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ENHANCING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL AND PUBLIC LIFE

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Executive Summary

Despite all that women have contributed since 2011, and despite their continued struggle and pursuit of their position in Syrian political decision-making, the political participation of women remains very limited. In fact, it has recently declined significantly with the escalation of violence and the dominance of community dignitaries and traditional structures over political and societal presence, despite the importance of women's political participation on both the rights and political levels. For political participation is a fundamental right that goes beyond the issue of voting, candidacy, and decision-making, and expands to include the ability to influence public policies, government orientations, and decision-making processes at the various political, administrative, and social levels, whether through civil and community initiatives or through mobilization, advocacy, and pressure.

However, despite the expansion of demands and focus by women and female activists on the paramount importance of direct or indirect political participation of women in Syria, this right still suffers from major obstacles that cause systematic marginalization of women, for many reasons including the absence of policies that support the voluntary and safe participation of women, high rates of violence, in addition to a significant deterioration on the economic and security levels, and the multiplicity of forms of violence against women during the stages of the conflict, such as kidnapping, defamation, and various violations. Moreover, the absence of clear mechanisms to guarantee women's rights constitutionally and legally raises further concern about their fair representation.

The exclusion of women not only weakens the democratic transition process, but also threatens opportunities for reaching sustainable peace, and portends the continuation of conflict and the cycle of violence and societal division. Therefore, enhancing the presence of women in politics is a strategic and moral necessity; evidence proves that increased representation of women leads to developments in policy formulation, reflects the priorities of families and marginalized groups, and contributes to deepening and establishing democracy. Women also show a greater tendency to work in a manner less hierarchical and more participatory and cooperative than that of men.

However, the Syrian Constitutional Declaration, although it stipulates political participation directly in many articles, has conversely included articles that allow the interim constitutional authorities to restrict this right and empty it of its content. This directly affects the right to political participation in general, and that of women in particular, as women in those positions become formal authorities that do not, in reality, possess the keys to influence and political decision-making.

Hence, the urgent need emerges for advocacy and consultation with key actors, particularly women, decision-makers, local and international organizations, parties, unions, and independent male and female activists, aiming to identify and analyze the problems that hinder women's contribution and to develop actionable recommendations that contribute to effecting positive change.

Based on these factors, and following the consultations carried out by Dawlaty, the need has emerged to adopt a set of recommendations, which can be worked on and implemented at different levels and sectors, in the medium and long term, to enhance the political participation of women.

The recommendations call for advocating the presence of women in the public sphere, whether in its direct or indirect form, enacting laws that guarantee this right, systematically and effectively mainstreaming political and rights education in educational and university curricula, organizing periodic cultural and political forums and safe spaces for dialogue, encouraging enlightened religious thought through consultation and communication with moderate religious actors and supporting moderate religious discourse that supports women's rights, in addition to the importance of using art and culture to change the stereotypes of women working in the political field, given the influential power that art possesses.

In conclusion, women in Syria constitute a significant economic, political, and societal force, and the continued restriction of their participation delays the process of peacebuilding and democratic transition. Therefore, the call is directed to all Syrian and international actors to ensure fair representation and effective participation of women in this transitional stage, as any transition process that ignores this participation is destined for failure, prolonging conflicts, and the absence of just and sustainable peace.

● **The Problem:**

- The exclusion of women from participation in political decision-making and policy formulation.
- The escalation of violence has reinforced the role of traditional forces in spaces of expression and influence at the expense of women.
- The absence of women from participation weakens opportunities for reaching political stability and building peace.

● **Key Actors:**

- Syrian women: activists, leaders, and victims directly affected by exclusion and violence.
- Syrian men: activists and leaders who support women's rights.
- Local decision-makers: from ministries, political structures, parties, local organizations, and local media.
- The international community and international organizations, committees, and institutions that support citizenship, justice, and human rights.

● **Advocacy Goal:**

To urge local and international actors to ensure effective representation of Syrian women in institutions and structures of influence, and to enhance their participation in political decision-making.

