全面参与报告 要点

2015年3月







这是女性出生的黄金时期。今天,妇女和女孩们有更多机会可以获得健康和有保障的生活,目前全世界多个国家都在通过法律保护她们的基本人权。妇女和女孩们拥有过去无法想象的教育与工作机会。人们会更加考虑并衡量她们的需求与贡献,更多的女性拥有一席之地,可以全面参与决定我们共同的未来。

1995年在北京举办的历史性的联合国第四次世界妇女大会是这一进程的一个关键转折点。在北京,来自189个国家的代表签署了"行动纲领",倡议"女性在政治、公民、经济、社会和文化生活中的全面参与和平等参与。"自那时起,妇女和女孩的情况便有所改善,但我们依然任重道远。我们需要通过更多法律来推动全面平等并实施现有法律的相关规定。我们必须继续反对普遍的性别偏见,并确保世界上许多妇女和女孩已经享有的福利能够为全世界所有女性共同拥有。

今年是北京那一历史性事件的20周年纪念,一系列新的发展目标的讨论也到达高潮。这一时刻,我们要衡量进步,庆祝成果,审视挑战,并为未来设定路线。比尔及梅林达·盖茨基金会以及比尔、希拉里和切尔西·克林顿基金会的"打破桎梏"倡议与经济学人智库和位于加州大学洛杉矶分校的世界政策分析中心收集和分析数据,并与Fathom Information Design共同设想关键趋势。结果将以书面报告方式呈现,见www.noceilings.org。

我们发现,在卫生、教育和合法权利等方面已经有所进步,这些收获表明,真正的变革是有可能发生的。在安全、经济机会和领导领域,变革的步伐太过缓慢。即使有些地区已经有所进步,但并非所有人都能取得这些收获;地理位置、收入、年龄、人种、种族、残疾、性取向和文化标准以及诸多其它因素都成为女性获得平等权利与机会的重要决定因素。

1995年,全世界共同发声,宣布:"妇女权利乃属人权,人权是妇女的权利。"在过去20年中,妇女权利支持者们有太多值得骄傲的事情,但这项工作还没有完成。这一时刻,我们的未来大有希望。行动需求从未如此紧迫。今天,我们有充分的证据证明,在妇女和女孩的全面参与下,经济会出现增长,国家也

会更为安全。妇女权利的意识已从街道扩散到州府。强有力的 技术等工具以及从私营领域到信仰团体在内的广泛合作伙伴都 为加快妇女和女孩的全面参与提供了机会。现在,我们要继续 这些工作,从而确保为下一代妇女和女孩及其家庭、社区和国 家带来光明的前景。

更多宪法和法律保护妇女权利...

在宪法的变迁中已经越来越多地开始用立法来保护妇女权利。 在1995年后采用的56部国家宪法中,超过95%的宪法保证了男 女平等,而1995年之前(包括1995年)颁布的宪法中,这一比 例仅为79%。¹现在,超过五分之四的宪法都有男女平等保障机 制。²在很多国家,之前曾允许对妇女和女孩实行不公平待遇的 法律已被承认男女平等的法律所取代。

...但是,纸上权利常常没有得到执行,仍然存在很多法律障碍

在太多地方,妇女在家庭、公民和经济生活中的权利是有限制的。过去二十年中,提出妇女在婚姻中的权利问题的国家宪法的比例几乎没有任何改变。³有九个国家从法律上限制妇女的行动自由。⁴超过150个国家缺乏对确保妇女在经济中的参与度的关键保护,包括妇女获得资金、财产所有权和护理假的权利。⁵即使存在严格的法律,其实施与执行通常不力。







¹ WORLD Policy Analysis Center, "Equal Rights for Women and Girls in the World's Constitutions," WORLD Constitutions Database, 2015. http://www.worldpolicyforum.org

² Ibid.

³ Ibio

WORLD Policy Analysis Center, "Are States Parties to CEDAW Living up to Their Commitments to Women and Girls? A Globally Comparative Analysis of National Action," 2015. http://www.worldpolicyforum.org; World Bank, Women, Business and the Law Database.

