



Forgotten by families

Anushka Virahsawmy



CHAPTER 2

Gender and governance

Articles 12-13



Namibia scored a goal for gender equality in its November 2014 elections.

Photo courtesy of All Africa.com

KEY POINTS

- The year 2015 marks the deadline for the SADC region to have reached gender parity in all areas of decision-making. No country has reached the 50% target of women's representation in parliament, cabinet or local government.
- Over the past six years, women's overall representation in parliament has gone up by only two percentage points from 25% in 2009 to 27% in 2015. Seychelles (4th) and South Africa (7th) are the only two SADC countries in the top ten global ranking of women parliamentarians. However as a region SADC is five percentage points ahead of the global average of women in parliament (22%).
- Women's representation in local government has increased by a mere one percentage point from 23% in 2009 to 24% in 2015.
- Women's representation in cabinet has virtually remained stagnant at 22% since 2009.
- Women in eight SADC countries have, for the first time, occupied top positions during the monitoring period. In June, Mauritius became the second SADC country after Malawi to have a woman President. SADC currently has a woman vice president in Zambia, as well as a woman prime minister and deputy prime minister in Namibia.
- Between July 2015 and the end of 2016, seven more SADC countries - DRC (local); Lesotho (local), Madagascar (local), Tanzania (Tripartite) and Zambia (National), South Africa and Namibia (local) are due to hold elections.
- Calculations in this chapter reflect the global reality that women's political representation is highest in Proportional Representation (PR) electoral systems (39% in parliament and 31% in local government) and in countries with quotas (38% in parliament and 37% in local government).
- The focus of the 5050 campaign must be on the adoption of strategic special measures to ensure that gender parity is achieved in the Post-2015 era.

Governance in the SADC region 2009-2015 trends table

Target	Baseline (2009 or 2011)	Progress 2015	Variance (Progress minus target)
Women in Parliament			
The average proportion of women in Parliament reaches 50%.	25%	27%	23%
Number of countries that have achieved over 30% women in Parliament.	5 (Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Tanzania)	7 (Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles South Africa, Tanzania and Zimbabwe)	8 countries (Botswana, DRC, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Swaziland and Zambia)
<i>Highest (country %)</i>	South Africa (42%)	Seychelles (44%)	6%
<i>Lowest (country %)</i>	DRC (8%)	DRC (9 %)	91%
Women in Cabinet			
Average proportion of women in cabinet reaches 50%.	21%	22%	28%
Number of countries that have achieved over 30% women in Cabinet	1 (South Africa)	2 (South Africa and Tanzania)	13 (Angola, Botswana, DRC, Lesotho, Malawi, Madagascar, Mauritius, Swaziland and Zambia, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles and Zimbabwe)
<i>Highest (country %)</i>	South Africa (42%)	South Africa (41%)	9%
<i>Lowest (country %)</i>	Mauritius (10%)	Mauritius (8%)	42%
Women in Local Government			
Average proportion of women in local government reaches 50%.	23%	24%	26%
No. of countries that have achieved over 30% women in Local Government	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 and Zimbabwe)
<i>Highest (country %)</i>	Lesotho (58%)	Namibia (49%)	1%
<i>Lowest (country %)</i>	Mauritius(6%)	Madagascar (6 %)	44%
Scores			
SGDI	48%	49%	51%
CSC	50%	67%	23%

Women's political participation and representation is central to achieving the full dividends of democracy. When women are marginalised in politics, issues that concern them, children and youth tend to be compromised at the political decision-making level. When women are equal partners in decision-making, and their experiences considered and their voices heard, national and development policies are more inclusive and have a broader influence and impact. This makes a difference in people's lives, which supports the need to have more women in local and national parliaments.¹

While the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) only had a target on women's participation in parliament, the SADC Gender Protocol went further and tracked progress at the local government and cabinet levels. The 50/50 target is one of the best known of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Gender

Protocol targets. The period has seen a paradigm shift from the call for 30% women in decision-making prior to 2005, to gender parity in the current period.

As reflected alongside in Table 2.1, in the year under review, SADC countries held three local and five national elections (in Madagascar, Mozambique, Botswana, Namibia, Mauritius, Lesotho and Tanzania). Seven local elections are taking place in one or other of these countries and in South Africa in 2015/2016. Tanzania and DRC will also be having national elections this year. This flurry of elections gave countries a real opportunity to make up lost ground in the final count-down to 2015.

With a regional average of 27% women in national parliaments, 24% in local government and 22% in cabinet, Southern Africa is barely half way where it needs to be to meet the target of 50% women - all

¹ African Woman and Child Feature service, 2010. "Beyond Numbers: Narrating the Impact of Women's Leadership in Africa."

Table 2.1: Elections in SADC 2014-2016

Country	Elections held 2014-2015		Elections planned 2015-2016	
	Local	National	Local	National
Madagascar		August 2014	July 2015	
Mozambique	October 2014	October 2014		
Botswana	October 2014	October 2014		
Namibia		November 2014	Late 2015	
Mauritius	June 2015 (municipal)	December 2014	Village (late 2015)	
Lesotho		February 2015	September 2015	
Tanzania			2015 - TBC	2015 TBC
DRC			Late 2015	Late 2015
South Africa			Early 2016	
Zambia		May 2014	September 2016	September 2016

Source: Gender Links 2015.

areas of decision-making by 2015. Yet the region is ahead of Europe, Asia, Arab States and the Pacific regions on this score. The adoption of affirmative action measures - such as quotas and party electoral lists or reserved seats - has been critical in facilitating women's entry into national assemblies and local councils. Innovations in electoral system and affirmative action measures have come about both as a result of pressure from women's movement and through the influence of global declarations and resolutions.²

Since the baseline Barometer in 2009, progress on the three governance indicators (national, local and cabinet) has been wide and varied with countries like Seychelles and South Africa missing the target with single digit points while in DRC the variance runs in the double digits.

The period under review demonstrated yet again that the First Past the Post System (FPTP) with no quota is hostile to women's political participation, with women's representation declining in both the Botswana and Mauritius national elections. In contrast, in the municipal elections where the 30% quota for women in local government held sway, women got voted in at the local level in Mauritius. The village elections are yet to take place later this year. In Madagascar, the increase of women's representation from 8% to 21% showed that it is possible to have an increase in a FPTP system without a quota, but with concerted lobbying and advocacy. However, this still remains far below the 50% mark.

Countries with a Proportional Representation (PR) system (Namibia and Mozambique) did well but fell short of the 50% mark. As a result of the ruling South West Africa Peoples (SWAPO) 50% zebra quota, the representation of women in the national assembly in Namibia shot up from 26% to 47%, but the overall

figure is diluted to 38% because of a weaker showing in the upper house.

Lesotho, which has a mixed system, missed the opportunity to escalate the quota at local level to national level. Again, the PR seats delivered a higher proportion of women, but the overall performance (25%) fell short of target. Tanzania is strengthening its constitutional quota from 30% to 50%, but this is unlikely to be adopted before the elections later this year.

Recognising the quotas and electoral systems are key to increasing women's political representation, the 50/50 campaign is sharpening its tools. A high level local government study visit from Zimbabwe to Mauritius in April 2015, resulted in a proposal for the adoption of a quota for women in local government in the 2018 elections. This should inform the continued 50/50 campaigns across SADC towards more strategic approaches with clear emphasis on electoral systems and quotas, accompanied by strong advocacy campaigns, combined with increased training and financing of women in leadership and politics.



Peer learning and sharing: Zimbabwe study visit to Mauritius. Photo by Gender Links

² UN Women: Progress of the world's women 2015-2016.

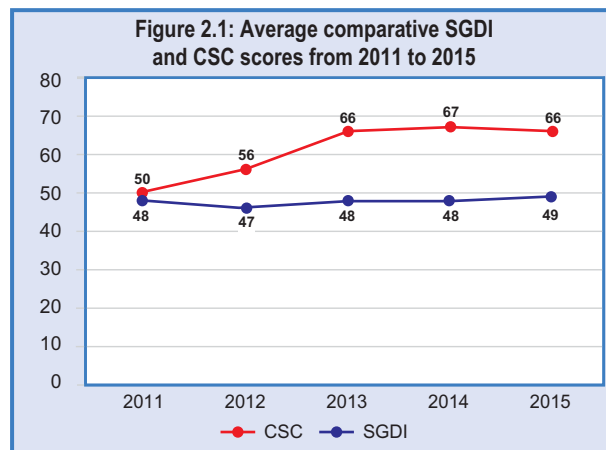
During the period under review (2009-2015) there has been an unprecedented flurry of women in top leadership. In 2012 Malawi became the first country in the region to have a female head of state after deputy president Joyce Banda stepped in following the death of the incumbent, Bingu wa Mutharika. She later lost the post to Peter Mutharika, brother to her predecessor in the 2014 Presidential elections.

This June the Mauritian Parliament voted Ameenah Gurib-Fakim as the country's new president following the resignation of her predecessor, Kailash Purryag. Though her title is a ceremonial one, she becomes the first woman in the island nation to hold that office. Currently only Zambia has a female vice president, Inonge Winga. Namibia has a woman Prime Minister (Saara Kuugongelwa) and Deputy Prime Minister (Netumbo Ndaitwah). The pattern in the appointment (rather than election) of women in top leadership is a clear indicator that the region is not yet ready for women presidents. This calls for additional measures in order to change mind-sets on female leadership.

Cabinet is one area governments should more easily make rapid progress as members are appointed rather than elected. Over the years, South Africa has consistently held the highest percentage of women in cabinet at 41%, while Mauritius and Zimbabwe have low scores below 15%. Over the last ten years, the average women's representation has remained relatively low: between 21% to 22%.

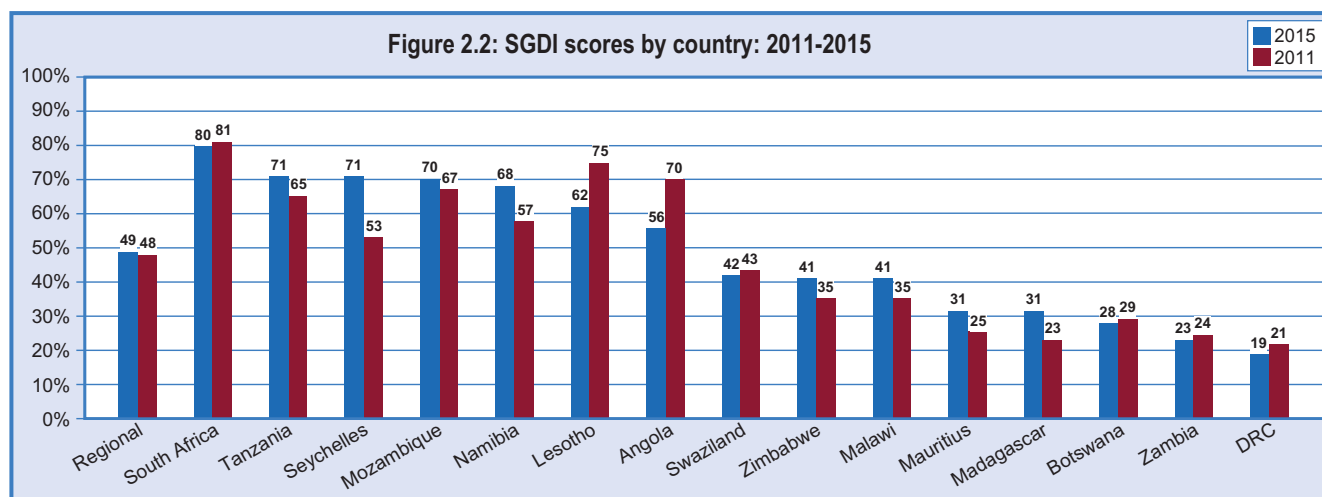
The Southern Africa Gender and Development Index (SGDI) is a composite index comprising (for governance) women's representation in parliament, cabinet and local government relative to where women need to be by 2015, with the ultimate target of 50% raised to 100% in each case, as all SGDI scores are out of 100. While the SGDI measures progress against governments achieving the set targets, the Citizen Score Card (CSC) measures citizen perceptions of governments' commit-

ment to gender in governance. The CSC is highly subjective and dependant on people's views. A combination of the quantitative and qualitative tools provides an objective view and analysis of progress countries are making towards promoting gender equality and development for all in SADC.



