presidential candidate for a major political party.

1992 : "The Year of the Woman." Women make up 54% of registered voters-10 million more than men. A record number of women run for office and are elected.

* Status report: After November, there are 47 women in the House and 6 in the Senate. Carol Mosely Braun (D-Illinois), becomes the first African American woman Senator. Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein of California become the first women Senators elected to represent the same state at the same time.

326

i n s i d e

THAILAND
APWIP Regional
Workshop
Page 2

INDONESIA
The Jakarta Declaration
Page 3

JAPAN
Women's Networking
in Japan
Page 4

BANGLADESH
Bangladesh and
Free Speech
Page 5

From the Editor
Page 6

MALAYSIA
Workshop on
"Women in Leadership"
Page 7

SRI LANKA
Sri Lanka's Woman
Prime Minister
Page 12

Asia-Pacific
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Bangladesh

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The Cairo Conference

On September 5, 1994 the world's largest congress on population got underway. The Cairo conference sought fundamental shifts in country population programs. It called for countries to lay stress on demographic targets and include development in their plans.

There were moments when it appeared that the conference was bogged down over the issue of abortion and would not be able to come up with a twenty-year program as it had targeted. However, despite the hardline stand of the Vatican and some Muslim countries, nations agreed to key changes in their population programs.

Cairo marked a decisive shift away from the ideology of those population ideologist that had dominated the past twenty years. In 1974, Bucharest, and in 1984, Mexico City, the plan of action laid down specific demographic targets to be achieved. The Cairo declaration was conspicuous by the absence of such goals. Family planning was no longer the dominant theme.

The focus had shifted to issues such as better delivery of health care services, women's empowerment, gender equality and reproductive rights. Experience

of the past two decades indicates that these played a greater role in bringing down population growth levels rather than better family planning services.

In the conference the world community committed to quantitative goals in three areas. The areas are education, especially for girls; reduction of infant, child and maternal mortality; universal access to family planning and reproductive health services.

Though in the three preparatory meetings prior to the Cairo conference nations had been able to workout an agreement on 85% of the text of the program of action to be endorsed by the general body of nations there was no consensus on matters such as sexual health,

CONT. ON PAGE EIGHT



APWIP Regional Workshop

Social, economic, and political structures and institutions require reorientation and restructuring to ensure gender equality in all dimensions.

The Asia Pacific Women in Politics Network held its first regional workshop from September 25-29, 1994 in Bangkok, Thailand. The Workshop entitled "Putting Gender Issues on the Policy Agenda: Strategies and Action from Asia And Pacific" succeeded in getting together over forty women representing twenty countries in Bangkok, to try and develop strategies for strengthening existing efforts at national and local level to put gender issues on the policy agenda.

The workshop held at the Women Education Training Center, Gender Development Research Institute, Bangkok, was funded by The Asia Foundation (TAF). The field Offices of TAF facilitated the contact and coordination with different individuals in their respective countries.

The participants felt that social, economic, and political structures and institutions require reorientation and restructuring to ensure gender equality in all dimensions. Globally women hold a secondary position and have been marginalized for far too long. Therefore, equity could be achieved only through improving the status of women and providing

them with better opportunities. Enhancing the powers of women and increasing their participation in decision making was considered the path to equality.

During the deliberations impediments were identified. It was observed that they were rooted in the cultural, political, economic and social arenas and they were mutually constitutive, each reinforcing itself and the others at the same time.

To help change the present situation targets or individuals crucial to the issue were shortlisted in order to be addressed. These were political leadership, bureaucracy, legislators, party workers, religious leaders, interest groups, minorities, individuals in the education systems, pressure groups, civic organizations, NGOs, business groups and media. Both men and women belonging to these groups required to be conscientized and sensitized to women and gender concerns.

The participants unanimously emphasized on research and analyses, accurate interpretation of data and statistics, dissemination of information to facilitate change and develop alternative models, choice and options leading to equality in society.



Participants at the APWIP Regional Workshop, Bangkok, Thailand

It was also felt that education was essential to develop understanding of the structure, gender compositions, power relations and opportunities of equality available to democratic polity.

Mobilization of women in particular and the poor in general were also agreed upon. Such mobilization would help the formation of support groups such as coalitions or caucus for social or financial support. It would help in articulating and making women's cause visible.

CONT. ON PAGE NINE

The Jakarta Declaration for the Advancement of Women in Asia and the Pacific

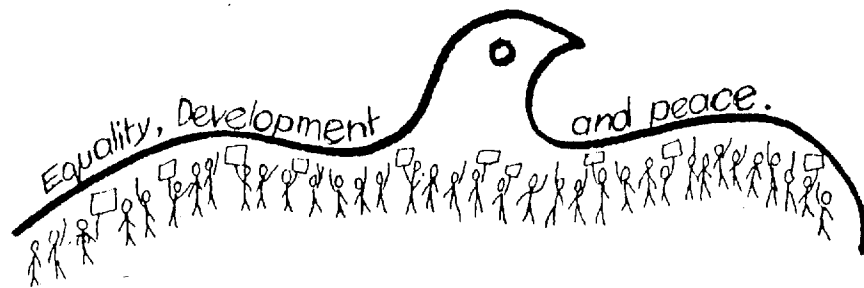
The Second Asian and Pacific Ministerial Conference on Women in Development was held in Jakarta From 7 to 14, June 1994. It reviewed and appraised the implementation of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women towards the Year 2000 adopted by the World Conference on the Review and Appraisal of the United Nations Decade for Women held in Nairobi in 1985, it prepared for the Fourth World Conference on Women to be held in Beijing from September 4 to 15, 1995.

The declaration for the advancement of women in Asia and the Pacific concentrated on the following areas;

1. The advancement of women has a bearing on the peace and development, and implications at all levels, therefore it should be addressed locally, nationally, regionally and globally. In particular, women as agents and beneficiaries of development must be fully integrated in policy formulation, planning, decision-making and implementation.
2. Women should have equal rights, obligation and opportunities with men in all fields and at all levels of development. Their empowerment and the improvement of their political, social and economic status is essential for human development, and self-reliance of women and their families.
3. Formal, non-formal as well as informal education is essential for empowering women with knowledge, skills and self-confidence for full participation in development.

4. Priority should be given to health programs targeting women and the girl-child throughout their life-cycle, particularly in the fields of nutrition, basic health and reproductive health.

5. The increasing global concern about the human dimension of development requires the integration of gender concerns in all stages and at all levels of sustainable development as a means to ensure human well-being, equitably enjoyed by all people. The interrelationship between population,



Mallika Badrinath, India

resources, the environment and development should be fully recognized, properly managed and brought into a harmonious and dynamic synergy.

6. Alleviation of poverty and the eradication of absolute poverty are fundamental to the achievement of sustainable development and the advancement of women. Consistent efforts towards achieving a balanced gender partnership are a prerequisite for full development of human potential.

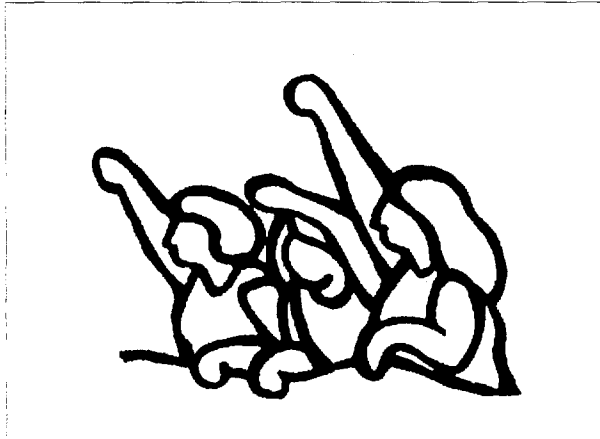
7. Strengthening of national machineries for the advancement of women in various dimensions and with effective collaboration between Government and non-governmental organizations is essential for the full and equal integration of women in people centered development.

CONT. ON PAGE ELEVEN *

Women's Networking in Japan

Japan has been going through a lot of changes politically. In a very short period there have been four prime ministers this year. It has given birth to a lot of skepticism and it is felt that perhaps it would be more effective to push women's issue at the local or community level politics.

At the national level, the percentage of women in the House of Representatives is only 2.7%, which ranks 128 place (1993) among 156 countries comprising of less developed and developed countries. Such low representation led to the circulation of questionnaires by the Women's Policy



Making Network and Diet members-Zenkoku Feminist Giin Renmei, led by Ms Satmoi Nakajima and Ms Markio Mitai- to ten political parties in their attempt to assess the status and

position of women in these parties. The Japanese Communist Party has the maximum number of women members 23.4%. Followed by the Japan New Party-12.9%, The Socialist Party -11.0 %, and in three parties it is a little over 10.0%. Though the first woman party leader of Japan, Ms Texaco Dei, was from the Socialist Party women representation in this party is not satisfactory.

Most political parties in Japan are considering increasing the number of women representation and, therefore, proposing the introduction of quota for women. The Japanese Communist party aims to increase

the number of women in the Diet, the Executive body as well as members of the party to 38.4% by 1995. The Japan New Party introduced for the first time quota in their party. They have fixed 20% for women. The Democratic Party is planning on 30% for women.

The network recommended 30% representation for women in political parties and is pushing parties to incorporate in their constitution this provision.

The Women's Policy Making Network has chalked out the activities they hope to undertake. They are;

- (a) To encourage women activists or leaders to run for local assemblies or the Diet. There being many capable women they feel that women would make better candidates than men in some cases.
- (b) Help form women's network to support female candidates as citizen's representatives, not to run as representatives of established parties as they tend to be dominated by males.
- (c) Pressure established parties to introduce quota system at the national level.
- (d) Work out women's policies by women themselves or affirmative action policies in order to eliminate the division of roles. The Japanese government pays special attention to the tax system and pensions in the context of social services offered to elderly women. It's policies center around the support and increasing the welfare to them. The Network, however, feels that it is more important to create an environment in which the aged will be less dependent.

In March this year the revised Political Reform Act, comprising of four laws including the Public Offices Election Law, was passed in the Diet.

CONT. ON PAGE ELEVEN

Bangladesh and Free Speech

Bangladesh has been the subject of adverse comment in recent months because of the novelist Taslima Nasreen. This has quite over-shadowed the fact that although there are many pressing problems of political and economic development in the country there have been significant and positive advances in dealing with these problems by the government as well as by numerous NGOs.

It is unfortunate that virtually all the coverage by the international media has exploited the sensationalist aspect of the Taslima Nasreen story. Sensationalism in its most virulent form, the prurient and merciless attention of the "paparazzi", has devastated the lives and loves of many people all over the world. Rock and film stars, sports heroes, presidents, royalty, not least the British Royal Family have all been victims of this intrusive and destructive force despite the fact that generally speaking most people find this sort of sensationalism distasteful and say so in the letters columns of newspapers and magazines.

The international media have paid extravagant attentions to the protests made by the right wing or "fundamentalism" groups and parties which, given Bangladesh's excellent record of tolerance and moderation, could only represent a minority opinion. For instance, during the height of the controversy the BBC ran the story of Taslima Nasreen's appearance in court and release on bail as the first item in the evening news. When thousands were dying in Rwanda every day and the open sore of Bosnia was bleeding all over Europe, did an obscure novelist in Bangladesh and the feeble death threats made by minor right wing groups, who are neither representative of Bangladesh public opinion nor taken seriously by most reasonable

persons in the country, merit this kind of attention?

Fortunately with the Penguin edition of her book many of Taslima Nasreen's champions have come to recognize the lack of intellectual, literary and artistic merit in her writings. Her media interviews have revealed her abysmal ignorance of facts (such as the difference between the Quran and the Sharia), not to mention her total ignorance of rational thought and it seems only now that the foreign media are finding out that she is making successively more outrageous statements each time she speaks to the press not because she has anything important or worthwhile to contribute but merely to draw attention to herself and her simplistic brand of radical feminism.



The endeavors of many Bangladeshi women (and men) to achieve meaningful development for themselves and for their less privileged sisters which was the basis for the "feminist" cause in Bangladesh and the image of Bangladesh the world over has suffered because of this depiction of Bangladesh as a land where free speech is punishable by death! The real Bangladeshi feminists wherever they are (in social service organizations, the NGOs, the government, in politics) who are working so hard to put women's issues on the national agenda and share the burden of development equally with our male compatriots, have to accept the setback we have suffered

CONT. ON PAGE TEN

Letter From the Editor

Dear Reader,

APWIP newsletter has made it possible to establish links with individuals across the region and served to amalgamate the endeavors effected to make women's voices heard locally and regionally. The interest evinced and the cooperation extended by all the members are definitely heartening and inspiring for those of us who are producing the newsletter.

APWIP even in its teething period has succeeded in fostering solidarity among women in the Asia Pacific region.

The APWIP regional workshop in Bangkok was timely and a cementing step. It is the beginning of effective activities of APWIP.

APWIP newsletter wishes to air diverse opinions and alternative views on issues concerning gender relationship and related issues. Therefore, I would appreciate it if you wrote to us on topics or subjects that interest you and will be of interest to others. APWIP newsletter is not exclusively for women. Men who are working for women or with women and have an interest in these areas are welcome to contribute.

The deadline for our next issue is December 15th. Please send us your material, photographs and charts/graphs before that. APWIP Newsletter is after all a collective endeavor!

Farah Kabir

Be My Friend...

Don't walk ahead of me

I may not follow

Don't walk behind me

I may not lead

Just walk beside me

And be my friend.

... Quotable Thoughts ...

Women's mortality cannot be addressed simply by increasing a country's gross national product (GNP) or improving dismal living conditions, nor by improving services.

LYN FREDMAN lawyer and professor of public health at Columbia University, at the ICPD Conference.

Being powerful is like being a lady. If you have to tell people you are, you aren't.

MARGERET THATCHER
Former Prime Minister of Britain.

Leadership is intelligence, credibility, humanity, courage, and discipline.

SUN TZU *The Art of Strategy*,
Translated by R.L. Wing.

Men stay rooted while women are uprooted. Daughters should be allowed to stay with their parents... Parents in their old age should be dependent on their daughters and not daughters-in-law.

MANISHA GUPTA
Editor, Manushi, India.

Workshop on "Women in Leadership"

The workshop on "Women in Leadership", organized by MCAPWIP (Malaysian Chapter of Asia Pacific Women in Politics) and NCWO (National Council of Women Organization) and funded by the Asia Foundation was held at the Asia Pacific Development Center (APDC) from October 3-7, 1994. Yg. Berhormat, Dato Dr Siti Zaharah Sulaiman, Deputy Minister of Public Enterprise officiated the opening ceremony and also gave a stimulating key-note address to the participants. Those who attended the opening ceremony included Mr Stephen A. Fuller, The Asia Foundation Representative, Mrs Ramni Gurusamy, the Honorary Secretary- General of NCWO, Associate Professor Dr. Mansor Isa, Assistant Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malay and members of the organizing committee. The committee headed by Dr. Norma Mansor, consisted of Dr. Phang Siew Nooi, Dr. Sulochana Nair, Pn. Khadijah Md. Khalid and Pn. Nik Rosnah, who are all lecturers at the Faculty of Economics and Administration at the University of Malay.

The sessions of the workshop proved to be both informative and beneficial to the participants. Basically, this workshop was tailored to suit the needs of NGO leaders. The program was designed by the organizing committee based on a two-prong objective: firstly, to recognize and develop leadership skills among women and secondly, to create a network among leaders of NGOs at grassroot level. The issue covered during the workshop comprised the government and political system, management and leadership as well as personal development.

Academicians, politicians from the government as well as the opposition parties and private consultants were invited to speak at the workshop. Speakers spoke on their selected topics without any reservation. As a result, there were lecturettes, role play sessions, analysis of case studies as well as small group discussions. This variation of method of presentation went well with majority of the participants. Here, a variety of

presentation appeared to be the antidote of monotony. The medium of language used during the entire workshop was Bahasa Malayu except for certain speakers who were more comfortable using both English and Bahasa Malayu.

Although 40 participants were invited, only 28 turned up for the workshop. These participants were from various non-governmental organizations such as environmental interest groups, trade unions, consumers associations and women interest groups from every state in the country. The issue on women and leadership acted as glue to these participants from different states and ethnic groups as well as different interest groups. Thus, they got along well with one another. The coming and working together amongst the participants was the contributing factor to a successful mock election at the end of the workshop.

The mock election of an NGO was basically an exercise where by the participants could put to practice what they have learned and acquired from the first three days of the workshop. The participants did show that they have benefitted from the many sessions

CONT. ON PAGE TEN *



Mr. Stephen A. Fuller, The Asia Foundation Rep. and participants seated from right to left : Pn. Khadijah Md. Khalid, Dr. Norma Mansor, Dr. Sulochana Nair, Pn. Nik Rosnah and Dr. Phang Siew Nooi.

FROM PAGE ONE

The Cairo Conference

reproductive rights, family planning services, and abortion.

The abortion issue had been raised by the Vatican in the preparatory meetings as well but it was not expected to get the mileage that it did at the Cairo conference. Countries like Saudi Arabia and Sudan supported the Vatican stand and they stayed away in protest over the inclusion of reproductive rights and adolescent sexuality in the agenda.

The major problem identified at the conference was the funding problem. Programs listed in the action plan are not getting implemented due to lack of funding. Rich countries postponed a decision on the "20/20" proposal floated by the United Nations agencies. It directed developed countries to set aside at least 20% of their budget for social development and a similar amount for development aid to poor nations.

Many African countries were also against such a proposal because it would mean restructuring their own budgets significantly. Finally, broad agreement was reached on the estimated \$17 billion that the program of action is going to cost.

Delegates were confronted with the fact that 90 million people were being added to the world population annually, that is the growth of world population was at an all-time high. Over a period of 123 years the world population had doubled to 2 billion, the transition from the fifth to the sixth billion, now under way, is anticipated in 11 years-1987-1998.

Therefore, Cairo conference is seen as the last opportunity in the present century for the world to address the problem. Nations need to act decisively on the program of action adopted at the Cairo conference if they are to overcome this global problem.

The secretary-general of the International Conference on Population and Development, Nafis Sadek, in an interview opined that education is the key for resolving this worldwide problem.

Sharing her views on how the Cairo

conference changed the approach towards the population issue she remarked that the central message is that population policy should be broader than just family planning and contraceptives. It has stressed education as a key investment that countries must make, particularly for girls.

Enlarging access to health services at the health level and broadening the scope of family planning programs to include women's health is as important she added. The conference has also emphasized the need for women to have control over decision-making but in a manner that promotes gender equality and not confrontation. And that population is not just a issue for developing countries but a global one. The developed countries must seriously examine their wasteful living and overuse of resources. She recommended holding a dialogue about how the world's resources can be equitably shared.

When it was suggested to Dr Sadik that many of the messages at the ICPD were diffused because of the abnormal focus on the abortion and reproductive rights issue, she responded that it did have an impact as some of these issues should have taken center stage. The debate on abortion was quite out of proportion but in a way it was good because these are sensitive and divisive issues that were swept under the carpet earlier. The Cairo Conference served as the platform on an international plane to voice their views on the issue. Also, many men and women have found that some of the things that they were led to believe by religion are not necessarily true. For instance, many would find it surprising that Islam allows family planning. Although it does not allow abortion as a family planning method, certainly for the life of the mother, all the religious leaders have endorsed it. Islam also talks about access to education and women's right to manage property for themselves.

In response to whether the developed countries had put their money where their mouth is she said many nations have already announced an increase in funds for

Education is the key for resolving this worldwide problem.

