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United Nations Development Programme
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DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

GENDER EQUALITY IN POLITICAL TRANSITION AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY



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Foreword

Democratic transitions can provide rare opportunities to negotiate new forms of inclusive and accountable governance, which can address both gender and class inequalities and empower women to have an equal say in the future of their countries. However, these opportunities remain elusive and gender equality outcomes can be uneven and at times regressive. Experience from a range of countries cautions that the voices and rights of women can be sidelined, despite their active engagement in initial protest movements. Yet there is a dearth of policy relevant analysis on the impact of transitions on gender relations, and little contextualized or comparative data that can shed light on the conditions, processes and strategies needed to create fundamental and lasting shifts in the societal 'gender contract' of transitioning countries.

This annotated bibliography is an attempt to drive this policy research agenda forward. It was conceived during preparations of the [Political economy of democratic transitions conference](#), organized by UNDP's Oslo Governance Centre (OGC) and the Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre (NOREF) in November 2012. The bibliography was intended to shape and inform both UNDP's strategic thinking and discussions at the conference. One of the main recommendations of the conference was the need for more targeted policy research on changing gender relations during and after political transitions. This was reinforced at the Amman forum on "[Reform-oriented knowledge amid political transitions: The role of think tanks in supporting policy dialogue& consensus building](#)" organized by OGC/UNDP and the Foundation for Future in July 2013, which also stressed the need for stronger links between researchers and gender activists in civil society, who are themselves producers, and not only consumers, of knowledge on changing gender relations.

The rapid review of the literature brings together over 70 sources into a single, key resource for practitioners, policy researchers, academics and gender activists. It navigates us through specific themes, including the complex and dynamic processes of change-- and resistance to change--, across the various phases of transition, from the critical occurrences that initiate transition processes right through to the "consolidation of democracy". Borrowing from the experiences of both historical and current transitions, it seeks to answer a range of questions, including: What new spaces are created in transition processes through which women and men are able to challenge power relations? What new forms of masculinities and femininities evolve and how does this challenge or reinforce patriarchy? Under what conditions do political transitions strengthen or weaken indigenous women's movements? What has been the formal and informal role of different actors in the making of new policy in support of gender equality? The bibliography covers some of the experiences of regions which have been through transition, such as Latin America, Eastern and Central Europe, Muslim majority countries (such as Indonesia and Turkey), as well as some African countries namely South Africa and Namibia. When it comes to the question regarding Arab countries, the annotated bibliography focuses on writings on Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen and Libya.

The result is neither exhaustive nor conclusive. Instead we offer a living source of knowledge, which will benefit from the enduring insight of its readers to maintain its validity and relevance. Our hope is that this overview of current knowledge will provide inspiration to those interested in transformational change processes. We also expect that the identification of gaps and priority areas for further research will support the evolution of a new research agenda on this critical issue for UNDP and its partners across the world so that we can continue to improve our 'evidence based' policies and programming. Please send your comments and additions to the Oslo Governance Centre (oslo.governance.centre@undp.org)



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I Introduction

This annotated bibliography captures an array of issues that writers and commentators have covered in their gender perspective of democratic transitions. Yet it is in no way an exhaustive bibliography.

The purpose of this annotated bibliography

This exercise intended to respond to several questions: What can the literature tell us about the elements and constellations of forces, actors and specific actions and policy interventions that would lead to better gender-equality outcomes after democratic transitions? How can new openings and opportunities provided by transitions from autocratic rule to more democratic forms of governance result in gains for women and gender equality, rather than undermine them? What does the literature to date tell us about how to sustain the gains and voices of women who were central to revolutions and uprising in the Arab world?

The path taken to assemble this annotated bibliography

To engage with the first two questions, the search of available literature covered regions with a history of democratic transition, such as Latin America and Eastern and Central Europe, as well as countries, some in Muslim-majority populations (Indonesia and Turkey) and two in Africa (Namibia and South Africa). The literature review focused on the forces, actors and conditions that could shepherd opportunity for improved gender equality outcomes in post-political transition periods. Regarding the interest in Arab country experiences, the research looked for literature capturing the early involvement of women in what is now referred to as the Arab Spring and analysis of what a transition might bring in terms of gender equalities and inequalities, the latter being more pronounced in writings on Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and Yemen.

The structure

The annotated bibliography begins with a synthesis of the six themes that guided the search for literature. The pieces are arranged alphabetically and numbered, with selected documents referenced in one or more of the themes. Two tables at the end enable locating work related to a theme or one of the six geographical regions represented in the collection.

Based on examination of the selected writings, the final section of the synthesis highlights gaps in the issues covered and possible areas for future research that could open more light on addressing gender equality during and after political transition. In the context of the large-scale changes in the Arab world, research has a fundamental and imperative place. As Jaquette and Wolchick point out, "...because transition politics are periods of crisis and thus of intense politicization, they bring new ideas and institutions into life ... they provide a rare window on how social structures underlie political structures and practices."¹

¹ Jane S. Jaquette and Sharon L. Wolchick, eds. *Women and Democracy: Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998) p. 4.

II Synthesis of the main themes covered

Writings on gender issues in times of political transitioning to democracy have mainly attempted to analyse the engagement and role of women's movements in the process of democratization, how that process has affected the women's movements and, to a lesser degree, the impact of women's mobilization on the process of democratization and on the lives of women as citizens. Little was found in the desk review on gender-equality outcomes as a result of women's mobilization and participation in the political transition process or on the policy options and choices that can lead to such outcomes.

Although the work on gender and democratic transition that was found describes the conditions in which there are opportunities to advance women's interests and gender equality, the discussion largely revolves around hypotheses, propositions and/or issues for debate.

One of the main conditions discussed is what the transition itself may offer in terms of room for change. The opening of negotiations in a new democratic order can result in an expansion of the political space available to women and, as in Latin America, allow for the articulation of gender-specific claims.² As the literature demonstrates, although the majority of contexts offer this initial opening of opportunity, in most cases, the gains for women during that initial phase are subsequently lost or diluted.

The following six distinct but related themes guided the research for this annotated bibliography. They cover the complex and dynamic processes of change and resistance to change over the phases of transition, from the critical occurrences initiating the transition movement to the immediate aftermath of transition to the phase of 'consolidation of democracy'.

1. Contextual and historic perspectives of political transition

This is the national, regional and international context in which political transitions occur.

- **Geopolitics and international influences**

Placing the processes of democratic transition in a more global or regional context, as demonstrated in some of the writings, adds an important dimension to the analysis and explanation of processes in and outcomes of democratic transition.

[6, 8, 12, 38, 42, 45, 50, 61, 71, 72]

- **The role of the State, the prevailing political and economic systems and gender relations**

A number of writings examine women's status and to a lesser extent, gender relations in the context of the role of the state and the political system prior to transition. The discussion here is on how the form of different dictatorships (communist, socialist or capitalist) has influenced and

² Alvarez, 1990 and Waylen, 2000 in Shireen Hassim, "A conspiracy of women": the women's movement in South Africa's transition to democracy. *Social Research*, vol. 69, No. 3 (2002).

shaped gender relations and women's position in society. Highlighting the complexity and ambivalence of pre-transition policies in dealing with gender issues, the writings also focus on the way this shaped transition and post-transition processes.

[8, 9, 13, 14, 25, 42, 43, 45, 48, 51, 56, 62, 73]

- **The relationship between the state and civil society and women's movements**

Another overlapping area of discussion relates to the historical and direct relationship between the State and civil society in general and to women's movements in particular, and what role they in shaping the political transition.

[8, 13]

- **Relationship between State, society and religion**

These are writings that include in their analysis the role of religion in transition to democracy and the curtailing influence it can have where there may be promises of transformation in attaining gender equality. The debates raise the question of whether democracy, freedom of choice and equality can co-exist with radical forms of religion, especially when it comes to women's rights and gender equality. This is discussed in some of the literature on Latin America and the role the church contributed. The role of political Islam is central in the writings on Muslim majority countries and the Arab world.

[5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 19, 60, 75]

2. Transition to democracy, citizenship and gender

This theme is about the central role of women in the process of political transition to democracy and how the path to democracy cannot be consolidated without full engagement with issues of gender equality and women's full participation in politics.

- **Women's involvement in the shaping of political transition**

Some of the writings raise the point that an understanding of gender relations is central to the understanding of democratization. Some demonstrate the centrality of women's contribution to shaping and enhancing democratic governance and citizenship in the process of democratic transition.

[1, 15, 28, 35, 47, 74]

- **No democracy without women's participation and gender equality**

Writings also question whether it is at all possible to consider a political system as democratic if it is not inclusive and representative and argue that gender equality must be seen as a prerequisite to achieving democracy.

[2, 24, 39, 50, 68]

- **Neoliberal democracy is flawed**

Overlapping with the merits of democracy without gender equality, some writings critique the shortcomings of Western democracy and its current neoliberal formation, arguing that it does not offer the transformative changes called for by some of the new revolutions.

[12, 17, 50, 59, 60]

3. Women's involvement in political transition, their strategies, gains and losses

Writings that analyse political transition from women's or a gender perspective cover in more detail the involvement of women and women's movements prior and during the transition as well as during the 'democratic consolidation' stage.

- **Women during political struggles, uprisings and revolutions**

Women's role and contributions to initiating political transition is recounted as a background to the process of democratization in the literature on Latin America and Africa. Given the more recent history of change in the Arab world, the role that women have had is given centre stage to highlight the equality of women and men in their engagement in every aspect of the struggle that led to the dismantling of the regimes. The literature also covers some of the forms of violence against women during and after the uprising, not only as revolutionaries but as women. Concerns are raised about possible losses to women under more conservative Islamist regimes. Others argue that only through the inclusive transition processes can a transformation in gender relations start taking place.

[21, 25, 55, 56, 58, 62, 67]

- **Mobilization of women's groups and their strategies**

This discussion covers how women's movements and other women's groups mobilized during political transition; how they identified and defined women's needs and interests; and whether or not they reached and mobilized wider constituencies of women across class, ethnicity, religions and regions. Some writings also examine the wider context of different political groups and interests and the way in which women's movements relate to these groups.

[2, 3, 6, 8, 11, 28, 37]

- **Women's movements and their relationship with the State during and after transition**

Authors who discuss this issue highlight the dynamic and changing relations between the State and the women's movement and other women's groups as well as wider civil society prior, during and after transition, in moments of cooperation, confrontation and conflict.

[8, 51, 42, 52, 59, 75]

- **Women's involvement in programmes and projects related to mobilization**

Writings on the role of women in transition also cover their involvement in the planning and delivery of programmes and projects during the transition period. Examples of these include voter education, election monitoring, the creation of spaces for women in politics, developing and delivering democracy literacy and education curricula, promoting human rights and pluralism, campaigning to end violence against women and strengthening religious freedom (in Indonesia) within the new democracy.

[13, 26, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37]

- **Women's gains and losses through cooperation, co-optation and/or de-politicization**

Some of the literature examines whether women's movements, in contexts where they had a key role in leading to and/or during the transition period, have maintained a position as a political force afterwards. This discussion shows a range of experiences in which women's movements and women's interests survived different upheavals and others in which they were co-opted and/or de-politicized. A number of elements are highlighted in the literature that explain these outcomes, including the history and nature of the women's movements themselves; how joining political parties divided the movements into partisan lines; the 'NGOization' of the women's movement

and their reliance on foreign aid; the realization of the power of the women's vote and concerted efforts of the ruling and opposition parties to co-opt women.

[4, 11, 19, 28, 38, 40, 42, 61, 71].

- **Conditions under which a gendered transition and advancement of women's rights can occur**

A large number of writers on the topic of gender and transition focus on the conditions conducive to the survival of a strong women's movement as well as protection of spaces for the advancement of women's rights and gender equality. These conditions include the ability of women to mobilize as women, advancing both women's and gender issues (transcending and also embracing diversity); working in all key institutions (political parties, state institutions, trade unions, legislative bodies), at all levels and as a critical mass as well as establishing connections with world polity. Some of the writings focus on how past experiences and lessons learned can contribute to a gendered transition in the Arab world; they advise that the way forward for gender reform that is suitable for the Arab world requires a vision and steering clear of political and social polarization.

