

Table of Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	iii
<i>Abstract</i>	iv
<i>Table of Contents</i>	v
<i>List of tables</i>	xi
<i>List of figures</i>	xiii
<i>List of acronyms</i>	xiv
1. Introduction	1
1.1 Background of study and statement of contextual problem.....	1
<i>Kurds and Kurdistan</i>	1
<i>Geographic and demographic features</i>	2
<i>The Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG)</i>	3
<i>Kurdish economy</i>	4
<i>Arab /Kurd Oil for the Arabs versus Oil-for-Development</i>	4
<i>From Oil-for-Food programme to Oil-for-Development programme</i>	5
<i>Some significant events in the history of Kurdistan</i>	5
<i>Some key events of the early 20th century chronicled include</i>	6
1.2 Problem statement.....	8
1.3 Research objectives and questions.....	10
<i>Research objectives</i>	10
<i>Research questions</i>	10
<i>Main questions:</i>	10
1.4 Rationale of the research.....	12
1.5 The structure of the report	13
2. The research issue in the light of scientific discourse	14
2.1 From ‘women in development to gender and development’	14
2.2 Gender roles.....	17
2.3 Gender needs	18
2.3.1 <i>Practical gender needs</i>	18
2.3.2 <i>Strategic gender interests/needs</i>	18
2.4 Policy approaches to women in development.....	20
<i>Gender policy classifications</i>	20
<i>Gender policy classification in the Third World</i>	20
2.4.1 <i>The Welfare Approach</i>	20
2.4.2 <i>The Equity Approach</i>	21
2.4.3 <i>The Anti-Poverty Approach</i>	21
2.4.4 <i>The Efficiency Approach</i>	21
2.4.5 <i>The Empowerment Approach</i>	22
<i>Conclusion</i>	24
2.5 Participation, sharing power and democracy	25
<i>Who needs to participate?</i>	25
<i>Why is women's participation so important?</i>	26
<i>Why gender is important for democracy and governance</i>	26
<i>Democracy as a primary vehicle towards parity, the equal representation and power-sharing between women and men</i>	27
<i>Democratic principle and evaluating criteria</i>	27
<i>Political representatives, representative democracy and people's interests</i>	29
<i>Political participation of women: modes of reasoning and factors of explanation</i>	32
<i>Factors that determine the political participation of women</i>	34

<i>I. Socio-economic factors</i>	35
<i>II. Institutional factors</i>	36
<i>III. Political culture factors</i>	36
<i>The role of political parties and civil society in participation and democracy</i>	37
<i>Different forms and modes of citizen participation</i>	38
<i>Citizen participation: enabling and constraining factors from legal perspective.</i>	41
<i>Citizen participation: contextual factors</i>	42
<i>Institutionalized participation</i>	43
<i>Parliament as a platform for women participation in decision-making</i>	44
<i>Does the number of women in parliament matter?</i>	45
<i>The road to parliament: less travelled by women</i>	45
<i>Women in Government</i>	47
<i>Quotas a fast pathway to enhancing women's representation in parliament</i>	47
2.6 Decentralisation: overarching strategy	48
<i>Decentralisation: towards a common understanding</i>	48
<i>Centralisation versus decentralisation</i>	50
<i>Rationale for decentralisation and new opportunities for women and men to participate</i>	50
<i>Decentralisation to achieve the goals of gender-centred development</i>	51
<i>Decentralisation as means of bringing about efficiency, welfare and a form of equity</i>	52
<i>Decentralisation and devolution: local governance and gender equity</i>	52
<i>Political decentralisation and democratic local governance</i>	53
<i>Strengthening decentralisation through women's participation in local decision-making</i>	54
<i>Towards a new form of decentralisation and women's empowerment</i>	54
<i>The design of decentralization: the subsidiarity principle</i>	56
<i>Subsidiarity principle</i>	56
2.7 Fiscal decentralisation: concept and relevance	58
<i>Fiscal decentralisation and women holding government to account</i>	58
2.8 Multi-levels of government and basic functions.....	58
<i>Local government</i>	58
<i>Debate of different sizes and structures of local government</i>	59
<i>Local government's role in fostering participation and democracy at local level</i>	59
<i>Federalism and decentralisation</i>	60
<i>Federalism and decentralisation in practice</i>	61
2.9 Democratic governance	62
<i>Good governance</i>	62
<i>Advantages of democratic governance</i>	62
<i>Approaches for effective local democratic governance</i>	63
2.10 Emerging new planning approaches: top-down versus bottom-up.....	63
<i>Human development and gender planning</i>	65
<i>Why gender planning?</i>	66
2.11 The focus of the research in the light of previous studies.....	68
<i>1. Iraqi studies</i>	68
<i>2. Arabic studies</i>	68
<i>3. African studies</i>	70
<i>4. International studies</i>	70
2.12 Application of theoretical concepts to the Kurdistan context.	71
<i>Conclusion</i>	74
3. Research methodology	75
3.1 Rationale for research methodology applied in the study.....	75
3.1.1 Choice of case study approach and justification	77

