



## CHAPTER 2

# Gender and governance

## Articles 12-13



Matau Futo Letsatsi, Director of Lesotho Ministry of Gender Youth, Sports and Recreation (centre), is a tireless champion of the Fifty Fifty Campaign. Photo: Ntolo Lekau

### KEY POINTS

- Three countries held elections in SADC from August 2017 to June 2018: Angola (national); eSwatini (local, urban) and Lesotho (local). In both Angola and Lesotho the proportion of women declined from 38% to 30%; and 49% to 40% respectively.
- In eSwatini, the proportion of women in urban councils dropped to 12%, and the overall representation of women in local government dropped from 15% to 14%. Things could change in eSwatini following local rural and national elections in September 2018, following the passing of a new law to give effect to the 30% constitutional quota.
- Women's representation in Parliament in SADC is at 26%, one percentage point lower than last year, but two percentage points higher than the global and Sub-Saharan average of 24%.
- Women's representation in Cabinet in the region is lower at 20%. This is also true in Local Government (23%).
- Five more countries are due to hold elections in 2018: DRC (tripartite), Madagascar (tripartite), eSwatini [national and local (rural)], Mozambique (local), and Zimbabwe (tripartite). Five countries will hold elections in 2019: Mozambique (national); Malawi (national); Mauritius (national); South Africa (national and provincial); Botswana (national and local); Namibia (national, regional and local). The coming period is therefore one in which maximum effort needs to be given to the Fifty Fifty campaign.
- "Special measures" and conducive electoral systems give the greatest assurance for increasing women's representation in politics at all levels.
- With an average of 38% women, countries with a PR system and quotas in parliament have almost three times the percentage of women compared to 13% in the First Past the Post (FPTP) system (with no quota).

Quotas  
and the  
PR  
electoral  
system  
deliver  
results



in all  
areas of  
political  
decision-  
making

**Table 2.1: Trends in Governance since 2009**

	Baseline 2009	Progress 2018	Variance (Progress minus 2030 target)
<b>WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT</b>			
The average proportion of women in parliament reaches 50%	25%	26%	-24%
No. of countries that have achieved over 30% women in Parliament	5 (Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania)	6 (Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania, Zimbabwe)	9 (Botswana, DRC Lesotho, Malawi, Madagascar, Mauritius, Seychelles, eSwatini, Zambia)
Highest (country/%)	South Africa (42%)	South Africa (41%)	-9%
Lowest (country/%)	DRC - 8%	DRC (8%)	-42%
<b>WOMEN IN CABINET</b>			
Average proportion of women in cabinet reaches 50%	21%	25%	-25%
No. of countries that have achieved over 30% women in Cabinet	1 (South Africa)	3 (South Africa, Seychelles, Angola)	12 (Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo - DRC, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, eSwatini, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe)
Highest (country/%)	South Africa (42%)	South Africa (50%)	-0%
Lowest (country/%)	Mauritius (10%)	DRC, Lesotho (10%)	-40%
<b>WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT</b>			
Average proportion of women in local government reaches 50%	23%	23%	-27%
No. of countries that have achieved over 30% women in Local Government	5 (Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania)	5 (Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania)	10 (Angola, Botswana, DRC, Malawi, Madagascar, Mauritius, Seychelles, eSwatini, Zambia, Zimbabwe)
Highest (country/%)	Lesotho (58%)	Namibia (48%)	-1%
Lowest (country/%)	Mauritius (6%)	DRC (6%)	-44%
<b>WOMEN IN TOP POLITICAL PARTY POSTS</b>			
Average proportion women in top political party posts reached 50%		10%	-39%
No. of countries that have achieved over 50% women in top political party posts		None	15 (Angola, Botswana, DRC, Lesotho, Malawi, Madagascar, Tanzania, South Africa, Mozambique, Mauritius, Namibia, Seychelles, eSwatini, Zambia, Zimbabwe)
Highest (country/%)		Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe (33%)	-23%
Lowest (country/%)		Angola, Botswana, DRC, Lesotho, Seychelles, eSwatini, Tanzania (0%)	-50%
<b>WOMEN IN ELECTORAL BODIES</b>			
Average proportion women in Electoral Bodies reached 50%		30%	-20%
No. of countries that have achieved over 50% women in Electoral Bodies		2 (Mauritius and Zimbabwe)	13 (Angola, Botswana, DRC, Lesotho, Malawi, Madagascar, Tanzania, South Africa, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, eSwatini, Zambia)
Highest (country/%)		Mauritius (53%)	Exceeded target (Needs to set new country target)
Lowest (country/%)		Mozambique (13%)	37%
<b>WOMEN JUDGES</b>			
Average proportion women Judges reached 50%		28%	-22%
No. of countries that have achieved over 50% women Judges in SADC		2 (Madagascar and Mauritius)	13 (Angola, Botswana, DRC, Malawi, Tanzania, South Africa, Mozambique, Mauritius, Namibia, Seychelles, eSwatini, Zambia, Zimbabwe)
Highest (country/%)		Madagascar (88%)	Exceeded target (Needs to set new country target)
Lowest (country/%)		DRC (6%)	-44%
<b>WOMEN SOURCES IN POLITICAL TOPICS</b>			
Average proportion women sources in political parties reached 50%		15%	-35%
Highest (country/%)		Malawi (26%)	-24%
Lowest (country/%)		DRC (5%)	-45%

Source: Gender Links, 2018.

Table 2.1 shows that:

- There are wide variations in women's representation in all levels of governance. Countries need to adopt different timeframes and realistic targets for achieving gender parity, with 2030 the outside deadline.
- Women's representation in Parliament increased by two percentage point from 25% in 2009 to 27% in 2015. This slipped down to 26% in 2017 because of the decline in women's representation in Angola from 38% to 30%. No country has reached the 50% target. At 42%, South Africa has the highest proportion of women in Parliament. Since 2015, Seychelles has dropped out of the group of countries close to achieving the 50% target having dropped from 44% women in parliament in 2015 to 21% women in parliament after the September 2016 national elections. DRC has the lowest proportion of women in Parliament at 8%.
- Women's representation in Cabinet (Ministers only) dropped by one percentage point from 21% in 2009 to 20% in 2018. Cabinet appointments that are at the sole discretion of the head of state. They provide the ideal opportunity for leaders to "walk the talk". This has not been the case as women are least represented in most SADC countries. Following President Cyril Ramaphosa's cabinet reshuffle in February, South Africa is the only country in the region to have achieved 50% women in cabinet. Only three countries have more than 30% women in cabinet.
- Five countries in the region (Namibia, South Africa, Lesotho, Tanzania and Zimbabwe) have deputy ministers. The average percentage of women deputy ministers is 40%. Namibia (55% women deputy ministers) leads the way, with South Africa following (50%). A question that arises is why the progress at the deputy level is not being replicated at the cabinet level.
- The proportion of women in Local Government increased by one percentage point from 23% in 2009 to 24% in 2015, but dropped again to 23% in 2017 as a result of the proportion of women in Lesotho declining from 49% to 40% in the September 2017 elections. Only five countries have achieved over 30% women in Local Government. Namibia (48%); South Africa (41%) and Lesotho (40%) are the only three countries with over 40% women in Local Government.
- Since 2017, the Barometer has been measuring women in the top three party posts of the ruling party and the main opposition party. At a regional average of 10%, few political parties have "special" or "affirmative" measures to promote women's representation and participation in their own ranks. Most countries have no women in political party leadership.
- Women comprise 30% of Commissioners in independent electoral commissions in the region. This ranges from 13% in Mozambique to 53%

in Mauritius. Zimbabwe broke new ground with the appointment of a women chair of its Election Commission.

- Madagascar (88%) and Mauritius (50%) have made outstanding gains by reaching the 50% target of women judges. But more needs to be done in the region, where overall women judges comprise 28% of the total.
- At 15% news sources in the political topic category, women still lack a voice in this critical area of participation. This ranges from 5% in DRC to 26% in Malawi.

## Background

A strong and vibrant democracy is only possible when all levels of government and leadership are fully inclusive of the people they represent. No public or private office is inclusive unless it has the **full participation of women**. This is not just about women's right to equality and their contribution to the conduct of public affairs, but also about using women's resources and potential to determine political and development priorities that benefit societies and the global community. Women have proven abilities as leaders and agents of change, and their right to participate equally governance is essential for a healthy democracy and sustainable development.

Women face several obstacles to participating in political life. Structural barriers through discriminatory laws and institutions still limit women's options to run for office. Capacity gaps mean women are less likely than men to have the education, contacts and resources needed to become effective leaders. Individual women have overcome these obstacles with great acclaim, and often to the benefit of society at large. But for women as a whole, the playing field needs to be level, opening opportunities for all.<sup>1</sup>

Women's leadership, inclusivity at all levels of decision-making and representation is central to achieving human development and promoting human rights. When women are marginalised in politics, issues that concern them, children and youth tend to be compromised at the political decision-making levels.<sup>2</sup> When women are equal partners in decision-making, their experience considered, and voices heard, national and development policies are more inclusive and have a broader influence and impact.

<sup>1</sup> UNWOMEN Thematic Brief on Women's Leadership and Political Participation. See <http://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2013/12/un%20womenlgthembriefuswebrev2%20pdf.pdf>. Retrieved 28 July 2017.

<sup>2</sup> African Woman and Child Feature service, 2010. "Beyond Numbers: Narrating the Impact of Women's Leadership in Africa."

<sup>3</sup> OSCE report.

**NO**  
countries  
achieved  
over  
**50%**  
  
in top  
political  
party  
posts

## Representation



**Article 12.1:** State parties shall ensure equal and effective representation of women in decision-making positions in the political, public and private sectors including through the use of special measures as provided for in Article 5.

**12.2** State parties shall ensure that all legislative and other measures are accompanied by public awareness campaigns which demonstrate the vital link between the equal representation and participation of women and men in decision-making positions, democracy, governance and citizen participation.

### Women in political party leadership

Political parties are often referred to as the gate-keepers of democracy and have multiple functions within the electoral process. They are first and foremost organisations that serve as the representatives of their membership, citizens of their countries. They also mirror the democratic soundness of their nations.

Internally, political parties facilitate political recruitment and play a crucial role in candidate selection in the nomination process. Through their 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<sup>3</sup>. Political parties and their support for women within their party structures and candidates are crucial to enhancing and sustaining women's representation in the electoral process and in decision-making process as a whole.

When parties fail to ensure that women assume leadership posts, 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 special measures like quotas for women.

#### Zimbabwe: Women leaders fight backlash

As Zimbabwe prepared for elections on 30 July 2018, the leadership wrangle in the main opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) underscored the hostile environment towards women's participation in decision-making.

The dispute between Nelson Chamisa and Thokozani Khupe following the death of MDC founding president Morgan Tsvangirayi ended with Khupe forming her own faction of the MDC-T. Khupe will stand as Presidential candidate for MDC-T while Nelson Chamisa is the MDC Alliance Presidential candidate.

Social media was awash with hate speech towards Khupe's defiant stance in taking over the leadership of the MDC-T, with people calling her all sorts of names including "hure" (Shona slang for "prostitute"). MP for Matebeleland South Priscilla Misihairambwi-Mushonga protested against such language by wearing a T-shirt inscribed "HURE, ME TOO!" This says that women in politics are no longer afraid of standing their ground.



Priscilla Misihairabwi, Chief Election Agent for Thokozani Khupe wore a #Metoomovement jumper written "HURE" at the back.