[4, 11, 17, 24, 26, 28, 31, 37, 42, 50, 51, 63, 68, 69, 74, 76]

4. Political representation and gender

The literature on political representation includes an examination of a number of issues that are seen as critical to the opening or undermining of spaces for women in politics and gender equality in the political sphere.

- **Electoral systems and quotas**

Writings on this issue generally arrive at the conclusion that proportional representation provides women with better chances for political participation. Another issue discussed is the controversial issue of quotas as a mechanism for advancing women's participation in politics.

[10, 23, 36]

- **Women in political parties and in party lists**

How parties use party lists to advance or curtail women's participation is discussed in some of the literature. Recent experience in Tunisia, for example, demonstrates how the 'zebra system' achieved positive results in increasing the number of women in the Parliament.

[12, 17, 18, 23, 26, 49]

- **Recognition of women as a political constituency by political parties**

The importance of the women's vote and their role in a nation's development is another element that is highlighted to stress the importance of women constituencies and feminist consciousness beyond elitist women movements.

[42]

5. Constitutions, legislation and gender

Writings on these issues focus on the introduction of gender equality and human rights dimensions in constitutions and, to a lesser degree, in their translation into laws and to an even lesser extent on the degree of their implementation.

- **The constitution**

The general experience in introducing equal rights at the level of a constitution has been positive in transition countries, especially when public participation was involved and where women were mobilized, politicized and consulted widely.

[34, 77]

- **Laws (penal, civil, personal/family)**

The writings on this issue show that while in some contexts discriminatory legislation against women has been addressed, in the majority of cases, articles in the constitution upholding gender equality have not been translated into laws; and where they have, they may have been reverted upon a transition. Laws pertaining to gender-based violence are also addressed in this area of discussion.

[6, 19, 30]

6. Economic and social rights

Little in the literature reviewed for this annotated bibliography dealt with the link between political transition, translation into economic and social rights, and their outcomes and impacts from a gender perspective. To fill this gap, it would be necessary to examine at least two sources: the vast literature critiquing neoliberal policies from a gender perspective and the development literature on bilateral and multilateral organizations. What has been found in the sources consulted for this brief exercise on political transition refers to areas promoted by women's movements and groups (such as employment, education, welfare systems and gender budgeting).

[1, 30, 39, 54]

III Gaps and possible areas for research

This preliminary overview of the literature covered for this annotated bibliography indicates that several gaps that could be filled by either more in-depth secondary research and/or by primary research that will shed more or a different light on the topic of gender equality in political transition. Such a research agenda will obviously need to be defined collectively in the different regions concerned. The gaps identified in the current review suggest a number of possible directions for future research.

As indicated, although there is a great deal of discussion and debate on the role of a women's movement and women's groups, their strategies, their gains and their losses as well as the dynamics of the relationship between them and other political forces, there is less on what impact this has had on shaping the political system and even less on shaping economic and social rights. There is also less focus on the involvement of women in the wider population who are not part of the women's movement, their political consciousness, individual and collective agency, their citizenship identity and their everyday lives. There is also little said about men and shifting gender relations in periods of transition. As previous research on transition shows, a gender perspective rather than a separate analysis of women's issues adds to the understanding of both the process and impact of political transition. There is a need for a deeper analysis of how gender relations across class, religion, ethnicity, age and region have shifted over time, including and beyond the dynamics of women's mobilization and political involvement during and after transition. An examination of the different dimensions of transition may also require an adoption of a global, geopolitical and political economy framework.

When it comes to the new transition countries of the Arab world, it is understandable that little research with wider and deeper analysis has yet to take place. Early writings and analysis on women in the region focus on their participation in the brewing of the uprisings, followed by big losses and threats with more possible future losses under Islamist (or other conservative groups') control. The writings also very much reflect the polarization that is occurring at all levels, such as between the proponents of an Islamist and a secular/pseudo-secular State and the narrow focus on the old and new political elites in each of the Arab countries (including the women's movement), to the exclusion of the impact of the recent changes on the wider population. Little is discussed about the potentially transformative changes and new political spaces that have emerged and ways of building on them at the level of the population in all its diversity, such as across generations, gender and class, within and between rural and urban contexts, in the capital city and the rest of the country.

Possible broad areas for research in transition, post transition and democratic consolidation countries

Conditions and elements for gendered democratic transitions

Indicators for democratic transitions and for gendered democratic transitions:

1. The socio-economic and political elements that are conducive to or constrain gendered democratic transition.
2. An analysis of the limitations of democracy under neoliberalism, examining the emergence of new and inclusive forms of democracy in transition processes.
3. Global and geopolitical influences on gendered democratic transition processes and outcomes.

Outcomes and impact of democratic and gendered democratic transitions on women's rights and gender relations

Indicators:

1. An examination of the impact of transition on the political, economic and social situations of women in countries with and without effective women's movements.
2. The impact of transition on the formation of new feminisms.
3. Changing notions of masculinities and patriarchy, and their interrelationship with and reproduction by old and new political ideologies taking shape during and after political transitions.
4. Changes in the geography of gender relations and that intersection with other social relations in political transitions, examining and comparing these dynamics in urban and rural areas, in the capital city and in medium-sized cities and in urban and slum areas.

Possible broad areas of exploratory research in Arab transition countries

While learning from relevant experiences in other regions, primary research in the Arab world should focus on the Arab region and country specificities as well as highlight commonalities.

New spaces of gender negotiations

Indicators:

1. The spaces created during the uprisings and revolutions allowing negotiation, redefinition and reconstruction of notions of gendered citizenship among revolutionary and activist groups.
2. The way in which social media and street art provided an unprecedented space for expression, politicization and mobilization among both women and men.
3. Whether there are new progressive forms of masculinities emerging and whether patriarchy is being challenged, redefined or consolidated.
4. Whether there are new forms of feminisms emerging and how this involves women and men of different generation, class, religion and regions.
5. Whether the rise in collective agency and consciousness of citizen's political, legal, economic and social rights has been accompanied by new consciousness for the specific rights of women.
 - Have the politicization of women involvement directly and indirectly in the uprising and transition periods also translate into a rise in feminist consciousness?
 - Has the increased involvement of men but particularly women in politics, lead to their acquisition of political skills they can use towards achieving women's rights and gender equality?
 - Have the losses to women that came with the revolutions contributed to such politicization?
 - Have women's movements and groups reached out to wider women's constituencies?
6. How forms of polarization (proponents of a secular/Islamist State, old/new political parties, old/new generations of activists) played out in the context of gender relations.
7. Conditions conducive to or restricting of spaces for women's rights and the re-writing of the gender contract.
 - The link between polarization and narrowing spaces for gendered democratic transitions.
 - Embracing diversity and difference as a way of opening up spaces for gendered democratic transition.

Backlash to the visibility and power of women during the uprisings

Indicators:

1. The link between the participation of women in the uprisings, their visibility and power and backlash against women at many levels.
2. The rise of incidents of sexual harassment and other sexual violence against women as a reassertion of patriarchal control or a form of 'masculinist restoration'.³
3. The trauma of violence (mental, physical and sexual) during and after the uprisings and its gendered implications for individuals, families and communities as well as for future mechanisms of transitional justice.
4. Fear for women's safety and the exercise of control on women's mobility and engagement in the public sphere.

The role of movements, activists and groups working for women's rights and gender equality

1. The nature, strategies and alliances of women and other political groups in promoting gender equality and women's rights and whether the political transition has brought new formations and strategies.
 - Those working within or outside the Islamist discourse.
 - Those working within and/or across party lines.
 - Those working in alliances with other political movements.
 - Those working with wider constituencies.
2. An analysis of the treatment of women in Egypt since February 2011 by consecutive authorities/governments.
 - What was the response of women's groups and other political groups to this?
 - Were there attempts to employ different strategies?
 - What has been the outcome so far?
3. An examination of the post-Brotherhood period, the survival of the paternalistic State and its impact on women's rights and gender equality.
 - The implications of an imposed 'choice' between security and terrorism at the expense of freedoms and democracy.
 - The implications of the polarization between the loyalties to the Islamists and to the military/police.

Gender relations in the 'making' of new policies, constitution and legislation

1. The way in which gender relations and women's rights are negotiated, bargained and redefined in politics and legislation.
 - The writing of constitutions in terms of an analysis of constituent assemblies (two in the case of Egypt) and outcomes is key to understanding the interplay between gender and transition in the public sphere.
 - Political representation in terms of party lists, elections and outcomes.
2. The way in which post-transition policies are prioritized, who is involved and how gender relations are implicated.

Leadership and gender relations

1. The apparent trade-off between the 'strong' leader/security (paternalistic/masculinities) and more open-ended democratic transition.
2. What type of leadership (at all levels) would allow women's rights and gender equality to be addressed?

³ Deniz Kandiyoti, "Fear and fury: women and post-revolutionary violence", 14 January 2013. Available from www.opendemocracy.net/author/deniz-kandiyoti.



IV Annotated bibliography

1. **Abdela, Lesley. Egypt: The transition to democracy needs women. openDemocracy website, 9 February, 2011. Available from www.opendemocracy.net/lesley-abdela/egypt-transition-to-democracy-needs-women.**

The article, written after the first days of the Egyptian revolution, points to the historical experiences of other countries in which women had a critical role in the call for change and yet male leaders gained access to the formal political and economic power and imposed their own agenda. The article then refers to the experience of South Africa as an example in which women also had a critical role in dismantling apartheid and how every time men wanted to quit the ending-of-apartheid negotiations, women insisted they come back and keep talking. The author argues that the full participation of women in the consultative and inclusive process used in South Africa resulted in a shift from traditional notions of security to a political framework that put “human security in the form of economic development, alleviation of poverty, access to food and water, education and public safety at the epicentre of the national security framework”. The author then predicts that this balance between women and men in deciding the future of Egypt is unlikely. She argues it is more likely, as has occurred in many other contexts, that women’s groups, political parties, etc. will only manage to “call out for an alternative script from the wings”.

2. **Abdel Fattah, Esraa with Sarah J. Robins. After the Arab spring, mobilizing for change in Egypt. In *The Unfinished Revolution: Voices from the Global Fight for Women’s Rights*, Minky Worden, ed. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2012.**

This chapter first overviews the role of women in the Egyptian revolution and their disillusionment with the results of the abysmal representation (at 2 percent) of women in the first post-revolution parliamentary elections before turning to discuss the engagement of the author in forming the Free Egyptian Women group. That group initiated a political education programme with the goal to of bringing well-known, well-educated and well-qualified young women from five of the 27 governorates of Egypt into the Parliament. The paper concludes with the statement that young women cannot wait another 30 years to see change: “...we cannot say we have democracy in Egypt without achieving women’s rights.”

3. **Alvarez, Sonia E. *Engendering Democracy in Brazil: Women’s Movements in Transition Politics*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990.**

This book examines the situation of Brazil after enduring the longest military–authoritarian regime in South America and how in the 1970s and 1980s the country experienced, according to the author, “the emergence and development of perhaps the largest, most diverse, most radical, and most successful women’s movement in contemporary Latin America”. The author discusses the rise of progressive women’s movements in the context of political repression and economic crisis that was enveloping Brazil in the 1970s, focusing on the gender politics of the final stages of regime transition in the 1980s. She situates Brazil in a comparative theoretical framework and analyses the relationship between non-revolutionary political change and changes in women’s consciousness and mobilization. The book also addresses the potential for promoting social justice and transforming relations of inequality between women and men in Latin America and elsewhere in the developing world. (From the abstract)

4. **Alwazir, Atiaf Zaid. A long road ahead for Yemeni women. openDemocracy website, 3 December 2012. Available from <http://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/atiaf-zaid-alwazir/long-road-ahead-for-yemeni-women>**

First highlighting how women challenged the status quo with their vocal presence in the public sphere during the Yemeni protests, this article then describes the ways women defied the gender contract—with a backlash against them as a consequence. The author reports, through examples, that the specific demands women made initially were ignored subsequently. The technical committee, set up by President Hadi to define the scope of the National Dialogue, included individuals with high caliber and street credibility. After several rounds of negotiations, 20 percent of the National Dialogue members were women. The National Dialogue conference was divided into 12 working groups dealing with 12 priority areas, none of which singled out women's rights. Nor were gender issues placed in the broader context of equal citizenship. The author argues that the conditions in which the National Dialogue is progressing are not conducive to addressing women's rights. According to Dr. Sheila Calico, (visiting professor at the American University in Cairo) the process is doomed to fail without the real inclusion of women and "no matter how marvellous a social movement is, it does not mean the outcome is social justice or democracy". The article ends on the optimistic note that "something historic and remarkable has happened that is socially and culturally important and should be recognized as such".

