7. WOMEN'S AGENCY AND DECISION-MAKING

The Political Power block of the Gender Status Index consists of the Public Sector component and Civil Society component. The Public Sector consists of eight indicators that compares women's performance relative to that of men's in senior positions of the legislative, judicial, executive and administrative levels of government. The Civil Society component consist of five indicators on the relative performance of women and men in senior positions in traditional institutions, political parties, trade unions, employers' organization and non-governmental organizations. The Political Power block of the African Women's Progress Scoreboard consists of issues related to women's participation in political and public life, traditional governance, and peace and security, and gender mainstreaming.

Women's participation in political and public life. Women have historically been excluded from political life and the decision-making process. Under Article 7 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, States parties are required to "take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country" and ensure that women participate in political and public life on equal terms with men[1]. In its general recommendation 23, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women explained that political and public life refers to the exercise of legislative, judicial, executive and administrative powers at the international, national, regional and local levels[2]. It also includes, among other things, public boards, local councils and the activities of political parties, trade unions, professional and industry associations, women's organizations and community-based organizations.

Excluding women from political and public life is undemocratic[3]. According to the Beijing Platform for Action, society also loses out as the participation of women in political and public life "contribute to redefining political priorities, placing new items on the political agenda that reflect and address women's gender-specific concerns, values and experiences, and providing new perspectives on mainstream political issues"[4]. Furthermore, an increasing number of women participating in political and public life may act as role models encouraging more women to become involved in politics[5].

However, women face a number of barriers that prevent them from fully participating in political and public life. These include discriminatory attitudes and practices which reinforce patriarchal notions of the incapability of female leadership, perpetuation of violence against women during the electoral cycle, illiteracy, the burden of unpaid care work, women's economic dependence on men and the high cost of seeking and holding public office[6]. Gender stereotypes often view women as having policy expertise in education, gender, health care and social affairs, while men are viewed as strong in defence, foreign policy and economics[7]. These also act as barriers to women's full participation in political and public life. An important set of institutional barriers relates to the electoral system. Scholars have proposed that first-past-the-post electoral systems create additional constraints for women candidates, whereas proportional representation systems with a large number of contested seats are associated with higher women's participation[8].

The Beijing Platform for Action set a target of 30 percent for women in decision-making. The Protocol on Gender and Development of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) set a target of 50 percent. **Mauritius**, **Namibia**, **Seychelles**, **South Africa**, **Swaziland** and **Zimbabwe** are members of SADC.

---

[1] United Nations (1979: Article 7).
[2] United Nations, CEDAW Committee (1997: para. 5).
[3] *Ibid.* at para. 14.
[4] United Nations (1995: para. 182).
[5] Bauer and Burnet (2013).
[6] Economic Commission for Africa (2014), United Nations (1995) and United Nations, CEDAW Committee (1997).
[7] Thomas and Adams (2010).
[8] *Ibid.*

The recognition of the important role of women's full participation in conflict prevention and resolution and post-conflict rebuilding, is enshrined in six resolutions adopted by the United Nations Security Council. These resolutions also exhort member States to protect women and girls from gender-based violence in armed conflict. Resolution 1325 of 2000 acknowledges that conflict disproportionately affects women and calls upon member States to adopt a gender perspective to ensure women's full participation in conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace-building. Subsequent resolutions reiterate the message in resolution 1325 and aim to strengthen women's role in peace building in post-conflict contexts (see Box 7.1).

<div style="background:#fce0d0;padding:1em;">

BOX 7.1 SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS REGARDING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACEBUILDING

The United Nations Security Council has adopted six resolutions that deal with the participation of women in conflict prevention and resolution and peace-building. These relevant articles are summarised in the table below.

Resolution	Component on women's participation	Year
1325	Urges women's leadership and equal participation in confliction resolution and peacebuilding; requires gender mainstreaming for peace operations.	2000
1820	Emphasizes the need to increase women's roles in decision making on conflict prevention and resolution.	2008
1888	Expresses concern regarding the lack of female mediators.	2009
1889	Calls for further strengthening of women's participation in peace processes and the post-conflict period, as well as the development of indicators, monitoring, and reporting to measure progress on Resolution 1325.	2009
1960	Encourages efforts to increase the participation of women in formal peace processes.	2010
2122	Calls on all parties to peace talks to facilitate equal and full participation of women in decision making; aims to increase women's participation in peace making by increasing resources and improving information on women in conflict zones; acknowledges the critical contributions of women's civil society organizations to conflict prevention, resolution, and peacebuilding.	2013

Source: O'Reilly et al. (2015).

</div>

Gender mainstreaming. In the Agreed Conclusions of Resolution 1997/2, the United Nations Economic and Social Council defined gender mainstreaming as:

[T]he process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality[9].

The national machinery for the advancement of women is responsible for mainstreaming a gender-equality perspective in all policy areas[10]. In order to be effective, a national gender should: be located at the highest possible level in Government; facilitate decentralized planning, implementation and monitoring; involve non-governmental organizations and community organizations; have sufficient resources in terms of budget and professional capacity; and have opportunity to influence development of all government policies[11].

---

[9] ECOSOC (1997).
[10] United Nations (1995: para. 205 (a)).
[11] United Nations (1995: para. 201).

This chapter reviews the progress made by the countries covered by this report in meeting their commitments in promoting women' participation in political and public life including in conflict prevention and resolution, peace-building and traditional governance, and in mainstreaming a gender perspective in all departments.

Women's participation in political and public life

"States Parties shall take specific positive action to promote participative governance and the equal participation of women in the political life of their countries through affirmative action, enabling national legislation and other measures to ensure that:

a) women participate without any discrimination in all elections;

b) women are represented equally at all levels with men in all electoral processes;

c) women are equal partners with men at all levels of development and implementation of State policies and development programmes.

States Parties shall ensure increased and effective representation and participation of women at all levels of decision-making."[12]

Participation in political and public life is one area where gender disparity against women is especially stark. This has an especial significance as key decisions about policies and budgetary allocation that have a bearing on economic, political and social life of communities are taken in governance structures where women are underrepresented.

Representation in national parliaments

"States Parties (…) shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right to vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies".[13]

Chart 7.1a shows that in 2017, four countries covered by this report – **Zimbabwe** (33 percent), **Namibi**a (41 percent), **South Africa** (42 percent) and **Rwanda** (61 percent) – reached the target of at least 30 per cent of women in the national parliament (lower parliament in bicameral parliamentary systems) set in the Beijing Platform for Action. The three countries with the highest proportion of women in parliament all have quotas and have proportional representation electoral systems (see discussion below). According to data compiled by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, **Rwanda** was ranked first in the world in terms of the proportion of women in parliament in August 2017; **South Africa** and **Namibia** were ranked ninth and tenth respectively[14]. However, no member of the Southern African Development Community has achieved the target of 50 percent of women in parliament. In **Swaziland**, women currently hold 4 of the 65 available seats in the Lower House, the House of Assembly.
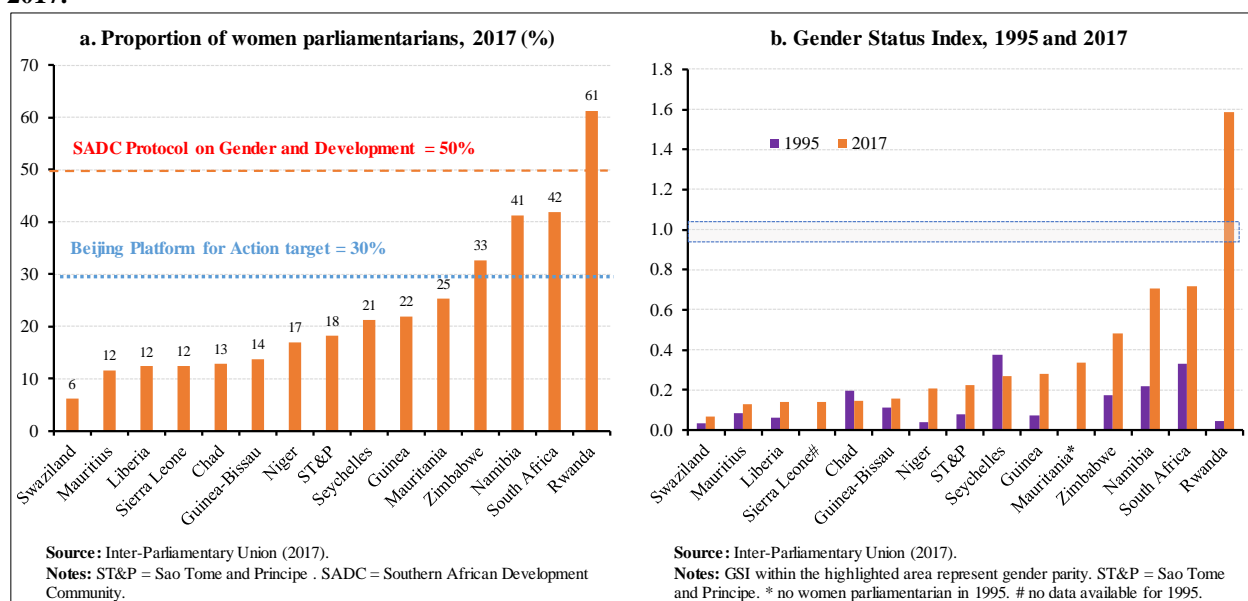
In all countries, except **Rwanda** where women hold 49 of the available 80 seats in the Lower House**,** there is gender disparity to the disadvantage of women (Chart 7.1b). **Namibia** and **South Africa** have a GSI of above 0.7 in 2017, while the GSI for **Zimbabwe** is 0.48. **Chad**, **Guinea-Bissau**, **Liberia**, **Mauritius**, **Niger**, **Seychelles** and **Sierra Leone** have GSI values of at most 0.2 which imply that women are at a severe disadvantage relative to men in legislative participation.

