

CHAPTER 2

Gender and governance



Articles 12-13

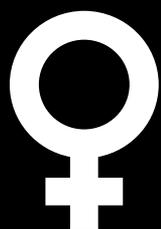


Sibisiwe Mtsetfwa speaking during the 30% to 50% campaign in Swaziland.

Photo: Thandokuhle Dlamini

KEY POINTS

- Women's equal representation and effective participation in leadership and decision-making remains below parity in most countries, despite the lip service paid to this area of gender equality over the years.
- "Special measures" and conducive electoral systems give the greatest assurance for increasing women's representation from local to national levels of governance.
- Countries with a PR or mixed system and quotas have higher percentages of women (36% at local and 42% at national) compared to 9% at local and 17% at national in the FPTP system (with no quota).
- Women's representation in parliament in SADC remains at 27%; four percentage points higher than the global average of 23% and 3% ahead of the Sub-Saharan Africa average of 24%.
- Women's representation in cabinet in the region is low at 23%. This is also true in local government (24%).
- Four countries held elections in SADC from August 2016 to June 2017 including South Africa (Local), Zambia (Tripartite), Seychelles (Parliament) and Lesotho (Parliament). Seychelles dropped in the global rankings of women in parliament from 4th in 2016 to 87th after the September 2016 elections that saw a change in political party leadership and formation of a coalition government.
- Six more countries are due to hold elections in 2017/2018: Angola (National), DRC (Tripartite), Madagascar (Tripartite), Swaziland (Tripartite), Mozambique (Local), and Zimbabwe (Tripartite).
- In 2017 the Barometer adds a number of new areas of decision-making including the public service, foreign service and judiciary using data made available by the SADC member states as part of their reporting.



Women
in
parliament

27%

Women
in
cabinet

23%

Women
in
local
govern-
ment

24%

What the Protocol requires

Part Three of the SADC Gender Protocol concerns Governance. This has two articles: Representation and Participation. The protocol emphasises women's **full** and **effective** participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic, social and public life. Member states are mandated to adopt **special measures**, strengthen sound policies and ensure

enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women at all levels decision making. Civil society organisations, activists, media, citizens and governments have strengthened their 50/50 gender equality campaign strategies as lobbying focuses on the adoption of quotas and electoral systems reforms aimed to field more women in political party leadership and lists.

Table 2.1: The revised SADC Gender Protocol

Old provisions	New provisions
Article 12.1: State parties shall ensure that by 2015 at least 50% of decision-making positions in the private and public sectors are held by women including the use of affirmative action measures as provided for in Article 5.	Article 12. 1: State parties shall ensure equal and effective representation by women in decision-making in the political, public and private sectors, including the use of <u>special measures</u> as provided for in Article 5.

Source: SADC Gender and Development Protocol, 2008 and 2015.

Table 2.1 shows that the two major changes in the Post-2015 provisions are:

- Adding *effective* participation to equal representation. This is in line with Goal Five of the Sustainable Development Goals that moves beyond numbers.
- Changing *affirmative action* to *special measures*, consistent with Article 5. Both Botswana and Mauritius cited affirmative action provisions in the past as an impediment to them signing the Protocol. The shift to “special measures” aimed to facilitate both signing the Protocol (Mauritius is yet to sign).

Key trends

Table 2.2: Trends in Governance 2009, 2015 and 2017

Target 2030	Baseline 2009	Progress 2015	Progress 2017	Variance (Progress - 2030 target)
WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT				
The average proportion of women in parliament reaches 50%.	25%	27%	27%	-23%
No. of countries that have achieved over 30% women in Parliament	5 (Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania)	7 (Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Tanzania, Zimbabwe)	6 (South Africa, Namibia, Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania, Zimbabwe)	9 (Seychelles, Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Swaziland, Zambia, Mauritius, DRC)
<i>Highest (country/%)</i>	South Africa (42%)	Seychelles (44%)	South Africa (42%)	-8%
<i>Lowest (country/%)</i>	DRC (8%)	DRC (9%)	DRC (8%)	-42%
WOMEN IN CABINET				
Average proportion of women in cabinet reaches 50%	21%	22%	23%	-27%
No. of countries that have achieved over 30% women in Cabinet	1 (South Africa)	2 (South Africa, Tanzania)	3 (Seychelles, Zambia, South Africa)	12 (Botswana, Lesotho, Angola, Madagascar, Tanzania, Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Swaziland, Mauritius, Democratic Republic of Congo - DRC)
<i>Highest (country/%)</i>	South Africa (42%)	South Africa (41%)	Seychelles (43%)	-7%
<i>Lowest (country/%)</i>	Mauritius (10%)	Mauritius (8%)	DRC (8%)	-42%

None
of the
15
SADC
countries
have
achieved
parity in
parliament,
local
government
and
cabinet

