MAPPING STAKEHOLDERS & BEST PRACTICES IN THE GLOBAL MOVEMENT FOR WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON STRATEGIC ANALYSIS, RESEARCH & TRAINING (START) CENTER

REPORT TO THE BILL & MELINDA GATES FOUNDATION

PRODUCED BY: INGLE E, ASA N, SHRESTHA L, BADSHAH A

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Department of Global Health | University of Washington

Executive Summary

The Strategic Analysis Research and Training Center (START) was commissioned by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) to support their strategy and investment in the movement for women's leadership by contributing to a robust evidence base through research. The START team was tasked with gathering evidence to understand market dynamics and current literature on women's leadership across the sectors of health, law, and economics in the key geographies of India, Kenya, and Nigeria.

The START team did this by first mapping key individual and organizational stakeholders influencing the push for women's leadership globally. The team included champions from each country of interest and those working at a global level. We conducted a further analysis to map these stakeholders by level of influence and relevance to the Foundation's strategy. Next, the team documented best practices in the movement for global leadership by gathering evidence for gender quotas and examples from countries that have made progress in achieving gender parity at the leadership level. We identified cultural and societal factors that can make gender quotas more or less effective and documented unintended consequences of gender quotas that implementers should anticipate in the future.

The report uses primarily published and gray literature, social media, and reports from various international entities to identify exemplars and synthesize learnings surrounding women's leadership. Our findings were corroborated by key informant interviews with 4 experts working in this field. In addition, this report summarizes 3 key thematic findings that catalyze women's leadership at organizational and societal levels. Below we present a brief overview of the key findings that accompany this research.

Key Findings

- The individual and organizational stakeholders working to accelerate women's leadership are diverse in their scope and methods though they all have an important role to play in the push for gender equity

- Gender quotas in isolation are not enough to ensure sustainable or meaningful change

- A supportive social and political environment at all levels of society is essential to hold and sustain advances in gender equality

- Intersectional approaches are essential to recreating more gender equitable systems

Contents

Introduction

Project Overview

This report is the product of research conducted by the University of Washington's Global Health Strategic Analysis and Research Training Program (START) team from March to June 2023 in response to the BMGF's research request for "Mapping Stakeholders and Best Practices in the Global Movement for Women's Leadership." First, it presents an analysis, mapping individual and organizational stakeholders according to their level of influence and relevance to the Foundation's Women in Leadership strategy. We present a framework in part one to map these stakeholders by level of influence according to geography, size and scope. Second, this report documents evidence for best practices in the push for women's leadership including a deep dive into gender quotas. We synthesize key informant interviews and highlight key findings from countries working towards gender parity in leadership by differentiating between learnings that are context specific and those that are recurring globally.

This work is situated in the broader sphere of women's leadership and gender transformative research, which is conducted to promote gender equality not only for individual gain, but to transform gender power dynamics and structures at the community and societal levels. This research is grounded in the theory of gender transformative change that recognizes that changes addressing the root causes of gender inequality must move beyond the individual to the structural, organizational, and societal. This work is grounded in the Foundation's theory of change which states that women's leadership is impacted by individual, organizational and societal factors working together. This research contributes to overcoming the knowledge gap related to the pillar of organizational change that impacts individuals and societies and expands on the existing evidence base on women's leadership.

Research Questions

SECTION 1: MAPPING KEY STAKEHOLDERS

- Who are individual and organizational leading champions for Women's Leadership globally?

    o   Specific emphasis on the sectors of law, economics, and health

    o   Specific regional focus on Kenya, Nigeria, and India

- Who are the key globally facing organizations and voices leading research, implementation and/or advocacy related to women's leadership?

SECTION 2: GATHERING EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT BEST PRACTICES AND GENDER QUOTAS

- What are best practices from countries that have made significant gains or are close to gender parity at the leadership level (across both the public and private sectors)?
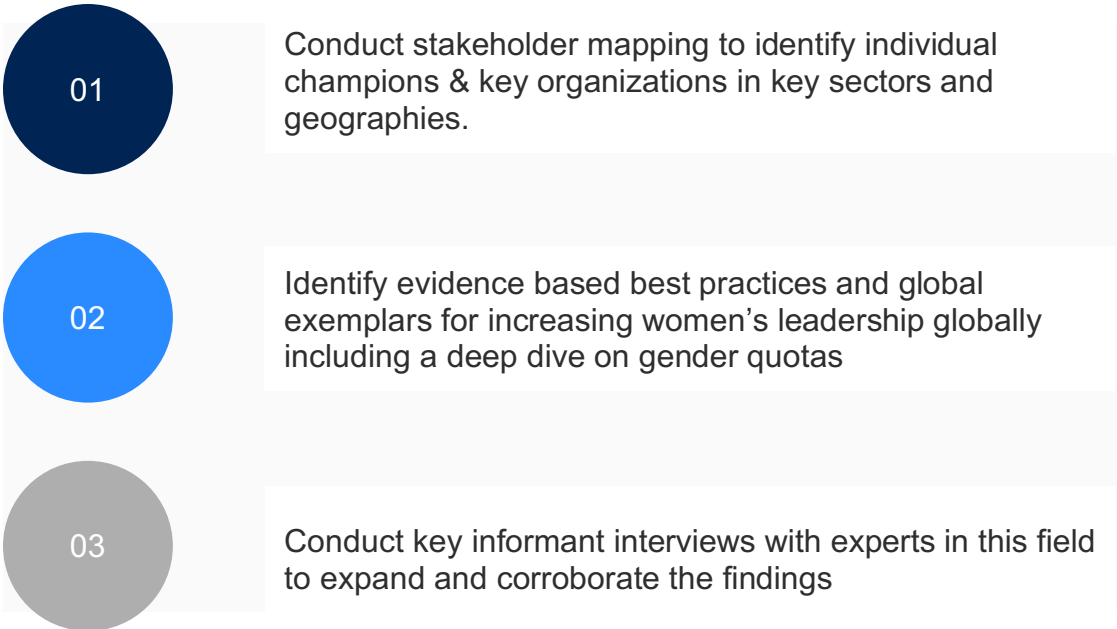
SECTION 3: GENDER QUOTAS

- What are the conditions which make quotas effective or not effective?

- What are either the intended or unintended consequences of a gender quota system?

Methodology

For Part 1, we leveraged google searches, gray literature, and twitter to identify key organizations that were stakeholders in promoting women's leadership. Focusing on health, law, and economic sectors, we found a total of 22 organizations, of which 15 (68.2%) were in the health sector, 2 (9.1%) in the law sector, and 5 (22.7%) in the economics sector. We focused on identifying organizations in India, Kenya, and Nigeria, then expanded the search to find exemplary organizations in Africa and Globally. Within each identified organization, we synthesized information on the type of organization, whether the organization is women-led, the size and influence of the organization, the primary audience, and a summary of the organization's goals and outcomes or impacts of the organization's work. We then mapped the organizations on a visual matrix by geography and scope of influence.

In Part 2, we referenced published and gray literature, social media, and reports to identify evidence of best practices for women's leadership. We continue this through Part 3, a deep dive into gender quotas elaborating on what gender quotas are, their impact in the political and the corporate realm, what makes them effective, when they are most effective, their impact, as well as their unintended consequences.

The two sections of this report have different geographic scopes. Part one, stakeholder mapping, has a specific emphasis on the key geographies of Kenya, Nigeria, and India though some international organizations are included. In part two, mapping best practices, we differentiate between practices that are occurring globally, and those that are incident specific.