Source: Gender Links 2015.

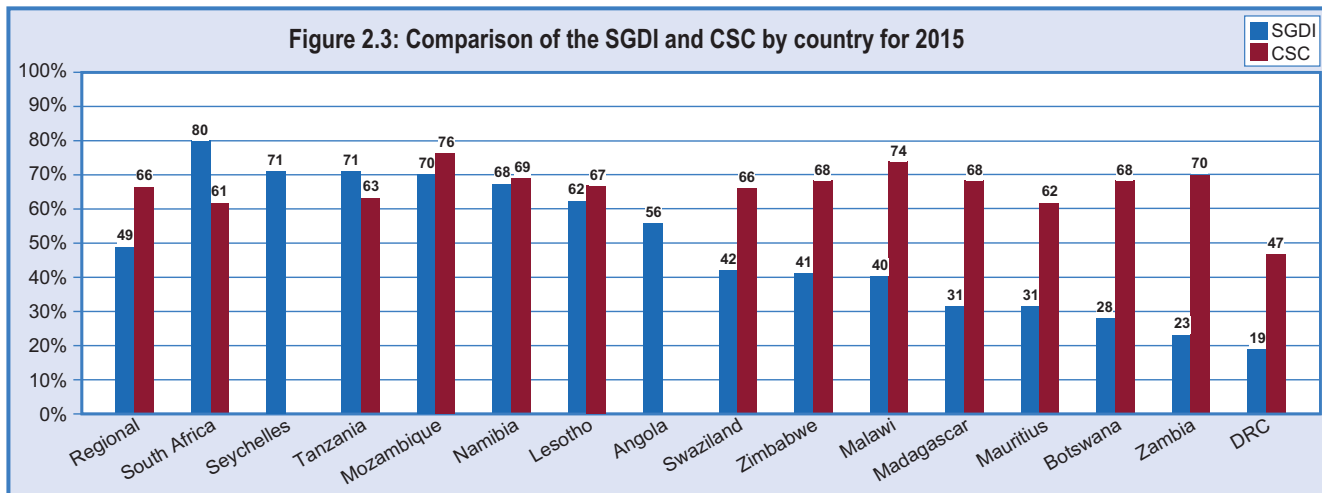
Figure 2.1 shows that the SGDI for governance has only moved by a percentage point from 48% in 2011 to 49% in 2015, as a result of the losses and gains experienced in the region on elections held between 2009 and 2015. On the contrary there has been a significant increase on the CSC which is at 66%, 17 percentage points higher than the 2009 score (50%). The higher perception score is probably a result of the visible and persistent 50/50 campaigns across the SADC region as well as Constitutional reviews conducted by countries like Tanzania, Mauritius and Zimbabwe to increase women's political representation through legislated quotas at local and national government levels. The flurry of women in high level leadership, albeit still just a handful, creates the public perception that things are changing.



Source: Gender Links 2015.

Figure 2.2. provides detailed comparative scoring on SGDI scores per country. While the regional average has only moved by a percentage point since 2011, some remarkable gains have been made in Seychelles and Namibia where the SDGI went up by 18 and 11 percentage points since 2009. Notable losses have also been

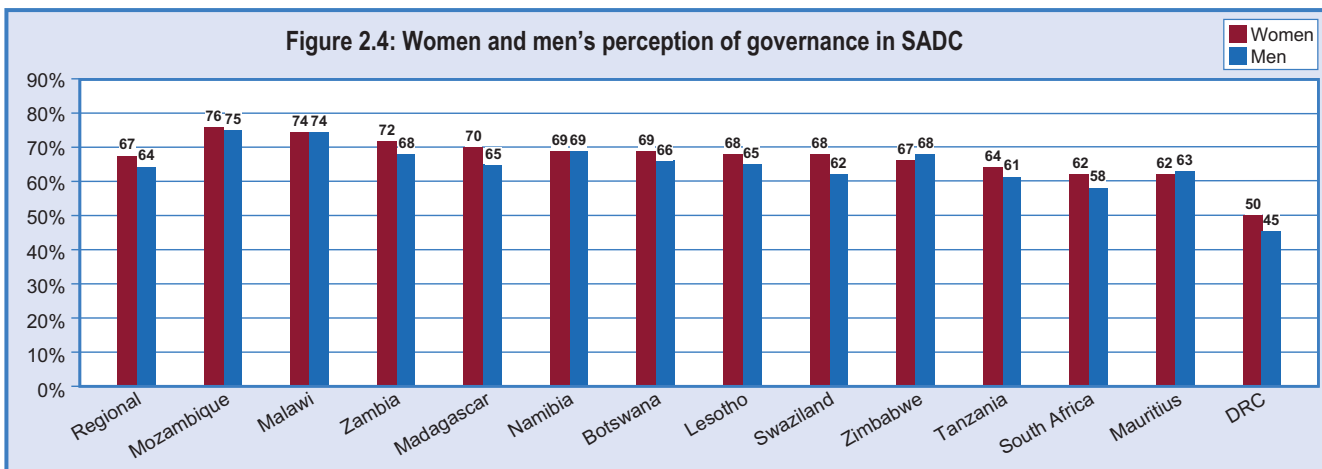
recorded in the same period in Angola and Lesotho where the SDGI fell by 14 and 13 percentage points respectively. Botswana, Zambia and DRC have not had any significant changes with women continually occupying the periphery of the political space.



Source: Gender Links 2015.

Figure 2.3 shows that as in previous years citizens are generally more optimistic and scored their governments higher than the SDGI in at least eleven of the 15 SADC countries. The SGDI at 49% shows that the region has failed to reach the Protocol targets by 2015 but also an indication that efforts in the last six years have only yielded half the desired result. Four countries have an SDGI above 70 % - South Africa, Seychelles, Tanzania and Mozambique. However eight (Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Madagascar, Mauritius, Botswana, Zambia and DRC) scored less than 50 %. Citizens from

11 countries (Mozambique, Namibia, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi, Madagascar, Mauritius, Botswana, Zambia and DRC) scored their governments higher than the SDGI. The biggest gaps are in Botswana and Zambia where citizens gave scores 40 and 47 percentage points higher than the SDGI. Zambia's score could have been influenced by the appointment of the country's first female Vice President. In South Africa and Tanzania citizens scored lower than the SDGI with a gap of 19 and eight percentage points respectively.



Source: Gender Links 2015.

Figure 2.4 compares the CSC for women and men. This shows that at an average of 66% women scored their government slightly higher than men at 64%, as has been the case over the past years. Governance is one sector where women and men generally score in the same range. In 2015 the biggest gender gap in perceptions are in DRC, where women (50%) are more optimistic than men (45%) and Madagascar (women, 70% and men 65%). In Malawi and Namibia both women and men gave the same score of 74% and 69% respectively. Mauritius is the only country where men (63%) scored higher than women (62%).

The high score from both women and men could be a result of the rising profile of women decision makers in the region. SADC has had two female presidents (Malawi, Mauritius) and three female vice presidents (Zimbabwe, Mauritius and Zambia) since the baseline barometer. The current Chairperson of the Africa Union Nkosazana Dlamini and UN Women Executive Director Phumuzile Mlambo Ngcuka are both formidable women politicians from the region.

Background

From the local to the global level, women's leadership and political participation is restricted. Women are underrepresented as voters, as well as in leading positions, whether in elected office, the civil service, the private sector or academia. This occurs despite their proven abilities as leaders and agents of change, and their right to participate equally in democratic governance.³

Achieving gender equality requires women's active participation and involvement in decision-making at all levels, starting at home and extending to the highest levels of government.⁴ Several studies have gone beyond numbers to show that women bring different approaches and perspectives to decision-making.⁵ While women may not all be the same, they have certain shared experiences that have traditionally been left out of public policy and decision-making.

Women's equal access and participation in political decision-making is a pre-requisite for gender responsive governance. Gender equality is central to representation, participation, accountability, responsiveness and transparency. These, in turn, hold the key to better policies

and services that will begin to normalise women's equal participation in decision-making.



Elections are one opportunity to increase women's representation, raise issues of gender inequality and women's human rights, and to press for greater government accountability on gender sensitivity. Despite the fact that most countries had not come close to reaching the initial 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development target of 30% representation of women in decision-making, governments upped this target to 50% in the more binding 2008 SADC Gender and Development Protocol (the Protocol). Table 2.1 outlines the three key articles critical to this sector:

As seen alongside in table 2.2, the Protocol provisions on gender and governance are relatively short yet pertinent. They provide for equal representation of women and men in all areas of decision-making in the public and private sectors. Further, Article 5 calls for a strategy of affirmative action, a strategy key to the rapid increase in women's political participation. Gender activists in many countries are calling for deliberate measures, such as legislated quotas as has been achieved in Zimbabwe and Mauritius, to increase women's representation in decision-making positions. While this is the ideal, it has not occurred fast enough and is often limited to either just the parliament or the local government level; and not both. This chapter tracks in detail, progress made toward meeting the Protocol 2015 target of 50/50 representation and other governance-related provisions.

³ <http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/leadership-and-political-participation>.

⁴ 2011-2012 Progress of the world's women: In Pursuit of Justice, UN Women 2011

⁵ Studies such as the Gender Links report Ringing up the Changes, Gender in Southern African Politics, the first to assess the qualitative difference that women bring to decision-making in the region, have helped to move the debate beyond numbers to why gender equality is integral to good governance.

Table 2.2: SGP governance provisions

ARTICLE	TARGET AREA	PROVISION - 2015
5	Full and meaningful participation in all spheres of life	Affirmative action measures with particular reference to women with the aim of eliminating all barriers that prevent them from participating.
12	Women in decision-making positions	At least 50% of decision-making positions in public and private sectors held by women; affirmative action measures in effect.
	Equal representation and democracy	Laws and policies are accompanied by public awareness campaigns to demonstrate link between equal representation and participation of men and women to democracy, good governance and citizen participation.
13	Participation in electoral processes	Laws and policies put in place to enable women to have equal opportunities to men when it comes to participation in electoral processes.
	Ensuring and enabling participation	Policies, strategies and programmes for: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building women's capacity to effectively participate – leadership, gender sensitivity and mentoring; • Support structures for women in decision-making; • Establish and strengthen structures to enhance gender mainstreaming; and • Addressing discriminatory attitudes and norms in decision-making structures.
	Men's inclusion	Gender training and community mobilisation to include men at all levels.

Source: Gender Links compiled from the SADC Gender and Development Protocol.

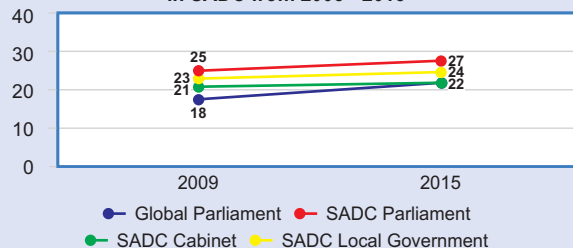
Representation



The Protocol provides for state parties to ensure that, by 2015, at least 50% of decision-making positions in the public and private sectors are held by women, including the use of affirmative action measures as provided for in Article 5.

It further provides for Member States to 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, good governance and citizen participation are put in place at all levels.

Figure 2.5: Women in political decision-making in SADC from 2005 - 2015

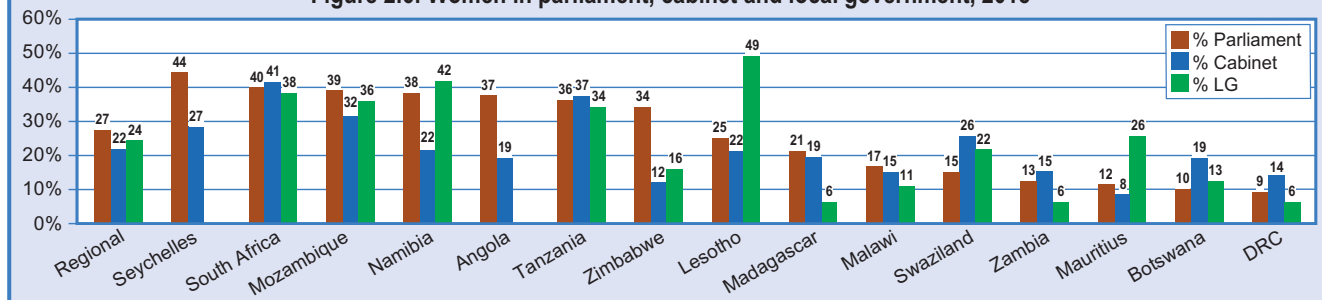


Source: Gender Links 2015: SADC Gender Protocol Country reports 2015 and IPU last accessed 12 July 2015.