CONT. NEXT PAGE

-44

FROM PAGE TWO

APWIP Regional Workshop

population- related activity. The US has announced that its goal is \$1.2 billion by 2000. The Japanese have announced \$3 billion over the next seven years. The Germans have promised a 50-per cent increase. And the European Union has indicated that it may increase it by three times its current amount. With the World Bank also chipping in she expected the rest of the world to be able to meet the estimated target of \$5.2 billion from external resources. So she felt there was reason for optimism.

It was felt that unlike in the past the Cairo conference doesn't seem to have laid down any demographic goals for the nations to achieve. Her views were that they wanted to get away from demographically-driven programs. Rather than set targets and push family planning methods, we will do better by listening to people, meeting the population's demands for family planning and leaving the choice of what they will use, if they will use and when they will use to the people. She further said we need to educate them. She opined that this enabling approach would lead to much lower levels of population for the world than the UN's medium projections.

She expressed that the notion that all one needs is economic development has been laid to rest. As well as the believe that unless one has economic growth, fertility will decline if one gives people the means and enabling environment for them to make the decisions.

Activities undertaken at the sub-regional and regional levels have been an important aspect of preparation of the conference. The outcome of subregional and regional preparatory meetings on population and development has clearly demonstrated the importance of acknowledging, alongside both international and national actions, the continuing contributions of subregional and regional action. For the realization of the targets set by the world conference coordination and monitoring will be required at the international, subregional and regional levels. At this stage more doing than planning is required.

To support national efforts a common regional platform was what the workshop aimed at. The participants in the workshop came to a consensus over certain actions that may be undertaken in their individual or national capacity. They can be encapsulated into three broad categories : research , analysis and dissemination of information; enforcement of existing laws specially related to women ; advocacy and marketing of gender concern.

The APWIP Regional Workshop hoped to foster solidarity among similar organizations, individuals and efforts and strengthen networking. The meet hopefully will contribute in making women's concern and gender issues regionally audible and visible.

The APWIP members formed a working group for effective APWIP activities, and in a business meeting in Bangkok decided to have another regional workshop. This workshop will be for developing leadership training curriculum. It is hoped that once the planning is finalized all member countries will participate. The workshop is tentatively scheduled for early next year.

Farah Kabir, Project Director, CAC-WIP Program, Bangladesh



FROM PAGE FIVE

Bangladesh and Free Speech

and work quietly to restore confidence in technology, development and progress at the grassroots levels.

As Muslims many of us believe that the fundamental values of humility, charity and submission to Allah are the true essence of Islam. Bangladeshis have inherited the traditions of education, culture and civilization which have taught them to be tolerant and open minded and given them the ability to be equally at home in the East or the West. Bangladesh is, in this last decade of the twentieth century, undergoing great social transitions and changes and many of the established dimensions of our lives have to be redefined as we seek to reconcile our traditional values and ways of life with the demands of a technological world. The consequences of rapid modernization and development, the role of NGOs in national life, the issues of empowering women and the less privileged and the effect of this on our culture and social norms, are all matters that we as a country and a society have to discuss and resolve for ourselves. There are yet other fundamental questions of "choice" which have to be seriously debated in our country - whether we should have limits to free speech such as legislation against blasphemy, how much choice should a society have, what is "freedom" and do we want freedom of speech and thought at the cost of human dignity?

The champions of freedom of speech will say that freedom itself creates human dignity, but I disagree. There are limits to free speech everywhere because most people agree that "Freedom" is not the license to do or say exactly what one pleases about everything. In fact in most developed countries security of the state, libel, slander and privacy laws are strictly enforceable thus setting effective limits to freedom of speech. The question therefore is what *degree* of restriction should be put on a person's right to speak his or her mind and if that restriction is not observed what punishment is appropriate.

We have to keep in mind that Bangladesh is a land of small farming communities where different religions have to co-exist in close

proximity to each other. Some legislation was thought to be necessary to ensure communal harmony and laws were enacted to give communities protection and the opportunity of practicing their religion in peace. Any change to these laws will have to continue to grant this protection and to safeguard these rights.

I am confident that Bangladesh will eventually be able to resolve these and other questions of national importance and will continue to develop rapidly and find its rightful place in the community of nations. We ask for understanding, for time and for a little bit of help from our friends.

Yasmeen Mursheed
Director, CAC

FROM PAGE SEVEN

Women in Leadership

the sessions during the earlier part of the workshop. They managed to create the atmosphere of an election with their creative and innovative ideas. What was interesting to note was that everyone was convincing in their roles, either as a candidate, or a publicity manager, or a voter or even a trouble maker. The public rally as well as the election was witnessed by Mr Stephen Fuller, The Asia Foundation representative. At the end of the exercise, Mr Fuller gave the closing speech which pleased the audience as he spoke in Bahasa Melayu.

However, the workshop did not end then as there was another session whereby the participants were evaluated on their performance during the mock election. The organisers highlighted the participants strong points to encourage as well to motivate the participants. However, mistakes were also pointed out in order that everyone could learn from their errors. This evaluation was a learning process for both participants and the organisers. On the whole, it can be said that this workshop on "Women in Leadership" was a success.

Dr. Norma Mansor

Bangladeshis have inherited the traditions of education, culture and civilization which have taught them to be tolerant and open minded and given them the ability to be equally at home in the East or the West.

FROM PAGE THREE

The Jakarta declaration...

8. The human rights of women and the girl-child are inalienable, integral and indivisible parts of universal human rights and consequently all forms of discrimination against women, exploitation and gender-based violence should be eliminated.

9. Violence against women in the family, society and conflict situations must be removed. Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, and other relevant human rights instruments and the United Nations resolutions is crucial. The role of women in peace-building and conflict resolution should be enhanced and strengthened.

10. The media are urged to fully respect the dignity of women, in particular by portraying women positively in all their diverse roles.

11. United Nations bodies and specialized agencies, intergovernmental organizations, donor countries and agencies, non-governmental organizations, the private sector and the general public are urged to support and assist the members of ESCAP in implementing the Plan of Action for the Advancement of Women in Asia and the Pacific.

The Plan of Action drafted by ESCAP and finally adopted by the Second Ministerial Conference is based on the draft Platform of Action prepared by the Commission on the Status of Women. The Plan of Action includes among others the mission statement, regional and global overview, critical area of concerns, goals, strategic objectives and the actions to be taken.

The Jakarta Conference adopted the Plan of Action as a means to accelerate the attainment of the objectives of the Nairobi Forward-Looking strategies towards the year 2000 in the Asia and Pacific region and contribute to preparation of global plan of action.

FROM PAGE FOUR

Women Networking in Japan

The introduction of single seat constituencies was opposed by women as it is difficult for women to get elected under the system. The system is expected to change in the next election from the medium-sized district or constituency system to the coexistence of single seat constituencies of 300 seats and proportionate representation in 200 seats.

The revised laws also deals with political fund. Over the years it has become evident that a lot of corruption is taking place in regards to party funds. Aspiring and old politician alike are paying big amounts to these funds to have themselves established in politics. Under the act, tax money is allocated to political parties in the proportion of Diet members. The loopholes in the act will not be very effective combatting corruption.

The Zenkoku Feminist Giin Renmei last February held a meeting with some Diet members in their attempt to withdraw voting for corrupt politicians/candidates.

Co-op or "Representative Movement" has also contributed significantly in motivating women to contest local assemblies. Co-op has provided more than 80 representatives to local assemblies since late 70's. Most of them are housewives but activists. Unfortunately despite their records in the local elections they lost in the national elections in 1993.

The defeat has been mainly attributed to the system of two year term for which they are representative. On the completion of two years they are replaced by new representatives, new and unknown to the people.

Women organisations or pressure groups in Japan have been successful in some areas. As a result of their pressure the Civil Law is to be revised. The Legislative Council is considering issues such as maiden names of women, illegitimate child, divorce etc. It is felt by the Network there are other issues as well that the Legislative Council should take up. Therefore, much work is yet to be done by women networks in Japan.



Madha Bairoath, India

- Bangladesh
- Cambodia
- Fiji
- India
- Indonesia
- Japan
- Korea
- Laos
- Malaysia
- Mongolia
- Nepal
- Pakistan
- Papua New Guinea
- Philippines
- Sri Lanka
- Taiwan
- USA
- Vietnam

WOMEN IN POLITICS PROGRAM

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Sri Lanka's Woman Prime Minister

The South Asian region today has the maximum number of women Prime Ministers. The Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Chandrika B. Kumaratunga, the new member comes from a political family -her father, mother, brother and husband were all political personalities of Sri Lanka. Kumaratunga was sworn in as the second woman head of state and the eleventh Prime Minister of the country. She is also the third prime minister from the same family.

Her father S W R D Bandarnike was Ceylon's Premier from 1956 to 1959 , when he was assassinated by a Buddhist monk. His wife Sirimavo Bandarnike succeeded him and ruled the country from 1960 to 1965. She again came to power in 1970 and was in power upto 1979.

Described as a socialist and a liberal, Chandrika pursued her education in France and returned to Sri Lanka in 1970. She worked on cooperative farming, conducted economic research and ran a newspaper for some years. When the UNP captured power, she was portrayed as an " extremist" and detained on a couple of occasions.

She married a film star, Vijaya Kumaratunga, who was beginning to gain ground in politics. He had established himself on the silver screen and was capitalising on this popularity.

Chandrika and Vijaya launched the Sri Lanka Mahajana Pakshya (party) and then formed the United Socialist Alliance with other leftist parties to fight the 1988 and 1989 elections. Then, Vijaya was assassinated allegedly by insurgents of the Janata Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP). Chandrika left her country but came back in the early 1990s. She then returned to her mother's party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP).

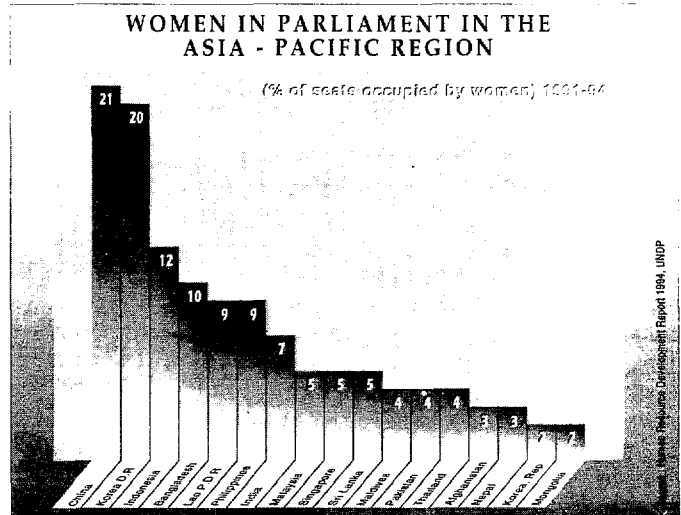
There was not room enough for the siblings in the same party and the quarrel among them began. Brother Anura and Chandrika developed their own bases within the SLFP which threatened to split the party.

In the 1993 provincial election Chandrika ran the campaign and was swept in as Chief Minister of the Western Province. There has been no looking back since. She was getting

ready to face the 1994 elections when Anura left the party and let her assume charge. She knit a new team together and demonstrated her charisma by leading the People's Alliance campaign for the southern provincial elections in May this year to a resounding victory.

Though there were hiccups after this election over leadership, Chandrika managed to sort out both family and party problems to emerge on top. Initially eager to become Premier, Sirimavo realized the wave for Chandrika and agreed to hand over the reins to the daughter.

A confident and forceful personality, Chandrika is fluent in Sinhala, English, and French, knows Russian, German and Hindi, and is a good communicator.



She is extremely careful about her two children, 14 year old daughter and 12 year old son so that they are not neglected due to her work. In fact she is so committed to them that she can cancel official appointments or be late if they need her attention or fall sick. As Prime Minister she will have to adjust her personal commitments to attend to urgent and demanding problems of the nation.

She has shown that charisma is as essential as good governance or tall promises to win the people.

The few steps that Chandrika has taken since she came to power to consolidate the nation have been in the right direction. Expectations are riding high at present and Chandrika has a lot to do.

한국여성정치연구소

Center for Korean Women & Politics

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●여성동장의 총원경로 및 그 역할에 관한 연구

The Study on the Recruitment Channel and the Role of Women Heads of Townships

●아·태지역 여성정치 지역자원센터

Regional Resource Center of Asia-Pacific Women in Politics Network

●「여성정치상담실」의 1년 살림살이

Opening of the Counseling Center for Women's Political Empowerment

●「차세대 여성지도자 연수교육」-제5기 인턴신청을 받습니다.-

Director's Activities



1994
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(통권 제15호)

* p. 13

여성동장의 충원경로 및 그 역할에 관한 연구

본 연구소는 3월 8일 프레스센터 19층 기자회견실에서 8차논단인 「여성동장의 충원경로 및 그 역할에 관한 연구」를 개최하였습니다. 아시아재단과 주식회사 남양알로에의 후원으로 이루어진 이 세미나에서는 손봉숙 소장이 발표하였고 조창현(한양대)교수, 이달근(서울대)교수, 김성자(제주도 용담1동)동장, 유성자(쌍문3동)동장이 토론자로 참석하였습니다. 이외에도 면접에 응해주신 여성동장이 토론에 적극적으로 참여함으로써 내실있는 세미나로 진행되었습니다. 여기서 도출된 정책제안을 김영삼대통령, 최형우내무부장관, 민자당과 민주당의 정책실 및 여성국에 전달하여 정책자료로 활용되도록 촉구한 바 있다. 이 글은 세미나에서 발표된 논문의 요약문입니다.



1. 연구의 동기 및 목적

본 연구는 21명의 여성동장을 연구대상으로 하였다. 그리고 이들이 임명되어 업무를 수행한 기간이 6개월에 불과한 시점에서 이 연구가 수행되었다. 여성동장들은 술좌석에 참석하지 못하는 등 기관장이나 대민접촉에 어려움이 따르기 때문에 동장보다는 사무장에 더 적합하다는 한 자치단체의 보고서에 자극을 받아 이 연구를 서두를 수 밖에 없었다. 따라서 동장의 임기가 5년임을 감안한다면 동장으로서의 능력을 충분히 발휘할만한 시간을 미처 가지기 전에 연구가 실시되었다는 한계가 있다.

우리는 이 연구에서 어떤 여성이 동장으로 임명되었는지 여성동장의 충원경로상의 특성을 살펴 보았다. 여성동장의 의사결정 스타일은 어떠하며, 정책선택도에서는 어떤 차이가 있는지도 밝혀 보았다. 그리고 여성동장은 동사무소의 직원을 포함한 조직내적인 활동을 얼마나 원만히 수행하는지, 지역주민이나 지역내의 유관사회단체들과는 잘 화합하고 있는지, 아울러 임명기관인 상부기관과의 관계 및 지방의회의와의 관계는 어떠한지 등을 통하여 여성동장의 활동상의 특성을 파악해 보았다. 또한 여성동장이 이러한 대민관계에서 겪는 어려움은 무엇이며, 그 어려움을 어떻게 극복해 가고 있는가 하는것도 함께 살펴 보았다. 여성동장에 대한 임명권자 및 직원들의 평가와 아울러 동장 스스로에 대한 평가를 통하여 여성동장의 업무추진능력을 점검해 보았다. 이와같이 여성동장의 역할과 활동을 구체적으로 평가함으로써 여성동장의 증가가 지역사회발전에 미치는 영향을 분석해 보고자 하였다.

2. 연구의 대상과 방법

본 연구에서는 설문조사에 착수할 당시인 1993년 12월

현재 여성동장 총수인 21명 전원을 연구대상으로 하였다. 본 연구는 문헌조사와 면담조사를 병행하여 실시하였다.

여성동장의 활동을 객관적으로 평가하기 위하여 여성동장을 대상으로한 면담조사에 그치지 않고, 해당 동사무소의 직원과 동사무소를 찾은 지역주민, 그리고 임명권자인 상급자치단체장을 면담대상으로 하였다.

3. 연구분석의 결과

1) 여성동장의 사회적 배경과 충원양태

동장으로 임명된 21명의 여성동장들의 주요활동 배경을 보면 공무원 출신이 12명이며, 새마을부녀회 출신이 4명, 지방의회의원 출신이 1명, 그리고 교육공무원 경력을 가진 사람이 4명이다. 여성동장의 평균연령은 51.9세로 나타났다. 50세 전후의 연령은 한 기관을 대표하는 機關長으로서의 위치뿐만 아니라 지역주민이나 유관단체, 상부기관, 의회와의 긴밀한 관계를 유지해야 하는 업무상의 특성을 고려할 때 대체로 적합한 것 같다. 학력정도도 고등학교졸업이 11명으로 가장 많았으며, 대학교졸업이 6명, 대학원졸업이 3명, 대학중퇴가 1명으로 대체로 고학력임을 볼 수 있다. 여성동장의 절대다수가 결혼을 하고 가정을 가지고 있으며, 이들은 대부분이 배우자로 부터 이해와 협조를 받는다고 대답하고 있다.

2) 여성동장의 의사결정양태와 정책선택도

여성동장들의 의사전달체계는 밑으로 부터의 의견수렴과 위로 부터의 필요한 지시가 적절히 오가고 있다. 특히 중요한 정책결정시에 여성동장들은 직원들의 의견을 광범위하게 듣거나, 적어도 상위직급에 있는 직원들의 의견을 듣고 정책을 결정한다. 이러한 사실은 여성동장들은 업무수행을 위한 의사전달과 정책결정과정에서 민주적인 방법을 사용하여 직원들의 사기를 진작시키고 동전체의 화합을 도모하고 있다고 평가할 수 있다.

여성동장들이 비중을 두는 업무는 1순위로 동민의 민원해결, 2순위로 정부시책의 수행을 꼽았다. 그 이외에 일상적인 업무중에서도 복지사업과 환경사업 및 교육사업에 특별히 중점을 두어 실행하고 있는 것으로 나타났다.

3) 여성동장의 활동과 특성

250



여성동장들은 직원과의 관계에 있어서 권위적이거나 관료적인 태도보다는 세심하며 자상한 태도로 직원들간의 화합을 도모하는데 크게 기여하고 있었다. 또한 지역주민이나 관내의 유관사회단체와도 협조체제를 구축하고 긴밀한 관계를 유지하고 있었다. 상급기관과의 관계나 지방의회와의 관계도 매우 원만한 것으로 나타났다. 따라서 권위적이고 관료적인 '관청'의 문턱을 낮추고 동사무소를 열린 공간으로 만드는 데 크게 기여하고 있는 것으로 나타났다.

여성동장들은 남부직원의 여성에 대한 좋지않은 선입견, 주민들의 이기주의, 여성에 대한 비하, 통장들의 업무태만, 자신의 행정실무능력부족 및 여성리더쉽을 불신하는 사회적 통념등을 애로사항으로 꼽았다. 그러나 여성동장들은 대화와 설득, 잦은 대민접촉 등으로 어려움을 극복하고, 자신의 발전을 위한 노력도 게을리하지 않았다. 술좌석에 참석하지 못하는 사실이 애로사항이기는 했지만 동장이 자신의 역할을 수행하는데 어려움을 주지는 않는 것으로 나타났다.

4) 여성동장의 업무능력 평가

여성동장들은 원활한 업무수행을 위해서 필요한 능력인 주민통합능력, 행정실무능력, 상부기관과의 교섭능력 및 정치지도능력등에서 임명권자나 부하직원들로부터 좋은 평가를 받고 있었으며, 스스로도 자신들의 능력에 대해 대체로 긍정적인 평가를 하고 있었다.