*Photo courtesy of Twitter, Violet Gonda*



Table 2.2: Women in political party leadership 2018

Country	Party	Leader	M	F	Secretary General	M	F	DSG	M	F	Total M	Total F	Overall Total	Other positions held in parties
<b>Angola</b>														
Ruling party	People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola	José Eduardo dos Santos	1		Paulo Kassoma	1		n/a			2	0	2	0%
Main opposition	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola	Isaias Samakuva	1		Vitorino Nhamy			Rafael Massanga Savimbi	1		3	0	3	0%
<b>Botswana</b>														
Ruling party	Botswana Democratic Party	Mokgweetsi Masisi	1		Mpho Batlopi	1		n/a	1		0	0	0	0%
Main opposition	Umbrella for Democratic Change	Duma Gideon Boko	1		Moeti Morwasa	1		n/a	1		3	0	3	0%
<b>DRC</b>														
Ruling party	People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy	Henri Moya Sakanyi	1		Henri Moya Sakanyi	1		n/a			3	0	3	0%
Main opposition	Union for Democracy and Social Progress	Felix Tshisekedi	1		Étienne Tshisekedi	1		n/a	1		0	0	0	0%
<b>Lesotho</b>														
Ruling party	All Basotho Convention	Tom Thabane	1		Samonyane Nisekele	1		Lebohang Hazele	1		2	0	2	0%
Main opposition	Democratic Congress	Pekailtha Mosisili	1		Ralechaithe Mokose	1		Semano Sekatle	1		3	0	3	0%
<b>Madagascar</b>														
Ruling party	Hery Vaovao ho an'i Madagascar - HYM	Rivo Rakotovo	1		Henri Rabary Njaka	1	1	Paul Rabary	1		3	0	3	0%
Main opposition	Tiako i Madagasikara - TIM	Marc Ravatomana	1		Ivorasina Razafimanefa	1	1	Oliver Donat Andriamahafapary	1		3	0	3	0%
<b>Malawi</b>														
Ruling party	Democratic Progressive	Peter Mutharika	1		Grezelder Jeffrey wa Jeffrey			Francis Mphipo	1		3	0	3	33% Administrative secretary
Main opposition	Malawi Congress Party	Lazarus Chakwera	1		Jessie Kapwila			Eisenhower Mlkaka	1		3	0	3	33%
<b>Mauritius</b>														
Ruling party	Militant Socialist Movement	Pravind Jugnauth	1		Nando Bodha	1		Leela Devi Dookhun - vice president	1		0	0	0	33%
Main opposition	Murman Liberator	Ivan Collendarvello	1		Rajesh Bhagwan	1		Jaya Krishna	1		2	1	3	0%
<b>Mozambique</b>														
Ruling party	FRELIMO	Filipe Nyusi	1		Eliseu Machava	1		Esperanca Bias	1		2	1	3	33%
Main opposition	Mozambican National Resistance	Alonso Dhlakama	1		Manuel Zeca Bisopo	1		Jose Mantelgas	1		0	0	0	0%
<b>Namibia</b>														
Ruling party	South West Africa People's Organization	Hage Geingob	1		Nangolo Mburumba	1		Laura Moleod	1		2	1	3	33%
Main opposition	Democratic Turnhalle	Henry Vernaani	1		Martin G. Dertlinger	1		Jan U. van Wyk	1		3	0	3	0%
<b>South Africa</b>														
Ruling party	African National Congress	Cyril Ramaphosa	1		Gwede Mantashe	1		Jessie Duarte	1		0	0	0	33%
Main opposition	Democratic Alliance	Mmusi Maimane	1		Athol Trollip - Chairperson	1		Ivan Meyer/Refiloe Ntseke/Desiree Vander Walt - Deputy Chairperson	1		2	1	3	0%
<b>Seychelles</b>														
Ruling party	Linyon Demokratik Seselwa	Roger Mancienne	1		Clifford André	1		Roy Fonseca *	1		3	0	3	0% Treasurer
Main opposition	Peoples Party	Vincent Meriton	1		n/a			n/a			1	0	0	0%
<b>eSwatini</b>														
Ruling party											0	0	0	Banned
Main opposition											0	0	0	
<b>Tanzania</b>														
Ruling party	Chama Cha Mapinduzi	John Magufuli	1		Abdulrahman Kinana	1		Abdalla Juma	1		3	0	3	0%
Main opposition	Chadema	Edward Lowassa	1		Vincent Mashiji	1		Salum Mwailimu	1		3	0	3	0% Chairperson
<b>Zambia</b>														
Ruling party	Patricio Front (PF)	Edgar Lungu	1		Davies Mwila	1		Mumbi Phiri	0	1	2	1	3	33%
Main opposition	United Party For National	Hakande Hichilema	1		Freeman Mbowe	1		Brian Mwinga	1		3	0	3	0%
<b>Zimbabwe</b>														
Ruling party	Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)	Emmerson Mnangagwa	1		Constantino Chiwenga	1		Kembo Mohadi	1		3	0	3	0%
Main opposition	Movement for Democratic Change	Nelson Chamisa	1		Douglas Mwonzoza	1					2	0	2	0%
<b>Totals</b>			<b>28</b>	<b>0</b>		<b>24</b>	<b>3</b>		<b>19</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>10%</b>

Source: Gender Links and political party websites accessed July 2018.

Political parties are **NOT** walking the talk of gender equality

Table 2.2 shows that

- Women constituted only 8 of the 79 top three functionaries in political parties and main opposition parties in SADC in 2018 (10% of the total).
- No woman leads a ruling or main opposition party in the region. It follows that there is no women President or Head of State in the region.
- Three out of 27 (11%) of the Secretary General positions in ruling and main opposition parties are held by women.
- Women comprise five out of 26 (20%) Deputy Secretary Generals in main and opposition parties.
- Despite their stated commitment to gender equality, political parties have not “walked the talk” of gender equality in their own ranks. Most are reluctant to adopt special measures through quotas and policy reforms in their manifestos.

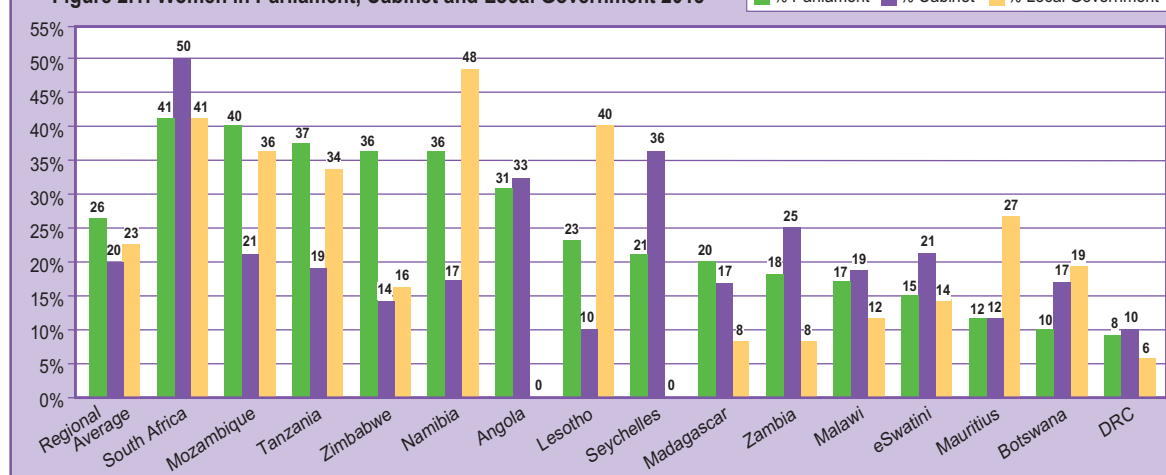
**Table 2.3 Elections in SADC past and future**

Country	Last elections		Elections planned 2018-2019	
	Local	National	Local	National
eSwatini	2017	Monarchy	2023	2018
Zimbabwe	2013	2013	2018	2018
DRC	2012	2011	2018	2018
Madagascar	2015	2013	2020	2018
Mozambique	2014	2014	2018	2019
Malawi	2014	2014	2019	2019
Mauritius	2015	2014	2020	2019
South Africa	2016	2014	2021	2019
Botswana	2014	2014	2019	2019
Namibia	2014	2014	2019	2019
Seychelles	2011	2016 (National Assembly)	N/A - Local authorities by government appointment	2020
Tanzania	2015	2015	2020	2020
Zambia	2016	2016	2021	2021
Lesotho	October 2017	June 2017	2023	2022
Angola	N/A	2018	N/A	2023

Table 2.3 shows elections held in SADC in 2017 and early 2018 and upcoming elections in 2018/2019. Between August 2017 and mid-2018 Angola (national); Lesotho (local) and eSwatini (local) held elections. In 2018, Zimbabwe, DRC and Madagascar will hold tripartite elections and Mozambique local

elections. In 2019 Mozambique (national); Malawi (national); Mauritius (national); South Africa (national and provincial) and Botswana (national and local) and Namibia (national, regional and local) will hold elections.

**Figure 2.1: Women in Parliament, Cabinet and Local Government 2018**



Source: Gender Links 2018, SADC Gender Protocol Country reports and IPU last accessed 18 June 2018. Angola local government figures not available. Seychelles does not have elected local government.

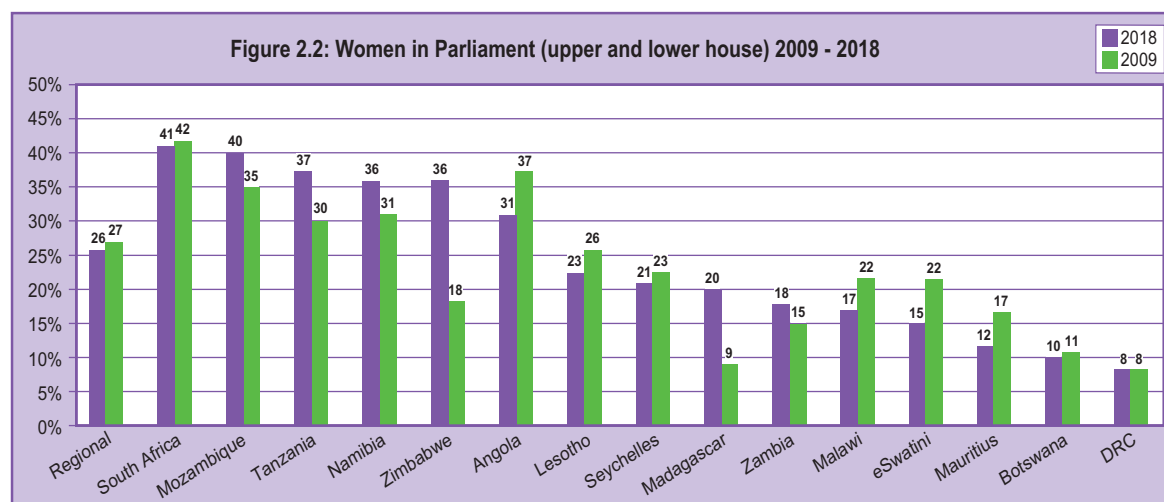
Figure 2.1 shows that:

- Performance continues to be mixed in different areas of political decision-making.
- Only South Africa achieved over 40% women in Parliament, Cabinet and Local Government.
- Only eight countries have exceeded the 30% mark in one or more areas including South Africa (Parliament, Cabinet and Local Government); Mozambique (Parliament, Cabinet and Local Government); Tanzania (Parliament, Cabinet and Local Government); Angola (Parliament); Namibia (Parliament, Cabinet and Local Government); Zimbabwe (Parliament), Lesotho (Local Government) and Seychelles (Cabinet).
- All perform better on women in Parliament than Cabinet and Local Government except for South

Africa where women comprise 50% of Cabinet compared to Parliament (42%) and Local Government (41%).

- Madagascar, eSwatini, Mauritius, Malawi, Zambia, DRC and Botswana still have a long way to go to achieve gender parity across all categories.
- Namibia, Mozambique and Tanzania have over 30% women in Parliament and Local Government.
- Generally there are much lower proportions of women in Cabinet than in Parliament and Local Government. As Heads of State appoint Cabinets and can therefore make rapid changes in this area, the relatively low level of women in Cabinet reflects weak political will at leadership level.

## Parliament



Source: Gender Links and IPU <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-el/world.htm> - accessed 18 June 2018.

Fig 2.2 shows that in the ten years of the SADC Gender Protocol:

- No SADC country has attained the 50% target of women in Parliament<sup>4</sup>.
- Two SADC countries (South Africa and Mozambique) have 40% or more women in Parliament.
- Six countries have passed the 30% mark, compared to seven in 2015 due to Seychelles dropping from 44% 21% women in Parliament.
- Nine countries have less than 30% women's representation in Parliament. Of the nine, seven have below 20% women's representations with the lowest being Botswana (10%) and DRC (8%).
- In the ten years of tracking, the overall average of women in Parliament in SADC has dropped by one percentage point, from 27% to 26%. Eight countries have experienced a reduction in the proportion of women in parliament; six have experienced an increase and one has remained constant. The biggest increase took place in Zimbabwe, where the proportion of women in Parliament doubled in the 2013 elections, from 18% to 36%, due to the introduction on a constitutional quota.

<sup>4</sup> In countries where there is an upper and lower house, the two have been combined.



in  
parlia-  
ment

**27%**  
in 2009



**26%**  
in 2018

**Table 2.4: Global comparison of women in parliament by region**

Ranking	Average % of women in parliament (single/lower house)	2017	2018
1	Nordic countries	42%	41%
2	Americas	28%	29%
3	SADC	27%	26%
4	Europe-OSCE member countries including Nordic	27%	28%
5	Europe-OSCE member countries excluding Nordic	25%	26%
6	Sub-Saharan Africa	24%	24%
7	Asia	20%	20%
8	Arab States	18%	18%
9	Pacific	15%	16%
	<b>Global % of Women in Parliament</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>24%</b>

Source: [www.ipu.org](http://www.ipu.org), 18 June 2018.

Table 2.4 shows that:

- The average representation of women in global Parliaments decreased from 25% in 2017 to 24% in 2018.
- SADC is two percentage points ahead of the global and Sub-Saharan Africa average. SADC is well ahead of Asia, the Arab States and the Pacific.
- As a region SADC now ranks third in the world (after the Nordic countries and the Americas).

**Table 2.5: Regional and Global ranking of Women in Parliament**

Country	Representation			Global rank			SADC rank		
	2017	2018	Variance (2018-2017)	2017	2018	Variance (2018-2017)	2017	2018	Variance (2018-2017)
South Africa	42%	41%	-1%	10	10	0	1	1	0
Mozambique	40%	40%	0%	12	14	2	2	2	0
Zimbabwe	33%	37%	4%	35	36	1	6	3	3
Namibia	36%	36%	0%	11	5	-6	4	4	0
Tanzania	36%	36%	0%	24	25	1	4	4	0
Angola	38%	30%	-8%	18	47	29	3	6	-3
Lesotho	23%	23%	0%	70	83	13	7	7	0
Seychelles	21%	21%	0%	87	90	3	8	8	0
Madagascar	19%	19%	0%	102	103	1	9	9	0
Zambia	18%	18%	0%	111	111	0	10	10	0
Malawi	17%	17%	0%	119	120	1	11	11	0
eSwatini	6%	15%	9%	176	176	0	15	12	3
Mauritius	12%	12%	0%	150	148	-2	12	13	-1
Botswana	10%	10%	0%	162	163	1	13	14	-1
DRC	9%	8%	-1%	167	167	0	14	15	-1

Source: [www.ipu.org](http://www.ipu.org), 18 June 2018 and Gender Links.