Slight increase in parliament, cabinet and local government: Figure 2.5 shows that women's representation in SADC parliaments increased by two percentage points from 25% in 2005 to 27% in 2015. The proportion of women in SADC cabinets' increased by just one percentage point from 21% to 22%. Women's representation in local government increased slightly from 23% to 24%.

Women's political representation in SADC continues to progress at a slightly higher rate than the global rate but not fast enough to reach the 2015 target: Since adopting the 50% target in 2008, the representation of women in SADC, at 27%, is five percentage points higher than the global average of 22%.

Figure 2.6: Women in parliament, cabinet and local government, 2015



Source: Gender Links 2015, SADC Gender Protocol Country reports and IPU last accessed 12 June 2015.

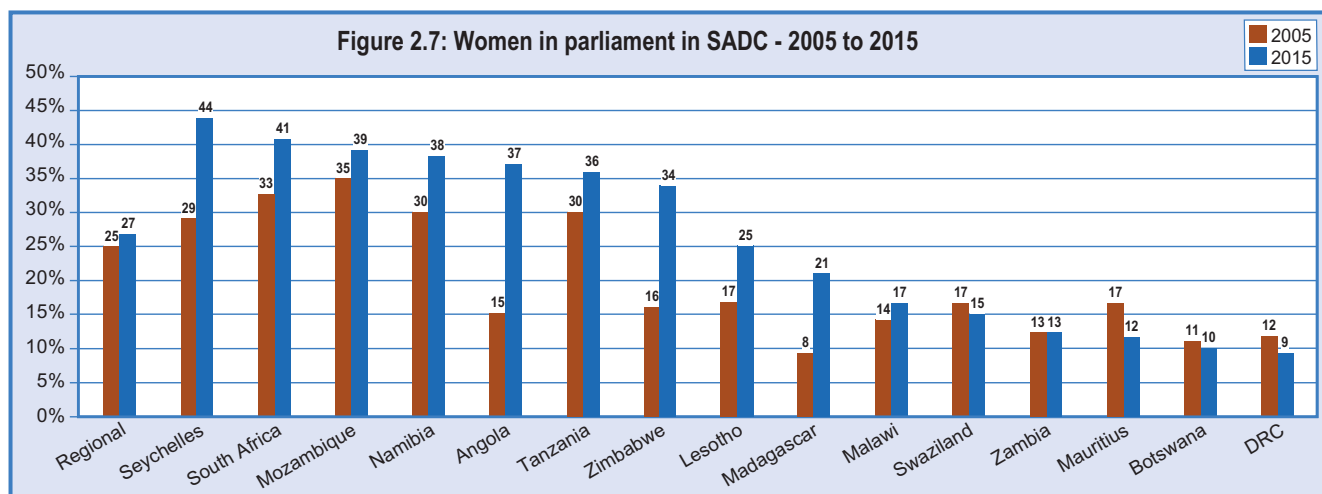
There continues to be a wide variation in women's representation across the region in parliament, cabinet and at local government levels: Figure 2.6 shows that performance continues to be mixed in different areas of political decision-making:

- Namibia, South Africa, Mozambique, Seychelles, Tanzania and Lesotho perform moderately well in all three areas though below the 50% gender parity target. Better performance is noted in women in parliament across these countries. Women in cabinet and local government mostly have lower scores.

- Seychelles has the highest proportion of women in parliament (44%), six percentage points shy of the 50% target.
- South Africa, Madagascar, Malawi, Zambia and DRC have less women in local government compared to cabinet and parliament.
- Only Angola, South Africa and Tanzania all exceeded 30% women's representation in all three areas.
- Madagascar, Swaziland, Mauritius, Malawi, Zambia, DRC and Botswana still have a long way to go to achieve gender parity across categories.

Parliament

Figure 2.7: Women in parliament in SADC - 2005 to 2015



Source: Gender Links 2014, SADC Gender Protocol Country Reports 2014, IPU accessed 18 July 2015 <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>

Over the past ten years, efforts towards increasing women's representation in Parliament have not yielded the desired objective of 50% women's representation. However, figure 2.7 shows that two SADC countries have over 40% women in parliament and five have passed the 30% mark. Eight have less than 30% women's representation in parliament. Of the eight, six have below 20% women's representations with the least being DRC and Botswana at 9% and 10%. At 44%, Seychelles ranks highest followed by South Africa (41%) and Mozambique (39%).

Angola, Zimbabwe, Seychelles and Madagascar have made the most progress: In 2005 Angola only had 15% women in parliament; this figure has gone up by 22 percentage points in the last ten years. Zimbabwe has moved from 16% to 34%. Following closely is Seychelles which also had a considerable improvement from 29% in 2005 to 44% at present. Madagascar also made remarkable progress, from 8% to 21% woman in parliament in the last election.

Mauritius, DRC, and Botswana slid backwards: Mauritius and Botswana are yet to formally commit to signing the SADC Protocol. All three SADC countries have

missed the chance of having 50% women's representation through lack of political will, effective strategies and action plans devised well ahead of elections.

Table 2.3: Global comparison of women in parliament by region

	2009 (%)	2010 (%)	2011 (%)	2012 (%)	2013 (%)	2014 (%)	2014 (%)
Region	Percentage women in both houses						
Nordic countries	41	41	41	42	42	42	-
Americas	21	23	23	23	25	26	27
SADC	25	24	25	24	25	26	27
Europe excluding Nordic countries	19	20	20	22	23	24	24
Sub-Saharan Africa (including SADC)	19	19	19	20	21	23	22
Asia	18	18	18	18	18	19	17
Arab States	9	9	11	13	14	16	19
Pacific	15	15	15	17	15	16	16
Global average	18	19	19	20	21	22	22

Source: www.ipu.org, 16 July 2015.

SADC has performed better than other regions in increasing women's representation in political decision-making: With an overall average of 27% women in parliament, SADC is ahead of the global and Sub-Saharan African averages of 21% and 22% respectively. The global average has remained stagnant at 22% while the Sub-Saharan average has also dropped by a percentage point from 23% in 2014. Ranked in descen-

ding order of the percentage women in lower and upper houses, results on Table 2.4 show that as a region, SADC ranks third after the Nordic countries (42%) and Americas (27%) in terms of women's representation in Parliament. As seen on the table, SADC is ahead of Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa, ahead of the Asia and Pacific regions and well ahead of the global average of 22%.

Table 2.4: Global and regional ranking of Women in Parliament

Country	Women in Parliament % representation		Global rank			SADC rank		
	2009	2015	2009	2015	Variance (2009-2015)	2009	2015	Variance (2009-2015)
Seychelles	24%	44%	41	4	37	7	1	6
South Africa	45%	42%	3	7	-4	1	2	-1
Mozambique	35%	39%	15	12	3	3	3	-1
Namibia	27%	38%	21	10	11	5	4	2
Angola	37%	37%	9	17	-8	4	5	-1
Tanzania	30%	36%	23	21	2	2	6	-4
Zimbabwe	15%	32%	78	28	50	11	7	4
Lesotho	25%	25%	28	49	-21	6	8	-2
Madagascar	8%	21%	90	65	25	14	9	5
Malawi	21%	17%	52	82	-30	8	10	-2
Zambia	16%	13%	77	100	-23	10	11	-1
Mauritius	17%	12%	66	105	-39	9	12	-3
Botswana	11%	10%	95	114	-19	13	13	0
DRC	8%	9%	108	117	-9	14	14	0
Swaziland	14%	6%	83	125	-42	12	15	-3

Source: www.ipu.org, 12 July 2015 and Gender Links.

SADC countries vary greatly in their global rankings: Table 2.4 illustrates where SADC countries rank globally and relative to each other against 140 countries listed by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). The table shows that SADC countries range from fourth to 125th in the global ranking. At 44% Seychelles is the

only country in the region in the global top five. At seventh South Africa makes it to the top ten but has slid four places down since 2009. This shows that there are a growing number of countries globally now nearing gender parity for women in parliament.

While some SADC countries improved significantly in the past six years, others plummeted: Zimbabwe has made moved fifty rungs from 78 in 2009 to 28 in 2015 as a result of a constitutional electoral amendment prior to the 2013 general elections. Swaziland on the other hand has dropped 42 places to number 125 from number 83 in 2009. Mauritius also climbed down 39 notches, to 105 on the global list.

Countries have also jostled around within the SADC rankings: In the period 2009 to 2015, Seychelles moved six places up to the top of the league; Madagascar five places to ninth position and Zimbabwe four places up seventh place. Tanzania moved down four places as others moved up. Mauritius and Swaziland both moved down three places to 12th and 15th position respectively.

Table 2.5: Women in parliament

Women in parliament in SADC 2015											
	Structure	Year 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
Regional Average			2922	788	27%	331	86	26%	3253	874	27%
Tanzania	Unicameral	Oct-10	350	126	36%				350	126	36%
Mozambique	Unicameral	Oct-2014	250	98	39%				250	98	39%
Namibia	Bicameral	Nov-2014	104	43	41%	26	6	23%	130	49	38%
South Africa	Unicameral	May-2014	396	166	42%	54	19		450	185	41%
Seychelles	Unicameral	2011	32	14	44%				32	14	44%
Angola	Unicameral	Aug-2012	220	81	37%				220	81	37%
Zimbabwe	Bicameral	Jul-2013	270	85	31%	80	38	48%	350	123	35%
Madagascar	Bicameral	Jul-2005	151	31	21%				151	31	21%
Lesotho	Bicameral	May-2012	120	30	25%	33	8	24%	153	38	25%
Malawi	Unicameral	May-2014	192	32	17%				192	32	17%
Zambia	Unicameral	Sep-2011	158	20	13%				158	20	13%
Mauritius	Unicameral	Jul-2014	69	8	12%				69	8	12%
Botswana	Unicameral	Oct-2014	63	6	10%				63	6	10%
DRC	Bicameral	Nov-2011	482	44	9%	108	5	5%	590	49	8%
Swaziland	Bicameral	Aug-2013	65	4	6%	30	10	33%	95	14	15%

Source: Gender Links, Inter-parliamentary Union website.

Table 2.5 tracks the performance of all SADC countries 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, or 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 overall average of 35% women in parliament by 2020.
- Six countries (Tanzania; Mozambique; Namibia; South Africa; Seychelles and Angola) will come close to achieving the 50% target, especially if they strengthen

in SADC 2015

Women in parliament by 2020 - prediction table										
Date of next election if before 2015	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	Comments
	2922	1031	35%	331	109	33%	3254	1140	35%	
Oct-2015, 2020	350	175	50%				350	175	50%	Constitutional quota not adopted by 2015, but still has an opportunity in 2020. If 50% quota adopted, Tanzania will achieve 50%
Oct-2019	250	120	48%				250	120	48%	Has had steady growth over last two elections and 50/50 campaign underway
Nov-2019	104	50	48%	26	10	38%	130	60	46%	SWAPO has voluntary 50% quota, move towards legislated quota
2019	400	180	45%	54	20		454	200	44%	Even without quota should reclaim ground lost in the last election.
2016	32	14	44%				32	14	44%	Traditionally high proportion of women.
2017	220	87	40%				220	87	40%	Has been making steady progress.
2018	270	90	33%	80	40	50%	350	130	37%	Next election in 2018.
2019	147	50	34%				147	50	34%	Made significant progress in last election; should build on this.
2020	120	36	30%	33	10	30%	153	46	30%	Instability is a concern but progress in local government puts pressure for quota.
May-2019	192	50	26%				192	50	26%	Opposed to quotas but pressure political pressure is mounting
2016	158	40	25%				158	40	25%	Next election in 2016, pushing for new Constitution but not certain if this will be adopted before the next elections. Push for more women candidates.
2019	69	17	25%				69	17	25%	Enough time for local quota to be escalated to national.
Oct-2019	63	13	21%				63	13	21%	Opposed to quotas but pressure political pressure is mounting
2016	482	100	21%	108	19	18%	590	119	20%	Opposed to quotas but pressure political pressure is mounting
2018	65	9	14%	30	10	33%	95	19	20%	Incremental progress can be expected.

their existing voluntary and legislated/constitutional quotas.

