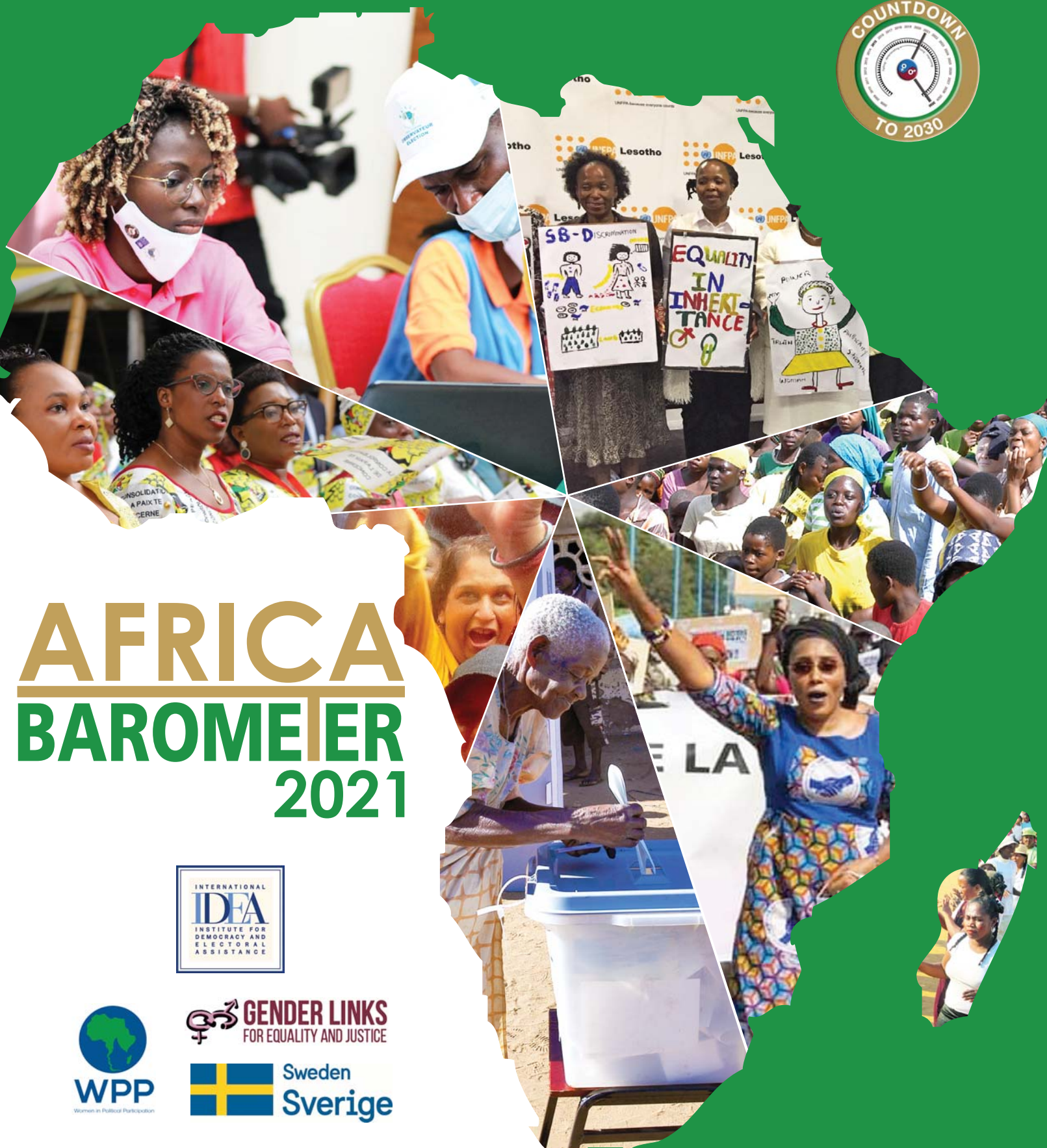
Women's Political Participation



COUNTDOWN TO 2030

AFRICA BAROMETER 2021

INTERNATIONAL IDEA INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY AND ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE

WPP Women in Political Participation

GENDER LINKS FOR EQUALITY AND JUSTICE

Sweden Sverige

Women's Political Participation ~ Africa Barometer 2021

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CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 2
ACRONYMS 3
FOREWORD 5
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY 7

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION 15

CHAPTER 2
ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION 39

CHAPTER 3
POLITICAL PARTIES 71

CHAPTER 4
ELECTORAL LAWS AND MANAGEMENT 89

CHAPTER 5
MAINSTREAM AND SOCIAL MEDIA 111

CHAPTER 6
CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS 131

CHAPTER 7
EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION 151

CHECKLIST 171

ANNEX 1 - Mapping of gender organisations in Africa working on women's political participation 177
ANNEX 2 - Interviews for the WPP Africa Barometer 181
ANNEX 3 - Latest elections in Africa by year 183
ANNEX 4 - Women in parliament (LH) by rank 2021 184
ANNEX 5 - Women in local government in Africa by rank 185
ANNEX 6 - Women in parliament (LH) in Africa 2000, 2010, 2020 186
ANNEX 7 - Women in parliament in Africa by region 188
ANNEX 8 - Women in local government in Africa by region 190
ANNEX 9 - National constitutional and legal instruments for women in decision-making in Africa 192
ANNEX 10 - WPP in Africa by electoral system and quota - lower house 205
ANNEX 11 - WPP in Africa by electoral system and quota - local government 207
ANNEX 12 - Women in the top three political party leadership stuctures in Africa 208
ANNEX 13 - Women in election management bodies in Africa 214
ANNEX 14 - Women speakers of parliaments in Africa 216
ANNEX 15 - Women mayors of capital cities in Africa 218
ANNEX 16 - Women in top executive positions in Africa 220
ANNEX 17 - Women and men in cabinet in Africa 222
ANNEX 18 - Gender division of labour in cabinets of select African countries 224

BIBLIOGRAPHY 233



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ACRONYMS

ACHPR	Protocol to the African Charter of Human's and People's Rights
ADEMA	Alliance for Democracy in Mali
ADF	Alliance for Democracy and Federation
ANC	African National Congress
AU	Africa Union
ANGOZA	Association of NGOs in Zanzibar
BPFA	Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CDP	Congress for Democracy and Progress
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CENA	Interior and the National Autonomous Electoral Committee
CNE	Mozambique Comissão Nacional de Eleições; National Commission on Election
CNL	National Liberation Congress
CSO	Civil Society Organisations
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
DP	Democratic Party
EASSI	EastAfrican Sub-Regional Support Initiative for the Advancement of Women
EC Uganda	Electoral Commission of Uganda
ECZ	Electoral Commission of Zambia
ECN	Electoral Commission of Namibia
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
EFM	European Union Election Follow-up Mission
EISA	Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa
EMB	Election Management Body
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
ESP	Election Support Project
FAWE	The Forum for African Women Educationalists
FDC	Forum for Democratic Change
FEMNET	The African Women's Development and Communication Network
FIDA	Federation of Women Lawyers
FLN	National Liberation Front
FPTP	First-Past-the- Post
FOWODE	Forum for Women in Democracy
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique; Mozambique Liberation Front
GESI	Gender Equality and Social Inclusion
GL	Gender Links
HMS	Movement of Society for Peace
HRD	Human Rights Defender
International IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IFAN	Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire; Fundamental Institute of Black Africa
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union

LGBTQI	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex
MIGEPROF	Ministry of the Promotion of Gender and the Family
MMP	Mixed Member Proportional System
MMA	Media Monitoring Africa
MNSD-NASSARA	National Movement for a Society in Development
MOP	Movement for Progress Party
MP	Member of Parliament
MPLA	People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NEBE	National Electoral Board of Ethiopia
NIEC	National Independent Electoral Commission
NRC	National Resistance Council
NRM	National Resistance Movement
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
PAICV	African Party of Independence of Cape Verde
PDC	Centrist Democratic Party
PNU	Part of National Unity
PPS	Party of Progress and Socialism
PR	Proportional Representation
PWD	Persons with disability
RCD	Democratic Constitutional Rally
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front- Inkotanyi
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SSP	Senegal Socialist Party
SWAPO	Southwest Africa People's Organisation
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
TSM	Temporary Special Measures
WDN-U	Women's Democracy Network- Uganda Chapter
UFSP	Socialist Union of Popular Forces
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
USFP	Socialist Union of Popular Forces
UWONET	Uganda Women's Network
UWOPA	Uganda Women's Parliamentary Association
VAWIE	Violence against women in elections
VAWG	Violence against women and girls
VAWP	Violence against women in politics
WILPF	International League of Women for Peace and Liberty
WLSA	Women and Law in Southern Africa
WPP	Women's political participation
WRO	Women's Rights Organisation
WSR	Women's Situation Room
WTO	World Trade Organisation
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZEC	Zanzibar Electoral Commission
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
ZNWL	Zambia National Women's Lobby Group

FOREWORD



Her Excellency Dr. Joyce Banda

FORMER AND FOURTH PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MALAWI

Africa's Agenda 2063 commits to improving women's political participation through Aspiration Three on Africa's good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law. This Aspiration embeds a culture of gender equality and good governance. Such aspiration and accompanying framework makes clear the fact that the continent needs on-the ground-evidence to draw attention to gaps, and to make evident progress on women in political participation. The Africa We Want is one where women have equal opportunities to participate in all levels of political decision making without hindrance, without fear, and with full support. Special measures to correct historical imbalances must be put in place to ensure that ***#WomenmustleadAfrica***.

The continent has long committed to improve gender equality in political decision making as shown through the Maputo Protocol that offers specific provisions on women's political participation. At a global level, the Sustainable Development Goal Five on Gender Equality provides for the increase and meaningful participation of women in political decision-making. This global agenda, to be achieved by 2030, will remain a dream if Africa does not change its systems, practices and policies to ensure that more women sit at the political decision-making table. While some of our African countries have surpassed the 50% mark of women in political decision making at a parliament level, there is need to cultivate enabling ground from local government level to cabinet level for women to participate in politics. Adoption of the 'leaving no one behind' principle means that African Union Member States should invest in capacity building programmes, voter education and documentation systems to ensure that women are equipped with the necessary skills during campaigns, while in office, and after their political tenure expires. Crucially, 'leaving no one behind' suggests that we actively cultivate ground for the inclusion and support of young women in politics, and to garner the support of young men who are gender-enlightened, at various levels of participation.

This Barometer explores both the long-term structural causes of women's exclusion from political decision-making as well more immediate barriers. This ground-breaking publication - arguably a first of its kind - offers a composite picture of the state of play of women's political participation across all countries of the continent. It offers important insights into existing structural and societal barriers preventing women from participating in politics, while making evident key areas for urgent intervention towards enhancing women's political participation in Africa. The research reveals the glaring inequality that subsists, calling on us to do more, and to do so in a more focussed and concerted fashion across our different countries and areas of work. It is telling, for instance, that women form 25%

representation in lower houses, and 24% overall, which is far from the 50% mark provided for by global and continental gender instruments.

That local government data is only available for 19 African countries is indicative of a glaring information gap, even as the data shows that women's representation at that level of political decision-making is at 21%. Local government political participation has been proven to provide an essential training ground for sound long term political participation. That women are left out at this level then, does not bode well for participation at other levels and organs of the political structure and strata. A key arena of the political structure is the political party. Here too, we are presented with the deeply troubling picture of only 12% of women represented at political party top leadership positions across the 54 African countries. Without a change of mind-set and political party constitutions at this level, there will be fewer possibilities of women being elected in political decision-making positions.

This is not the Africa we want.

Deeply entrenched patriarchy in our African society poses many barriers for women in political participation. It is time that the worth of a woman is counted beyond so-called 'traditional' roles, to the meaningful contribution towards societal development. The burden of household chores and inequitable access to higher education also limit women's ability to enjoy the opportunities and benefits of citizenship as men on an equal footing in the political sphere. Lack of economic resources is one of the biggest obstacles to women's participation in politics. Nomination fees payable for candidates are oftentimes a barrier for aspiring female candidates.

I commend all countries' political parties that have adopted voluntary quotas for women in politics to ensure that the numbers of women politicians increase. The countries that have adopted constitutions with reserved seats for women are to be commended. These seats are not a window dressing act but a special measure to correct historical injustices that prevented women from participating in politics. It is sad that there has been evidence of attack on female leaders that are in political office through these reserved seats. It is time that women encourage and capacitate each other regardless of the electoral system that is in existence.

Our Regional Economic Commissions (RECs) have a big role to play to ensure that Member States adopt systems, laws and practices that will enable women to effectively participate in politics. While I am aware that changing a system requires multi-stakeholder and citizen consultations, I would encourage African countries to review the existing electoral laws and ensure that they are inclusive and adhere to continental and global gender equality frameworks.

I would like to commend International IDEA and its Women in Political Participation Consortium partners, in particular Gender Links, for producing this ground-breaking research. The work to improve the numbers and quality of women in political participation is far from over. The funding support from the Embassy of Sweden in Addis Ababa is a welcome contribution to enhancing women's political participation in Africa. The report is but the start of a longer journey we must walk together. With the unflinching commitment of every individual, family, community and Member State to right the wrongs reflected by this, the first Pan-African Women's Political Participation Barometer, Africa WILL surpass the 50% provision of women in politics.

Women must lead Africa!

Zikomo Kwambili



President Joyce Banda

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

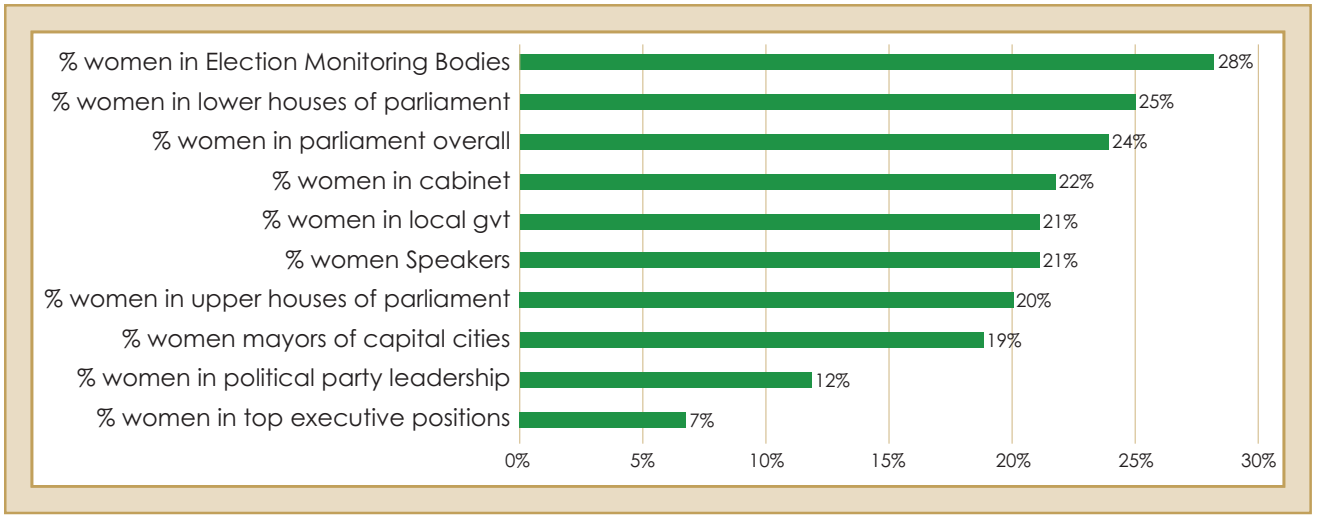
As the clock ticks down to 2030, the deadline for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), African countries are still far from achieving women's "equal and effective" participation in political decision-making. According to the first *Women's Political Participation (WPP) Africa Barometer 2021*, women constitute 24% of the 12,113 parliamentarians in Africa - 25% in the lower houses, and 20% in the upper houses of parliament. While local government is often hailed as a training ground for women in politics, women constitute a mere 21% of councilors in the 19 countries for which complete data could be obtained.

Table I: Women's Political Participation in Africa key indicators 2021

	Horn	East	Southern	Central	North	West	Africa	Notes
% women in lower houses of parliament	33%	33%	28%	19%	24%	16%	25%	1
% women in upper houses of parliament	30%	29%	29%	20%	11%	12%	20%	2
% women in parliament overall	33%	32%	28%	19%	21%	16%	24%	3
% women in local gvt	N/A	35%	20%	27%	3%	2%	21%	4
% women in political party leadership	17%	15%	14%	7%	0%	11%	12%	5
% women in Election Monitoring Bodies	21%	45%	40%	20%	25%	24%	28%	6
% women Speakers	0%	33%	35%	18%	0%	16%	21%	7
% women mayors of capital cities	20%	0%	19%	43%	0%	20%	19%	8
% women in top executive positions	10%	12%	9%	7%	0%	7%	7%	9
% women in cabinet	23%	32%	26%	20%	13%	19%	22%	10

1. Data compiled from IPU website February 2021. See Annex 7
2. 25 African countries have an upper chamber. Data compiled from IPU website February 2021. See Annex 7.
3. Combined upper and lower chamber, or lower only where there is no upper chamber. See Annex 7.
4. Data only available for 19 African countries. For all sources refer to Annex 8.
5. Top three officials in ruling and opposition party in each country. Data from party websites see Annex 12.
6. Electoral commissioners in the 41 countries where these exist. Data from Election Management Body websites see Annex 13.
7. Speakers and heads of upper and lower chambers; data from parliament websites. See Annex 14.
8. Data compiled from wesites of capital cities. See Annex 15.
9. Presidents, deputy presidents, prime ministers and deputy prime ministers. See Annex 16.
10. Data compiled from government websites. See Annex 17.

Figure I: WPP in Africa at a glance



Source: Gender Links 2021.

Out of the ten indicators measured in the Barometer, African women are best represented in Election Management Bodies (28%), still well below 50%. Women are missing in cabinet (22%) and glaringly absent from top decision-making positions. African women constitute a mere 12% of the top three party functionaries in ruling and opposition parties and 7% of women in top political executive positions (presidents, vice presidents, prime ministers and deputy prime ministers) across the continent.

The Barometer forms part of the International IDEA-led consortium: Enhancing the Inclusion of Women in Political Participation in Africa[1]. Launched on 18 March 2021, the Barometer aims to imbue the African continent, especially legislators and policy-makers, with a ready resource through which they are able to assess progress over time in WPP; the underlying reasons, and evidence-based arguments to enhance advocacy campaigns.

Context

The Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU) reports that since the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 (twenty years ago), women's representation in parliament has increased by ten percentage points, from 15% to 25%. At this rate it would take fifty years (until 2070) to achieve gender parity. SDG 5.5 commits government to achieving "full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political life" women by 2030[2].

Table II: WPP in Africa in the global context

Region	Sub-region	Lower chamber and unicameral	Upper chamber	All chambers
Americas		**32%**	**33%**	**32%**
	Caribbean	41%	32%	40%
	North America	36%	42%	37%
	Central America	28%	36%	29%
	South America	26%	27%	26%
Europe		**31%**	**30%**	**30%**
	Nordic countries	45%	0%	45%
	Western Europe	35%	32%	34%
	Southern Europe	28%	37%	31%
	Central and Eastern Europe	25%	19%	24%
Global	**All regions**	**26%**	**25%**	**26%**
Africa		**25%**	**20%**	**24%**
	Horn	33%	30%	33%
	East Africa	33%	29%	32%
	Southern Africa	28%	29%	29%
	Central Africa	19%	20%	19%
	North Africa	24%	11%	21%
	West Africa	16%	12%	16%
Asia		**21%**	**17%**	**20%**
	Central Asia	26%	22%	25%
	East Asia	22%	23%	22%
	South East Asia	21%	13%	20%
	South Asia	17%	19%	18%
Pacific		**18%**	**45%**	**21%**
	Australia and New Zealand	39%	51%	42%
	Pacific Islands	6%	8%	6%
Middle East		**17%**	**13%**	**16%**

Source: IPU, January, 2021, adapted by GL to reflect Africa as a whole (including North Africa).

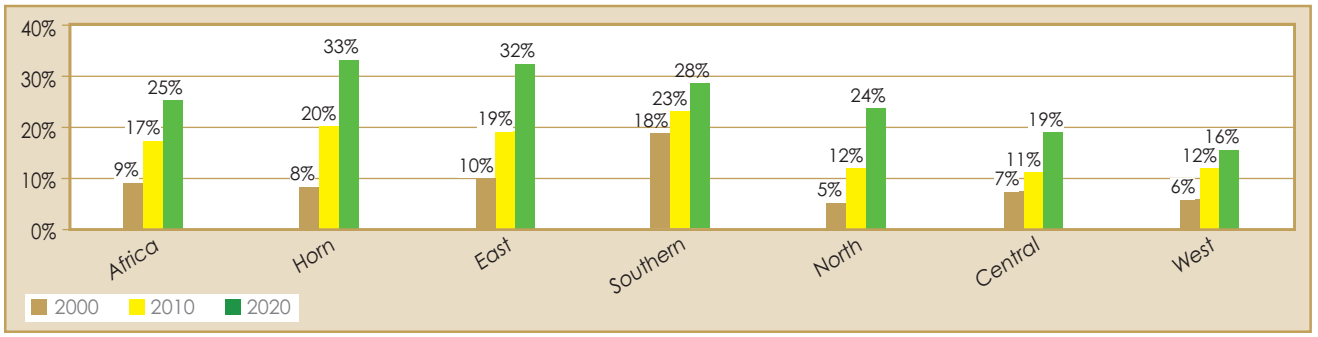
[1] The six other organisations in the consortium are FAWE, FEMNET, Gender Links, IFAN Gender Laboratory, PADARE, and WLSA
[2] Thttps://sdg-tracker.org/gender-equality

As reflected in Table II, the overall global averages mask important regional and sub-regional differences. For example, women's representation in parliament in the Americas stands at 32% (40% in the Caribbean) and in Europe at 30% (45% in the Nordic countries). With 25% women in the lower houses and 24% overall, Africa is just slightly below the global average. But there are also significant regional differences, ranging from 33% in the Horn of Africa to 16% in West Africa.

Indeed, in terms of IPU ranking, women's representation in parliament in Africa ranges from best performer Rwanda (with 61% women in parliament - see Annex 4) to Nigeria, at number 180 in the global ranking, with 6% women in parliament. Making use of a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, including sixty case studies from 40 of Africa's 54 countries, the Barometer contains a wealth of analysis and insights to help make sense of this complex tapestry.

Progress over time

Figure II: Women in Parliament (LH) in Africa over time

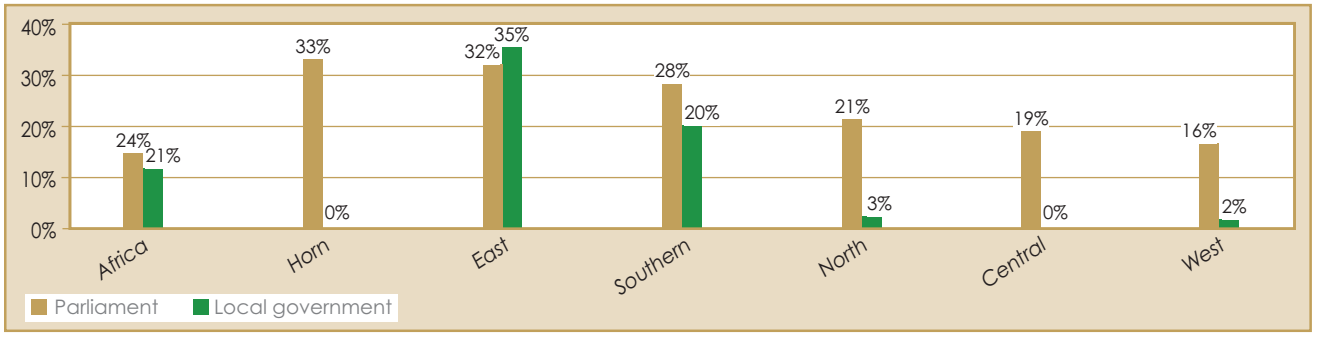


Source: IPU website and archives accessed in February 2021.

Figure II shows that there has been some progress over the last two decades in WPP in Africa. The figures are derived from the detailed country data in Annex 6. Women's representation in the lower houses of parliament (common to all African countries) has risen from 9% in 2000 to 25% in 2020, a sixteen percentage point increase. The most marked increase has been in the post-conflict Horn of Africa countries (from 8% to 33%) and in East Africa (where Rwanda is located) from 10% to 32%. Southern Africa is third in line. Here the increase has been more measured over time, rising from 18% to 28%. Women's representation in the lower houses is lowest, and increases have been slowest in central and west Africa.

Local and national

Figure III: Women's representation in parliament and local government in Africa



Source: Compiled by GL with data from the WPP Africa Barometer.

Figure III compares women's representation in parliament (lower and upper houses) and local government in 2021. One of the limitations of this comparison is the dearth of reliable data on local government. GL could only source reliable data on 19 countries, most from our own research in Southern Africa (see Annex 8). There is no data on countries in the Horn of Africa, some of which are in transition. Available data shows that overall women comprise 21% of councilors in Africa, compared to 24% of MPs. Women constitute a much lower proportion of councilors than MPs in all regions, except for East Africa (32% in parliament and 35% in local government). The difference is most marked in West Africa (7% in local government and 16% in parliament) as well as North Africa (3% in local government and 21% in parliament). These figures suggest that women face even higher levels of systemic discrimination and exclusion at community than national level in African countries.

Barriers to WPP

WPP in the shadow of COVID-19

The COVID-19 pandemic creates the risk that women and men may not be able to participate in electoral processes effectively, including voter registration, candidate nomination, voter education, electoral campaigning and voting, especially for people already infected or in quarantine.

In 2020, 18 African countries (Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Malawi, Mali, Namibia, Niger, Seychelles, Tanzania and Togo) held elections despite the pandemic. Four countries (Ethiopia, Senegal, Somalia, and Sudan) postponed elections. Some 26 elections are scheduled to take place in 2021 amid a second wave of the pandemic that is hitting the continent far more severely than the first.

To date, electoral management bodies (EMB) have established several measures in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, including provision of masks and sanitiser at polling stations but compliance with health protocols remains a concern.

Online campaigning works better in countries with good Internet infrastructure, for example in Ghana most campaigning took place on social media, while in Mali most political parties and candidates did not have adequate resources to switch to online campaigning. This could account for the higher voter turnout in Ghana (79% compared to 69% in previous elections). In Mali the voter turnout decreased to 36% from 43% in the previous elections. However, as described in Chapter three, women in Mali turned out in their numbers to protest against the non-observance of electoral quotas for women. Never before has the slogan "Making IT work for gender justice" come into its own more than during this time.

The Barometer explores both the long term structural causes of women's exclusion from political decision-making as well more immediate barriers. Across Africa patriarchy, social, cultural and religious influences have resulted in women being rendered second class citizens. The worth of a woman is measured based on the role she plays as a wife and mother. There are many

proverbs to discourage women's public appearance in decision-making. Culturally, there is a belief that women are supposed to be led but not to lead. Traditional attitudes towards gender equality influence women's advancement in political participation. The burden of household chores and inequitable access to higher education also limit women's ability to enjoy the opportunities and benefits of citizenship as men on an equal footing in the political sphere. Lack of economic resources is one of the biggest obstacles to women's participation in politics. Political parties are themselves deeply patriarchal, male-dominated entities that have been slow to transform.



Credit: Tsali Marou

"I am a village chief which means my every day work revolves around people in the community. I was elected to represent chiefs in the council. Most people, especially men, were not happy because I am a woman and a chief. I didn't give up. Instead I pushed harder to represent voiceless women."

***Masekoati Masupha**, Senekane council. Berea district, Lesotho.*

Electoral systems and quotas

Table III: Electoral systems and quotas - Parliament (LH)

Electoral system	PR	Mixed	FPTP	Total
No of countries	18	10	23	**54**
Voluntary party	40%	N/A	28%	34%
Constitutional/legislated	26%	25%	25%	25%
None	17%	23%	16%	16%
Total	**30%**	**25%**	**22%**	**25%**

Source: Compiled by GL with data from WPP Africa Barometer.

Table IV: Electoral systems and quotas - local government

Electoral system	PR	Mixed	FPTP	Total
No of countries	5	5	9	**19**
Voluntary party	32%	41%	15%	36%
Constitutional/legislated	49%	27%	32%	31%
None	17%	7%	12%	8%
Total	**34%**	**19%**	**24%**	**21%**

Source: Compiled by GL with data from WPP Africa Barometer.

Table III and Table IV summarise the analysis of data in the Barometer by electoral system and quota for the lower houses of parliament that are common to 51 African countries (excluding the three countries in transition). The data shows that while African women constitute 25% of lower and upper houses of parliament, this varies from 30% in the 18 countries with the Proportional Representation (PR) system, to 25% in the 10 countries with mixed PR and First Past the Post (FPTP) systems to 22% in the 23 countries with a FPTP system. The pattern is very similar in local government. Overall women constitute 21% of councilors; 34% in the PR countries; 19% in countries with a mixed system and 24% in FPTP countries.

Quotas or temporary special measures also play a decisive role. In parliament, the highest representation of women is in countries with a PR system and voluntary party quotas (40%). Examples include South Africa, Namibia and Mozambique. In local government, the highest proportion of women is in countries with the PR and constitutional or legislated quotas (49%). An example is Namibia.

The lowest representation of women at the national level is in FPTP countries with no quota (16%). Examples include Nigeria and Botswana. Overall, women constitute 34% of MPs in countries with voluntary party quotas - nine percentage points higher than countries with Constitutional

or legislated quotas, and eighteen percentage points higher than FPTP countries with no quotas. The same is true at the local level. Women constitute 36% of councilors in countries with voluntary party quotas - 28 percentage points higher than countries with no quotas and 24 percentage points higher than FPTP countries with no quotas. The findings on voluntary party quotas make a strong case for political party ownership and championing of gender parity principles.

Political parties



Credit: Facebook

"In political parties, when a women succeeds in affirming herself, there is a huge mobilisation against her."

Ouafa Hajji, founder president of Jossour Forum of Moroccan Women and champion of the petition "Parity Now", has served three terms in parliament.

This chapter of the Barometer explores the role of political parties in achieving gender balance. Male dominance of top leadership is a feature in every country, even those that have achieved 40% or higher of women's participation in parliament and or local government. In many cases national constitutional or legislated quotas are not reflected in party constitutions. However, an increasing number of parties are updating their statutes either voluntarily or in line with national obligations. This chapter explores the change needed within political parties, including women's wings and structures, to drive the march to equality.

Electoral management and laws


Credit: Nabilé Bayili

"After I was freed from jail, I really wanted to stay away from politics. I did not want to relive the bad experiences that I had gone through. Then, I realised that politics is not a straight line. It comes with difficulties and obstacles like many things in life. And that we had to continue the fight if we wanted to build our country."

Assita Ouattara, Member of New Alliance of Faso (NAFA Burkina Faso.

This chapter covers the role of election laws and management in facilitating (or inhibiting) WPP. It includes a discussion of the model gender-aware electoral law being developed by Women in Law Southern Africa (WLSA), one of the Enhancing the Inclusion of Women in Political Participation in Africa[3] consortium partners.

Security is a key consideration in election management. Violence marred over half the elections held in Africa in 2020. Women politicians cite fears of violence as a major deterrent to running for office and to their effective participation. These fears are not only over physical and sexual violence. In politics, they open an important discussion about possibly the most insidious form of violence against women: verbal, emotional and psychological abuse. Sadly, because misogyny is so normalised in many of our societies much of this violence goes unnoticed, unreported, and unsanctioned. This section of the Barometer identifies the many forms and guises of Violence Against Women in Politics (VAWIP), the effect of this, as well as short, medium and long term solutions.

[3] TThe six other organisations in the consortium are FAWE, FEMNET, Gender Links, IFAN Gender Laboratory, PADARE, and WLSA

Forty one African countries have EMB established by statute to administer electoral laws. These are usually overseen by independent commissioners with experience in running elections. As many of these structures are relatively recent, they reflect a better gender balance than many other political structures (28% overall, ranging from 20% in Central Africa to 40% in Southern Africa). The chapter provides examples of countries in which EMB's have developed gender policies and are using their space to enhance gender equality through electoral processes. This includes gender aware voter education; registration; financing and the running of elections.

Role of the media, including social media

The make or break role of the media comes under sharp focus in the Barometer. The extent to which women's views and voices are reflected in media content - as candidates, election managers, experts, spokespersons and citizens - is a powerful indicator of voice. Every five years since the Beijing Conference in 1995 the Global Media Monitoring Project has conducted media monitoring showing that across the globe women constitute less than a quarter of news sources. In Southern Africa the Gender and Media Progress Study (GMPS) provides a wealth of more in-depth data on WPP.

This chapter features a case study of media monitoring conducted before, during and after the October 2020 Tanzania elections, in which women constituted a mere 18% of news sources in the political topic category. The chapter also highlights women's experiences with the mainstream media - positive and negative - as it draws out win-win strategies that respect the watchdog role of the media while empowering women in politics to use this to their benefit. Women's experiences with social media also feature prominently. This opportunity to harness new technologies is laced with many potential personal dangers that have led to some women politicians closing all their social media accounts altogether. The chapter explores how women can best “ride the tiger” of social media.

Civil society

Running through each chapter, but brought into focus in this chapter is the critical role of civil society, especially Women's Rights Organisations (WRO) in advancing WPP. This role extends from lobbying and advocacy for electoral quotas and reform of electoral systems to voter education, training of candidates, gender audits of elections, support for and strategic alliances with women politicians' once in office. An interesting new phenomenon in Africa are the “women's observatories” established during elections. But what happens, and needs to happen, in between elections if the WPP narrative is to change? Case studies include work with men by the growing number of men-for-change organisations seeking to transform the underlying attitudes and behaviors that undermine WPP.

Effective participation

The Barometer draws on Thenjiwe Mtintso's access-participation and transformation framework. This posits that for women to make a difference they must be present in sufficient numbers and be able to participate effectively. This is a pre-requisite for the change needed in policies, laws, practices and service delivery to bring about gender equality. A proxy indicator for effective participation is the extent to which women hold leadership positions in cabinet and in parliament (as speakers and in portfolio committees) and in which areas. The data shows that women are still well below parity in all these areas, and tend to be concentrated in "traditional" portfolios, for example those dealing directly with women's affairs and the social sectors. Many more indicators need to be devised for measuring women's effective participation. This chapter opens the door to further exploration of the "beyond numbers" discussion in Africa.

Conclusions and recommendations



The Barometer concludes that with just two elections to go in most African countries before 2030, policy makers and civil society will need to join hands in a concerted campaign to achieve SDG 5.5 by this deadline. Key measures include country specific electoral reforms and temporary special measures; gender aware electoral laws and processes; gender training for the media and media training for women politicians; levelling the playing field on many fronts; effective support for WPP by political parties and civil society.

The Barometer makes a strong case for much greater attention to be paid to local government that up to now has remained the poor cousin of WPP discourse despite the immense importance of this sphere of politics in delivering services that relieve women of the reproductive roles. It also highlights the importance of cross-generation engagement: nurturing a new cadre of young women leaders. Future recommendations include disaggregating political participation data by sex and age, to ensure that Africa harnesses the demographic dividend of its youthful population.



Introduction 1



Daisy Amdany, Executive Director of Community Advocacy and Awareness Trust - Kenya; speaking at the Women's Political Participation Meeting in Nairobi held in August 2020.

Credit: FEMNET

KEY FACTS

- Gender equality is intrinsic to democracy and good governance.
- There are both equity and efficacy arguments for women's political participation (WPP).
- Women face a myriad of formal as well as deeply ingrained "informal" barriers to WPP.
- The COVID-19 pandemic has had a profound impact on Africa. Four elections had to be postponed in the year past. The pandemic has accentuated the existing barriers to WPP.
- There are at least 16 instruments in total (eight global, three Commonwealth, two African and four sub-regional) that commit African countries to achieving gender equality in political decision-making.
- Eight of these provide for affirmative action of some kind, progressing from 30% to 50%.
- Thenjiwe Mtinto's access-participation-transformation model informs the research.
- Key limitations include scarce local government, political party and media monitoring data; these will be improved in future editions.

This chapter examines why women's political participation is key to sustainable development, the formal and informal barriers to women's entry into politics, and those that threaten effective participation when women enter into politics. Consideration is given to how the COVID-19 pandemic has affected WPP in the last year.

The chapter outlines the main international and regional legal frameworks that aim to "balance the scales" for WPP. It sets out the conceptual framework first put forward by Thenjiwe Mtinsto[1] that frames the chapters which follow. The crux of Mtintso's argument is that access and numbers are a prerequisite for, but do not guarantee, transformation. She argues that once women have entered political decision-making, it is necessary to remove the barriers to their effective participation in order to effect change. The chapter outlines the methodology used to undertake this research; the limitations and areas for strengthening in future research.

Why a woman's place is in politics

Gender equality and good governance are two of the most pervasive themes in development debates in recent times. They come together in the growing body of literature and thought around gender, democracy and good governance.



Former mayor of eThekwini, South Africa, Nomusa Dube. *Photo: Trevor Davies*

Through socialisation, not nature, women and men are allocated different and unequal roles in society. Women are assigned the private sphere, taking care of the home and family, while men are assigned the public sphere, running the affairs of society.

Where women venture into public spaces they are expected to play roles similar to the home - that is nurturing roles. Also grafted onto the gendered "division of labour" is a difference in power relations. Whether in the home, in the community, or in national life, men occupy the decision-making roles. Patriarchy is the system that defines these power relations between women and men, allocating a dominant role to men and a subordinate role to women.

Politics and governance involve all aspects of power: who has power, what power relations exist, how power is exercised, the institutions of power, how they operate, what policies and laws are churned out from these institutions and what impact those have on people. Through the patriarchal powers vested in them by society, men become the "directors" of virtually all public life - the "face" of politics and governance.

Nowhere, says a report of the United Nations (UN) to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 "is the gap between *de jure* and *de facto* equality among men and women greater than in the area of decision-making."[2]

[1] Mtintso, T., *Women in Decision-Making: A Conceptual Framework in "Women in Politics and Decision Making in SADC: Beyond 30 % in 2005"*, SADC: p35-52 and Mtintso, "Women in Politics- A Conceptual Framework" in *"Redefining Politics: South African Women and Democracy"* (Commission on Gender Equality, 1999) pp.33-51
[2] United Nations, *Report of the United Nations to the Fourth World Conference on women*, (UN, 1996) pp.12

Politics is not only about institutions of power and who occupies them. It is also about how that power is exercised and the outcomes. Women's non-participation renders them non-citizens in decision-making. The outcomes of policies reinforce their inferior status. The signs of this include the feminisation of poverty, development programmes that do not change women's status, abuse and Volence Against Women and Girls (VAWG).

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPFA) adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 calls on governments to take measures to ensure women's equal access to, and full participation in, decision-making. They should do this by creating a gender balance in government and administration; integrating women into political parties; increasing women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership as well as increasing women's participation in the electoral process and political activities.

Over the last three decades, Africa has been in the grips of a major social, economic and political change. Following the "lost decade" of the eighties when a combination of tumbling commodity prices, conflict, war, political instability and mismanagement witnessed a major economic decline, the continent is slowly but surely on an upward swing.

African one-party states and military regimes have given way to multi-party democracies with regular (if sometimes flawed) elections. The painful medicine of International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank-sponsored structural adjustment programmes has led to more stable macro-economic environments, investment and growth. This has exacted harsh cuts in social spending, which have often had to be absorbed by the invisible and unpaid "care economy" of women.

The link between democracy, economic and social progress has led to a growing focus on **good governance**.[3] The pillars of "good governance" are now generally agreed to include the government's responsibility (that is, the executive and administration). **Democracy** stands on two pillars. **Representative democracy** focuses on the quantitative representation of all groups in society to access decision-making. **Participatory democracy** allows for qualitative inputs that draw on the experiences and aspirations of those represented. The sum total is better, more responsive and more accountable governance.



"...Democracy to me means government of the people, by the people and not government of the people, by men. Democracy by nature should be inclusive, with proportionate representation of most, if not all sections of the population of a country."

- Dr Margaret Nasha, Former Speaker of the Parliament in her new book - Madam Speaker, Sir.

[3] UNDP, *The African Governance Forum Conceptual Framework* (1997), pp.3

The **equity arguments** make the case that women have a right to share in decision-making in proportion to their numbers as a distinct group in society. The essence of democracy is the fair representation of all interest groups in society. The non-representation of women to their population is a violation of this principle. In short, women have a right to equal participation in political decision-making, whether they make a difference or not. Cooper and Lybrand maintain that parliaments should be "mirror images" of each country.[4]

The qualitative or **efficacy arguments** concern how women's interests, perspectives, and experiences enrich governance. This school of thought, reflected in various Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) resolutions and international commitments, holds that women's under-representation in politics violates the democratic principle of fair representation. The IPU maintains: "The concept of democracy will only assume true and dynamic significance when political policies and national legislation are decided upon jointly by men and women with equitable regard for the interests and aptitudes of both halves of the population."[5]

The BPFA argues: "Women's equal participation in decision making is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy but can also be seen as a necessary condition for women's interests to be taken into account. Achieving the goal of equal participation of women and men in decision- making will provide a balance that more accurately reflects the composition of society and is needed in order to strengthen democracy and promote its proper functioning."[6]

In her foreword to *Beyond Numbers*, the seminal study on the difference that women make to politics, South Africa's first post-apartheid Speaker Frene Ginwala, noted: "While the debate about the enfranchisement of women and



participation of women in decision-making often focuses on issues of justice, equity and human rights, the representation of women and the inclusion of their perspectives and experience into the decision-making process will inevitably lead to solutions that are more viable and satisfy a broader range of society."[7]

This line of argument holds that although women are not homogenous, they do have certain common life experiences and "interests" that need to be brought into, and enrich political decision-making. Because of these different life experiences, the argument runs, women are likely to shed different perspectives on all mainstream political issues, such as crime, transport, and the economy.

A related but more controversial set of arguments concerns whether or not women bring a different *style to leadership, greater integrity and perform better than men in public office*. Although generalisations always run the risk of being flawed, there is a perception among women decision-makers that they have to be "twice as good to be half as recognised". These concepts will be explored and tested in greater depth throughout the book, and especially in Chapter seven on effective participation.



Zambia Vice President Inonge Wina, summed up the links between the quantitative and qualitative arguments for women's equal participation in politics as follows: "You cannot separate the issue of gender from democracy. Doing things the right way would mean asking 'do women in the village have a say?' 'What about

[4] Cooper and Lybrand, 'Women and parliaments in Australia and New Zealand', a discussion paper prepared for the Commonwealth Minister's Conference on the Status of Women (1994) (unpublished),
[5] Inter Parliamentary Union , *Plan of Action to Correct Imbalances in the Participation of Men and Women in Political Life*" (IPU, 1994).
[6] United Nations, *The Beijing Platform for Action, paragraph 181*, (UN,1995).
[7] Karam, A (ed.), *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*" (International IDEA, 1998), pp. 2

people who cannot see or hear?' Right now, men just decide for all of us. They are regulating the laws, managing the government. Unless other voices are taken into consideration, there is no democracy."



Phumzile Mlambo-Ngucka with Africa WPP Barometer Editor Colleen Lowe Morna in her office in New York. *Photo: Gender Links*

In a recent interview with Thomson Reuters Foundation (London) Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, United Nations Under-Secretary-General and Executive Director of UN Women, argued that "gender-balanced governments made better decisions because they were more representative of the people they served, and women brought fresh perspectives." Mlambo-Ngcuka argues that by placing more women in political leadership, "you reduce the likelihood of missing out on the needs of some people because you just have never walked in their shoes." She adds further that "getting more women into local government also makes a difference - in India, for example, women-led councils have pushed for better access to clean water - critical for preventing the spread of the virus."[8]

Research on panchayats (local councils) in India found that women-led councils have a 62% higher rate of drinking water projects than those led by men. Research in Norway found a direct causal relationship between women's presence in municipal councils and childcare coverage.[9] Furthermore, "women demonstrate political leadership by working across party lines through parliamentary women's caucuses-even in the most politically combative environments-and by championing issues of gender equality, such as the elimination of gender-based violence, parental leave and childcare, pensions, gender-equality laws, and electoral reform."[10]

Systemic barriers to women's political participation

Despite evidence of why it is important to have women in decision-making, several factors continue to undermine WPP. These may be divided into two categories. The first are the deep-seated systemic "informal factors" such as custom, culture, tradition, socialisation and gender stereotypes which in their most extreme form are expressed as gender violence. These age-old patriarchal norms will not be eradicated overnight. They result in the constant "one step forwards, two steps backwards" syndrome.

INFORMAL FACTORS	FORMAL FACTORS
Custom, culture, tradition	The media
Socialisation, attitudes, stereotypes	Finances and resources
Violence Against Women in Politics.	Electoral systems and management

[8] Batha, E., *Want a stronger world after COVID-19? Choose more women leaders*, Thomson Reuters Foundation, 1 February 2021‹https://www.reuters.com/article/global-women-politics-idUSL8N2K262V› accessed 10 March 2021

[9] Chattopadhyay, R. and Duflo, E. *Women as policy makers: Evidence from a randomized policy experiment in India* (Econometrica 72(5), 2004) pp. 1409-1443; Bratton K. A. and Ray L. P., *Descriptive representation: Policy outcomes and municipal day-care coverage in Norway* (American Journal of Political Science, 46(2), 2002) pp. 428-437.

[10] Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Equality in politics: A survey of men and women in parliaments* (IPU, 2008)

The second category of "formal" or more immediate factors is more within our control. This includes the media; electoral systems and election management; finance and resources. These are explored in greater depth in subsequent chapters. This chapter focuses on the long term systemic challenges that underpin the conceptual model advocated in the Barometer.

Cultural, traditional and religious barriers

> "In general, in our societies, it is believed that politics is a men's affair. So women do not get into politics because of the stereotypes."
>
> *Doumbia Fanta, President of the Coordination Committee for women's participation in politics - Cote D'Ivoire*

Fundamental to the constraints that women face is an entrenched patriarchal system in which family control and decision-making powers are in the hands of men. Traditional beliefs and cultural attitudes-especially as regards women's roles and status in society-remain strong, particularly in rural areas. Traditional roles and the division of labour are still clearly gendered. Social norms make it more difficult for women to leave their traditional domestic roles for more public roles outside of the home. Women's gender identity is still predominantly conceived of as domestic in nature and continues to hinder women's entry into formal politics.



Ethiopia[11] is a patriarchal society with strong cultural and religious influences. The worth of a woman in Ethiopia is measured based on the role she plays as a wife and mother.There are many proverbs the society uses to discourage women's public appearance in decision-making. Examples in Amharic, the most widely spoken language in Ethiopia include: *"Set wode majet wond wode segenet"* meaning "let women to be in their kitchen but men to the offices"; *"set btawk bewond yalk"* meaning "No matter what a woman knows, it is by a man a thing is finished"; and *"ye set eras wond"* meaning "A man is the head of a woman." Such deeply ingrained views cast doubts on women's ability to be in politics and make critical decisions.

Culturally, there is a belief that women are supposed to be led but not to lead. Traditional attitudes towards gender equality influence women's advancement in political participation. The burden of household chores and inequitable access to higher education also limit women's ability to enjoy the opportunities and benefits of citizenship as men on an equal footing in the political sphere. Announcing Ethiopia's first gender balanced cabinet Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed said the move was meant to "show respect" to the women's participation in nation-building and to "disprove the adage that women can't lead." *Excerpt from Ethiopia Country Profile*



In **Botswana**, politics is still viewed as a male domain. The Setswana proverb *'ga di nke ke etelelwa ke manamagadi pele, di ka wela selomo - Banna ke baeteledipele ka tho¬lego'* literally translates to "A team of ox is never led by females, otherwise the oxen will fall into a ditch - men are perceived to be born leaders." Proverbs like this result in women being submissive. This weakens their self-esteem and confidence. The notion that women cannot lead has resulted in women being excluded from positions of power. As former member of

[11] Gender Links, *Ethiopia 50/50 Policy brief*, (Gender Links, 2019) unpublished

parliament and cabinet minister Joy Phumaphi, put it: "So I think the challenge there for a woman is essentially that people have got no confidence in you just because you are a woman, you know, it means you won't deliver. I mean some of the women who were opposing my journey in politics by saying, "oh if it was Mr. Phumaphi we could understand. He is a lawyer who understands our problems; what can she deliver?"



Joy Phumaphi - Former Minister of Health, Co-Chair of the UN Secretary General's Independent Accountability Panel for Women, Children and Adolescent health. *Photo: Gender Links*

Phumaphi observed that even though women are the majority voters during any election, they tend to vote for men, and sometimes against women candidates using their votes to bring other women down. Culture plays a major role in the way in which people behave and respond to anything. It is therefore vital to pay crucial attention to cultural impediments obstructing gender equality in politics. Women do not see leaders in themselves as the society has socialised them to view men as leaders and them as helpers.[12] Politics in Botswana is perceived to be a male space and women participating in politics are often deemed as less feminine and face scrutiny from society.[13]



In **Benin**, according to Amzath Abdoulaye, a political scientist and director of a unit specializing in communication and political strategy, "there is often a domination of customary laws and moral principles that decree that a woman's place is at home, being totally submissive to her family or to her husband." Although the 1990 Constitution in Benin enshrines parity, the customary law of Dahomey, the former name of Bénin, enshrines customary law. It states in Article 127 that "a woman has no legal power. She has a home to run and this gives her some importance. She can earn some money by selling objects that she has made. She is part and parcel of a man's assets and legacy".

According to Elisabeth Fourn Gnansounou, International Consultant in Gender with a Masters in Sociology and Anthropology, customary law compounds inequality between women and men. "The woman's status does not allow her to take any decision without the approval of her husband. Most of the time for reasons pertaining to jealousy, distrust, the husband refuses to let his wife take part in political activities and in development activities or even to have a liberal profession from the credits she can get from institutions".



Cultural practices and perceptions in **South Sudan** represent major obstacles to women's participation in politics and public affairs. Practices such as child marriage or arranged marriages lead to many girls dropping out of school. This limits women's chances of continuing education, which is key to them pursuing careers in politics and other professions. According to UNESCO, literacy levels amongst women aged 15 to 64 in South Sudan is 20.6%. Several factors contribute to women's low levels of literacy. These include the consequences of the 22-year civil war during which many educational institutions were destroyed as well as cultural perceptions that undervalue girls and women's education[14].

Under customary law women are valued and respected as mothers and daughters because they are expected to bring wealth to the family upon marriage. Women are seen as guardians of culture and traditions, and are charged with imparting cultural values to the younger generation. These same aspects of the law are sometimes used to marginalise and justify women's exclusion from political participation and decision-making processes.

[12] Somolekae, G., *Political Parties in Botswana: EISA Report No 27*, (EISA, 2005)
[13] Nitza, A., Chilisa, B., & Makwinja-Morara, V., *Mbizi: Empowerment and HIV/AIDS revention for adolescent girls in Botswana*. The Journal for Specialists in Group Work, 35(2) (2010) pp. 105-114.
[14] Gender Links Fifty fifty Policy Brief on South Sudan, unpublished

Socialisation and juggling time

A socialisation version of the argument is that women have been brought up to regard politics as alien. Their lives and activities have always directed them away from activities of power. It is also argued that: "Women often face a double day, balancing career and family responsibilities, thus limiting their opportunities for career advancement."[15]

According to this view, it is not simply the case that women lack the will and attributes to participate in decision-making but are systematically discriminated against by men in authority who refuse to promote them; and by legislation, which limits their opportunities. In support of this male "political gatekeeping" theory is a hostile media that hounds or ridicules women who dare to venture into the political sphere. Such a society, it is argued, is patriarchal. It accords men the dominant role and decision-makers' status in both the private sphere (home) and public sphere (society). It banishes women to the private sphere of home keeping and limits them to reproductive services in the public sphere. Thus a society can not be called democratic and be completely patriarchal.[16]



Aïcha Aït Alla, a **Moroccan** parliamentarian says: "I was often rejected by electors but mostly by the members of my own political party and by men who had been elected. They did not allow me to speak in public. They organised meetings at odd hours or in places where women are not allowed to go. When I wanted to be a candidate and be elected in the House of Councilors, I was locked up by the members of my party for a week because they did not want me to put my name on the list. I resisted and I will continue to do so. I have taken up my studies again and attended training on capacity building because I am convinced that if we want to change something in this country, one must get involved into politics. However, we must resist and hang on because men will do anything they can to block our paths".



In **Burundi**[17] for a woman to get into a political party, with all her other family responsibilities, she must be supported by her husband or partner. In a patriarchal society like the one in Burundi, women shoulder most of the household chores and responsibilities. Getting into politics means spending time organising meetings, meeting people and trying to convince other women to join the party. During the electoral period in Burundi, candidates spend weeks out of the household campaigning. Without the support and backing of her husband, a woman will not dare get into politics and if she does, the campaign might be a source of great stress for her. This explains why some women, who are interested in getting into politics, refuse to do so in order to keep peace at home and not jeopardise their family. Even if political parties encourage women's political participation and that the Constitution has adopted a minimum quota for women in Parliament, the social pressures remain an important barrier.

[15] P.R. Beckman, and F D'Amico (eds.) *Women, Gender and World politics: Perspectives, Policies and Prospects.* (Westport, Bergin, 1994) pp.76
[16] See also Molyneux, M., *Mobilisation without Emancipation? Critical Social Policy* (1984) 10,4; and Phillips, A Engendering Democracy, (Oxford Polity Press, 1991)
[17] Gender Links, *Burundi Fifty Fifty Policy Brief* (Gender Links, 2019), unpublished

Gender stereotypes

> "Remember when a wife is out there in the public, she is representing you and your name. You have to be careful and make sure that your wife is adequately skilled and prepared for politics otherwise she will embarrass you."
>
> *Culture and Heritage expert, Chinhoyi - Zimbabwe*



In **Zimbabwe**, women are portrayed as weak and incapable of making smart decisions. They have been depicted across generations to be only capable of trivial matters, engaged in gossip and hearsay, incompetent and less intelligent. This was projected and reinforced through the years through male-dominated institutions and patriarchal societies which internalized the idea that the woman was inferior. With the constant reinforcement of the notion that women are inferior in every aspect, it became hard for women to pursue their political rights as active participants. For a woman to enter politics, such patriarchal attitudes make it even harder. The truth is that such attitudes are not a thing of the past. Such attitudes towards women still exist in societies all over the world today - in both developed and developing countries.[18]



Nabila Smail, Member of the Socialist Forces Front, an opposition party in **Algeria** says "It happened sometimes that I was the only woman during the visits and the meetings. Each time a woman asked a question, the men were making fun of her. There is a huge hypocrisy behind the adoption of the laws and there is a very paternalistic attitude in the political parties. They are constantly blocking our efforts so as to keep us on a leash."

Violent conflict, sexual violence and war

In many African states, politics is marred by violence, persecution, intimidation and torture. While both genders are victims of this, political violence presents particular barriers to women's engagement and political participation. According to the Afro Barometer Survey, women feel "a sense of vulnerability to political intimidation and violence."[19] The survey further showed that in Guinea, 64% of women say they are very concerned about political intimidation. The effects of war continue for years after the fighting ends. While entire communities suffer the impact of armed conflict, women and girls are often the first to lose their rights to education, to political participation and to livelihoods, among other rights being bluntly violated.



In **Sudan**[20], the unrelenting conflict of the past decades has exacted a heavy toll on women's rights but also opened opportunities for radical reform post transition. Following the 1989 coup, Bashir's alliance with hardline Islamist politician Hassan al-Turabi saw an austere brand of Islamism imposed in this East African nation at the cross roads of major trade routes. Sudanese women bore the brunt of the regime's violations, ranging from systematic

[18] International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics, *The Patriarchal Barrier to Women in Politics*, August 2014 ‹ https://www.iknowpolitics.org/en/knowledge-library/opinion-pieces/patriarchal-barrier-women-politics› accessed 10 March 2021
[19] United Nations, Afro Barometer survey (UN, 2015)
[20] Gender Links Fifty Fifty Policy Brief 2019 unpublished.

rape by military groups, to poverty, and displacement.

Male dominance is high; husbands control their wives; there are high levels of abuse and gender based violence. While there are women in rural areas who want to get into public office, cultural barriers remain high, with absolutely no support from fathers, husbands and brothers. For the elite women, especially in areas like Khartoum, barriers are largely due to lack of funding and adequate financial resources. They also face the challenge of bad publicity through abuse and victimisation using social media by male counterparts. Other barriers include the vaguely defined public morality laws that limited their movement without male guardians to corporal punishment such as lashings to severe abuses - including rape - by security forces while in detention. Women's rights defenders were particularly targeted, in a systematic attempt by Sudanese authorities to silence female activists, lawyers and journalists.

Violence against women in elections

Violence against women is used as a targeted and destructive tool in various ways throughout the electoral cycle to dissuade women from participating as election administrators, voters, and candidates. In addition to physical harm, much of this violence in verbal and psychological. Political violence, social stigma and the notion that politics is a "dirty game" are major disincentives to women entering politics.



In **Uganda** the 2016 elections witnessed an upsurge of violence which affected both the electorate and candidates. This included physical violence and name calling of female candidates especially from the opposition; intimidation of female voters by their spouses thereby preventing some women from listening to campaigns and voting for candidates of their choice. This discouraged some qualified women from joining politics. Limited civic education denies some citizens an opportunity to gain information on different candidates, the issues they should look out for when making their decisions. Apathy towards politics as a result of poor civic education affects women's political participation especially in local government.



In **Algeria** "women played a major role in the fight for national liberation in 1954. They also have been a major actor of the Smile Revolution the 22nd February 2019, a movement aimed at imposing a radical change of democratic character and in total breakdown with the past system. But the expected results have not followed in real life. Women still have to fight hard to establish their presence in the political world and to affirm themselves as equal to men," says Fetta SadatFetta Sadat, Lawyer, Parliamentarian and Member of the National Direction of Rally for Culture and Democracy.



Fetta Sadat
Lawyer, Parliamentarian and Member of the National Directorate of the Rally for Culture and Democracy, Algeria.
Photo: Mochine Belabbas

"One cannot separate the question of political representation of women in Algeria from that of the State, of society, of the project of new society in the building and from the nature of the government in place," she adds. "One must question the content of the principles of equality and citizenship pompously established by the supreme law of the country and by the international conventions signed by Algeria. The obstacles are numerous and this takes us back to the model of the society project which applies nowadays, to name a few, the Personal Status Code, which imposes on women a minority and unequal status and which should be repealed, all forms of violence faced by them and the legal provisions in place are ineffective and inefficient, and finally, a poor education system and

religiousness in society. These barriers have an impact on women's place in political parties and during the electoral campaigns. Everything needs to be put in place and society must be reviewed as well as mentalities."

Women's political participation and COVID-19



As of 1 February 2021, over 3,5 million cases of COVID-19 had been recorded in Africa with 88,993 deaths.[21] This accounts for approximately 3% of identified cases and 4% of deaths globally.[22] There is limited sex disaggregated data available on cases and deaths due to COVID-19, as some countries disaggregate data, while others do not. The pandemic has disproportionately affected women[23] as the majority of health-care workers and those caring for the sick and elderly at home. Rates of violence have also escalated in many countries as women are confined with abusive partners due to lockdown restrictions, while support services have declined. And women are also the majority of those in precarious work, including the informal sector and casual work. The pandemic has exacerbated pre-existing inequalities and created new constraints to women's participation in decision-making.[24]

While there has been progress towards increasing women's participation in political decision-making, this still remains low. The COVID-19 pandemic has revealed both gaps and opportunities to engage more women in decision-making and leading response and recovery efforts. Governments should be taking steps to safeguard women's political inclusion during the pandemic and beyond.

ICTs both opportunity and barrier to political decision-making

Lockdown restrictions in many countries - limiting movement and gatherings of people - have necessitated a move to online platforms for public engagement and communication during the pandemic. While the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) presents women politicians with an opportunity to hold virtual meetings, briefings and campaign events to reach their constituencies, it can also be a barrier to women participating effectively in decision-making for two key reasons.

The "digital gender divide" is a concept that denotes the inequality in women's access to digital technologies, including smartphones, computers and Internet, as well as proficiency in the use thereof. According to World Wide Web Foundation, men remain 21% more likely to be online than women, rising to 52% in the world's least developed countries.[25]

The Internet's role as a safe space for expression, support, and access to critical information, is being undermined by increasing levels of online violence, also known as trolling and cyber-bullying, and is a deterrent to women participating in online spaces. According to the Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU) social media is the main channel for psychological violence against women politicians.[26]

[21] African Union, ‹https://africacdc.org/covid-19/› , accessed 1 February 2021
[22] Covid Visualiser, Per data from ‹https://www.covidvisualizer.com/› accessed 1 February 2021
[23] Peck, J., *The disproportionate impact of COVID-19 on women relative to me: A conservation of resources perspective*, Feminist Frontiers (Wiley, 2020)
[24] The Conversation, *How COVID-19 puts women at more risk than men in Gauteng, South Africa*, 21 December 2020 ‹ https://theconversation.com/how-covid-19-puts-women-at-more-risk-than-men-in-gauteng-south-africa-150570 › accessed 1 February 2021
[25] Worldwide Web foundation, *Women's Rights Online - Closing the digital gender gap for a more equal world*, October 2020, pp. 2, https://webfoundation.org/research/womens-rights-online-2020/› accessed 1 February 2021
[26] Inter-Parliamentary Union, *IPU Study reveals widespread sexism, harassment and violence against women MP's*, 2016 ‹ https://www.ipu.org/news/press-releases/2016-10/ipu-study-reveals-widespread-sexism-harassment-and-violence-against-women-mps›, accessed 1 February 2021

Restricted participation in electoral processes

The COVID-19 pandemic creates the risk that women and men may not be able to participate in electoral processes effectively, including voter registration, candidate nomination, voter education, electoral campaigning and voting, especially for people already infected or in quarantine.

Despite the pandemic elections took place in 18 African countries (Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Malawi, Mali, Namibia, Niger, Seychelles, Tanzania and Togo) in 2020, while elections were postponed in four countries (Ethiopia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan).

Elections that went ahead were somewhat different to previous elections. Generally EMB established several measures in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, including provision of masks and sanitiser at polling stations, however in many instances compliance with health protocols was lacking.

Because of restriction on public gatherings, campaigning in most countries was either halted or limited to posters, media appearances and online campaigning. Online campaigning works better in countries with good Internet infrastructure, for example in Ghana most campaigning took place on social media, while in Mali most political parties and candidates did not have adequate resources to switch to online campaigning. This could account for the higher voter turnout in Ghana of 79% (compared to 69% in previous elections), while in Mali the voter turnout decreased to 36% from 43% in the previous elections.

Liberia reported the largest decrease in voter turnout with only 37% of the voter population compared to 72-77% in previous elections. The cancellation of voting abroad due to the pandemic could be a contributing factor in the low voter turnout. In Benin authorities pushed ahead with the vote despite concerns over the coronavirus pandemic and calls for a delay; opponents called on voters to boycott the poll over the political situation and the risks from coronavirus and turnout was only 50% compared to 57% in the previous election.

Some countries cancelled out-of-country voting, preventing citizens from exercising their democratic right to vote. With 26 elections due to take place in 2021, and with the spread of the coronavirus not abating, countries should be taking all precautionary measures to ensure that all electoral processes meet health and safety requirements, while also upholding the rights of citizens to vote freely and fairly. Where limitations on the size of public gatherings are imposed EMBs should explore new ways on conducting voter education and where possible provide support to candidates, especially women, for virtual campaigning.

Normative frameworks

Across Africa, national governments have signed, ratified and agreed to a number of international, continental and regional instruments that promote women's political participation. In some cases, these have been incorporated in national legislation and other mechanisms and measures, reflecting a positive trend of growing support for improving women's full and effective participation in democratic processes. The commitment to achieving gender equality can be traced to the 1948 UN Charter and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights which states that rights and

freedoms will not be limited by a person's gender and establishes that 'all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights'.

Prominent among UN frameworks and instruments, is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), also described as the 'international bill of rights for women'. CEDAW provides the basis for realising equality between women and men. In addition, the UN conferences held in Mexico City (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995) and its Platform for Action, which aims to remove all obstacles in all spheres of public and private life based on a full and equal share in economic, social, cultural and political decision-making[27]; all point to gender equality, including in political leadership. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), in particular SDG 5.5 aims to 'ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life.'

Regional legal framework on gender equality

For the African continent, the 2003 Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) [Maputo Protocol] appears to be Africa's most progressive legal instrument providing a comprehensive set of human rights for African women. It details wide-ranging and substantive human rights for women covering the entire spectrum of civil and political, economic, social, cultural and environmental rights. The Protocol is laudable for its emphasis on the right of women to participate without discrimination in all elections, equal representation of women in the electoral process and equal partnership of women with men at all levels of development and implementation of State policies. The Maputo Protocol has been strengthened by other instruments such as the African Charter on Democracy, Elections, and Governance (African Democracy Charter).

The target of the Protocol was to achieve full enforcement and ratification by 2015 and domestication by 2020. Out of all the AU member countries, 49 have signed the protocol. The ratification by Congo and Guinea on 6 August and 17 September 2012 respectively, brought the total number of ratifications to 34. States which have ratified the Protocol are Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Seychelles, South Africa, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Congo and Guinea. Countries who have not signed the Protocol are Botswana, Egypt, Eritrea and Tunisia. These governments feel that their national laws and other international instruments to which they are signatory are more or equally progressive, and that there is no need or rush to ratify the Protocol.[28]

[27] Martin, O., *The African Union's Mechanisms to Foster Gender Mainstreaming and Ensure Women's Political Participation and Representation* (International IDEA, 2013) <https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/african-union-mechanisms-to-foster-gender-mainstreaming-and-ensure-womens-political-participation.pdf>
[28] Ibid

Table 1.1: International, African and Sub-Regional Instruments for Gender Parity

Instrument	Year adopted	How applicable to Africa	General provisions	Affirmative action	Specific targets	Time frames
UNITED NATIONS						
The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW):	1979	All CW Africa countries have ratified.	**Article 7** states that States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right: (a) To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies.	No	No	Not time bound
The UN Economic and Social Council resolution 1990/15	1990	Applicable to all CW Africa countries	Calls on governments, political parties, trade unions, and professional and other representative groups to adopt a 30 percent minimum proportion of women in leadership positions, with a view to achieving equal representation.	Yes	30 %	Not time bound
The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action	1995	Applicable to all	Outlines 12 strategic objectives and critical areas of action including "Women in power and Decision Making". Among the critical areas of insufficient progress identified in Beijing Plus Twenty is the "participation of women in power and decision-making at all levels."	No	No	Not time bound
The 2003 UN General Assembly resolution on women's political participation (A/RES/58/142)	2003	Applicable to all CW Africa countries	**(A/RES/58/142)** **Article 1 (e)** To promote the goal of gender balance in all public positions and to take all appropriate measures to encourage political parties to ensure that women have a fair and equal opportunity to compete for all elective and non-elective public positions.	Yes	Equal participation	Not time bound
The 2011 UN General Assembly resolution on women's political	2011	Applicable to all CW Africa countries	**Article 4.** Calls upon States in situations of political transition to take effective steps to ensure the participation of women on equal terms with men in all phases of political reform, from decisions on whether to call for reforms in	Yes	Equal participation	2030

participation (A/RES/66/130)			existing institutions to decisions regarding transitional governments, to the formulation of government policy, to the means of electing new democratic governments.			
The 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs):	2015	Applicable to all CW Africa countries	SDG 5 underscores women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making. It picks up from where MDGs 3 left off, calling for the gender equality and empowerment of women and girls. Women's political participation is identified as a main indicator.	Yes	Equal participation	
AFRICAN						
The African Charter for Democracy, Elections and Governance	2007	Botswana, Cameron, Malawi , Tanzania and Seychelles have not signed	This Charter establishes the African Union's standards and norms on elections, democracy and governance.	No	Equal participation	
The African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR) on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol)	2003		This Protocol was adopted to complement and strengthen the African Charter by prompting women's rights. Article 9. 1 calls on state parties "to take specific positive action to promote participative governance and the equal participation of women in the political life of their countries through affirmative action, enabling national legislation and other measures to ensure that women participate without any discrimination in all elections; and women are represented equally at all levels with men in all electoral processes." State parties are urged to go beyond numbers by ensuring "increased and effective representation and participation of women at all levels of decision-making."	Yes	Equal participation	

Instrument	Year adopted	How applicable to Africa	General provisions	Affirmative action	Specific targets	Time frames
REGIONAL						
The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development	2008	All but Mauritius in Southern Africa have signed the updated Protocol	Article 12 requires all state parties to endeavour to have at least fifty percent of decision-making positions in both private and public sector occupied by women by 2015. Article 13 goes further and advocates that state parties "use special legislative measures to enable women to have equal opportunities with men to participate in all electoral processes including the administration of elections and voting".[29]	Yes	Equal participation	Not time bound but aligned to SDGs, AU Agenda 2063 and Beijing + 20
East Africa Gender Act	2016	Passed in the East Africa Legislative Assembly. EAC countries yet to pass it in their respective parliaments	Respect for gender parity in power and decision making by 50-50 ratio.	Yes	Equal participation	Not time bound
The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Treaty	1975 original Treaty 1993 revised Treaty	Revised Treaty has been signed by all 15 Member States	Article 66 Women and Development 1. Member States undertake to formulate, harmonise, co-ordinate and establish appropriate policies and mechanisms for the enhancement of the economic, social and cultural conditions of women. 2. To this end, Member States shall take all measures necessary to: a) identify and assess all constraints that inhibit women from maximising their contribution to regional development efforts; and b) provide a framework within which the constraints will be addressed and for the incorporation of women's concerns and needs into the normal operations of the society.	No	None	Not time bound

Supplementary Act relating to Equality of Rights between women and men for sustainable development in the ECOWAS Region	2015 (May)	ECOWAS Regional Supplementary Act relating to equality of rights between women and men for sustainable development	Chapter III: Governance and decision-making Article 11: Representation 1. Member States shall institute affirmative action to ensure effective gender equality in decision-making positions in public and private sectors. 2. Member States shall take all necessary measures at all levels to establish the critical link between gender-balanced representation, good governance, democracy and sustainable development. Article 12: Participation in electoral processes 1. Member States shall adopt legislative measures and other strategies to ensure equal participation of women and men in all electoral processes, including the administration of elections and voting; 2. Member States shall ensure equal participation of women and men in the appointment of political representatives and decision-making through the adoption of laws and implementation of policies, strategies and programmes aimed at: (a) Strengthening women's capacity to participate effectively through training, leadership mentoring and awareness creation on gender issues; (b) Strengthening the capacity of young people through training, leadership mentoring and civic engagement; (c) Setting up structures to improve gender mainstreaming in civic education.	Yes	Equal participation	Not time bound

Source: Gender Links 2021.

[29] ESARcountries

Table 1.1 highlights the following:

- There are at least eight global, three Commonwealth, two African and four sub-regional (16 instruments in total) that commit African countries to achieving gender equality in political decision-making.
- Eight of these provide for affirmative action of some kind.
- Nine of these include specific targets. These targets have evolved from 30% women in decision-making (for example in UN Economic and Social Resolution 1990/15; ESAR Plan of Action for Gender Equality 2005 to 2015) to equal participation (SDGs; the two African instruments; the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, the East Africa Gender Bill and the Supplementary Act Relating to Equality of Rights Between Women and Men for Sustainable Development in the ECOWAS Region).
- Majority of the African countries have made efforts to domesticate these provisions through Constitutional or Legislative measures, although these have not always been followed.
- The domestic instruments have also generally shied away from the 50% target, and biased towards local rather than national politics.

However, despite these legal frameworks, UN Women confirms that 'around the world as well as in Africa, women's leadership and political participation are restricted. Women are underrepresented as voters, as well as in leading positions, whether in elected office, the civil service, the private sector or academia. This occurs despite their proven abilities as leaders and agents of change, and their right to participate equally in democratic governance.[30] This makes the strong point that having frameworks and policies in place, is not in itself enough to facilitate women's political participation. There is need to put in place mechanism for implementation, and continuous tracking.