⁵ To determine how many countries lack protections, data from the World Bank on legal differences restricting women's opportunities were supplemented with data from the WORLD Policy Analysis Center on whether leave is available to meet family caregiving needs. World Bank, "Women, Business and the Law 2014: Key Findings," 2013. http://wbl.worldbank.org/-/media/FPDKM/WBL/Documents/ Reports/2014/Women-Business-and-the-Law-2014-Key-Findings.pdf; WORLD Policy Analysis Center, "Are States Parties to CEDAW Living up to Their Commitments to Women and Girls? A Globally Comparative Analysis of National Action," 2015. http://worldpolicyforum.org

打破桎梏: 全面参与报告

2 要点

妇女与女孩卫生已大大改善...

就全球范围来看, 妇女和女孩寿命有所延长, 健康情况也有所 改善,产妇死亡率已几乎减半。现在的女性平均寿命可达 近73年,与1995年相比延长了4年。6全球产妇死亡率 与1995年相比已下降42%。南亚地区的成果最大,产妇死亡率 自1995年以来已下降近60%。7另外,2013年全球5岁以下女童 死亡率比1990年下降一半,全球未成年人生育率自1995年来已 下降近三分之一。。因中风、心脏疾病和传染疾病造成的死亡率 自1995年来也已下降,其中包括妇女。9

...目前医疗方面的进展不均衡

在某些地区和社区,妇女和女孩面临高HIV感染率,妊娠和分娩 过程中的不良护理,并且对节育措施的使用非常有限。在撒哈 拉以南的非洲,妇女的平均寿命只有57岁,部分原因是HIV/艾 滋发病率的上升。102013年,估计全球有1600万妇女感染艾滋 病毒,几乎是1995年的二倍。11尽管新的艾滋病毒感染案例有 所下降,但15到24岁之间女性的感染率是年轻男性感染率的二 倍。12每天有800名女性由于与妊娠和分娩有关的、在很大程度 上可以预防的原因死亡,其中99%的这类死亡发生在发展中国 家。13全世界超过2.2亿妇女想要避免怀孕,但由于多种原因(包括缺乏获取途径)没有使用现代避孕方法。14即使在高收入国 家,贫穷的妇女也只能获得比富裕妇女更少的医疗服务。15

- World Bank; derived from female life expectancy at birth from sources such as: United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), statistics on World Population Prospects; United Nations Statistical Division, "Population and Vital Statistics Report"; Eurostat, demographic statistics; Secretariat of the Pacific Community, Statistics and Demography Programme; U.S. Census Bureau, International Database; and census reports and other statistical publications from national statistical offices. http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.FE.IN, accessed January 2015.
- World Bank, WHO, UNICEF, UNFPA, UN Population Division. "Trends in Maternal Mortality: 1990 to 2013," WHO, 2014. http://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/publications/monitoring/maternal-mortality-2013/en/
- Under-5 mortality data from World Bank, based on estimates developed by the UN Inter-agency Group for Child Mortality Estimation (UNICEF, WHO, World Bank, UN DESA Population Division), available at www.childmortality.org; World Bank, adolescent fertility rate data, accessed May 2014. http://data. worldbank.org/indicator/SP.ADO.TFRT
- From 1995 to 2010, female deaths globally from cerebrovascular disease, ischemic heart disease, and tuberculosis fell by 26.1 percent, 21.5 percent, and 39.7 percent, respectively. Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation (IHME), "Global Burden of Disease 2010," 2013. See No Ceilings database, www.noceilings.org
- Global Health Observatory, WHO, life expectancy commentary. http://www.who.int/gho/mortality_ burden_disease/life_tables/situation_trends_text/en/
- UNAIDS Spectrum Estimates data measuring the total number of people living with HIV. http://www.unaids.org/en/dataanalysis/datatools/spectrumepp2013
- P. Idele, A. Gillespie, T. Porth, C. Suzuki, M. Mahy, S. Kasedde, and C. Luo, "Epidemiology of HIV and AIDS among adolescents: current status, inequities, and data gaps," Lippincott Williams & Wilkins 2014, using data from UNICEF analysis of unpublished 2012 HIV and AIDS estimates from the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS). http://data.unicef.org/corecode/uploads/document6/ $uploaded_pdfs/corecode/Epidemiology_of_HIV_and_AIDS_Among_Adolescents_169.pdf; UNAIDS, "UNAIDS World Aids Day Report 2011," 2011. http://www.unaids.org/sites/default/files/en/media/$ unaids/contentassets/documents/unaidspublication/2011/JC2216_WorldAIDSday_report_2011_en.pdf
- 13 World Bank, WHO, UNICEF, UNFPA, UN Population Division. "Trends in Maternal Mortality: 1990 to 2013," WHO, 2014. http://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/publications/monitoring/maternal-mortality-2013/en/
- 14 WHO Fact Sheet: "Family Planning," May 2013. http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs351/en/ OECD/European Union, "Health at a Glance: Europe 2014," 2014. http://www.oecd.org/health/

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GATES foundation

教育方面的很多重大男女差异已经消失...