● Key Recommendations:

The recommendations focused on the necessity of supporting local councils, local community structures, and women's economic projects because they may form the nucleus for larger organizations, such as providing organizational and technical support for women's small economic projects, and supporting initiatives and community presence to enhance their role in decision-making at the local level. The recommendations also pointed to the importance of mainstreaming political and rights education for young men and women in educational and university curricula, through artistic and political forums and cultural salons, supporting rights training for youth and students in schools, and advocating for curriculum amendments that contribute to changing the stereotype of women.

The recommendations also focused on the necessity of providing safe spaces for political, cultural, and religious dialogue for women, and ensuring their security through laws that guarantee the protection of women from violence, especially in public spaces, workplaces, and during electoral campaigns, in addition to laws that guarantee the right to political participation, starting with the constitution and passing through a package of laws such as the political parties law, laws related to freedom of opinion, expression, and independent media, the cybercrime law, and laws related to monitoring and accountability for mobilization against women and hate speech and defamation, whether in public discourse, schools, universities, workplaces, or on social media platforms.

In addition to some scattered legal provisions that must be developed and amended, such as the provisions in the Syrian Penal Code related to undermining the prestige of the state, weakening the nation's morale, and spreading despair among citizens, due to the ambiguity and absence of precise criteria in those provisions that prevent their use to spread hate speech by incitement against certain groups under the pretext of threatening national sentiment, or by targeting public freedoms under the pretext of those provisions.

Among the recommendations that the consultations emphasized as important, is the existence of a women's quota in the parliament, the government, law-drafting committees, subcommittees, elected committees, and all formed political structures, and advocating for women already in decision-making centers and women candidates for those positions, through supporting their electoral campaigns and supporting the media appearance of women and feminist political analysis.

The focus was also on the necessity of encouraging enlightened religious thought, communicating with moderate religious actors, and influencing through preachers and religious scholars by encouraging them to use a moderate discourse supportive of women's rights when addressing the public.

In addition to the previous points, we found a necessity to support institutions and organizations advocating for women's rights, to network between them to form pressure and a supportive lobby for women, to work to support small projects and develop vocational training programs for women, to involve men in programs aimed at enhancing women's participation, and to encourage the use of art and culture to mobilize community support and change the stereotypical image, given the wide popular appeal and high ability of art to reach diverse segments of society.

Enhancing Women's Political Participation

Introduction:

Political participation falls within the political rights affirmed by the Universal Declaration and the International Bill of Human Rights. The right to political participation, in its broadest sense, means participation in political and administrative decision-making and control over resources at all levels. It is a direct or indirect behavior, through which an individual plays a role in the political life of their society with the aim of influencing the decision-making process.¹

The concept of women's political participation necessarily means their ability to participate in the electoral process every few years, and includes their right to run for office. However, political participation also includes their active civic engagement aimed at influencing what happens in their country between one election cycle and another.

Political participation also expresses the citizen's will to influence government policy and determine its priorities during its ongoing periodic term.²

Accordingly, it may take another form beyond direct political participation, which is civic participation and initiative, i.e., through various initiatives by individuals, from those aimed at improving the economic, cultural, and social conditions of their areas to advocacy campaigns and pressure groups that pressure the authority or society to improve their conditions or abolish a law or decision related to their public life. Focusing on this type of participation becomes increasingly important in countries emerging from dictatorial rule or civil war, as their citizens have often lost trust in weak and corrupt political forces, and are exhausted by war. This leads people to avoid direct participation, due to disbelief in its usefulness or the absence of incentive and a feeling of fear from participation after long years of discontinuance and exclusion, in addition to weak trust in political leadership and official channels for participation.

