# POST-ARAB SPRING TUNISIA DECENTRALISATION & LOCAL DEMOCRACY

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United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization





UNESCO Chair on Comparative Research on Cultural Diversity and Social Justice



ALFRED DEAKIN INSTITUTE FOR CITIZENSHIP AND GLOBALISATION



Stralian Government Council for Australian-Arak Relations

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This event is supported by the Australian Government through the Council for Australian-Arab Relations (CAAR) of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

We acknowledge the traditional owners of the lands upon which Deakin University stands and we pay our respect.

### **WELCOME**

Dear Colleagues,

It is our pleasure to welcome you to our international symposium 'Post-Arab Spring Tunisia: Decentralisation and Local Democracy'.

This symposium brings together international experts to explore the critical role of local governance and decentralisation for countries undergoing transitions to democracy.

Hosted by the UNESCO Chair, Cultural Diversity and Social Justice, in partnership with the Council of Arab-Australian Relations (DFAT), participants will address the ways in which key demographic cohorts such as women and youth, as well as peak civil society organisations, participate in and support democratisation processes in previously undemocratic polities. This symposium will focus on the Tunisian case study, generally regarded as the only success story that came out of the Arab Spring. Comparative insights from Indonesia as well as expert input from Australia-based experts will enrich our deliberations and ensure a genuinely deliberative symposium will generate not only abstract conceptual analyses but also concrete outcomes pertaining to organising and monitoring successful and inclusive local elections.

We look forward to your active participation and contribution to these important debates at our various sessions.

Best wishes,

Professor Fethi Mansouri

UNESCO Chair, Cultural Diversity and Social Justice

Director, Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation

### DAY ONE PROGRAM OVERVIEW

8:30 am **Registration** 

9:00 am Welcome

Professor Fethi Mansouri

UNESCO Chair, Cultural Diversity and Social Justice

**Greg Ralph** 

Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

9:30 am **Panel One** 

Professor Fethi Mansouri, Alfred Deakin Institute

The Democratic Process in Tunisia: Conditions for Consildations and

Future Outlook

Dr Bligh Grant, The Univeristy of Tehnology Sydney

Decentralisation in the Australian Context: The Promise-and Failure-of

the Recent White Paper Experience

Professor Vedi Hadiz, The University of Melbourne

Democracy and Decentralisation in Comparative Perspective: Insights for

Tunisia?

11:00 am Tea Break

11:30 am Panel Two

Dr Sky Croeser, Curtin University

Democratisation, Decentralisation, and the Internet

Belhassen Turki, *Tunisian Local Governance Project* Local Democracy and Territorial Reform in Tunisia

Dr Therese Pearce Laanela, Australian National University

**Trusting Tunisian Elections** 

1:00 pm **Lunch Break** 

2:00 pm **Panel Three** 

Saber Houchati, National Federation of Tunisian Cities

Constitutional Transition, Decentralisation and Local Electoral Process in

Tunisia

Lynda Ford, *iGen Foundation* 

The Role of Local Government in Leading Social, Technological

and Entrepreneurial Innovation

Ines Ben Yousef, Tunisian League for Human Rights & Free Patriots

The Tunisian Revolution: A Story of a Start-Up Democracy

3:30 pm **Q&A Panel: Women and Democratic Transitions** 

4:30 pm **Concluding Session** 

Afternoon Tea and Departure

### DAY TWO PROGRAM OVERVIEW

8:30 am **Registration** 

9:00 am **Welcome** 

Professor Fethi Mansouri

UNESCO Chair, Cultural Diversity and Social Justice

9:30 am **Panel Four** 

Professor Greg Barton, Alfred Deakin Institute

Indonesia's Democratic Transition: An Examination of the Vital Elements

Hadar Gumay, Election Commission of Indonesia

A Productive Relationship: The Indonesian Electoral Commission (IEC) and

Civil Society

Ghazoua Ltaief, *Sawty* 

Promoting the Inclusion of Youth in Democratic Transitions

11:00 am **Tea Break** 

11:30 am **Panel Five** 

Admira Dini Salim, *International Foundation for Electoral Systems* 

Increasing Women's Political Participation in Indonesia

Najla Abbes, League of Tunisian Women Voters

Women's Participation in Political and Public Life: Gains and Challenges

Dina Afrianty, Australian Catholic University

Indonesia's Democracy: Political Decentralisation and Local Women's

Movements

1:00 pm **Lunch Break** 

1:30 pm Workshop and roundatable

Group one: Monitoring elections

Group two: Increasing democratic participation amongst youth and

women

4:00 pm **Concluding Session** 

Afternoon Tea and Departure

### **OPENING**



Professor Fethi Mansouri
UNESCO Chair, Cultural Diversity and Social Justice
Director, Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation
Symposium Convenor and Chair

