



Attaining the Fifty Percent Target!



Regional Strategy for Higher Representation of Women in Decision Making Positions



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**Regional Strategy for Higher Representation
of Women in Decision Making Positions**

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Sudanese men and women turn out to cast their votes in a

historic election held after 24 years

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACHPR	African Charter on Human and People's Rights
BDPA	Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CoP	Communities of Practice
CRC	Citizen's Report Cards
CSC	Community Score Cards
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
GEWE	Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment
GHGLA	Greater Horn and Great Lakes of Africa
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
HRWDM	Higher Representation of Women in Decision-Making
KM	Knowledge Management
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
PCR	Post-Conflict Reconstruction
SAC	Social Accountability
SDGE	Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa
UDHR	Universal Declaration on Human Rights
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	UN Security Council Resolution

Foreword

Over sixty years ago, humanity made a bold and revolutionary proclamation with a vision for a future, where women and men will engage collectively as a result of the responsible action of politically mature citizens acting in the framework of a free society. This was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

As we stand on the watershed of the old and new Millennia, demands for greater democratic space and women's representation have increased the accountability of state actors. This tall order would revolutionize approaches to self-directed human development that only a new paradigm shift and commitment to new organizing principles can achieve. Hence, it is important to focus on practical strategies for affirmative action processes that have transformed hitherto underdeveloped democracies into forces of livelihood sustainability and human security.

The current dynamics of human development and opportunities for popular mobilization and political action through appropriate tools of leadership in the IGAD Region are unprecedented. A significant challenge, however, is to place these dynamics in a coherent perspective and within the context of basic principles and context of gender-responsive governance and leadership. To implement these principles, it is equally critical to determine how relevant experiences can be shared, while devising strategies on how the international community can support such developments.

The ideological underpinning in building and maintaining such a momentum must aim at facilitating the definition of ideas and systems, which embody and institutionalize good leadership. This is within the context of positive cultural traditions that promote increased understanding of processes and requirements of democratic representation of women. Indeed, there is no more compelling *raison d'être* nor a mission-objective so utterly entrenched in the preservation and, even advancement of woman-kind, than good governance and leadership that can lead a social league to relate cogently to an epidemic of gender ignorance that has spun out of control.

The IGAD Regional Strategy for Higher Representation of Women in Decision Making at all levels of society and polity is a culmination of a long participatory process that brought several stakeholders to various forums for discussions on the situation assessment and analysis. These were undertaken by the IGAD Gender Desk around the end of 2009. The IGAD Women Parliamentary Conference, the first of its kind in the region, was held between 14th and 16th December 2009 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Representative Women Members of Parliament and leaders of women organizations from IGAD Member States, as well as representatives from the African Union Commission (AUC) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) attended the Conference.

During this three-day historic gathering, and the validation workshop conducted from 22nd to 23rd June 2010 in Nairobi, Kenya, distinguished participants from governments, academia and the civil society examined the findings of the Situational Assessment on the Participation and Representation of Women in Decision Making Positions. The assessment had been conducted in five IGAD Member States, namely Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and Sudan around the end of 2009.

In addition, the delegates deliberated on the role of political parties, constitutional provisions and quota systems, as well as local and national governments with specific focus on the role of the executive in ensuring attainment of the 50/50 target by 2015. Moreover, good practices found elsewhere and the human rights approach to higher representation of women were shared and discussed during the two above-mentioned events.

In light of the relevance of women's political empowerment and raising their status in society, the development of an IGAD Strategy for Higher Representation of Women in Decision Making Positions is timely and apposite.

Attaining the 50% Target is therefore not an option, but an important ingredient of the African Renaissance!



Amb (Eng) Mahboub Maalim
IGAD Executive Secretary

Introduction

Since its revitalization in November 1996, IGAD has made Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment, one of its primary objectives, with the view to promoting peace, security and development in the region. In 1998, the idea of creating a fully-fledged women's desk at the IGAD Secretariat was mooted. Subsequently, a proposal submitted to the 18th session of the IGAD Council of Ministers in this regard was endorsed. Since its creation in 1999, the IGAD Women's Desk has carried out gender-focused activities at the Secretariat level, as well as in the IGAD Member States. These have included organization of high-level policy meetings and mobilization of resources for institutional capacity building and project activities. The Desk also networked with relevant organizations and facilitated staff and officials from Member States to attend workshops and conferences on gender and related issues.

In 2003, when IGAD was developing its strategy for 2004 – 2008, the importance of a Regional Gender Policy that could harmonize the national gender policies in the region was recognized. Consequently, an IGAD Gender Policy and Strategy was formulated and launched in 2004. Following the launch of the Policy, the scope of work of the Women's Desk expanded and hence a Gender Affairs Program was instituted at the IGAD Secretariat in March 2005. Among the major tasks undertaken by the Program included popularizing the objectives of the policy, convening Annual Ministerial Meetings and conducting gender-related technical workshops. Other activities undertaken were to mainstream gender into IGAD sectoral programs and projects, publish and distribute relevant documents, as well as facilitating participation of Sudanese and Somali women in peace making and reconstruction processes.

It is worth noting that the annual meetings of the Ministers in charge of Women/Gender Affairs have been significant forums for effective consultation and reaching regional consensus on various social, economic and political issues. Among others, the recommendation made by the Ministers at their meeting held on 21st and 22nd February 2006 in Nairobi, Kenya, underlined the need for supporting women political initiatives to enable them enter and effectively participate in politics, with political parties adopting affirmative political action to have at least 50 per cent of legislative seats, executive and judiciary positions at all levels; in order to empower women to influence national policies.

In fact, this resolve was a reinforcement of one of the priorities of the 2004 IGAD Gender Policy and Strategy that emphasizes Adoption and implementation of affirmative action as a policy to address all forms of inequality and as a measure of increasing women representation at all levels towards 50 per cent as a target by the year 2015.

However, the process and drive to achieve the 50 per cent target of women representation has been delayed due to unavoidable circumstances. The culmination of this Regional Strategy development process is therefore believed to have a great contribution towards increased women's political empowerment and their placement at higher decision-making levels of the government strata.