Conceptual framework



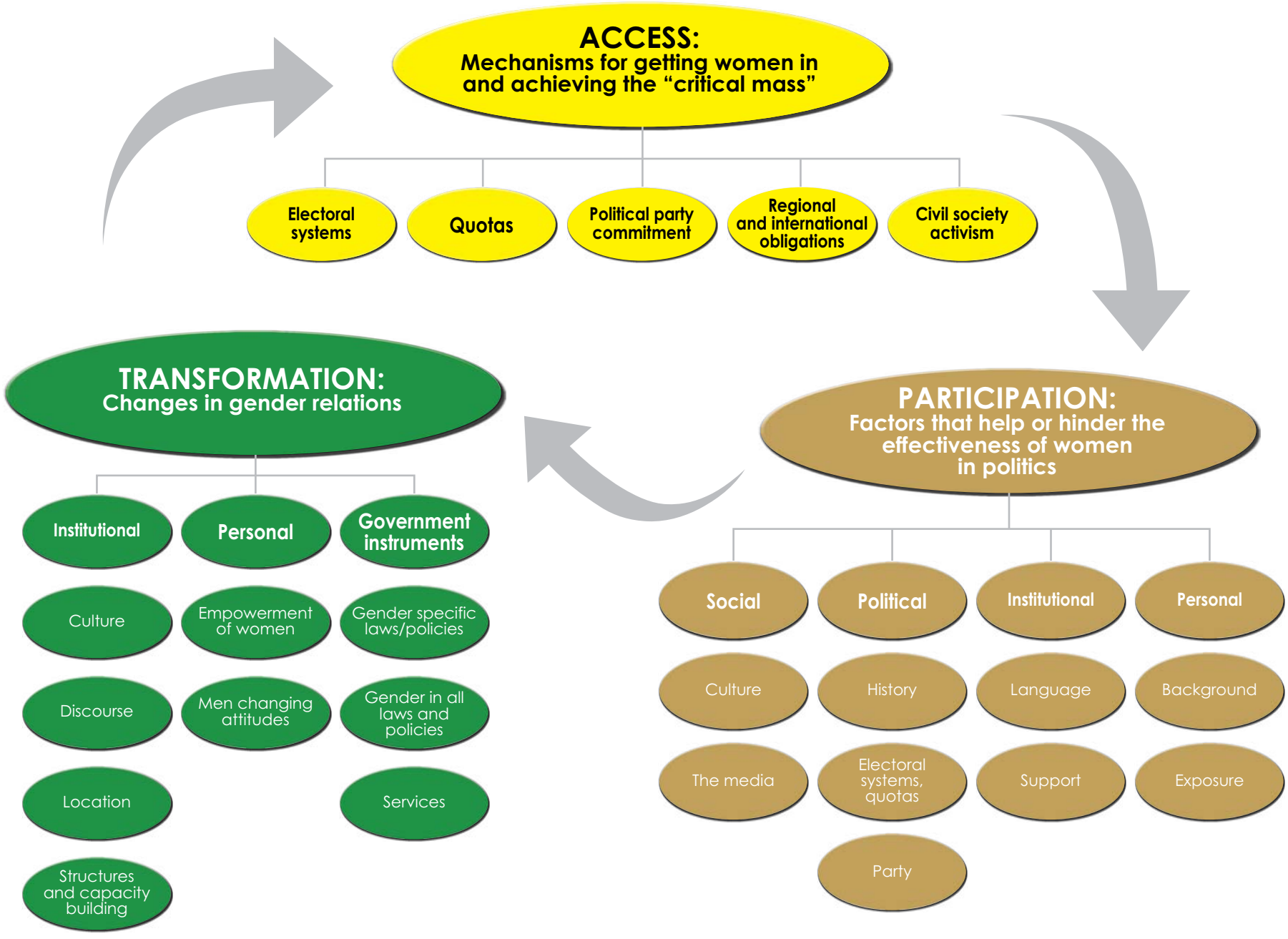
Women's political participation is evaluated against the conceptual framework developed by Thenjiwe Mtinsto.[31] This framework, which has been elaborated for the purposes of this research, is illustrated in Figure 1.1.

The crux of Mtintso's argument is that access and numbers are a prerequisite for, but do not guarantee transformation. She argues that once women have entered political decision-making, it is necessary to remove the barriers to their effective participation. Only when women are present in significant strengths, and are able to participate effectively, are they likely to start participating effectively.

[30] UN Women, *In brief: Women's leadership and political participation*, ‹https://www.unwomen.org/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2013/12/un%20womenlgthembriefuswebrev2%20pdf.pdf?la=en›accessed 10 March 2021

[31] Mtintso, T (1999) "Women in Decision-Making: A Conceptual Framework" in "Women in Politics and Decision Making in SADC: Beyond 30 % in 2005", SADC: p35-52 and Mtintso, T (1999) "Women in Politics- A Conceptual Framework" in "Redefining Politics: South African Women and Democracy", Commission on Gender Equality: p33-51.

Figure 1.1: Thenjiwe Mtintso's WPP Conceptual framework



Access

Women have been denied access to political decision-making for a host of reasons that basically boil down to the fact that societies all over the world have defined women's space as being in the private rather than in the public sphere. Of all the areas of decision-making, politics is the most public of public spaces, and therefore has been among the most hostile for women to access. Yet it is one of the most critical spheres for effecting change.

Governments and political parties, often as a result of agitation by the women's movement, have had to institute "special measures" to ensure women's increased participation in politics. Experience from Southern Africa shows that countries with a history of political struggle, and those with socialist leanings are more likely to institute such measures. These measures are usually cast as temporary and a means for women to "get their foot in the door." They may take the form of voluntary political party, constitutional or legislated quotas.

The "critical mass"

A question that frequently arises in quota debates is the extent to which women have to be represented in specific numbers in order to make a difference. Put differently, how critical is the critical mass? How magic is the figure 30%?

The notion that to make a difference women need to constitute a "critical mass" traces back to research by Danish political scientist Drude Dahlerup who declared: "Don't expect us to make too much difference as long as we are only a few women in politics. It takes a critical mass of women to make a fundamental change in politics."[32]

A study on women in public life carried out by the UN Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) also argues that only a critical mass of women allows female politicians to bring different values to public life:

As a minority operating in a male domain, for most women public figures to be accepted and function on a basis of equality with men they have to adapt to and adopt the male priorities predominating in public life. Minorities, such as women who are successful in a male world, according to the classic theory of minority behaviour, absorb the dominant culture to such an extent that they tend to dissociate themselves from other women, to undermine their own success and to perceive any discrimination they meet as a result of their own shortcomings. It takes a minority of a certain minimum size, 30-35 percent, to be able to influence the culture of groups and to facilitate alliances between group members. The theory may also explain why lone women who reach high office have often appeared not to bring distinctively female values to their office.[33]

However, as Britton points out, there is "an equally rich body of 'women in politics research' finding that getting women into office is not enough to have an impact on either policy or legislative behaviour."[34]

[32] Dahlerup, D., *From a small to a large minority, women in Scandinavian politics* quoted in Virginia Willis, "Public life: Women Make a Difference", Paper for the Expert Group Meeting on the Role of Women in Public Life, (DAW, Vienna, 1991) pp.10
[33] DAW, *Public life: women make a difference in "Women 2000"*, No 2 (1992) pp.5
[34] Britton, H., *From Resistance to Governance: South African Women's Transformation of Parliament*, (2003) pp. 219, unpublished

The counter-argument is that while women are not homogenous, and while they may not openly advocate feminist agendas, they do have certain common interests, different values, outlooks and approaches to men. The mere presence of women in decision-making can be an impetus for transformation, although the danger of isolation is that women are less likely to want to challenge the status quo. The focus on feminists or gender activists as the sole source of transformation overlooks the important role that other women play in supporting such agendas, and the fact that with additional empowerment they too could be advocates of such changes.

For the purposes of this study, the "critical mass" is understood less as a fixed number and more as the point at which women, through a combination of numerical strength, enabling political environments, empowerment and conviction feel able to raise critical questions in mainstream environments.

Participation

As mentioned in the earlier definitions, democracy is not only about "being there" but also contributing to change. It is not just the presence of women that will centre their views, experiences, perspectives, interests, aspirations and values but rather their effective participation. Political decision-making is fraught with obstacles for women. These include:

- Political factors, such as support from the party and party structures;
- The openness of society and culture (including the media) to women in leadership;
- Institutional factors, such as leadership and management roles within the institutions as well as links and networks with organisations outside parliament.
- Personal agency, such as individual backgrounds, values and capacity.

Transformation

Representation and participation in decision-making allows for the full spectrum of voices to be heard, experiences and values to be centred, and for citizens to take responsibility for, and change to their own lives. Once citizens, who had previously been reduced to non-citizens, bring "other" views, paradigms begin to change. Those who have always spoken on behalf of the others, assuming they know what the others feel, get challenged. Various myths are exploded and a new understanding begins.

Thus when women enter decision-making, the concept, content and form of politics and governance, and the way that they are practiced, begin to change. Power- relations shift. Outcomes begin to be informed by the new paradigm. But there is a constant struggle because the tools for transformation are often the very same institutions that need to be transformed.

The argument in this framework is that deep-seated and sustainable transformation is more likely to take place when there are both significant numbers of women in decision-making and when a conscious effort is made to facilitate their participation.

Transformation of gender relations is understood to consist of two core components:

- The empowerment of women to take their equal and rightful role in all areas of social, economic and political endeavour; and

- Changes in the attitudes of men to allow women to take their rightful place as well to free men of those burdens of masculinity that prevent them from working as equal partners with women.

As illustrated in Figure 1.1, the transformation in gender relations can be measured in three areas: institutional change; personal change (for women and men) and the extent to which gender is integrated into key tools of government including laws, policies and services.

It is important to underscore that the areas of transformation measured in the study are limited to the personal and institutional changes experienced, and actions taken by political decision-makers. Government actions do not guarantee fundamental changes in the way people think, act and conduct themselves.

Methodology

The research methodology used to gather data and information included desktop research, quantitative and qualitative methods.

Desktop research

GL undertook desktop research on ten quantitative indicators across North, West, East and Southern Africa on women's political participation at the national and local level. This covered the percentage of women in the following political decision making structures; lower houses of parliament, upper houses of parliament, parliament overall, political party leadership, Election Management and Monitoring Bodies, Speakers, Mayors of capital cities, top executive positions and cabinet. Research parameters and the methodology was presented and approved at a Reference group meeting of the Enhancing the Inclusion of Women in Political Participation in Africa consortium partners.

Quantitative data

Quantitative data on women in parliament was based on the global ranking of women in parliament done by the Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU), with analysis on Parliament limited to the figures of the lower houses of parliament only.

Data on electoral systems and quotas was drawn from information available on International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) website. Data on political parties was drawn from respective political party websites where available, with some based on desktop online research. Data was verified by triangulating information gathered from the respective sources, data presented in Case Studies, Situational Analysis and Country Profiles.

Data analysis

For data analysis purposes, countries are in regional clusters based on the African Union (AU) Regional Economic Communities (RECs) guidelines. The AU recognises eight RECs. Several countries belong to multiple RECs. The classification used for this report recognises the four main RECs: The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); the East African Community (EAC); the Southern African Community, and the Magreb (North Africa).

Tanzania is both in East and Southern Africa. As these are well established RECs, Tanzania REC as there were too many overlapping countries. The classification is summarised in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Countries and regions in Africa

Region/Countries	Regional Economic Community	Notes
Southern Africa	The Southern African Development Community (SADC)	These countries also belong to the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). While this is an important trade bloc, it has less of a political character than SADC, used for the classification of SouthernAfrican countries in the WPP Barometer.
Angola		
Botswana		
Comoros		
Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)		
Eswatini		
Lesotho		
Madagascar		
Malawi		
Mauritius		
Mozambique		
Namibia		
Seychelles		
South Africa		
Zambia		
Zimbabwe		
Tanzania	SADC/EAC	Tanzania belongs to SADC and the EAC, which are both groupings often referred to in WPP studies. Tanzania is listed under both in all the statistical Tables, but was not counted twice in the totals.
East Africa	East African Community (EAC)	
Tanzania		
Burundi		
Kenya		
Rwanda		These countries also belong to the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). While this is an important trade bloc, it has less of a political character than SADC, used for the classification of Southern African countries in the WPP Barometer.
South Sudan		
Uganda		
Horn of Africa	The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) comprises Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan and Uganda.	Four of these countries are in the EAC and therefore are not included in calculations on the Horn.
Djibouti		
Eritrea		
Ethiopia		
Somalia		
Sudan		
West Africa	The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)	ECOWAS is a well known and coherent REC that has been used as the frame of reference for West Africa in this study.
Benin		
Burkina Faso		
Cabo Verde		
Côte d'Ivoire		
Gambia (The)		
Ghana		
Guinea		
Guinea-Bissau		
Liberia		
Mali		
Niger		
Nigeria		
Senegal		
Sierra Leone		
Togo		
Central Africa	The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) comprises Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Rwanda and Sao Tome and Principe.	ECCAS is not a well- known regional group and has a lot of overlap. Researchers removed the four countries that fit elsewhere leaving the ones named here, so it is residual grouping rather than a formally recognised one.
Cameroon		
Central African Republic		
Chad		
Congo		
Equatorial Guinea		
Gabon		
Sao Tome and Principe		
North Africa	The Arab Maghreb Union (AMU/UMA) comprises Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia.	
Algeria		
Egypt		
Libya		
Mauritania		
Morocco		
Tunisia		

Source: Gender Links 2021.

Qualitative data

Qualitative data on the reality, experiences and barriers to women's political participation was gathered through interviews with politicians across Africa, country specific Case Studies, Situation Analyses, Country Profiles, Focus Group Discussions and literature review. GL gathered 56 Case Studies: two from the Horn of Africa, three from Central Africa, five from North Africa, ten from West Africa, 11 from East Africa and 25 from Southern Africa.

Partners share Five Situation Analysis Reportsfrom Botswana, Eswatini, Cote D'Ivoire, Senegal and Zimbabwe. GL through partners conducted 60 interviews across Africa with women in various political decision-making offices, representatives from country EMB, representatives from different political parties, representatives from civil society organisations, members from academia and ordinary citizens across Africa. Interviews covered (i) formal and informal barriers to WPP; (ii) role of electoral systems and TSM; (ii) electoral laws; (iv) political party policies and practices; (v) election management bodies; (vi) the roles of civil society; (vii) the role of the media; and (viii) women's effective participation once elected into office.

Drafting, review and validation

GL managed the research with the support of relevant technical experts. International IDEA, Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE), The African Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET), Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire (IFAN) Gender Laboratory, Padare/Enkundleni Men's Forum on Gender (PADARE), Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA) and Gender Links (members of the *Enhancing the Inclusion of Women in Political Participation in Africa* Consortium) participated in two virtual meetings to conceptualise and validate the research.

Limitations

- ***Scope:*** While the Barometer covers the whole of Africa, in-depth Situation Analysises from the consortium covered only five countries.
- ***Data on local government:*** There is limited data on local government across Africa, except for Southern Africa as a result of the programmatic work done by GL through its regional offices and partners. Furthermore, most local government authorities do not have websites, making desktop research even more challenging. GL could only access reliable data for 19 African countries.
- ***Data on political parties*** is similarly scarce. For the main political parties, some data was available. However, most of them do not have official websites, and in some cases, even were political parties had websites, the content was not detailed. Political party manifestos were not available online.
- ***Changes in Parliament and Cabinet portfolios*** due to deaths, changes in government or cabinet shuffles, result in data becoming quickly dated. This is especially true where there are very low numbers in political decision-making.
- ***Media monitoring*** is a powerful indicator of voice. Unfortunately, only Southern Africa has comprehensive monitoring data on WPP. A pilot project for gender aware monitoring of elections in the 2020 Tanzania elections could be usefully replicated in other countries holding elections.
- ***Indicators for effective participation:*** This is a growing and vast area, that still requires in-depth research and expansion of indicators. There is an urgent need to develop specific indicators covering structural and non-structural parameters in future editions of the Barometer.

Electoral systems and affirmative action 2



On the 11th October 2020 the women activists of Mali took to the streets to protest against the non-respect of the legislated quota in the government of transition.

Credit: Abdoul Momini Boukoum (Mali)

KEY POINTS

- Of the 54 African countries 23 have the FPTP system; 18, the PR and ten African countries have a combination of the two systems. The remaining three countries are in transition. Forty African countries have constitutional, legislated or voluntary party quotas.
- Six out of the top ten countries in the African ranking of women in parliament, including the top three (Rwanda, South Africa and Namibia) follow the Proportional Representation (PR) electoral system. Two countries in the top ten, Senegal and Tanzania, have a mixed system. The other two countries in the top ten (Ethiopia and Uganda) have the First Past the Post (FPTP) system. All have quotas.
- Women constitute 34% of parliamentarians and 30% of councillors in African countries with the PR system. The lowest representation of women (16% at national and 12% at local level) is in FPTP countries with no quotas.
- Constitutional or legislated quotas in the PR system are the most water tight way of achieving gender parity. However voluntary party quotas can be equally powerful and effective.
- Reserved seats whether in the FPTP or PR system are best avoided. Candidate quotas that oblige parties to field certain proportions of male and or female candidates are more fair and better regarded by political parties.
- In mixed systems with candidate quotas, the tendency has been for these to cover only the PR seats (for example in Lesotho's national assembly). Senegal has charted a new trend setting course, with candidate quotas for both the FPTP and PR seats.

Electoral systems and affirmative action for women's political participation, often referred to as *Temporary Special Measures (TSM)*, have a key bearing on the extent of women's political participation (WPP). Across the globe, women are better represented in countries with the Proportional Representation (PR) than the First Past the Post (FPTP) system, or a mixture of the two systems.

The same is true in Africa, where a variety of electoral systems and TSM show how rapid increases in WPP can be achieved with certain combinations of electoral systems and quotas. Many countries adopted quotas following their transition to democracy in the early 1990s. In addition, 16 countries on the continent have emerged from major civil conflict since the mid-1980s, creating openings for them to rewrite their constitutions and legal systems more in line with normative frameworks emphasising gender equality.[1]

The increasing number of countries undertaking Constitutional reviews, including electoral reform, remains the single most promising avenue for increasing WPP in the short to medium term. Several studies show how TSM can enhance WPP but also caution against their limitations. Scholars are in agreement that the effectiveness of quotas largely depends on their design. International Ideas seminal work on *Designing for Equality*[2] rings true and informs the pages that follow.

The chapter sets out the different electoral systems and TSM in Africa. The data is derived from the detailed country tables for parliament (Annex 10) and local government (Annex 11). The evidence shows that while some combinations are more successful than others, a rapid increase in WPP is possible in any system, provided these measures are accompanied by the requisite political will. Furthermore, while legislated and or Constitutional quotas are generally the most secure way of ensuring these changes, voluntary party quotas can be equally powerful. Any measures supported by political parties have the added advantage of enhanced sustainability.

Electoral systems

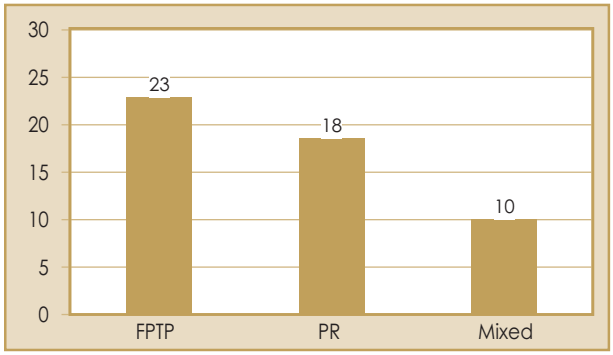
There are three main types of electoral system:

- In the **Proportional Representation (PR)** or "list system" citizens vote for parties which are allocated seats in parliament according to the percentage of vote they receive. Individual candidates get in according to where they sit on the list. In an "open" list system, voters determine where candidates appear on the list. In a "closed" list system, the party determines where candidates appear on the list. This is usually based on democratic nomination processes within the party.
- In the **Constituency or "First Past the Post" (FPTP)** system, citizens vote not just for the party, but also for the candidate who represents the party in a geographically defined constituency. Thus a party can garner a significant percentage of the votes, but still have no representative in parliament, because in this system "the winner takes all".
- In an attempt to maximise the benefits of the two systems, the **mixed system** combines both PR and FPTP. Where this happens, there is typically a higher proportion of women in the PR seats than in the FPTP. Quotas are more usually used in conjunction with the PR than with the FPTP system.

[1] Berry, M., Bouka, Y., & Kamuru, M. *Implementing Inclusion: Gender Quotas, Inequality, and Backlash in Kenya*. Politics & Gender, 1-25. (2020) ‹https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/politics-and-gender/article/implementing-inclusion-gender-quotas-inequality-and-backlash-in-kenya/BF23DC943EB0D5D3F3534DA2EDDB23E7› accessed 11 march 2021

[2] Larserud, S and Taphorn, R., *Designing for Equality: Best-fit, medium-fit and non-favourable combinations of electoral systems and gender quotas* (International IDEA, 2007)

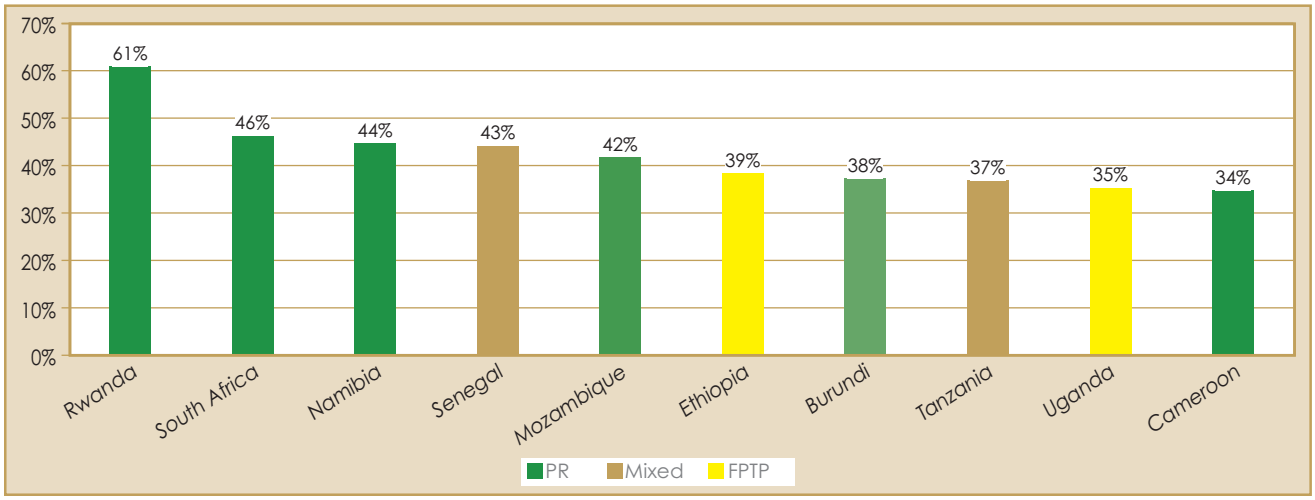
Figure 2.1: Countries and electoral systems in Africa



Source: GL with data from the WPP Africa Barometer.

Figure 2.1 shows that the majority of the 51 African countries for which data could be accessed, 23 (45%) follow the FPTP system. However, an increasing number of countries (18, or one third) now use the PR electoral system. This is emerging as the system of choice especially in post-conflict countries. As each system has pros and cons, another emerging trend is the growing number of countries adopting mixed systems, a combination of FPTP and PR. Ten African countries (20%) have a combination of the two systems.

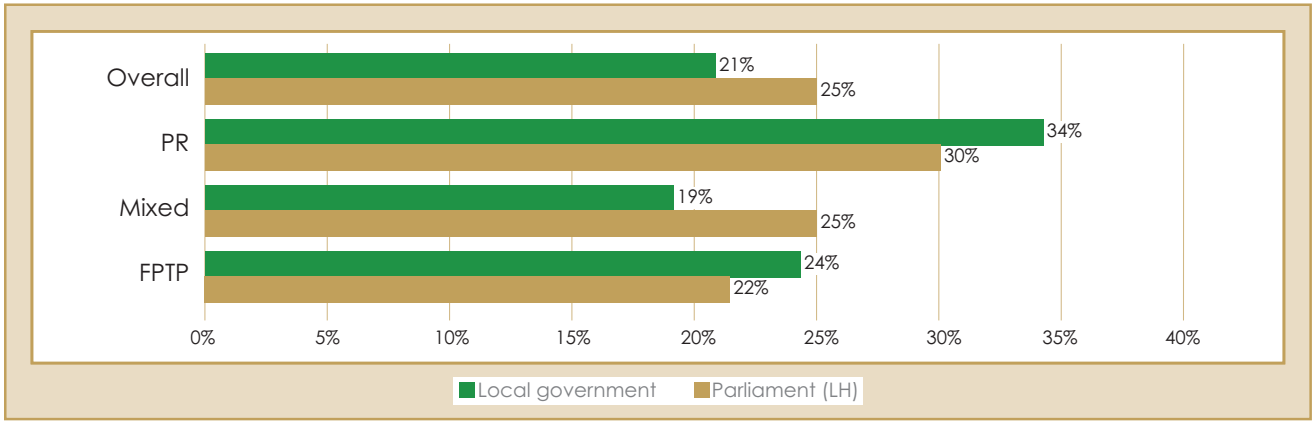
Figure 2.2: WPP and electoral systems for parliament in top ten African countries



Source: GL with data from the IPU and Quota project websites.

Figure 2.2 illustrates the correlation between electoral systems and WPP by colour coding the electoral systems in the top ten African countries in the IPU ranking of women in the lower houses of parliament in Africa. This shows that six out of the top ten countries, including the top three (Rwanda, South Africa and Namibia) follow the PR electoral system. Two countries, Senegal and Tanzania, have a mixed system. Two (Ethiopia and Uganda) have the FPTP system.

Figure 2.3: WPP and electoral systems in Africa



Source: GL with data from the WPP Africa Barometer.

Figure 2.3 is derived from country data on parliament and local government found in Annex 10 and 11 respectively. The graph shows that overall women constitute 34% of parliamentarians and 30% of councillors in African countries with the PR system. This drops to 19% for local government and 25% for parliament in mixed systems. Local government has a higher proportion of women in the FPTP than in the mixed system (24%) while for parliament the proportion of women in the FPTP countries is lower (22%) than in countries with a mixed system.

Table 2.1: Pros and cons of electoral systems

System	Pros	Cons	Gender considerations
FPTP	Good for accountability	"Winner takes all" is not good for inclusion	Women especially excluded - lack funds and networks
PR	Good for inclusion	Weak on accountability - vote for a party, not a candidate	When combined with voluntary or legislated quota results in rapid increase in women's participation
Mixed	Includes the best of both worlds	PR candidates are regarded as token	If the PR candidates happen to be women (e.g. national level in Zimbabwe) this adds to the notion of tokenism

Source: Gender Links 2021.

Table 2.1 summarises the prevailing electoral systems, their pros and cons, and the gendered dimensions of these systems. The most popular FPTP or simple majority electoral model is seen as strong on accountability, but weak on inclusion, including inclusion of women. The system, sometimes referred to as "winner takes all" has a heavy emphasis on individual candidates. Finance, visibility and networks play a key role in success. These systems and practices are often heavily weighted against women.

The PR system, sometimes referred to as the "list" system, is seen as strong on inclusion, but weak on accountability. There is overwhelming evidence internationally to suggest that women stand a better chance of getting elected under the PR (and especially the closed list PR system) as opposed to the constituency electoral system.[3] The reason for this is that in the latter case, candidates focus on the party and its policies, rather than on a particular individual. This works in favour of women - at least in getting their foot in the door- because of the in-built prejudices against women in politics. The chance of women getting elected is even higher when the PR system works in concert with a quota. Across Africa, the debate on electoral systems and their gender dimensions is gaining ground, as illustrated in these reflections by prominent women politicians in Botswana.

Women parliamentarians debate electoral systems in Botswana



Margret N. Nasha, first woman Speaker of Botswana National Assembly.

With 11% women in parliament, Botswana ranks 163 in the IPU global rankings of Women in Parliament and 46 out of 54 in Africa (see Annex 7). The country has a FPTP electoral system.

According to Dr Margaret Nasha, the first woman Speaker of the National Assembly (2009 - 2014), FPTP is "a very expensive electoral system. That expense is what causes women to be kept out. Democracy is not cheap."

[3] For more information on the comparative global data on TSM for women in politics see <https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas/quotas> accessed 11 March 2021


Tshimologo Dingake, Botswana Congress Party (BCP) - President women's league.

Tshimologo Dingake, president of the opposition Botswana Congress Party (BCP) women's wing added: "The FPTP system not only denies women, but all interest groups representation within the system that finally makes laws in the country. In countries where there is PR, we even have Green parties and other special interest parties able to participate."

According to former Minister of Health Joy Phumaphi, "we cannot talk about democracy when large chunks of the community are left out. Women comprise 50% of the population but less than 10% of our legislature. We also need to make adequate provision for minority groups such as people living with disability and indigenous groups such as the original inhabitants of this country that is the San people. We must not delude ourselves into believing that we have democracy. We have a system of governance that we have adopted which is actually oppressing. If your interests are not represented, then you are being oppressed because you are not being given a voice, you are being suffocated. I think we must call for Proportional Representation or a combination of the two systems, FPTP and PR, mix them into one thing and turn it into a brand."


Joy Phumaphi - Former Minister of Health, Co-Chair of the UN Secretary General's Independent Accountability Panel for Women, Children and Adolescent health.


Prof Sheila Dinotshe Tlou - Former Minister of Health, Former UNADIS Regional Director, Co-Chair - Global HIV Prevention Coalition.

"The FPTP electoral system has never worked for any country. Countries that have more women in both parliament and council have the PR electoral systems. In Africa we have Rwanda as an example," noted former Minister of Health, Professor Sheila Tlou. "With the upcoming Constitutional review, women in Botswana must take advantage of that to lobby for a quota in the Constitution reserved for women. There is an urgent need to re- write the entire Constitution; not amend it. This will then be followed by the legal framework that will include all electoral changes to enforce and implement the requirements of the Constitution. The Constitution should defend and protect gender equality. Unless there is a review of the Constitution and an amendment of the electoral law such that they are inclusive, women will remain excluded."

(Interviews by Chigedze Chinyepi; Photos by Mboy Maswabi)

Temporary Special Measures (TSM)

TSM are a form of affirmative action or equal opportunity measure targeted at addressing the slow pace of change in the participation of women and minority groups in areas of society where they are historically underrepresented.[4] In addition to the two types of electoral system (PR and FPTP) there are two main types of quota (voluntary as well as constitutional and/or legislated quotas).

[4] McCann J., *Electoral Quotas for Women: an International overview* ‹https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1314/ElectoralQuotas› accessed 11 March 2021

Table 2.2: Constitutional and legislative provisions for affirmative action for WPP in Africa

	Central	East	Horn	North	South	West	Total	Notes
Constitutional and legislative provisions	1	4	1	1	1		8	
Constitutional provisions only	0	1	0	1	1	0	3	
Legislative provisions only	1	0	1	4	5	9	20	
Neither	2	0	1	0	8	6	17	
Countries in transition		1	2				3	
Total	**4**	**6**	**5**	**6**	**15**	**15**	**51**	**1**

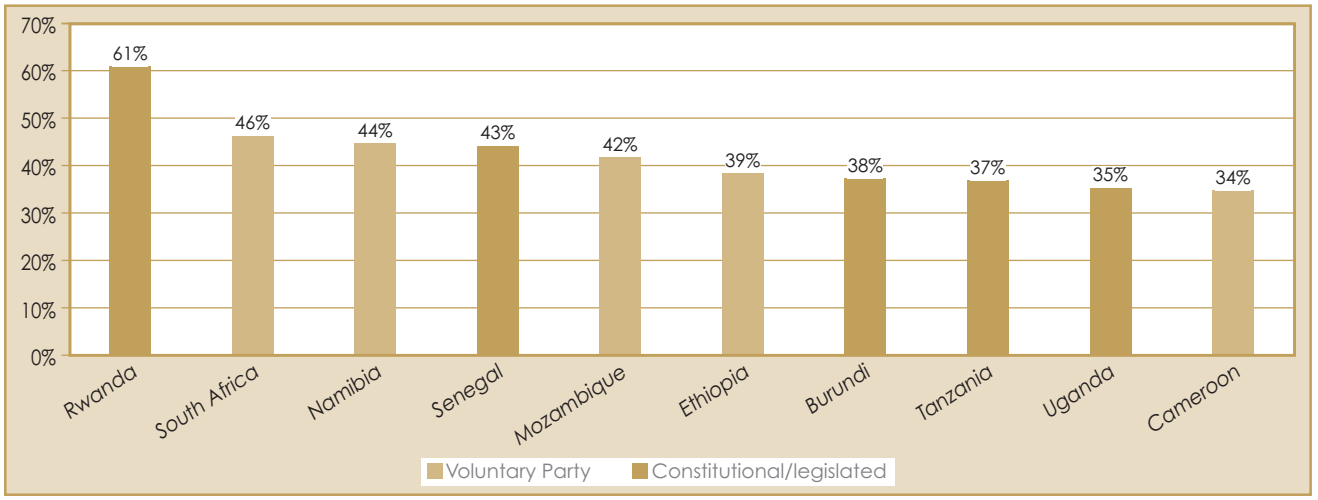
1. Information unavailale for three Central African countries: Gabon, Chad and Central African Republic.

Source: International IDEA Quotas Project website accessed February 2021.

Table 2.2 shows that in the 51 countries for which data could be accessed, 31 (or 60%) have Constitutional, legislated or Constitutional and legislated provisions for affirmative action. These provisions are found in countries in all six regions of Africa. This is a high proportion indeed, given the arguments often levelled against affirmative action (or positive discrimination) as being unfair to men.

It is clear that in Africa the arguments for affirmative action to level the playing field are gaining ground. A growing trend in Africa is for the provisions to be embedded in the Constitution especially in countries undergoing constitutional reviews. Three countries have Constitutional provisions only; eight have constitutional and legislated provisions; 20 have legislated provisions only.

Figure 2.4: WPP and quotas in top ten African countries

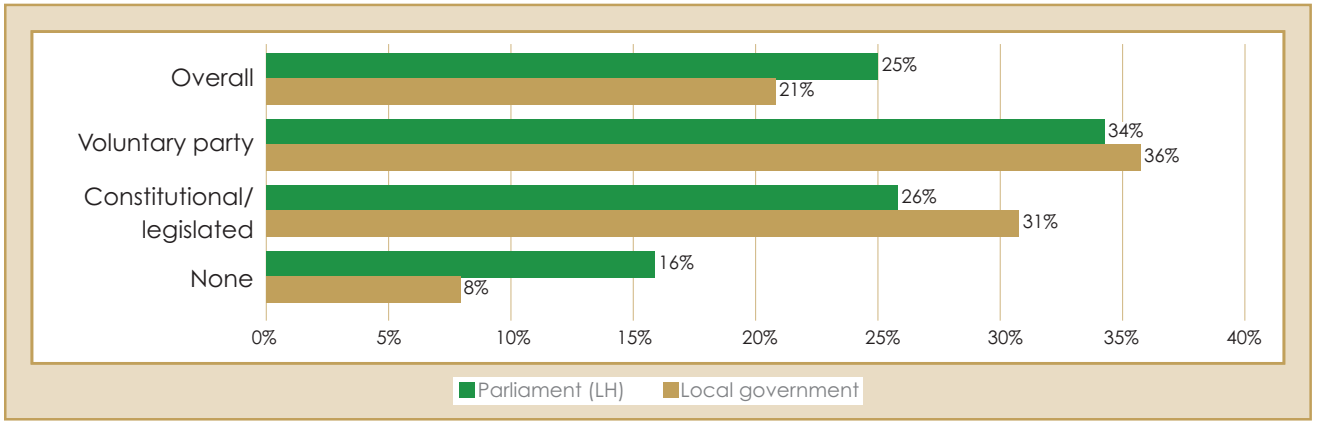


Source: GL with data from the IPU and Quota project websites.

Figure 2.4 shows the top ten countries for women in parliament in Africa colour coded according to quotas. The graph shows that all the top ten countries for women in parliament have quotas.

These are evenly split (five each) between constitutional and legislated quotas versus voluntary party quotas.

Figure 2.5: WPP and quotas in Africa



Source: GL with data from the WPP Africa Barometer.

Figure 2.5 shows that across Africa, women constitute 34% of parliamentarians and 36% of councillors in countries with voluntary party quotas. Women constitute 26% of parliamentarians and 31% of councillors in countries with legislated or constitutional quotas. In contrast, women constitute a mere 16% of parliamentarians and 8% of councillors in countries with no quotas. This shows the critical role of affirmative action in promoting WPP.

Table 2.3: Possible combinations of TSM and electoral systems

Type of quota	FPTP	PR system	Mixed PR and FPTP
Voluntary party TSM	E.g. Ruling party in Ethiopia.	E.g. Frelimo in Mozambique.	E.g. SA local government - ANC voluntary quota.
Constitutional or legislated TSM-reserved seats	E.g. The Uganda Constitution creates an additional tier of constituencies contested by women only.	In the senate in Zimbabwe, 60 of the 80 senate seats are distributed on a PR basis.	E.g. The Tanzanian constitution reserves 30 % of seats for women (distributed on a PR basis).
Constitutional or legislated TSM-reserved candidature	In the local elections in Mauritius, one third of the candidates have to be a different sex.	E.g. Local government elections in Namibia, one third of the candidates have to be women.	In the national elections in Lesotho, women must comprise at least 50% of the PR candidates (who constitute 40% of the total).

Source: Gender Links 2021.

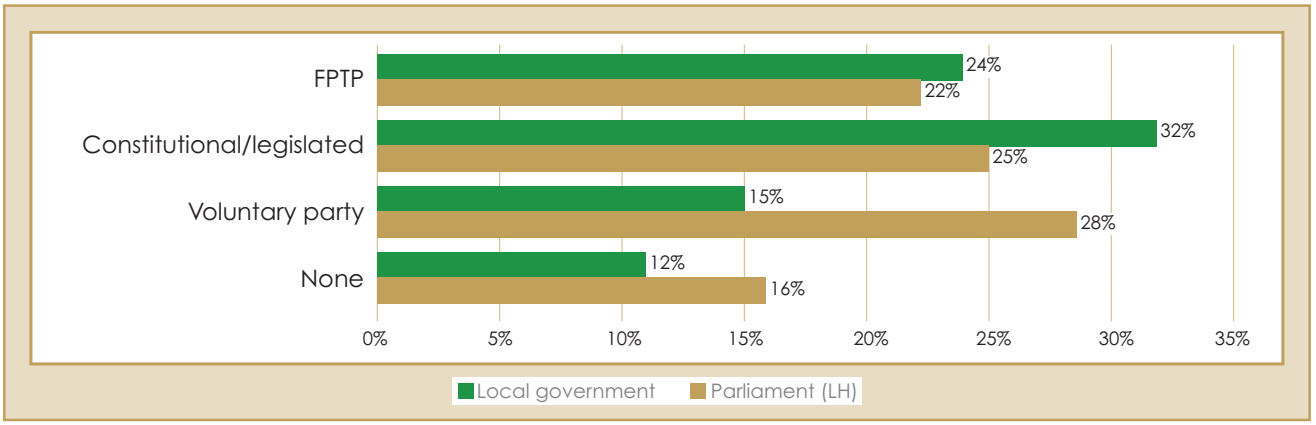
Table 2.3 shows that it is possible for any type of quota to be combined with any type of electoral system to increase women's political representation. Voluntary party quotas have been applied in the PR system (e.g. Mozambique); FPTP (e.g in Ethiopia) and the mixed system (e.g SA local government).

Constitutional and legislated quotas take two main forms: reserved seats (in which a certain proportion of seats are reserved for women) or reserved candidature (in which a party must field a certain proportion of women candidates). Seat reservation can be applied in the FPTP system (for example in Uganda); in the PR system (for example in the Zimbabwe senate) or in a mixed system (for example the parallel systems in the Zimbabwean and Tanzanian parliaments).

Candidate reservation can also be applied in the FPTP system (for example local elections in Mauritius); the PR system (for example local elections in Namibia) or the mixed system (for example the national assembly in Lesotho). The sections that follow will dissect each of the prevailing electoral systems, and the TSM used with these systems - from none at all to the combinations that have the greatest impact.

Gender and the First Past the Post Electoral System

Figure 2.6: WPP in Africa - FPTP and quotas



Source: GL with data from the WPP Africa Barometer.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, overall, women are least represented in the FPTP system in parliament (22%) and second least in local government (24%). Figure 2.6 shows that the lowest representation of women overall and in the FPTP system is where there is no quota at all (16% in parliament and 12% in local government).

For parliament, voluntary party quotas are more effective (28%) than constitutional or legislated quotas (25%) when used with this system. The opposite is true for local government. Constitutional or legislated quotas push women's representation to 32% at the local level, compared to 15% with voluntary party quotas.

Table 2.4: TSM in FPTP systems

TSM	EXAMPLE	PROS	CONS
No quota	Malawi	No accusations of tokenism	Progress is gradual
Constitutional Quota	Kenya Eswatini	Fixed, hard to change	Not observed
Reserved seats	Uganda Lesotho local (2005)	Guarantees the quota; women can compete in general	May be seen as discriminatory against men
Reserved candidates	Mauritius (Gender neutral)	Wide acceptance	Only delivers results if there is corresponding advocacy
Voluntary Party	Ethiopia	Accountability, party ownership	Heavily dependent on one party; what happens if that party loses ground?

Source: Gender Links 2021.

Table 2.4 summarises the pros and cons of TSM used in FPTP systems. The sections that follow use examples from different African countries to explain the interplay between TSM (or lack of them) and the FPTP system in promoting women's representation.

FPTP with no quota - the case of Malawi



Malawi made headlines in 2020 as the second sub-Saharan African country (other than Kenya) in which the Supreme Court nullified presidential elections and ordered a rerun. Unlike Kenya, in Malawi this resulted in a new president being elected. While this landmark achievement was hailed globally as a milestone for democracy, it made no difference to women's representation, which stands at 22% in parliament and 15% in local government. The rerun in 2020 had very little effect on women representation because it focussed only on presidential elections.

In early 2021, the number of women in parliament dropped by two after a court nullification of a 2019 parliamentary election result and the death of a woman MP due to COVID-19. The final tally for women is thus an increase from 32 in 2014 to 43 out 193 seats at present the unicameral House of Assembly. Thus in the last elections women's representation has increased from 16% to 22%. This six percentage point increase is tribute to the ongoing advocacy on women's political participation and is typical of FPTP countries with no TSM. Women's representation increases gradually (and sometimes declines) with each election. But dramatic change is not likely in this system.

The three female faces of the famous Malawi court case



Concourt Panel of Judges, Justice Ivy Kamanga second from the left. Justice Kamanga is now a Supreme Court Judge.



Counsel Innocentia Ottober, the only woman in a team of lawyers for petitioners.



Mirriam Gwalidi, the only female witness celebrating the victory at the court

Men dominated the hearing of the May 21 Tripartite Election Presidential Poll results dispute case. However, three women made history in the high profile election case that took 59 days of evidence hearing and two days of oral submissions, 62 days in total. Justice Ivy Kamanga served as the only female judge on the panel of Concourt judges. Innocentia Ottober, well known for her professionalism, served as the only woman lawyer on the petitioners side. Mirriam Gwalidi, a roving monitor for the UTM party made headlines for taking on the Attorney General in his attempt to intimidate her in the witness box. The AG said that Gwalidi would forever be remembered for her courage.[5]

How quotas work in the FPTP system

Making quotas work in the FPTP system is fraught with many challenges. This is because in the winner-takes-all system no matter what the stipulated number of women candidates, there is no guarantee that they will win, unless they are fielded in constituencies where they are likely to

[5] Wongani, C , "Female faces" of the Malawi Election case: Kamanga, Gwalidi and Nkhoma, Nyasa Times 7 December 2019 ‹https://allafrica.com/stories/201912070042.html› accessed 11 March 2021

win, which could be misconstrued as interference with the democratic process. Similarly, if constituencies are reserved for women only, this can be deemed as unfair.

These complexities manifest themselves in a variety of ways. In some cases, constitutional and or legislative provisions for women's representation in FPTP countries are simply not implemented. **Lesotho** (local elections) discontinued **seat reservation** in 2011 following a court challenge that the state won, but that political parties agreed to disband in favour of a parallel system (see mixed systems). **Uganda** has a two tier variant of seat reservation with constituencies for women only overlaying traditional constituencies in which women and men compete.

Reserved candidacy means requiring that every party field a certain percentage of candidates. There is no certainty that these candidates will win. As demonstrated at the local level in Mauritius, with political purpose and good will on the part of parties, increases in women's participation can be achieved, but can also be reversed. **Voluntary party quotas** in the FPTP system often have little impact, as parties pay lip service to these provisions and then field candidates in seats where they believe they will win in the heat of the elections, as illustrated in the case of Botswana. On the other hand, Ethiopia has achieved a high level of women's representation with the voluntary quota of its dominant ruling party. These examples are explored in greater detail in the sections that follow.

Constitutional and legislated quotas in FPTP that are not enforced



Despite the Constitutional and legislative provisions for at least 30% women in parliament this figure has dropped from 22% in 2010 to 18% in 2018 in **Eswatini**. Women's representation in local government has also dropped from 18% to 14%. The 2018 *Election of Women Members to the House of Assembly Act* aimed to give muscle to the provisions in the Constitution. The Act prescribes that half of the women appointed by the King must be women; this is nine women in total and only guarantees 12% women in the lower chamber. The law also provides that if the women in the House of Assembly fail to reach the 30% mark, the House will form itself into an electoral college and appoint no more than four women from the four regional administrative districts (Hhohho, Manzini, Shiselweni and Lubombo).



In the 2018 national elections only two women were voted in to the 59 Tinkhundla (or electoral districts). In line with the law the House of Assembly appointed four women. The king only appointed one woman. This resulted in just seven women obtaining seats.

The senate provisions for women's representation are more watertight. Half of the ten senators elected by the House of Assembly must be women and eight of the twenty appointed senators have to be women (a requirement altogether of 43% women). However, this provision was also not honoured. Altogether women comprise 40% of senators. Overall (house and senate together) women constitute 18% of the total, which is below the 30% quota and well below the 50% target.



Article 27(8) of **Kenya**'s 2010 Constitution states that: "not more than two thirds of members of the elected house can be of the same gender". The Supreme Court advised the Attorney General that the one-third gender requirement in the National Assembly and Senate should be implemented "progressively" in successive elections.

Advocates of the quota have opposed making the one third provision an aspirational target. In June 2017, Kenya's Supreme Court gave the country's parliament 60 days to pass a law guaranteeing at least one-third of the country's elected representatives are female or face dissolution. High Court Judge John Mativo noted that parliament was in "gross violation" of the Constitution.

The 2017 general election took place without a law to facilitate the implementation of the two-thirds gender rule. As a result, the composition of parliament after the 2017 general election (as before) was noncompliant with the constitution.[6]

Despite six court orders directing it to do so, parliament has yet to enact the law. Article 261 (7) of the 2010 constitution provides for dissolution of parliament, as many times as it takes, until the house fully complies with the requirement. In September 2020 Chief Justice David Maraga advised President Uhuru Kenyatta to dissolve the house.The focus is now on the 2022 elections, with pressure mounting for legislation to implement the two-thirds gender rule.



The **Central African Republic** also has a constitutional quota in a FPTP system that has not been respected. In the 27 December 2020 polls 245 women (18.5%) competed against 1327 men. Women comprise 9% of MPs. Only one woman out of 22 registered candidates, i.e. 5% contested the presidential polls. CAR is one of the few African countries to have had a woman Prime Minister - Elisabeth Domitien- from 1975-1976.



On 18 December 2015 **Mali**[7] adopted a 30% quota for women in elective office. Political parties are called upon to respect this quota when putting forward their candidate lists for the local and national elections, otherwise, their list of candidates might be rejected by the Constitutional Court. In 2016, the proportion of women in local government increased from 9% to 23%; still short of the 30% target. Women comprised 29% of MPs - close to the target.

"The law no 052 has been instrumental in this result. This is encouraging but there is room for improvement", said Habibatou Nagnouman Traoré, president of the network of women leaders of political parties and civil society. "There is progress but we must do sensitisation and information campaigns so that political parties make space for women. The law in itself is positive and we hope that for the next legislative elections due in 2022, there will be more women elected", added Marc Amougou, main councilor in the Projet d'Appui au Processus Electoral du Mali.

In August 2020 President Ibrahim Boubacar Keita was forced to resign after a coup. Women comprise four members of the transitional government of 25 members (16%). These are: Bintou Founé Samaké who heads the Ministry of the Promotion of Women and family, Dramé Kadiatou Konaré, heading the Arts and culture and tourism Ministry, Bernadette Keita, Minister of Environment and Sustainable Development and Dr Fanta Siby at the head of the Ministry of Health and Social development. On 11 October 2020 women organized a peaceful protest against the non-recognition of the legislated quota.

[6] Thiankolu, M., 'How Kenya courted a constitutional crisis over parliament's failure to meet gender quotas', The Conversation, 1 October 2020 <https://theconversation.com/how-kenya-courted-a-constitutional-crisis-over-parliaments-failure-to-meet-gender-quotas -147145> accessed 11 March 2021

[7] Case studyby Bokoum Abdoul Momini

Seat reservation in the FPTP system

When seats are reserved in the FPTP system, only women can contest these seats. This opens such a system to the criticism that it is discriminatory against men. In Lesotho this attempt back-fired. Uganda, on the other hand, has found a way of ensuring that reserved seats work.



Lesotho introduced local elections in 2005 at a time of heightened 50/50 activism. Initially, the country adopted a system of reserved seats for women on a trial basis, and on the assumption that this would face less resistance at local than national level.



Public gathering at Siloe Council in 2018. *Photo: Ntolo Lekau*

In this system only women could contest in the 30% constituencies reserved for women (to be rotated for three elections). In the 2006 elections, a record 58% women won the elections - 28% elected in the open FPTP race; and 30% through the reserved seats. But political parties and men who had been prevented from standing for local elections cried foul. Men said that the quota discriminated against them.

A chief who had been prevented from standing challenged the case in the High Court. The Court deemed the electoral law to be "justifiable discrimination". But political parties lobbied the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) to devise a solution they would all deem to be more fair. The IEC embarked on a study trip to Tanzania that included members of political parties and the Ministry of Local Government and Chieftaincy. Lesotho opted for the "Tanzania model" (later adopted also in Zimbabwe at the national level). In this mixed system, 30% of council seats are allocated for women only to parties in proportion to their percentage of the vote in the elections, i.e. on a PR basis. In 2011, in addition to these PR seats women won 19% of the FPTP seats; a lower percentage than before, possibly because the first system had been so unpopular. The proportion of women councillors in Lesotho decreased by a further nine percentage points to 40% in September 2017. This shows with the current system, Lesotho will stay above the minimum 30% mark in local government, but there is no guarantee of achieving 50%. Public education, awareness and mobilisation are required.



Among FPTP countries in Africa, **Uganda** has the oldest established system of seat reservation for women to ensure that legislated quotas are given effect. Eight elections since the introduction of reserved FPTP seats for women in Uganda, there is a debate as to whether this is the most effective way to increase women's representation.

Table 2.5: Composition of the Uganda parliament

Category	Seats	Women	
Directly elected	353		Open to women and men. Contested on a FPTP basis
Seats for women only	146	146	One seat per district, overlaying the FPTP seats
Army	10	2	Minimum number of women who must be elected in these categories (could be higher)
Youth	5	1	
Elders	5	1	
Unions	5	1	
People with disability	5	1	
Total	**529**	**152**	
%	**100%**	**29%**	

Source: Gender Links with information from Wikipedia.[8]

As illustrated in Table 2.5, women are free to contest the 353 constituency seats in Uganda. In addition, each one of 146 districts elects one woman candidate in seats open to women only that overlay these constituencies. Special interest groups also have to elect at least one woman candidate (two in the case of the armed forces). The theory behind reserved seats is that women will gain the confidence to contest in the openly contested seats. As 30% seats for women are guaranteed by the Constitution and election laws, the main point of interest in Uganda is the extent to which eight elections since the introduction of the quota (1989 to 2020) women are progressing in the openly contested FPTP seats.

In the 2016[9] elections women constituted a mere 83 or (6%) of the 1306 candidates for the openly contested elections. The National Resistance Movement (NRM) nominated 23 women compared to 267 men (12%); the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) nominated four women compared with 197 men (2%).[10] This is a far cry from the 40% quotas for women espoused by the two political parties. The ratio of women candidates to women winning (18 out of the 83 women or one in five) is also lower than that for men (1223 men for 292 seats or one in four) showing that women still face a tougher struggle than men in the FPTP seats.

Women's representation in parliament in Uganda has increased from 30% in 2006 to 35% in 2016. Women's representation in Uganda's highly decentralised local government is more promising than national politics. However, the representation of women has decreased slightly from 48% in 2011 to 46% in 2016. This could be due to the violence that characterised the 2016 elections as well as resource constraints to campaign for women at the local level. The excerpt below captures some of the challenges of the reserved quota seats:

> "First, the (women quota MPs) object to the perception that they are second-class MPs. A former Ugandan quota MP who successfully switched to an open seat stated, 'Everywhere I would go, constituents would ask me "where is our MP?"' Furthermore, in both countries, reserved-seat MPs are expected to inform constituency MPs in their regions or districts whenever they visit their constituencies. When both the quota MP and the constituency MP are present at official or social functions, the constituency MP speaks first. Second, the wider aerial coverage of quota MPs - coupled with their lack of resources - makes them feel overwhelmed and overstretched."[11]

[8] Wikipedia, Uganda General elections <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021_Ugandan_general_election>
[9] Uganda held elections in January 2020 in which the main opposition party alleged irregularities. Results were still being computed at the time of writing.
[10] EASSI, *EAC Gender and Development Pilot Barometer* (EASSI,2017)
[11] Wang, Vi. and, Mi, Y., *Switches from quota- to non-quota seats: A comparative study of Tanzania and Uganda* (CMI,2018)

In their gender audit Ugandan WRO are equally critical of the "politics of the open seat."

> "The open seat-the directly elected political position- has now been named in no uncertain terms-"*ekifo kyabasajja*" (men's seat). Though this reality has been so, since the introduction of the women's reserved seat, it has now acquired a status of a semi-official position because the EC is silent on the issue and has not attempted to come out explicitly to sensitise voters and outlaw ghettoization as electoral discrimination. Women who stand on the open seat are seen as intruders and are often asked to justify the 'intrusion'. Women contestants stated that even their fellow women were questioning why they had to vie for men's seats. ...women are making inroads but at the same time drifting from real power as a collective force: Where are all the women who have made a mark in the past? This is a fundamental question that was posed."[12]

FPTP and candidate quotas - Mauritius local elections



The challenge with candidate quotas - requiring every party to field a certain number of women candidates - in FPTP elections is that there is no guarantee that these candidates will win. Local elections in Mauritius have shown that candidate quotas can be successfully applied in the FPTP system, as long as they are accompanied by advocacy and public awareness campaigns. The most recent elections have also shown that these gains can be fragile and need to be constantly protected.

In December 2011, following a spirited civil society campaign, Mauritius amended the Local Government Act to oblige political parties to field a minimum of one third of candidates of either sex for the municipal and village council elections. This also entailed an amendment to Sections 16 and 111 of the Mauritian Constitution to allow for affirmative action. Civil society organisations led by Gender Links swung into action, training women candidates from village to municipal level, with the support of the Ministry of Local Government.

Increasing women's representation at the local level in Mauritius from 9% to 26% in one election in December 2012 marked the first time in the SADC region that a quota has been applied in the FPTP system *without seats being reserved for women*. Village elections took place again in Mauritius in 2020. Municipal elections will take place again in 2021. As things stand, the proportion of women in local government in Mauritius has dropped to 22%. This is a reminder of how fragile these gains are. The results also show that fielding 30% women candidates is no guarantee that they will all win. Other than support by civil society for women candidates, support by political parties is critical.



Voting in the 2012 Mauritius elections. *Photo: Gender Links*

[12] Uganda Women's Network, *Mapping Positive Trends and Persistent Deficits in 2016 General Elections* (UWONET, 2016)

FPTP and voluntary party quotas - the case of Ethiopia



There are many examples in Africa of FPTP countries with ruling and opposition parties that have voluntary quotas for women's representation. However, these seldom result in a substantial increase in women's representation. The tendency in FPTP countries is for parties to field candidates in constituencies in which they think they are most likely to win. In the rough and tumble of "winner takes all" politics women candidates are often not regarded as a safe bet. Ethiopia is unique in that it has achieved a significant increase in women's representation in parliament in a FPTP system largely driven by the voluntary quota of its dominant ruling party.

There is no requirement in the Electoral Law for political parties to have gender quotas or any other gender provisions. However in 2004, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) introduced voluntary party quotas to improve the political participation of women and their representation. The quota system reserves 30% of the candidacy in the party list for women. The EPRDF is the only political party with voluntary quotas for women.

Table 2.6: Women in parliament Ethiopia[13]

No	Election year	Total # seats in parliament	Seats held by women	% women
1	1995	547	11	2
2	2000	547	42	8
3	2005	547	116	21
4	2010	547	152	27
5	2015	547	212	39

Source: Compiled by GL with data from WPP Africa Barometer.

Table 2.6 tracks women's representation in the Ethiopian House of Representatives over the last five elections (the government postponed 2020 elections due to the COVID-19 pandemic). There is a clear correlation between the adoption of a 30% quota by the ruling party in 2004, and the increase in women's representation. Women's representation almost tripled in the 2005 elections from 8% to 21%. This figure has since increased steadily from 27% in 2010 to 39% in 2015.

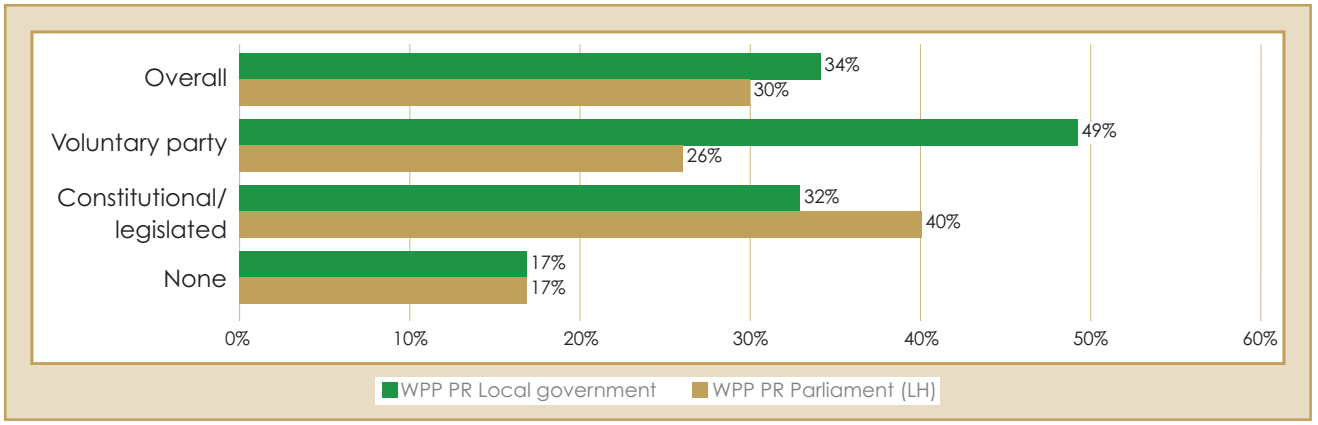
In the 2015 Ethiopian elections, women comprised 16.6% of the candidates, yet 39% of those who won. Although training and support for women candidates played a role, the combination of the ruling party's quota and its dominance of the elections played a critical role in delivering nearly 40% women. The EPRDF won 500 out of the 547 seats in parliament (91%) of the total.[14]

The Ethiopian case study shows that candidacy reservation for women in the FPTP system, accompanied by political parties and other support for women candidates, can be effective in increasing women's representation. This should be strengthened by measures to safeguard these gains.

[13] Inter-Parliamentary Union, Ethiopia Yehizb Tewokayoch Mekir Bete (House of Peoples' Representatives) ‹ https://www.ipu.org/parliament/ET› accessed 11 March 2021
[14] In November 2019, the EPRDF dissolved, and Prime Minister and EPDRF chairman Abiy Ahmed merged most of the constituent parties of the coalition into a new party called the Prosperity Party. The party was officially founded on 1 December.

Gender and the Proportional Representation (PR) System

Figure 2.7: WPP in Africa - PR and quotas



Source: GL with data from the WPP Africa Barometer.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, overall, women are best represented in the PR system in parliament (30%) and local government (34%). Figure 2.7 shows that the lowest representation of women overall in the PR system is where there is no quota at all (17% in parliament and in local government). For local government, constitutional and legislated quotas are more effective (49%) than voluntary quotas (25%) when used with this system. The opposite is true for parliament. Constitutional or legislated quotas push women's representation to 26% at the national level, compared to 40% with voluntary party quotas. The sections that follow use examples from different African countries to explain the nexus between TSM (or lack of them) and the PR system in promoting women's representation.

Table 2.7: TSM in the PR system

TSM	EXAMPLE	PROS	CONS
None	Benin	No allegations of tokenism	The system alone does not guarantee increases in WPP.
Constitutional/ Legislated	Namibia local government	Delivers excellent results	It is important to specify where women are located on the lists.
Voluntary party quotas	Mozambique	Party ownership of the zebra system	Women's representation is at the whim of parties; ideally TSM should be legislated

Source: Gender Links 2021.

Table 2.7 summarises the pros and cons of TSM used in the PR system. Having a PR system with no quotas (e.g in Benin does not guarantee women's representation, since they may be put far down on the list. A constitutional/ legislated quota obliges parties to intersperse women candidates on the list in a closed list system. Provided this is reinforced, it is a winning formula. Voluntary party quotas carry no guarantees. Women's representation may decline if the popularity of the party declines. But legislated and voluntary quotas working together in a PR system (e.g. in local elections in Namibia) result in a high proportion of women being elected.

PR with no quota



Of the 18 countries with the PR electoral system in Africa, only one has no affirmative action provisions for women - the West African state of **Benin**. There are six women out of 83 (8%) in the 2019-2023 National assembly of the eighth legislature. One of these is the first vice-president and the other first parliamentary secretary. There are five women ministers in a cabinet of 24 (20%) in the government of President Patrice Talon. Following the municipal elections of May 2020, women comprise 70 of the 1815 elected councilors (4%). Women comprise three of the 77 mayors (4%).[15] The low representation of women in Benin shows that it is not the system that delivers women's representation, but rather the *system working in concert with affirmative action measures* that makes the difference.

How quotas work in a PR system

In the PR system parties are allocated seats based on the percentage of their vote. In an open list system voters choose the people on the list as well as determine through the percentage of the vote whether or not those selected make the cut. In the closed list system, parties put up lists of candidates in rank order. This order is normally established through a voting process within the party. Parties are allocated seats based on the percentage of the vote they garner. The chances of being elected are directly correlated to where the candidate is found on the party list.

Often the top positions in the list are dominated by men. Use of the "zebra" or "Zipper system" to distribute women evenly across the list is a fool proof way of ensuring that women candidates are included. This can be achieved through parties doing this voluntarily, or through constitutional or legislative means (that need to be enforced in order for them to work). Candidate reservation (i.e. obliging parties to field a certain percentage of women candidates) works well in the PR system, as long as women are interspersed throughout the lists. It is also possible to have seats reserved for women only and distributed to parties according to the proportion of the vote they achieve. This is often used in parallel with the FPTP system to circumvent the pitfalls of reserved seats in that system (see mixed systems). The sections that follow concern the use of TSM alongside the PR system.

Constitutional and legislated quotas in the PR system that are partially enforced

When a country has a PR system, constitutional and or legislated quotas but fails to achieve a higher representation of women, this is a warning sign that the provisions are not water tight, or are not being enforced, as illustrated in the examples that follow.



Somalia is in transition, on the road to achieving one-person, one-vote universal elections in 2021. Article 22 (5) of the National Elections Bill stipulates a 30% quota for women's representation. However, the PR and quota system do not stipulate how the list will be constituted. The 2016/17 transitional election in Somalia provided

[15] Research by Isabelle Otchoumaré for the WPP Barometer

for a 30% quota for women's representation in all levels of government. The proportion of women increased from 14% in 2012 to 24% in 2016/17 - a significant improvement, but short of the 30% mark. The 2021 elections will be the first not be based on voting by representatives from clans in Somalia. The election provides an important opportunity to increase women's representation as almost all of the clans' leadership is male.



In 2012 **Algeria** adopted the *"organic law fixing the modality to enhance women's chances to access representation in the elected assemblies"*, which establishes quotas for women. The law obliges Algerian political parties to ensure that women constitute 30% of their electoral list and that 30% of their parliamentary seats must go to women. Following the Arab Spring, Algeria adopted a new Constitution in 2016. Article 35 states that: *"the State will work for the promotion of the political rights of women by enhancing women's chances of accessing representation in the elected assemblies"*. However, following the 2018 elections, women constituted 26% of the lower house in Algeria, below the 30% target.

Constitutional and legislated quotas in the PR system that are fully enforced

Where constitutional and or legislated quotas are fully enforced in a PR system, this results in a rapid increase in women's representation, as illustrated in the examples that follow:



Rwanda (see case study in Chapter 7) adopted its new Constitution after the 1994 genocide. The Constitution Article 9 (4) provides for a minimum 30% of women in decision-making. The implementation of this provision is directly linked to the increased proportion of women parliamentarians in Rwanda - the first country in the world with a female dominated parliament (61%).



The Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement (the Arusha Accords) signed in August 2000 ended 12 years of civil war and cycles of massacres, including genocide, dating back to **Burundi**'s independence in 1960. This followed protracted negotiations facilitated by former Presidents Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Nelson Mandela of South Africa.[16] The Arusha Peace and Reconciliation agreement of Arusha in Burundi signed in August 2000 recommends the full integration of women in the process of decision-making and rehabilitation programmes. The Constitution of the Republic of Burundi of the 7 June 2018 stipulates a minimum quota of 30% women in the National Assembly, which is based on a PR system.

Following the 2020 elections, women constitute 37% of the total, up from 36% in 2015. Women constitute one third of the cabinet, up from 29% in 2015. Women's representation in local government increased from 33% in 2015 to 35% in 2020. The ruling National Council for the Defence of Democracy-Forces of Defence of Democracy (CNDD-FDD) has a women's league that gives training to women to empower them to get into politics.

[16] Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, *The AU and the search for Peace and Reconciliation in Burundi and Comoros*, (CHD, 2011)

Compared to 2015, the 2020 electoral campaign took place in a relatively calm environment. However the main opposition National Liberation Congress (CNL) experienced many challenges. Kathy Kezimana, a woman activist in CNL campaigning for the opposition candidate Agathon Rwasa, was arrested and imprisoned following charges of inducement to insurrection. She stood as candidate after being cleared by the Constitutional Court and is now a parliamentarian.[17]

Legislated and voluntary party quotas in a PR system



Cameroon has a bicameral parliament with the use of voluntary party quotas and legislated quotas for the upper house. Municipal, senate and legislative elections in Cameroon are now governed by Law No. 2012/001 of 19 April 2002 Election Code. Political parties were expected to demonstrate "evidence of gender considerations" in drawing up their candidate lists. The Code effectively makes gender a prerequisite for selection and nomination processes in Cameroon. Rassemblement démocratique du Peuple Camerounais [RDPC], the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement has had a 25-30% quota for women on electoral lists since 1996. The Social Democratic Front Social Démocrate (SDF) has adopted a 25 percent quota. Empowered by this provision, the election management body, Elections Cameroon (ELECAM), rejected a number of political parties' candidate list submissions on the basis of noncompliance with the "gender considerations" provision outlined in the Electoral Code. As a result, the proportion of women parliamentarians increased from 14% in 2007 to 31% in the 2013 Parliamentary Elections. Women now constitute 34% of the 180-seat National Assembly. But women constitute only 16% of cabinet ministers and 7.5% of councillors[18].



Namibia has a PR system both at national and local level. At national level, Namibia has voluntary party quotas. These are largely driven by the ruling South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) gender parity principle. Women constitute 46% of the House of Assembly, and 14% of the National Council or upper chamber. Overall, women constitute 36% of MPs. At a local level where there is a 30% legislated quota reinforced by SWAPO's voluntary party quota, women comprise 45% of the total - close to gender parity, showing that the combination of voluntary party and legislated quotas is a winning formula.

The main governing legislation at local level is the Local Authorities Act 1992 which states that:

> "The members of a local authority council shall be elected on party lists at a general election and each party list shall contain as candidates for such election: a) In the case of a municipal or town council consisting of 10 or fewer members or a village council the names of at least three female persons; b) In the case of a municipal council or town council consisting of 11 or more members the names of at least five female persons."

This requirement in the law is strictly enforced by the Electoral Commission of Namibia (ECN). Party lists are not accepted during the nomination period unless they comply with these legal provisions. SWAPO currently has 60% women in top party leadership positions and fielded 51% women candidates for the 2019 national elections. SWAPO's five year development strategy focussed amongst others on measures to tackle corruption and **gender-based violence**, and programmes to empower young people[19].

[17] Gender Links Burundi Fifty Fifty Country profile 2020 unpublished.
[18] Reporting by Florette Manedong
[19] Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARD) Bulletin SANF19 No 52

An analysis of the top five political party lists in the 2019 Namibia elections indicates that they each fielded at least 35% women candidates as follows: SWAPO (51%), Popular Democratic Movement (PDM)- 41%, National Unity Democratic Organisation (NUDO) - 43%, Rally for Democracy and Progress (RDP) - 39%, All People's Party (APP) - 46%. Three of the top five political parties have 20% women in top party leadership positions (PDM, NUDO, APP) while SWAPO has the highest at 60% and RDP at 40%.

The challenge with voluntary party quotas is that these are subject to the whims of parties. At the ***local level***, although the PR system is generally not popular, as constituents prefer to elect individuals whom they can hold to account, this system seems to have worked for Namibia. The combination of a legislated minimum quota of 30% and SWAPO's voluntary 50% quota at this level has resulted in a high proportion of women at the local level.

Eunice Ipinge, a former SWAPO parliamentarian and Chair of the Pan African Women's Organisation (PAWO) introduced a motion in the Namibia parliament in June 2019 for voluntary quotas for be legislated at national and local level.



Eunice Ipinge. *Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna*

Citing the Article 9 of the Maputo Protocol she proposed that the Electoral Act, 2014 and the Local Authorities Act, 1992 be amended to include a provision *that all political parties* should implement the 50:50 gender policy.

The leader of the official opposition Popular Democratic Movement, McHenry Venaani, responded: "I support the thinking, but not the way SWAPO is imposing how other political parties should run their internal affairs." Leader of the Rally for Democracy and Progress, Mike Kavekotora, added: "We must first understand the context of the Maputo Protocol before jumping to conclusions."[20]

Voluntary party quotas in a PR System



Woman voting. *Photo: Gender Links*

Mozambique is one of the top three performers in SADC in terms of women's representation in parliament. The country has a PR system and a voluntary party quota championed by the ruling party, with opposition parties now also joining in. Women's representation in Mozambique has increased by eight percentage points from 34% to 42% over the last decade, 2009-2020. At the local level representation of women has decreased by two percentage points, from 36% to 34%. The ruling Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) has a voluntary 40% quota for women

[20] The Namibian, Maputo Protocol discussed in NA, 6 July 2019 ‹https://www.namibian.com.na/189276/archive-read/Maputo-Protocol-discussed-in-NA› accessed 11 March 2011

in decision-making. The two main opposition parties Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO) and O Movimento Democrático de Moçambique (MDM) have a 30% quota for women.

At its 11th Party Congress in September 2018 President Filipe Nyusi committed his Government to strategies and priorities towards efforts for gender parity including:

- Ensuring that political female knowledge and skills are cascaded down to rural and communities to enable female representation at grassroots level which are the pillars of a great and successful nation.
- Increasing women leadership in local government (presently only six out of 53 councils are led by women). The Ministry of Local Government was tasked with investing in capacity building and searching for potential female candidates for the 2018 Local Government elections.
- Working with other political parties to ensure women representation in political decision making in increased.

Table 2.8: Representation of women in the Mozambique parliament by party

Party	Total seats	Total women	% women
FRELIMO Bench	184	42.9%	79
RENAMO Bench	60	25%	15
(MDM)	6	0%	0
Total	**250**	**38%**	**94**

Source: GL Mozambique 50/50 Policy Brief 2020.

Table 2.8 disaggregates women's current representation in the assembly by political party. This shows that with 43% women in the national assembly FRELIMO has exceeded its 40% target. At 25% and 0% respectively, RENAMO and the MDM did not honour their own commitments to women's representation. The results support the need for a legislated quota for all parties.

Given the similarities in electoral systems, Mozambique could learn from Namibia's experience, where the legislated quota at the local government level has resulted in 45% women at this level, exceeding the 30% quota and coming close to parity. FRELIMO could follow the example of the SWAPO motion in parliament for a 50% legislated "zebra" (one women, one man) quota in the national assembly.

Constitutional review could change South Africa's PR system[21]

Like Mozambique, South Africa's national elections are held on a simple PR basis. Local elections are based on a mixed PR and FPTP system. The ruling African National Congress (ANC) adopted a voluntary quota in 2002, raising this to 50% in 2007. The voluntary quota of the ruling party has created a "snowball" or "contagion" effect. With 46% women in the national assembly South Africa ranks second in Africa and 12th in the IPU global ranking of women in parliament.

The advantage of voluntary TSM is that these are owned and driven by political parties. The downside is that if the dominant party leading on the voluntary quota loses support the proportion of women also drops. This has led to calls for a legislated quota in South Africa since the current success is predicated on the performance of the ANC as a mass/dominant party. In the run up to the first democratic elections in 1994, ANC women argued for a quota but also argued against reserved seats for women and rejected the Uganda model of reserved seats for women.

[21] Information from the Gender Links 2020 #VoiceandChoice Barometer, Gender and Governance chapter.

Gender activists face a new curve ball following a 2020 Constitutional Court ruling requiring that the electoral system be reviewed over the next two years. This is likely to lead to a change in the PR electoral system that has been key to the meteoric increase in women's representation in the South African parliament from less than three percent before the advent of democracy in 1994 to close to gender parity at present.

The ruling follows a case brought before the court by the New Nation Movement arguing that the Electoral Act limits the constitutional right to "stand for public office and, if elected, to hold office". Princess Chantal Revell who is of Khoi and San royal descent, was the second applicant in the case, because she wants to stand for election so that she can prioritise First Nation People's issues, which she argues have been side lined by political parties.



Princess Chantal Revell. *Photo: Biz News*

To align with the Constitution the new electoral system will need to respect the rights of individuals to stand for public office, while also ensuring that at least part of the electoral system be proportional or represent the national will of the people, which points to the likelihood that a mixed electoral system will be proposed. The system should ensure that independents and women, especially young women, candidates have a fair chance of being elected. There is a chance of a Constitutional amendment, which would allow for a plurality/majority system.