---

[12] African Union (2003: Article 9 Right to Participation in the Political and Decision-Making Process)**.**
[13] United Nations (1979: Article 7 (a)).
[14] Inter-Parliamentary Union (as of 1 August 2017).

Chart 7.1: Women's representation in single or lower house of parliament and Gender Status Index, 1995 and 2017.

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (2017).
Notes: ST&P = Sao Tome and Principe . SADC = Southern African Development Community.

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (2017).
Notes: GSI within the highlighted area represent gender parity. ST&P = Sao Tome and Principe. * no women parliamentarian in 1995. # no data available for 1995.

On a positive note, the participation of women in parliament has progressed since the Beijing Platform for Action was adopted in 1995, except for **Chad** and **Seychelles** (Chart 7.1b). **Rwanda** registered the most impressive performance moving from a GSI of 0.04 in 1995 to 1.58 in 2017. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union, **Mauritius** and **South Africa** had women speakers in the Lower House of Parliament, while **South Africa**, **Swaziland** and **Zimbabwe** had women speakers of the Higher House of Parliament[15].

Table 7.1: Proportion of women in countries with bicameral parliamentary systems, 2017 (%).

Country	Lower House		Upper House	
	% of women	Date of election	% of women	Date of election
Liberia	12.3	11-10-2011	10.0	20-12-2014
Mauritania	25.2	23-11-2013	14.3	08-11-2009
Namibia	41.3	29-11-2014	23.8	08-12-2015
Rwanda	61.3	16-09-2013	38.5	26-09-2011
South Africa	41.8	07-05-2014	35.2	21-05-2014
Swaziland	6.2	20-09-2013	33.3	30-10-2013
Zimbabwe	32.6	31-07-2013	47.5	31-07-2013

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (1 August 2017).

Liberia, **Mauritania**, **Namibia**, **Rwanda**, **South Africa**, **Swaziland** and **Zimbabwe** have bicameral parliamentary systems consisting of two houses of parliament. The proportion of women in the Upper House is highest in **Zimbabwe** at 48 percent, the second highest in the world in 2017, while it is lowest in **Liberia** with 10 percent (Table 7.1). In **Swaziland** and **Zimbabwe**, the proportion of women in the Upper House is higher than in the Lower House.
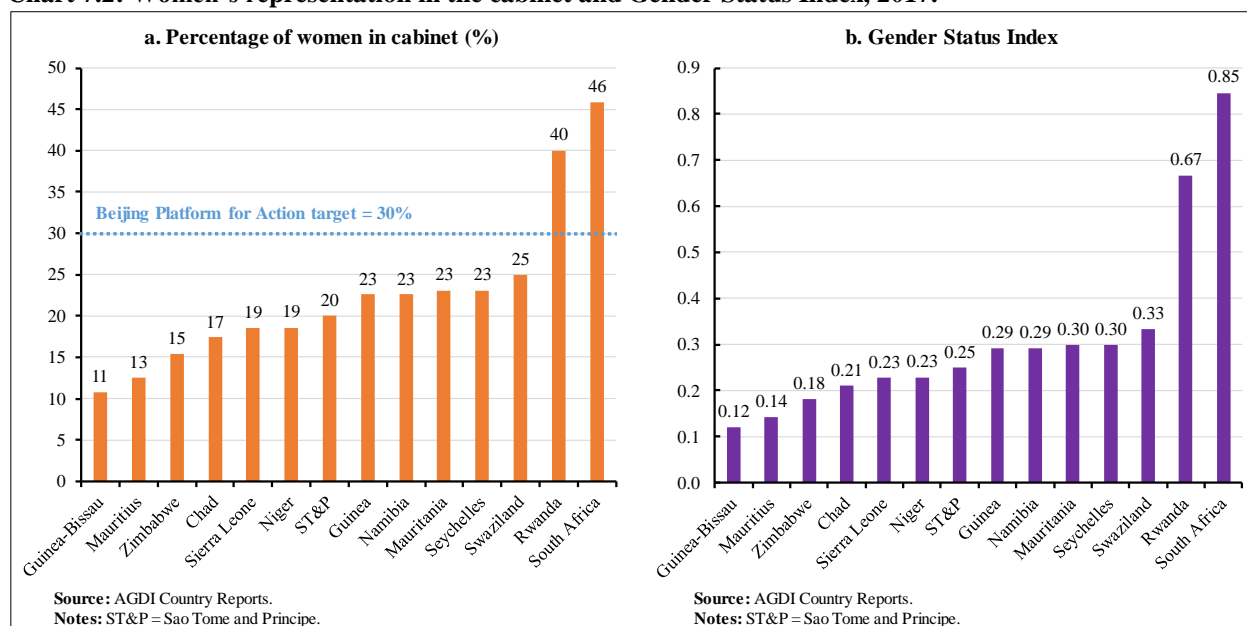
Representation in cabinet of ministers

Overall, women tend to be underrepresented in cabinet appointments, with the proportion of women ministers represented in cabinet is generally lower than that in parliament for the countries covered by this

---

[15] Inter-Parliamentary Union (2015).

report. **South Africa** has the highest proportion of women in cabinet with 46 percent followed by **Rwanda** with 40 percent (Chart 7.2a). The proportion of women in cabinet is between 20-25 percent in six countries and below 20 percent in a further six. Apart from **Rwanda** (GSI = 0.67) and **South Africa** (GSI = 0.85), there is severe gender disparity in favour of males in the selected countries with Gender Status Index values of one-third or below (Chart 7.2b).

Chart 7.2: Women's representation in the cabinet and Gender Status Index, 2017.

a. Percentage of women in cabinet (%)

Beijing Platform for Action target = 30%

Source: AGDI Country Reports.
Notes: ST&P = Sao Tome and Principe.

b. Gender Status Index

Source: AGDI Country Reports.
Notes: ST&P = Sao Tome and Principe.

Despite of this dismal performance overall, there has been some notable achievements. In **Liberia**, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf was the first African women to be elected president in 2006; she was re-elected in 2011. **Mauritius** has had its first woman President – Ameenah Gurib-Fakim – since July 2015. The President in **Mauritius** is the Head of State and but not hold executive power. In **Namibia**, the current Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minster are women[16].

Table 7.2: Ministerial portfolios that women currently occupy in selected countries.

Country	Ministerial portfolios held by women
Mauritius (3)	Gender; science and education; and social security.
Namibia (6)	Prime Minister; deputy Prime Minister and international relations; home affairs and immigration; gender equality and child welfare; urban and rural development; education, arts and culture.
Seychelles (3)	Education; employment; and health.
Swaziland (5)	Home affairs; natural resources and energy; public works and transport; health; labour and social security.
Zimbabwe (4)	Gender, women's affairs and community development; small and medium enterprises and cooperative development; public service, labour and social welfare; environment, water resources and climate change.

Source: SADC (2016).
Note: The number of women ministers is presented in brackets next to the name of the country.

Another positive development is that women are being appointed to a wider range of ministerial portfolios. Although women are still concentrated in ministries responsible for education, health, gender and social welfare, Table 7.2. highlights that some women are responsible for science (**Mauritius**), international

[16] SADC (2016).

relations (**Namibia**), natural resources and energy (**Swaziland**), public works and transport (**Swaziland**) and enterprise development (**Zimbabwe**).

Representation in higher positions in civil service and parastatals

The proportion of women in senior positions - at the Principal Secretary and Director General level - in the civil service and parastatals either meets or exceeds 30 percent in **Guinea-Bissau**, **Mauritius**, **Rwanda, Seychelles** and **Zimbabwe** (Chart 7.3a). The proportion is in the 20-30 percent range in **Guinea**, **Namibia** and **South Africa**. **Sierra Leone** registered the lowest proportion of 6 percent, followed by **Swaziland** with 11 percent. Apart from **Rwanda** (GSI = 0.58) and **Seychelles** (GSI = 0.78), all other countries had GSI values of below 0.5 (Chart 7.3a). The Governor of the Central Bank in **Sao Tome and Principe** and **Seychelles** are women, while the national statistical office in **Mauritius**, **Sao Tome and Principe** and **Seychelles** are headed by women[17].