- Three - Zimbabwe, Madagascar and Lesotho - will achieve the earlier 30% target if they stay the course and leverage off their quotas as well as fifty-fifty campaigns.
- Six countries - Malawi; Zambia; Mauritius; Botswana; DRC and Swaziland will remain below 30% unless

they adopt quotas and or amend their electoral systems.

- Given the wide variations between countries - from 44% women in Seychelles to 8% in DRC, SADC needs to consider setting different targets for different countries in the post-2015 era. The one size fits all approach is leading to complacency by countries close to reaching the target, and to those who are not close to reaching the target feeling overwhelmed.

Southern Africa: Top women leaders challenge gender stereotypes

In 2015, SADC had its second woman president (in Mauritius), a woman vice president (in Zambia), a woman prime minister and deputy prime minister (both in Namibia). The calibre of these women, well known in financial, scientific and gender activist circles, is a reminder of the diverse skills and strengths that women bring to decision-making.



Mauritius President Ameenah Gurib-Fakim meets Gender Links Chief Executive Officer Colleen Lowe Morna and Gender Links Mauritius board member, Loga Virahsawmy during the Mauritius SADC Gender Protocol@Work summit. *Photo by Gender Links*

Prominent scientist **Ameenah Gurib-Fakim**⁶ is both the first woman president of **Mauritius** and only president not from a political background. Speaker of Parliament Maya Hanoomanjee, who is also the first woman to hold that post, hailed her overwhelming approval as "an historic day for the country." The opposition also supported her appointment, making the vote a mere formality. "I have always believed in the equality of men and women," Prime Minister Sir Anerood Jugnauth told reporters. Gurib-Fakim, aged 56, becomes the first female president of the island, which gained independence from Britain in 1968 and replaced Britain's Queen Elizabeth II as its Head of State in 1992.

Gurib-Fakim completed her university studies in England and holds a PhD in Chemistry from Exeter University. She was the first woman to become Chair in Organic Chemistry at the University of Mauritius, as well as Dean of the Faculty of Science and Pro Vice Chancellor of the University of Mauritius. She helped create the Centre for Phototherapy and Research.

As founding member of the Pan African Association of African Medicinal Plants Standards, she has co-authored

the first African Herbal Pharmacopoeia. She has co-authored and written over 30 books on medicinal and aromatic plants. She sits on several international boards; is fellow of several prestigious institutions; and is honoris causa of Marie Curie and Pretoria Universities.

Gurib-Fakim is also the first Mauritian woman to have obtained the L'Oreal-Unesco Prize for Women in Science; the CTA/NEPAD/AGRA for African Women in Science; and the African Union Award for Women in Science. Gurib Fakim has been elevated to the Order of the Commander of the Star and Key by the Government of Mauritius, and admitted to the Order of the Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Palmes Academiques by the Government of France.⁷

Inonge Mutukwa Wina, a well-known gender activist, is the first woman Deputy President of **Zambia**, the highest ranking female in the history of this Southern African nation. A social worker with degrees from the University of Zambia and Santa Monica in California, Wina's passion for community work dates back to the early 1970s when she gave free service to women's movements as a volunteer.



Committed gender activist: Vice President Inonge Wina launches the 2012 Zambia Barometer. *Photo by Albert Ngosa*

She has served on a number of boards of Non-Governmental Organisations and as president of the Young Women's Christian Association, where she was instrumental in promoting the women's human rights agenda, resulting in the Zambian government's establishment of the Victim Support Unit under the Zambia Police Service. In 1996, she was elected National Chairperson of the NGO Coordinating Council of Zambia (NGOCC). In 2000, Wina led the women's movement in the Red Ribbon Campaign in defence of the Zambian Constitution.

⁶ For the full article see News 24 see - <http://www.news24.com/Africa/News/Mauritius-parliament-approves-first-woman-president-20150604-2>
⁷ News24; GL News Service.

In 2001 Wina contested and was subsequently elected Member of Parliament of Nalolo Constituency under the United Party for National Development (UPND). She was elected chairperson of a number of portfolio committees, including the Committee on Human Rights Gender and Governance, and Women Parliamentary Caucus.

In the 2006 presidential and general elections, Wina re-contested her Nalolo seat under the United Liberal Party (ULP) - a breakaway faction of the United Liberal Party. She lost the election and petitioned the results in the High Court; the case was ruled in her favour but later overturned by the Supreme Court. In the 2011 General Elections, Wina again contested the Nalolo seat, under the Patriotic Front ticket, and won. She was appointed National Chairperson for the ruling Patriotic Front (PF). The late President Micheal Sata appointed Inonge Wina as the Minister of Gender and Child Development; later Minister of Chiefs and Traditional Affairs. On January 26 2015, newly elected President Edgar Lungu appointed Wina as Vice President.⁸



Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah, Deputy Prime Minister of Namibia.
Photo courtesy of Lesotho Times

Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah⁹ served as Minister for Foreign Affairs in **Namibia** from December 2012, until her appointment to Deputy Prime Minister in March 2015. Nandi-Ndaitwah went into exile and joined SWAPO members in Zambia in 1974, worked at the SWAPO headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia from 1974 to 1975 and attended a course at the High Komsomol School in the Soviet Union from 1975 to 1976. She was a Member of the SWAPO Central Committee from 1976 to 1986 and President of the Namibian National Women's Organisation (NANAWO) from 1991 to 1994.

Nandi-Ndaitwah has been a Member of the National Assembly of Namibia since 1990. She served as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1990 to 1996, Director-General for Women's Affairs in the Office of the President from 1996 to 2000 and subsequently Minister for Women's Affairs. From 2005 to 2010, she served as Minister of

Information and Technology in Namibia's cabinet. In her term she is reputed to have warned Swapo MPs that chauvinism was against the party constitution. She has been consistent in her call for equal representation of the country's elected leaders, from the 30% to 50% target. President Hage Geingob, appointed Nandi-Ndaitwah as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of International Relations and Cooperation.

Saara Kuugongelwa-Amadhila,¹⁰ recently elected Prime Minister of Namibia, served as Minister of Finance for **Namibia** before her recent appointment in 2015. In 2013 the SADC Gender Protocol Barometer mentioned her as the only woman finance Minister in SADC at the time. She entered the political limelight at the age of 27 when she was appointed the Director General of the National Planning Commission in 1995. She joined Swapo's politburo in 2002. In 2003 she became Minister of Finance, a position she has held until now. Kuugongelwa-Amadhila's tenure at the Ministry of Finance will be remembered for her ambitious fiscal targets, resulting in the country's first ever budget surplus in 2006/07 and 2007/08. During her tenure the country employed serious fiscal discipline.

Kuugongelwa-Amadhila went into exile in 1980 at the age of 13, and continued with primary education at Koidu Girls Secondary School in Sierra Leone in 1984, before completing secondary education at St Joseph's Secondary School in Sierra Leone in 1987. She then went to read for a Bachelor of Science in Economics at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, USA, from 1991 to 1994 when she graduated and returned home. Back in Namibia Kuugongelwa-Amadhila began working as a Desk Officer in the Office of the President under the Presidency of the Founding President Sam Nujoma for a few months in 1995 before being assigned the role of Director General at the National Planning Commission.



Saara Kuugongelwa-Amadhila, Prime Minister of Namibia.
Photo by Albert Ngosa

⁸ <http://www.lusakatimes.com/2015/01/26/inonge-winas-full-profile/>

⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Netumbo_Nandi-Ndaitwah

¹⁰ <https://www.newera.com.na/2015/03/12/profile-saara-kuugongelwa-amadhila/>

Table 2.6: Women's representation in cabinet 2009 - 2015

Country	Women in cabinet		Variance	Variance
	2009	2015	2015-2009	Progress minus target (50%)
Regional average	21%	22%	1%	-28%
Angola	28%	19%	-9%	-31%
Botswana	20%	19%	-1%	-31%
DRC	N/A	14%	N/A	-36%
Lesotho	32%	22%	-10%	-28%
Madagascar	N/A	19%	N/A	-31%
Malawi	24%	15%	-9%	-35%
Mauritius	10%	8%	-2%	-42%
Mozambique	28%	32%	4%	-18%
Namibia	19%	22%	3%	-28%
Seychelles	20%	27%	7%	-23%
South Africa	41%	41%	0%	-9%
Swaziland	27%	26%	-1%	-24%
Tanzania	22%	34%	12%	-16%
Zambia	N/A	15%	N/A	-35%
Zimbabwe	N/A	12%	N/A	-38%

Source: www.ipu.org, 12 June 2015.

Over the past six years, the regional average of women's representation in cabinet has moved by only one percentage point to 22%: With 2015 here, the region has missed the Protocol target for cabinet by 28 percentage points. Cabinet should be the sphere of governance with the most seats allocated for women as these are appointed by the Head of State, not elected. However, as reflected in Table 2.6, women's represen-

tation has only steadily increased in South Africa (now 41%) followed by Tanzania at 34%. Tanzania also recorded the greatest gain at twelve percentage points. Women's representation in cabinet declined in six of the 11 countries for which comparative data is available. Lesotho registered the highest decline (ten percentage points).

Table 2.7: Top women leaders in Southern Africa 2009 -2015

Country	President	Deputy President	Prime Minister	Deputy Prime Minister
Malawi	1. Joyce Banda (2012 - 13)	1. Joyce Banda (2009 - 2012)		
Mauritius	2. Ameenah Gurib (2015 -Current)	2. Monique Ohsan Bellepeau (2010 - 2015)		
Mozambique			1. Luísa Diogo (2004 - 2010)	
Namibia			2. Saara Kuugongelwa (2015 - current)	1. Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah (2015 - Current)
South Africa		3. Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka (2005 - 2008) 4. Baleka Mbete (2008 - 2009)		
Zambia		5. Inonge Wina (2015 -Current)		
Zimbabwe		6. Joyce Mujuru (2004 - 2014)		2. Thokozani Khuphe (2009 - 2013)

Source: Gender Links 2015.

One promising development over the last six years is the extent to which women are now beginning to feature in the hallowed hallways of top leadership. As illustrated in Table 2.7, seven of the 15 Southern African countries have now had a woman president, deputy president, prime minister or deputy prime minister. Although no woman has yet run for president and won, Southern Africa briefly had a woman executive president (Joyce Banda of Malawi) following the death of a sitting president. In Mauritius the post of president is largely ceremonial, but is voted on by parliament. The appointment of a woman president

not linked to any political party is therefore a milestone for Mauritius and the region.

During the period under review, the region has had six women deputy presidents in five countries. One, Inonge Wina, is currently the Deputy President of Zambia.

The region has had four women prime ministers and deputy prime ministers: Namibia currently has a woman Prime Minister Saara Kuugongelwa, and Deputy Prime Minister Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah.

Local Government

Table 2.8: Women's representation in local government 2009 - 2015

Country	Women in local government		Variance	Variance
	2009	2015	2015-2009	Progress minus target (50%)
Regional average	23%	24%	1%	-26%
Angola	N/A		N/A	
Botswana	18%	19%	1%	-37%
DRC	N/A	6%	N/A	-44%
Lesotho	58%	49%	-9%	-1%
Madagascar	6%	6%	NA	-44%
Malawi	0	11%	11%	-39%
Mauritius	6%	26%	20%	-24%
Mozambique	36%	36%	0%	-14%
Namibia	42%	42%	0%	-8%
South Africa	40%	38%	-2%	-12%
Swaziland	18%	22%	4%	-28%
Tanzania	34%	34%	0%	-16%
Zambia	7%	6%	-1%	-44%
Zimbabwe	18%	16%	-2%	-34%

Source: www.ipu.org, 12 June 2015.

The regional average of women in local government has gone up by one percentage point from 23% to 24% since 2009: Table 2.8 shows that:

- All 13 SADC countries with elected local government have failed to reach the 50% target. Only two countries (Namibia 42% and Lesotho 49%) are a single digit point away from the target with Lesotho missing the mark by just one percentage point. Ironically, Lesotho experienced the steepest decline in political participation from 58% women in local government in 2009 to the current 49%, a nine percentage point plunge. This came about as a result of a change in the quota system that Lesotho innovated, that still leaves the country with the highest proportion of women in local government, and proved more acceptable to political parties.
- Mauritius experienced the greatest improvement during the period under review. Women's partici-

pation at the local level rose by 20 percentage points from 6% to 26% as a result of the amendment of the Constitution to allow for a quota at local level.