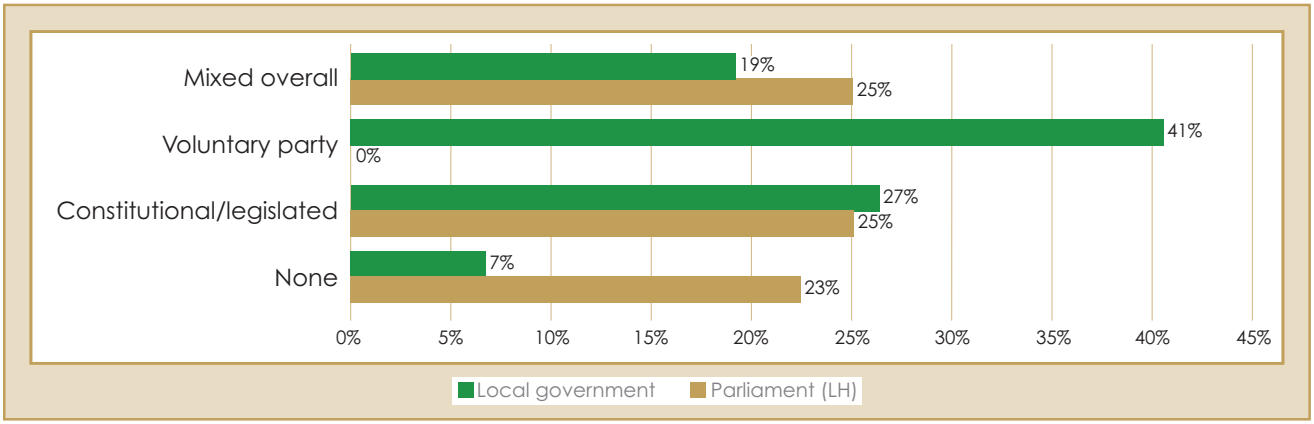
An Electoral Task Team (ETT) appointed in 2002 recommended changing the system to a mixed one. But parliament chose to adopt the minority proposal to retain the PR system because it met all four principles that the constitution envisaged for an electoral system: fairness, inclusiveness, simplicity and accountability.

In light of the key role that the PR system has played in facilitating WPP, an *Action Coalition of Women's Rights Organisations on the Electoral Laws Amendment Bill* are calling on legislators to ensure that whatever replaces the current Electoral Law does not unfairly discriminate against women and addresses the weaknesses of the current system without creating future impediments to women's full and equal participation in elections. The Action Coalition has agreed to canvas women in politics, academia, government, local government, civil society and special focus groups like the LGBTIQ plus community, and Women with Disabilities, to come forward with suggestions on strengthening the proposed Electoral Laws Amendment Bill to ensure women's equal access and representation.

The best outcome would be a mixed system with a legislated 50% candidate quota for both PR and FPTP seats. Other barriers that women face for example access to finance and networks should be addressed at the same time. For example, the costs of registering for elections should also not be prohibitive to minority groups and women participating effectively.

Gender and mixed electoral systems

Figure 2.8: WPP in Africa - Mixed systems and quotas



Source: GL with data from the WPP Africa Barometer.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, overall, women are second best represented in the mixed system in parliament (25%) and third best in local government (19%). Figure 2.8 shows that the lowest representation of women overall in the mixed system is where there is no quota at all (7% in local government and 23% in parliament).

For local government, voluntary party quotas (41%) work better than constitutional or legislated quotas (27%) when used with this system. Constitutional or legislated quotas push women's representation to 25% at the national level, compared to 23% where there are no quotas.

Table 2.9: TSM in mixed systems

TSM	EXAMPLE	PROS	CONS
No quota	Seychelles	Avoids the criticism of tokenism.	Results in constant fluctuation in WPP.
Reserved seats for women (PR only)	Zimbabwe national, Tanzania, Lesotho local	Guarantees the quota; does not infringe the rights of male candidates.	Women who come in on PR may be seen as "token".
Reserved candidates for women (PR only)	Lesotho national	Ensures maximum advantage for women in PR seats.	Does not deliver good overall results, if FPTP is 50% or more .
Voluntary	South Africa local	Party ownership and buy-in.	Women do better in PR than FPTP seats although this is improving.

Source: Gender Links 2021.

Table 2.9 summarises the pros and cons of TSM (or lack of them) used together with the mixed system. The sections that follow analyse examples from different African countries to explain the interplay between TSM (or lack of them) and the PR system in promoting women's representation.

No quotas in a mixed system



The National Assembly/Assemblée Nationale of **Seychelles** has 34 members elected for five year terms, 25 members elected in single-seat constituencies and nine members elected by proportional representation. Until its 2016 parliamentary elections, the island had the distinction of being one of the strongest performers with regard to women's representation, despite having a predominantly FPTP system and no quota, with women constituting 48% of the National Assembly.

Seychelles achieved this because of its unique national characteristics including a high literacy rate for older women in comparison with their male counterparts and high percentage of women headed households[22]. However, the level of women's representation in the National Assembly dropped from 48% to 21% in the 2016 elections. Presently women's representation stands at 23%. This fluctuation reflects the weakness of having no system at all to guarantee women's equal representation.

Reserved seats for women in a mixed (parallel) system - PR only

Several FPTP countries have turned to reserving seats for women on a PR basis as a way of circumventing the challenges of reserved seats in FPTP systems. In doing so they create a mixed or parallel system. Examples include Lesotho (local), Tanzania and Zimbabwe (national). This has the advantage of guaranteeing the 30%. However, as with any kind of "reserved" seats, this system creates two tiers of women MPS; the few who win constituency seats, and those who are put forward by their parties on PR seats. The latter are invariably viewed as inferior.



Tanzania belongs to both the East African Community (EAC) and SADC. The country was the first in both East and Southern Africa to adopt a 20% Constitutional quota to increase women's political participation in 1998.[23] The current Union Constitution provides that not less than 30% of the members of the National Assembly (Tanzania) and the House of Representatives (Zanzibar) shall be women. Efforts to get this raised to 50% have stalled with a Constitutional Review that has been put indefinitely on hold. Women and men are free to contest all constituency seats. An additional 30% of the seats are distributed among women only on the PR basis (i.e. on the basis of the proportions of votes per party).

Tanzania is number 34 in the IPU Women in National Parliaments World Classification.[24] At the local level, women candidates won in 204 out of 3,946 wards (5.2%) in 2015. The NEC appointed 1,404 women councillors according to the Local Authorities (Election) Act[25], which provides that there shall be at least one third Women Special Seats of Elected Councillors in respective Councils. Women's representation at the local level has remained at 34% over the last three elections. Both at the national and local level, Tanzania is struggling to break past the one third mark.

[22] Lowe Morna, C., Makaya, M .and Rama K., *An Illustrative Trends Analysis on Women's Political Development in the Commonwealth 204-2013* (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2013).
[23] Ogunsanya, K., *A Women's Agenda in Parliament? If Not Why Not? If so What Should it Be?* Paper presented at the ESAR Parliamentary Conference, Colombo Sri Lanka (2012)
[24] Inter Parliamentary Union, Women in Politics rankings 2019, <http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm> accessed 11 March 2011
[25] Republic of Tanzania, Local Government (District Authorities) Act, Cap. 287 Section 35 (1)(d), Local Government (Urban Authorities) Act, Cap. 288 Section 24 (1)(c), and Local Authorities (Election) Act, Cap. 292. Section 86A

Table 2.10: Breakdown of women's seats in the 2015 Tanzania elections

	Women	Total	%
Number of women MPs who won the election in constituencies	25	264	10%
Number of women special seats	113	113	40%
Number of women MP's appointed by President	5	10	50%
Number of women MP's from House of Representatives in Zanzibar	2	5	40%
TOTAL	**145**	**393**	**37%**

Source: Gender Links Tanzania 50/50 Policy brief 2020.

Table 2.10 shows that in 2015[26], women comprised 136 (37%) of those elected to the National Assembly in Tanzania: 7% through the FPTP system and 30% through the reserved PR seats. In 2015, women candidates for the FPTP seats comprised just 10% of the overall candidates.[27] Two examples of women politicians in the 2020 elections illustrate the dilemmas and challenges that women candidates face in the mixed system - standing as candidates or coming in through the PR seats.



Bonna Kamoli is one of the few women constituency MPs in Tanzania. She won her Segerea Constituency as a candidate for the ruling Chama cha Mapinduzi party (CCM). A business woman, she says she "found many challenges that communities are facing, women were the most vulnerable group. That was my entry point into politics." She received support from Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania-UWT, the women's wing of CCM, which she joined in 2013. When she stood as a candidate in 2015, her family supported the move. But during the campaign, to protect her family, Kamoli had to change her surname: "I am now using my father's name. It was very challenging but I managed to be chosen by my Political Party to contest at the Segerea Constituency at Ilala Municipal - Dar es Salaam Region," she recalled. "Communities at Segerea attended at the campaign, they tasked me like any MPs without any discrimination as a woman. I also worked hard to make sure that I fulfill all that my voters requested me to do so. As I found Segerea communities lack safe water, I started to solve that problem, and for the five years every citizen at Segerea benefitted."



Sophia Mwakagenda represents the opposition *Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo* (Party for Democracy and Progress) commonly known as Chadema, the second-largest political party in Tanzania. She started as a constituency candidate and did well in the preliminary stages, but she did not get enough votes to win at the constituency level. She alleged many bad practices such as cheating at the counting of votes.Her hard work earned her one of the special PR seats following the 2020 elections.

Mwakagenda experience shows how PR seats can be used to affirm women candidates and give them a second chance where the playing field is far from even. However, critics argue that the downfall of the mixed system is that this creates two classes of women MPs. In all such scenarios, women constituency candidates are bound to be regarded as superior to their FPTP counter parts[28].

[26] Results for the October 2020 elections were still being verified at the time of going to print.
[27] EASSI, *EAC Gender and Development Pilot Barometer* (EASSI,2017)
[28] Interviewed by Gladness Munuo

An interesting comparative case study concerns Tanzania and its neighbour Uganda, where 30% seats are also reserved for women, but on a FPTP basis. A higher proportion of women in Tanzania have progressed from the affirmative action seats to compete in the open FPTP elections than in Uganda, despite the fact that in Uganda the reserved seats are contested among women candidates only in open elections. According to the analysis, the women's district seats are so devalued that they are not as effective in boosting women's confidence.

> The difference between the two countries mainly stems from their different reserved-seat mechanisms and executive and ruling parties' efforts to encourage the switch to open seats. Unlike voters in Tanzania, who indirectly elect quota MPs, voters in Uganda directly elect both constituency and quota MPs. Uganda's reserved-seat design, therefore, has shaped the popular belief that district (quota) seats are for women and constituency seats are for men, creating two largely separate electoral spheres for female and male candidates and setting the standard for how many female representatives are elected to parliament. Constituents commonly view district MPs aspiring for constituency seats as intruders into someone else's territory. A district seat MP explained how a woman standing for an open seat faced hostile comments from constituents who insisted, 'If a hen crows, just get a knife and slaughter the hen. [The] hen cannot crow' - implying that only men should contest for open seats and speak up in public.[29]

The question for both Uganda and Tanzania is whether reserved seats of any kind are the best way to go. In both countries, there is a push to review the electoral system towards either PR or a mixed system. Quotas applied across the board in such systems have the advantage of not associating any particular set of seats with women only. A PR system with a one woman, one man or "zebra" quota is very effective in delivering equitable outcomes.

Reserved candidacy (as opposed to reserved seats) in the FPTP system does not necessarily produce the same result as this depends on parties fielding women candidates in "safe" seats. However, when accompanied by strong political ownership and support, this is a preferable option to reservation. At a minimum, existing quotas should be revised upwards from 30% to 50%, in keeping with Uganda and Tanzania's global and national commitments to gender parity.



With a system very similar at the national level to the Tanzania model, but due to expire in 2023, **Zimbabwe** faces a dilemma: to extend the quota as it is, or to use the upcoming window to innovate. The 2013 Constitution effectively creates three types of electoral systems and TSM in the country making this country a particularly interesting case study of the different possible combinations of electoral systems and TSM.

The Constitution (Section 17) aspires to: *"full gender balance in Zimbabwean society particularly with regard to promoting the full participation of women in all spheres of Zimbabwean society* on the basis of equality with men and to take legislative and other measures to ensure that both women and men are equally represented in all institutions and agencies of government at every level." Section 124 provides that *"for the next two lives of the National Assembly (commencing in 2013), an additional sixty women shall be elected under a party-list system of proportional representation based on votes cast for political party candidates."* In essence this meant that from 2013 to 2023, Zimbabwe would have a mixed system in the national assembly: 210 seats voted for on a constituency (FPTP) basis and 60 seats distributed among parties on a PR basis but reserved for women only. This provision is not extended to local government, where the system is purely a FPTP system.

[29] Ibid

Section 120 of the Constitution provides that 60 out of 80 seats (or 75% of the seats) are distributed among parties based on the percentage vote that they garner in the elections (i.e. on a PR basis). This is subject to a "zebra style" quota of one woman, one vote, with women always topping the list. The remaining 25% of seats in the senate are distributed to chiefs; president and deputy president of the National Council of Chiefs, as well as persons with disability. This gives women a guaranteed 30 out of 80 seats (or 37%).

Table 2.11: Electoral systems, quotas and outcomes in Zimbabwe

	Last election/ announcement	Next elections	Electoral system	Quota	No of seats/ candidates/ appointments	No of women	% women
Local government	2018	2023	FPTP	None	1959	274	14%
House of Assembly	2018	2023	MIXED[30]	30%	270	85	31%
Senate	2018	2023	PR	37%	80	35	44%
Both houses					350	120	34%

Source: Gender Links 50/50 policy brief 2020.

Table 2.11 illustrates the interplay between electoral systems and TSM in Zimbabwe, reflecting all the regional and global trends discussed in this chapter. In the 2018 elections, almost all the women in the House of Assembly (31%) came in through the PR seats in the parallel or mixed system that pertains at this level. Women comprise 44% of the senate which is based on a PR and zebra list system. Women constitute just 14% of councillors. Local elections are based on a FPTP system with no quotas.

The expiry of the PR quota for women at national level in 2023 raises concerns that even the limited gains made at the national level will be lost. Furthermore, there is no quota for women at the local level. The proportion of women at this level has receded with each election - from 18% in 2008; to 16% in 2013 to 14% in 2018.



President Mnangagwa giving the keynote address at the Women Councillors Indaba.
Photo: Tapiwa Zvaraya

The system of reserving seats for women on a PR basis in the national assembly has guaranteed the minimum 30% women but has not always favoured women's effective participation, as these seats are often regarded as the "token" women's seats. A better system is the zebra (one woman, one man) system in the senate: delivering gender parity without distinction in the way that women and men are elected.

At the ***local level***, where elections are run solely on a FPTP basis with no quota, the PR system is generally not viewed

[30] 210 seats are elected via the constituency or FPTP system. 60 seats reserved for women are distributed among parties on a PR basis.

favourably as constituents prefer to be able to access individual councillors as opposed to a political party. In 2016, representatives of the Ministry of Local Government, Justice and Parliamentary and Legal Affairs and the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission, went on a study visit to Mauritius to learn how the government there increased women's participation at the local level fourfold (from 6% to 28%) thanks to a gender neutral quota.

In 2020 Gender Links in partnerships with the Women in Local Government Forum (WiLGF), made a submission to parliament recommending that the Zimbabwe Constitution Amendment No 2 Bill (31 December 2019) extend the TSM at the national level to the local level to give effect to Article 17 of the Constitution.

On 10 December 2020 some 400 members of the Women in Local Government Forum (WiLGF) made a submission to Zimbabwe President Emmerson Mnangagwa. The women demanded that TSM be extended to local government elections. They also argued that the Constitution be amended to provide that all political parties field equal numbers of male and female candidates whether in PR or FPTP seats at national or local level (see Senegal example).

The President supported a 30% quota for women in local government and requested that the Minister of Local Government begin the process. Cabinet has approved principles for the amending the Constitution to extend the current provisions at the national level to the local level. The Cabinet also approved the 30% quota for women in local authorities.

Candidate reservation in the mixed system

As in other electoral systems, candidate reservation is preferable to seat reservation in the mixed system. In some cases this applies only to the PR system (for example in Lesotho's national assembly). Senegal has broken new ground by requiring that candidate quotas be applied to both the PR and FPTP seats in its parallel or mixed system.



In **Lesotho**, national elections are based on a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system adopted in 2002. This dual ballot system allows a voter to cast two ballots - a constituency vote and a party vote. The party vote is used to select candidates from a party list to make up for seats a party would have been entitled to had constituency seats been allocated on a proportional basis[31].

The Lesotho parliament comprises 120 seats. Eighty are filled on a FPTP basis while the remaining seats are distributed among parties on a PR basis. All political parties in the country that contest for elections are required under the National Assembly Electoral Act 2011 to submit "zebra" party lists to the IEC for the PR seats: Section 47 (2) (b) states that political parties are supposed to ensure that they arrange candidates in terms of sex so that after every male or female is the opposite sex in the party list and (c) include equal numbers of women and men. Section 30 of the National Assembly Act of 2011 mandates political parties registered with the IEC to facilitate the full participation of women in all political activities on the basis of equality. *What is lacking at national level is a quota for women in the two thirds FPTP seats.*

In 2017 women's representation in parliament dropped from 25% to 23%. In the 2017 elections, women won 19 out of the 40 PR seats (48%). Women only won 8 out of the 69 seats under the FPTP system (12%). Women thus won a total of 27 out of 120 seats, compared to 30 out of 120 seats in 2012. As a result, Lesotho experienced

[31] Matlosa, K., *Lesotho* in Cawthra. G., du Pisani, A and Omari, A (eds) *Security and Democracy in Southern Africa*. (Wits University Press, 2007)

a two percentage point drop in women's representation. The stark contrast between women's performance in the PR seats with the zebra quota (in which women came close to achieving parity) and the FPTP seats is a reminder of the critical role that electoral systems and TSM play in determining women's representation.



In contrast to Lesotho, **Senegal** has a quota system for *both* FPTP and PR seats. The West African country has a unicameral parliament, a mixed electoral system, and legislated quotas for the single/lower house and at the sub-national level. The "First Past the Post" system operates in single-member districts (in total 105 seats, 15 of which are for Diaspora) and "List PR" using largest remainder method in national list (60 seats).[32]

Electoral Law 92-16 of 1992, as amended by law 2012-01 of 2012, Article L.145, mandates parity in all candidate lists for the general elections. Candidate lists must be composed of alternating male and female candidates. This applies to both the FPTP and the PR seats. If the number of seats contested in a constituency is odd, the parity rule applies to the immediately lower odd number (e.g. in a multi-member constituency with five seats, a party must have at least three women in its list of five candidates). Candidate lists which do not comply with the provisions of Article L.145 (parity and gender alternation) will not be admitted.

The 2012 amendment to the electoral law provides for alternation between female and male candidates on the electoral lists[33]. As a result of this law, the proportion of seats held by women in national parliament has increased significantly from 19% in 2001 to 43% in the 2017 elections. This marks a major step forward in the struggle for gender equality and the promotion of women's rights and makes Senegal a leader in women's political participation in Africa. Women represent 21% of ministers in the National Government (eight women out of 39 members)[34].

Voluntary quotas in a mixed system



The South African local government elections offer a rare longitudinal insight into voluntary quotas in a mixed system. The Municipal Structures Act 1998 requires that parties “seek to ensure that 50 percent of the candidates on the party list are women, and that women and men candidates are evenly distributed though (sic) the list.”[35]

The weakness of this wording is that it encourages, but does not oblige parties to adopt a zebra system for the PR seats, and places no obligation on them to field women candidates in the FPTP or ward seats. The influence has been especially felt within the ANC.

While the party has shied away from legislated quotas, it has been at the forefront of promoting women's participation where it has the influence to do so. In the 2006 local elections the ANC adopted a 50% quota for women. The ANC fielded 53% women candidate of whom 46% won. The party also substantially increased the proportion of women ward councilors to 40% of the ANC ward councillors.

[32] International IDEA, Electoral system for national legislature - Senegal ‹https://www.idea.int/answer/ans130355735697995› accessed 11 March 2021
[33] International IDEA, Gender quotas database ‹https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas/country-view/269/35› accessed 11 March 2021
[34] UN Women, Senegal ‹https://africa.unwomen.org/en/where-we-are/west-and-central-africa/senegal› accessed 11 March 2021
[35] Republic of South Africa, Municipal Structures Act 1998, Schedule 2, Part 1, section 5(3).

Table 2.12: Women's representation at local level in South Africa

Year	% Women Ward	% Women PR	% Women overall
1995	11%	28%	19%
2000	17%	38%	29%
2006	37%	42%	40%
2011	33%	43%	38%
2016	33%	48%	41%

Source: Gender Links Audit of the 2016 Local Government Elections.

Table 2.12 shows the breakdown in the proportion of women by ward and PR seats. As might be expected from all the evidence in this chapter, women started from a higher base (28%) in the PR seats compared to 11% in the ward seats in the first post democracy local elections in 1995. They have progressed in the PR seats (thanks in large measure to the ANC quota) to 48% - almost achieving parity with men. In the ward seats, the progress has been slower, from 11% in 1995 to 33% in 2016.

However, this figure has tripled in the space of twenty years. What this shows is that WPP can also increase in FPTP seats with no legislated quotas as women's presence and participation is normalised. South Africa will have elections again in 2021. It is important to continue to cast a gender lens on the ward and PR seats to see if the gender gap between them narrows even further in this election.

Conclusions and recommendations

Key conclusions emerging from this discussion are that:

- Constitutions and electoral systems in Africa are dynamic. There is an active debate around what system works best in just about every African country. This offers a tremendous opportunity for integrating gender into mainstream debates on electoral systems.
- While the FPTP system used to dominate, this is no longer the case. Most post conflict countries have opted for the PR system. There is an increasing shift and openness to mixed electoral systems. Since there are pros and cons to both the FPTP and PR system, this "middle ground" may be where countries should indeed aim to be. Examples include the Constitutional Court ruling to review the PR system in South Africa, and the call in Zimbabwe for a parallel system at the local level.
- Constitutional or legislated quotas in the PR system are the most water tight way of achieving gender parity. However voluntary party quotas



can be equally powerful and effective. Ideally the two should work together. Indeed, constitutional and legislated quotas are only as good as parties internalise and "domesticate" these.

- Reserved seats whether in the FPTP or PR system are best avoided. These are exclusionary by nature and therefore open to objection in any democratic system, even if they can be argued to be temporary, and designed to "balance the scales". Reserved seats that run parallel to the mainstream (e.g. Tanzania) or overlay existing constituencies (for example in Uganda) remain outside the mainstream and have done little to break beyond the mandatory 30%.
- Systems that reserve candidature are more acceptable. It is fair to insist that parties field equal numbers (or at least certain proportions) of women and men. In the FPTP system, there is no guarantee that women candidates in whatever number or proportion will win (see for example the Mauritius local government case study). Candidate quotas work best in PR systems (see for example the Namibia case study).
- In mixed systems with candidate quotas, the tendency has been for these to cover only the PR seats (for example in Lesotho's national assembly). Senegal has charted a new course, with candidate quotas for both the FPTP and PR seats.

General recommendations

- Accelerate education and awareness on the gender dimensions electoral systems and TSM and their link to women's representation especially among legislators; policy makers and civil society advocates.
- TSM should be reflected in Constitutions and laws.
- For the TSM and electoral system to be effective there is need for political will and support from political parties.
- TSM should be accompanied by enforcement mechanism e.g. in political parties
- There is a need to ensure that TSM applies at national and local level.
- Ensure that political parties motivate/own/champion/comply with TSM by legislating and enforcing with sanctions.

FPTP and TSM

- If at all possible seat reservation should be avoided as it may be perceived as undemocratic.
- Candidacy reservation is preferable and does not guarantee that candidates will be elected: if candidates are not supported, they cannot win. Candidacy reservation must be accompanied by a high level of buy- in by political parties and creation of an enabling environment for women candidates.

PR and TSM

- For those with this form of electoral system open lists might be a disadvantage as women might drop to the bottom of the list. We recommend a closed list system with a requirement for alternate names of women and men (referred to in Namibia as the zebra system).
- Legislation and sensitisation should be accompanied by strong mechanisms for compliance for political parties - with sanctions.

Mixed and TSM

The main challenge is structural and legitimacy challenge- those under PR seen as weak and undeserving without legitimacy while those under FPTP as more legitimate. This is particularly true where PR seats are reserved for women, e.g. in Tanzania and Zimbabwe. There is need to:

- Consider changing the system of all PR seats being reserved for women, and replacing this with a closed list "zebra" quota for women and men, resulting in 50/50 for women and men in the PR seats.
- The FPTP seats should have a 50% reserved candidacy for women for all political parties. Although this is not as watertight as the zebra PR seats, since women candidates will not necessarily win, if this is accompanied by political commitment, women's representation in the FPTP seats will increase.

Independent candidates

- Electoral laws should make provision for independent candidates who have a right to political participation. This is especially important for women, who often feel excluded from mainstream politics.
- As independent candidates face greater challenges raising funds since they operate outside the mainstream framework efforts should be made to support worthy candidates appropriately, including through funding wherever possible.

Appointed seats

In the case of seats allocated at the discretion of the head of state:

- Women should constitute at least 50/50 principle in all appointments.
- Gender balance should apply to all other factors of inclusion such as youth, disability, urban/rural.
- Gender should be a cross cutting as well as stand-alone consideration.
- If only one seat - there should be alternation of women and men candidates.



On 11 October 2020, women activists of Mali took to the streets to protest against the non-respect of the legislated quota in the government of transition.
Photo: Abdoul Momini Boukoum (Mali)

3 Political Parties



Women activists at a meeting of the Rassemblement Démocratique du Peuple Camerounais, during the 2018 presidential election.
Credit: Florette Manedong (Cameroon)

KEY POINTS

- Women comprise just 12% of those in political party leadership in Africa ranging from 17% in the Horn to none in North Africa.
- In the 33 countries that have constitutional or legislated quotas at national or local level or both, only 20 political parties have institutionalised these quotas in their Constitutions or manifestos.
- Where political parties have institutionalised quotas countries generally have higher levels of women's representation in decision-making than those that have not.
- There is a direct correlation between countries with high levels of women's representation and ruling parties adopting voluntary quotas. The five countries (South Africa, Namibia, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Cameroon) where the ruling parties' have adopted a quota are all in the top ten African countries with the highest levels of women's representation in parliament.
- Access to finance for nomination and campaigning is one of the biggest barriers to women participating in politics.
- Women's wings or leagues are a key support structure for women, but information on these structures is difficult to find. An Internet search found that just 34 of the 104 (29%) ruling and opposition parties in the 54 countries have women's wings. Lack of an online presence raises questions about their relevance especially to young women.

Political parties are often referred to as the gatekeepers of democracy and are the primary point of entry for women into politics. While women may feature as members, in large numbers, they are under-represented in political party leadership. According to International IDEA, "In relation to political parties in particular, the voice of women in decision- making remains insufficient, and, in some cases, is non-existent. Even though women are courted as voters and are often active supporters of political party mobilisation and campaigning, their participation does not generally translate into inclusion in party policy development and decision-making."[1] Male dominance of party politics has been named as one of the key constraints for women to get through and participate especially as candidates.

Internally, political parties facilitate political recruitment and play a crucial role in candidate selection in the nomination process. Through party structures, they provide support, financial and professional, to potential candidates that inevitably form legislative bodies as elected members of parliament and in some cases, the executive branch of government. Political parties and their support for women within their party structures and candidates is crucial to enhancing and sustaining women's representation in the electoral process and in decision-making as a whole.

This chapter outlines the role of political parties in promoting the equal representation and participation of women in political party leadership and structures. It covers the representation of women in political party leadership; the extent to which parties comply with national commitments; political support for women candidates including voluntary party quotas and financial support; conclusions and recommendations.

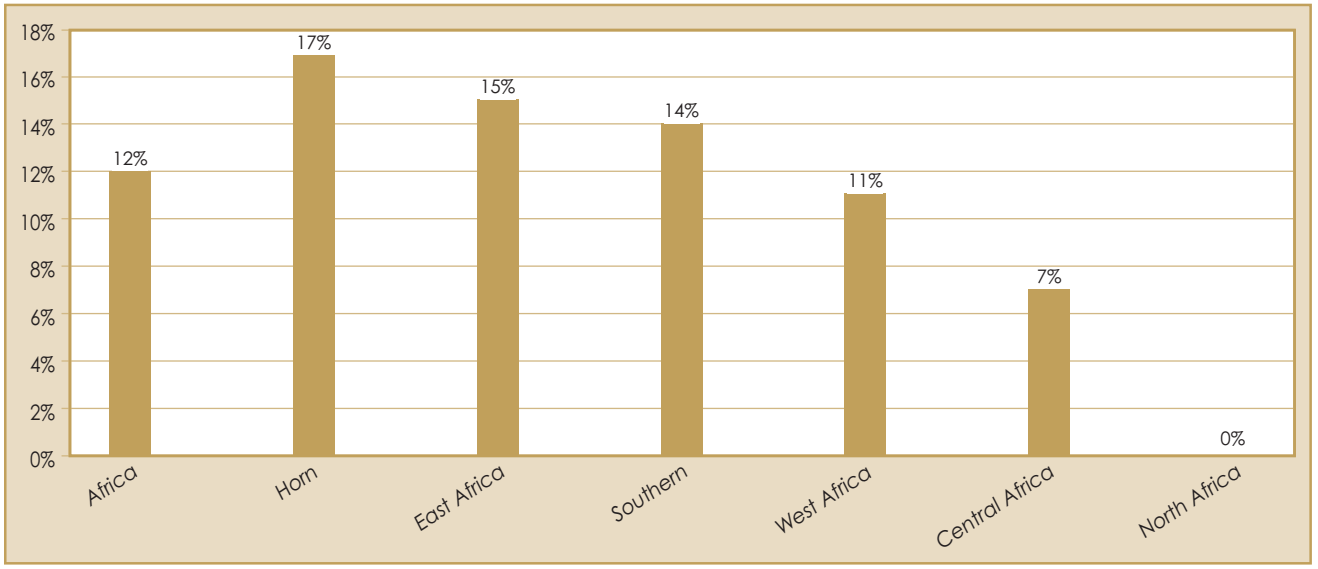
Representation of women in political party leadership

There are no legislative limitations to women participating in political processes, including through political parties as members and as part of the leadership. While some political parties have quotas for women's representation in parliament and local government, they do not necessarily apply these same quotas to internal party structures. International studies show the importance of holding office in political party structures as a training ground for local and national politics.[2]

A review of the leadership structures (party leader, secretary general and deputy secretary general) in the ruling and main opposition parties in Africa shows that women remain under-represented in political party leadership. Only one political party, the African Party of Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV), has a woman leader.

[1] Kandawasvika-Nhundu, R. *Political Parties in Africa through a Gender Lens* (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2013) pp.6
[2] Lowe-Morna, C., *Strategies for increasing women's participation in politics*, paper prepared for the Fifth Meeting of Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs, 1996

Figure 3.1: Women in political party leadership in Africa by region



Source: Compiled by GL with info from political party websites accessed in December 2020. See Annex 12.

Figure 3.1 shows that women are inadequately represented in political party leadership with just 12% of party leadership - as party leader, secretary general and deputy secretary general - being women. This ranges from 17% in the Horn to zero in North Africa.

When parties fail to ensure that women assume leadership posts within the party, this raises questions about their commitment to advancing gender equality more broadly. At a practical level, having women in decision-making within parties plays an important role in pushing for, and implementing quotas for women.

Compliance with national commitments

Most national Constitutions make provision for gender equality generally or at least prevention of discrimination based on gender or sex. Some Constitutions and national legislation go further by providing for affirmative action or temporary special measures to be put in place to increase women's representation in national and local decision-making (discussed in detail in chapter two). Thirty three African countries have either a Constitutional or legislated quota, but in most cases these are not reflected in party Constitutions or manifestos and not implemented, as evidenced by the low representation of women in political party leadership and decision-making.

A review of the ruling party and main opposition political party commitments to gender equality shows that the majority of parties have not aligned their policies and practices to national Constitutions and electoral legislation, and commitments to gender equality are not necessarily reflected in party positions.

Table 3.1: Political parties, Constitutional/legislated quota provisions

Country	Legislated/ constitutional quota	Included in political party Constitution/ manifesto	National % women	Local % women
National and Local Government				
Rwanda	30%	Ruling RFP- Inkotanyi, Minority PDC (30%)	61%	62%
Senegal	50%	Minority SSP (30%)	43%	2%
Burundi	30%	No	38%	19%
Tanzania	30%	Ruling CCM (50%)	37%	34%
Uganda	33%	No	35%	46%
Angola	30%	Ruling MPLA (30%)	30%	No data
South Sudan	25%	No	28%	No data
Egypt	25%	No	27%	No data
Niger	10%	MNSD-NASSARA (10%)	26%	16%
Algeria	20-50%	Ruling NFL (2/5), Opposition HMS (1/5)	26%	18%
Tunisia	50%	Minority RCD	26%	No data
Somalia	30%	No	24%	No data
Kenya	33%	Ruling Jubilee party, Main opposition ODM and Minority DP, SAFINA, PNU, NARC (all 33%)	22%	34%
Lesotho	30%	No	23%	40%
Morocco	Reserved seats	No	21%	21%
Mauritania	20%	No	20%	3%
Guinea	33%	No	17%	15%
Libya	zebra list	No	16%	No data
Congo (Brazzavile)	15-20%	No	11%	No data
Eswatini	30%	Political parties are banned	10%	15%
Burkina Faso	30%	No	6%	13%
Lower House only				
Zimbabwe	Reserved seats	Ruling Zanu PF (30%)	32%	
Mali	30%	Minority ADEMA (30%)	27%	
Djibouti	25%	No	26%	
Sao Tome and Principe	30%	No	24%	
Togo	50%	No	19%	
Liberia	30%	No	11%	
Local only				
Namibia	30-15%	Ruling SWAPO (50%)		45%
South Africa	50%	Ruling ANC (50%)		41%
Cabo Verde	50%	No		28%
Mauritius	33%	No		22%
Sierra Leone	50%	Minority MOP (50%)		18%

Source: https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas accessed 16 February 2021, iKNOW Politics - Gender Quotas in African Countries.

Table 3.1 shows that in 33 countries that have constitutional or legislated quotas at national or local level or both, only 20 political parties have institutionalised quotas in their Constitutions or Manifestos. The table reflects a strong correlation between countries where ruling and main opposition political parties have institutionalised quotas and higher representation of women in decision-making.

How political parties have institutionalised these provisions in their policies and processes is an indicator of their commitment to gender equality. But in many cases these provisions are not strictly applied. In most cases political parties mirror the national commitments to women on electoral lists, but do not apply these to the party structures and leadership.



Kenya illustrates why it is important for political parties to align their policies to national commitments, through party gender quotas, and abide by them as well. In Kenya six political parties have institutionalised the Constitutional quota of 33% but women comprise just 22% of MPs. The ruling Jubilee party states that "In constituting party organs, no one gender shall comprise more than two thirds (2/3) of the *membership*", but does not mention party leadership.[3] The main opposition Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) provisions are stronger. The Manifesto stipulates affirmative action to ensure a minimum of 30% representation of women in *parliament, local government, the foreign service and all other areas of governance and decision-making*. The Party of National Unity (PNU) Manifesto states that it is committed to ensuring that all Kenyans, including women, are fully involved in the management of party affairs and ensuring that women obtain more than 30% representation in *all public appointments and elective positions*. The party also commits to ensuring that women constitute at least 30% of *all newly recruited officers in the public service, top management positions in institutions of higher learning and development and management committees in public institutions*. The Democratic Party of Kenya (DP) Constitution includes a commitment to ensure that *at least* one-third of the *official positions of branch offices* are held by women, and undertakes to *empower women by creating special seats in parliament and local authorities*; ensuring that *50% of the government cabinet positions are held by women*. The *Safina party* Election Rules and Procedures provide that at least 1/3 of *all elected officials* in the branch or national level should be of either gender.[4] The *National Rainbow Coalition (NARC)* gender policy states that a minimum of one-third of *all nominated persons should be of each gender*.[5]



In **Tanzania** the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party Constitution states a commitment to work towards achieving the equal representation of women and men (50-50) in all elective public bodies. It sets a lower target for women's representation in the party's internal leadership and decision making positions. For example, not less than four of the additional 14 members (28%) of the Central Committee of the National Executive Committee should be women. Only ten of the 34 members (29%) of the CCM's Central Committee are women, while 71 of the 379 members (18%) of the National Executive Committee are women, despite the party's commitment to gender parity in leadership and decision-making positions.



Tunisia has since its independence in 1956 been considered as a pioneer in the rights of women in the Arab and Muslim world. With the adoption of the Personal Status Code soon

[3] Jubilee Party, *Party Constitution*, 2016, ‹chrome-extension://oemmndcbldboiebfnladdacbdfmadadm/http://jubileepamoja.co.ke/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Jubilee-Digital-Constitution-2016.pdf› accessed 16 February 2021
[4] Safina Party, *Nomination rules & Procedures Parliamentary & civic Candidates*, Article 1.1 pp.18
[5] Kandawasvika-Nhundu, R. Political Parties in Africa through a Gender Lens (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2013) pp.41-43

after independence, Tunisia has pursued better representation of women, at least in the laws. The Tunisian Constitution of 2014 stipulates in its article 46 that *"the State is committed in protecting the acquired rights of women, to support and better them" and guarantees "equality of chances between men and women to shoulder the different responsibilities and in all sectors"*. Many mechanisms have been set up by this law to guarantee a fair representation, namely that the candidates list includes the same number of women and men alternating between them on the list (zipped list).

Since 2016 all the electoral municipal lists must also have an equal number of men and women alternating on those lists. However, the electoral law of 2014 was amended in 2017, and does not force political parties to comply with the horizontal and vertical parity principle. This opens the door for political parties to present a party list where men dominate as candidates. In the 2019 elections only 54 women won seats in the 217 member house (25%) - the lowest since 2011. In the previous national assembly, elected women accounted for 36% and for 27% in the Constituent National Assembly.

Evidence from other countries shows that where quotas are implemented by political parties representation of women exceeds the nationally stipulated quota for women in parliament.



With 61% women in parliament, **Rwanda**, has the highest representation of women in parliament globally Rwanda has a mixed electoral system, Constitutional and legislated TSM at national and local level. The Rwandan Patriotic Front- Inkotanyi (RFP- Inkotanyi) and the Centrist Democratic Party (Parti Démocratique Centrist, PDC) both have voluntary party quotas of 30% women in all decision-making positions within the structures of the party[6].



The Constitution of **Uganda**, the Parliamentary Elections Act of 2005, and the Local Governments Act of 1997 require 30% reserved seats for women at national and sub-national levels. The ruling National Resistance Movement (NRM) has established a quota which is above the legal requirement of 30%. Its Constitution states that all members shall: "guard against sectarianism, tribal chauvinism, sexism, religious and political intolerance or any other form of discrimination." It provides for the establishment of a Women's League, and gender quotas in party structures. Chapter Five of the NRM Constitution has a section on Gender Representation which states that: "in electing the leadership of the Organs of NRM, 40% of the positions shall be reserved for women except in cases where it is impracticable to do so."[7] The opposition party Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) stipulates a quota aligned with the national constitution and electoral laws. The FDC Constitution states that the party shall implement a programme of affirmative action, including the provision of a quota of at least one-third of all leadership positions and elective decision-making.[8] With 35% women in parliament, Uganda has exceeded the national quota of 30%.



Morocco's electoral law stipulates a quota of 15% at national and 12% at the local level. Two political parties in the country, the *Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP)* and the *Party of Progress and Socialism (PPS)* have Constitutions that stipulate that women should constitute at least 20% of the members of *national and local decision-making bodies of the party*.[9] Women constitute 21% of those in parliament. Ouafa Hajji, president of the International Socialist of Women and founder president of Jossour Forum of Moroccan Women comments that "Even with the article 19 of the Constitution, many obstacles persist because of the absence of a legal framework around this article and because of the

6 Ibid
7 National Resistance Movement (NRM), Constitution as amended in June 2010 ‹chrome-extension://oemmndcbldboiebfnladdacbdfmadadm/https://www.politicalpartydb.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/UGANDA_NRM_2010.pdf accessed› 10 March 2021
8 Kandawasvika-Nhundu, R. Political Parties in Africa through a Gender Lens, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2013, p57
9 Ibid

political violence that exists in the field with regards to women. In political parties, when a women succeeds in affirming herself, there is a huge mobilization against her. Many women can tell you that."

Political parties and gender gaps in Togo

In Togo, gender equality in politics is established in the Constitution and in many laws and codes. This equality is still mostly on paper despite many initiatives and measures taken by the government and political parties in 2020.



Yawa Djigbodi Tsegan, President of the Togolese National Assembly.
Picture taken by the communication cell of the National Assembly on the 1st November 2020 during the 206th session of the directorate of the Inter-Parliament

To be elected and participate in active politics, women have to join political parties. The party's way of conducting business and their values have a deep impact on women's political participation. Some political parties go to great lengths to promote women as politicians, through training, capacity building, the setting up of discussion platforms and lobbying.

While a large number of political parties have adopted codes of conduct or policies to promote gender equality, women are still under-represented in central committees and even politburos. They are visible but in less important roles. In the top ten most important positions in many political parties, less than three of them are occupied by women. Even when these parties have their own quotas, they are not applied or enforced. Some parties have rules and procedures to report sexual harassment, abuse and other violations but the complaints are rarely heard and taken into account.

In the 20 December 2018, elections, the Togolese elected 17 women in a parliament of 91 seats (19%). Yawa Djigbodi Tsegan became the first woman elected president of the National Assembly. The local government elections held on the 30 June 2019, elected 184 women out of a total of 1494 councillors (12.3%). The new cabinet announced in September 2020, comprised 11 women and 23 men (34%). Togo has a woman Prime Minister Victoire Tomegah Dogbe, a veteran politician and former minster who occupied several portfolios. This nomination is also a first in Togo.

Only one woman has ever run for president in Togo. Brigitte Adjamagbo-Jonhson withdrew from the 2010 elections believing the results of the election would be rigged. She is the general secretary of the Democratic Convention of African People. The 2020 presidential elections attracted seven men and no women.

In 2013, a modification to the electoral code forces political parties to respect gender equality on the candidates' lists during the legislative elections and to halve the deposit required of women candidates. But gender gaps persist

To encourage and get effective women's participation in politics, it is important to raise awareness amongst the guardians of traditions so as to bring a change of mindset. The legislated quota system must also be reviewed with possible sanctions for the political parties which do not abide. Effective mechanisms to support women candidates financially and training women in politics and elections campaigning should be implemented.

Case study by Helène Doubidji



The ruling South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) in **Namibia** adopted a 50% gender quota in 2013 which applies to *all the national and regional structures of the party*. Namibia has one of the highest levels of representation in Africa with 44% women in parliament, ranking number three out of 54 African countries.



The 2005 Constitution of **Burundi** and the 2009 Electoral Code stipulates that women should constitute 30% for *elected public decision-making positions* at all levels. Although the political parties' policy documents contain general texts on commitments to gender equality, they do not necessarily outline corresponding measures for ensuring the transformation of the commitments into effective actions and outcomes. Some political parties in Burundi have not aligned their policies and practices with the Constitution and legislation to ensure the implementation of the 30% quota within their own party leadership structures and publicly elected decision-making positions. An International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) report on the "Analysis of the Status of Women in Burundi's Political and Electoral Processes" comments that: "the advancement of women is not clearly expressed, or operationally programmed, as an active policy of most political parties. The inclusion of women is often merely aimed at addressing perceived imbalances in representation to external parties."[10] It adds that: "The functions typically assigned to women in leadership are almost identical from one party to the next. Women seem to have a certain "specialty" in decision-making, typically gender issues or socio-cultural affairs. When in charge of other duties, they are an assistant working under the purview of a man exercising ultimate responsibility for the function."[11]

The political parties most likely to adopt quotas are those established in the past decade or in countries emerging from independence struggles and armed conflict. The other strong correlation is with countries that have undergone national constitutional reviews. Examples include Burundi, Kenya, Namibia, Rwanda, South Africa and Uganda.[12]

Political party support for women candidates

The more women stand elections, the more this becomes the norm. Political party support for women candidates is critical for normalising WPP. Political parties can show their support through adopting quotas for women at all levels of decision-making; assisting with access to finance and promoting women's empowerment through capacity building and mentorship.

Voluntary party quotas

In the absence of Constitutional or legislated quotas, the real test of political party commitment to gender parity is whether parties provide for voluntary quotas in their Constitutions or manifestos. In Africa ruling or opposition parties in 11 countries (Botswana, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Sierra Leone and South Africa) have done this.



Many women support political parties in Mauritius as agents and less as candidates. *Photo: Beekash Roopun*

[10] International Foundation for Electoral Systems, *Analysis of the Status of Women in Burundi's Political and Electoral Processes*, (IFES, 2014) pp.10
[11] Ibid
[12] Kandawasvika-Nhundu, R. Political Parties in Africa through a Gender Lens, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2013, p 40

Table 3.2: Political party voluntary quotas

Country	Political party	Status	Party Quota	% MPs
South Africa	African National Congress	Ruling	50%	46%
	Economic Freedom Fighters	Opposition	50%	
Namibia	South West Africa People's Organisation	Ruling	50%	44%
Mozambique	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique	Ruling	40%	42%
	Mozambican National Resistance	Opposition	30%	
Ethiopia	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (Prosperity Party)[13]	Ruling	30%	39%
Cameroon	Cameroon People's Democratic Movement	Ruling	25-30%	34%
	Social Democratic Front	Opposition (not main)	25%	
Malawi	United Democratic Front	Opposition	25%	23%
	Malawi Congress Party	Opposition	33%	
Equatorial Guinea	Social Democratic Convergence	Opposition	?	21%
Sierra Leone	Minority MOP	Opposition (not main)	50%	12%
Botswana	Botswana Congress Party	Opposition (not main)	30%	11%
	Botswana National Front	Opposition (not main)	30%	
Côte d'Ivoire	Ivorian Popular Front	Opposition	30%	11%

Source: https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas accessed 16 February 2021, iKNOW Politics - Gender Quotas in African Countries.

Table 3.2 shows a correlation between countries with high levels of representation and ruling parties adopting quotas. The five countries (South Africa, Namibia, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Cameroon) where the ruling parties' have adopted a quota are in the top ten African countries with the highest levels of women's representation in parliament. All five parties, except in Cameroon, have one woman in their top three leadership positions. In Malawi both the ruling party and opposition have quotas, but only the ruling party in Malawi has a woman in the top three leadership positions.

In the four countries where only the opposition or minority parties have adopted voluntary quotas (Botswana, Côte d'Ivoire, Equatorial Guinea and Sierra Leone) representation is low. This is most likely because these parties only win a small number of seats which are given to men; and because the quotas are not being implemented.

In FPTP electoral systems, which all five countries, except Equatorial Guinea, use, evidence suggests that women who make it through the nomination process are often put up to contest seats in districts they cannot win, leaving the men to contest safe winnable seats[14]. None of the opposition parties with quotas have a woman in their top three leadership positions.

When compared to countries that only have constitutional or legislated quotas, countries where political parties have adopted voluntary quotas out-perform those that have not illustrating the importance of political will.

[13] The Prosperity Party was formed in December 2019 to replace the EPRDF through the merging of three former EPRDF member parties, the Amhara Democratic Party (ADP), the Oromo Democratic Party (ODP) and the Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (SEPDM) and inclusion of five others - The Afar National Democratic Party (ANDP), the Benishangul-Gumuz People's Democratic Unity Front (BGPDUF), the Ethiopian Somali People's Democratic Party (ESPDP), the Gambela People's Democratic Movement (GPDM) and the Hareri National League (HNL) were also included in the merger. The Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), the dominant party in the former EPRDF for 27 years and the only one not to join the new party, were critical of it upon its formation. The refusal escalated into the Tigray conflict in November 2020. It was not possible to obtain the Prosperity Party's Constitution or Manifesto but we have assumed that the gender principle has been retained.

[14] Ntho, M., *Lesotho in The Seat is Taken: Elections and the Under-representation of Women in Southern Africa.* (Gender Links, 2010)

> Political parties should give women more space, in particular on the electoral lists. It is the responsibility of the political party leaders to do it. But the electors, women and men who are convinced that women are good leaders, have the power to vote. They should reject the electoral lists where women are absent. Women are not there just to do figuration but should be given due consideration and nominated in decision making positions. The constitution of political parties should be reviewed, as well as the cost related to be able to be a candidate and which excludes women.
>
> *Sylvie Ndongmo, president of the Cameroun branch of International League of Women for Peace and Liberty (WILPF Cameroon)*

The power of political will

An interesting test of political party commitment is in countries that have voluntary party quotas. As observed in Table 3.2, **South Africa, Namibia and Mozambique** have 40% or more women in political decision-making as a result of voluntary quote adopted by their ruling parties (the African National Congress (ANC); South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO).

In 2006, the ANC adopted a voluntary 30% gender quota for local elections. In 2009, the party amended its constitution and increased this voluntary quota to 50%. Similarly, FRELIMO introduced a gender quota in 1994 that required 40% representation of women in the national assembly and the local assembly. In 2014, Namibia's ruling party, SWAPO adopted a 50:50 quota system known as zebra list to ensure that women were equally represented in not only parliament but in government as well.

Across the globe, the PR or "list" system favours women's political participation as parties have the power to place women strategically in the list, to ensure their electoral success. SWAPO and the ANC broke new ground by committing to and largely implementing the "zebra" system (one woman, one man) in their past elections. In Namibia there is also a legislative requirement around women's representation, with the result that Namibia has the highest proportion of women in local government at 45%.

Ethiopia ranks 31 globally and sixth in Africa in terms of women's representation in parliament. There is no requirement in the Electoral Law for political parties to have gender quotas or any other gender provisions. However in 2004, the ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) introduced a voluntary party quota with the intention of improving the political participation of women and their representation. The quota system reserves 30% of the candidacy in the party list for women. This is, however, not reflected in the party Constitution, which is dated 1999. There is a clear correlation between the adoption of the 30% quota and the increase in women's representation. Women's representation almost tripled in the 2005 elections from 8% to 21%. This figure has since increased steadily from 27% in 2010 to 39% in 2015.

Nomination and recruitment

The process of candidate recruitment and nomination is probably the most important for political parties to address if women's political participation is to be promoted. Parties are the vital link for achieving equality and inclusive participation, given that they maintain firm control over the nomination of candidates for elected office. Political parties vary substantially with regard to how they nominate candidates, the number of women selected, where women rank on party lists, and the proportion of women who make it to elected office.[15]

Proportional systems tend to result in the election of more women, primarily by eliminating the disincentive inherent in FPTP systems of needing to present a single "most acceptable" candidate. Electoral systems which use reasonably large district magnitudes encourage parties to nominate women on the basis that balanced tickets will increase their electoral chances. Some List PR countries also require that women make up a certain proportion of the candidates nominated by each party.[16]

> "We must look into the place given to women in political parties. Women should not forget that they have an important electoral power. It is nearly unthinkable for a political party to get into an election without courting the women voters. The challenge is to see how women are organized in the party structures. Are they confined in the feminine wings or are they integrated in the politburo? Women should have their say in their political parties ."
>
> *Young women leader, Maimouna Astou Yade, president of the association JGEN Women Global Entrepreneurship*



South Africa follows the PR electoral system. This means that each party submits a prioritised list to parliament, and is awarded seats in accordance with the percentage vote it garners, using the order of the submitted list. In essence voters vote for a party, not a candidate. So what matters is what proportion of votes the party gets and where candidates (in this case women) are placed on the list.

Table 3.3: Quotas and women in the party lists for ANC and EFF 2019

PARTY	QUOTAS						
	Policy	Women in top five		Women in 25		Women overall	
EFF	Voluntary 'zebra stripe' system in place, not implemented in top five or 25 of 2019 candidate list.	1	20%	11	44%	100	50%
ANC	Voluntary 'zebra stripe' system in place, not implemented in top five or top 25 in the 2019 candidate list	1	20%	9	36%	98	49%

Source, IEC and Gender Links, 2019.

Table 3.2 shows that both the ruling African National Congress (ANC) and the opposition Economic Freedom Front (EFF) achieved or came close to achieving parity in their lists (50% and 49% respectively). But they fell short of this target in their top five, and top 25 of their lists. This shows that men still dominate decision-making in these parties.

[15] Ballington, J. *Empowering women for stronger political parties: A guidebook to promote women's political participation* (UNDP and NDI, 2012), p21
[16] Representation of women - https://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/es/esd/esd06/esd06a accessed 22 February 2021

In FPTP systems there are typically two rounds of elections. In primary elections voters indicate their preference for their party's candidate. This process can either be open to the general public or only to members of political parties. Candidate selection and support at the primary stage is critical. There is a clear link between women being elected in primary elections and their access to finance.

Candidate recruitment rules differ from party to party, but setting guidelines that are clear and transparent and incorporate rules guaranteeing women's participation are a significant advantage. "When the rules are unwritten and candidate selection is in the hands of a few party leaders, it is very difficult for women to compete on equal footing with men as they are typically excluded from the 'all boys' networks. Opening the process up so it is more participatory can combat the tendency for leaders in some parties to handpick their candidates according to undefined criteria. Rules should set clear targets to be achieved.[17]

The most effective means of enforcing party quotas is to empower the party's executive committee and candidate selection committee to reject any party list or internal recruitment process that does not adhere to quota rules.[18]

> "The current political setup is designed to favour men, recruitment is done by existing leader, who in this case recruit new people into the parties that they are leading - another man. Mentorship will be men to men. Lack of resources for women hinders then to break through the hostile set up under the existing electoral system. I think we must call for Proportional Representation."
>
> *Joy Phumaphi - Former Minister of Health, Botswana; Co-Chair of the UN Secretary General's Independent Accountability Panel for Women, Children and Adolescent health*

Financial support for women candidates

A major barrier to women's political participation is the lack of resources in comparison to their male counterparts. Women are less likely to have access to same kind of resources to support their political ambitions. This dissuades them from taking an active role in the electoral process.

According to UN Women's Julie Ballington, "One of the greatest challenges women face early on is raising early money to gain the party nomination. Early money is the initial financing required to launch a campaign for candidature, such as gaining exposure and building name recognition, travelling and organizing a campaign team, and ultimately winning the party nomination. Much of a campaign's early money will often come from the candidate him/ herself, and this self-financing is often a major obstacle for women in particular. After winning the nomination, party support may increase, and greater visibility may attract additional sources of funding."[19] Electoral financing is discussed in more detail in Chapter four. The following are some examples of the role played by political parties in ensuring that women have the requisite financial support.

[17] Ballington, J. *Empowering women for stronger political parties: A guidebook to promote women's political participation* (United Nations Development Programme and National Democratic Institute, 2012) pp. 26
[18] Ibid
[19] Ibid, pp. 29

> In almost every general election held every five years, more women lose the race at the early stage of primary elections at party level. This deficiency is mostly caused by lack of resources to help women's campaigns; women start from a position of inequality to be competitive with their male counterparts.
>
> *Monica Tabengwa, Human rights lawyer, former Executive Director of Pan African ILGA*



The cost of seeking political office is rising in **Kenya**. These costs make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the average person to seek political office, with women and youth disproportionately disenfranchised from key decision-making structures, as high costs effectively lock these large demographics out of representation in mainstream politics. The governance expert Tom Mboya underscores that in many parts of Kenya, the primary campaigns are more important, more competitive and more costly than the elections themselves.

For many aspiring candidates, the real competition is during the primary campaign, politicians interviewed said they spent more than USD 147,000 to get a ticket and one stated that he spent up to USD 245,000 USD to be nominated as candidate. A huge part of these expenses go to fuel, logistics, security, roadshows and rally and to the campaign team. "It is clear that one must invest very heavily in the primary campaign if one wants to get a parliamentary seat".[20]

Mboya says that if it is very difficult and costly for candidates to get an electoral ticket, the challenge is exacerbated for women candidates. The importance of the candidate selection process for women cannot be overstated. While trends indicate an increase in the number of women in elective positions, the numbers still fall short of Kenya's constitutional requirement of one-third. Whilst the rationale behind the creation of the women's representative position - at the county level - may have been noble in terms of enhancing women's representation, it may have inadvertently produced undesirable results." He quotes a 2015 report saying that "there are indications that the creation of special parliamentary seats for women county representatives created further challenges for women who wish to represent a party in an election for a regular constituency seat, requiring them to raise and spend even more money during the nomination phase because the regular seats are now perceived as 'men's seats'"[21].



Political parties have a role to play in mitigating the burden felt by women aspirants. For example they could encourage women's political participation in the electoral process by waiving nomination fees in part or in full. This is practised in **Ghana** where almost all political parties allow women to pay 50% of what their male counterparts pay for nomination forms, but there are no further provisions or legislation on political financing for women.

While there is empirical evidence that suggests, with little or no support from their political parties, access to finance for all electoral processes is a big barrier to women participating in politics. Further enquiry is needed to ascertain how political parties have addressed the gender funding gap such as internal fundraising mechanisms, in-kind contributions for campaigns and others.

[20] Mboya, T., *The Cost of Parliamentary Politics in Kenya*, (WFD and DFID, 2020) pp.7
[21] Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, *Political party financing and equal participation of women in Kenyan electoral politics: A situation overview*, (NIMD, 2015)

Training and capacity building

For women aspirants entering politics for the first time how political parties support them through training mentorship is an indicator of the party's commitment to principles of gender equality.



In **Togo** the Parti Démocratique Panafricain (PDP) for instance, regularly offers training to all women members of the party, to eventual to-be candidates, and to the executives of the party. Dédé Akpédjé Menssan, local councilor, member of the PDP, says that the training sessions offered by the party help to promote women's rights, to better their understanding on how to organize campaigns, how to manage relations with the media, the public communication and the procedures during the meetings.

Lack of support in male dominated parties

While parties may commit to increasing women's representation through quotas, and may have commitments to gender equality in their Constitutions or electoral laws, how these are implemented and how women are supported by members of their parties is a crucial factor in their success.

Gender equality achieved on paper only in Algeria



Nabila Smail laywer and member of the Front of Socialists forces and member of the collective of defense of detainees during a protest in Algeria.

Nabila Smail entered politics in 2012 and became a member of the Socialist Forces Front, an opposition party in Algeria. She found the experience of having a public mandate enriching, but she resigned as elected member of the popular assembly in September 2020, two years before the end of her second mandate. She said she encountered "masculine resistance. It happened sometimes that I was the only woman during the visits and the meetings. Each time a woman asked a question, the men were making fun of her. There is a huge hypocrisy behind the adoption of the laws and there is a very paternalistic attitude in the political parties. They are constantly blocking our efforts so as to keep us on a leach", she says.

For the civil society defending women's rights, the law on the quotas for women in Algeria is a first step towards the achievement of the principle of gender equality but it cannot be an end in itself, but the beginning of the application of egalitarian measures in favour of women, taking into account their capacities and their important numbers in the political sphere. "But in spite of this quota system inducing positive discrimination in favour of women, we are far from achieving effective equality and non-discrimination" emphasises Smail.

Case study By Dounia Z. Mseffer.

In some cases there is blatant obstruction to women's participation in politics.



Aïcha Aït Alla, a young Moroccan parliamentarian from a small rural commune in **Morocco**, entered politics in 2009 and has had to fight hard to be accepted in her own political party and by the voters. "I was often rejected by electors but mostly by the members of my own political party and by men who had been elected. They did not allow me to speak in public. They organized meetings at odd hours or in places where women are not allowed to go. When I wanted to be a candidate and be elected in the House of Councillors, I was locked up by the members of my party for a week because they did not want me to put my name on the list. I resisted and I will continue to do so. I have taken up my studies again and followed training on capacity building because I am convinced that if we want to change something in this country, one must get involved into politics. But we must resist and hang on because men will do anything they can to block our paths".

High level political support for gender parity and the need for political parties to adopt quotas in line with legislation is crucial.



In **Tanzania**, Vice-President Samia Suluhu Hassan urged women ahead of the 2020 elections to ensure that the 50/50 campaign was taken in their political parties' manifestos to enable them to equally contest for political posts with men.[22] President John Magufuli recently advised[23] political parties to consider reducing the wide gender gap as they dispatch representatives to vie for various positions, which essentially should sync with the new Political Parties Act Number 6(a). Of the 15 political parties that contested the 2020 elections, seven nominated women to key decision-making structures - two as Presidential candidates and five for Vice-President.

Women's wings

Women's wings, branches or leagues are established to advance women's political participation within the party. These bodies can perform a range of functions, including advocacy within the party on women's rights issues; influencing party policy positions to promote women's leadership at all levels within the party; lobbying for and oversight of gender policies, mobilising women voters and supporting party candidates during elections.

Information on women's wings is difficult to find in the absence of access to the political party's constitution. An Internet search found that 34 of the 104 (29%) ruling and opposition parties in the 54 countries have women's wings. There may be others but they have no online presence bringing into question their reach and relevance, especially to young women.

Women's wings, where they exist, tend to play an ambivalent role. On the one hand, women's structures in parties have been an important mobilising tool for women in many countries. But they also often serve as the glorified hospitality wing of the party rather than as mechanisms for advancing the status of women in politics and in society.[24] Research from International IDEA suggests that the agenda's women's wings are often limited to the social and welfare affairs portfolio, therefore re-enforcing the marginalisation of women in politics. To increase the effectiveness of women's wings beyond its traditional remit, political parties should incorporate women's wing into the main party structure and increase their role in the candidate preparation, selection and mentoring of potential female candidates.[25]

[22] Xinhua, Tanzanian VP urges equal participation of women in 2020 general elections, 27 February 2020 ‹http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2020-02/27/c_138821774.htm› accessed 16 February 2021
[23] Aljazeera, *Tanzania presidential election to be held on October 28*, 12 July 2020 ‹https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/07/tanzania-presidential-election-held-october-28-200721100331444.html› accessed 16 February 2021
[24] Lowe Morna, C. Ringing up the Changes: Gender in Southern African politics (Gender Links, 2004)

> I see the current set up of women and youth wings, making men thing they are the body and as such they are the PARTY. Let all have wings - women's wings, youth wings and men's wings. Then all have quota and certain percentage is elected to the central committee of the party. Unless men also have the wing; they will always think they are the main body and as such they are the party.
>
> *Prof Sheila Dinotshe Tlou - Former Minister of Health in Botswana Former UNADIS Regional Director, Co-Chair - Global HIV Prevention Coalition*



Political parties have also constituted women's wings in **Togo**. According to Véronique Batalé, president of the women's commission of the Mouvement Patriotique pour la Démocratie et le Développement (MPDD), these branches, she says, contribute to maintaining a permanent women's representation at different levels in the party. "They have a double objective: these women support the party against the world outside and they better the relations between sexes inside. They give advice on policy relating to gender equality, they heighten awareness of the party members on gender, organise meetings and train women on the way to do politics".



BDP Women's Wing Executive Committee during the interview - November 2020. *Photo: Chigedze Virginia Chinyepi*



In a focus group discussion conducted for this research[26], the **Botswana** Democratic Party (BDP) Women's Wing executive committee members felt that the party needed to make some structural changes to enable women members to participate equally and effectively. "BDP as well should use the 50/50 stated in the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development to advance our women within the party. We are all in agreement on this as women of the party because it's not that women don't participate; they do and I believe they can juggle family and politics as it has been done for many years before. I believe it always boils down to money, if you don't have money you can't get visibility," says Deputy Secretary General, Bridget Mavuma.[27]

In addition to mobilising women, recruiting new members and supporting party candidates, women's wings or leagues should be setting the gender agenda within their parties. This should include clear positions and policies on promoting women's leadership at all levels within the party as well as on women's rights issues such as gender-based violence and sexual orientation and gender identity.



In South Africa, the ANC Women's League (ANCWL) has played an important role in preparing women for politics and public office. Many of the current ministers served at one time or the other as office bearers in ANC Women's League. However some of the controversial actions of the ANCWL and its office holders have brought into

[25] Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, *Compendium of good practices for advancing women's political participation in the OSCE region* (OSCE ,2016)
[26] By Chigedze Virginia Chinyepi
[27] BDP Women's Wing Executive committee - Interview (23.10.2020)
[28] Seale, L., *SA not ready for female president - ANCWL* IOL, 9 October 2013, ‹https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/sa-not-ready-for-female-president-ancwl-1589121› accessed 22 February 2021

question their feminist principles. In 2013 the ANCWL declared that South Africa was not ready for a female president. According to the then league's president Angie Motshekga, "We know the ANC, we understand the ANC, we understand the ANC processes, and no one wants to go into a futile battle. There are traditions, there are processes, and those processes have a long, long life."[28]

Provincial secretary in Mpumalanga, Clara Ndlovu, was quoted saying, "We want to have a female president in the near future. We are just not prepared for it now. We do not have capable leaders".[29] The league came under fire from civil society who criticised them for undermining women in leadership.

The ANCWL also lost credibility with the women's movement over its staunch support for former president Jacob Zuma, a polygamist accused of rape and later acquitted of the charges. Instead of supporting his late accuser (dubbed Khwezi) they stood alongside Zuma, in a country with endemic GBV. Outside the court Zuma supporters threatened her well-being and she was met with shouts of "the bitch must burn."[30] She spent most of her remaining years in exile, with no support from the struggle organisation that she grew up in, let alone its women.

In 2017 after the then President Jacob Zuma publicly endorsed his former wife Nkosozana Dlamini-Zuma the ANCWL followed suit, raising questions as to whether this was genuinely a case of supporting a woman for president, or of blind loyalty to the then president. The league did redeem itself somewhat by taking a decision at their 2015 Congress to allow transgender women into their membership. In 2020 the league launched its newly established Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Intersex (LGBTQI+) desk to assist in the fight to end GBV, a step in the right of direction for a much-needed deepening of gender discourse in South Africa.

Conclusions and recommendations

Women's representation in political party leadership is low across Africa, with just 12% women in top party leadership. Political parties play a crucial role in providing access to the political realm for aspiring women politicians. In short, political parties can either help or hinder women's entry into politics. They can do this in a range of ways, by observing national constitutional or legislative provisions to increase women's representation; by adopting their own voluntary quotas and by providing support through access to finance for campaigning as well as capacity building and mentorship. Recommendations to political parties include:

Observing country constitutional and legislative provisions

- Where the constitution and electoral law provides for gender quotas, these should be operationalised in party constitutions and applied to all party structures.

Electoral/ legislative reform

- In FPTP electoral systems, law should require that parties field equal numbers of women candidates in FPTP seats and distribute women and men in a "zebra" style in the PR lists.

[29] Ibid
[30] Mugo, K., *Remembering 10 Years of Rape During Women's Month*, okayafrica, 9 August 2016 ‹https://www.okayafrica.com/jacob-zuma-rape-trial-10-years-later/›accessed 22 February 2021

- Ensure affirmative action is applied at both the national and local government level and is stipulated within electoral laws.

Promoting gender aware policies, norms and standards

- Political party Constitutions and manifestos should specifically include provisions to advance women's political participation e.g. quotas on nominations of women candidates and leadership within political parties
- Political parties should have clear guidelines on how they seek to achieve gender inclusiveness. This will require a review of party constitutions and re-alignment of women's leagues so that they can play more active roles to enhance women's engagement within the parties beyond dancing for party leaders.
- Policies should include prohibition of Violence Against Women in Politics (VAWP) and equal distribution of party resources for campaigning.
- Capacity building for political parties on women's rights and various principles in the constitutions and election laws.

Support to women candidates

- Provide timely financial support for women contestants during campaigning.
- Reduce nomination fees for women candidates.
- Field women candidates across the board- presidential, legislature and local government.
- Expose and train women on electoral processes and procedures, campaigning, media engagements, public speaking and fundraising.
- Ensure equal opportunities for media airtime/ visibility for both men and women candidates.
- Establish or strengthen women's wings through stipulations in party constitutions and allocate a certain percentage of party funds to the women wings.

Safety and security of women candidates

- Political parties should adopt codes of conduct on or that include firm measures to address sexual harassment and gender violence in all party, political and election conduct and that these are effectively implemented,
- Capacity building for political parties and women leaders to understand dimensions of VAWP and available mechanisms for reporting and access justice.
- Investigate allegations of violence, assault or harassment of women elected officials and candidates and create an environment of zero tolerance for such offences and, to ensure accountability, take all appropriate steps to prosecute those responsible.



Women activists wearing the party dress of the Rassemblement Démocratique du Peuple Camerounais during a visit of the Secretary of State to Health at the beginning of the electoral campaign for the regional elections.
Photo: Florette Manedong

Electoral laws and management 4



Women constituted the majority of voters in the 2019 Mozambican elections.

Photo: Alice Banze

KEY POINTS

- Forty-nine of the 54 African countries have independent electoral management bodies (EMBs).
- There have been some efforts to mainstream gender in EMBs. But women make up just 28% of commissioners in EMBs. Few have gender policies or gender management systems
- Electoral laws prescribing certain eligibility criteria, such as requiring a certain level of education, can work against women who often have lower education levels than men.
- Access to sufficient finance and resources for the electoral process is one of the biggest barriers to women entering and participating in political decision-making.
- Linking public funding to gender quotas and imposing spending and contribution limits are a ways of levelling the playing field for aspiring women candidates.
- Violence against women in politics is pervasive but is not explicitly mentioned in electoral laws and codes of conduct. This is a gap that needs to be addressed.

Gender-inclusive elections refer to a context in which women and gender non-conforming people have a right to be legitimate participants in the entire process, whether as voters, aspirants/ candidates or as actors in election management and as party activists. The rules and practices must ensure that women and men in all their diversity have an equitable opportunity and support in the entire electoral process, i.e. the pre-election, during the election and post-election periods. Inclusivity means the entire spectrum of electoral practices, including the assurance of a violence-free process as election violence tends to discourage women from bold electoral participation.[1]

EMBs, where they exist, issue legally binding regulations, consistent with the law, on voter registration, campaigning, voting, vote counting, complaint procedures, among other issues. These should be crafted to ensure women are not disadvantaged at any stage in the electoral process and to facilitate women's participation.[2]

Electoral laws define the rules relating to regular elections and electoral processes and principles, including criteria for selecting candidates. Election laws should be clear, comprehensive and transparent. Gender-sensitive election laws should ensure that women are not unfairly disadvantaged. Election laws must comply with national laws on non-discrimination, the equality of women and men.

Table 4.1: Gender dimensions of State obligations in relation to elections[3]

State obligations on elections	Gender dimensions
✓ Provide for the holding of legislative elections at regular intervals;	✓ Institutionalisation of periodic elections across the continent has increased women's opportunity to access political office and embedded their right to vote.
✓ Establish a neutral, impartial mechanism for the management of legislative elections;	✓ Gender aware EMB play a key role in preventing VAWP and other barriers to participation by women in elections.
✓ Establish an effective, impartial and non-discriminatory procedure for the registration of voters;	✓ Gender aware EMB ensure that women are able to register as voters; that voters receive gender aware education and can exercise their choice freely.
✓ Stipulate clear criteria for the registration of voters, inter alia, age and citizenship;	✓ There are often gender dimensions to citizenship, e.g. men married to nationals being denied citizenship.
✓ Make regulations governing the formation, registration and functioning of political parties;	✓ Political parties play a key role in either facilitating or inhibiting women's political participation.
✓ Establish the conditions for competition in elections on an equitable basis;	✓ Direct and indirect barriers to women's free and fair participation in elections need to be removed.
✓ Provide for and regulate the funding of political parties and electoral campaigns to ensure the promotion of equality of opportunity;	✓ Funding is a key barrier to women's participation. Ensuring that funding is fairly distributed openly and transparently, and that it does not supersede the issues in elections is key to ensuring women's effective participation in elections.
✓ Ensure parties and candidates equal access to government-controlled media;	✓ Persistent gender biases in the media (see Chapter eight) are a key barrier to women's participation. Monitoring media fair play needs to include gender dimensions.
✓ Ensure that voters have a free choice by maintaining the viability of political parties by public funding or free time in the media;	✓ This should include equal access, space and air time for women candidates.
✓ Ensure through national programmes of civic education that the electorate becomes familiar with electoral issues and procedures.	✓ This should include the importance of women's participation in decision-making for the success of democracy.

Source: Commonwealth Secretariat: Gender Inclusive Elections in Commonwealth Africa.

[1] Lowe Morna, C. The Commonwealth 50/50 by 2030: *A Draft Guide for Gender Inclusive Elections in Commonwealth Africa* (Commonwealth Secretariat, June 2017)
[2] UN Women ‹https://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/publication/Chapter2.htm› accessed 10 February 2021
[3] Lowe Morna, C. *The Commonwealth 50/50 by 2030: A Guide for Gender Inclusive Elections in Commonwealth Africa* (Commonwealth Secretariat, June 2017)

The table 4.1 summarises what the state is obligated to do throughout the electoral process, including developing laws, policies and guidelines which regulate electoral financing and equal access to the media. The column to the right draws out the gender dimensions of each of these stages. This chapter examines how electoral laws can help or hinder women's political participation; the role of EMBs in ensuring that laws are complied with, and that gender is considered and mainstreamed throughout the electoral process.

Electoral management bodies

Responsible for the management and conduct of elections, EMBs play a crucial role in ensuring that fair, credible elections are held and accepted.[4] Forty-nine of the 54 African countries have independent EMBs in place or in the making. While legislation defines the scope of work undertaken by EMBs, the internal policies and processes of EMBs can advance gender quality and encourage women to participate in the electoral process. While the efforts at gender mainstreaming in the EMBs are still patchy nuggets of good practice contribute to a collective wealth of wisdom about what needs to be done to promote gender-responsive institutions.

Developing gender policies

Having a stand-alone gender policy helps to ensure that gender mainstreaming outlives particular individuals who may champion gender causes within the organisation. Ideally, these gender policies should be reflected in the vision and mission of the EMBs. Developing strategic plans that address gender throughout the electoral process and are aligned with relevant electoral legislation will also ensure that EMBs effectively address gender issues.