Alfred Deakin Professor Fethi Mansouri holds a Deakin University research chair in migration and intercultural studies and is the Director of the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation. In 2013 he was awarded a UNESCO Chair in comparative research on 'Cultural Diversity and Social Justice'. He is the Editor-in-chief of the Journal of Citizenship and Globalisation Studies, editor of the Journal of Intercultural Studies (Routledge) and founding co-editor of the international journal of Social Inclusion (Cogitatio). Professor Mansouri is a global expert advisor to the United Nations (Alliance of Civilisations) on cultural diversity and intercultural relations and is a prominent scholar nationally and internationally.



Mr Greg Ralph Assistant Secretary, Middle East Branch, Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

Mr Ralph is the Assistant Secretary of the Middle East Branch in Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Prior to joining MEB he led DFAT's G20 engagement team during Australia's G20 Presidency. Before G20, he was Counsellor Political at the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, and Director of DFAT's Indonesia Political and Strategic Section. Earlier he worked on counter-terrorism in the International Security Division of the Department. Mr Ralph has also worked overseas at the High Commission in London as Counsellor Political, and in the Embassy in Dublin as First Secretary. In Canberra he has worked in Trade and Economic Policy Division, Southeast Asia Division, International Security Division, and a number of dedicated Task Forces. He joined the Commonwealth Public Service in 1988, initially working with the Department of Defence in Melbourne, Sydney then Canberra, before moving to DFAT in 1999. Mr Ralph has a degree in Asian Studies from Melbourne University, and also undertook post-graduate work in Indonesian history at Leiden University in the Netherlands.

### **DAY ONE: PANEL ONE**

The Democratic Process in Tunisia: Conditions for Consolidations and Future Outlook

This paper will examine the contextual conditions that facilitated a relatively smooth political transition in Tunisia, particularly in comparison to neighbouring countries. The paper will outline some of the key factors that allowed consolidation of the early democratic gains that ultimately led to successful elections. Discussion of current difficulties pertaining to persistent security and economic challenges will lead to analytical predictions about the likely long-term outcome of the political transformation taking place in the birthplace of the Arab Spring.

Professor Fethi Mansouri Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, Australia



Alfred Deakin Professor Fethi Mansouri holds a Deakin University research chair in migration and intercultural studies and is the Director of the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation. In 2013 he was awarded a UNESCO Chair in comparative research on 'Cultural Diversity and Social Justice'. He is the Editor-in-chief of the Journal of Citizenship and Globalisation Studies, editor of the Journal of Intercultural Studies (Routledge) and founding co-editor of the international journal of Social Inclusion (Cogitatio). Professor Mansouri is a global expert advisor to the United Nations (Alliance of Civilisations) on cultural diversity and intercultural relations and is a prominent scholar nationally and internationally. Professor Mansouri has won more than thirty competitive grants (including eight ARC grants); published sixteen books, ten major research monographs, more than seventy refereed research articles.

## Decentralisation in the Australian Context: The Promise—and Failure—of the Recent White Paper Experience

Decentralisation is frequently portrayed as an optimal policy stance within developing contexts. However, its applicability stretches to developed polities as well. In the Australian context, it was with disconcerting partisan regularity that, despite its embracing of the rhetoric of sub-national government, the (then) Abbott Government's 'Terms of Reference' (ToRs) for its 'Reform of the Federation White Paper' (2014) adopted a dismissive approach to local government as an element to putative reforms. This was confirmed in the Government's ensuing 'Discussion Paper' (2015) in which local government receives tokenistic mention and was reinforced with the Turnbull Government's discontinuation of the White Paper process (Australian Government 2016a; Borrello 2016). Against the backdrop of this failed political attempt at decentralisation, this presentation reiterates the strong economic arguments for providing government services through decentralised units, suggesting a case for a greater level of decentralised government – a system of regionalism that could be projected onto Australian local government. In this scenario, competent performance of an expanded remit is dependent on capacity: both administrative and fiscal. We argue that historical forces are pushing Australian local government toward the functional and administrative capacity required to competently manage an expanded remit. Moreover, appropriate taxation and financial distribution can furnish Australian local government with the necessary fiscal capacity. In short, it is possible to have a more efficient, effective and sustainable system of decentralised government which promotes levels of equity characteristic of unitary systems.