1 The Lebanese Democratic Women's Gathering (RDFL), Concepts of Political Participation.

2 Jamil Oda Ibrahim, The Rights of Political Participation, Annabaa.Net.

● **Secondly: Women's Participation in the Syrian Context and Its Obstacles:**

Women in Syria participated in various stages of political life, whether directly or indirectly. Despite the struggle Syrian women have waged to seize their place in influencing and making political decisions, they still suffer from systematic marginalization and a continuing state of reluctance to participate, coupled with fear of media appearance and the absence of feminist political analysis. This is due to a number of reasons and obstacles, the most important of which is the absence of policies that support the voluntary and safe participation of women, in addition to the significant deterioration on the economic and security levels, which has caused a rise in the rate of violence and its multiplicity of forms, such as kidnapping, defamation, and various violations. Furthermore, the absence of clear mechanisms to guarantee women's rights constitutionally and legally raises further concern about their fair representation and their contribution to managing the country and expressing their interests. The Constitutional Declaration in Syria did not stipulate participation in the section on constitutional institutions as they would be formed during the transitional period by appointment. However, although it stipulated political participation directly in many articles, it conversely included articles that allow the interim constitutional authorities to restrict this right and empty it of its content. This directly affects the right to political participation in general, and that of women in particular, especially since women during the years of war worked hard on issues of including and guaranteeing their rights constitutionally.

The generality of the constitutional text regarding the rights and freedoms inherent to political participation in Article 14 opens the door to the violation of those rights. This article (or others) did not guarantee the right to assembly, for example, but rather guaranteed the work of associations and parties in a general form and in accordance with the law. This is an unclear text that may enable the constitutional authorities to restrict the emergence of parties and associations by setting difficult conditions for their formation. On the other hand, the Declaration stated, in Article 3, that Islamic jurisprudence is the primary source of legislation, which may help the legislator restrict the emergence or continuation of parties and associations, and restrict women's rights, as a result of a strict or narrow understanding for jurisprudence.

As for freedom of expression, the Constitutional Declaration stipulated it briefly in Paragraph 1 of Article 13, which stated that the state guarantees freedom of opinion, expression, media, publishing, and the press. The criticism of this text is that it is a general text that did not set any criterion regulating the work of the ordinary legislator when organizing these rights. It would have been better to expand on the details of the right to expression, by stipulating the freedom to receive or disseminate information or ideas, freedom of artistic creativity, freedom of academic thought and scientific research, and the right to access information. The Constitutional Declaration also neglected to set criteria that regulate authority and prevent it from restricting the right to political participation, to prevent the confiscation of freedom of expression under the pretext of protecting other rights on one hand,

and to prevent political participation from turning into a formal situation that shows participants, whether women or men, in decision-making positions while hiding the absence of real power for them in these centers. Therefore, we can say that the Constitutional Declaration, by concentrating powers in the hands of the President of the Republic, neglected to set constraints that restrict authority and prevent it from encroaching on these rights, especially since Article 23 granted state institutions the authority to restrict all rights contained in the Constitutional Declaration to ensure the protection of national security, territorial integrity, public safety, public order, crime prevention, or the protection of public health or morals. Despite the importance of these articles, regulating them is essential to ensure genuine participation in decision-making and influencing it. In the end, the Constitutional Declaration granted the authority absolute ability to restrict rights and freedoms and confiscate the political decision-making process.

In this context, it is necessary to refer to a set of factors affecting the extent and effectiveness of women's presence in public life, such as the ineffectiveness of institutions in expressing women's interests, the shrinking space of legitimate channels to express their priorities and needs, the absence of societal support for women's participation in public affairs, in addition to economic obstacles that cumulatively increase the gap between the economic rights of women and men.

On the other hand, and as Myron Weiner sees it, "A participation crisis can be defined as a conflict that occurs when the governing elite views the demands or behavior of individuals and groups seeking to participate in the political system as illegitimate."¹ Consequently, the prevalence of a culture of non-acceptance of difference, the absence of legal protection and effective confrontation of hate speech and defamation, and the lack of support for female politicians and activists in the public space, allow for justification that legitimize the violence practiced against them.

All of this leads us to pose a legitimate question at this sensitive stage in Syria's history: Will women be able to seize their rights currently, and in the future, in terms of participation, representation, influence, shaping policies, legislating laws, and participating in public life, or have women's rights entered a dark tunnel?

1 Dr. Hussein Alwan Al-Baij, Political Participation: "Importance, Patterns, Dimensions", Democratic Arabic Center.

● **Thirdly: The Importance of Advocacy in Supporting Women's Participation in Political Life:**

Research demonstrates the importance of women's presence in politics in order to represent the interests of women and marginalized voters and help improve the responsiveness of policies and governance to the needs of the public. Evidence shows that the greater the number of elected women, the more developed the policy formulation process becomes, which affects the quality of life and reflects the priorities of families, women, and ethnic and racial minorities.