01 Conduct stakeholder mapping to identify individual champions & key organizations in key sectors and geographies.

02 Identify evidence based best practices and global exemplars for increasing women's leadership globally including a deep dive on gender quotas

03 Conduct key informant interviews with experts in this field to expand and corroborate the findings

KEY INFORMANTS

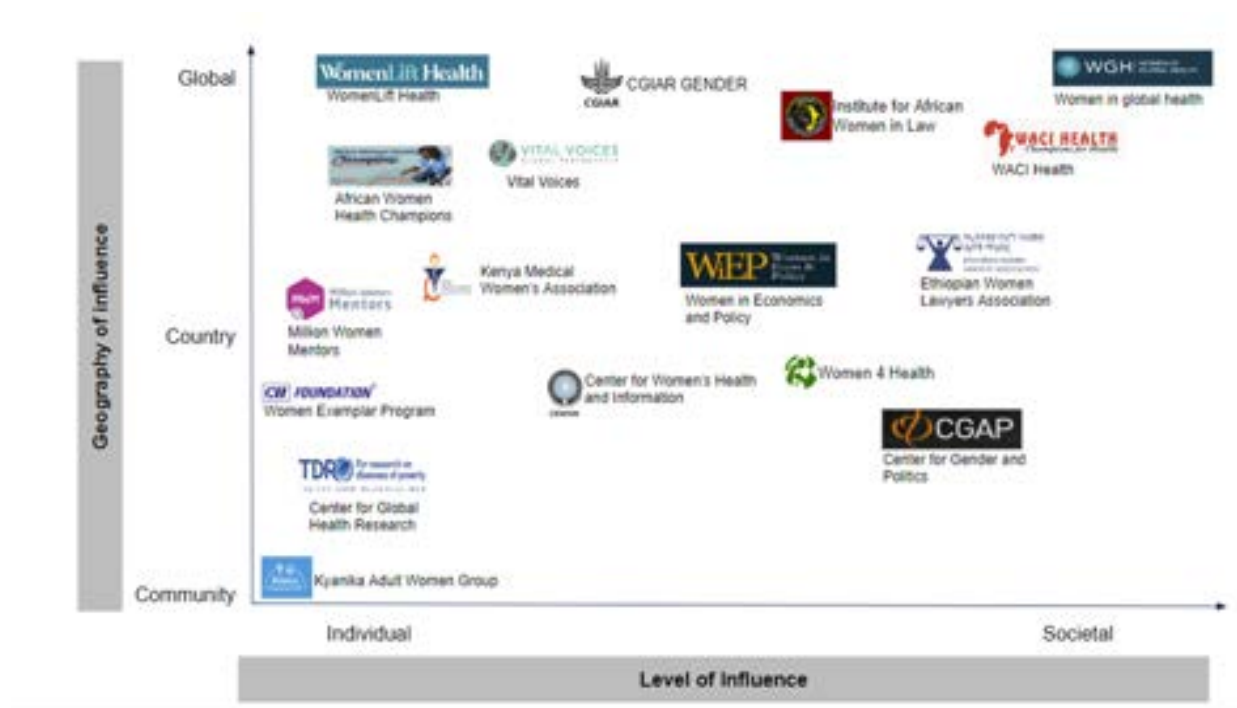| Name	Organization
Marie Berry	Inclusive Global Leadership Initiative (IGLI) and University of Denver
Sonja Tanaka	Global Health 50/50
Ravi Verma	WomenLift Health and International Center for Research on Women (ICRW)
Caroline Kwamboka	Women Lift Health and African Renaissance

Results

Part 1: Mapping Key Individual and Organizational Stakeholders

Organizational and individual commitment are important for promoting gender equality and women's leadership. Organizations and individuals working to promote women's leadership have varying structure, size, influence, and goals, and all have an important role to play in the push for gender equality. As such, identifying exemplary organizations is important to move the field forward. Global Health 50/50, an organization which aims to better health and opportunities for all people of all genders, produces annual scorecards analyzing a variety of organizations and their contributions towards gender and health.[1] The scorecard highlights organizations from various sectors (consultancy, NGOs, private, philanthropic, etc.) and gives each organization a score based on predefined indicators (gender-responsiveness of global health programs, gender parity in governing body, workplace gender equality policy, public commitment to gender equality, etc.). These scorecards are published from 2018 through 2022, which allows us to assess changes in an organization across the years. Global Health 50/50 also plans to produce a report in 2023 titled "Generating evidence, insights, and policy and investment recommendations on advancing women's leadership in the health sector in India and Kenya" through a collaboration with African Population and Health Research Center and the International Center for Research on Women.[2]

Focusing on the health, law, and economics sector in India, Kenya, and Nigeria, we found a total of 22 organizations that were champions in women's leadership. Each of the 22 identified organizations varied in size and scope. To better understand the range of and influence, we mapped each organization by geography of influence and level of influence in Figure 1 below. We assessed the geography of influence through community, country, or global influence. For example, the Kyanika Adult Women group impacts women at the community-level, while the projects that CGIAR GENDER are involved in have global reach. We also assessed the level of influence from individual level to societal level. Individual level consists of organizations that have impact specifically on individual women through mentorship programs or conferences, while societal level influence would involve policy advocacy. An example of the middle would include research reports, podcasts, or other educational materials that impact a wider audience. We describe a sample of the organizations in each geography below. Further details can be found in the Women Leadership Stakeholders Framework excel sheet.

INDIA

We identified seven organizations in India across the health and economic sectors that were champions in women's leadership. These organizations varied in reach, size, and structure, and over half of the organizations were women-led. Four of the identified organizations (Women Exemplar Program, WomenLift Health India Cohort, India Million Women Mentors Initiative, and WomenLead India Fellowship Program) are programs or initiatives that seek to empower women at the individual level.[3–6] One example of this in the health sector is the Women Exemplar Program funded by the CII Foundation. The Women Exemplar Program recognizes exemplary women working towards promoting women's empowerment across India in the fields of education, health, and micro-enterprise.[3,7] The purpose of the award is not only to acknowledge women leaders impacting their field and demonstrating role models, but also to set an example for others and ignite the belief among other that they too can be empowered in a leadership position.[7] In addition to the four organizations that empower women at the individual level, the other three organizations (Women in Global Health (WGH) India, Center for Gender and Politics, Women in Economics and Policy) empower women at a higher level.[8–10] The Center for Gender and Politics is a think tank organization which aims to increase awareness of women's leadership in local, state, and national leadership spaces, including economics and politics. The Center for Gender and Politics has published articles, reports, interviews, and other publications on women's leadership issues.[8,11]

WomenLift health

We identified WomenLift health, funded by the New Venture fund, to be an outstanding organization in the effort to increase women's leadership in the health sector. WomenLift health has global reach with implementation hubs in the United States, India, and East Africa and aims to accelerate the advancement of talented women into senior leadership by investing in mid-career women and influencing the environments in which they live and work. The India hub is women-led and has around 30 current cohort members and 30 different leadership projects. WomenLift health India selects inspiring women's leaders to participate in the India Cohort of the Leadership Journey, which is a fully funded leadership initiative designed to support women through the challenges and opportunities of advancing to senior leadership positions in global health. The leadership journey is a year-long fully funded program, which provides mid-career women with tools, mentorship, peer support, and expertise in leadership skills related to health impact. At the most recent conference in New Delhi, India, they partnered with the Department of Biotechnology, the Ministry of Science and Technology, along with others to have in-depth discussions on women's leadership in health.[6,12]

Individual Spotlight: Dr. Gagandeep Kang

Dr. Kang is a microbiologist and virologist in the Department of Gastrointestinal Sciences at the Christian Medical College in Vellore. She is part of the India Leadership Journey program through WomenLift health as a mentor. Dr. Kang is passionate about mentoring and throughout her career she has established training programs for students and young faculty in clinical translational medicine. She became the first Indian woman elected as a fellow of the Royal Society in London and won the Young National Women Bio-scientist award in 2006.

