

CALD Transformative Academy for Developing Empowered Leadership (CTADEL)

# Politics in Asia –Women & Democracy

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# Agenda

- Asia
- Democracy
- Gender Equality & Political Participation
- Women's Role in Politics
- Transforming – Political Pathways
- Challenges

# State of Asia

- ▶ Asia - Constitutional monarchies, absolute monarchies, one-party states, federal states, dependent territories, liberal democracies and military dictatorships are all factors in the region, as well as various forms of independence movements.
- ▶ <https://images.app.goo.gl/Xeufv2rURPBetkQm6>
  - ▶ Large expanse
  - ▶ Nearly 60% of the world's 8 billion population lives in Asia: a vast continent sprawling over 44 million km<sup>2</sup>, home to sprawling megacities, high-altitude deserts, the world's biggest plateau, and impenetrable rainforests
  - ▶ Severe strains: land use, rapid urbanization, environmental degradation, access to sustainable livelihoods
  - ▶ Diverse – ethnicities, indiginity, religions, landscapes, occupations, history, geology, treasures
  - ▶ Varied political systems - Constitutional monarchies, absolute monarchies, one-party states, federal states, dependent territories, liberal democracies and military dictatorships, illiberal democracies ( autocracies, authoritarianships), communist, democracies.
  - ▶ I am more familiar with Southeast Asia and some knowledge on India, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Mongolia
  - ▶ My discussion - Where are the Women in the political landscape mainly referring to Southeast Asia

# Democracy

- ▶ Power of the people ( what about other species on Planet Earth? Both good citizenry and democractic nations need to be created, nurtured, safeguarded, protected, preserved. Principles, Laws, Systems and structures – enabling this.
- ▶ Greeks to Present...Autonomy and equality
- ▶ Representatives of the people; participation; equality to vote; human rights; freedom of thought, expression, peaceful assembly and association
- ▶ But democracy ebbs, aggressive authoritarians falsely promise order, security, and prosperity, while actually delivering subjugation, persecution, and corruption.
- ▶ Inteference in freedom of speech, free elections, limiting civic participation. Rising authoritarianism.
- ▶ Problems – voter apathy. Rule of the majority. Rise of nationalism. Wherefore the Young? Where are the women?

# Gender Equality

- ▶ Women as Minority in Representative Politics in the country
- ▶ Women as Minority in Political Representation
- ▶ Women as Minority in Major Decision-making Processes
  - ▶ Case Study
    - ▶ India's recent elections
      - ▶ Concerned women with housework and livelihoods - voted in large numbers, keen on discussing politics
      - ▶ Outnumbering men in voter turnout and at rallies; courting by many political parties increasing political consciousness
      - ▶ 10 percent stood for election in 2024 as compared to 2.9 % in 1957 ( to be joyous?) or 9 % in 2019
      - ▶ BJP had 16 % (69 out of 440 candidates) whilst Congress had 13 % (41/327)
      - ▶ 31 were elected for BJP and 13 for Congress
    - ▶ Yet India is 143/185 in the IPU database on women parliamentarians, behind Vietnam, Philippines, China and Pakistan
    - ▶ Contrast 46 % women Parliamentarians in South Africa or 35 % in UK or 29 % in US ( Ref: Times of India)
  - ▶ European Nordic countries are at the top of the regional ranking (45.7% of MPs are women) while the Middle East and North Africa region remains at the bottom (17.7% of MPs are women).
  - ▶ Women represent 22.8% of Cabinet Ministers as of 1 January 2023. Europe and North America (31.6%), and Latin America and the Caribbean (30.1%) are the regions with the highest share of women in cabinets.
  - ▶ However, in most other regions, women are severely under-represented dropping as low as 10.1% in Central and Southern Asia and 8.1% in the Pacific Islands (Oceania excluding Australia and New Zealand).

Women Cabinet Ministers

The countries are ranked according to the share of women Cabinet Ministers who hold Ministerial posts as of January 2023.

Table listing countries and their percentage of women cabinet ministers as of January 2023.