The strategy paper is herein presented in four parts. Whilst Part I provides a background, Part II shares the vision, mission, and objectives of the strategy. Part III and IV outline the locus of the strategy and the roles of the various stakeholders respectively.

Part 1

Regional Analysis, Challenges and Prospects for Higher Representation of Women in Decision-Making

1. Regional Situation Analysis

1.1. Methodology

The methodology employed in the construction of the strategy comprised a quantitative and qualitative survey aimed at producing a regional situational analysis. There was also a regional conference convened after interactive consultations with IGAD Member States and the civil society in the region. Field visits were undertaken in the five countries, where focus group discussions, key informant interviews and questionnaires were used to collect evidence-based policy development.

1.2. Highlights of Findings from Field Research and Consultative Processes

The field research to develop the strategy was conducted between May and June 2010 in five IGAD Member States. It considered critical factors that determine the nature, scope and sustainability of efforts at increasing representation of women in decision-making positions. Furthermore, it pointed to the fact that most countries have legal regimes regulating how political parties must be organized, registered and dictate how they must operate.

The operational provisions of the political party law, from the research discovered, can be extremely important in establishing the framework for women's political representation. Political parties provide the pedestal for ascending to any elective position. It was therefore observed that most candidates depend on political parties for their nomination, electoral support base and election campaign support, as well as financial and logistical assistance even after elections. While some candidates run for political offices independently, it is far more difficult to win without the backing of a political organization.

It was further noted that political parties differ greatly in the extent to which they seek to promote women into leadership positions and recruit them as party candidates. The parties also vary in the extent to which they address political, economic and social issues of special concern to women.

There are numerous challenges to enhancing women's representation in decision-making positions. Some of the challenges experienced across the IGAD Member States, including the patriarchal nature of the society and public attitudes towards women, are seen as detrimental to the advancement of women in general. The research study found that there are policy-related legal issues, which aim at imposing particular values about the proper place of women within the society and the role of the state in the regulation of 'morality'. This indubitably impacts all aspects of women's lives, from choices relating to dress codes, hair style, using public transport or walking on the street, dancing, trading in the market, staying late at the office to attending demonstrations on various reforms.¹ These impede the ability of women to feel confident to participate in the public life and even less so in public events such as political campaigns.

Virtually all stakeholders agree that retrogressive cultural and religious beliefs and practices (embedded in patriarchy that persists across the five IGAD Member States where the situational assessment was conducted) pose a serious threat to efforts at enhancing women's representation in decision-making positions. These beliefs and practices are undermining even the rights and privileges already granted to women within constitutions, laws and administrative procedures. Another complicating factor is that the five countries also experience numerous incidences of parallel legal systems, where statutory law, and alternative customary and religious laws clash. Women have often been forced to juggle between the two realities; and a majority of them who face different forms of marginalization find it difficult to claim and access their entitlements under statutory laws. On the other hand, the more accessible customary law innately discriminates against them and does not recognize many of their rights.

Despite the fact that IGAD Member States have expressly committed themselves to comply with continental and international treaties, most of them follow a dualist system of treaty implementation (as opposed to direct implementation after ratification). This poses a serious problem because international laws can only be effective when parliaments domesticate them by enacting specific Acts of Parliament. Under this general doctrine, continental and international treaties must be given effect domestically through legislative, judicial and administrative means.

The experience in most of the countries studied showed that the process of domestication after ratification has been full of bottlenecks. The main one is the slow parliamentary processes amidst competing priorities on the calendar. This coupled with general lack of interest and commitment on the part of legislators. In addition, a number of mainstream legal documents governing elections are largely gender neutral and make no specific reference to women or any purposive/affirmative measures to increase women participation. Political parties' registration is also gender neutral and fails to empower electoral bodies to take specific measures within existing constitutional and policy provisions to secure their participation.

The study further revealed that Djibouti, Sudan and Uganda had quotas in operation, with the latter having the highest allocation at 30 per cent for women parliamentary and local council seats. Ethiopia also has a quota system within its party structures, such that the ruling party achieved nearly 30 per cent in its national house of peoples' representatives in the 2010 elections. Though Kenya had no quota for women during the time this study was undertaken, a presidential directive instructed recruitment of 30 per cent within the civil service and following the promulgation of its new Constitution in 2010, there is now a constitutional requirement

that affirmative action measures should be taken to ensure that no more than two thirds of men or women comprise all elective and appointive positions. These developments, however, arose after the completion of this study and do not form the subject of discussions herein but have been stated only to be noted.

According to the study, mechanisms such as ministries of women/gender affairs have been set up with inadequate institutional authority, capacity and resources to promote implementation of policies effectively. Coordination of laws and implementation of gender mainstreaming strategy across all sectors and levels of government also remain deficient. Often the institutional status of these ministries and other machineries are not sufficient to exert adequate influence within the government structure. In many instances, the study noted that they may not act as an effective catalyst and advocate for gender equality because they also lack requisite human and financial resources.

Updated sex disaggregated data on the status of women's representation in decision-making positions is not readily available in most of the five countries, which makes it difficult to monitor progress of initiatives, or even to know the extent of the problem as it affects women. Not all the women/gender ministries, except one have internal capacity of collecting, processing and utilizing sex-disaggregated data. In many cases, they have to rely on other ministries over whom they have no control to provide them with this very important data. Limitations of funding to facilitate gender representation were also noted across the five countries.

1.3. Conclusion and Lessons Learned

IGAD Member States have clearly recognized the need for effective legal frameworks and national mechanisms to facilitate the enhancement of women's representation in decision-making. Nonetheless, cultural, technical, financial and organizational barriers continue to limit the full participation of women in all spheres.

The research study further observed that an international instrument like the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) has yet to be given the central importance in the preparation of national and municipal laws and policies for the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women and the achievement of gender equality. It was also noted that a majority of Member States in the region are yet to institutionalize and implement monitoring and evaluation measures that would give timely feedback on the progress of initiatives. It is therefore increasingly difficult for the countries to meet set objectives effectively and efficiently.