In 2015, the UNDP coordinated the Election Support Project (ESP), for the National Electoral Board of **Ethiopia** (NEBE), had gender as a stand-alone objective. Gender was also mainstreamed in various components of the project. In 2015, UNDP supported NEBE in the implementation of a gender strategy for the elections that included increasing the proportion of women as voters and candidates. There is no publicly accessible information on whether NEBE has a similar strategy for the June 2021 election[5]. The restructuring exercise presents an opportunity for NEBE to mainstream gender in its operations and work, notably voter registration and education, ahead of the 2020 elections. The ESP included mainstreaming of gender in media coverage. The training covered the following topics: Basic ethical standards and principles of Journalism; the role of media in elections; the rules of media engagement during elections; Issues in election reporting and coverage; gender considerations in elections reporting[6].



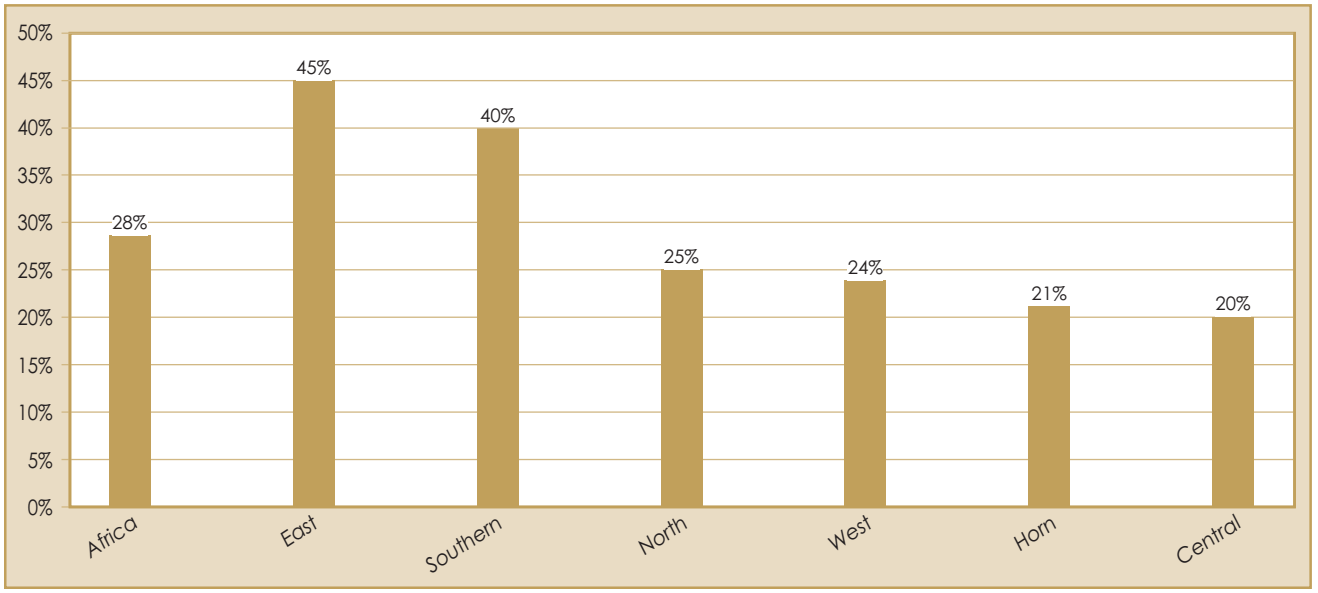
In its Strategic Plan (2015/16-2021/22) the Electoral Commission (EC) of **Uganda** sites Section 13 (11)(e) of the Public Finance Management Act, 2015, which requires all government entities to draft budgets that are gender sensitive and equity responsive. The Commission pledges to:

[4] ESAR Secretariat (2016) Election Management: A Compendium, of ESAR Good Practice.
[5] The official website and facebook page of NEBE could not be accessed at the time of writing this paper. NEBE's twitter account offered no information on gender mainstreaming in NEBE.
[6] UNDP, *Election Support Project, Terminal Report*, September 2015, https://info.undp.org/docs/pdc/Documents/ETH/17-02-2016%20Election%20Support%20Project%20-Terminal%20Report%20Revised%20final.pdf accessed 12 March 2021

- Develop a Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) policy recognising and addressing groups that need special protection to make the electoral process more gender sensitive. In September 2019, the EC launched a Gender Strategy in partnership with UN Women. Priority areas include recruiting a senior gender officer to spearhead gender mainstreaming into the Commission and its work; conducting mandatory gender mainstreaming training for the Commission and its staff and appoint gender focal persons for each department and field office.
- Develop voter education and polling materials to encourage more youth and women to participate in the electoral activities. The gender strategy states that the EC will "work with civil society organisations to deliver specific messages to women and men about the right of women to make their own choices".[7]
- Create special queues for the older persons, PWDs and pregnant women during registration and polling; and
- Ensure that election observers reports are gender sensitive and inclusive in their observations on gender equality issues. Compliance with this requirement should be a pre-requisite for continued participation or accreditation.[8]

Appointments

Figure 4.1: Women in Election Management Bodies in Africa by region



Source: Compiled by GL with information from 41 EMB websites see Annex 13.

Figure 4.1 shows that for the 41 African countries for which we have data, women's representation in EMBs stands at 28%. East and southern Africa are the best performers with 45% and 40% women commissioners, respectively. **Rwanda** and **Kenya** have specific constitutional requirements on gender balance in public positions. **Namibia**'s Electoral Act states that at least two out of the five Commissioners should be female. In **Sierra Leone**, although there is no legal requirement, from 2011 to 2016, women comprised three out of five commissioners including the Chairperson. At the time of publication, the commission comprised two women and three men.

7 Ibid pp.31
8 Uganda Electoral Commission Gender Strategy September 2019.



The head of the National Elections Board of **Ethiopia** (NEBE) Birtukan Midekssa, is lawyer and former opposition leader sentenced to life imprisonment on politically motivated charges following the 2005 elections. After receiving a pardon in 2007, she founded and became the Chairperson of the opposition Unity for Democracy and Justice (UDJ) party. In 2008, she was again detained and only released after the 2010 elections[9]. Birtukan had been living in exile until her appointment to head NEBE. Human Rights Watch hailed the appointment as "a step in the right direction."[10] Birtukan is tasked with undertaking much needed reforms to electoral laws, including gender mainstreaming. NEBE has a gender mainstreamin guideline that is intended to make all its activities gender sensitive. NEBE collects the following sex disaggregate data: women voters; voter turnout; women in parliament; number of women who run for office as candidates.



Birtukan Midekssa. *Photo: BBC*

Table 4.2: Gender Audit of Electoral Commissions in 11 selected African countries (2019)

Country/EMB	Is gender mainstreamed in your EMB?	Gender policy	Gender Focal Points (GFP)	Legal provisions for gender balanced recruitment	No women commissioners/ total	% Women on ECB	Chair M/F
The Commission Electorale Nationale Indépendante CENI, **Burundi**	No	No	No	None	3/7	43%	M
National Elections Board of **Ethiopia** (NEBE)	Partially	Gender Strategy supported by UNDP	No	None	2/5	40%	F
Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission of **Kenya** (IEBC)	No	No	No	None	3/8	38%	M
Malawi Electoral Commission (MEC)	Yes, but not adequately	Planned	No	None	5/7	71%	F
Mozambique Comissão Nacional de Eleições (CNE)	Partially	N/A	No	None	2/17	12%	M
National Electoral Commission of **Tanzania** (NEC)	Yes but inadequately	In progress	Yes	No specific legislation	2/6	33%	M
Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC)	Yes but inadequately	Yes	Yes	No specific requirement	0/7	0%	M
National Independent Electoral Commission (NIEC) **Somalia**	Partially	Not yet	No	No	2/9	22%	F
Electoral Commission of **Uganda** (EC)	Yes but not adequately	No	No	Guidelines for inclusion of people with disability	3/7	43%	M
Electoral Commission of **Zambia** (ECZ)	Yes, but inadequately	Yes	Yes	None	2/5	40%	M
Zimbabwe Electoral Comission (ZEC)		Yes	Yes	Yes (Article 17 of the Constitution)	3/8	38%	F
TOTAL		**5/11**	**4/11**		**28/86**	**32%**	**36%**

Source: Gender Links and Commonwealth Africa Gender and Elections Handbook 2018.

[9] Huamn Rights Watch, 'Making Ethiopia's electoral board independent', 22 November 2018 ‹https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/11/22/making-ethiopias-electoral-board-independent› accessed 12 March 2021

[10] Ibid

As reflected in Table 4.2, in the 11 African EMBs reviewed:[11]

- All said that gender was mainstreamed but not "adequately". Four EMBs said that gender was mainstreamed to a large extent.
- Five out of 11 or slightly more than one-third of the EMBs said they had a gender policy (Ethiopia, Tanzania, Zanzibar, Zimbabwe and Zambia). Malawi said it planned to develop a gender policy.
- Four out of 11 or one-third of the EMBs said they had gender focal persons (Tanzania, Zanzibar, Zimbabwe and Zambia).
- There is no legislative requirement to achieve gender balance, except in Zimbabwe, where Article 17 of the Constitution requires gender balance in all decision-making bodies.
- Women lead four of the 11 electoral commissions (32%). These are Somalia, Ethiopia, Malawi and Zimbabwe. Overall, women constitute 36% of elections commissioners in the EMB. This ranges from 71% in Malawi to none in Zanzibar.

Gender Management Systems

One-third of the EMBs have either appointed a Gender Focal Person (GFP) or have a committee responsible for gender issues in the organisation. It is important to take this a step further by ensuring that gender is reflected in the job descriptions and performance agreements of senior staff and the specific terms of the GFP. It is crucial that EMBs have gender expertise, gender awareness and capacity building programmes, and budget allocations for mainstreaming gender through their work. This must include collecting and analysing sex-disaggregated data on voter registration; voter turn-out; candidates (especially where there are TSM); and staffing data. While the efforts at gender mainstreaming in the EMBs are still patchy at best (non-existent at worst), nuggets of good practice show what needs to be done to promote gender responsive institutions.

Namibian Electoral Commission walks the talk of gender equality

The formulation of the Gender policy at the Electoral Commission of Namibia (ECN) has enjoyed priority and special effort for the following reasons:


Advocate Notemba Tjipueja.

Firstly, men and women's equal rights to fully participate in all aspects of political, economic and social life and non-discrimination are fundamental human rights principles. As such, it is the EMB's responsibility and obligation to comply with human rights principles, including international Declarations and Protocols ratified by the Republic.

Secondly, women make up more than 50% of the Namibian population. The country will not be considered democratic if women are excluded from full and equal participation in political, economic, social, electoral and decision-making processes.

Thirdly, Women often have different experiences, different needs and different perspectives than men. Therefore, it is essential and practical to involve women and draw on their experiences to ensure a more representative society.

[11] The Commonwealth 50/50 by 2030: Handbook for Gender Inclusive Elections in Commonwealth Africa, 2017

Fourthly, it makes economic sense because the EMB believes that gender equality leads to more prosperous societies. The EMB's budget is financed with public funds and therefore, the EMB has the responsibility to all the citizens of the country to manage and equitably spend the public funds.

The ECN has led by example in terms of women representation. The Electoral Act prescribes that at least two out of five Commissioners must be women. At present, women make up 40% of commissioners, and for the first time in the history of the EMB, the Chairperson of the Commission is female. This is a classic example where the legislation has a clear positive impact on women representation, as demonstrated in Commissioners of the EMB.

The ECN has put in place a process of identifying voter registration points to ensure unimpeded access to voter registration centres. The ECN also has a process whereby Mobile Teams and Fixed Points are assembled to reach all groups of people.

The Electoral Act makes provision for provisional voter's registers' display during a prescribed objection period to enable the public to scrutinise the temporary register for any irregularities before a final register is produced.

The ECN has a process to identify places where the provisional registers are displayed and safeguarded during the objection period. One of the criteria for identifying the places for displaying the registers is their accessibility to all voters. By law the EMB advertises a list of the identified places where the voters' register are shown in the local newspaper. The ECN also displays the list of these places at prominent public places to ensure that the public is made aware of the identified places.

It is a standing policy of the ECN that where standing in queues is required, the ECN ensures that priority is given to women with special needs such as expectant and breastfeeding women, men and women who are elderly/aged and with disabilities regardless of their age or gender.

The necessary assistance for people with disabilities to participate in the voters' registration is rendered, and access to information is provided in close coordination with organisations that offer support for people with disabilities.

The ECN has introduced a biometric system to capture voter registration data that can disaggregate sex and age data. In the future, the system will be used to compile voters and candidates' needs through the voter registration process and analysed from a gender perspective. Such information will guide the ECN in developing the relevant voter and civic education and the appropriate means of disseminating the voter education information. The process of conducting the voters' registration exercise involves and is undertaken by both women and men.

Excerpts from the paper by ECN Chair Advocate Notemba Tjipueja at the Commonwealth Secretariat consultative meeting on gender and elections in Africa: 7 July 2017.

Electoral systems and legislative reforms

Although it is the legislature and the executive's job to initiate legislation, EMB's can support changes in legislation. This might also involve leadership and support in legislating for electoral procedures that do not discriminate against women. It must ensure that all agencies involved in elections - including, for example, police investigating electoral malpractice - are trained to respect women's rights and provide sufficient resources to election management bodies. Additionally, it must enable them to implement gender-related programmes. EMBs can also use their experience from elections to provide evidence for electoral and legislative reform.



A Baseline Study on Gender Equity in the Electoral Process in **Zimbabwe** conducted by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) 2017 found that "Zimbabwe's Political Parties Finance Act currently does not have a provision on campaign financing that would increase the participation of women and the youth, for example, as candidates, nor does the Act stipulate how the internal functioning of political parties should be transparent, democratic and gender-responsive. The participation of women as key office bearers in the political parties is minimal and the issues of gender were never raised in the ZEC-political parties' consultative forums held in the run-up to the 2018 elections. The electoral regulations, codes and guidelines, and the law that governs the financing of political parties, are two areas for legal and policy reforms moving forward."[12]

The Zimbabwe Electoral Amendment Act 2018 includes the following key provisions for promoting gender equality in elections:

- Ensuring that gender is mainstreamed into electoral processes;
- Ensuring that at least half the assessors in the Electoral Court are women;
- Providing adequate, accurate, *gender sensitive* and unbiased voter education;
- Addressing any other factor that has a bearing on gender equality and elections, or in the conduct of the polling at the election;
- Including one person nominated by the Minister responsible for Women's affairs, gender or community development in the election observer accreditation committee.
- Mainstreaming gender in political party practices (see political parties).

In compliance with Act Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) has taken several steps, including:

- Developing and adopting a gender policy.
- Appointing a gender focal person in the head offices and each of the ten provincial offices.
- Inclusivity as a core value of the ZEC strategic document 2020-2024. Gender stands alone and cuts across other areas of inclusion such as disability and youth.
- Conducting a Gender Baseline Study ahead of the 2018 elections to assess the gender dimensions of citizens' participation in the electoral process. ZEC mounted several specific gender initiatives based on these findings. For example, ZEC took several measures to ensure that women were not disenfranchised as voters or discriminated against in standing as candidates. The use of affidavits was introduced to prove residence during the voter registration exercise, so that women could register. Nomination courts were instructed not to insist on marriage certificates for women candidates, unless women wanted to be nominated using their married name. Institutionalising such measures in its regulations and guidelines is important to ensure that such procedures are not 'one-off' actions.[13]
- Offering gender training to ZEC staff, commissioners and partners.



Zimbabwe Women's Election Charter & Women's Manifesto,2018.
Photo: Tapiwa Zvaraya

[12] Ibid
[13] The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission, *Voice, Choice and Access to Information: Baseline Study on Gender Equity in the Electoral Process in Zimbabwe* (ZEC 2017)

Voter registration

A key function of EMBs is to register voters. Where individuals are required to register in person, the process should be well publicised, employing channels of communication most likely to reach women voters; registration stations should be easily accessible; and the procedures made quick and simple. Attention should be given to registering displaced persons. To accommodate women's dual roles at home and in the workplace, the EMB can invest in mobile registration units (this has been done in Uganda and South Africa). Where there is potential discrimination against naturalised citizens, for example, the foreign husbands of women in the country undergoing the election, the EMB must be prepared to uphold their rights.



Before each electoral campaign, the **Senegal** Independent National Electoral Commission (CENA), which controls and supervises the whole electoral operation, informs women and men on the registration process and how the elections will be held. CENA is represented by an electoral departmental and autonomous committee (CEDA).

Each CEDA has five members named by the president of the CENA. By law, every citizen must be informed about the registration process, explains Mame Yacine Camara Lakh, a member of the CENA. "The law in itself does not prevent in any manner whatsoever somebody to vote for a political party who is presenting women candidates in leadership positions. If on the cultural and national front, there is acceptation regarding improvements of the status of women, there are still barriers preventing them to access decision making positions. As a pretext, we are told that with the weight of their spouse and mother's roles, they will not have the time to manage all the responsibilities linked to the decision-making positions," she noted in an interview for this research.



Mame Yacine Camara Lakh.

Lakh adds that the electoral code gives information about the voting process, the places to go to vote and the voting time, etc. This code is not translated in languages and formats accessible to all women and men and those living in remote areas of the country. But during the registration on the electoral lists, the CEDA call for interpreters in order to speak the language of each citizen. Voter registration is done each year from February to June, even if there is no election scheduled that particular year. This exercise is done in places that are safe and easily accessible to women like municipalities or public offices and happen between 9 am to 6 pm.

The electoral law allows for electoral mobile caravans which can be deployed in markets situated in rural areas so as to facilitate the registration of women. This process of registration of voters caters for all voters, whatever their level of literacy, including functional literacy. If a voter speaks a language other than the Wolof, they will be put in contact with an official who speaks the vernacular. "The electoral code has been done in such a way as to cater for everyone's needs," Lakh stressed.

Sex disaggregated data

A key task of EMBs is to gather and make available sex-disaggregated data. While this is not always immediately available on the websites of EMBs, WROs are becoming more adept at gathering and using such data.



For example, A **Ugandan** WRO commented that "the disaggregation of some EC data by sex is commendable: The data especially of nominated candidates was clearly disaggregated by sex. It is easy to know where women are and points to areas of entry. This should be scaled up to embrace all EC data."[14] They also commended "women's increased interest and participation in the elections as candidates, voters, election managers and mobilisers. Qualitative findings revealed that more women are becoming more interested in the electoral process as voters, candidates, election officials and political party agents and mobilisers compared to the past elections. In the 2016 election campaigns, more women attended campaign rallies in comparison to the previous elections. They were enthusiastic about campaign promises of the different candidates."[15] The importance of the woman vote is underscored by political parties perceiving they have to reach out to women for votes: "There is an emerging reality that women's groups are becoming an important factor in the electoral contest. Candidates attested to the fact that women's groups were a key facet in their campaign journey. 'You have to reach out to women's groups if you have to win the vote of women' was the testimony of majority of candidates."[16]



Mozambique's Electoral Commission (CNE) keeps sex-disaggregated data. In the 2019 elections women comprised 6,910,388 (53,5%) voters compared to 6,035,533 men (46.5%). The CNE made it a point to publicise



these sex disaggregated statistics to demonstrate the power that women have in elections.



In **Madagascar** disaggregated data for the local government elections for the 21,279 local councillors was not available in past elections, making an assessment of women's representation at this level of government almost impossible. As part of the 50/50 campaign in Madagascar Gender Links was able to get the national election management body (CENI) to disaggregate election data from the 2019 local elections, providing, for the first time, reliable data on women's representation in local government.



The **Zimbabwe** Electoral Commission 2018 Harmonised Elections report recorded voters by age group and gender. Election results in all their different categories are also broken down by gender. The report provides a clear explanation of the PR seats reserved for women in the National Assembly and the "zebra" system applied to the PR senate seats.

[14] Uganda Women's Network, *Mapping Positive Trends and Persistent Deficits in 2016* General Elections (UWONET, 2016)‹ https://www.uwonet.or.ug/download/women-in-ugandas-electoral-processes-mapping-positive-trends-and-persistent-deficits-in-2016-general-elections-2016/› accessed 12 March 2021
[15] Ibid
[16] Ibid

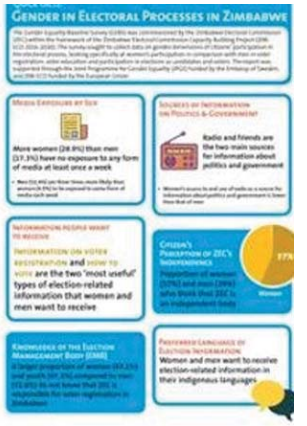
Voter education

EMBs have a key role to play in voter education: "Their role is not to explain or defend the policies, manifestos or platforms of the various political parties and independent candidates, but rather to educate the population on how to enrol, how to cast a ballot correctly and why it is important to participate in this democratic process."[17] Well designed, gender-sensitive voter information and civic education programmes should be deployed, with the specific goal of increasing women's participation. The UN Women Manual for EMB's notes:

> When creating voter outreach material, attention should be paid to avoiding subliminal messaging. For instance, a poster showing only male voters may give the message that only men vote. Outreach materials should show women of all ages participating in every task and every role - as registration and polling staff, as observers and security forces, as registration applicants and as voters. With respect to gender equality there are two very important messages to be communicated: first that women have the right to vote and stand for election and that their participation often needs to be encouraged; and second, that the ballot is secret- no one else needs to know how an individual's vote has been cast.[18]



Ahead of the 2018 elections, the **Zimbabwe** Electoral Commission conducted a study: *Voice, Choice and Access to Information: Baseline Study on Gender Equity in the Electoral Process in Zimbabwe*[19]. The research examines whether there are gender gaps in women's and men's participation in the electoral processes and their access to election-related information that helps them exercise their rights as informed citizens. It further looks at the various barriers to citizens' participation in elections and electoral processes. It assesses whether women and men are willing to vote for women as candidates at the national and local government levels. Key findings included:



- A larger proportion of women (28.9%) than men (17.3%) have no exposure to any form of media at least once a week.
- Men (12.4%) are three times more likely than women (4.5%) to be exposed to some form of media each week.
- A larger proportion of women (47%) than men (33%) had not heard of the ZEC.
- Women are four times more likely than men to be assisted as voters.
- A larger proportion of women candidates (74%) than men (64%) said they were not interested in participating in elections for fear of violence.
- 64% women and 59% men said they would vote for a woman presidential candidate.
- Over 80% of women and men said they would vote for women parliamentary candidates and councillors. Reasons cited included representation; loyalty; "peace loving" and "knowing community needs."
- Among the report's recommendations is a study of the effect of GBV on women's participation in elections.[20]

[17] UNWomen/UNDP, *Inclusive Electoral Processes: A guide for Electoral Management Bodies on Promoting Gender Equality and Women's Participation* (2015), pp. 93
[18] Ibid
[19] Zimbabwe electoral Commission, *Voice, Choice and Access to Information: Baseline Study on Gender Equity in the Electoral Process in Zimbabwe*, (ZEC, 2017)
[20] Ibid

Candidate eligibility

Eligibility criteria may affect women candidates, especially in the FPTP system in which elections focus far more on individual candidates than in the PR system. Some examples of eligibility criteria and their potential impact are as follows:



One of the criteria for candidacy for all levels of Government in **South Sudan** is to be literate. Due to long-standing conflict, the provision of education has been severely compromised. UNESCO states that the adult literacy rate is 35%, with women having a lower literacy rate (29%) compared to men (40%).[21] The low levels of literacy amongst women could affect women's participation in the elections. The literacy criteria may need to be reviewed to facilitate women's participation.



As a citizen of **Uganda** and a registered voter, to qualify to be a candidate for parliament, a person must have completed a minimum formal education of Advanced "A" Level standard or its equivalent[22]. This requirement could deter women candidates, as women in Uganda generally have lower education levels than men. "A" level is a pre-university entry requirement. Only a small percentage of the population goes on to "A" level after the Ordinary or "O" level school certificate.



In **Zambia**, the eligibility criteria could unfairly disadvantage women in the electoral process in the following ways:

- Nomination fees for candidates: Article 71 of the 2016 Constitution[23] states that a valid nomination of a candidate is supported by (a) A paid a prescribed election fee to the Electoral Commission; and (b) at least fifteen persons registered as voters in the constituency in which the candidate is standing for election. In the 2016 elections, each candidate nomination cost 100,000 kwacha (approximately USD 1,000) to be paid either by a political party or individual candidates. The high cost of nomination fees forced many candidates to drop out of the campaigns.[24]
- ***Academic qualifications:*** Article 70 of the 2016 Constitution[25] says that any candidate must have a minimum educational qualification of a grade twelve certificate or its equivalent. The minimum education qualification poses a challenge to women who generally have lower levels of education than men. This is especially true in local government. Due to the new requirements, some women candidates had to drop out, according to the Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL). According to Beauty Katebe, Board Chairperson, Zambia National Women's Lobby Group (ZNWL), "This new law disqualified 95% of the 630 women that the ZNWL had built capacities for local government leadership for the previous 3 years. They could not qualify to contest elections because they did not have the grade 12 certificate. The ZNWL managed to lobby political parties to adopt other women to replace those that were disqualified and dropped out of the election race. However, there was no time to train women in leadership skills."[26]
- Public officers: The draft Constitution Amendment Bill includes a new obligation for public officers wanting to run for office to resign at least two years ahead of elections. The European Union Election Follow-up Mission (EFM) to the Zambia 2019 Election commented that this could "potentially bear negative consequences on women's participation as candidates. The EFM would recommend further evaluating the possible impact of this decision on women's participation."[27]

[21] Countryeconomy.com, *South Sudan literacy rate* ‹https://countryeconomy.com/demography/literacy-rate/southsudan#:~:text=Literacy%20rate%20increase%20in%20South,big%20gap%20between%20the%20sexes›, accessed 10 February 2021
[22] Uganda, Constitution Amendment Act, No.2, 2005
[23] Government of Zambia, Constitution of Zambia (Amendment) No. 2 of 2016, Section 71
[24] IPU Parline accessed from http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/2359.htm on 05/09/2019
[25] Government of Zambia, Constitution of Zambia (Amendment) No. 2 of 2016, Sectrion 70
[26] Lowe Morna, C. *The Commonwealth 50/50 by 2030: A Draft Guide for Gender Inclusive Elections in Commonwealth Africa* (Commonwealth Secretariat, June 2017)
[27] European Union Extenal Action Service, *Election Follow-up Mission (EFM) to the Zambia 2019* (EEAS, 2019) ‹https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/efm_zambia_publication_july_2019_0.pdf ›

Where there is a minimum age eligibility requirement this may prevent young aspirants from entering politics, which some may view as unjustified age discrimination.



In general, it is the socio-cultural burdens and the lack of financial means that prevent women from standing as a candidate in the **Central African Republic**. But there is also the age factor. One must be at least 35 years old to stand as a candidate for the presidential election and 27 years old to stand as a candidate at the legislative election. Age eligibility criteria is a problem for the young Abial Albertta. "This is a stereotype. Even though I am 27 years old, people believe that I have no experience and that I am not mature enough to become a parliamentarian. In fact, I coach young people so that they become entrepreneurs", says Alberta, who will stand as a candidate in the constituency Bimbo 1, a commune close to the capital city Bangui.

Electoral financing



Money is essential to participating in politics and is a factor throughout the electoral process, from nomination to campaigning and reaching constituents. Research shows that a lack of funding is one of the primary barriers to women's participation in politics.[28] With increasingly large amounts of money required for election campaigns, unequal access to finance and resources creates an uneven political playing field. Political parties and candidates need access to funds to play their part in the political process. However, the role of money in politics is arguably the biggest threat to democracy worldwide today. It has become a tool to unduly influence the political process by "buying" votes or influencing political decisions.[29]

"Women's lower socio-economic positions in most countries mean that they may lack economic independence to pursue a political career. Gender socialisation roles, which position men as the 'breadwinners', mean that men are more accustomed to raising funds for their own use, while women have been traditionally relegated to the private sphere."[30] Women also lack access to moneyed networks and credit and political clientelism.[31] Women's inability to pay even candidate registration fees can exclude them from the election process, let alone having sufficient funding throughout the electoral process, including money to transport potential voters to rallies, feed them, print t-shirts, fliers, paying campaign teams, among others.

Funding to support women in public life is limited and needs to increase if women are to have equal opportunities to participate and engage in decision-making. Legislation regulating political finance can help or hinder women's political representation in decision-making.



The cost of running for a National Assembly seat in **The Gambia** is high. This is driven by patronage networks and constituent expectations that extend to a candidate's time in office. The result is that many women and young people are excluded from the process due to their lack of access to funds or financial backers. The increase in cost may also lead to a situation where elections become money-dominated. This is a concern as the Gambia seeks to rebuild credible democratic institutions after more than two decades of dictatorship. There is no legislation to regulate the electoral expenses in the country. Even if the candidates must submit audited accounts to the independent electoral commission, the scrutiny and enforcement is limited. Sait Matty Jaw says that "it is certainly true that the current high costs involved with

[28] Ballington, J and Kahane, M., *Women in politics: financing for gender equality* in Funding of Political Parties and Election Campaigns: a Handbook on Political Finance, Elin Falguera, Samuel Jones and Magnus Ohman, eds. (Stockholm, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2014) pp. 300-343.
[29] Leterme Y., Funding of Political Parties and Election Campaigns: a Handbook on Political Finance, Elin Falguera, Samuel Jones and Magnus eds.(Stockholm, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2014). pp.V
[30] Ballington, J and Kahane, M., *Women in politics: financing for gender equality* in Funding of Political Parties and Election Campaigns: a Handbook on Political Finance, Elin Falguera, Samuel Jones and Magnus Ohman, eds. (Stockholm, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2014) pp. 304.
[31] Ibid pp.308

seeking public office inhibit youth and women's participation in politics. Just five of the 58 elected members of the National Assembly are women. High costs have the potential to undermine broader public participation in the democratic process… the relationship between parties and voters must be redefined to make voting based on merit. This will require continuing civic education about the roles and responsibilities of political parties, parliamentarians and the state."[32]



Electoral spending has risen so much during each national election in **Mauritius** that it constitutes a serious impediment to women's and young people's participation in politics. Roukaya Kasenally and Ramola Ramtohul, authors of "The Cost of Parliamentary Politics in Mauritius" noted that the party manifestos are more based on clientelism as time goes by on convictions and ideology. The Representation of People's Act of 1958, which regulates the elections, stipulates that a party candidate cannot spend more than Rs 150 000 (USD 3600) during the whole campaign and for an independent candidate the limit is Rs250 000 (USD 6500). However, the real amounts of spending exceeds these limits and go undeclared. "Giving a legal status to political parties outside election time can help to raise the opacity veil and the secret which surrounds electoral spending. This could be a first step toward creating a culture of transparency and accountability in the political parties", they write in their report.[33] They also believe that authorised spending gap by the law and real spending must be urgently tackled by Electoral Commission and the Electoral Supervisory Commission's capacity building.

Increased electoral spending is also motivated by the voters' demands and expectations, the poorer ones seeing elections as a way to bargain their votes and play one party against another to obtain more money. The Kasenally and Ramtohul believe that vote-buying depends on the constituency and the struggle between the candidates, and they estimate that this figure is between Rs 5 000 (USD 132) and Rs 10 000 (USD 264). A whole family can obtain up to Rs 100 000 (USD 2 600) to sell its vote.[34]

Contribution and spending bans or limitations for political parties and candidates are intended to regulate the cost of campaigns and ensure that candidates and parties with more access to resources are not unfairly advantaged. Unfortunately these provisions are often not complied with.



The Election Expenses Act 2010 is the specific legislation governing campaign financing in **Tanzania**. The Act provides for the regulation of maximum spending and fundraising. Amounts exceeding one million Tanzanian shillings (USD 6,300) for individual donors or two million Tanzanian shillings (USD 12,600) for donor organisations must be disclosed. Each political party is required to open a special election expenses account to deposit donations and pay expenses. The only reference to women is under *Election Expenses Regulations*. This states that women coming through special seats should comply with the requirement to disclose funds and sources of funds as stipulated in the Act and Regulations. In reality, it is unlikely that women on the special seats receive any individual political party funding, as their names are submitted in a list to the electoral commission. There is no requirement that parties ensure equal funding for women and men candidates in the openly contested FPTP seats. This is very important for encouraging women to venture beyond the reserved PR seats into the openly contested seats.



In **Malawi** political parties must declare finances exceeding one million kwacha (approximately USD 1,600) if coming from an individual

[32] Matty Jaw, S, Gai, B and Sillah, N., *The Cost of Parliamentary Politics in The Gambia* (WFD and DFID,2020)
[33] Kasenally, R and Ramtohul,R., *The Cost of Parliamentary Politics in Mauritius* (WFD and DFID, 2020)
[34] Ibid

and two million (approximately USD 2,600) if from an organisation. The Act also prohibits hand-outs 90 days before elections but allows for campaign materials. There is much confusion about the two stipulations. Most candidates neglect the law. in the 2019 elections, the ruling party distributed bicycles as "campaign materials" 28 days before the elections.[35] Such trends affect women more than men, as they do not have resources to match these handouts.

Linking public funding to gender targets: Many countries in Africa have adopted regulations that either incentivise women candidates' nomination or reduce funding available for non-compliance with such provisions. In **Algeria** political parties can be awarded specific state funding according to the number of their women candidates elected at the national and sub-national levels.[36] In **Mali** ten percent of the available funds are earmarked for parties with elected women officials.[37] In **Cabo Verde** public funding is awarded only to those political parties, coalitions or groups of citizens whose lists presented for municipal elections contain at least 25% women candidates.[38] In **Kenya,** political parties are not entitled to receive funding from the Fund if more than two-thirds of its registered office bearers are of the same gender.[39] In **Guinea** 5% of state funding for political parties is proportionally distributed to parties that have elected women MPs and in communal-municipal councils.[40] In **Burkina Faso** parties that do not nominate at least 30% of either gender lose half of their public funding entitlement.[41] **Togo** reduces the cost of application forms by women candidates by 50%.

Table 4.3: Provisions on financing linked to gender quotas

Country	Provisions on financing linked to gender quotas	%W 2000	%W 2020	Change
Algeria	Political parties can be awarded specific state funding according to the number of their women candidates elected at the national and sub-national levels (Article 7).[42]	8%	26%	18%
Burkina Faso	If a political party fails to meet the quota requirements, its public funding for election campaigns will be cut by 50% (Article 5). If a party reaches or exceeds the 30% quota, it will receive additional funding as prescribed by the regulations related to political parties' public funding (Article 6). If a party reaches or exceeds the 30 % quota, it will receive additional funding (Law on Quotas, Article 5 & 6).[43]	8%	6%	-2%
Cabo Verde	Article 431 (2) of the electoral law states that 'public funding will be awarded only to those political parties, coalitions or groups of citizens whose lists presented for municipal elections, if elected, contain at least 25 per cent women candidates'.[44]	11%	26%	15%
Guinea	Article 4 of the law for the political parties states that 5% of the total state funding for the political parties will be proportionally distributed to the parties that they have elected women MPs and in communal-municipal councils.[45]	8%	17%	9%
Kenya	The Political Parties Act 2011 states that a political party shall not receive funding from the fund if more than two-thirds of its registered office bearers are of the same gender [Article 25(2) (b)]	4%	22%	18%
Mali	10% of public funding is proportionately shared among political parties which have women elected as deputies or municipal councillors 5% of the amount is for female members of the National Assembly and the other 5% for female municipal counsellors.[46]	12%	27%	15%
Togo	The allocation mechanism for public party funding rewards successful female candidacy: (i) 70% are attributed based on the share of votes in preceding elections; (ii) 20% are determined by the number of women elected for the party in the previous legislative elections; and (iii) 10% by the number of women elected for the party in the last local elections. The cost of application forms for parliamentary and local elections has been cut by 50% for women candidates, and political parties that meet parity on their lists are entitled to bonuses.	5%	19%	14%

Source: International IDEA gender quotas database and Gender Links.

[35] Gender Links, *Malawi 50/50 Policy brief* (2020) Unpublished
[36] Algeria: Loi organique n° 12-03 du 12 janvier 2012 fixant les modalités augmentant les chances daccès de la femme à la représentation dans les assemblées élues.
[37] Government of Mali, Loi N° 05-047/ DU 18 Août 2005 Portant Charte Des Partis Politiques
[38] Government of Cape Verde: Electoral Law No 56 /VII/2010
[39] Governemnet of Kenya, Political Parties Act, no 11 of 2011
[40] Government of Guniea, Law Regulating Public Funding for Political Parties (no date)
[41] https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas (country pages accessed 9 February 2021)
[42] Algeria: Loi organique No 12-03 du 12 janvier 2012 fixant les modalités augmentant les chances daccès de la femme à la représentation dans les assemblées élues.
[43] Government of Burkima Faso Law no. 010-2009/AN of 16 April 2009 on Quotas for Legislative and Local Elections
[44] Cape Verde: Electoral Law Nº 56 /VII/2010
[45] Government of Guniea, Law Regulating Public Funding for Political Parties (no date)
[46] Trans-Saharan Elections Project, Gender and representation in Mali <https://tsep.africa.ufl.edu/gender-quotas-and-representation/mali/>accessed 12 March 2021

Table 4.3 shows that in all the countries where public funding is linked to women candidates (except Burkina Faso) women's representation has increased between 9% and 18%. The limited success of such measure may lie in the fact that such provisions are not enforced and that in many countries, public funding is inadequate and not much of an incentive or will only apply to parties that are heavily reliant on public funds.



In **Ethiopia** in 2015, the government allocated Birr 30 million (USD 1.5 million) to support contending political parties in their election campaigns[47]. The UNDP-coordinated Election Support Project (ESP) facilitated a platform for political parties to discuss and understand the allocation formula of this fund. The political parties reached the consensus to allocate the fund on the 40:35:15:10 ratio. The 40% was shared based on seats in the parliament and state councils; 35% on the number of candidates registered by the respective parties; 15% on the number of women candidates fielded, the remaining 10% equally distributed to all 57 contending parties. The forum provided contending political parties with the opportunity to reflect and provide inputs and comments on the draft allocation formula. The agreement reached by political parties to specifically allocate funding for women candidates from all parties is an important precedent and good practice that should be replicated in the 2021 elections.[48] Overall, there is a need for further enquiry into the direct correlation between access to finance and resources and women's political participation.

Security - Violence Against Women in Politics (VAWP)[49]



Protesting violence against women in politics, Flacq Mauritius.
Photo: Anushka Virahswamy

Violence against women in political life is any act, or threat of, gender-based violence, resulting in physical, sexual, psychological harm or suffering to women, that prevents them from exercising and realising their political rights, whether in public or private spaces. This includes the right to vote and hold public office, vote in secret and freely campaign, associate and assemble, and enjoy the freedom of opinion and expression.[50]

A 2020 report of the Secretary-General on *Women's full and effective participation and decision-making in public life, as well as the elimination of violence, for achieving gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls*, in preparation for the Commission on the Status of women (CSW), highlights the issue of pervasive violence against women in politics.[51] It notes that "Violence and harassment against women in public life is a human rights violation. It has seemingly increased as more women have gained access to power. Perpetrators intend to stop women from accessing power and silence them to limit their perspectives in policy formulation. Women politicians have been killed in office and left their positions after receiving death threats or withdrawn from elections citing abuse.[52]

Electoral violence can affect women's participation as voters, candidates, election officials, activists,

[47] UNDP, *Election Support Project, Terminal Report*, September 2015, pp10
[48] Ibid
[49] We are using the term violence against women in politics (VAWP) as it is broader than the term violence against women in elections (VAWIE) which is used in other literature.
[50] UN Women and UNDP, *Preventing Violence Against Women in Elections: A programming guide* (2017), pp. 23
[51] United Nations, *Women's full and effective participation and decision-making in public life, as well as the elimination of violence, for achieving gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls*, in preparation for the Commission on the Status of women (CSW) 2020. E/CN.6/2021/3
[52] Ibid, pp. 11

and political party leaders, and it undermines the free, fair, and inclusive democratic process. International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) research on violence against women in elections[53] found that:

- There is a lack of knowledge and data about VAWIE.
- There is a gender bias in current data collection, research, and programming efforts related to electoral violence.
- Women experience different types of violence in other spaces than men.
- There is often an existing relationship (e.g. familial, social, hierarchical) between perpetrator and survivor when women experience violence in elections.
- There is a lack of programming to address VAWIE specifically.

> "I have had sexual propaganda against me from those who had wanted to demoralise me and throw me off from political engagement. It has been a psychological torture to tolerate such humiliation."
>
> *Zainab Athman Katimba, MP Tanzania*

Despite the rising levels of violence against women in politics, few parliaments have a sexual harassment policy. While most electoral laws and regulations prohibit violence and intimidation during the electoral process, they do not have specific provisions addressing VAWP in particular.



In **Burundi**, several provisions of the electoral law[54] aim to prevent violence in general. However, there is no election Code of Conduct or prohibition of gender discrimination or gender-based violence. Sexual harassment is not clearly defined in the electoral act but is a federal offence under the Constitution. The Electoral law does not include specific actions to ensure gender is effectively mainstreamed into the post-election phase. In 2015, the elections in Burundi were marked by a political crisis including numerous police arrests. Part of the population fled the country. This insecurity explains women's reluctance to go into politics, particularly if they are activists for the opposition parties. Kathy Kezimana, a woman activist in the main opposition party, the National Liberation Congress (CNL) was arrested and imprisoned for "inducement to insurrection" after campaigning for the opposition candidate Agathon Rwasa.[55] The Constitutional Court later cleared her name. She stood as a candidate and was elected. She is now a parliamentarian.



Article 29 of the **Somalia** National Electoral Bill (2018) provides that:

- Meetings and meetings of the parties taking part in the campaign shall not be allowed to carry weapons, military garments or similar, except for the security forces.
- Exclusion of the Somali society's disturbing rhetoric is troubling and disrupting the culture, religion, peace, and public interest of the Somali people.
- The party is prohibited from campaigning for a clan, religious, and regional matters.

There is no specific recognition of gender discrimination or gender violence in elections, and there are no specific measures to address these. The gender blindness of the Somali National Electoral Bill is a concern but also an opportunity for proposing gender aware language before this bill passes to law.



Zambia's Electoral Code of Conduct contained in the Electoral Process Act condemns "violence or use any language or engaging in any conduct which leads or is likely to lead to violence or intimidation during an election campaign or election".[56] The Constitution Amendment Act

[53] IFES, Violence Against Women In Elections: A Framework for assessment, monitoring and response, (IFES, 2017) pp.4
[54] Electoral Law of Burundi
[55] VOA News, 'Burundi Opposition Leader Says Party Members Attacked in Run-up to Elections' 8 May 2020 < https://www.voanews.com/africa/burundi-opposition-leader-says-party-members-attacked-run-elections>

2016, Article 45 (2)(b) commits to elections that are free from violence, intimidation and corruption[57] ; Article 60 (3)(b)prevents political parties from engaging in or encouraging violence or intimidation of its members, supporters, opponents or other persons.[58] Although gender violence, including sexual harassment, is implicit in these provisions, this is not explicitly stated.

The violence in the 2016 Zambian elections included instances of violence against women in elections. There were reports of women candidates being beaten, intimidated and even stripped naked. The explicit recognition and mitigation of VAWE in electoral laws is an important consideration.

"Truly, it is not easy for a woman to do politics in Burkina Faso"


Assita Ouattara.

Assita Ouattara from Péni in Burkina Faso says that in 2014 when she had just been elected as parliamentarian under the former political party in power, the Congress for Democracy and Progress (CDP) she and some of her fellow party members got caught up in the popular insurrection. "It was a terrible and difficult moment to go through. After the President Blaise Compaoré stepped down, our houses were ransacked and burnt. All our possessions were destroyed. We even submitted a file to the High Council for Reconciliation and National Unity. On top of that, I was arrested and jailed for a month. Truly, it is not easy for a women to do politics in Burkina Faso" she said in an interview.

When she was freed, Ouattara wanted to end her political career. However, the president of the CDP Eddie Comboigo contacted her and convinced her to get back into politics. She recalls, "After I was freed from jail, I really wanted to stay away from politics. I did not want to relive the bad experiences that I had gone through. And then, I realized that politics is not a straight line. It comes with difficulties and obstacles like many things in life. And that we had to continue the fight if we wanted to build our country."

She is now determined to be elected and go back to parliament. "I always say that a woman must fight to earn her place, even though people might intimidate her. Nothing is easily earned. One must fight, be it at the political party level or when one is a candidate in an election. And a woman must fight as much as men."

Violence still prevails in politics, she says with regret: "You have what I call local violence. Men do not appreciate that as a woman leader, you stand before them and talk to them during public meetings. You can feel the hostility or sometimes they seem to feel diminished by you. It all depends on the localities where you go. Sometimes you are confronted with violent words, with intimidation and threats."

Ouattara believes that women's empowerment is the key, "After the second revolution of 2014 as they call it, lots of women decided to pull out from politics for one reason or another but I believe that fear was at play. When you go to them, they seem afraid. They say that opponents will come and burn their houses. This violence is one of the reasons why there are so few women candidates at the elections of 2020. Political violence is imprinted in women's minds so that they have retrenched themselves. They no longer want to participate and even to listen to us. Violence should not have its place in politics because it leaves scars and traumas in women. We must empower women through training. This starts with literacy courses. We must manage to free women from this fear of getting into politics."[59]

[56] Governmnet of Zambia, Electoral Process Act of No 35 of 2016, Section 15
[57] Governemnet of Zambia, Constitution Amendment Act No 2 of 2016
[58] Ibid
[59] Interview by Séry Baoula



Zimbabwe's Electoral Act Chapter 2:13, as amended on 28 May 2018 prohibits politically motivated violence, including use of violence, or threatening violence or inciting or encouraging the use of violence, against anyone on account of his or her political opinions or membership or support of a political party or participation in the election. The Act prohibits intimidation; use violence or threats or illegal pressure to force a voter to refrain from voting or to vote for a candidate or political party against his or her will. It also forbids forcing a voter to reveal the identity of the candidate voted for or taking reprisals against a person because of the way in which he or she has voted or is believed to have voted. [60]

Section 133G of the Electoral Act states that political parties and candidates (a) shall take all appropriate measures to prevent politically-motivated violence and any electoral mal-practices before, during and after the election period; and (b) shall in the case of an office-bearer of a political party, take effective steps to discipline all members of the party who engage in politically-motivated violence or who commit any electoral malpractice before, during or after the election period; and (c) whenever called upon to do so by the Commission, shall publicly undertake to abide by the code of conduct for political parties and candidates set out in the Fourth Schedule.[61]

Section 160A of the Electoral Act, the Electoral Code of Conduct for political parties and candidates states the purpose of the Code "is to promote conditions that are conducive to free and fair elections and a climate of tolerance in which electioneering activity may take place without fear or coercion, intimidation or reprisals.[62]

While gender violence is implicit in these provisions, there is no specific provision for gender violence, including sexual harassment in the electoral law. Section 10 which provides for the *Role of women* also makes no specific reference to gender violence.[63]

Violence against women in elections in Zimbabwe has been a feature in every election since 2000, and it is a *frequent* experience for women whether they are politically active or not.[64] In 2018, a record 23 candidates vied for the presidency, four of these women. These were: Melbah Dzapasi (#1980 freedom movement Zimbabwe); Thokozani Khupe (MDC-T); Violet Mariyacha (Untied Democratic Movement) and former Vice President Joice Mujuru. The two best known candidates, Mujuru and Khupe were variously referred to as a "witch" and "hure" (meaning prostitute" in Shona on social media).[65] VAWP has continued post elections.

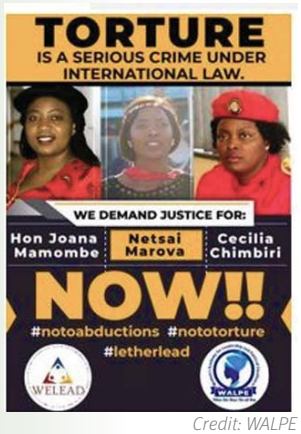


Hure, Elections campaign in Zimbabwe. *Photo: Gender Links*

[60] Government of Zimbabwe, Electoral Act Chapter 2:13, as amended on up to 28th May 2018, Fourth schedule (sections 40B, 46, 133G, 160A AND 191) (2018)
[61] Government of Zimbabwe, Electoral Act Chapter 2:13, as amended on up to 28th May 2018
[62] Ibid. Fourth schedule (sections 40B, 46, 133G, 160A AND 191) (2018)
[63] Ibid
[64] Research and advocacy unit, *Preying on the "Weaker" Sex: Political Violence against Women in Zimbabwe* ‹ https://researchandadvocacyunit.org/report/preying-on-the-weaker-sex-political-violence-against-women-in-zimbabwe/›accessed 11 March 202
[65] Gender Links, Zimbabwe 50/50 Policy Brief, February 2020 ‹ chrome-extension://oemmndcbldboiebfnladdacbdfmadadm/https://genderlinks.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/50-50-PB-ZIM-FEB20rev.pdf› accessed 12 March 2021

Zimbabwe: Women leaders allege violation

Three women Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) -Alliance youth leaders were abducted on May 13, 2020, after they led a demonstration, in Harare, in response to rising levels of hunger, abuse and partisan distribution of government food aid during the COVID-19 lockdown. Two days later, Joana Mamombe (sitting MP for Harare West), Cecilia Chimbiri (MDC Alliance Youth Assembly Vice Chair) and Netsai Marova (Deputy Organising Secretary for Youth) were rescued found about eighty (80) kilometres away from Harare. They had been severely tortured, sexually harassed and inhumanely treated.



Credit: WALPE

In their Urgent Appeal on 20 May 2020, Women's Academy for Leadership and Political Excellence (WALPE) and the Southern Africa Human Rights Defenders Network (SAHRDN or the Defenders Network) condemned the abductions, torture, and ongoing harassment of HRDs and legitimate political opponents.[66]

VAWP is receiving increased attention, and there is a growing body of literature on VAWP illustrating that it is widespread. However comprehensive statistical data is lacking. National WROs and CSOs have an important role to play in monitoring violence in the lead up to and during elections, and they are collecting important empirical and statistical data.



In **Uganda**, the Women's Democracy Network-Uganda Chapter (WDN-U) and Innovations for Democratic Engagement and Action (IDEA) have conducted a study *Early Warning signs for Violence in Uganda's 2021 Elections, Structures & Strategies for Mitigation*. The study found that persistent challenges for women's participation include (i) electoral violence with attendant narratives constructed around militarism; (ii) sexualisation and commercialisation of politics; (iii) intimidation of female candidates; (iv) vote rigging; and recreation of patriarchy that works to limit women even on the affirmative action seats among others. Some 89% of those interviewed said they feared the elections could become violent for various reasons.[67] WDN-U recommends:

- Improved electoral security through coordination of the uniformed forces and civil society and drawing boundaries on roles of the army in elections.
- Putting in place more stringent penalties for candidates found to have sponsored or enabled election violence, disqualification should be considered; for citizens, prosecution should be considered.

Findings from national research on violence against women in elections can be used to inform laws, policies, and actions to be taken by various stakeholders, including EMBs, CSOs, political parties and safety and security entities, to address VAWIE.

[66] Excerpt from Women's Academy for Leadership and Political Excellence (WALPE) And the Southern Africa Human Rights Defenders Network (SAHRDN or the Defenders Network) URGENT APPEAL: MDC-Alliance youth leaders, Joana Mamombe, Cecilia Chimbiri and Netsai Marova)

[67] Women's Democracy Network Uganda Chapter (WDN-UC) and Innovations for Democratic Engagement and Action, Early Warning signs for Violence in Uganda's 2021 Elections, Structures & Strategies for Mitigation (2019)‹https://www.slideshare.net/ideauganda/early-warning-signs-for-violence-in-ugandas-2021-elections-structures-strategies-for-mitigation› accessed 9 February 2021



A study on *Violence Against Women in Elections (VAWIE)* in **Tanzania** in 2015 found:

- VAWIE is not explicitly included in the list of election offences as provided in chapter eight (section 88-107) of the National Elections Act (1985). The Political Parties Act (1992) and the Elections Regulations are also silent on the issues of VAWIE.
- Violence against women during the 2015 elections occurred in three forms, namely psychological, physical and sexual. Psychological violence against women happened to be the most dominant form of VAWE in the 2015 general elections.
- About three-quarters (69%) of the women candidates reported that they had experienced abusive language during election campaigns. For instance, verbal harassment, insults, and being booed on stage. This figure is strikingly high, calling for deliberate interventions to change the situation.
- The use of social sanctions and punishment such as controlled voting was also reported, whereby women were dictated by their husbands, brothers or sons on how to cast their votes.
- Based on anecdotal accounts from the interviews, some women aspirants and candidates were subjected to sexual demands from party leaders and campaign managers, which tended to demoralise them and hinder their effective participation in the electoral process.
- Over half of the women voters interviewed during the post-election period (53%) said that they did not vote due to various factors, including being afraid of violence that was often geared towards them. As a result, most women did not cast their votes for safety reasons, missing the voter registration card and spouse pressure.
- The study makes several recommendations involving several actors, including election management bodies, political parties, civil society, the police force and the Development Partners (DP).

IFES has developed a VAWIE assessment tool that "is based on the recognition that in order to effectively address violence against women in elections, practitioners must not only understand historical trends of this type of violence in a country, but also the factors that precipitate the violence."[70] To address these needs, the assessment tool is organised around the analysis of four key factors that influence the incidence and extent of VAWIE. They include assessing the status of women, in general, in national and local communities; examining women's access to the election process; identifying trends in VAWIE and exploring responses being implemented and identifying strategies for reducing VAWIE.[71] This assessment tool can be used by stakeholders who should be tracking violence including EMBs, political parties and civil society. IFES also highlight the importance of the monitoring throughout the electoral process.

[68] No analysis of VAWIE in the 2020 elections could be found
[69] UN Women and Tanzania Women Cross-Party Platform, *Violence Against Women in Elections (VAWE evidence from 2015 Tanzania General Elections)* (2016)
[70] IFES, Violence Against Women In Elections: A Framework for assessment, monitoring and response, 2017 p17
[71] Ibid

Conclusions and recommendations

This chapter outlined some of the ways in which electoral laws and regulations affect women's political representation, both positively and negatively. Gender aware electoral laws can facilitate increased representation of women in political decision-making at all levels. EMBs are responsible for ensuring that all electoral laws are implemented to the letter and set up their own gender policies, processes, and structures to ensure that gender is an institutional priority and is considered throughout the entire electoral process. Recommendations include:



The Morocco national petition to achieve gender parity by 2030.

- ***Law reform:*** Check if electoral laws are in line with international and regional commitments. Undertake Constitutional and legislative review to ensure that provisions related to elections are gender sensitive and ensure that there are mechanisms to implement and monitor laws. The laws include sanctions for non-compliance. EMS should take the lead in proposing and lobbying for legislative reforms, especially in partnership with government, CSOs and other relevant stakeholders and ensure that Constitutional and legislative commitments to gender parity are enforced, e.g. by not accepting party nominations if they have not met the requirements.
- ***Institutional transformation:*** Develop and implement a gender policy and appoint gender focal point persons for each unit within the EMBs and institute a quota on commissioners and staff's appointment. This should all be done in conjunction with sensitivity training as part of the whole EMB training.
- ***Gender in election management:*** Make gender part of the monitoring framework and develop guidelines to monitor gender at every stage of the electoral process, including collection and analysis of sex-disaggregated data at every throughout the election cycle. Ensuring that voting locations and time take into consideration women's roles.
- ***Voter registration and education:*** Make voter registration as simple as possible and ensure voter education is gender aware and that the diverse needs of women are taken into account, including literacy, cultural and religious beliefs and that priority is given to women with special needs such as expectant and breastfeeding women, men and women who are elderly/aged and with disabilities regardless of their age or gender.
- ***Eligibility criteria:*** Ensure that eligibility criteria, e.g. level of education, are not exclusionary.
- ***Electoral financing:*** Set contribution and spending limits or bans on campaign financing to level the playing field for women who have less access to finance and resources than their male counterparts. Conduct financial audits and mandate that sources of funding be declared. Make access to public funding contingent on the implementation of gender quotas.
- ***Addressing VAWP:*** Identify volatile/hotspot areas and beef up security and set up incidence reporting mechanism such as toll-free numbers and investigate allegations of violence, assault or harassment of women elected officials and candidates for political office, create an environment of zero tolerance for such offences and, to ensure accountability, take all appropriate steps to prosecute those responsibly.

Mainstream and social media 5



Journalists covering Gender and News Summit in Tanzania.
Credit: Aikha Kimora

KEY POINTS

- Gender equality is intrinsic to freedom of expression. Yet women's voices make up less than one quarter of those whose views and voices are heard in the news media.
- Women comprised 22% of news sources in Africa (16% in the political topic category) compared to the global average of 24% the 2015 Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP).
- Women reporters increased from 24% in 2000 to 35% in 2015: a positive trend, though still short of parity.
- Stereotypes and controversies most often underpin coverage of women in top positions. But media can be used to challenge stereotypes.
- Social media should provide political parties and movements with a significant and powerful new communication tool. On the other hand, new media also brings problems and challenges, especially to women in politics.

The ability to impart and receive information, without the unwarranted interference of the State or of other powerful institutions, is a fundamental freedom in a democracy. As the *fourth arm* of democracy, media have an important role in ensuring that all democratic principles are upheld, especially during elections when a person's vote is equivalent to their voice.

While media freedom has come a long way in Africa over the last decade, the constant threat to free media is heightened at times of peak power struggles, such as elections. The media plays a key role in determining how women and men in politics and decision- making are viewed by society. During elections, media have a responsibility to give "voice to the voiceless" - a category in which women predominate. Women are however, grossly underrepresented, misrepresented and often treated unfairly in the media coverage of politics and elections.

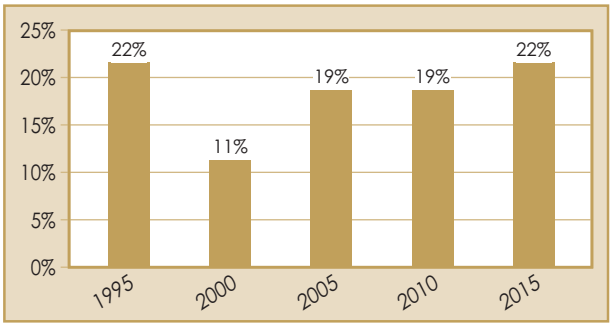
This chapter covers key areas and issues concerning gender, media, politics and elections. It includes a section on social media, recognised as a crucial new area in election management. The chapter ends with key recommendations on mainstreaming gender in the media and mainstreaming media in the work of women politicians and gender activists.

Women in the news and in election coverage

Gender equality and equality of all voices is intrinsic to freedom of expression. Studies have repeatedly shown that women's voices make up less than one-quarter of those whose views and voices are heard in the news media. This "silent censorship" has given rise to a global gender and media movement demanding gender equality "in and through the media."[1]

Inclusivity, especially in the media, is central to elections. Journalists are often encouraged to seek diverse perspectives and interview sources representing different sexes, races, classes, age, ethnicity, and socioeconomic backgrounds. An important role of media in a democracy, and particularly during an election is not only to inform the public, but to ensure that all these voices and opinions are heard. Even though women make up more than half of the population in many countries, their voices are often missing in election coverage. Male dominance of politics is underscored by their dominance in news coverage of the elections and their voices' magnification.

Figure 5.1: Women sources in the news in Africa 1995-2015



Source: GMMP 2015.

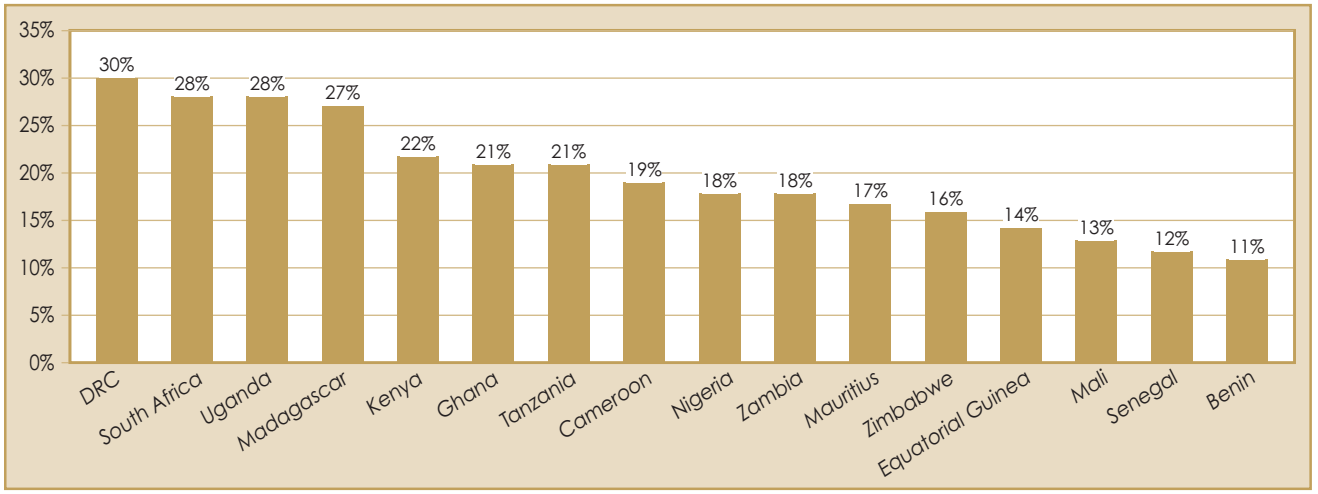
Figure 5.1 is extracted from the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) 2015 results. This one-day monitoring has taken place every five years since the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. The 2020 results were unfortunately not available at the time of going to press. In 2015, 23 countries spread across East, West, North, Southern, and East Africa participated in the study. This has been fairly consistent over the five year intervals. Figure 5.1

[1] Gender Links' first slogan

shows that except for 2000, the proportion of women sources has remained relatively constant at 19% to 22%, compared to the global average of 24%. The GMMP 2015 study comments:

"women make up only 24% of the persons heard, read about or seen in newspaper, television and radio news, exactly as they did in 2010."[2]

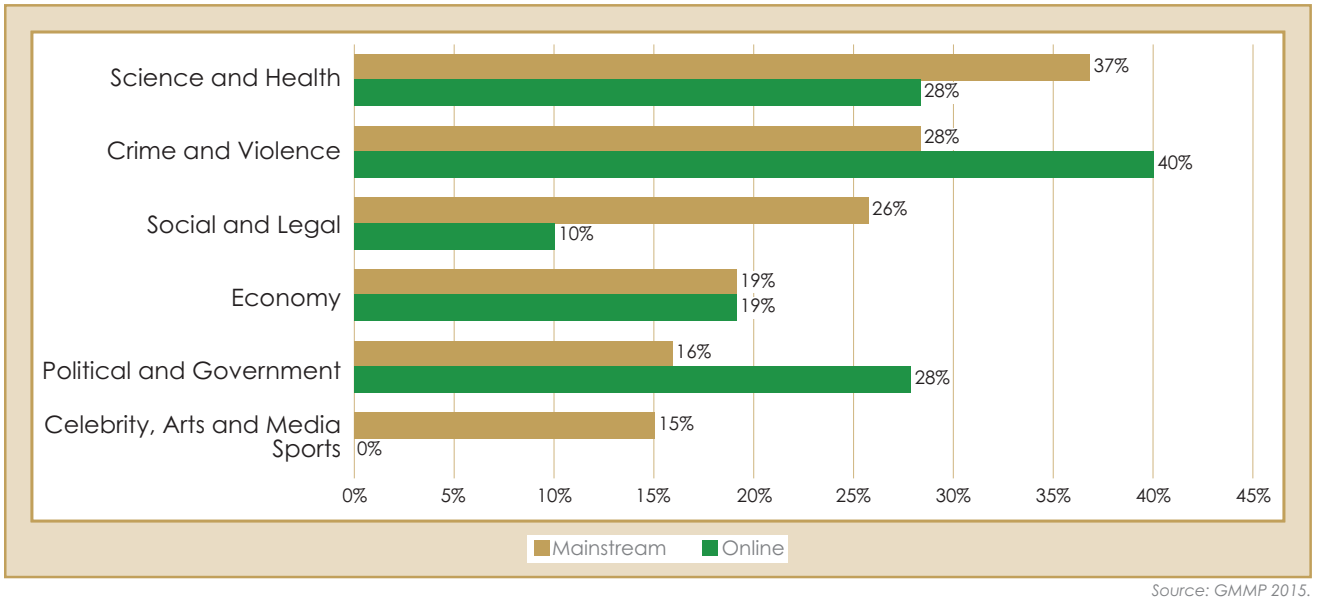
Figure 5.2: Women sources by country in Africa GMPS 2015



Source: Gender and Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) 2015.

Figure 5.2 is an extract of the 16 African countries in the 2015 studies with more than 100 stories analysed on the day of monitoring[3]. DRC (30%) had the highest proportion of women sources, followed by South Africa and Uganda (28%). Mali (13%), Senegal (12%) and Benin (11%) had the lowest proportion of women sources.

Figure 5.3: Women sources in African news by topic GMMP 2015



Source: GMMP 2015.

[2] World Association of Christian Communicators, *Global Media Monitoring Project* (Toronto: WACC, 2015)
[3] Smaller samples give unreliable results.

Figure 5.3 reflects women sources in Africa by topic in mainstream and online media for the 2015 GMMP. This shows that at 16%, women's views and voices are second least reflected in the politics and government topic category, slightly higher than 15% in the celebrity, arts, media and sports category (with sports likely bringing this overall average down). At 28% women have a greater presence in online media. However, this is also fraught with challenges (see later in the chapter).

In addition to appearing in a limited number of roles, women are often simply missing in the media. They are much less likely to be featured in news stories and less likely to be interviewed and asked for opinions than men. Certain categories of women receive even less attention in the media, such as elderly women, and women from minority ethnicities and religious groups, the working class, and women with different sexual orientations.[4]

Women missing in action in North Africa

All the progress recorded in **North Africa** has not brought about better women's representation in the media.[5] The portrayal of woman in the media reflects a society deeply rooted in traditions and influenced by Islamist discourse. Women are less interviewed than men in political and economic news, unless they are ministers or important civil servants. Their opinions are marginalised and they are often represented as victims, as social recipients or locked in traditional roles.

Efforts to challenge gender stereotypes have focused on woman "champions". This has led to backlash in some quarters with media celebrating sex, violence and sensationalism in response to these positive portrayals. The representation of women in the North Africa media thus often swings between the extremes of women "victims" and women "champions".



In **Morocco**, according to the 2015 GMMP, women accounted for 20% of subjects or sources of news, below the African average of 22% and the world average of 24%. The report also indicates that women are mostly reflected in the social and legal topic categories (60%); 24% in the economic field, and only 5% in the political and governmental topic category.

Many audiovisual journalists are now aware of these issues. Public media have set-up gender equity committees in their organisations. Soread 2M has set up a platform called experts.ma, a database of women experts in Morocco who can be interviewed by journalists on all subjects, not just women's affairs.



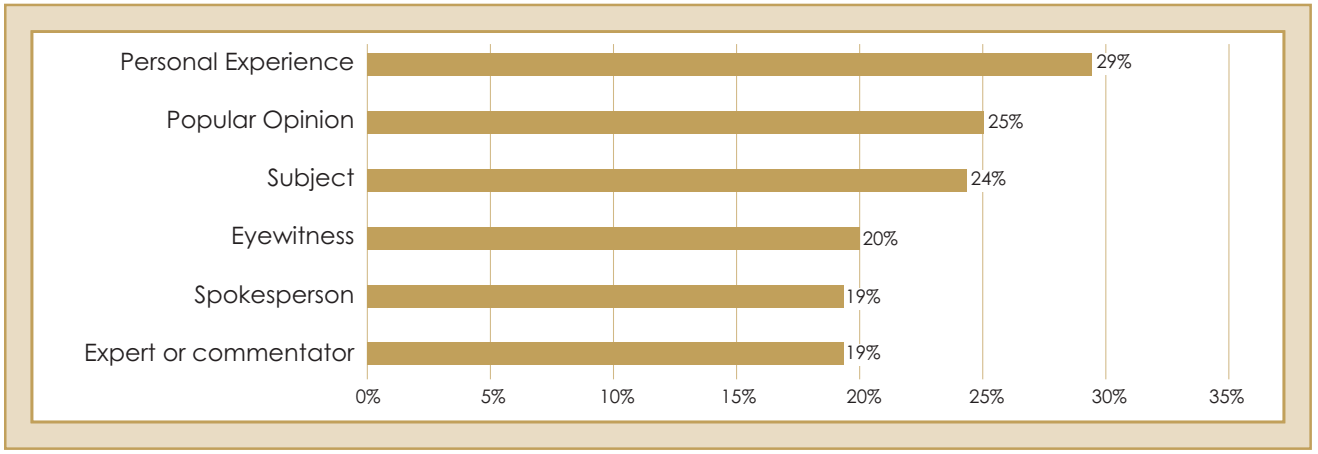
A study conducted by the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Media Monitoring project in **Algeria** in 2015, in partnership with the Algerian League of Defense of Human Rights, shows that women constituted a mere 29% of news subjects; 21% on television and 13% on radio. According to the same study, out of five people invited to a debate, only one is a woman. Only 2.7% of the stories focused on women.



Media monitoring of Tunisian media in 2013 by the National Council for Liberties and the Women's Coalition of **Tunisia** found that women constituted 22% of news sources. Women comprised only 9% of subjects in the economic and 12% of subjects in the political topic category compared to 40% of the sources in health and education; and 81% in family and home. *Case study by Dounia Z. Mseffer*

[4] Shivdas, M., *Alternative Assessment of Women and Media based on NGO Reviews of Section J, Beijing Platform of Action* (Women Action, 2000)
[5] Case study by Dounia Z. Mseffer

Figure 5.4: Function of women sources in Africa media GMMP 2015



Source: Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) 2015.

Figure 5.4 disaggregates women sources in Africa by their function. It shows that African women are more likely to be interviewed in human interest stories (29%); popular opinion (25%) than as spokespersons or experts (19%).

News coverage plays a significant part in representation and portrayal of women. Women are generally portrayed in a limited number of roles. Sexualised images of women are rife, and women tend to be defined in terms of their physical appearance, not abilities. When they are not being portrayed as sex objects, women are most often shown as victims of violence and homemakers[6]. Although the stereotypes of women as care-givers (such as the selfless mother so popular in advertisements) have more positive connotations, they are nevertheless stereotypes, which certainly do not reflect women's complex experiences and aspirations.

The effect of the roles that women are assigned is to make them unequal to men in almost every way, in almost every country:

- **Economically**, the work that women do in the home is unpaid, and most women's work in the community is voluntary. When women do enter the "formal economy" they earn, on average, almost half what men earn because "care work" is not as valued in our society as work that involves "control".

- **Politically**, whether in the home, community or in the nation, women are glaringly absent from decision making. This undermines concepts of equal participation, citizenship, democracy, responsive governance etc.

- **Socially**, women are often minors their whole lives, answerable first to their fathers, then to their husbands, and later in life even to their sons, and their brothers-in-law.



Gender benders: Masaai men in a Tanzania market braiding women's hair.
Photo: Trevor Davies

[6] Spears, G. and Seydegart, K., *Who Makes the News? Global Media Monitoring Project 2000* (WACC, 2000)
[7] Children Now, *Boys to Mern, Media messages about masculinity* ‹https://www.mediate.com/articles/children.cfm› accessed 13 March 2021

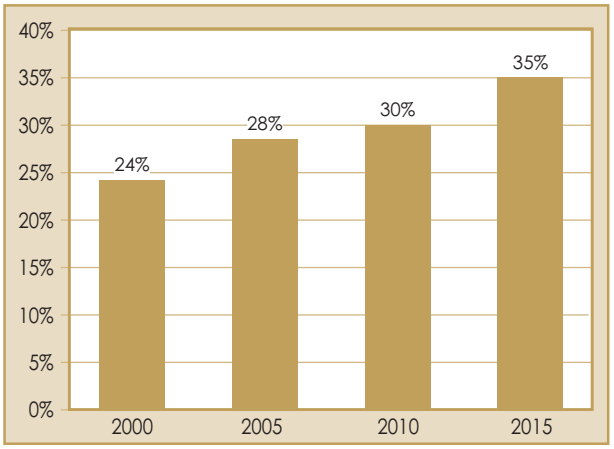
While men usually have more agency than the women in their lives, men's decisions and behaviors are also profoundly shaped by rigid social and cultural expectations related to masculinity. *Boys to Men: Media Messages about Masculinity*[7], a study published in the USA, highlights the fact that young boys are being bombarded with media images of aggressive, violent males, and raises questions about the media's construction of masculinity. As with gender stereotypes of women, boys are being offered a very limited definition of what it means to be a man. Broadening the discussion about how **social norms** affect both women and men helps us to better understand the complex ways that rigid gender norms and power relations burden our society, and to more effectively engage men and boys in reflections about inequalities and change.

Women reporters

Political and especially election reporting has traditionally been a male preserve. The gender imbalance is partly a reflection of inadequate numbers of women reporters in newsrooms. It is important for women reporters to be equally represented in the newsroom and in the coverage of topical issues like elections.