Target 2030	Baseline 2009	Progress 2015	Progress 2017	Variance (Progress - 2030 target)
WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT				
Average proportion of women in local government reaches 50%	23%	24%	24%	-26%
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 and Tanzania)	5 (Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Tanzania)	10 (Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Madagascar, Mauritius, Namibia, Seychelles, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe)
Highest (country/%)	Lesotho (58%)	Namibia (49%)	Lesotho (49%)	-1%
Lowest (country/%)	Mauritius (6%)	Madagascar (6%)	DRC (6%)	-44%
WOMEN IN TOP POLITICAL PARTY POSTS				
Average proportion women in top political party posts reached 50%			13%	-37%
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, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe)
Highest (country/%)			Madagascar (27%)	-23%
Lowest (country/%)			Angola, Botswana, DRC, Lesotho, Seychelles (0%)	-50%
WOMEN IN ELECTORAL BODIES				
Average proportion women in Electoral Bodies reached 50%			30%	-20%
No. of countries that have achieved over 50% women in Electoral Bodies			1 (Mauritius)	14 (Angola, Botswana, DRC, Lesotho, Malawi, Madagascar, Tanzania, South Africa, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe)
Highest (country/%)			Mauritius (53%)	Exceeded target (Needs to set new country target)
Lowest (country/%)			Mozambique (13%)	37%
WOMEN JUDGES				
Average proportion women Judges reached 50%		28%	28%	-22%
No. of countries that have achieved over 50% women Judges in SADC		1 (Lesotho)	2 (Madagascar, Mauritius)	14 (Angola, Botswana, DRC, Malawi, Madagascar, Tanzania, South Africa, Mozambique, Mauritius, Namibia, Seychelles, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe)
Highest (country/%)		Lesotho (65%)	Madagascar (88%)	Exceeded target (Needs to set new country target)
Lowest (country/%)		Seychelles (11%)	DRC (6%)	-44%
WOMEN SOURCES IN POLITICAL TOPICS				
Average proportion women sources in political parties reached 50%			15%	-35%
Highest (country/%)			Malawi (26%)	-24%
Lowest (country/%)			DRC (5%)	-45%
SCORES				
SGDI	48%	49%	47%	-53%
CSC	50%	67%	66%	-34%

Source: Gender Links, 2017.



Young and old prepare to vote in South Africa 2016 local government elections. Photo: IT News Africa

Table 2.2 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 has only increased by two percentage points from 25% in 2009 to 27% by 2015. This percentage remains the same in 2017. 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 group of countries close to achieving the 50% target having moved from 44% women in parliament in 2015 to 21% women in parliament after the September 2016 national elections. Swaziland has the lowest proportion of women in parliament at 6%.
- Women's representation in cabinet has only improved by two percentage points from 21% in 2009 to 23% in 2017. Cabinet appointments that are at the sole discretion of the head of state, should 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. Seychelles (43%) has the highest proportion women in cabinet followed by South Africa (42%). DRC (8%) has the lowest proportion of women in cabinet.
- Women in local government only increased by one percentage point from 23% in 2009 to 24% in 2015 and 2017. Only five countries have achieved over 30% women in local government. Lesotho (49%) and Namibia (48%) and South Africa (41%) are the only three countries with over 40% women in local government.
- At a regional average of 13%, few political parties have "special" or "affirmative" measures to promote women's representation and participation in their own ranks. Madagascar has the highest proportion of women in political party

leadership at 27%. Most countries having 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.
- 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.

Scores - SGDI and CSC

The Southern Africa Gender and Development Index (SGDI) initially measured women's representation in parliament, cabinet and local government with the target of 50% doubled to 100% in each case, as all SGDI scores are out of 100. In 2017, the Barometer has added women's representation in top party posts, electoral bodies, and judges to broaden the scope of decision-making. The SGDI has also added an indicator on women sources in the political topic category: an important measure of voice. Not surprisingly, the SGDI overall has gone down from 49% in 2015 to 47% in 2017. Overall the region is less than half way where it should be by 2030. The Citizen Score Card (CSC) measures citizen perceptions of governments' commitment to gender and governance. This score has also been expanded to take into account the new additions and emphasise in the Post - 2015 SADC Gender Protocol detailed in Table 2.1. The CSC dropped from 67% in 2015 to 66% in 2017.