Women in Economics and Policy

In the economics sector we identified Women in Economics and Policy as an outstanding organization driving women's leadership. This is a large, non-profit, women-led organization with

reach across India. Women in Economics and Policy started in 2020 with the aim of creating an inclusive space for women. The vision is to disrupt the status quo in favor of a culture of empathy, co-learning, and democratized access to knowledge. This includes mentorship programs, support with job applications, podcasts geared towards women, events and sessions led by women across the research and policy spectrum, and newsletters which apply a gender lens to various aspects of economic and social development. Women in Economics and Policy has reached its target audience through the mentorship programs, interactive Q&A sessions, newsletters, and published resources on careers and professional development.[9]

KENYA

We identified four organizations in the health sector in Kenya: Kenya Medical Women's Association, Kenya Medical Research Institute- Center for Global Health Research, Kyanika Adult Women Group, and WGH Kenya.[13–16] WGH Kenya has a webpage linking them as a hub to the global WGH organization, but they were founded in October 2022 and there is little information on their priorities and outcomes.[15] The Kenya Medical Women's Association is a professional organization that has members all across Kenya with country-level influence[14], while the Kyanika Adult Women Group is small with only 24 members and has a community-level influence.[16]

Kenya Medical Women's Association

The Kenya Medical Women's Association has contributed to the growth of the health sector and health professions, particularly development of women in medicine. They are committed to the professional, social, and personal advancement of women doctors and dentists and to the promotion of the well-being of women both in the medical profession and in society at large. The vision is to seek network and professional development for all Kenyan women in the medical field while also being an advocate for women's health across Kenya. The Kenya Medical Women's Association has made contributions both locally and nationally. Locally, they have initiated continuing medical education, networking events, mentoring programs, and advocate for local women's health concerns and issues. Nationally, members participate in women's health initiatives and policy planning, along with holding national conferences and leadership workshops. Both locally and nationally, the Kenya Medical Women's Association is committed to providing students mentorship and leadership.[14]

KMWA @KMWA_Official · May 21, 2021

KMWA wishes to CONGRATULATE Lady Justice Martha Koome on her confirmation as the first woman Chief Justice in Kenya. The confirmation is a bold and great step towards promoting women leadership in Kenya. #womenleadership

Kenya Medical Research Institute, Center for Global Health

The Kenya Medical Research Institute, Center for Global Health research has been involved in the women's leadership initiative led by Dr. Elizabeth Ochola. The purpose of this program is to remove barriers for women scientists related to lack of skills and networking opportunities. The gender gap in research limits the development of new research agendas to identify and address gender differences in infectious disease, many of which women are at greater risk of contracting than men for several reasons, including biological differences, social inequities, and restrictive cultural norms. To address this problem, the Center for Global Health Research held a six-month workshop to introduce 20 early-career women scientists in five public universities in western Kenya with proposal, research ethics, and manuscript development skills, and mentoring support. These women were connected to peers and mentors, and now multiple women from the initiative are working on grant proposals related to infectious disease, among other opportunities.[13,17]

Individual Spotlight: Dr. Elizabeth Ochola

During Dr. Ochola's education, she felt that she didn't have the technical skills for developing projects, and that she missed out on networking and mentorship opportunities among women in science. Through the Center for Global Health, she aims to establish a mentoring program for early women scientists by providing mentoring support and research training, none of which are offered as part of their academic training. This not only helps young female researchers grow in their fields, but also enables more senior scientists to have the opportunity to be a mentor.

NIGERIA

We identified three organizations in the health sector that were champions in women's leadership: Women for Health (W4H), Women in Global Health (WGH) Nigeria, and the Center for Women's Health and Information.[18–20] WGH Nigeria and the Center for Women's Health and Information have projects and campaigns across all of Nigeria, while W4H focuses their efforts on six states in Northern Nigeria (Borno, Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, Yobe, Zamfara). Both WGH Nigeria and W4H (discussed below) primarily targeted women in health, while the Center for Women's Health and Information's main audience was disadvantaged females. The Center for Women's Health and Information was established to promote women's rights, specifically when it comes to health and reproductive rights, and hosts an initiative aimed at leadership and mentoring for disadvantaged women and girls.[20,21]

Women for Health

W4H is an NGO funded by DAI and aims to address barriers to women's participation in health training and the low recruitment and retention of health workers in rural areas by empowering women as service providers. W4H is not women led, and their primary audience is female healthcare workers in rural communities. The purpose of W4H is to increase the number of female health workers where they can have the greatest impact on female health. The actionable goals include engagement with advocacy and policy makers, transforming health training institutions, and empowering women in focal communities to encourage women leadership. With the efforts of this program, there have been over 4,000 students who passed national exams, schools are implementing new methodology around women's leadership and role in health care, and there has been an increase in educational enrollment in rural females. This program ended in October 2020, and the work is being carried forward by the Human Resources for Health Learning Hub, run by the Centre for Gender Studies at Bayero University Kano.[19,22]

Women in Global Health Nigeria

WGH Nigeria is a women-led organization funded by Pathfinder International, Nigeria Country Office. This organization has many programs and campaigns across all of Nigeria, and they are also connected with the WGH organization which has international reach. The primary audience of this organization is the government, as they prioritize various campaigns. WGH Nigeria was established to bring visibility and recognition to Nigerian women shaping global health programming, policy, and advocacy in communities. The Chapter's main goal is to be inclusive by incorporating males and females from all career stages and levels within the healthcare space regardless of tribe, religion, age, and socioeconomic status, in order to achieve gender transformative leadership. In regard to women's leadership, WGH Nigeria aims to empower and mentor young women and girls throughout the implementation of workshops that will amplify the current contribution of Nigerian women in the health sector and provide them with necessary skills to seek future leadership opportunities. WGH Nigeria has contributed to empowering women and promoting women's leadership in many ways. First, they contributed to WGH reports which detailed the effects of COVID-19 across the globe and the ways in which women were disproportionately affected. They also hosted two campaigns focused on celebrating women from Nigeria (#60Naijawomenfor60) and bringing awareness to the inequities that women face in the health sector. Recently, in April 2023, WGH Nigeria launched "redefining women's leadership for health equity" after registering as a formal entity in Nigeria. The purpose of this project is to advocate for gender-transformative leadership in healthcare in Nigeria and beyond.[18]

Today, @WghNigeria officially launches with the theme 'Redefining Women's Leadership for Health Equity' after registering as a formal entity in Nigeria. We advocate for gender-transformative leadership in healthcare in Nigeria and beyond.