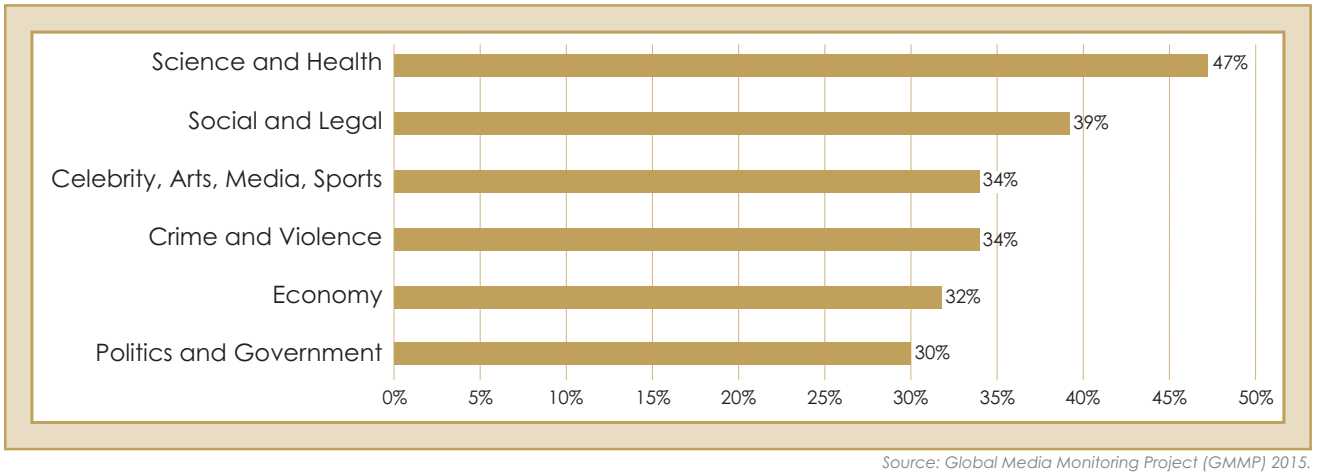
Figure 5.5 tracks women reporters in Africa over the last fifteen years, as reported by the GMMP. Monitors record (where ever possible) whether stories are reported, presented or anchored (depending on the medium) by women or men. The graph shows that the percentage of women reporting the news monitored in the GMMP has increased from 24% to 35% over the last fifteen years. This is a positive trend, though still short of parity.

Figure 5.5: Women reporters in Africa GMMP 2015



Source: Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) 2015.

Figure 5.6: Women reporters by topic in Africa GMPS 2015



Source: Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) 2015.

Figure 5.6 disaggregates women reporters in Africa by topic in 2015. This shows that women reporters are most represented in science and health (47%) and least well represented in politics and government (30%). Although having more women reporters does not necessarily translate into having more women sources research suggests that having more women reporters could assist in getting more women talking in the media about their lived experiences. Similarly, having a woman publisher or a woman news manager or editor is not enough to noticeably increase coverage of women. Policies, leadership, capacity building, monitoring and affirming good practise are what makes the difference.

Tanzania: Women in political and election coverage



Gender Links and the Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA) conducted six weeks monitoring of the media before, during and after the October 2020 elections. The study, which included 2440 news items, is one of the most comprehensive gender audits of women in political and election coverage and those undertaking this coverage in any African country. As the most current and comprehensive study on women in politics and the news, the data (and the monitoring methodology) may be of interest to other countries holding elections.

Table 5.1: Tanzania 2020 Elections Gender and media monitoring

Area of focus	Sex	
	Female %	Male %
Who speaks in news?		
Overall	18%	78%
Who is seen?		
Images in newspapers and online news	20%	80%
Who is seen in images in stories on leadership politics and governance		
Pre- elections	24%	76%
During elections	23%	77%
Post-election	18%	82%
Who speaks on what?		
Political, Leadership and Governance	13%	85%
Social	18%	79%
Economy	20%	76%
What do women and men politicians speak on		
Economy	11%	87%
Social	15%	83%
Leadership, politics and governance	16%	83%
Gender equality and human rights	24%	54%
Violence Against Women	50%	50%
Who produces the news		
Reporters	39%	61%
Presenters	33%	67%
Reporters on Leadership politics and governance	40%	60%
Women's Leadership and Political Participation focus		
Party support	35%	
Electoral systems	21%	
Fifty-fifty campaign	14%	
Gem Classification		
Gender aware	20%	
Gender blind	69%	

Source: Gender Links and the Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA) 2020.

Table 5.1 shows that:

- Over the period, women constituted 18% of news sources and 20% of images. Women comprised a slightly higher percentage of sources pre-elections (24%) than during (23%) and post elections (18%). At 13%, women's views and voices were least represented in the political, leadership and governance category.
- Women's views and voices were most heard in the Violence Against Women topic category (50%) and least heard on the economy (11%).
- Women comprised 40% of reporters in the Leadership, Political and Government topic category; 33% of presenters and 39% of reporters overall.
- To the extent media covered WPP, party support (35%) got the most visibility, followed by electoral systems (21%) and the Fifty-fifty campaign (14%).
- Researchers classified the bulk of coverage (69%) as "gender blind" and only 20% as "gender aware". The remaining 11% of coverage fell in the categories of "subtle" or "blatant" stereotypes.



Journalists interviewing ministers at the Gender and News Summit in 2018.
Photo: Gender Links

Women politicians and the media

Most politicians have a love-hate relationship with the media. For women in politics, this relationship is that much more troubled. An IPU study found that only a bare majority of women (53 per cent) said they had good relations with the media; ten per cent had bad relationships and 22 per cent expressed ambivalence.[8]

Stereotypes and controversies most often underpin coverage of women in top positions. Female political leaders face increased media scrutiny, which is attributed to the media's adherence to gender stereotypes that favour men over women in positions of power. More frequently than not, the designer of her clothing, her hairstyle of choice, educational level, and emotional demeanour overshadow a female politician's formation of arguments, opinions on policies, and projections for future endeavours.[9]



[8] Inter Parliamentary Union, *Politics, Women's Insight* (IPU, 2003) pp. 166
[9] McIntosh H., *Women and Politics in the Media in Global Media* Journal Canadian Edition Volume 6, Issue 2, (2013) pp. 99-104 ‹ chrome-extension://oemmndcbldboiebfnladdacbdfmadadm/http://gmj-canadianedition.ca//wp-content/uploads/2018/11/v6i2_mcintosh.pdf› accessed 12 March 2021

It is also common for the media to highlight women's failures in leadership since they tend to be fewer in the public domain. Such negative perceptions disadvantage the emergence of more women in leadership positions as they are painted as inadequate. According to Media Monitoring Africa:

> Women entering the political sphere provide the news media with a 'problem'. They embody a challenge to masculine authority. They also defy easy categorisation. Therefore, the scrutiny of women's work in our society is closely tied to their traditionally defined roles as 'women'. Their images fit in well with the prevailing cultural perceptions of women. These images also help to maintain the patriarchal structure by inculcating restricted and limited images of women. Women who wish to succeed in politics are forced to define themselves outside of patriarchal definitions of femininity to be taken seriously. Consequently, the media and our society represent these women as unfeminine, as "iron women", ruthless, going against what is expected of them. These are positive attributes in men, in fact the media frequently call for "strong" leadership, yet when this leadership emerges from women in cabinet and parliament, they are criticised and vilified in the media.[10]



The Cartoon portrays Dr Katheleen Letshabo, a Vice President of the Botswana National Front (BNF) when she ran and lost as President of the party. Dr Letshabo was cartooned as a castrated and bleeding bull, as the cartoonist believed that Presidency is only for men.

Below are some examples of headlines from Kenya, South African and Rwanda in the lead up to elections

- *The Iron Lady of Kalenjin politics does it yet again*[11] *- Kenya*
- *Xhosa king tells Dlamini-Zuma 'women are too weak to lead'*[12] *- South Africa*
- *Rwanda: 'It's Not Good for a Girl to Go Into Politics'*[13] *- Rwanda*

According to the Ethical Journalism Network "media have contributed to gender discrimination and hate speech that is characterised by stereotyping. Therefore, the first yardstick for judging women seeking political office becomes morality, regardless of how male counterparts may behave. The hate speech has been repeatedly used as a weapon of gender-based violence meant to intimidate women into silence."[14]

[10] Media Monitoring Africa, *An analysis of media treatment of women in politics* (MMA,1999)
[11] Nation, 'The Iron Lady of Kalenjin politics does it yet again' ‹http://www.nation.co.ke/news/politics/The-Iron-Lady-of-Kalenjin-politics-does-it-yet-again-/1064-1722354-12a644c/index.html›
[12] The Citizen, 'Xhosa king tells Dlamini-Zuma 'women are too weak to lead'', 8 February 2017, ‹http://citizen.co.za/news/news-national/1420865/xhosa-king-tells-dlamini-zuma-women-weak-lead/›accessed 21 March 2021
[13] AllAfrica, 'Rwanda: 'It's Not Good for a Girl to Go Into Politics', 3 June 2017, ‹http://allafrica.com/stories/201706050015.html›
[14] Ethical Jornalism Network, *Women in the Crosshairs as Hate Speech Puts African Media under Pressure* ‹http://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/resources/publications/ethics-in-the-news/hate-speech/africa› accessed 13 March 2021

Botswana: Women politicians speak out

During the Botswana situation analysis[15], several women politicians expressed their frustration with media coverage during the 2019 elections.


Motamma Horatius.

Motamma Horatius, Councillor for Itumeleng ward - Block 3, Gaborone, Botswana, noted: "When I was campaign I was expecting a baby, I decided to put on an oversize dress and not ordinary maternity dresses. The media would write that I am a real cultured woman as I do not put on tight dresses. This was portrayed as a good thing for a politician. After winning primary elections, I went into confinement. This was blown out on social media - that I will not be able to carry out my work as a Councillor, as I will be nursing a child. Media can make or break you in your political career."[16]

Helen P. Manyaneng, Alliance for Progressives (AP) party Women's League President observed that: "Media coverage during my campaigns was close to zero, whenever I requested for coverage at my rallies, I would be thrown from pillar to post by every media house. I later learnt that they would not cover you unless you pay them some money, even government media. This is why political funding is very imported. It would be used for such media coverage, including posters."


Keabonye Ntsabane.

Councillor Keabonye Ntsabane shared her experience of sitting on both sides of the fence; as a media practitioner, now a politician. She said the media could be part of the problem, but is also a big part of the solution. Strategic use of media is key to political success.

Media - Part of the solution?

Media can be used to reinforce or challenge stereotypes. UN Women argues that "the phenomenon of gender stereotypes needs to be countered and fought in multiple areas: in languages and vocabulary, laws, school curriculums and practices, mindsets of people, justice systems, media and education, in different organisations and public authorities, in enterprises, and in individuals."[17] In 2003, Gender Links conducted a Gender and Media Baseline Study. Three progress studies have since been conducted. In these studies Gender Links has devised a set of criteria for determining what stories should be classified as "gender blind", and which meet the standards for "gender aware".


Women media practitioners increasingly perform non-traditional roles.
Photo: Thandokuhle Dlamini

[15] Conducted by Chigedze Chinyepi
[16] Honourable Motamma Horatiou - interview (30.10.2020)
[17] UN Women, *Countering Gender Discrimination and Negative Gender Stereotypes: Effective Policy Responses*. (13 July 2011) Available at: <http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2011/7/countering-gender-discrimination-and-negative-gender-stereotypes-effective-policy-responses > accessed 13 March 2021

Gender aware reporting	Gender blind/ gender biased reporting
Gender balance of sources (voices)	Lack of gender balance in sources (voices)
Gender neutral language (for example, chairperson rather than chairman)	Gender biased language Lack of awareness of gender dynamics
Awareness of differential impact Fairness in approach to issues • No double standards • No moralising • No open prejudice • No ridicule • No placing of blame	Biased coverage of issues • Double standards • Moralising e.g. being judgmental • Open discrimination, e.g. women are less intelligent than men • Ridicule, e.g. women in certain situations • Placing blame, e.g. on rape survivors for their dress etc.
Challenges stereotypes	Perpetuates stereotypes
Gender disaggregated data	Aggregated data

Source: Gender Links Gender and Media Progress Study 2015.



"Gender-aware reporting requires journalists and editors to ensure that an event or issue is told through the voices of both women and men. It requires journalists and editors to seek and use data disaggregated by sex to ensure that background information (context) and analysis reflect both women and men's perspectives. Such an approach would help illustrate how the particular issue, policy or event being reported affects diverse members of a society, including male and female citizens. In-depth reporting and analysis, good research and a diversity of sources and perspectives bring about gender-aware reporting. Clearly, these characteristics are also the basis of good journalism."[18]

"Gender-responsive reporting means a journalist must ensure they are not perpetuating stereotypes and must give voice and space to issues affecting women. The best gender-responsive coverage also addresses subjects that have traditionally been sidelined, it portrays women as having something to offer and as more than just objects, and it challenges male stereotypes".[19]



The **Zambia** Electoral Process Act is one of the few that states that the media should "accurately report election news and not make any abusive editorial comment incite violence or advocate hatred based on race, ethnicity, tribe, **gender, sex**, political or religious conviction.[20]

Media can challenge stereotypes in various ways, including the following:

- Seeking more than one source and including sources that are often absent in the news, such as rural women. Although women can equally bring new perspectives to the content produced, women's voices are hardly consulted. Women are made invisible by the media's omission of their voices and their concerns from the mainstream discussion.
- Portraying women in their non-traditional roles, such as women in leadership positions, and women in traditionally male industries such as mining.

[18] Made P., *Media, Women and Elections: An African Perspective in Media and Elections Handbook*
[19] Gender Links, *Whose News, Whose Views? Gender and Media Progress Study Southern Africa*, (Gender Links, 2015)
[20] Government of Zambia, Electoral Process Act of No 35 of 2016 Section 7(2)(b)

- Selecting stories that are often absent from the news agenda. The media sets the agenda of what becomes news. The media is a business driven by profit, like any other and the major concerns are on the bottom line. Therefore, often-developmental issues are not viewed as newsworthy. Furthermore, gender equality and women's empowerment are also not viewed as newsworthy.
- Writing opinions and analytical pieces that highlight women's issues and be the informed voice that speaks on behalf of women and girls.

Examples of gender aware reporting of women in politics



In **South Africa**, the Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) conducted media monitoring of 61 media outlets between March to mid-May 2019, the period before, during and after the most recent South African elections. The MMA analysed 10 796 election-related news items. Only 20% of the sources were women, and almost no coverage was on gender, including GBV. The MMA report entitled *So much choice, but not enough voice?* highlights the need to breakdown the strong patriarchal value systems that prevail in media houses.[21]

The Daily Maverick provided gender balanced and diverse election coverage. On the 18 March 2019 the online publication ran a story entitled *Elections: What do the top three parties say on sexual and reproductive justice?* by Pontsho Pilane. The piece was in stark contrast to other election coverage that focused primarily on political parties. The story highlighted issues such as abortion, sex work and GBV.

The story included citizens voices and ended with this quote: "As I contemplate my vote, as a young black woman in this country, these are the questions I'm asking myself: Are these political parties prioritising access to family planning and abortion? Do they believe sex work is real work? These factors are not only important to me but determine the lives of others who are in worse situations than I am."

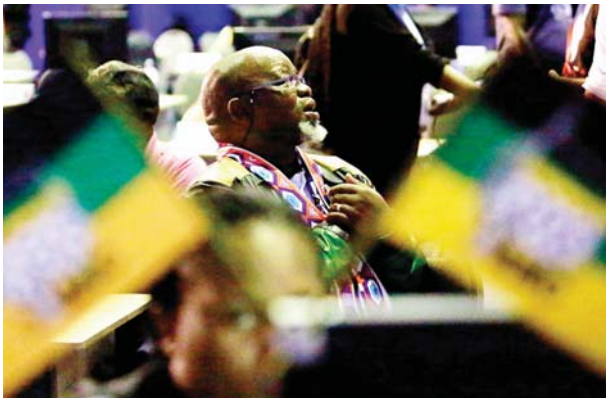
GroundUp online news agency covered different angles on elections with several gender aware stories. In a story with the headline *A loan shark has her ID, so she can't vote today*, the agency highlighted the plight of people who cannot vote because they do not have their identity documents. While leaving ID document with loan sharks is illegal the practice is common to guarantee repayment. The story includes interviews with the loan shark, someone who borrowed money and an IEC official. The article points to economic conditions that drive people to take a high interest, unregulated loans.



A loan shark has her ID so she could not vote. *Photo: Nombulelo Damba-Hendrik*

TimesLive produced a series of articles on the election results. As with the others the article entitled *ANC takes commanding lead in election, but support ebbs*, does not reference women's representation or potential numbers of women that parties would field.

21 Findlay, S. and Dayile, A. So much voice, but not enough choice: Analysing Southrh African media coverage of the 2019 elections (MMA, 2019) <https://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/2019electionsFinal_v2.pdf> accessed 13 March 2021



Support for the ANC dropped in the 2019 election.
Photo: Sebabatso Mosamo/Sunday Times

The articles do not provide sex-disaggregated data and rarely includes interviews with women sources.

The *Sowetan* front page on the 14 May 2019 included a box on the bottom saying *Gender parity headache for ANC*. This is a lead in to the story about the ANC's selection of provincial premiers in seven provinces. The wording of the lead makes gender parity a problem for the ANC as opposed to one of the important guiding principles. The ANC is committed, on paper at least, to gender parity and it is incumbent upon the party to make the commitment a reality.



During the International IDEA media training workshop held in Gaborone, **Botswana** from 18 - 20 November 2020, media practitioners were made aware of the fundamental role they play in providing women in politics with the platform to share their ideas, policies and programmes with the electorates; media allows aspiring politicians to grow their political career and fight stigmatisation on women politicians.

Journalists acknowledged that in some instances, there is little "positive coverage" for women in politics due to the focus of some media house who will be looking at what readers/listeners are most likely to find interesting. Negative publicity of women in politics by media is often the deterrent to women entering into public life. There is a need for more deliberate efforts to train journalists on gender responsive coverage.



Journalist at the Media workshop in Gaborone. *Photo: Mboy Maswabi*

The 2015 Gender and Media Progress Study found that in **Mauritius** women make up a mere 10% of sources overall and only 8% of sources on politics and Government. However, coverage of the November 2019 national elections showed some progress, with some media ensuring that women were represented.

A notable example was an article on the front page of L'Express on 24 October entitled *"Women representation/Mauritius a backward country"*.

The article analysed the political situation in the Rwandan Parliament, which has 61% women, and of Senegal, which has 44% women, comparing them to the situation in Mauritius where only one-fifth of the candidates registered for the November elections were women. The article predicted little progress, considering that eight women were sitting in Parliament during the last term. The article said that even though the main political parties boasted about having 12 women candidates, this is only 20%, which is 30% lower than the 50% target in the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. The article described the representation of women in politics as a "failure" and Mauritian society "patriarchal".

Le Mauricien (11 November 2019) published a complementary profile of Joanna Beranger, the daughter of the leader of the MMM Paul Beranger, a young woman parliamentarian entitled "My name has certainly played a part however, I have done a lot in my constituency". Beranger said that she has given hope to the younger generations and she would like to see more women in parliament and work on women matters, youth, and the environment.

Defi Media Online (13 November 2019) included an article entitled *Race for the Presidency*. This report speculated on whether Françoise Labelle and Maya Hanoomanjee might be nominees for the President of the Republic of Mauritius. The article gave an expose on the political experience of both women. Françoise Labelle was in the seventh position for the 2019 legislative elections in Constituency Vacoas and Floreal, and Maya Hanoomanjee is the Speaker of the National Assembly after losing the 2014 national elections where she competed in Constituency Savanne and Black River. Although neither made it, women's inclusion in the list of potential candidates shows some shift in thinking in the Mauritian media.

Social (new) media and elections

Information and Communication Technologies have been seen as an opportunity for women to "catch up" with the trends.



A group of Ivorian women being trained in digital communication in Abidjan. Côte d'Ivoire. *Photo: Augustin Tapé*

Social media permits everyone (or at least many people) to broadcast their views (not to mention their prejudices) and co-ordinate their political activities via the internet, without recourse to traditional outlets. Social media should provide political parties and movements with an important and powerful new communication tool. On the other hand, these new media also brings problems and challenges.

On the one hand, alternative media platforms such as blogs, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and many others provide an alternative platform for communication in the face of a slim mainstream media. New media is fast becoming a powerful vehicle to advance news and uncensored information. The local is becoming global in an instant by the click of a button. This helps society understands the lived realities of people on the ground in different environments.

Computers and smartphones afford a relatively inexpensive way to receive and impart information, as well as enjoy entertainment and access education that - until a generation ago -

was far beyond the reach of all but the rich. However, the reliability and quality of such information, comment and analysis is often difficult to verify.

Social media represents a challenge to the established media market, which may no longer be the only or even the main source of information or comment. Social media also challenges authoritarian governments.

But the struggles that women have faced offline continue to manifest themselves online. Added to the physical danger is an electronic one, not imagined in earlier surveys: the prevalence of online trolls. International surveys and research have confirmed that women are the most targeted group.

Trolling is online bullying and harassment, which worldwide studies show affects women more than men. A recent UK study of Twitter abuse targeting celebrities by Demos found that "Journalism is the only category where women received more abuse than men, with female journalists and TV news presenters receiving roughly three times as much abuse as their male counterparts."[22]

Cyber misogyny, expressed via online sexual harassment through stalking and threat of violence, is a genuine psychological - and potentially physical - risk to women journalists' safety. It is also a threat to women's active participation in civil society debate, fostered by news publishers, through online commenting platforms and their social media channels.



Examples from North Africa[23] underscore the fraught relationship between women in politics and social media. In January 2019, the newspaper *Al Akhbar* published a picture of **Moroccan** MP Amina Maelainine, bareheaded, in T-shirt and jeans in front of the Moulin Rouge in Paris. Maelainine is a member of the Justice and Development Party (PJD), the ruling Islamist party. She is also the seventh president of the region Souss-Massa and seventh vice-president of the Chamber of representatives. The press and social media took Maelainine to the task. Some time afterwards, another picture of her wearing a skirt circulated. The third picture of her posing in front of the Virgin Mary in the Notre-Dame de Paris Cathedral followed. The images circulated on Islamists platforms hostile to the PJD and on leftist supporters' social media pages. Some criticised the "hypocrisy" of a political activist whose party is known for its conservatism, while others considered this an "odious campaign" against the parliamentarian.



Amina Maelainine in front of the Moulin Rouge in Paris. *Photo: L'Obs*

"Globally, I would say that there is a rise in the power of aggressiveness against women who get into politics, mainly on social media," commented Ouafa Hajji, President of the Socialist International Women in an interview for this study. "The more obvious case is that of Amina Maelainine. Once women become popular or powerful, they are attacked mainly on their private life, which is done to make them submit. Many women prefer to close their account on social media in order not to be harassed." She says she is very careful when she puts a post on social media.

[22] Demos, *Male celebrities receive more abuse on Twitter than women* ‹https://www.demos.co.uk/press-release/demos-male-celebrities-receive-more-abuse-on-twitter-than-women-2/ › accessed 13 March 2021
[23] Case study by Dounia Z. Mseffer

After the announcement of Aïcha Aït Alla's election as a member of the House of Councilors in Morocco, she had to close her account on Facebook because surfers kept on insulting and threatening her. “I have preferred to close my account instead of seeing my private life being splashed everywhere and make my family and electors ashamed. I have absolutely nothing to hide, but on social media, nothing can be controlled. Pictures can be faked, and speeches can be taken out of their context and wrongly interpreted. I refuse that people use my private life against me,”, she said in an interview for this study.

But some women do not hesitate to use social media to send messages and do advocacy. Samia Achour, a socialist candidate elected in Agdal Riad's ward in Rabat between 2009 and 2015, uses social media to her advantage. She used social media to make citizens aware of cleaning campaigns, the specific hours for the collection of household refuse and the importance of getting the contribution of the youth, the women and the men in having a clean and healthy ward for all. “The youth have adhered to the action plan. We have used social media to make everyone work together for the well-being of the ward. New ideas have been put forward, educative gardens have been launched in colleges and schools, as well as cleaning campaigns and trees and flower planting. It was real interactions with the inhabitants at an early age”, she says.



In Algeria, Facebook, Instagram and Twitter have shaped and accompanied the protest movement born one year ago in the face of narrowing civic space. Social media has become the platform for popular discontent and means of communication for the protest movement Hirak. Many activists paid the price of their liberty on social media by being prosecuted because of their Facebook posts.

According to a study on social media done by MEDIANET LABS, the research and development cell of MEDIANET, and published in November 2020, women comprise 38% of Facebook users and 30% of those on Twitter.



Nabila Smail.

Nabila Smail, a prominent Algerian lawyer and women's rights activist says that social media has given some visibility to women, particularly young ones, mainly since the Smile Revolution. “We can see more and more women taking part in webinars, going on television to debate and other television programs whereas before, these platforms were reserved for men. Women were seen on television and in media occasionally, namely during the 8th March. Today the Algerian woman has monopolised the positive elements of the social media. She is very vocal in explanations, animation and denunciation of the political sphere,” she noted in an interview for this study. A law condemning harassment on social media has been adopted in Algeria but is rarely applied. “Most of them prefer to close their accounts rather than being harassed,” says Smail.



In **Tunisia**, Fatma Louati, director of MENA Media Monitoring, says: “Tunisian women are very active on social media while they are invisible on social media in Algeria, for instance. In Tunisia, after the revolution and the rise in the Islamists' power, women have accentuated their presence on the Net and express their will to protect their acquired rights in terms of parity. They have made it a personal cause, and nothing frightens them, even if there is a surge of political violence noted in the media and on social media.”

Case study by Dounia Z. Mseffer.

Efforts by the government to ban access to new social media platforms are unlikely to succeed for technical reasons. Yet authoritarian governments are just as likely to use social media to entrench their control as civil society organisations or opposition forces use it to support liberalisation. Selective disruption of access, for instance, can easily hobble the activities of civil society activists. Governments and others with financial clout can also use social media systematically to spread misinformation and destabilise political opponents.

Furthermore, the new media's interactivity and the ability to comment online (including on the s traditional press websites) can prove to be a double-edged sword. Often, much of what is generated is anger and vitriol. This interactivity can provide a vehicle for extremism and intolerance of other people's views and beliefs. Similarly, those who express 'politically incorrect' or even unsavoury ideas can find themselves vilified on social media. 'Trolling' and 'Twitter storms', sometimes instigated or manipulated by powerful interest groups, can corrupt political and other debate.



A group of Ivorian women being trained in digital communication in Abidjan. Côte d'Ivoire. *Photo: Augustin Tapé*



Some women politicians from **Côte d'Ivoire** are very present on social media.[24] Abidjan-Cocody MP Yasmina Ouegnin has nearly 31,200 followers on twitter. Overall, however, Ivorian women politicians have not yet mastered digital media. Cyber-harassment stops these women from using the social network for their self-promotion, says Carelle Laetitia Goli, lawyer, activist, feminist and political blogger. “The internet users are often ruthless. These women politicians should be trained but also prepared psychologically to be able to cope with all the mockery and stigmatisation.”

Pressure on journalistic standards

The rise of social media is also challenging newspapers and established electronic outlets. As a result, traditional media are increasingly driven by ratings and the search for increased advertising revenue. These are not forthcoming and must engage in major programmes of cost-cutting to remain viable. This has an impact not only on the commercial media but also on public service broadcasters as these seek to justify their subsidies or regulatory protections.

The search for ratings inevitably means that the balance between entertainment and sport, on the one hand, and information and analysis, on the other, suffers. Many countries have experienced a general 'dumbing down' of the media environment.

Frequently, it is journalists who bear the brunt of cuts in the traditional media. This often means, in practice, that those with real knowledge and

[24] Case study by Augustin Tapé

experience are not retained in employment. Simultaneously, pressures of 24/7 media coverage mean that journalists are expected to provide an endless flow of articles and online contributions. Often, this undermines their ability to engage in the in-depth or investigative journalism that is likely to challenge or threaten vested interests. There is little time to think and reflect. In the popular press especially, there is a growing dearth of in-house expertise.

The world is battling a trend of "fake news". This becomes highly dangerous in unstable areas as people act on misinformation. Journalism is an art of checking and verification of facts however, journalists often negate the verification processes in the news.

The traditional media, and particularly the electronic media, is becoming ever-more dependent on information provided by social media. Such information may not be adequately assessed for bias (or even truthfulness) before being broadcast. This can, for instance, in conflict zones, fundamentally influence the accepted narrative on which the policies of intervention are based.

This is also transforming the traditional way news is gathered and disseminated. Journalists are using new media in a two-dimensional manner. Firstly, to disseminate content, they produce and secondly find stories and information that can enrich their articles.

Social media is seen as a site where there is a free flow of dissenting views circulating. Election time is particularly seen as a time when such a free flow of information can be deemed a threat to the day's government.

Gender, media and elections monitoring

Media Monitoring Africa and Gender Links, both based in Johannesburg, have conducted gender and media monitoring of several South African and Southern African elections. GL has devised a holistic approach to gender and elections capacity building and monitoring that includes:

- Capacity building for women aspirants and candidates on campaigning and using media (mainstream, new media and traditional media).
- Gender and elections training for the mainstream media.
- Gender and elections monitoring training for civil society.
- Gender and elections media monitoring for media students.
- Conducting comprehensive gender audits of elections (see checklist at Annex 1) that draws on all the above components.

Conclusions and recommendations

Women politicians and civil society need to hold the media accountable for the representations that the media produces. Importantly, the media must be forced to recognise and institute a conscious effort to report on women in politics fairly and accurately, where the gender of the politicians does not impinge in any way on the quality, or quantity of the coverage afforded to them. Gender, elections and media training and monitoring should be factored into all strategies for enhancing gender aware elections. Checks and balances must accompany new media use.



Thabani Mpofu, Media facilitator explaining the gender blind and gender aware concepts during the Zimbabwe Women's Political Participation workshop, Zimbabwe. *Photo: Gender Links*

Laws, policies and practices that cover media conduct during elections

- These are generally gender neutral.
- Challenges of commercialization of the politics.
- Compliance and strengthening of the media law.
- Training on gender sensitive reporting (E.G. Uganda).
- Issues of non-coverage, not equal coverage and abuse towards women candidates should be addressed.
- Media should be objective and carry out responsible reporting.
- Media gender policy and sensitization.
- Established code of conduct and penalties enforced towards bias reporting.

Visibility

- Women candidate profiles to be aired during prime time - not graveyard time/late shows.
- Provisions to be made to women candidates- e.g. Kenya's campaign coverage for women candidates - fully funded.

Complaints

There are general complaints mechanisms but few cater to women politicians. There is need for:

- The Media Council to monitor and address issues of concern in terms abuse of media, unequal reporting, etc.
- Gender specific guidelines to report complaints pre, during and after elections by women politicians.
- Awareness and sensitization among women politicians when it comes to media rights.

Gender training for the media

- More resources towards capacity building for the media.
- Training of social media on responsible reporting.

> “Part of the responsibility is with the media and the other with political parties who do not send women to take part in debates unless they think that the questions that will be put concern women. Political parties must send women politician to all the debates.”
>
> *Professor Fatou Sarr, researcher and sociologist from Senegal*

Gender training for women in politics

There is need for:

- Allocation of resources towards training of women candidates on the use of media.
- Women candidates to use social media trends to increase their visibility.
- Women politicians to be trained on the strategic use of media to their benefit.
- Capacity building for aspiring women candidates.

Media commentary and analysis during elections

This can be enhanced through:

- Sensitisation and guidelines established in terms of media analysis of gender.
- Monitoring and awarding/incentives for media houses that are gender sensitive.

Other recommendations

- Encourage women to be involved in the media coverage/ownership of media houses.
- Women in general should be aware of the strategic use of media to highlight issues and to their benefit.
- Use of women in media as role models.



Media monitoring during a media training workshop in Botswana. *Photo: Thandokuhle Dlamini*

Civil society organisations 6



International Conference of Women Leaders 2020 in Burundi.

Credit: Conférence Internationale des Femmes Leaders - CIFL

KEY POINTS

- The study mapped 80 civil society organisations (CSOs), especially Women's Rights Organisations (WROs), that play a key role in advocating for WPP (see Annex 1).
- The main focus is lobbying and advocacy for electoral reform, capacity building and support for women politicians and monitoring the electoral process.
- Evidence from across Africa shows that advocacy efforts of women's organisations and networks have contributed to long-term positive social change, by increasing women's participation and fostering equality.
- Advocacy and lobbying tend to happen just before elections or when resources permit. There is a need for long term planning and resource mobilisation to ensure aspiring women politicians can be supported throughout the process.
- Nascent efforts to include men in WPP need to be strengthened.

Across Africa, civil society organisations, especially Women's Rights Organisations (WROs) have been the driving force behind 50/50 campaigns. According to a report of the UN Secretary-General on *Women's full and effective participation in decision-making in public life, as well as the elimination of violence, for achieving gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls* for the Sixty-fifth session of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW):

> Women play an influential role in public life outside formal public institutions through their involvement in women's organisations and feminist movements, as well as in other civic engagement, including the media, labour unions and academia. Through those channels, women and gender equality advocates successfully promote legislation and mechanisms to advance gender equality and eliminate discriminatory laws against women. They play a critical role in requiring decision makers to be accountable for upholding the human rights of women and girls.[1]



Nathalie Zemo-Efoua at the headquarters of the Femme lève toi Network, in Libreville, Gabon. *Photo: Jerry Bibang*

Through their advocacy and awareness raising campaigns, WRO sensitise citizens to gender gaps and create momentum for legislated and constitutional reforms. These groups also play an active role in building the capacity of prospective candidates, serve as gender, media and election watchdogs, and help to mediate conflict in some instances.

Vibrant CSOs continue to emerge, a signal that a wind of change is blowing from 'state-centric' big government to 'people-centred' governance.[2] CSOs play a significant role in keeping democratic processes alive and reinforcing good governance, especially by their involvement in human rights advocacy, electoral accountability, and transparency of governance.[3] Gender equality and women's empowerment are not only human rights; they are also imperative for achieving inclusive, equitable and sustainable development.

Women's political participation (WPP) is central to these goals. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are among the most important institutions for promoting and nurturing such participation.[4] In turn, 'good governance and good public administration are essential aspects of democracy, and for achieving democracy, a freely functioning, well organised, vibrant and responsible civil society is indispensable.'[5] Democracy presupposes free elections, functioning political parties, independent media and active civil society that can operate freely.

Civil society is of course a broad term. It "refers to the space for collective action around shared interests, purposes and values, generally distinct from government and commercial for-profit actors. Civil society includes charities, development NGOs, community groups, women's organizations, faith-based organisations, professional

[1] United Nations, *Women's full and effective participation and decision-making in public life, as well as the elimination of violence, for achieving gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls*, in preparation for the Commission on the Status of women (CSW) 2020. E/CN.6/2021/3. pp.9
[2] Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) African Governance Report II (2009) 132. The African Governance report has been acclaimed as the most comprehensive report on governance in Africa and it focuses on political and economic governance, human rights and the rule of law among other things https://unp.un.org/Details.aspx?pid=19191)
[3] Ibid
[4] Ibid
[5] United Nations, Guidance Note of the Secretary General on Democracy, UN Democracy Assistance Areas of UN Focus and Comparative advantage', issued by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon on 11 September 2009.

associations, trade unions, social movements, coalitions and advocacy groups."[6] In this chapter, due to the limitations of time and resources, we focus mostly on registered non-governmental organisations, especially WROs. Expanding the research to civil society more broadly is important in future research.

This chapter maps these diverse groups of NGOs and WROs and their roles in promoting inclusive elections and monitoring WPP. Mindful that efforts to promote gender equality should also include men and engage male allies in constructing inclusive democratic principles and institutions[7] the chapter also explores efforts being made by men-for-change NGOs. The chapter concludes with recommendations for strengthening civil society efforts.

NGOs promoting WPP in Africa

Desktop research done by Gender Links mapping African NGOs promoting women's political participation shows strong networks of NGOs/WROs advocating for women's political participation on the African continent. Full details including region, country, website and areas of work are at Annex 1. This mapping is by no means exhaustive. Further information will be added as the partnership progresses.

Table 6.1: Gender Organisations in Africa working on Women's Political Participation

Organisation	No of organisations	Elections monitoring & observation	Lobbying / advocacy for policy & electoral reform	Capacity building	Men's orgs & movements
Africa- wide	9	3	9	9	1
Southern Africa	23	15	19	12	1
East Africa	21	7	21	19	0
West Africa	14	8	13	1	0
Horn of Africa	9	5	7	6	0
Central Africa	2		2	2	0
North Africa	2	0	2	0	
Total	**80**	**38**	**73**	**49**	**2**

Source: Gender Links 2020.

Table 6.1 shows that there are at least 80 NGOs working on WPP in Africa. Nine of these are Africa-wide. Others are either sub-regional or country-specific. The desk top internet research found the largest number of such organisations (23) in Southern Africa; followed by East Africa (21); West Africa(14); the Horn (9) and two each in Central and North Africa. While these figures are not exhaustive, they do suggest a correlation between higher levels of WPP and of NGOs working on WPP.

At continental level, the following organisations stand out: Abantu for Development, Akina Mama wa Afrika (AMwA), African Women's Development Fund (AWDF), Make Every Woman Count (MEWC), Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF), The Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE), the African Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET), the Solidarity for African Women's Rights (SOAWR) and MenEngage Africa.

[6] World Heath Organisation Social Determinants of Health https://www.who.int/social_determinants/themes/civilsociety/en/ accessed 14 March 2021.
[7] Ace Project, Civil society advocacy for gender equality in politics and inclusive participation in electoral process <https://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/ge/ge9/default> accessed 13 March 2021

At sub-regional level, there is an array of regional, multi country and in-country structures. Regional networks are connected and work in close partnership with respective African Union Regional Economic Communities (RECs) concerning Africa's women's political agenda, promoting gender equality and women's empowerment.



Getting the right message: Gender Links training workshop with women parliamentarians in Lesotho. *Photo: Ntolo Lekau*

In **Southern Africa**, the Southern Africa Gender Protocol Alliance, a regional "network of networks" that championed the adoption of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (adopted in 2008) coordinates 15 WRO networks in each member country across the region. The Protocol is a sub-regional instrument for promoting gender equality that brings together global and African commitments in one binding instrument. Gender Links based in Johannesburg, with offices in ten Southern African countries, provides the secretariat for the Alliance. The Alliance includes several regional networks such as Women in Law Southern Africa (WLSA) with chapters in various countries. Since the adoption of the Protocol, the Alliance has produced an annual Barometer to track progress in achieving gender equality in the SADC region against the Protocol's targets[8]. Several organisations at national level promote women's political participation. These include the Women in Politics Support Unit (WIPSU) in Zimbabwe and the Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL).

The **Eastern African Sub-Regional Support Initiative for the Advancement of Women (EASSI)** works in eight countries: Burundi, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania. Founded in 1996 after the Beijing Conference, EASSI monitors Eastern African governments' commitments towards gender equality[9]. Based in Uganda, EASSI led the campaign for an East African Gender Equality Act, and launched the first Gender Barometer for the region in 2017. FEMNET, an African advocacy network that coordinates inputs by WRO into African and global agendas, is based in Nairobi. Well known national advocacy groups include the Federation of Women Lawyers - Kenya (FIDA Kenya); South Sudan Women General Association (SSWGA)Community Empowerment program organisation (CEPO); EVE Organisation; South Sudan Women Empowerment Network (SSWEN); Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP); Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA); Uganda Women's Network (UWONET) Action for Development (ACFODE) and Forum for Women in Democracy (FOWODE).

The **West African** Civil Society Forum (WACSOF) is the umbrella network of CSOs from the 15 member states of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Sierra Leone has witnessed growth in the number of CSOs post the civil war. These CSOs have been part of the reconstruction process. WROs constitute about 6% of all CSOs in Sierra Leone.[10] In Nigeria, civil society has helped to promote and advocate for free, fair and credible elections in Nigeria since 1999. There are strong CSOs founded by women and working towards promoting gender equality. They participate in the mobilisation of communities especially women during elections using methods such as focus groups. Women in Nigeria (WIN) is a political interest organisation aimed at transforming class and gender relations. Women in Law and Development (WILDAF) is an African network with a strong presence in Ghana.

[8] Gender Links ‹https://genderlinks.org.za/what-we-do/sadc-gender-protocol/about-the-alliance-2/› accessed 13 March 2021
[9] Eastern African Sub-Regional Support Initiative for the Advancement of Women ‹ https://eassi.org/› accessed 13 March 2021
[10] Oxfam, *Civil society engagement with political parties during elections: lessons from Ghana and Sierra Leone* (December 2013)

The **Horn of Africa** has the Strategic Initiative for Women in the Horn of Africa (SIHA). Established in 1995, SIHA is a regional network that undertakes research, capacity-building, sub-granting and advocacy on women's human rights. In conjunction with its membership, SIHA tackles gender-based violence, and the threats faced by women human rights defenders and aims to bring the voices and interests of poor and marginalised women to the mainstream peace and political agenda[11].

No regional movement was found through the desktop research for **Central Africa**. **North Africa** is represented by the Arab Women's Leadership Institute (AWLI), working to support the efforts of Arab women to increase their participation in public life and the political process throughout North Africa and the Middle East region. AWLI offers training, networking and mentorship opportunities to advance women in leadership positions[12].

Lobbying and advocacy for policy and electoral reform

In many countries, WRO mount advocacy campaigns, to convince governments, EMBs and political parties of women's political and electoral rights including gender balance among candidates; decision-making positions in political parties, observers, election administrators and other actors. They advocate for legal reform and review of electoral procedures; promoting gender-sensitive media coverage of the electoral process; and strengthening the gender component in election observation.[13] The following are examples of how WROs across Africa are lobbying for WPP.



In 2020, Gender Links **Zimbabwe** worked with the Zimbabwe Local Government Association (ZiLGA) and Women in Local Government Forum (WiLGF) to petition President Emmerson Munangagwa to consider a quota for women in local government. In a landmark pronouncement, Mnangagwa signaled his support for a quota for women in local government following intense lobbying at the inaugural Women Councilors Indaba meeting held in Victoria Falls in December 2020. While Zimbabwe presently has a Constitutional quota for women at the national level, women in local government have repeatedly been excluded from these provisions, despite a commitment in the 2013 Constitution to gender parity in all areas of political decision-making.

"You are advocating for an improvement in your representation at local government level. We fought for democracy and there was a lot of sacrifice by the girl child and boy child for us to achieve that democracy," President Mnangagwa told the Women in Local Government Forum (WiLGF) meeting on 11 December 2020. "I am in agreement with you, and that is granted, and I will ask the Minister of Local Government to begin the process."



Gender Links Zimbabwe worked with the Women in Local Government Forum to present their case to the President. *Photo: Tapiwa Zvaraya*

Women comprise just 14% of councilors in Zimbabwe. This figure has declined by two percentage points each election since 2013, when

[11] Strategic Initiative for women in the Horn of Afriva Network ‹www.sihanet.org › accessed 13 March 2021
[12] The Arab Women's Leadership Institute ‹ http://ww7.arabwomenleadership.com/› accessed 13 March 2021
[13] Ace Project, Civil society advocacy for gender equality in politics and inclusive participation in electoral process ‹hhttps://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/ge/ge9/women2019s-associations-advocating-for-gender› accessed 13 March 2021

women comprised 18% of the elected representatives in local government. While there is a quota for women at the national level that is due to expire in 2023, this does not apply at the local level. Women councilors argued that whatever arrangements pertain in 2023, they need to be extended to the local level.

Presenting the WiLGF submission, Councilor Idirashe Dongo, Deputy Chair of Murehwa Council, declared that "women's representation at the local level is critical for prioritising women's practical and development needs as well as localising the Sustainable Development Goals through policy decisions on education, primary healthcare, water and sanitation, transport and a host of other services." She argued that: "Our key concern is the under-representation of women in local government in Zimbabwe. We are therefore requesting for the institution of temporary special measures to increase the proportion of women at the local level. Specifically, that women at the local level be given 30% proportional representation seats."

The details of the quota will now be up to legal drafters guided by WiLGF and other activists in the 50/50 campaign. What is important is that the issue is now squarely on the political agenda, with enough time before the 2023 elections for the necessary amendments to be made. To keep up the pressure, the President urged that the Women Councilors Indaba become an annual event. Should Zimbabwe adopt a quota for women in local government, it will join several Southern African Development Community countries that have done so. These include Lesotho, Namibia, and Tanzania.

Women in Law Southern Africa - Zimbabwe has drafted a gendered model electoral framework to promote the principles of inclusiveness and gender equality as prescribed in the Constitution, and International and regional instruments that Zimbabwe has signed and ratified. Action-oriented research to inform the drafting of the model law was done. The discussion paper considers an alternative gendered Model Electoral Law Framework for Zimbabwe with the intent of reinforcing an electoral system that facilitates the equal representation of women and men in line with the foundational principles, values and fundamental rights[14] entrenched in the 2013 Constitution, as well as the relevant international law norms and standards relating to gender inequalities.



WLSA also successfully filed a Declaratory Application with the High Court of Zimbabwe in partnership with the Zimbabwe NGO Forum. The Declaratory Order sets out that the President of Zimbabwe violated Section 17 (1) (b) (ii), Sec 90 (1) and Sec 104 (4) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe and the Gender Commission failed in its duty to monitor issues concerning gender equality as provided in the Constitution. The application challenges the Zimbabwe Cabinet appointment to be unconstitutional because it does not meet the gender parity requirement. The President of Zimbabwe appointed five women Ministers and 18 men in his Cabinet and five Deputy Ministers women and 13 men. The Government has since filed its Opposing Affidavit, and the matter is still pending before the Court.

[14] *The Centre for Applied Legal Research, Model Gendered Electoral Law Framework Discussion Paper* (WLSA and WLPE, 2020).

WLSA also raised awareness and sensitised women on the outstanding electoral reform in collaboration with the Ministry of Women Affairs and Zimbabwe Gender Commission. A total of 632 women attended the meetings. The key statutes discussed were Section 17, 56, 80 and Section 155 of Constitution, the Constitutional Amendment number 2 and the Electoral Act.



In **Madagascar,** the National Council of Women conducted an advocacy campaign ahead of the 2013 electoral process, reaching out to political party leaders. This initiative included meetings with political party leaders to encourage an increased representation of women in the candidate lists and engage the party into progressive policy positions favouring women's rights. In addition to these advocacy efforts, the National Council of Women, the Independent National Electoral Commission for the Transition (CENI-T) and UNDP hosted a high-level inter-party dialogue with presidential candidates addressing gender equality policies[15]. In 2021, Gender Links Madagascar and the SADC Gender Protocol Alliance network partner in Madagascar, the Fédération Pour la Promotion Féminine et Enfantine (FPPE) began a campaign for a "zebra" list system - i.e. one woman, one man, at the local level, following a change of the electoral system to PR (see Chapter two).



In **Zambia**, Alliance focal point Zambia National Women's Lobby Group (ZNWL) has mobilised more than 1,000 women, since its establish-ment, who have vied for leadership positions at various decision-making levels, some have succeeded while others have failed. ZNWL has successfully lobbied political parties and Government to appoint women in key leadership and decision- making positions. Zambia now has a female vice president, and most of the political parties have appointed women to key leadership positions. The ZNWL is working with key community leaders to support women's participation in leadership at all levels. These are traditional leaders and church leaders. Women in Law Southern Africa (Zambia) and Gender Links Zambia, working closely with the Zambia Law Reform Commission, have started a campaign for a quota to be included in the Constitution, presently under review. Zambia has a FPTP system at both local and national level.



Women activists in Mali took to the streets to protest non respect of legislated quota. *Credit: Abdoul Momini Boukoum*



Civil society advocacy efforts in **Mali** resulted in a gender quota bill being passed in 2015, requiring at least 30% of elected or appointed officials to be women. In this advocacy work, civil society organisations joined forces with women legislators of the Network of Parliamentarian Women and the Ministry on the Promotion of Women, Children and the Family. Male allies, especially parliamentarians, also played a key role in the adoption of the law[16].

The African Women's Development and Communication Network

In November 2020, FEMNET joined government officials and other key gender advocates to discuss Kenya's non-implementation of the two-

[15] Conseil National des Femmes de Madagascar ‹https://cnfmadagascar.wordpress.com/2013/06/›
[16] NDI, *Mali adopts law promoting gender equity* ‹ https://www.ndi.org/mali-adopts-gender-quota-law› accessed 13 March 2021

thirds gender quota (see Chapter two). The Nation Media Group hosted the televised National Leadership Forum - Gender Agenda. This followed advice from the Judiciary to the President to dissolve parliament for its failure to implement the two-thirds gender representation principle.[17] FEMNET facilitates sharing of information, ideas, strategies and experiences amongst its members who are in over 40 countries across Africa and the Diaspora. It plays a critical role in informing and mobilising African women to participate and influence policies and processes that affect their lives. FEMNET convened the #WomenMustLead policy dialogues forum for the Nairobi County Assembly Women Caucus to enhance women political participation, champion solidarity, reconciliation and resource mobilisation strategies for their constituents.

FEMNET works with EMBs to ensure fairness, integrity, transparency and a level playing ground for both men and women vying for elective positions. Through partnerships with national Offices of Political Registrars, Political Parties, and the Independent Electoral Commissions in Kenya, DRC and Tanzania, FEMNET strengthens the capacities of EMBs on gender mainstreaming. FEMNET also advocates for adherence to the affirmative action clauses contained in national constitutions.



WROs in **Tanzania** have been at the forefront of advocacy efforts for the 50/50 gender parity in decision-making campaign. Some 56 WROs formed the Women, Constitution, Elections and Leadership Network ahead of the 2020 elections. Led by the Women Fund of Tanzania and the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), the women's organisations launched *Ilani Ya Uchaguzi Ya Wanawake* - the Women's Charter outlining losses, gains, and recommen-dations for the 2020 elections. During the 2014 constitution review process, several CSOs in Tanzania actively collected citizens' views, created public awareness, and monitored change.



In October 2020 in **Morocco** the collective Parity Now (Mounassafa Daba in Arabic), launched a vast civil initiative comprising women's and human rights organisations; leaders of political parties and unions; associations of civil society, academics, men and women in the media, artists and intellectuals advocating for the rights of women. They started a national petition for constitutional parity by 2030. At the time of going to publication, 12 000 signatures had been collected. Social media played a huge role in sensitising Moroccans to that cause.

Parity Now is a parallel community initiative sent to the House of Representatives citing Article 15 of the Constitution. This says that men and women citizens have the right to send their petitions to public authorities. In November 2020, Parity Now made further effort to get a framework law establishing parity between men and women in line with Article 19 of the Constitution. The objective of this law is to go from provisions for positive discrimination to substantive equality.

A White Paper aims to introduce amendments to make equality and parity between men and women a reality. A second White Paper will cover economic, social, environmental and cultural sectors. “We wish to establish parity by 2030 in line with the Sustainable Development Goals, provided that the forthcoming elections in 2021 mark the effective start of this progressive shift. While awaiting to reach the critical mass of 30% of women, we are forced to accept the mechanism of positive discrimination”, notes Ouafa Hajji. She adds that “we must encourage political parties to put more women as candidates, namely during local elections and to empower women.”

[17] FEMNET, *Q4 Report Enhancing Women's Political Participation in Africa*

Capacity building and support for women candidates

There is no "school" for politics. Women and men in this field come from different walks of life, with different educational backgrounds, experience and skills. Most politicians learn on the job - whether in the campaign or in parliament. This is true for women and men. But because of women's position in society, the odds against them are much higher. Any mistakes they make are more likely to be amplified. In developing country contexts, they do not have researchers or support staff to help them prepare speeches and interventions.

On the other hand, WROs have many of these skills. They need women politicians to champion legislative reform on various fronts. This opens the possibility of a symbiotic relationship between politicians and activists. If well managed, this can yield win-win results. The examples that follow demonstrate how this is being achieved.



The Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire (IFAN) is a research institute based at the Université Cheikh Anta Diop in Dakar, **Senegal**. The Gender and Scientific Research Laboratory in IFAN was established in 2004. IFAN's Gender and Scientific Research Laboratory conducts gender research, creating female politician caucuses that promote parity of women in politics. They produce tools that enable candidates (local level and national) to learn about their constituencies and what is expected of them on a specific seat. The gender laboratory creates an environment for female politicians to learn from research collected on how they can do more for women in their communities and countries, and aspire to be leaders and not just subordinates/supporters of political leaders who are usually men.

FAWE Forum for African Women Educationalists
Forum des éducatrices africaines

The Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) was founded in 1992 by African women ministers of education upon the realisation that without putting measures to accelerate girls' education, no African country in Sub-Saharan Africa would be able to meet the 'Education for All' goals. It was registered as a pan-African NGO in 1993 in Nairobi, Kenya. FAWE Africa membership consists of prominent African women educationalists and researchers, serving female ministers and/or deputy ministers of education and female Vice-Chancellors of universities, education policymakers, and planners. FAWE has expanded across Sub-Saharan Africa, creating a network of 34 National Chapters in 33 countries of registered NGOs. FAWE is active in monitoring the implementation of the Maputo Protocol through a process of equipping national youth and women-led civil society organisations with skills to develop and disseminate scorecards on the Maputo Protocol Articles that relate to women's political participation.

FEMNET The African Women's Development and Communication Network

FEMNET has made it priority to actively engage women in political leadership in policy dialogues, enhance their visibility, strengthen their leadership capacity, and link them for peer learnings with their sisters across Africa. Equally, FEMNET is working with women's rights and

grassroots organisations in enhancing awareness on full, effective and meaningful participation of women in political decision-making spaces through training, cross-generational, and peer to peer mentorships.



In **Nigeria**, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) provided women's rights groups and other civil society organisations with training on election observation from a gender perspective in the 2015 general election. Participants discussed methodologies for collecting gender-disaggregated data and information gathering and analysis from a gender perspective during election observation.[18] This training strategy allowed participants to strengthen their skills and improve their methodologies for election observation.

Nigeria ElectHER

Established in December 2020, ElectHER has strategically positioned itself as a force within the women political participation space. In only one year of existence, the organisation already played a pivotal role in changing the narrative and setting the context for increased female participation in Nigerian politics. The female leadership deficit in Africa remains a collative problem which largely hampers our development as a continent.

With its slogan **Decide * Run * Win**, ElectHER is on a mission to support 1000 women to run for office in 2023, through behavioural change communications, skills development, human capital mobilisation and the development of an endowment fund, with an end-goal to enable capable women competitively win elections.[19]

In its first year, ElectHER successfully embarked on a communications campaign towards organisational visibility and promotion. Through its initiative **ElectHER Webinar Series**, the organisation successfully employed social media to convene thought-leadership series geared towards building citizen consciousness, drive active engagement on issue surrounding women's political participation and leadership in Nigeria. The experiences of females in Nigerian politics was often left untold, this spurred the need to create a safe place where women aspiring to run for office could easily share their experiences, led to the launch of the DecideToRun Community which can proudly boast of over 100 members.

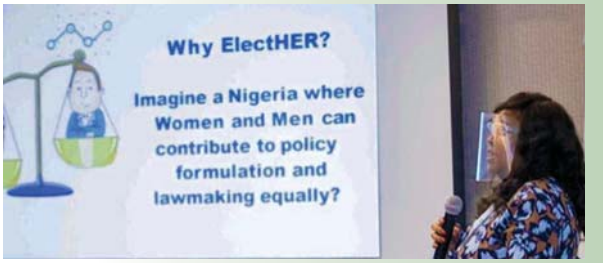


Photo: ElectHER

In October 2020, with the startling evidence of the under-representation of women in decision making at all levels- in political and public office at the Federal, State, and local government in Nigeria, ElectHER successfully hosted a **Consultative Forum** in Abuja Nigeria. The forum provided an opportunity for organisations playing a strategic role in the advancement of women's political representation and leadership in Nigeria to come together to forge a way forward. ElectHER is positioned as a thought leader and policy expert in the field of women's political participation, hence in December 2020, ElectHER received an invitation to present recommendations on the Electoral Act amendment, at the National Assembly.

[18] UNDP Nigeria, Observing elections from a gender perspective; UNDP builds capacity for women CSOs (2015) ‹https://www.ng.undp.org/content/nigeria/en/home/presscenter/articles/2015/02/03/observing-elections-from-a-gender-perspective-undp-builds-capacity-of-women-csos-.html› accessed 13 March 2021

[19] ElectHer ‹ https://www.ng.undp.org/content/nigeria/en/home/presscenter/articles/2015/02/03/observing-elections-from-a-gender-perspective-undp-builds-capacity-of-women-csos-.html› accessed 13 March 2021

Through its capacity building institution, ElectHER Academy in June 2021 will be launching the first ever **ElectHER Future Lawmakers Programme** - a six month intensive legislative and leadership development programme for aspiring female lawmakers. The Academy will deliver on ElectHER mandate to develop a multidimensional empowerment model of capacity building that equips women with the requisite skills and knowledge to run for elective office competitively.

Agender 35 is scheduled for launch during the first quarter of 2021. The initiative aims to directly support 35 women candidates by 2023 through a US$ 10 million fund. The initiative includes policy advocacy and legislative engagement on the implementation of 35% women's representation quota. The campaign will also engage in massive citizen and voter sensitisation on women's political leadership ahead of 2023 general elections.

Source: ElectHER Nigeria



WLSA **Zimbabwe** conducted the inaugural Transformative Feminist Leadership Winter School that brought together 40 participants from Bulawayo, Harare and Mashonaland East. The training focused on Transformative Feminist Leadership, including a wide range of topics: Political career development; Building and managing a campaign; Introduction to Public Service and Volunteerism; Negotiation and consensus-building skills; Non- violent campaign strategies; Constituency outreach and voter mobilisation strategies; Resilience building and social accountability; Public speaking and mastering the art of convincing audiences; Introduction to Feminism; Etiquette and Confidence building.

Women who are already active leaders received refresher training in leadership development and mentoring. These were intergenerational meetings that provided a platform for younger women to be connected with a mentor for continued mentoring and support. WLSA engaged a total of 200 women who are already actively involved in politics and leadership at various community levels. The women were trained on leadership skills, effective communication skills, confidence and assertiveness skills, and mentorship.



In **Madagascar**, in the lead-up to the 2013 legislative election, UNDP organised a series of seven training workshops for women candidates, in partnership with the Independent National Commission for the Transition (CENI-T) and the Federation of Women in Politics in the Indian Ocean. A total of 140 women candidates participated in these workshops, which covered gender and elections, electoral legal framework, communication, and media[20].



In **Sudan**, UNDP administered over US$1.2 million worth of small grants to 41 CSOs in 2009. The grantees were trained on voter education methodology for the registration process, including outreach to women[21].



In **South Sudan**, UN Women, in partnership with the UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) Elections Team Gender Unit, supported training of trainers in all 79 counties of South Sudan around the registration process. "You must register" posters and a civic education guide were widely distributed[22].

[20] UNDP, *Atelier de renforcement des capacités des femmes candidates aux élections législatives sur le cadre juridique et les medias*, (2013) ‹http://www.mg.undp.org/content/madagascar/fr/home/presscenter/pressreleases/2013/11/20/atelier-de-renforcement-des-capacit-s-des-femmes-candidates-aux-lections-l-gislatives-sur-le-cadre-juridique-et-les-m-dias.html› accessed 13 March 2021
[21] UNDP and UN Women (2016): op. cit., p. 62.
[22] Ibid



In **Burundi**, the "Vote and Be Elected" campaign trained almost 260 women to work around the country and educate other women about registration and voting and to support female candidates to develop their campaigns[23].

In a number of countries, EMBs and civil society groups have launched civic and voter education campaigns to educate voters and the general public on the importance of LGBTI rights and motivate this community's participation in electoral process. In some cases, civic and voter education campaigns aimed at providing citizens with information on the candidates' positions on LGBTI rights, holding candidates accountable before their electorate and helping voters make an informed choice. Some civic and voter education campaigns are specifically addressed to LGBTI persons to motivate their participation as voters. In the case of campaigns especially addressed to transgender and gender non-conforming people, key messages often deal with ID requirements and procedures to facilitate the identification process in polling stations.

CSOs in Bénin organise to include women more in the electoral process



The Constitution and the Electoral Code of Benin are favorable to gender equality. *Credit: Isabelle Otchoumare*

Women's political participation is still problematic in Bénin where women are underrepresented in all areas of decision-making. Women comprise 20% of President Patrice Talon's cabinet, 8% of parliamentarians and 4% of councillors and of mayors. According to the president of the Network Peace and Security for the Women CEDEAO Benin branch (REPSFECO-Bénin) Blandine Sintondji Yaya: "The consultations with civil society never concern women's organisations. Nobody has consulted us except the Mediator of the Republic who came to visit the Electoral platform of the CSO."

For Mariette Montcho, the president of the West African Network of Young Women Leaders, Bénin section (ROAJELF-Bénin), this situation is frustrating. "Women's organisations fight daily for parity and women's representation. Are they heard? When we look at the statistics in terms of women's participation in decision making instances, my answer is no. We are not heard. The women's structures and organizations are not really consulted".

Nonetheless, women's organisations work to build the capacity of new and existing candidates. These sessions cover how to organise an electoral campaign, how to speak in public, plan an electoral campaign and budget.

[23] Ace Project, Male allies and social norm change in politics and elections: building transformative masculinities ‹ https://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/ge/ge9/male-allies-and-social-norm-change-in-politics-and› accessed 21 March 2021

In 2009 WROs formed a platform (Pfid-Bénin) to enhance synergy. This platform aims to "build synergy in view of increasing women's participation in the decision-making processes, to develop advocacy campaigns and mobilization of human and financial resources. The final aim is to ensure the judicious presence of women in all decision-making positions and to build the capacity of networks and associations within the platform".



Fatoumatou Batoko-Zossou, Head of Electoral Platform of CSOs, Benin.
Photo: Isabelle Otchoumaré

Fatoumatou Batoko-Zossou, president of the Electoral Platform of the Civil Society Organisations in Bénin, and a founder member of West African Network for the Edification of Peace in Bénin (WANFP-Bénin), explains that this programme "makes the promotion of young women's participation in the political life of their country. In this respect, capacity building sessions, advocacy and information meetings are organized to encourage political parties to open up to women in Bénin".

This platform is committed to assist "from beginning to end", the effective participation of women in electoral processes. Batoko-Zossou, its manager, explains that: "we make recommendations to the National Autonomous Electoral Commission (CENA) at the end of each election with the aim of improving women's participation".

After each election, some CSOs conduct a gender audit, explains Montcho, "The last audit concerned the legislative elections. Social Watch has developed an equality charter on politics in Bénin in which the statistics on the numbers of women and men mayors and councilors are compared". For the legislative elections, the working group Women, Youth, Peace and Security whose focal point is REPSFECO-Bénin, did an evaluation on women and young people in the electoral process. "The report is already available and it highlights that women participate more and more in the electoral processes as agents in the polling stations and in the technical survey room of CSOs", explains Batoko-Zossou. She adds that media players regularly organise round-tables where gender is the main subject of the debate.

Sintondji Yaya says that "inspite of all the actions that we take, all the media hype, the buzz, things do not really change. I really think we need a law for sure to overturn this situation. In countries where laws have been passed, women's political participation has improved. I am thinking about Rwanda where women outnumber men now. The solution is to enact a law. Bénin needs a law on quota or on outright parity". *Case study by Isabelle Otchoumaré*

Gender and election monitoring

Election observation can contribute to democratic development by collecting information on the electoral process, assessing its quality, considering the domestic legal framework and international standards, and constructive recommendations to improve future elections.[24]

Election monitoring and observation 'can be instrumental in deterring fraud and malpractice by exposing those problems if they occur, as well as in increasing the credibility of the process by building trust among relevant stakeholders'[25]. In October 2020, leading NGOs in **Tanzania** wrote

[24] Ace Project, Enhancing a gender approach in election observation and monitoring https://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/ge/ge6/developing-a-gender-approach-in-international-and accessed 13 March 2021
[25] Ibid

to the National Electoral Commission (NEC) to seek reasons for their disqualification from observing the 2020 Tanzania General Election. Institutions left out included the Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC), Tanzania Constitution Forum (TCF), the Tanzania Human Rights Defenders Coalition (THRDC) and the Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (Temco).[26]



Gender Links staff observing elections in the 2019 Mozambique.
Photo: Graca Ricardo

Over the last decades, election observation has evolved to integrate a long-term perspective instead of focusing exclusively on election day operations and procedures. There is increasing consensus that election observation should consider the election day and other key stages of the electoral process, such as the legal framework, voter registration, the verification of results or election complaints, among others.

The Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA) is an NGO that evolved from an election-focused NGO working in the Southern Africa sub-region, into a more diversified organisation working on broader governance issues throughout the African continent. The Institute works with national, regional, Pan-African and global partners.

Its work extends beyond electoral support to include other democracy and governance fields such as political party support, legislative strengthening and civil society engagement of the African Peer Review Mechanism and other political processes such as constitution-making processes. EISA has current and past field offices in Burundi, Central African Republic (CAR), Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Egypt, Gabon, Kenya, Madagascar, Mali, Mozambique, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Since the establishment of EISA in 1996, the Institute has supported and/or observed over 100 electoral and political processes in Africa.[27] EISA has increasingly sought to mainstream gender in its work.

In **Southern Africa**, Gender Links has conducted gender audits, including media monitoring of several Southern African in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Botswana, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia and Tanzania. Gender and media monitoring aims at bridging the gaps between women politicians and the media, "bringing them together to deliberate on the gendered nature of elections coverage."[28] Gender Links has devised a holistic approach to gender and elections capacity building and monitoring that includes:

- Gender audits of elections.
- Capacity building for women aspirants and candidates on campaigning and using media (mainstream, new media and traditional media).
- Gender and elections training for the mainstream media.
- Gender and elections monitoring training for civil society.
- Gender and elections media monitoring for media students.

[26] The Citizen, 'NGOs excluded from observer list to contest decision', 19 July 2020 ‹https://www.thecitizen.co.tz/news/---NGOs-excluded-from-election-observer-list-to-contest-decision/1840340-5595626-s6ck11/index.html› accessed 13 March 2021
[27] Ace Project,Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa ‹https://www.aceproject.org/about-en/full-partners/EISA#:~:text=Electoral%20Institute%20for%20Sustainable%20Democracy%20in%20Africa%20%28EISA%29,on%20broader%20governance%20issues%20throughout%20the%20African%20continent› accessed 21 March 2021
[28] Gender Links, Gender media and elections ‹ http://genderlinks.org.za/what-we-do/media/training/thematic-training/gender-media-and-elections/› accessed 13 March 2021

- Conducting comprehensive gender audits of elections that draw on all the above components.



Several women's rights organizations are members of the **Zimbabwe** Electoral Support Network (ZESN) that represents domestic observers during elections. The ZESN produced a consolidated set of recommendations on the 2018 elections. Gender was mainstreamed into these recommendations. For example:

- The need to develop strong legal mechanisms to encourage and support women's adoption as candidates and to ensure gender parity in political and decision-making positions in line with the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.
- Several recommendations related to quotas for women. The AU and Commonwealth recommended moving from reserved PR seats to reserved candidacy seats for women in the FPTP elections, similar to Uganda. The Commonwealth Observer Group recommended that the new parliament should negotiate the quotas prescribed for women under Section 124 of the 2013 Constitution before its expiration in 2023. The ZESN recommended that Zimbabwe "Institute appropriate provisions in electoral law that makes it mandatory for parties to observe quotas for women."

In May 2019, the Zimbabwe Gender Commission convened a "Great Debate" to reflect on the outcomes of the 2018 elections. This brought together representatives of the Chapter 12 institutions, civil society, political party representatives and other key gender and elections stakeholders. This debate examined several electoral systems and quotas scenarios to ensure that Zimbabwe rises above minimum standards in 2023.



In the 2013 electoral process in **Madagascar,** the Independent National Electoral Commission for the Transition (CENI-T) organised a series of three-day workshops for journalists, in partnership with UNDP, UNESCO, Médias en Action pour la Formation (MAF) and the National News Agency (ANTA). This initiative's main goal was to "deepen the professional and ethical skills of journalists from the written press, radio and television". Three workshops were held across the country, in Antsirabe, Mahajanga and Fianarantsoa. The training sessions covered the topics of media ethics, the role of media in the electoral process, conflict prevention and gender, media and elections.[29]



In 2016, **Ugandan** CSOs launched the Citizens Election Observers Network - Uganda (CEON-U) to monitor Uganda's 2016 General Elections. This was a collaborative effort of 15 CSOs working together with the Uganda Electoral Commission supported by international organisations such as National Democratic Institute (NDI), the European Union (EU) and USAID. Some of CEON-U mandates included voter registration, voter education, media monitoring, women's participation, participation of persons with disabilities, security and human rights defenders.[30] The Women's Democracy Group (WDG) published a gender audit of the 2016 elections and provided recommendations on how to increase women's participation in Uganda. The WDG is a coalition of five women civil society organisations that include Action for Development (ACFODE), Centre for Women in Governance (CEWIGO), Forum for Women in Democracy (FOWODE), Uganda Women's Network (UWONET) and Women's Democracy Network-Uganda Chapter (WDN-U). WDG is coordinated by Uganda Women's Network. The WDN-U working with

[29] UNESCO, Media in conflict and post conflict situation ‹http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/freedom-of-expression/dialogue-for-peace/media-in-conflict-and-post-conflict-situation-and-countries-in-transition/media-and-election-coverage/africa/› accessed 13 March 2021

[30] Democratic Governance Facility, *Civil Society Launches Effort to Monitor Uganda's 2016 General Elections* (2016) ‹https://www.dgf.ug/news/civil-society-launches-effort-monitor-uganda%E2%80%99s-2016-general-elections-0› accessed 13 March 2021

International Idea published a report entitled: "Early warning signs for Violence in Uganda's 2021 Elections and Structures and Strategies for Mitigation."



In **Ethiopia**, the right to freedom of association is recognised under Article 31 of the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. It provides that: "Every person has the right to freedom of association for any cause or purpose. Organisations formed, in violation of appropriate laws, or illegally subvert the constitutional order, or which promote such activities is prohibited." The involvement of Ethiopian community and non-governmental organisations in good governance, democracy, human rights and peace building is a comparatively recent development, consistent with maturing democratic practise.

In the 2015 elections, 35 civil society Organisations formed an election monitoring network called the Organisation for Social Justice in Ethiopia (OSJE). With the support of the UNDP co-ordinated Election Support Project of the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (NEBE), which provided awareness-raising training to over 600 domestic election observers drawn from CSOs licensed by NEBE to observe the fifth general election. The participants included representatives of the Consortium of Ethiopian Civil Societies for Election Observation (CECSEO); Professional Associations/ Federations of Teachers, Employers, and Trade Unions and Youth and Women Mass-based Organisations (MBOs).



In the 2014 legislative and presidential elections in **Tunisia**, civil society launched a gender and election observer mission to assess women's participation in the electoral process. This focused on voter education, media coverage, election day procedures, training and support for elected women.

This initiative included the Tunisian League for the Defence of Human Rights (Ligue Tunisienne de Défense des Droits de l'Homme), the Tunisian Association of Democratic Women (Association Tunisienne des Femmes Démocrates) and the Association of Tunisian Women for Development Research (Association des Femmes Tunisiennes por la Recherche sur le Développement), in collaboration with Gender Concerns International.

The mission deployed ten international election observers and 100 domestic observers in polling centres across the country, especially in rural areas. The recommendations contained in its final report include strengthening registration campaigns for women voters, particularly in rural areas, publishing sex-disaggregated data and statistics, establishing effective procedures to ensure equity in media coverage for all candidates, as well as developing voter education and information programs specifically targeting young, illiterate or rural women.[31]

The Arab Working Group for Media Monitoring carried out gender ande media monitoring in partnership with the Tunisian Association of Democratic Women (Association Tunisienne des Femmes Démocrates) and other NGOs. The monitoring found that women candidates only received 7% coverage in print media, 8% in radio and 11% in television[32].

31 Gender Concerns International, Rapport Final de la Mission d'Observation des Élections Basée sur l'Approche Genre, Tunisie 2014 (2015)
32 Amirouche, N., Couverture électorale sensible au genre: vers l'égalité dans l'espace public", in Femmes et médias au Maghreb. Revue d'analyse nº 7 (2014)

Engaging Men and Boys

Men and women worldwide, both individually and organised into groups, have started to challenge well-established notions of patriarchal masculinities, promoting a deep positive transformation of social attitudes and norms. However, "in moving forward with efforts that engage men and boys, it is important to remember that change is not easy to achieve, particularly because challenging men's notions of masculinity may in some ways be akin to challenging their notions of self."[33]

In the last few years, "there has been a strategic shift in emphasis [...] from women's issues to those concerning gender equality, in which the focus has moved from women exclusively to both men and women and mutually beneficial social and economic development."[34] This evolving approach is partly due to the realisation that, to be effective, efforts to promote gender equality should also include men in the conversation, engaging male allies in the construction of inclusive democratic systems.



Men from Murehwa training men in Epworth on supporting women's political participation. *Photo: WLSA Zimbabwe*

> "Men are now conscious of Gender equality and have to support women in politics and decision making. WLSA sensitised **585** men, of the total number 100 men were Traditional leaders. The groups were intergenerational and included a participant with a disability. This composition was important in that it managed to cut across all perceived barriers in the different age groups, different educational backgrounds and different social circumstances."
>
> ***WLSA Zimbabwe***

Male parliamentarians and political leaders can become strategic allies and powerful advocates for gender equality, contributing to open the political space for women. In contexts of weak representation of women in the decision-making process, men sitting at the table can tip the scales in favour of women's rights and promote a gender equality agenda with the adoption of relevant legislation. Furthermore, educating the public, and especially young men and women, on the importance of equality and women's political and social inclusion can promote positive social change in the long run, transforming social attitudes and mentalities.

The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) has developed the training module Male Allies for Leadership Equality (MALE) to sensitise women and men on the importance of working

[33] Men Engage, UN Women and UNFPA , *Men, Masculinities and Changing Power*: A Discussion Paper on Engaging Men in Gender Equality From Beijing 1995 to 2015 ‹https://www.unfpa.org/es/node/9655 › accessed 21 March 2021

[34] Palmieri, S., *Gender-Sensitive Parliaments: A Global Review of Good Practice*, (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2011) pp. 61

together to achieve gender equality and supporting broad coalitions to advocate for more inclusive electoral processes. The MALE module was created through focus group discussions in Syria and Nigeria[35]. Since then, IFES has organised MALE workshops in different countries, including Libya, Haiti, Ukraine, and Libya[36].