5. **Amar, Paul (2011): Turning the Gendered Politics of the Security State Inside Out?, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13:3, 299-328**

In this article the author analyses sexual harassment politics in the global south which appears to be a crucial laboratory for testing and reformulating the mix of emancipatory and repressive governance practices that constitute contemporary gender-sensitive 'human security' regimes. It assesses the different forms of global/local feminist organizing, and thus reveals new metaphors of masculinity, class struggle and global female insecurity. It also refers to the inventive Egyptian organizations that adapted UN gender doctrines and legal mechanisms to serve their own purposes, mobilizing mass campaigns that critiqued frameworks of police protection and social respectability. He goes on to affirm that these new Egyptian organizations cultivated forms of assertive female agency that were center-stage during the recent Egyptian Revolution of January and February of 2011. The author concludes with a critical theory of security-state practice and illuminates alternative global-south feminisms that contest rather than facilitate securitized and militarized appropriations of internationalist gender and security interventions.

6. **Amin, Shahira. Egyptian women struggle for equality and freedom. *Daily News Egypt*, 3 October, 2012. Available from <http://dailynewsegypt.com/2012/10/03/egyptian-women-struggle-for-equality-and-freedom/>.**

This newspaper story recounts a women's rally to voice their concern on the direction Egypt's Constitutional Assembly was taking in its treatment of women. During the rally, the women held placards with such statements as "No to female genital mutilation and no to child marriages" and the protesters chanted, "A civil State not a theocracy" and "Down with the Constituent Assembly". While retaining article 2 in the country's Constitution, which stipulates that all legislation reflect the principles of Islamic law, the Islamist-dominated Constitutional Assembly added additional Articles linking gender equality with Islamic jurisprudence. This, the author reports, caused an outcry from rights campaigners and liberal Egyptians who had hoped that in the "new Egypt" women would become equal players in shaping their country's future. Article 36 stipulates that "the State is committed to take all legislative and executive measures to entrench the principle of the equality of men and women in the areas of political, cultural, economic and social life without prejudice—according to the provisions of Islamic

law." The reported comments of various women interviewed reflected their determination to keep protesting until their "demands for freedom and equality are met".

- 7. Arat, Yesim. Religion, Politics and Gender Equality in Turkey: Implication of a Democratic Paradox (Draft). United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, September 2009. Available from [www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/\(httpPublications\)/B49BF0AB76047D15C125765E0047B1EB?OpenDocument](http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpPublications)/B49BF0AB76047D15C125765E0047B1EB?OpenDocument)**

This paper examines the Justice and Development Party's (AKP) agenda and its commitment to liberal rights through 'harmonizing packages' from 2003 to 2004 to expand the democratic parameters of Turkey. The author explains that under pressure from the European Union as well as from women's groups in Turkey, the AKP accepted a liberal framework, discarding patriarchal assumptions in the new Penal Code (p. 11). The paper then points out the different moments when the AKP withdrew its earlier commitments to women's rights. The author then remarks that although women's groups may react to incursions on women rights, their position will be strengthened only when they ally themselves with other groups, secular or religious, who are against religious as well as secular oppression of women. After the weakened influence of the European Union in Turkey, the author sees integration into the global community as important for safeguarding women's rights.

- 8. Arat, Yesim. *Rethinking Islam and Liberal Democracy: Islamist Women in Turkish Politics*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005.**

According to the book's author, no secular party in Turkey has approximated the high levels of membership and intense activism of women within the Islamist Refah (Welfare) Party. Based on in-depth interviews, the author examines the experiences of women in the party and analyses how they "broadened the parameters of democratic participation and challenged preconceived notions of what Islam can entail in a secular democratic polity". They successfully mobilized large groups of allegedly apolitical women, reaching them through personal networks cultivated in private spaces. Writes Arat, "The experiences of these women show the contentious relationship between liberal democracy and Islam, where liberalism that prioritizes the individual can transform, coexist, or remain in tension with Islam that prioritizes a communal identity legitimized by a sacred God". (From the abstract)

- 9. Arat, Yeşim. Contestation and collaboration: women's struggles for empowerment in Turkey. *The Cambridge History of Turkey Volume 4: Turkey in the Modern World*, Reşat Kasaba, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 388–418.**

This chapter discusses women's struggles for empowerment in Turkey and its 'intimate' link to the State-initiated modernization process. Arat argues that women, in their struggle to expand their opportunities, contested and collaborated with one another as well as with the modernizing State. The conflictual relationship, both among women's groups and with the State, alternated from confrontation to cooperation. Women succeeded in changing laws and perceptions through such a dynamic process in the context of globalization. "During this process, they helped transform the relationship of the legendary 'strong Turkish state' to civil society and pushed the State to cooperate with its constituents", notes Arat. The chapter includes an overview of the historical development of the women's movement in Turkey since the Young Turk era and the emergence of an organized and oppositional feminist movement since the 1980s and the way it has since mobilized Islamist and Kurdish women's groups. The discussion examines how women's demands ultimately precipitated the Turkish State's claim to modernity as manifested in respect for human rights and democratization. (From the abstract)

10. Ayad, Abeer A. Laws pertaining to women: between cancellation and continuation. *Half the World*, 1 July 2011. Available in Arabic from <http://nisfeldunia.ahram.org.eg/>

Drawing on interviews with activists, academics and Islamist scholars, the article examines the way in which some of the few gains for women over the past decades seem to be under threat after the Egyptian revolution. After the ousting of President Mubarak, a number of loud voices, mostly from conservative religious quarters, began quickly calling for the cancellation of certain laws pertaining to the family code and to women's access to their children and the appropriateness of women in decision-making positions. More generally, there has been repeated concerns voiced that women were "gaining more than they deserved in terms of rights in all spheres of life", a liberation attributed to Mubarak, with his wife's support. According to those holding this view, with the revolution all these so-called gains must be abolished. In response, women's rights activists argue that while the structures (such as the National Women Council) and the way they operate are problematic, they must be reformed, not abolished. The work of activists and women's organizations, they add, must continue but with stronger and wider constituencies. The attack on women's rights by the rising conservative religious forces is politicizing and galvanizing women's groups, pointed out one observer. Another, a member of the Islamic Research Academy (agmaa al bohooth al Islamia) said that women must demand their equal rights as citizens, according to Islam, and that all the changes in the family code in favour of women abide by the Koran. Women and men as well as Muslims and Christians, he added, are full citizens, and in neither case do they need a special entity to safeguard their rights.

11. Bahaa El Din, Ziad. The scandal of women's representation in the parliament: are we in the 21st century? *Al-Shorouk*, 10 January 2012. Available from <http://shorouknews.com/columns/view.aspx?cdate=10012012&id=0f4ba8b4-e50e-45dc-b2fe-24e7583c564b/>.

This article was written soon after the results of Egypt's first parliamentary elections (which has since been dissolved). It begins with a discussion of how the political scene has been dominated by the polarization between secular and religious forces, old and new parties and individual versus electoral lists but devoid of outrage over what the journalist refers to as the "scandal" of only 2 percent female representation in Parliament. He then argues that the different parties—Islamist, liberal, socialist, capitalist and Sufi—chose in an "opportunistic way" to use an already problematic and discriminatory election law as a way to intentionally marginalize women. So as to appear to follow the electoral condition that one woman must be included in the party lists, the parties cynically put women at the bottom of the list, giving them little chance of getting elected. The party officials then justified the move by contending men are better placed to advance women's needs. But the journalist also blames women for being ineffective in asserting their presence during the elections. The journalist then asks: "How can we claim that the Parliament represents all Egyptians when half of the population is represented by 2 percent? How can there be new legislation that only men contributed to drafting?" The article ends on an optimistic note, however, that perhaps the shameful result is a wake-up call to the women's movement in Egypt and all other political forces that may lead to new strategies in preparation for future elections.

12. Baldez, Lisa. Women's movements and democratic transition in Chile, Brazil, East Germany and Poland. *Comparative Politics*, April 2003.

At particular moments in history or in particular circumstances, women unite on the basis of their gender, according to Baldez. In those particular moments, the mobilizing of the women's movement transcends all differences, be they class, race or partisan politics. She argues that the exclusion of women from agendas set by mostly male leadership of opposition parties heightens this coalition. But such cohesion might be short lived, she adds; once male politicians see women as a constituency worth co-opting, the movement becomes fragmented. In Brazil, for example, the opposition parties in the 1980s started to compete for the support of women's organizations, which spurred popular

support because of a convergence of interests between the new parties and those organizations. The parties then included some of the women's demands on their agenda. The women's movement started fragmenting as different women's groups joined particular parties. Similar results occurred in Chile where the women's movement split according to partisan lines. Although the feminist movement in East Germany had little impact on the democratization process, it also disintegrated after the fall of the Berlin Wall; in Poland, the women's movement never emerged in any significant way. Baldez identifies three variables as significant in mobilizing women during the democratization period: i) the formation of formal and informal networks; ii) direct contact with international feminist communities; and iii) exclusion from the process of re-alignment within the democratic opposition, leading to coalitions among diverse women's groups. She concludes that "when male opposition leaders address women's concerns, the impetus of women's mobilization diminishes".

13. Bradley, John R. *After the Arab Spring: How Islamists Hijacked the Middle East Revolts*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

There are five chapters in this book: The death of Tunisia's secularism; Egypt's Islamist future; The Wahhabi counterrevolution; The Shia axis; Lessons from Southeast Asia; and What next? As the headings indicate, the book examines the historical as well as contemporary political histories of Egypt and Tunisia internally and within the global context, from the times of Presidents Nasser and Bourguiba. Referring to Samir Amin's analysis, the author describes the rise of political Islam in the region as "Washington-Riyadh counterrevolution". Among its most obvious repercussions is the Wahhabi-style oppression of women. Citing Turkey, the author argues that as long "as the Islamists have the support of the vast pious hinterland, democracy plays into their hands, because the liberal, progressive, secular elite by definition makes up a much smaller portion of the electorate". He critiques the shortcomings of Western democracy and argues that "democracy must first come to the West itself. And what hope is here of that? Well, there were some hints that just such a change might indeed be on the way, inspired no less than by the Arab Spring". (p. 136) Gender issues are discussed at key points in the book, analysing the way women's rights have been manipulated for wider political interests. The author describes what academics view as 'Arabization' (referring to pre-Islamic Bedouins) rather than 'Islamization' as having dire consequences for women in the region.

14. Bush, Robin. *Lessons from Indonesia's Democratic Transition*. 4 May, 2011. Available from <http://asiafoundation.org/in-asia/2011/05/04/lessons-from-indonesia%E2%80%99s-democratic-transition/>

This blog reviews Indonesia's transition to democracy for the past 13 years, highlighting both its achievements and remaining challenges. The writer contends that a crucial factor in Indonesia's democratizing was the insistence from the beginning of removing the military from politics. Another factor was the existence of a rich civil society and, most crucially, in re-defining its role as both watchdog and technical support for the new democratic state institutions, such as the judiciary and the legislature. Women and student groups as well as NGOs affiliated with the Muslim mass-based organizations of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah were active in voter education and election monitoring, developing a democracy education curriculum in schools, promoting human rights and pluralism and strengthening religious freedom within the new democracy.