### Dr Bligh Grant University of Technology Sydney, Australia



Bligh Grant is Senior Lecturer at the UTS Institute for Public Policy and Governance. Bligh has been a research-intensive academic for several years who nevertheless enjoys teaching into a range of social science disciplines. Much of his work comprises bringing expertise in his core disciplines (politics, philosophy, political economy) to areas of public policy. He enjoys working with scholars, practitioners and HDR candidates to produce academic research outputs and broader outcomes. A continuing focus of Bligh's work is local government. He is co-author of two recent books, Funding the Future (2013) and Councils in Cooperation (2012), both with Brian Dollery and Michael Kortt. Recent, co-authored academic articles have appeared in Australian Journal of Political Science, International Journal of Public Administration

Australian Journal of Public Administration and Research in Ethical Issues in Organisations. Bligh has held positions as Lecturer in Business Ethics at the UNE Business School, Lecturer at the UNE Centre of Local Government and Associate Lecturer in Political Economy at the University of Southern Queensland. He has also taught in the areas of Philosophy, Politics, Sociology, Asian Studies and International Political Economy at UNE. He contributes regularly to media on issues relating to Australian politics, in particular local government.

### Democracy and Decentralisation in Comparative Perspective: Insights for Tunisia?

Decentralisation has been part and parcel of good governance policy recommendations, especially those put forward by international development organisations, since the 1990s. It particularly resonates in contexts where democratisation is taking place because of the appeal to such principles as accountability to and representation of the aspirations of local communities. Economically, decentralisations holds appeal especially where there have been long entrenched regional disparities. As such, it is not surprising that the discourse of decentralisation has become prominent in political and policy debates in newly democratised Tunisia. It is suggested here, however, that decentralisation has had a number of 'unintended consequences' where it has been institutionalised. In Indonesia, for example, decentralisation appears to have facilitated the political ascendancy of the local-level operatives of the old authoritarian regime as they have adapted to the imperatives of electoral democracy. The world's largest Muslim-majority country, Indonesia is widely considered to have undergone a dramatic process of decentralisation to go along with its democratisation since 1998. The experiences of Indonesia and other countries (especially in Southeast Asia) are put forward to explore whether they may be relevant to the Tunisian case.

### Professor Vedi Hadiz The University of Melbourne, Australia



Before joining the Asia Institute in 2016 as Professor of Asian Studies, Vedi Hadiz was Professor of Asian Societies and Politics at Murdoch University's Asia Research Centre and Director of its Indonesia Research Programme. An Indonesian national, he was an Australian Research Council Future Fellow in 2010-2014. Professor Hadiz received his PhD at Murdoch University in 1996 where he was Research Fellow until he went to the National University of Singapore in 2000. At NUS, he was an Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology until returning to Murdoch in 2010. His research interests revolve around political sociology and political economy issues, especially those related to the contradictions of development in Indonesia and Southeast Asia more broadly, and more recently, in the Middle East.

### **DAY ONE: PANEL TWO**

Democratisation, Decentralisation, and the Internet

Drawing on research carried out in Tunisia in 2013, this paper discusses the ways in which Internet governance became a space for exploring grassroots processes of democratisation and transitional justice in the wake of the revolution. Arguably, the fact that Internet governance has not been incorporated within international, top-down transitional justice institutions meant that there was room for experimentation informed by transitional justice ideas, but not determined by formal processes. More broadly, we connect the Tunisian experience during this period with global trends in the ways that movements around the world are exploring the Internet's potential – and challenges – when it comes to supporting decentralised democratic processes.

Dr Sky Croeser Curtin University, Australia



Dr Sky Croeser is a lecturer at Curtin University's Department of Internet Studies. Her research focuses on how activists around the world are using, and shaping, technology.