Table 2.9: Women in local government in SADC in 2015 and projections

	Women in LG 2015				Women in local govt 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		30165	6873	23%		30181	8924	30%	
Lesotho	2011	1276	627	49%	Sep-15	1276	635	50%	Elections later this year legislated quota.
Tanzania	2010	3477	1190	34%	Oct-15	3477	1750	50%	Assuming constitutional quota is adopted by the 2020 election.
Namibia	2010	323	135	42%	2015	323	150	46%	SWAPO has a voluntary 50% quota; legislated 30% quota.
South Africa	2011	9090	3494	38%	2016	9090	3600	40%	Election in 2016; 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 39%.
Zimbabwe	2013	1962	318	16%	Planned for 2018	1962	580	30%	Considering adopting a quota for local government after the success of the parliamentary constitutional quota.
Mauritius	2005	1614	420	26%	2018	1614	500	31%	Have a legislated quota of 30%.
Botswana	Oct-14	589	116	20%	2019	605	150	25%	Opposed to quotas, but lots of work on the ground.
Madagascar	2008	9608	579	6%	2015	9608	1500	16%	Constitution encourages but does not prescribe women's increased representation; too late for quota.
Malawi	May-14	462	51	11%	May-19	462	70	15%	Next election is in 2019; likely to resist quota but some time for lobbying.
Swaziland	2013	462	54	12%	Nov-18	462	54	12%	Efforts underway to gain ground after losses in urban elections.
Zambia	2011	1382	85	6%	Planned for 2016	1382	120	9%	Elections in 2016; quota will not have been adopted.
Angola									Data unavailable.
DRC					Aug-15				Data unavailable about the number of councillors to be elected.
Seychelles					N/A				No elected local government.

Source: Gender Links, Inter Parliamentary Union website.

Table 2.9 tracks the performance of all SADC countries in women's representation in local 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 local government. 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, 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 overall average of 30% women in local government by 2020.
- Four countries (Lesotho, Tanzania, Namibia, South Africa) will come close to achieving the 50% target, especially if they strengthen their existing voluntary and legislated/constitutional quotas.
- Three countries (Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Mauritius) will achieve the 30% target if they stay

the course and leverage off their quotas as well as fifty-fifty campaigns.

- Five countries (Botswana, Madagascar, Malawi, Swaziland and Zambia) will remain below 30% unless they adopt quotas and or amend their electoral systems.
- GL could not obtain data of local government in Angola and DRC. Seychelles does not have elected local government.
- Given the wide variations between countries - from 44% women in Seychelles to 8% in DRC - SADC needs to consider setting different targets for different countries in the post-2015 era. The one size fits all approach is leading to complacency by countries close to reaching the target, and to those who are not close to reaching the target feeling overwhelmed.

Constitutional reviews and women's political representation

The adoption of affirmative action measures - such as quotas on party electoral lists or reserved seats has been critical in facilitating women's entry into national

assemblies. Innovations in electoral system and affirmative action measures have come about both as a result of pressure from women's movement and through the influence of global declarations and resolutions.¹¹

Since the first Barometer in 2009, eleven SADC countries have undertaken constitutional reforms of some kind that have a bearing on gender equality. Thirteen out of fifteen SADC countries now have affirmative action provisions in their constitutions, up from eight in 2009.



Later this year **Tanzania** will hold a referendum on the draft constitution which prescribes a 50% quota for women's representation in political decision-making: an increase from the current 30% quota. At present, women parliamentarians are appointed to special seats by parties. Under the proposed Constitution, political parties would lose the power to nominate women to parliamentary seats and instead, voters in every constituency would elect two parliamentarians, of whom one has to be a woman. Tanzania already has a high representation of women in parliament. With elections set for October 2015, this is the last chance for the country to ensure gender parity before the end of 2015.

Tanzania adopted a mixed electoral system, with women able to run for the openly contested seats, and be awarded an additional 30% of seats on a PR basis in accordance with the strength of each party. Tanzania has a Constitutional quota, and this is being raised from 30% to 50%. The unique mixed system of combining quotas and FPTP system could facilitate the seal of approval that indeed, women and men are equally entitled to participate in elections, although in reality men are the majority of candidates and winners. However, in addition to the FPTP seats, 30% seats are distributed to parties on a PR basis for women only. This system does not directly infringe anyone's constitutional rights and is therefore less open to contestation than a mixed system and quotas help to rapidly increase women's political participation.

Electoral systems and quotas

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.¹² 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.¹⁴ The chance of women being elected is even higher when the PR system works in concert with a quota.



Tanzanian women march for a better tomorrow.

Photo by Lucia Makumbe

¹¹ UN Women : Progress of the women's world 2015.

¹² For more information on the comparative global data on quotas for women in politics see www.idea.int/quota

¹³ Lowe-Morna, 1996.

Table 2.10: Political parties and quotas

Country	Ruling party	Quota and Nature/No.
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	Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD)	30% quota for women
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	Seychelles People's Progressive Front (SPPF)	None
South Africa	African National Congress (ANC)	50% quota for women
Swaziland		Political parties do not contest seats in Parliament
Tanzania	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)	None
Zambia	The Patriotic Front (PF)	None
Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF)	30%

Source: Gender Links 2015.

Table 2.4 shows that ruling parties in seven (almost half) of SADC 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 ruling Frelimo party in Mozambique has 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. There is therefore need for continuous lobbying at party level for the fulfilment of these quotas and transformation within party structures.

Table 2.11: Electoral systems, quotas and women's political participation in SADC

Country	Electoral system - local	Quota - local	% women local	Electoral system - national	Quota - national	% women national
South Africa	Mixed	Voluntary party	38%	PR	Voluntary party	41%
Mozambique	PR	Voluntary party	36%	PR	Voluntary party	39%
Namibia	PR	Law 30%	42%	PR	Voluntary party	38%
Angola	PR	Voluntary party	N/A	PR	Voluntary party	37%
Tanzania	Mixed	Constitutional 30%	34%	Mixed	Constitutional 30%	36%
Zimbabwe	FPTP	No	16%	Mixed	Constitutional 30%	35%
Lesotho	Mixed	Law 30%	49%	Mixed	Law -30% PR seats	25%
Seychelles	FPTP	No		FPTP	No	44%
Madagascar	FPTP	No	6%	FPTP	No	21%
Malawi	FPTP	No	11%	FPTP	No	17%
Swaziland	FPTP	No	12%	FPTP	No	15%
Zambia	FPTP	No	6%	FPTP	No	13%
Mauritius	FPTP	Law -30%	26%	FPTP	No	12%
Botswana	FPTP	No	20%	FPTP	No	10%
DRC	FPTP	No	N/A	FPTP	No	8%

Source: Gender Links 2015.

Table 2.11 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:

- Seven 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) 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.
- Seychelles, with a FPTP system and no quota, yet 44% women in parliament (the highest proportion in the region) is the only exception to the rule. The island of just 80,000 people has a strong matriarchal tradition with many men leaving the island in search of greener pastures. It also has a very small parliament, such that a few changes in MPs can make a big difference to the gender balance.
- Countries with a mixed system coupled with Constitutional or legislated quotas come next 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. 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 (35%) 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.



Gender Links Mauritius board member, Loga Virahawamy teaching Stephanie Leu an aspirant politician on how to engage with the media.
Photo by Gender Links

- With the exception of Seychelles, 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 succeed beyond around 20% without a quota. The Mauritius local government quota is the only example of such a quota in the FPTP system in any Southern African country. Generally, quotas do not work well in a straight FPTP system as there is no guarantee that even a fixed number of women candidates will win, unless seats are reserved for them, which may be construed as unconstitutional. Mauritius managed to get the quota to work at the local level through combining this with a spirited campaign to train and position prospective women councilors for election.

Table 2.12: Electoral systems and quota results table

Electoral system	Overall - % women		With quota - % women		Without quota - % women	
	Parliament	Local government	Parliament	Local government	Parliament	Local government
FPTP	18%	8%		31%	18%	8%
PR	39%	31%	39%	37%		
MIXED	33%	40%	36%	40%	25%	
ALL	27%	24%	38%	37%	19%	8%

Source: Gender Links 2015.

Table 2.12 summarises the overall impact of electoral systems and quotas on women's political participation in the SADC region. The table shows that:

- In both local government (37%) and parliament (38%) countries with quotas have a far higher representation of women than those without quotas (19% for parliament and 8% for local government).
- Consistent with global trends, countries with the PR system (39% for parliament and 31% for local government) have a much higher representation of women than the FPTP (18% for parliament and 8% for local government).
- Women's representation in the mixed system (33% for parliament and 40% for local government) is also much higher than the FPTP system.
- Using quotas in combination with various electoral systems is key to increasing women's representation. Women in countries with a mixed system and quota comprise 36% of parliamentarians, compared to 25% in mixed systems with no quotas.
- Quotas used in combination with the PR system (39%) and mixed system (40%) yield the highest representation of women.

The examples that follow, from elections that took place in the region during the period under review, provide vivid illustrations of electoral systems and quotas working together to promote the fifty-fifty target. Conversely, some examples show how the absence of quotas and strong Fifty/Fifty campaigns in some countries accounts for the big gap in performance between countries that continues to be experienced.

Voluntary quotas and the PR system: Namibia and Mozambique



The 2012 Barometer reported on mounting pressure in South Africa and **Namibia** for legislated quotas ahead of elections in 2014. Neither country has adopted

legislated quotas at the national, or in the case of South Africa, local level. As these advocacy efforts continue, Namibia scored an important goal for gender equality with the adoption of a 50/50 quota by SWAPO at its June 2013 Congress that led to a substantial increase in women's representation in parliament in the November 2014 elections.

Namibia: SWAPO quota boosts women numbers in parliament

Namibia is the only country with a PR system that has a legislated quota (but only at local level). Pressure mounted for this to be escalated to national level, but this was not achieved in time for the October 2014 elections.

Instead, the South West African People's Party (SWAPO), which has been Namibia's Ruling Party since independence in 1990, announced in April 2014 during a SWAPO Party Central Committee Meeting, that the Party would opt for 50/50 gender representation on the Party list. While the announcement brought about a fair amount of discontent amongst some of the members of the Party, former President Hifikepunye Pohamba hailed this amendment to the Party's Constitution as a long sought-after objective aimed at achieving gender balance in all structures of the Party. SWAPO's "Zebra System" had a dramatic impact on the outcome of the elections. In an interview with Henning Melber, a German-Namibian political scientist soon after the elections, Hage Geingob, the current president (then Prime Minister) stated: "SWAPO took a so-called "zebra" decision a year ago which meant that their own electoral list is comprised of men and women in equal numbers. That means half of the SWAPO members of parliament to be elected will be female."

Some SWAPO members seem to have regretted this afterwards leading to parliament being expanded from

72 to 96 seats to allow more male candidates from the SWAPO party list to become or rather continue to be members of parliament.

Thanks primarily to SWAPO's zebra system and substantial election victory, the proportion of women in the election increased to 41% in the national assembly. However, there are only 23% women in the national council or upper house that is indirectly elected by the 13 regional councils (two members each). These councils - that are elected on a FPTP basis - are heavily male biased. The combined total of women in parliament in Namibia (upper and lower house) thus comes down to 38%.

Writing for the *Guardian Development Network*, Alexander O'Riordan notes: "Youth and women are not part of the political equation. While the leadership is talking about being an international player, building a first-world economy and blaming their failures on the legacy of colonialism or apartheid, youth and women are talking about violence against women, jobs, alcoholism, basic social services and basic access to food and water."¹⁴

In his first State of the Nation Address on 21 April 2015, President Geingob, stated that: "Gender equality is an enabler which allows all people to reach their full potential to contribute to and benefit from economic, social, cultural and political participation. It is pertinent that women have greater access to high level decision-making roles".

¹⁴ <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/jul/08/namibia-gender-equality-zebra-politics>



Mozambique is an example of a country with a PR system and voluntary 40% quota instituted by the ruling party, Frente de Libertação de Moçambique or Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). The country has performed consistently well with regard to women's political participation, but only made modest gains in the November 2014 elections. Women's representation in parliament and local government remained at 39% and 38% respectively. Women in cabinet rose by nine percentage points (from 23% to 32%).