15. Bou Saidi, Naziha. *The Tunisian woman after the revolution: Enhanced role and interest in the country's public affairs*. *Turess, Al Chourouk*, 24 May 2011. Available in Arabic from www.turess.com/alchourouk/190926/

Tunisian women before the revolution were often reminded that they had to be part of the regime that presented itself as the defender of women's rights. Women's demands for freedom and democracy led

them to the forefront of the overthrow of the political regime. The writer relays the views of sociologist and gender specialist, Eisha Al Tayeb, who argues that women's full participation in the revolution politicized huge numbers of Tunisian women and far beyond urban areas. All women, including rural women and women living in regions ignored by development interventions over the years, are now closely following the changes in the Tunisian political landscape. And all political entities, including policy makers, now realize that women's needs and interest no longer can be neglected.

16. Coleman, Isobel. Technology's quiet revolution for women. In *The Unfinished Revolution: Voices From the Global Fight for Women's Rights*, Minky Worden, ed. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2012.

This chapter highlights how women use new technology to increase productivity, enhance their economic opportunities, access education and expose injustices around them. For example, Afghan women use social media to bring attention to sensitive issues, such as domestic violence and honour killings. As the examples illustrate, technology enables women and girls to change cultural norms that place a low value on them by closing the digital divide between the sexes.

17. Cornwall, Andrea and Anne Marie Goetz. Democratizing democracy: feminist perspectives. *Democratization*, vol. 12, No. 5 (2005), pp. 783–800.

This paper tackles the question of whether an increased number of women in formal political spaces increased their political influence or if it has translated into gains in policies that redress gendered inequities and inequalities. In exploring the factors that affect and enable women's political effectiveness in different democratic arenas, the authors argue that women's political interests are not necessarily influenced by their sex but by their "political apprenticeship", or the pathway into politics. Thus, to enhance the potential of women's political participation, "democracy itself must be democratized", including building "new pathways into politics". The paper then critiques the procedures through which women are meant to enter politics, including affirmative action measures, which do not make parties more responsive to gender equality issues nor do all women in office defend a feminist position on policies, and patronage systems or 'women's wings' of political parties, which rarely create the space for female solidarity. The authors make the case on the need to facilitate political apprenticeship while creating the conditions that challenge the status quo. Donors, the authors argue, must be circumspect about the potential for "invited spaces", which can divert and dissipate social and political energy; instead, they should support broader work rather than only respond to project proposals. The authors also recommend creating spaces outside the formal political or "deliberative arenas" to "incubate leaders and enable women to formulate positions, exchange perspectives and hone political skills". Brazil's *escolas feministas* who work with women within public office as well as would-be politicians and women representatives in other democratic spaces is an example of such an arena.

18. Castro, Mary Garcia. Engendering powers in neoliberal times in Latin America: reflections from the left on feminism. *Latin American Perspectives*, issue 121, vol. 28, No. 6, 2001.

Castro recounts how in the 1970s the women's movement played an "outstanding role" not only in the struggles against dictatorships and the return to democracy but also in the reshaping of left-wing politics. She examines the role of the women's movement in stressing the importance of everyday life and the connections between the micro and macro levels of politics and between public and private life in the perpetration of violence against women.

19. Dahlerup, Drude. Using quotas to increase women's political representation. In *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, Julie Ballington and Azza Karam, eds. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 1998, pp. 91–106.

This chapter discusses the controversial system of quotas as a mechanism for raising women's repre-

sentation in government. Lessons learned show that the more vague the regulations, the less chance for the quota system to fail and that the next steps after implementing the quota system are crucial to achieving sustainability for women representation. (p. 105) In addition to a discussion of the pros and cons of the quota system to increase women's representation, the author explains that a quota system has positive impacts on the recruitment of women by political parties, leading to a critical mass of women and their influence in decision-making processes within parties.

20. Ebadi, Shirin. Who defines Islam? An Interview with Deniz Kandiyoti. openDemocracy website, 21 March 2011. Available from www.opendemocracy.net/5050/shirin-ebadi/shirin-ebadi-who-defines-islam.

In the Q&A, Ebadi remarks, "Egyptian women are lucky in one way. They have witnessed the predicament of Iranian women and seen how the Islamic State has hijacked the Iranian revolution, changed the laws and reversed women's gains. My advice to Egyptian women is 'Do not give way to a government that would force you to choose between your rights and Islam'. I believe that Iran was a lesson for the women in the entire region." One of those lessons, she explains, is to understand Islam well and learn the different interpretations of Islam. She stresses the importance of women uniting and warns that women are in for a long struggle. She explains that while it is possible under Islamist regimes to have "ideal" constitutions, it is much harder to translate the principles into laws and implement them in a way that does not oppress women. "For that reason," she says, "those rewriting laws must have excellent knowledge of their society and make sure they do not set unattainable goals".

21. Einhorn, Barbara. Gender(ed) politics in Central and Eastern Europe. *Journal of Global Ethics*, vol. 2, 2006, pp. 139–162

This article examines the role of mainstream political participation in the quest for gender equitable citizenship as key to attaining democracy. Citizenship is treated here as the appropriate measure for the implementation of women's rights as human rights. In advancing this argument, the article examines citizenship status through the perspective of representation in mainstream politics in the context of democratization in Central and Eastern Europe. The author discusses how prior to negotiations about European Union accession, gender equality was marginal on the political agenda in most countries in the region. Political reform had been narrowed to denote formal party and legislative politics alone. In this context, the article explores the contradiction between the limited definition of the European Union and other international organizations and the discursive validation of civil society involvement. Empirical evidence highlights the barriers hindering women's access to the public sphere of the polity. The article then discusses the effectiveness of strategies (such as quotas) designed to overcome the factors curtailing women's capacity to become active citizens in the public sphere of politics.

22. El-Bendary, Amina. Many hands in one fist. *Al-Shorouk*, 4 June 2011.

The author starts the article by nostalgically recalling the first days of the Egyptian Revolution when everyone was equal and the squares held a diversity of Egyptians with no signs of conflict or violence, and everyone celebrating how the squares were also free of sexual harassment. She explained that when there were calls for freedom, dignity, social justice, diversity and democracy, this did not mean that half of the population would be exempt.

23. El Kholy, Nadia. Shifting Borders, Gender Separatism and the Arab Spring: The Case of Egypt. Paper presented during the Shifting Borders: America and the Middle East/North Africa conference, American University of Beirut, 11–14 January 2012.

"This paper presents a new interpretation of how women activists played a crucial role in the 25th of January Egyptian Revolution introducing new boundaries that have re-defined gender separatism in

Egypt, in the Arab/Muslim world and in America's perception of democracy," states one description of this paper (Warwick: Abstract of Papers). The paper explores different forms of gender separatism, particularly regarding ways in which forms of segregation according to gender are implicated in formation of political and religious extremism. The author examines the double oppression of Muslim women resulting from both neoliberalism and religious fundamentalism. She contends that by challenging these forces, "Egyptian women are contributing to the construction of a new worldwide civil society, based on a culture of human rights and universal values, such as democracy, social justice, freedom of conscience and gender equality, and how they have created a new public space as a platform for their new identity." The author warns that the greatest impediment to democracy, in addition to US hegemony, is "the language of rights itself when it acquires the form of a secular universalism; it is therefore necessary not only to use this language with discretion but to contest it as well".

24. El-Naggar, Mostafa. How to empower women in the next parliament? *Al-Shorouk*, 7 September 2012 (in Arabic).

The author, an activist and MP of the dissolved post-revolutionary Parliament, asks why women were so absent in the last Parliament (a disastrous 2 percent representation) while they were present as voters in huge numbers. To ensure that this low representation does not occur in the next elections (planned for November 2012), the author suggests a number of strategies: i) a review of existing legislation, including the quota system (which is acknowledged to be problematic), and the process for including women in party lists (in advanced positions); ii) to redress discriminatory cultural notions about women's role in public life; and iii) to address women's confidence in their ability to take on political leadership positions. The author then concludes that women's empowerment is a societal responsibility and a prerequisite to Egypt's *nahda* (cultural awakening).

25. Faiq, Venus. Does the political participation of women lead to democracy, or does democracy lead to the political participation of women? *Middle East Transparent*, 10 January 2005. Available in Arabic from www.mettransparent.com/old/texts/venus_faiq_women.htm/.

In addressing the question of her paper's title, the author, who is a Southern Kurd, argues that given democracy is built on the principle that people fully share in decision-making, if women are only token representatives with little power, then democracy is also only token. She then returns to the question and asks, "Does this mean that for women to fully participate in politics, they must wait for men to establish true democracy and then allow them to be part of it, or is it that women themselves must carve a space for their participation and in doing so deepen the democratic system?" While the author recognizes that both processes are necessary, she points to the importance of women's participation—that without it, true democracy will never be achieved.

26. Flintoff, Corey. Post-revolution, Libyan women seek expanded roles. *National Public Radio*, 4 October 2011. Available from www.npr.org/2011/10/04/141037471/post-revolution-libyan-women-seek-expanded-roles.

This radio feature explains how Libyan women played an important yet 'unsung' role in the uprising, taking very high risks, and how they want a larger role in the new government and political system under construction in Libya. Some of the Libyan women the journalist interviewed criticized the fact that there were no women in the Transitional National Council when there are many capable women. One of them explained that Libyan women achieved success in many roles before the revolution—in medicine, law and academia. But, she added, most women refused any role in Gaddafi's government because "we care about our reputations". Now, another woman added, "women have had successful roles in the revolution and that has helped prepare them for the next step".

- 27. Frank, Liz and Khaxas, Elizabeth. A case study of the 50/50 campaign in Namibia, focusing on women's grass-roots participation. In *Gender, Citizenship and Governance: A Global Sourcebook. Critical Reviews and Annotated Bibliography Series. Royal Tropical Institute (The Netherlands) and Oxfam (GB), 2004.***

This paper recounts how, in 1998, Sister Namibia conducted research on women in politics that was disseminated and discussed in a workshop attended by women's NGO members. One of the strategies emerging from that discussion was a call for 50 percent women candidates on 'zebra-style' party lists for the 1999 elections. A strategy was put in place for the 50/50 campaign that included raising awareness, mobilizing, training, lobbying and teaching legal literacy. In addition to mobilizing women, the campaign attracted support from men and from churches, schools, local and regional state actors, political parties and traditional leaders. The authors highlight what can be considered good practices from this experience: starting the process with research; recruiting national and local facilitators; working with and beyond differences on a common agenda; developing and strengthening women leaders and women's organizations at the local level; using media to mobilize women and to raise public awareness; and monitoring and evaluating campaign activities.

- 28. Fukuoka, Yuki. *Democratic Transition in Indonesia Revisited: A Clientelist Model of Political Transition*. Working Paper No. 07-11, School of Sociology, Politics and International Studies, University of Bristol, undated. Available from www.bristol.ac.uk/spais/research/workingpapers/wpspaisfiles/fukouka07-11.pdf**

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This article presents an alternative theoretical framework to account for the political transition in Indonesia in 1998. The author challenges the mainstream literature, which focuses on the presumed significance of civil society, arguing that so-called democratization in Indonesia offered a mechanism through which to reorganize the distribution of patronage within the State. The transition was caused not by assertive civil society but by regime elites who were alienated by Suharto's excessive centralization of patronage networks. "Against this backdrop, democratization facilitated a redistribution of patronage, with the elite regaining access to state resources," the author contends.