Table 2.5. illustrates where SADC countries rank globally and relative to each other against 193 countries listed by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). The table shows that:

- SADC countries range from 10th to 167th in the global ranking. At 41% women in Parliament, South Africa is the only country in the region in the global top 10. No SADC country is in the global top five. What this shows is that countries

elsewhere in the world are moving up the global scales as SADC countries move down.

- Over the last year, two SADC countries improved their global ranking; three remained the same and ten dropped in the global ranking.
- Within SADC rankings, Angola fell by two places as a result of the decline in women's representation in the last elections.

SADC  
countries  
rank  
**10th**  
to  
**167th**  
in the  
Global  
Ranking  
of  
  
in  
Parliament





Women mayors in Madagascar march for equality.

Photo: Zoto Razanadratafa

Table 2.6 overleaf tracks the performance of all SADC countries with regard to women's representation in national elections and provides projections to 2020. The information is sorted in descending order according to 2020 projections. The explanations for these projections are in the last column.

Those shaded green are countries that have or are likely to achieve 40% or more women in Parliament. Those shaded amber have or are likely to achieve 30% or more women in Parliament. Those shaded red are in the danger zone of not having achieved, and not likely to achieve 30% women in Parliament. Projections, based on an assessment of electoral systems, quotas, and past trends (see comments in the predictions table) show that:

- At best the region will achieve an average of 36% women in parliament by 2020. However, this is highly dependent on the performance of countries having elections in 2018 and 2019; and on a concerted Fifty-Fifty campaign being mounted.
- With Seychelles dropping out of the lead and the regression that took place in Angola in the 2017 elections, only four countries (Tanzania; Mozambique; Namibia and South Africa) will likely come close to achieving the 50% target,

especially if they strengthen their existing voluntary and legislated/constitutional quotas and review special measures in party manifestos before their next elections by 2020.

- Three countries - Zimbabwe (which has a Constitutional quota for women in Parliament), Angola (which has had elections and just held the 30% line) and eSwatini (which has passed a law to strengthen constitutional provisions for 30% women in politics)- will achieve or exceed the 30% target if they stay the course.
- Eight countries are likely to remain below 30%. Lesotho, Seychelles and Zambia are below 30% and they do not have elections before 2020. Malawi, Mauritius, Madagascar, Botswana and DRC have elections, but they are all FPTP countries with no quota. The chance of substantial increases in women's representation in Parliament in elections in these countries is slim.
- Given the wide variations between countries - from 8% women in parliament in DRC and 10% in Botswana, to South Africa currently the SADC leader at 42% - countries need to adopt different timeframes for achieving gender parity in parliament, with 2030 the outside deadline for doing so.

At best  
36%



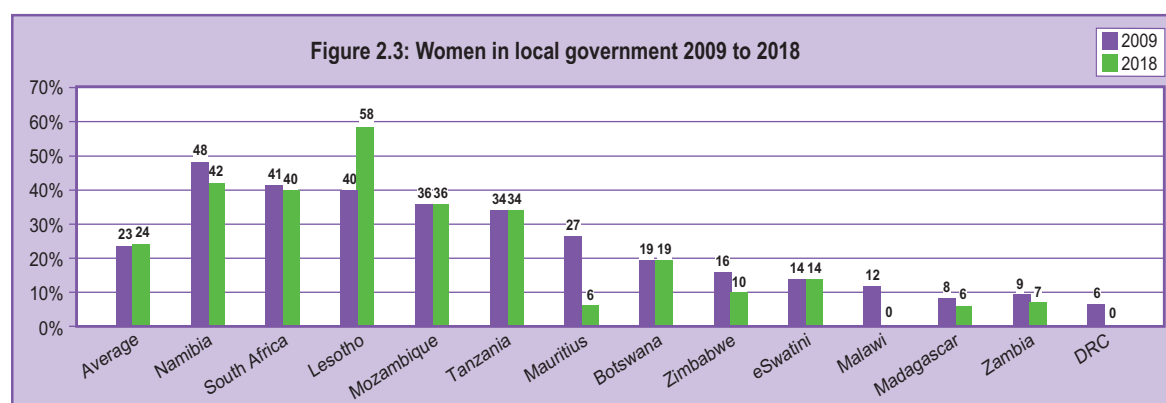
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2020

**Table 2.6: Women in parliament in SADC**

Women in Parliament in SADC 2018											
	Structure	Date of last election	Total members in lower/single house	Women in lower/single house	Lower house	Total members in upper/senate house	Women in upper/senate house	Upper house	Upper and lower	Total number of women	% Women in parliament
<b>Regional Average</b>			<b>1495</b>	<b>422</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>258</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>34%</b>	<b>2539</b>	<b>807</b>	<b>32%</b>
Tanzania	Unicameral	Sep-15	390	145	37%				390	145	37%
Mozambique	Unicameral	Oct-14	250	99	40%				250	99	40%
Namibia	Bicameral	Nov-14	104	48	46%	41	10	24%	146	53	36%
South Africa	Unicameral	May-14	393	165	42%	54	19	35%	447	184	41%
Zimbabwe	Bicameral	Jul-13	250	83	33%	79	38	48%	329	121	37%
eSwatini	Bicameral	Aug-13	65	4	6%	30	10	33%	95	14	15%
Angola	Unicameral	Aug-17	220	67	30%				220	67	30%
Malawi	Unicameral	May-14	192	32	17%				192	32	17%
Mauritius	Unicameral	Jul-14	69	8	12%				69	8	12%
Madagascar	Bicameral	Jul-13	151	29	19%	63	13	21%	214	42	20%
Lesotho	Bicameral	Jun-17	122	27	22%	32	8	25%	154	35	23%
Seychelles	Unicameral	Sep-16	33	7	21%				33	7	21%
Botswana	Unicameral	Oct-14	63	6	10%				63	6	10%
DRC	Bicameral	Nov-11	492	44	9%	108	5	5%	600	49	8%
Zambia	Unicameral	Aug-16	167	30	18%				167	30	18%

Source: Gender Links, 2018.

## Local government



Source: Gender Links.

## in 2018 and projections to 2020

Women in parliament by 2020 - prediction table										
Date of next election	Total members in lower/single house	Women in lower/single house	Lower house	Total members in upper/senate house	Women in upper/senate house	Upper house	Upper and lower	Total number of women	% Women in parliament	Assumptions
	1520	492	32%	260	93	36%	2511	915	36%	36% by 2020 but still short of the 50% target.
Oct-20	350	150	43%				350	150	43%	Efforts to increase the current constitutional provision of 30% women in decision-making to 50% in the reviewed constitution has not materialised as the new Constitution is yet to be adopted.
Oct-19	250	120	48%				250	120	48%	Has had steady growth over last two elections and 50/50 campaign underway.
Nov-19	104	50	48%	26	10	38%	130	60	46%	SWAPO has voluntary 50% quota, move towards legislated quota.
May-19	400	180	45%	54	20		454	200	44%	Only the ruling ANC has a zebra style quota; the proportion of women is thus closely linked to the fortunes of the ANC. The outlook for the ANC has improved following the resignation on Jacob Zuma.
Jul-18	270	90	33%	80	40	50%	350	130	37%	Next election in 2018.
Oct-18	65	22	34%	30	10	33%	95	32	34%	Law passed by parliament in 2018 should ensure at least 30% women in accordance with the Constitution.
Aug-23	220	67	30%				220	67	30%	Relapse in the 2017 elections. No elections before 2020.
May-19	192	50	26%				192	50	26%	Opposed to quotas but pressure political pressure is mounting.
Dec-19	69	17	25%				69	17	25%	Enough time for local quota to be escalated to national.
Nov-18	151	32	21%	63	15	24%	214	47	22%	No quotas adopted. Still have FPTP system. Unlikely to be many changes.
Oct-22	120	27	23%	33	8	24%	153	35	23%	No elections before 2020.
Sep-22	33	7	21%				33	7	21%	No elections before 2020.
Oct-19	63	13	21%				63	13	21%	Opposed to quotas but political pressure is mounting.
Dec-18	482	100	21%	108	19	18%	590	119	20%	Opposed to quotas but political pressure is mounting.
Sep-21	167	30	18%				167	30	18%	No elections before 2020.

Figure 2.3 shows women's representation in local government in Southern Africa from 2009 to 2018, where comparative figures are available. Malawi held local elections for the first time in 2014. Salient facts include:

- The average representation of women in local government has declined from 24% to 23% over the ten years. This is largely due to the decline of the proportion of women in local government in Lesotho from 58% to 40% over this period (see case study in a later section of this chapter).
- Key gains have been made in Mauritius (from 6% to 27%) as a result of the adoption of a gender neutral quota there; and Namibia (from 42% to 48%). Namibia currently leads the way with regard to women's representation in local government.
- Only five countries have exceeded 30% women in local government (Tanzania, Mozambique, Lesotho, South Africa and Namibia).
- Seven SADC countries (Botswana, Zimbabwe, eSwatini, Malawi, Madagascar, Zambia and DRC) have less than 20% women in local government. DRC (6%) has the lowest representation of women in local government.



in Local  
Govern-  
ment  
**24%**  
in 2009



**23%**  
in 2018

**Table 2.7: Women's representation in Local Government 2017 to 2018**

Country	2018	2017	Variance 2018-2017	Progress to target 50%
<b>Average</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>-1</b>	<b>-27</b>
Namibia	48	48	0	-2
South Africa	41	41	0	-9
Lesotho	40	49	-9	-10
Mozambique	36	36	0	-14
Tanzania	34	34	0	-16
Mauritius	27	27	0	-23
Botswana	19	19	0	-31
Zimbabwe	16	16	0	-34
eSwatini	15	12	-3	-35
Malawi	12	12	0	-38
Madagascar	8	8	0	-42
Zambia	9	9	0	-41
DRC	6	6	0	-44

Source: Gender Links, 2018.

Table 2.7 compares performance over the last year with regard to women's representation in Local Government and progress towards achieving the target of 50%.

- All 13 SADC countries with elected Local Government failed to reach the 50% target. Only one country (Namibia) is close to reaching the target.
- Two countries held Local Government elections in the year under review - Lesotho and eSwatini (urban). Lesotho regressed by nine percentage points from 49% to 40%. Women constitute 12% of Councilors in eSwatini urban councils. When this is combined with women in the rural councils, the proportion of women in Local Government in eSwatini is 14%, down from 15% before the urban elections. Following the passing of a law to give effect to the Constitutional quota of

30%, the proportion of rural women is set to increase in the September 2018 elections. This could result in women's representation at the local level increasing after the local (rural) and national elections.

Table 2.8 tracks the performance of all SADC countries with regard to women's representation in local elections and provides projections to 2020. The information is sorted in descending order according to 2020 projections from the highest to lowest. The explanations for these projections are in the last column. Those shaded green are countries that are likely to achieve 40% or more women in Local Government. Those shaded amber have or are likely to achieve 30% or more women in Local Government. Those shaded red are in the danger zone of not having achieved, or not likely to achieve 30% women in Local Government. Projections, based on an assessment of electoral systems, quotas, and past trends (see comments in the predictions table) show that:

- At best the region will achieve an average of 29% women in Local Government by 2020.
- Four countries (Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa and Tanzania) have reached or are highly likely to reach or come close to the 50% target by 2020 especially if political parties adopt special measures for increasing women's representation and participation with their manifestos, effectively implement the policies and strengthen their existing voluntary and legislated/constitutional quotas.



SWOT analysis of gender and local government in Mozambique.

Photo: Raul Manhica



- Two countries (Mozambique and Mauritius) have or will achieve the 30% target if they stay the course and leverage off their quotas as well as fifty-fifty campaigns at community and party levels.
- eSwatini could improve its performance in the Rural Local Government elections in September 2018, thanks to the law that has been passed to give effect to the Constitutional quota of 30%.
- Six countries (Madagascar, Malawi, Botswana, Zambia, DRC and Zimbabwe) will remain below 30% as they have already had elections or have failed to implement special measures that would alter this scenario.
- GL could not obtain data of local government in Angola. Seychelles does not have elected local government.

**Table 2.8: Women in local government in SADC in 2018 and projections to 2020**

	Women in Local gvt 2018				Women in local gvt projected 2020				Assumptions
	Date of election	Total LG councillors	Women in LG	% Women in LG	Next election	Total LG councillors	Women in LG	% Women in LG	
Regional Average		36989	8652	23%		34125	9784	29%	
Namibia	Nov-15	230	110	48%	Nov-20	323	160	50%	SWAPO has a voluntary 50% quota; legislated 30% quota.
Lesotho	2011	1394	555	40%	Mar-22	1394	555	40%	Elections in October 2017 resulted in a step backwards. No new elections before 2020.
Tanzania	2015	3477	1190	34%	Oct-20	3477	1500	43%	Possibility of a constitutional 50/50 quota being adopted by the 2020 elections.
South Africa	Aug-16	10235	4219	41%	Jul-21	10235	4219	41%	Election in 2021; only ruling party has quota but subtle pressure on other parties.
Mozambique	2014	1196	431	36%	2018	1196	450	38%	Mozambique has made steady progress in increasing women's representation, national figure is 40%.
Mauritius	Dec-15	1290	346	27%	Dec-20	1614	500	31%	Have a legislated quota of 30%.
Botswana	Oct-14	605	117	19%	Oct-19	605	150	25%	Opposed to quotas, but lots of work on the ground. Have signed SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.
eSwatini	Sep-17	485	67	14%	Sep-23	485	120	25%	Efforts underway to gain ground after losses in urban elections.
Zimbabwe	2013	1962	318	16%	Jul-18	1962	350	18%	No legislated quota in place for the 2018 elections.
Madagascar	Jul-15	12677	1019	8%	Jul-20	9608	1500	16%	Constitution encourages but does not prescribe women's increased representation; too late for quota.
Malawi	May-14	467	54	12%	May-19	462	70	15%	Next election is in 2019; likely to resist quota but some time for lobbying.
Zambia	Sep-16	1589	127	8%	Sep-21	1382	120	9%	Elections in 2021; no quota in the constitution.
DRC		1382	85	6%	Dec-18	1382	90	6%	No special measures in place.
Angola									Data unavailable about the number of councillors.
Seychelles					N/A				No elected local government.