#SheShapes

AFRICA

We identified four organizations that were champions in women leadership: the African Women Health Champions, WACI Health, the Institute for African Women in Law, and the Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association.[23–26] Except for the Africa Women Health Champions, all of these organizations are women led. Two of these organizations (the African Women Health Champions and WACI Health) were in the health sector, and their influence spanned all of Africa. The other two organizations (Institute for African Women in Law, and Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association) were in the law sector and focused on individuals in law across Africa and within Ethiopia. WACI Health and the Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association are involved in policy advocacy and include

governments as part of their primary audience, while the other two organizations targeted individual women as their primary audience. For example, the Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association is involved in women's legal rights advocacy, as well as multiple projects centering women's voice and leadership in the law field.[24]

The African Women Health Champions

The Africa Women Health Champions organization is funded by the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations Volunteers. This is a small partnership which seeks to recruit 100 women to support WHO in Sustainable Development Goal 3, ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all. (SDG) As of March 2023, there were 120 volunteers with backgrounds in public health, epidemiology, health research, data management, and communications who were part of the African Women Health Champions across 38 different WHO offices in Africa. Dr. Moeti, the WHO regional director for Africa stated that they would be targeting young women from the global south to be a part of this program to boost equity and empowerment. Those involved in this program improve people's health and well-being, while promoting gender equality and involving wider participation of youth. Some key activities include establishing partnerships between WHO and different stakeholders in the health and humanitarian sector, and promoting initiatives related to environmental health, climate change, and misinformation about COVID-19 vaccines. These women make important contributions to break barriers, raise awareness on gender equality, and inspire women to become health leaders in their communities. Recently, they launched the second phase of this initiative with the goal of recruiting young women professionals to expand women's leadership in the health sector.[23,27]

The Institute for African Women in Law

The Institute for African Women in Law has the vision to build a network of legal professionals devoted to using the law as a tool for positive societal change and development through strategic partnerships, coalition building, innovative programming, and knowledge production. They strive for equality and development and aim for promoting women's leadership and advancing the careers of women in law. The Institute for African Women in Law produces reports which discuss transformational leadership and gender equality, along with initiating social networks. The networks include early career network, law student networks, WE LEAD experts' network, and MALE allies' network.

> *"Fighting for gender equality without including male allies is like driving a car on two wheels; you will probably make the journey, but at a slower pace, and a heavier burden to yourself. If men are part of the problem, they should be part of the solution"*
>
> *-J.Jarpa Dawani, Ph.D, Executive Director of MALE allies network*

The Men Advocates in Law for Equality (MALE) allies' campaign was identified as especially important and will be discussed later in this report as a best practice. The MALE allies' campaign is rooted in the belief that when women and men work in unity, and in solidarity, we can achieve gender equality. The values of this network include gender sensitivity, inclusion, equity, and equality.[25,28]

GLOBAL

We identified four organizations that had a global impact on women's leadership: Women in Global Health (WGH), CGIAR Generating Evidence and New Directions for Equitable Results (GENDER), WomenLift Health, and Vital Voices.[12,29–31] Three of these organizations were in the health sector while Vital Voices was in the economy sector. All of these organizations reached an international audience and were women-led. WGH has 47 chapters across 43 countries, while Vital Voices has partners across 184 countries. CGIAR GENDER also reaches a large number of people as they produce reports and research papers related to mentoring and leadership for youth and women across the globe.[29,32]

Vital Voices

Vital Voices is a large non-profit organization that has been active for more than 25 years and has invested in more than 20,000 women leaders across 184 countries. The goal of Vital Voices is to provide support for women as they are key to progress in communities, and nations cannot move forward without women in leadership positions. Vital Voices provides connections, increased capacity, peer networks and mentoring, financial support, skills training,

and increased visibility for women's work. They have a variety of different programs and fellowships

in various countries designed to provide mentorship opportunities for emerging women leaders to advance economic development, human rights, and political participation in their communities. One example is the WomenLead India Fellowship, which aims to drive women's leadership in India by investing in ultimately designed to strengthen the leadership of the participants and increase the success of their efforts. Vital Voices has impacted over 3 million people through investment in women leaders around the world and has built a network of over 20,000 women leaders across the world.[5,31]

Part 2: Evidence Based Best Practices for Women's Leadership

Women remain underrepresented in all political and corporate realms despite significant advances in education, political participation, law, and healthcare. Despite women making up 49.1% of the global population,[33] there exists a significant gender gap in workforce including leadership, political representation, wealth accumulation, stress level, income, among many others. According to the World Economic Forum (WEF) Global Gender Gap Report, in 2022, the global gender gap was closed by 68.1% and at the current rate of progress, it would take 132 years to reach parity.[34]

In the political realm, UN Women reports that only 34 women from 31 countries serve as Heads of State and/or Government and only 13 countries have women holding 50% or more of Cabinet Ministers positions leading policy areas as of January 1, 2023.[35] Meanwhile, in the corporate arena, the seventh edition of the "Women in the boardroom: A global perspective" published by Deloitte reported that globally only 19.7% corporate board seats were held by women and an even smaller percent (6.7%) were board chairs for the year 2021.[36] This highlights the existing gaps in women in leadership and the need for interventions to close the gap.

The following practices were identified as the best practices to increase women's leadership:

MENTORSHIP PROGRAMS

Mentorship programs are crucial in connecting women leaders with the future generation of women leaders. In the political realm, this may include activities like conducting orientation for newly elected women, providing governance skills training, and networking opportunities to help them navigate the complexities of political ladders. It is to be noted that mentorship programs are more common in the corporate realm to support the continuous flow of women talent in the workforce than it is in the political realm. However, its utility in the non-corporate sector is equally pertinent. For instance, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands have mentoring programs for women working in the film and television industry.[37,38] In New Zealand, the parliament started a mentoring system to connect current officeholders with new politicians for skills and capacity building of the new women members.[39] In the Dominica, Caribbean, The Dominica Association of Local Community Authorities (DALCA) delivers training and mentoring programs for women's political leadership and advancement in governance.[40] In India, the Mahila Rajsatta Andolan (MRA), initiated a Women as Local Legislator (WALL) Program in the State of Maharashtra, India, to strengthen Elected Women Representatives (EWR) of the Gram Panchayat (Village Council) and contribute to enhancing panchayat processes.[41] In Myanmar, the International Women's Development Agency (IWDA) and Akhaya Women implemented Myanmar's first structured women's political mentoring program to

match women Members of Parliament (MPs) who have a commitment to gender equality, with experienced Australian women MPs and former MPs.[42]

ADDRESSING STRUCTURAL BARRIERS

> *"The focus should be to ensure women stay in the workforce and are not just included in the workforce through quotas"*
>
> *– Ravi Varma, WomenLift Health and International Center for Research on Women (ICRW)*

Colloquially known as the glass ceiling, it is defined by the European Institute for Gender Equality as the invisible structural barriers that mitigate against women's access to top decision-making and managerial positions in an organization.[43,44] As women are disproportionately burdened with the responsibilities of childcare, have disproportionate access to education, and are most impacted by the lack of safe transportation, there is an increasing need to address the social and cultural inequalities. As echoed by our KII, the focus should not only be inclusion of women but also retention. As per the seventh edition of the "Women in the boardroom: A global perspective" published by Deloitte, globally the average tenure of a woman board member was 5.1 years compared to 7.6 years for a man and the average tenure of a woman chair was 5 years compared to a 7.1 years for a man.[36]

Currently, 119 countries meet the ILO standard of 12 weeks with 62 of those countries providing for 14 weeks or more; just 31 countries mandate a maternity leave of less than 12 weeks.[45] To address these gaps in opportunities, countries like Australia, Germany, Ireland, Portugal, the Republic of Korea and Sweden are making childcare facilities available for the use of parliamentarians' children.[38] In India, the "Pink Buses" program provides safe and dedicated transportation services for women in cities to address transportation barriers for women.[46] In Kenya, the "Lady Bug" women-only e-taxi services, which provide safe and reliable transportation options for women.[47] In Nigeria, UNICEF has been implementing the multi-year Girls' Education Project Phase 3 (GEP3) using a cash transfer approach in selected schools in Niger and Sokoto states to increase girls' enrolment and attendance; increase girls' transition from primary school to junior secondary school; and reduce gender inequality through the provision of cash transfers to the female caregiver of girls, accompanied by a sensitization campaign educating caregivers about the importance of girls' enrolment and attendance in school.[48]