Her first book, *Global Justice and the Politics* of Information came out in 2015. You can find out more about her work at www. skycroeser.net, or follow her on Twitter

### Local Democracy and Territorial Reform in Tunisia

Decentralization in Tunisia is listed as a basic principle of governance in the new constitution of January 2014. An entire chapter was dedicated to local governance and provides three levels of government, municipality, region and districts. The implementation of a new government system is national policy supported by politicians. A national dialogue mechanism will be operational involving central government, regional and local such as NGO's and universities.

Announced by the Independent High Authority for Elections (ISIE) and confirmed by the Prime Minister, the municipal election will be held on the 26th of March 2017. It will be the first municipal election after the revolution. In Tunisia, there are 264 municipalities covering 70% of the population. Around 3.5 million Tunisians are not covered by the municipal system. A government decision has been adopted for the creation of 64 new municipalities, which will bring the total number to 350. The new territorial reform has been made using scientific indicators such as regional and local development, health and transportation.

The Tunisian local government project of the Swedish association of local authorities and regions (Salar) in partnership with the National Federation of Tunisian Cities and the Ministry of Local affairs supported the political and technical discussion on the criteria to a new territorial reform.

The new territorial reform in Tunisia aims to defend democratic values and solve societal problems through the development of a strong local administration.

### Belhassen Turki Tunisian Local Governance Project, Tunisia



Belhassen Turki is the project manager at the Tunisian Local Governance Project at SKL International. The project is affiliated to the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions, with the National Federation of Tunisian Cities and the Tunisian Ministry of Local Affairs. Belhassen is an economist, having worked within international institutions over 16 years on projects including sustainable development, local governance, decentralisation and deconcentration. He has performed several missions in the North African region with EU, UNDP, UNIDO, GIZ, and IFAD.

### Trusting Tunisian Elections

Elections underpin our societal commitment to manage political change inclusively and peacefully. Lack of electoral trust is costly and inefficient. If an electoral process is discredited, the loss of citizen trust may be so great that the results are rejected as illegitimate, which can lead to instability or violence.

The Tunisian electoral authorities have proven their ability to deliver elections reasonably well on the technical side. During the legislative elections of 2014, electoral officials, particularly at the district (IRIE) level, worked diligently to accommodate stakeholder needs and concerns.

In the electoral cycle, however, political agitation and tensions run high precisely when operational demands are at peak, creating difficult, sometimes impossible, situations for electoral authorities to navigate with their reputation intact. As Tunisian electoral officials, candidates and civil society observers well know, fraught histories and feelings of injustice can complicate transactions and information flow with the electoral authorities.

### Dr Therese Pearce Laanela Australian National University, Australia



Therese Pearce Laanela is an elections specialist with 25 years of experience on the field, headquarters and policy levels. Recent assignments include an evaluation of 20 years of UNDP electoral assistance. She served as Senior Programme Officer on electoral issues at International IDEA (1995-2006) and as Assistant Director for the Democracy Program at The Carter Center (2009-2011). Therese has been deeply involved in the development of a variety of seminal publications, networks, databases and training curriculum on electoral administration, including the ACE Electoral Knowledge Network and the BRIDGE course package.

Prior to working at IDEA she served in 1994 through UNDP, for the National Electoral Commission in Mozambique organising the first post-war elections, and in Cambodia in 1992-93 as a District Electoral Supervisor for the UN sponsored first multi-party election. Therese has consistently served as a presiding officer in Swedish elections and has done numerous international election observer and electoral assistance missions in Africa, Europe, and Asia for organisations such as the OSCE, the European Union, and the Carter Center. Therese has Canadian, Estonian and Swedish nationalities and recently relocated to Australia with her family. At Regnet, Therese will examine issues relating to trust in electoral institutions.

### **DAY ONE: PANEL THREE**

Constitutional Transition, Decentralisation and Local Electoral Process in Tunisia

Despite the establishment of a legal framework in the 1970s and 80s (Municipalities 1975, regional councils 1989), the mobilization of human and financial resources and the implementation of multi-level local development programs, decentralization of governance in Tunisia was beset by problems. There was limited relevance and effectiveness, low public support, effectively centralized control, and limited financial resources. In 2014 this process has been revisited in the draft constitution which enshrines the principle of decentralization, which will seek to operate at three levels: municipalities, regions and districts, and will look to provide real administrative and financial autonomy. This paper will detail this intended transition and outline what is required for the new local governance systems successful operationalization.