在接受小学教育方面的男女差异在全球已基本消失。全世界女孩 与男孩的小学入学率基本相等,这是一项重大成果。16现在,在 近90%的低收入国家和全部的高收入国家,小学均实行免费教 育,这对女孩来说这个好消息,因为学费会影响女孩的入学率。17

...但差距仍然存在,边缘化的女孩落后最多

贫穷、农村、少数民族和受冲突影响的女孩受教育的可能性大 大降低。在小学适龄儿童中,43%的辍学者是来自最贫穷的五 分之一家庭的女孩,只有9%来自最富裕的五分之一家庭的男 孩。18在全世界的成人文盲中,近三分之二(4.96亿)为女性, 其中很多为贫困女性。19

尽管接受中学教育的男女差距正在缩小,很多女孩仍然离开 **了学校**。尽管有越来越多的女孩进入中学,男女入学率的差距 也从1998年的每100名男孩92名女孩缩小到每100名男孩96名 女孩,在有些地区,很多女孩仍然没有进入中学学习。20在撒哈 拉以南的地区,不足三分之一的女孩进入中学,在南亚,这一 比例也不足一半。21这些地区也是最有可能在中学阶段收取学费 的地区。22

尽管现在大学中的女性人数高于男性,但在科学、技术、 工程和数学 (STEM) 学习上的不平等依然存在。全球女性的 高等教育入学总数略高于男性,但这种进步并不是普遍性的。 比如,在撒哈拉以南的非洲,女性和男性的入学比例为6: 10。23全世界接受 STEM 教育的女性数量仍然低于男性, 而这些领域对应着薪酬最高的工作, 但这种情况没有发生改 善。2010年,美国所有的计算机科学学士学位中,约18%由女 性获得, 其高位是1984年的37%。24

- 16 Globally, the net enrollment rate in primary school for boys in 2012 was 91.9 percent compared with 90.3 percent for girls. The gap was 7.4 percentage points in 1995. See No Ceilings database www.noceilings.org; original source was UNESCO Institute for Statistics accessed May 2014. http://www.uis.unesco.org/
- WORLD Policy Analysis Center, "Facilitating Girls' Access to Quality Education: Global Findings on Tuition-Free and Compulsory Education," WORLD Education Database, 2015. http://www. worldpolicuforum.org
- 18 UNESCO, "Reaching Out-of-school Children is Crucial for Development," Education for All (EFA) Monitoring Report, Policy Paper 04, June 2012. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/ images/0021/002165/216519E.pdf
- UNESCO Institute for Statistics, International Literacy Data, 2014. http://www.uis.unesco.org/literacy/ Pages/literacy-data-release-2014.aspx
- This is based on the net enrollment rate in lower and upper secondary school, and is the ratio of children of the official secondary school age who are enrolled in secondary school to the population of the official secondary school age; see "net enrollment rate in secondary school" data in the No Ceilings database at www.noceilings.org; original source was UNESCO Institute for Statistics accessed May 2014. http://www.uis.unesco.org/
- 21 See "net enrollment rate in secondary school" data in the No Ceilings database at www.noceilings.org; original source was UNESCO Institute for Statistics accessed May 2014. http://www.uis.unesco.org/
- Only around a third of countries in Sub-Saharan Africa and half of countries in South Asia have made secondary education tuition-free through completion. Among those countries with available expenditure data, 43 percent that charge tuition before the completion of secondary school spend less than 4 percent of their gross domestic product on education. WORLD Policy Analysis Center, "Facilitating Girls' Access to Quality Education: Global Findings on Tuition-Free and Compulsory ${\tt Education,"WORLD\ Education\ Database\ and\ expenditure\ data\ from\ the\ UNESCO\ Institute\ for\ Statistics,}$ 2015. http://worldpolicyforum.org
- 23 Gross enrollment rate in tertiary school (used here) is the ratio of women enrolled in tertiary school, regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the total population in the 5-year age group, following on after secondary school; see "gross enrollment rate in tertiary school" data on No Ceilings database at www.noceilings.org; original source was UNESCO Institute for Statistics accessed May 2014. http://www.uis.unesco.org/
- 24 U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS), "Degrees and Other Formal Awards Conferred" surveys, and Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), "Completions" surveys (table prepared June 2000), available at http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d00/dt283.asp; National Science Foundation, "Women, Minorities, and Persons with Disabilities in Science and Engineering: 2013," 2013. http://www.nsf.gov/ statistics/wmpd/2013/pdf/nsf13304_full.pdf