Source: Gender Links, Inter Parliamentary Union website, EISA website, 20 July 2017.

## Electoral systems and quotas

Despite the provisions in the Post 2015 SADC Gender Protocol for "special measures" the extent to which these have been taken on board in different SADC countries varies widely. Unfortunately, in the negotiations for the updating of the Protocol, Ministers decided to drop the reference to reviewing and amending electoral systems that have a key bearing on women's political representation.

By way of background there are two main types of electoral systems:

- In the **Proportional Representation (PR)**, or "list system," citizens vote for parties that 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 sit on the list. In a closed list system, the party determines where candidates sit on the list, although 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.”

There is overwhelming evidence internationally to suggest that women stand a better chance of being elected under the PR (and especially the closed list PR system) as opposed to the constituency electoral system.<sup>5</sup> In a PR system voters choose based on the party and its policies, rather than on a particular individual. This works in favour of women - at least as far as getting their foot in the door - because of socialised prejudices against women in politics.<sup>6</sup> The chance of women being elected is even higher when the PR system works in concert with a quota.

**Table 2.9: Political parties and quotas 2018**

Country	Ruling party	Quota and Nature/None
Angola	Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA )	30% quota of women
Botswana	Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)	None
DRC	The People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) (Parti du Peuple pour la Reconstruction et la Démocratie (PPRD)	30% quota of women
Lesotho	Coalition government - All Basotho Convention (ABC), Alliance of Democrats (AD), Basotho National Party (BNP) and Reformed Congress of Lesotho (RCL)	ABC - None AD - None BNP - None RCL - None
Madagascar	New Forces for Madagascar (Hery Vaovao ho an'i Madagasikara) (HVM)	None
Malawi	Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)	None
Mauritius	Mauritius Labour Party (MLP)	None
Mozambique	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique; Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO)	40% quota of women
Namibia	Southwest Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO)	50% quota for women
Seychelles	Coalition government - Linyon Demokratik Seselwa (LDS)	None
South Africa	African National Congress (ANC)	50% quota for women
eSwatini		Political parties do not contest seats in Parliament
Tanzania	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)	None
Zambia	The Patriotic Front (PF)	40 %
Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF)	30%
	Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)- Alliance adopted a fifty percent quota for women, but then stated that less than half these seats were taken up	50%

Source: Gender Links 2018.

Table 2.9 shows that ruling parties in seven countries have adopted quotas of one kind or another. In two instances (South Africa's African National Council (ANC) and SWAPO of Namibia) these quotas are in line with the Protocol parity targets. The opposition MDC Alliance in Zimbabwe declared a 50% quota but fell short of meeting it when nominations opened. The ruling Frelimo party in Mozambique and Patriotic Front in Zambia have

a 40% quota. However, while these quotas exist on paper they have failed to translate into women's representation in party structures and within government itself. Lesotho has a coalition government and none of the political parties have special measures for increasing women's representation in political leadership and this is also seen in the two percentage drop of women in the coalition government.

<sup>5</sup> For more information on the comparative global data on quotas for women in politics see [www.idea.int/quota](http://www.idea.int/quota).

<sup>6</sup> Lowe-Morna, 1996.

**Table 2.10: Electoral systems, quotas and women's political participation in SADC**

Country	Electoral system - national	Quota - National	Electoral system - local	Quota - local	% women national	% women local
South Africa	PR	Voluntary party	Mixed	Voluntary party	41%	41%
Mozambique	PR	Voluntary party	PR	Voluntary party	40%	36%
Tanzania	Mixed	Constitutional - 30%	Mixed	Constitutional - 30%	37%	34%
Zimbabwe	Mixed	Constitutional - 30%	FPTP	No	37%	16%
Namibia	PR	Voluntary party	PR	Law - 30%	36%	48%
Angola	PR	Voluntary party	PR	Voluntary party	30%	NA
Lesotho	Mixed	Law - 30% PR seats	Mixed	Law - 30%	23%	40%
Seychelles	FPTP	No	FPTP	No	21%	N/A
Madagascar	FPTP	No	FPTP	No	20%	8%
Zambia	FPTP	Voluntary party	FPTP	Voluntary party	18%	9%
Malawi	FPTP	No	FPTP	No	17%	12%
eSwatini	FPTP	Yes - Constitutional <sup>7</sup>	FPTP	Yes - Constitutional	15%	14%
Mauritius	FPTP	No	FPTP	Law - 30%	12%	27%
Botswana	FPTP	No	FPTP	No	10%	19%
DRC	FPTP	No	FPTP	No	8%	NA

Source: Gender Links, 2018.

Table 2.10 plots electoral systems and quotas at local and national levels against women's political representation in each country. The countries are shaded according to the electoral system at national level: PR, mixed and FPTP (South Africa has a mixed system at local and PR system at national). Within each colour band, countries are sorted according to the levels of political representation at the national level. Overall, the chart demonstrates the strong correlation between electoral systems, quotas and women's political representation. Specific observations include:

- **Nine out of the 15 SADC countries have either a Constitutional or legislated quota,** or voluntary party quota, in place. All of these except one (Mauritius local government, and eSwatini) have a PR system.
- **All countries except one that have over 36% women in local government and parliament have a PR (or in the case of local government in South Africa, mixed) electoral system.** In all four countries (South Africa, Mozambique, Namibia and Angola) ruling parties have adopted voluntary party quotas. In Namibia, the electoral law also prescribes a 30% quota for women in local government.
- **Countries with a mixed system coupled with Constitutional or legislated quotas come after those with a PR system in terms of performance.** Lesotho has always had a mixed system at the national level. The country adopted a mixed system at the local level so that 30% of seats can be reserved for women and distributed on a PR basis (in addition to the seats contested

on FPTP basis). Lesotho now has a quota for PR seats at the national level, but these are not reserved solely for women. The Lesotho formula at local level drew on the experience of Tanzania that has now also been emulated at the national level in Zimbabwe. In all these examples, countries have adopted a mixed system to get around the rigidities of the FPTP system when it comes to increasing women's political representation. The difference between women's representation at the local level in Zimbabwe (16%) where there is a FPTP system and no quota, and national (32%) where there is a mixed system and quota is a stark reminder of the key role played by electoral systems and quotas in determining women's political representation.



- **Constitutional or legislated quotas in a FPTP system do not work well unless accompanied by enforcement mechanisms:** The reason for this is that unless women are fielded in seats where they are likely to win, the numbers make little difference. The classic example of this

<sup>7</sup> A law was passed in eSwatini in June 2018 to give effect to the Constitutional quota.

**9**  
SADC  
countries  
have a  
**Constitutional**  
or  
**Legislated**  
**Quota**

is eSwatini, where despite the 30% Constitutional quota, women's representation at local and national level has remained lower than 20%. A new law passed in May 2018 aims to give effect to the Constitutional quota. Mauritius managed to increase the proportion of women in Local Government from 6% to 27% in the 2015 elections through a strong advocacy campaign that accompanied the adoption of a gender neutral quota.

• **The lowest representation of women is in the eight countries with a FPTP system.**

Within this category, Madagascar comes after Seychelles, following the increase in women's political representation from 6% to 21% in the recent elections. These elections showed that it is possible to increase women's representation in FPTP countries through strategic Fifty/Fifty campaigns, but still a challenge to go beyond around 20% without a quota.

**Table 2.11: Electoral systems and women's representation in SADC parliaments**

Electoral system	Overall - % women	With quota - % women	Without quota - % women
FPTP	13%	15%	13%
PR	38%	38%	36%
MIXED	34%	37%	23%
<b>OVERALL</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>16%</b>

Source: Gender Links 2018.

Table 2.11 summarises the importance of electoral systems and quotas for women's political participation in the SADC region. Green denotes higher than 30%; red lower than 30%. The table shows that:

- At 38%, countries with quotas have a far higher representation of women than those without quotas (16%).
- Consistent with global trends, countries with the PR system (38%) have a much higher representation of women than the FPTP (16%).
- Women's representation in the mixed system (34%) is more than double the FPTP system.
- Quotas used in combination with the PR system (38%) and mixed system (37%) result in the highest representation of women.
- Women comprise 37% of parliamentarians in countries with a mixed system and quota, compared to 23% in countries with a mixed system and no quota.

monarchies. In eSwatini the Westminster electoral model was replaced by the *tinkhundla* system to facilitate the practice of both traditional and the western styles of government in 1978. Political parties are not allowed to contest. Instead, individuals are elected to parliament from 55 constituencies known as "Tinkhundla."

The constituencies are sub-divided into about 350 chiefdoms in the four regions nationwide. In the primary elections voters choose candidates from their chiefdoms who then contest the secondary elections and compete against other candidates in their constituency for a seat in parliament.

The Constitution of eSwatini (2006) provides that if after a general election the female membership does not meet the required 30%, the house shall elect not more than four additional women by region. This provision has not been observed.

The examples that follow show the relationship between quotas and electoral systems in determining women's political participation.

**Making quotas work - eSwatini**



eSwatini has a 30% Constitutional quota for women in politics, but up to now this has not been observed.

The passing of *The Election of Women Members to the House of Assembly Bill* ahead of the local (rural) and national elections on 21 September 2018 is timely. Nominations are set for 28-29 July, Primary Elections on 18 August and campaigning officially opens on 19 August 2018.

eSwatini is the smallest Southern African nation and is one of the world's few remaining absolute



The Women's Caucus in Parliament set out to draft a Bill that would ensure that the Constitutional provisions are observed in the 2018 elections. *The Election of Women Members in the House of Assembly Bill* was finally passed by Senators on 31 May 2018, and now awaits signing by the King. The Bill 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 not 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."



Councillor Sibongile Mazibuko advocates for women's equal representation in politics in eSwatini. Photo: Gender Links

The debate on the Bill reflected the strong resistance that still exists to women's political participation. Mbabane West Member of Parliament (MP) Johane Shongwe said that wives should not stand for election unless they had the permission of their husbands: "It is difficult for women to nominate one another in chiefdoms. Therefore, it is advisable for them to get permission from their husbands. I was nominated by a woman to be where I am right now, to show that most women would rather nominate a man than another woman." The MP added that women MPs would sometimes attend workshops at places far away from their homes. This would mean they would have to go for days without sleeping next to their husbands at home. The local media reported that "traditionalists do not support a constitutional change to ensure 30 percent of members of the House of Assembly are women."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> <http://allafrica.com/stories/201805250765.html>

<sup>9</sup> <https://womeninleadership.hivos.org/an-analysis-of-zambias-sixteen-councillor-by-elections-in-2018/>

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

## FPTP politics is still hostile for women at the local level in Zambia<sup>9</sup>



**Zambia** is one of the eight countries in SADC that has a FPTP system with no quotas, resulting in low levels of women's representation at both national and local level. Recent local by-elections monitored by the Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL) reflect the challenges faced by women in the cut-throat competition of FPTP politics, especially at the local level.

The by-elections in the 16 wards were as a result of convictions, resignations and deaths of incumbent councillors. The Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) set Tuesday 24 April 2018 as the day for the by-elections in Luapula, Kansuswa, Chiweza, Chiwuyu, Ntumbachushi, Munwa, Nampundwe, Mikunku, Kalebe, Kakoma, Kanongo, Mushima, Kalilele, Mudyanyama, Mwanza East and Lealui Lower.

Only 7% female candidates participated in the by-elections compared to 93% male. Out of the 57 candidates who participated in the 16 councillor by-elections only one out of four female candidates won. The total number of female councillors in Zambia has increased from 126 to 127 (7.8%). This is a slight improvement on the 2011 General Elections when only 85 women won (5.9%).

The ZNWL commented: "Radical measures have to be put in place to ensure that the country's leadership truly reflects the population it represents. To let the country change its attitude towards women's representation on its own is not an option as this can take several years to achieve."<sup>10</sup>

## FPTP and no quota -Gearing up for elections in Botswana

Ahead of the 2019 general election, the women's movement has launched a 50/50 campaign to promote the equal and effective participation of Botswana women in political decision-making. **Botswana**, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 2016, has had a FPTP electoral system since independence. The only quotas in the country are voluntary political party quotas that for the most part have not been observed.

At 20% women's representation, the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) is far from reaching the target. Though the Botswana National Front (BNF) has a 30% quota, it has not actively implemented it. The Botswana Congress Party (BCP)

Only  
**7%**  
candi-  
dates in  
Zambia  
local bi-  
elections





has a quota of 30% and this has contributed to 44% women's representation within the party leadership. Other parties like the Botswana Movement for Democracy mention gender equality but have not made efforts to ensure women are equally represented in central committees.

The all-time highest female representation in Parliament stood at 18% following the 1999 elections. Since then, it has been a downwards spiral with women's representation in Parliament decreasing from 11% in 2009 to 10% in the 2014 general elections. Local Government representation went slightly up from 18% in 2009 to 19% in 2014. Botswana has never come even half way to achieving the gender parity target at local or national levels.

The general public perceptions of women in politics are that women are not confident to stand for leadership positions especially in politics. There is very limited voter education to mobilise the population to vote for women. Political education is still very weak especially for ordinary Botswana.