TRANSFORMING ATTITUDES

> *"Gender quotas are not enough, feminist ideals are more important than the gender of the person"*
> *- Marie Berry, Inclusive Global Leadership Initiative (IGLI)*

Mainstream media often promotes a negative and stereotypical portrayal of women leaders, with a tendency to put them down and not focus on their political achievements.[49] A meta-analysis reported a gender bias in the amount of coverage of politicians in proportional electoral systems, where women politicians lag men in media attention; they further reported that women politicians received more attention regarding their appearance and personal life, more negative viability coverage, and, to some extent, stereotypical issue and trait coverage.[50] For instance, the recent harsh criticism of Former Prime Minister of New Zealand, Jacinda Ardern was widely publicized with some even touting the criticism to have led to her resignation.[51,52] This highlights the need for gender-sensitive media coverage as well as gender-sensitive civic and voter education programs.

In Kenya, organizations like the Association of Media Women in Kenya (AMWIK) monitor media coverage to identify instances of bias or underrepresentation of women leaders.[53] In Jordan and Yemen, workshops were conducted to train reporters on gender-sensitive reporting under the "Joint Election Assistance Project."[54] The Government of Egypt to link in with the education system to produce teaching materials for schools to use in their discussions of civic responsibility, to encourage young people's understanding of the value of women in politics, to promote public speaking, school councils and participation of young.[55] As per the Council of Europe, several countries or state-owned media outlets have introduced guidelines for gender-sensitive and balanced electoral media coverage.[56]

In the South African Elections of 1994, voter education programs, conducted by both NGOs and political parties, proved to be necessary mechanisms for the outreach to women voters, especially in rural areas.[57] In Nigeria, Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA) advocates for women's rights and gender equality by conducting civic and voter education programs tailored for women that focus on their political rights, voter registration, and the importance of their participation.[58] In Fiji, "Civic education and empowerment for more women in leadership, from villages to parliament in Fiji" project aimed to increase women's representation in public offices through a larger support for women's representation in political processes and civic leadership; they reported that the civic education component contributed to enhance awareness and knowledge of civic education principles among potential women leaders and to promote and enhance gender equity in the political sphere.[59]

Gender Quotas

Gender quotas have been proven to increase the participation of women in different sectors and at different levels cross-nationally.[60] In the political realm, a study leveraging the natural experiment of a 50–50 quota imposed by the national board of the Swedish Social Democratic Party on 290 municipal branches, examined quotas' influence on women's selection in top political posts to find evidence of quotas accelerating women's representation in leadership positions.[61] Despite the backlash regarding the artificial or forced increase in participation of women in leadership positions, studies have reported gender quotas to have a positive effect on the competence of all and to encourage the development of sustained political ambition among the women.[61] A deeper dive into the effectiveness and impacts of gender quotas is presented later in the report.

Gender Mainstreaming Mechanisms

While gender quotas and other laws ensuring women's equal participation are implemented in good faith, there is a need for a monitoring and evaluation body to oversee these policies. The European Institute for Gender Equality defines gender mainstreaming as a strategy involving the integration of a gender perspective into the preparation, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies, regulatory measures and spending programs, with a view to promoting equality between women and men, and combating discrimination.[62]

Many countries have established dedicated committees to oversee gender equality issues, some of which are described here.[63] In Mexico, the Gender Equality Commission of the Chamber of Deputies supports reforms on gender-sensitive issues to encourage state and local governments to adopt public policies on equal opportunity.[64] In Rwanda, the Ministry of gender and family promotion, The National Women's Councils, and The Gender Monitoring Office, together advocate for gender promotion and aid in ensuring gender equality is maintained.[65] In Kenya, the National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC), established by the National Gender and Equality Commission Act (2011), focus on Special Interest Groups, which include women, youth, persons with disabilities (PWDs), children, the older members of society, minorities, and marginalized groups.[66] In India, the National Commission for Women (NCW) was set up as statutory body in January 1992 under the National Commission for Women Act (1990) to review the Constitutional and Legal safeguards for women, recommend remedial legislative measures, facilitate redressal of grievances and advise the Government on all policy matters affecting women.[67] Additionally, the Ministry of Women and Child Development in India, became a separate entity from 2006 to address the gaps in State action for women and children for promoting inter-Ministerial and inter-sectoral convergence to create gender equitable and child-centered legislation, policies and programmers.
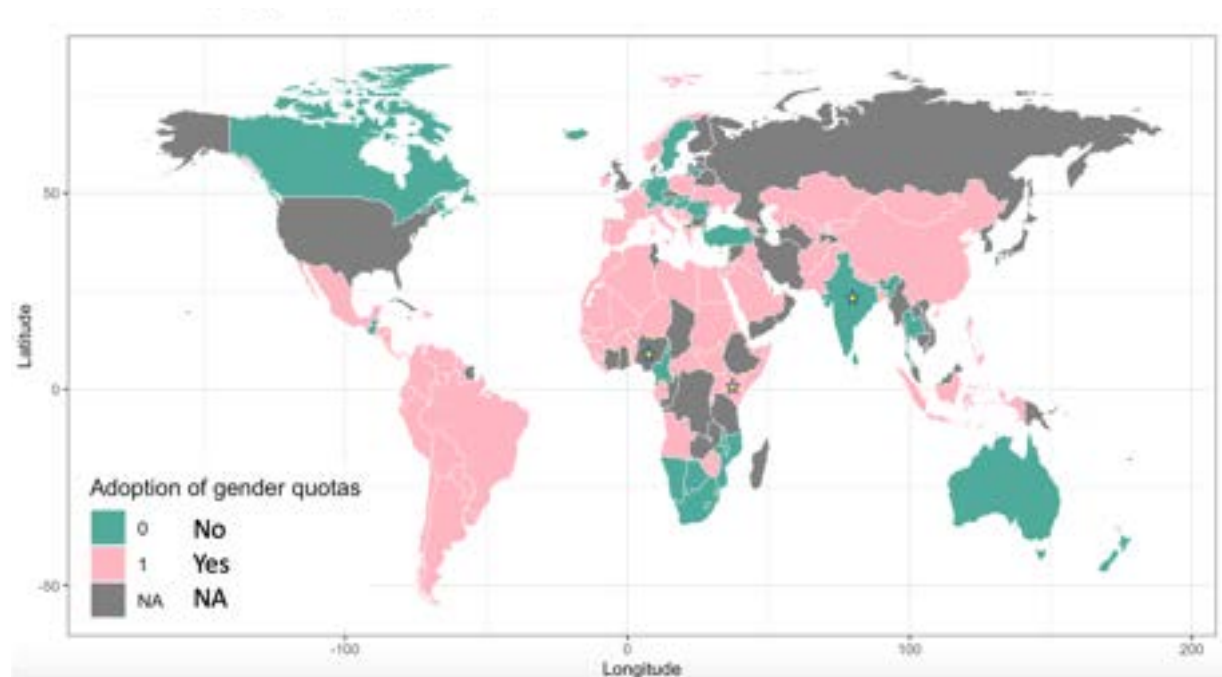
Part 3: Gender Quotas

WHAT ARE GENDER QUOTAS?