Women's participation in political life has a positive and profound democratic impact on local communities, legislative bodies, political parties, and the lives of citizens, contributing to the achievement of democracy, stability, and the promotion of sustainable peace. Women are considered more inclined to work with various political poles, even in biased atmospheres, as they engage in work in a less hierarchical and more participatory and cooperative manner compared to men. This makes their participation a safety valve that enhances peacebuilding and reconciliation during and after periods of conflict.

In addition to the importance of women's participation at the national political and societal levels, the importance of establishing the rights status in the state and supporting its international appearance and preventing its isolation from the international community is highlighted. This is because the right to political participation is an inherent human right stipulated by most international conventions forming the International Bill of Human Rights, making it one of the principles of general international law binding on all, and making compliance with it an obligation on the Syrian state and a supportive factor of enhancing its standing in the international community.

Consequently, the need for discussions and dialogues with the key actors on this issue emerges, whether they are women, decision-makers, interested activists (male and female), or civil society organization, parties, and political movements present on the scene. This is to identify the problems women suffer from that hinder their work in public affairs, and to develop recommendations that may contribute to effecting positive change on this issue, whether by influencing decision-makers and policies, or through mobilization and advocacy, or raising awareness and empowering women.

● **The Consultation Process and Recommendations:**

This paper was formulated after conducting a study and analysis of the problem and the context, and after the participation of actors (male and female) in a discussion on ways to enhance women's political participation, especially activists (male and female) in the political and civil field. Accordingly, the focus areas expressing the challenges and proposals that affect this issue were presented, and the possible opportunities and mechanisms for effective advocacy before decision-makers, relevant actors, rights-holders, civil society organizations, and activists (male or female) were discussed.

Accordingly, we developed a joint action plan after agreeing on the following recommendations:

● **In Legal and Institutional Reform:**

Syrian laws lack a supportive framework for political participation in general and for women's participation in particular. The historical marginalization of women requires mechanisms that contribute to bridging the gap between them and men in political work. Furthermore, some laws contain articles that criminalize and violate freedom of expression, such as some articles of the Penal Code that regulate the crime of undermining the prestige of the state, weakening the nation's morale, and weakening national sentiment. This is because they lack the existence of criteria that ensure they are not used to restrict and suppress freedoms. Given the significant role that women's fear of violence and defamation plays in determining the extent of their political and societal participation, the following recommendations in the field of legal and institutional reform were made:

1- Supportive legal change for political participation in general, such as enacting a law regulating the work of political parties, guaranteeing media freedom and independence, establishing laws that guarantee freedom of opinion and expression, amending the cybercrime law to ensure the rights of male and female citizens to express opinion and criticism, and amending the legal articles found in the Penal Code and some other laws which violate freedom of expression.

2- A women's quota in the parliament, the government, law-drafting committees, subcommittees, elected committees, and all formed political structures.

The recommendations focused on the necessity of having a quota that exceeds the proposed 20% in some committees, which is considered ineffective, and for the quota to be real and to secure women's access to seats, not a formal one that guarantees the right to participate in the process without access to the seat or the decision-making position.

● **In protection and Justice:**

Systematic hate speech against female activists in public affairs has recently spread, which is an old method to frighten women from participating and push them away from expressing their opinions. This speech causes a repressive state for women's participation in public affairs, due to the great societal pressures accompanying the spread of this speech, in addition to the absence of effective mechanisms and laws in protecting women from violence in its various forms. Therefore, the recommendations focused on points that contribute to combating this speech, reducing its effects on women, and ensuring their legal protection:

1- Activating monitoring and accountability for media mobilization against certain groups and against women in particular, activating transparent accountability for the use of widespread hate speech and defamation that female activists in public affairs are exposed to, and ensuring their protection and prosecuting perpetrators of the crime of defamation, including the speech used in media, schools, universities, workplaces, and on social media platforms.

2- Establishing laws that guarantee the protection of women from violence, especially in the workplace and during electoral campaigns, where participating women are exposed to smear campaigns, some of which are organized, especially during election periods. Therefore, strict laws specific to this phase must be established to regulate media discourse, monitor defamation campaigns, and ensure fair media appearance for women, in addition to laws that criminalize and hold accountable the use of hate speech in general.