The analysis of research showed that it is imperative to establish working alliances with men as an effective way of reducing male hostility and achieving faster progress in enhancing women's representation. Well-coordinated multi-stakeholder alliances in particular among NGOs supporting women's empowerment are a key strategy to drawing attention of key government actors to action points that they need to take to enhance women's participation and representation in decision-making. In addition, setting up of semi-autonomous mechanisms, such as "gender commissions" have a lot of potential to increase professional monitoring of government interventions at enhancing women's participation, as well as increasing opportunities for internal, more "friendly" and focused advocacy.ⁱⁱ

2. Challenges and Prospects for the HRWDM

The Addis Ababa Declaration on Women's Public Participation and Representation, an outcome of the IGAD Women Parliamentarians' Conference held between 14th and 16th December 2009 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, underpins challenges to women's representation in decision-making.

It states, in part, that:

Politics is still a male domain that many women have found unwelcoming or even hostile. Societies in which traditional or patriarchal values remain strong may frown on women entering politics. On the other hand, women are often more likely than men to face practical barriers to entering politics, including a paucity of financial resources, lower levels of education and access to information, greater family responsibilities and a deprivation of rights that has left them with fewer opportunities to acquire political experience. Women also generally lack the political networks necessary for electoral success. Such barriers to women's political representation are often magnified in crises societies; characterized by militarism, volatile security and political dominance of small groups of typically male élite, as well as absence of well-established political parties, failure to include women in peace negotiations and in peace implementation structures. When political parties are based more on prominent personalities associated with a faction in conflict than on issue-focused platforms, it is harder for women to emerge as political leaders.

The good news is that, beyond the democratization processes going on in the region, IGAD Member States have acceded to continental and international policy frameworks on gender equality and women's empowerment. This effectively binds them to adhere to obligations, duties and responsibilities they entail. These policy frameworks include the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA), CEDAW, UN Security Council Resolutions (UNSCRs) 1325 and 1820, as well as the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa.

Part II

Vision, Mission and Objectives of the Higher Representation of Women in Decision-Making Strategy

The relative strength of political organizations determines the rules of the political game that are installed. Gender-responsive representation requires a plural set of political organizations, which promote and protect rules of peaceful political participation and competition. Together, plural organizations and rules of accountability ensure that actors in the political system express preferences through organizations that vary in strength according to their resource base. It is the necessity for such pluralism that underpinned the UN Security Council's calls on all actors involved, to adopt a gender perspective. This includes, inter alia measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements. Nevertheless, although the general principles governing women's full participation in elections and in peace-building are broadly accepted, their implementation is often inadequate.

The emphasis on women's political and cultural development acknowledges that popularly supported and legitimate institutions can be a key to lasting solutions to under-representation, inequality and conflicts. Only when institutions are representative of all groups in society encompassing women and men, minorities and majorities, and only when the dispossessed and the affluent are stable, will peace and national prosperity be likely to be achieved. States have recognized that this requires the equal participation and full representation of women. Hence, the vision, mission and objectives underlying these principles are as follows:-

Vision:	To have Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment demonstrated by women's participation and representation in decision-making of all state functions.
Mission:	Drawn from the vision, the mission is to achieve a 50/50 representation of women in all functions of the state (legislature, judiciary, and executive) and civic leadership.
Objectives:	<p>They are based on the removal of behavioural, information, and systemic barriers to higher representation of women in decision-making positions. The objectives are therefore to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Precipitate national, multi-sectoral and multi-disciplinary mobilization to develop and implement a multi-sectoral, multi-disciplinary institutional framework and legal machinery for higher representation of women in decision-making; ❖ Increase awareness among the population and strategic stakeholders and hence promote behaviour change; ❖ Remove human, financial, cultural and information barriers to higher representation of women in decision-making; ❖ Develop standards and guidelines, and institutionalize good practices; ❖ Implement the activities using a decentralized and participatory approach, which incorporates all tiers of state, as well as both profit and non-profit sectors; and ❖ Empower women to form networks and contribute to planning campaigns at national, provincial, local government and community levels.
Results:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Mitigation of the negative impact of traditional rules and customs that prohibit the increase in the numbers of women in decision-making; ❖ Sustainable, multi-sectoral and decentralized efforts to enhance women's capacity to achieving higher decision-making positions; and ❖ Increased numbers of women in decision-making positions.

Part III

Elements of the Higher Representation of Women in Decision-Making Strategy

1. Prologue

- 1.1. IGAD Member States have some key institutions and mechanisms already in place and a wealth of experience gained over the last decades. The existing institutions and mechanisms should therefore be consolidated and expanded.
- 1.2. In addition, the IGAD Secretariat can play an important role in initiating new national and regional-level processes to promote women's participation and representation in decision making in the region. For starters, capacity enhancement of the Gender Program at the Secretariat is a high priority. At the regional level, the Secretariat should support participatory processes to develop national strategies.
- 1.3. These strategies should be nationally-owned and led. At the same time, they should conform to the core values of the regional strategy and be in harmony with those of other countries in the region in a mutually-constructive manner. It is important that IGAD Member States and societies link the strategies with their economic, social, environmental and infrastructure development programs, as well as peace and security.

2. Legislative Strategy

2.1. Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment Friendly Acts of Parliaments

- 2.1.1. A country's constitutional and legal framework should guarantee equal civil and political rights to every person on a non-discriminatory basis. If these rights are not explicitly affirmed in the national constitution or other laws, they may apply by virtue of their inclusion in international treaties that the national government has ratified.

A wide variety of laws can affect women's prospects for full representation in all aspects of an election.