Chart 7.3: Women's representation in higher positions in the civil service and parastatals, and Gender Status Index.
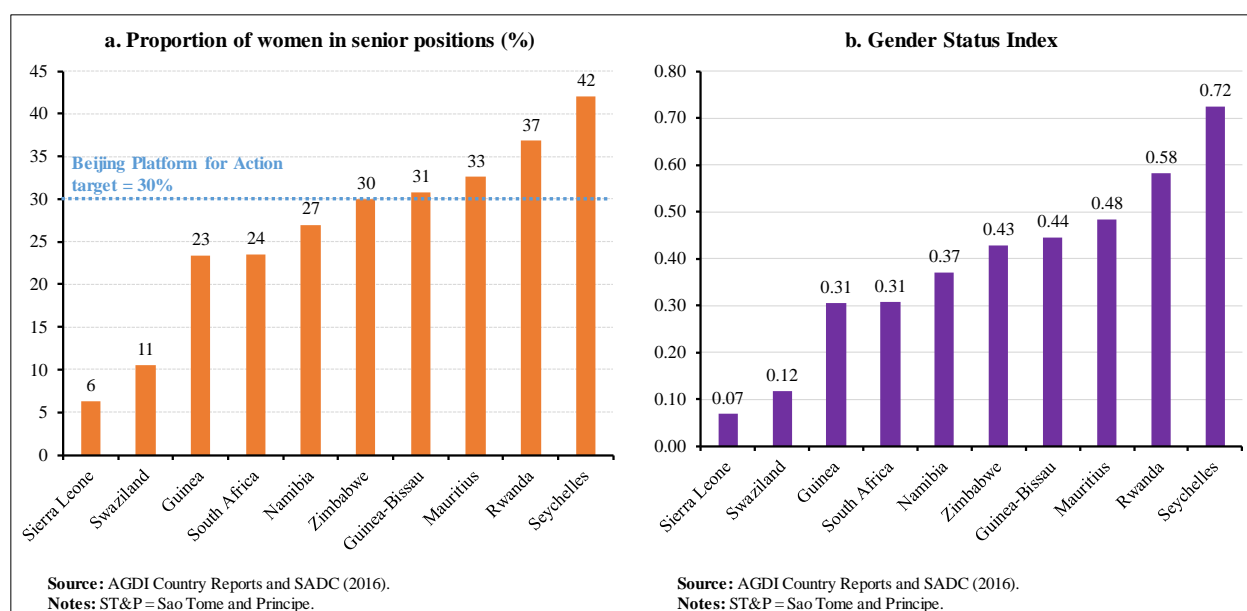
Data compiled by the Secretariat of the Southern African Development Community SADC) shows that for SADC countries covered by this report the proportion of women at the level of Permanent Secretary and Director General has in the main fell between 2011 and 2016[18]. In **South Africa** and **Swaziland,** the proportion fell from 34 to 25 percent and from 24 to 11 percent respectively. On the positive side, the proportion of women at the level of Deputy Permanent Secretary, Director and Head of Department is higher overall compared to that at the level of Permanent Secretary and Director General. This is especially the case for **South Africa** and **Swaziland.** This shows that that there is an ample supply of women talent to fill senior posts in the civil service in the future.

---

[17] United Nations (2015a).
[18] SADC (2016: Table 2.10).

Employment in security services

The proportion of women working in the security services is above 30 percent in **Namibia**, **Seychelles**, **South Africa** and **Swaziland**. In **Mauritius**, women have only recently been employed in that sector and account for 8 percent of total employment. According to the AGDI Report, women working in the Mauritius Police Force are concentrated at lower levels with 91 percent at the rank of police constable and trainee in 2015. In the same year, the highest ranked female was at the rank of Police Superintendent; 167 men were either at that rank or at higher ranks.

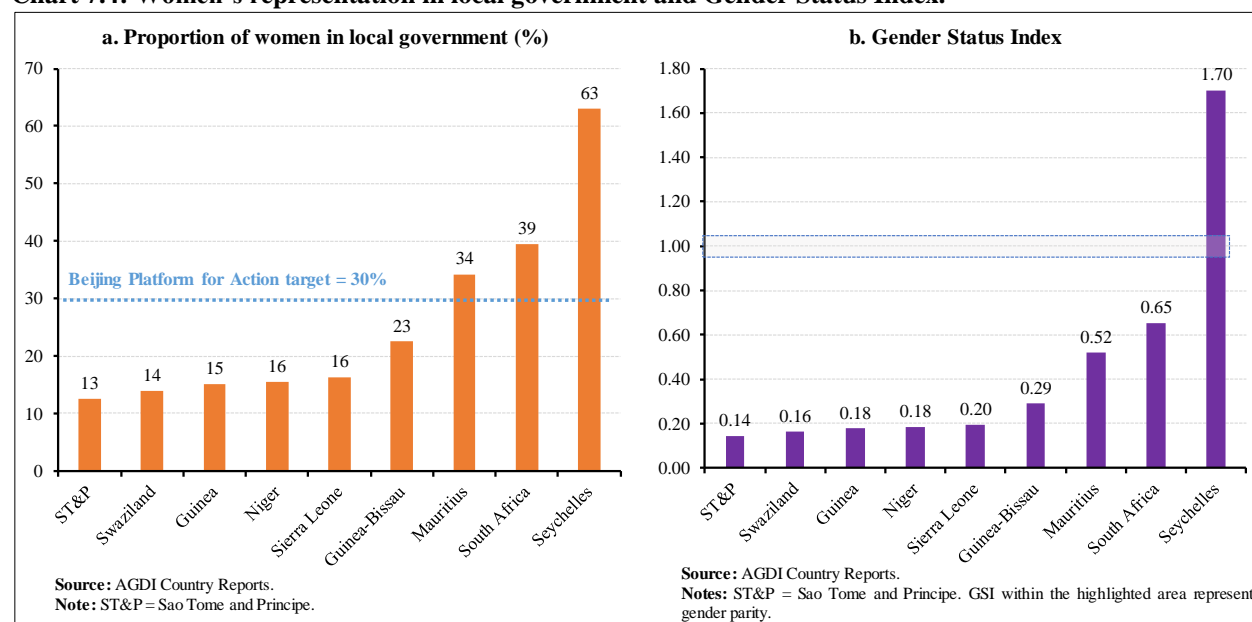**Table 7.3: Women's employment in security services (%) and Gender Status Index, 2014-2015.**

	Women	Men	Gender Status Index
Mauritius	8.4	91.6	0.09
Namibia	34.1	65.9	0.52
Seychelles	38.6	61.4	0.63
South Africa	34.1	65.9	0.52
Swaziland	30.9	69.1	0.45
Zimbabwe	23.1	76.9	0.30

Source: AGDI National Reports and SADC (2016: Table 8.2).

Representation in local government

Overall, women tend to be underrepresented in in local government. **Seychelles** has more women than men in local government where 63 percent of women are in local government (Chart 7.4a). The proportion of women in local government is also above 30 percent in **Mauritius** and **South Africa**. The proportion is below 25 percent in **Guinea**, **Guinea-Bissau**, **Niger**, **Sao Tome and Principe**, **Sierra Leone** and **Swaziland**. Consequently, there is severe gender disparity in favour of males in the latter countries with Gender Status Index values of below 0.3 (Chart 7.4b).
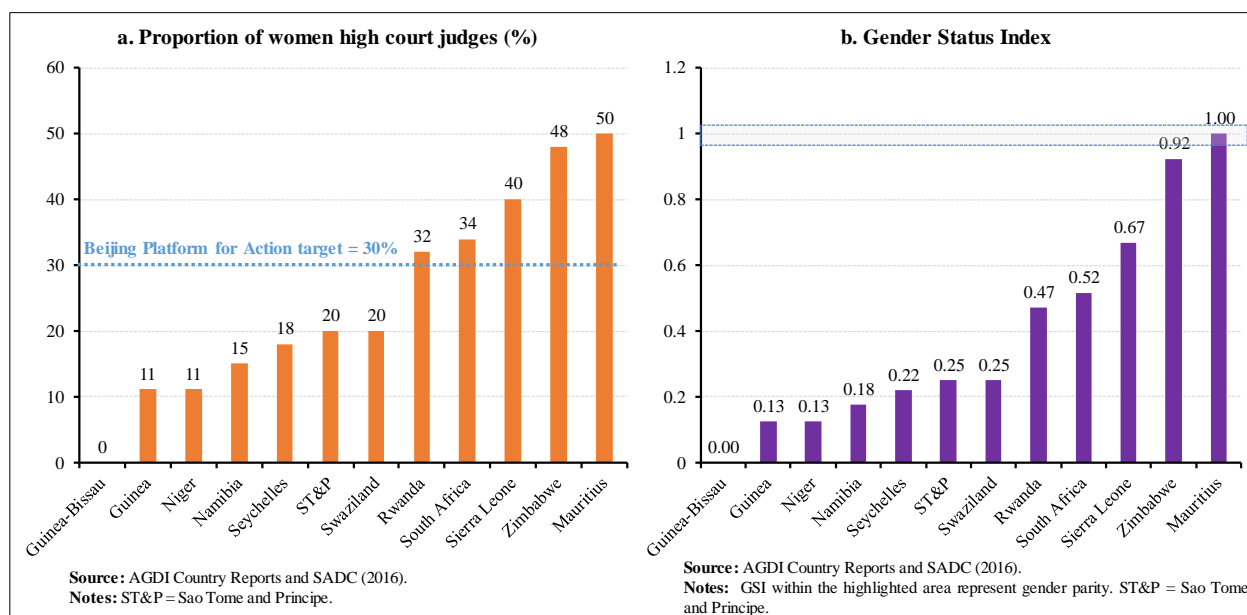
Chart 7.4: Women's representation in local government and Gender Status Index.

a. Proportion of women in local government (%)

Beijing Platform for Action target = 30%

Source: AGDI Country Reports.
Note: ST&P = Sao Tome and Principe.