International Gender Champions is "a leadership network that brings together female and male decision-makers determined to break down gender barriers and make gender equality a working reality in their spheres of influence." The network is formed by over 200 Gender Champions and Alumni, who are heads of international organisations, permanent missions and civil society organisations. All Gender Champions sign a pledge to no longer sit in single-sex panels and commit to treat every person with respect and fairness, value diversity, create and maintain safe workplaces and work together with other Champions in a spirit of openness, honesty and transparency[37].

UN Women's HeForShe campaign "invites men and people of all genders to stand in solidarity with women to create a bold, visible and united force for gender equality."[38] In 2016, the Southern African Development Community - Parliamentary Forum (SADC-PF) Vice President and several National Parliament Speakers from the region signed up as HeForShe Champions for Gender Equality.[39]

Padare/Enkundleni Men's Forum on Gender (Padare) is an organisation that works with men and boys for a just society. A movement of men advocating for Gender justice in Zimbabwe. Founded in 1995 as a platform to identify, capacitate and support men and boys who believe in gender equality and to mobilize and influence other men. It seeks to create safe spaces for men and boys to redefine masculinities through a self-introspection processes in a safe space where they are not judged. This platform brings together men with same beliefs and willingness to change and embrace transformative masculinities.

Padare's engages men from all political backgrounds, and community leaders who have a role in addressing women's political participation from cultural or faith perspectives. Padare also engages male students from higher learning institutions to influence students' union's election processes, support young women's participation, and further speak out against GBV and SGBV in politics and elections within their institutions.

Strategies and approaches used by Padare in Zimbabwe, Kenya, Botswana and Tanzania include dialogues, capacity building and production of knowledge materials such as situation analyses and policy briefs. Padare realises that it is more impactful to engage men to debunk and begin to identify and challenge some harmful practices by using other men to discuss and hold dialogues on women's political participation issues.

This strategy for men by men is one Padare has tried, tested, and used to mobilise a critical mass of men by targeting male political party actors, male Members of Parliament, male traditional

[35] IFES , *Male Allies for Leadership Equality: Learning from Nigeria's Experience*, (IFES, 2016) ‹ https://www.ifes.org/news/male-allies-leadership-equality-learning-nigerias-experience› accesed 13 March 2021
[36] IFES, *Bridging Perspectives: Engaging Male Allies for Gender Equality and Women's Leadership*" (IFES, 2018) ‹ https://www.ifes.org/news/bridging-perspectives-engaging-male-allies-gender-equality-and-womens-leadership› accesed 13 March 2021
[37] International Gender Champions ‹ https://genderchampions.com/› accessed 13 March 2021
[38] HeForShe ‹ http://www.heforshe.org/› accessed 13 March 2021
[39] UN Women, *HeForShe gains momentum in the SADC region* ›http://africa.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2016/04/heforshe-gains-momentum› accessed 13 March 2021

and faith leaders, male students from tertiary institutions, and men the communities. The idea behind engaging men in politics and communities is to address the negative social norms that are rife in every African country. The engagements lead to consciousness of men to the realities of what women candidates, and aspiring ones, face. Gender champions are identified, and their capacities built on how they can support women politicians and those who might want to be candidates.

Conclusions and recommendations

CSO actors play a key strategic role in building the case for gender aware electoral processes. This chapter has illustrated that the women's rights CSO sector is vibrant in Africa and there are inspiring examples from across the continent which show the power of women's organising. Recommendations to civil society:

Networking and alliance building

- Forge regional and sub-regional alliances and networks with CSOs for collective advocacy at the continental level.
- Conduct study and exposure visits between countries bringing on board government officials to share lessons learned and develop in-country strategies to increase women's participation in political processes.
- Engage with men and boys organisations and movements as key partners and allies in the fights for gender equality in all electoral process and to challenge the belief that this is just 'woman's issue'.

Documenting and telling Herstory

- Up to date research and documenting her story is essential to grow the body of literature about women's struggles and successes, and the difference they make to political decision-making.

Targeted 50/50 campaigns well ahead of elections

- Each country has a different context and while there are common general principles, each campaign should be tailor made for each country.
- 50/50 campaign strategies should be informed by evidence-based research, such as the Africa Barometer, drawing lessons from what has worked in countries that have adopted quotas and undergone electoral reform which have resulted in increased representation of women in all areas of political decision-making.
- CSOs need to be more responsive and seize advocacy and lobbying opportunities as they arise to push the 50%/50% agenda.
- Link 50/50 campaigns with SDGs to ensure that politicians relate the 50/50 effort and advocacy with the SDGs and Beijing +25 - "If you want to reach the SDGs let us in!!"
- It is essential that campaigns begin well ahead of elections to ensure enough time for campaigns to be effective and yield results.

Capacity building for CSOs

- WROs should work together to build the capacity of CSOs in effective organizing.

Ongoing support to women candidates

- Support for women candidates should not end with the election - women politicians need support from WROs throughout the electoral process as well as when they take office.
- Support women politicians to engage with their political parties to get nominated and to make changes within their own political parties to be more gender aware and responsive.
- Conduct capacity building with women political wings.
- Provide technical support on electoral reform and policy change.

- Support candidates by encouraging them to engage in the women's movement.
- Encourage women politicians to support other women when they come to power.
- Hold women politicians accountable for promoting increased representation of women in decision-making and other women's rights issues.

Election monitoring

- Reflect and take stock of what they have been doing in this area and identify where they can add value.
- Strengthen their capacity and role in this area and raise more funding to support this process.
- Provide EMBs gender expertise to ensure the entire electoral process is gender sensitive.
- The monitoring should not be separate for women rather it should be part of the broader agenda.
- Monitoring should be a threefold exercise:
  1) Gender audit of elections and shadow reports;
  2) Capacity building; and
  3) Organize debates post-elections on the electoral gender audit itself in order to make the agenda central.

Recommendations to donors:

- Provide sustained financial support throughout the electoral process so that CSOs can continue to influence the electoral cycle past election day.



Speaking truth to power: Widows at an empowerment session during the International Day of the Widows at the Palace of the 15th January in N'Djamena, Chad, 21 December 2019. *Photo: Joseph Domboro*

Effective participation 7



Aminata Touré, Senegal, has served as Justice Minister, Prime Minister (for a year) and until recently headed the Economic, Social and Environmental council of Sénégal.

Credit: Abdou Cissé, Le Quotidien

KEY POINTS

- Women are least represented at the executive leadership level as President, Vice President, Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister. In 54 African countries, only nine of these posts (8%) are held by women.
- Only 21% of African Parliament speakers are women, with variations between 35% in Southern Africa to zero in North Africa and the Horn.
- Women are still under-represented in cabinets across Africa, with only 22% of these positions occupied by women.
- In cabinet, women dominate in the social portfolios (including women's and youth affairs, health, education and culture). In a sample of 12 cabinets across the country, women comprised 34% of the ministers in these posts.
- On the other hand, women represented just 14% of the ministers in the justice and security portfolios (including defense, safety and security, foreign affairs).
- More research is required into the qualitative difference that women make. Qualitative evidence suggests that where women are represented in sufficient numbers and are able to participate effectively, they bring different agendas, priorities and results to decision-making.

Women serve as Heads of State or Government in only 21 countries in the world. 119 countries have never had a woman leader.[1] At the current rate, parity in the highest decision-making positions will not be reached for another 130 years. Only 21% of government ministers are women, and only 14 countries have achieved 50% or more women in cabinets. With an annual increase of less than one percentage point per annum, gender parity in ministerial positions will not be achieved before 2077.[2]

In its 2003 study on women in decision-making in Southern Africa, Gender Links (GL) noted that:

> The recent discourse on good governance has highlighted the fact that democracy is not just about elections. It is about all interest groups being represented so that they can actively participate in decisions that affect their lives. Such participation makes governance more responsive to the needs and concerns of all sectors of society. When governance is more responsive, it is more likely to be more transparent and more accountable. This explains why women's equal participation in political decision-making is not just a matter of being "politically correct" but is a vital component of good governance.[3]

Future Barometers need to devise more probing indicators for measuring the difference that women make. This chapter focuses on the proxy indicators agreed in the inaugural WPP Barometer for measuring effective participation. These include where women are located in decision-making structures in Africa, from executive leadership to municipal mayors. The chapter provides examples of what women in these positions are doing to advance gender equality. It illustrates how things are changing, albeit slowly, with more women coming into decision-making positions as Presidents and Vice-Presidents, Ministers, Speakers and Mayors.

The chapter shows that there is far more to women's participation in decision-making than their mere presence. While there is much focus now on achieving gender parity by 2030, it is not too soon to start asking the "beyond numbers" questions introduced in this chapter.

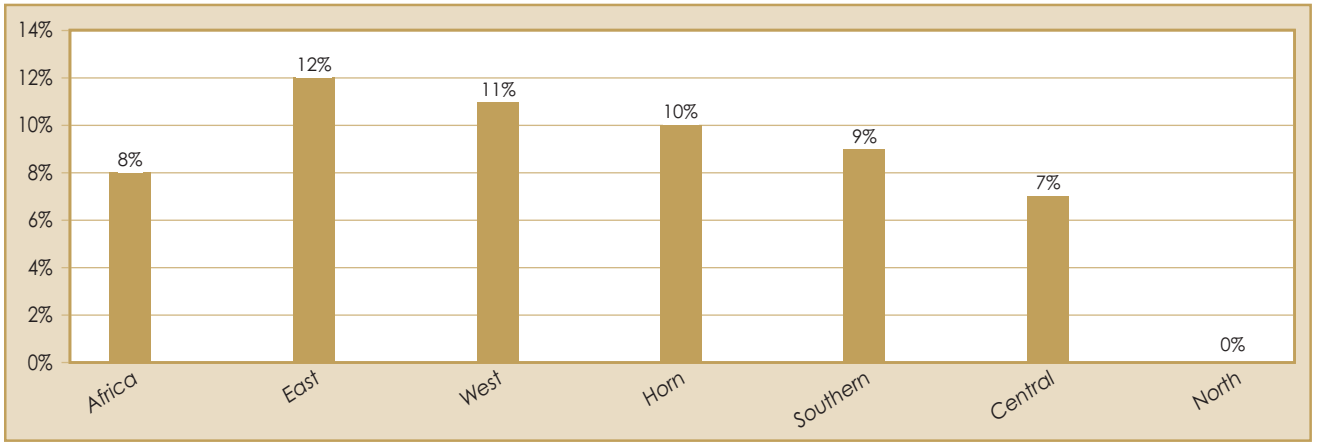
Executive leadership

The highest level a politician can aspire to is the Head of State, as President or Prime Minister. Women are least likely to hold executive positions in government. Of the 113 top executive positions (President, Vice President, Prime Minister, and Deputy Prime Minister) in 54 African countries, only nine are held by women.[4] Generally, this is an elected position, and it requires a high degree of backing from ones' party. Women are slowly reaching for the top and taking on the race for the presidency. But there is a long way to go.

There are a growing number of women presidential running mates and therefore vice presidential candidates. This trend is not limited to the larger parties and smaller parties. Countries whose electoral laws provide for a running mate for the presidency may have a higher chance of bringing women closer to the top. In the long run, this incremental presence will provide the opportunity for women to demonstrate their ability to govern. Although institutionalised deputyship for women is not a desirable phenomenon, more women running at this level can help to normalise their presence at the top.

1 UN Women, Facts and figures: Women's leadership and political participation <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/leadership-and-political-participation/facts-and-figures#_edn3> accessed 13 March 2021
2 Ibid
3 Lowe Morna, C., Ringing up the Changes (Gender Links, 2004) pp.249
4 See Annex 16

Figure 7.1: Women in top executive positions in Africa by region



Source: Compiled by GL with information from government websites see Annex 16.

Figure 7.1 shows that women hold just eight per cent of top executive positions (President, Vice-President, Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister). The proportion ranges from 12% in East Africa to zero in North Africa.

Table 7.1: Top women leaders in African governments

Country	Name	Position	Rank	Took office
Tanzania	Samia Hassan Suluhu	President	Highest elected post	19 March 2021
Ethiopia	Sahle-Work Zewde	President	Elected but largely ceremonial position	25 October 2018
Namibia	Saara Kuugongelwa-Amadhila	Prime Minister	Appointed by President	21 March 2015
Gabon	Rose Christiane Ossouka Raponda	Prime Minister	Nominated by President	16 July 2020
Zambia	Inonge Mutukwa Wina	Vice-President	2nd highest post - elected with President	26 January 2015
Liberia	Jewel Cianeh Taylor	Vice-President	2nd highest post - elected with President	22 January 2018
The Gambia	Isatou Touray	Vice-President	2nd highest post - appointed by President	15 March 2019
South Sudan	Rebecca Nyandeng De Mabior	Fourth Vice-President	Appointed by President	21 February 2020
Togo	Victoire Tomegah Dogbé	Prime Minister	Appointed by President	28 September 2020

Source: Compiled by Gender Links with information from government websites.

Table 7.1 shows that there are currently nine women in executive leadership positions. The highest ranking is President Samia Hassan Suluhu of Tanzania who took over following the death of President John Magufuli in March 2021. Sahle-Work Zwede is president of Ethiopia, but this is largely a ceremonial position. Three African countries (Namibia, Gabon and Togo) have women Prime Ministers; these are appointed by the Presidents in their countries. Four are in the Vice-President position, which is the second-highest position in the executive All these top women took office in the last six years and are the first women to hold these positions in their respective countries. Prior to 2015, seven women held the top position, including two Presidents and five interim or acting Presidents. This shows that change in this area is slow. There are a sprinkling of women in top posts. At current rates this is unlikely to change any time soon.



Photo: Mama Samia Suluhu Facebook page

Samia Suluhu Hassan made history by becoming the first female president of Tanzania on 19 March 2021 following the sudden death of President John Magufuli. According to the constitution she will now serve out the rest of Magufuli's Presidential term until 2025.

A seasoned politician, she first ran for office in 2000, was elected as a special seat member to the Zanzibar House of Representatives and appointed a minister by then President Amani Karume. Since then she has served in various roles in cabinet until she was elected as former President Magufuli's running mate, becoming the first female vice-president of the country following the 2015 elections.

Since her appointment Suluhu has been profiled in most international media as "soft-spoken." For many, Hassan is a figure of comfort and strength[5], a humble negotiator who is willing to seek consensus and reconciliation.[6]

These skills will stand her in good stead as she takes over from a leader with centralised power who repressed opposition from political parties, media and civil society during his term.[7] Magufuli will likely be remembered for denying the impact of the coronavirus pandemic, declaring the country free of the virus following three days of prayer,[8] and rejected vaccine as dangerous, saying they could be white men's attempt to use Tanzanians as guinea pigs.[9]

How Hassan manages the COVID-19 pandemic will be one of her first tests as President of the country. Will she continue down the road of her predecessor and continue to deny the severity of the pandemic or will she put in place measures to fight the pandemic in line with WHO guidelines, including acquiring vaccines for all citizens?

Analysts are also raising questions about how she will deal with the state of repression that characterised her predecessors leadership. Will she maintain the status-quo or will she reinstitute principles of civic and political freedoms like un-banning political party gatherings, rescinding oppressive laws and putting a stop to forced disappearances and arbitrary police detention for expressing critical opinions about the government?

It is too early to tell what kind of leader she will be, but in her national address, she conveyed the need for unity. "This is the time to stand together and get connected. It's time to bury our differences, show love to one another, and look forward with confidence."[10]

Asserting her status as one of the few African women in a top political position Suluhu Hassan said: "I know there are people who have doubt and ask, 'Can this woman be the President of the United Republic of Tanzania?' Well, I would like to tell them that the one standing here is the President. I repeat, the one standing here is the President of the United Republic of Tanzania who is biologically a woman."[11]

5 https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/03/25/tanzanias-first-female-president-has-arrived-with-some-serious-red-flags/
6 Ibid
7 https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2021-03-26-samia-suluhu-hassan-will-new-tanzania-president-aim-to-fill-magufulis-big-shoes-or-walk-a-new-path-altogether/
8 https://www.medicalbrief.co.za/archives/prayer-has-rid-the-country-of-covid-19-says-tanzanias-president/
9 https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/03/25/tanzanias-first-female-president-has-arrived-with-some-serious-red-flags/
10 https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/tanzania-first-woman-president-samia-suluhu-hassan/
11 https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/03/25/tanzanias-first-female-president-has-arrived-with-some-serious-red-flags/



Ethiopia has both a President and Prime Minister. As a parliamentary republic, most administrative power is vested in the Prime Minister and his government. The President as primarily a figurehead executive, however, with reserve powers that may be exercised in certain exceptional circumstances without the approval of another branch of the government. The President is an elected position. Following the resignation of incumbent Mulatu Teshome, Ethiopia held a snap presidential election in October 2018. Diplomat Sahle-Work Zewde was elected without contest to a six-year term, becoming the first female President and the first female head of state since the death of Empress Zauditu in 1930.[12] She is named as the 96th most powerful, and the highest-ranking African woman on Forbes business magazine's annual edition of the list of 100 Most Powerful Women.

Central African Republic: Samba-Panza Chief of transitional government



Catherine Samba-Panza, former chief of the transition government and candidate for the December 2020 presidential and local elections, visiting women traders in the 7th ward of Bangui. *Photo: Flora Sandrine Mbagna*

Catherine Samba-Panza was elected interim President and Chief of the Central African Republic's (CAR) transitional government from January 2014 to March 2016. She was the first woman to be head of state in that country and the eighth woman to do so in Africa. She inherited a country devastated by the rebel army and intercommunity hate. Despite that, she managed to bring the transition to its completion by organising in 2015 and 2016 free, transparent and trustworthy elections, which brought back constitutional order in the country.

A non-partisan politician who served as Mayor of Bangui from 2013 - 2014, she was the only woman presidential candidate among 16 men for the December 2020 elections. She stood as an independent candidate and received 0.9%, placing here 11th in the race. Her motto is parity between men and women, or at least the effective application of the 35% quota of in all decision making positions.

During her term Samba-Panza appointed many women to high positions in the public sector, government, and national institutions. At that time, women representation in government rose from 5% to 29%. At the end of her mandate as transition Chief, she participated in various national, regional and international meetings. She shared her experience as a woman leader, as a candidate and her experience in the peace talks and the prevention of conflicts. She is presently the President of the Pan-African Observatory of Women's Leadership and Vice-President of the Network of African Union Women for Mediation and the Prevention of Conflicts. She is a member of the world network of mediators.

Samba-Panza, a married mother of three, gives credit for her success to a supportive family. They understand her political ambitions and her commitment to promoting women.

Case study written by Fridolin Ngoulou

[12] Wikipedia, Ethiopian Presidential Elections ‹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2018_Ethiopian_presidential_election › Accessed 2 March 2021

One of the main reasons women do not occupy the highest executive positions is because they do not put themselves forward as candidates. Where they do, they are significantly outnumbered by men. This is, however, slowly changing, with strong women coming forward and showing other women what is possible.



In **Tanzania** women made a strong showing in the 2015 presidential elections. In the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party two women made it to the final three candidates for President. For the 2020 Presidential elections John Pombe Magufuli had a woman running mate, Samia Suluhu Hassan, who became the vice president. Out of the 15 presidential candidates, two, Cecilia Augustino Mwanga and Queen Cuthbert Sendiga, were women. They only won 0,10 and 0,05% of the vote, placing them 10th and 12th in the race, respectively. However this sets an important precedent and may encourage other aspiring candidates to step forward.



There was just one young woman, among ten men, who stood as a Presidential candidate in **Uganda**'s January 2021 elections. Nancy Kalembe said "Uganda needs a change of leadership after 34 years of President Yoweri Museveni. The country's healthcare, education, infrastructure, and jobs are sorely lacking."[13] She launched her campaign in November 2020 running as an independent candidate, making her only the fourth woman to run for the highest office in the country. Her campaign focused on anti-poverty and anti-unemployment programmes, as well as health care and infrastructure. Financial problems plagued Kalembe's campaign, but she received 0.37% of the total vote, placing her 8th in the race.[14]

Women Speakers/ Presidents of Parliament

The Speaker is the principal office bearer and acts as Representative and Spokesperson, and Chief Executive Officer for Parliament.



RAZANAMAHASOA Christine, President of the National Assembly Madagascar.
Photo: Zotonantenaina RAZANADRATEFA

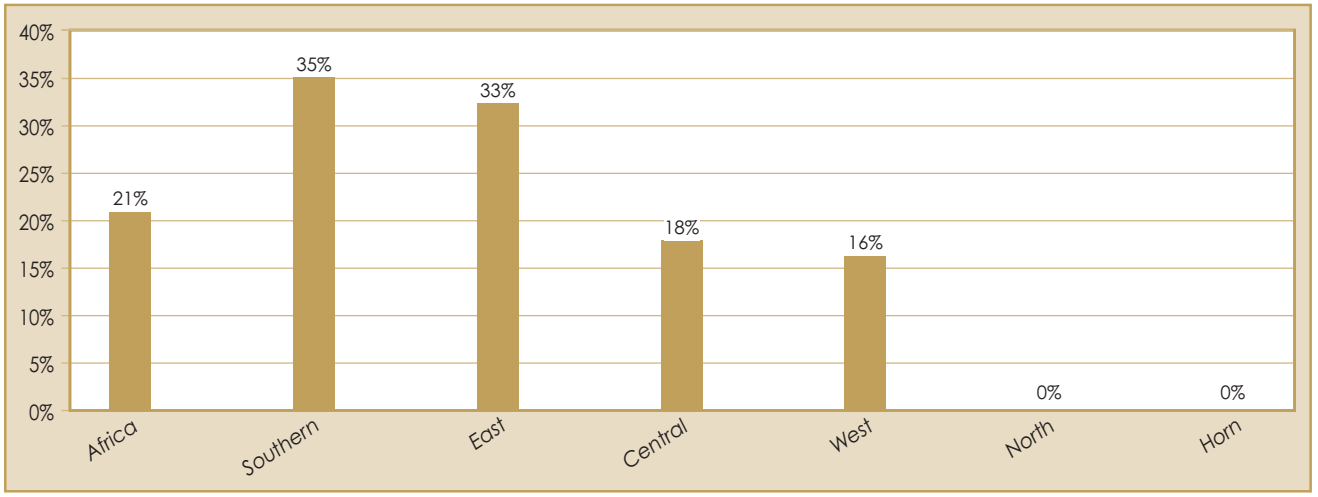
The Speaker has many responsibilities, which include constitutional, statutory, procedural and administrative powers and functions. They preside over sittings of the House and maintain the rules and order. During sittings the Speaker's official role is to moderate debate, make rulings on procedure and announce the results of votes. The Speaker decides who may speak and has the powers to discipline members who break the procedures of the Chamber or House.

The Speaker is required to provide political leadership to the House, act impartially and protect all parties' rights in Parliament. Speakers must ensure that all processes relating to legislating, entering into bilateral agreements, treaties and signing international Human Rights Instruments are in accordance with the Constitution. The Speaker represents Parliament during the signing of international treaties, conventions and declarations.

Women speakers have the opportunity to shape their Parliaments, both in the way they operate and in their outputs. They can enhance Parliaments' role in overseeing government work in the area of gender equality, provide space for effective Women's Parliamentary Caucuses, and foster partnerships between men and women Parliamentarians in effecting legal and institutional reforms on gender equality. They also serve as role models for fellow women who aspire to top decision-making positions in their respective countries.

[13] Athumani, H., 'Uganda's Only Female Presidential Candidate Says Leadership Needs to Change' 11 January 2021‹https://www.voanews.com/africa/ugandas-only-female-presidential-candidate-says-leadership-needs-change›accessed 3 March 2021
[14] Wikipedia, Nancy Kalembe ‹https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nancy_Kalembe› accessed 3 March 2021

Figure 7.2: Women Speakers in Africa by region



Source: Compiled by Gender Link with information from parliament websites see Annex 14.

Of the 73 Speakers of Parliament, 15 (21%) are women. Southern Africa has the most women Speakers, with eight of the 23 positions (35%) held by women. North Africa and the Horn have no women Speakers.

Reflections of the first female Speaker in Uganda


Rebecca Kadaga.

In the past, Uganda has had a female Vice-President and I served as the first ever-female Speaker of Parliament. Many may be quick to highlight this as a great success, but the fact that it came 50 years after independence speaks volumes of women's struggle to make it in the political arena.

On a personal level, I joined politics fully in 1989 as a Member of Parliament representing Kamuli District women. At that time, I was coming from a background of private practice as a Lawyer. My venture into politics was driven by a passion for women emancipation and empowerment - I felt that it was my duty to join politics and influence decision making for the improvement of women's lives in Kamuli District in particular and Uganda in general.

A new Constitution was enacted in 1995, with gender-related provisions being included. The country holds presidential, parliamentary, and local government elections every 5 years. Uganda also conforms to the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which ensures the equal participation of women in public life.

Fortunately, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government had just introduced seats for women representatives, and this provided me with a perfect platform to make my thrust into politics. This is commonly referred to as affirmative action, which was also later integrated into the Republic of Uganda's Constitution in 1995.

Of course, joining politics at that time was not easy for me as a woman. There were, and there remain, so many prejudices and odds against

women in politics in Uganda. But somehow, I was able to ride the tide and overcome. Being a Lawyer who knew her rights and being strongly willed, of course, helped. However, it is the overwhelming support of the people of Kamuli District that propels in me.

My political party - the NRM, of which I am 2nd National Vice-Chairperson has been instrumental in my journey in politics. As I have mentioned earlier, it is the NRM that created the opportunity for women through introducing affirmative action. The same party has been supportive through all the levels and strata that I have been climbing.

In Uganda, the Electoral Commission is the body in charge of conducting elections. The electoral laws in Uganda allow and enable women's political participation. However, under the Elections Act, there is no special provision for the protection of women during electoral processes. This has been one factor that really hinders women's participation in electoral processes in Uganda. Violence against women during campaigns and elections is still a deterrent factor towards women's participation in electoral processes.

Of course, as women leaders, we have done our best to push for the emancipation of women Uganda. We have struggled to build and advocate for structures right from the grassroots to the top levels. We have also put in place legislation that if well implemented; we think can protect women's rights and create equal opportunities.

There are still challenges. For example, the numbers that we have in Parliament are not ideal. Currently, women in Parliament in Uganda are just over 31% which is far off the 50% target. Unfortunately, this is not the case with Uganda alone but with many other countries because only two countries have achieved gender parity globally. We need to empower women through policy reforms education, and changing attitudes in our societies. We need increased funding for women in our parties, and we need to create more women advocacy groups at the grass root level to push the agenda.

Interview with Rebecca Kadaga (MP), first woman Speaker of Uganda, January 2017. at a Consultative Conference on the Commonwealth Handbook for Gender Inclusive Elections in Africa.

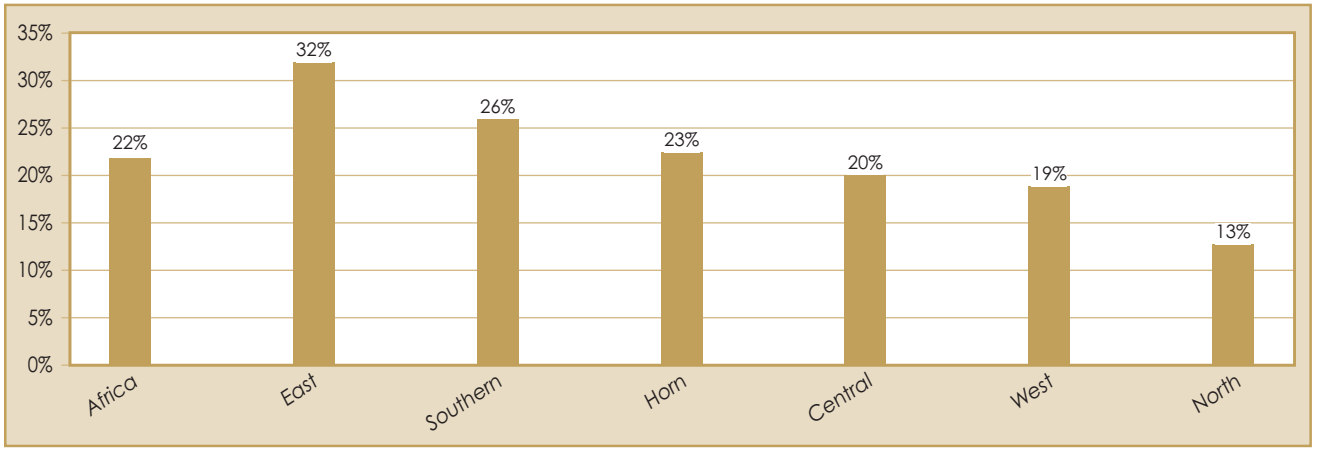
Women in Cabinet

Cabinet members are the highest-ranking officials in the Executive, usually referred to as Ministers. The role of cabinet depends on whether the country uses a parliamentary system e.g. South Africa or a presidential system e.g. Uganda. In the parliamentary system cabinet collectively decides the government's direction, especially regarding legislation passed by the parliament. In countries with a presidential system, the Cabinet does not perform this function, their primary role is as an official advisory council to the head of government.[15] Cabinet sizes in Africa range from 10 ministers in the Comoros to 49 in the DRC.

The Cabinet is one area in which governments can make rapid progress in achieving gender parity, as the President appoints members. High proportions of women in cabinet are an indication of political will at the highest level. This is one area in which heads of state committed to gender equality have the power to bring about change in a relatively short period.

[15] Wikipedia, Cabinet (government) ‹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cabinet_(government)› accessed 14 March 2021

Figure 7.3: Women in Cabinet in Africa by region

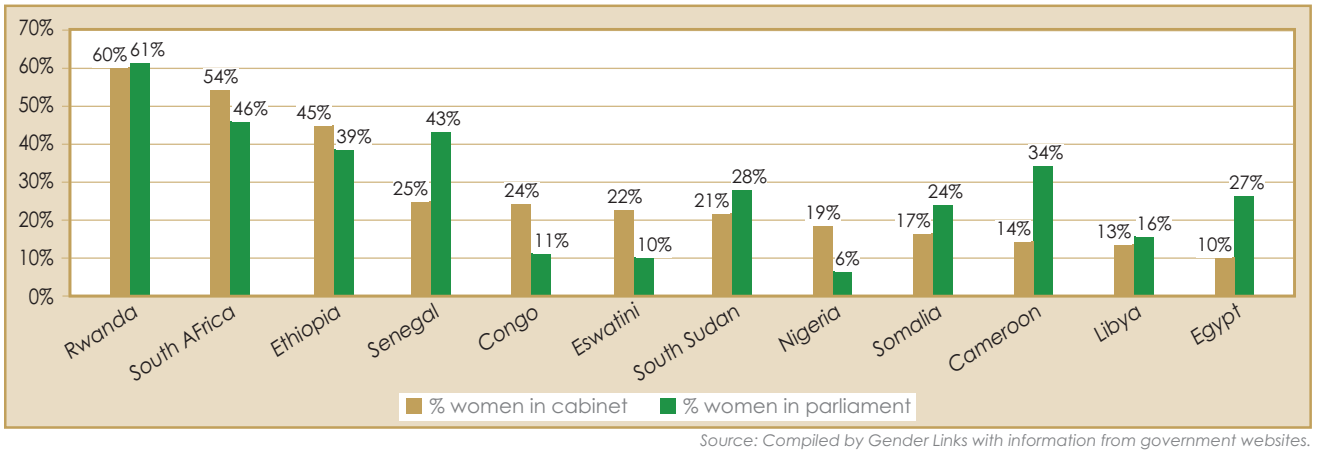


Source: Compiled by GL with information from government websites see Annex 17.

Figure 7.3 shows that women are still under-represented in Cabinets across Africa, with only 22% of these positions being occupied by women. East Africa has the highest proportion of women in cabinet (32%). North Africa has the lowest (13%). All 54 African countries have at least one woman cabinet minister. Representation of women in African cabinets ranges from 7% in Equatorial Guinea to 60% in Rwanda.

The low levels of women in Cabinet positions raises concerns about the political will of heads of state to increase women's representation in decision-making. Rwanda and South Africa have more than 50% women in Cabinet - 60% and 54% respectively, which correlates with their high representation in Parliament. This shows the commitment by Presidents in those countries to gender parity.

Figure 7.4: Women in Cabinet vs Pariament in select African countries



Source: Compiled by Gender Links with information from government websites.

Figure 7.4 illustrates that six of 12 countries in different regions of Africa (Rwanda, Senegal, South Sudan, Somalia, Cameroon, Libya, Egypt) have more women in Parliament than in the Cabinet. Except Egypt, all of these countries have some form of quota, either constitutional/legislated or voluntary party. Conversely, in South Africa, Ethiopia, Congo (Brazzaville), Eswatini and Nigeria there are more women in Cabinet. Interestingly aside from South Africa and Ethiopia, the other

three countries have the lowest representation of women in Parliament.



In **Senegal** the contrast between Parliament and Cabinet is stark. Senegal has 43% women in Parliament. The country ranks fourth in the region on this metric. This is not matched in other top posts. The cabinet comprises of only eight women, on a total of 32 ministers (25%). At the local level women comprise 13 out of 557 mayors (23%). The National Autonomous Electoral Committee (CENA) has only four women out of 12 members (33%). All of them are political nominees since they are named by presidential decree.

The world over women predominates in the so-called *soft* portfolios, such a gender and women's affairs, health, culture and education. However, there is growing evidence of stereotypes being challenged as women are appointed to non-traditional portfolios such as defense and justice.

Table 7.2: Gender Division of Laour in selected African countries

Country	Region	Economic/ planning	Foreign/Justice/ Security	Social	Women in cabinet	% women in parliament
Rwanda	East	67%	0%	80%	60%	61%
South Africa	Southern	53%	50%	60%	54%	46%
Ethiopia	Horn	33%	50%	75%	45%	39%
Senegal	West	32%	0%	22%	25%	43%
Congo	Central	17%	0%	67%	24%	11%
Eswatini	Southern	8%	33%	67%	22%	10%
South Sudan	East	6%	29%	50%	21%	28%
Nigeria	West	13%	0%	36%	19%	6%
Somalia	Horn	14%	0%	40%	17%	24%
Cameroon	Central	0%	20%	29%	14%	34%
Libya	North	0%	0%	29%	13%	16%
Egypt	North	9%	0%	14%	10%	27%
Overall		**23%**	**14%**	**34%**	**27%**	

Source: Gender Links, with data from Annex 18.

Table 7.2 shows that in the 12 selected countries from different regions of Africa, women dominate in the social portfolios (including women's and youth affairs, health, education and culture). Women comprise 34% of the ministers in these portfolios. Just 23% of ministerial positions in the economic and planning portfolios are women. Women are least represented in the justice and security portfolios (including defense, safety and security, foreign affairs), with just 14% of ministers being women. Seven of the 12 countries have no women in these portfolios. There are, however, some examples of where this trend is changing. For example in South Africa and Ethiopia, women occupy half of the foreign/justice/security portfolios.

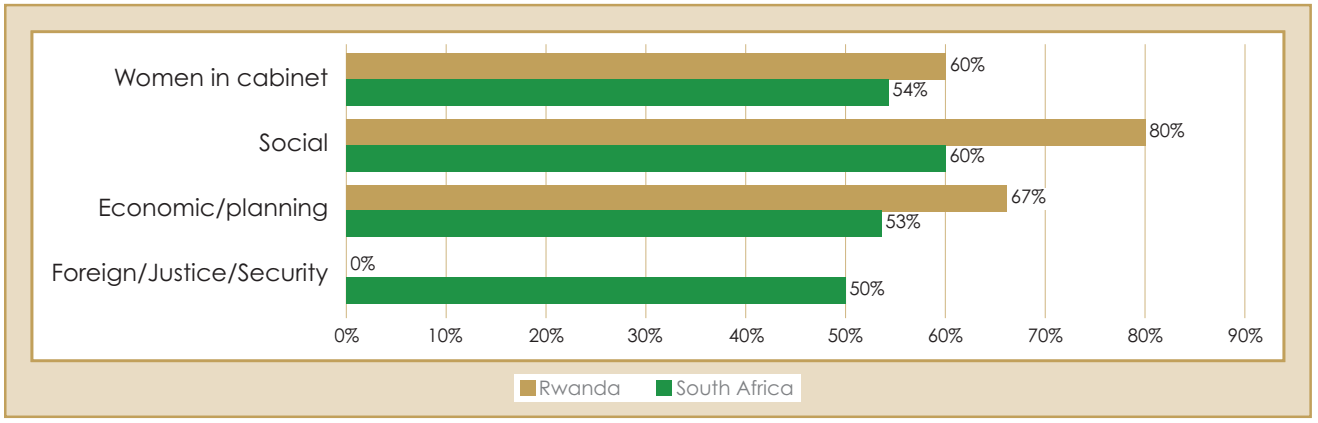


Ethiopia has made commendable progress in women's representation in Parliament over the last 20 years, increasing from eight per cent in 2000 to 39% in 2020. The ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) (now Prosperity Party) has adopted a 30% voluntary party quota. In a cabinet reshuffle in 2018 representation of women increased from 18% to 45%[16], showing Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's commitment to women in decision-

[16] Burke, J., 'Women win half of Ethiopia's cabinet roles in reshuffle' The Guardian, 16 October 2018 ‹ https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/oct/16/women-win-half-of-ethiopias-cabinet-roles-in-reshuffle› accessed 2 March 2021. Note figure is fifferent because of various cabinet reshuffle since 2018, 45% is based on most recent information

making. He also appointed 50% women to the security and justice portfolios, naming women as the Attorney General and Minister of Peace.[17] This is noteworthy given the past and current conflict in the country. Some sceptics however question the motives behind these appointments, arguing that leaders just want to appear to be doing the right thing. "It allows leaders with authoritarian leanings, or dubious democratic credentials, to expand their support base and bolster political stability. The recent reforms in both Ethiopia and Egypt could well be the product of such strategies, rather than a genuine commitment to promoting gender equality".[18]

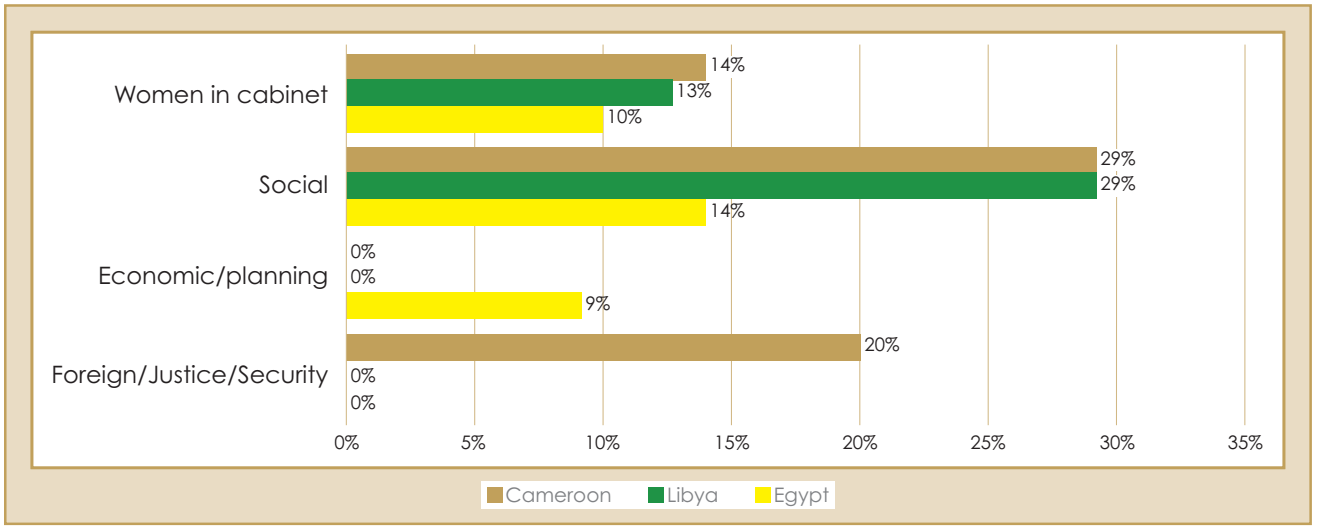
Figure 7.5: Gender in the South African and Rwanda Cabinets



Source: Gender Links with data from Annex 18.

Rwanda and South Africa are the only two countries in Africa with over 50% women in Cabinet. Figure 7.5 shows that here too, women dominate in the social portfolios. However they are also in the majority in the economic/planning portfolios. Rwanda has no women in the foreign, justice, and security portfolios. However, in South Africa women comprise 50% of those in these traditionally male-dominated portfolios.

Figure 7.6: Gender in African cabinets less than 15%



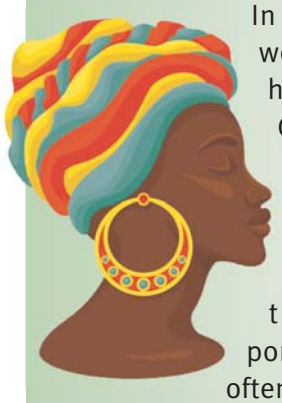
Source: Gender Links with data from Annex 18.

[17] See Annex 18
[18] Dodswoth, S., How more women politicians in Africa can make a real difference, Weforum, 27 February 2019 ‹https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2019/02/women-politicians-in-africa-face-huge-odds-but-can-make-a-real-difference› accessed 2 March 2021

Figure 7.6 shows that in countries with less than 15% women in Cabinet, only Cameroon has women in the foreign, justice, and security portfolios. The majority of ministers in these countries are in the social portfolios, and only Egypt has a woman in the economic and planning portfolios.

Africa is a young population. According to the United Nations, 226 million youth aged 15-24 lived in Africa in 2015, representing nearly 20% of Africa's population, making up one-fifth of the world's youth population. If the age bracket is widened to include all people aged below 35, this number increases to three-quarters of Africa's population. The share of Africa's youth in the world is forecasted to increase to 42% by 2030[19]. Therefore, it is imperative that policies and strategies are put in place to ensure the inclusion of youth in political decision-making so that their views are heard and taken into account when developing policies and programmes. There is growing recognition of the role that youth can play in governance and political decision-making.

Young women coming into cabinet



In the last two years, three women, aged 35 or younger, have been appointed to Cabinets in Angola, Botswana and Namibia. What is more encouraging is that these young women have not been appointed to the traditional, 'soft' portfolios to which women are often appointed.

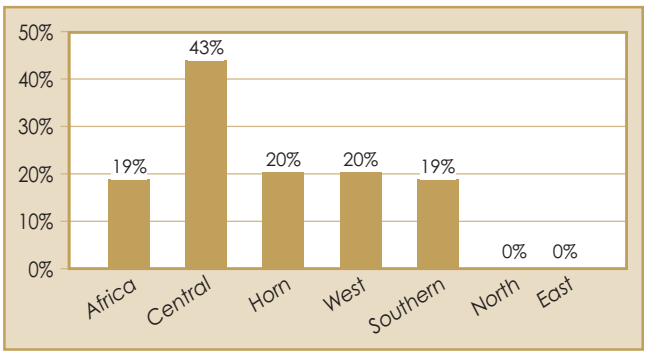
Bogolo Kenewendo was only 29 when she was appointed Minister of Investment, Trade and industry in Botswana in 2018. In 2019 Vera Daves da Sousa, 35, became Angola's Finance Minister. She has the task of reviving Angola's oil-based economy, which has experienced its worst recession since civil war ended in 2002. Emma Theofelus, 23, became Namibia's Information, Communication and Technology Deputy Minister in April 2020 weeks after the COVID-19 pandemic struck.

Top women in Local Government

Women comprise 21% of those elected to local government level and 19% of Mayors of capital cities. Of the 54 capital cities in Africa, only 10 are led by women.

Figure 7.7 shows that Central Africa has the highest proportion of women Mayors of capital cities. Of the seven capitals, three are led by women. In North and East Africa, there are no women Mayors of capital cities. The Horn, West and Southern Africa all sit at the Africa average of 19% or slightly above, at 20%.

Figure 7.7: Women mayors in capital cities in Africa by region



Source: Compiled by GL with information from capital city websites see Annex 15.

[19] Office of the special advisor of Africa, Youth empowerment ‹https://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/peace/youth.shtml#:~:text=According%20to%20the%20United%20Nations%2C%20226%20million%20youth%20aged%2015,of%20the%20world's%20youth%20population› Accessed 14 March 2021

Women making a difference

Thenjiwe Mtinso's model (1997) posits that once women gain entry to and can participate effectively, change will follow. Transformation takes many forms. Institutional change concerns the extent to which parliaments, political parties, EMBs etc become more gender friendly. Change is also measured in new discourse, services, laws and policies. The Commonwealth Secretariat notes that the entry of women into parliament leads to issues such as abortion, domestic violence, sexual harassment, rape, single parenthood, and women's health entering the parliamentary agenda.[20]

The Inter-Parliamentary Union's (IPU) Plan of action for gender-sensitive parliaments is designed to support parliaments in their efforts to become more gender-responsive. It presents a broad range of strategies in seven action areas. In line with the plan of action IPU developed a self-assessment tool for evaluating gender sensitivity of parliaments.

IPU describes a gender-sensitive parliament[21] as one that:

1. Promotes and achieves equality in numbers of women and men across all of its bodies and internal structures.
2. Develops a gender equality policy framework suited to its own national parliamentary context.
3. Mainstreams gender equality throughout all of its work.
4. Fosters an internal culture that respects women's rights, promotes gender equality and responds to the needs and realities of MPs - men and women - to balance work and family responsibilities.
5. Acknowledges and builds on the contribution made by its men members who pursue and advocate for gender equality.
6. Encourages political parties to take a proactive role in the promotion and achievement of gender equality.
7. Equips its parliamentary staff with the capacity and resources to promote gender equality, actively encourages the recruitment and retention of women to senior positions, and ensures that gender equality is mainstreamed throughout the work of the parliamentary administration.

Action area 1
Increase the number of women in parliament and achieve equality in participation
Increasing access to parliament through gender-sensitive changes will help increase the number of women parliamentarians, which can in turn prompt the further implementation of the principles of gender sensitivity.

Action area 2
Strengthen gender equality legislation and policy
Parliaments can become more gender-sensitive by implementing legislation and policies that support the principles of gender equality. The introduction of gender equality and gender mainstreaming legislation can be an effective catalyst for social and cultural change in attitudes towards gender equality.

[20] Commonwealth Secretariat, *Women in Politics: Voices from the Commonwealth* (London, Commonwealth Secretariat, 1999)
[21] Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Plan of action for gender-sensitive parliaments* (IPU, 2017) p.11

Action area 3
Mainstream gender equality throughout all parliamentary work
Gender mainstreaming is a process that recognizes the economic, social, political and legal differences that exist between women and men. Gender inequality can be tackled effectively only if policies in all areas are designed in such a way as to address the specific concerns, needs and constraints of both women and men while building on their respective capacities and contributions.

Action area 4
Institute or improve gender-sensitive infrastructure and parliamentary culture
Parliaments are like any other workplace, and as such, should serve as a model for society by upholding the principles of gender sensitivity through the provision of family-friendly policies and infrastructure, and the implementation of policies related to the prevention of discrimination and harassment, and policies on the equitable distribution of parliamentary resources and facilities.

Action area 5
Ensure that responsibility for gender equality is shared by all parliamentarians - men and women
The realization of a gender-sensitive parliament, based on the ultimate goal of gender equality in all its structures, methods and work, will not take place without the support and involvement of men parliamentarians. Changing social values and heightening gender awareness among men have resulted in stronger partnerships between men and women on gender equality.

Action area 6
Encourage political parties to be champions of gender equality
Political parties are often the dominant form of political organization and the mechanism through which women and men pursue a legislative agenda with respect to the achievement of gender equality. Parliaments should encourage political parties to increase the number of women in their ranks by instituting gender-sensitive meeting arrangements and work practices, developing gender mainstreaming mechanisms and equitably allocating parliamentary committee positions among men and women.

Action area 7
Enhance the gender sensitivity of, and gender equality among, parliamentary staff
Gender-sensitive parliaments are champions of gender equality, not only for their members, but also for the many staff who support them. Parliamentary administrations need to review their workplace culture and infrastructure, and act to ensure that all staff are able to support parliament in achieving its gender equality goals. In this respect, parliaments and their administration.

This section is taken from Inter-Parliamentary Union, Plan of Action for gender-sensitive parliaments (2017)

Transformation is, however, difficult to measure. "The actual impact women parliamentarians can make will depend on a number of variables that vary from country to country. These include the economic and political context in which the assembly functions, the background, experience and number of the women in parliament, and the parliamentary process rules. Each of these factors has a significant bearing on the extent to which women MPs can make a difference once elected. Because these factors vary significantly from country to country, it is difficult to make generalisations that are universally relevant regarding how women MPs can maximise their impact."[22]

The impact of increased numbers of women in parliament is questioned in an article, *Political Empowerment of Women in Africa: Influence or Number?* Maty Konte and Victor Osei Kwadwo argue that while women's political representation has increased significantly over the last decade, the influence that this has had on policy is questionable: "Women's representation in political parties, the legislative and executive arms of government, and at points of crisis matter, but what matters most is how these numbers translate into improving policy content and direction. Comparing women's cabinet appointments to the percentage of budget managed, on average women with cabinet positions manage a relatively low proportion (18.9%) of budgets. This is evidence that strides made in increasing the number of women in politics in Africa is at best only symbolic and at worst, redundant."[23]

Some recent studies show that improving the representation of women in parliament has a positive impact on the health sector. Political scientists Amanda Clayton and Pär Zetterberg have shown that large increases in women's parliamentary representation tend to be followed by rises in government spending on public health. "We find that substantial quota shocks-those associated with a large increase in women's parliamentary representation-are followed by increased government expenditures toward public health. Further, we find that increases in health spending are offset by relative decreases in military spending and other spending categories. Our findings provide strong evidence that quota policies influence government priorities in historically feminized policy areas but principally when they are complied with and have substantial numerical consequences."[24]

As we seek to hone indicators of "effective participation" for further studies, the following qualitative examples show how change is starting to happen in countries with a "critical mass" of women.

[22] Karam, A and Lovenduski, J., *Women in Parliament: Making a difference*", Ballington J and Karam, A eds. "Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers", A revised edition, (International IDEA, 2005), pp.188
[23] M. Konte & V. Osei Kwadwo, Political Empowerment of Women in Africa: Influence or Number? Impakter, 12 November 2019 <https://impakter.com/political-empowerment-of-women-in-africa-influence-or-number/> accessed 3 March 2021
[24] Clayton , A and Zetterberg P (2008) Quota Shocks: Electoral Gender Quotas and Government Spending Priorities Worldwide. The Journal of Politics, volume 80, number 3. Published online May 10, 2018. p916

Rwanda, A country where gender equality is obvious



Hundreds of children have celebrated the International Day of the Rights of Children, the 20th November 2020, by taking part of the 14th Summit for Children in the Rwandese Parliament. *Photo:* Deborah-Giraneza Twahirwa

Rwanda has the highest proportion of women in Parliament (61%) and Cabinet (60%) globally. It is the first country globally with a female majority. Rwandan women have played an instrumental role in rebuilding the country following the 1994 Genocide.

In her book *Rwandan Women Rising*, Swanee Hunt provides a timeline of major historical events and the rise of women's leadership in Rwanda dating back to the 1800's. More recently, since first post-genocide parliamentary election in 2003 when women won 48% of seats, a range of law reform and policy changes have taken place. The country has passed land reform requiring legally married couples to jointly register property; Parliament approved a Gender-Based Violence law mandating strict punishments for all sexual violence, including domestic abuse. Their nine- year basic education policy makes primary school plus three years accessible to all with a particular push for girls.[25] Agathe Uwilingiyimana was the first and up till now, the only women Prime Minister in Rwanda, from the 18th July 1993 up to her murder on the 7th April 1994 at Kigali during the Tutsis genocide.

Equality between men and women has been enshrined in the Constitution since 2003. The Ministry of the Promotion of Gender and the Family (MIGEPROF) was established to create an enabling environment for the family's stability, equality between the sexes and the protection of the children to reach sustainable development. This key Ministry's mission is to guarantee a secure environment for all family members, empowerment of girls and women, the promotion of non-discrimination, complementarity, and equality between sexes, foster and encourage positive masculinity, and eradicate sexism violence and strengthen family unity and positive parenthood.

A Gender Monitoring Office supports MIGEPROF. Its mandate is to oversee the respect of equality between sexes, promote gender responsibility at all levels, and fight GBV and all the injustice that goes with it. There is a dedicated hotline (5798) that allows a victim of gender-based violence to get psychological assistance from a specialized councilor in the field. Legal counselling is offered and there is monitoring to ensure the efficiency of the service offered.

The government of Rwanda has made childhood development one of its priority. The Childhood Development Policy was adopted in 2016 to guarantee a holistic development of the child and it takes into account the heath, physical, social and emotional aspects of the child's growth. Thanks to the introduction of policies in parallel with other programs in the educational sector, the status of education for girls has considerably improved at primary, secondary and tertiary level. Parity has remained stable at primary and secondary level with respectively an actual schooling rate for girls at 49.7% and 53.2% whilst it is estimated that at tertiary level, young women were at 42.6% in 2018. Besides, the percentage of handicapped girls who pursue their studies has increased at 43.6% at the primary level and 47.8% at the secondary level.

[25] Hunt, S., *Rwandan Women Rising* (Duke University Press, 2017)

The Rwandan Defense Force (RDF) also has a policy of recruiting more women in the armed forces and implementing government preventive measures against GBV is the RDF's priority, as for the Rwanda National Police, and women soldiers play an important role in engaging in dialogues with women in all regions and districts.

While this progress is something that should be celebrated, critics warn that it should be considered alongside the country's weaker position on gender inequality indexes. While ranked first in terms of women's representation in parliament, Rwanda only ranks 158th in the United Nations' Gender Inequality Index. This index considers inequality in terms of reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market. "These figures speak more to the realities for women at all levels in Rwanda and reflect that Rwanda's high representation of women in parliament is not guaranteed to translate into transformation that benefits all women."[26] There are also some critics, who have cautioned against lauding a regime that could be using token representation to distract from its shift towards authoritarianism. The country still has a long way to go in achieving gender equality that translates into meaningful empowerment of all women.[27]

Hunt notes that while some argue that President Kagame has used political will to promote women because they are generally more moderate and less inclined to advocate violence, he has not made that claim. "The President has noted in interviews that women often exceed their male counterparts in terms of responsibility, diligence, and lack of egotism, qualities that are the spine of solid leadership".[28]

Source : Deborah-Giraneza Twahirwa with contribution from Gender Links



The late Meherzia Labidi Maïza was elected to the **Tunisian** Constituent Assembly in October 2011, and was appointed the First Deputy Speaker of the Assembly after receiving 142 out of the 214 votes. Labidi-Maïza organised the debates that gave birth to Tunisia's new Constitution. She ensured that women's rights were included in Article 45 of the Constitution. The post Arab Spring Constitution contained clauses that her supporters did not like, but she said, "it's like giving birth: painful, but in the end, everyone is happy when the child arrives". Labidi-Maïza was elected to the Assembly of People's Representatives in the parliamentary election in October 2014, in the second level district of Nabeul in north-east Tunisia. In 2015 she led the Committee of Women, Family, Children and the Elderly.[29]

With increased understanding the importance of sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), women MPs are raising these issues, which are still resisted in many African parliaments.



Regina Esprano, an MP in **Seychelles** has worked to set up a committee in parliament for SRHR, and with help of the SADC Parliamentary Forum (PF) secured funding to reach key populations. They have had sessions with girls in schools on SRHR and condom use, and are raising awareness on the dangers of HIV and

[26] Lorimer, S., *Does the high representation of women in parliament in Rwanda translate to meaningful empowerment of women?* IRM, 13 October 2020 <https://innovativeresearchmethods.org/does-the-high-representation-of-women-in-parliament-in-rwanda-translate-to-meaningful-empowerment-of-women-copy/ > accessed 3 March 2021
[27] Ibid
[28] Hunt, S., *Rwandan Women Rising* (Duke University Press, 2017)
[29] UN Women, 'From where I stand: "Women have to be at the heart of the Africa of tomorrow"' 25 July 2017<https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2017/7/from-where-i-stand-mehrezia-maiza-labidi >accessed 3 March 2021

AIDS and how to promote good health and responsible reproductive health. She says "there is a need to change policy to ensure that young girls can access contraceptives so they can continue their education, prevent HIV and AIDS, and unwanted pregnancies leading to a brighter future."[30]

Taking gender activism to the international arena

Like former President of Argentina, Michelle Bachelet and former President of Ireland, Mary Robinson, African women ministers are moving to high positions in inter-governmental organisations. In these influential positions African women are shining a spotlight on the "big" policy agendas for gender and the SDGs.



Photo: UNWomen, Kea Taylor

Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, Executive Director of UN Women started out as a South African MP during the country's first democratic government from 1994 to 1996. She served as Minister of Minerals and Energy and Deputy Minister in the Department of Trade and Industry and was Deputy President of South Africa from 2005-2008. She has served in her current post since 2013.

Early on in the pandemic Mlambo-Ngcuka drew attention to the disproportionate impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. In a statement on 20 March 2020 she acknowledged how the pandemic was 'exposing deficiencies public and private arrangements that currently function only if women play multiple and underpaid roles'.[31]

She added "This is a moment for governments to recognize both the enormity of the contribution women make and the precarious nature of so many. This includes a focus on sectors where women are over-represented and underpaid, such as daily wage earners, small business owners, those working in cleaning, caring, cashiering and catering sectors and in the informal economy."[32]

Mlambo-Ngcuka applauded the efforts of governments which were taking extraordinary measures to stop the spread of infections. And she acknowledged the strong leadership of women in providing well targeted response, from Chancellor Merkel and Prime Minister Solberg addressing national anxieties, to Prime Minister Ardern highlighting welfare in her economic measures. There is a growing body of literature[33] arguing that countries with women leaders have fared better in responding to the COVID 19 pandemic.

In an interview with Thomson Reuters Foundation in February 2021[34], Mlambo-Ngcuka said countries must put more women into leadership roles to build a stronger post-pandemic world. She also emphasises how important role models are for young and aspiring politicians. Referring to Kamala Harris' appointment as the first female U.S. vice president, she said, "It does help if a big country breaks the mould. It pushes other countries forward." She believes Harris, who is of Indian and Jamaican heritage, is as particularly important role model for young women of colour, she said "They now have someone who looks like them, who they can identify with" Mlambo-Ngcuka has also been a role model to younger women, she says "It was such a fulfilling feeling to hear young women (saying) 'Wow, this is on the table. I can also go for this'".[35]

[30] Gender Links interview ‹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_51YzluhEPY&t=55› accessed 2 March 2021
[31] UN Women, COVID-19: *Women front and centre* Statement by Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, UN Under-Secretary-General and UN Women Executive Director 20 March 2020 ‹https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/3/statement-ed-phumzile-covid-19-women-front-and-centre› accessed 14 March 2021
[32] Ibid
[33] https://blogs.prio.org/2020/04/womens-leadership-could-enhance-global-recovery-from-covid-19/
https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2020/06/08/how-iceland-beat-the-coronavirus
https://theconversation.com/what-coronavirus-success-of-taiwan-and-iceland-has-in-common-140455
https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/28815/the-importance-of-gender-inclusion-in-covid-19-responses,
[34] Batha, E., *Want a stronger world after COVID-19? Choose more women leaders, Reuters*, 1 February 2021 ‹https://www.reuters.com/article/global-women-politics-idUSL8N2K262V› accessed 3 March 2021
[35] Batha, E., *Want a stronger world after COVID-19? Choose more women leaders, Reuters*, 1 February 2021 ‹https://www.reuters.com/article/global-women-politics-idUSL8N2K262V› accessed 3 March 2021 1

Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, Head the World Trade Organization (WTO)

Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala is the first woman and first African to head the World Trade Organization (WTO), an intergovernmental organisation regulating and facilitating international trade between nations. Okonjo-Iweala had an esteemed career from her struggle beginnings when she worked as a cook for rebels on the frontlines in the 1967-70 civil war between Nigeria and Igbo-dominated Biafra. She was an economist at the World Bank for 25 years and the first Minister of Finance in Nigeria for two terms from 2003-2006, 2011-2015.[36]

Her legacy includes strengthening the country's public financial systems and stimulating the housing sector to establish the Mortgage Refinance Corporation (NMRC). She also empowered women and youth with the Growing Girls and Women in Nigeria Programme (GWIN), a gender-responsive budgeting system, and the highly acclaimed Youth Enterprise with Innovation programme (YouWIN); to support entrepreneurs that created thousands of jobs.[37]

Conclusions and recommendations

This chapter shows that African women are still under-represented in leadership positions, from 22% in Cabinets to just 7% in top executive posts. The discourse on women in political-decision making is moving *beyond numbers to making a difference*. "Quantitative and qualitative arguments for women's equal participation in decision-making are not absolute nor are they mutually exclusive. The two go hand in hand. There are legitimate equity arguments for demanding women's participation in decision-making whether they make a difference or not."[38]

More qualitative research is required with African women politicians and experts to uncover exactly what difference women make to politics. While men in decision-making are not judged in the same critical way, this evidence will make a stronger case, if this is in question, for women's equal representation in all areas of decision-making.

Recommendations

To leaders:

- Cabinet is one area in which governments could make rapid progress as members are appointed by the President. Leaders should ensure gender balance in cabinet appointments, as well as ensure that all interest groups are represented.
- Where a presidential candidate is a male, he should nominate a female running mate, and vice-versa.

To women politicians:

- Document experiences - women politicians should write and tell their stories of successes and challenges to build up a body of literature that can be used to continuously make the case for increasing women's representation in decision-making bodies.
- Be role models and mentor young aspiring women politicians.

[36] Campbell, J, 'Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala: A Well-Qualified New Leader for the WTO' Council on foreign relations, 17 february 2021 ‹https://www.cfr.org/blog/ngozi-okonjo-iweala-well-qualified-new-leader-wto accessed 3 March 2021›
[37] Wikipedia, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, ‹https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ngozi_Okonjo-Iweala› accessed 3 March 2021
[38] Lowe Morna, C., *Ringing up the Changes*, (Gender Links, 2004) pp.249

- Forge alliances with civil society, particularly WROs who can provide technical support and capacity building on campaigning, law reform and policy development.
- Establish multi-party women's caucuses to deliberate on issues of gender outside of traditional political party structures.

To WROs:

- Develop indicators for measuring "effective participation". These include the extent to which women raise their voice in decision-making structures; the issues they raise; services, laws and policies that change as result of these interventions; changes in the attitudes of men towards gender issues; follow up, monitoring and evaluation of these changes.
- Conduct research and document women's experience and participation in governance and political processes, by working with women politicians to document their experiences and learnings.
- Upscale capacity building for women in politics and leadership to strengthen knowledge, information and gender analysis capacities of women at all levels of decision-making, i.e. MPs, ministers, councilors, mayors, to give them confidence to retain their seats and inspire other women to participate in politics.



Speaking out at a political gathering in Eswatini. *Photo: Thando Dlamini*

Women's Political Participation (WPP) Checklist



1. Normative frameworks

- ✓ What international, regional and sub-regional instruments and protocols on women's political participation has the country ratified?
- ✓ What provisions do these make for women's representation and effective participation in the political process?
- ✓ Have these instruments and protocols been domesticated?

2. Women's representation in politics

- ✓ How many and what percentage of women were elected a) in the lower house; b) in the upper house if this exists; and c) in total?
- ✓ If the elections included local government, how many and what percentage of women councillors were elected?
- ✓ How do these figures compare to the last election? Has there been an increase or decrease in the percentage of women? If so, why?
- ✓ Are there differences in the proportion of women's representation in the different tiers of governance? If so, why?
- ✓ How do the figures break down by political party? Has there been an increase or decrease for each political party? If so, why?
- ✓ What proportion of women were re-elected, i.e what is the retention rate? How does the retention rate compare to that of men?
- ✓ Do the parties accept the election outcome? If not are any of the seats won by women contested in court or through other means? What is the outcome of this?

3. Structural barriers to Women's Political Participation

- ✓ What are the key barriers preventing women from participating in politics? For example, traditional and cultural barriers, lack of education, lack of adequate financing, violence (and especially gender-based violence). Please give examples.
- ✓ What factors facilitate women's effective representation and participation?
- ✓ Specifically what role do traditional authorities play in facilitating or inhibiting women's political participation?
- ✓ What particular challenges do young women face?

4. Electoral systems and Temporary Special Measures

Constitution, National laws and Policies on Gender

- ✓ Does the national Constitution explicitly promote gender equality?
- ✓ Is there a conflict or potential conflict between customary and or religious laws and the Constitution? If so, does the Constitution state that statutory laws take precedence, especially with regard to women's rights?
- ✓ Is gender equality reflected in the Constitution as a central feature of democratic citizenship?
- ✓ Does the Constitution provide for affirmative action for women in political decision-making in all areas and at all levels?
- ✓ Does the Constitution allow for independent candidates?

- ✓ Does the Constitution provide for independent body/bodies to promote gender equality? What role do these play in the conduct of elections?
- ✓ Has the country adopted a National Gender Policy? How effective has this been in mainstreaming gender?
- ✓ Does the National Gender Policy include targets, time frames, and a strategy for attaining gender parity in political decision-making?
- ✓ Does the electoral law/code provide men and women equal rights to participate in the electoral process; for example, the right to vote, to stand for public office, to choose a political party, to access information on registration, campaign, and associate freely?
- ✓ Does the electoral system in the country help to enhance women's representation in political decision-making?[1]
- ✓ Are there special measures to enhance women's political participation? For example, constitutional or legislated quotas; safe constituencies; reducing and/or waiving nomination fees; voluntary party list quotas; mandated party list quotas and double-member constituencies; quotas for executive appointees (where these exist)?
- ✓ Does the election act prohibit sexual harassment and gender violence in all areas of elections?
- ✓ Is there a mechanism to enforce such provisions? How effectively has it been applied?
- ✓ Does the election act list gender discrimination as one of the grounds for contesting an election result? Has this been tested?

5. Political parties

Commitment, codes and party statutes

- ✓ Is there a commitment to gender equality on the part of political parties? How and where is this reflected?
- ✓ Have the parties set norms and standards for promoting gender equality?
- ✓ Has gender been mainstreamed in the constitution, manifesto, policies and structures of each political party?
- ✓ To what extent do the procedures for the selection of candidates for decision-making within the party enhance or hinder gender balance and sensitivity?
- ✓ Do the political parties offer gender awareness training for all cadres?
- ✓ Do the political parties offer capacity building, mentorship and other initiatives to enhance the political empowerment of women?
- ✓ Do political parties have codes of conduct on or that include firm measures to address sexual harassment/gender violence in all party, political and election conduct? To what extent have these been effectively implemented?
- ✓ How do parties work to ensure peaceful elections, including the absence of gender violence?

Women in political parties

- ✓ Is the right of women to join, or together with others to establish, a political party for purposes of competing in an election respected?
- ✓ Does the election act oblige political parties to take measures to enhance gender equality?
- ✓ Have the parties themselves instituted special measures to enhance gender parity in all their structures, at all levels? For example, does the party have quotas for women's participation within the party?
- ✓ Out of the top six positions, how many are held by women?
- ✓ To the extent that women are missing from decision-making in the party, what is being done to redress this imbalance?

[1] Research shows that there is a much higher representation of women in Proportional Representation (PR) electoral systems than in the First Past the Post (FPTP) system. Mixed electoral systems are also more favourable for women than the FPTP system.

Women's wings

- ✓ Do the parties have women's wings? How effective are these in promoting gender equality within the parties?
- ✓ How has the women's wing they supported women in electoral process? e.g. providing mentoring, sponsorship and training for women in politics?
- ✓ How free are women in the party to take a stand on women's rights, especially where these may be contrary to party positions?

Selection of candidates

- ✓ Are women involved in the processes to select candidates for the party (for specific seats in the case of FPTP, and position on the lists, in the case of the PR system)?
- ✓ Is the right of women citizens to present themselves as candidates for election respected?

Women candidates

- ✓ How many women and men ran for office for each party?
- ✓ How does this compare with the last election? How is the variance explained?
- ✓ If this is a FPTP system, what percentage of women were fielded in safe seats for the parties? In a list system, where are women candidates situated on the lists?
- ✓ What proportion of the women candidates are new, and how does this compare with the proportion of new male candidates?
- ✓ How many women are running as independent candidates? Is this more or less than before? Why?
- ✓ Are there any women candidates for the post of Prime Minister or President? Are they treated equally (by the media, public opinion, the EMB etc)?

6. Electoral Management

- ✓ Does the election act or law that establishes the independent electoral body or structure provide for equal representation of women and men at all positions and at all levels within the organisation?
- ✓ Is the EMB committed to gender mainstreaming[2]? Where and how is the reflected?
- ✓ Does the EMB have a balance of women and men commissioners? If not what measures have been taken to address this consistent with the appointment procedures in the country? For example, are there data bases of potential women commissioners?
- ✓ Does the EMB have a balance of women and men officials at all levels? If not what measures have been taken to address this? For example, how are positions for the EMB advertised? Are women encouraged to apply?
- ✓ How are EMBs supporting women candidates? e.g. reducing and/or waiving nomination fees?
- ✓ Has the EMBs engaged in gender targeted interventions?
- ✓ Does the EMB collect sex-disaggregated data in all parts of the electoral process?
- ✓ Is this information routinely analysed and used to take corrective action?
- ✓ Does the GMB ensure gender aware training for the administration of an election?
- ✓ Is gender taken into account in election monitoring, before, after and during?
- ✓ Are gender indicators written into the KPIs for elections? Are these analysed and commented on?
- ✓ To what extent does EMBs reporting reflect this gendered analysis of the elections?

Voter rights

- ✓ Are women citizens able to express political opinions without interference otherwise than as reasonably permitted by law?

[2] Gender mainstreaming is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels (ECOSOC 1997)

- ✓ Do all citizens, women and men have the right to receive and impart information and to make an informed electoral choice?
- ✓ Is the right to freedom of association, assembly and movement for women and men equally respected, other than as reasonably permitted by law?
- ✓ Do citizens have the right to vote for a political party which has a record of addressing issues which affect women?
- ✓ Are citizens inhibited in any way from voting for a political party which has women in leadership positions?
- ✓ Is the right of every citizen to be eligible as a voter, subject only to disqualification in accordance with criteria established by law that are objectively verifiable, respected for all women and men?
- ✓ Is there provision of information about the polling process; venues, times, etc. in languages and formats accessible to all women and men, especially in remote rural areas?
- ✓ Is the right to vote in secret strictly observed for women and men?
- ✓ Are voting stations equally and easily accessible to women and men?
- ✓ Are all voting stations safe, including safe from gender violence of any kind?

Voter registration

- ✓ Do voter registration procedures affirm the right of women citizens to an effective, impartial and non-discriminatory procedure for registration of voters?
- ✓ Is information on voter registration (dates, timing centres) made a minimum of three months in advance, in languages, formats and media (e.g. radio) that are equally accessible and non-discriminatory to women and men?
- ✓ Do the times for registration take account of the multiple roles of women and are they flexible enough to allow either early or late times for registration?
- ✓ Does the registration take place in safe and easily accessible venues?
- ✓ Do the procedures cater for all levels of literacy and illiteracy, including functional illiteracy?
- ✓ Do voter registration procedures set efficiency standards and are these adhered to, mindful of the multiple roles women play, and the opportunity cost for them of spending long hours in queues?
- ✓ Are there clear criteria for the registration of voters such as age, identification and citizenship and are these fair to men and women?
- ✓ Is every eligible citizen, woman and man, registered as a voter, subject only to disqualification in accordance with criteria established by law that are objectively verifiable and not subject to arbitrary decision?
- ✓ Is the right of the individual to prompt, effective review or correction of procedures when voter rights are negatively affected by an action or omission of the state or its officials adhered to?

Voter education

- ✓ How gender-aware are voter education materials? Do they reflect and depict all relevant aspects of diversity (such as race, ethnicity, disability, urban/rural divides)?
- ✓ Are there voter education programmes specifically targeted at women? Do these reflect the particular needs and concerns of women?
- ✓ Do women access and participate in voter education programmes?
- ✓ Does the electorate become familiar with gender equality as central to electoral issues and procedures through national programmes of civic and voter education?
- ✓ Do voter education programmes explain complex electoral processes in a manner which will be understood by illiterate voters (the majority of whom are women in many countries)?
- ✓ Do voter education workshops take place at times that accommodate the domestic and economic roles performed by women?

- ✓ Do voter education workshops take place in venues accessible to women (for example, are these venues child friendly?)
- ✓ Do voter education workshops take place in safe venues that will not inhibit women's attendance?
- ✓ Do voter education workshops take place in an environment in which women feel confident that they can express themselves without fear of disruption and ridicule, or harassment by political parties following such meetings?

Special provisions

- ✓ Have special provisions been made for women and men with particular physical disabilities, pregnant women, the elderly and those with children?
- ✓ Do these include facilities as well as systems and measures to reduce waiting time?
- ✓ Are there provisions for "special votes" for those who may not be able to make it to the polling station?
- ✓ Is this information readily accessible to women and men needing it?
- ✓ Does the EMB keep sex disaggregated data on special votes? Is this analysed as part of understanding the gendered nature of elections?

Campaign finance

- ✓ Are there campaign finance regulations? If yes, how do these regulations impact on the equal participation of women and men?
- ✓ Do these regulations include strategies to prevent corruption? How are these applied, and with what effect on women candidates?