Saber Houchati National Federation of Tunisian Cities, Tunisia



Since 2013, Saber has held the position of Executive Director, National Federation of Tunisian Cities, the umbrella association for municipalities advocating for decentralisation and local democracy. Saber has spent his career serving local communities. Prior to this role, Saber has served as the Director of the Municipal Development Program. He has also led internationalisation decentralisation cooperation as Service Chief of Decentralised Cooperation.He is also a former civil servant in the Ministry of Interior/General Directorate of Local Collectivities.

The Role of Local Government in Leading Social, Technological and Entrepreneurial Innovation

Local government has a key role in promoting youth entrepreneurship and intercultural practice.

By activating the language, faith and cultural diversity of their constituents, local government experiences the diversity advantage of intercultural relationships resulting in greater social harmony and inclusion; technological innovation; increased economic return through access to new customers and networks; and the creation of entrepreneurial eco-systems which continue to generate new social, economic and environmental value.

As the government closest to the people, local government has the opportunity to create a culture of digital democracy. When young people become more engaged in technology and entrepreneurship their understanding of social and political environments is heightened and their contributions to a stable, economically viable society is increased.

This presentation will identify the types of intercultural and entrepreneurial programs that local governments could develop to better engage young people in the social and economic daily life of a city.

Lynda Ford iGen Foundation, Australia



Lynda Ford is a Director of not for profit organisation iGen Foundation and CEO of Enterprising Partnerships. Lynda has had the privilege of living and working in some of Australia's most multicultural local government areas in Queensland, South Australia and Victoria. Lynda works to create an intercultural Australia which has a greater understanding of each other to reduce 'us' and 'them' to 'us'. She currently runs a number of initiatives including Getting Down to Business, a program in Victoria for young entrepreneurs; is Australian co-chapter leader of Techfugees; is the founder of Cultov8, an intercultural incubator for ideas arising from social impact hackathons; is co-producing a training video for local governments about intercultural practice; is co-editing a magazine for local government about intercultural practice; is co-writing the Australian Intercultural Standards; and leads Intercultural Communities, an intercultural consulting and mentoring service for local governments. Lynda holds a Master of Arts in Criminology, a Bachelor of Arts in Human Services and a number of management qualifications.

### The Tunisian Revolution: A Story of a Start-Up Democracy

Tunisia stands out an exception and a pioneer in the Arab Spring as it has made some initial steps towards democracy and decentralization. The new constitution has clear commitments to decentralization by strengthening local governments, improving their capacities and increasing the participation of citizens in civil and political life, in planning development activities managed by local municipality and in local decision making. Decentralization is a fundamental preference for the future to reinforce the unity of the state, therefore, we should focus on the role of local authorities in urban development process and their relationship with civil society. In other words, promote the role of women and the youth by strengthen their capacities on the full involvement in a modern society. In short, centralization has to create a unitary state, delineates its boundaries and enhances the sense of unity among its citizens and unique identity. Added to that, there are certain challenges that needs to be highlighted along the exciting democratic process, hopes and fears for the upcoming municipal elections in terms of constitutional arrangements and key initiatives for participatory local governance. In conclusion, decentralization and strengthening local governance is an essential path to consolidate the country's future development.

Ines Ben Youssef Tunisian League for Human Rights & Free Patriots, Tunisia



Ines Ben Youssef comes from Tunisia and is graduated from the Faculty of Humanities and social sciences in English civilization, literature and linguistics. At high school, Ines was the creator and leader of an English club. She is also a member in the Tunisian league for Human rights in which she has done different activities including volunteering observation of the Tunisian legislative and presidential elections in 2014. Ines is also involved in money raising for charity projects, she is a member of a local association the 'Free Patriots' in Beja. Ines has held a training course of mini master in human development by the Canadian training centre of Human development. She is also a participant in the Awaken Youth project of communication and local governance training that is initiated by the association « culture for citizenship » and funded by MEPI.