b. Gender Status Index

Source: AGDI Country Reports.
Notes: ST&P = Sao Tome and Principe. GSI within the highlighted area represent gender parity.
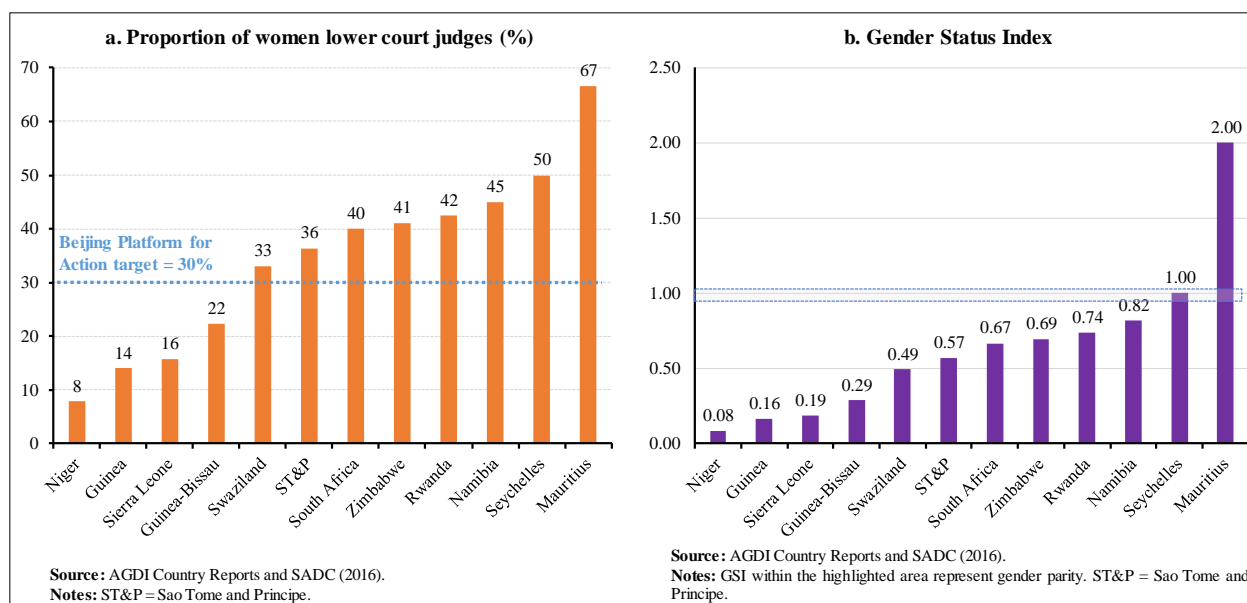
Representation in the judiciary

In terms of representation in positions of seniority in the judiciary, men still predominate although women's presence in the judiciary is increasing overall. **Mauritius** has achieved parity in terms of women's representation as high court judges (Chart 7.5). **Rwanda**, **Sierra Leone**, **South Africa** and **Zimbabwe** have met the target set in the Beijing Platform for Action. Of the eleven high court judges in **Guinea-Bissau**, none is a woman. There is severe gender disparity in favour of males in **Guinea**, **Guinea- Bissau**, **Namibia**, **Niger**, **Sao Tome and Principe**, **Seychelles** and **Swaziland**. A women occupy the position of Chief Justice in **Seychelles** since 2015.

Chart 7.5: Women's representation in higher courts (%) and Gender Status Index.

a. Proportion of women high court judges (%)

Beijing Platform for Action target = 30%

Source: AGDI Country Reports and SADC (2016).
Notes: ST&P = Sao Tome and Principe.

b. Gender Status Index

Source: AGDI Country Reports and SADC (2016).
Notes: GSI within the highlighted area represent gender parity. ST&P = Sao Tome and Principe.

The proportion of women magistrates is generally higher than that of higher court judges. The figure is 50 percent and 67 percent in **Seychelles** and **Mauritius** respectively (Chart 7.6). In addition, six other countries – **Namibia**, **Rwanda**, **Sao Tome and Principe**, **South Africa**, **Swaziland** and **Zimbabwe** – have exceeded the 30 percent benchmark. The proportion in **Guinea**, **Niger** and **Sierra Leone** is below 20 percent.

Chart 7.6: Women's representation in lower courts and Gender Status Index.

a. Proportion of women lower court judges (%)

Source: AGDI Country Reports and SADC (2016).
Notes: ST&P = Sao Tome and Principe.

b. Gender Status Index

Source: AGDI Country Reports and SADC (2016).
Notes: GSI within the highlighted area represent gender parity. ST&P = Sao Tome and Principe.

Namibia and **Swaziland** reported sex-disaggregated data on the number of traditional court judges. In the former one out of the twenty-one traditional court judges were women, while in the latter none of the twenty-six judges were women.

Representation in civil society organizations

"Encourage efforts by non-governmental organizations, trade unions and the private sector to achieve equality between women and men in their ranks, including equal participation in their decision-making bodies and in negotiations in all areas and at all levels"[19]

A balanced representation in senior positions of trade unions and employers' organizations is important to ensure that the different roles, needs and priorities of men and women are taken into consideration in the workplace. Sex-disaggregated data on representation in these two areas are limited for the countries under review. The proportion of women in senior positions in trade unions ranged from less than 10 percent in **Guinea** and **Guinea-Bissau** to above 30 percent in **South Africa** and **Swaziland** (Table 7.4). For employers' associations, women in senior positions account for less than 15 percent in **Guinea** and **Swaziland,** and 40 percent in **Mauritius**.

Table 7.4: Proportion in senior positions in trade unions and employers' associations by sex (%) and Gender Status Index.

	Trade unions			Employers' associations		
	Women	**Men**	**GSI**	**Women**	**Men**	**GSI**
Guinea	9.1	90.9	0.10	13.0	87.0	0.15
Guinea-Bissau	3.6	96.4	0.04	28.6	71.4	0.40
Mauritius	11.9	88.1	0.14	40	60	0.67
Seychelles	20	80.0	0.25	25	75	0.33
South Africa	34.5	65.5	0.53	26.7	73.3	0.36
Swaziland	36.3	63.7	0.57	14.3	85.7	0.17

Sources: National AGDI Reports.

---

[19] United Nations (1995: para. 192 (d)).

For countries where data is available, women are doing well in terms of occupying senior positions in non-governmental organizations. The proportion of women in senior positions in non-governmental organizations is above 30 percent in the four countries with data (Table 7.5). There is gender parity in **Seychelles** and **Swaziland** with GSI values of 1.03. The situation is less desirable for political parties except for **Rwanda** where women occupy 41 percent of senior positions in political parties.

Table 7.5: Proportion in senior positions in political parties and non-governmental organizations by sex (%) and Gender Status Index.

	Political parties			Non-governmental organizations		
	Women	Men	GSI	Women	Men	GSI
Guinea	9.4	90.6	0.10	42.4	57.6	0.74
Mauritius	9.1	90.9	0.10	31.3	68.9	0.45
Rwanda	40.7	59.3	0.69	(..)	(..)	(..)
Seychelles	21.1	78.9	0.27	50.8	49.2	1.03
Swaziland	(..)	(..)	(..)	50.8	49.2	1.03

Sources: National AGDI Reports.
Note: GSI = Gender Status Index.

Participation in traditional governance

Traditional governance authorities and institutions play an important role as alternative dispute mechanisms. However, some of the practices of these institutions are sometimes at odds with gender equality principles. According to its latest report to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, **Niger** noted that the traditional chieftainship which administers townships and villages is exclusively male in accordance with customary law[20]. Similarly, in **Sierra Leone** women may be precluded from standing in chieftaincy elections under the *Chieftaincy Act*.

Table 7.6: Number of traditional chiefs by sex.

	Women	Men	Gender Status Index
Guinea	0	33	0
Namibia	3	39	0.08
Niger	0	247	0
Swaziland	0	341	0
Zimbabwe	19	731	0.03

Sources: National AGDI Reports.

Of the forty-two traditional chiefs in **Namibia**, three are females (Table 7.6). In **Zimbabwe,** there are 19 traditional chiefs who are females and 731 who are males. None of the traditional chiefs in **Guinea**, **Niger** and **Swaziland** are women.

[To update] Overall, countries scored themselves high on policy commitment and institutional mechanism, followed by setting targets and involvement of civil society on the participation of women in traditional governance on the African Women's Progress Scoreboard (Table A7.1). The weakest areas were law and

---

[20] United Nations, CEDAW Committee (2015).

capacity enhancement. **Namibia** scored itself highest on this indicator at 73 percent while **Niger** and **Guinea** scored themselves 0 and 4 percent respectively.

Participation in conflict prevention and resolution and peace building

Most of the countries covered by this report have experienced armed conflict including coup d'état and civil war at some time in their history. Often times in conflict-affected countries, women and girls have to assume responsibilities traditionally meant to be carried by men. And they suffer disproportionately from gender-based violence as well as other abuses and violations of their human rights, both during and after armed conflict.

Including women in conflict prevention and resolution and peace-building is not only the right thing to do to ensure that the needs, interests and priorities of the whole population are taken into account. A growing body of research suggests that women's participation in peacemaking, constitution-making and national dialogues is also positively correlated with the conclusion and sustainability of peace talks, and the implementation of peace agreements[21]. However, most peace negotiations involve mainly the military and political parties of conflict and focus on high-level processes where women remain underrepresented[22].