There are no constitutional or legal quotas to guarantee representation of women in publicly elected bodies in Mozambique. The Constitution recognises formal equality between men and women before the law in respect of rights and duties and in all spheres of life. The Constitution further tasks the state with ensuring the substantive equality of women: "The State shall promote and support the emancipation of women, and shall provide incentives to increase the role of women in society. The State recognizes the value of, and shall encourage, the participation of women in the defence of the country and in all spheres of the country's political, economic, social and cultural activity".

In 1994 FRELIMO adopted a policy to ensure that 30% of candidates for the National Assembly and local government were women, raised the quota level to 35% and then to 40% for the 2014 election. Women candidates were distributed throughout proportional representation lists and not merely appended to the bottom where they had slight chance of success.

Mozambique has made steady progress. After its multiparty elections in 1994 women constituted 28.4% of MPs. In 2004, Mozambique became one of the first countries in SADC to meet the target set by Member States of 30% women in parliament before 2005. In the 2014 elections, FRELIMO led by Filipe Jacinto Nyusi garnered 57% of the vote, followed by RENAMO (led by Afonso Dlakama) and then the Mozambique Democratic Party (led by Daviz Simango). FRELIMO's quota for women resulted in representation of just under 40% women in local and national results.

Looking to the Post-2015 era, Mozambique needs to consider advocating for a legislated quota that binds all political parties to achieving gender parity. During the 2014 SADC Protocol@Work summit in Mozambique, former Mozambican Prime Minister Luisa Diogo, patron of the 50/50 campaign said, "When you achieve something, you need to sustain it and advance from

there." Diogo added that the country must prioritise political will and innovation for the Post-2015 agenda, and should recognise that women must be "given the necessary space and the necessary incentives to boost their capacity and energy to perform well for the good of the country."

FPTP and no quota, but a strong 50/50 campaign: The case of Madagascar



Political instability still blurs the political landscape in **Madagascar** with the local elections scheduled for 31 July 2015 in jeopardy at the time of going to press.

This has also affected planning within political parties to ensure women's representation in Malagasy political parties and local government.

The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women in Madagascar organised a consultative workshop to draft a Bill for moving to a Proportional Representation system to enhance women's chances in decision-making. The Ministry of Justice did not table the Bill at the last parliamentary session in October 2014. This is a serious setback ahead of the local government elections in July 2015. The situation raises questions about what the most effective strategies are to lobby for affirmative action legislation.

On a positive note, women constituted 21% of those elected in Madagascar's national legislative elections in December 2013. Indeed, this is an unprecedented step forward because this rate has never exceeded 11%. During the 2013 elections, organisations working for gender equality mounted a spirited campaign to improve women's participation. At national level, initiatives to promote women's participation included:

- Strong references to gender equality in the National Development Plan targeted at different levels.
- The establishment of a mechanism to ensure regular dialogue between the Government and civil society.
- Civil society initiatives, including capacity building to prepare and equip women candidates to face elections, undertaken by EISA (Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa) in partnership with Gender Links and CNFM (National Council of Women of Madagascar) in the 6 provinces of Madagascar (July-Dec 2013).

While all the evidence shows that the Fifty Fifty campaign in Madagascar must come up with a strategy to address electoral systems and quotas if the 50% target is to be reached, this must go hand in hand with strategies to empower women for political participation, as illustrated in the case study that follows:

Madagascar: 50/50 campaign gains momentum

Despite Madagascar's signature of various international, regional and national instruments, the representation of women in decision-making remains low. In 2008, women constituted only 4.46% of mayors; 6.03% of councillors and 11% of MPs. During the last legislative election in 2013, the percentage of women elected in parliament increased to 21%. However, this rate is still very low and far from the 50% target.

Apart from traditional, cultural practices and gender stereotypes, women's limited knowledge of, and exposure to politics constitutes a major barrier to accessing decision-making.

The Association of Consultant Trainers for Gender Equality, led by Ranoromalala Lantoharitia has established a project to implement targets 12-13 of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. Given the fact Madagascar has not yet adopted quotas on women's participation, the association focused on capacity building of women candidates for legislative and local elections and raised awareness concerning the importance of women's participation in politics.

With the support of financial partners, the association conducted a nine step project in order to achieve 50/50 objectives: (1) field research to collect information on the needs of women candidates concerning capacity



Madagascar National Summit 2015.
Photo by Zotonantenaina Razanandrateta

building; (2) Elaboration of the modules and methodology of training; (3) Conducting training; (4) Awareness raising campaign in the field to sensitise men on the fact that the promotion of gender is not a competition between men and women but collaboration between the two; (5) Elaboration of a guide book dedicated to women candidates; (6) Validation and popularisation of the guide book; (7) Training of women candidates for legislative elections; (8) Support and assistance of women candidates concerning electoral applications as well as (9) monitoring and evaluation.

Some 453 women (65% mayors and 35% councillors) have been trained. 85% of them are ready to be candidates for the coming local election. 286 men were sensitised on gender equality. The Association has also worked closely with media. They organised a debate on women's participation in politics at the national TV that gave visibility to the work.

Even though the project has resulted in satisfying outputs, there is still much to be done. Future objectives include lobbying for government to establish a gender department in each ministry and adoption of a quota, especially within political parties. In all this, collaboration between newly elected women and experienced politicians needs to be reinforced to strengthen learning.

FPTP and no quota - regression in Botswana and Mauritius

As noted earlier the FPTP system is generally unfavourable to new entrants, especially women. When this is coupled with a competitive and or contentious political environment, with no safeguards or quotas for the new entrants, the result is sure regression. The October and December 2014 elections in Botswana and Mauritius illustrate this principle.

 **Botswana** continues to be lauded as a shining example of democracy and model of excellent political governance. However, after almost fifty years of independence the representation of women in politics is still way below par. During the first ten years after independence, female representation in Parliament was non-existent. Subsequently, between 1974 and 1989, the numbers hovered between 0% and 4%. The next elections in 1994 brought a modest leap to 7%, followed by a more encouraging soar to 18% in 1999- albeit still way below



Making sense of the SADC Protocol in Botswana. Photo by Gender Links

the 30% target set by the 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development. From then on, a downward trend emerged. Ratios spiralled down to 11% in 2004, 11% in 2009 and 10% after the latest 2014 general elections. Women in cabinet have decreased from 25% in 2009 to 17% after the 2014 elections. Women in local government rose slightly from 18% to 19%.

Of the 15 women who stood for parliamentary seats, five from Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), six of Botswana Congress Party (BCP), three from Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC) and one independent candidate, only four made it to the 57 contested parliamentary seats. Two came in through the four indirectly elected seats giving a total of six women in the 63-member house. Commenting on the elections, the SADC Electoral Observer Mission (SEOM) highlighted the disproportionate representation of women as candidates across the parties. The Constitution of Botswana makes no provision for quotas to ensure women's representation in publicly elected bodies or at any other level.

The March 2015 UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) Profile of Botswana aptly explains this downward spiral: "The main challenges to achieving gender equality continue to revolve around institutional

mechanisms, funding, capacity enhancement, and research monitoring and evaluation." These challenges generally manifest in:

- Absence of provision by the Botswana Constitution for quotas favouring women.
- Political parties' failure to apply quota system effectively.
- The first past the post electoral system, which is not conducive to women's access to higher political position.
- Blindness to the critical connection between participation of women and socio-economic development.
- Difficulty in recognising that women rights are human rights.
- Extreme delays in ratification and implementation of legal instruments.
- Gender Affairs Department undersized and financially under-resourced, considering that office's scope of work.
- Women NGOs struggles to optimally fulfil their mandates or survive.
- Low voter literacy levels of electorate.
- Deterrents that disable women from standing for political office (social obligations, means, marginalisation, hostilities).
- Poor media coverage of the women's agenda.

A call to action

We need to put renewed pressure on the Government of Botswana to expedite the domestication of international and regional instruments so they are held accountable for the advancement of gender equality lest we see women lose out again in the 2019 elections.

The Botswana Government Beijing+20 report offers little assurance for women in politics: "So far there are no indications regarding the public agenda to consider modifying the electoral process to allow for deliberate measures to ensure that a critical mass of women is elected, for expediency in political decision-making at all levels". The report also bleakly admits that the majority of international commitments that the Botswana government is party to are yet to be domesticated."

Meanwhile, the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development is yet to be signed and the MDGs are still far from being met. Botswana does not have a budget that is gender responsive, nor has been done to implement gender sensitive budget. Local NGOs working to advance gender equality have been crippled since most international donors withdrew their sponsorship after Botswana was declared a middle income country. For instance, Women's NGO Coalition, Botswana Caucus for Women in Politics and Women in Law Southern Africa (WILSA) folded. Important initiatives suffered as



Ntombi Setshwaelo.

Photo by Gender Links

a consequence - specifically those providing voter education as well as training of female political aspirants and community mobilisers - which had all played a decisive role in the unprecedented and unsurpassed 18% women parliamentarians in 1999.

Adapted from an article by Ntombi Setshwaelo, Board Member, GL Botswana

Southern Africa: Zimbabwe learns from Mauritius' local quota

Zimbabwe made history in 2013 by adopting a new constitution that requires gender equality, but only has a specific quota for women in parliament. As a result, the proportion of women in parliament has shot up to 35%, while women in local government lag behind at 16%. But there is a glimmer of hope.



Summary: Erica Jones expresses appreciation to Mauritian electoral advisor Sanjt Teelock during the study visit. Photo by Gender Links

The country's new Gender Commission, also provided for in the new Constitution, is making sure that all discriminatory laws are amended and aligned with the new Constitution. This is a window for the local government electoral law to be amended.

Against this background, UN WOMEN, Gender Links, and the Ministry of Local Government collaborated in a study visit for senior Zimbabwean government officials to Mauritius in May 2014. The success of Mauritius in increasing women's representation from 6% to 26% in one election at local level in December 2012 is significant because this was the first time in the SADC region that a quota has been applied in the FPTP system *without seats being reserved for women*. The only way to get such a quota to work is to field women in safe seats, and build their capacity to be able to run successfully for office.

Erica Jones Principal Director in the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing, who led the delegation, noted that with 16% women, Zimbabwe is a long way from achieving 50%. The delegation comprised Ministry of Local Government officials who will be responsible for the implementation

of the law; the Ministry of Women Affairs, Ministry of Justice who will initiate the law and the Electoral Commission.

The specific provision of a quota for women in parliament in Article 124 (b) of the Zimbabwean Constitution is one of several substantive gains in line with the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. Given the importance of local government to women's every-day lives, it is unfortunate that the quota does not extend to this level. Article 17 b I of the Constitution states: "Both genders are equally represented in all institutions and agencies of government at every level." This opens the door for a quota for women in local government in the electoral law, if not in the Constitution, a demand being made by the Women in Local Government Forum.

Mauritian local government officials explained that the passing of the Local Government Act in 2011 is an example that shows the SADC Gender Protocol at work. The Act requires that political parties field a minimum of one-third of candidates of either sex for the municipal and village council elections. They explained that this is no guarantee that they will win: for example in the last election, the proportion of women (26%) is less than one third. However, advocacy and capacity building helped to narrow the gap between women candidates and women elected.

As a result of the study visit, a submission has already been sent to the Electoral Commission on an amendment to the Local Government Act to include a quota for women in local government as part of the alignment of laws with the new Constitution, in particular Article 17. Progress in this direction will significantly increase chances for further improved SDGI scores and one more country with quotas not only at national but also at local government.

In an article for the Herald newspaper, Simbiso Marimbe notes that "The challenge for the newly-instituted Zimbabwe Gender Commission (ZGC) is to influence a surge towards the 50 percent representation target of the SADC Gender Protocol. Outside parliament there is needed to break the glass ceilings that prohibit women's advancement in all sectors including, private, public and non-profit sectors. There is a worrisome scarcity of women on parastatal boards, political party structures, in cabinet, and other public service positions... The ZGC is called upon to investigate the glass ceilings thoroughly and ensure that they are effectively broken to allow for the equal advancement of both women and men in all sectors."