Women prepare for the 2019 elections. Photo: Keletso Metsing

A recent 50/50 meeting convened by Gender Links and attended by all the main parties, made the following recommendations:

- Promote the effective implementation of the SDGs and Agenda 2030 SADC Gender Protocol to achieve 50% women's representation in all areas of decision-making ahead of the 2019 general elections.
- Lobby for permanent electoral systems reform from the FPTP to a PR system that is more inclusive and conducive to women's participation. At worst, there should be a constitutional quota to facilitate more women gaining access to political leadership.
- Political parties transform policies in party manifestos to include quotas and the proportional representation system.
- Remove structural barriers and perceptions rooted in culture, customs, religion and tradition; and invest in efforts that build strong political will and leadership by all to effect change. There is

a crucial need for more civic education about women and men's equal participation in politics and decision making in public service especially ahead of 2019 elections.

- Work with media houses to make sure "every voice counts" pre, during and post the 2019 general elections. Use the media as a critical platform and tool to effect change.

## Lessons from Local Government in the countdown to 2019 in Mauritius

**Mauritius** is the only SADC country that has not signed the SADC Gender Protocol. One of the island's objections to the Protocol is Article 5 - affirmative action, now referred to as "special measures" in the Post 2015 Protocol in an effort to be more inclusive. Ironically, in 2015, Mauritius adopted a gender neutral quota for Local Government that led to the level of women's representation increasing four fold, to 27%. Although all elections in Mauritius are held primarily on a FPTP basis, public education and awareness helped to ensure that women candidates fielded in the elections won.



Pressure is mounting for a radical change from the FPTP electoral System to a PR system and at the least, for the quota system adopted at local level to be implemented at national level. A political dialogue organised by Gender Links Mauritius (GLM) and the Mauritius Council for Social Service as part of 50 years of independence celebrations at MACOSS in Ebène, heard that Mauritius seems no closer to breaking new ground at the national level as the 2019 elections draw closer. Analysis done by GLM shows that no political party has/nor implements voluntary quotas for women. The chances of a substantial increase in women's representation in the 2019 elections remain bleak.

## Mixed systems and mixed blessings at the local level in Lesotho



Following the decline in women's representation in Local Government from 58% in 2005 to 49% in 2011, the proportion of women councillors in Lesotho decreased by a further nine percentage points to 40% in September 2011. **Lesotho** local government has become a textbook case study of the possibilities and challenges created by quotas.

During the first local elections in 2005, the country adopted a system of reserving one third seats in a FPTP system for women, i.e. only women could contest these seats. In addition to the reserved seats, women won 28% of the openly contested seats, bringing the total to 58%. However, follo-



wing a challenge in the High Court, 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 to women only in proportion to the percentage of the vote won by the parties 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.

Local Government elections due in October 2016 were postponed to September 2017 as the date clashed with Lesotho's 50 years of independence. The elections were held in one municipal council,



Local Government elections, Malumeng Primary School, Lesotho.  
Photocourtesy of Limpho Sello, Lesotho Times

11 urban councils and 64 community councils in all the ten districts of the country. In total there are 76 local authorities in Lesotho.

**Table 2.12: 2017 Lesotho Local Government Election Results**

	Total number of Councillors by sex and by %				FPTP Results for Men and Women Councillors			Women reserved seats		
	Women	Men	All Councillors	% of women	Women	Men	Total	% of women	Women	% of women
Party	510	735	1245	41%	196	735	931	21%	314	33%
ELECTED CHIEFS	45	104	149	30%	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>555</b>	<b>839</b>	<b>1394</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>735</b>	<b>931</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>314</b>	<b>33%</b>

Source: Gender Links.

Table 2.12 shows that women won 196 out of the 931 FPTP seats, giving them 21% of these seats (slightly higher than the 19% in 2011). The 314 additional seats reserved for women on a PR basis is one third of the number of FPTP seats.

Chiefs are not elected by ordinary members of Lesotho society. They are nominated by their peers and voted for by fellow traditional leaders. Women constituted only 30% of this category.

In all, 1394 Councillors were elected in the September 2017 polls (FPTP seats, special PR seats for women and elected chiefs). Of these 555 were women: 40% of the total.

Despite the setback in the 2017 elections, the reserved PR seats have been key to increasing women's representation at the local level. At national level, as reported last year, Lesotho has a mixed system with a bias towards FPTP and a quota applicable only to the PR seats. In the last national elections, Lesotho slipped backwards from 23% to 21%.

Key recommendations include:

- Lobby for electoral reform from the FPTP to the constitutional adoption of the PR system only. The PR system is more conducive for women's participation especially at local government.
- Ensure the effective implementation of the PR and quota at local government by decentralizing powers and giving local councils executive powers.

- Work with political parties to adopt the PR system and include a 50% quota to ensure women's equal opportunities and representation in political leadership at local and national levels. There is a tendency of having men standing for the FPTP and then women resorting to be put on the PR lists because of the legislated quota that exists. Political parties need to embed gender parity in all their policies and practices.
- There should be a quota for the chiefs that are elected to the council as more men are always elected. In the 2017 Local Chieftaincy Councils, women constitute only 30% of the total.

### Missing the mark in the July elections?



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

Lesotho  
pressing  
for PR  
system  
and  
quota at  
the local  
level



representation  
set to



in  
Zimbabwe



Despite the spirited 50/50 campaign launched by civil society partners ahead of the July 2018 elections in **Zimbabwe**, the outlook for women's increased representation, especially at the local level, is bleak. The quota at national level has not been extended to the local level, and the quota at national level is due to expire in 2023. Parties have failed to live up to their own voluntary quotas. Women's political participation has been marred by sexist mudslinging, a reminder of the Violence Against Women in Elections (VAWIE) that undermines democracy and women's rights. The 2013 Zimbabwe Constitution brought with it renewed hope for all Zimbabweans, especially women who had been calling for a legislated quota.

Article 17 of the Constitution guarantees gender equality in all areas of decision-making, but the Constitution only spells out a quota for women in parliament, not in any other area, including local government. As a result the proportion of women in parliament increased from 18% to 35% in 2013, but that for women in local government dropped from 18% to 16%.

The Government of Zimbabwe (Ministry of Local Government; Ministry of Justice and Parliamentary and Legal Affairs), Zimbabwe Electoral Commission as well as UNWOMEN and Gender Links) embarked on a study visit to Mauritius to learn how the government of Mauritius had managed to institute a quota at the local level in the hope that these lessons would put pressure on government to also institute a quota at the local level but nothing came to fruition. The Women in Local Government

Forum (WiLGF) wrote to the Clerk of Parliament seeking the assistance of the legislature in extending the quota at national level to local level. NGOs led by the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ), including Gender Links Zimbabwe, Women in Politics Support Unit (WIPSU), Hivos, working together with the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UNWOMEN) and the Women's Parliamentary Caucus embarked on a lobbying and advocacy drive for a 50/50 quota at the local level.

The resignation of former President Robert Mugabe as President of Zimbabwe on 21 November 2017 brought new hope to democracy in Zimbabwe. In March 2018, the Zimbabwe Women's Parliamentary Caucus in partnership with civil society launched the women's manifesto with five priority areas: women and economic development, women and social services, transport and infrastructure, access to justice and equal benefit of the law and women's representation in governance. Women from all walks of life converged to share their issues and concerns. An extension of the quota at national level beyond 2023 became the major focus, with WLGF calling for the quota to be extended to local government.<sup>11</sup>

In May 2018, Zimbabwean women from all walks of life got the chance to meet President Emmerson Mnangagwa on challenges they face. Women's representation especially in Local Government took centre stage. Mnangagwa reiterated the government's commitment to the African Union Charter which requires that member states have equal representation of women across the board.

As in Tanzania, and Lesotho (local) the constitutional quota in Zimbabwe allocates 30% seats to parties on a PR basis for women. This will guarantee 30% women in Parliament in the 2018 elections (though this clause expires in 2023). The question in 2018 is whether women will edge any closer to improving their performance in the FPTP seats.

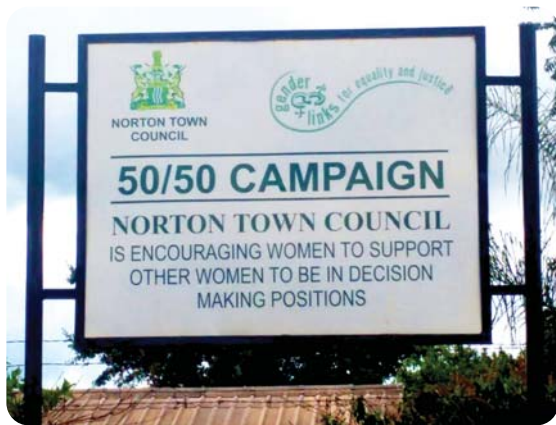
Analysis of party lists by the Women in Politics Support Unit (WiPSU) show that neither the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU/PF), that has a 30% quota for women, nor the main opposition MDC Alliance, that boasted a 50% quota for women, have lived up to their manifestos. According to the local NGO watchdog, in the National Assembly 47 political candidates fielded candidates; 20 of these did not field any women candidates at all and two parties fielded only one woman each. Women comprise a mere 15% of candidates. 84 out of 210 Constituencies will be contested by men only. In the dog-eat-dog



<sup>11</sup> see <http://www.parlzim.gov.zw/live/2018/03/06/5050-advocacy-campaign-and-womens-manifesto-launch-6-march-2018/>

contests where women are standing, there is no guarantee of them winning. "We are deeply concerned," WiPSU said in a statement before the elections, "that at this point it appears that the only women that will be in Parliament are the 91 that are required by law. This brazen disregard for the basic tenets of democracy is deplorable 38 years after Independence."

According to the WiPU analysis, 40 political parties fielded candidates for the Local Authority Elections. Of these, 12 fielded men only. Women constitute a mere 17% of the 6796 candidates. As the chances of all these women winning their seats are slim, the likelihood of women's representation slipping even below the 2013 figure of 16% is high.



As mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, the elections have been marred by sexist mudslinging, with Dr Thokozani Khupe of the MDC-T being referred to as "hure" (prostitute) and Dr Joice Mujuru once branded a witch by political rivals.

If nothing else, the 2018 elections in Zimbabwe will go down in history as ones in which women were determined to make their voice count. MDC-T's Priscilla Misihairabwi-Mushonga vowed to resist threats by the party's top leadership to recall her from Parliament owing to allegations of her supporting expelled Dr Thokozani Khupe's break-away faction.

"I am chairperson of the Parliamentary Committee on Gender and Youth Affairs and, therefore, cannot be persecuted for attending a solidarity tea for a woman who is basically under siege from male

chauvinists. I am a women's activist and that defines who Priscilla Misihairabwi-Mushonga is. Nobody will take that away from me and not even a party can do that," she said.<sup>12</sup>

Young women have also found their voice, and are demanding a 25% quota for young women in politics:

Decrying the likely backtracking for women in the coming elections, the Institute for Young Women Development aired their frustration with stifling patriarchal norms in an open letter to political leaders.

"We believe that more young women in leadership especially at local government level will promote gender responsive service delivery because young women are primary consumers of these services," the young women declared.<sup>13</sup> Their clarion call - "nothing for us without us", building a society inclusive of women and youth - will be one of Zimbabwe's biggest challenges long after the election results are announced.

### Setbacks even in the PR system in Angola

As all the figures presented earlier show, the PR system is by far the most conducive to women's political participation; especially when this is accompanied by a legislated quota, or well observed voluntary party quotas. The 2017 **Angolan** elections showed just how fragile even these gains are. The eight percentage point decline in the 2017 elections continued an almost 10-year trend: 39% in 2008, 35% in 2012, and 30% in 2017.<sup>14</sup>



The 220 members of the National Assembly are elected in two ways: 130 are elected by closed list proportional representation in a single nationwide constituency, with seats allocated proportionally. 90 are elected in 18 five-seat constituencies, using the d'Hondt method<sup>15</sup>. According to the Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU), in the 2012 elections, "a majority of parties respected the legislative quota of 30% women candidates on electoral lists, with the ruling party nominating women to 46% of its list. In 2017, the cumulative effect of fewer parties running for elections, and parties nominating fewer women, led Angola to slip further down the IPU ranking."<sup>16</sup>



in Parliament in Angola

**38%**  
in 2009



**30%**  
in 2018

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/africa/2018-05-24-analysis-witch-prostitute-women-to-face-sexism-in-zimbabwe-elections/>

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2018/06/making-a-case-for-25-young-womens-quota-in-zimbabwe/>

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/reports/2018-03/women-in-parliament-in-2017-year-in-review>

<sup>15</sup> The D'Hondt method[a] or the Jefferson method is a highest averages method for allocating seats, and is thus a type of party-list proportional representation.

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/reports/2018-03/women-in-parliament-in-2017-year-in-review>



Legislated  
quota in  
PR  
System  
at Local  
level  
in  
Namibia

48%  
women

**Table 2.13: Comparative data on the Angola National Elections in 2012 and 2017**

PARTY	AUGUST 2012		AUGUST 2017	
	# seats	% seats	# seats	% seats
MPLA	175	72%	150	61%
UNITA	32	19%	51	27%
CASA-CE	8	6%	16	9%
Social Renewal Party	3	2%	2	1.35%
National Liberation Front of Angola	2	1%	1	1%
National Patriotic Alliance			0	0.5%
% Women in Parliament	34%		30%	

Source: Gender Links.

Table 2.13 presents results by party. A further explanation for the reduction in women's representation is the decline in the ruling Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola proportion of the vote, from 72% to 61%. In all post-conflict Southern African countries that have adopted the PR system (Namibia, South Africa, Mozambique) ruling parties have implemented their own quotas for women's political participation. The down side is that as their popularity reduces, so does the representation of women in parliament, as illustrated in the case of the 2017 Angola elections. This is why enforced legislated quotas are also required in PR systems. So far only Namibia (local) has a well enforced legislated quota in a PR system, resulting in 48% women's representation.