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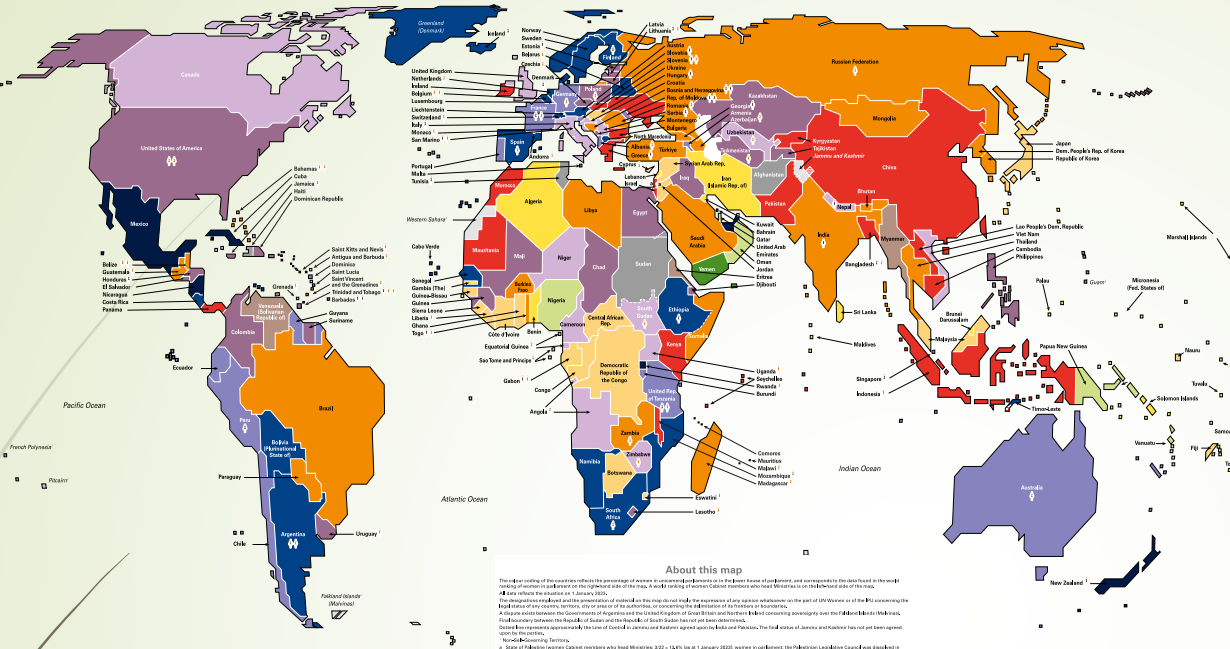


# Women in Politics: 2023



Inter-Parliamentary Union  
For democracy, for everyone.

## Situation on 1 January 2023



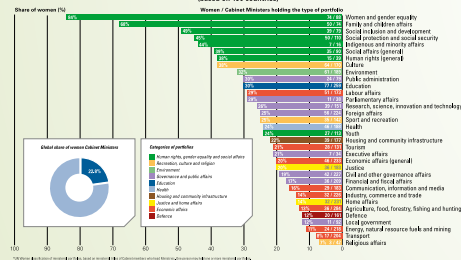
About this map  
The color coding of the map reflects the percentage of women in parliament by country as of January 2023. The map is based on data from the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPI) and the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women). The map is based on data from the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPI) and the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women). The map is based on data from the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPI) and the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women).

Women in parliament

The countries are ranked according to the share of women in parliament who hold Ministerial posts as of January 2023.

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### Share of women Cabinet Ministers by type of portfolio<sup>1</sup>



### Women in the highest positions of State

- Countries with women Heads of State (17/151 = 11.3%) and countries with women Heads of Government (19/193 = 9.8%)
- Heads of State: Barbados, Brunei and Herzegovina, Etiopia, Georgia, Greece, Hungary, India, Nepal, Peru, Republic of Moldova, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Trinidad and Tobago, United Kingdom of Tanzania.
- Heads of Government: Honduras, San Marino.
- Heads of Government, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Gabon, Iceland, India, Lithuania, New Zealand, Republic of Moldova, Samoa, Serbia, Togo, Tunisia.
- Women Speakers of Parliament (62/273 = 22.7%)
- Spain, Austria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina (2 chambers), Australia, Azerbaijan, Bahamas (2 chambers), Bangladesh, Belarus, Belgium (2 chambers), Bolivia (2 chambers), Botswana, Cambodia, Equatorial Guinea, Ecuador, France, Gabon, Germany, Grenada, Guatemala, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kiribati, Lesotho, Liberia, Lithuania, Madagascar, Malawi, Maldives, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Pakistan, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, San Marino, Sao Tome and Principe, Slovenia, South Africa, South Sudan, Spain, Switzerland, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago (2 chambers), Turkmenistan, Uganda, United Arab Emirates of Tanzania, United States of America (2 chambers), Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Zambia and Zimbabwe.
- Women Deputy Speakers of Parliament (153/529 = 28.9%)
- Of the 226 chambers in 191 countries for which information is available, 106 have at least one woman Deputy Speaker.