3.1.2 Historical research method	77
3.2 Case study area selection	78
3.2.1 Barzan sub-district: description and motivation	78
3.2.2 Why the Barzan sub-district was selected	79
3.2.3 Comparative case study	79
3.2.3. I Shri village	80
3.2.3. II Zorgvan village	81
3.3 Data collection	82
3.3.1 Tools for data collection	84
3.3.1.1 Questionnaire and interviews	84
3.3.1.2 Semi-structured interviews	85
3.3.1.3 Focus group discussions	86
3.3.1.4 Power distribution	87
3.3.1.5 Seminar	87
3.3.1.6 Multi-stakeholder future workshop	88
3.3.1.7 Participant observation	88
3.3.2 Secondary source	88
3.3.3 Interpretation and analysis of data	89
3.4 Test of scientific analysis	91
3.4.1 Optimizing internal validity	91
3.4.2 Ensuring external validity	92
3.4.3 Achieving reliability of the case study	92
3.5 Limitations	93

4. Women's participation in Kurdistan: capturing contextual knowledge .. 94

4.1 The participation efforts of women in the Kurdistan region: a historical overview ..	94
<i>Kurdish women's participation: 1900-1958</i>	94
<i>Kurdish women participation: 1958-1991 (Republican period)</i>	96
<i>Precedent experienced by Kurdish women in villages: 'First to wake up and last to go to bed'</i>	98
<i>Has the struggle for the liberation of Kurdish society meant women's liberation? What is the priority in Kurdish society?</i>	98
<i>Conclusion</i>	100
4.2 Driving forces of women's participation in the context of the Kurdistan region	101
1. Internal factors	101
1.1 Kurdistan's social and cultural practices	101
1.2 Failure of centralized government system	102
1.3 Democratic desire of Kurdish people and the popular uprising of 1991	102
2. External factors	102
2.1 Positive role of civil society	102
2.2 Positive role of multi-national community	102
2.3 Changing role of women: global phenomenon	103
2.4 International policy framework	103
4.3 Legal framework of political participation of women in Kurdistan	103
<i>Kurdistan Legal Framework</i>	104
<i>Improvement of women's rights in Iraq: One-step forward or many steps back?</i>	104
4.4 Institutions and women's representation: government and civil society in the Kurdistan region	106
<i>Current structure and historical background of local government in Kurdistan</i>	106
<i>Local government structure and the women's representation in the Kurdistan region</i>	107
<i>Province</i>	108
<i>District</i>	109

<i>Sub-district</i>	109
<i>Village</i>	109
<i>Kurdistan towards democracy: the restoration of the multi-party system</i>	110
<i>Kurdistan Regional Parliament and women's representation and participation</i>	110
<i>Does the number of women in Kurdistan Regional parliament matter?</i>	111
<i>Kurdistan Regional Government and women's representation and participation</i>	111
<i>Gaps between the cultural policies of various Kurdish government Ministries</i>	112
<i>Provincial Council, head of district and sub-district and women's representation</i>	112
<i>Municipalities and women's representation and participation</i>	113
<i>Civil society and non-government organizations and women's participation</i>	113
<i>Political parties: Women membership in the political parties</i>	115
<i>Women's participation, representation and gender gap at regional level, Kurdistan</i>	116
<i>Women's participation, representation and gender gap at provincial level in Erbil</i>	117
4.5 The key players of participation	117
<i>Civil society organizations</i>	117
<i>Political parties</i>	117
<i>Sectoral ministries</i>	118
<i>Ministry of Women's Affairs</i>	118
<i>Local agencies</i>	119
<i>Private sector</i>	119
<i>Women's participation in the current planning system in Kurdistan</i>	119
<i>Conclusion</i>	121
5. The case study: Barzan sub-district	122
<i>5.1 Location, demographic features and land-use patterns</i>	<i>122</i>
<i>Location and area</i>	122
<i>Demographic features</i>	124
<i>Spatial dimension, land-use patterns and other features</i>	124
<i>5.2 Socio-economic conditions</i>	<i>125</i>
<i>Local economy</i>	125
<i>Traditional environment system</i>	126
<i>Religion</i>	126
<i>The family</i>	126
<i>Local autonomy</i>	127
<i>Harman Institution (Dazgay Harman)</i>	127
<i>Social and technical infrastructures</i>	128
<i>Education and health facilities</i>	128
<i>Transportation and accessibility situation</i>	129
<i>5.3 Key reconstruction indicators of Barzan area in 2008 vis-a-vis 2005</i>	<i>130</i>
<i>5.4 Historical overview of gender roles in Barzan sub-district</i>	<i>131</i>
<i>5.5 Past experiences with gender participation in decision-making at local level</i>	<i>132</i>
<i>Hand-made carpet project</i>	132
<i>Irrigation project in Zorgvan</i>	133
<i>Traditional gender participation and environment protection measure (Bang)</i>	134
6. Capturing women's participation at the local level in the Kurdistan region: evidence from the Barzan sub-district	135
<i>Introduction</i>	135
6.1 Women's political participation in Barzan sub-district	135
<i>1. Women's participation in civil society organizations</i>	135
<i>2. Women's participation in the electoral activities</i>	137