The European Institute for Gender Equality defines gender quota as, "Positive measurement instrument aimed at accelerating the achievement of gender-balanced participation and representation by establishing a defined proportion (percentage) or number of places or seats to be filled by, or allocated to, women and/or men, generally under certain rules or criteria." They are a tool to promote equal access to training opportunities or jobs and are placed to mitigate previous gender imbalances in different areas. This may include political assemblies and decision-making positions in the public and/or corporate sector to safeguard the inclusion and participation of women. They may be mandated by the constitution or by the electoral, labor or gender equality law (legal gender quotas) or be voluntary (voluntary political party quotas).

About half of the countries of the world today use some type of electoral quota for their parliament though these systems are as diverse as the political systems of the countries themselves. The map (Figure 2) below presents the nations with and without political gender quotas including Reserved Seats and/or Legislated Candidate Quotas and/or Voluntary Party Quotas. The key geographies of interest – Kenya, Nigeria, and India – are highlighted with a star icon.

FIGURE 2: GEOGRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION OF NATIONS WITH POLITICAL GENDER QUOTAS

GENDER QUOTAS IN THE POLITICAL REALM

As per UN Women, as of January 2023, there are only 31 countries where 34 women serve as Heads of State and/or Government and only 22.8% of Cabinet members heading Ministries are women.[35] The IDEA gender quota database and UN Women further report that, globally, only 26.5% of parliamentarians in single or lower houses are women and 22 States where women account for less than 10% of parliamentarians in single or lower houses.[35,49] Although gender quotas have been adopted and implemented in over 140 countries as per Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and the UN Women, the difference in the type of gender quotas – including legislative quotas, reserved seats, or party quotas – as well as structural and cultural differences within nations have resulted in disproportionate results globally.[68]

Leveraging IPU gender quota database and The IDEA gender quota database, we presented the percentage of women in parliament in different nations as of March 2023 (see Fig. 3).[49,69] We additionally, created a table for the top 15 countries with the most number of women in parliament as well as the three countries of interest – India, Kenya, and Nigeria (see Table 1).

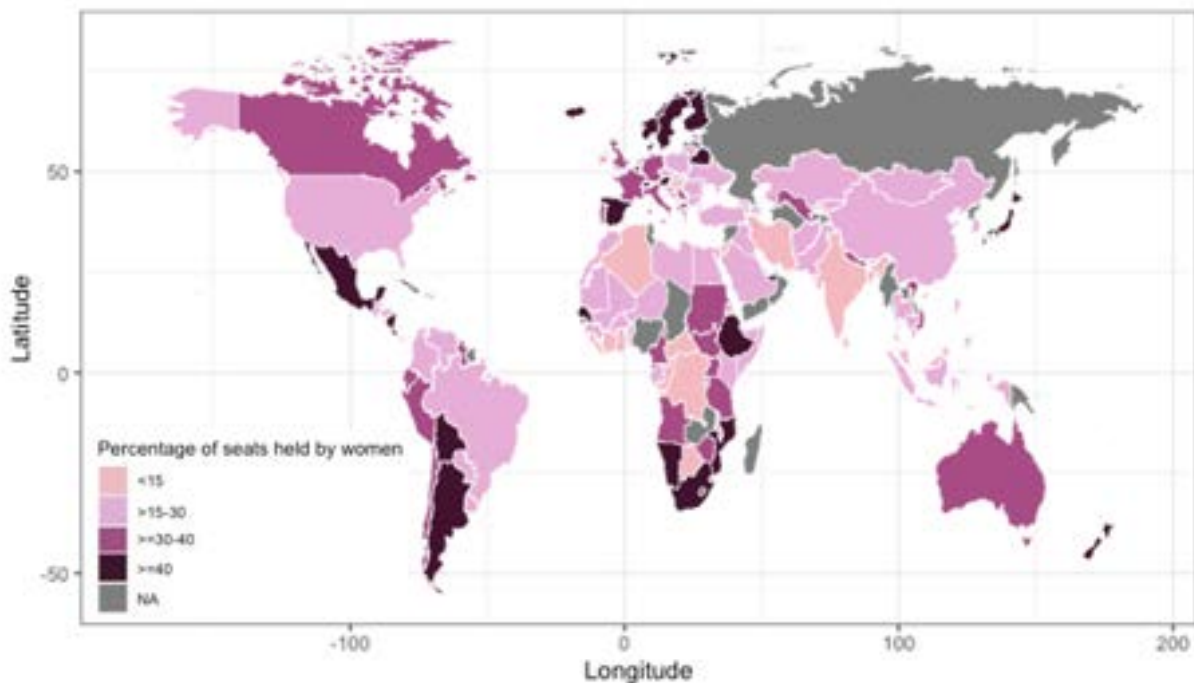FIGURE 3: PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT BY COUNTRY

IPU RANK BY % OF TOTAL SEATS HELD BY WOMEN	COUNTRY	LEGISLATIVE SYSTEM	NATIONAL LEVEL GENDER QUOTA CODES	% SEATS HELD BY WOMEN
#149	INDIA	BICAMERAL	NO QUOTA	14.6%
#181	NIGERIA	BICAMERAL	NO QUOTA	4.5%
N/A	KENYA	BICAMERAL	RESERVED SEATS	23.4%
#1	RWANDA	BICAMERAL	RS	54.7%
#2	CUBA	UNICAMERAL	NO QUOTA	53.4%
#3	NICARAGUA	UNICAMERAL	CQ	51.7%
#4	NEW, ZEALAND	UNICAMERAL	PQ	50.4%
#5	UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	UNICAMERAL	RS	50.0%
#6	MEXICO	BICAMERAL	CQ	49.8%
#7	BOLIVIA	BICAMERAL	CQ	48.2%
#8	ICELAND	UNICAMERAL	PQ	47.6%
#9	COSTA RICA	UNICAMERAL	CQ, PQ	47.4%
#10	ANDORRA	UNICAMERAL	PQ	46.4%
#11	SWEDEN	UNICAMERAL	PQ	46.4%
#12	FINLAND	UNICAMERAL	NO QUOTA	45.5%
#13	SOUTH AFRICA	BICAMERAL	PQ	45.4%
#14	NORWAY	UNICAMERAL	PQ	45.0%
#15	AUSTRALIA	BICAMERAL	PQ	44.5%

Gender quotas in the corporate realm

Norway set a precedent for corporate gender quotas by being the first nation to adopt them in 2003 by stipulating a minimum 40% representation of each gender on a wide spectrum of Norwegian corporate boards.[70] A study assessing these historic reforms reported that women appointed to these boards post-reform were more qualified than their female predecessors along many dimensions, and that the gender gap in earnings within boards fell substantially.[38] They further reported improvements in labor market outcomes for young women with graduate business degrees in their early career stages.