### World and regional averages of women in parliament

Table showing world and regional averages of women in parliament. The table includes regional averages for Nordic countries, Americas, Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, Pacific, and Middle East and North Africa.

# Globally (1)

- The Global Gender Gap Index report found that the political gender gap is expected to take 145.5 years to close.
  - Just 26.1 percent of parliamentary seats in the 156 countries examined in the report are held by women, and just 22.6 percent of government ministers are women. More than half of the countries in the report – 81 – have never had a female head of state.
- Yet the IPU report [Women in Parliament in 2023](#) shows that, although the numbers have continued to inch slowly upward, women remain underrepresented in every part of the world.
- At the end of 2023, women accounted for 26.9% of MPs, an increase of just 0.4 percentage points versus the previous year.

# Globally (2)

- ▶ Representation in Cabinet:
  - ▶ Men continue to dominate policy areas such as economic, defence, justice, and home affairs portfolios.
    - ▶ Women - 12% of Cabinet Ministers leading defence and local government portfolios, 11% of energy, natural resource fuels, and mining portfolios, and 8% of transport portfolios.
- ▶ underrepresented, women are at the helm of other important policy portfolios, including environment (32%), public administration (30%), and education (30%).
- ▶ But 84 % of women reps are in Gender Equality, 68 % in Family and Child Welfare, 49 % in Social Inclusion & Equity, 45 % in Social Protection and Equality ( IPU World



# Globally ( 3): Rank Country % Women Cabinet Ministers

Rank	Country	% Women in Cabinet
1.	Albania	66.7
2.	Finland	64.3
3.	Spain	63.6
4.	Nicaragua	62.5
5.	Liechtenstein	60.0
6.	Chile	58.3
7.	Belgium	57.1
8.	Mozambique	55.0
9.	Andorra, Colombia, Germany, Netherlands, Norway	50.0

However, in most other regions, women are severely under-represented:

- dropping as low as 10.1% in Central and Southern Asia
- and 8.1% in the Pacific Islands (Oceania excluding Australia and New Zealand).

Only 13 countries, mostly in Europe, have gender-equal cabinets, with 50% or more of women cabinet members as heads of ministries.

## Women's representation on standing committees of the Rwandan Parliament

\*indicate that the president of the Committee is a woman MP.

†indicate that the vice-president of the Committee is a woman MP. (committee membership data available at <http://www.rwandaparliament.gov.rw> accessed 22/08/2006)

Committee	Number of women MPs	Total number of MPs	Proportion of women MPs
Foreign Affairs and Cooperation†	5	7	71.43
Petitions†	4	7	57.14
Science, Culture, and Youth†	4	7	57.14
Political Affairs*†	4	7	57.14
Gender and the Promotion of the Family*	4	6	50.00
Agriculture, Livestock Development, and the Environment†	3	6	50.00
State Budget and Property*	3	6	50.00
National Unity, Human Rights and the Struggle against Genocide†	3	7	42.86
Economy and Trade	3	7	42.86
National Security and Integrity braema mathi	3	8	37.5
Social Affairs	2	6	33.33

# Globally (4): State of the World & Gender Politics

- Better security and protection of women's property rights **BUT** women still struggle to become owners of land and properties.
  - A case in point is that about 400 million women globally work on farms, producing a considerable portion of the world's food supply; but less than 20% of women legally own the land they cultivate; in more than 90 countries globally they lack legal titles and protection equal to men.
- In South-East Asian countries, there is the subordinate position of women socially and economically.
  - stigma against single women and men, widows in many societies ought not to re-marry, child marriages do occur, high volumes in the trafficking of women, girls and boys into the sex trade and many women migrating to work as migrant domestic workers. Violence is pervasive too. There is still illiteracy of the girls, children from lower socio-economic classes, fewer women in the political forces, in the boardrooms, as leaders in society as compared to the privileged positions given and upheld by men.
- Gender wage gap still persists in many countries in Asia and globally.
  - On average, women in Southeast Asia earn between 30% and 40% less than men, according to Asian Development Bank figures. The best performing countries in the Southeast and East Asia region, when it comes to base pay, are China, Hong Kong and the Philippines, with men's base pay exceeding women's by roughly 15%. On the other end of the scale are Malaysia and, surprisingly, Singapore, where men earn on average a whopping 30% more than women for the same work done. The gap between genders becomes even more pronounced when comparing professional and management positions where men on average earn up to 45% more than women. The notable exceptions, in this scenario, are Singapore, Hong Kong and the Philippines, with female managers and professionals earning on average only about 10% less than their male counterparts.
- Leadership Models