여성동장의 업무능력에 대한 평가결과를 동장의 前職 경력에 따라 비교해 보았다. 공무원출신 동장들의 업무능력에 대한 평가를 보면 주민통합능력이 가장 높은 것으로 나타났고 그 다음이 행정실무능력, 상부기관과의 교섭능력, 정치지도능력의 순으로 나타났다. 새마을 부녀회 출신과 교육자출신 동장들은 주민통합능력이 가장 높고, 그 다음이 상부기관과의 교섭능력, 정치지도능력, 행정실무능력의 순으로 나타났다. 전직이 기초의회의원이었던 경우에는 상부기관과의 교섭능력이 가장 높고, 그 다음으로 정치지도능력, 주민통합능력, 행정실무능력의 순으로 나타났다. 정당경력을 가진 동장의 경우에는 정치지도능력이 가장 높게 나타났고, 그 다음으로 상부기관과의 교섭능력, 주민통합능력, 행정실무능력의 순으로 나타났다. 즉 前職이 무엇이었던가에 따라 업무추진능력면에서 약간의 우선순위가 변화하고 있음을 볼 수 있다.

4. 정책대안

우리의 연구결과는 여성동장들이 일선기관장으로서의 맡은 바 업무를 훌륭히 수행해 나가고 있음을 보여주고 있다. 그러므로 보다 많은 여성들이 동장으로 진출할 수 있도록 다음과 같은 정책대안을 제시하고자 한다.

첫째, 현행법에서 규정하고 있는 동장의 자격요건을 갖춘 여성인력은 매우 한정되어 있다. 따라서 단기적인 정책대안으로는 여성동장을 임명할 경우 자격요건에 다소의 융통성을 두는 것이 불가피하다는 것이다. 그리고 장기적으로는 여성공무원을 양성함과 아울러 6급 이상의 상위직급으로 여성을 많이 진출시키는 정책이 시급히 요구된다.

둘째, 공무원 출신경력 가진 동장의 경우 행정실무능력에서는 다소 우세하게 나타났다. 그러나 새마을 지도자나 교육경력자출신도 주민통합능력에서는 탁월하여 동업무를 수행하는데 아무런 문제가 없었다. 따라서 전직에 구애되지 않고 능력있는 여성들을 널리 등용하는 것이 바람직하다.

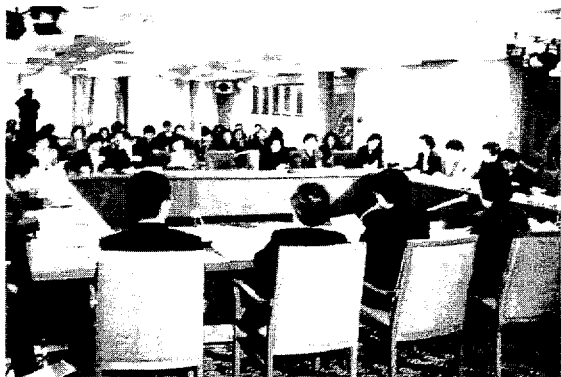
셋째, 정부나 상급자치단체는 현역 여성동장들의 업무수행능력을 평가하는데 급급하기 보다는 이들이 성공적으로 동행정을 감당할 수 있도록 적극적으로 지원해 주는 배려가 있어야 할 것이다. 99.1%를 점하고있는 남성동장들 틈에서 여성동장들이 겪어야 하는 애로사항을 이해하고 협조하는 분위기가 절실히 요구된다. 여성동장들은 적어도 뒤에 임명될 여성동장들에게 누를 끼칠 수 없다는 각오로 두배의 노력을 경주하고 있다.

넷째, 지난 3월 4일에 개정된 지방자치법에 따라 동장의 신분은 별정직 5급에서 일반직 5급으로 바뀌었다. 동장이 될 수 있는 자격도 일반직 6급과 그에 상응하는 공무원이어야 한다. 이 개정조항대로라면 다음 동장임용시 여성동장은 지급의 숫자에서 오히려 줄어들게 된다. 따라서 지역에서 봉사활동을 해온 여성들도 동장으로 임용될 수 있도록 자격조건을 완화하는 방향으로 재개정되거나 부칙조항이 삽입되어야 한다. 읍·면·동장의 자격을 별정직에서 일반직으로 개정된 것은 지방자치정신에도 역행한다.

마지막으로, 정부는 보다 강력한 소신을 가지고 앞으로 계속 여성을 동장으로 임명하는 여성공직채용정책을 보다 적극적으로 전개해 나갈 것을 강력히 촉구한다. 그리하여 최말단 행정조직인 洞長의 절반쯤은 여성이 맡아 지역주민을 위한 봉사지향적인 생활행정을 펴나갈 수 있기를 기대하는 바이다.

「여성동장의 충원경로 및 그 역할에 관한 연구」세미나 토론내용

토론에서는 지난 3월 4일에 개정된 지방자치법에 대한 문제 제기가 있었다. 동장의 신분을 별정직에서 일반직으로 한다는 개정된 지방자치법은 여성의 동장으로의 진출을 제한하며 지방 자치정신에도 위배된다는 것이다. 더 나아가 세미나의 참석자들은 지역에서 오래 봉사 활동을 해온 여성과 주민의 신임을 받는 대표가 동장으로 진출할 수 있도록 동장의 신분은 별정직으로 되어야 한다는데 의견을 같이했다. 여성의 공직진출을 확대시키겠다는 정부의 의지도 구체적인 정책의 실천없는 실현이 불가능함을 모두가 느끼는 자리였다.



여성동장에 관한 연구는 일차적으로 여성에 대한 편견을 없앨 뿐만 아니라 행정일선에 관하여 구체적으로 연구함으로써 지방자치의 활성화를 도모하려는 의도로 시작되었다. 이번 세미나는 지정토론자 이외에 연구의 대상이기도 했던 여성동장들이 대거 토론에 직접 참여하였다. 이날은 여성동장의 활동사항처럼 구체적이고 미시적인 내용에서부터 여성공무원 진출의 가능성 및 지방자치 시대에 있어서 동의 기능까지 토론되었다. 참여자 모두가 시종 진지하게 고민하는 모습으로 자리를 지킨 것은 최근 관심의 초점이 되었던 지방자치법 개정과 지방자치의 활성화와 관련되어 토론되었기 때문이다.

동은 행정의 하부단위로서 주로 민원업무와 정부시책을 시달하는 기능을 하고 있다. 그러나 그러한 동의 기능은 시대적 변화에 따라 바뀌어야 한다는 문제제기가 있었다. 토론에 참여한 서울대 행정대학원의 이달곤교수는 "지금까지 주민을 동원하는 역할은 동장임무중의 하나였다. 공무원은 시민사회를 도와주는 기능을 해야지 관 주도로 주민을 통합하는 일에서 벗어나야 한다."라고 언급하였다.

동의 기능뿐만 아니라 동장의 충원문제도 첨예한 쟁점이 되었다. 지난 3월 4일의 지방자치법 개정에 따라 동장의 신분은 별정직 5급에서 일반직 5급으로 바뀌었다. 이 문제에 대해서 한양대의 조창현 교수는 "동은 사회복지, 교육, 상하수도 등과 같은 문제에 대한 민의를 확인하여 구청의 예산이나 정책결정에 반영되도록 해야 한다. 동장은 일제시대 이래로 일반직이 아니라 별정직이었다. 그 이유는 민의를 대변하기 위해서이다. 직업공무원은 승진때문에 주민의 의사를 대변할 수가 없다. 따라서 주민의 의사를 대변하고 주민이 신임하는 사람이 필요하다."라고 언급하였다. 전주시 풍남동에서 올라온 정문자 동장은 "동장으로 활동을 해 본 결과 동장은

주민에게 접근하기가 쉬워야 한다. 그리고 지역에서 신망받는 사람이 지역의 대표로 선출되어야 한다. 그렇기 때문에 지역에서 오래 봉사활동해온 여성이 동장으로 적합하다."고 자신의 그간 동장경험을 말하였다.

동장이 일반직일 경우 토론자의 지적처럼 여성동장의 배출은 현재의 일반직 6급의 여성이 별로 없기 때문에 최근에 들어온 9급에서 7급까지의 여성공무원이 동장으로 임용될 수 있는 6급으로 되기까지 20여년을 기다려야 가능하다. 이는 여성의 공직진출을 유도하고자 하는 문민정부의 의도에 어긋나는 결과이다. 성적인 측면에서 사회의 평등은 일시적인 노력으로 달성될 수 없다. 여성에 대한 끊임없는 관심과 그에 따른 정책의 실천만이 보다 평등한 사회를 앞당길 것이다.

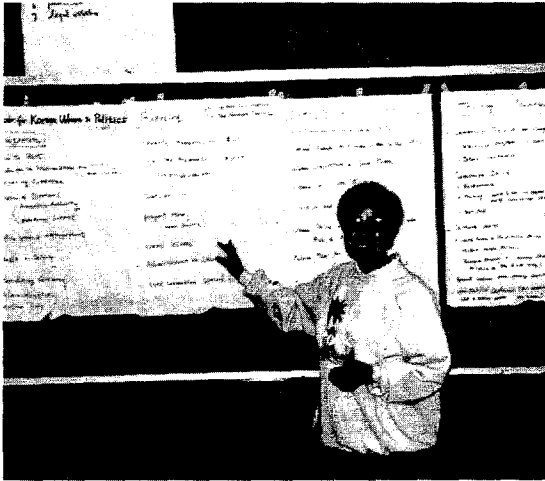
한편, 토론에 참가한 여성동장들은 자기지역에서의 활동을 구체적으로 말해 주었다. 토론자로 나선 제주도 용담1동의 김성자동장이 "처음에는 한라문화제의 민속경연놀이에 주민을 참여시킬 수 있을까 걱정했어요. 연습시작할 당시는 동주민이 30명도 안되었습니까. 그러나 우선 제 자신이 직접 참여하여 솔선수범하는 모습을 보였죠. 그러자 한 이주일후가 되니까 주민이 150명이나 참여하게 되었습니다."라고 발표한 것처럼 여성동장들은 동장취임할 당시만 해도 여성이 할수 있는냐는 주위의 눈총을 받았으나 여성의 부드러움과 책임감으로 노력한 결과 동주민에게 인정받고 있었다.

또한 광명시 학운동의 신선자동장은 "제가 있는 동은 광명시의 삼분의 일을 차지하지만 인구는 4500명 뿐이고 100% 그린벨트지역입니다. 취임식날은 취임을 축하받는게 아니라 마치 주민이 자신들의 요구사항을 토로하는 날 같았습니다. 저는 지역에서 필요로 하는 곳에 아스콘을 건설하고 방지턱을 만들고 보안등을 설치했습니다. 그 노력때문인지 이 지역은 아직도 씨족사회로서 남녀차별이 심한 편인데도 주민들은 여자동장인 저에게 다른 지역에 가지 말고 오래 있으라고 합니다."라고 발표하는 가운데 여성동장들이 적극적인 태도로 모범을 보임으로써 주어인 업무를 훌륭하게 완수하고 있으며 주민과의 사이에도 지도력을 발휘하고 있음을 나타냈다.

그 결과로 김성자동장은 한라문화제의 민속놀이경연에서 최우수상을 받은 바 있고, 전북 전주의 정문자동장은 '93행정종합평가 1위를 차지하였고, 쌍문동의 유성자동장은 31개 동에서 가장 많은 액수의 공사를 했다는 업적으로 표창을 받게 되었다고 한다. 우리는 여성동장의 경험담을 들으면서 여성이기 때문에 업무수행 능력이 뒤진다는 것은 하나의 편견에 불과함을 다시 한번 확인할 수 있었다.

아시아·태평양 여성정치 지역자원센터

- 한국여성정치연구소 -



지난 1월16일부터 21일까지 아시아재단의 주관으로 마닐라에서 아시아·태평양지역 여성정치워킹샵이 있었다. 아태지역 15개국에서 17명의 여성정치관련 전문가들이 모여 여성의 정치참여를 증진시키기 위한 5일간의 지역전략회의에서 아·태지역네트워크(Asia-Pacific Women in Politics Network)를 구성하기로 결정하였다. 이 워킹샵에서 손봉숙소장은 한국여성정치연구소의 설립과정 및 그간의 활동에 대한 발표를 하였고, 한국여성정치연구소는 아·태지역여성정치를 활성화시키기 위한 지역자원센터(Regional Resource Center)로 선정되었다.

한국여성정치연구소는 아·태지역의 여성정치리더십을 확대시키기 위한 연구기획을 돕고, 역내의 자료 및 정보교환을 담당한다. 또한 한국여성정치연구소는 이 지역의 모델연구소로서 몽고, 태국, 말레이시아, 네팔, 베트남 등으로 부터 인터뷰를 받으려 오겠다는 신청을 받고 있다. 아·태지역여성정치네트워크는 아시아재단의 지원을 받아 일년에 한번씩 정기적으로 아·태지역 여성정치워킹샵을 개최하여 일년간 각국에서 이루어진 발전과 변화의 모습을 점검하기로 하였다. 이 회의에서 아태지역의 많은 나라들은 여성정치연구소를 설립하거나 적어도 기존의 여성단체안에 여성정치프로그램을 설립하겠다는 의사를 표명하였다. 각국의 요청이 매우 절실하고 시급하여 여성정치확대를 위한 이 프로그램

이 보다 활성화되기를 바란다.

또한 아·태지역네트워크는 1995년에 개최될 유엔 세계여성대회에 독립된 지역네트워크로 참여하여 이 지역의 여성정치참여를 증진시키는 작업에 동참하고자 한다.

1월22일부터 26일까지 손봉숙소장은 아시아재단의 초청으로 피지여성단체가 주관하는 태평양지역 여성정치참여워킹샵에 대한 자문관으로 피지를 방문하였다. 손봉숙소장은 피지 여성부의 라투여성부장관(Latu Jo Nacola)의 초청을 받아 피지 여성부의 여성정치참여 프로그램에 대한 자문을 하였다. 피지여성단체협의회, 그리고 여기자그룹에서 각각 여성정치참여에 대한 주제발표를 하는 등 피지 여성지도자를 만나 여성정치참여의 중요성에 대해 서로 의견을 교환하였다. 피지는 인구70만밖에 안되는 작은 국가이지만 남성으로 여성부를 맡은 라투장관이 어느 분야 보다도 여성의 정치참여를 증진시키기 위한 구체적인 방안에 대해 자문해 줄 것을 요구할 만큼 이 문제에 깊은 관심을 표명하였다. 피지는 여성부가 문화, 사회복지 그리고 다민족문제까지 담당하고 있다.

손소장은 지난 2월14일 부터 18일에 피지에서 개최된 태평양여성정치워킹샵을 자문하기 위하여 다시 피지를 방문하였다. 5일간 진행된 이 워킹샵에서는 태평양지역의 11개국으로부터 12명의 대표가 참석하였다. 이 워킹샵에서 여성의 정치참여를 증진시키기 위하여 여성정치참여에 호의적이지 못한 기존의 문화와의 충돌은 어떻게 피할 수 있는가? 기층여성들을 어떻게 조직화할 수 있는가? 여성단체 및 여성정치인의 역할은 무엇인가? 그리고 여성참여증진을 위하여 언론을 어떻게 활용할 것인가? 등등에 대한 심도있는 토론을 하였다. 또한 한국여성정치연구소 설립배경 및 활동에 대한 사례발표를 통하여 여성정치참여증진을 위한 민간단체의 활동에 대해서도 토론을 하였다. 이들은 약 6개월후 폴로네시아와 말라네시아 나라들별로 각각 지역워킹샵을 개최할 예정으로 있다.

「여성정치상담실」의 1년 살림살이

「여성정치상담실」은 한국여성정치연구소가 지난 2월 15일 여성의 정치적 대표성을 확대하기 위하여 정치에 뜻이 있는 분들을 돕고자 설립한 한국 최초의 정치상담기관이다. 1995년은 지방의회의원 및 자치단체장 선거를 포함해 4개의 지방선거가 열려 그야말로 본격적인 지방화시대를 여는 한 해가 될 것이다. 이에 「여성정치상담실」의 올해의 활동은 능력을 갖춘 여성들을 발굴하여 지방의회선거를 준비할 수 있도록 돕는데 그 역점을 두고자 한다.



1. 「여성정치상담실」 후원리셉션개최

한국여성정치연구소는 「여성정치상담실」의 개설을 공식적으로 알리고 상담실의 원활한 운영을 위하여 3월 8일 오후 5시 프레스센터에서 「여성정치상담실」후원리셉션을 개최하였다. 마침 세계 여성의 날이기도 했던 이 날의 행사에는 여성계, 정계를 비롯한 사회각계로부터 관심있는 많은 인사들이 참석하여 더욱 뜻 깊은 자리가 되었다. 특히 본 연구소가 개최한 「여성동장의 충원경로 및 그 역할에 관한 연구」세미나에 참석하였던 여성동장분들이 후원리셉션에도 그대로 참석하시어 본격적인 지방화시대에 여성의 참여확대를 목표로 하는 상담실의 취지를 살려주었다.

이날 행사는 손봉숙(본 연구소)소장이 「여성정치상담실」의 설립취지와 향후계획에 대한 설명으로 시작하여 사회저명인사 몇분의 축사가 이어졌다. 「정사협」의 서영훈 공동대표는 연구소의 그간의 연구활동에 대해 치하하면서 지방자치시대를 맞아 때맞춰 열게 된 「여성정치상담실」이 제 몫을 담당할 수 있기를 기원하였다. 또한 「여성정치상담실」의 공동협력기관인 독일의 한스 자이델 재단의 미첼스(Gerhard Michels)소장은 지방자치제도가 한국에 건강하게 뿌리내리는데 있어서 여성들이 주요역할을 담당할 수 있게 되기를 바라며, 이에 「여성정치상담실」이 중요한 역할을 충분히 해낼 수 있게 되기를 기원한다는 오지의 축사를 하였다.

2. 「지방자치교실」을 개강합니다.

「지방자치교실」은 지방자치를 활성화시키고 여성의 정치

참여를 증진시킬 수 있는 전략과 방안모색을 위해 함께 고민하고 연구할 연구회원을 모집합니다. 「지방자치교실」은 지방자치관련 전문가를 강사로 모시고 4월 12일부터 6월 14일까지 매주 화요일 15시에서 17시까지 서울역앞 대우문화재단 빌딩 11층 강연실에서 있습니다.

이번 정치관계법개정에서 지방자치법은 어떻게 바뀌었는지, 혹은 자신들이 사는 지역살림이 어떻게 운영되는지 궁금하신 분들이나 특히 95년에 있을 지방의회 선거에 출마하고자 하는 의사가 있는 여성분들의 신청을 기다리고 있습니다. 지방자치에 대하여 이론적으로 무장할 수 있는 기회가 될 것입니다. 회비는 5만원이며 상세한 일정표는 아래와 같습니다. 많은 참여바랍니다. (신청은 한국여성정치연구소, 전화: 528-1201~3)

날 짜	주 제
4.12	생활정치운동과 여성의 정치참여
4.19	지방자치단체의 기능과 구조 — 개정된 지방자치법해설 —
4.26	지방의회와 주민참여
5. 3	지방선거와 선거전략
5.10	지방자치단체와 재정
5.17	지방경제와 지역개발
5.24	지방행정과 서비스
5.31	교육자치와 지역문화
6. 7	외국의 지방자치사례(독일)
6.14	21세기와 지방화시대

3. 「차세대 여성지도자 연수교육」

한국여성정치연구소에서 「제5기 차세대 여성지도자 연수교육」을 이번에는 「지방자치와 생활정치운동」이라는 주제로 「여성정치상담실」의 주관으로 열고자 한다. 「제5기 연수교육」은 6월 29일부터 7월 1일까지 2박 3일간의 합숙훈련은

「제5기 연수교육」은 특히 95년에 있을 지방의회에 뜻을 두신 분들을 대상으로 진행하고자 한다. 듣는 강의 위주의 교육이 아니라 수강생들이 직접 토론을 조직하고 참여하여 자신들의 주장을 개진하고 상대방을 설득시키는 등 수강생들의 주체적인 참여에 기초하여 진행된다. 특히 모의 지방의회연습은 미리 의정활동에 대한 자신감과 감각을 익힐 수 있는 기회가 될 것이다.