● **In Advocacy and Media:**

The discussions revealed a state of abandonment or absence of support for women working in public affairs, for reasons related to the different stances and political tensions among Syrians (male and female) today. Meanwhile, their presence constitutes an enhancement of the state of participation and a step towards changing the stereotype that considers the presence of women in political institutions and leadership positions undesirable or unfamiliar. Furthermore, the societal view that underestimates women's knowledge and their ability to engage in dialogue, enter the political arena, and compete with men in analysis and policy-making greatly affects women's self-confidence. This is compounded by the prevalence of artistic works and popular proverbs that reinforce the stereotypical image of women, alongside the absence of a pressure force capable of changing this image with appropriate mechanisms. All of this has limited women's desire to participate, hence the recommendation:

1- Advocating for women already in decision-making centers and supporting women candidates for those positions, and the necessity of supporting the presence of women in these positions regardless of our stance on general policies.

2- Supporting the electoral campaigns of women and supporting media appearance of women and feminist political analysis. Emphasis was placed on the necessity of supporting women's electoral campaigns through mobilization and advocacy, and the importance of working to improve the stereotypical image of women working in public affairs. Therefore, work must be done with media professionals and local media to increase and support the political and societal media appearance of women.

3- Using art and culture to mobilize community support and change the stereotypical image of women, which has been established by decades of marginalization and mobilization against women's rights directly or indirectly. Art possesses the ability to influence society across its different classes, orientations, and age groups; therefore, it is an effective means of giving precedence to an image supportive of women's rights.

4- Supporting institutions and organizations that support women's rights and networking between them to form pressure and a supportive lobby for women. Organizations supporting women's rights are capable of reaching a large community base and can, in case of cooperation among themselves, form a great force of support for women working in public affairs through advocacy, monitoring violations, submitting reports documenting the state of women's rights, and following up on their issues and needs.

● **Empowerment and Capacity Building:**

Women's fear of entering the political arena constitutes a significant factor hindering their political participation, such as the fear of having insufficient experience, anxiety about smear campaigns, and challenges related to economic capacity and financial independence. Additionally, women's limited involvement in national-level decision-making circles plays a role, as women feel stronger and more comfortable operating within their narrower communities. Therefore, their success in local initiatives can significantly contribute to developing their political and social awareness and enhancing their desire to engage on public affairs work. Furthermore, the absence of systematic and early-stage political and rights-based education for society, aligned with the global human rights framework, and the lack of policies to mainstream the concept of equality, both contribute to establishing the stereotypical image of women's absence from the political scene and its monopolization by men:

1- Focusing support on local councils and local community structures such as committees and women's initiatives and economic projects, because these structures form the nucleus for bigger organization. As small projects, even if economic, are considered a nucleus for an organizational structure that may contribute to developing a culture of participation in society and enhancing the visibility and effectiveness of women's work. Moreover, supporting women's access and participation at the local level significantly contributes to their transition to subsequent steps and participation in political life in wider circles.

2- Mainstreaming political and rights-based education for young men and women in educational and university curricula, and mainstreaming the perspective of equality through training and knowledge support. We need to spread a cultural and political situation supportive of women at the popular level, especially among young men and women in universities.

3- Organizing periodic forums, cultural salons, and safe spaces for political, cultural, and religious dialogue. Cultural salons are a project that can be implemented with simple costs and burdens, and they can contribute to spreading a culture of equality, supporting women's rights, empowering them culturally and politically, and supporting their ability for public appearance, meaningful dialogue, and political analysis. The existence of safe spaces for expression and criticism also helps reduce fears and provides practice in public speaking and appearance, and reveals the true orientations of women.

4- Supporting small projects, supporting vocational training for women, and involving men in programs aimed at enhancing women's participations. The economic factor is fundamental and capable of changing the course of work to enhance women's presence in decision-making positions, due to its significant impact on daily life and on women's self-confidence, economic independence, and their ability to bear the costs and burdens of work in public affairs, such as electoral campaigns and attending events and consultations. Involving men also supports their adoption of the cause and counters attempts to portray legitimate demands for women's rights as a confrontation with or hostility towards men.