打破桎梏:全面参与报告

要点 3

女孩仍然面临特有障碍和歧视性待遇

每年有超过100万女孩出生时即"失踪"。主要集中在中国和印度的重男轻女现象已造成每年估计140万女孩未能出生,其中大部分是由于性别偏向的性别选择。²⁵

童婚会破坏女孩的卫生、教育与经济机会,并增加其遭受暴力的风险。童婚的习俗非常根深蒂固且具有地方性。尽管这一习俗的流行性正在下降,但改变速度极慢。2010年,全世界20到24岁的女性中,超过6700万是在不满18岁时结婚。26尽管自1995年以后关于禁止童婚的法律保护有所增加,当仍有重大漏洞。约有三分之一的国家允许女孩在父母许可下的的结婚年龄低于男孩。27

对针对妇女和女孩的暴力行为的意识有所增强, 但这种情况仍然泛滥

针对女性的暴力行为仍然在全球泛滥。对针对妇女和女孩的暴力行为的意识有所增强,但这种情况仍然泛滥。世界上三分之一的女性经受过身体暴力或性暴力,其中绝大多数源自其丈夫或伴侣。²⁸在已经发现的贩卖人口受害者中,预计女孩的比例已从 2004年的 10% 上升到 2011年的 21%。²⁹

1995年以来,越来越多的法律开始禁止使用家庭暴力,但同样,差距仍然存在。2013年,100个国家中有76个已通过法律,宣布家庭暴力为非法,而1995年仅有13个国家通过此类法律。30然而,在撒哈拉以南的非洲,在我们研究的26个国家中有9个国家未对反对家庭暴力实行任何法律保护,且中东地区的10个国家中只有2个通过了此类法律。我们研究的100个国家中有62个国家没有通过具体的法律或条款明确认定婚内强奸和婚内性侵犯为非法行为。31甚至在存在此类法律的国家,此类事件的报告率也很低,其执行通常也存在问题。

在冲突地区,妇女要面临更高的性暴力与贩卖风险。冲突期间、冲突后时期和自然灾害期间,妇女和儿童会面临更高的安全风险,包括性暴力。近期在22个发展中国家进行的对于亲密伴侣暴力(IPV)的决定因素的统计分析发现,生活在脆弱和受冲突影响的状态下,妇女遭遇IPV的可能性会提高三分之一。32

完全经济参与度的关键障碍仍然存在

妇女在工作中的参与度二十年来已经停滞,且妇女薪酬仍然低于男性。全世界约有55%的女性是参与工作,而男性的这一比例为82%,1995年以来男性与女性之间的这一差距没有发生大的变化。33总而言之,几乎每个国家的妇女薪酬都低于男性。34妇女在农业和服务领域工作的几率更大,这些领域的薪酬低于制造业等领域。即便这样,10个国家中禁止在聘用和薪酬方面出现性别歧视的不足3个。35在高收入经济体,平均薪酬差距为15%,在韩国甚至高达37%。36缩小这一差距的步伐非常缓慢。1995年起,在拥有世界约三分之一人口的70个国家,平均男女薪酬差距已有所下降,从28%下降到20%。37

妇女超份额承担无薪工作。从家务和照看孩子、病人和老人 到家庭食物制作,大部分家庭工作和无薪工作均由妇女承担。 在发达国家,妇女承担的无薪工作是男性的二倍;在印度, 妇女从事的无薪工作甚至达到男性的七倍。³⁸