4. 해외연수 프로그램

「여성정치상담실」은 해외훈련 및 견학 프로그램을 실시하여 지방자치가 착실하게 진행되고 있는 선진민주국가들을 직접 방문하여 배울 수 있는 기회를 마련하고자 한다. 「제1차 해외연수단」은 독일을 방문하여 그 나라의 지방의회 및 자치단체의 운영을 견학할 수 있을 것이다. 지방선거에 뜻을 두고 있는 여성들에게 있어서 이러한 경험은 우리나라 지방자치의 현주소를 가능해보고 올바른 지방자치의 상을 구상해볼 수 있는 좋은 기회가 될 것이다.

5. 「캠페인 스쿨」

「캠페인 스쿨」은 2000년을 준비하는 여성지도자 교육스쿨의 연례행사 프로그램이다. 「캠페인 스쿨」은 첫째, 여성정치지방생을 훈련시켜 보다 많은 여성들이 선거를 통해 공직에 진출할 수 있도록 준비시키고, 둘째, 여성선거사무장 및 여성선거운동원을 양성하여 여성후보를 효율적으로 지원하고, 셋째, 민주적인 선거풍토를 조성하여 민주선거문화를 정착시키는데 기여하고자 한다.

이번 「캠페인 스쿨」은 94년도 하반기서부터 95년도 상반기 즉 지방의회선거전까지 총 5회를 2박 3일간의 합숙훈련의 형태로 진행될 것이다. 「캠페인 스쿨」의 교육내용은 입후보절정과 사전준비에서부터 선거전략수립, 조직구성 및 자원봉사자활용방안, 선거기금모금방법, 여론조사 및 유권자성향분석, 후보자의 이미지관리 및 홍보, 그리고 선거공약 및 연설하는 법등에 대한 강의를 할 것이다.

칼럼

4기 인턴교육을 마치고

고운자(4기인턴기장)

“약 3분입니다. 교육에 참여하게 된 동기와 본인소개를 해 주십시오.” 바로 이 분이 MBC라디오컬럼에서 여성 및 사회 분야에 대한 평론을 하였던 귀에 익은 목소리의 주인공인 ‘손봉숙’ 소장님이셨다. 우리는 이분을 모시고 34명의 소개인사로 시작하여 2박3일간의 교육이 여성개발원에서 시작이 되었다.

“자칭 차세대”라 생각하는 사람들은 광범위했다. 학생에서 사회 각 분야에서 말은바 직분을 충실하게 수행하고 있는 직장여성, 그리고 가정에서 무언가 새로운 일을 시작해보려는 층에까지 정말 다양했다. 연령층에 있어서도 스무살 대학교 일학년생에서부터 40대후반까지 참으로 폭이 넓은 연수교육이었다.

그래서인지 생동감과 탄력이 있는 것은 물론이고 많은 경험의 토대위에 이론이 정립되어야 한다는 소장님의 말씀을 빌리지 않더라도 우리의 연수교육은 경험의 양이 충분한 30대 이후와 이론정리가 잘된 학구파들이 모여 폭넓은 의견과 정보를 교환하는 장이었다. 소수만이 토론에 참여하는 것이 아니라 수강생 전원이 참여하여 각각 다른 세대들이 어떤 생각으로 무엇을 생각하는지 알 수가 있었다.

첫날 주제 「여성과 정치」의 조별 토론장은 밤새는 줄 몰랐고 “할당제”의 모의국무회의와 모의 국회법사위도 실전을 방불케 했으니 그 열성과 열의는 연수장인 여성개발원이 들썩들썩 했을 정도이다. 물론 밤을 꼬박 새웠다. 그동안 이러저러한 이유들로 막혀있던 말썽이 붓물터지듯 터져 가슴 저 밑바닥에 깔려있던 앙금까지 털어놓은 듯하였다.

우리는 이러한 토론들을 통하여 여성들이 해야 할 일이 정말 많다는 것을 실감하였다. 그 문제들은 모두 우리여성들이 일상생활에서 접하게 되는 교육, 환경, 성, 세계문제 등이었고 이러한 문제들을 올바르게 이끌어가는 것이 정치, 다시말해 “생활정치”라는 새로운 사실을 알게 되었다. 토론은 진지했고 눈빛은 모아졌다. 남성들이 여성의 능력을 인정하고 신뢰할 수 있게 하는 것과, 여성을 더 많이 이해하여야 할 층은 바로 남성 아닌 여성일 수 있다는 점, 그리고 이를 위해서는 여성들이 단결하여 조직된 힘을 여성인물들에게 쏟아부어야 한다는 데에 까지 우리마음이 모아졌다.

‘무슨 여자가?’하는 사회적 냉소와 편견으로 가득차 있는 현실에서 이러한 교육프로그램은 마치 춘삼월의 살얼음판 밑에서 피어나는 미나리 순같은 희망이 아닐 수 없다. 특히 34명의 우리마음에 나이와 경력을 넘어 여성이라는 자매의식의 싹이, 그리고 여성정치의 씨앗이 튼튼하게 심어졌으리라.

355

차세대 여성지도자 연수교육

-제5기인턴 신청을 받습니다-

한국여성정치연구소는 「차세대 여성지도자 연수교육」을 개설합니다. 이 연수과정은 여성지도자로서 갖추어야 할 기본적 지식과 리더쉽기술을 가르치는 리더쉽훈련워크샵으로 진행할 예정입니다. 제5기 인턴교육은 "지방자치와 생활정치운동"을 중심으로 강의와 토론, 역할연습(Simulation) 등 2박 3일간의 합숙훈련을 하고자 합니다. 이분야에 관심있는 분들의 많은 참여를 바랍니다.

- ◇ 제1기 인턴교육은 아.태지역여성정치지도자회의에 참석하였던 국제회의인턴들을 중심으로 "남녀고용평등법I"을 주제로 강의와 역할연습을 하였습니다.
- ◇ 제2기 인턴교육은 "공천할당제"와 "남녀고용평등법II"을 주제로 하여 정치, 경제영역에서 여성들의 참여를 확대하기 위한 방안들을 모색해 보았습니다.
- ◇ 제3기 인턴교육은 "여성과 性"을 주제로 하여 지도자훈련워크샵을 가졌습니다. 3기 인턴들은 강의, 자유토론, 역할연습등 2박3일간의 합숙교육을 통해 우리사회의 성폭력문제의 심각성과 성폭력특별법제정의 필요성을 재인식하는 기회가 되었습니다.
- ◇ 제4기인턴교육은 "할당제도입"을 주제로 하여 여성들의 정치참여 특히 정책결정과정에서의 여성들의 참여를 증진시킬 수 있는 방안들을 모색해 보았습니다.

기간 : 1994년 6월 29, 30, 7월 1일
 (수, 목, 금)
장 소 : 한국여성개발원 기숙사
참가비 : 40,000원
인 원 : 40명
문의처 : 사단법인 한국여성정치연구소
 강남구 삼성동 157-33 옥산빌딩 402호
TEL : 528-1201~3
FAX : 528-1204

제5기 인턴교육프로그램

● 1994년 6월 29일

시 간	내 용
13:00 - 13:30	등록
13:30 - 14:30	자기소개 및 인사
14:30 - 15:20	여성과 생활정치(손봉숙, 본 연구소소장)
15:20 - 15:40	휴식
15:40 - 16:30	대 화 마 당(여성정치인 초청)
16:30 - 18:00	안 성 레 의원(광주시의회) 최순영 의원(부천시 소사구의회)
18:00 - 19:00	저녁식사
19:00 - 21:30	자유토론(분반) · 주제: 여성과 지방자치

● 1994년 6월 30일

시 간	내 용
07:00 - 08:00	기상, 체조
08:00 - 09:00	아침식사
09:00 - 10:30	토론결과 발표회
10:30 - 11:00	휴식
11:00 - 12:30	의사진행방법론(최병욱, 이대 법학과 교수)
12:30 - 13:30	점심식사
13:30 - 15:30	지방의회의 운영과 실제(정세욱, 현대사회연구소 소장)
15:30 - 17:00	지방자치와 생활정치운동(손봉숙, 본 연구소 소장)
17:00 - 18:00	모의지방의회 사전준비
18:00 - 19:00	저녁식사
19:00 - 20:00	레크리에이션
20:00 - 21:30	과제준비(모의지방의회)

● 1994년 7월 1일

시 간	내 용
07:00 - 08:00	기상, 체조
08:00 - 09:00	아침식사
09:00 - 12:00	모의지방의회
12:00 - 12:30	종합평가
12:30 - 13:30	점심식사
13:30 - 14:30	종합토론 및 각자소견발표
14:30 - 15:30	수료식 및 다과회

차세대 여성지도자 연수교육

본 연구소는 2월 3일서부터 5일까지 2박 3일동안 한국여성개발원에서 제4기인턴 합숙교육을 실시하였다. 제4기는 "할당제"를 가지고 강의 자유토론, 그리고 역할연습등을 통하여 여성들의 정치참여를 활성화시킬 수 있는 방안들을 모색해보았다.



경제활동인구의 5%이요, 유권자의 5%이상 여성들이 차지하고 있음에도 불구하고 이들의 이해와 관심을 대변해 줄 수 있는 여성정치인들이 1%에도 미치지 못한다는 사실은 문제의 심각성을 잘 나타내주고 있다. 따라서 이번 제4기 인턴교육은 여성들의 정책결정과정에서의 참여를 확대시키는 방안들 중에 특히 "여성할당제"에 착목하여 그 필요성과 문제점들을 검토해 보았다.

이번 제4기인턴교육에 참가한 훈련생들은 대학일학년생에서부터 50대초반까지 광범위했다. 이러한 광범위한 연령층은 이전의 인턴교육과정에서는 얻을 수 없었던 기회, 즉 세대간의 의견을 조정하고 확인할 수 있는 기회를 제공해 주었다. 물론 이러한 구성은 서로 다른 의식과 생활양식등으로 교육에 어려움이 다소 없지는 않았지만 그 보다도 사회적 삶속에서 요구하는 계규법들에서 벗어나 얼마나 이모이기이전에 같은 여성이라는 공감대를 형성해보는 좋은 기회를 마련해주었다.

대화마당시간에는 이우정(민주당)의원과 전재희(노동부 직업훈련)국장을 초빙하여 수강생들과의 진지한 토론의 자리를 가졌다. 이우정 의원은 정치에 입문하게된 과정과 현시점에서 여성들의 정치참여 특히 정책결정과정의 참여가 왜 필요하며 어떻게 해야되는지를 모두 함께 고민해야할 시점임을 강조하였다. 또한 현시점에서 가장 바람직한 대안은 여성할당제를 사회전분야에 실시하는 것임을 지적하였고 이를 위해 민주당이 정치관계법개정안에 20%여성비례할당제를 채택하기까지의 경위에 대한 설명이 있었다.

전재희국장도 공직에 들어가게된 계기와 여성이 왜 공직에 필요하고 여성의 공직에의 참여 특히 정책결정을 할 수 있는 고위공직에의 참여를 어떻게 이루어 낼 수 있는지에 대하여 언급하였다. 또한 전국장은 제도적 장치가 마련되기까지는 무슨 일이 있어도 본선치기장사(자신이 있던 자리에는 반드시 여성으로 후임을 정하도록 하겠다)는 꼭 하겠노라고 다짐

하여 수강생들로부터 박수를 받았다.

교육프로그램의 첫강의를 맡았던 본 연구소 순봉숙소장은 여성과 리더쉽 강의를 통해 지방자치시대의 개막으로 새로운 리더쉽 특히 여성의 리더쉽은 더욱 긴요해졌고 이러한 시대적 흐름에 여성들이 동참하기 위해서는 주체적이고 합의와 민주적 절차를 중요시하는 능력을 함양해야 한다고 강조하였다.

의사진행방법론에 대해서는 최병욱(이대 법학과)교수는 많은 사람을 설득하여 자신의 의견에 동의하도록 만들수 있는 방법, 즉 가장 효율적인 회의진행방법에 관한 강의를 하였다.

또한 정책결정과정연구 강의에서는 최창윤 전 총무처장관이 10

여년간의 중요정책결정과정에 있었던 자신의 경험을 토대로 하여 정책결정과정에 필요한 사항들에 대해 구체적인 사례들을 들어 설명하였다.

김선옥(한국여성개발원) 책임연구원은 할당제의 이론과 실제 강의를 통해 여성들의 사회적 참여를 증진하기 위해서 취해지고 있는 적극적인 조치(affirmative action)들중의 하나로서 할당제가 어떠한 내용을 갖는 제도인가에 대한 설명과 이러한 할당제를 채택하고 있는 나라들의 현황과 여성의 파소대표라는 우리나라의 상황을 타개하기 위한 방안으로서 할당제의 채택가능성과 그 문제점들을 전망해보았다.

마지막날의 역할연습은 여성할당제 도입문제를 둘러싸고 발생할 수 있는 상황들을 모의국무회의와 모의국회 법제사법위원회의 양식을 빌어 실시하였다. 모의국무회의에서는 공식에의 여성진출을 늘리기 위한 여성할당제 도입을 주제로 하였고 모의국회법사위에서는 정치관계법 특히 선거법에 각 정당은 20%여성할당제를 도입한다는 내용을 삽입시키는 문제를 중심으로 하여 진행되었다.

역할연습은 토론의 결론에 역점을 두는 것이 아니라 토론과정을 통해 자신들이 맡은 역할에서 요구하는 입장을 얼마나 논리적으로 상대방을 설득할 수 있는 가의 문제에 초점을 두고 있다. 따라서 평상시 우리가 당연하다고 생각해오던 것들 나 아닌 다른 사람들도 당연하게 받아들여도록 만드는 과정인 것이다. 같은 여성으로 여성할당제의 도입은 당연한 조치라고 생각해왔지만 왜 그것이 당연한 것이고 합리적인 조치인지를 설명하기는 그리 쉬운 일이 아니었다. 오히려 반대의 논리, 기존남성들의 주장들에 더 친숙해져 있는 자신들의 모습을 발견하는 기회가 되었다.

The Study on the Recruitment Channel and the Role of Women Heads of Townships(*dongjang*)

The Center for Korean Women and Politics held a seminar at the Press Center on March 8, where Dr. Bong-Scuk Sohn presented a paper on "the Study on the Recruitment Channel and the Role of Women Township Heads(*dongjangs*)." Many public and officials from the administrative branch participated in this seminar. The women *dongjangs*, who were interviewed for the study also came to participate in the discussions about the characteristics of and the difficulties in.

1. The Purpose of the Study

The study was conducted on 21 women *dongjangs*. All of them were only 6 months in the *dong* office since being appointed.

The study examined the characteristics of the recruitment channel and of the women who were appointed *dongjangs*. It also analyzed their decision-making pattern and policy preferences, along with the characteristics of their activities, by examining the relationship the women *dongjangs* have with other *dong* officers, the residents and citizen groups, their superior offices and the local assembly. The difficulties that arise in dealing with the residents and how women *dongjangs* overcome these difficulties were also examined. Evaluations of their competence were made by the appointers, fellow workers, and the *dongjangs* themselves. The purpose of the study was also to find out how much influence women *dongjangs* can exert on the development of the community, by evaluating their roles and activities.

2. The Methodology of the Study

The study was conducted on the 21 women *dongjangs* who were in office when the survey was carried out in December 1993. The study combined document researches and interviews. In order to obtain an objective evaluation of women *dongjangs* the interview did not stop at the *dongjangs* themselves, but was extended to the *dong* officers, the residents and the appointers.

3. The Results of the Study

1) Social Background and Recruitment Channel

Of the 21 women *dongjangs* 12 were former public officials, 4 were from Saemaeul Women's Group, 1 was a former local assembly member, and 4 were formerly in education. The average age of the women *dongjangs* was 51.9. It appears that the age of around 50 is reasonable, considering the occupational characteristics of having to represent a governing body and to keep a close relationship with the residents, other related organizations, the superior offices and the local assembly. We also found that 11 women had high school education, 6 had college education, 3 had graduate education, and 1 didn't finish college. The majority of the women were married and had families, and most of them said that they get support and cooperation from their spouses.

2) Decision-Making Patterns and Policy Preferences

The women *dongjangs* proved to combine abilities of both listening to the opinions of the *dong* office staff and taking orders from the superior offices. When making important decisions, they pay close attention to the opinions of the entire staff, or at least the staff in higher positions. This proves that the women *dongjangs* employ a democratic method for the decision-making process, encouraging the staff and promoting unity and harmony within the office.

The most important issue for them was to solve problems the residents have in the *dong*, followed by carrying out government policies. In addition, there was substantial emphasis put on issues concerning welfare, environment and education.

3) Activities and Characteristics

In dealing with the staff, women *dongjangs* do not act authoritative or superior. They are attentive and generous, which helps to promote unity among the staff. They also maintain close contacts with the residents and other organizations and keep good terms with the superior of-

fices and the local assembly. Therefore, it can be said that women *dongjangs* contribute a great deal in creating a more relaxed and open environment for the *dong* office. The difficulties in holding the position were the prejudices that male staff had against women, the selfishness of the residents, the demeaning attitudes against women, the inefficiency with which *dongheads* carry out their duties, the society which does not trust women's abilities and leadership skills, and so on. However, that did not stop the women from trying to overcome the problems through improved communication, persuasion and from striving for constant self-development. It was concluded that, even though women cannot go out drinking with her male counterparts, it doesn't prevent them from fulfilling their duties.

4) Evaluation of Their Performance

The appointers and other *dong*-office workers favorably graded the women's abilities to unite the residents, to take care of administrative matters, to negotiate with the superior offices, and to exert leadership. The women *dongjangs* themselves also gave a positive evaluation about their own performance.

In comparing the results of the evaluation with the women's former occupations, we found that the women who were former public officials scored high in their ability to unite the residents, followed by their abilities to take care of administrative matters, to negotiate with the superior offices, and to exert leadership. The women from Saemaeul Women's Group also scored high in their ability to unite the residents, followed by their abilities to negotiate with the superior offices, to exert leadership, and to take care of administrative matters. The former local assembly member was best in negotiating with the superior offices, followed by exerting leadership, uniting the residents and taking care of administrative matters. The *dongjangs*, who once belonged to political parties, were best in exerting leadership, followed by negotiating with the superior offices, uniting the residents and taking care of administrative matters. So there are some differences in their abilities, depending on their former jobs.

4. Policy Suggestions

The study results show that the women are doing an equally good job as men do in fulfilling their duties as *dongjangs*. Therefore, we would like to suggest the following to give more women the opportunity to become *dongjangs*.

First, there is only a limited number of women who can meet the eligibility conditions specified in the existing law. Therefore, as a short-term policy suggestion, there must be some flexibility in appointing eligible women for the position. As a long-term suggestion, there is a strong need for a policy that will allow women to be trained and placed into the public official position of grade 6 or above.

Second, as the study results show, there are some variations in women's abilities to carry out certain duties, depending on their former jobs. Therefore, it would be advisable not to put too much emphasis on former jobs.

Third, the government and other high offices must focus on supporting women *dongjangs* to successfully do their jobs, rather than on evaluating their administrative abilities. There is a need to understand the difficulties that women experience among the men who occupy 99.1% of the *dongjang* positions. The women *dongjangs* are currently working twice as hard at their job, so that they don't leave any unfinished business for the next women *dongjangs*.

Fourth, the grade qualification of *dongjang* was changed from grade 5 special to grade 5 general on March 4. One must be at least a grade 6 general or its equivalent to be eligible for the position. If we stick with this amendment, there will be even less women *dongjangs* in the next term. Therefore, there is a need for a re-amendment or an appendix, which will allow women who have been working for the community to become *dongjangs* as well.