One of the ways for member States to show their commitment with the provisions of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) and subsequent resolutions that address the participation of women in conflict prevention and resolution and peace-building is through the development of National Plans of Actions. Of the countries covered by this report, **Guinea**, **Guinea-Bissau**, **Liberia**, **Rwanda** and **Sierra Leone** have developed National Plans of Actions. The *Report of the Secretary-General Report on women, peace and security* noted that for these plans to be effective they will need to have the following elements: "strong leadership and effective coordination, inclusive design processes, costing and allocated budgets for implementation, monitoring and evaluation and flexibility to adapt to emerging situations"[23].

[To update] Overall, countries scored themselves high on law followed by policy commitment on women, peace and security on the African Women's Progress Scoreboard (Table A7.2). The weakest areas were budget, research, monitoring and evaluation and capacity enhancement. **Rwanda** scored itself highest at 88 percent while **Niger** scored itself lowest at 54 percent. Box 7.2 highlights the role played by women in conflict resolution and peace building in **Liberia**.

BOX 7. 2 WOMEN'S ROLE IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACE BUILDING IN LIBERIA.

After the 1989 coup, in which Charles Taylor assumed the presidency, Liberia spiraled into two successive waves of armed violence, the second of which killed over two hundred thousand people and displaced one third of the country's population. Although the combatants were mostly men, women and girls across the country were subjected to widespread sexual violence, abductions, forced labor, and forced marriages.

In April 2003, a group of Liberian women led by activist and future Nobel Peace Laureate Leymah Gbowee launched Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace. The group became instrumental in forcing formal talks, holding belligerents accountable to negotiation timetables, and mobilizing national support for the process. The group met Taylor and successfully pressured him to participate in peace talks in Accra, Ghana. In Accra, women staged a sit-in and refused to let any party leave the premises before they reached a negotiated resolution; the talks culminated in the signing of the 2003 Comprehensive Peace Agreement.

---

[21] United Nations (2015b).
[22] *Ibid*.
[23] *Ibid*. at para. 98.

Support for women's quotas and affirmative action

In its general recommendation 23, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women recommended the use of "temporary special measures" (Box 7.3) to achieve equality in participation in political and public life[24]. These measures include allocation of resources, preferential treatment, targeted recruitment and promotion and quota systems.

Guinea, **Mauritania**, **Niger**, **Rwanda**, **Swaziland** and **Zimbabwe** have constitutional- and legislative-mandated quotas for either the number or proportion of women in the national parliament (Table 7.7). In **Rwanda** and **Swaziland**, the constitution stipulates that women should hold a minimum of 30 percent of parliamentary seats. Table 7.1 shows that **Rwanda** is meeting this goal in both houses while **Swaziland** only meets the target in the Upper House, the Senate. In addition to **Rwanda** and **Swaziland**, **Guinea**, **Mauritania** and **Zimbabwe** have some sort of system of reserved seats for women.

In **Zimbabwe,** the Constitution provides for 210 members of the National Assembly to be elected on a first-past-the-post basis and an additional 60 seats are reserved for women. For the Senate, the Upper House, 60 senators out of 88 are elected through a proportional representation system using the so-called "zebra list" in which male and female candidates are listed alternatively with a woman at the top of the list. These measures have contributed to increase the proportion of women in the National Assembly from 15 percent to 33 percent in the 2013 elections, and reaching 48 percent in the Senate.

In **Guinea**, **Mauritania** and **Niger**, the introduction of quotas is associated with an increasing proportion of women in parliament (Chart 7.1b). In contrast to **Guinea** and **Mauritania**, **Niger** has gender-neutral quotas. Box 7.4 discusses the effect of the quota in **Niger** in more detail. In a White Paper on Electoral Reform released in 2014, the Government of **Mauritius** recommended a gender-neutral quota whereby at least one third of the total number of candidates from the First-Past-the-Post constituencies be of either gender, that neither gender represents less than 33 percent of candidates on the Party List and that there is

---

[24] United Nations, CEDAW Committee (1997: para. 43).

at least one person of a different gender out of every three sequential candidates on the Proportional Representation System (see note # to Table 7.7).

Table 7.7: Electoral gender quotas.

Country	Parliamentary system	Electoral system	Availability and description of quota
Chad	Unicameral	Party block vote*	No information
Guinea	Unicameral	Proportional representation / First-past-the-post	– Parliament: at least 30% of the candidates on proportional representation lists must be women. – District councils: 1/3 of the seats reserved for women. – Communal Council elections: at least 30% of candidates on the lists must be women. – 10% of public fund is allocated to political parties which have women elected as members of the parliament (5%) and as municipal counsellors (5%).
Guinea-Bissau	Unicameral	Proportional representation	No information
Liberia	Bicameral	First-past-the-post	No quota
Mauritania	Bicameral	Two-round system	– 20 seats are reserved for women candidates running in a single nationwide list. – Political parties are required to nominate at least one woman in one out of four constituencies. – Women shall be allocated at least 20% of the seats on municipal councils. – Political parties that elect more women than required by the quota obtain a financial benefit. – The electoral administration shall reject candidate lists that do not comply with the quota regulations.
Mauritius	Unicameral	Block vote system#	Minimum of one-third representation of either sex in municipalities and village councils (*Local Government Act*, 2012).
Namibia	Bicameral	Proportional representation	- Legislated candidate quotas for elections of local authority council, municipal council and town council. - Voluntary quotas by political parties.
Niger	Unicameral	Proportional representation	– Parliamentary and local elections: candidate lists should include candidates of both sexes; proportion of elected candidates of either sex should not be less than 15%. – Constitutional Court rejects candidate lists that do not comply with the gender quota requirements. – 10% of public grant is allocated proportionately to political parties which have women elected at all level.
Rwanda	Bicameral	Proportional representation / indirectly elected and appointed	– Constitution (Article 9[4]): women are granted at least 30 per cent of posts in decision making organs. – Political party: at least 30% of posts that are subjected to elections are occupied by women.
Sao Tome and Principe	Unicameral	Proportional representation	No information
Seychelles	Unicameral	First-past-the-post / proportional representation	No quota
Sierra Leone	Unicameral	First-past-the-post	Ward Committees: 50% must be women (*Local Government Act*, 2004).
South Africa	Bicameral	Proportional representation	– Local councils: 50% of the candidates on the party list must be women. – Voluntary quotas by political parties.
Swaziland	Bicameral	First-past-the-post / indirectly elected and appointed	Constitution: women should constitute 30% of the Parliament.
Zimbabwe	Bicameral	First-past-the-post / proportional representation	- National Assembly: 60 reserved seats for women. - Senate: 60 senators out of 88 are elected through a proportional representation system in which male and female candidates are listed alternatively.

Sources: ECA (2009), Quota project, SADC (2016) and United Nations, Human Rights Council (2014).
Notes: Under a first-past-the-post system, the candidate with the most votes wins. The proportion of votes a party receives in an election determines its number of seats in a proportional system. * Voters in **Chad** vote for political parties; the party that wins the most votes gets every seat in the electoral district. # The National Assembly in **Mauritius** consists of 70 members of whom 62 are elected in accordance with the first-past-the-post and the remaining 8 are allocated seats from among the best losers at general elections on a communal and party basis.

BOX 7.4 GENDER QUOTA IN NIGER.

o   Niger has a unicameral parliamentary system with a single house of parliament.

o   *May 2000:* The National Assembly approved bill to create a quota system in elected offices, the government and public administration.

o   *June 2000:* The Quota Law (Loi N 2000-008) is enacted. The law set a quota of 10 percent for both sexes in parliament. It also set a quota of 25 percent for the cabinet and senior positions in the public service.

Chart B7.1. Effect of the gender quota on the proportion of women elected to parliament, 1999-2016.
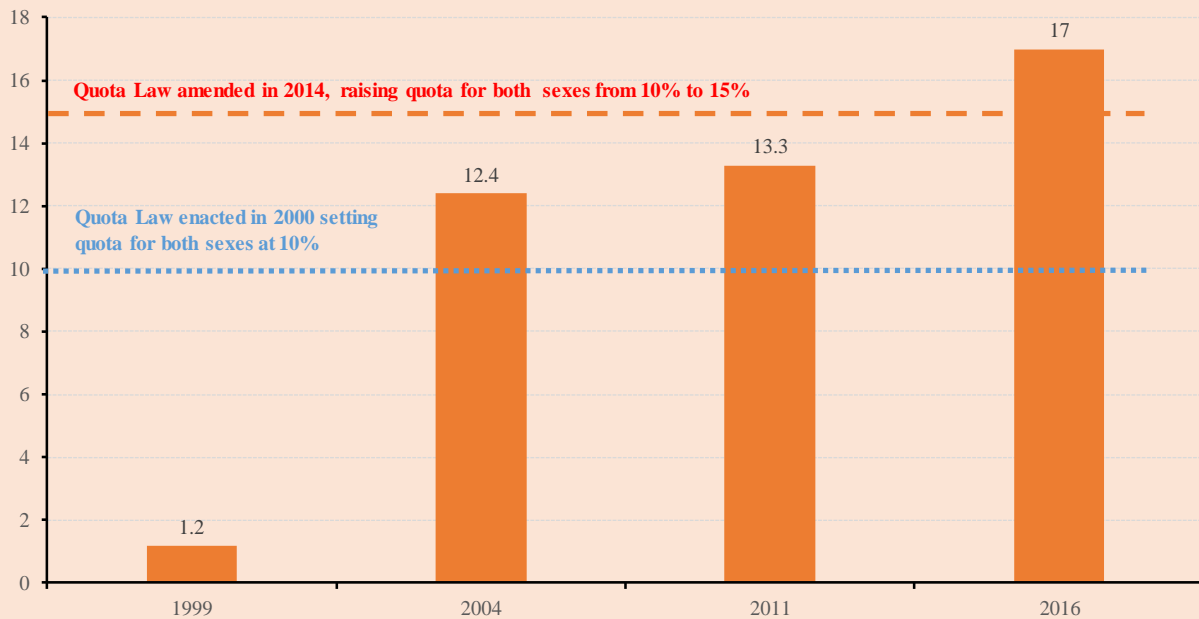
o   *February 2001:* Decree on the application of the gender quota law (Decret N 2001-056) is passed requiring political parties to ensure that the proportion of elected candidates in legislative and local elections of either sexes is 10 percent. The decree made provision for the Constitutional Court to challenge the list of elected candidates and for the administrative division of the Supreme Court to challenge the list of executive and senior administrative appointments in the event of violations of the law.