Post-Norway's historic corporate gender quotas adoption, many nations soon followed with the Western nations being its earliest adopters as well as implementers. Based on the findings from the seventh edition of the "Women in the boardroom: A global perspective" published by Deloitte and the Successful Public Policy in the Nordic Countries: Cases, Lessons, Challenges, we summarized the gender quotas for corporate boards by county, type of quota, year, and company type (see Table. 2)

TABLE 2: TOP 15 COUNTRIES WITH THE MOST WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT (INCLUDING INDIA, KENYA, AND NIGERIA)

IPU Rank by % of Total Seats Held by Women	Country	Legislative System	National Level Gender Quota Codes	% Seats Held by Women
#149	India	Bicameral	No Quota	14.6%
#181	Nigeria	Bicameral	No Quota	4.5%
N/A	Kenya	Bicameral	Reserved Seats	23.4%
#1	Rwanda	Bicameral	RS	54.7%
#2	Cuba	Unicameral	No Quota	53.4%
#3	Nicaragua	Unicameral	CQ	51.7%
#4	New, Zealand	Unicameral	PQ	50.4%
#5	UAE	Unicameral	RS	50.0%
#6	Mexico	Bicameral	CQ	49.8%
#7	Bolivia	Bicameral	CQ	48.2%
#8	Iceland	Unicameral	PQ	47.6%
#9	Costa Rica	Unicameral	CQ, PQ	47.4%
#10	Andorra	Unicameral	PQ	46.4%
#11	Sweden	Unicameral	PQ	46.4%
#12	Finland	Unicameral	No Quota	45.5%
#13	South Africa	Bicameral	PQ	45.4%
#14	Norway	Unicameral	PQ	45.0%
#15	Australia	Bicameral	PQ	44.5%

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WHAT MAKES GENDER QUOTAS EFFECTIVE?

Several factors contribute to making gender quotas effective. Cross-nationally, placement mandates, enforcement of gender mainstreaming mechanisms, engagement of men, and addressing structural barriers have been known to make gender quotas effective.

Quotas are most effective when they set placement mandates: This means requiring women to be placed in winnable positions on party lists—and when they sanction parties for not complying with the quota law.[71,72] Fair vertical placement of the female and male candidates on the electoral list (PR systems with closed party lists) and/or a horizontal distribution of both sexes in winnable seats is essential if women are to have a real chance of being elected. These rules prevent quota rules from becoming merely symbolic, with only a few women getting elected because political parties have placed most of the female candidates at the bottom of the lists or in unwinnable constituencies.[73]

Vertical rank-order rules for the distribution of female and male candidates are, 'Zipper' or 'Zebra' systems in which female and male candidates alternate throughout the lists (e.g., Bolivia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, France, Kenya, Republic of Korea, Lesotho, Libya, Nicaragua, Senegal, Tunisia, and Zimbabwe)

Quotas are most effective when enforcement mechanisms are imposed: Since all gender equality laws and policies are not created equal, there is a need for gender mainstreaming mechanisms to monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of these laws. While such legislative entities aid in monitoring these laws, enforcement mechanisms including reject candidate lists, monetary sanctions, restricted access to campaign funds, and financial penalty for parity quota noncompliance can aid in ensuring these laws are not tokenized. Different country-specific enforcement mechanisms as well as their strength, the type of legislative chamber, target percentage, and placement mandates are presented in Table 3.

Strong enforcement mechanisms in countries like Argentina, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Mexico, Paraguay, and Peru consist of independent electoral authorities reviewing lists and rejecting those of political parties that do not comply with the quota. Parties must meet the quota, or they cannot run any candidates in the districts that violate the quota. Additional examples from a publication on gender quotas are presented in the table below.

TABLE. 3 Country-specific Characteristics of Gender Quota Laws

Country	Legislative Chamber to which Quota Applies	Target Percentage	Placement Mandate	Enforcement Mechanism
Argentina	Lower & Upper	30	Yes	Strong
Armenia	Unicameral	15-May	No/Yes	None/Strong
Belgium	Lower & Upper	25/33	No/Yes	Weak
Bolivia	Lower & Upper	33/25	Yes	Strong
Bosnia & Herzegovina	Lower	30/33	Yes	None
Brazil	Lower	25/30	No	Weak
Costa Rica	Unicameral	40	No/Yes	None/Strong
Dominican Republic	Lower	25/33	No/Yes	Strong
Ecuador	Unicameral	20/30/35	Yes	Strong
France	Lower	50	No	Weak
Guyana	Unicameral	33	No	None
Honduras	Unicameral	30	No	None
Indonesia	Unicameral	30	No	None
Italy	Lower	30	No	None
Liberia	Lower	30	No	None
Macedonia	Unicameral	30	No	Strong
Mauritania	Lower	20	No	Strong
Mexico	Lower & Upper	30	Yes/No	Strong
Nepal	Lower	5	No	None
Panama	Unicameral	30	No	Weak
Paraguay	Lower & Upper	20	Yes	Strong
Peru	Unicameral	25/30	No	Strong

Quotas are most effective when men are engaged in the change-making process: Given the dominance of men in leadership positions across all arenas, it is crucial to engage not only women but also men in the change-making process. This notion has highlighted the need for Gender synchronization, which means working with men and women, boys and girls, in an intentional and mutually reinforcing way that challenges gender norms, catalyzes the achievement of gender equality, and improves health.[74] While the adoption of gender quotas by men in the political realm has reported mixed results including inter and intra party dynamics forcing inclusion of women as per a study by Weeks, it nevertheless highlights the need for men to engage in the process.[75]

An example from the health sector: The Stepping Stones Program remains an outstanding model for its comprehensive work with men and women for lasting and quantifiable change in gender-related attitudes and behaviors in Uganda.[76]

Quotas are most effective when structural barriers are addressed: As discussed earlier, the structural barriers women face remain unaddressed even in developed nations with only a fraction of world's nations providing maternity leave, office-based childcare, and other support mechanisms. When these barriers are addressed, it ensures that women are not just encouraged to participate through quotas but also ensures the longevity of their tenure in leadership positions.

In Rwanda, the Women's Empowerment Programs empower women by including initiatives to promote women's education, entrepreneurship, and leadership skills. Additionally, the examples presented previously on provision of childcare in office premises, paid time off, and others support to address these structural barriers.[77]

POSITIVE IMPACTS OF GENDER QUOTAS

Given the wealth of evidence regarding the effectiveness of gender quotas, we have identified the following positive impacts of gender quotas cross-nationally.

Increases women's parliamentary representation: In a male centric domain like politics, gender quotas have been instrumental in ensuring and increasing women's parliamentary representation. As presented in Table 3 above, a majority of the top 15 countries with the highest number of women in parliament had some level of gender quota implemented. On the other hand, the countries without any quotas have subpar representation of women in parliament.

Improved career and educational aspirations of young women and girls: We previously talked about the importance of mentorship programs in encouraging women to participate in leadership positions. Having a mentor or a role-model provides not only guidance to new-comers but also gives them the confidence to charter uncharted territories like leadership positions in male dominated sectors. A randomized natural experiment in India showed that female leadership influenced adolescent girls' career aspirations and educational attainment.[78]

Allows progression into leadership: Cross-nationally, research report quotas increase the likelihood that women will attain leadership positions within their parties. In the study, "Gender Quotas and Women's Political Leadership," researchers analyzed 15 years of data on local leadership appointments in Sweden's largest political party to report that gender quota "both immediately and permanently improved women's access to leadership positions in municipalities where fewer women had previously held elected office.[61] Similar findings using interviews from over 150 Nepali politicians have been reported in Nepal where political quotas have been found to strengthen women's overall capital, allowing them to improve their position in both their families and society.[79] In addition, cross-nationally, women are more likely to receive high-prestige cabinet posts as the percentage of women in the legislature increases.[80,81]

Legislative attention to social issues: One of the major backlash gender quotas faces has been around the differing priorities of men and women politicians in terms of budgeting and policy making. While uniform aims are ideal for party progress, the differing priorities have been reported to increase investment in issues pertaining to women's rights and addressing the structural barriers specifically faced by women. Studies have found that women—both citizens and politicians— reported more concern about social issues than men. Globally, Clayton & Zetterberg (2018) find that quotas have the biggest impact in increasing spending on public health when they usher in large cohorts of newly elected women.[82] One cross-national study found that greater representation of women in parliaments led to higher expenditure on education as a share of GDP.[83]