Last, we urge the government to keep pursuing the policy on employing women public officials by appointing more and more women *dongjangs*. It would be ideal to see about 50% of the positions filled with women.

Opening of the Counseling Center for Women's Political Empowerment

The Counseling Center for Women's Political Empowerment (CCWPE, henceforth) was established with the purpose of increasing women's political representation and realizing everyday politics by encouraging more women to participate in politics and the decision-making process. The CCWPE is the first women & politics counseling center in Korea, which is designed to provide prospective women politicians with training and support that are necessary to enter the political arena. The CCWPE was established by the Center for Korean Women and Politics and sponsored by Germany's Hanns-Seidel Foundation.

What is Everyday Politics?

Everyday politics has two connotations. One is that issues from people's daily lives, which used to be considered non-political, now become the main focus in politics. The other is that political activities cannot merely stop at election campaigns and votings any more, but have to be extended to resolving the problems which affect the people's daily lives.

Increasing Women's Political Participation through 'Everyday Politics Movement'

Once trivial issues of our daily lives become the main focus in politics, women will be as competent and knowledgeable as men to be involved in the decision-making process. Not only do these issues interest and affect women, but they are also possibly issues that women are more familiar with or knowledgeable about. Therefore, we can expect an increase in women's political participation, especially through local assemblies, which deal with daily-life issues of local districts.

Keeping Contact with the Voters through 'Everyday Politics Movement'

In 1995, there will be local elections through which local assembly members and the heads of local governing organizations will be elected. Therefore, women already need to start preparing to run in this election. By practicing everyday politics, they will not only be able to meet the voters, but will also be able to contribute to the improvement of the district. This, in itself, will be an election campaign.

Who Can Come for Counseling?

- 1) Any woman who is interested in entering the political arena. Women who are interested in politics but don't know where to start or how to go about pursuing their interest.
- 2) Women politicians who are already members of the national or local assemblies. Women public officials who are already involved in the decision-making process.
- 3) Leaders of any citizens' groups or women's groups.

Leadership Training Program after Counseling

After individual counseling sessions, the CCWPE will offer a leadership training program such as.

- 1) Lectures on local autonomy law.
- 2) Campaign school: preparation, election strategy, organizing the staff, raising fund, knowing the voters, public opinion survey, speech, utilizing volunteers, dealing with the media, and so on.
- 3) Opportunities to meet incumbent politicians, and
- 4) Visiting to learn about local autonomy in developed countries.

Director's Activities

●Dr. Bong-Scuk Sohn was invited by the Canadian Embassy on January 31 to give a speech on "Korean women's status and their political participation." Representatives from the Canadian Centre for Management Development and Dr. Glenda Simms, who is in charge of the Women's Status Committee in the Canadian government, also participated in this meeting to discuss the developments in women's issues in Korea and Canada.

●Dr. Sohn was selected as a member of the "21st Century Forum for Local Autonomy", organized by Chosun Daily Newspaper. This Forum consists of experts in the field of local autonomy, and its main purpose is to promote researches and discussions in preparation for the era of local autonomy.

●Dr. Sohn wrote and published a book titled "North Korean Women: A Study of Their Daily Lives" last December. Since the publication of this book, she has appeared 12 times on CBS and 3 times on KBS Social & Cultural Broadcasting programs to talk about the lives of

North Korean women.

●Dr. Sohn has revisited Fiji as a consultant to the "Women & Politics Workshop in the Pacific Region" and has also been in Japan from March 18 to 25 to participate in the "East Asian Women's Forum." She was also invited by the Vietnam Women's Union to visit Hanoi from March 30 to April 3 to help establish the Center for Vietnamese Women & Politics. From April 4 to 7, she will visit Bangkok to plan the establishment of the "Women & Politics Network in the Asia-Pacific Region." She is participating in the meeting as the director of the Network's regional resource center.

●Dr. Sohn received a fellowship from the Centre for Cross-Cultural Research on Women in Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford University and will be visiting England for 4 months from April 20. She will be working on the book "Election Campaign Strategies" in preparation for the local elections next year. She will also conduct researches on developing a curriculum for training women political leaders.

Regional Resource Center Asia-Pacific Women in Politics Network - Center for Korean Women and Politics -

From January 16th to 21st, sponsored by the Asia Foundation, the Asia-Pacific Women and Politics Workshop was held in Manila. 17 women leaders from 15 Asia-Pacific countries participated in this five-day Workshop to discuss a regional strategy for increasing women's political participation in the region and decided to form an Asia-Pacific Women in Politics (APWIP) Network. At this Workshop, Dr Bong-Scuk Sohn made a presentation on the establishment and achievements of the Center for Korean Women and Politics, and the Center was selected as the Regional Resource Center.

The Center for Korean Women and Politics will take a part of planning researches to increase women's political leadership and exchanging data and information within the Asia-Pacific region. The Center will also serve as a model center for this region and has already been asked to provide internships for such countries as Mongolia, Thailand, Malaysia, Nepal and Vietnam. The Asia Foundation will sponsor the APWIP Network to hold an annual workshop, where the participating countries will review progress and develop agendas for the following year. Many countries in the region have already indicated that they will establish women and politics centers or, at least, establish women and politics programs within the existing women's organizations.

We hope that this program will be fully supported, especially since each country's request needs to be met with promptness. In addition, in order for the Center to be able to fulfill its duties as the regional resource center, it needs assistance in acquiring facilities and human resources to help with translating research reports into English, with exchanging data and information, and with providing internships to other interested countries.

The APWIP Network also hopes to contribute in the task of promoting women's political participation in the region by participating in the 1995 UN Conference on Women as a separate and independent network. The application to the

UN for accreditation of APWIP Network has already been filed, and Dr Bong-Scuk Sohn, the director of the Center for Korean Women and Politics, has agreed to be a regional coordinator.

From January 22nd to 26th, Dr Bong-Scuk Sohn visited Fiji as a consultant for the Women in Politics Workshop in Pacific Islands which was sponsored by Fiji Women's Rights Movements. Dr Sohn was invited by Minister Latu Jo Nacola to provide advice on women's programs organized by the Ministry of Women. The National Council of Fiji women and the Women Journalist Group had Incheon meeting with Dr. Sohn on the issue of women's political participation and Fijian women leaders all got together to discuss the importance of women's political participation. Although Fiji is a small country with a population of only 750,000, Minister Latu, the man in charge of the Ministry of Women, expressed a great deal of interest in promoting women's political participation in the country. In Fiji, the Ministry of Women deals not only with women's issues, but also with culture, social welfare, and even multi-ethnic issues.

Dr. Sohn revisited Fiji from February 14 to 18 as a consultant to the "Women & Politics Workshop in the Pacific Region." 12 representatives from 11 countries in the Pacific region participated in this 5 day Workshop. There were discussions on questions such as how to avoid conflicts with the existing culture, which is hostile to women, in order to increase women's political participation, how to systematically build a foundation for women's political participation, what roles do women leaders and politicians play, how to utilize the media to women's advantage, and so on. A presentation on the establishment and activities of the Center for Korean Women & Politics was also given, which further led to discussions on what civil organizations can do to help increase women's political participation. In 6 months, there will be subregional workshops among the Polynesian countries and the countries in Malay Archipelago.

정치개혁입법과 시민운동

정치개혁법안이 지난 3월 4일 여야의 협상으로 국회를 통과하였다. 소위 통합선거법으로 불리는 「공직선거 및 선거부정에 관한 법률」과 정치자금법 및 지방자치법의 통과는 작년말에 통과된 정당법과 아울러 이 나라 선거문화와 정치풍토를 바꾸어 놓을 획기적인 개혁입법이다.

본 연구소 손봉숙 소장은 1992년 「공명선거실천시민운동협의회」의 정책위원장으로 공선협안에 선거법개정연구위원회를 구성하고 선거법개정운동을 전개하였다. 이 위원회의 연구결과는 여러차례에 걸친 세미나와 공청회를 가진 뒤 91년9월 정기국회에 「공선협」의 이름으로 대통령선거법 및 선거관리위원회법안을 국회에 청원한바 있다.

그리고 손봉숙소장은 「정의로운 사회를 위한 시민운동협의회」의 정치제도연구위원장으로 관련분야 전문가들과 함께 정치관련법을 연구하고 1993년 9월 정기국회에 「정사협」의 이름으로 국회에 정치관련법 개정안을 청원하고 그 개정운동을 전개한 바 있다. 아울러 본 연구소에 「정치제도연구센터」를 개설하고 매주 전문가 토론회를 개최하면서 정치개혁법안의 개정을 촉구하였다.

본 연구소는 국회를 통과한 정치개혁입법이 비록 시민단체들의 요구사항을 완전히 반영하지는 못하여 미흡한 점이 있는 것은 사실이나 전체적인 법안의 골격은 돈안드는 깨끗한 선거와 정치를 지향하고 있다는데 공감을 하면서 이 법의 통과를 높이 평가하는 바이다.

정치개혁입법과 여성의 정치참여

지난해 10월 11개 여성단체가 여성의 정치참여를 증진시키고 깨끗한 선거문화를 조성하기 위한 정치관련법안을 마련하고 국회청원을 시도한 바 있다. 여성계가 주장하는 중선거구와 할당제가 양당의 당론과 배치되어 소개의원을 구하지 못한 상태였다.

여성계에서는 정치관련법안이 국회에서 통과되기 전에 지난 2월 23일과 24일 김종필 민자당 대표최고위원과 이기택 민주당대표최고위원을 각각 방문하고 여성계가 주장하는 20퍼센트 여성할당제를 개정되는 선거법에 반영시켜 줄 것을 요구한 바 있다. 이 자리에서 민자당은 선거법에 할당제를 반영하는 것은 물론 당헌에 명문화시키는 것조차 불가능하다고 대답하였다. 그러나 민주당에서는 이 조항을 선거법에 삽입시키고자 했으나 민자당의 반대로 성공할 수 없었기 때문에 전국구 20퍼센트는 여성에게 할당한다는 조항을 당헌에 명시하기로 결정하였다는 대답을 들었다.

소 장 동 정

● 손봉숙소장은 지난 1월31일 캐나다 대사관의 초청으로 「한국여성의 지위 및 여성의 정치참여」에 대해 발제를 하였다. 이 자리에는 캐나다 경영발전연구소 (Canadian Centre for Management Development) 대표들과 캐나다 정부의 여성지위위원회 위원장인 글렌다 씬스(Glenda Simms)박사등이 참석하여 한국과 캐나다 여성발전문제에 대해 토의하였다.

● 손봉숙소장은 조선일보가 기획하는 「지방화21세기포럼」의 위원으로 선정되었다. 이 포럼은 지방자치 전문가들의 연구와 토론으로 본격적인 지방자치시대에 대비하고자 하는 연구모임이다.

● 손봉숙 소장은 지난 12월 「북한의 여성: 그 삶의 현장」을 출판한 바 있다. 이 책이 출판된 이후 기독교방송에서 12회에 걸쳐, 그리고 KBS 사회교육방송에서 세차례에 걸쳐 북한여성의 삶의 현장에 대한 대담프롤을 가진바 있다.

● 손봉숙소장은 태평양지역 여성정치역사에 자문위원으로 피지를 다녀온 데 이어 3월18일부터 25일까지 일본에서 개최되는 동아시아여성포럼회의에 참가했다. 3월30일부터 4월3일까지는 베트남여성연맹의 초청으로 하노이를 방문하고 여성정치연구센터 설립을 위한 자문을 맡는다. 그리고 4월4일부터 7일까지 방콕에서 아·태지역여성정치네트워크(APWIP)의 지역자원센터 책임자로 아태지역여성정치네트워크 기획회의를 주관한다.

● 손봉숙소장은 영국 옥스포드대학교의 여성연구소에서 펠로십을 받아 4월20일부터 4개월간 영국을 방문한다. 손소장은 옥스포드의 다문화여성연구소 (Centre for Cross-Cultural Research on Women in Queen Elizabeth House of Oxford University)에서 내년에 본격화될 지방선거에 대비하여 「선거운동전략」을 집필하는 등 정치지도자 양성을 위한 교재개발에 전념할 계획이다.

방문인사

● 몽고 여성대표 본 연구소 방문
몽고의 민간여성단체 대표 3명이 통역관과 함께 아시아재단의 후원으로 한국을 방문하고 한국의 여성지위 및 여성문제에 대해 관찰하는 여행을 하였다. 동 대표단은 본 연구소를 방문하고 한국여성정치연구소의 설립동기, 활동 및 운영현황에 대해 폭넓은 의견을 교환하였다.

● Gerhard Michels(독일의 한스자이델 재단)서울 사무소 대표가 본 연구소를 방문하여 「여성정치상담실」의 설립 및 운영에 후원하는 문제를 논의하였다.

● 핀란드대사관의 1등 서기관인 Anneli Vuorinen가 방문하여 한국여성정치연구소와 「여성정치상담실」의 설립동기, 활동 및 운영상황에 대한 의견을 상호 교환하였고 여성의 정치지위의 향상을 위해 상호 자료와 정보의 교환을 약속하였다.

● 제4기 차세대지도자연수교육을 마친 인턴들의 첫번째 모임을 2월 26일 연구소에서 가졌다.

감사합니다.

● 평생회원

문승익, 박경서, 박종성, 안철현, 윤재풍, 이범준, 이준일, 현승일

● 「여성정치상담실」후원금

김정례, 김정자, 신명순, 윤영오, 이갑수, 이종률, 조광복, 한국유리공업주식회사(최태섭 회장)

● 자원봉사활동

김천숙, 류영숙, 명자혜, 박상경, 방윤희, 윤혜영, 이상진, 조양민, 조은정, 조희정, 차정자, 허윤, 허정문

회원가입 안내

회비수납방법은

1 은행온라인을 이용하실분은 아래 구조로 입금해 주시면 됩니다.

국민은행 827-01-0136-458 한국여성정치연구소
서울신한은행 20701-2005402 한국여성정치연구소
제일은행 303-10-033175 한국여성정치연구소
한국산업은행 426-04-107029 한국여성정치연구소
농협 069-01-143916 한국여성정치연구소
외환은행 070-13-14223-2 한국여성정치연구소
조흥은행 397-03-000518 한국여성정치연구소
한일은행 165-152503-01-001 한국여성정치연구소

2) 우체국 소액환으로 바꾸어 보내주셔도 됩니다.

3) 가계수표도 환영합니다.

보내실 곳은 서울 강남구 삼성동 157-33 옥산빌딩 402호 한국여성정치연구소 우편번호 135-090입니다.

4) 일반회원(회비 연 1만원) 및 특별회원(후원회비도 많이 가입해주시기 바랍니다.

회원가입 및 회비납부 절차는 위와 동일합니다.

평생회비 20만원은 분납도 가능합니다.

회원으로 가입해 주실 분은 저희 연구소로 전화(528-1201~3)를 해 주시거나 편지를 보내주시면 됩니다.

MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION

CKWP welcomes anyone who will agree with the purpose of the Center and will support activities of CKWP positively as a member. Memberships will be available as individual, life, and special members. Thank you.

Individual Member: 20 \$(annual fee)

Life Member: 300 \$

Special Member: Contributions

If you want to be a member of CKWP please write to the Center, #402, Oksan Building, 157-33 Samsung-Dong, Kangnam-Ku, Seoul, Korea, 135-090

「지방자치교실」 연구회원을 모집합니다.

- 일 시: '94년 4월 12일 ~ 6월 14일
- 장 소: 서울역앞 대우문화재단빌딩 11층 강연실
- 연구회비: 5만원

더 좋은 품질의 알로에를 찾아서...

원초의 차이는 품질의 차이

남양알로에

더 푸르다 태양을 흠뻑 받고 자라기 때문입니다.

일조량을 많이 받은 알로에가 더 푸릅니다.
연평균 일조량 11.2개월, 연평균 기온 23℃,
알로에 천혜의 재배지로 손꼽히는 멕시코·텍사스,
남양알로에 180만평 현지농장에서 자라는
남양알로에—싱싱한 알로에 원초만을 엄선해
고품질의 남양알로에를 만듭니다.

더 두껍다 대자연의 유기토에서 키우기 때문입니다.

두꺼운 알로에를 키우는 토양은
따로 있습니다. 모래와 유기토
비율 1:1인 퇴적토양, 텍사스
리오그란데 계곡에서 자라는
남양알로에—속이 꽉찬
알로에로 더 진한 남양알로에를
만듭니다.



젤리질이 더 많다 풍부한 일조량, 대자연의

유기토가 만듭니다. 재배조건이 젤리질이 풍부한
알로에를 만듭니다.
알로에 성장에 알맞은 기후와 토양에서 자라
남양알로에는 젤리질이 더 많습니다.
건강보조식품에서 화장품까지
남양알로에에 자연의 건강함을 담았습니다.
자연의 아름다움을 담았습니다.

자연이 있습니다

(주)남양알로에

남양알로에 멕시코 120만평 현지 농장전경, 소비자상담실 전화번호: (080) 022-...

한국여성정치연구

Korean Women and Politics News Letter

1990년 겨울호

등록비-1421 통권 제 2호 발행인-한인숙
편집인-손봉숙 발행일-1991년 1월 10일
발행처-사단법인 한국여성정치연구소
서울 마포구 마포동 35-1 마포현대빌딩 801호
(121-050) 전화·FAX : 702-7020

특집 · 북한의 여성

북한여성의 정치참여 ● Political Participation

손봉숙 Bong-Scuk Sohn

북한여성의 경제활동 ● Economic Activities

김애실 Ae-Sil Kim

북한여성과 가정생활 ● Family Life

이온죽 Lee On-Jook

북한여성과 의식주생활 ● Basic Needs : Food, Clothes & Housing

손봉숙 Bong-Scuk Sohn

북한의 통일정책과 여성 ● Unification Policy and Women

이경숙 Kyungsook Lee

우리는 지금 민주화의 길을 재촉해 가면서 남북통일에도 착실하게 대비해 가야 하는 시점에서 있습니다. 통일을 향한 노력은 적어도 당분간은 우리가 일방적으로 북한의 정치체제를 마음대로 바꿀 수 없다는 사실을 전제로 추진해가야 할 것입니다. 그렇다면 우리는 우선 여러가지 차원과 수준에서 그들의 체제에 대응하고 상호 협력해 갈 수 있는 방안을 모색해 가야 하는데 여성문제 또한 그 예외일 수는 없는 일입니다. 과연 지금 당장 남북한을 활짝 열어놓고 자유롭게 선택하라고 했을 때 북한의 여성들도 주저없이 남한을 선택할 수 있도록 할 자신과 준비가 우리에게 되어 있을까요?

여성제도 우선 북한에 대해서 바로 알고 통일의 내일에 적극 대비해가자는 뜻에서 본 연구소에서는 올해의 주요사업으로 정무장관(제2)실로부터 용역을 받아 「북한여성의 실태」에 대한 연구를 한 바 있습니다. 이번 「한국여성정치연구」 제2호는 이 연구결과를 간추려서 「북한의 여성」에 대한 특집을 분야별로 요약하여 꾸며 보았습니다.

우리는 무엇보다도 먼저 북한의 여성들은 무엇을 먹고, 입으며, 어떤 집에서 사는지, 그리고 자녀는 어떻게 기르는 지 등 기본적인 생활에 대해서 알아보려 하였습니다. 북한여성의 가정생활은 우리의 일상생활과 어떻게 다른지도 궁금한 일입니다. 북한의 여성들은 광범하게 경제활동에 참여하면서 소위 「사회주의 수레바퀴」의 한쪽을 떠맡고 있는 것으로 판명되었습니다. 정치분야에서도 여성들의 참여가 수적으로는 상당한 수준에 이르고 있었습니다. 이러한 사실들을 통해서 보건대 북한의 여성들은 적어도 사회생활에서는 성에 따른 불평등이 상당히 해소된 위치까지 오른 것 같습니다. 그러나 가정생활에서는 아직도 남녀의 역할분담이 뚜렷하게 나타나고 있었습니다. 북한의 여성들은 결국 가사부담과 「사회주의 분업」의 이중부담에서 벗어나지 못하고 있는 실정이었습니다.