- 29. Galligan, Yvonne and Sara Clavero. *Gender, Civil Society and Democratization in East Central Europe and the Baltic States*. Paper prepared for panel discussion on EU Enlargement, Democracy and Governance during the Political Studies Association Annual Conference, Swansea, 1–3 April 2008.**

In their paper, the authors review the patterns of women's mobilization in the new democracies of Eastern and Central Europe and the Baltic States in post-socialist countries during and after each experienced a transition to democracy. Through their research, the authors assessed the extent that women's groups worked towards ensuring that women and women's interests were represented in the political institutions of the newly established liberal democracies of those States. They found that, in some of the countries at least, women mobilized during the democratization process as members of dissident organizations rather than focusing on developing an autonomous women's movement. Given that the power structures of those organizations were heavily masculinized, women had very little influence in shaping them and thus, with a few remarkable exceptions, dissident activities did not tend to articulate and represent the needs, interests and concerns of women "as a historically oppressed group". The decade of the 1990s also experienced a burgeoning of women's NGOs largely dependent upon foreign donors, leading to limited autonomy as well as capacity to voice women's interests in political deliberation and decision-making. The authors begin their paper with the statement that experience around the world has shown that the presence of an empowered women's sector can enhance democratic governance. They conclude that the central role that feminist civil society groups occupy in

political parties, trade unions, state institutions and the media in democratic countries was not easily transposed to the post-authoritarian context of East Central Europe and the Baltic States.

30. Gideon, Jasmine. Accessing economic and social rights under neoliberalism: gender and rights in Chile. In *The Politics of Rights—Dilemmas for Feminist Praxis*, Andrea Cornwall and Maxine Molyneux, eds. London and New York: Routledge, 2008.

This is a critique of the contradiction between citizen participation, as represented in much neoliberal thinking, and the notion of economic and social rights, as conceptualized in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The author argues that while the Covenant may offer a framework for socio-economic rights, to build accountability of the State, “activism around the Covenant...needs to be linked more broadly to the development of alternative economic and social policies such as gender budget initiatives.” (p. 106)

31. Haas, Liesl. *Feminist Policymaking in Chile*. University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.

The election of Michelle Bachelet as president of Chile in 2006 gave new impetus to the struggle for the improvement of the country’s legislation to improve women’s rights—a process that had been underway for some time. In this book, the author investigates the efforts of Chilean feminists to win policy reforms on a broad range of gender equity issues, ranging from labour and marriage laws to educational opportunities to health and reproductive rights. The author highlights how, as a result of pressure brought by the feminist movement and its allies, 63 bills were put forward in the Chilean legislature between 1990 and 2008. The author closely examines these bills, identifying the conditions under which feminist policy-making was most likely to succeed. In doing so, she develops “a predictive theory of policy success that is broadly applicable to other Latin American countries”. (From the abstract)

32. Hallez, Kris. Facilitating gender justice throughout democratic transition in Egypt. Institute of Development Studies website, 15 June 2011. Available from www.ids.ac.uk/go/news/facilitating-gender-justice-throughout-democratic-transition-in-egypt/.

This is a report on a meeting organized by the Institute of Development Studies-coordinated Pathways of Women’s Empowerment Research Consortium and UN Women. The meeting brought together politicians, gender experts, academics and activists to assemble recommendations for the Egyptian Government “on using political transition to embed gender justice and women’s participation into the political processes”. The discussion, as highlighted in the report, focused on understanding that the transition to democracy does not necessarily bring gender equity. In her keynote address, the former president of Chile Michelle Bachelet remarked that “gender equity is not a luxury, but rather, an imperative”. She stressed the importance of the link between economic growth and social justice and that gender equality must be an integral component of transitioning to new forms of governance and citizenship. The ensuing discussions focused on the two primary issues: i) social, political and economic rights in constitutional and legal reform and ways to increase women’s inclusion in political parties and governmental bodies; and ii) building strong women’s movements and how women’s movements have used various methods to assert themselves and achieve gains, especially after the downfall of authoritarian regimes.

33. Hammer, Joshua. Women: The Libyan Rebellion’s Secret Weapon. *Smithsonian*, April 2012. Available from www.smithsonianmag.com/people-places/Women-The-Libyan-Rebellions-Secret-Weapon.html#ixzz28DaxMIRO

The magazine feature starts by acknowledging the role that women played in ousting Gaddafi—“women did everything but fight—and in a few instances, they even did that”. Having subsequently been

denied political participation, they “are determined to leverage their wartime activism and sacrifices into greater clout. They are forming private aid agencies, agitating for a role in the country’s nascent political system and voicing demands in the newly liberated press”. Drawing on various interviews, the author describes how women across Libya are initiating projects through the formation of new civil society organizations. They are also mobilizing pressure for more women in the new government and the enactment of legislation that would protect women from violence as well as guarantee them access to justice, health care and psychological support. Gargoum, one of the women activists interviewed, said that she, like many others, is prepared to fight for those rights: “We have a brain, we can think for ourselves, we can speak out; we can go to the streets without fear.”

34. Harclerode, Kelsey. *Revolutionary Women and Their Future: The Case for Gender Mainstreaming in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya*. Paper prepared as a senior thesis in the Department of Political Science, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. 2012.

This dissertation paper contends that gender mainstreaming policies, especially since women and men have both engaged in the revolutions of Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, enable a foundation for systematic gender equality. Despite the active involvement of both women and men in those countries, the author believes the future of gender equality remains ambiguous. For Tunisia, Egypt and Libya to construct truly equal and democratic societies, it is necessary for gender mainstreaming to be an integral component of any and all reconstruction efforts. Although the newly elected and appointed leaders have the primary responsibility to enact such legislation, the international community—particularly scholars in foreign policy—need to continue monitoring those countries and stress the necessity of ensuring gender equality. (From the abstract)

35. Hassim, Shireen. “A conspiracy of women”: the women’s movement in South Africa’s transition to democracy. *Social Research*, vol. 69, No. 3, 2002.

The paper describes the nature of the transition to a liberal democratic State in which citizenship rights were accorded, irrespective of race, gender or ethnicity. This process, according to the author, “allowed feminists to articulate an agenda of equality that unseated nationalist formulations of women’s political roles”. Referring to the case of South Africa, the author argues that women’s demands were made on the grounds of democracy itself rather than the exigencies or internal consistency of national liberation. Another opportunity, as in the case of Latin America, was the opening for negotiations between political parties on a new democratic order, which allowed for the articulation of gender-specific claims. The author describes in detail the process of writing the South African Constitution and the inclusion of a Women’s Charter. Women in all their diversity were mobilized, politicized and consulted widely to identify what they had in common as well as their divergent interests. The Charter campaign was dubbed “big ears”, in reference to growing big ears to reach “the [furthest] corners of our land”, according to Frene Ginwala, Co-Governor of the Women’s National Coalition. At the time of transition, the African National Congress supported the idea of citizenship displacing nationalism as the new political ideal. This was another opportunity for women, given that nation is often used in liberation discourse as a way to keep women’s role subordinate and private (Nira Yuval-Davis, 1997).

36. Hobson, Barbara, ed. *Gender and Citizenship in Transition*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000.

The book examines the shifting definition and importance of citizenship. The assembled authors, writing from a range of backgrounds and perspectives, look at the impact of traditional citizenship on gender roles, gender equality and feminist theorizing. (From the abstract)

37. Hubbard, Dianne and Kaveri Kavari. *Affirmative Action for Women in Local Government in Namibia*. Windhoek: Legal Assistance Centre, June 1993.

This report describes the process through which affirmative action, as stated in the Namibian Constitution post-independence, was enacted in the Local Authorities Act, No. 23, 1992. The policy applied only to the first local authority elections, which were conducted on the basis of party lists. In practice, parties tended to apply the spirit of affirmative action, going beyond the letter of the law; as a result, women candidates were evenly spread among municipalities and evenly distributed among the middle and bottom and, to a lesser degree, the top of the list. This distribution led to a 38 percent representation of women in local government.

38. Hviid, Sofie. *Abuse of religion – Libya’s women’s major challenge*. WoMen Dialogue website. 14 August 2012. Available from www.womendialogue.org/magazine/abuse-religion-greatest-challenge-women-libya/

This article describes what Alaa Murabit sees as the greatest challenge (religion) in the region but, if used correctly, can be women’s greatest strength. To illustrate the point, the author recounts how in February 2012 a small, ‘purple revolution’ swept across Libya. Women wore headscarves in shades and patterns of purple. Men of all ages wore purple ties or scarves to show their support for the campaign, known as Purple Hijab Day. The campaign took up the issues of gender-based violence. Alaa Murabit, founder of the organization behind the campaign, said she has no doubt that using Islam as argument against gender-based violence was the reason for “such a great success”. As she explained to the author, “This meant that we achieved support from a previously unseen source, and it led to the prime minister, for the first time, publicly supporting a campaign against domestic violence.” Murabit described how this experience taught her that to address women’s rights, legislative, political and economic changes must be made. The country’s poor security situation, she added, is being used as an excuse to keep women in the home, and corruption among politicians is so widespread that only the fewest women really see any point in entering politics. Murabit believes real change will begin when the young women who have experienced the revolution graduate out of the education system. “They will have the courage and the desire to throw themselves into politics because they have seen that women, despite the odds being against them, can make a difference if they stand united,” she said.

39. Ilkcaracan, Pinar. *The “Turkish model”: for whom? An Interview with Deniz Kandiyoti*. openDemocracy website, 15 April 2012. Available from www.opendemocracy.net/5050/pinar-ilkcaracan/turkish-model-for-whom.

Referring to the positive experience of Turkey’s Penal Code in 2004, Pinar Ilkcaracan explains in the Q&A how the Justice and Development Party had been clawing back the gains made on the Penal Code in favour of women’s rights – using amendments. She stresses that the women’s movement never stopped exerting pressure to protect women’s rights and is now concentrating on four priority areas: women’s labour force participation; political representation; combating violence against women; and the reform of the Constitution to ensure gender equality. Ilkcaracan concludes her interview by saying, “We call on world citizens, the EU and the UN to support feminist movements in the region, who will definitely be major actors for democratization in the Middle East, rather than concentrating on the misleading notion of a ‘Turkish model’”.

40. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. *Democratization in Indonesia: An Assessment*. 16 November 2000. Available from www.idea.int/publications/country/upload/full_book-2.pdf.

This is a comprehensive assessment of Indonesia’s transition to democracy that covers: constitutionalism and the rule of law; regional autonomy; civil military relations; civil society; and gender. The as-

assessment highlights that gender issues have been marginalized in the Indonesian context. The main recommendation of the assessment is that a 'reform' of gender relations is essential for the long-term sustainability of the democratic transition and its consolidation, and the earlier such an agenda of reform is embarked upon, the better it will be for the process. "But the challenges are so numerous and complex that determining what such an agenda should include is a bewildering task," the report states. (p. 175) "The major debates over women's rights, including equal access to employment, equal pay and access to education, have been concluded in many countries. Indonesia, however, is still at the stage where women's rights and entitlements under the law are being negotiated. It is a long and difficult process." (p. 200)

41. International Training Programme for Conflict Management. Female agency in the Yemeni transition. Yemen-iaty website, 3 April 2013.

The article starts by discussing how for the first time for over two decades, Yemeni women defied deep rooted traditions. A number of speculations came out of that, with some people asking: "What do women want from their Revolution?" The National Dialogue that started in March 2013 includes women (19 percent) who are advocating both for their parties as well as for women more broadly. Asking whether women are positioning themselves as feminists or as politicians in the National Dialogue, the author comes to the conclusion that any hope for gender equality will rely on whether women can lobby for their rights outside politics.

42. Jahnert, Gabriele and others, eds. *Gender in Transition in Eastern and Central Europe Proceedings*. Berlin: Trafo Verlag, 2001. Available from www.trafoberlin.de/3-89626-326-9.htm/.

This volume is a compilation of work based on the Gender in Transition conference at the Centre for Interdisciplinary Women's Studies, Humboldt University, in Berlin, to celebrate its tenth anniversary. The introduction explains how ten years after socialism collapsed in Eastern and Central Europe, the impact of transformation on gender relationships remains largely unexplored, leaving thus "the pressing need to fill the research void". The contributions to this book, as described in the introduction, reflect the diverse national situations and considerable differences in the pace of transformation and in the economic and political priorities set by the various former socialist countries. The assembled pieces address: i) the differences and common factors in the post-socialist states; ii) the processes that can reconstruct (construct) 'nationality' with the help of specific gender images and stereotypes; iii) the potential and also limitations of feminist theories, while asking how far developments in the transformation societies of Eastern and Central Europe can exert a reverse impact on the evolution of (Western) theory; and iv) the institutionalization of gender and women's studies in post-socialist countries and the need to promote this process.