# DAY ONE: Q&A PANEL - WOMEN AND DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS

**Ghazoua Ltaief** 



**Ines Ben Yousef** 



**Dina Afrianty** 



Najla Abbes



**Admira Dini Salim** 



### **DAY TWO: PANEL FOUR**

### Indonesia's Democratic Transition: An Examination of the Vital Elements

Indonesia, together with Tunisia, represents one of the Muslim world's greatest democratic success stories. This paper looks at the reasons for Indonesia's successful democratic transition. Beginning with the historical context of Indonesia's Reformasi democratization movement, and the role that civil society and reformist leaders played in both the fall of Suharto and the stable transition that followed. It then reviews the democratic institutions – including the IEC – and conventions that emerged to shape Indonesia's four national elections and intervening provincial and local elections. Thirdly, it looks at the prospects for the continued consolidation of democratic reform under President Joko Wido. It concludes by delineating the dynamics and vital elements, including cultural values and societal expectations shaped by moderate and progressive approaches to Islamic thought, that have contributed to Indonesia's democratic transition.

### Professor Greg Barton Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, Australia



Professor Greg Barton is one of Australia's leading scholars of both modern Indonesia and of terrorism and countering violent extremism. For more than 28 years he has undertaken extensive research on Indonesia politics and society, especially of the role of Islam as both a constructive and a disruptive force. This has also involved comparative research with Islamic movements arising out of Turkey, including the Gulen movement, or Hizmet. For three decades he has been active in the inter-faith dialogue initiatives and has a deep commitment to building understanding of Islam and Muslim society.

### A Productive Relationship: The Indonesian Electoral Commission (IEC) and Civil Society

This presentation examines the relationship of the Indonesian Election Commission (IEC) with civil society organizations (CSOs). The IEC places a high priority not only on working transparently but also on encouraging participation in the development and implementation of policy regarding elections. We appreciate the sincerity and thoughtfulness with which CSOs advocate and develop ideas for reforms in electoral regulations and practices. This productive interaction, which effectively commenced 18 years ago with President Suharto's resignation in May 1999, is illustrated with several case studies and historical developments. There is, of course, an inherent tension in this relationship. But overall, it has resulted in productive symbiosis such that it can be said to be one of the factors facilitating the continued progress of Indonesia's democratic transition.

Hadar Gumay Election Commission of Indonesia, Indonesia



Mr. Hadar N. Gumay is currently serving as one of Commissioners in Election Commission of Indonesia (KPU). He was previously Executive Director of CETRO (Centre for Electoral Reform) since 2005. With CETRO, Mr. Gumay monitored the 2004 Indonesian General Election, provided technical assistance to local electoral management bodies and advocated for various electoral reforms and the creation of an independent Election Commission. Prior to that, Mr. Gumay was the National Coordinator for UNFREL (University Network for Free and Fair Elections), one of the largest election monitoring organization for the Indonesian 1999 Election. He has also participated in international election observation missions, including in the Philippines, Malaysia, and Sri Lanka. Mr. Gumay received his degree in Sociology from the School of Political and Social Sciences (FISIP) at the University of Indonesia in 1988 and lectured there until the end of 2007. He is also an accredited BRIDGE (Building Resources in Democracy, Governance and Elections) facilitator.

### Promoting the Inclusion of Youth in Democratic Transitions

Following the revolution of 2011, Tunisia has began making some initial steps towrards democracy and decentralization. Tunisian youth played a critical role since 2011 as post-revolutionary freedoms have opened up new forms of political and civic participation for Tunisian youth. They have actually found other ways to remain active in constructing their country's future. One of the main challenges of many civil society organizations is to promote youth inclusion in Tunisian local and national discourse and to increase their participation in solving local issues, especially in the framework of the upcoming local elections in 2017. Sawty is a tunisian youth NGO which aims at enhancing youth participation and has lately implemented "Raise your voice" which is an advocacy program for Tunisian youth with the mission of engaging young people in the decision making process at a local level. This program educates youth on local decision making processes and creates avenues for youth and local decision makers to meet and collaborate together, in order to solve local challenges facing tunisian youth. "Raise your voice" is implemented through a collaborative approach bringing together actors in civil society, media, the private sector, and government. This way, the program engages youth locally, since the local level is the best place to start.