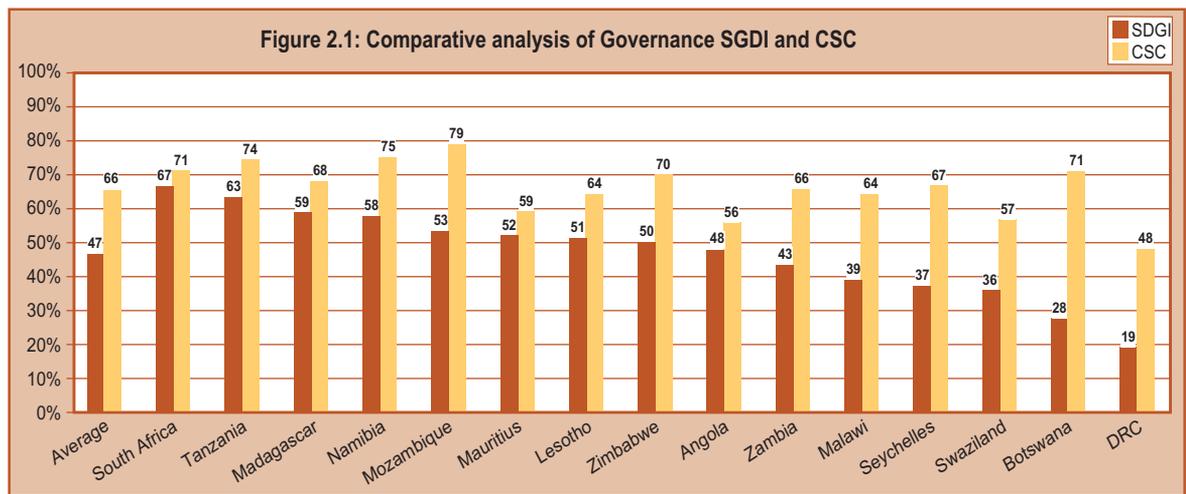
Mavula community members in discussions during the 30% to 50/50 campaign in Swaziland. Photo: Thandokuhle Dlamini

SGDI
has gone
down
to
47%
in **2017**
from
49%
in **2015**

CSC
has
dropped
from
67%
in **2015** to
66%
in **2017**

SDGI
47%

CSC
66%



Source: Gender Links, 2017.

Figure 2.1 shows that overall at 47% for the SGDI and 66% for the CSC, there is quite a wide divergence between these scores - wider than in any other sector. Variance is calculated as the difference between the SGDI and CSC. The CSC was higher than the SGDI in all countries. This is

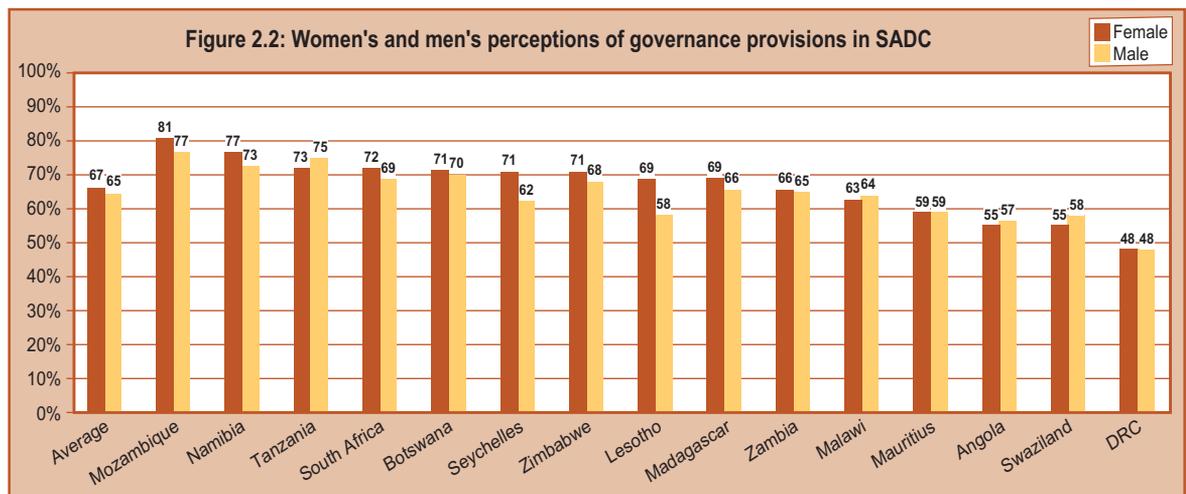
likely due to the high visibility of 50/50 campaigns, even though the reality is one of one step forwards, two steps backwards. The perception of change is good. However, this needs to be converted into real progress, otherwise cynicism will set in.

♀

67%
scored
higher
than

♂

65%



Source: Gender Links, 2017.

Figure 2.2 compares the CSC for women and men. This shows that overall at 67%, women score their governments higher than men at 65%. In 2017, the biggest gender gap in perceptions are in countries that held elections particularly Lesotho (11%) and Seychelles (9%). In both countries, 50/50 campaigns were quite intense at the local level where the majority of women live. Elections in

both countries ended in the formation of coalition governments that witnessed new comers in political leadership. In Tanzania, Malawi, Angola and Swaziland, men are more optimistic than women, a possible reflection of the patriarchal nature of these societies. In Mauritius and DRC, women and men scored their governments the same.