o   *2014:* The Quota Law is amended to increase the quota for legislative and local elections to 15 percent.

o   The adoption of the quota led to a significant increase in the presence of women in parliament. The proportion of women in parliament jumped from 1.2 percent in 1999 through 12.4 percent in 2004 to 13.3 percent in 2011 (Chart B7.1). Following the increase in the quota in 2014, the number of women parliamentarians increased further to 17 percent in the 2016 elections.

o   Although the proportion of women in the cabinet increased from 5.2 percent in 1999 to 24 percent in 2005, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women noted that in 2016 women accounted for 19 percent of ministers, 12 percent of regional, municipal and town councillors, and 0 percent of governors and prefects, below the target of 25 percent set in the Quota Law. The Committee also noted that women were underrepresented in decision-making posts in the public service and are excluded from full participation in traditional political functions (see Table 7.6).

Sources: Inter-Parliamentary Union (2017), Kang (2013) and United Nations, CEDAW Committee (2017).

In **Rwanda**, the quota of 30 percent also applies to political parties (Table 7.7). Although having no

mandatory quota, the main political parties in **Namibia** and **South Africa** have voluntary quotas. The African National Congress in **South Africa** adopted the 50/50 quota at a party level in 2007[25]. This partly explains the relatively high proportion of women in the lower house of the two countries (Chart 7.1a).

Guinea, **Mauritania**, **Mauritius**, **Namibia**, **Niger**, **Rwanda**, **Sierra Leone** and **South Africa** have gender quotas at the sub-national levels (Table 7.7). These range from 15 percent in **Niger** to 50 percent in **South Africa** for local elections and **Sierra Leone** for Ward Committees. In order to promote parity of representation between female and male traditional leaders in district and local municipalities, the *Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act* (2003) in **South Africa** require at least 30 percent of members of the National House of Traditional Leaders to be women[26]. Box 7.5 highlights the effect of the introduction of a gender-neutral quota at the local government level in **Mauritius**.

<div style="background-color:#fde9d9; padding:10px;">

BOX 7.5 GENDER QUOTA AT THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL IN MAURITIUS.

Women's participation in decision-making at the level of local government in Mauritius has historically been low. This changed with the proclamation of the *Local Government Act* (2012) which provides for a mandatory gender neutral quota at the level of local government with a minimum of one-third representation of either sex in municipalities and village councils. The adoption of this quota led to a significant increase in the presence of women in local government starting in 2012. In the Municipal Council Elections of 2012 and 2015, women won nearly 37 percent and 34 percent of the seats respectively compared to 13 percent in 2005.

Source: Mauritius AGDI Report (2017).

</div>

Mauritius is one of the few African countries with a gender quota in its corporate governance framework to increase female participation on the boards of companies. The *National Code of Corporate Governance* (2016) stipulates that all companies should have at least one male and one female director.

In a study of the gender quota in **Niger**, Alice Kang concluded that the design of a quota, the institutional context and women's participation determine the impact of the quota[27]. In terms of quota design, the higher the quota's minimum threshold, the more effective it is in terms of electing women. This receives some support in **Niger** where an increase in the quota from 10 to 15 percent in 2014 resulted in an increase in the proportion of women in parliament above 15 percent in the 2016 elections after hovering just above 10 percent in the previous two elections (see Box 7.4). This is also the case in **Rwanda** and **Zimbabwe** in both houses, and **Swaziland** in the lower house.

In addition, a conducive institutional environment is required for quotas to work, which includes having an enforcement mechanism. The electoral administration in **Mauritania** and the constitutional court (for legislative elections) and supreme court (for executive and senior administrative appointments) in **Niger** can reject candidate lists that do not comply with the legislated quota laws (Table 7.7). The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women indicated that the quota is not being respected with respect to appointments in the cabinet and at senior levels of public administration in **Niger**. **Guinea**, **Mauritania** and **Niger** also recompensed political parties which have more women elected than required by the quota.

A strong women's movement is also important in contributing to making a gender quota work in a country. In **Niger**, women activists "spread awareness about the gender quota law, provided support to female candidates, framed the quota law as legitimate, put pressure on political parties to respect the quota law by

---

[25] Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities [South Africa] (2014).
[26] Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities [South Africa] (2014).
[27] Kang (2013).

using the Constitutional Court, and appealed to international organizations and donors"[28]. The latter provide women leaders in the civil society and government access to skills and financial resources, and exposure to a progressive women's agenda[29].

In addition to quotas, countries have taken other measures to improve the balance of women and men in political and public life. In 1998, **Namibia** enacted the *Affirmative Action (Employment) Act* that compels relevant employers to prepare and implement a 3-year affirmative action plan that specifies measures to "eliminate employment barriers against persons in designated groups; make available positions of employment to such persons, provided that it is reasonably possible; and ensure that such persons are equitably represented in the various positions of employment." Women is included as a designated group for the purpose of this legislation. In 2011, a Directorate for the Promotion of Female Leadership was created in **Niger** to initiate strategies and mechanisms for the promotion of human rights and women's political leadership, among other objectives.

Gender quotas and other affirmation measures to boost female participation in political and public life are not without their detractors. Some critiques have argued that these measures are at variance with principles of equality since women are given preference at the expense of their male counterparts (but see the position of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women on this issue in Box 7.3). In some countries, the requisite number of women are nominated but they are then not given the necessary support including financial resources, to wage a successful campaign[30].

[To update] Overall, countries scored themselves high on law and involvement of civil society, followed by policy commitment, setting targets and institutional mechanism on support for women's quotas and affirmative action on the African Women's Progress Scoreboard (Table A7.3). The weakest areas were budget and development of a plan. **Namibia** and **Mauritius** scored themselves above 70 percent while **Guinea** and **Swaziland** scored themselves lowest at 50 percent. Box 7.6 lists some of the concerns raised by the Committee for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and the Human Rights Council in relation to women's participation in political and public life in the countries covered by the report.

> **BOX 7.6 CONCERNS RAISED BY TREATY BODIES.**
>
> **Liberia (CEDAW Committee, 2015):** Women are still underrepresented at decision-making levels, including in the parliament, in senior leadership positions in the civil service and at the ministerial level.
>
> **Mauritius (Human Right Council, 2013):** Systematic barriers exist that impede women's equal participation in political life including negative cultural attitudes, doubts about women's leadership capabilities, lack of quotas for women and lack of capacity-building of potential candidates.
>
> **Mauritania (CEDAW Committee, 2014):** There is a lack of economic support for women candidates in elections, and low number of women at the ministerial level, the regional level, the communal level, in the foreign service and in the judiciary.
>
> **Namibia (CEDAW Committee, 2015):** There is low representation of women in the judiciary, ministerial positions and senior positions in the diplomatic service, and at the regional and local levels of government.
>
> **Rwanda (CEDAW Committee, 2017):** Mandatory quotas have not been reached at the local level; representation of women is low at the district level, especially in leadership positions; and there is persisting inequality between women and men with respect to leadership positions in the private sector.
>
> **Sierra Leone (CEDAW Committee, 2014):** The participation of women in decision-making is low and there is a

---

[28] Kang (2013: p. 98).
[29] Bauer and Burnet (2013).
[30] Inter-Parliamentary Union (2015).

lack of measures to address the underlying causes, including prevailing social and cultural attitudes; and there is an absence of an overall quota system that aims at accelerating women's participation in political life, including in decision-making at all levels.

Swaziland (CEDAW Committee, 2014): Women were largely excluded from participating in decision-making on matters of rural development and policy owing to persisting negative social and cultural norms regarding their participation.

Sources: United Nations, CEDAW Committee (2014a), United Nations, CEDAW Committee (2014b), United Nations, CEDAW Committee (2015a), United Nations, CEDAW Committee (2015b), United Nations, CEDAW Committee (2016), United Nations, CEDAW Committee (2017b), United Nations, Human Rights Council (2013).

Gender mainstreaming

"[C]reate a national machinery, where it does not exist, and strengthen, as appropriate, existing national machineries, for the advancement of women at the highest possible level of government; it should have clearly defined mandates and authority; critical elements would be adequate resources and the ability and competence to influence policy and formulate and review legislation; among other things, it should perform policy analysis, undertake advocacy, communication, coordination and monitoring of implementation"[31].