### Ghazoua Ltaief Sawty, Tunisia



Ghazoua Ltaief is the president of the national board of a tunisian youth NGO, Sawty, which promotes citizenship awareness and political and civic engagement among youth. She also manages a program of the "Fondation de France" in Tunisia supporting Tunisian associations in their work in order to create economic opportunities for youth. Her background in youth work and empowerment and her knowledge in youth rights and youth policy have resulted in her being a youth trainer with different youth programs.

### **DAY TWO: PANEL FIVE**

### Increasing Women's Political Participation in Indonesia

A society is able to reach its full potential in a world in which men and women are fully engaged as equal partners in their families, workplaces and communities. Based on international human rights standards and best practices, IFES promotes political participation, justice and equal rights for women and men around the world, including Indonesia. In Indonesia, women's participation in the political sphere has too long been set aside. The political culture that was set up makes it difficult for women to get the same political opportunities as their male counterpart. IFES has been conducting women's empowerment activities to increase women's political participation as elected leaders, technical experts in elections, engaged civil society leaders and informed voters. In the last local elections held in December 2015 at 260 regencies/municipalities, women's participation as candidates was still very low i.e. 7.5%, and many of those woman candidates came from the political dynasty in the area. On the other hand, data on the voter turnout for those local elections showed that more women than men went to vote. Admira's presentation will touch on the efforts done by IFES and its civil society partners, along with the national election commission (KPU) to increase participation of women on both national and local elections.

Admira Dini Salim International Foundation for Electoral Systems Indonesia, Indonesia

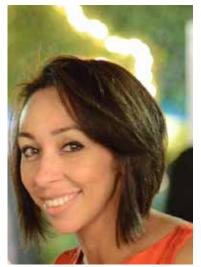


Admira Dini Salim has been a senior staff member at IFES since 2010, and has managed activities ranging from election violence mitigation to electronic voting technology for over a decade. She joined IFES in 1999 and soon after began work on developing and managing IFES' programs on increasing women's participation in the political and electoral process. She has observed elections throughout Indonesia on the national and provincial level, and took part in an election observation mission in Nepal. Over her tenure at IFES, Salim has provided electoral stakeholders, such as the General Elections Commission (KPU) of Indonesia, with advice on technical and operational issues relating to elections. From 2006-2007, Salim worked as the U.S. Agency for International Development's (USAID) Local Governance Support Program (LGSP) Gender Specialist, where she developed and oversaw the organization's gender strategy. In late 2005, she was engaged by USAID's LGSP to assist Aceh's Independent Election Commission in the adoption of administrative frameworks and procedures for local elections, including areas such as voter registration and voter information. She holds a bachelor's degree in international law from Sumatera Utara University and in her early career worked at the Indonesian Embassy in Wellington, New Zealand. She speaks native Indonesian.

### Women's Participation in Political and Public Life: Gains and Challenges

The League of Tunisian Women Voters was established in the aftermath of the revolution in 2011 to consolidate Tunisian women's involvement in the public and political life in the second republic of Tunisia. It came to light precisely following the constitutionalization of the parity law in the legislative elections. According to this law Tunisian women must be equally represented next to men in all electoral lists. After the adoption of the principle of parity as a constitutional right women in decision-making positions, starting from the first elections, has significantly increased with 67 elected women out of 217 in the NCA. Despite the adoption of the principle of parity, Tunisian women have not yet been able to reach half the number of men in parliament. They were further marginalized in the successive governments Tunisia have known especially when destributing the ministerial portfolios and in the nomination of the governors. Furthermore, the Tunisian civil society including the League of Tunisian Women Voters played a significant role in putting pressure on the Tunisian government and the legislative council to constantly revise the laws and opt for the equality of chances in the municipal elections and the project of decentralization. The most precious outcome of this ebb and flow of women's rights as political citizens is the new electoral law of the municipalities and the local councils: Chapter 49 that imposes the principal of horizental and vertical Parity in all electoral lists. Any lists that do not apply this principal will be cancelled. With this unique opportunity for women's representation in all elected councils, the feminist associations in Tunisia continue to strive for a favorable environment towards an effective implementation of this law across the country.

Najla Abbes League of Tunisian Women Voters, Tunisia



Najla Abbes has a Master's degree in English Literature from The Higher Institute of Languages in Tunisia. She was a Fulbright Language Teaching Assistant at Pfeiffer University, North Carolina from 2007 to 2008.