braema math Women still a scarce sight as Board Directors or as Board leaders. Universally low numbers, but lower in Asian-owned companies. And where there are more women board directors, the industry is usually the hospitality industry – 7% of CEOs and 35% of Level G (Hotel GM/Project Manager/ Department Director) were at conferences on boardroom diversity. © 2024

# Regionally (1): Women and the Political Prowess

- Political leadership
  - dynastic handovers. India, Bangladesh, Ceylon, then later Sri Lanka, Philippines, Indonesia, Myanmar, Thailand have had women leaders at the helm – as Presidents and Prime Ministers.
  - In India at State-level politics women have ruled over political parties, coming from the film world like the late Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Madam S Jayalalithaa or from the lower Dalit caste, the Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Madam Manavati.
  - The more marginalized one is the more powerful and independent the leader is, as she is breaking down the boundaries for all women in that State or country. It is also noted that many of these women came into power as widows, daughters, sisters of powerful leaders.
  - How many ruled patriarchally is also worth a critical view or whether they executed on equality between the sexes and for all people?
  - Many of them showed prowess but in many instances were also subsumed by political patriarchal and authoritative powers such as, as happened with Myanmar's President Aung Sung Syu Kyi, who showed much promise but today she is powerless against the military.
- On leadership women are still too fewer in number in Parliament as elected members.
  - Women representatives in Parliament in South Korea is about 16 % women, in Japan 9 %, in India 12 %, Lao PDR is 28 %, Pakistan is 20 %, Philippines is at 30 %, Sri Lanka at 6 %.
  - Why? Eg Indonesia - patriarchal attitudes about gender roles and the suitability of women for public office are reinforced by the public statements of religious and traditional (*adat*) leaders who are influential in local communities and in local politics. During the election campaigns community and religious leaders will support, publicly, male legislative candidates and question the morality of women running for office. The rising influence of conservative and patriarchal attitudes in Indonesian politics, despite its democracy, is particularly evident at the local level where an increasing body of laws seeks to regulate women's appearance and conduct. Often, the answer also lies with women not wishing or not knowing how to get into politics. Often, politics is seen as "dirty" and "a man's world".

# Regionally (2)

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Level of democracy of Southeast Asian countries	Level of female representation in legislature (latest election)
<i>No elected legislature</i>	
Burma (Myanmar)	NA
Brunei	NA
<i>Communist one-party regimes</i>	
Vietnam	27.3
Laos	25.2
<i>Illiberal democracies – restrictions on opposition</i>	
Cambodia	9.8
Singapore	21.2
Malaysia	9.1
<i>Liberal democracies – liberal political freedoms</i>	
Thailand (up to Sept. 2006)	10.6
East Timor (Timor Leste)	25.3
Indonesia	11.3
Philippines	15.7

- Political representation of women in Southeast Asian countries according to levels of democratization braema mathi
- Source: 'Women in National Parliaments' (2006).

**Figure 15: Women Representatives In Parliaments by ASEAN Member State**

ASEAN Countries	National Parliament		Ministerial positions
	Lower House	Upper House	
Brunei Darussalam	9.1%	-	0%
Cambodia	20.0%	16.1%	9.4%
Indonesia	20.3%	-	14.3%
Lao PDR	27.5%	-	11.1%
Malaysia	14.4%	19.1%	18.5%
Myanmar	11.1%	-	3.8%
Philippines	28%	29.2%	8.6%
Singapore	24.0%	-	16.7%
Thailand	16.2%	10.4%	0%
Viet Nam	26.7%	-	0%