43. Jaquette, Jane S. *Women and Democracy: Past, Present, Future*. Paper presented at a Democracy seminar at Stanford University, 25 May 2000. http://democracy.stanford.edu/Seminar/Jaquette_Women_Democracy.htm

With the exception of women in post-communist regimes, the author points out in her paper that there is considerable consistency among different regions and countries in terms of the role women had in their country's transitions to democracy. The picture of women's role in the politics of democratic 'consolidation', however, is more complex. It is often the case that during that phase, political parties tend to reassert their power, and women's movements are replaced by NGOs and a variety of grass-roots organizations geared to specific issues. "The room for expanding women's representation and for sustaining a political focus on women's issues has varied widely and is dependent on economic, historical and cultural factors as well as the effect of changing international norms," posits the author. She cites several factors that could strengthen women's position and gender equality: i) the

existence of a critical mass of women in key institutions (such as national legislators); ii) the women's movement addresses 'second-generation' reforms, such as the rule of law, police and judicial reform, increased inequalities, education weaknesses and endemic violence; and iii) the realization among party leaders of the importance of the women's vote.

44. Jaquette, Jane S. and Sharon L. Wolchik, eds. *Women and Democracy: Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

The contributions from several authors in this book highlight the political experiences of women in Latin America and Eastern and Central Europe as two regions that have moved from authoritarian to democratic regimes. While women's roles and attitudes in the two regions may appear similar, the book overall makes the case that the differences are notable. In Latin America, explains one of the contributors, women are more politicized and organize their efforts to obtain rights, recognition and equity. In contrast, the women of former communist societies in Eastern and Central Europe seem disenchanted by their years under an ideology that promoted equality for women. Examining the various political roles of women as they learn to participate in the political process, the contributors offer important new insights into democratic consolidation and point to the need for greater attention to the role of women in political processes.

45. Kadry, Ahmed. *Egypt's male feminist*. openDemocracy website, 22 July 2013. Available from www.opendemocracy.net/ahmed-kadry/egypt%E2%80%99s-male-feminists

The writer presents himself as "male, Egyptian and feminist" and remarks that although he may represent a minority in Egypt, it does not mean that the majority is necessarily all misogynists. He writes that men who are engaged in bringing "women's socio-political levels into parity with those of men are on the increase" and argues that gender parity can only be attained if women's rights evolve from a 'women's movement' to a 'national movement'. The writer concludes, "Try to imagine a packed Tahrir Square chanting not for the removal of Mubarak or Morsi, but men and women standing shoulder to shoulder demanding that the personal status laws be abolished. Male feminists are out there, some willing or less willing to openly state it, as well as many more waiting to be educated."

46. Kandiyoti, Deniz. *Disquiet and despair: the gender sub-texts of the 'Arab spring'*, openDemocracy website, 26 June 2012. Available from www.opendemocracy.net/5050/deniz-kandiyoti/disquiet-and-despair-gender-sub-texts-of-arab-spring.

The article examines the worrying prospects of women's rights in post-Arab Spring regimes, attributing the diminishing is not only due to the rise of political Islam but to complex internal and external influences. Whatever the geopolitical stakes, it is the internal political settlements that will shape the prospects of inclusive democracy, writes Kandiyoti. While uncertainty prevails over the direction of transition, what seems to be clear is that gendered politics will occupy centre stage. The article then explores the following question: In the context of the mixed record of democratic transition on women's rights across the world, where does the Middle East and North Africa region sit when it comes to the "democratic paradox"? To answer the question, Kandiyoti describes what she considers is the effect of "a long process of reconfiguration of State and society, which empowered and entrenched forces that are now best placed to capitalize on democratic openings but unlikely to embrace ideals of inclusive democracy, least of all in the realms of gender justice and equality". With Islamist parties seemingly having no programmes that offer anything different from the neoliberal tenets of preceding regimes, they very early on have obsessively focused on gender issues and the position of women. This focus acts as a diversion that obfuscates the paucity of credible political programmes in successor regimes and is played up on the assumption that there is a populist consensus around "keeping women in their places". This endeavour, Kandiyoti argues, is made easy by

the history of women's equality in countries like Egypt and Tunisia, which enlisted women's issues to serve as a 'democratic' fig-leaf for dictatorial regimes. The writer explains that this is thus used to justify "clamping down on women's rights with reference to a 'cleansing' operation that returns gender relations to their authentically national or Islamically sanctioned forms [and] can find more resonance across the political spectrum and unite politicians on the left and right as they attempt to score populist points off their rivals". The article concludes by referring to the example of Iran in which three decades of the politicization of women's issues has produced a democratic opposition receptive to gender equality.

47. Kandiyoti, Deniz. Fear and fury: women and post-revolutionary violence. openDemocracy website, 14 January 2013. Available from www.opendemocracy.net/author/deniz-kandiyoti.

The main argument of this article centres on challenging the notion that the post-Arab Spring violence against women is a "routine manifestation of patriarchy and its allied misogyny". Using examples of violence in public spaces against women in Tunisia and in Egypt, in cases in which perpetrators of such violence were members of the police and the military, Kandiyoti points out that they were most likely to be let off lightly. The writer believes these acts of violence constituted political rather than misogynist acts, with the aim to intimidate activists. In response, women, joined by some men, organized themselves into anti-abuse vigilante groups. Referring to violent incidents ranging from harassment to rape to murder, both in the domestic and public spheres in India and in Turkey, Kandiyoti asks, "Is patriarchy in action or is patriarchy in crisis?" She advances an interesting proposition that she calls "masculinist restoration", a new phenomenon that "comes into play at the point when patriarchy-as-usual is no longer fully secure and requires higher levels of coercion and the deployment of more varied ideological state apparatuses to ensure its reproduction".

48. Krause, Wanda. *Civil Society and Women Activists in the Middle East: Islamic and Secular Organizations in Egypt*. London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012.

This book analyses the changes that occurred in Egypt after the 2011 uprising that challenged the assumption that the State was accorded complete supremacy, with 'society' as a separate, powerless entity. Krause explores what she considers as a dynamic potential for political change from the bottom up; she examines the influential role of women's private voluntary organizations in Egypt in shaping the concepts of civil society and democracy. She contemplates both secular and "Islamist" organizations and offers a steadfast critique of the view that Islamic women activists are insignificant, 'backward', or 'uncivil'. The book consists of the following chapters: Women in Egyptian civil society; Civil society and political participation in the Middle East; Key issues for struggle: Poverty and marginalization; Practical considerations for methodology and fieldwork; and the Islamic and secular as means of participation.

49. Krause, Wanda. Tunisian women and democracy. Agoravox website, 9 March 2011. Available from www.agoravox.fr/actualites/international/article/les-femmes-tunisiennes-et-la-90164

In this article, Krause expresses hope for a transition to democracy that will protect women's rights simply because there is fertile ground for such a process to occur. She points to the fact that, despite the lack of a multiparty system in Tunisia, everyday life has for decades been inspired by democratic and personal freedom principles. Also since the republic's first presidency of Habib Bourguiba (1957–1987), women's social status has been strengthened due to progressive foundations of gender equality. Over the past few decades, both the political and economic spheres have been marked by high levels of women's participation. All this should keep women's rights in good stead, especially because the new Constitution is not expected to take away from the rights women have achieved to date.

50. Matland, Richard E. Enhancing women's political participation: legislative recruitment and electoral systems. In *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, Julie Ballington and Azza Karam, eds. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 1998, pp. 93–111.

This chapter analyses strategies that can be used to overcome obstacles to the political participation of women, focusing on the legislative recruitment process and the impact of electoral systems. It concludes with a summary of the following lessons for expanding women's representation: women organizing themselves inside and outside political parties; changing the electoral system is only one part of a more comprehensive strategy for improving women's representation; parties setting clear rules for candidate selection remove room for ignoring the rules; proportional representation systems in the long run are better than majority systems for increasing women's representation.

51. Moghadam, Valentine M. Engendering democracy: women and the mass social protests in the Middle East and North Africa. Nonviolent Initiative for Democracy website, 24 March 2011. Available from www.nidemocracy.org/en/publications/engendering-democracy-women-and-the-mass-social-protests-in-the-middle-east-and-north-africa/.

This article examines the prospects for democratizing that Arab countries in transition have in light of their individual contexts and the experiences of other countries globally that went through similar transitions (such as Latin America and Eastern Europe). The author writes that women were able to achieve gains where they had organized both as feminists and as democrats and allied themselves with left-wing parties and made greater connections to world polity. She also adds that liberal democracy "is not necessarily women-friendly" and this is particularly the case in the Middle East where governments have implemented neoliberal economic reforms with limited political reforms. She criticizes how democracy is only implemented at the level of procedures, while democracy is multifaceted and a process that takes place at the level of "the family, in the community, at the workplace, in the economy, in civil society and in the polity". (p. 3) The article concludes that women's and feminists' demands for meeting women's rights contributes to democratization and that "democracy needs women if it is to be inclusive, representative and enduring". (p. 5) The author notes that feminists in the Middle East and North Africa region are aware of the harm that may result from a focus on electoral politics without strong institutional and legal framework for women's civil, political and social rights of citizenship.

52. Molyneux, Maxine. Mobilization without emancipation? Women's interests, the state and revolution in Nicaragua. *Feminist Studies*, vol. 11, No. 2, 1985.

This is a seminal article that captures the experience of how, directly after women's participation in the Nicaraguan struggle, their specific interests were subordinated to the broader goals of establishing a new social order. (p. 229) Molyneux arrives at her conclusion that, as in the case of other States that pursued socialist development policies, there was support to women's demands for emancipation but only as far as it contributed to wider revolutionary goals. It was the State's view of women's emancipation as a necessary element for economic development that led to legal reforms in women's favour, such as access to land and the politicization of domestic labour. The article gives insight into the specific conditions that may lead to the inclusion of women's interests, in this case in the State's instrumental goals.

53. Molyneux, Maxine. Analysing women's movements. In *Feminist Visions of Development: Gender Analysis and Policy*, Cecile Jackson and Ruth Pearson, eds. London and New York: Routledge, 1998.

In the relatively new conditions of the return to democracy in many developing world States, feminists have contemplated forms of association and alliances with broader political forces. This entails a

shared commitment to an agenda that transcends and encompasses particularistic interest through reassessing and reframing the priorities of the normative social order. (pp. 83–84). It also provides an assessment of the place of women’s movements in the contemporary politics of citizenship.

54. Mos’aad, Nevine. So that it does not become a revolution against Mubarak and against women. *Al-Shorouk* (in Arabic), 26 April 2012.

“It seems that it is now inevitable that every woman in Egypt has to raise [her] voice every now and then to warn society that she also has a share in the main demands of the revolution—livelihood, freedom and dignity”, begins this article. The writer contends that while there might be many differences between the nature and contexts of the different Arab revolutions, the one thing in common is that they share a strong anti-women’s rights wave. The writer cites examples of how this attack on women has manifested in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya and Yemen. Increased cases of sexual harassment of women in street demonstrations as well as across the country post-revolution in Egypt illustrate, for instance, one of the ways women have been targeted. The article concludes with a call to all women and men who are aware of how *nahda* (cultural awakening) of the nation cannot take place with only half of its population and to rely on the Azhar (Egyptian Islamic University) for its support in upholding moderate religious notions that recognize women’s rights to full citizenship.