1995年以来,带薪产假有所增加,且已经普及,但很多国家对于看护责任还缺乏其他支持。除马绍尔群岛、密克罗尼西亚、瑙鲁、纽埃、帕劳、巴布亚新几内亚、苏里南、汤加和美国以外,所有国家均为婴儿的母亲提供带薪休假。³⁹1995年起,有八个国家开始实行带薪产假,50多个国家延长了带薪产假时间,20个国家提高了薪资金额。但是,只有不到一半的国家为新生儿的父亲提供休假,46%的国家没有针对孩子的健康需求为父母提供假期。⁴⁰在很多国家,优质儿童保育和早期儿童教育仍然无法获得或价格昂贵。







²⁵ World Bank, "Four Million Missing Women," World Development Report on Gender Equality and Development, 2012. http://go.worldbank.org/GPLFFB9PQ0

²⁶ UNFPA, "Marrying Too Young: End Child Marriage," 2012. http://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/MarryingTooYoung.pdf

²⁷ WORLD Policy Analysis Center and MACHEquity, "Legal Protections Against Child Marriage Around the World," WORLD and MACHEquity Child Marriage Database, 2015. http://www.worldpolicyforum.org

²⁸ World Health Organization, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, and South African Medical Research Council, "Global and Regional Estimates of Violence against Women Prevalence and Health Effects of Intimate Partner Violence and Non-Partner Sexual Violence," 2013. http://apps.who.int/iris/ bitstream/10665/85239/1/9789241564625_eng.pdf

²⁹ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, "Global Report on Trafficking in Persons: 2014," 2014. http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/GLOTIP_2014_full_report.pdf

³⁰ World Bank and International Finance Corporation, "Women, Business and the Law 2014," 2013. http://wbl.worldbank.org/~/media/FPDKM/WBL/Documents/Reports/2014/Women-Business-and-the-Law-2014-FullReport.pdf

³¹ J. Klugman, L. Hanmer, S. Twigg, T. Hasan, J. McCleary-Sills, and J. Santamaria, "Voice and Agency: Empowering Women and Girls for Shared Prosperity," World Bank Open Knowledge Repository, 2014.

³² J. Klugman and L. Hanmer, "Expanding Women's Agency: Where Do We Stand?" Feminist Economics, unpublished at press time.

³³ International Labour Organization (ILO), Key Indicators of the Labour Market (KILM), labor force participation rates, male and female, percentage of population aged 15-64, modeled ILO estimate, accessed January 2015. As defined by the ILO, the labor force participation rate is the proportion of the population that is economically active—meaning all people who supply labor for the production of goods and services during a specified period.

³⁴ EIU calculations based on data from "ILO Global Wage Report 2012/13: Wages and Equitable Growth," 2012. Figures cited are gaps between average nominal monthly wages for women and average nominal monthly wages for men, comparing the periods 1995-1999 and 2007-2011, taking simple averages of all available country wage gaps during those two periods. http://www.ilo.org/global/research/global-reports/global-wage-report/2012/lang--en/index.htm

³⁵ WORLD Policy Analysis Center, "Are States Parties to CEDAW Living up to Their Commitments to Women and Girls? A Globally Comparative Analysis of National Action," 2015. http://www.worldpolicyforum.org; World Bank, Women, Business and the Law Database

³⁶ OECD, information on gender wage gap, Gender Equality Database, accessed January 2015. http://www.oecd.org/gender/data/genderwagegap.htm

³⁷ EIU calculations based on data from "ILO Global Wage Report 2012/13: Wages and Equitable Growth," 2012. Figures cited are gaps between average nominal monthly wages for women and average nominal monthly wages for men, comparing the periods 1995-1999 and 2007-2011, taking simple averages of all available country wage gaps during those two periods. http://www.ilo.org/global/research/global-reports/global-wage-report/2012/lang--en/index.htm

³⁸ EECD, "Closing the Gender Gap—Act Now," 2012. According to the OECD, women in advanced economies spend around 277 minutes a day on work in the home, men about 140 minutes. http://www.oecd.org/gender/closingthegap.htm

³⁹ WORLD Policy Analysis Center and MACHEquity, "Labor Policies to Promote Equity at Work and at Home: Findings from 197 Countries," WORLD Adult Labor Database, 2015. http://www.worldpolicyforum.org: ILO, "Maternity and Paternity at Work. Law and Practice across the World," 2014. http://www.llo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_242617.pdf. Of the 185 countries and territories surveyed, the ILO found only two countries (the United States and Papua New Guinea) that do not guarantee workers paid maternity leave. Because the WORLD Policy Analysis Center conducted a review of 197 countries, they found an additional seven countries (Micronesia, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Palau, Suriname, and Tonga) that do not guarantee such paid leave. Of note, five of the nine countries without universal paid maternity leave do include coverage for public sector workers (Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, Suriname, and Tonga).