우리가 통일을 원하는 것은 단순히 영토적으로 합일하는 것만이 아니라 이를 통해서 민족구성원들 전체의 삶의 질적 향상을 기하자는 데 있습니다. 진정한 통일은 계급, 지역, 빈부, 노동의 차이뿐만 아니라 성의 차별을 초월하여 우리 민족이 하나의 공동체로서 자유를 누리고 인권을 구가할 때라야 가능할 것입니다. 여성들이 정치, 경제, 사회의 제영역에 광범하게 참여하여 그 권익을 신장하는 문제도 통일을 위한 주요 의제의 하나라는 사실을 이 연구는 결론적으로 주창하고 있습니다. 이 연구결과가 북한여성에 대해 올바르게 알고 그들을 이해함으로써 앞으로 남북한 여성간의 교류를 촉진하고, 통일에 대비하여 여성제도 적절한 정책대안을 마련할 수 있도록 하는 데 도움이 되기를 바랍니다.

북한여성과 정치참여



손 봉 숙 (한국여성정치연구소 소장 · 정치학)

손봉숙 소장은 「북한여성의 실태」 연구에서 제3장 여성의 의식주생활, 제6장 여성과 정치참여를 집필하였다. 다음의 글은 여성과 정치참여의 내용일부를 요약, 정리한 것이다.

이 연구의 목적은 북한 여성들이 어느 정도로 북한의 정치과정에 활발하게 참여하고 있는지 그 실태를 파악하는 데 있다. 이 연구에서는 북한 여성들의 정치참여 정도를 정권기관에의 공식 획득을 통한 참여정도, 여성정치인 층원의 경로, 그들의 사회적 배경 및 역할 등을 중심으로 살펴보았다. 그리고 북한 유일의 여성단체인 조선민주녀성동맹을 통한 여성들의 정치활동상도 고찰해 보았다.

북한은 중앙당에서 사전에 여성입후보자의 비율을 결정하면 그대로 당선되는 것이 상례이다. 로동당에서 당방침에 따라 여성뿐만 아니라 각 지역 내지는 계층분포까지 고려하여 적정선을 정하고 이에 따라 안배하는 방법을 쓰고 있다. 따라서 최고인민회의의 대의원 중에는 학식이나 지명도가 높은 저명인사가 아니라 농촌의 책임일꾼, 협동농장 단위위원장, 생산성을 높인 천리마 작업반장과 같은 노동자 출신의 소위 “노력영웅”이 상당수 포함되어 있기도 하다.

1990년 현재까지 최고인민회의의 대의원 선거는 9차례에 걸쳐 이루어졌다.

작년 4월 제9기 최고인민회의의 선거에서는 전체 대의원 687명 중 여성의 수가 138명으로 여성이 전체의 20.1퍼센트를 차지하였다. 최고인민회의에서 요직을 맡고 있는 몇몇 여성정치인의 활약은 괄목할 만하며 동료 남성 정치인들에 못지 않게 두드러지는 점도 있다. 최고인민회의에서 여러 번 당선된 여성대의원을 보면 허정숙이 6선으로 최다선의원이고 김득관, 김복신, 김성애가 5선의원, 박정애가 4선의원, 김옥순, 여연구, 박영신, 정경희 등이 3선의원의 순이다. 금년에 실시된 제9기 최고인민회의의 선거에서 6선대의원인 허정숙이 탈락한 것은 특기할 만하다. 허정숙이 담당하던 조국전선위원장이 여연구에게로 넘어가면서 여연구가 크게 부상하고 있다.

역대 정무원에서 여성들의 참여 정도는 초기에는 허정숙이 10년 넘게 相을 지냈고 박정애가 1년 정도 농업상을, 그리고 박영신이 6년간 문화상을, 이효혁이 식료일용품공

업상을 4년간 역임하였다. 윤기정이 1981년 재정부장을 맡아 지금까지 10년동안 장관직을 수행해오고 있다.

현재 정무원의 10명 부총리 중 유일한 여성 부총리 김복신은 공장장에서 최고인민회의의 대의원으로 발탁되어 1958년 경공업 부상(차관에 해당)으로 정무원에 발을 들여 놓았다. 최고인민회의의 5선 대의원뿐만 아니라 1981년 부총리로 기용되면서 무역위원회 위원장, 대외경제위원회 위원장 등을 겸임하고 있다. 김복신은 경제분야에서는 탁월한 능력을 인정받는 실무형 테크노크라트로서 자신의 능력으로 정상에 오른 드문 사례에 속한다. 현재 김복신 부총리는 최고인민회의의 제9기 대의원인 동시에 경공업위원회 위원장을 겸하고 있다.

1946년 최초로 실시된 지방선거에서는 여성대의원이 전체대의원 총수의 13%를 차지했다. 선거가 계속되면서 여성대의원수는 차츰 증가하여 1956년 선거에서는 약 20%를 점하여 대의원 5명 중 1명을 여성대의원이 차지하는 정도로 높아졌다. 그러던 것이 1959년 선거에서는 여성대의원이 전체대의원의 약 25%를 차지하여 4명에 1명은 여성이 차지하게 되었다. 그리고 1967년에는 리 인민위원회에서 여성대의원의 비율이 33%까지 상승하여 3명 중 1명은 여성대의원이 선출될 만큼 여성의 참여율은 급신장세를 보이기도 하였다.

가장 많은 여성대의원을 배출하던 리인민회의가 1972년 신헌법에 의하여 없어졌으나 시·군의 경우 여전히 26%라는 높은 당선율을 보이고 있어 그 이후로도 지방인민회의에서 여성의 참여도는 비슷한 추세를 나타내고 있다.

이렇게 볼 때 비록 인구의 자연적 남녀분포에는 크게 못 미치고 있다 하더라도 적어도 수적인 참여 정도에서는 북한은 세계적으로도 손색이 없는 여성진출도를 보이는 셈이다. 그러나 북한 역시 고위직으로 갈수록, 그리고 핵심 부서일수록 여성의 진출에 대한 길은 좁고 어려운 것 또한 사실로 나타났다.

여성의 정치참여는 단순히 수적인 대표성에서만 실현되는 것이 아니라 실제로 여성정치인들이 북한의 정치·경

제·사회 전반에 걸쳐 얼마만한 영향력을 발휘하고 있는지, 그리고 그들이 정책결정과정에서 실제로 얼마만큼 중요한 영향력을 행사하고 있는지에 대해서도 살펴 보아야 한다. 이런 각도에서 본다면 북한의 경우 역시 여성정치인들의 실질적 권한과 공식적 대표성 간에는 커다란 격차가 있는 것 같다. 왜냐하면 비록 수적인 대표성이 높다고는 하나 대부분의 대의원들은 여성정치인으로서 독자적인 행동권과 결정권을 갖는다고 보다는 당과 상부에서 하달되는 임무를 수행하는 일에 그치기 때문이다. 몇몇 극소수의 여성인사들의 경우는 정치일선에서 오랫동안 활약하고 있는데 이들에게는 여성관련분야만이 아니라 남성정치인들의 고유영역에도 문이 열려 있는 것 같다. 그렇지만 당중앙위원회나 정치국 같은 핵심정책결정과정에는 이들도 제외되어 있다.

여성정치인들의 사회적 배경조사를 보면 북한의 여성정치인들은 모두가 출신성분과 당성에서 뛰어난 성분을 가진 사람들이고 그 가족적 배경도 김일성 일가의 친척 등 특수기준이 큰 몫을 담당하고 있다. 그런데 일단 정치인으로 두각을 나타낸 여성들은 대체로 10~20여년에 걸쳐 장기적으로 활약하고 있는데, 이는 아마도 김일성에 대한 충성심이 지속되는 한 그 지위가 보장되기 때문이 아닌가 한다. 예컨대 10여년간을 한 부서에서 장관직을 맡고 있는 이가 있는가 하면 같은 사람이 최고인민회의의 대의원으로 대역섯번씩이나 선출되는 경우도 발견되었다. 특히 여맹의 경우는 여맹 창립이후 45년간 단 3명의 위원장이 교체되었을 뿐이다. 박정애, 김성애가 각각 20년씩 재임하였고 도중에 김옥순이 5년간 맡았다. 잦은 인사이동으로 실무경험의 축적이 안 되는 것도 문제지만 한 사람이 20년간 한 자리에 있다는 것도 조직의 정체성을 가져오기 쉬운 맹점을 가지고 있다. 북한의 경우 이러한 문제점은 여성정치인만의 문제가 아니라 남성정치인들의 경우에도 마찬가지로 해당되는 것 같다.

이 연구의 목적은 또한 북한여성들의 정치참여 실태를 남한의 경우와 비교하여 양측의 여성들이 정치참여 영역에

서 무엇이 어떻게 다른지를 밝혀보자는 데에 있다. 동시에 여성문제에서 남북한의 이질화를 극복하기 위하여 어떤 방안이 있는가에 대해서도 시사점을 찾아보자는 데 있다.

지금까지 살펴본 바에 의하면 남북한의 여성정치인들은 각자 전혀 이질적인 정치체제 속에서 반세기 동안 서로 다른 길을 걸어 왔다. 북한의 여성정치인에게는 오로지 “영명하신 김일성 수령님”과 “친애하는 지도자 동지”가 있을 뿐이다. 정치인으로서의 여성의 존재와 역할은 김일성으로부터 시작되고 김일성에서 끝난다 해도 과언이 아니다. “김일성, 김정일에 대한 충성의 대열”에서 있는 한 지위와 임기가 보장되는 것이 북한의 여성정치인상이 아닌가 한다. 남북한간에 공통점이 있다면 양쪽 모두 여성은 인구의 절반을 차지하면서도 정치적 대표성에서는 아직도 크게 뒤쳐져 있다는 점일 것이다. 남한은 수적으로 북한보다 대표성에서 뒤져 있다. 그러나 북한이 최고인민회의의 대의원직에 여성을 20퍼센트를 내고 있다고 해서 여성의 실질적 대표권이 그만큼 더 향상되어 있다고 보기는 어렵다. 고위직으로 갈수록, 그리고 핵심층으로 갈수록 여성의 수는 절대적으로 적어진다는 것 역시 남북간에 공통적인 실상이다. 전반적인 추세를 보건대 남에도 북에도 아직까지 여성은 적어도 정치참여에 관한 한 모양새와 장식품의 정도를 크게 벗어나지 못했다 해도 과언이 아닌 것 같다.

그러나 우리들은 적어도 평면적인 수자로 나타난 여성의 대표성에서는 북한이 남한을 크게 앞지르고 있다는 데 일단 주목해야 할 것이다. 비록 당과 국가의 지시에 따르는 거수기에 지나지 않는다고 할지라도 여성대의원의 비율이 20퍼센트를 넘는다는 사실은 상당한 의미를 가진다. 그리고 지방정부에서 여성계 엘리트 층원이 30퍼센트에 가깝다는 사실은 지방자치를 목전에 둔 우리에게 중요한 사실을 시사하고 있다. 또한 이들의 구성 분포가 전 계층이나 직능을 골고루 대표한다는 명분을 갖추고 있다는 것도 유의해 볼 일이다. 이러한 사실들은 우리사회에서도 여성대표권을 적어도 수적인 면에서나마 북한과 대등한 수준까지 끌어올릴 필요가 긴절해지고 있다는 것을 말해주고 있다.

북한여성과 경제활동



김애실(한국외국어대 교수·경제학)

김애실 교수는 「북한여성의 실태」연구에서 제5장 여성의 경제활동을 집필하였다. 다음의 글은 여성의 경제활동의 내용을 요약, 정리한 것이다.

이 연구는 북한여성의 경제활동 실태를 파악하기 위해 북한의 인구 구조, 여성의 경제활동 촉진을 마련하기 위해 마련된 제도적 장치, 여성의 직업과 임금, 여성의 경제적 역할과 지위, 여성중심의 노력경쟁운동사례 등을 살펴보았다.

본 연구의 결과는 다음과 같이 요약될 수 있다.

첫째, 현재 북한의 인구는 약 2,100만명으로 추산되고 있는데 이 가운데서 노동인구가 얼마나 되는지는 알 수 없지만 노동인구 가운데서 여성이 차지하는 비율은 1988년 현재 약 49% 정도인 것으로 알려져 있다. 그러나 실제로는 여성의 노동력 비율이 전체의 절반 이상이 되리라는 가능성을 배제할 수 없을 것 같다.

둘째, 북한당국은 그동안 여성들이 봉건적인 여건에서 오는 질곡으로부터 벗어나 정치, 경제, 사회, 교육 등 여러 부문에서 남성과 평등한 지위를 차지할 수 있도록(남녀평등법 법령)을 비롯하여 많은 법적·제도적 장치를 마련해 왔다고 발표하고 있다. 그러나 북한여성의 사회참여는 6·25전쟁 전까지는 활발하지 못했으나 6·25전쟁을 계기로 북한 여성인력이 노동력화하는 계기를 맞게 되었고 1958년에 공포된(인민경제 각 부문에 여성들을 더욱 인입시킬 데 대하여)라는 제목의 내각결정 84호를 바탕으로 북한 여성들의 노동력 활용방안이 구체적으로 제시되었다. 이에 따라 북한 여성들은 경노동 부문, 사무관련 직종, 교육, 보건 등에 집중적으로 배치되고 고급 여성인력의 양성도 본격적으로 추진되기 시작했다. 그런데 북한 여성들은 탄광이나 고기잡이배 등에서도 힘든 육체노동을 하면서 남성노동자들의 경쟁심을 부추기는 역할도 담당하고 있는 것으로 알려져 있다.

셋째, 1980년대 후반의 자료들을 종합해 보면, 북한 여성이 모두 직업을 갖고 있으며 모든 산업과 직업에서 남자와 동등하게 참여하고 있다는 보도는 잘못된 것으로 평가할 수 있을 것 같다. 북한 여성의 경제활동 참가율은 대도시와 농촌에서는 높지만 그 밖의 지역에서는 낮으며, 미혼 여성은 거의 모두 직업을 갖고 있지만 결혼한 후에는 여성의

70% 정도가 직장을 그만두는 것으로 밝혀져 있기 때문이다. 특히 고위 당간부 부인 등 남편의 소득이 높은 세층의 부인들은 직업을 갖지 않은 것으로 알려져 있다. 그런데 북한 여성의 경제활동 참가율은 과거에 비해 최근에 이룰수록 점점 더 감소해오고 있는 것으로 나타나 있다.

넷째, 현재 북한 여성의 경제적 지위는 1960년대에 비해서 크게 향상한 것으로 생각된다. 1963년에 북한에는 29만 4천명의 기술자가 있었고 그 가운데서 여성의 비율은 15% 정도였는데, 1989년에는 135만명의 전문가와 기술자 가운데서 여성의 비율이 37% 정도를 차지하고 있다는 사실만으로도 여성의 경제적 지위가 향상되었음을 판단할 수 있을 것이다. 현재 북한 여성들이 단순 사무직, 경노동 부문, 농업 등의 범주에서 벗어나 사회 여러 부문의 전문·기술직에서 일하고 있다는 사실은 여성의 경제적 지위향상을 또한 뒷받침해 준다고 할 수 있다.

다섯째, 여성들은 동일노동·동일임금 원칙아래 평등한 대우를 받고 있는 것으로 평가되고 있으나 이를 입증하거나 반박할 만한 구체적인 자료를 발견하기란 쉽지 않다. 그러나 계층별 가계소득분포에 따르면, 남성들의 임금에는 상당한 격차가 있으나 여성들의 임금에는 격차가 거의 발견되지 않는다. 그런데 북한에서도 여성의 평균임금은 남성의 평균임금보다 분명히 낮게 나타나고 있다.

여섯째, 북한의 경제정책은 1980년대 중반부터는 중공업 위주에서 경공업 특히 생활필수품 소비재생산 위주로 전환되어오고 있다. 이를 위해 전국의 공장, 기업소, 협동농장, 가두인민반 등의 생산단위가 소비재 생산에 총력을 기울여오고 있는데 공장이나 인민반에서는 여성들이 부업으로 참여하고 구역별로는 직장이 없는 기혼여성들과 노인들이 가내작업반의 형태로 참여하고 있다. 그런데 가내작업반을 통해 생산된 상품들은 20%는 국가에 바치고 80%는 자체수입으로 돌아가고 있기 때문에 여성들의 참여를 적극적으로 불러일으키고 있는 것으로 평가된다.

일곱째, 북한은 자본과 기술부족, 그리고 노동자들의 노동의욕 상실로 인해 생산성 저하 문제를 심각하게 경험



〈표〉 북한의 성별 노동력 추이

연도	전종업원수(천명)	남자(천명)	여자(천명)	여성비율(%)
1953	628	463	165	26.3
1956	850	680	170	20.0
1957	-	-	-	20.0
1958	-	-	-	29.0
1959	1459	948	511	35.0
1960	1506	1014	492	32.7
1961	1609	1073	536	33.3
1962	1865	1214	651	34.9
1963	1924	1228	696	36.2
1964	2092	1287	805	38.5
:				
1976	-	-	-	48.0*
:				
1988	-	-	-	49.0**

자료 : 「조선중앙년감」,
1965(평양 : 조선중앙통신사)
이은숙(1988), 「북한사회연구」,
(서울 : 서울대학교 출판부),
p.180에서 재인용.
* 「로동신문」, 1976년 7월 30일자
** 북경방송(1988년 3월 6일) 인용
: 「동아일보」, 1988년 3월 16일자.

해오고 있다. 이 문제를 해결하기 위해 북한은 1950년대의 <천리마운동>으로부터 1990년대의 <90년대 속도창조운동>에 이르기까지 다양한 주민노동동원 극대화정책을 펴 오고 있다. 그런데 최근에 추진되고 있는 <90년대 속도창조운동>은 경공업 부문 중심으로 전개되고 있어서 여성들이 이 운동에서 중요한 역할을 맡고 있음을 알 수 있다.

북한의 변화를 예측하기란 쉬운 일이 아니므로 북한 여성의 경제활동의 변화를 예측하기도 쉬운 일이 아니다. 그러나 지금까지의 분석 결과를 바탕으로 몇가지 전망을 제시할 수 있지 않을까 생각된다.

먼저 북한의 산업정책은 최근에 들어와 지금까지의 중공업 위주에서 경공업, 특히 생활필수품 생산 위주로 전환되어가고 있다는 점으로 보아 여성노동력이 이 부문에 집중됨으로써 노동력구조에 다소 변화가 있을 것으로 예상된다. 여기에서, 북한은 국제적인 여건의 변화로 인해 지금까지의 폐쇄경제체제에서 점차 개방경제체제로 조심스러운 변화를 시도해가고 있어서 개방화에 따른 서비스산업의 확장은 여성인력에 대한 수요의 증가를 유발할 것으로 예상된다. 그런데 40여년간에 걸쳐 북한이 추진해 온 남녀

평등정책에도 불구하고 북한에서는 여성들의 역할에 대한 인식이 전통적인 관념에서 크게 벗어나고 있지 않는 것 같아 산업구조가 변화하고 개방화가 추진되어감에 따라 여성노동의 공급이 수요에 미치지 못하는 초고수요현상이 나타나게 될 가능성도 없지 않다.