7. Violence Against Women in Politics (VAWP)

- ✓ Is the right to campaign on an equal basis with other political parties, including the party representing the existing government, respected?
- ✓ Is the right to move freely within the country in order to campaign for election equally observed for women and men?
- ✓ Is the right of women party members, candidates and voters to campaign on an equal basis with their male counterparts respected?
- ✓ Do women in opposition parties face even greater barriers in their campaign?
- ✓ Are campaign rules clear and gender aware? Do they include protection from violence, including gender based violence in all forms, which may affect women's participation?
- ✓ Do security arrangements take account of the particular challenges that women face, such as misogyny, abusive language and GBV? Is this effectively prevented/addressed during the elections?
- ✓ Do the campaign processes ensure the right of party members, candidates and voters, especially women, security of person and property during the campaign and throughout the electoral process?
- ✓ Are women visible in campaign events, as candidates, voters, spokespersons, and commentators?
- ✓ What kinds of violence do women experience in politics - physical, sexual, cyber harassment, verbal abuse? Please give examples of both blatant and more subtle forms of violence. What effect do these have?
- ✓ How have women taken up cases of violence, within their parties, with the police etc. What response have they had?
- ✓ Is VAWP changing over time - improving or getting worse?
- ✓ What can be done to ensure that women participate fully and effectively in a safe and secure environment?

8. The Media and social media

- ✓ Do the laws, policies and practices that cover media conduct during elections require gender balance and sensitivity? What action needs to be taken?
- ✓ Does the media give equal space/air time/weight to women candidates? What has been the experience of women candidates? What action needs to be taken?
- ✓ Does the media make an effort to profile women candidates? What action needs to be taken?
- ✓ Are there complaints mechanisms for women politicians/ the public with regard to unequal or unfair treatment by the media? What action needs to be taken?
- ✓ Is there training for the media on gender responsive coverage of the elections? What action needs to be taken?
- ✓ Is there training for women politicians on making strategic use of the media, including new media? What action needs to be taken?
- ✓ Does gender form part of media commentary and analysis during elections? What action needs to be taken?
- ✓ Are women politicians on social media? Which social media? How has this affected them - positively or negatively - please give examples.

9. Civil society

- ✓ Are women's rights organisations among the civil society stakeholders consulted in the elections?
- ✓ Do civil society organisations (CSOs) promote the 50/50 campaign as part of voter education?
- ✓ Do CSOs support capacity building of women candidates regardless of political affiliation?
- ✓ Do CSOs support gender mainstreaming efforts of the EMBs?
- ✓ Do CSOs form part of election-monitoring processes?
- ✓ Do CSOs conduct a specific gender audit of the elections?
- ✓ How are the results used to enhance gender awareness of the electoral process?

Gender in election analysis

- ✓ Is there a stand-alone gender audit of the election? Who conducts this (civil society, statutory body, a consortium)?
- ✓ Do gender considerations and data form part of the EMB and election commission reports?
- ✓ Are these in stand-alone sections or is gender mainstreamed throughout these reports?
- ✓ Does gender form part of the media analysis, panel discussions and debate following the elections?
- ✓ Overall, to what extent do the elections contribute to women's equal and effective participation in political decision-making in the country?

10. Effective participation

- ✓ Are women represented in leadership positions within political decision-making - eg as speakers, mayors, chairs of committees, in cabinet?
- ✓ If so in what areas - for example do women lead only in the “soft” portfolios? Are they also in non-traditional portfolios - please give examples.
- ✓ What tangible difference have women made in these public spaces - laws, policies, services. Please give examples.
- ✓ How is this contribution viewed - by other women, men, the public.
- ✓ What opportunities are being created for young women to begin to claim these spaces?

ANNEX 1 Mapping of gender organisations in Africa working on women's political participation

Organisation	Region	Country / Countries	About the organisation	No of orgs	Elections monitoring & observation	Lobbying/ advocacy for policy & electoral reform	Capacity building	Men's orgs & movements
Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF)	Africa	26 Focal Offices / Networks across Africa	http://www.wildaf.org/	1		1	1	
The Solidarity for African Women's Rights (SOAWR) is a coalition	Africa	47 civil society organizations working across 24 countries	https://www.soawr.org	1		1	1	
Akina Mama wa Afrika (AMwA)	Africa	Africa	http://www.akinamamawaafrika.org/	1		1	1	
Make Every Woman Count (MEWC)	Africa	Africa	www.MakeEveryWomanCount.org	1		1	1	
Abantu for Development	Africa	Kenya, Tanzania, Ghana, Nigeria	http://abantunig.org/	1		1	1	
The Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE)	Africa	33 Countries in Africa	http://fawe.org/	1	1	1	1	
The African Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET)	Africa	46 African countries	https://femnet.org	1	1	1	1	
MenEngage Africa	Africa	Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, DR Congo, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe	http://menengage.org/regions/	1		1	1	1
African Women's Development Fund (AWDF)	Arica	Africa	http://www.awdf.org/	1	1	1	1	
Sub total Africa all				**9**	**3**	**9**	**9**	**1**
Women's Advocacy and Communication Network (WANET)	Central Africa	Cameroon	https://womenpeaceinitiative.wordpress.co	1		1	1	
International League of Women for Peace and Liberty (WILPF	Central Africa	Cameroon	https://www.wilpf.org/our-movement/	1		1	1	
Cameroon)								
Sub total Central Africa				**2**		**2**	**2**	**0**
The Eastern African Sub-Regional Support Initiative for the Advancement of Women (EASSI)	East Africa	Burundi, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania	eassi@eassi.org	1		1	1	
The Federation of Women Lawyers – Kenya (FIDA Kenya)	East Africa	Kenya	www.fidakenya.org	1		1	1	
South Sudan Women General Association (SSWGA)	East Africa	South Sudan	South Sudan Women General Association | Women Emancipation by Women Participation (wordpress.com)	1		1	1	

Organisation	Region	Country / Countries	About the organisation	No of orgs	Elections monitoring & observation	Lobbying/ advocacy for policy & electoral reform	Capacity building	Men's orgs & movements
Community Empowerment program organisation (CEPO)	East Africa	South Sudan		1		1	1	
EVE Organisation	East Africa	South Sudan	http://cepo-southsudan.org/about	1		1	1	
South Sudan Women Empowerment Network (SSWEN)	East Africa	South Sudan	https://sswen.org/	1		1	1	
Steward Women	East Africa	South Sudan	https://stewardwomen.org/	1		1	1	
South Sudan Council of Churches Women Desk	East Africa	South Sudan	https://sscchurches.org/	1		1	1	
Women Forum and Women Block	East Africa	South Sudan		1		1	1	
The South Sudan Law Society	East Africa	South Sudan	www.sslawsociety.org	1		1	1	
Community Empowerment for Progress Organization (CEPO)	East Africa	South Sudan	https://www.peaceinsight.org/en/organisations/cepo/?location=south-sudan&theme	1		1	1	
Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC) – Tanzania	East Africa	Tanzania	http://www.humanrights.or.tz	1		1	1	
Tanzania Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA)	East Africa	Tanzania	www.tawla.or.tz	1		1	1	
Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP)	East Africa	Tanzania	http://tgnp.org/	1	1	1	1	
Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA	East Africa	Tanzania	Home - TAMWA	1	1	1		
The Women's Democracy Group (WDG)	East Africa	Uganda	https://www.dgf.ug/	1	1	1	1	
Centre for Women in Governance (CEWIGO)	East Africa	Uganda	https://cewigo.com/	1	1	1	1	
Forum for Women in Democracy (FOWODE)	East Africa	Uganda	www.fowode.org	1	1	1	1	
Uganda Women's Network (UWONET)	East Africa	Uganda	http://www.uwonet.or.ug/	1	1	1	1	
Women's Democracy Network-Uganda Chapter (WDN–U)	East Africa	Uganda	http://www.wdnuganda.org/	1	1	1	1	
Action for Development (ACFODE)	East Africa	Uganda	http://acfode.org/	1	1	1		
Sub total East Africa				**21**	**8**	**21**	**19**	**0**
The Women Association in Tigray region	Horn of Africa	Ethiopia	http://www.womenassociationoftigray.org.et/	1		1		
The Network of Ethiopian Women's Associations	Horn of Africa	Ethiopia	http://www.newaethiopia.org/	1	1	1		
Organisations for Social Justice in Ethiopia (OSJE)	Horn of Africa	Ethiopia	www.osje.org	1	1			
Ethiopian Media Women Association (EMWA)	Horn of Africa	Ethiopia	https://www.govserv.org/	1	1		1	
The Strategic Initiative for Women in the Horn of Africa (SIHA)	Horn of Africa	Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Eritrea	www.sihanet.org	1		1	1	
Somali Women Leadership Initiative	Horn of Africa	Somalia		1	1	1	1	
the Somali Youth Development Foundation (SYDF)	Horn of Africa	Somalia	http://www.sydf.org/	1	1	1	1	
Somali Youth Cluster (SYC)	Horn of Africa	Somalia	http://www.syc.so/	1		1	1	
Banadir Regional Youth Association (BARYA)	Horn of Africa	Somalia	https://brayouth.so/	1		1	1	
Sudan Professionals Association (SPA)	Horn of Africa	Sudan	https://www.sudaneseprofessionals.org/en/	1		1		
The Sudanese Women's Union	Horn of Africa	Sudan	www.sudanesewomensunionuk.com	1		1		
Women in Political, Social and the Civil Society	Horn of Africa	Sudan		1	1	1	1	
Sub total Horn of Africa				**9**	**5**	**7**	**6**	**0**

The Association of the Egyptian Female Lawyers (AEFL)	North Africa	Egypt	www.aefl-law.org	1		1		
Voice of Libyan Women	North Africa	Libya	http://www.vlwlibya.org/	1		1		
Sub total North Africa				**2**	**0**	**2**	**0**	
Emang Basadi Women's Association	Southern Africa	Botswana	Emang Basadi Women Association - Home | Facebook	1	1	1	1	
Letsema	Southern Africa	Botswana		1				
Botswana Council of NGOs	Southern Africa	Botswana	Home | BOCONGO	1				
Botswana National Youth Council	Southern Africa	Botswana	Botswana National Youth Council - HOME (weebly.com)	1				
Botswana Council of Churches	Southern Africa	Botswana	https://www.facebook.com/botswanacouncilofchurches/	1				
Gender Links	Southern Africa	Botswana, Eswatini, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe	www.genderlinks.org.za	1	1	1	1	
Women and Law in Southern African Research and Education Trust	Southern Africa	Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Eswatini, Zambia and Zimbabwe	http://www.wlsa.org.zm/	1	1	1	1	
Woman's Initiatives for Gender Justice	Southern Africa	Democratic Republic of Congo	https://4genderjustice.org/home/womens-initiatives-activities-in-drc/	1		1	1	
Lesotho Council of NGOs (LCN)	Southern Africa	Lesotho	http://lcn.org.ls/home/default.php	1	1	1		
WLSA Lesotho	Southern Africa	Lesotho	https://wlsalesotho.blogspot.com/2011/05/welcome-to-wlsa-lesotho.html	1	1	1		
Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA),	Southern Africa	Madagascar	https://www.eisa.org/	1	1	1	1	
Conseil National des Femmes de Madagascar (CNFM)	Southern Africa	Madagascar	https://www.facebook.com/CNFMadagascar/	1	1	1	1	
The NGO Gender Coordination Network (NGO GCN)	Southern Africa	Malawi	http://www.ngogcn.org.mw/	1		1	1	
Forum Mulher	Southern Africa	Mozambique	http://forumulher.org.mz/	1	1	1	1	
The Association of Mozambican Professional all Business Women (ACTIVA)	Southern Africa	Mozambique		1	1	1		
Sister Namibia	Southern Africa	Namibia	http://sisternamibia.com/	1		1		
The Women's Legal Centre	Southern Africa	Namibia	www.wlc-namibia.org	1	1	1		
WLSA Zambia	Southern Africa	Zambia	http://wlsazm.org/about/	1	1	1	1	
NGO Coordination Council (NGOCC) of Zambia	Southern Africa	Zambia	http://ngocc.org.zm/	1	1	1		
Women's National Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ)	Southern Africa	Zimbabwe	www.wcoz.org	1	1	1		
Women in Politics Support Unit	Southern Africa	Zimbabwe	www.wipsu.co.zw	1	1	1	1	

Organisation	Region	Country / Countries	About the organisation	No of orgs	Elections monitoring & observation	Lobbying/ advocacy for policy & electoral reform	Capacity building	Men's orgs & movements
Padare/Enkundleni Men's Forum on Gender	Southern Africa	Zimbabwe	www.padare.org.zw	1		1	1	1
Sister Namibia	Southern Africa	Namibia	https://sisternamibia.org/	1	1	1	1	
Sub total Southern Africa				**23**	**15**	19	**12**	**1**
NGO Femme Épanouie NATEL (FE-NATEL ONG)	West Africa	Benin	https://www.facebook.com/Association-FEMME-Epanouie	1		1		
Network Peace and Security for the Women in the space CEDEAO, Benin section (REPSFECO-Bénin)	West Africa	Benin		1		1		
West African Network of Young Women Leaders	West Africa	Benin		1		1		
West African Network for the Edification of Peace in Bénin (WANFP-Bénin)	West Africa	Benin	https://wanep.org/wanep/	1		1		
Network for the Integration of Women in African Non-Governmental Organisations and Associations in Bénin (RIFONGA-Bénin)	West Africa	Benin		1	1	1		
Voix de Femmes	West Africa	Burkina Faso	http://www.voixdefemmes.org/	1	1	1		
African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies	West Africa	Gambia	www.acdhrs.org	1	1	1		
The Women NGOs Secretariat of Liberia	West Africa	Liberia	http://wongosol.org/	1	1	1	1	
The Associaion des Juristes Maliennes (AJM)	West Africa	Mali	http://ajm-mali.com/?i=1	1		1		
KIND Nigeria	West Africa	Nigeria	https://kind.org/	1	1	1		
ElectHER	West Africa	Nigeria	https://elect-her.org/	1				
IFAN- The Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire, Université Cheikh Anta Diop, UCAD	West Africa	Senegal	https://ifan.ucad.sn/	1	1	1		
African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies (ACDHRS)	West Africa	The Gambia	www.acdhrs.org	1	1	1		
The West African Civil Society Forum (WACSOF)	West Africa	West Africa region	https://wacsof-foscao.org/index.php/en/	1	1	1		
Sub total West Africa				**14**	**8**	**13**	**1**	**0**
Total Africa				**78**	**39**	**71**	**47**	**2**

ANNEX 2 Interviews for the WPP Africa Barometer

Surname	Name	Designation	Country
Albertta	Abiali	Candidate in the Constituency Bimbo 1	Central Republic of Africa
Attaher	Kaltouma	Member of the National Politburo of the Mouvement Patriotique du salut	Chad
Batalé	Véronique	President of the Women's Commission of the Movement Patriotique pour la Démocratie et le Development	Togo
Bathusi	Daisy	Former Botswana Power Corporation Women's Wing President, currently campaigning for Vice President Position of Botswana Power Corporation	Botswana
Beassemda	Lydie	Former Member of Government	Chad
Ciré	Ba Alioune	Journalist at Radio Mauritania	Mauritania
Darga	Amédée	Former Mayor, Parliamentarian and Minister serving under different Governments	Mauritius
Diallo	Malik Kadiata	Parliamentarian	Mauritania
Dingake	Tshimologo	Botswana Congress Party (BCP), President Women's league	Botswana
Ekotto	Frank	Gender Focal Point in Elections Cameroon (ELECAM)	Cameroon
Fanta	Doumbia	President of the Coordination Committee for women's participation in politics	Côte d'Ivoire
Goli	Laetitia	Lawyer, activist, feminist and political blogger	Côte d'Ivoire
Hajji	Ouafa	President of the International Socialist of Women	Côte d'Ivoire
Horatius	Motamma	Councillor for Itumeleng Ward – Block 3; Gaborone	Botswana
Jaw	Matty Sait	University of Gambia	Gambia
Kamoli	Bonna	Minister of Parliament for Segerea Constituency- for Chama Cha Mapinduzi Ticket	Tanzania
Kasenally	Roukaya	Associate Professor in Media and Political Systems	Mauritius
Kraidy	Agnès	Journalist, Writer and President of the network of senior women journalists and communication professionals	Côte d'Ivoire
Yacine	Mame Lakh Camara	Member of the Commission électorale nationale autonome	Senegal
Lanodji	Yvonne	Member of the Rassemblement National des Democrates Tchadiens (RNDT– Le réveil)	Chad
Lesang	Caroline	Botswana Patriotic Front Vice President	Botswana
Loeto	Rachel	Department of Affairs Department	Botswana
M'bareck Elid	Mohamed	Lawyer, Human Rights Activist and Parliamentarian	Mauritania
Manyaneng	P Helen	Alliance for Progressive Women's League President and President of the Alliance for Progressives	Botswana
Masra	Succès	President of the Transformers	Chad
Mavuma	Bridget	Deputy Secretary General	Botswana
Mbaitelbé	Josias	Law Student at the University of N'Djamena	Chad
Menssan Dédé	Akpédjé	Local Councillor and member of the Pan - African Democratic Party	Togo
Moitio Pelonomi	Venson	Former Minister of Local Government and Rural Development	Botswana
Mokeriatane	Ida	Emang Basidi Women's Organisation, Executive Director	Botswana

Surname	Name	Designation	Country
Mostamai	Samboyo	Commissioner of Independent Electoral Commission	Botswana
Mwakagenda	Sophia	Member Of Parliament for opposition party Special Seat	Tanzania
Nabila	Smail	Lawyer and member of the Socialist Forces Front and member of the collective for the defence of detainees	Algeria
Nasha	Magret	Speaker of National Assembly (2009 – 2014)	Botswana
Natabou	Elisabeth Azonnatin	Lawyer and Executive Director of the NGO Femme Épanouie NATEL (FE-NATEL ONG)	Benin
Nderiananga	Ummy	Member of Parliament representing Persons With Disability under Chama cha Mapinduzi	Tanzania
Ndikumana	Victoire	Former Minister and Parliamentarian	Burundi
Ndongmo	Sylvie	President of the Cameroon Branch of International League of Women for Peace and Liberty (WILPF)	Cameroon
Nita	Deerpalsing	Former Parliamentarian	Mauritius
Ntsabane	Keabonye	Councillor	Botswana
Ogouliguende	Pepécy	Executive at the Ministry of Economy and President of the NGO Malachie	Gabon
Orefitlhetse	Masire	Botswana Democratic Party Women's Wing Treasurer	Botswana
Oumrane	Fatma Elkory	Librarian and Women's Rights Activist	Mauritania
Panza	Catherine Samba	Women candidate in the Presidential Election of December 2020	Central Republic of Africa
Phumaphi	Joy	Former Minister of Health , Co-Chair of the United Nations Secretary General's Independent Accountability Panel for Women, Children and Adolescent Health	Botswana
Phuthego	Thapelo	Director of Gender Affairs Department	Botswana
Ramtohul	Ramola	Lecturer in the Department of Social Studies at the University of Mauritius	Mauritius
Sadat	Fetta	Lawyer, parliamentarian and member of the national direction of Rally for Culture and Democracy	Algeria
Salek	Fatimetou Mint Ahmed	Professor and Civil Society Leader	Mauritania
Sintondji	Yaya Blandine	President of the Network Peace and Security for the Women in the space Economic Community of West African States	Benin
Sithanen	Rama	Former Minister of Finance	Mauritius
Tabengwa	Monica	Human Rights Lawyer	Botswana
Tlou	Sheila	Former Minister of Health, Former United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) Regional Director, Co-Chair – Global HIV Prevention Coalition	Botswana
Towfique	Fatma	Member of Parliament for Special Seats under Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)	Tanzania
Traoré	Nagnouman Habibatou	President of the Network of Women Leaders of political parties and civil society	Mali
Tshireletso	Botlogile	Former Minister Local Government and Rural Development	Botswana
Wilson	Selina	Counsellor Chama cha Mapinduzi political party	Tanzania
Yade	Astou Maimouna	President of the Association JGEN Women Global Entrepreneurship	Senegal
Zemo	Nathalie	Coordinator - Women Stand Up Network; President - Gabonese Women Platform	Gabon
Zossou	Fatoumatou Batoko	Head of the Electoral Platform of Civil Sociaty Organisations (CSOs)	Benin

ANNEX 3 Latest elections in Africa by year

Country	Lower or single house				Upper chamber		
	Elections	Seats*	Women	% W	Seats*	Women	% W
Mali	2020.12	120	32	27	-	-	-
Niger	2020.12	166	43	26	-	-	-
Ghana	2020.12	275	40	15	-	-	-
Central African Republic	2020.12	140	12	9	-	-	-
Burkina Faso	2020.11	127	8	6	-	-	-
Seychelles	2020.10	35	8	23	-	-	-
Tanzania	2020.10	384	141	37	-	-	-
Egypt	2020.10	591	162	27	300	40	13
Burundi	2020.05	123	47	38	39	16	41
Guinea	2020.03	114	19	17	-	-	-
Cameroon	2020.02	180	61	34	100	26	26
Comoros	2020.01	24	4	17	-	-	-
Namibia	2019.11	104	45	43	42	6	14
Mauritius	2019.11	70	14	20	-	-	-
Mozambique	2019.10	250	106	42	-	-	-
Botswana	2019.10	65	7	11	-	-	-
Tunisia	2019.10	217	54	25	-	-	-
South Africa	2019.05	400	187	47	53	20	38
Malawi	2019.05	192	44	23	-	-	-
Madagascar	2019.05	151	27	18	18	2	11
Benin	2019.04	83	6	7	-	-	-
Guinea-Bissau	2019.03	102	14	14	-	-	-
Nigeria	2019.02	360	26	7	109	8	7
Congo (DRC)	2018.12	500	64	13	109	23	21
Togo	2018.12	91	17	19	-	-	-
Gabon	2018.10	142	21	15	100	18	18
Sao Tome and Principe	2018.10	55	8	15	-	-	-
Eswatini	2018.09	73	7	10	30	12	40
Rwanda	2018.09	80	49	61	26	10	39
Mauritania	2018.09	153	31	20	-	-	-
Zimbabwe	2018.07	270	86	32	80	35	44
Sierra Leone	2018.03	146	18	12	-	-	-
Djibouti	2018.02	65	17	26	-	-	-
Equatorial Guinea	2017.11	100	21	21	72	12	17
Liberia	2017.10	73	9	12	30	1	3
Angola	2017.08	220	66	30	-	-	-
Kenya	2017.08	349	76	22	68	21	31
Senegal	2017.07	165	71	43	-	-	-
Congo (Brazzaville)	2017.07	151	17	11	69	13	19
Lesotho	2017.06	120	28	23	32	7	22
Algeria	2017.05	462	119	26	141	8	6
Gambia (The)	2017.04	58	5	9	-	-	-
Côte d'Ivoire	2016.12	255	29	11	99	19	19
Somalia	2016.10	275	67	24	54	13	24
Morocco	2016.10	395	81	21	120	14	12
Zambia	2016.08	167	28	17	-	-	-
South Sudan	2016.08	383	109	29	50	6	12
Cabo Verde	2016.03	72	18	25	-	-	-
Uganda	2016.02	459	160	35	-	-	-
Ethiopia	2015.05	547	212	39	153	49	32
Libya	2014.06	188	30	16	-	-	-
Chad	2011.02	162	25	15	-	-	-
Eritrea	1994.02	-			-	-	-
Sudan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: IPU website accessed February 2021.

ANNEX 4 Women in parliament (LH) by rank 2021

Rank (IPU)	Rank (Africa)	Country	Region	Lower house		
				Seats*	Women	% W
1	1	Rwanda	East	80	49	61%
12	2	South Africa	Southern	397	182	46%
15	3	Namibia	Southern	104	46	44%
16	4	Senegal	West	165	71	43%
19	5	Mozambique	Southern	250	106	42%
31	6	Ethiopia	Horn	547	212	39%
33	7	Burundi	East	123	47	38%
34	8	Tanzania	East	384	141	37%
37	9	Uganda	East	459	160	35%
39	10	Cameroon	Central	180	61	34%
47	11	Zimbabwe	Southern	270	86	32%
52	12	Angola	Southern	220	65	30%
59	13	South Sudan	East	383	109	28%
66	14	Egypt	North	591	162	27%
67	15	Mali	West	121	33	27%
75	16	Cabo Verde	West	72	19	26%
77	17	Tunisia	North	217	57	26%
79	18	Djibouti	Horn	65	17	26%
82	19	Algeria	North	462	120	26%
83	20	Niger	West	166	43	26%
89	21	Somalia	Horn	275	67	24%
92	22	Sao Tome and Principe	Central	55	13	24%
93	23	Lesotho	Southern	120	28	23%
95	24	Malawi	Southern	192	44	23%
96	25	Seychelles	Southern	35	8	23%
106	26	Kenya	East	347	75	22%
109	27	Equatorial Guinea	Central	100	21	21%
114	28	Morocco	North	395	81	21%
115	29	Mauritania	North	153	31	20%
118	30	Mauritius	Southern	70	14	20%
123	31	Togo	West	91	17	19%
127	32	Madagascar	Southern	151	27	18%
132	33	Zambia	Southern	167	28	17%
133	34	Comoros	Southern	24	4	17%
134	35	Guinea	West	114	19	17%
136	36	Gabon	Central	142	23	16%
137	37	Libya	North	188	30	16%
140	38	Chad	Central	156	24	15%
147	39	Ghana	West	275	40	15%
149	40	Guinea-Bissau	West	102	14	14%
152	41	Congo (DRC)	Southern	500	64	13%
155	42	Sierra Leone	West	146	18	12%
158	43	Côte d'Ivoire	West	255	29	11%
159	44	Congo	Central	151	17	11%
162	45	Liberia	West	73	8	11%
163	46	Botswana	Southern	65	7	11%
168	47	Eswatini	Southern	73	7	10%
170	48	Central African Republic	Central	140	12	9%
171	49	Gambia (The)	West	58	5	9%
172	50	Benin	West	83	7	8%
176	51	Burkina Faso	West	127	8	6%
180	52	Nigeria	West	360	21	6%
ND	53	Sudan	North	-	-	
ND	54	Eritrea	Horn			

Source: IPU website accessed February 2021.

ANNEX 5 Women in local government in Africa by rank

Africa Rank	Country	Region	Electoral system	Quota/TSM	Last election	Number seats	Women	% Women
1	Rwanda	East	PR	Constitutional/legislated	2018	100	62	62%
2	Tunisia	North	PR	Constitutional/legislated	2019			48%
3	Uganda	East	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2018			46%
4	Namibia	Southern	PR	Constitutional/legislated	2020	281	126	45%
5	South Africa	Southern	Mixed	Voluntary party quota	2016	10235	4219	41%
6	Lesotho	Southern	Mixed	Constitutional/legislated	2017	1394	555	40%
7	Tanzania	Southern	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2020	3477	1190	34%
8	Kenya	East	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2018	2177	746	34%
9	Cameroon	Central	PR	Yes	2020	180	61	34%
10	Mozambique	Southern	PR	Voluntary party quota		1350	454	34%
11	Djibouti	Horn	Mixed	None	2018			29%
12	Cabo Verde	West	PR	None	2018			28%
15	DRC	Southern	FPTP	None	2019	286	78	27%
16	Equatorial Guinea	Central	PR	None	2017			27%
17	Mali	West	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2020			25%
18	Mauritius	Southern	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2020	1296	283	22%
19	Morocco	North	N/A	N/A	2015			21%
20	Burundi	East	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2018			19%
21	Botswana	Southern	FPTP	None	2019	609	111	18%
22	Algeria	North	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2018			18%
23	Sierra Leone	West	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2018			18%
24	Chad	Central	PR	None	2011	133	23	17%
25	Niger	West	Mixed	Constitutional/legislated	2016			16%
26	Eswatini	Southern	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2018	97	15	15%
28	Guinea	West	Mixed	Constitutional/legislated	2020			15%
29	Malawi	Southern	FPTP	None	2019	462	67	15%
30	Togo	West	PR	Constitutional/legislated	2018	1310	184	14%
31	Zimbabwe	Southern	FPTP	None	2018	1959	274	14%
32	Burkina Faso	West	PR	Legislated	2018			13%
33	Nigeria	West	FPTP	None	2019			10%
35	Zambia	Southern	FPTP	None	2016	1516	126	8%
36	Côte d'Ivoire	West	FPTP	None	2020	201	15	7%
37	Madagascar	Southern	Mixed	None	2019	21279	1532	7%
38	Ghana	West	FPTP	None	2016			4%
39	Benin	West	PR	None	2020	1815	70	4%
40	Mauritania	North	Mixed	Constitutional/legislated	2018	219	6	3%
41	Senegal	West	Mixed	Constitutional/legislated	2017	544	13	2%

Source: Gender Links; Commonwealth Local Government Forum and country websites 2021.

ANNEX 6 Women in parliament (LH) in Africa 2000, 2010, 2020

Country	Region	2000			2010			2020		
		Lower house			Lower house			Lower house		
		Seats*	Women	% W	Seats*	Women	% W	Seats*	Women	% W
Ethiopia	Horn	546	42	8%	547	152	28%	547	212	39%
Djibouti	Horn	65	0	0%	65	9	14%	65	17	26%
Somalia	Horn			ND	546	37	7%	275	67	24%
Eritrea	Horn	150	22		150	33	22%			
Sudan	North				446	114	26%	-	-	
Total Horn		**761**	**64**	**8%**	**1754**	**345**	**20%**	**887**	**296**	**33%**
Rwanda	East	70	18	26%	80	45	56%	80	49	61%
Burundi	East	118	17	14%	106	34	32%	123	47	38%
Tanzania	East	275		0%	357		0%	384	141	37%
Uganda	East	281	50	18%	326	102	31%	459	160	35%
South Sudan	East			ND			ND	383	109	28%
Kenya	East	224	8	4%	224	22	10%	347	75	22%
Total East		**968**	**93**	**10%**	**1093**	**203**	**19%**	**1776**	**581**	**32%**
South Africa	Southern	399	119	30%	400	178	45%	397	182	46%
Namibia	Southern	72	18	25%	78	19	24%	104	46	44%
Mozambique	Southern	250	75	30%	250	98	39%	250	106	42%
Zimbabwe	Southern	150	14	9%	214	32	15%	270	86	32%
Angola	Southern	220	34	15%	220	85	39%	220	65	30%
Lesotho	Southern	79	3	4%	120	29	24%	120	28	23%
Malawi	Southern	193	18	9%	192	40	21%	192	44	23%
Seychelles	Southern	34	8	24%	34	8	24%	35	8	23%
Mauritius	Southern	70	4	6%	69	13	19%	70	14	20%
Madagascar	Southern	150	12	8%	256	32	13%	151	27	18%
Zambia	Southern	158	16	10%	157	22	14%	167	28	17%
Comoros	Southern	ND	ND	ND	33	1	3%	24	4	17%
Congo (DRC)	Southern	ND	ND	ND	500	42	8%	500	64	13%
Botswana	Southern	47	8	17%	63	5	8%	65	7	11%
Eswatini	Southern	65	2	3%	66	9	14%	73	7	10%
Total Southern		**1887**	**331**	**18%**	**2652**	**613**	**23%**	**2638**	**716**	**28%**

Country	Region	2000			2010			2020		
		Lower house			Lower house			Lower house		
		Seats*	Women	% W	Seats*	Women	% W	Seats*	Women	% W
Egypt	North	454	9	2%	512	65	13%	591	162	27%
Algeria	North	380	30	8%	389	30	8%	462	120	26%
Morocco	North	325	2	1%	325	34	10%	395	81	21%
Mauritania	North	79	3	4%	95	21	22%	153	31	20%
Libya	North			ND	468	36	8%	188	30	16%
Tunisia	North	182	21	12%	214	59	28%	217	57	26%
Total North		**1420**	**65**	**5%**	**2003**	**245**	**12%**	**2006**	**481**	**24%**
Cameroon	Central	180	10	6%	180	25	14%	180	61	34%
Sao Tome and Principe	Central	55	5	9%	55	10	18%	55	13	24%
Equatorial Guinea	Central	80	4	5%	100	10	10%	100	21	21%
Gabon	Central	120	11	9%	116	17	15%	142	23	16%
Chad	Central	125	3	2%	155	8	5%	156	24	15%
Congo	Central	75	9	12%	137	10	7%	151	17	11%
Central African Republic	Central	109	8	7%	104	10	10%	140	12	9%
Total Central		**744**	**50**	**7%**	**847**	**90**	**11%**	**924**	**171**	**19%**
Senegal	West	140	17	12%	150	34	23%	165	71	43%
Mali	West	147	18	12%	147	15	10%	121	33	27%
Cabo Verde	West	72	8	11%	72	13	18%	72	19	26%
Niger	West	83	1	1%	ND	ND	ND	166	43	26%
Togo	West	81	4	5%	81	9	11%	91	17	19%
Guinea	West	114	10	9%	ND	ND	ND	114	19	17%
Ghana	West	200	ND	ND	230	19	8%	275	40	15%
Guinea-Bissau	West	102	8	8%	100	10	10%	102	14	14%
Sierra Leone	West	80	7	9%	121	16	13%	146	18	12%
Côte d'Ivoire	West	225	ND	ND	103	18	17%	255	29	11%
Liberia	West	64	5	8%	64	8	13%	73	8	11%
Gambia (The)	West	49	1	2%	53	4	8%	58	5	9%
Benin	West	83	5	6%	83	9	11%	83	7	8%
Nigeria	West	351	12	3%	358	25	7%	360	21	6%
Burkina Faso	West	111	9	8%	111	17	15%	127	8	6%
Total West		**1902**	**105**	**6%**	**1673**	**197**	**12%**	**2208**	**352**	**16%**
Total Africa		**7682**	**708**	**9%**	**10022**	**1693**	**17%**	**10439**	**2597**	**25%**

Source: IPU website accessed February 2021.

ANNEX 7 Women in parliament in Africa by region

Rank	Country	Region	Electoral System	Type of Quota L/H	Lower or single house				Upper chamber				Both houses		
					Elections	Seats*	Women	% W	Elections	Seats*	Women	% W	Seats*	Women	% W
31	Ethiopia	Horn	FPTP	Voluntary Party	05.2015	547	212	39%	10.2015	153	49	32%	700	261	37%
79	Djibouti	Horn	Mixed	Constitutional/Legislated	02.2018	65	17	26%	-	-	-		65	17	26%
89	Somalia	Horn	No direct elections	Constitutional/Legislated	10.2016	275	67	24%	10.2016	54	13	24%	329	80	24%
	Eritrea	Horn	No direct elections	Constitutional/Legislated						-	-				
ND	Sudan	North	Mixed (Parallel)	Constitutional/Legislated	-	-	-		-	-	-		-	-	
Sub total Horn of Africa						**887**	**296**	**33%**		**207**	**62**	**30%**	**1094**	**358**	**33%**
1	Rwanda	East	PR (List)	Constitutional/Legislated	09.2018	80	49	61%	09.2019	26	10	38%	106	59	56%
33	Burundi	East	PR (List)	Constitutional/Legislated	05.2020	123	47	38%	07.2020	39	16	41%	162	63	39%
34	Tanzania	East	FPTP	Constitutional/Legislated	10.202	384	141	37%	-	-	-		384	141	37%
37	Uganda	East	FPTP	Constitutional/Legislated	02.2016	459	160	35%	-	-	-		459	160	35%
59	South Sudan	East	In transition	Constitutional/Legislated	08.2016	383	109	28%	08.2011	50	6	12%	433	115	27%
106	Kenya	East	FPTP	Constitutional/Legislated	08.2017	347	75	22%	08.2017	66	21	32%	413	96	23%
Sub total East Africa						**1776**	**581**	**33%**		**181**	**53**	**29%**	**1957**	**634**	**32%**
12	South Africa	Southern	PR (List)	Voluntary Party	2019.05	397	182	46%	05.2019	53	22	42%	450	204	45%
15	Namibia	Southern	PR (List)	Voluntary Party	11.2019	104	46	44%	12.202	42	6	14%	146	52	36%
19	Mozambique	Southern	PR (List)	Voluntary Party	10.2019	250	106	42%	-	-	-		250	106	42%
34	Tanzania	Southern	FPTP	Constitutional/Legislated	10.202	384	141	37%	-	-	-		384	141	37%
47	Zimbabwe	Southern	Mixed (Parallel)	Constitutional/Legislated	07.2018	270	86	32%	07.2018	80	35	44%	350	121	35%
52	Angola	Southern	PR (List)	Constitutional/Legislated	08.2017.	220	65	30%	-	-	-		220	65	30%
93	Lesotho	Southern	Mixed	Constitutional/Legislated	06.2017	120	28	23%	07.2017	33	7	21%	153	35	23%
95	Malawi	Southern	FPTP	Voluntary Party	05.2019	192	44	23%	-	-	-		192	44	23%
96	Seychelles	Southern	Mixed (Parallel)	None	10.202	35	8	23%	-	-	-		35	8	23%
118	Mauritius	Southern	FPTP (BV)	None	11.2019	70	14	20%	-	-	-		70	14	20%
127	Madagascar	Southern	FPTP (TRS)	None	05.2019	151	27	18%	12.202	18	2	11%	169	29	17%
132	Zambia	Southern	FPTP	None	08.2016	167	28	17%	-	-	-		167	28	17%
133	Comoros	Southern	FPTP (TRS)	None	01.2020	24	4	17%	-	-	-		24	4	17%
152	Congo (DRC)	Southern	FPTP (List PR)	None	12.2018	500	64	13%	03.2019	109	23	21%	609	87	14%
163	Botswana	Southern	FPTP	Voluntary Party	10.2019	65	7	11%	-	-	-		65	7	11%
168	Eswatini	Southern	FPTP	Constitutional/Legislated	09.2018	73	7	10%	10.2018	30	12	40%	103	19	18%
Sub total Southern Africa						**3022**	**857**	**28%**		**365**	**107**	**29%**	**3387**	**964**	**28%**

66	Egypt	North	FPTP (PBV)	None	10.202	591	162	27%	08.2020	300	40	13%	891	202	23%
77	Tunisia	North	PR (List)	Constitutional/Legislated	10.2019	217	57	26%	-	-	-				
82	Algeria	North	PR (List)	Constitutional/Legislated	05.2017	462	120	26%	12.2018	141	8	6%	603	128	21%
114	Morocco	North	PR (List)	Constitutional/Legislated	10.2016	395	81	21%	10.2015	120	14	12%	515	95	18%
115	Mauritania	North	Mixed (Parallel)	Constitutional/Legislated	09.2018	153	31	20%	-	-	-		153	31	20%
137	Libya	North	Mixed (Parallel)	Constitutional/Legislated	06.2014	188	30	16%	-	-	-		188	30	16%
Sub total North Africa						**2006**	**481**	**24%**		**561**	**62**	**11%**	**2350**	**486**	**21%**
39	Cameroon	Central	PR (List)	Voluntary Party	02.2020	180	61	34%	03.2018	100	26	26%	280	87	31%
92	Sao Tome and Principe	Central	PR (List)	Constitutional/Legislated	10.2018	55	13	24%	-	-	-		55	13	24%
109	Equatorial Guinea	Central	PR (List)	Voluntary Party	11.2017	100	21	21%	11.2017	72	12	17%	172	33	19%
136	Gabon	Central	FPTP (TRS)	Constitutional/Legislated	10.2018	142	23	16%	12.2014	98	17	17%	240	40	17%
140	Chad	Central	Mixed (FPTP/PR List)	Constitutional/Legislated	02.2011	156	24	15%	-	-	-		156	24	15%
159	Congo	Central	FPTP (TRS)	Constitutional/Legislated	07.2017	151	17	11%	08.2017	69	13	19%	220	30	14%
170	Central African Republic	Central	FPTP (TRS)	Constitutional/Legislated	12.202	140	12	9%	-	-	-		140	12	9%
Sub total West Africa						**924**	**171**	**19%**		**339**	**68**	**20%**	**1263**	**239**	**19%**
16	Senegal	West	Mixed (Parallel)	Constitutional/Legislated	07.2017	165	71	43%	-	-	-		165	71	43%
67	Mali	West	FPTP (TRS)	Constitutional/Legislated	12.202	121	33	27%	-	-	-		121	33	27%
75	Cabo Verde	West	PR (List)	None	03.2016	72	19	26%	-	-	-		72	19	26%
83	Niger	West	PR (List)	Constitutional/Legislated	12.202	166	43	26%	-	-	-		166	43	26%
123	Togo	West	PR (List)	Constitutional/Legislated	12.2018	91	17	19%	-	-	-		91	17	19%
134	Guinea	West	Mixed (Parallel)	Constitutional/Legislated	03.2020	114	19	17%	-	-	-		114	19	17%
147	Ghana	West	FPTP (TRS)	None	12.202	275	40	15%	-	-	-		275	40	15%
149	Guinea-Bissau	West	Other (Party Closed Lists)	None	03.2019	102	14	14%	-	-	-		102	14	14%
155	Sierra Leone	West	FPTP	None	03.2018	146	18	12%	-	-	-		146	18	12%
158	Côte d'Ivoire	West	FPTP (PBV)	Voluntary Party	12.2016	255	29	11%	03.2018	99	19	19%	354	48	14%
162	Liberia	West	FPTP	Constitutional/Legislated	10.2017	73	8	11%	12.202	30	1	3%	103	9	9%
171	Gambia (The)	West	FPTP	None	04.2017	58	5	9%	-	-	-		58	5	9%
172	Benin	West	PR (List)	None	04.2019	83	7	8%	-	-	-		83	7	8%
176	Burkina Faso	West	PR (List)	Constitutional/Legislated	11.202	127	8	6%	-	-	-		127	8	6%
180	Nigeria	West	FPTP	None	02.2019	360	21	6%	02.2019	109	8	7%	469	29	6%
Sub total West Africa						**2208**	**352**	**16%**		**238**	**28**	**12%**	**2446**	**380**	**16%**
Total Africa						**10439**	**2597**	**25%**		**1891**	**380**	**20%**	**12113**	**2920**	**24%**

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union Open Data, Ranking as of 1st January 2021.

ANNEX 8 Women in local government in Africa by region

Africa rank	Country	Region	Electoral system	Quota/TSM	Last election	Number seats	Women	% W	Source
1	Rwanda	East	PR	Constitutional/legislated	2018	100	62	62%	https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index#tablelink
3	Uganda	East	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2018			46%	https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index#tablelink
8	Kenya	East	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2018	2177	746	34%	https://dullahomarinstitute.org.za/multilevel-govt/local-government-bulletin/volume-12-issue-2-june-2010/lgb-iss-12-2-local-government-in-kenya.pdf
7	Tanzania	Southern	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2020	3477	1190	34%	SDGI2019
21	Burundi	East	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2018			19%	https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index#tablelink
Sub total East						**5,754**	**1998**	**35%**	
9	Cameroon	Central	PR	Yes	2020	180	61	34%	https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index#tablelink
25	Chad	Central	PR	None	2011	133	23	17%	
Sub total Central						**313**	**84**	**27%**	
4	Namibia	Southern	PR	Constitutional/legislated	2020	281	126	45%	GL 50/50 policy brief
5	South Africa	Southern	Mixed	Voluntary party quota	2016	10235	4219	41%	https://genderlinks.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Gender-and-Local-elections-2016-ReportFINAL_jhmfclm_092016f.pdf
6	Lesotho	Southern	Mixed	Constitutional/legislated	2017	1394	555	40%	https://genderlinks.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/LG-elections-report-LES3.pdf
7	Tanzania	Southern	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2020	3477	1190	34%	SDGI2019
10	Mozambique	Southern	PR	Voluntary party quota		1350	454	34%	https://genderlinks.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/50-50-PB-MOZ-MAR20FIN.pdf
15	DRC	Southern	FPTP	None	2019	286	78	27%	UCOFEM
18	Mauritius	Southern	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2020	1296	283	22%	GL 50/50 policy brief
21	Botswana	Southern	FPTP	None	2019	609	111	18%	https://genderlinks.org.za/what-we-do/sadc-gender-protocol/advocacy-50-50/botswana-gender-and-elections/
26	Eswatini	Southern	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2018	97	15	15%	https://genderlinks.org.za/what-we-do/sadc-gender-protocol/advocacy-50-50/swaziland-gender-and-elections/
29	Malawi	Southern	FPTP	None	2020	460	67	15%	GL 50/50 policy brief
31	Zimbabwe	Southern	FPTP	None	2018	1959	274	14%	https://genderlinks.org.za/what-we-do/sadc-gender-protocol/advocacy-50-50/zimbabwe-gender-and-elections/
35	Zambia	Southern	FPTP	None	2016	1516	126	8%	https://genderlinks.org.za/what-we-do/sadc-gender-protocol/advocacy-50-50/zambia-gender-and-elections/
37	Madagascar	Southern	Mixed	None	2019	21279	1532	7%	GL 50/50 policy brief
Sub total Southern						**44,239**	**9,030**	**20%**	

19	Morocco	North	N/A	N/A	2015			21%	https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index#tablelink
22	Algeria	North	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2018			18%	https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index#tablelink
40	Mauritania	North	Mixed	Constitutional/legislated	2018	219	6	3%	https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index#tablelink
Sub total North						**219**	**6**	**3%**	
	Cabo Verde	West	PR	None	2018			28%	https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index#tablelink
17	Mali	West	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2020			25%	https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index#tablelink
23	Sierra Leone	West	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2018			18%	https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index#tablelink
25	Niger	West	Mixed	Constitutional/legislated	2016			16%	https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index#tablelink
28	Guinea	West	Mixed	Constitutional/legislated	2020			15%	https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index#tablelink
32	Burkina Faso	West	PR	Legislated	2018			13%	https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index#tablelink
33	Nigeria	West	FPTP	None	2019			10%	https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index#tablelink
38	Ghana	West	FPTP	None	2016			4%	https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index#tablelink
41	Senegal	West	Mixed	Constitutional/legislated	2017	544	13	2%	https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index#tablelink
28	Equatorial Guinea	West	PR	None	2017			27%	https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index#tablelink
Sub total West						**544**	**13**	**2%**	
11	Djibouti	Horn	Mixed	None	2018			29%	https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index#tablelink
2	Tunisia	North	PR	Constitutional/legislated	2019			48%	https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index#tablelink
Sub total Horn						N/A	N/A		
Total Africa						**47,592**	**9,941**	**21%**	

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union Open Data, Ranking as of 1st January 2021.

ANNEX 9 National constitutional and legal instruments for women in decision-making in Africa

Country	Instrument	Affirmative Action provision	Level	Quota
Countries with affirmative action provisions in both the Constitution and electoral law				
Burundi	Constitution	Articles 164 and 180 of the Constitution provide for "gender representation and participation in society particularly with regard to promoting the full participation of women in all spheres of public life." Women are guaranteed 30% of the seats in the national assembly, senate, local government, members of all Commissions and other elected and appointed governmental bodies. The State must take positive measures to rectify gender discrimination and imbalances resulting from past practices and policies.	National and local	30%
	Electoral law	Article 108 states that 60% of the national assembly shall be Hutus and 40% Tutsi, "including a minimum of 30% women elected by direct universal suffrage on the basis of proportional representation lists: that is for three candidates listed afterwards on the list, only two belong to the same ethnic group and at least one in four is a woman." The Declaration of Nominations further specifies that "for three candidates listed on a list, only two may belong to the same ethnic group, and a least one in four most be a woman."[1] In the event that the result does not reflect this outcome, the Independent Electoral Commission is authorised to "redress the imbalances observed by keeping on the lists of the political parties and self-employed persons having reached 5% of the votes cast, equal number of additional deputies belonging to the under-represented ethnic group or gender needed to reduce the imbalances."[2]	National and local	30%
Republic of Congo (Brazzaville)	Constitution	Women shall have the same rights as men. The law guarantees and ensures their promotion and representation in all political, elective and administrative offices. (Article 8 (3) of the 2002 Constitution).	National and local	National - 15% Local - 20%
	Electoral law	Candidate lists must take into account the representation of women in a proportion of at least 15% (Article 61 (3) of the Electoral Code as amended in 2007). Local government councillors are elected through a list proportional representation system from closed candidate lists. Candidate lists must take into account the representation of women in a proportion of at least 20% (Article 67 (3) of the Electoral Code as amended in 2007).		
Eswatini	Constitution	The Constitution requires that women should constitute 30% of the Parliament: '[T]he House of Assembly shall consist of not more than seventy-six members [including] four female members specially elected from the four Regions' (Constitution 2005, Art. 95, para. 1c). 'The nominated members of the House shall be appointed by the King [...] so that at least half of them are female' (Constitution 2005, Art. 95, para. 2a).	National	30% HA 42% Senate

		'Where at the first meeting of the House after any general election it appears that female members of Parliament will not constitute at least thirty per cent of the total membership of Parliament, then, and only then, the provisions of this section shall apply. [...] For the purposes of this section, the House shall form itself into an electoral college and elect not more than four women on a regional basis to the House in accordance with the provisions of section 95(3).' (Constitution 2005, Art. 86, para. 1, 2) 'Ten Senators, at least half of whom shall be female, shall be elected by the members of the House in such manner as may be prescribed by or under any law at their first meeting so as to represent a cross-section of the Swazi society. [...] Twenty Senators, at least eight of whom shall be female, shall be appointed by the King acting in his discretion after consultation with such bodies as the King may deem appropriate.' (Constitution 2005, Art. 94, par 2, 3)		
	Electoral Law	*The Election of Women Members to the House of Assembly Act (2018)* aims to give effect to Section 86 of the 2005 National Constitution to increase the participation and representation of women in politics. The Women's Caucus in parliament initiated the legislation to enforce the Constitutional provisions in the 2018 elections. The Act provides for "the election of the women members to the House of Assembly where, after any general election, it appears that the female members of Parliament will constitute less than thirty percent of the total membership of Parliament." This gives effect to section 86 (1) in the ESwatini Constitution which states that: "Where at the first meeting of the house after any general election it appears that female members of Parliament will not constitute at least 30 per cent of the total membership of Parliament, then, and only then, the provision of this section shall apply."		
Eritrea	Constitution	Eritrea has a legislated system of reserved seats reserving 30% of seats for women in provincial and district council (Electoral Law 2001, Article 17.2)	National and local	30%
	Electoral law	30% of Assembly seats shall be reserved for females. Females shall equal rights to contest in the remaining 70% of Assembly seats. (Eritrean Electoral Law Art. 12.4) (sub-national).		
Rwanda	Constitution	'The State of Rwanda commits itself that women are granted at least 30 per cent of posts in decision making organs' (Constitution, Article 9 [4]). The 80 members of the Chamber of Deputies are elected as follows: 53 members elected by direct universal suffrage through a secret ballot using closed list proportional representation, of which at least 30% must be seats reserved for women; 24 women (2 elected from each province and from the city of Kigali by an electoral college with a women-only ballot); 2 members elected by the National Youth Council; and 1 member elected by the Federation of the Associations of the Disabled (Constitution, Article 76).	National and local	30%

Country	Instrument	Affirmative Action provision	Level	Quota
		The total of 26 members of the Senate are either indirectly elected or appointed. Article 82 of the Constitution (2005) states that 'within the 26 members in the senate at least thirty per cent (30%) should be women'. (Constitution, Article 82).		
	Electoral law	The election of the 24 women deputies from across the country's provinces is provided for in the following manner: 'Twenty four (24) female Deputies shall be elected by specific organs in accordance with national administrative entities. A Presidential Order shall determine a national administrative entity and the number of women Deputies to be elected at each entity. At each entity through which election has been conducted, candidates who obtain more votes shall be considered as elected' (Article 109 of Organic Law 03/2010/OL of 18 June 2010 governing presidential and legislative elections). 'At every Sector, one female member and one male member of Council shall be elected through direct and secret ballot.' (Article 155 of Law 27/2010 of 19/06/2010 on elections) In addition, '... at least thirty per cent (30%) of all District Council members shall be women and shall be elected through indirect and secret ballot as well as by the members of the Council Bureau of Sectors' (Article 156).		
Tanzania	Constitution	Women members must not make up less than 30% in the National Assembly. The special seats for women are distributed among the political parties in proportion to the number of seats awarded to them in parliament. (Constitution, Articles 66 (1:b) and 78 (1))	All levels	30%
	Electoral law	The National Assembly consists of 350 members. Of these, 102 are reserved for women, 239 members are elected in single member constituencies, 7 are appointed by the President, 5 represent Zanzibar (2 of whom are women) and 1 mandate belongs to the attorney general: 'Every Political Party which contests Parliamentary elections may propose and submit the Commission names of eligible women candidates for nomination of Members of Parliament for Women Special Seats' (Elections Regulations 2010, Article 86A (2)). At the local level, women must hold not less than one-third of the seats and these seats are allocated among political parties based on the seats that they have gained. Women councillors are elected from special constituencies. 'The population quota for demarcation of electoral areas for women representatives shall be determined by the requirement of women constituting one-third of any local council being considered.' (Article 108 (3) of the Local Governments Act, 1997)		

Tunisia	Constitution	Article 46 of the 2014 Constitution guarantees "equality of opportunities between women and men to have access to all levels of responsibility and in all fields. The state seeks to achieve equal representation for women and men in elected councils".	National and local	50%
	Electoral law	The National Constituent Assembly is composed of 217 members elected from 33 constituencies by the list proportional representation system. According to Article 16 of Decree 35: 'Candidates shall file their candidacy applications on the basis of parity between men and women.' Lists that do not follow the principle of gender parity will only be admitted when the number of seats, in the relevant constituency, is odd (Article 16) . Lists that do not follow the principle of gender parity will only be admitted when the number of seats, in the relevant constituency, is odd (Article 16) . According to Law No. 7 of 2017, amending Law. No 16 of 2014 regarding elections and referendums, article 49 (9), candidates for municipal and regional councils are submitted on the basis of the principle of equality between women and men (50-50%) and the principle of rotating among them within the list. The presidency of party and coalition lists must also respect the principle of equality between men and women.		
Uganda	Constitution	Article 78(1) of the Constitution states that the parliament shall consist of one-woman representative for every district. There are 112 districts in Uganda. Article 180 (2:b) of the 1995 Constitution states that one-third of the membership of each local government council shall be reserved for women.	National	30%
	Electoral law	The parliament of Uganda is formed in the following way: there are 238 constituency representatives; 112 district women representatives directly elected by all voters on a special ballot in each district (for women candidates only); 10 representatives of the Uganda People's Defence Forces, of whom 2 must be women; 5 youth representatives, of whom 1 must be a woman; 5 representatives of persons with disabilities, of whom 1 must be a woman; and 5 representatives of workers, of whom 1 must be a woman (Article 8 of the Parliamentary Elections Act, 2005).	National and local	30%
Countries with affirmative action provisions in the Constitution only				
Egypt	Constitution	Article 180 of the new Constitution reserves one quarter of the seats for women in the elected local councils.	Local	25%
Kenya	Constitution	Article 27 (8) of the 2010 Constitution states that the 'State shall take legislative and other measures to implement the principle that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender.' Furthermore, Article 81 (b) stipulates that the electoral system shall comply with the principle that 'not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public	All levels	30%

Country	Instrument	Affirmative Action provision	Level	Quota
		bodies shall be of the same gender'. The constitution reserves 47 seats in the National Assembly for women deputies elected from 47 counties, with each county constituting a single-mandate constituency. These seats are to be contested only by women candidates nominated by political parties in these counties. In addition, the National Assembly will have 290 elected members, each elected by voters of single-mandate constituencies, and 12 members nominated by political parties to represent special interests including the youth, persons with disabilities and workers, with the relevant list to be composed of alternating male and female candidates (Article 97 of the constitution of Kenya, adopted August, 2010).		
Zimbabwe	Constitution	The Constitution (Section 17) provides for affirmative action. It aspires to: "*full gender balance in Zimbabwean society particularly with regard to promoting the full participation of women in all spheres of Zimbabwean society* on the basis of equality with men and to take legislative and other measures to ensure that both women and men are equally represented in all institutions and agencies of government at every level." Section 17 further provides that "women should constitute at least half of members of all Commissions and other elected and appointed governmental bodies and that the State must take *positive measures to rectify gender discrimination and imbalances resulting from past practices and policies.*" Section 124 provides that "for the *next two lives of the National Assembly* (commencing in 2013), *an additional sixty women shall be elected under a party-list system of proportional representation based on votes cast for political party candidates.*	National	30%
Countries with affirmative action provisions in the electoral law only				
Algeria	Electoral Law	Article 2 of the 2012 Law for the Representation of Women requires variable quotas between 20%-50% of the candidates for Parliament to be women, depending on the number of seats in each electoral district. The law prescribes the following quotas in relation to the magnitude of the electoral constituencies: 20% for Constituencies with 4 seats; 30% for those with 5 or more seats; 35% for those with 14 or more seats; 40% for those with 32 or more seats and 50% for the Constituencies abroad. Article 3 states: 'The seats are assigned in function of the number of votes obtained by each list. The proportions fixed in Article 2 above are necessarily reserved to women candidates according to their position within the lists.'	National	20%-50%

		In addition, political parties can be awarded specific state funding according to the number of their women candidates elected at the national and sub-national levels (Article 7). Any list of candidates for election established in violation of the quota requirements will be rejected (Article 5 (1)). Article 5 (2) provides an opportunity for parties to make changes to their candidate lists to comply with the gender-based quota requirements 1 month before the date of the election		
Angola	Electoral Law	Article 20 (2-m) of Law 22/10 in Political Parties establishes that the Charter of Political Parties must include rules to encourage the promotion of equal opportunities and equity between men and women, as well as a gender representation of not less than 30% in the governing and directive bodies at all levels.	National and local	30%
Burkina Faso	Electoral Law	Lists of candidates must include at least 30% of either sex (Law on Quotas, Article 3). If a political party fails to meet the quota requirements, its public funding for election campaigns will be cut by 50% (Article 5). If a party reaches or exceeds the 30% quota, it will receive additional funding as prescribed by the regulations related to public funding of political parties (Article 6). If a party reaches or exceeds the 30 % quota, it will receive additional funding (Law on Quotas, Article 5 & 6).	National and local	30%
Cabo Verde	Electoral law	Article 431 (1) of the electoral law provides for the principle of balanced representation of both sexes in the lists submitted for the election of municipal councils. Article 431 (2) of the electoral law states that 'public funding will be awarded only to those political parties, coalitions or groups of citizens whose lists presented for municipal elections, if elected, contain at least 25 per cent women candidates'.	Local	50%
Djibouti	Electoral law	The quota of women that are elected to the National Assembly is fixed at no less than 25% The proportion of either male or female candidates on the lists of candidates submitted by political parties and/or political party groupings must be 25% of the number of seats to be filled. If not the list will be inadmissible. (Article 1, Law no. 219/AN/18/7ème L)	National	25%
Guinea	Electoral law	Two-thirds of the members of the National Assembly are elected through a proportional representation system from a single nationwide constituency, while the remaining one-third is elected through a first-past-the-post system in single-member constituencies. The new regulation adopts parity law (Art.2 Law on Parity) modifying the previous 30% women candidates (Article 129 (2) of the Electoral Law).	National and local	50%

Country	Instrument	Affirmative Action provision	Level	Quota
		In addition, in case 2 candidates of different sex obtain an equal number of votes, the contested seat should be won by the candidate of an under-represented sex (Article 130). The new Law of Parity establishes the necessity of adopting parity in the representation both in the national and subnational level. This modifies the previous article 103 of the electoral law stated one-third (33%) of the seats for women.		
	Political party legislation	Article 4 of the law for the political parties states that a 5% of the total state funding for the political parties will be proportionally distributed to the parties that they have elected women MPs and in communal-municipal councils.		
Lesotho	Electoral law	The National Assembly has 120 seats. Its members are elected using the mixed member proportional system: 80 in single-member constituencies using the first-past-the-post system and 40 from 1 national constituency using Party-list proportional representation. Proportional representation seats are allocated to compensate parties for the discrepancy between percentage of votes obtained and percentage of constituency seats won. Section 47 (2: b & c) of the National Assembly Election Amendment Act of 2011, introduced the rule for the proportional contest whereby a political party shall 'arrange the candidates in order of preference from top to bottom, with a female or male candidate immediately followed by a candidate of the opposite sex; and include equal numbers of women and men'. *National Assembly Electoral Act No 1(2011)*, section 5(1) stipulates that a citizen of Lesotho who has attained the age of 18 qualifies to register as an elector and such person is entitled to contest if willing to. This act enforces the Lesotho's constitution section 20(1), which states that every citizen has the Right to participate in government by voting or to stand for election at periodic elections. However, these acts have contradicted with Laws of *Lerotholi*, which restrain women from participating in governance in particular during the time of mourning for their husbands. The conflict in laws and traditional practices often hinders women to participate fully in elections. Section 47(2) states that the proportional representation should have equal number of women and men and such party list should be arranged in order of preference. *Local Government Election Act* states that *One-third of the seats in each community/urban/ municipal council are reserved for women*. They are referred to as special seats for women and are shared among political parties based on proportional representation.	National and local	30%

Liberia	Electoral law	A political party or coalition in its submission to the Commission, of its list of candidates for an election should endeavour to ensure that the governing body and its list of candidates has no less than 30% of its members from each gender. A list of candidates submitted to the Commission for an election should endeavour to have no less than 30% of the candidates on the list from each gender. (The New Elections Law 2014, article 4.5: 1-b, 1-c).	National	30%
Libya	Electoral law	The General National Congress consists of 200 members, 120 of whom are elected by majority, based on a first-past-the-post system for single-member districts, where the winner is the candidate with the most votes. For multi-member districts, a single non-transferable vote system is adopted. The remaining 80 members are elected by proportional representation from closed electoral lists, presented by political entities in multi-member constituencies. According to Article 15 of the 2012 Law on the Election of the National General Congress, on the lists of candidates submitted by parties for the proportional representation contest, 'candidates shall be arranged on the basis of alternation among male and female candidates, vertically and horizontally. The 2013 Council of Ministers Decision (No. 161) on the Adoption of Principles and Procedures for Municipal Elections, introduces quota provisions for revolutionaries with special needs and women (Article 1 (20)), who shall be elected by majority vote (Article 46 (2)). Lists that do not respect such principle shall not be accepted. The Commission shall publish samples showing the format of such lists and the method used to arrange the candidates within them'.	National and local	50%
Mali	Electoral	The lists of nominated candidates submitted by political parties, political party groups or independent candidate groups are not eligible if they present more than 70% of women or men (Electoral Code, Loi No. 2016/048). Thus, at least 30 % of the candidates must be women. 10% of public funding is proportionately shared among political parties which have women elected as deputies or municipal counselors.	National	30%
Mauritania	Electoral law	In constituencies with or less than 31,000 inhabitants, one deputy is elected by absolute majority (two-round system). In constituencies with more than 31,000 inhabitants, two deputies are elected by absolute majority (two-round system). In multi-member constituencies with more than 90,000 inhabitants, deputies shall be elected through proportional representation. Reserved Seats: 18 deputies are elected from the constituency of Nouakchott, twenty deputies are elected from a single nationwide constituency and twenty seats are reserved for women	National and local	20 Reserved seats (National) 20% (LG)

Country	Instrument	Affirmative Action provision	Level	Quota
		candidates running in a single nationwide list. (Article 3 of the Organic Law on the Election of Members of the National Assembly, as amended by Law n° 2012- 029). Women shall be allocated at least 20% of the seats on municipal councils. In order to facilitate the election of women in the indicated proportion, party lists must include at least 2 women candidates for councils comprising between 9 and 11 members, 3 women candidates for councils comprising between 15 and 17 members, and 4 women candidates for councils comprising 19 members or more (Articles 2 and 3 of the Organic Law). The electoral administration shall reject candidate lists that do not comply with the quota regulations (Article 3 (1) of the Organic Law promoting women's access to electoral mandates and elective offices, as amended by Law 2012- 034).		
	Political funding legislation	Political parties that elect more women than required by the quota will obtain a financial benefit (Article 6).		
Mauritius	Electoral law	Three councillors of a Municipal City Council or Municipal Town Council shall be elected from each electoral ward under the simple majority system.' Any group presenting more than 2 candidates in an electoral ward [for elections of councillors to Municipal City Council or Municipal Town Council] shall ensure that the candidates are not all of the same sex' (Local Government Act 2011, Article 11.6) and 'any group presenting more than two candidates at a Village council election shall ensure that not more than two-thirds of the group's candidates are of the same sex' (Local Government Act 2011, Article 12.6). In addition, a list of reserve candidates for the election of municipal city councillors, municipal town councillors or village councillors, for the purpose of filling any vacancy which may occur between 2 elections, shall not comprise 'more than two-thirds of persons of the same sex and … not more than 2 consecutive candidates on the list shall be of the same sex' (Article 18.5:b). 305 of the 395 members of the lower house are elected in 92 multi-member constituencies through a proportional representation system. An additional 60 seats are reserved for women, while 30 are reserved for young men and women under the age of 40 (Article 23 (2) of the Organic Law No. 20-16, amending Law No. 27-11). The 60 reserved seats for women are filled by winners elected through a proportional representation system based on nation-wide closed party lists (Article 23 (2) of the Organic Law No. 27-11 on the House of Representatives).	Local	30%

Morocco	Electoral law	This system, first legislated through the 2011 electoral reforms, builds upon the previous 'honorary agreement' between the political parties, formed in 2002, which reserved 30 seats for women (see additional information). A new law regulating elections at the sub-national level (Law n° 59-11 on the election of council members of local authorities) was adopted in 2011, introducing quota provisions for women. In particular, according to Articles 76 and 77, at least one-third of the seats in regional councils, which are directly elected, must be reserved for women. Furthermore, for elections to the lower district and communal councils, the law provides for additional electoral constituencies reserved for women, who should be elected through a proportional representation system (Article 143 and explanatory note).	National and local	60 Reserved seats (National) 30% (LG)
Namibia	Electoral law	In the election of any local authority council with 10 or less members, party lists must include at least three female persons; in the case of a municipal council or town council consisting of 11 or more members, party lists must include the names of at least five female persons.	Local	30%-45%
Niger	Electoral law	In parliamentary and local elections, the lists submitted by political parties, groups of political parties or groups of independent candidates should include candidates of both sexes. At the announcement of final results, the proportion of elected candidates of either sex should not be less than 10%' (Article 3 of Law 2000/08 establishing a quota system for elected offices). Any political party or group of independent candidates that obtains at least 3 seats in a constituency must ensure the implementation of the 10% quota requirement (Decree 2001-056/PRN/MDSP/PF/PE of 28 February 2001 on the application of the quota law). The Constitutional Court rejects the candidate lists that do not comply with the gender quota requirements, and asks parties to correct them.	National and local	10%
Sao Tome and Principe	Electoral law	Al least 30% of the candidates in the list must be women (resolution No.74/VIII/09).	National	30%
Senegal	Electoral law	Electoral Law 92-16 of 1992, as amended by law 2012-01 of 2012, Article L.145, mandates parity in all candidate lists for the general elections. Candidate lists must be composed of alternating male and female candidates. As Senegal has a parallel electoral system the provisions of parity apply to both the list of candidates submitted for seats elected through a proportional representation system and the seats contested through a majority system in multi-member constituencies. If the number of seats contested in a constituency is odd, the parity rule applies to the immediately lower odd number (e.g. in a multi-member constituency with 5 seats, a party must have at least 3 women in its list of 5 candidates).	National and local	50%

Country	Instrument	Affirmative Action provision	Level	Quota
		The electoral law mandates parity for all candidate lists for the regional, municipal and rural elections, with the provision that candidate lists must be composed of alternating candidates of both sexes. If the number of seats contested is odd, the parity rule applies to the immediately lower odd number (Articles L.229 (2), L.263 (2), L.294 (2) and R.81).		
Sierra Leone	Electoral law	The 2004 Local Government Act created new local councils. Women's groups had advocated for special seats in the local councils, but the proposal did not succeed. However, equal representation for women was granted at the lower level, for the Ward Development Committees, elected at town meetings: out of 10 members, 5 must be women (Article 95 (2:c) of the 2004 Local Government Act).	Local	50%
South Africa	Electoral law	In the elections for local councils, parties must seek to ensure that 50% of the candidates on the party list are women (Local Government Act, Schedule 1, Section 11 [3]; Schedule 2, Sections 5 [3] & 17 [5]).	Local	50%
Togo	Electoral law	The National Assembly is composed of 91 members elected through a proportional representation system from closed candidate lists in multi-member constituencies. The lists of candidates must contain equal numbers of men and women (Article 220 (5) of the Electoral Code as amended by Law 2013-004). The allocation mechanism for public party funding rewards successful female candidacy: 70% are attributed based on the share of votes in preceding elections, 20% are determined by the number of women elected for the party in the previous legislative elections and 10% by the number of women elected for the party in the last local elections.	National	50%
	Electoral law	The National Constituent Assembly is composed of 217 members elected from 33 constituencies by the list proportional representation system. According to Article 16 of Decree 35: 'Candidates shall file their candidacy applications on the basis of parity between men and women.' Lists that do not follow the principle of gender parity will only be admitted when the number of seats, in the relevant constituency, is odd (Article 16) . Lists that do not follow the principle of gender parity will only be admitted when the number of seats, in the relevant constituency, is odd (Article 16) .		