● **Conclusion:**

Women in Syria constitute a significant economic, political, and societal force. They have played a pivotal role during the previous years despite the violence, marginalization, and systematic exclusion they have suffered. The war also revealed great capabilities among women in terms of adaptation and working under harsh conditions, and a great ability to lead initiatives and families amid the conflict. Additionally, their engagement in public life has shown a greater ability to confront sharp political alignments. Therefore, the continued restriction of their participation significantly delays the process of peacebuilding and democratic transition in Syria, as any transition process that does not effectively consider the participation and representation of women is destined for failure, the postponement of entitlements, and the prolongation of conflicts.

We call upon Syrian actors, both men and women, across various sectors, councils, bodies, and civil society and media organizations, as well as international actors, organizations, and influencers, to act to ensure fair representation and effective participation of women in the transitional phase that Syria is undergoing.

An Action Plan to Enhance Women's Political Participation in Syria

Goal	Focus Area	Actor(s)	Proposed Mechanism of Action
Raising awareness of the importance of women's political participation	Advocacy and Media	Media	Organizing media campaigns, dialogue programs, artistic works, success stories of female politicians and activists
Building women's capacities and political education to support effective participation	Empowerment and Capacity Building	Civil Society Organizations	Organizing training and workshops, establishing women's networks, supporting local initiatives
Developing supportive legislation and policies for women's participation	Legal and Policy Reform	Governmental Institutions	Amending electoral laws, formulating national policies to empower women
Promoting moderate religious discourse supportive of women	Advocacy and Media	Religious Figures, Media Professionals	Encouraging and supporting religious discourse that supports women's rights and their protection and rejects violence, supporting moderate and enlightened religious discourse
Ensuring women's voices reach decision-makers	Empowerment and Legal Reform	Women Advisory Board, The International Institution on Missing Persons, Media	Presenting recommendations and reports on the status of women's rights, monitoring the implementation of policies supportive of women, advocating for greater women's representation, credibly reporting news related to violence against women.

Protecting women from political and social violence and defamation	Protection and Justice	Civil Peace Committee, Media, Government	Monitoring violations, community mediation, promoting a safe environment for female politicians and activists
Increasing women's representation in parties and political life	Legal and Policy Reform	Political Parties, Ministries, Formed Committees	Adopting a women's quota, integrating women into party leadership and political dialogues
Providing financial and programmatic support for women's initiatives	Empowerment and Capacity Building	Private Sector, Donor Entities	Grants for women's projects, workplace protection
Enhancing women's participation in local councils	Reform and Protection	Local Councils	,Allocating seats for women inviting women to local dialogues and meetings, supporting local women's initiatives
Changing societal awareness towards women	Advocacy and Media	Cultural Salons, Local Councils, Local Media, Artists	Organizing dialogues and cultural events, publishing articles and promoting activities supporting women's participation, using art to present ideas
Providing justice for women and victims of violence and kidnapping	Protection and Justice	Transitional Justice Commission, Ministry of Justice The International Institution on Missing Persons	Documenting violations against women, ensuring women's inclusion in peacebuilding processes submitting reports on the human rights situation

A Timeframe for Advocating the Recommendations

Short-Term Actions (Up to 6 months)

Launching awareness media campaigns to highlight the importance of women's political participation

Organizing community and cultural dialogues, such as cultural salons, seminars, and meetings with religious figures

Beginning the training of female cadres on leadership and political participation

Mobilizing initial support from parties and local councils

Medium-Term Actions (to 12 months 6)

Pressuring and following up on policy and law amendments by the government and local councils

Building alliances with civil organizations and the private sector to support women's initiatives

Advocating for women's representation through a quota in parties, the legislative council, and institutions

Enhancing the role of the Advisory Board and the International Institution on Missing Persons in monitoring violations and reporting them

Long-Term Actions (to 3 years 2)

Integrating concepts of equality into educational curricula and institutional policies

Ensuring the participation of women in peacemaking, transitional justice, and reconciliation processes

Establishing the presence of women in decision-making positions, such as the legislative council, the government, and political parties

Building effective and sustainable women's networks

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