북한 여성의 경제활동 실태분석에서 나타난 특이한 점의 하나는, 한국을 비롯한 거의 모든 자본주의 국가들과는 전혀 다르게 북한에서는 기혼여성의 경제활동 참가율이 최근에 들어와 감소하고 있다는 사실이다. 이는 앞으로 중요한 연구의 대상이 될 수 있는 문제로 경제체제와 관련된 문제가 아닌가도 생각된다. 이는 지금까지의 국가의 노동력 수급계획에 따라 강제로 동원되었던 여성인력들이 이제는 선택에 의한 참여쪽으로 변화해 가는 추세의 반영이 아닌가 짐작된다. 사실상 노동의 참여가 강제가 아닌 선택에 의해서 이루어질 때 그 결과는 진정한 여성해방이라고 말할 수 있으므로 북한 기혼여성의 경제활동 참가율의 감소는 여성해방과 관련해서 중요한 시사점을 제공해주기도 한다.

북한여성과 가정생활



이 온 죽(서울대 교수·사회학)

이온죽 교수는 「북한여성의 실태」연구에서 제2장 여성과 가정생활, 제4장 여성과 교육, 문화활동을 집필하였다. 이 중에서 여성과 가정생활의 내용 일부를 요약 정리하였다.

본 연구에서는 북한의 여성과 가정생활을 사회주의 이념과 현실적 상황과의 거리에 초점을 맞추고 분석하려고 하였다. 이념적 선인에 관한 문서는 식상하리만큼 많지만 현실생활에 대한 자료는 너무도 제한되어 있어서 소설 등 간접적인 자료를 주로 인용하면서 살펴 보았다. 이같은 제약을 감안하고, 인간의 상식적인 성향을 바탕으로 추리해 보아도 우리가 의존한 자료들이 시사하는 바는 실제와 크게 다르지 않을 줄 안다. 이렇게 전체할 때 우리는 다음과 같은 몇가지 결론을 얻게 된다.

첫째, 북한에서 이념적으로 강조하는 남녀평등이란 여자도 남자와 같이 모든 면에서 활동할 수 있고 대우를 받아야 한다는 이념이고 여성해방이란 여자를 가사의 짐으로부터 해방시켜 준다는 뜻으로 인식되어 왔다. 그러나 결과적으로는 집안일은 그대로 다 보고 밖에서 노동을 해야 하는 여성은 이중, 삼중의 짐을 지게 되었다. 이는 주로 가정 안에서 남자가 여성과의 역할 분담을 거부한 탓이며, 가부장적인 과거의 잔재가 상당한 정도 작용하고 있어 남존여비의 의식과 형태로 노출된 때문이다.

둘째, 또 다른 측면에서 전통적 요소가 작용하는 것은 가족의 귀속지위 부여기능이다. 물론 과거의 계층적 질서는 무너졌지만, 적어도 북한체제 아래에서 새로이 형성된 계층적 차등을 유지하고 사회통제를 가능케 하는 데에는 사회주의 이상과는 거리가 먼 기능이다.

셋째, 전통적인 요소가 살아있는 부분 중에서 적어도 가족의 독자적인 기능을 고수하면서 북한과 같은 통제되고 답답한 사회에서 그나마 사람들의 삶을 지탱해 주는 것이 바로 정서적인 유대이다. 특히 부모의 자녀에 대한 애정과 관심, 가족성원들 사이의 다정한 인정주의적 결속이 아니라면 북한주민들은 참으로 견디기 어려운 삶을 누릴 것으로 보인다.

넷째, 가정을 하나의 교육단위로 간주하는 북한의 정책은 사실 가정교육의 중요성을 인정하는 가장 전통적인 지향이면서 또한 가장 핵심적인 가족 기능을 부각시키는 셈이다. 북한이 <가정의 혁명화>라는 극히 정치적인 구호

를 내걸고 가정을 정치적으로 이용하려는 데에는 문제가 있지만, 사회가 공업화, 도시화, 대중화하면서 가정교육의 중요성이 상대적으로 약화하는 추세를 감안할 때 가정교육을 부각시킨 것은 주목할 가치가 있다.

다섯째, 무엇보다도 북한에서 특이한 것은 김일성 개인 숭배와 김부자의 권력 계승이라는 지극히 전통적인 가족주의적 성격이다. 북한은 나라 전체를 하나의 거대한 가정으로 비유하고 김일성을 “아버이”로 부르는 매우 기이한 정치체제를 유지하고 있다. 이것이 현실적으로는 족벌주의를 낳고 극도로 폐쇄적인 사회를 자아내는 근본원인이다. 그 정도가 어디에 이르렀는지를 소설의 한 대목을 인용함으로써 예시하기로 한다.

사람이란 자기를 낳아주고 길러준 부모의 덕을 모르고 배반하면 사람이 아니다. 그럼 부모는 누구겠니? 네 할아버지, 할머니? 아니다. 네 할아버지, 할머니는 나를 낳기는 했어도 밥 한끼 변변히 못먹여주었구 글 한자 배워주지 못했다. 해방되는 그날까지 내 어깨에서 짐승 살이보다 더 못한 머슴의 멍에를 벗겨주지 못했어!... 그랬던 것을 우리 수령님께서 나라를 찾아주시구 나한테 평생소원이던 땅을 주신 다음부터 난 진짜루 세상에 사람으루 다시 태어날 수 있었다. 그러구 너두 역시 수령님과 당의 품이 없었다면 그렇게 세상 부러운 것 없이 자라구 배운다는 건 꿈에도 생각 못할 일이야... 그러니 너나 나나 진짜 부모는 누구겠니?... 수령님과 당의 품이다.

이에 미치면 더 할 말이 없다. 그러니 결국 북한이 개방과 개혁이 불가피한 형편에 있으면서도 쉽사리 문호를 열고 과감한 변화를 추구하지 못하는 근원적인 이유도 이같은 김일성 족벌체제를 둘러싼 개인숭배의 붕괴가 두려운 데 있다. 그러면 그럴수록 북한이 변화를 실현시키기 위해서는 가정 안에서 여성이 변화에 적극성을 띠는다면 의외로 빨리 개혁이 이루어질 수도 있을 것이라는 점을 생각해 한다.

북한여성과의식주생활

손 봉 숙 (한국여성정치연구소 소장 · 정치학)

손봉숙 소장은 「북한여성의 실태」 연구에서 제3장 여성의 의식주생활, 제8장 여성과 정치참여를 집필하였다. 다음의 글은 여성의 의식주생활의 내용을 요약, 정리한 것이다.

마르크스는 공산주의사회에서는 각자가 “능력에 따라 일하고 욕망에 따라 소비할 수 있는” 사회를 건설할 수 있을 것으로 내다보았다. 말하자면 개인의 활동이나 노동의 ‘차이’가 소유와 향유의 ‘불평등’이나 ‘특권’의 근거가 되지 않아야 한다는 것이다. 이러한 이상은 바로 소련에 사회주의 혁명을 일으켰던 레닌의 약속이었으며, 동시에 그의 뒤를 열렬히 따랐던 모든 무산계급의 희망이기도 했다.

북한에서도 역시 “다 같이 잘 사는 평등한 사회”를 건설한다는 목표 아래 “노동에서의 평등”을 구실로 전 주민들을 일터로 내몰았다. 여성도 물론 그 예외로 인정되지 않았다. 그러나 “욕망에 따른 분배”에의 약속은 충족되기는 커녕 오늘날에는 구호로서도 무색한 것이 되어버렸다. 북한은 1987년에 시작하여 1993년에 종료되는 제3차 7개년계획에서도 주민의 의식주 해결을 주요 선결과제의 하나로 책정하고 있는데, 이는 아직까지 사회주의가 의식주의 기본문제도 해결해주지 못했다는 사실을 역설적으로 입증해 준다. 1980년대 내내 북한은 김일성과 당의 직접적인 주도하에 주민들의 의식주문제 해결에 주력해 왔다. 그럼에도 불구하고 오늘날까지도 북한주민들의 생활수준은 별로 향상되고 있는 것 같지 않다.

최근에 일어나고 있는 국내 · 외 정세의 변화는 지금까지 엄격히 통제된 사회속에서 살아온 북한주민들에게도 “잘 먹고 잘 살고 싶은” 인간 본연의 욕구를 불러일으키고 있다. 북한 당국은 이제 주민들에게 의식주의 질적 향상에 대한 욕구를 더 이상 억누르지 못하고 어느 정도의 변화를 허용해줄 수밖에 없는 실정에 이르고 있다. 이러한 변화의 징후는 여러 곳에서 간간히 나타나고 있다. 예컨대 평양 등의 대도시에는 대규모 주택단지를 조성하고 살림집 건설에 박차를 가하고 있다. 여성들의 옷차림도 한결 밝고 화려해지고 있으며, 옷모양 디자인, 화장술, 머리단장 등에 대한 이야기도 매스컴에 자주 등장한다. 최근에는 소위 「농민시장」이라는 것을 상설하여 텃밭에서 가꾼 농산물 중에서 소비하고 남는 것은 내다 팔 수 있도록 허용하고 있다. 또한 주문배급제에 의한 완전 통제경제체제에서

부분적으로나마 시장경제체제를 도입하여 주문 없이 상품을 생산공장에서 바로 직판장으로 보내 판매하기도 한다.

그러나 이러한 변화는 근본적이라기 보다는 어디까지나 오랫동안 조이기만 해오던 “숨통을 다소 터 주는” 정도에 그치고 있는 것으로 보인다. 그리고 무엇보다 그러한 변화의 직접적인 동기도 따져 보면 김정일 후계체제에 대비하여 주민들의 선심을 사기 위한 정치선전 목적상의 배려에 불과한 것으로 알려져 있다. 그런데다 평축을 비롯해서 최근 외국인들의 왕래가 빈번해지자 바깥세계에 대한 전시 효과를 노린 것도 그러한 변화의 배경에 깔려 있는 듯하다. 이를테면 대규모 아파트 단지의 조성은 다른 도시보다 평양에서 가장 활발하며, 지방보다는 원산, 청진, 남포 등의 대도시에 집중되고 있으며, 여자들의 옷차림도 평양을 비롯한 대도시에서는 눈에 띄게 변하고 있지만 지방에서는 여전히 여전하다. 따라서 이러한 변화를 보고 북한사회가 소련이나 동구 같은 변혁을 가져오리라고 기대하기는 어렵다.

북한사회의 이러한 변화는 남북관계의 개선과 통일에 어떤 도움이 될 것인가? 북한주민들의 의식주 생활은 앞으로 조금씩 개선될 것이다. 그렇지만 날로 높아지고 다양해지는 주민들의 욕구를 충족시키기에는 크게 미흡할 것으로 보인다. 현재 북한당국이 원하는 바는 사회주의체제의 포기가 아니라 이의 공고화로 발전이다. 그렇기 때문에 사회주의체제를 근본적으로 위협할 정도의 급속한 변화는 결코 허용하지 않을 것으로 보인다. 당분간은 “불가피한 수준에서의 변화”만을 허용하면서 김정일체제도의 이양을 위한 제반 조치를 강구해 나갈 것이다. 따라서 앞으로 북한은 주민들의 점증하는 욕구와 이를 미처 충족시킬 수 없는 체제능력 간의 격차가 증대될 것이며, 이러한 격차는 조만간 정치적 불만으로 표출될 가능성도 있다. 서방세계와의 교류와 남북관계의 개선은 이러한 불만을 증폭시킬 수도 있다. 북한당국이 소련이나 동구와 같이 전면개방과 남북교류에 선뜻 응하지 못하는 이유는 이런 데에도 있다. 그러나 김정일체제와 북한당국이 언제까지나 이러한 영거주춤한 자세를 지속해 나갈지는 불확실하다.

북한의 통일정책과 여성



이 경 숙(숙명여대 교수·국제정치학)

이경숙 교수는 「북한여성의 실태」 연구에서 제1장 북한의 통치이데올로기와 여성, 제7장 북한의 통일정책과 여성을 집필하였다. 이 중에서 북한의 통일정책과 여성의 내용일부를 요약, 정리하였다.

본 연구에서는 북한의 정치지도층이 통일에 대해 어떠한 기본인식을 가지고 있으며, 북한 통일정책의 기초와 목표인 '조선혁명론'과 '전 한반도의 사회주의화'를 위해 어떠한 전략을 구사해 왔는가를 주로 살펴보았다. 그리고 통일방안을 중심으로 전개된 통일정책을 시기별로 구분하여 살펴보고 북한의 통일에 대한 입장에 있어서 계속적으로 주장하는 내용과 변화된 부분에는 어떤 것들이 있는지 알아보았다.

북한에는 통일정책에 관한 한 통일된 입장과 지지표명만이 있을 뿐이므로, 통일을 달성하기 위해서 북한여성들이 독자적으로 어떠한 역할을 해 주기를 기대한다는 것은 무리이다. 북한의 최대 여성조직인 민주여성동맹은 노동당 외곽단체로 북한사회의 '주체사상화', '가정의 혁명화', '노동계급화'를 과업으로 활⁷하고 있으므로 북한여성의 사상개조수단이며 효율적인 인력동원의 매개임을 감안할 때 북한여성은 노동당의 통일에 대한 입장이나 주장을 충실히 따르고 있다고 보아야 할 것이다. '남조선혁명'이나 통일전선형성의 핵심적인 기구인 '조국통일민주주의전선'의 의장직은 여연구가 맡고 있고(허정숙도 한때 역임) '조국평화통일위원회' 부위원장을 허정숙이 맡고 있으며, '대남공작기구' 연락부장을 정경희가 맡은 적이 있어, 대남 전략이나 '남조선혁명' 추진의 선두에 여성이 동참하고 있음을 알 수 있다.

그러면 앞으로 한국여성이나 여성단체들이 남북교류나 궁극적으로 남북통일을 위해 어떠한 역할을 할 수 있는가 제시해 보고자 한다.

첫째, 북한과 북한여성에 대해서 바로 알도록 노력해야 한다. 북한여성은 '혁명하는 사람의 첫째 가는 임무는 학습'이라는 노동당의 방침에 따라 늘 정치적인 학습을 하고 있다. 남북분단은 남북여성간의 이질화를 더 심화시켰다는 주장이 있다. 앞으로 여성단체들이 중심이 되어 통일교육을 중점적 사업 중의 하나로 추진하며 통일에 대한 남북한의 기본 입장, 통일방안, 북한의 실상에 대해 바로 알도록 계몽함으로써 북한에 대한 이해를 높이고 남북한간의 공통

점을 찾아내어 동질성을 회복하는 데 앞장서야 할 것이다. 둘째, 남북통일은 남북한의 민족화합과 상호신뢰가 바탕이 되어야 한다. 남북화합과 상호신뢰는 우선 한국내에서의 계층간의 화합과 협력을 공고히 하는데서부터 실현되어야 한다. 계층간의 화합과 협력은 모든 계층이 협동적으로 민주복지사회가 되도록 서로 감싸고 아끼며 봉사하고 상부상조해야 할 것이다. 특히 가정경제를 주관하는 여성으로서 과소비현상을 지양하고, 가진 자가 덜 가진 자에게 베푸는 아량과 정성을 가져야 할 것이다.

셋째, 가정교육의 담당자로서 여성은 강한 통일의식과 통일의지를 갖고, 통일의 의미와 통일방안을 정확히 파악함으로써 동질성 회복을 위해 올바른 국가관, 민족관을 자녀들에게 심어주어야 할 것이다.

넷째, 여성들은 통일논의에 있어서 범국민적인 합의기반을 구축하여 단결을 강화하고 자유와 인권과 인간다운 삶이 보장되는 통일된 조국의 미래상을 건설하기 위해 준비하는 자세를 가져야 한다. 즉 남북이 통일되었을 때 북한주민들에게 자신이나 가정, 사회가 어떠한 자질을 갖추고 있어야 명실상부한 민주사회를 건설할 수 있는지 말뿐만 아니라 행동으로 보여줄 수 있어야 한다.

다섯째, 여성들은 유권자로서의 권리와 의무를 제대로 인식하여 국정에 대해 높은 참여의식을 갖고 감독자의 역할을 해야 할 것이다. 도덕적으로나 윤리적으로 떳떳하고 본받을 만한 지도자들을 선출하여 국정을 담당하도록 함으로써 남북이 통합되었을 때 남북한 국민 모두가 믿고 따를 수 있도록 해야 할 것이다.

여섯째, 통일에 앞서 추진되는 남북교류나 남북대화에 여성을 대표할 수 있는 인재양성과 발굴에 여성단체들이 지대한 관심을 가져야 할 것이다. 특히 남북여성교류를 하게 될 때를 대비해 준비와 지식을 갖추고 있어야 한다. 남북한여성들이 민족공동체를 형성하기 위해 이질화를 극복하고 동질성을 회복하는 데 필요한 의제가 어떠한 것인가를 미리 생각해 두어야 한다.

372

「칼럼」



「통일전망대」를 통해 본 북한 여성

문화방송 보도국 북한부 김현주

동 근 얼굴, 중간 컷트의 곱슬한 파마 머리, 약간 높고 가는 음색으로 끝을 울려 빠르게 끝내는 수줍은 듯한 말씨.

우리나라 T.V.에서 북한 T.V.의 방영내용을 보여주는 프로그램이 생긴지 2년여가 되면서 우리 시청자의 눈에도 어느정도 익숙해진 북한 여성의 인상이다. 그동안 「통일전망대」를 통해 소개된 북한 여성의 모습은 다양하다. 김일성 생가로 북한 최고의 사적지인 만경대의 안내원으로부터 여공, 의사, 농부, 선생님, 학생 등을 거쳐 여성광부에 이르기까지! 그러나 모두 짧은 T.V. 프로그램들속에 언뜻언뜻 비친 모습들이기 때문에 전체 북한 여성의 모습을 그려보기에는 아직 부족한 점이 많다. 특히 가정에서의 여성의 모습을 볼 수 있는 기회는 극히 적어 이롭다.

그러나 인쇄매체와는 달리 T.V.는 생생한 화면과 소리까지 직접 전달해 주기 때문에 갈 수 없는 땅 북한에 살고있는 사람들, 그리고 우리가 특히 궁금해하는 여성들의 모습을 우리 이웃만큼이나 가까이 느낄 수 있도록 하는데 큰 역할을 하고있다.

내가 만약 북한을 방문해 만경대의 여성안내원이나 T.V.에서 여러번 본 북한아나운서를 만난다면 오랜 친구를 만난듯한 착각에 빠질지도 모르겠다. 물론 나혼자만의 반가움이요 일방적인 친밀감일테지만 말이다. 최근 우리 T.V.의 어떤 코메디 프로그램에 재미있는 코너가 등장해 눈길을 끌고 있다.

「통일전망대」를 통해 북한 여성의 말씨와 태도를 배웠다는 젊은 여성 코메디언이 정말 실감나게 북한 여성을 연기해내 인기를 얻고 있는 것이다. 북한여성의 모습이 우리에게 어느정도 친숙해졌나를 짐작해 볼 수 있게 하는 일면이다. 그러나 이런 친밀감 뒤에는 지난 45년간 서로를 적으로 여기며 쌓아올린 분단의 벽이 아직도 높기만하다고 느껴질 때가 많은 것이 사실이다.