Cont'd on pg 12

Pictorial



PARLIAMENTARY: Heads of delegations to the Regional Conference for Women Parliamentarians held in Addis Ababa, December 2009 hold hands as a sign of unity and solidarity



VALIDATION: Distinguished delegates to the Regional Strategy Validation Workshop held in Nairobi, June 2010 pose for a group photo



OFFICIAL: IGAD Executive Secretary flanked by the Chief Guest and Representatives of Partner Organizations at the official opening of the workshop



MINISTERIAL: Distinguished delegates to the Ministerial Meeting to endorse the Regional Strategy held in Addis Ababa, November 2010 pose for a group photo



HONOUR: The Chief Guest shares the high table with the Chairperson, the Rapporteur and the Facilitator of the Strategy Endorsement Meeting

From pg 9

The most important is the election law, but laws relating to political parties, gender equality, gender-based violence, citizenship, personal status, the family, identity documents for returnee and internally displaced persons, and other issues can also have a significant impact. Some laws may prompt indirect discrimination; for example, literacy requirements may disproportionately disadvantage women. Even sound laws will make little difference unless state institutions ensure they are effectively implemented and enforced.

The legal system should be set up to provide prompt and effective remedies for women whose rights have not been upheld. Electoral systems are not gender-neutral. The type of system in place can have a major impact on the number of women elected to office. More women are likely to be elected in countries with proportional representation (or party-list) systems than in countries with majority (or first-past-the-post) systems. This is an essential consideration in designing electoral systems.ⁱⁱⁱ

2.1.2. Women can participate not only by voting, but also by becoming advocates, activists, political party members and candidates. Political parties often control decisions about who will be nominated to run for office, what positions candidates will be given on party lists, and who will receive support during the campaign and after the election. The role of political parties is therefore critical in determining the prospects for women aspiring to public office. Generally, parties that practice internal democracy and have transparent nomination procedures offer the best prospects for women to emerge as candidates.

In order to ensure more balanced representation, political parties in many countries have adopted voluntary targets or quotas specifying a minimum number or proportion of women on their candidate lists, and may even alternate women and men on the lists. In some countries, this has become a legal requirement. Many political parties have established “women’s wings”; in some cases, these have constituted a useful tool for the advancement of women, while in others they have led to the compartmentalization or marginalization of women within the party.

2.1.3. Planning for elections, selecting election administrators, qualifying and training and mentoring election administrators, compiling voter registers and educating voters have an important impact on women’s ability to participate in elections. Other activities, such as certifying candidates, setting up polling stations, designing and printing ballots, overseeing voting, ensuring a level playing field for all candidates, preventing intimidation, counting ballots, adjudicating complaints and appeals and planning for future elections also play a critical role. *Election management bodies should therefore seek gender balance in their membership at all levels and create incentives for women to become election administrators, develop a policy on gender aimed at enhancing women’s representation in the election process. These institutions should also train their staff to be sensitive to gender issues, ensure the secrecy and independence of the vote; collect sex-disaggregated statistics on election processes in order to evaluate women’s representation and identify aspects of the process that can be improved.*^{iv}

2.2. Electoral Transformation and Registration

2.2.1. Voters must be validly registered and appear on the registers to be eligible to participate in elections.

The accuracy and inclusiveness of the voter registers are central elements in ensuring women's full representation. Voter registration may be either "state-initiated", meaning that electors are automatically registered by local authorities on the basis of residence or other records, or "self-initiated", meaning that voters must take individual responsibility for registering themselves. With state-initiated registration, women are less likely to be left off the registers, but this system must be carefully implemented to ensure that women are not removed from the registers if they change their names or addresses when they get married.

2.2.2. Another important consideration is whether a country has dedicated electoral registers or relies on civil registers that are also used for purposes other than elections, especially in conflict states. Whatever system is used for voter registration, the registers should be compiled in a manner that is clear and transparent, and voters should have an easy way to check for mistakes and correct inaccuracies.

2.2.3. Voter education should also include publicity that encourages people to vote, with campaigns targeted specifically at women, as well as at men and women together. Any special factors should be taken into account, including high rates of illiteracy and the types and number of languages spoken with emphasis placed on the right of women to be elected.

2.2.4. Carefully targeted voter education can help alleviate "double discrimination", which may occur when women are also members of disadvantaged ethnic minorities. NGOs and international organizations can often make a valuable contribution by helping to develop gender-sensitive voter education messages. This involves promoting a positive image of women as leaders and politicians in order to encourage women's representation in the political process and challenge the traditional view of a society dominated by male leaders.

2.3. Election Administration, Observation and Monitoring

2.3.1. The practical aspects of administering an election can have an important impact on women's representation. Election management bodies should operate in independent, impartial and transparent manner.

2.3.2. Boards at all levels should include women as part of their membership and leadership. Special mentoring and training must be made available for women to ensure that they qualify to assume such positions.

2.3.3. Election management bodies should develop a clear policy on advancing women's electoral representation, taking into account gender considerations in all aspects that facilitate and increase women's representation. Election observation and monitoring are also important functions to be undertaken independently to protect women candidates from foul play.

2.3.4. Election administrators can enhance overall voter participation, particularly of women by: *developing effective voter education campaigns, instituting simple procedures for voter registration, ensuring easy access to polling stations, establishing convenient polling hours, providing adequate security at polling locations, preventing intimidation, designing ballots and voting procedures that are clear and simple,*

making certain each person's vote is cast secretly, and providing balloting facilities for illiterate voters.

- 2.3.5. To the extent possible, election management bodies should collect sex-disaggregated data on all aspects of the electoral process, including voter registration and voter turnout, in order to identify any discrepancies that might require attention.

2.4. Political Parties' Strategy and Quotas 50/50 Representation

Given the slow pace at which the number of women in politics is growing,^v there are increased calls for more efficient methods to attain gender balance in political institutions. Quotas present one such mechanism manifesting itself in different forms. They include reserved seats (constitutional and/or legislative); legal candidate quotas (constitutional and/or legislative); and political party quotas (voluntary).