**Table 2.14: Women in ambassadorial positions**

	Total No.	No. of women	% women
Angola	17	13	76%
Botswana	21	5	24%
DRC	31	7	23%
Lesotho	16	8	50%
Madagascar	15	7	47%
Malawi	20	5	25%
Mauritius	16	1	6%
Mozambique	29	7	24%
Seychelles	12	4	33%
South Africa	125	35	28%
eSwatini	13	3	23%
Zimbabwe	41	10	24%
<b>Total</b>	<b>356</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>29%</b>

Source: SADC Gender and Development Monitor 2016.

Table 2.14 shows that:

- The regional average for women in the foreign service in the twelve countries that provided data is 29%. Although this is still far short of the 50% target, this represents a substantial change and achievement over time, as this is one of the most male dominated and hostile areas for women in decision-making.
- There are considerable variations between countries: from 6% in Mauritius to 76% in Angola. Four countries have above 30% women

in the foreign service - Madagascar, Lesotho, Seychelles and Angola.

**Table 2.15: Women in top management in the Public Service**

Member States	Permanent/Principal Secretaries/DG's		
	Total	Women	% of women
Angola	30	10	33%
Botswana	16	5	31%
DRC	238	23	10%
Lesotho	50	12	24%
Madagascar	30	4	13%
Malawi	66	18	27%
Mozambique	21	7	33%
Namibia	35	10	27%
Seychelles	26	11	42%
South Africa	68	16	24%
Zambia	53	15	28%
Zimbabwe	30	9	30%
<b>Total</b>	<b>579</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>20%</b>

Source: SADC Gender and development Monitor 2016.

Table 2.15 shows that for the ten countries in SADC that submitted information on women administrative heads of government ministries (permanent secretaries, DGs etc), the overall proportion of women in top management in the civil service is 20%. Seychelles leads at 42%, followed by Mozambique and Angola both at 33%. Other countries at 30% and above are Botswana (31%) and Zimbabwe (30%).



Woman voting during the June 2017 Lesotho elections.

Photo courtesy of Africa Research Institute

**Table 2.16: Summary of 50/50 Campaign Strategy**

COUNTRY	CABINET	PARLIAMENT			LOCAL GOVERNMENT			STRATEGY
	% Women	% Women	Next election	Electoral System & Quota	% Women	Next election	Electoral System & Quota	
Angola	33%	30%	2017	PR/ Legislated 30%		2017		Work with Ministry of Gender and Alliance Focal Point/Women's umbrella organisation to enforce the 30% quota.
Botswana	17%	10%	October 2019	FPTP/ Voluntary party quota	19%	October 2019	FPTP No Quota	Advocate for legislated quota at local and national level through amendments to the Constitution and Electoral Act.
DRC	10%	8%	December 2018	FPTP/ 30%	0%	December 2018	FPTP	Advocate for legislated quotas at national and local level.
Lesotho	15%	23%	2020	Mixed Quota only for PR seats	40%	October 2022	Mixed 30% Quota	Escalate the quota at local level to national level. Monitor progress on 50/50 campaign. Review parties' manifestos and encourage quotas. Sensitise communities about 50/50 campaign.
Madagascar	17%	20%	July 2018	FPTP/ No Quota	8%	July 2020	FPTP No Quota	Use the Mauritius example to advocate for quotas at local level in the forthcoming elections.
Malawi	19%	17%	2019	FPTP/ No Quota	12%	2019	FPTP No Quota	Advocate for legislated quotas at national, local level using the Gender Equality Bill; Zimbabwe and Mauritius models in the 2019 elections. Train women on how to effectively engage with the media.
Mauritius	12%	12%	2019	Mixed/ No quota	27%	2020	FPTP Legislated quota	Use the White Paper on Electoral reform to advocate for the quota at local level to be extended to national level; build on momentum at local level.
Mozambique	21%	40%	October 2019	PR/ Voluntary party quota	36%	October 2019	PR Voluntary party quota	Advocate for all parties to adopt quotas and/or legislated quota. Increase efforts to mobilise women's participation in local government.
Namibia	36%	36%	November 2020	PR/ Voluntary party	48%	November 2019	PR Legislated quota	Work with the Ministry of Gender to table motion in Parliament for adoption; to put motion on the agendas of the local authorities. GL and Civil society organisations to popularise and domesticate at local level and increase efforts and women in politics trainings.
Seychelles	36%	21%	2016 (National Assembly); 2020 (Presidential)	Mixed No Quota	N/A	N/A	N/A	Document Seychelles' loss as a result of not having quotas or special measures for women's representation and participation.
South Africa	47%	41%	May 2019	PR/ Voluntary party	41%	August 2021	Mixed With Quota	Advocate for legislated quotas at local and national levels using the Equality Act and for all parties to follow the ANC's 50/50 lead. Name and shame political parties with no voluntary quotas.
eSwatini	21%	15%	2018 (National Assembly)	FPTP/ Legislated 30%	14%	2022	FPTP No Quota	Lobby for legislated quotas at local and national level, and for four seats to be reserved for women in parliament in the 2018 elections.
Tanzania	29%	37%	October 2020	FPTP Constitutional 30%	34%	October 2020	FPTP With Constitutional 30%	Advocate for the adoption of the 50% Constitutional quota.
Zambia	25%	18%	September 2021	FPTP No Quota	9%	September 2021	FPTP No Quota	Have space in the media to name and shame Boards and committees who do not have 50/50 representation on their Boards. Lobby for legislated quota and policy reforms in political parties and government.
Zimbabwe	15%	31%	July 2018	FPTP Legislated 30% on PR basis at National level	16%	July 2018	FPTP No Quota	Take stock of losses and gains in 2013, lobby for quota to be extended to local government and not to expire in 2023.

Source: Gender Links, Inter Parliamentary Union Website and EISA - <http://www.content.eisa.org.za/node/279>, accessed and collated 18 June 2018.



**Table 2.17: Women in Judiciary in SADC 2017**

Member states	Registrars			President of Courts			Judges			Magistrates		
	Total	No. of women	% of women	Total	No. of women	% of women	Total	No. of women	% of women	Total	No. of women	% of women
Angola									31%			17%
Botswana	17	12	71%	2	0	0%	34	8	24%	89	55	62%
DRC				157	16	10%	678	136	20%	502	34	7%
Lesotho				1	0	0%			33%			42%
Madagascar				52	16	31%	50	6	12%	901	446	50%
Malawi	1	0	0%	1	0	0%	31	8	26%	198	63	32%
Mauritius				1	0	0%			48%			50%
Mozambique	152	56	37%	1	0	0%	464	140	30%	7	2	29%
Namibia			75%	1	0	0%	19	4	21%	99	50	51%
Seychelles	1	1	100%	1	0	0%	18	3	15%	6	3	50%
South Africa				15	2	13%	238	86	36%	1568	645	41%
eSwatini	2	1	50%	1	0	0%	10	2	23%	24	8	33%
Tanzania				5	3	60%			43%			29%
Zambia	10	2	20%				55	30	54%	207	62	30%
Zimbabwe	4	2	50%				54	27	50%			
<b>Total</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>238</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>1651</b>	<b>450</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>3601</b>	<b>1368</b>	<b>38%</b>

Source: SADC Gender and Development Monitor 2016. Meeting of SADC Ministers Responsible for Gender and Women's Affairs, July 2018.

Table 2.17 illustrates that in the judiciary, the SADC region has failed to meet the 50% target on several fronts, but there is considerable variation.

- Overall, where data is available, women's representation is highest as registrars (40%) but this varies from 0% to 100% in Namibia and Seychelles.
- Women are least represented as court Presidents (16%). Madagascar (31%) has the highest representation of women as court presidents. Eight of the 12 countries with data have no women as court Presidents.
- With 65% women judges, Lesotho is the only SADC country to have more women than men judges. Four countries; Zimbabwe (48%), Zambia (49%), and Mauritius (49%), Tanzania (43%) are just a single digit shy of reaching the 50% mark

in the women judges' audit. Eight countries have over 30% women judges. Unfortunately many countries only provided percentages rather than the actual number of judges needed to calculate the regional average, which stands at 28% based on available data. It is important to obtain more actual figures in 2017 to calculate this more accurately.

- Women comprise 38% of magistrates based on available data (that again is patchy). Botswana has the highest representation at 62% followed by four countries: Namibia at 51%, Seychelles, Madagascar and Mauritius all at 50%. Five countries have more than 30% to 40% women's representation: Lesotho (42%), Malawi (32%), and South Africa (41%) eSwatini (41%) and Zambia (30%).

## Election management



**Article 13.1:** State Parties shall adopt specific legislative measures and other strategies to enable women to have equal opportunities with men to participate in all electoral processes including the administration of elections and voting.

## Election Management Bodies

Election Management Bodies (EMBs) ensure that the environment in which elections take place is conducive to the conduct credible elections.<sup>17</sup> EMBs

are responsible for the management and conduct of elections and play a crucial role in ensuring that fair elections are held and in the end accepted.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> SADC Gender and Development Monitor 2016.

<sup>18</sup> Commonwealth Secretariat (2016) Election Management: A Compendium, of Commonwealth Good Practice.

EMBs need to begin, “in their own institutions, by ensuring that women are given positions of responsibility and that the policies and practices of the institution work to improve the status of women in society. This might involve creating incentives for women to become election administrators; training all members of staff to be sensitive to gender issues; and collecting gender-disaggregated statistics in order to evaluate women's participation; and, identifying aspects of the democratic process that can be improved.”<sup>19</sup>

**Table 2.18: Women in Election Management Bodies in SADC 2018**

	Total 2018	Women	% women
Regional Average	233	70	30
Mauritius	17	9	53
Tanzania	7	3	43
Lesotho	5	2	40
Namibia	5	2	40
Zimbabwe	9	4	40
DRC	105	33	31
Malawi	10	3	30
eSwatini	4	1	25
Angola	17	4	24
Zambia	9	2	22
Seychelles	5	1	20
South Africa	5	1	20
Botswana	7	1	14
Madagascar	21	3	14
Mozambique	8	1	13

Source: Gender Links 2018; SADC Gender and Development Monitor 2016.

Table 2.18 shows that election bodies have a long way to “practice what they preach” in ensuring women's equal representation in EMB's leadership and senior management. The table shows that:

- Overall women constitute 30% of EMBs in SADC according to data provided by the SADC Gender and Development Monitor in all 15 SADC countries.
- At 53%, Mauritius exceeded the target of women's equal representation in its Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).
- Four member states (Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Lesotho and Namibia) have 40% or above women's representation in EMBs yet still fall short in achieving the 50% target. Zimbabwe has a woman EMB chair, Justice Priscilla Chigumba.
- DRC (31%) and Malawi (30%) have exceeded the 30% women's representation in their EMBs, yet have a long way to go in achieving the post-2015 50% target.
- Eight countries (eSwatini, Angola, Zambia, Seychelles, South Africa, Botswana, Madagascar and Mozambique) have less than 30% women in EMBs.
- eSwatini, Seychelles, South Africa, Botswana and Mozambique only have one woman represented in their respective EMBs.

**Developing gender policies:** Having a stand-alone policy 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 (is these should move from being gender blind or gender neutral, to being gender aware).



**Namibia** has been proactive: “As an Electoral Management Body the importance of gender mainstreaming has been uppermost on our own strategic agenda and therefore efforts have been put in place with the assistance of International IDEA to develop a Gender Policy to ensure that we inculcate the principles of gender mainstreaming in our own institution. As an EMB we have been facilitators in conjunction with various organizations to provide platforms for political parties to consider the importance of introducing strategies towards increasing women representation in the political arena. The EMB also needs to include measures which may be encompassed in a Gender Policy which ECN has done as an institution.”

*Interview with Advocate Notemba Tjipueja on the Progress of Women's Political Participation in Namibia<sup>20</sup>*

30%  
of  
EMBs

<sup>19</sup> Commonwealth Compendium of Good Election Management Practice.

<sup>20</sup> Lowe-Morna, C, 50/50 by 2030: A Handbook for Gender Inclusive Elections in Commonwealth Africa; Commonwealth Secretariat (2017).

## Participation



**Article 13.2:** State parties shall ensure the equal participation of women and men in decision-making by putting in place policies, strategies and programmes for:

- (a) Building the capacity of women to participate effectively through leadership and gender sensitivity training and mentoring;
- (b) Providing support structures for women in decision-making positions;
- (c) The establishment and strengthening of structures to enhance gender mainstreaming; and
- (d) Changing discriminatory attitudes and norms of decision-making structures and procedures.

One of the first awakenings for women in decision-making is that simply getting into the institution and being able to function is not good enough. For them to be agents of change, they need to be able to function in all areas and at all levels of the institution. Where women sit within decision-making bodies thus becomes both a prerequisite for, and a target of, transformation.

### Gender structures in legislatures

All politicians face dilemmas at one time or the other over divergences between political party positions and their own convictions. Women in politics often feel these tensions more acutely because of the expectation that they “represent women”.

The dilemmas for women politicians over allegiance to party versus their commitment as women arise in all political systems, and cut across countries with high and low proportions of women in politics. Interviewees stressed that if a member takes a different line to that of her party, she stands a risk of being regarded as challenging the leader and might face disciplinary proceedings.

Women MPs, aware of divisions across party lines, are addressing them in the newly formed parliamentary caucuses where they share strategies to support each other on issues that are common to them as women. They further mentioned that the women's parliamentary caucus is a good opportunity to bring all women together and to extend solidarity on all issues affecting them.