⁴⁰ WORLD Policy Analysis Center and MACHEquity, "Labor Policies to Promote Equity at Work and at Home: Findings from 197 Countries," WORLD and MACHEquity Adult Labor Database, 2015. http://worldpolicyforum.org

要点

1995年以来,随着对技术的使用激增,男女差距仍然存在。 在发展中国家,预计上网的女性数量比男性数量少2亿,而拥有 手机的女性数量比男性数量少3亿。41这很重要,因为在发展中 国家的上网女性中,30%表示她们上网是为了赚取外快,45%表 示是为了搜索职位,80%表示为了提高教育程度。42

在领导职位中妇女比例仍然较低

与20年前相比,从事政治工作的女性数量几乎是以前的2倍, 但她们仍然只占极少数。妇女在国家立法机构占有22%的席 位,比1997年的12%有所增加。43在多个国家的调查显示, 人们仍然相信男性才能成为更好的政治领袖。"

在终结冲突的和平对话中,妇女未得到充分代表。尽管 自1995年以来,联合国决议始终在呼吁妇女参与和平与安全进 程,但不足10%的和平谈判代表为女性。45在有妇女参与的少 量案例中,社会问题似乎更容易得到解决,从而提高了稳定几

尽管妇女在私营领域的领导力有所上升,但在高级管理职位 中,妇女比例仍然太低。1995年,财富500强公司中的女 性CEO比例为零;现在这一比例为5%。47女性在董事会中所占 席位的百分比呈多样化,从葡萄牙的8%到挪威的36%不等, 但远远称不上平等。48

结论

我们对妇女与女孩在过去20年中的地位的回顾, 表明要实 现 1995 年设定的"女性的充分与平等参与"的目标还有很多工作 要做。但数据同时显示出二十年来的巨大进步,让我们相信, 只要有足够的承诺、资源和责任,就有可能实现进步。要了解 更多信息并且和我们共同努力,请访问 www.noceilings.org。

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⁴¹ Women and the Web: Bridging the Internet Gap and Creating New Global Opportunities in Low and Middle-Income Countries (Santa Clara, CA: Intel, Dalberg, 2012). http://www.intel.com/content/dam/ www/public/us/en/documents/pdf/women-and-the-web.pdf; Women & Mobile: A Global Opportunity (United Kingdom: GSMA mWomen, Cherie Blair Foundation for Women, January 2013). http://www. gsma.com/mobilefordevelopment/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/GSMA_Women_and_Mobile-A_Global_ Opportunity.pdf

⁴² According to women surveyed in four countries: Egypt, India, Mexico, and Uganda. Women and the Web: Bridging the Internet Gap and Creating New Global Opportunities in Low and Middle-Income Countries (Santa Clara, CA: Intel, Dalberg, 2012). http://www.intel.com/content/dam/www/public/us/en/ documents/pdf/women-and-the-web.pdf

⁴³ Female representation in national parliaments (lower chamber), percentage of parliaments. Inter-parliamentary Union (IPU) Database, world and regional, as of December 2014. http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm

⁴⁴ Onlu 10 percent of men in Egupt, more than half in Rwanda, and more than half in Colombia disagree that men make better political leaders than women. Almost 20 percent of women in Egypt, more than half in Rwanda, and almost three quarters in Colombia disagree that men make better political leaders than women. World Values Survey. 2010, www.worldvaluessurvey.org

⁴⁵ UN Women, "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections Between Presence and Influence," 2012. http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/03AWomenPeaceNeg.pdf

⁴⁶ S. N. Anderlini, Women Building Peace (Boulder, CO: Lynn Rienner, 2007)

⁴⁷ Catalust, "Women in U.S. Management and Labor Force," 2014, http://www.catalust.org/knowledge/ women-united-states

⁴⁸ Catalyst, "2014 Catalyst Census: Women Board Directors," 2015. http://www.catalyst.org/ /nowledge/2014-catalyst-census-women-board-directors; http://www.catalyst.org/system files/2006%20Census.wbd_.pdf