3. Women's Empowerment Strategies

3.1. Leadership Mentoring and Education for Critical Consciousness

- 3.1.1. **Leadership:** Strong women's leadership at all levels of society is essential for an effective anchoring of quality human capital, which should be complemented by the full and active participation of civil society, the business community, and the private sector. Leadership involves citizen commitment and concrete actions. Hence, education for democratic rights to enhance *women's citizenship is an important concept in the twenty-first century*. The crux of the challenge in leadership mentoring is creating, retaining, and putting to productive use women with such qualities throughout social, political, and economic arenas. It is about having the ability and willingness to identify, sequence and execute women-centred priorities and programs in the face of limited human, financial, and institutional capacities. This boils down to formulating and executing national and sectoral policies that would enhance countries' aggregate commitment, will power and capacities to mobilize, develop, motivate, encourage and utilize all segments of the population. To meet this challenge is synonymous to meeting the development challenge at large. The results, under all probability, would lead to the creation of a strong nation active in both domestic and world transactions.

- 3.1.2. **Organization:** Women should organize both inside and outside political parties. Being organized, either in interest groups outside or as women's caucuses inside political parties provides valuable experience for women.

This gives them a power base on which to build if they aspire to office. Political as well as professional groups such as women doctors' or women lawyers' associations can play an important role as recruiting grounds for women candidates. Being organized also increases visibility and legitimacy.

In addition, in political parties, where women commonly do a considerable amount of the essential party work, it is important to be organized into a women's caucus that can lobby for improved representation.

While quotas are considered a controversial measure, various arguments have been set forth for quotas as a means to increase the political presence of women.

- ❖ Quotas for women do not discriminate, but compensate for actual barriers that prevent women from their fair share of the political seats.
- ❖ Quotas imply that there are several women together in a committee or assembly, thus minimizing the stress often experienced by the token women.
- ❖ Women have the right as citizens to equal representation.
- ❖ Women's experiences are needed in political life.
- ❖ Election is about representation, not necessarily educational qualifications.
- ❖ Women are just as qualified as men are, but women's qualifications are downgraded and minimized in a male-dominated political system.
- ❖ It is in fact the political parties that control the nominations, not primarily the voters who decide who gets elected; therefore quotas are not violations of voters' rights.
- ❖ Introducing quotas may cause conflicts, but may be only on temporary basis.
- ❖ Quotas can contribute to a process of democratisation by making the nomination process more transparent and formalised.

Organized women's movements should urge parties to set out clear rules for candidate selection. Generally, women will benefit if parties have clear bureaucratic procedures for selecting candidates rather than a system based on loyalty to those in power. When the rules of the game are clear, it is possible for women to develop strategies to improve representation. When the process is dominated by patronage, rules can be unclear and decisions are often made by a limited number of persons, who are almost certainly predominantly male.

Organized women's movements should carefully evaluate all parts of any proposed electoral system for their possible advantages or disadvantages for women. Even when there is broad agreement on a system based on geographical electoral districts, there will usually be different ways of implementing such a system. Those interested in increasing women's representation should not neglect these alternatives. The existing research suggests that the more the seats in the national legislature the better for women, because this will increase party magnitude. When deciding how many geographic districts should be formed, the smaller the number of districts created the better for women, again because this will increase party magnitude.^{vi}

3.2. Socio-Political Accountability (SAC)

Socio-political accountability for higher representation of women is a means to fulfil national and international commitments to women to achieve economic efficiency.

3.2.1. SAC policies recognize the dependence of the paid economy on the unpaid care sector and plan for both of them appropriately. While economic efficiency is a compelling reason for development plans to be gender-responsive, the goal of equity is equally important. **Citizen participation in SAC** therefore focuses on the use of SAC approaches by citizens as a means to make basic service delivery

more effective, efficient, responsive and accountable. These approaches strengthen the knowledge of citizens regarding budgets and budgeting processes, as well as build their capacity therein. When this happens, there are opportunities to assess experience gained, disseminate lessons and prepare for the scaling-up of effective SAc approaches. This has further improved citizens' understanding of their rights and responsibilities *vis-à-vis* public services. In many instances, these pilots have been demand-side interventions building the bridge between public service providers and citizens.

3.2.2. Citizen Report Cards (CRC) and Community Score Cards (CSC): CRCs are participatory surveys that provide quantitative and qualitative feedback on user perceptions on quality, adequacy, and efficiency of representation and public services. The ability to define and realize higher representation of women in decision-making vision and goals effectively depends on contextual factors—the environment in which capacity is shaped—“factors influencing capacity to respond to a given substantive development problem” comprising institutional norms and practices and links and relationships within and between levels. Ingredients or elements, which contribute to the capacity of an entity to act or achieve, comprise of structure/division of labour, space/authority to act, motivation, leadership, analysis of context/problem-solving/learning systems, resources and achievements.

3.3. Capacity Building and Mentoring

3.3.1. Capacity building and mentoring for higher representation of women in decision-making is not just a matter of providing women with the skills to accomplish tasks and solve problems related to representation; it also means providing the environment in which women can exercise their capabilities. In addition, these mentored skills need to be mobilized and applied, involving factors such as the motivation and efforts of individuals to improve their livelihood and the mobilization of people to reach common goals that are mutually beneficial to a society. Capacity building for higher representation of women in decision-making must go beyond reforming technical capacity, but also address the institutional and policy environment, which affects its effectiveness.^{vii}

3.3.2. Resources are very important for higher representation of women in decision-making. The basic tenets of financial self-reliance for the higher representation of women in decision-making process is based on a few principles: cost-effectiveness to maintain and improve the delivery of per capita net benefits, opportunity for additional program areas that will enhance the objective, efficiency to maintain the financial integrity of women's organization and tools for varied strategic planning. There are two tools or strategic alternatives These are:-

- ❖ Identification of those factors, which provide the development of an appropriate strategy; and
- ❖ Development of strategic alternatives, that emerges out of the analysis of the environment and competitive position.

Capacity building and mentoring grows constantly assessing the future, find new directions as events unfurl, and direct the organization's skills and resources into new balances of dominance and risk aversion by incrementally modifying previous strategies. For most organizations, strategy is an ongoing and continuing process. Hence, there is the necessity for clarity of objectives, popular participation and broad strategies for financial self-reliance, whose linkages are visible.