**Table 2.19: Gender structures in Parliament**

Country	Women's caucus	Gender specific portfolio committee
Lesotho	Yes	No
Mozambique	No	Social affairs, Gender and environment
Namibia	Parliamentary Women's Group	Human Resources and Gender Equality
Seychelles	Seychelles Women Parliamentarians	No
South Africa	Parliamentary Women's Group	Joint Monitoring Committee on the Improvement of the Quality of Life and Status of Women (JCIQSW)
Zambia	Yes	No
Tanzania	Tanzania Women's Parliamentary Group	Committee on Community Development, Youth, Gender and Labour

Source: Gender Links.

As illustrated in Table 2.19, there are two kinds of structures generally associated with women in parliament: informal caucusing networks for women MPs and formal parliamentary structures for advancing gender equality.

The SADC PF Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus (RWPC) is a product of women's recognition of the need for supportive structures. This regional body has helped to form several women's caucuses at country level, for example in Zambia, Lesotho

and Zimbabwe. Mozambique still does not have such an organisation and feels that it needs one.

Capacity building programmes focusing specifically on women decision-makers may be at national or regional level. At regional level, the SADC Gender Unit has developed a Gender Tool Kit for SADC Decision Makers that comprises basic concepts, tools and exercises on mainstreaming gender into legislation. This has been used for training trainers as well as women MPs from around the region.

## Where women are placed within mainstream structures

Women tend to be more predominant in the “soft” committees of parliament and councils, and to be offered these kinds of portfolio in cabinet, than in the hard areas like finance, economics, security and defence. There is a debate on the implications of this gender division of labour across the different sectors of governance.

One view is that it is important to have women in the “hard” areas. Others argue that the distinction itself cannot be justified. Norwegian analysts have

made the point that describing the areas in which women predominate as “soft” devalues these important areas, like education, health and social expenditure that in fact account for the bulk of expenditure.<sup>21</sup>

A key factor with regard to women’s effective participation is the extent to which they occupy senior positions within decision-making bodies. Two examples are as presidents or speakers of parliament; and cabinet.

Where



are  
located  
in  
decision  
making  
matters

### Municipality of Chinhoyi, Zimbabwe campaigns for 50/50



Training women for leadership.

*Photo courtesy of Municipality of Chinhoyi*

Currently all the decision-making positions at the Municipality of Chinhoyi is filled by men. To address this challenge the Municipality embarked on a campaign to increase the proportion of women in decision-making.

The campaign included three main activities:

- Community education and awareness
- Stakeholder sensitisation
- Build women’s capacity in life and leadership skills

Key messages in the campaign focused on raising men’s awareness of the importance of gender balance in decision making, boosting women’s confidence to participate in decision making positions, to identify gender stereotypes and cultural barriers. Role models and facilitators implemented different components of the campaign.

As a result of the campaign several councillors have requested gender awareness workshops. Male councillors are advocating for gender equality in decision-making. Female councillors’ confidence has grown and they are participating in decision-making processes.

*Source: Zimbabwe SADC Protocols@Work Summit 2018*

## Women Presidents of Parliament

The President of the National Assembly is elected as guided by Constitutions of member states. The President’s mandate is twofold. It is constitutional and institutional. This mandate is furthermore dual at the National Assembly and Parliamentary level. In both situations, it involves interacting with the global community at international, continental, regional and national levels. The President is the leader of the National Assembly.

The National Assembly has authority to legislate on behalf of the state including amending the Constitution, entering into bilateral agreements, treaties and signing international Human Rights

Instruments. As a leader of the House, the President has to ensure that these processes are in accordance with Constitution. The President has to ensure that the members of the public participate in Legislation making and ensure that the house oversees and monitors the performance of the executive arm for effective implementation of legislation already passed by the House. The President also has the responsibility to provide political leadership and strategic direction to the House and exercise impartiality at all times in pursuance of these duties. In some SADC member states, the President is referred to as the Speaker of Parliament.

<sup>21</sup> Lovenduski, J. and Karam, A. (1998) “Women in parliament: Making a Difference” in “Beyond Numbers: Women in Parliament.” International IDEAS: p 136.


  
**40%**
  
 of the
   
**Presi**
  
**dents**
  
 of
   
 Parlia-
   
 ment

Table 2.20: Women presidents of parliaments in SADC 2018					
Women as speakers of parliaments in SADC 2018					
Country	Chamber	Structure of parliament	M	F	President
ANGOLA	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		Fernando da Piedade Dias dos Santos
BOTSWANA	National Assembly	Unicameral		1	Gladys Kokorwe
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO	Senate	Bicameral	1		Léon Kengo wa Dondo
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO	National Assembly	Bicameral	1		Aubin Minaku
LESOTHO	National Assembly	Bicameral	1		Sephiri Enoch Motanyane
LESOTHO	Senate	Bicameral	1		Morena Seeiso Bereng Seeiso
MADAGASCAR	National Assembly	Bicameral	1		Jean Max Rakotomamonjy
MADAGASCAR	Senate	Bicameral	1		Honoré Rakotomanana
MALAWI	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		Richard Msowoya
MAURITIUS	National Assembly	Unicameral		1	Santi Bai Hanoomanjee
MOZAMBIQUE	Assembly of the Republic	Unicameral		1	Verónica Nataniel Macamo Dlovo
NAMIBIA	National Council	Bicameral		1	Margaret Mensah-Williams
NAMIBIA	National Assembly	Bicameral	1		Peter Katjavivi
SEYCHELLES	National Assembly	Unicameral			Patrick Pillay
SOUTH AFRICA	National Assembly	Bicameral		1	Baleka Mbete
SOUTH AFRICA	National Council of Provinces	Bicameral		1	Thandi Modise
eSWATINI	Senate	Bicameral		1	Chief Gelane Zwane
eSWATINI	House of Assembly	Bicameral	1		Themba Msibi
ZAMBIA	National Assembly	Unicameral	1		Patrick Matibini
ZIMBABWE	National Assembly	Bicameral	1		Jacob F. Mudenda
ZIMBABWE	Senate	Bicameral		1	Edna Madzongwe
<b>Totals</b>			<b>12</b>	<b>8</b>	
<b>Total presidents</b>			<b>20</b>		
<b>% Women</b>			<b>40%</b>		

Source: [www.ipu.org](http://www.ipu.org), 18 July 2018 and Gender Links.

Table 2.20 shows that:

- All 15 SADC countries have Presidents of Parliament. In some countries like in South Africa the leader is referred to as Speaker of Parliament.
- 8 of the 20 (40%) of the Presidents of Parliament are women.

Table 2.21: Top women leaders in SADC governments		
Country	Head of Government / Vice President	Title
<b>PRESENT</b>		
United Republic of Tanzania	Samia Hassan Suluhu (2015-)	Vice President
Zambia	Inonge Mutukwa Wina (2015-)	Vice President
Namibia	Saara Kuugongelwa-Amadhila (2015-)	Prime Minister
<b>PAST</b>		
Mauritius	Ameerah Gurib-Fakim (2015-2018 March)	President
Malawi	Joyce Banda (2012-2014)	President
Malawi	Joyce Banda (2009-2012)	Vice President
Mauritius	Agnès Monique Ohsan Bellepeau (2010-2016)	Vice President
Mozambique	Luisa Diogo, (2004-2010)	Prime Minister
South Africa	Baleka Mbete, (2008-2009)	Deputy President
South Africa	Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, (2005-2008)	Deputy President

Source: Gender Links 2018.



Table 2.21 shows that:

- Presently SADC has two women vice presidents (Tanzania and Zambia) and a woman prime minister (Namibia).
- SADC has had five women deputy/vice presidents; one prime minister and one president in the past.
- In 2009, Joyce Banda was elected as first female vice-president to President Mutharika of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) of Malawi.

She assumed the presidency after he died of heart attack in 2012 becoming the first female president in Malawi's history. This was relatively short lived (two years from 2012 to 2014).

- Mauritius is the only country in SADC to have had two women Presidents. Unfortunately the last woman president had to resign under pressure.

### Mauritian President resigns in a cloud of controversy

Mauritian President Ameenah Gurib-Fakim's term as president of Mauritius ended abruptly in March 2018 after she resigned in a spat of controversy over expenditures on an NGO credit card. This unfortunate turn of events has been a major set-back for women's political participation in Mauritius, where women struggle against enormous odds.



Before she became president, Gurib-Fakim worked as a world-renowned biologist, winning several awards for her work and her importance as a woman in the scientific field. The former president was accused of buying jewellery and clothing using a credit card provided by an NGO, Planet Earth Institute (PEI), founded by an Angolan, Alvaro Sobrinho, who was interested in doing business in Mauritius. The PEI was supposed to give scholarships to Mauritian students to British Universities but only got a scholarship to study in South Africa.

The president joined the London-based Planet Earth Institute (PEI) in 2015 in an effort to further develop the scientific field in Africa. In 2016, she received a credit card from PEI to pay for travel and other expenses related to her work for the organisation.

Gurib-Fakim, 58, allegedly used the credit card to buy items worth \$26,000 not related to her work for PEI. Gurib-Fakim claimed the use of the NGO credit card for these expenses was purely accidental, saying she used the PEI credit card because she also owned a personal credit card from the same bank.

This allegedly led her to accidentally mix up the two cards. Gurib-Fakim said she paid back any money she owed PEI and any other logistical expenses linked to her role. That claim was confirmed by PEI in a public statement, in which the organisation also said Gurib-Fakim had resigned from PEI.

However, it was not just the expenses but Gurib-Fakim's general involvement with PEI that raised eyebrows in Mauritius. PEI was founded by Alvaro Sobrinho, an Angolan businessman whose efforts to set up enterprises in Mauritius have come under scrutiny. Sobrinho is being investigated in Switzerland and Portugal for alleged fraud.

The post of president in Mauritius is ceremonial. Initially when the Prime Minister Pravind Jugnauth advised her to resign Gurib-Fakim refused saying that she would clear her name. But she finally resigned under public pressure on 23 March 2018.

Replying to a Private Notice Question in Parliament on 27 March, the Prime Minister said that resigning from the post of President of the Republic was the best decision that Gurib Fakim has taken for the country. The Prime Minister went further and said that he has asked for a Commission of Enquiry and put the matter into the hands of the Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC). The ICAC enquiry is still on.

GL Board Member and Mauritian gender activist Loga Virasawmy commented: "on the eve of the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Independence of Mauritius, you are not only hurting women but the whole Mauritian nation and women in the SADC region at large. Political parties must file more women candidates in the next general and local elections and see to it that a woman of substance who has all the qualities to bring changes and do us proud be appointed President of the Republic of Mauritius."

Mauritian  
President  
resigned  
amidst  
contro-  
versy

## Record number of women presidential candidates in Zimbabwe

Perhaps the highlight of the 2018 Zimbabwe elections is the Presidential election which has witnessed a record 23 candidates contesting the Presidential seat. Of these, four (17%) are women - the largest number of women who have ever competed for the highest office in the land. These are: Melbah Dzapasi (#1980 freedom movement Zimbabwe); Thokozani Khupe (MDC-T); Violet Mariyacha (Untied Democratic Movement) and Joice Mujuru (People's Rainbow Coalition).



Thokozani Khupe.

Photo courtesy of MDC-T

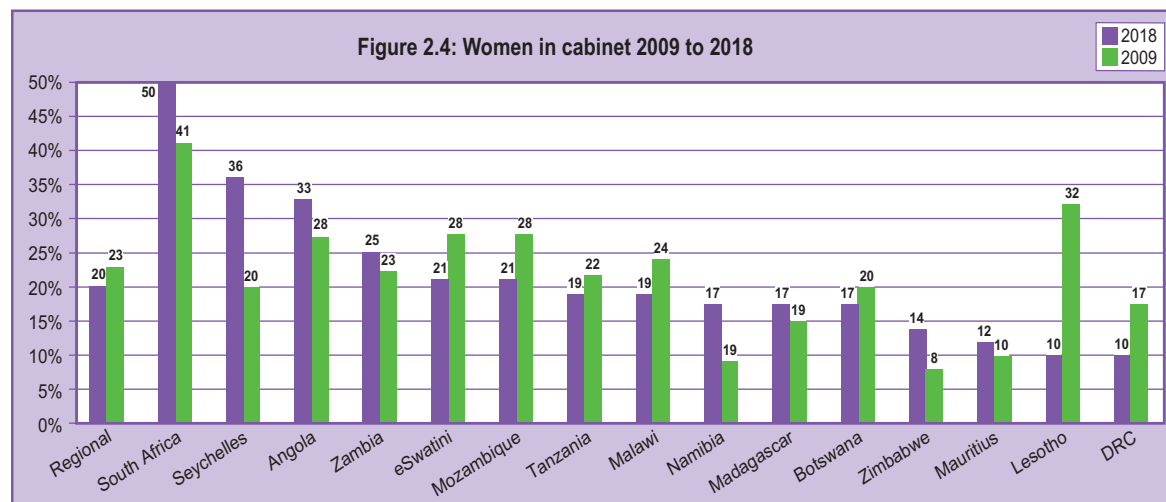
Khupe and Mujuru are household names in Zimbabwe. Mujuru will bank on her contacts and experience as a former ZANU-PF legislator and possibly steal some votes from ZANU-PF as well as garner support from other portions of Zimbabwe, though she has not been so visible on the campaign trail.

Khupe has her following from the MDC factions which will also have a bearing on the road to the State House.