55. Myakayaka-Manzini, Mavivi. Women empowerment: women in parliament in South Africa. In *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, Julie Ballington and Azza Karam, eds. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 1998, pp. 175–189

The chapter recounts the post-Apartheid gains for women, specifically the drastic increase from a 2.8 percent female representation in Parliament under apartheid to 25 percent post-1994. It talks of the critical role women had in drafting the Constitution as well as women’s rights achieved in terms of access to housing, water, justice, local government, trade and industry. It also explains the ‘women’s budget’ processes. Legislative initiatives highlighted include the protection of women as agriculture workers and equity in childcare benefits and welfare for the old. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission also provided free legal aid for women in need.

56. Ni Aolain, Fionnuala. Political violence and gender during times of transition. *Columbia Journal of Gender and Law* [only the abstract], 2006. Available from www.questia.com/read/1G1-151440575/political-violence-and-gender-during-times-of-transition

In times of transition, calls for accountability attempt to define the forms of political violence that should be addressed by various formal and informal mechanisms, such as trials and other truth-seeking processes. This paper examines the multiple ways in which transitional justice processes have conceptualized political violence and the extent to which, when the examination of violence is gendered, this might have led to a more gendered transition.

57. Omar, Manal. Women in Libya and the Arab spring. Center for Conflict Management, U.S. Institute of Peace, April 2011. Available from www.huffingtonpost.com/manal-omar/arab-spring-libya-women_b_1076873.html/.

This report reflects the testimony of the author, who is the director of programmes on Iraq, Iran and North Africa for the United States Institute of Peace, to the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the role of women in the Arab Spring, focusing on Libya. The author describes how women “carved out a space” for their participation in the revolution and how women travelled with men to the front-lines to form makeshift kitchens, position themselves inside Gaddafi strongholds, smuggled guns and information and nursed the injured, while Libyan women in the diaspora returned to provide technical assistance to the newly formed National Transition Council. After the ousting of Gaddafi,

women's roles became restricted to the humanitarian space and away from the political process, as described by civil society activists. This led to the collective message from Libyan women across the country: "They would not let this happen". The author then cites a number of constraints women face: i) In terms of political representation, Libyan women are hesitant about becoming part of the political process without a guaranteed safe and enabling environment; several Libyan women had emphasized that under Gaddafi's regime, sexual harassment was part and parcel of any promotion in the political system. ii) Although they are in respected professions, such as doctors, engineers, lawyers and university professors, women are underrepresented in the labour market. The author advises that "the expansion of employment opportunities for women will be a key factor in the stabilization of the country. At the same time, the issue of sexual violence and the use of rape as a tool of war in Libya is one that cannot be emphasized enough. In addition to the trauma this has created for the victims and their family, it has added another layer to the already complex need for reconciliation across the country. Libyan women will struggle with these challenges for a long time to come."

58. Paidar, Parvin. Gender of democracy: The encounter between feminism and reformism in contemporary Iran. In *Gender Justice, Development and Rights*, Maxine Molyneux and Shahra Razavi, eds. Oxford Studies in Democratization. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

The author discusses how the Islamic Republic has "facilitated the development of an Islamist women's movement, but again under the control of the Islamic patriarchal State (Paidar, 1995, p. 240). Despite the limited nature of democracy and democratic rights, women used all available avenues to enact their citizenship (p. 245). Women's electoral participation played an important role in shifting the power in favour of reform and change (in the 1980s). Another impressive achievement by women is in education—female literacy went from 36 percent in 1976 to 80 percent by 1999, with similar increases in higher education. The author highlights the importance of the emergence of what she refers to as "pragmatic feminism", which cuts across secularism and Islamism and builds across or recognizes differences in order to build across diversities.

59. Peoples, Fatima Mareah. Street harassment in Cairo: a symptom of disintegrating social structures. *The African Anthropologist*, vol. 15, Nos. 1&2, 2008, pp. 1–20.

This paper describes, defines and contextualizes street harassment as a social phenomenon and the social factors that provoked it in the first place. The author argues that historically in Egypt, patriarchy was not only fundamental in defining gender relations within the private family sphere but also for demarcating movement and participation in the public domain. In the context of high rates of unemployment among men, the author sees harassment as indicative of the frustration and difficulties adhering to cultural ideals in a time of structural transformations. "These transformations have impaired Egyptian males' ability to fulfil their traditional role as economic providers, something which has resulted in their lack of achievement and de-masculization," the author writes. (p. 1) She further explains that because of those men's difficulties in achieving masculinity through work and establishing families, "public space becomes an important arena [that] allows for alternative forms of masculine affirmation." (p. 16) As a response to the increase in incidence of sexual harassment, women's groups have initiated a Cairo-based campaign, advocating for the criminalization of street harassment. However, the author argues, while criminalization may deter some men from harassing, such interventions do not address the root causes of the phenomenon. (p. 17)

60. Radcliff, Pamela. Citizens and housewives: the problem of female citizenship in Spain's transition to democracy. *Journal of Social History*, 2002. Available from www.thefreelibrary.com/Citizens+and+housewives%3a+the+problem+of+female+citizenship+in+Spain%27s...-a092587330.

The paper examines a context in which the relationship between women and citizenship has been

contentious in the Western European liberal and democratic tradition. It explores the tensions and contradictions around the relationship between women and citizenship during the transition to a new democratic regime in Spain in the 1970s, focusing on the category of female citizen, which the author says has always been problematic, “torn between the universal language of citizenship and the ‘difference’ associated with women”. Periods of political and social transition, the author writes, “offer a fertile space for the (re)construction of citizenship practices and ideals. At these moments, individuals’ relationships to the State and to each other can be questioned and sometimes re-negotiated. As a result, such transitions provide an ideal context for the historical analysis of how citizenship practices and ideals are created, contested and imagined.” (From the abstract)

61. Raouf Ezzat, Heba and Ahmed Mohammed Abdalla. *Towards an Islamically democratic secularism*. In *Faith and Secularism*, Rosemary Bechler, ed. The British Council, 2004, pp. 32–54.

This contribution critiques democratic secularism and views both secularism and democracy as myths. The chapter challenges the notion of the separation of the State from religion as the only pathway for Arab and Muslim countries to achieve modernization and progress. In “exposing the myths of secularism”, the authors argue that secularism is more than just the separation of the church from the State and that the real task is to “balance the relationship between the two in the most effective way”. (p. 35) In dealing with the relationship between the State and religion, the authors tackle three primary ‘myths’: the historical myth, the sociological myth and the democratic myth. They then call for an open debate about what they argue is a more sophisticated understanding of “the role and limitations of religion in the public sphere, one that tries to see where and how it can become a constructive force in active citizenship and civility in general”. (p. 40) Through an analysis of the elements that could help shape what the authors define as “Islamic secularism” as an orientation, they explore the relevance of Islam in the matrix of the public and private spheres. “In some spaces, Islam will express itself as a moral ethos, while in others it has a legal contribution to make, and in a third category, it can become a vehicle for social change by inspiring social movements for peace, social justice or the liberation of women,” they write. (p. 46). The authors conclude, “If Islam could once more be recognized for what it is—a legitimate root of the imaginary of humanist egalitarianism—we can construct a different future; a future that would be counter to unjust hegemony and extremism.” (p. 54)

62. Razavi, Shahra. *Islamic politics, human rights and women’s claim for equality in Iran*. In *The Politics of Rights—Dilemmas for Feminist Praxis*, Andrea Cornwall and Maxine Molyneux, eds. London and New York: Routledge, 2008.

After a review of the situation of women under the Islamic regime in Iran, the author in this collected work describes the emergence of the “voice of reform” and Islamic feminists and a turn to human rights. The proponents of the rights-based perspective include a group referred to as “religious intellectuals” who want to reconcile Islam with the discourse of human rights, democracy and gender equality and a group of Islamic feminists who gained prominence during the 1980s and the 1990s, both inside and outside the Parliament. (p. 53) After the 2003 elections, the reformists lost their dominance to the conservatives, and a handful of conservative women won the elections, reverting back to the early 1980’s interpretation of Islamic womanhood. The author concludes that whether the reformist movement and the feminist currents within it will recover remains to be seen and is dependent upon a number of internal and global dynamics, including the fight over Iran’s nuclear capabilities. (p. 61)

63. Robinson, Kathryn. *Gender, Islam and Democracy in Indonesia*. Asian Studies Association of Australia, Women in Asia Series. London and New York: Routledge, 2008.

This book explores the relationship between gender, religion and political action in Indonesia. It ex-

amines the patterns of “gender orders” that have prevailed in recent history, demonstrating the different forms of social power this has afforded to women. The book describes the participation of women in Indonesia’s contemporary history. It analyses in detail the gender-based relations of the transition to the authoritarian New Order regime, focusing on the unitary family form of the New Order ideology of economic liberalization and opening up to foreign capital and ideas, and the contradictory implications of this on gender relations. The book analyses “the forms of political activism that were possible for the women’s movement under the New Order, and the role it played in the fall of Suharto and the transition to democracy. The relationship between Islam and women in Indonesia is also addressed, with particular focus on the way in which Islam became a critical focus for political dissent in the late New Order period”. (From the abstract)

64. Rojas, Ines Nayhari. *Women and the democratic state: agents of gender policy reform in the context of regime transition in Venezuela (1970–2007)*. *Political Science Dissertations, Paper 10*. 2009. Available from http://digitalarchive.gsu.edu/political_science_diss/10/.

This dissertation examines the process of state gender policy reform over time in Venezuela. The author analysed state policy changes in gender issues during specific periods of the Punto Fijo era (1958–1998), characterized as those of democratic consolidation and deconsolidation, and during the transition towards a new type of democracy in the Chávez era (1999–2007). The policies included those addressing women’s equality at home and at work, reproductive rights, women’s economic rights and political participation. The analysis demonstrates that gender policy reform by the State depends on particular conditions, such as the degree of opening institutions and on the combination of certain configurations of state institutions and elite interests. The capacity of women’s groups to influence state gender policy change “depends on their organizational capacity as well as the institutional opportunities provided by changes in state structures, elite interests and allies of the movement”. (From the abstract)

65. Royal Tropical Institute (The Netherlands) and Oxfam (GB). *Gender, Citizenship and Governance: A Global Sourcebook. Critical Reviews and Annotated Bibliography Series*. 2004.

This volume includes a very good annotated bibliography on citizenship and governance in general and not specifically on transition.

66. Ruta, Claudia. *Gender Politics in Transition: Women’s Political Rights after the January 25 Revolution*. Based on an MA dissertation, The American University in Cairo, forthcoming.

[Requires permission from the author]

This work looks at the development of women’s political roles and rights before and after the Egyptian revolution.

67. Shakir, Wameedh, Mia Marzouk and Saleem Haddad. *Strong Voices: Yemeni Women’s Political Participation from Protest to Transition*. Saferworld, May 2012.

This is a comprehensive report on women in Yemen and their participation in the protests of 2011. It was produced “to understand the dynamics and impact of women’s involvement in the protests, to assess the priorities of women in the transition period, and to hear first-hand about ways in which local, national and international policies can best support the political participation of women in Yemen”. (p. i) In the many interviews and consultations, women in Aden, Sa’ada, Sana’a and Ta’iz explained they see their participation as part of a wider struggle against broader systems of oppression and political, social and economic inequalities. The women agreed there had been few, if any, tangible political gains, but “they were unanimous in feeling that they had gained immensely from a moral and social perspective, increasing their self-confidence and self-belief, not just socially, but also po-

litically". Some women were angry at the Sana'a-based political parties and elites who they thought had attempted to speak on behalf of all Yemenis. The report recommends: support opportunities for a united voice for women, but recognize and respect regional differences; encourage new and emerging women's voices from among political parties and young activists, through networking and capacity-building initiatives; work at the local level to sensitize authorities towards women's participation and to encourage women's participation and representation in local councils; work with men to support women by raising awareness and advocating for just and equal laws and policies for all; and undertake further research, particularly with women whose views are not often heard, and ensure there is feedback. (p. ii)

68. Taher, Nadia. "We are not women, we are Egyptians": spaces of protest and representation. openDemocracy website, 6 April 2012. Available from www.opendemocracy.net/5050/nadia-taher/we-are-not-women-we-are-egyptians-spaces-of-protest-and-representation

This article focuses on the spaces in which women asserted their public presence during the Egyptian revolution, revealing a great deal about how changes in power relations between women and men can contribute to the transformative potential of the revolution. Key moments and episodes reflecting shifting identities of women and men in spaces of protest and representation are examined to shed light on the transformational potential and limitations of the revolution. As many agree, the revolution has not as yet delivered, and there is still a long struggle ahead. The gains and losses of women, in the many episodes highlighted in the article, reflect in many ways the gains and losses of the revolution. Like men, women were attacked as revolutionaries but also as women. "Like men they pushed new boundaries at great risk, but they also pushed different boundaries with their own risks and consequences," writes Taher. The article concludes with questions: "Can the revolutionaries work towards 'dignity, freedom, social justice and livelihoods' without transforming power relations, including gender relations? Are not some men willing to challenge patriarchy so that they are neither oppressor nor oppressed? Are women revolutionaries creating new spaces, new ways of challenging existing power relations and even creating a new feminism (even if they might be unwilling to call it that)? Are women revolutionaries more able to work in new ways with the men with whom they shared that special space in the Square?"