- ❖ Clarity and proper dissemination of objectives leads to effective participation that can result in profitable fund raising schemes.
- ❖ Clarity of objectives is indeed the cornerstone of attracting stakeholders to subscribe and support the higher representation of women in decision-making.
- ❖ The dissemination of these objectives and the diffusion of knowledge among communities is indeed an effort worth the returns. The public relations strategy is based on the belief in the cause, putting the fund raising and information in one package.

3.3.3. Knowledge Management (KM) is essential for systematic database, learning, action and feedback. Several KM initiatives, though not part of an institution-wide coherent plan, and targeted at satisfying the needs of only a specific department/unit, are already underway in the higher representation of women in decision-making. Access to the Internet, e-workspaces, intranet, emails, e-conferences is common occurrence now. Nonetheless, this is far from enough as it barely covers the needs of training and mentoring the individuals who use the system and the equipment needed to support the platform developed as well as the financial resources needed to underwrite the process. Hence, a three-week study into KM development systems needs to be undertaken. Furthermore, higher representation of women in decision-making must undertake a KM review with a view to define the track, media and channels of communication internally and with its entire stakeholders.

Community of practice (CoP) enables information sharing and the exploitation of media to the desired level in communication efforts of higher representation of women in decision-making. Development information systems for CoP mean that higher representation of women in decision-making needs to initiate Country Response Information Systems to stem the challenges of inequality.

3.3.4. Based on current experiences and aimed at guiding mainstreaming higher representation of women in decision-making at different levels, five simple principles have emerged. Together and systematically, these principles attempt to provide a comprehensive framework to analyze where and when to introduce and implement mainstreaming.

3.3.4.1. **Principle 1** underscores the importance of developing a clearly defined and focused entry point or theme for mainstreaming higher representation of women in decision-making in order to maintain the critical focus necessary to make an impact;

3.3.4.2. **Principle 2** maintains that, at the country level, mainstreaming does not take place outside of the existing national context. Thus, national policies or strategic frameworks for higher representation of women in decision-making should be used as the frame of reference. Mainstreaming efforts should be located within existing institutional structures;

3.3.4.3. **Principle 3** necessitates advocacy, sensitization, mentoring and capacity building in order to place higher representation of women in decision-making in a better position to undertake mainstreaming;

3.3.4.4. **Principle 4** asserts the need to maintain a mainstreaming distinction between the internal

domain, where women's vulnerabilities are addressed in their work place and homes; and the external domain, where institutions undertake higher representation of women in decision-making interventions based on their mandate and capacities in support of local strategic efforts; and

- 3.3.4.5. **Principle 5** highlights the importance of developing strategic partnerships for higher representation of women in decision-making based upon comparative advantage, cost effectiveness, and collaboration.

4. Advocacy Strategies

4.1. Development of an Advocacy Strategy

The above is a critical activity in enhancing higher representation of women in decision-making as it ensures the execution of programs and activities that have a great impact in mitigating the gender disparity. It focuses on promotion of behaviour change, generation and use of technical information, ensuring of adequate resources, development of institutional capacity, targeted interventions at youth, women, and law enforcement, as well as interventions for the awareness-raising among the general population.

Many factors contribute to making such advocacy a major challenge. The obvious one is discrimination against women and lack of resources for them. While progress in the IGAD Member States is encouraging, there is much left to be desired for an effective national strategy that can be mounted to promote higher representation of women in decision-making. In each case opinion leaders, including policy makers, educators, the media, and others must recognize the challenge publicly and openly. They should also act with political courage in applying sound measures to reduce the opposition to higher representation of women in decision-making. Such successful advocacy requires clear articulation of the guideposts for action: principles, vision, goal, and objectives. Advocacy principles are broad statements of intention that help guide advocacy planning and action. Successful advocacy strategies will be constructed around a set of shared principles.

- ❖ The advocacy vision provides a unifying idea for the planning and articulation of goals, objectives, strategies and tactics. A clear vision, based on principles, enhances the ability of advocates to work together and guides important decisions by advocates. It articulates the most fundamental reason(s) for the activities and the types of change advocates and their partners would like to bring about.
- ❖ The advocacy goal elaborates on the vision by adding important information on what and why certain actions should be undertaken. Internally, the advocacy goal helps to keep advocates focused on their central purposes. Externally, it summarizes the initiative for the benefit of outside publics, such as community groups, the media, audiences and partners.
- ❖ Good **advocacy objectives** provide specific, measurable steps towards reaching the desired goals and identify specific actions to be undertaken and time-frames for their completion. Good

objectives are **SMART**: Specific and simple, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant (to the vision and goal) and Time-referenced.

4.2. Purpose

The purpose is to build awareness, expression of commitment; increase public dialogue, or take specific actions such as fundraising or promote legislative amendments. A good advocacy strategy turns visions, principles, goals, and objectives into action. It provides a broad plan and approach for achieving the advocacy objectives. In developing effective advocacy strategies, advocates should define the key facts arising from the situation analysis, the primary representational advocacy problems, the goal and key communication objectives (outlining the aims to be achieved through communication, e.g. awareness, actions, fundraising, expressions of commitment, etc.). To this end, agreement will need to be achieved in the following areas, among others:-

- ❖ **Advocacy Orientation:** Organization of consultative meetings or brainstorming sessions might be considered to come up with plans of action relating to the vision;
- ❖ **Leadership and group dynamics:** To get opinion leaders to lend their voices', there is need to understand the structure of leadership in different communities and to identify key targets;
- ❖ **Publicity methods:** A modern campaign is an integration of marketing, advertising, public relations, news-making, community mobilization, and other Information, Education and Communication (IEC) methods. While advocates may not have the resources needed for all of these, organized communications and publicity efforts are central to the success of advocacy. *Advocacy can sometimes backfire or lead to negative responses from some publics (men)*. There is therefore the need to agree on how to manage negative publicity;
- ❖ **Dealing with weaknesses and threats:** Sometimes, instead of winning support, advocates can face open confrontation or antagonism for a variety of reasons that might not be advocacy-related. Therefore, to know how to use advocacy, it is helpful to know how it was used (successfully or unsuccessfully) in the past – or is being used now in various settings;
- ❖ **Local resource mobilization:** All communities have at least some of the vital resources necessary for successful advocacy. Local resources will need to be identified and ways identified to ensure that local actors claim part ownership of the programs.