Bets at the time of writing are for a runoff between the top two candidates, Emmerson Mnangagwa and Nelson Chamisa (MDC Alliance) or the formation of a Government of National Unity (GNU). Is Zimbabwe ready for a female President? Only the ballot will tell. What is evident is that the 50-50 advocacy campaign must not stop, even after the elections. *(Excerpt from an article by Tapiwa Zvaraya, GL News Service)*

## Cabinet

Cabinet is one area in which governments should make rapid progress as members are appointed rather than elected. The regional average of only 20% women in Cabinet positions raises serious concerns regarding the political will of SADC heads of state to increase women's representation in decision-making.



Source: Gender Links and IPU <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm> - accessed 18 June 2018.

Figure 2.4 reflects disappointing results in this area over the last ten years:

- Overall, women's representation in cabinet has dropped from 23% to 20%.
- Only four countries (South Africa, Seychelles, Angola and Zambia) have experienced an increase.
- Eleven countries have regressed. Lesotho experienced the largest decline, from 32% to 10% women in cabinet.
- Only one country, South Africa, has achieved gender balance in its cabinet, although NGOs remained sceptical about some of the choices made.

## South Africa: Beyond numbers in Cabinet

While President Cyril Ramaphosa's new cabinet has taken South Africa to gender parity at the executive level it has failed to inspire a new vision for gender equality, according to an analysis conducted by Gender Links (GL).



According to the GL analysis, the emphasis continues to be on reshuffling rather than renewal. The most glaring switch is the shift of Bathabile Dlamini from social development to the women's ministry, formerly headed by Susan Shabangu, now minister of social development.

Dlamini came under fire for failing to usher in a new social grants distributor when the Cash Paymaster Services (CPS) contract ended. These grants play a crucial role in supporting women and families who remain on the fringes of the mainstream economy.

It took the intervention of the Constitutional Court, which permitted the extension of the contract with CPS for another 12 months, to provide a way forward concerning the payment of millions of beneficiaries on 1 April 2017. Dlamini's role in the social grants crisis will be determined by a commission of inquiry, which began work on 22 January. She also oversaw the disastrous handling the Life Healthcare Esidimeni Scandal involved the deaths of 143 people at psychiatric facilities in Gauteng from causes including starvation and neglect.

Ironically as Chair of the ANC Women's League, Dlamini led the march for Ramaphosa's rival, Nkosozana Dlamini Zuma to become South Africa's first woman president. Sadly this only followed Zuma's endorsement of her, and excluded other women who vied for the job.

At least four cabinet posts can be counted as gender benders - non- traditional posts that have gone to women. These include science and technology, sports and recreation, state security, defence and military veterans. The appointment of the well respected former minister of Science and Technology Naledi Pandor to the ministry of higher education is also a gain. However, she had been touted as Deputy President, a post that has gone to David Mabuza, resulting again in two men at the top.

Source: Gender Links News Service

**Table 2.22: Women's representation in Cabinet 2017 to 2018**

Country	2018	2017	Variance (2018-2017)	50%
<b>Regional average</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>-3%</b>	<b>-30%</b>
South Africa	50%	41%	9%	0%
Seychelles	36%	43%	-7%	-14%
Angola	33%	21%	12%	-17%
Zambia	25%	26%	-1%	-25%
eSwatini	21%	25%	-4%	-29%
Mozambique	21%	23%	-2%	-29%
Tanzania	19%	20%	-1%	-31%
Malawi	19%	15%	4%	-31%
Namibia	17%	22%	-5%	-33%
Madagascar	17%	20%	-3%	-33%
Botswana	17%	17%	0%	-33%
Zimbabwe	14%	15%	-1%	-36%
Mauritius	12%	13%	-1%	-38%
Lesotho	10%	22%	-12%	-40%
DRC	10%	8%	2%	-40%

Source: Gender Links.

Table 2.22 shows that:

- The regional average of women's representation in Cabinet (Ministers only) has dropped to 20%. The region missed the Protocol target of 50% women in cabinet by 30 percentage points.
- The highest proportion of women in cabinet is in South Africa.
- There are only two countries with more than 40% women as Ministers: Seychelles (43%) and South Africa (41%) during the year under review.
- Only three countries experienced increases in the last year: South Africa, Angola and Malawi. Twelve countries regressed, at the very moment when heads of state should be demonstrating

- their commitment to gender equality through cabinet appointments.
- Botswana remained constant following the appointment of a new President ahead of the

2019 elections. However, the appointment of a young woman to a key Economic Ministry had social media abuzz in the first half of 2018.

### Young women lead the way in Botswana

Botswana's new President Mokgweetsi Masisi missed the opportunity to make good on Botswana's commitment to gender equality in his recent new cabinet, but had social media agog with his appointment of a young woman to the post of Investment Trade and Industry.

Masisi is Botswana's fifth President. The women's movement had hoped for the appointment of a woman Vice President. That did not happen, and the representation of women in Cabinet increased by a mere one percentage point to 18%.

Botswana remains one of the countries in Southern Africa with a low representation of women in Parliament and Cabinet. According to the SADC Gender Protocol Barometer 2017, women comprise 10% of Parliamentarians and 19% in local councils.

Cabinet is a test of political commitment because the President has the latitude to choose, although in Botswana cabinet ministers must also be Members of Parliament.

Previously four of the five women Parliamentarians were in Cabinet. The incoming President allocated Cabinet seats to all the women in Parliament. The women elected into Cabinet lead the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development as both Minister and Deputy, one as a Minister the other Assistant Minister; Ministry of Nationality Immigration and Gender Affairs; Ministry of Investment, Trade and Industry and the Ministry of Infrastructure and Development. Four are full Ministers; the fifth is an Assistant Minister.

The ground breaking appointment by the new President is Bogolo Kenewendo, a 31 year old woman appointed as the Minister of Investment Trade and Industry. The women's rights movement welcomes the appointment. She is the youngest MP in the Botswana National Assembly. She completed her BA in Economics at the University of Botswana and holds MSc in International Economics from the University of Sussex in the United Kingdom and was a recipient of a prestigious Chevening Scholarship in 2012.



Bogolo Kenewendo.

Her areas of expertise include: Macroeconomic Policy, public debt management, trade policy, export development, trade in services, regulatory frameworks, trade related issues, trade and investment policy, industrial development policy, institutional frameworks for policy formulation, poverty alleviation, financial sector development,

She brings a new and youthful energy to the Botswana Cabinet having had come in as a specially elected member of Parliament under the former President Seretse Khama Ian Khama. Her appointment to the Ministry that contributes most to the economy underscores a new era for this diamond-rich country.

Dorcas Malesu is now the Minister of Nationality, Immigration and Gender Affairs becoming the first woman in over 10 years to lead the Ministry. Botswana, whose previous President Khama was not married, had been without a first lady for 10 years. Neo Masisi will now fill that role. She is passionate about women's empowerment.

As Botswana prepares to go to elections in 2019 it is necessary to step up efforts to break the cycle of women's low political participation. In the coming week Gender Links will engage in dialogues with political leaders for possible solutions such as the implementation of the quota system at party level and training of women candidates among others.

*Source: Article by Gomolemo Rasesigo, Gender Links Botswana Country Manager, GL news and blogs service*

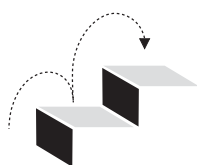


**Table 2.23: Women as deputy ministers**

Member States	Deputy Ministers		
	Total No.	No. of total Women	% of women
<b>SADC Average</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>41%</b>
Lesotho	5	2	40%
Namibia	33	18	55%
South Africa	11	5	45%
Tanzania	21	8	20%
Zimbabwe	17	3	18%

Source: [www.ipu.org](http://www.ipu.org), 18 June 2018 and Gender Links.

Table 2.23 provides information on women Deputy Ministers, in the five countries that have Deputy Ministers. Overall, women constitute 41% of Deputy Ministers. Namibia has a higher proportion (55%) of women Deputy Ministers than men. A question that arises is if deputy ministerial posts are a training ground for Cabinet, why women in the region are not progressing from these posts to Cabinet.



## Next steps

This chapter continues to expand the scope for measuring women's representation and participation in Public State Institutions by tracking women in Political Parties and Election Management Bodies; Parliament; the Public Service, and Judiciary; in addition to the usual yardsticks: women in Parliament, Cabinet and Local Government. The Private Sector remains a gap yet to be tackled through better data capture and analysis. Some key priorities going forward include:

- **Fire-up the 50/50 campaign post 2015:** Involve other stakeholders such as the private sector in the 50/50 campaign to encourage management to ensure that the target is integrated in all spheres and not just political decision-making bodies. Lobby the relevant structures for more women in government.
- **Holding Governments accountable:** Governments made a commitment to achieving 50% representation of women in all areas of decision-making aligned to the SDGs. Inconsistent efforts have been made with some Governments adopting PR systems and systems in Zimbabwe, Lesotho, South Africa and Mauritius; and others fully opposed to doing so. Further inconsistencies at national and local levels have resulted in further variations in women's representation in political decision making and Public Service. Adopting special measures is a prerogative now more than ever before for an achievable post-2015 gender agenda.

- **Political parties transform policies in party manifestos to include quotas, the “Zebra System” and proportional representation system:** This chapter shows, through the examples of Angola and Lesotho, how easy it is to backslide because political parties do not have these special measures in their party manifestos and even when they do, these are not always effectively implemented. It is critical to ensure special measures are adopted and implemented for 50/50 to be achieved by 2030.

- **Remove major cultural and structural barriers rooted in culture, customs, religion, tradition, perceptions of women in society; and invest in efforts that build strong political will and leadership by all to effect change.** Civic education, voter education, targeting influential community and national leaders are pathways to influence change. There is a crucial need for more civic education about women and men's equal participation in politics and decision making in public service especially now, ahead of 2030.

- **Strengthen and adopt new approaches:** In many cases needs assessments have not preceded training for women in politics. Such training needs to be holistic in its approach. In addition to gender analysis skills, it should include an understanding of the nature and exercise of power, confidence and assertiveness skills, leadership training and communication skills, including debating, use of the internet and social media, accessing the mainstream media and integrating gender issues into political campaigns. While there is a place for empowerment strategies that specifically target women decision-makers, it is also important to design strategies that include the “new” men in politics. Gender equality activists need to actively engage political parties to strengthen and sustain any transformation towards gender-responsive democracy and governance. There should be a continuous sensitisation and awareness raising training and support for women to attain political positions. Promote and build capacity of men and boys in civil society to become more active and participate in the gender movement and developing gender programmes and campaigns.

- **Revamp and upscale capacity building for women in politics and leadership:** Initiatives to strengthen the knowledge, information and gender analysis capacities of women members of Parliament and councillors should be scaled up in order to give women the confidence to retain their seats and inspire other women to participate in elections. Research on women's experience and participation in governance and political processes is required as well as a detailed analysis of the amount of funding that has been dedicated by government, civil society and donors to programmes to increase women's participation, and for civic education across SADC.

The  
**50/50**  
Campaign  
needs to  
be  
**fired  
up!**

- **Research, monitoring and evaluation are key:** Research, advocacy and lobbying have been critical to achievements made to date. Structures and mechanisms should be found for strengthening collaboration between civil society and women in decision-making. Research, monitoring and evaluation remain key for qualitative and qualitative gains in the 50/50 campaign. Stakeholders should use this to strengthen collaboration between civil society, government, the private sector and women in decision-making.
- **The media as a platform and tool to effect change:** Gender, elections and media training shows that the media has a key role to play in changing mind-sets and promoting women candidates. These partnerships should be built and extended in all countries having elections

between now and 2020 as an opportunity to start anew. Increase involvement with the media, including an increased use of social media, to lobby for increasing the number of women in decision-making positions. The media must work to increase coverage of women and their various roles in order to change mind-sets and thus encourage more women to contest for political positions.

- **Involving young women:** The chapter reported on breaking new ground in Zimbabwe, with young women demanding a 25% quota in the coming elections. A new generation of young women are demanding a say in the matters that affect their lives. Working with junior councillors is one way to “start young” with political participation.

### Starting young in Chinhoyi

The Municipality of Chinhoyi is situated in the Mashonaland West Province of Zimbabwe. Tariro Ngwanya, an active member of the municipality founded a Junior Council as part of the Gender Links Centres of Excellence for Gender in Local Government. The council forms part of local government and aims to promote economic justice through including education, training and economic developmental projects for its members and the communities it works in.



Empowering junior councillors on customer care in Chinhoyi.

Photo: Olivia Masongorera

According to Ngwanya, the junior council was started to “create a better Chinhoyi Municipality through youth participation.” This project brought together youth from different walks of life from primary and secondary levels.

Youth make policy suggestions to the senior council for implementation. The junior council serves as a platform for youth to become active citizens in combating socio-economic injustices by placing them at the forefront of their issues, as leaders. The Junior Council is not a political organisation but an advocacy body for children and youth-related issues.

The council remains relevant as issues of teenage pregnancy, HIV and SRHR affect the girl child the most in the municipality of Chinhoyi. The junior council works and communicates with the youth from various parts of the community with the aim of bringing to light the various problems they face and alternative approaches to tackling those issues.

Sasha Vamba served as the first female junior council mayor in 2017. She led 15 young councillors in the municipality. “I feel honoured to be the first girl Junior Mayor for Municipality of Chinhoyi,” she says. The junior council has served as a source of empowerment: women feel empowered by seeing a girl Junior Mayor leading the council and making representation within the community. The senior council appreciates the efforts made by the junior council and take their recommendations and implement them into resolutions. Ngwanya says that youth “are realising that they can be leaders and be in decision-making positions and produce results. The junior council continues to prove that children can bring a positive change in the community and schools. Children can also come up with brilliant ideas acceptable by the senior council.”

Source: SADC Protocol@Work summit, Zimbabwe 2018