69. Tahmasebi, Sussan. A civil society-led revolution? Promoting civil society and women's rights in the Middle East. In *The Unfinished Revolution: Voices from the Global Fight for Women's Rights*, Minky Worden, ed. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2012.

Ironically, this paper points out, the democracy advocates who should be allies to those working to advance women's rights are often those working against them. The author explains how the views of progressive women are excluded from discussions regarding the future of countries in political transition. "We are cautioned that demanding gender equality early on would be divisive and that we would be better off focusing our energy on the demand for broader democracy," states one woman. (p. 66) The author contends that women's equality must be seen as a prerequisite and not subordinate to achieving democracy. She highlights how female human rights activists in post-revolution Egypt and Tunisia have been accused of alignment with dictators and/or of advocating a Western agenda not in line with Sharia law. The article concludes with a proposal that the only way that women's rights proponents will achieve their aims is by learning from other experiences, consolidating the movement from inside, engaging with the public to influence culture and thinking, sharing visions of equality and by making alliances regionally and internationally.

70. Taleb, Sara. La femme est-elle toujours l'égal de l'homme en Tunisie? (Is a woman still the equal of a man in Tunisia?). Slate Afrique website. 17 August 2012. Available in French from www.slateafrique.com/92845/revue-de-presse-tunisie-complementarite.

This article recounts how the ruling party Ennahda submitted a proposal to the Constitutional Assembly to change the phrase "equality between women and men" to "complementarity between women and men". To protest against what they saw as a reversal of their citizenship status, thousands of Tunisian women demonstrated with their husbands and children. Ennahda then announced that equality was never questioned because "it was mentioned in the Koran" and should never become a point of political conflict. The author comments that even though this crisis was ignited and put down very quickly, it is still an indication of the level of mistrust and division between the Islamists and democratic forces.

71. Tobar, Marcelo Rios. Paradoxes of an unfinished transition: Chilean feminism(s) in the nineties. Centro de Estudios Miguel Enriquez, 2001. Available from www.archivochile.com/Mov_sociales/mov_mujeres/MSmovmujeres0026.pdf

Paradoxically in Chile as in other countries in the region, the elimination of repressive measures imposed by dictatorships ultimately opened up political opportunities but in the short term restricted the space of civil society and collective action within it. The paper analyses how the feminist movement or groups within it were depoliticized and co-opted by the State, resulting in the dilution of the pressure of some feminist and other civil society organizations to push for more consolidated democratization, but which then opened opportunity for the conservative forces to revert women's achievements.

72. Viterna, Jocelyn and Kathleen M. Fallon. Democratization, women's movements and gender-equitable states: a framework for comparison. *American Sociological Review*, vol. 73, No. 4, 2008, pp. 668–689.

This paper develops a theoretically grounded comparative framework to examine cross-national variations in the gender outcomes of democratic transitions. The framework highlights four factors: the context of the transition, the legacy of women's previous mobilization, political parties and international influences. To evaluate whether a State has become more "women friendly" with democratization, the authors include a number of elements to examine: changes in institutional foundations, including the constitution; laws passed since democratization; the formal organizational structures established to address gender inequalities; the system for placing individuals in power; women's representation (such as in parliament); access to political decision makers; and the receptivity of the State to women's movements and how it responds to their desired policy changes. By applying the framework to four case studies (Argentina, South Africa, Ghana and El Salvador), the authors conclude that women's movements are most effective at targeting democratizing States when transitions are complete, when women's movements develop cohesive coalitions, when the ideology behind the transition (rather than the ideology of the winning regime) aligns easily with feminist frames and when women's past activism legitimates present-day feminist demands. These findings challenge the current conceptualizations of how democratic transitions affect gender in state institutions and provide a comparative framework for evaluating variation across additional cases.

73. Walby, Sylvia. Gender, globalisation and democracy. In *Gender and Development*, vol. 8, No. 1. March 2000.

In this article, Walby contends there are two factors behind the rise in women's election to parliament: one is the increase in women's economic power and the other is women's political struggle. The latter does not only refer to specific national struggles but to regional and global political alliances. While

critical of some aspects of globalization, Walby believes that democratization is a political movement that is not confined to nation States but also to global political contexts and thus produces new opportunities for feminist politics.

74. Watson, Peggy. Eastern Europe's silent revolution: gender. *Sociology*, August vol. 27, 1993, pp. 471–487.

This paper asserts that the transformation of the relationship between public and private spheres are at the heart of the process of change in Eastern Europe. The exclusion of women and the degrading of feminine identity is seen as “not contingent to, but rather a fundamentally constitutive feature of, the democratization of Eastern Europe”. This view contrasts with existing accounts of social transition, which focused exclusively on the reconstruction of the public sphere. The paper describes and analyses the changing nature of patriarchy in Eastern Europe and examines the reasons why such changes have as yet not met with serious feminist challenge. It highlights the way in which the formal structures of state socialism acted to foster neo-traditionalism and traditional gender identity. Drawing on historical comparisons, it argues that Eastern Europe’s “silent revolution may in fact be seen as a dramatic illustration of the ‘masculinism’ at the heart of Western democracy”.

75. Waylen, Georgina. Women and democratization: conceptualizing gender relations in transition politics. *World Politics*, vol. 46, No. 3, April 1994, pp. 327–354

This is a seminal article on the centrality of gender relations in democratic transitions. It presents a strong argument that comparative politics can only be improved by the creation of a framework that analyses the interplay between gender relations and democratization. Waylen starts with a critique of the orthodox literature and why it is flawed, and then examines gender issues, focusing on women’s movements and the key role they contribute to democratization. Questions are then raised to develop a framework for analysis concerning the role women have in the process of transition and the impact of transition on gender relations. The questions examine the nature of the transition itself, the nature of the women’s movements (internal characteristics) and the nature of the relationship between the women’s movement and the process of transition within the “external characteristics” of the context. Using this framework, Waylen explains the important role of women’s movements in Latin America as compared with the minimal role in Eastern Europe. In Latin America, she argues, the absence of conventional politics under authoritarian regimes created space for women to press for their demands. Women’s movements were therefore among the first protestors to engage in the resurrection of civil society and the breakdown of authoritarian regimes. In Central and Eastern Europe, the same degree of political space did not exist due to the more concerted suppression of civil society by the State. However, even in Latin America, engagement in transition in the early stages did not guarantee any particular role in the outcome, and the women movements became increasingly marginalized. At later stages, during the period of consolidation, some women (especially among the middle class) found a place for themselves among the political elite. Through her analysis of the different transition contexts, the Waylen points out that the speed of transition is an important factor, arguing that a slower transition (as was the case in Brazil) allows women’s movements to organize and influence the outcomes of transition. Waylen stresses that the understanding of the complex process of transition requires a wider analysis that considers both the relationship between social movements and civil society as well as a democratization process that includes attention to social and economic rights in addition to political ones.

76. Waylen, Georgina. *Gender and Democratic Politics: A Comparative Analysis of Consolidation in Argentina and Chile*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

In this book, Waylen believes that to examine the issue of women and democratic consolidation in

Latin America, the analysis must start by focusing on the terms of transition that affect the nature of the subsequent system and the space available to different actors. She cites what are considered significant characteristics of the post-transition system: the impact of more arbitrary populist or presidential systems, the nature of women's organizations and their position both inside and outside the state and party systems and the existence of an institutionalized party system and their ideological positions. Through this analytical framework, applied to the cases of Chile and Argentina, Waylen finds: i) In Argentina, Carlos Menem began his period in office by appearing to be pro-women's rights and established the Consejo (National Council) by presidential decree. However, by the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing, he was taking a more pro-Vatican line and subsequently withdrew the programme. By contrast, the position of the National Women's Service (SERNAMEC) in Chile (to promote equality between men and women) appears more secure in part because it was established after pressure from women's rights activists and by law rather than presidential decree. ii) In both countries, a number of women's groups, primarily middle class and feminist NGOs that often had contacts already with the State and the political class, came together to form broad umbrella groupings to lobby the political system more effectively. This finding, says Waylen, goes against what has been a critique of the 'NGOization' of the women's movement in Chile and Argentina. iii) The Chilean case demonstrates that although some party systems may resist change, women activists both inside and outside the parties can exert pressure more effectively on an institutionalized party system than on a weak party system. However, in the Argentine case, a relatively laxer discipline of less institutionalized party structures allowed for more cross-party organizing by women. This, Waylen stresses, points to the diversity of opportunities that different political systems may offer.

77. Waylen, Georgina. *Engendering Transitions: Women's Mobilization, Institutions and Gender Outcomes*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

This book analyses the process of the 'third wave' of democratization (from the mid-1970s), using empirical material drawn from eight case study countries in East Central Europe and Latin America as well as South Africa. Here Waylen explores the gender constraints and opportunities provided by the processes of democratization and economic restructuring. She examines actors and institutions, showing the conditions under which democracy can result in some positive gender outcomes. These include improvements in women's political representation and more gender-sensitive policy in such areas as domestic violence.

78. Waylen, Georgina. Constitutional engineering: what opportunities for the enhancement of gender rights? In *The Politics of Rights: Dilemmas for Feminist Praxis*, Andrea Cornwall and Maxine Molyneux, eds. London and New York: Routledge, 2008.

In this chapter, Waylen examines how public participation in the writing of constitutions in countries in transition to democracy rather than constitutions "written behind closed doors" may offer opportunities to enhance women's rights. She draws on evidence from 'third wave' transition-to-democracy countries—Argentina, Brazil, Poland and South Africa. The example of Brazil as a success in terms of gender equality goes back to alliances that were formed among a broad spectrum of women's groups using a wide strategic "repertoire" of electoral, bureaucratic, legal and constitutional strategies. (p. 46) Waylen analyses the process by which Argentina, Brazil and South Africa succeeded, to various degrees, in enshrining gender rights in their new respective constitutions. (p. 41) In the case of Poland, the constitutional process was led by the European Union and the emphasis was on the economic chapter, neglecting gender issues. (p. 43)

79. Yacoubi, Imen. At the crossroads of democratic transitions: why it is not yet spring for women. Gender Across Borders website, 17 February 2012. Available from www.genderacrossborders.com/2012/02/17/at-the-crossroads-of-democratic-transitions-why-it-is-not-yet-spring-for-women/

The author begins this article observing that “present on the frontlines, women shift into being invisible though instrumental in the major political discourses during periods of transition”. This raises two fundamental questions: What are the reasons for this transformation from participation into invisibility? And what does it say about the future of gender reform in the region? Discussing the case of Egypt and particularly Tunisia, the author argues that the existing patterns of gender reform seem to have failed in contexts where “poverty becomes rampant, the archaic community structures that are less sensitive to the issue of gender equality are becoming more and more dominant”. However, the article concludes that the way forward for future gender reform suitable for the Arab world requires, above all, to be visionary and to take “a wide step away from political and social polarization”.

V Tables

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