4.3. Key Advocacy Messages

While effective measures to respond to the higher representation of women in decision-making challenge exist, even countries in the IGAD Region, with limited resources, have built the necessary political momentum and scaled up effective actions to curb women's inequality and alleviate its disastrous impact. Advocacy must convince policy makers and those who can influence them that actions can be taken to help bring higher representation of women in decision-making.

It must emphasize the successful examples of effective higher representation of women in decision-

making policies, the willingness of donors and multi-lateral institutions to work in solidarity with governmental agencies, and the specific steps that each advocacy target can take in order to promote higher representation of women in decision-making. Facts are essential to effective advocacy, but facts alone are not sufficient. In the information age, media consumers are constantly barraged by information on a wide range of problems.

The advocate's challenge is to make his or her messages stand out from the universe of information. Here are a few tips for making your messages more interesting: make them relevant, strong, positive, politically and culturally sensitive, keep them simple, short, clear, and accurate.

4.4. Advocacy Tactics

If a strategy is a broad plan, tactics are the actual activities that create desirable results. Advocacy tactics can focus on media communications with a general audience or a targeted outreach (one-on-one small group). Choosing the most effective tactics for each strategy is critical. The best tactics will depend on the problem and resources available for meeting the advocacy objectives. For example, the support of policy and opinion makers is frequently a key element in the success of advocacy.

Useful tactics in this regard will include:

- ❖ Categorizing policy makers and opinion leaders based on their history of involvement in higher representation of women in decision-making issues;
- ❖ Identifying the best 'lever' for obtaining the support of the specific target audience;
- ❖ Delivering a strong oral presentation can go a long way in building advocacy support; and
- ❖ **Exercising interpersonal influence;** organizing events and participating in conferences.

Part IV

Role of the Executive, Legislature, Judiciary, Political Parties, CSOs, Academia and Development Partners

1. Role of stakeholders

1.1. Executive: Governments

Governments should develop and disseminate comprehensive programs of voter and civic education, starting well before each election and continuing throughout the election process. They must ensure that the material used is accurate and politically neutral; provide sufficient resources to ensure such programs reach all citizens, especially women; ensure that election officials and voters understand that clan and family voting is wrong and could be considered a form of fraud. They must review all materials to ensure they are gender-sensitive, and develop gender-sensitization programs for personnel responsible for civic and voter education. They should also establish electoral procedures that do not discriminate against women, and that are administered by neutral bodies sensitive to gender issues. Governments should further ensure that all state agencies involved in elections are trained to respect the rights of women and provide sufficient resources to election management bodies to enable them to implement gender programs.

1.1.1. Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, and Sudan should ratify the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, if they have not done so by the time of this publication.⁵ They should also fully comply with the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa. Standards set in the landmark AU Protocol are crucial in addressing underlying policy issues that hinder women's representation in decision-making.

1.1.2. IGAD Member States should expeditiously strengthen the national machinery for enhancing participation and representation of women in decision-making. They should, in particular, provide the national machinery with the necessary authority and adequate human and financial resources to plan, coordinate and implement initiatives. Inter-ministerial committees charged with, among other things, ensuring that women are equally represented in all policy making bodies covering all sectoral areas, especially those that have remained the domains of men, should be established. In the long run, such committees should ease the burden on women that may not have authority to influence other government ministries.

1.1.3. IGAD Member States should also seek to achieve gender parity in all decision-making bodies at all levels, by establishing incremental time-bound targets for increasing women's representation. They should consistently monitor progress, continuously generate and disseminate sex-disaggregated statistics and indicators on all aspects of government as well as other stakeholder's activities, including policy development and budget allocations and expenditure. In addition, they should develop and implement training and mentoring programs on gender mainstreaming in governmental bodies in order to undertake gender analysis in all legislative and policy areas, including budget allocations.

1.1.4. IGAD Member States should also:-

- 1.1.4.1. Put in place efficient collaboration and consultation mechanisms among all stakeholders in policy formulation and implementation in and outside government such as NGOs, women groups, development partners, and parliament;
- 1.1.4.2. Replicate effective federal/regional or provincial level gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment structures at different levels and support them financially and in building their capacity to implement;
- 1.1.4.3. Encourage and support working alliances between women and men to pursue a gender equality agenda;
- 1.1.4.4. Adopt gender budgeting at national, as well as regional/provincial and local levels, and promote additional spaces for civil society participation in effective governance and policy formulation; and
- 1.1.4.5. Develop and promote gender-sensitive curricula and teacher training and mentoring on civic education for men and women and in addition build civic education into their countries' educational system so that when children reach voting age they will already understand the basis of the national and local political and electoral systems.

1.2. Legislature: Parliaments

Male dominance in parliaments and their related insensitivity to bills, motions and debates on issues of women's representation and participation was identified by most interviewees (including men) across the countries as a major problem that is largely responsible for delay in effecting supportive (to women's empowerment) policy/legal enactment and rejection of bills for the same purpose. It is therefore recommended that parliaments should:-

- 1.2.1. Ensure that the institutions and practices of parliament are gender-sensitive, and take due consideration of gender issues, such as domestic and family responsibilities to attract more qualified women to parliament;
- 1.2.2. Provide institutional support to established or existing women's cross-party alliances and caucuses. These include infrastructure, budget, and institutional recognition, as well as

providing efficient collaboration between parliamentary bodies on gender equality, such as standing committees and women's caucuses, and national mechanisms on gender equality and the empowerment of women; and

- 1.2.3. Appoint more women to executive positions (ministers, ministers of state, chief judges, military commanders and independent/constitutional offices such as the Ombudsman, human rights commissions and the offices of the Auditor and Inspector General's).