Source: UN Women/IPU, Data as of March 2020



# What's the problem?

- Declining Democracy
- Inequalities
- Time is Scarce - Entwined in family care, maintaining livelihoods
- Institutional **Patriarchy** & Institutionalising Patriarchy
- Socio-Economic-Cultural-Religious Structures
  - Intersectionalities
- Lack of Sustainable Consciousness-Raising on Gender Equality
- Lack of Sustainable Structures to construct gender-equality domains and roles for girls/boys/women in politics
- Women - Lowest barometer in the scheme of work
- Stigmatisation
- Limited Visioning by Media
- Strong Role Models of Women Political Leaders with Betterment for Society Outcomes
- Sexual Harassment
  - In Liberia, Thailand and New Zealand, for example, fake photos of some women candidates, including images of a sexual nature, were circulated online with the intent of undermining their credibility. In New Zealand, female candidates faced threats, violence and break-ins, as well as public and racial abuse.
  - In some cases, attacks on women politicians coincided with national debates about gender equality. In Poland, where women's rights were a key election issue, some female candidates were subjected to sexual and physical violence.
  - As well as being a violation of human rights, violence against women in politics is a major obstacle to gender equality. It dissuades women from taking part in politics and undermines their ability to exercise their political mandates.

**Patriarchy**—which is the conceptualization of how men, especially cis men, and masculinity are seen as better than, are more respected than, and hold more privileges than women and non-binary people or femininity—permeates nearly every aspect of our lives. Although patriarchy is set up in a way to benefit men, it can also hurt men in many ways, as men are under the constant scrutiny of the fabricated norms that patriarchy has put in place.



# Transformation: Political pathways ( 1 )

- ▶ State obligation
  - ▶ Political commitment to realise and fulfil the articles
    - ▶ CEDAW Convention; other UN frameworks on DEI, gender mainstreaming e.g. the UN Guiding Principles that deal with Business and Human Rights, the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (where Goal no 5 is on Gender Equality)
- ▶ Dematerialise Patriarchy as it is also detrimental to many men. Feminism is not about man-hating. In fact bell hooks has said feminism is a safe place for men to fight against this maleness – bell hooks - “the most painful truth of male domination, is that men wield patriarchal power in daily life in ways that are awesomely life-threatening, that women and children cower in fear and various states of powerlessness, believing that the only way out of suffering, their only hope is for men to die, for the patriarchal father not to come home”.
  - ▶ This masculinity today is also described as ‘toxic masculinity’. What men are beginning to realise as they drop the illusion, analyse and reflect, is that they are victims of what they had inherited as a political socio-cultural order – they were part of the trap of patriarchal masculinity and were being hurt by it.
  - ▶ Patriarchy is domination, an inclusion circle of similar-minded men and women; and the subjugation of women and their exclusion from the male club of power, prestige, authority
  - ▶ cultural impact of how patriarchy began, is dependent on many factors – history, colonization, imperialism, religious interpretations, folklore, legends, hunter-gatherer and home-creator phenomenon, and through the evolution in and within the society.
- ▶ Promote and Conceptualise Feminism - FEMINISM IS NOT THE ENEMY. IT IS A TOOL helping men to see the masculinity trap that they have been caught in and how they have been supporters of the uneven play of power between men and women, between men and other men, men and other marginalised communities. This is a political shift. It is shift towards human rights for all and in due course, a cause to commit to gender equality

# Transformation Political Pathways ( 2)

- ▶ Political feminism - a role in the discussions and decision-making to ensure that women have opportunities and access to: equality, become politicians; get onto boards; have due promotions; learn new skills to remain relevant in the workforce; have access to housing, health, sanitation, economically viable jobs and social protection.
- ▶ Historical understanding of feminism
- ▶ The longer first wave from 1830 to early 1990s resulted in suffrage rights for women, led primarily by Western white women, political awareness.
- ▶ Second wave (1960 to 1980) that focused on seizing and ensuring equality for all women, which ran in sync with the civil rights movement in America. Whatever the ethnicity, race, class, religion, political affiliation and sexuality – equality is for all, especially women and African-Americans, who were then known only as ‘blacks’.
  - ▶ The wave of having sexual and reproductive rights, sexuality education, access to contraceptives, abortions were part of the wave.
- ▶ Third wave (1990 to 2000s) consolidated on the many touchpoints in the second wave – women owning their bodies, their physical expressions, “the personal is political” and “identity politics”. The ‘collective’ and ‘communal’ effort of the second and third waves were more politically-focused, anti-discriminatory
- ▶ Women’s views and capacity build up peace and war, immigration, refugees, migrant workers, the environment, trade pacts, manufacturing industry, the plight of the LGBT communities, the poor, the agricultural communities and how religion was demarcating roles for women and girls. The exact time of the women’s right movement is a difficult one to pin down.
- ▶ There is now a Fourth wave as claimed by critics and academics and millennials’ beliefs that the articulation of themselves as “feminists” is their own: not a hand-me-down from grandma. The beauty of the fourth wave is that there is a place in it for all –together