"Give all ministries the mandate to review policies and programmes from a gender perspective and in the light of the Platform for Action; locate the responsibility for the implementation of that mandate at the highest possible level; establish and/or strengthen an inter-ministerial coordination structure to carry out this mandate, to monitor progress and to network with relevant machineries".[32]

In line with the Beijing Platform for Action, all countries have established a national gender machinery to coordinate the mainstreaming of a gender perspective in all departments. This take different forms including a stand-alone ministry of gender and women's affairs (**South Africa**), a gender directorate under a ministry (**Chad**, **Guinea**, **Guinea-Bissau**, **Liberia**, **Mauritania**, **Mauritius**, **Namibia**, **Niger, Rwanda**, **Sierra Leone** and **Zimbabwe**), a gender unit in a key ministry (**Swaziland**)and a gender secretariat (**Seychelles**). In **South Africa**, the Minister in the Presidency has the responsibility for women's empowerment and gender equality as the national gender machinery, while all members of Cabinet, government entities, the private sector and civil society, and at all levels of decision-making are responsible for gender mainstreaming in their respective area of responsibility[33]. Most countries have set up gender focal persons in all government ministries, departments and agencies to institutionalize the national gender mainstreaming framework.

Some countries have developed a national gender policy, with associated institutional mechanisms, action plan, targets and monitoring and evaluation framework. **Niger** has adopted the National Gender Policy (2008) and its National Action Plan (2009-2018), established the National Observatory for the Advancement of Gender Equality, placed gender focal points in all Ministries and created a Gender Parliamentary Network[34]. **Mauritius** has developed the National Gender Policy Framework (2008) to guide the formulation of gender policy statements by sectoral ministries. A National Plan on Gender Mainstreaming is also being developed. Box 7.7 highlights the institutional mechanism for the implementation of the National Gender Policy in **Namibia**.

---

[31] United Nations (1995: para. 203 (b)).
[32] United Nations (1995: para. 204 (e)).
[33] Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities [South Africa] (2014).
[34] United Nations, CEDAW Committee (2017).

An analysis of national reports prepared as part of the Beijing Plus 20 review in 2014 shows that national gender machineries are hampered by inadequate budgetary allocations, human resources and technical capacity to effectively coordinate gender mainstreaming and the implementation of gender policies, plans and programmes at the national and local level [35]. Gender Focal Persons are often times at middle management level unable to influence policy decisions from a gender perspective. Lack of institutional structures at the local level and a lack of data disaggregated by sex in many areas further compounds the situation.

<div style="background-color: #fce4d6; padding: 10px;">

BOX 7.7 INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR IMPLEMENTING THE GENDER POLICY IN NAMIBIA.

Namibia's National Gender Policy 2010-2020 revises the previous policy initiated in 1997. It takes into account a number of new emerging issues such as the worsening of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, globalization and climate change, human trafficking, and the escalating and worsening of gender-based violence.

In 2014, the Cabinet approved the National Coordination Mechanism to ensure effective implementation of the National Gender Policy across sectors. The coordination mechanism consists of the following:

o   At Cabinet level, the High Level Gender Advisory Committee to coordinate and monitor the implementation of the Policy.

o   The National Gender Permanent Task Force, which is the highest technical consultative body comprising of Permanent Secretaries and senior representatives from the public and private sector, development partners and civil society organisations.

o   National Gender Plan of Action Implementation Clusters comprising of gender focal persons.

o   Regional Gender Permanent Task Force which includes representatives of Regional Governors, Regional and Local Authority Councillors, and Traditional Authorities and representatives from the public and private sector, development partners and civil society organisations based in the regions.

Source: Beijing Plus 20 Review Report for Namibia (2014).

</div>

[To update] Overall, countries scored themselves high on policy commitment and institutional mechanism, followed by setting targets and involvement of civil society on gender mainstreaming in all departments on the African Women's Progress Scoreboard (Table A7.4). The weakest areas were law and capacity enhancement. **Niger, Rwanda** and **South Africa** scored themselves 85 percent and above while **Swaziland** scored itself lowest at 46 percent. Box 7.8 summarizes the efforts undertaken by **Rwanda** to remedy some of these challenges.

<div style="background-color: #fce4d6; padding: 10px;">

BOX 7.8 GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN RWANDA.

Institutional mechanisms: The Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion, within the Office of the Prime Minister Office ensures effective coordination of policy implementation in the area of gender across sectors. Other relevant institutions include the Gender Monitoring Office, the National Women's Council and Rwanda Women Parliamentary Forum among others. The Gender Monitoring Office has the sole responsibility of monitoring the implementation of gender equality principles in all sectors and at all levels. The National Women Council, with its central and decentralized structures, mobilizes women to contribute to national development at both national and community levels.

</div>

---

[35] Economic Commission of Africa (2014).

Implementation plans and targets: The Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion developed the Strategic Plan for the implementation of the National Gender Policy (2010), which include milestones, targets, and a monitoring and evaluation mechanism.

Budget: Under Organic Budget Law (2013), all government budget agencies are required to submit Gender Budget statements with their budgets to the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. The Ministry, working closely with the Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion and the Gender Monitoring Office, oversees the mainstreaming of gender into the planning, policy formulation and co-ordinates the Gender Responsive Budgeting process. At the decentralized levels, gender budgeting has been institutionalized through the district performance contracts (Imihigo).

Source: Rwanda AGDI Report.

Concluding remarks

This chapter reviewed the progress made by the countries covered by this report on the indicators under the Political Power block of the African Gender and Development Index. It assessed the extent to which countries are meeting their commitments in promoting women' participation in political and public life including in conflict prevention and resolution, peace-building and traditional governance, and in mainstreaming a gender perspective in all departments.

Women's participation in political and public life. Women continue to face a number of barriers that prevent them from fully participating in political and public life. These include discriminatory attitudes and practices which reinforce patriarchal notions of the incapability of female leadership, perpetuation of violence against women during the electoral cycle, illiteracy, the burden of unpaid care work, women's economic dependence on men and the high cost of seeking and holding public office. This chapter shows that participation in political and public life is one area where gender disparity against women is especially stark.

Representation in national parliaments. The participation of women in parliament has progressed since the Beijing Platform for Action was adopted in 1995 with the share of women in parliaments increasing in most countries during that period. **Rwanda, Namibia** and **South Africa** are ranked in the top ten countries in the world in terms of the proportion of women in the lower house of parliament. Despite of the progress made in the past 20 years, overall, women remain underrepresented in parliament.

Representation in the cabinet of ministers. Overall, the proportion of women ministers represented in the cabinet is generally lower than that in parliament. Women occupy over 30 percent of cabinet posts in **South Africa** and **Rwanda**. Women are also increasingly being elected and/or appointed as President and Prime Minister, and being appointed to a wider range of ministerial portfolios.

Representation in higher positions in the civil services and parastatals. Compared to other areas covered in this chapter, countries are faring better in terms of representation at the level of Principal Secretary and Director General, particularly in the Small Developing Island States. However, women still have some way to go to achieve parity in this area. Women are at a severe disadvantage in **Sierra Leone** and **Swaziland**, although in the latter there is a high proportion of women one level below the most senior positions in the civil service.

Representation in the judiciary. There is still male predominance in terms of representation in positions of seniority, although women's presence in the judiciary is increasing especially at the magistrate level. **Mauritius** has reached gender parity for higher court judges, with **Zimbabwe** not far from reaching gender parity. **Seychelles** has achieved gender parity in terms of magistrates while **Mauritius** has significantly more female magistrates than male magistrates.

Representation in civil society organizations. Data is not readily available on the indicators in this component. Overall, women are well represented at the senior level of non-governmental organizations in the countries where data is available. There exists gender parity in **Seychelles** and **Swaziland**. The situation is less desirable for women's representation in senior positions in political parties (except for **Rwanda)**, trade unions (except for **South Africa** and **Swaziland**) and employers' associations (except for **Mauritius**).

Participation in traditional governance. Women are extremely underrepresented in traditional governance institutions where they exist. There are no women traditional chiefs in **Guinea**, **Niger** and **Zimbabwe**.

Participation in conflict prevention and resolution and peace building. Guinea, **Guinea-Bissau**, **Liberia**, **Rwanda** and **Sierra Leone** have developed National Plans of Actions for the implementation of United Nations Security Council 1325. However, effective implementation of these plans is limited by lack of organizational, human and financial resources.

Support for women's quotas and affirmative action. Countries have undertaken a number of measures to promote the participation of women in political and public life. The main measures have been constitutional- and legislative-mandated quotas for either the number or proportion of women in the national parliament and in local governance structures. In addition, the main political parties in **South Africa** and **Swaziland** have voluntary quotas. In general, the introduction of quotas is associated with an increasing proportion of women in parliaments and local governance structures. However, to be effective, gender quotas have to be set at a high enough level, supported by an effective enforcement mechanism, an infrastructure to assist female candidates wage electoral campaigns and a strong women's movement.

Gender mainstreaming. All countries have established a national gender machinery to coordinate the mainstreaming of a gender perspective in all departments. Some countries have also developed a national gender policy, with associated institutional mechanisms, action plan, targets and monitoring and evaluation framework. However, national gender machineries are hampered by inadequate budgetary allocations, human resources and technical capacity and a lack of sex-disaggregated data to effectively coordinate gender mainstreaming and the implementation of gender policies, plans and programmes at the national and local level

Scoring on the African Women's Progress Scoreboard. Overall, countries score themselves well on policy commitment, institutional mechanism, involvement of civil society organizations and setting targets in terms of promoting women's participation in political and public life. Weak areas were capacity enhancement, as well as budget. The inadequacy of legislation was highlighted in terms of women's participation in traditional governance institutions.