3. <i>Women's membership in political parties</i>	140
4. <i>Women in leadership positions</i>	142
5. <i>The role of legislation and laws relating to the status of women</i>	143
6.2 <i>Obstacles to women's participation at Barzan sub-district</i>	145
1. <i>Religion and women's participation</i>	145
2. <i>Patriarchal values</i>	146
3. <i>Patronage and family constraints</i>	148
4. <i>Educations and political participation</i>	150
5. <i>Perceptions regarding the appropriate role of women in Kurdish society</i>	152
<i>Traditional community planning in Kurdistan</i>	152
<i>Parliament, Mosque and Dewakan; which produces better laws, norms, and rules?</i>	154
<i>Conclusion</i>	155
6.3 <i>Locus of decision-making, power distribution and women's participation</i>	156
<i>Policy making</i>	158
<i>Planning</i>	158
<i>Implementation</i>	158
<i>Financing and budgeting</i>	158
<i>Centralised mindset</i>	159
<i>Access to resources and control over their use in fhh and mhh</i>	160
<i>Voice for change (Harman local radio)</i>	161
<i>Summary of influencing factors, constraints and opportunities of women's participation in decision-making in Barzan sub-district</i>	163
<i>Gender needs</i>	164
<i>Practical gender needs</i>	164
<i>Strategic gender needs</i>	165
<i>Conclusion</i>	166

7. Summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations 167

7.1 <i>Summary of findings and conclusions</i>	167
<i>Less representation of women in public sphere</i>	167
<i>Gender gaps in Kurdistan regional government</i>	167
<i>Ineffective development oriented policy and inconsistent gender policy</i>	168
<i>Less effectiveness of civil society organisations to address women's issues</i>	168
<i>Lack of experts to translate gender interests and needs into development planning goals</i>	169
<i>Monopoly by political parties negatively affects women's representation and participation</i>	169
<i>Parallel structures (traditional cultural and long centralised mindset) hamper participation</i>	169
<i>Kurdish women: between law and culture</i>	169
<i>Tension between international cultural and local traditional change</i>	170
<i>Balancing traditional authority and government</i>	170
<i>Vibrancy of institutions at local level</i>	170
7.2 <i>Recommendations</i>	172
7.2.1 <i>At the regional government level</i>	172
<i>Formulating a comprehensive development policy</i>	172
<i>Changes to the systems within which the sub-district level government operates:</i>	172
<i>Towards empowerment of women in education</i>	174
<i>Grafting grassroots strategy (Muterba)</i>	175
<i>The first scenario</i>	177
<i>Second scenario</i>	177
<i>Strengthening the Bang and other local participatory processes</i>	181
7.2.2 <i>At the Civil society level</i>	181
<i>Lobby to practice legal frameworks</i>	181
<i>Building strong networks to enhance civil society advocacy roles</i>	182

<i>Strengthening local institutions</i>	182
<i>7.2.3 At the level of political parties</i>	182
<i>Anfal should be viewed as an international genocide case for increased global security</i>	183
7.3 Further research	183

8. Bibliography 184

Appendices 195

<i>Appendix 1: Participation in formal decision-making at local level</i>	195
<i>Appendix 2: Participation: power distribution matrix</i>	199
<i>Appendix 3: Village resources Mapp, Economic, Social, Environment. Local group and Institutions Profiles.</i>	200
<i>Appendix 4: Glossary: operational definitions</i>	203