The proportion of women in parliament in **Mauritius** dropped from 19% to 12% in December 2014, following the celebrated increase of women in local government from 6% to 24%. Mauritius has not signed the SADC Gender Protocol because of the clause on affirmative action. Ironically the country amended the Constitution to allow for a gender neutral quota at the local level. While other countries are making progress, Mauritius is regressing, from 9th to 12th position in the SADC women in parliament rankings. Mauritius is now among the five Southern African countries with the lowest percentage of women in parliament joining Malawi, Zambia, DRC and Botswana.

Women's hopes were high when the former government announced a White Paper on Electoral Reform. This paper borrowed from the Local Government Act, hinting at a legislated gender quota at the national level. Unfortunately this did not go to Parliament before the general elections. Had the act been passed, Mauritius would have jumped to at least 33% women in Parliament.

Instead, a political cyclone swept women out of politics. General elections held in Mauritius on 10 December 2014 resulted in a victory for the Alliance Lepep coalition, which secured 47 of the elected seats under the leadership of Sir Anerood Jugnauth, while the PTR-MMM Alliance under Navin Ramgoolam only got 13 seats. Rangoolam lost his own seat and accepted defeat after voters rejected his proposals to boost presidential powers. Former president and Alliance Lepep leader, 84-year-old Anerood Jugnauth became prime minister in the Indian Ocean island nation. Alliance Lepep is a coalition led by the Mouvement Socialiste Militant (MSM) with other parties including the Parti Mauricien Social Démocrate (PMSD) and the Muvman Liberater (ML).¹⁵

The winds of change brushed away the 12 women candidates fielded by the PTR/MMM Alliance as well as one from the nine candidates fielded by the Lepep Alliance-the Alliance now in power. Mauritius now does not have a single woman in opposition. One of the biggest pitfalls of the FPTP electoral system is that in competitive political environments, women candidates often get fielded in unsafe seats. This is evident in Mauritius. Apart from three candidates,¹⁶ the PTR/MMM fielded its nine other female candidates in constituencies that they had never worked in. This meant they could not even be nominated as "best losers" within the Mauritian system.

Among the women who lost seats from PTR/MMM were four former Ministers of women's rights and gender equality namely Arianne Navarre Marie, Sheila Bappoo, Indraneesee Seebun and Mireille Martin. These women ushered in key legislation: the Protection from Domestic Violence Act, Sex Discrimination Act; Amendments to the Criminal Code to make provision for abortion in specific cases; Family Court; Family Support Bureau; Family Welfare Protection Units; Women's Centres and recreation centres for the elderly among others. Five of the eight women elected sit in Parliament do so for the first time. On a positive note, the only woman not elected from Lepep Alliance, Maya Hanoomajee (former Minister of Health and Quality of Life) is now Speaker of the Legislative Assembly - the first woman speaker in Mauritius. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the island also now has its first woman president. It is hoped that the new president and her government will break new ground by signing the Protocol and charting a new course for the 2019 elections.¹⁷



Where next for the 50/50 campaign? Mala Chetty speaking at the SADC Gender Protocol@Work summit. Photo by Gender Links

FPTP and quota - Zimbabwe learns from Mauritius' local government quota

As reflected in the recent national elections in Mauritius, there is no guarantee that even if parties have a certain proportion of women candidates, these will be fielded in constituencies in which they will win. In the 2006 local elections, Lesotho tried to get around this by reserving one third of the seats for women candidates only, with women free to contest in the other two-thirds. While this resulted in 58% women winning (33% through the reserved seats and 25% on their own steam)

¹⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mauritian_general_election,_2014

¹⁶ Sheila Bappoo-former Minister of Social Security and National Solidarity; Kalynee Juggoo-Secretary General of the Labour; and Nita Deerpalsing-Leader of the Youth Wing.

¹⁷ Adapted from an article by GL Board Member Loga Virahsawmy.

the notion of reserving seats for women only is open to contestation.

Indeed, a male councillor disputed the amendment to the electoral act in Lesotho, stating that this infringed his rights. The High Court upheld the law, based on constitutional provisions for redressing historical imbalances.

But, the unpopular system led to Lesotho's Independent Electoral Commission visiting Tanzania to study the mixed system developed there (see below). Lesotho made use of the Tanzania model in its 2011 local elections, resulting in the proportion of women declining to 49%, but yielded an acceptable compromise on the nature of the quota. This mixed system solution is becoming popular in other FPTP countries (see next section). The Zimbabwe Constitution, for example, reserves a portion of seats in the lower house to be distributed to parties on a PR basis for women.

Mauritius is the only FPTP country to institute a quota for women that is not reliant on reserved seats and that is working at the local level. The "gender neutral quota" that requires that at least 30% of all candidates be either sex worked in the December 2012 elections because of the accompanying emphasis on grooming women candidates. Local elections in Mauritius now take place every two years. Municipal elections took place in June 2015, and will be followed by village elections later this year. Results for elections in the five municipalities (Port Louis, Beau Bassin-Rose Hill, Quatre Bornes, Vacoas-Phoenix and Curepipe) show women occupying 34% of the seats. This is indeed a vindication of the local government quota adopted in 2012. It shows that even with a change of government, women's political participation is guaranteed because of the legislative provision. While Mauritius failed to cascade the quota at the local level to its national elections, the legislation has become a subject of interest and learning in the SADC region.

Mixed system solution

Tanzania has a unique hybrid system aimed at circumnavigating quotas in a FPTP system. All seats are contested on a FPTP system. Women and men are equally entitled to participate in these elections, although in reality men are the majority of candidates and winners. However, in addition to the FPTP seats, 30% seats are distributed to parties on a PR basis for women only.

This system does not directly infringe anyone's constitutional rights and is therefore less open to contestation. Zimbabwe is the latest country to apply the Tanzania model at national but not local level. Lesotho employs this system at local level. Lesotho has always had a mixed system at national level. In the February 2015 elections, Lesotho applied a 50% quota to the PR seats. Unlike local government where all PR seats go to women, in the case of national elections only one third of the PR seats go to women, and these are already fewer than the FPTP seats. As a result of not taking bolder moves on quotas for women in local government at national level, Lesotho missed to reach the 50% target in 2015. Local elections are planned for September 2015.



At 49%, **Lesotho** has the highest proportion of women in local government. Early this year Lesotho witnessed the registration of a woman-led political party, the Reformed Congress of Lesotho now represented in Parliament. There has been a gradual increase by nine percentage points of women in parliament from 17% in 2009 to 25% in 2015. Women's representation in cabinet remained at 22% after the appointment of the new government in early 2015. Lesotho appointed its first woman Chief Justice in 2014. Lesotho is the third country after Malawi and Zambia to appoint a woman to that position and sixth in the continent. Two political parties out of 19 - Lesotho Congress for Democracy and the Democratic Congress- adopted quotas of 30%, but experience has shown parties pay lip-service to this policy. Women's representation in parliament in Lesotho dropped from 26% to 25% in the 2015 elections.



Councillors at Qibing Council, Lesotho are committed to gender equality.
Photo by Ntolo Lekau

Peace restored, but where are the women?

By *Rethabile Pholo, GL Board Member and former Deputy Chair of the Independent Electoral Commission*

Lesotho is breathing more easily after the political crisis in 2014 that almost resulted in a coup. Early elections restored democracy, but women are still glaringly missing from political decision-making in the last election before the 2015 SADC Gender Protocol deadline for gender parity.

In June 2014, Prime Minister Thomas Thabane suspended parliament because of conflict within his coalition, leading to criticisms that he was undermining the government. In August, after Thabane attempted to remove Lieutenant General Kennedy Tlai Kamoli from the head of the army, the Prime Minister fled the country alleging a coup was taking place. South African Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa, on behalf of SADC troika, went to Maseru to pursue a regional mandate to help restore peace, stability and democracy to the country. The threats of coups and political rivalry are not uncommon to the Lesotho Kingdom and the country has experienced instability for the last few decades.

Even though Lesotho is said to be amongst the countries in the world that have made significant progress toward achieving gender equality this does not seem to be the case when it comes to women in politics. In the 2012 national elections there were very few women candidates contesting constituency seats. In order to address this worrying state of affairs, in 2011 during the review of the National Assembly Electoral Act 1992, the Commission came up with a provision that mandated political parties to ensure their proportional representation (PR) lists included an equal number of women and men and were zebra-style. These provisions made a significant difference in the 8th Parliament as the number of women increased more than ever before.



Rethabile Pholo.

Photo by Trevor Davies

The 2015 elections were held on 28 February, more than two years ahead of schedule due to the 2014 political crisis. Since the zebra-style requirement applies only to the proportional representation component of Parliament, women still comprised a significant minority among the constituency candidates. Of the 1,116 constituency candidates in the 2015 elections, only 30% were women.

The Lesotho parliament comprises 120 seats. 80 are filled on a First Past the Post (FPTP) basis. The remaining 40 seats are distributed among parties on a Proportional Representation (PR) basis. The Electoral Law requires that women be equally represented in the PR seats, but not the FPTP seats. Nine women and 71 men won constituencies. Women won a further 21 seats in the Proportional Representation seats, giving a total of 30 women out of 120 or 25%, compared to 26% prior to these elections. Five women lead ministries out of a total of 26 (20%), compared to 22% before. Lesotho has missed the 2015 deadline and now has to re-position for the Post-2015 agenda.

Participation and responsiveness



The Protocol provides for State parties to adopt specific legislative measures and other strategies to enable women to have equal opportunities with men to participate in electoral processes including the administration of elections and voting.

It also provides for equal participation by women and men in policies, strategies and programmes for building the capacity of women and men in decision-making through leadership and gender sensitivity training and mentorship; support structures for women in decision-making; structures to enhance gender mainstreaming and changing decision-making attitudes and norms. The Protocol specifies that men be included in these activities.

Election management

Women outnumber men as voters, yet men continue to dominate politics: Voter registration data is available it is often not disaggregated by sex. In the three countries where such data could be obtained

(Botswana, South Africa and Tanzania), women constituted the majority of those registered to vote. This shows that women are keen to participate in public life. In South Africa, women voters in 2014 constituted 55% of all voters in the May 2014 elections.

Malawi: Zomba finds a new way to conduct free and fair elections for women



Mudzi Social Network (MSN) in Malawi is piloting a way or removing gender bias from elections, as illustrated in this case study concerning the Zomba City Council - Ward and Community Development Committees. By blindfolding candidates and allowing voters to line up behind candidates of their choice, women's representation shot up to 46% in the Community Development Committees, and 41% in the wards.

Gender inequality is a challenge to empowerment of women in Malawi due to educational and cultural upbringing and out-dated cultural values. This has continued into elections to public office where "family voting" - male partners demanding that female partners to vote for a candidate - prevails and denies women

the right to choose on their own. All this contributes to male domination.

Blindfolding candidates, despite not being totally effective in reducing "family voting", provided women voters an opportunity to make a choice, without being coaxed to vote. The results encouraged women participation: a stepping stone to increased women's representation in decision-making positions especially at community and grassroots level

An affiliate member of Gender Coordination Network, MSN contributes to women and youth empowerment through information sharing and being part of the organizing team for the district and regional activities e.g. Sixteen days of Activism, and commemorating the GBV. MSN has worked with the Zomba City Council in promoting good democratic governance through ensuring that the Ward and Community Development Committees are functioning in accordance with the relevant legislation. Apart from the elections MSN provide capacity building training courses in leadership, group dynamics and organization management, thus our involvement with women and youths. We have been instrumental in promoting women to participate in civil society activities and organised events show casing women and girl child rights.

During the run-up to the 2014 Presidential and Parliamentary elections, the organisation supported women to participate despite several challenges. MSN encouraged the candidates to review government practices that were not women friendly and to take them as their campaign messages because they affected the women. This resulted in a woman Member of Parliament for Zomba central and three women ward councilors within the City. The organisation is developing strategies to ensure that the political parties introduce a quota system in their structures and government to endorse a Gender Equality Charter to maintain a gender balanced parliament.



Women in Malawi are consigned to traditional roles.

Photo by Daud Kayisi

(Source: SADC Protocol@Work summit Malawi, 2015)

Capacity building

The various regional and international commitments to increasing women's equal and effective participation in decision-making place a strong emphasis on capacity building. Addressing the specific needs of women decision-makers is not something most decision-making

institutions had considered before the clamour for greater representation by women in these structures. It is one of the several changes women have had to struggle to bring about. The case study from Mauritius that follows is one of several examples of how civil society organisations are contributing to this process.