# Transforming: Political Pathways (4) : Feminising Political Structures/Spaces

- ▶ Spheres of Influence
- ▶ Diverse roles in different Sectors – Feminism everywhere as a practice and as a theory of equality and level playing field for all
- ▶ Within Political Structures
  - ▶ Deconstructing Reluctance to become Political Leaders
  - ▶ Contributors Passively
  - ▶ Not wishing to be 'touch'
  - ▶ Not wanting to last the race
  - ▶ Politics is dirty
  - ▶ Commitment to Change
  - ▶ Who changes who?
  - ▶ Women's Wing – is that the way to go?
  - ▶ Relationship structures – A tool, a diverse voice, a buffer, a contributor
- ▶ Tone, language, negotiator or the abuser?
- ▶ Multi-stakeholder ship and Multi-lateral
- ▶ Knowledge on Neoliberalism
- ▶ Internet reader
- ▶ Communication to build, most of the time
- ▶ Self-righteousness – exit door.



# Transforming: Political pathways (3)

- Use Digital platforms - cross-pollination and intra- and inter-germination of ideas, contestations and challenges
- Transborder Partnerships
- Advocacy and civil society organisations
- Political structuring/ infrastructure/outreach
- Women rising within infrastructure
- Parliamentary Education
- Empowering Processes and Capacity Building Modular courses

# An Aside: Transforming Pathways on Parl – How? On Information

- ▶ Information is a critical political resource because it can be used to sway decisions, and it is essential to effective oversight. The gulfs between parliament and government and between parliaments in more or less well-resourced environments take many forms. But one area in which all parliamentarians are disadvantaged is the information asymmetry between the executive and legislative branches.
- ▶ **“We have been asking for a gender-sensitive budget the parliament so that we can assess these programmes and policies, to see if they have translated into real impacts and empowerment for women. What we got was half a page in the budget telling us that the general spending on women was 20 per cent, without any details on where these numbers came from. I want to know whether the government is talking about women who work in the public sector or the private sector, for example? What is the total amount spent on women [in each sector]?” Rula Al-Farra, Member of the House of Representatives, Jordan**

# An Aside: The Parliamentary Environment

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- **Oversight and accountability: the parliamentary environment**
- **Culture:** The political space for oversight does not exist everywhere. To strengthen the oversight culture, parliament must ensure that all stakeholders – the population at large, the government, the opposition, etc. – understand and accept the purpose and benefit of oversight. It is of fundamental importance that the opposition or minority parties in parliament are able to participate fully in oversight of the government.
  - Political space
  - Government
  - Role of the opposition
  - Political parties
  - Political FEMINISMS AND DECONSTRUCTION OF SET PIECES (??)
- **Processes**
  - Mandate
  - Powers
  - Tools
  - Resources

# An Aside: The Parliamentary Environment – Cont'd

- ▶ **Relationships:** Parliament's ability to conduct meaningful oversight frequently depends upon opening up government proposals to the wider world, and this makes the nature of parliament's relationship with a range of external players of prime importance. Parliament requires the insights and expertise of such external bodies to complement and enrich its own oversight activities and conclusions.
  - ▶ External oversight
  - ▶ institutions
  - ▶ Civil society
  - ▶ Media
  - ▶ Citizens
- ▶ **MPs:** Individual MPs have many motivations for engaging in oversight. These motivations range from helping constituents, to taking forward policy goals, to more personal drivers of professional development and advancement.
  - ▶ Incentives
  - ▶ Public demand



# Challenges towards transforming

- ▶ State of Government and levels of resistance
  - ▶ Military, Communist, Illiberal democracy
- ▶ Institutions
- ▶ Dynasty Route – favoured approach? Philippines, Burma, Indonesia and Malaysia: Corazon Aquino, Aung San Suu Kyi, Megawati Sukarnoputri and Wan Azizah are well-known names.
- ▶ Fulfilling what ought to be done and the global climate of inadequate and weak political leaders – will face gender-based, religion-based, cultural-based, women- based resistances as shifting paradigms is the work.
- ▶ Wars, not peace
- ▶ Funds
- ▶ Openness and Unrestricted Spaces
- ▶ Time and Schedules
- ▶ Modular Curricula Aimed at Adults/Older Youths
- ▶ Honest Discussion on Political Life

