

Women & Leadership Roles

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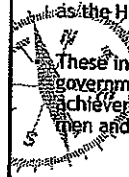
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Gender situation in Mongolia

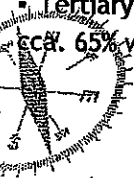
- A cursory assessment of achievements in Mongolia against such indicators as the MDGs and Human Development Index (GDI) suggests that women and men benefit in an equitable manner from the development, especially compared to some other countries in Asia. The Gender and Development Index (GDI) in 2002 was 0.68, the same as the HDI, which is a highly favorable result

These indicators appear to demonstrate equal access to government services, with high literacy rates, education achievements, and increasing life expectancy for both men and women. Labour force: almost 50% women



Education: reverse gender gap

- Gross secondary enrolment
121 female/male ratio
- Tertiary (university) graduates
cca. 65% women



Women and poverty

- However, a disproportionate number of the poor are women and female-headed households are considered to be at much greater risk of being poor. 18% of all the households in Mongolia are female-headed, 12% of all very poor, and 25% of all poor households are female-headed



Decision-making and gender

- In most countries where women participate extensively in formal employment, there is a higher proportion of women in decision-making positions. In Mongolia, however, there is a very low percentage of women at the high decision-making positions

"All the work is done by women and all the decisions are done by men"

Women and decision-making

- Parliament: 5 out of 76 (6%)
- Cabinet: 0 out of 18
- Provincial governors: 0 out of 30

Parliamentary elections: 4% (1992), 9% (1996), 11% (2000) and 6% (2004)

In 2004 elections: 265 candidates on behalf of 8 political parties - 35 candidates (13%) ran and 5 (5%) won the race

GEM

- GEM (Gender Empowerment Measure - uses variables constructed explicitly to measure the relative empowerment of women and men in political and economic spheres of activity) - 0.458 in 2002. This is lower than GDI (0.68), indicating that despite women's relatively high economic participation rates, their low political participation pulls the measure down

Women: leaders of civil society

- Women have organized and actively lead civil society organizations since the early transition period
- Women's NGOs pioneered the promotion and awareness-raising of democratic values and practices as well as educating about gender equality. Gender analysis, advocacy for women's rights

Women: leaders of civil society

- Many focused their efforts on increasing women's participation in national and local elections, and educating citizens about their rights, government policies, and programs
- Women NGOs coalition supporting women candidates for 2000 and 2004 elections. CEDAW Watch Network (coalition of 7 women NGOs) to monitor implementation of CEDAW signed by Mongolia in 1981

Programs and Goals

- With support and pressure from civil society, a comprehensive National Program for Gender Equality (NPGE) was adopted in 2003
- MDG in Mongolia: 2005 Act of the Parliament on Mongolia's MDGs which includes a number of gender-related goals (includes a goal for women candidates for 2008: 30%, 2015: 45%)

Election reform and gender

- 30% quota for women candidates was approved in December 2005. Was not an easy process

Efforts on behalf of women wings of political parties: IRI-supported Women Partnership in Governance and Politics

Election reform and gender

- The Civil Will Party, was the first to introduce the women quota clause in our party bylaws in January 2005 (for all the election candidates, and all the decision-making position inside the party, as well as in the government, if ruling)

Political Party and Election finance reform in Mongolia (2005)

DIFFICULT FOR WOMEN TO OBTAIN FINANCIAL RESOURCES

- caps on donations and overall spending during the campaign
- increased contribution from the state budget to the party and election funding
- income and assets of high-level public officials as well as all the election candidates made open to the public
- limits on paid political advertising on TV and printed media, as well as equal offer (time and fees) to all the parties and independent candidates
- transparency for donations and expenditures for both parties and election candidates

PUBLIC INFORMATION CAMPAIGNS

- The Government, Parliament, political parties and organizations, trade unions, non-governmental organizations and the media should organize public information campaigns as an integral part of the process of strengthening democracy and raise women's awareness of their rights and capacity to influence politics and promote their participation

Promoting new images

- New images promoted through media and education:
- Women's activities AT home are not contradictory to their activities OUTSIDE the home
- Media:
 - > Help to instill the idea that women's participation in political life is crucial for democracy
 - > Stereotyped representation of women by media should be prohibited by law
- Education:
 - > Education material should be freed of any messages which give or suggest an image of men's superiority over women and it should be the same for girls and boys
 - > Teacher's training

GOVERNMENT

Should ensure that interests and specific problems of women are dealt with in all areas pertaining to governmental jurisdiction

- Allow resources on the promotion of women's participation

Economical resources

- > Equal pay for equal work
- > Direct and indirect access to credit for women
- > Economic value on work at home (e.g. include in gross national product)

PARLIAMENT

- Women parliamentarians can act positively as a model
- Laws against discrimination, quotas

Trade Unions and NGO's

- Encourage women to become involved in trade unions
- NGO can change gender based inequalities through information campaigns

POLITICAL PARTIES' STRUCTURE

- Attention to principle of equality between men and women in their programs
- Equal opportunities to belong to decision-making bodies at all levels in the party's structure
- Affirmative action measures (e.g. quotas)

ELECTIONS

Decision to run

- 2 factors important for women to run: Personal ambition and opportunities
- Cultural context: Are women "supposed" to run?
- Most parties seek candidates with high educational level and a job in high status professions which are usually dominated by men
- Job problem: Full time job, domestic work, politically active

PARTY NOMINATIONS

- Problem for women: Men make a larger portion of the aspirant pool
- → Action needs to be taken by the party to make up for that bias

FINANCIAL RESOURCES: Problem for women

- Women potentially face greater psychological barriers in asking for money for personal use
- Men are more likely to be linked to business and professional networks outside the party which can provide financial resources

Early Money: Initial financing to launch a campaign for candidature

- Hidden Cost and personal financing: Nursing the constituency and family responsibilities

FINANCING: recommendations

- → Set limits on the amount of money spent during nomination contests
- → Provide early money to women contestants
- → Limit campaign spending and impose campaigning time limits

FINANCING: recommendations

- → Establish networks for the financing of women's electoral and nomination campaigns.
- → Provide incentives through public funding: the amount of funding a party receives could be linked to or dependent on the number of women candidates it puts forward for election.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN

- Usually women receive some financial backing from the party at that stage
- Not the crucial stage because voters do not seem to be attached too much to "traditional" values and in most country it is more the party than the individual candidates which influences voters' choice.