북한 T.V. 프로그램에서는 정치인이든 상점점원이든, 농부이든지간에 누구를 막론하고 아버이 수령과 지도자 선생님의 지도지침과 말씀을 빠뜨리지 않고 인용한다. 집단농장에 사는 칠순의 할머니가 “당 제6기 17차 전원회의에서 밝혀주신 대로...”를 막힘없이 외우고, 대학교수가 김정일이 중앙통신사 세포 당원들이 보낸 충성의 편지에 대해 공개답장을 한 짙막한 내용을

수첩에 적어 가슴에 품고 다니며 외운다는 것을 T.V.에 나와 자랑하기도 한다. 군에서 자식을 잃은 어머니, 남편을 잃은 젊은 아내가 슬픔보다 더 큰 충성심을 아버이 수령에게 돌린다. 단순히 남북 체제의 차이때문이라고 하기에는 분단의 틈이 너무 깊지 않은가하는 생각이 들어 가슴을 답답하게 하던 장면들이다. 하지만 평양최고의 냉면집 옥류관의 주방 아주머니가 맛있게 김장담는 법을 소개할 때는 역시 우리 주위에서 흔히 볼 수 있는 친근한 이웃의 모습을 다시 만날 수 있다. 통배추를 쪄고 절이고 속을 버무려 담는 솜씨 또한 전혀 낯설지 않은 풍경이다. 더우기 화면에는 비치지 않았지만 김장을 담으며 그녀들도 틀림없이 배추속 몇잎씩 뜯어 잘버무린 양념속을 듬뿍 싸 서로 권하며 맛을 보았을 것이다. 우리 어머니들이 하는 것처럼.

현재 「통일전망대」를 통해 방영되는 북한의 모습은 조금만 주의깊게 살펴보면 바로 지금 현재의 북한 모습이라는 것을 금방 알 수 있다. 북한 T.V.뉴스뿐 아니라 계몽영화, 소개영화 등 거의 모든 프로그램이 보름 정도의 시차가 날 뿐이다.

「통일전망대」가 처음 생길 때부터 지금까지 이 프로그램의 제작에 참여해 오면서 어떻게 하면 북한의 오늘의 모습, 북한 사람들의 삶의 모습을 자연스럽게 시청자들에게 전해줄 수 있을까에 중점을 두어 왔다. 그러나 아직도 시간의 제약, 편집권의 한계, 직접취재의 불가능 등 여러 이유로 북한사회를 바로 이해하기는 쉽지 않다. 그보다도 더 큰 이유는 아마도 반세기 가까이 지속되어 온, 그리고 아직도 계속되고 있는 오랜 단절이 남긴 감정적 틀림지도 모른다. 혹은 정보의 부족에서 오는 잘못된 인식일지도 모른다.

지난 2년여동안 조금씩 모아진 북한여성에 대한 나의 지식도 조각맞추기의 부분들처럼 여러조각으로 잘게 나뉘어 흩어져 있다. 그림판을 완성하기에 아직 턱없이 조각이 모자란다. 작은 조각들이 하루빨리 모여 완전한 그림판이 완성될 수 있는 날을 기대해 본다. 또 힘겹게 조각맞추기를 끝냈을 때 남북이 서로 비슷한 색채와 모양을 갖춘 그림을 만들어낼 수 있기를 희망한다면 지나친 욕심일까. 이를 위해서는 우리 모두의 노력이 필요할 것이다.



WOMEN IN NORTH KOREA

Now is the time for us to prepare ourselves for South-North unification and at the same time for the promotion of democratization. Our efforts for unification should be driven by the assumption that it will be unable to change the North Korea's political system unilaterally, at least for some time to come. It is necessary to come to terms with their political system and to bring about mutual cooperation in all levels and areas of society. Women's problems are no exception. Are we ready to persuade North Korean women to select South Korea without hesitation if they have a free choice?

Center for Korean Women and Politics (CKWP) conducted a study of the status of North Korean women upon the request of the Ministry of Second Political Affairs as means of preparing for our future unification and learning about North Korea. Consequently, the second edition of our newsletter contains summary of feature articles on North Korean women in various fields. The study contains 7 sections. North Korea's Ruling Ideology and Women (Prof. Kyungsook Lee : 1), Women and Family Life (Prof. Lee, On-Jook : 2), Women and Food, Clothing and Housing (Director, CKWP, Dr. Bong-Scuk Sohn : 3), Women and Educational and Cultural Activities (Prof. Lee, On-Jook : 4), Women's Economic Activity (Prof. Ae-Sil Kim : 5), Women and Political Participation (Dr. Bong-Scuk Sohn : 6), North Korea's Unification Policy and Women (Prof. Kyungsook Lee : 7).

Political Participation by North Korean women is high. 20% of the Supreme People's Committee (which corresponds to South Korea's National Assembly), 1 Deputy Prime Minister, 1 - 2 Ministers in Chongmoowon (which corresponds to Administrations) and 25 - 30% of the Local People's Committee (which corresponds to Local legislatives) are women. However, in North Korea, women's participation in higher ranking posts is limited and uneasy. Most North Korean women politicians have no independent decision making powers and their roles are limited to the work of transmitting messages from top to bottom. Therefore, it can be said that a big gap exists between women politicians' official representation and actual power.

Looking into the economic activity of North Korean women, it is known that they occupy 49% of the total labor force, not only in light industry but also in heavy industry that require hard physical labour. Also, most unmarried North Korean women take up a career, but 70% of them leave their work after marriage. More and more North Korean women take a career in professional and technical fields. While their income is generally even among themselves, their average income is lower than that of Men.

North Korea emphasizes sexual equality within the home as an ideal. In fact, however, women's burden is heavier than ever. Women take care of home and work as hard as men outside the home. The North Korean government utilizes family life in the name of "home revolution" for its political goals. Thus, the personality cult of Kim, Il Sung and his son's power to take over is very much rooted in traditional familism. As it is known, North Korea has a very strange political system that compares the whole country to a giant family and calls Kim, Il Sung its father. This traditional familism has created nepotism and an extremely closed society.

In the area of food, clothing and housing, North Korea has made every effort to provide food, clothing and housing through several economic plans that emphasize their effective control of food, clothing and housing. That is, they make food, clothing and housing settlement as a priority and use "equal treatment in labor" as an excuse to push every resident, including women, to work to establish an "equally distributed society." This implies that paradoxically North Korea still has not solved the food, clothing and housing problem and, that their living condition is still underdeveloped. The recent political changes at home and overseas has brought some changes to their totally controlled society. Dress design, make up and hairdressing receive much publicity from the press. In big cities like Pyongyang, the government is constructing huge housing areas and establishing farmer's market to sell farm surpluses. These changes are being made to advance political goals: i.e. to assure that Kim, Jung Il becomes the successor of Kim, Il Sung. So, it is hard to expect society to open entirely because of their food, clothing and housing life changes.

We want unification not only in order to unify the Korean peninsula geographically but also to upgrade the quality of every one's life. Real unification will be achieved not only when we overcome the sexual discrimination and differences among social classes, regions, wealth and poverty and urban and rural, but also when we all enjoy our freedom and human rights as one community. As a result, this research insists that women need to participate actively in politics, economy and society. Therefore, the extended rights and interests of North Korean women are one of the important issues that must be achieved for unification. We hope that this study provides us an opportunity for a better understanding of North Korea, promotes the interchange of women personnel between North and South, and guides us in framing a proper policy towards North Korean women.

「여성정치연구기금」 모금운동

연 구소의 연구활동을 원활히 수행하기 위한 「여성정치연구기금」을 조성하고자 합니다. 본 연구소는 일차적으로는 회원들이 납부하는 회비와 후원금으로 운영합니다. 그리고 관련 민간 및 정부기관에 개별 연구과제를 제출하여 받는 연구용역비로 연구를 수행하고 있습니다. 잘 아시다시피 보다

안정된 여건에서 장기적 활동계획을 수립하고 여성문제에 대한 기초적인 연구를 수행하기 위해서는 재정적인 지원이 절실하게 필요합니다. 본 연구소에서는 금년에 평생회원 500명 모집운동을 전개하고자 합니다. 평생회비는 20만원으로 500명의 회원을 모집하면 1억원의 연구기금이 조성됩니다.

평생회비로 조성된 1억원은 「여성정치연구기금」으로 적립하고 여기서 발생하는 이자를 연구활동 경비의 일부로 충당하고자 합니다. 이 모금은 기금의 많고 적음보다도 500명의 회원이 평생동안 본 연구소의 활동에 관심을 가지고 지켜봐 주신다는 데 더 큰 뜻이 있다고 생각합니다.

여성정치연구사업에 깊은 관심을 가져주시고 본 연구소의 평생회원으로 가입해 주시기 바랍니다. 회원 여러분들의 기대에 어긋나지 않도록 충실한 연구소로 커 가겠사오니 지켜봐주시기 바랍니다. 여러분의 많은 협조를 부탁드립니다.

많은 성원을 바랍니다

「한국여성정치연구소 소개」



한 국여성정치연구소는 인구의 반을 차지하는 여성이 가지고 있는 다양한 잠재력을 창조적으로 발전시키고 여성인력을 이 나라의 정치발전과 민주화과업에 보다 적극적으로 활용하는데 이바지하고자 설립되었다. 우리나라는 그간의 경제성장과 산업화에 힘입어 여성들의 사회참여가 확대되었고 그 법적, 사회적 지위 또한 상대적으로 향상되었다. 더구나 최근에는 권위주의정치가 민주화로 전환되는 과정에서 다양한 사회세력들의 정치적 위상도 제정립되고 있으며 여성의 정치적 참여와 대표성의 문제에 대해서도 새로운 인식과 운동이 광범하게 일어나고 있다. 그러나 이러한

운동은 아직까지도 한국사회 여성의 현실조건과 이상에 대한 체계적 연구와 이론적 뒷받침이 상대적으로 약한 상태에서 이루어지고 있다. 이러한 시대상황에서 한국여성정치연구소는 여성과 정치분야에 대한 이상과 현실의 거리를 매우고 한국사회의 바람직한 미래상에 걸맞는 여성의 정치적 대표성을 학문적으로 깊이 연구·조사하며 국민의 정치의식 수준을 향상시키고 민주시민을 양성하는 일에 앞장설으로써 대내외에 걸쳐 여성의 역할을 풍요롭게 하고 2000년대의 새로운 여성상을 정립하는데 기여하고자 한다.



—학술 조사·연구
여 성과 정치에 대한 적실하고 타당한 이론을 개발하고 기초연구를 수행하며 다양한 여성집단들의 삶과 정치적 태도를 연구·조사한다. 또한 남북한 교류와 통일에 대비하여 남북한 여성에 대한 비교연구를 포함하여 북한여성문제를 보다 체계적으로 연구한다. 아울러 국내외 학계 및 연구소들, 관련 민간국제기관들과 제휴 협력하여 국제감각을 갖춘 중추적인 연구조직이 되고자 한다.
 —교육·훈련
 다양한 교육훈련, 국제교류 및 정보교환을 통하여 여성과 정치에

대한 이론과 활동을 보다 활성화시키는데 이바지한다.
 —국제교류
 비영리 민간기구의 하나로서 장차 아시아 태평양지역 및 유엔 등의 국제무대에서 여성문제에 대한 민간의외 창구역할을 수행하는데 기여한다.
 —발간·편찬 활동
 여성과 정치에 관련된 잡지, 연구보고서, 뉴스레터, 팸플릿 등의 발간과 국내외에 걸친 워크샵, 세미나, 회의 등을 통하여 관련정보자료를 제공하는 사회봉사기능의 한 몫을 맡고자 한다.

376

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Individual Member : 20 \$(annual fee)

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If you want to be a member of CKWP, please write to the Center, #801, Hyundai Building, 35-1 Mapo-Dong, Mapo-Ku, Seoul, Korea, 121-050.



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진미경(정치학박사, 이화여대 강사)

최금숙(법학박사, 이화여대 교수)

하영애(정치학박사, 건국대 강사)

한영구(정치학박사, 외교안보연구원 교수)

소 장 : 손봉숙(정치학박사)

연구 원 :

김양숙(정치학석사, 상임연구원)

양선희(정치학석사, 상임연구원)

김미수(정치학석사, 비상임연구원)

이지현(정치학석사, 비상임연구원)

황유정(정치학석사, 비상임연구원)

허미영(연구보조원)

〈전국여성공명선거 감시단〉의 발족제안

다가오는 지방선거를 깨끗한 선거로 이끌고 이 나라 민주주의를 지키기 위한 방안으로 순수 민간기구로 〈전국여성공명선거감시단〉의 발족을 제안하는 바이다. 이 기구는 (1) 범 여성단체를 주축으로 구성하며, (2) 전국지방공공의 통·반까지 공명선거 모니터를 지정하여, (3) 금권선거, 타락선거 등 모든 부정사례를 빠짐없이 수집·고발케하고, (4) 이를 여론화시킴으로써 돈쓰는 후보, 불법선거운동을 하는 후보자는 낙선시키는 새 정치풍토를 조성해 가도록 해야 한다. 그리고 이를 통해서 여성후보자가 모범을 보이도록 하는 캠페인을 앞장서서 전개할 것을 제안한다.

임원동정

-이태영(한국가정법률상담소 소장) 고문은 지난 10월30일 가정법률상담소 강당에서 창립 34주년 기념식을 가지고 그동안 상담소를 위해 봉사해 온 자원봉사자들에게 특별감사패를 수여하고 그 노고를 기렸다. 또한 인권보호에 힘쓴 공로로 국내에서는 12월10일 국민훈장무궁화장을 수상하였으며 또 국외에서는 브라질 리오데자네이로 공공변호협회(ADPERU)가 세계 각 대륙별로 선정한 「리우주공공변호인협회 공로메달」의 아시아권 수상자로 선정되었다.

-이경숙(숙명여대 교수) 이사는 지난 10월13일 숙명여대 졸업 25주년 기념 한울제를 주관하였다.

-이범준(성신여대 교수) 자문위원은 지난 12월1일에 열린 한국국제정치학회 총회에서 한국국제정치학회 차기 회장으로 선출되었다.

-이영옥(성균관대 교수) 자문위원은 12월5일 21세기위원회 주최 여성문제 간담회 "21세기 한국사회에서의 여성의 역할"을 주관하였다.

-장공자(충북대 교수, 충북대학교 국제관계연구소 소장) 특별연구원은 11월16일 충북대학교에서 "한반도 분단극복과 그 방안"에 대한 학술세미나를 개최하였다.

-최금숙(이화여대 교수) 특별연구원은 지난 가을학기부터 이화여자대학교 법정대학 법학과의 조교수로 임명되었다.

-한영구(외교안보연구원 교수) 특별연구원은 7월16일에서 11월15일까지 Japan Foundation으로부터 연구비를 받아 일본 국제문제연구소에서 "남북한간의 새로운 관계정립과 일본의 역할"에 대해 연구하고 귀국하였다.

-손봉숙 소장은 11월 6일부터 21일까지 미국 러터거스(Rutgers)대학교 부설 미국여성정치연구소를 방문하여 "미국 중간선거에서의 여성의 정치참여 현황"에 대한 간담회에 참석하였다. 그리고 "여성과 정치참여"에 대한 초청특강을 통하여 여성의 정치참여에 대한 일반사회의 관심을 촉구하는 의식화 작업을 계속하고 있다.

감사합니다

○ 평생회원이 되어주신 분들 (가나다순)
김영순 김영택 나숙정 류순이 박금정 박대회 박성숙 서윤주 연혜진 윤경진 이순희 이연희 이한순 장명자

○ 특별회원이 되어주신 분들
서병령 이종률

○ 일반회원이 되어주신 분들 (가나다순)
강경자 강승희 강현경 고기효 고인옥 고혜원 공정자 김경제 김경주 김근화 김명철 김미수 김미숙 김미혜 김민진 김병희 김순형 김영자 김옥희 김인숙 김종숙 김준숙 김초자 김 현 김현경 김현숙 김현지 남상신 노연희 명자혜

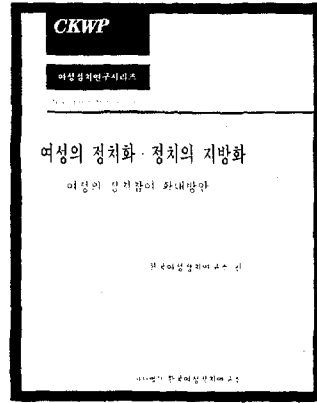
문영숙 문홍순 박영희 박원규 백남태 서미영 성의정 손광섭 송수자 신귀자 신미녀 신수자 신희식 안병남 안정희 엄금자 오순정 유미림 유승애 윤영오 윤혜정 이경애 이규희 이복순 이선향 이양준 이연희 이영애 이영애 이옥선 아우녕 이원영 이은선 이인숙 이인재 이정숙 이정순 이주희 이지현 이진아 이현아 이혜숙 이해정 이화용 이희자 임덕규 장기영 장성자 전경애 전상숙 정영미 정은경 정인용 정필복 조복선 주인숙 진미경 차정자 최공주 최관수 최명희 최영자 최향남 하정희 한응매 함영이 현실자 황유정

○ 자원봉사를 해 주신분
신영준 이경열 Lisa Davis
Ellen Eisenlohr

● 발간물 안내

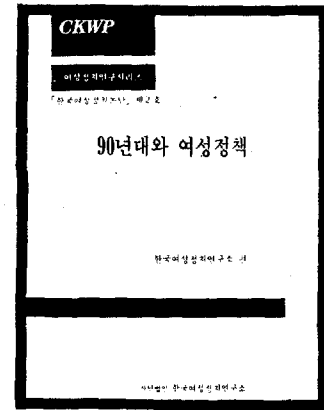
여성의 정치화·정치의 지방화

본 연구소에서는 「한국여성정치논단」에서 발표된 주제논문과 토론내용을 묶어 여성과 정치에 관한 연구와 활동에 종사하는 분들이나 여성문제에 관심을 가진 분들이 참고자료로 활용할 수 있도록 「여성정치연구시리즈」를 발간하고 있습니다. 첫번째 시리즈는 “여성의 정치화·정치의 지방화”란 제목으로 여성의 정치참여확대방안에 대한 주제논문과 토론을 정리하여 펴낸 것입니다.



90년대와 여성 정책

두번째 시리즈는 “90년대와 여성정책”이라는 제목으로 90년대의 정치와 여성참여 및 여성정책과 공·사영역에 대한 주제논문과 토론을 모아 발간한 것입니다. 이 자료를 구입하시고자 하는 분들은 본 연구소로 문의하시기 바랍니다. 값은 각 2천원이며 회원에 한해서 50퍼센트 할인해 드립니다.



● 여성운동 뺏지

여성의 정치화
정치의 지방화



인구의 절반



대표없이
평등없다



본 연구소에서는 여성의 권익신장과 의식화를 도모하기 위하여 여성운동뺏지를 제작하여 보급하고 있습니다. 여성들의 모임이나 행사에 이용하시면 여성문제에 대한 인식을 새롭게 하고 보다 쉽게 공감대를 형성해 갈 수 있을 것입니다. 뺏지가 필요하신 분들은 본 연구소로 문의하시기 바랍니다.



“하늘보다 높은 장대”

중 국에 조공을 하던 시절, 중국사신이 '하늘보다 높은 장대를 구해오라'는 문제를 가져왔습니다. 임금님과 조정신하 모두 머리를 싸매고 묘안을 짜냈지만 허사였습니다. 이때 어느 작은 고을의 어린 소년이 사신을 만나 하늘(天)에 장대(丨)가 더해진 글자, '아닐미(未)를 써 보였습니다. 사신은 황급히 돌아갈 도리밖에 없었습니다.

나라의 어려움을 해결한 소년의 지혜 — 지금 선진국의 문턱에 서 있는 우리에게 무엇보다 소중한 것입니다. 급변하는 환경에 과감히 도전하는 창의적 사고와 능동적 자세 없이는 발전도 미래도 있을수 없습니다. 동양그룹은 하늘에 장대를 세우는 소년의 지혜처럼 자율과 책임을 바탕으로 창의와 혁신을 이루어갑니다.



가족회사

동양시멘트 · 동양제과 · 동양증권 · 동양투자금융 · 동양생명보험 · 오리온프리도레이
동양매직 · 동양마트 · 동양창업투자 · 동양투자자문 · 동양선물 · 동양경제연구소 · 서남재단