# Challenges –being in Parliament

- ▶ Despite its importance, oversight is often difficult in practice. A survey of more than 350 MPs from 120 countries – including MPs from parties in government and in opposition, men and women, and of all ages – drew out a wide range of challenges. Here are a few representative ones:
- ▶ Political space “a non-cooperative government that doesn’t tolerate the opposition” (opposition MP from Guinea)
- ▶ Party politics “fear of embarrassing government” (MP from governing party in Mauritius)
- ▶ Resources “lack of funding for committees” (opposition MP from Ireland)
- ▶ Parliamentary powers “lack of implementation by the government of the recommendations of standing committees” (MP from governing party in Pakistan)
- ▶ Competing demands “constituency issues vs national issues – more often than not constituency issues take precedence over national” (MP from Bhutan)
- ▶ Commitment “commitment from MPs to carry out oversight from top down, through implementation to impact in our society” (opposition MP from Indonesia)
- ▶ In 1995, only four countries used gender quotas. Twenty years later, 120 countries had adopted some form of gender quota to increase women's representation (IPU [2015](#)).

**“ WE KNOW THAT SOCIETIES ARE MORE STABLE WHEN WOMEN ARE POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY EMPOWERED. ”**

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“

Success isn't about how much money you make, it's about the difference you make in people's lives.

Michelle Obama  
First African American First Lady of the United States



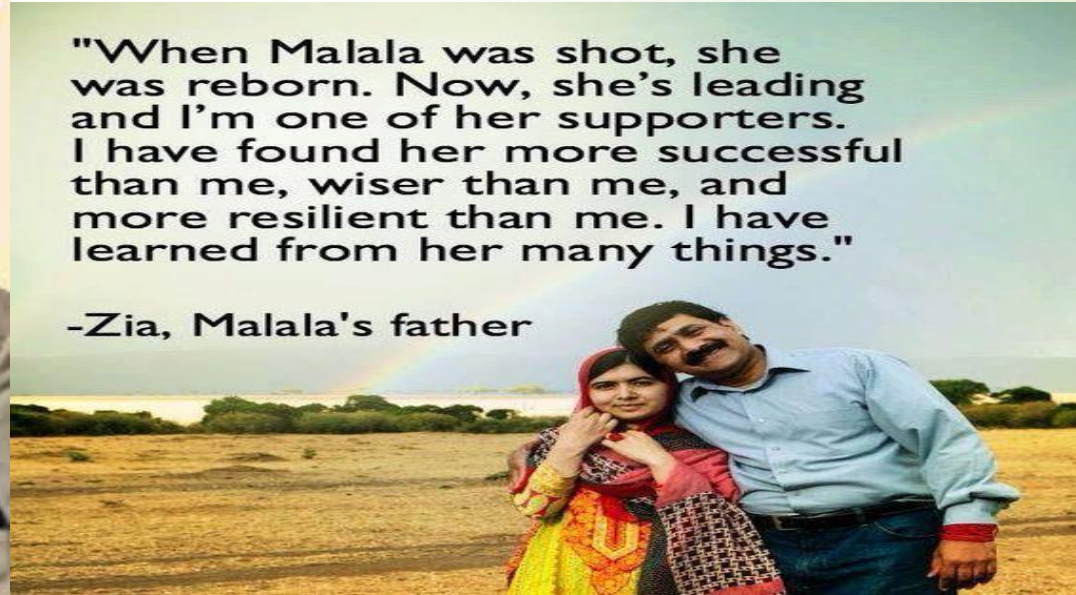
**"Don't follow the crowd, let the crowd follow you."**



-Margaret Thatcher  
OCT. 13 1925 - APR. 8 2013

**"When Malala was shot, she was reborn. Now, she's leading and I'm one of her supporters. I have found her more successful than me, wiser than me, and more resilient than me. I have learned from her many things."**

-Zia, Malala's father



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“

**THE MOST COMMON  
WAY PEOPLE GIVE UP  
THEIR POWER IS  
BY THINKING THEY  
DON'T HAVE ANY.**

”

***ALICE WALKER***

THANK YOU

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