Mauritius: Yes WE can!

Women in Politics (WIP) launched the "WE" Campaign with a view to increase the representation of women in the parliament for the 2014 General Elections. "W" stands for Women and "E" stands for Empowerment".

"WE" also stands for whole Mauritius; for togetherness and inclusiveness. The campaign is a good practice because it is designed for different target groups: political parties, local government, voters, media and the general public. It is therefore a well-rounded campaign for optimum result.

The "WE" Campaign is made up of six interactive and connected focus areas with the following specific objectives:

- **"WE" Lobby:** This area is geared towards reminding the Political parties and the public in general the importance of having more women in politics and why we must vote for women. "WE" have issued regular press releases, open letters, press articles, billboards, radio shows and networking events.
- **"WE" Train:** Training on electoral and campaigning skills for future women candidates, women activists and women voters.
- **"WE" Support:** Helpline put in place to receive queries and need for help from women as from the day of the dissolution of the parliament till the elections day.
- **"WE" Coach:** Three (3) free coaching sessions for the women candidates.
- **"WE" Educate:** Voters' education campaigns through bus adverts and radio spots one week prior to elections till elections date to remind the Mauritian voters' to vote intelligently and to vote and support women candidates.

- **"WE" Sensitise:** The team met with voters at commercial centres. "WE" distributed tokens to remind voters to support and vote for women. On Election Day, "WE" toured the island to keep sending the same message of voting and supporting women candidates.

Despite several attempts to meet with Ministers and other officials of the Government, the latter did not respond to invitations to collaborate. Despite the great effort to get more women as candidates, "WE" discovered that without the will of the political parties, the representation of women will remain low. WIP is lobbying for a gender neutral quota to be introduced in Mauritius at the national level. Some of the lessons learned include:

- The first barrier for women's political involvement is women themselves; they need to first discover their own power.
- Start with political parties!
- Lobby for a gender neutral quota.

Source: SADC Gender Protocol@Work Summit, Mauritius 2015



The Women in Politics team went on a roadshow in December 2014 to lobby for women voters.
Photo courtesy of WIPs Facebook page

Table 2.13: 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	20%	37%	2017	PR/ Voluntary 30%		2015/17		Work with Ministry of Gender and Alliance Focal Point/Women's umbrella organisation during the period 2014-2016.
Botswana	17%	10%	2019	FPTP/ Voluntary party quota	18%	Oct 2019	FPTP No Quota	Advocate for legislated quota at local and national level through amendments to the Constitution and Electoral Act.
DRC	17%	10%	2016	FPTP/ 30%	2%	Oct 2015	FPTP	Advocate for legislated quotas at national and local level.
Lesotho	27%	27%	2020	Mixed No Quota	41%	Sept 2015	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	15%	21%	2019	FPTP/ No Quota	6%	July 2015	FPTP No Quota	Use the Mauritius example to advocate for quotas at local level in the forthcoming elections.
Malawi	15%	17%	2019	FPTP/ No Quota	11%	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%	19%	2019	Mixed/ No quota	24%	2018	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	32%	38%	Oct 2014	PR/Voluntary party quota	38%	2018	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	23%	48%	Nov 2019	PR/ Voluntary party	45%	2016	PR/ Legislated quota	Work with the Ministry of Gender to table motion again to 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	27%	44%	2016	Mixed No Quota	N/A	N/A	N/A	Document how Seychelles has succeeded without a quota.
South Africa	41%	40%	2019	PR/ Voluntary party	38%	2016	Mixed With Quota	Advocate for legislated quotas at local and national levels using the Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill and for all parties to follow the ANC's 50/50 lead. Name and shame political parties with no voluntary quotas.
Swaziland	25%	15%	2018	FPTP/ Legislated 30%	12%	2018	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	20%	36%	2015	FPTP Constitutional 30%	34%	2015	FPTP With Constitutional 30%	Advocate for the adoption of the 50% Constitutional quota as this goes to a referendum.
Zambia	11%	11%	2016	FPTP No Quota	6%	2016	FPTP No Quota	Advocate for Constitutional quota as part of the review using the Zimbabwe example that created a mixed electoral system before the 2016 elections. Have space in the media to name and shame Boards and committees who do not have 50/50 representation on their Boards. Increase efforts and lobbying and advocacy for 50/50 campaigns ahead of elections in 2016.
Zimbabwe	12%	35%	2018	FPTP Legislated 30% at National level	16%	2018	FPTP No Quota	Take stock of losses and gains in 2013, lobby for quota to be extended to local government. Start mobilising now for the 2018 Elections through capacity building and ongoing training potential women candidates. Lobby for quota at local levels.

Source: Gender Links, Inter Parliamentary Union Website and <http://www.content.eisa.org.za/node/279> , 16 July 2015.

SGP Post-2015



As the region moves beyond 2015, the governance sector is one area where progress on the Protocol has been slow and marked by huge gaps between countries. Since 2012 the governance SDGI has not reached the half way mark. The Protocol provided a relatively comprehensive framework for promoting gender responsive governance in the SADC region, covering representation, participation and service delivery.

As mentioned earlier in the chapter some countries in SADC have done well and are currently ranked in the global top five while others are in the bottom 20. No country in the region has attained the 2015 50% targets in any area of political decision-making - parliament, local government and cabinet. This calls for new strategies in the Post-2015 era to step up women's participation in *all areas* of decision-making.

With the Protocol now under review, lessons from the last six years have shown that policies alone without political will do not translate to transformation on the ground. Another big lesson from the last six years is the power of women's rights groups in the region in ringing up change. In countries where improvements on women's representation have taken place, this has been a result of women rights organisations holding governments accountable. A series of 50/50 campaigns by civil society over the past six years have resulted in more women being elected into office while at policy level countries like Mauritius and Zimbabwe have had constitutional reviews to include gender quotas. Tanzania will likely later this year adopt a new constitution with a 50% gender quota for all levels of decision-making. It is therefore imperative that governments continue to recognise the importance of the women's movement as we move into the Post-2015 era.

In a few months the United Nations Assembly will adopt a new set of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that aim to compliment and improve progress made during the MDG era. The SDGs will likely call for *women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic, and public life*, strengthening the efforts that have been underway in SADC. At the continental level, Agenda 2063 aspires for Africa to have *attained full gender parity, with women occupying at least 50 % of elected public offices at all levels and half of mana-*

gerial positions in the public and private sectors by 2063. Agenda 2063 recognises that no society can reach its full potential, unless it empowers women and youth and removes all obstacles to women's full participation in all areas of human endeavours.

Key lessons

Representation: With 2015 here, women in the region constitute an average of between of 22% to 27% in the public decision-making areas of parliament, cabinet and local government. These efforts need to be stepped up through electoral reform and the adoption of quotas. Evidence and examples abound across the SADC region of how this can be achieved. There is also need to collect data on other key areas like the judiciary, peace and conflict resolution leadership, electoral structures, public service and public service management. The private sector is another key area for inclusion, either under governance, or economic justice. It is also apparent that countries are moving at different rates. *Targets do not need to be a one size fits all. Varying targets and timelines can be adopted for different countries.*



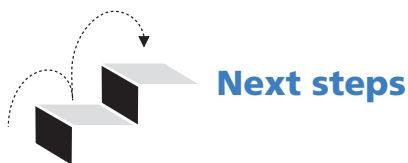
In search of a better life for women in Mandlakazi, Mozambique.
Photo by Ruben Cované

Public perceptions: For sustained progress, it is imperative that cultural transformation be aimed at reversing the negative attitudes in societies towards gender

equality and women's empowerment.¹⁸ Tools like the Gender Progress Score (GPS), a standard survey tool that has been modified by GL to include 'difficult' areas like women's effective participation in religious and traditional structures should be used to measure changes in attitude.

Participation: Meaningful participation of women is about more than just numerical presence in decision-making forums, whether at the local or national level. Women in decision-making positions must be able to articulate and act on issues that concern different groups of women, especially those who are disadvantaged.¹⁹ Tools like the Gender Aware Leadership score can be used to measure women's participation.

Effectiveness: The Alliance recommends that in the Post-2015 era SADC moves beyond just "gender and governance" to gender responsive governance. There is need to adopt new meas. The 100-question Gender Score Card (GSC), developed by GL can be administered in parliament, local government and gender ministries to measure the extent to which women's representation and participation translate into better laws, policies, services for the women and men in SADC.



The Post-2015 era must prioritise:

- **Reinvigorating the 50/50 campaign:** Following the revamping of the of the 50/50 campaign in 2014 in preparation for an effective Post-2015 new era, robust work is needed to maintain gains made in getting more women into political decision-making positions. It is crucial to guard the gains made in getting more women into political decision-making positions.
- **Holding governments accountable:** Governments made a commitment to achieving a minimum 30% representation of women in all areas of decision-making by 2015. Some governments, for example Zimbabwe, have walked the talk, working their way around Constitutional and other constraints to ensure a rapid increase in women's representation. Others, for example Malawi, have failed to do so. *With just months to go, the time has come to name, shame, take action and ensure the effective implementation of the Protocol!*
- **Women's access to political decision-making requires special measures:** The 2015 Barometer

presents evidence showing that electoral systems and quotas make a huge difference to women's political representation. The research shows conclusively that women are best represented in countries with the PR and mixed system, especially where these are combined with quotas. The Zimbabwe example shows that quotas can be combined with the FPTP system to produce results, as long as there is the necessary mobilising and training. The Tanzania model, adopted by Zimbabwe and Lesotho shows that a mixed system can also be used to rapidly increase women's political participation. The Namibia model at party level clearly exemplifies the gains of party level quota systems as fertile opportunities for increasing women's representation and participation in politics.

- **Quotas are a necessary and beneficial short-term measure:** All SADC countries which have come close to, or are likely to achieve, the 30% target, have done so through voluntary party quotas (in Mozambique and South Africa) or legislated quotas (in local elections in Zimbabwe) or constitutional quotas (in national elections in Tanzania). Quotas are not a panacea but they are the best short-term method for ensuring that progress is made. When accompanied by supportive strategies, quotas have delivered rapid and tangible benefits. It becomes imperative to review party manifestos, encourage quotas, and sensitise communities about the 50/50 campaign and the value in the renewed opportunity through the Post-2015 era, to achieve gender parity in all aspects of private and public life.
- **New approaches to empowerment should be encouraged:** 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 under-



Holding government accountable at the DRC SADC Protocol@Work summit. Photo by Esther Kamunya

¹⁸ Africa MDG report 2014.

¹⁹ UN Women: Progress of the women's world 2015.

standing 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 sensitization 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. There is need for more civic education about women and men's equal participation in politics and decision-making in public service is crucial now and especially in the new Post-2015 era.

- **Redress culture as a barrier to progress and advocate affirmative action for women:** Empower women to take up decision-making positions by removing major structural barriers deeply rooted in custom, culture, religion and tradition; and concerted effort that begins with strong political will and leadership, accompanied by deliberate strategies and special measures. Continue work to address customs and traditions that influence the negative perceptions about women's participation in politics. This can be carried out through citizen civic education and targeting influential community leaders and members as well as voters in communities.
- **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.
- **Research, monitoring and evaluation are key:** Research, advocacy and lobbying have been critical to achievements made to date. Structures and mecha-

nisms should be found for strengthening collaboration between civil society and women in decision-making. Research, monitoring and evaluation remain key for qualitative and quantitative 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.

- **Making decision-making hospitable to women:** Despite the positive rhetoric towards women's increased participation in decision-making, there are many major barriers yet to overcome. These are deeply rooted in custom, culture, religion and tradition. The structural barriers explain why there is little correlation between women's level of education and their political participation. Personal empowerment does not translate into political empowerment for women because society is not ready to accept women in these roles. Such change can only come about through concerted effort beginning with strong political will and leadership, accompanied by deliberate strategies and special measures. Pending local elections in 2015 to 2016 should be a spring board for encourage women to use local government as a stepping-stone to national politics.
- **The media is a key partner:** 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.
- **Broadening the definition of decision-making:** So far this sector has largely focused on political decision-making. The SADC Gender Protocol refers to all areas of decision-making. Certain sectors that have escaped scrutiny need to come under the spotlight. These include the media, private sector, the judiciary, civil society, the defence and police force.
- **Ensure concerted efforts towards a fired-up 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.