Recommendations

Governments should undertake the following interventions to promote the participation of women in political and public life.

Framework for gender mainstreaming. Where it does not exist and in collaboration with civil society organizations and key stakeholders, adopt a national gender strategy with associated costed action plan, targets and monitoring and evaluation framework to guide the gender mainstreaming efforts as a matter of priority.

Gender quotas and affirmative action. Consider introducing new quotas and other affirmative action measures and strengthen existing ones including through appropriate enforcement mechanisms to promote women's participation in political and public life at all levels.

Awareness-raising. In collaboration with civil society organizations, undertake education awareness programmes targeting politicians, the media, leaders of traditional governance institutions and the general public to highlight the importance of women's full and equal participation in political and public life, in particular in leadership positions at all levels

Resources. Allocate adequate organizational, human, technical and financial resources to the national gender machinery to enable it to carry out its mandate to coordinate, monitor and assess the impact of the implementation of public policies and national action plans for the advancement of women, including by implementing a comprehensive strategy to address barriers to the participation of women in decision-making positions.

Data. Enhance the collection, analysis and dissemination of comprehensive data, disaggregated by sex, age, and seniority on the participation of women in legislative, judicial, executive and public administration, as well as in private sector and civil society organizations.

Annex

Table A7.1: Scores for the participation of women in traditional governance on the African Women's Progress Scoreboard.

	Law	Policy commitment	Development of a plan	Targets	Institutional mechanism	Budget	Human resources	Research	Involvement of civil society	Information and dissemination	Monitoring and evaluation	Capacity enhancement	Accountability/transparency	Total	Maximum score	Percentage (%)
Chad															26	
Guinea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	**1**	26	**4**
Guinea-Bissau															26	
Liberia															26	
Mauritania															26	
Namibia	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	**19**	26	**73**
Niger	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**	26	**0**
Sao Tome and Principe															26	
Sierra Leone															26	
South Africa	2	2	1	0	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	**16**	26	**62**
Swaziland															26	
Zimbabwe															26	

Source: AGDI National Reports. No scores for Mauritius, Rwanda, Seychelles and Swaziland.

Table A7.2: Scores for UN Security Resolutions 1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889 on Women, Peace and Security on the African Women's Progress Scoreboard.

	Law	Policy commitment	Development of a plan	Targets	Institutional mechanism	Budget	Human resources	Research	Involvement of civil society	Information and dissemination	Monitoring and evaluation	Capacity enhancement	Accountability/transparency	Total	Maximum score	Percentage (%)
Chad															26	
Guinea	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	0	2	2	1	1	1	**19**	26	**73**
Guinea-Bissau															26	
Liberia															26	
Mauritania															26	
Mauritius	2	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	**2**	2	**100**
Namibia	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	**19**	26	**73**
Niger	2	2	1	2	1	0	2	0	1	1	0	1	1	**14**	26	**54**
Rwanda	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	**23**	26	**88**
Sao Tome and Principe															26	
Sierra Leone															26	
South Africa	2	2	1	0	2	0	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	**20**	26	**67**
Swaziland	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	**17**	26	**65**
Zimbabwe															26	

Source: AGDI National Reports.

Table A7.3: Scores for the support for women's quotas and affirmative action on the African Women's Progress Scoreboard.

	Law	Policy commitment	Development of a plan	Targets	Institutional mechanism	Budget	Human resources	Research	Involvement of civil society	Information and dissemination	Monitoring and evaluation	Capacity enhancement	Accountability/ transparency	Total	Maximum score	Percentage (%)
Chad															**26**	
Guinea	0	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	1	1	1	**13**	**26**	**50**
Guinea-Bissau															**26**	
Liberia															**26**	
Mauritania															**26**	
Mauritius	2	1	1	2	1	X	1	2	1	2	2	2	0	**17**	**24**	**71**
Namibia	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	**19**	**26**	**73**
Niger	2	1	0	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	**16**	**26**	**62**
Rwanda	2	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	2	2	2	1	2	**16**	**26**	**62**
Sao Tome and Principe															**26**	
Seychelles															**26**	
Sierra Leone															**26**	
South Africa	2	1	0	2	1	0	1	2	2	1	1	0	1	**16**	**26**	**62**
Swaziland	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	**13**	**26**	**50**
Zimbabwe															**26**	

Source: AGDI National Reports. Notes: ==Expecting re-scoring for Seychelles==.

Table A7.4: Scores for gender mainstreaming in all departments on the African Women's Progress Scoreboard.

	Law	Policy commitment	Development of a plan	Targets	Institutional mechanism	Budget	Human resources	Research	Involvement of civil society	Information and dissemination	Monitoring and evaluation	Capacity enhancement	Accountability/ transparency	Total	Maximum score	Percentage (%)
Chad															**26**	
Guinea	0	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	**17**	**26**	**65**
Guinea-Bissau															**26**	
Liberia															**26**	
Mauritania															**26**	
Mauritius	0	2	1	1	2	2	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	**19**	**26**	**73**
Namibia	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	**19**	**26**	**73**
Niger	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	**23**	**26**	**88**
Rwanda	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	**24**	**26**	**92**
Sao Tome and Principe															**26**	
Seychelles	0	2	1	1	2	1	1	0	2	2	1	1	1	**15**	**26**	**58**
Sierra Leone															**26**	
South Africa	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	**22**	**26**	**85**
Swaziland	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	**12**	**26**	**46**
Zimbabwe															**26**	

Source: AGDI National Reports.

References

African Union (2003). *Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa*. Adopted at the 2nd Ordinary Session of the AU Assembly of Heads of State and Government on 11 July 2003 in Maputo. African Union Commission, Addis Ababa.

Bauer, G and Burnet, J.E. (2013). "Gender quotas, democracy, women's representation in Africa: Some insights from democratic Botswana and autocratic Rwanda." *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 41 (2): pp. 103-112.

Bigio J. and Vogelstein R. (2016). *How Women's Participation in Conflict Prevention and Resolution Advances U.S. Interests*. Council on Foreign Relations Discussion Paper.

Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities [South Africa] (2014). *South Africa's Beijing +20 Report*.

Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) (2009). *African Governance Report II*. UNECA/Oxford University Press.

Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) (2014). *Twenty-Year Review of the Implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action + 20: Africa Regional Review Summary Report 1995-2014*. UNECA: Addis Ababa.

Inter-Parliamentary Union (2015). *Women in Parliament: 20 years in review*. IPU: Geneva.

Kang, Alice (2013). "The effect of gender quota laws on the election of women: Lessons from Niger." *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 31 (2): pp. 94-102.

O'Reilly M., Súilleabháin A. Ó. and Paffenholz T. (2015). *Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles in Peace Processes*. New York: International Peace Institute, June 2015.

Southern African Development Community (SADC) (2016). *SADC Gender and Development Monitor 2016.* SADC. Gaborone, Harare.

Thomas, G. and Adams, M. (2010). "Breaking the final glass ceiling: The influence of gender in the elections of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and Michelle Bachelet." Journal of Women, Politics & Policy, Vol. 31 (2): pp. 105-131.

United Nations (1995). Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. *Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women*. Sales No. 96.IV.13.

United Nations (2000a). Security Council Resolution 1325. Adopted at the 4213th meeting of the Security Council, on 31 October 2000. S/RES/1325 (2000). New York: United Nations.

United Nations, 2015. *The World's Women 2015: Trends and Statistics*. New York: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Statistics Division. Sales No. E.15.XVII.8.

United Nations, Security Council (2015b). *Report of the Secretary-General on women and peace and security*. S/2015/716.

United Nations, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (1997). General recommendation No. 23: Political and public life.

United Nations, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (2004). General recommendation No. 25: Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Convention (temporary special measures).

United Nations, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (2014ab). Concluding observations on the combined second and third periodic reports of Mauritania. CEDAW/CO/MRT/CO/2-3.

United Nations, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (2014b). Concluding observations on the sixth periodic report of Sierra Leone. CEDAW/C/SLA/CO/6.

United Nations, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (2015a). Concluding observations on the combined seventh and eighth periodic reports of Liberia. CEDAW/C/LBR/CO/7-8.

United Nations, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (2015b). Concluding observations on the combined fourth and fifth periodic reports of Namibia. CEDAW/C/NAM/CO/4-5.

United Nations, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (2017a). Concluding observations on the combined third and fourth periodic reports of Niger. CEDAW/C/NER/CO/3-4.

United Nations, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (2017b). Concluding observations on the combined seventh and ninth periodic reports of Rwanda. CEDAW/C/RWA/CO/7-9.

United Nations, Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). (1997). Agreed Conclusions 1997/2. *Mainstreaming a gender perspective into all policies and programmes in the United Nations system.*

United Nations, Human Rights Council (2013). National report submitted in accordance with paragraph 5 of the annex to Human Rights Council resolution 16/21: Mauritius. A/HRC/WG.6/17/MUS/2.

United Nations, Human Rights Council (2016). National report submitted in accordance with paragraph 5 of the annex to Human Rights Council resolution 16/21: Swaziland. A/HRC/WG.6/25/SWZ/2.