Elections and women candidates

- → Parties should choose carefully the constituencies when putting forward candidates
- → Women candidates in local and municipal elections should be stressed as an important way for them to gain experience
- → Equal support should be given to men and women by the party
- → Affirmative actions if necessary (e.g. quotas)

ARE WOMEN A FAIRER SEX?

a small digression into the issue

- A growing body of social sciences in the last 20 years demonstrates systematic behavioral differences across gender, generally showing that men are more individually oriented (selfish) than women
- Women are more likely to exhibit "helping" behavior:
 - > Research by Eagly and Crowley, 1986
 - > "Women show a focus on community rebuilding and creating real security and opportunity for citizens." (Pacific MP — IPU survey, 2000)
 - > A parallel between "mothers, guardians, caretakers" of the family and the nation is often drawn
 - > They are more effective managers of the public purse (as much as the family's)

2. The reasons WHY (cont.)

- Women score higher on "integrity tests":
 - > Research by Ones and Viswesvaran, 1998
 - > "Male practices include more underhand agreements, score-setting, character assassination of opponents, lying and other negative practices" (from IPU survey, 2000)
 - > Women's higher incorruptibility, higher moral nature and propensity to bring finer moral sensibilities to bear in public life and politics were arguments considerably used by the Suffragettes a century ago

Women behave more generously when faced with economic decisions (Eckel and Grossman, 1998)

Women vote based on social issues (research by Goertzel, 1983)

Women are under bigger scrutiny:

"For women, people expect more and judge them harshly when they err, while for men, people are more willing to overlook their mistakes." (V. Phiri, councillor in Lusaka, South Africa)

2. The reasons WHY (cont.)

- Women are more consensus driven, and are more effective as conflict mediators, as moderators between extreme positions:
 - > "Women are, all in all, less adversarial and more consensus-driven than men, seeking solutions to problems rather than scoring points" (Western European MP — IPU survey, 2000)
 - > "Women rarely succumb to authoritarian styles of behavior." (V. Ishiyev — "Women in Russian Politics", 1993)
- Women are more committed to their objectives:
 - > "Women are better leaders because they are committed to their goals. Once a woman commits to something, she gives her all." (N. Mtshale, Zambia Minister of Labor and Social Services)
- Women bring a different perspective to politics due to their different life experience

3. Limitations & Dangers of such an assertion

- There are countless examples of corrupt behavior among female politicians and leaders from Pakistan to the Philippines, from India to Turkey etc.
- Generalizing about women is grossly inaccurate:
 - There are major personality, social, class, ethnicity differences that contradict any supposed inherent superior "integrity" agenda
 - Women do not constitute one single interest group with a united political ethical behavior
 - Women as men can have a taste for power and wealth and be prone to inter-personal and inter-ideological rivalries leading to non ethical behaviors

3. Limitations & Dangers (cont.)

- By having women's inclusion in politics become a development issue rather than a equality/democracy one, does it put women's engagement in public arena on the wrong foot?
- If women fail to prove to be the new panacea for problems of bad governance, does the justification to bring more women in politics disappear?
- It is often difficult for women to become either clients or patrons in the male-dominated patronage networks through which corrupt exchanges occur, especially in more conservative societies
- Rhetoric about women's purity, integrity, and self-sacrifice can often be used against their interest by fundamentalists groups

3. Limitations & Dangers (cont.)

- What matters is their means of access to power and the nature of the institutions in which they function:
 - > Many women leaders became so by 'inheriting' power from a father, husband etc., therefore representing the same corrupt interests when in power
 - > "Women in politics often do not have the same degree of party support or extended apprenticeship in the public sector that men do, nor the same experience of tolerating opposition, forging alliances, building a support base" (Goetz, 2003): this means they would have more difficulty imposing better political ethics
 - > India's local reserved seats ushered in more than one million women in politics — yet, with their lower education than men, their under-endowment in political skills acquired from party activity, they lacked the capacities to govern effectively and beyond corruption, often intimidated by elder men and senior relatives

Conclusion: the need for balance

- "It takes two hands to clap": for one half of the citizens not to be represented in politics is unethical and undemocratic in its essence
- "Although generalizations in this complex area are dangerous, there is logic to the argument that any system of governance that is more responsive to all interest groups in society is also more transparent." (Gender in Southern African Politics — C. Morna, 2001)
- The presence of women therefore makes the political process richer, broader, as well as more honest and transparent — i.e. on the overall, more democratic

Sources used for the presentation

- <http://www.ipu.org/iss-e/women.htm>
- *"Women's Representation and Legislative Recruitment Process: Bringing Women In"*, By Richard Matland, University of Houston, Texas, Presented at *IDEA and Transparencia Workshop on Women in Political Leadership*, Lima, Peru, 20 January 2004
- *"Gender Equality in Political Party Funding"*, Julie Ballington, International IDEA Paper presented at the *Workshop Is Financing an Obstacle to the Political Participation of Women?* Inter-American Forum on Political Parties, OAS, Washington DC, USA, 16 December 2003