Najla is the co-founder and program coordinator of the League of Tunisian Women Voters (LET). The league aims to improve Tunisian women's ability to participate effectively in the political and public life, especially in politics and electoral practices, as voters and candidates based on the principles of human rights and social gender. As a program coordinator, Najla developed project proposals on women empowerment strategies and helped to implement an exchange program between Tunisian female potential candidates for the elections and Danish female MPs. Following the revolution, Najla was invited to deliver presentations and present papers on women's activism and political participation in different international conferences, workshops and seminars.

### Indonesia's Democracy: Political Decentralisation and Local Women's Movements

Indonesia's political decentralisation began with the introduction of Law on Local Government in 1999 following the fall of Suharto's authoritarian administration. This law grants new legislative power to Indonesia's regions. For many social groups, including Muslim, this new political development is seen as an opportunity to insert their political agenda at the local level. Muslim groups, in particular, perceive this opportunity to propagate the return to Islam as a way to generate answers to the social, economic and political crises that Indonesia is facing. Many of these local regulations have largely inspired by certain interpretation of religion to regulate public morality. As a result, many of these local regulations are discriminatory, for example, they target and limit women's freedom of movements. This paper discusses how Indonesia's democratisation and decentralisation provide the space for Muslim men to continue to enjoy public intellectual roles, dominating the doctrinal debates, and maintain their public positions in a number of Islamic organisations, and in political parties, reinforcing and defined women's roles based on Islamist elements into state policies at local levels. My presentation will show that the experience of Indonesian women's movements in the gender struggle capture a number of issues that women's movements are facing despite the country's democratisation.

Dr Dina Afrianty Australin Catholic University, Australia



Dina received her MA and PhD from Melbourne University. She returned to Indonesia in 2010, after finishing her PhD, to resume her role as a senior lecturer and Head of Department of the International Relations Department in the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences in the State Islamic University, Jakarta, where she was also Deputy Director for the Centre for the Study of Islam and Society. Dina worked for the Asia Foundation, Jakarta, supporting Indonesian legal reform under the Australia-Indonesia Partnership for Justice for almost two vears. She was an Endeavour Postdoctoral Research Fellow at Melbourne Law School in 2013-2014 and is a Research Fellow for the Gender, Religion and Law in Muslim Societies Program at the Centre for Social Difference, Columbia University. Dina is a Board Member of the Council for Asian Transnational Threat Research (CATR), the Institute for Defence Analysis and an Associate at the Centre for Indonesian Law, Islam and Society (CILIS) at Melbourne Law School. She is the editor of Studia Islamika, an Indonesian Journal for Southeast Asian Islam. Her research focuses on gender and politics, Islamic education, international development, international relations and women's rights in Muslim societies.

# ABOUT THE UNESCO CHAIR COMPARATIVE RESEARCH IN CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

The University Twinning and Networking (UNITWIN) Program was launched in 1992. Since then, the program has seen the establishment of hundreds of UNESCO Chairs and UNESCO networks. The central purpose of the UNESCO Chair program is to build capacity and promote international co-operation through the exchange of knowledge and resources in the fields of education, science, culture and communication. Indeed, one of the key goals of the UNESCO Chair program is to foster effective dialogue which acknowledges and respects the value and integrity of all peoples and culture. Professor Mansouri has expressed that one of his many goals as UNESCO Chair, Cultural Diversity and Social Justice will be ensuring cultural diversity is accepted and embraced as a core tenet of humanity. There will also be a special focus on issues confronting African Diaspora communities, migrant youth and women. The research program implemented under the auspices of the Chair will be multi-disciplinary in its approach and comparative in its application, investigating the manifestations and implications of diversity and justice domestically, regionally and at the international arena.

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The Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation aims to understand complex social issues associated with globalising processes through innovative, mixed-method multidisciplinary research. With a focus on disseminating research through high-impact channels, engaging in partnerships and supporting high-quality researchers and doctoral students, ADI seeks to contribute to knowledge construction and influence research developments, public debates and policy agendas.

The Institute's vision is to create an internationally-leading social sciences and humanities institute whose high- impact knowledge creation and dissemination actively shapes agendas and informs debates to meaningfully effect lived human experiences.

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