		According to Law No. 7 of 2017, amending Law. No 16 of 2014 regarding elections and referendums, article 49 (9), candidates for municipal and regional councils are submitted on the basis of the principle of equality between women and men (50-50%) and the principle of rotating among them within the list. The presidency of party and coalition lists must also respect the principle of equality between men and women.		
Uganda	Constitution	Article 78(1) of the Constitution states that the parliament shall consist of one-woman representative for every district. There are 112 districts in Uganda. Article 180 (2:b) of the 1995 Constitution states that one-third of the membership of each local government council shall be reserved for women.	National	30%
	Electoral law	The parliament of Uganda is formed in the following way: there are 238 constituency representatives; 112 district women representatives directly elected by all voters on a special ballot in each district (for women candidates only); 10 representatives of the Uganda People's Defence Forces, of whom 2 must be women; 5 youth representatives, of whom 1 must be a woman; 5 representatives of persons with disabilities, of whom 1 must be a woman; and 5 representatives of workers, of whom 1 must be a woman (Article 8 of the Parliamentary Elections Act, 2005).	National and local	30%
Countries with no affirmative action provision for women in decision-making in the Constitution or electoral law				
Benin	None	None	N/A	N/A
Botswana	None	None	N/A	N/A
Cameroon	None	None	N/A	N/A
Comoros	None	None	N/A	N/A
Cote d'Ivoire	None	None	N/A	N/A
DRC	None	None	N/A	N/A
Equatorial Guinea	None	None	N/A	N/A
Ethiopia	None	None	N/A	N/A
Gambia (The)	None	None	N/A	N/A
Ghana	None	None	N/A	N/A
Guinea-Bissau	None	None	N/A	N/A
Madagascar	None	None	N/A	N/A
Malawi	None	None	N/A	N/A
Mozambique	None	None	N/A	N/A
Nigeria	None	None	N/A	N/A
Seychelles	None	None	N/A	N/A
Zambia	None	None	N/A	N/A

Country	Instrument	Affirmative Action provision	Level	Quota
Countries in transition				
Somalia	Transitional Constitution	Article 3 (5) of the 2012 Somali Provisional Constitution in the Founding principles states that: "Women must be included in all national institutions, in an effective way, in particular all elected and appointed positions across the three branches of government and in national independent commissions."	All	Not specified
	National Elections Bill	Article 22 (5) stipulates a 30% quota for women's representation.	All	30%
The Republic of South Sudan	Transitional Constitution (2011)	Among provisions in Article 9 Clause 16 - Rights of Women states: Women shall have the right to participate equally with men in public life. All levels of government shall: (a) promote women participation in public life and their representation in the legislative and executive organs by at least twenty-five per cent as an affirmative action to redress imbalances created by history, customs, and traditions; (b) enact laws to combat harmful customs and traditions which undermine the dignity and status of women; and The Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in The Republic of South Sudan (R-ARCSS) signed on 12 September 2018 states: "South Sudan's government needs to take into account national diversity, gender and regional representation. Women will form 35% of the Executive and legislation as per the TCRSS 2011 (as amended).	All	25% (35%)
	National Elections Act	Clause 60 (2) (b) of the stipulates that "twenty-five percent (25%) of women members shall be elected on the basis of proportional representation at the national level from closed party lists. All parties have to submit a Women's list from which 25% of candidates will be chosen for the National Legislative Council".	National	25%
Sudan	Draft Constitutional Charter	Clause 48, includes a specific section on women's rights: c)The state shall guarantee women's rights in all fields through positive discrimination.	All	None

ANNEX 10 WPP in Africa by electoral system and quota - lower house

Country	Electoral system	Type of Quota L/H	Lower house			Constitution	None	Voluntary
			Total	Women	% W	% W	% W	% W
Central African Republic	FPTP	Constitutional/Legislated	140	12	9%			
Eswatini	FPTP	Constitutional/Legislated	73	7	10%			
Liberia	FPTP	Constitutional/Legislated	73	8	11%			
Congo	FPTP	Constitutional/Legislated	151	17	11%			
Gabon	FPTP	Constitutional/Legislated	142	23	16%			
Kenya	FPTP	Constitutional/Legislated	347	75	22%			
Mali	FPTP	Constitutional/Legislated	121	33	27%			
Uganda	FPTP	Constitutional/Legislated	459	160	35%			
Tanzania	FPTP	Constitutional/Legislated	384	141	37%			
Sub-total FPTP Constitutional/ legislated quotas			**1890**	**476**	**25%**			
Nigeria	FPTP	None	360	21	6%			
Gambia (The)	FPTP	None	58	5	9%			
Sierra Leone	FPTP	None	146	18	12%			
Congo (DRC)	FPTP	None	500	64	13%			
Ghana	FPTP	None	275	40	15%			
Comoros	FPTP	None	24	4	17%			
Zambia	FPTP	None	167	28	17%			
Madagascar	FPTP	None	151	27	18%			
Mauritius	FPTP	None	70	14	20%			
Egypt	FPTP	None	591	162	27%			
Sub total FPTP no quotas			**2342**	**383**	**16%**			
Botswana	FPTP	Voluntary Party	65	7	11%			
Côte d'Ivoire	FPTP	Voluntary Party	255	29	11%			
Malawi	FPTP	Voluntary Party	192	44	23%			
Ethiopia	FPTP	Voluntary Party	547	212	39%			
Sub total FPTP voluntary party quotas			**1059**	**292**	**28%**			
Sub total FPTP and quota types			**5291**	**1151**	**22%**	**25%**	**16%**	**28%**
Lesotho	Mixed	Constitutional/Legislated	120	28	23%			
Chad	Mixed	Constitutional/Legislated	156	24	15%			
Libya	Mixed	Constitutional/Legislated	188	30	16%			
Guinea	Mixed	Constitutional/Legislated	114	19	17%			
Mauritania	Mixed	Constitutional/Legislated	153	31	20%			

Country	Electoral system	Type of Quota L/H	Lower house			Constitution	None	Voluntary
			Total	Women	% W	% W	% W	% W
Djibouti	Mixed	Constitutional/Legislated	65	17	26%			
Zimbabwe	Mixed	Constitutional/Legislated	270	86	32%			
Senegal	Mixed	Constitutional/Legislated	165	71	43%			
Sudan	Mixed	Constitutional/Legislated	-	-				
Sub total Mixed Constitutional/legislated			**1231**	**306**	**25%**			
Seychelles	Mixed	None	35	8	23%			
Sub total Mixed Systems and quota types			**1266**	**314**	**25%**	**25%**	**23%**	
Burkina Faso	PR	Constitutional/Legislated	127	8	6%			
Togo	PR	Constitutional/Legislated	91	17	19%			
Morocco	PR	Constitutional/Legislated	395	81	21%			
Sao Tome and Principe	PR	Constitutional/Legislated	55	13	24%			
Niger	PR	Constitutional/Legislated	166	43	26%			
Algeria	PR	Constitutional/Legislated	462	120	26%			
Tunisia	PR	Constitutional/Legislated	217	57	26%			
Angola	PR	Constitutional/Legislated	220	65	30%			
Burundi	PR	Constitutional/Legislated	123	47	38%			
Rwanda	PR	Constitutional/Legislated	80	49	61%			
Sub total PR Constitutional/legislated quotas			**1936**	**500**	**26%**			
Benin	PR	None	83	7	8%			
Cabo Verde	PR	None	72	19	26%			
Sub total PR no quotas			**155**	**26**	**17%**			
Equatorial Guinea	PR	Voluntary Party	100	21	21%			
Cameroon	PR	Voluntary Party	180	61	34%			
Mozambique	PR	Voluntary Party	250	106	42%			
Namibia	PR	Voluntary Party	104	46	44%			
South Africa	PR	Voluntary Party	397	182	46%			
Sub total PR Voluntary Party			**1031**	**416**	**40%**			
Sub total PR and types of quota			**3122**	**942**	**30%**	**26%**	**17%**	**40%**
South Sudan	Other	Constitutional/Legislated	383	109	28%			
Eritrea	Other	Constitutional/Legislated						
Somalia	Other	Constitutional/Legislated	275	67	24%			
Guinea-Bissau	Other	None	102	14	14%			
Sub total other and types of quota			**760**	**190**	**25%**	**27%**	**14%**	
Total Africa			**10,439**	**2,597**	**25%**	**26%**	**16%**	**34%**

ANNEX 11 WPP in Africa by electoral system and quota - local government

Africa Rank	Country	Region	Electoral system	Quota/TSM	Last election	Number seats	Women	% Women	Type of quota		
									Constitutional	None	Voluntary
									% Women	% Women	% Women
8	Kenya	East	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2018	2,177	746	34%			
7	Tanzania	Southern	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2020	3,477	1,190	34%			
18	Mauritius	Southern	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2020	1,296	283	22%			
26	Eswatini	Southern	FPTP	Constitutional/legislated	2018	97	15	15%			
FPTP Constitutional/ legislated quotas						**7,047**	**2,234**	**32%**			
15	DRC	Southern	FPTP	None	2019	286	78	27%			
29	Malawi	Southern	FPTP	None	2020	460	67	15%			
35	Zambia	Southern	FPTP	None	2016	1,516	126	8%			
FPTP No quotas						**2,262**	**271**	**12%**			
21	Botswana	Southern	FPTP	Voluntary party quota	2019	609	111	18%			
31	Zimbabwe	Southern	FPTP	Voluntary party quota	2018	1,959	274	14%			
FPTP Voluntary party quotas						**2,568**	**385**	**15%**			
Sub-total FPTP and by quota type						**11,877**	**2,890**	**24%**	**32%**	**12%**	**15%**
6	Lesotho	Southern	Mixed	Constitutional/legislated	2017	1,394	555	40%			
40	Mauritania	North	Mixed	Constitutional/legislated	2018	219	6	3%			
41	Senegal	West	Mixed	Constitutional/legislated	2017	544	13	2%			
Mixed Constitutional/legislated						**2,157**	**574**	**27%**			
37	Madagascar	Southern	**Mixed**	**None**	**2019**	**21,279**	**1,532**	**7%**			
5	South Africa	Southern	**Mixed**	**Voluntary party quota**	**2016**	**10,235**	**4,219**	**41%**			
Sub total Mixed and by quota type						**33,671**	**6,325**	**19%**	**27%**	**7%**	**41%**
1	Rwanda	East	PR	Constitutional/legislated	2018	100	62	62%			
4	Namibia	Southern	PR	Constitutional/legislated	2020	281	126	45%			
PR Constitutional/legislated quotas						**381**	**188**	**49%**			
25	Chad	Central	PR	None	2011	133	23	17%			
10	Mozambique	Southern	PR	Voluntary party quota		1,350	454	34%			
9	Cameroon	Central	PR	Voluntary party quota	2020	180	61	34%			
PR Voluntary party quota						**1,663**	**538**	**32%**			
Sub total PR and by quota type						**2,177**	**749**	**34%**	**49%**	**17%**	**32%**
Total Africa and by quota type						**45,330**	**9,670**	**21%**	**31%**	**8%**	**36%**

Source: Gender Links, Commonwealth Local Government Forum, local government websites.

ANNEX 12 Women in the top three political party leadership stuctures in Africa

Country	Party	Leader	M	F	Secretary General	M	F	DSG	M	F	Total M	Total F	Overall Total	% Women
Djibouti														
Ruling party	People's Rally for Progress	Ismael O Guelleh	1		Ismail Goulal Boudine	1					2	0	2	
Main opposition	Movement for Democratic Renewal and Development (MRD)	Daher Ahmed Farah	1		Djama Houssein Robleh	1					2	0	2	
Eritrea														
Ruling party	Eritrean People's Liberation Front	Isaias Afwerki	1								1	0	1	
Main party had a split	People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDF)	N/A			N/A			N/A						
Ethiopia														
Ruling party	Prosperity Party/Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF)	Abiy Ahmed Ali	1		Mesrak Mekonnen Yetneberk		1				1	1	2	
Main opposition	Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF)	Debretsion Gebremichael	1		Fetlework G/egziabher		1				1	1	2	
Somalia														
Ruling party	Tayo Party	Mohamed A M Farmajo			Ali Mohamed Jama	1					1	0	1	
Main opposition	Forum for National Parties	Sharif Sheikh Ahmed	1		Hassan Sheikh Mohamud	1					2	0	2	
Totals Horn			**6**	**0**		**4**	**2**		**0**	**0**	**10**	**2**	**12**	**17%**
Burundi														
Ruling party	National Council for the Defense of Democracy – Forces for the Defense of Democracy (CNDD-FDD)	Evariste Ndayishimiye	1	0	Marc Rwabahungu	1	0	Sabine Ntakarutimana	0	1	2	1	3	
Main opposition	National Liberation Forces (Forces pour la Libération Nationale, FNL)	Agathon Rwasa	1	0							1	0	1	
Kenya														
Ruling party	Jubilee Party of Kenya	Uhuru Kenyatta	1	0	Michael Rotich Sialai	1	0				2	0	2	
Main opposition	Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)	Raila Odinga	1	0	Edwin Sifuna	1	0				2	0	2	
South Sudan														
Ruling party	Sudan People's Liberation Movement	Salva Kiir Mayardit	1	0	Yasir Arman	1	0	Jemma Nunu Kumba	0	1	2	1	3	
Main opposition	United Democratic Front (South Sudan)	Peter A. Sule	1	0	Bona Deng Lawrence	1	0				2	0	2	
Uganda														
Ruling party	National Resistance Movement	Yoweri Museveni	1		Justine Lumumba Kasule	0	1	Richard Todwong	1		2	1	3	
Main opposition	Forum for Democratic Change	Patrick Amuriat Oboi	1		Nathan Nandala Mafabi	1					2	0	2	
Tanzania														
Ruling party	Chama Cha Mapinduzi	John Magufuli	1		Bashiru Ally	1					2	0	2	
Main opposition	Chadema	Freeman Mbowe	1		John John Mnyika	1		Benson Kigaila	1		3	0	3	
Rwanda														
Ruling party	Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF–Inkotanyi)	Paul Kagame	1		Kambanda Jeannine		1				1	1	2	

Main opposition	United Democratic Forces of Rwanda (French: Forces Democratiques Unifiées, FDU-INKINGI)	Justin Bahunga	1		Placide Kayumba	1					2	0	2	
Total East			**12**	**0**		**9**	**2**		**2**	**2**	**23**	**4**	**27**	**15%**
Angola														
Ruling party	People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola	José Eduardo dos Santos	1		Paulo Kassoma	1		n/a			2	0	2	
Main opposition	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola	Adalberto Costa Júnior	1		Vitorino Nhany	1		Rafaeel Massanga Savimbi	1		3	0	3	
Botswana														
Ruling party	Botswana Democratic Party	Mokgweetsi Masisi	1		Mpho Balopi	1		Shaw Kgathi	1		3	0	3	
Main opposition	Umbrella for Democratic Change	Duma Gideon Boko	1		Moeti Mohwasa	1		Phillip Monowe	1		3	0	3	
Comorors														
Ruling party	Ruling party (Convention pour le Renouveau des Comores - CRC)	Azali ASSOUMANI	1		Youssoupha MOHAMED ALI	1		MAHAFIDHOU SOILIHI	1		3	0	3	
Main opposition	Opposition (Conseil National de Transition - CNT)	Mouigni Baraka ATHOUMANI	1		Hassane Ahmed El-Barwane	1		YOUSSOUF SAID	1		3	0	3	
DRC														
Ruling party	UDPS	Félix Tshisekedi	1		Augustin Kabuya	1		Deogratias Bizibu	1		7	1	8	
								Gaudefroy Stanislas	1					
								Tshimanga						
								Daniel Aselo Okitankoy	1					
								Gaspard Munganga Pili	1					
								Jean Nkiezo	1					
								Gisèle Mbwasieng		1				
Main opposition	PPRD	Joseph Kabila	1		Emmanuel Shadary	1		Willy Bakonga	1		6	1	7	
								Lucain Kasongo	1					
								Willy Ngoopos	1					
								Jacqueline Penge		1				
Eswatini														
Ruling party	Banned										0	0	0	
Main opposition	Banned										0	0	0	
Lesotho														
Ruling party	All Basotho Convention	Dr Thomas Thabane	1		Lebohang Hlaele	1		Nkaku Kabi	1		3	0	3	
	Democratic Congress	Mathibeli Mokothu	1		Tsitso Cheba		1	Molise Mofolo	1		2	1	3	
Main opposition	Alliance for Democrats	Dr Moyane Moleleki	1		Dr Mahali Phamotse		1	Batlokoa 'Makong	1		2	1	3	
Madagascar														
Ruling party	Tanora MalaGasy Vonona - TGV	Andry Nirina RAJOELINA	1		Hery RASOAMAROMAKA	1		None			2	0	2	
Main opposition	Tiako I Madagasikara - TIM	Marc RAVALOMANANA	1		Rina RANDRIAMASINORO	1		None	1		3	0	3	

Country	Party	Leader	M	F	Secretary General	M	F	DSG	M	F	Total M	Total F	Overall Total	% Women
Malawi														
Ruling party	Democratic Progressive Party	Peter Mutharika	1		Griezeldar Jeffrey wa Jeffrey		1	Francis Mphepo	1		2	1	3	
Main opposition	Malawi Congress Party	Lazarus Chakwera	1		Eisenhower Mkaka	1					2	0	2	
Mauritius														
Ruling party	Mouvement Socialiste Militant	Pravind Kumar Jugnauth	1		Nando Bodha	1		Joe Lesjongard	1	0	3	0	3	
Main opposition	Labour Party	Navin Ramgoolam	1		Kalyanee Juggoo		1	Stephanie Anquetil		1	2	1	3	
Mozambique														
Ruling party	FRELIMO	Filipe Nyusi	1		Roque Silva Samuel	1		Esperança Bias		1	2	1	3	
Main opposition	Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO)	Ossufo Momade	1		Manuel Zeca Bissopo	1		Jose Manteigas	1		3	0	3	
Namibia														
Ruling party	Ruling Party (SWAPO)	Hage Geingob	1		Sophia Shaningwa		1	Nangolo Mbumba	1		2	1	3	
Main opposition	Main Opposition (PDM)	Mchenry Veenani	1		Manuel Ngaringombe	1		Linus Tobias	1		3	0	3	
South Africa														
Ruling party	African National Congress	Cyril Ramaphosa	1		Ace Magashule	1		Jessie Duarte		1	2	1	3	
Main opposition	Democratic Alliance	John Steenhuisen - Chairperson	1		Ivan Meyer- Chairperson	1		IRefiloe Nt'sekhe - Deputy Chairperson		1	2	1	3	
Seychelles														
Ruling party	United Seychelles	Andy Jean-Louis	1		Andy Jean-Louis	1					2	0	2	
Main opposition	Linyon Demokratik Seselwa (LDS)	Roger Mancienne	1		Clifford Andre			Roy Fonseka (Treasurer)			1	0	1	
Tanzania														
Ruling party	Chama Cha Mapinduzi	John Magufuli	1		Bashiru Ally	1					2	0	2	
Main opposition	Chadema	Freeman Mbowe	1		John John Mnyika	1		Benson Kigaila	1		3	0	3	
Zambia														
Ruling party	Patriotic Front (PF)	Edgar Chagwa Lungu	1		Davies Mwale	1		Inonge Wina - National Chairperson		1	2	1	3	
Main opposition	United Party for National Development (UPND)	Hakainde Hichilema	1		Steven Katuka	1		Mutale Nalumango - National Chairperson		1	2	1	3	
Zimbabwe														
Ruling party	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF)	Emmerson Mnangagwa	1		Obert Mpofu (Secretary for Administration)	1					2	0	2	
Main opposition	Movement for Democratic Change Alliance (MDC Alliance)	Nelson Chamisa	1		Charlton Hwende	1	0	Jameson Timba	1		3	0	3	
Total Southern			**31**	**0**		**25**	**5**		**24**	**8**	**80**	**13**	**93**	**14%**
Benin														
Ruling party					Mariano Afolabi Ogoutolou	1					1	0	1	
Main opposition	Union sociale libérale	Sébastien Ajavon	1								1	0	1	

Burkina Faso														
Ruling party	People's Movement for Progress (MPP)	Roch M C Kaboré	1		Emma Zobilma-Mantoro		1				1	1	2	
Main opposition	Union for Progress and Change UPC	Zephirin Diabre	1								1	0	1	
Cabo Verde														
Ruling Party	Movement for Democracy (MpD)	Jorge Carlos Fonseca	1		Marlene Brito Dias		1				1	1	2	
Main Opposition	African Party of Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV)	Janira Hopffer Almada		1	Júlio Correia	1					1	1	2	
Côte d'Ivoire														
Ruling party	Rally of Houphouëtists for Democracy and Peace (RHDP)	Alassane Ouattara	1		Alain Acakpo Addra	1		Claude Issac De	1		3 1	0 0	3 1	
Main opposition	Ivorian Plitical Front (FPI)	Pascal Affi N'GUESSAN	1											
Gambia (The)														
Ruling party	United Democratic Party or UDP (UDP)	A Adama Barrow	1		Momodou A. Sise	1					2	0	2	
Main opposition	Gambia Democratic Congress (GDC)	Mama Kandeh	1								1	0	1	
Ghana														
Ruling party	New Patriotic Party	Nana A D Akufo-Addo	1		John Boadu	1					2	0	2	
Main opposition	National Democratic Congress (NDC)	John Dramani Mahama	1		Johnson Asiedu Nketiah	1		Barbara S Asamoah		1	2	1	3	
Guinea														
Ruling party	Rally of the Guinean People (RGP)	Alpha Condé	1		Mohamed Bérété	1					2	0	2	
Main opposition	UFDG and the Union of Republican Forces Guinea	Cellou Dalein DIALLO	1		Thierno Sadou Diallo	1					2	0	2	
Guinea-Bissau														
Ruling party	Movement for Democratic Alternation-Madem - G15	Braima Camará			José Carlos R da Fonseca	1					1	0	1	
Main opposition	African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cabo Verde (PAIGC)	Domingos S PEREIRA	1								1	0	1	
Liberia														
Ruling party	Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC)	George Weah	1		Mildred N. Sayon		1				1	1	2	
Main opposition	Unity Party (UP)	Joseph Boakai	1		Mo Ali	1					2	0	2	
Mali	***Military Coup***													
Ruling party	Rally for Mali (RPM)	Boucary Treta	1		Modibo Sidibé	1					2	0	2	
Main opposition	Union for Republic and Democracy (URD)	Younoussi Toure	1								1	0	1	
Niger														
Ruling party	Nigerien Party for Democracy and Socialism (PNDS-Tarrayya)	Mahamadou ISSOUFOU	1		Boubakar Tiémogo	1					2	0	2	
Main opposition	Nigerien Democratic Movement for an African Federation (MODEN/FA)	Hama AMADOU	1		Omar Hamidou Tchiana	1					2	0	2	
Nigeria														
Ruling party	All Progressives Congress (APC)	Adams OSHIOMHOLE	1		Amos Olatunde Ojo	1					2	0	2	

Country	Party	Leader	M	F	Secretary General	M	F	DSG	M	F	Total M	Total F	Overall Total	% Women
					Patrick A. Giwa	1					1	0	1	
					Amos Olatunde Ojo	1					1	0	1	
					Dauda Ibrahim El-Ladan	1					1	0	1	
Main opposition	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	Uche SECONDUS	1		Ibrahim Tsauri	1					2	0	2	
Senegal														
Ruling party	Alliance for the Republic-Yakaar (APR)	Macky SALL	1		Marie Joséphine Diallo		1				1	1	2	
Main opposition	REWMI Party	Idrissa SECK	1								1	0	1	
Sierra Leone														
Ruling party	Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP)	Dr. Prince Harding	1		Umar Paran Tarawally	1					2	0	2	
Main opposition	All People's Congress (APC)	Ernest Bai Koroma	1		Osman Foday Yansaneh	1					2	0	2	
Togo														
Ruling party	Union for the Republic (UNIR)	Faure GNASSINGBE	1		Édouard K "Edem" Kodjo	1					2	0	2	
Main opposition	Patriotic Movement for Democracy and Development (MPDD)	Agbeyome KODJO	1								1	0	1	
Total West			**27**	**1**		**21**	**4**		**1**		**49**	**6**	**55**	**11%**
Central African Republic														
Ruling party	Union for Central African Renewal (URCA)	Anicet-Georges Dologuele	1		Noël Kamnadji	1					2 1	0 0	2 1	
Main opposition	Central African Democratic Rally (RDC)	Desire Nzanga KOLINGBA	1											
Congo														
Ruling party	Congolese Labour Party (Parti Congolais du Travail)	Denis Sassou Nguesso	1		Guillaumette Kiakouama and Bienvenue Ewoko	1	1				2	1	3	
Main opposition	Congolese Movement for Democracy and Integral Development (MCDDI)	Guy Price Parfait KOLELAS	1					Bernard Tchibambelela	1		2	0	2	
Cameroon														
Ruling party	Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)	Paul BIYA	1		Gaston Komba / Michel Meva'a M'Eboutou	2					3	0	3	
Main opposition	National Union for Democracy and Progress (UNDP)	Maigari BELLO BOUBA	1								1	0	1	
Chad														
Ruling party	Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS)	Idriss DEBY	1		Malo Adrien Beyom	1					2	0	2	
Main opposition	National Union for Democracy and Renewal (UNDR)	Saleh KEBZABO	1		Bouzabo Patchili	1					2	0	2	
Equatorial Guinea														
Ruling party	Democratic Party for Equatorial Guinea (PDGE)	Teodoro OBIANG Nguema Mbasogo			Bienvenido Ekua Esono/ Victorino Nka Obiang	2					2	0	2	
Main opposition	Convergence Party for Social Democracy (CPDS)	Santiago Obama Ndong	1		Andres Esono Ondo	1					2	0	2	

Sao Tome and Principe														
Ruling party	Independent Democratic Action (ADI)				Evaristo CARVALHO	1		Samora Ferreira	1		2	0	2	
Main opposition	Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe-Social Democratic Party (MLSTP-PSD)	Maria DAS NEVES		1	Joaquim Rafael Branco	1					1	1	2	
Gabon														
Ruling party	Gabonese Democratic Party (PDG)	Ali BONGO Ondimba			Constant Brice Paillat and Michel-Edouard Kenguel	2					2	0	2	
Main opposition	Union of Forces for Change (UFC)	Jean PING	1		Jean-Pierre Fabre	1					2	0	2	
Total Central			**10**	**1**		**14**	**1**		**2**	**0**	**26**	**2**	**28**	**7%**
Algeria														
Ruling party	National Liberation Front (NLF)	Abdelmadjid TEBBOUNE	1		Salah Salem & Sakah Goudjil	2		Mohamed DJEMAI	1		4	0	4	
Main opposition	Movement of National Construction	Abdelkader BENGRINA	1		Harakat El-Binaa El-Watani	1					2	0	2	
Egypt														
Ruling party					Mahmoud Fawzi	1					1	0	1	
Main opposition	El Ghad Party	Moussa Mostafa MOUSSA	1								1	0	1	
Mauritania														
Ruling party	Union for the Republic (UPR)	Mahamed Cheikh El GHAZOUANI	1		Seyidna Ali Ould MOHAMED KHOUNA	1					2	0	2	
Main opposition	N/A	N/A									0	0	0	
Morocco														
Ruling party	Party of Justice and Development (PJD)	Saad Eddine al-OTHMANI	1		Abdelouahed Khouja	1					2	0	2	
Main opposition	Authenticity and Modernity Party (PAM)	Ilyas al-OMARI	1		Hakim Benchamach	1					2	0	2	
Tunisia														
Ruling party	Heart of Tunisia	Nabil KAROUI	1		Adel Hanchi	1		Qalb Tounes			2	0	2	
Main opposition	Nahda Movement	Abdelfattah MOUROU	1								1	0	1	
Libya														
Ruling party	N/A	N/A			Abdullah Al-Masray	1					1	0	1	
Main opposition	N/A													
Total North			**8**	**0**		**9**	**0**		**1**	**0**	**18**	**0**	**18**	**0%**
Total Africa											**201**	**27**	**228**	**12%**

Note: Tanzania is included under East and Southern Africa due to its membership of EAC and SADC but only counted once in the total.

Source: Compiled by Gender Links from political party websites.

ANNEX 13 Women in election management bodies in Africa

Region	Country	Women	Men	Total	% Women in Electoral Bodies
East	Rwanda	4	3	7	57%
East	Burundi	3	4	7	43%
East	Uganda	3	4	7	43%
East	Kenya	3	5	8	38%
Total East		**13**	**16**	**29**	**45%**
Southern	Comoros	6	4	10	60%
Southern	eSwatini	3	2	5	60%
Southern	South Africa	3	2	5	60%
Southern	Seychelles	4	3	7	57%
Southern	Zimbabwe	5	4	9	56%
Southern	Botswana	3	3	6	50%
Southern	Lesotho	2	2	4	50%
Southern	Malawi	3	4	7	43%
Southern	Namibia	2	3	5	40%
Southern	Mauritius	3	5	8	38%
Southern	Mozambique	4	7	11	36%
Southern	DRC	2	4	6	33%
Southern	Tanzania	2	4	6	33%
Southern	Zambia	2	6	8	25%
Southern	Angola	2	9	11	18%
Southern	Madagascar	1	8	9	11%
Total Southern		**47**	**70**	**117**	**40%**
North	Mauritania	3	9	12	25%
Total North		**3**	**9**	**12**	**25%**
West	Ghana	5	2	7	71%
West	Sierra Leone	2	3	5	40%
West	Nigeria	1	2	3	33%
West	Liberia	4	10	14	29%
West	Côte d'Ivoire	4	11	15	27%
West	Guinea-Bissau	1	3	4	25%
West	Benin	1	4	5	20%
West	Burkina Faso	3	12	15	20%
West	Gambia (The)	1	4	5	20%
West	Mali	3	12	15	20%
West	Niger	1	4	5	20%
West	Senegal	2	12	14	14%
West	Togo	2	15	17	12%
Total West		**30**	**94**	**124**	**24%**

Region	Country	Women	Men	Total	% Women in Electoral Bodies
Horn	Ethiopia	2	3	5	40%
Horn	Somalia	2	9	11	18%
Horn	Djibouti	2	11	13	15%
Total Horn		**6**	**23**	**29**	**21%**
Central	Central African Republic	4	7	11	36%
Central	Cameroon	20	65	85	24%
Central	Gabon	2	11	13	15%
Central	Chad	2	28	30	7%
Total Central		**28**	**111**	**139**	**20%**

Source: Compiled by GL with information from EMB and other websites including
http://aceproject.org/epic-es/CDCountry?set_language=en&topic=EM&country=DJ
https://unsom.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/fact_sheet_on_somalias_2016_electoral_process.pdf
https://www.eisa.org.za/wep/ang3.htm
http://www.ceniniger.org/
Commonwealth Report CWGenderinclusiveelectionsAfricaFINALDRAFT
https://elections.org.zm/establishment/
https://www.bridge-project.org/bridge-for-new-commissioners-of-nec-liberia/
https://www.nec.go.tz/pages/organization-structure
http://www.cne.pt/content/membros-da-16a-comissao
http://electoral.govmu.org/English/Overview/Pages/Other-Management-Bodies.aspx
https://www.nebe.org.et/
https://www.eisa.org.za/wep/namec.htm
http://news.abamako.com/h/156518.html
http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-09/02/c_137437098.htm
https://www.ec.or.ug/
https://mec.org.mw/commissioners/
http://www.iec.org.ls/commissioners/
https://www.zec.org.zw/pages/commissioners
https://au.int/fr/node/32755
http://www.ecs.sc/index.php/about-us/organisational-chart
https://www.eisa.org.za/wep/swa3.htm , info from Ncane
http://www.elections.org.za/content/about-us/organogram/
https://www.cena.bj/en/
http://www.ceni.bf/
https://iec.gm/about-iec/commissioners/
https://www.alwihdainfo.com/Tchad-remplacement-de-huit-membres-de-la-CENI-par-decret_a89828.html

ANNEX 14 Women speakers of parliaments in Africa

Country	Region	Chamber	Structure of parliament	M	W	Total	% W	Name
Angola	Southern	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Fernando da Piedade Dias dos Santos
Botswana	Southern	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Phandu Tombola Chaha Skelemani
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Southern	Senate	Bicameral	1		1		Alexis Thambwe Mwamba
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Southern	National Assembly	Bicameral		1	1		Jeannine Mabunda Lioko
Comoros	Southern	Assembly of the Union	Unicameral	1		1		Abdou Moustadroine
Eswatini	Southern	Senate	Bicameral		1	1		Lindiwe Dlamini
Eswatini	Southern	House of Assembly	Bicameral	1		1		Petros Mavimbela
Lesotho	Southern	National Assembly	Bicameral	1		1		Sephiri Enoch Motanyane
Lesotho	Southern	Senate	Bicameral		1	1		Mamonaheng Mokitimi
Madagascar	Southern	National Assembly	Bicameral		1	1		Christine Razanamahasoa
Madagascar	Southern	Senate	Bicameral	1		1		Rivo Rakotovao
Malawi	Southern	National Assembly	Unicameral		1	1		Catherine Gotani Hara
Mauritius	Southern	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Sooroojdev Phokeer
Mozambique	Southern	Assembly of the Republic	Unicameral		1	1		Esperança Bias
Namibia	Southern	National Council	Bicameral	1		1		Bernard Songa Sibalatani
Namibia	Southern	National Assembly	Bicameral	1		1		Peter Katjavivi
Seychelles	Southern	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Nicholas Prea
South Africa	Southern	National Assembly	Bicameral		1	1		Thandi Modise
South Africa	Southern	National Council of Provinces	Bicameral	1		1		Amos Masondo
Republic of Tanzania	Southern	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Job J. Ndugai
Zambia	Southern	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Patrick Matibini
Zimbabwe	Southern	National Assembly	Bicameral	1		1		Jacob F. Mudenda
Zimbabwe	Southern	Senate	Bicameral		1	1		Mabel M. Chinomona
Total Southern				**15**	**8**	**23**	**35%**	
Burundi	East	National Assembly	Bicameral	1		1		Gélase Daniel Ndabirabe
Kenya	East	National Assembly	Bicameral	1		1		Justin Muturi
South Sudan	East	Transitional System	Bicameral	1		1		Ubuch Ujwok Akuo
Uganda	East	Parliament	Unicameral		1	1		Rebecca Alitwala Kadaga
Tanzania	East	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Job J. Ndugai
Rwanda	East	Chamber of Deputies	Bicameral		1	1		Donatille Mukabalisa
Total East				**4**	**2**	**6**	**33%**	
Central African Republic	Central	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Laurent Ngon Baba
Congo	Central	National Assembly	Bicameral	1		1		Isidore Mvouba
Congo	Central	Senate	Bicameral	1		1		Pierre Ngolo
Cameroon	Central	National Assembly	Bicameral	1		1		Djibril Cavayé Yeguie
Cameroon	Central	Senate	Bicameral	1		1		Marcel Niat Njifenji
Chad	Central	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Haroun Kabadi
Equatorial Guinea	Central	Chamber of Deputies	Bicameral	1		1		Gaudencio Mohaba Mesu

Equatorial Guinea	Central	Senate	Bicameral		1	1		María Teresa Efua Asangono
Sao Tome and Principe	Central	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Delfim Neves
Gabon	Central	National Assembly	Bicameral	1		1		Faustin Boukoubi
Gabon	Central	Senate	Bicameral		1	1		Lucie Milebou-Aubusson
Total Central				**9**	**2**	**11**	**18%**	
Benin	West	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Louis Vlavonou
Burkina Faso	West	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Alassane Bala_ Sakandé
Cabo Verde	West	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Jorge Pedro Mauricio dos Santos
Côte d'Ivoire	West	National Assembly	Bicameral	1		1		Amadou Soumahoro
Côte d'Ivoire	West	Senate	Bicameral	1		1		Jeannot Ahoussou-Kouadio
Gambia (The)	West	National Assembly	Unicameral		1	1		Mariam Jack Denton
Ghana	West	Parliament	Unicameral	1		1		Mike Aaron Oquaye
Guinea	West	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Amadou Damaro Camara
Guinea-Bissau	West	Peoples National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Cipriano Cassamá
Liberia	West	House of Peoples Representatives	Bicameral	1		1		Bhofal Chambers
Liberia	West	The Liberian Senate	Bicameral		1	1		Jewel Howard Taylor (President)
Liberia	West	The Liberian Senate	Bicameral	1		1		Albert Tugbe Chie (pro tempore)
Mali	West	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Moussa Timbiné
Niger	West	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Ousseini Tinni
Nigeria	West	House of Representatives	Bicameral	1		1		Femi Gbajabiamila
Nigeria	West	Senate	Bicameral	1		1		Ahmad Lawan
Senegal	West	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Moustapha Niasse
Sierra Leone	West	Parliament	Unicameral	1		1		Abass Chernor Bundu
Togo	West	National Assembly	Unicameral		1	1		Yawa Djigbodi Tsegan
Total West				**16**	**3**	**19**	**16%**	
Algeria	North	National Peoples Assembly	Bicameral	1		1		Slimane Chenine
Algeria	North	Council of Nation	Bicameral	1		1		Salah Goudjil
Egypt	North	House of Representatives	Bicameral	1		1		Tagesse Chaffo
Egypt	North	Senate	Bicameral	1		1		Aden Farah
Mauritania	North	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Cheikh Ould Baya
Morocco	North	House of Representatives	Bicameral	1		1		Habib El Malki
Morocco	North	House of Councillors	Bicameral	1		1		Hakim Benchamach
Tunisia	North	Assembly of Peoples Representatives	Unicameral	1		1		Hakim Benchamach
Libya	North	House of Representatives	Unicameral	1		1		Aguila Salah Issa
Total North				**9**	**0**	**9**	**0%**	
Djibouti	Horn	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Mohamed Ali Houmed
Eritrea	Horn	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		1		Isaias Afwerki
Ethiopia	Horn	House of Peoples Representatives	Bicameral	1		1		Tagesse Chaffo
Somalia	Horn	House of Peoples	Bicameral	1		1		Mohamed Mursal Sheikh Abdirahman
Somalia	Horn	Upper House	Bicameral	1		1		Abdi Hashi Abdilahi
Sudan	North	Transitional System	N/A					
Total Horn				**5**	**0**	**5**	**0%**	
Total Africa				**58**	**15**	**73**	**21%**	

Source: IPU and parliament websites.

ANNEX 15 Women mayors of capital cities in Africa

Country	Capital City	Mayor	M	W	T	% W	Source
Central African Republic	Bangui	Raymond Emil Gros NAKOMBO	1		1		https://en.db-city.com/Central-African-Republic--Bangui--Bangui
Congo	Brazzaville	Christian Roger Okemba	1		1		https://www.africaintelligence.com/central-and-west-africa_politics/2020/05/21/president-sassou-s-kin-back-rival-runners-for-brazzaville-mayor,108406444-ar1
Cameroon	Yaoundé	Yoki Onana Jacque / Onambele Bindzi Clémentine	1	1	2		https://www.fast-trackcities.org/mayor-office/yaound%C3%A9
Chad	N'Djamena	Marie-Thérèse Mbailemdana		1	1		https://en.db-city.com/Chad--N'Djamena--N'Djamena
Equatorial Guinea	Malabo	Maria Coloma Edjang Bengono		1	1		https://www.guineaecuatorialpress.com/noticia.php?id=10724&lang=en
Sao Tome and Principe	São Tomé						
Gabon	Libreville	Léandre Nzué	1		1		https://www.uclga.org/news/23rd-session-of-the-executive-committee-of-uclg-africa-press-release-2/
Total Central			**4**	**3**	**7**	**43%**	
Djibouti	J_b_t_ / Djibouti	Fatouma Awaleh	1		1		
Eritrea	Asmara	Romodan Osman Awliyay	1		1		https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Asmara
Ethiopia	Addis Ababa	Adanech Abiebie		1	1		https://ethiopianmonitor.com/2020/08/18/adanech-abiebie-becomes-mayor-of-addis-ababa/
Somalia	Mogadishu	Abdirahman Omar Osman	1		1		https://www.africanews.com/2019/07/25/mayor-of-somali-capital-severely-injured-after-suicide-attack-on-offices//
Sudan	Juba	Semir Khamis	1		1		http://www.citymayors.com/statistics/capital-cities-mayors-countries.html
Total Horn			**4**	**1**	**5**	**20%**	
Benin	Porto-Novo	Emmanuel Djima Zossou	1		1		
Burkina Faso	Ouagadougou	Armand Béouindé	1		1		https://www.africities.org/speakers/armand-beouinde/
Cabo Verde	Praia	Óscar Santos	1		1		https://www.britannica.com/place/Praia
Côte d'Ivoire	Abidjan	Robert Beugré Mambé	1		1		https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Abidjan
Gambia (The)	Banjul	Rohey Malick Lowe		1	1		https://telavivcitiessummit.com/speakers/rohey-malick-lowe/
Ghana	Accra	Mohammed Adjei Sowah	1		1		http://www.citymayors.com/statistics/capital-cities-mayors-countries.html
Guinea	Conakry	Mathurin Bangoura	1		1		https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conakry#Liste_des_maires_et_autres_autorit.C3.A9s_locales.5B1.5D
Guinea-Bissau	Bissau		1		1		
Liberia	Monrovia	Jefferson T. Koijee	1		1		https://www.esi-africa.com/tag/mayor-jefferson-t-koijee/
Mali	Bamako	Adama Sangaré	1		1		https://www.fast-trackcities.org/mayor-office/bamako#:~:text=Bamako%20HIV%20Care%20Continuum%20(2016)%20PLHIV%3A%2014%2C300&text=The%20Mayor%20of%20the%20District,April%202018%20in%20Bordeaux%2C%20France
Niger	Niamey	Assane Seydou Sanda	1		1		https://www.citiesabc.com/city/niamey/
Nigeria	Abuja	Mohammed Bello	1		1		http://www.citymayors.com/statistics/capital-cities-mayors-countries.html
Senegal	Dakar	Soham El Wardini		1	1		http://www.citymayors.com/statistics/capital-cities-mayors-countries.html

Sierra Leone	Freetown	Yvonne Aki-Sawyerr		1	1		https://www.unenvironment.org/news-and-stories/story/transforming-sierra-leones-capital
Togo	Lome	Aouissi Lodé	1		1		https://en.db-city.com/Togo--Lom%C3%A9
Total West			**12**	**3**	**15**	**20%**	
Angola	Luanda	Joana Lina		1	1		https://www.portaldeangola.com/category/governo/governos-provinciais/governo-provincial-de-luanda/
Botswana	Gaborone	Harry Mothei	1		1		
Comoros	Moroni		1	0	1		
Eswatini	Mbabane	Zephaniah Nkambule	1		1		
DRC	Kinshasa	André Kimbuta Yango	1		1		
Lesotho	Maseru	HLATHE MAJARA	1		1		
Madagascar	Antananarivo	Naina Andriantsitohaina	1		1		
Malawi	Lilongwe	Juliana Kaduya		1	1		
Mauritius	Port Louis	Daniel Laurent	1		1		
Mozambique	Maputo	Eneas Comiche,	1		1		
Namibia	Windhoek	Fransina Kahungu		1	1		
Seychelles	Victoria	David André	1		1		
South Africa	Tshwane	Tshepiso Solly Msimanga	1		1		
Tanzania	Dar Es Salaam	Isaya Mwita Charles	1		1		
Zambia	Lusaka	Miles Bwalya Sampa	1		1		
Zimbabwe	Harare	Herbert Gomba	1		1		
Total Southern			**13**	**3**	**16**	**19%**	
Burundi	Bujumbura	Freddy Mbonimpa	1		1		http://www.citymayors.com/statistics/capital-cities-mayors-countries.html
Kenya	Nairobi	Mike Sonko	1		1		http://www.citymayors.com/statistics/capital-cities-mayors-countries.html
South Sudan	Khartoum	Mortada Abdullah Warraq	1		1		http://www.citymayors.com/statistics/capital-cities-mayors-countries.html
Uganda	Kampala	Erias Lukwago	1		1		http://www.citymayors.com/statistics/capital-cities-mayors-countries.html
Tanzania	Dar Es Salaam	Isaya Mwita Charles	1		1		
Rwanda	Kigali	Pudence Rubingisa	1		1		https://www.fast-trackcities.org/mayor-office/kigali
Total East			**6**	**0**	**6**	**0%**	
Algeria	Algiers	Abdelkhalek Sayouda	1		1		http://www.citymayors.com/statistics/capital-cities-mayors-countries.html
Egypt	Cairo	Khaled Aal Abdel Hafez	1		1		http://www.citymayors.com/statistics/capital-cities-mayors-countries.html
Mauritania	Nouakchott	Ahmed Hamza	1		1		https://en.db-city.com/Mauritania--Nouakchott
Morocco	Rabat	Mohamed SADIKI	1		1		https://en.db-city.com/Morocco--Rabat
Tunisia	Tunis	Seifallah Lasram	1		1		https://en.db-city.com/Tunisia--Tunis--Tunis
Libya	Tripoli	Abdulrazaq Abuhajar	1		1		http://www.citymayors.com/statistics/capital-cities-mayors-countries.html
Total North			**6**		**6**	**0%**	
Total Africa			**44**	**10**	**54**	**19%**	Note 1

Note 1: Tanzania is included in East and Southern Africa due to its membership of ECA and SADC but only counted once in the total.

ANNEX 16 Women in top executive positions in Africa

Country	President	M	F	Vice President	M	F	Prime Minister	M	F	Deputy Prime Minister	M	F	Total M	Total F	Overall Total	% W
Central African Republic	Faustin-A Toudera	1					Firmin Ngrebada	1								
Congo	Denis Sassou-Nguesso	1					Clement Mouamba	1								
Cameroon	Paul Biya	1					Joseph Dion Ngute	1		Amadou ALI	1					
Chad	Idriss Deby	1					N/A									
Equatorial Guinea	Teodoro Obiang N Mbasogo	1					Francisco Pascual Eyegue OBAMA Asue	1		Angel MESIE Mibuy	1					
Sao Tome and Principe	Evaristo Carvalho	1					Jorge Bom Jesus	1								
Gabon	Ali Bongo Ondimba	1					Rose Christiane Raponda		1							
Total Central		**7**	**0**		**0**	**0**		**5**	**1**		**2**	**0**	**14**	**1**	**15**	**7%**
Burundi	Evariste Ndayishimiye	1		Prosper Bazombanza	1		Alain-Guillaume Bunyoni	1								
Kenya	Uhuru Kenyatta	1		William Ruto	1			0								
South Sudan	Salva Kiir Mayardit	1		Riek Machar	1		Rebecca Nyandeng De Mabior		1							
Uganda	Yoweri Museveni	1		Edward K Ssekandi	1		Ruhakana Rugunda	1		Ali Moses	1					
Tanzania	Samia Hassan Suluhu		1	Philip Mpango	1		Kassim Majaliwa Majaliwa	1								
Rwanda	Paul Kagame	1					Édouard Ngirente	1								
Total East		**5**	**1**		**5**	**0**		**4**	**1**		**1**	**0**	**15**	**2**	**17**	**12%**
Djibouti	Ismail Omar Guelleh	1					Abdoulkader Kamil Mohamed	1								
Eritrea	Isaias Afwerki	1		N/A												
Ethiopia	Sahle-Work Zewde		1				Abiy Ahmed	1		Demeke M Hassen						
Somalia	Mohamed A M Farmaajo	1		Hussein K Afrah	1		Hassan Ali Khayre	1								
Puntland Somalia	Said Abdullahi Dani	1		Ahmed Elmi Osman	1											
Total Horn		**4**	**1**		**2**	**0**		**3**	**0**		**0**	**0**	**9**	**1**	**10**	**10%**
Angola	João Lourenço	1		Bornito de Sousa	1											
Botswana	Mokgweetsi Masisi	1		Slumber Tsogwane	1											
Comoros	Azali Assoumani	1														
DRC	Félix Tshisekedi	1					Sylvestre Ilunga	1								
Eswatini							Ambrose Mandvulo Dlamini,	1		Paul Dlamini	1					
Lesotho							Moeketsi Majoro	1		Hon. Mathibeli Mokhothu	1					
Madagascar	Andry Rajoelina	1					Christian Ntsay	1								
Malawi	Lazarus Chakwera	1		Saulos Chilima	1											
Mauritius	Prithvirajsing Roopun	1					Pravind Jugnauth	1								

Mozambique	Filipe Jacinto Nyusi	1					Carlos Agostinho do Rosario	1									
Namibia	Hage Geingob	1		Nangolo Mbumba	1		Saara Kuugongelwa		1								
Seychelles	Danny Faure	1		Vincent Meriton	1												
South Africa	Cyril Ramaphosa	1		David Mabuza	1												
Tanzania	Samia Hassan Suluhu		1	Philip Mpango	1		Kassim Majaliwa Majaliwa	1									
Zambia	Edgar Lungu	1		Inonge Wina		1											
Zimbabwe	Emmerson Mnangagwa	1		Constantino Chiwenga	1												
Total Southern		**13**	**1**		**8**	**1**		**7**	**1**		**2**	**0**	**30**	**3**	**33**	**9%**
Benin	Patrice Talon	1															
Burkina Faso	Roch Marc C Kaboré	1		Paul Kaba Thieba	1												
Cabo Verde	Jorge C de A Fonseca	1					José Ulisses de P C e Silva	1									
Côte d'Ivoire	Alassane D Ouattara	1		Hamed Bakayoko	1	1											
Gambia (The)	Alhaji Adama Barrow	1		Isatou TOURAY													
Ghana	Nana A D Akufo-Addo	1		Mahamudu BAWUMIA	1												
Guinea	Alpha Condé	1					Ibrahima Kassory Fofana	1									
Guinea-Bissau	Umaro C EMBALO	1				1	Nuno NABIAM	1									
Liberia	George Weah	1		Jewel Howard-Taylor													
Mali	Ibrahim B Keita	1		Coup August 2020			Boubou CISSE	1									
Niger	Issoufou Mahamadou	1		Brigi Rafini	1												
Nigeria	Muhammadu Buhari	1		Oluyemi "Yemi" Osinbalo	1												
Senegal	Macky Sall	1		N/A			N/A										
Sierra Leone	Julius Maada Bio	1		Mohamed Juldeh Jalloh	1												
Togo	Faure Gnassingbe	1					Victoire Tomegah Dogbé		1								
Total West		**15**	**0**		**6**	**2**		**4**	**1**		**0**	**0**	**25**	**3**	**28**	**11%**
Algeria	Abdelmadjid Tebboune	1					Abdelaziz DJERAD	1									
Egypt	Abdelfattah Elsisi	1					Mostafa Madbouly	1									
Mauritania	Mohamed C El Ghazouani	1					Mohamed Ould Bilal	1									
Morocco	King Mohammed VI	1					Saad-Eddine al-Othmani	1									
Tunisia	Kais Saied	1					Elyes FAKHFAKH	1									
Libya	Aguila Saleh Issa	1					Fayez al-Serraj	1									
Total North		**6**	**0**		**0**	**0**		**6**	**0**		**0**	**0**	**12**	**0**	**12**	**0%**
Africa		**50**	**2**		**20**	**3**		**29**	**4**		**5**	**0**	**104**	**9**	**113**	**8%**

Source: Compiled by Gender Links from government websites.

ANNEX 17 Women and men in cabinet in Africa

Country	Total	Women	% W	Source
Rwanda	20	12	60%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Burundi	15	5	33%	https://www.africanews.com/2020/06/29/women-occupy-30-percent-of-burundi-s-new-cabinet/
Kenya	21	7	33%	https://www.iknowpolitics.org/en/news/world-news/kenya-new-cabinet-casts-ray-hope-push-gender-balance#:~:text=With%20Maina's%20nomination%2C%20the%20Cabinet,and%20Monica%20Juma%20(Defence).
Uganda	31	10	32%	https://www.parliament.go.ug/page/cabinet-members-and-ministers-state
South Sudan	33	7	21%	https://allafrica.com/stories/202003130033.html
Tanzania	19	4	21%	https://www.tanzaniainvest.com/cabinet
Total East	**139**	**45**	**32%**	
South Africa	28	15	54%	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cabinet_of_Seychelles
Mozambique	22	10	45%	https://www.parliament.gov.za/ministers
Seychelles	13	5	38%	chrome-extension://oemmndcbldboiebfnladdacbdfmadadm/https://genderlinks.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/50-50-PB-MOZ-MAR20FIN.pdf
Namibia	21	8	38%	Gender Links
Angola	31	10	32%	https://www.un.int/angola/angola/government-officials
Zambia	29	9	31%	Gender Links
Zimbabwe	21	5	24%	Gender Links
Madagascar	22	5	23%	Gender Links
Botswana	18	4	22%	Gender Links
Eswatini	18	4	22%	https://genderlinks.org.za/what-we-do/sadc-gender-protocol/advocacy-50-50/swaziland-gender-and-elections/
Tanzania	19	4	21%	https://www.tanzaniainvest.com/cabinet *and* https://www.tanzaniahighcommission.my/index.php/2-stories/documents/35-the-cabinet-of-the-united-republic-of-tanzania
DRC	49	9	18%	UCOFEM
Lesotho	37	5	14%	Gender Links
Malawi	23	3	13%	https://www.businessmalawi.com/official-list-of-malawi-cabinet-ministers/ *and* https://www.opc.gov.mw/index.php/the-cabinet
Mauritius	23	3	13%	chrome-extension://oemmndcbldboiebfnladdacbdfmadadm/http://foreign.govmu.org/English/Documents/2019/Election%2019/List%20of%20Ministers%20as%2012%20November%202019%20PDF%20docx.pdf
Comoros	10	1	10%	Gender Links
Total Southern	**384**	**100**	**26%**	
Benin	24	6	25%	http://apanews.net/en/news/benin-reshuffles-cabinet-as-six-make-it-to-new-team
Cabo Verde	12	3	25%	https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/world-leaders-1/CV.html
Ghana	20	5	25%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827

Mali	36	9	25%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Senegal	32	8	25%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Togo	25	6	24%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Gambia (The)	18	4	22%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Liberia	18	4	22%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Burkina Faso	32	7	22%	http://apanews.net/en/news/burkina-pm-unveils-new-32-member-cabinet
Nigeria	31	6	19%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Sierra Leone	29	5	17%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Guinea-Bissau	19	3	16%	http://apanews.net/en/news/gbissaus-embalo-appoints-32-member-government
Niger	39	5	13%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Côte d'Ivoire	47	6	13%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Guinea	37	4	11%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Total West	**419**	**81**	**19%**	
Sao Tome and Principe	12	4	33%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Gabon	23	6	26%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Chad	27	7	26%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Congo	17	4	24%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Central African Republic	35	7	20%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Cameroon	21	3	14%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Equatorial Guinea	28	2	7%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Total Central	**163**	**33**	**20%**	
Eritrea	15	3	20%	https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/world-leaders-1/ER.html
Ethiopia	20	9	45%	http://www.ethiopia.gov.et/
Somalia	23	4	17%	https://allafrica.com/stories/201902110539.html
Djibouti	24	3	13%	https://www.presidence.dj/sousmenu.php?ID=174
Total Horn	**82**	**19**	**23%**	
Mauritania	25	5	20%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Morocco	19	3	16%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Algeria	33	5	15%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Libya	16	2	13%	https://data.ipu.org/node/97/data-on-women?chamber_id=13429
Egypt	29	3	10%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Tunisia	29	2	7%	https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827
Total North	**151**	**20**	**13%**	
Total Africa	**1338**	**298**	**22%**	

ANNEX 18 Gender division of labour in cabinets of select African countries

List of Ministries	Name	W	M	T	%W
Prime Minister	Dr. Edouard Ngirente		1	1	
Cabinet Affairs	Ines Mpambara	1		1	
Office of the Presidency	Judith Uwizeye	1		1	
Finance and Economic Planning	Uzziel Ndagijimana		1	1	
Environment	Jeanne D'Arc Mujawamariya	1		1	
Agriculture and Animal Resources	Geraldine Mukeshimana	1		1	
ICT and Innovation	Paula Ingabire	1		1	
Local Government	Anastase Shyaka		1	1	
Trade and Industry	Soraya Hakuziyaremye	1		1	
Infrastructure	Claver Gatete		1	1	
Emergency Management	Marie-Solange Kayisire	1		1	
Public Service and Labour	Fanfan Kayirangwa Rwanyindo	1		1	
Sub-total Economic/Planning Rwanda		**8**	**4**	**12**	**67%**
Defence	Albert Murasira		1	1	
Justie and Attorney General	Johnston Busingye		1	1	
Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation	Vincent Biruta		1	1	
Sub-total Foreign/Justice/Security Rwanda		**0**	**3**	**3**	**0%**
Gender and Family Promotion	Jeannette Bayisenge	1		1	
Education	Valentine Uwamariya	1		1	
Health	Daniel Ngamije		1	1	
Sports	Aurore Mimosa Munyangaju	1		1	
Youth and Culture	Rosemary Mbabazi	1		1	
Sub-total Social Rwanda		**4**	**1**	**5**	**80%**
Total Rwanda		**12**	**8**	**20**	**60%**
Cabinet Affairs	Martin Elia Lomuro		1	1	
East African Affairs	John Luke Jok		1	1	
Finance and Economic Planning	Salvatore Mabiordiit		1	1	
Petroleum	Puok Kang Chol		1	1	
Mining	Henry Dilang Odwar		1	1	
Transport	Madut Biar Yol		1	1	
Agriculture and Food Security	Josephine Joseph Lagu	1		1	
Livestock and Fisheries	Onyoti Adigo Nyikec		1	1	
Trade and Industry	Kuol Athian Mawien		1	1	
Environment and Forestry	Josephine Napwon Cosmas	1		1	
Water Resources and Irrigation	Manoah Peter Gatkuoth		1	1	
Land, Housing and Urban development	Michael Chanjiek Geay		1	1	
Investment	Dhieu Mathok Diing		1	1	

List of Ministries	Name	W	M	T	%W
Energy and Dams	Peter Mercallo Nasir		1	1	
Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management	Peter Mayen		1	1	
Wild Life Conservation and Tourism	Rizik Zakaria Hassan		1	1	
Public Service and Human Resource Development	Babgasi Joseph Bakasoro		1	1	
Labour	James Hoth Mai		1	1	
Roads and Bridges	Simon Mijok Majak		1	1	
Sub-total Economic/Planning South Sudan		**1**	**17**	**18**	**6%**
Defence and Veteran Affairs	Angelina Teny	1		1	
Peace Building	Stephen Par Kuol		1	1	
Justice and Constitutional Affairs	Justice Ruben Aroi		1	1	
National Security	Obote Mamur Mete		1	1	
Federal Affairs	Lasuba L. Wango		1	1	
Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation	Beatrice Kamisa Wani	1		1	
Interior	Paul Mayom Akec		1	1	
Sub-total Justice/Security South Sudan					
Parliamentary Affairs	Jemma Nunu Kumba	1		1	
Information and Broadcasting	Michael Makuei Lueth		1	1	
Higher Education, Science and Technology	Deny Jock Chagor		1	1	
General Education and Instruction	Awur Deng Achuil		1	1	
Health	Elizabeth Acuei Yor	1		1	
Gender Child and Social Welfare	Ayaa Benjamin Warille	1		1	
Culture, Museums and National Heritage	Nadia Arop Dudi	1		1	
Youth and Sports	Albion Bol Dhieu		1	1	
Sub-total Social South Sudan		**4**	**4**	**8**	**50%**
Total South Sudan		**7**	**26**	**33**	**21%**
Minister of Forestry, Fisheries and Environment	Barbara Dallas Creecy	1		1	
Minister of Transport	Fikile April Mbalula		1	1	
Minister of Trade and Industry	Ebrahim Patel		1	1	
Minister of Finance	Tito Titus Mboweni		1	1	
Minister of Employment and Labour	Thembelani Waltermade Thulas Nxesi	1		1	
Minister of Health	Zweli Lawrence Mkhize		1	1	
Minister of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development	Angela Thokozile Didiza	1		1	
Minister of Human Settlements, Water and Sanitation	Lindiwe Nonceba Sisulu	1		1	
Minister of Tourism	Mmamoloko Kubayi-Ngubane	1		1	
Minister of Small Business Development	Khumbudzo Ntshavheni	1		1	
Minister of Public Works and Infrastructure	Patricia De Lille	1		1	
Minister of Public Enterprises	Pravin Jamnadas Gordhan		1	1	
Minister of Mineral Resources and Energy	Samson Gwede Mantashe		1	1	

List of Ministries	Name	W	M	T	% W
Minister of Communications and Digital Technologies	Stella Tembisa Ndabeni-Abrahams	1		1	
Minister of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs	Nkosazana Clarice Dlamini-Zuma	1		1	
In the Presidency	Jeff Radebe		1	1	
Public Service and Administration	Edward Senzo Mchunu		1	1	
Sub-total Economic/Planning South Africa		**9**	**8**	**17**	**53%**
Justice and Correctional Services	Ronald Ozzy Lamola		1	1	
Defence and Military Veterans	Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula	1		1	
Minister of State Security	Ayanda Dlodlo	1		1	
Minister of Police	Bheki Cele		1	1	
Minister of International Relations and Cooperation	Grace Naledi Mandisa Pandor	1		1	
Minister of Home Affairs	Pakishe Aaron Motsoaledi		1	1	
Sub-total Foreign/Justice/Security South Africa		**3**	**3**	**6**	**50%**
Higher Education, Science and Innovation	Bonginkosi "Blade" Nzimande		1	1	
Minister of Basic Education	Matsie Angelina Motshekga	1		1	
Minister of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities	Maite Nkoana-Mashabane	1		1	
Minister of Social Development	Lindiwe Daphne Zulu	1		1	
Minister of Sports, Arts and Culture	Emmanuel Nkosinathi Mthethwa		1	1	
Sub-total Social South Africa		**3**	**2**	**5**	**60%**
Total South Africa		**15**	**13**	**28**	**54%**
Tinkhundla Administration & Development	David Ngcamphalala		1	1	
Finance	Neil Reikenburg		1	1	
Commerce, Industry and Trade	Manqoba Khumalo		1	1	
Natural Resources & Energy	Peter Bhembe		1	1	
Housing and Urban Develoment	HRH Prince Simelane		1	1	
Agriculture	Jabulani Mabuza		1	1	
Economic Planning and Development	Tambo Gina		1	1	
Information Communication & Technology	HRH Princess Sikhanyiso	1		1	
Public Works and Transport	Chief Ndlaluhlaza Ndwandwe		1	1	
Tourism and Environmental Affairs	Moses Vilakati		1	1	
Labour and Social Security	Makhosi Vilakati		1	1	
Public Service	Christian Ntshangase		1	1	
Sub-total Economic/Planning Eswatini		**1**	**11**	**12**	**8%**
Justice and Constitutional Affairs	Pholile Dlamini		1	1	
Home Affairs	HRH Princess Lindiwe	1		1	
Foreign Affairs & International Cooperation	Thuli Dladla		1	1	
Sub-total Foreign/Justice/Security Eswatini		**1**	**2**	**3**	**33%**
Education and Training	Lady Howard Mabuza	1		1	
Health	Lizzy Nkosi	1		1	

List of Ministries	Name	W	M	T	% W
Sports, Culture & Youth Affairs	Harries Madze Bulunga		1	1	
Sub-total Social Eswatini		**2**	**1**	**3**	**67%**
Total Eswatini		**4**	**14**	**18**	**22%**
Minister of Finance and Economic Development	Ahmed Shide		1		
Ministry of Innovation and Technology	Abraham Belay		1		
Commissioner of National Planning Commission	Fitsum Assefa	1			
Minister of Water, Irrigation and Electricity	Sileshi Bekele		1		
Minister of Science and Higher Education	Samuel Hurkato		1		
Minister of Labor and Social Affairs	Ergoge Tesfaye	1			
Minister of Ethiopian Revenues and Customs Authority	La'qe Ayalew		1		
Minister of Urban Development and Construction	Aisha Mohammed Mussa	1			
Minister of Transport and Communications	Dagmawit Moges	1			
Ministry of Trade and Industry	Melaku Alebe		1		
Minister of Agriculture	Omer Husen		1		
Minister of Mines and Petroleum	Takele Uma Banti		1		
Sub-total Economic/Planning Ethiopia		**4**	**8**	**12**	**33%**
Minister of Defense	Kenea Yadeta		1		
Attorney General of Ethiopia	Adanech Abiebie	1			
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Demeke Mekonnen		1		
Minister of Peace	Muferiat Kamil	1			
Sub-total Foreign/Justice/Security Ethiopia		**2**	**2**	**4**	**50%**
Minister of Health	Lia Tadesse	1			
Minister of Women, Children and Youth	Filsan Abdullahi[6]	1			
Minister of Culture and Tourism	Hirut Kassaw	1			
Minister of Education	Getahun Mekuria		1		
Sub-total Social Ethiopia		**3**	**1**	**4**	**75%**
Total Ethiopia		**9**	**11**	**20**	**45%**
Planning, investment and economic promotion	Jamal Mohamed Hassan		1	1	
Interior, Federal Affairs and Reconciliation	Mukhtar Hussein Afrah		1	1	
Finance	Abdirahman Duale Beyleh		1	1	
Foreign	Ahmed Isse Awad		1	1	
Commerce and Industry	Khalif Abdi Omar		1	1	
Agriculture	Said Hussein Iid		1	1	
Petroleum and Minerals	Abdirashid Mohamed Ahmed		1	1	
Labour and Social Affairs	Sadik Warfa		1	1	
Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management	Khadija Mohamed Diriye	1		1	
Ports and Marine transport	Maryan Aweys Jama	1		1	
Transport and Civil Aviation	Mohamed Abdullahi Salad		1	1	

List of Ministries	Name	W	M	T	% W
Information and Tourism	Osman Abukar Dube		1	1	
Post, Telecommunications and Technology	Abdi Sheikh Ahmed Roble		1	1	
Fisheries and Marine Resources	Abdillahi Bidhan Warsame		1	1	
Public Works and Transport	Mohamed Adan Moalim		1	1	
Sub-total Economic/Planning Somalia		**2**	**12**	**14**	**14%**
Justice	Abdikadir Mohamed Nur		1	1	
Defence	Hassan Hussein Haji		1	1	
Internal Security	Hassan Hundubey Jimale		1	1	
Constitutional Affairs	Salah Ahmed Jaama		1	1	
Sub-total Foreign/Justice/Security Somalia		**0**	**4**	**4**	**0%**
Health	Fowzia Abiikar Nur	1		1	
Education and Higher Education	Abdullahi Goddah Barre		1	1	
Religious Affairs	Omar Ali Roble		1	1	
Women and human rights	Hanifa Mohamed Ibrahim	1		1	
Youth and Sports	Hamza Said Hamza		1	1	
Sub-total Social Somalia		**2**	**3**	**5**	**40%**
Total Somalia		**4**	**19**	**23**	**17%**
Finance and Budget	Abdoulaye Daouda Diallo		1	1	
Foreign Affairs and the Senegalese Diaspora	Amadou Bâ		1	1	
Oil and Energy	Mouhamadou Makhtar Cissé		1	1	
Land-Based Infrastructure and Connectivity	Oumar Youm		1	1	
Economy, Planning and Cooperation	Amadou Hott		1	1	
Agriculture and Rural Infrastructure	Moussa Baldé		1	1	
Fisheries and the Maritime Economy	Aminata Mbengue Ndiaye	1		1	
Industrial Development and Small and Medium-Sized Industries	Moustapha Diop		1	1	
Mining and Geology	Sophie Gladima	1		1	
Urban Development, Housing and Public Hygiene	Abdou Karim Fofana		1	1	
Trade and Small and Medium Enterprises	Aminata Assome Diatta	1		1	
Microfinance and the Solidarity-Based Economy	Zahra Iyane Thiam	1		1	
Employment, Professional Training and Trades	Dame Diop		1	1	
Digital Economy and Telecommunications	Ndèye Tické Ndiaye Diop	1		1	
Civil Service and Public Service Renewal	Mariama Sarr	1		1	
Tourism and Air Transport	Alioune Sarr		1	1	
Labour, Social Dialogue, Professional Bodies and Institutional Relations	Samba Ndiobène Kâ		1	1	
Territorial Governance and Land Management	Oumar Guèye		1	1	
Environment and Sustainable Development	Abdou Karim Sall		1	1	
Sub-total Economic/Planning Senegal		**6**	**13**	**19**	**32%**
Armed Forces	Sidiki Kaba		1	1	

List of Ministries	Name	W	M	T	% W
Secretary General	Maxime Jean Simon Ndiaye		1	1	
Justice (Keeper of the Seals)	Malick Sall		1	1	
Interior	Aly Ngouille Ndiaye		1	1	
Sub-total Foreign/Justice/Security Senegal		**0**	**4**	**4**	**0%**
Community Development and Social and Regional Fairness	Mansour Faye		1	1	
Health and Social Action	Abdoulaye Diouf Sarr		1	1	
Water and Sanitation	Serigne Mbaye Thiam		1	1	
Women, the Family, Gender Equality and the Protection of Children	Ndèye Sali Diop Dieng	1		1	
National Education	Mamadou Talla		1	1	
Higher Education, Research and Innovation	Cheikh Oumar Hanne		1	1	
Sport	Matar Bâ		1	1	
Culture and Communication	Abdoulaye Diop		1	1	
Youth	Néné Fatoumata Tall	1		1	
Sub-total Social Senegal		**2**	**7**	**9**	**22%**
Total Senegal		**8**	**24**	**32**	**25%**
Mines and Steel Development	Uchechukwu Ogah		1	1	
Labour and Employment	Chris Ngige		1	1	
Industry, Trade and Investment	Maryam Katagum	1		1	
Petroleum	Timipre Silva		1	1	
Agriculture	Mustapha Baba Shehuri		1	1	
Industry, Trade and Investment	Otunba Adeniyi Adebayo		1	1	
Foreign Affairs	Geoffrey Onyeama		1	1	
Water Resources	Suleiman Adamu		1	1	
Finance, Budget and National Planning	Zainab Shamsuna Ahmed	1		1	
Transportation	Rotimi Amaechi		1	1	
Mines and Steel Development	Olamilekan Adegbite		1	1	
Labour	Omotayo Alasuadura		1	1	
Budget and National Planning	Clement Ikanade Agba		1	1	
Power	Godwin Jedi-Agba		1	1	
Environment	Mohammad Mahmoud		1	1	
Sub-tota Economic/Planning Nigeria		**2**	**13**	**15**	**13%**
Defence	Bashir Magashi		1	1	
Aviation	Hadi Sirika		1	1	
Justice	Abubakar Malami		1	1	
Police Affairs	Mohammed Maigari Dangyadi		1	1	
Interior	Rauf Aregbesola		1	1	
Sub-total Justice/Security Nigeria		**0**	**5**	**5**	**0%**
Education	Adamu Adamu		1	1	

List of Ministries	Name	W	M	T	% W
Special Duties	George Akume		1	1	
Science and Technology	Ogbonnaya Onu		1	1	
Health	Osagie Ehanire		1	1	
Communication	Ali Isa Pantami		1	1	
Information and Culture	Lai Mohammed	1		1	
Waste and Housing	Babatunde Raji Fashola		1	1	
Health	Adeleke Mamora	1		1	
Women Affairs	Dame Pauline Tallen	1		1	
Humanitarian Affairs, Disaster Management and Social Development	Sadiya Umar Faruk	1		1	
Youth and Sports	Sunday Dare	1	1	1	
Sub-total Social Nigeria		**4**	**7**	**11**	**36%**
Total Nigeria		**6**	**25**	**31**	**19%**
Civil Cabinet	Mvondo Ayolo Samuel		1	1	
Secretary General	Elung Paul Che		1	1	
Relations with the Parliament	Wakata Bolvine		1	1	
External Research	Leopold Maxime Eko Eko		1	1	
Special Advisor to the Presidency	Luc Sindjoun		1	1	
Territorial Administration	Atanga Nji Paul		1	1	
Public Contracts	Talba Malla Ibrahim,		1	1	
Rural Development	Mbairobe Gabriel		1	1	
Decentralisation and Local Development	Georges Elanga Obam		1	1	
Sub-total Economic/Planning Cameroon			**9**	**9**	**0%**
National Order	Philemon YANG		1	1	
Defence	Joseph Beti Assomo		1	1	
Supreme State Control	Mbah Acha Fomundam Rose Ngwari	1		1	
National Security	Martin Mbarga Nguele		1	1	
National Commission of Borders	Jean Pierre Fogui		1	1	
Sub-total Foreign/Justice/Security Cameroon		**1**	**4**	**5**	**20%**
Higher Education	Fame Ndongo Jacques		1	1	
Communications	Sadi Rene	1		1	
Housing and Urban Develoment	Keutcha Celestine	1		1	
Basic Education	Etoundi Ngoa Laurent Serge		1	1	
Arts and Culture	Bodoung Kpwatt Pierre Ismael		1	1	
Employment and Vocation Training	Issa Tchiroma Bakary		1	1	
Health	Anaouda Malachie		1	1	
Sub-total Social Cameroon		**2**	**5**	**7**	**29%**
Total Cameroon		**3**	**18**	**21**	**14%**

List of Ministries	Name	W	M	T	% W
Planning, Statistics and Regional Integration	Ingrid Olga Ghislaine Ebouka Babakas	1		1	
Finance and Budget	Ludovic Ngatse		1	1	
Agriculture, livestock and fisheries	Henri Djombo		1	1	
Commerce, supply and consumption	Claude Alphonse Nsilou		1	1	
Economy, industry and public portfolio	Gilbert Ondongo		1	1	
Construction and Urban Planning	Josué Rodrigue Ngouonimba		1	1	
Finance and Budget	Calixte Ganongo		1	1	
Foreign affairs & co-operation	Jean-Claude Gakosso		1	1	
Mines and Geology	Pierre Oba		1	1	
Hydrocarbons:	Jean-Marc Thystere-Tchicaya		1	1	
Lands & the public domain	Pierre Mabiala		1	1	
Environment and Tourism	Arlette Soudan-Nonault	1		1	
Sub-total Economic/Planning Congo (Brazzaville)		**2**	**10**	**12**	**17%**
Defence	Charles Richard Mondjo		1	1	0%
Interior & decentralisation	Raymond Zéphyrin Mboulou		1	1	0%
Sub-total Justice/Security Congo (Brazzaville)		**0**	**2**	**2**	**0%**
Communications	Thierry Moungalla		1	1	
Health and Population	Jacqueline Lydia Kikolo	1		1	
Social affairs, humanitarian action & solidarity	Antoinette Dinga-Dzondo	1		1	
Sub-total Social Congo (Brazzaville)		**2**	**1**	**3**	**67%**
Total Congo Brazzaville		**4**	**13**	**17**	**24%**
Agriculture and Land Reclamation	Al Sayed Mohammed Marzouk Al Kasser		1	1	
Trade and Industry	Nevin Jameh		1	1	
Planning and Economic Development	Hala Al-Saeed		1	1	
Electricity and Renewable Energy	Mohamed Hamed Shaker		1	1	
Business Sector	Hesham Tawfik		1	1	
Finance	Mohamed Maait		1	1	
Petroleum	Tarek El Mola		1	1	
Transport	Hisham Arafat		1	1	
Environment	Yassmin Salah Al-din	1		1	
Agriculture	Mohammed Al Qusair		1	1	
Supply & Internal Trading	Ali Ali Moselhi		1	1	
Sub-total Economic/Planning Egypt		**1**	**10**	**11**	**9%**
Justice	Omar Marwan		1	1	0%
Civil Aviation	Muhammad Manar		1	1	0%
Defense and Military Production	Mohamed Ahmed Zaki		1	1	0%
Military Production	Mohamed El Asar		1	1	0%
Sub-total Foreign/ Justice/Security Egypt		**0**	**4**	**4**	**0%**

List of Ministries	Name	W	M	T	% W
Culture	Inas Abdel-Dayem	1		1	
Education	Tarek Shawky		1	1	
International Cooperation	Rania Al-Mashat		1	1	
Tourism	Khaled El-Anani		1	1	
Housing, Utilities, and Urban Communities	Assem Abdel Hamid El Gazar		1	1	
State for Information	Osama Heikal		1	1	
Religious Endowment	Mohamed Moukhtar Gomaa		1	1	
Communication and Information Technology	Amr Ahmed Tallat		1	1	
Irrigation and Water Resources	Abdel-Aaty Sayed Mohamed Khalil		1	1	
Local Development	Mahmoud YoussryShaarawy		1	1	
Health	Hala Mustafa Zaid	1		1	
Social Solidarity	Nevin El-Kabbaj		1	1	
Higher Education and Scientific Research	Kahled Atef		1	1	
Youth & Sports	Ashraf Sobhy		1	1	
Sub-total social Egypt		**2**	**12**	**14**	**14%**
Total Egypt		**3**	**26**	**29**	**10%**
Foreign Affairs	Mohamed Taha Siala		1	1	
Finance	Faraj Boumtari		1	1	
Planning	Taher Al-Jahimi		1	1	
Economic/Planning and Industry	Faraj Boumtari		1	1	
Sub-total Economic/Planning Libya		**0**	**4**	**4**	**0%**
Defence	Salah Eddine al-Namrush		1	1	
Justice	Juma Abdullah Drissi		1	1	
Martyrs, Wounded and Missing	Mohanad Younes		1	1	
Migrants and Displaced	Yousef Abubakr Jalalah		1	1	
National Reconciliation	Abdeljawad Faraj Al-Obaidi		1	1	
Sub-total Justice/Security Libya		**0**	**5**	**5**	**0%**
Institutional Reform	Mohammed Ben Younes		1	1	
Interior	Fathi Bashagha		1	1	
Education	Fawzi Bomeriz		1	1	
Health	Khalifa Al- Bakoush		1	1	
Social Affairs	Faida Mansour El-Shafi	1		1	
Labour	Al-Mahdi Al-Amin		1	1	
Women's Affairs and Development	Asma al-Usta	1		1	
Subtotal Social Libya		**2**	**5**	**7**	**29%**
Total Libya		**2**	**14**	**16**	**13%**
Total sample		**73**	**223**	**296**	**25%**

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As the clock ticks down to 2030, the deadline for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), African countries are still far from achieving women's “equal and effective” participation in political decision-making. According to the first *Women's Political Participation (WPP) Africa Barometer 2021*, women constitute 24% of MPs in Africa; one-fifth of councilors in the 19 countries for which complete data could be obtained; 22% of cabinet ministers and 12% of the top three party functionaries in ruling and opposition parties. Democracy for the people, by the people demands that all the people, women and men, be equally and effectively represented. With a range of countries from Rwanda, the highest scoring, to several of the lowest scoring in the Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU) ranking of women in politics, Africa has its work cut out in the next decade. The Barometer will keep tracking progress until gender parity is achieved!



A Moroccan citizen signing the petition *Parity Now* by 2030, the deadline for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).
Photo: Ouafa Hajji