> Evidence from an India-Wide Randomized Policy Experiment reported that women's leadership in village councils increased investment in access to potable water, a public good prioritized by women in rural India.[84]

Formation of women's caucuses: Cross-nationally, electoral gender quotas served as a powerful tool for legislative reform on women's rights issues which allowed for formation of women's caucuses more in countries with these quotas.[85–87] Studies have further reported that women legislators often collaborate through women's legislative caucuses which provide women politicians an important

forum for engagement with feminist civil society.[88] Additionally, women politicians were also more likely to cosponsor legislation with other women than with men.[88–90]

UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES OF GENDER QUOTAS

While the positive impacts of gender quotas are undeniable, the fierce backlash these quotas have received can largely be condensed down to the following unintended consequences:

Intersectionality: Given the idea of distribution of opportunities for participation based on gender, critics have highlighted how these gender quotas condense women into a uniform social group and disregard intersectionality. Intersectional identities like caste, creed, socioeconomic background, gender identity, among many are often overlooked when these quotas are adopted. In many developing countries, electoral quotas can reduce the representation of marginalized groups as in the case of India.

Examining the consequences of the implementation of random electoral quotas for women on the representation of caste groups in Delhi, the study found that constituencies reserved for women were less likely to elect members of several traditionally underprivileged groups (especially lower castes) and more likely to elect candidates from the Hindu upper castes.[91] While countries like Burundi have a 30% national gender quota, it reserves three seats for the Twa, or pygmies, and mandates an overall 60/40% split between majority and minority ethnic groups. As a result, 57% of the women representatives in Burundi's 2005 National Assembly were minorities despite minorities only making up 15% of the population.[92] This was corroborated again by our key informant Marie Berry who described the gender quota system in Rwanda being used to consolidate ethnic minority rule by occupying non-party, gender reserved seats with higher class Tutsi women.

Tokenism: While gender quotas encourage equal participation and create means of meaningful avenues for women's representation, critics have highlighted how these policies encourage "tokenism." The European Institute for Gender Equality defines tokenism as policy or practice that is mainly symbolic and involves attempting to fulfill one's obligations with regard to established targets, such as voluntary or mandated gender quotas, with limited efforts or gestures, especially towards minority groups and women, in ways that will not change men-dominated power and/or organizational arrangements. This has been an issue predominantly in male-dominated developing nations where men in leadership positions misuse these quota positions to bolster their party's involvement. Chattopadhyay and Duflo find that women presidents in reserved constituencies tend to be worse educated than presidents (almost all men) in unreserved constituencies, a fact that they attribute to the possible existence of tokenism.[93] A study by Weeks used a comparison of two sets of matched pair countries -- Belgium and Austria, and Portugal and Italy – to explore the motivations and role of male party elites in quota reform.[75] They reported that quota laws were likely to be

supported by parties threatened by a more progressive competitor to claim women voters back from the encroaching party (inter-party competition) or to gain power over candidate selection within their own parties (intra-party competition).

> In closed-list PR systems like South Africa "Party leaders will choose women candidates who are token representatives, least likely to upset the political applecart, rather than those candidates with strong links to women's organizations."- Hassim (2003)[94]

Additionally, critics of gender quotas have long argued about the artificial inflation of women's participation in politics due to these policies. They argue that the inflated representation of women does not correlate with increased quality of elected members. Studies have refuted this argument with a Swedish study stating that "quota raised the competence of male politicians where it raised female representation the most. We argue that the resignation of mediocre male leaders was a key driver of this effect."[95]

Quantity vs Quality: When women occupy positions of leadership this implies representation but does not guarantee meaningful participation. Women may take on additional administrative tasks or as found in a case study in India may be spokes people for their husbands or fathers but give the face of female representation. Studies have reported that women elected through candidate quotas may have less influence than women in reserved seats and that women's representation was not correlated with progressive policies to combat violence against women.[96] Gender quotas must intentionally safeguard opportunities for quality participation of women to prevent them from merely being a figurehead.

Stigmatization: Given the fierce backlash from critics regarding the qualification of women elected through gender quotas, women elected through candidate quotas may have less influence than women in reserved seats: party leaders choose women whom they think will toe the party line on issues of policy. As women enter men-dominated parliaments, quota-elected women have also been reported to face gendered constraints in their legislative work, particularly when they attempt to reform policies that uphold traditional male authority.

> One study found that women's increased presence in the Argentine Congress made approval of gender-related legislation less likely over time, especially when a woman sponsored the bill.[96]

Backlash and hostility: The harsh critics of gender quotas often subject the elected women to hostility and backlash. As quotas are intended to guide large cohorts of women newcomers which radically disrupts previous arrangements of male dominance, the impacted dominant parties in turn become the harshest critics of these equalizing policies. This backlash from their critics – sometimes within their own parties -- may prevent some women representatives from taking a stronger position on women's rights or collaborating on women's rights legislation over time due to party loyalty.[97,98] Our key informant Marie Berry gave an example of elections in Kenya where women were encouraged and push to run for office but faced harsh backlash, violence, and humiliation that will prevent many women from running for office again.

These unintended consequences should be anticipated and mitigated by implementers to protect women in high level positions and to ensure gender quotas may contribute to lasting and meaningful change.

Conclusion

This report maps some of the many individual and organizational stakeholders that are contributing to the end goal of women's equity in leadership. These stakeholders are diverse in their scope of work, geographic focus, and size. This report additionally identifies best practices that have accelerated progress towards women's leadership in countries that are leading this push including HICs and LMICs.

There is growing evidence as to the benefits of women's leadership across all sectors of society.[99] Female leadership can have a positive relationship with organizational success and societal gender equality through transformative change, but the path to gender parity is long. Progress is being made towards gender parity, but not quick enough. According to the Global Gender Gap Report of 2022, gender parity may not be achieved for a further 132 years or possibly longer.[34] Therefore, this work is critical towards accelerating this push and making gender parity in leadership more attainable.

Gender quotas are just one piece of the puzzle that can contribute to expediting this change. Gender quotas are not an end goal or representation of equality but are rather a starting point that should be supported by other gender supportive policies and practices including those contributing to changing attitudes and beliefs and increasing allyship. Gender quotas should be accompanied by safeguards to protect women who are accelerated into these positions and to ensure an environment where they are able to meaningfully participate rather than being merely a figurehead.

The barriers to women's leadership are often those that prevent women from participating in the workforce at all levels including structural barriers, societal expectations, and the availability of care infrastructure. The question of how to get women into leadership positions must also consider how to help women enter and remain in the workforce in general. Many countries that have progressive gender quotas and high levels of women's representation in leadership additionally are near parity in women's workforce participation and have other social policies that contribute to a more gender equitable society at all levels. This is adherent to the theory of change that states change needs to happen at individual, societal, and organizational levels in order for this progress to be truly sustainable.

We would like to conclude by reiterating our key findings:

- The individual and organizational stakeholders working to accelerate women's leadership are diverse in their scope and methods though they all have an important role to play in the push for gender equity

- Gender quotas in isolation are not enough to ensure sustainable or meaningful change

- A supportive social and political environment at all levels of society is essential to hold and sustain advances in gender equality

- Intersectional approaches are essential to recreating more gender equitable systems

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