1.3. Judiciary

The Judiciary is the last hope of the common human being against discrimination and injustices against women. Indeed, obsolescent knowledge of the law without the necessary tools for updating it makes injustice inevitable against women. Uncertainty of tenure and inadequate remuneration of the officers of the court leaves them more easily susceptible to corruption and intimidation. Surreptitious and open attacks on the judiciary from any quarters merely undermine the confidence of the populace in the institution and lay a foundation for the breakdown of law and order. The incidence of parallel legal systems, creating unnecessary competition between statutory law, and alternative customary and religious laws must be dealt with immediately to promote women's decision-making capacity.

Hence, the judiciary must be independent from both the legislature and the executive, in theory as in practice. However, the independence of the judiciary implies much more than the separation of powers; it involves ensuring that the judiciary has the capacity to fulfil its duties and functions in adjudicating election issues.

1.4. Political parties

Most political parties did not seem fully prepared to enhance women's participation and representation in decision making on its own merit rather than for immediate political gain such as emerging victorious in an election. Documentation on what they were doing to empower women was scarce and real activities even more difficult to find. In view of this, it is recommended that political parties should

- 1.4.1. Adopt clear and transparent rules to ensure internal democracy, with specific attention to gender equality and putting in place internal monitoring/auditing and compliance mechanisms;
- 1.4.2. Include in constitutions and internal rules of procedure special measures to ensure women's participation in decision-making positions within their ranks with the aim of achieving parity at all levels;
- 1.4.3. Implement effective gender quotas with the aim of achieving equitable representation of women candidates in elected positions, including party placement in winnable constituencies;
- 1.4.4. Adopt special training and mentoring programs to support potential women candidates, as well as making it possible for them to meet the other requirements for contesting such as lowering nomination fees requirements;^{ix} and
- 1.4.5. Raise the status of women party structures, such as caucuses, by giving them constitutional

recognition and mandate to participate in the highest decision-making structures on an equal footing with men. In addition, parties should provide women with the necessary resources for effective functioning, influence on decision-making, visibility within the party structures and means to support women's candidacies and influence the selection process.

1.5. Electoral Commissions

Electoral commissions in the region are not yet fully prepared or capacitated to deal with issues related to enhancing women's democratic participation in electoral processes as both voters and candidates. Some were hesitant about affirmative measures being misconstrued as favouring women, which would be against the spirit of their objectivity. In view of this, it is strongly recommended that both governments and other actors should enable the commissions to ensure protection of women's electoral rights and enhancing their participation.

In addition, electoral commissions should examine their internal policies and procedures, as well as outreach activities to be in conformity with gender sensitive democratization of the electoral process. It is further recommended that these election management bodies should:-

- 1.5.1. Ensure equitable representation of women and men in their structures including key decision-making positions;
- 1.5.2. Purposely (as opposed to reactively) give due consideration to issues of gender equality and empowerment of women within the whole electoral process. They should provide opportunities for illiterate voters, the majority of whom are women, to participate in elections fully. Issues to do with, location, and accessibility of polling places to women and, issues of male candidates conduct and behaviour towards women including use of abusive language should also be tackled in the regulations; and
- 1.5.3. Routinely collect and provide sex-disaggregated data on participation in the electoral process including levels of registration, voter turnout, the number of male and female candidates and those elected, by party and by constituency.

1.6. Civil Society and Academia

These entities should develop research and action into gender-sensitive civic and voter education messages that highlight the capacities of women as candidates and political leaders. They should also encourage women to run for office, break down negative stereotypes and promote women's full participation in the electoral process. They must help to ensure that all election officials in their voter education program understand that wherever elections are taking place, clan and family voting is not acceptable and ensure that all women have access to such voter education.

Furthermore, the civil society and academia should design training and mentoring programs on women's participation that are targeted at men, and monitor voter and civic education programmes to ensure that they are accessible to women and are gender-sensitive. In addition, there is an urgent

need to advocate for election management bodies to incorporate gender perspectives in their decisions, develop independent monitoring mechanisms to identify and report on gender bias in the electoral process. The civil society should therefore advocate for the identification of qualified women to serve on election management bodies. They should also:-

- 1.6.1. Keep up advocacy campaigns to hold governments, legislatures and political parties accountable for progress in enhancing women's participation and representation;
- 1.6.2. Lobby IGAD and AU to follow up their member states to ratify and domesticate the Maputo Protocol and other continental conventions, as well as international instruments including CEDAW;
- 1.6.3. Strengthen advocacy on the issues of gender equality and empowerment of women among the general public but also targeting institutions such as electoral commissions that are significant in determining the fate of women's representation and participation in decision making;
- 1.6.4. Continuously seek ways to strategically use the watchdog, mediation, information and education functions of the public and private media to advance women's participation and representation in decision-making;
- 1.6.5. Encourage governments and development partners to create mechanisms for candidates from marginalized groups, such as women, youth and the disabled to access financial assistance for political activities; and
- 1.6.6. Support women parliamentary caucuses and development partners to advocate for changes of laws (national and regional constitutions) to ensure increased women representation and empower women economically to enable them to organize their political campaigns and compete effectively.

Besides advocacy and lobbying regional and sub-regional institutions, other recommendations are that the civil society and academia should:

- 1.6.7. Follow up the constitutional provisions and affirmative action, ensuring their full implementation and mobilize more resources for women to fill the political seats provided for them in the constitutions, where applicable;
- 1.6.8. Raise greater awareness especially among the rural populations and the womenfolk, encouraging them to participate in politics;
- 1.6.9. Work with the IGAD Inter Parliamentary Union to create a network of women parliamentarians to share experiences and encourage women in the region to support each other;
- 1.6.10. Collaborate with women politicians in local governments and development partners to monitor and document the impact and value addition [e.g. improved quality of life] of women representation to sensitize the general public on the advantages and benefits of voting for women;

- 1.6.11. Work very closely with other civic organizations and the private sector to educate and sensitize the general public on the need for increased women representation; mentor and train women candidates on public and resource mobilization skills to effectively contest at local level;
- 1.6.12. Educate more girls and young women at all levels in order to be empowered to participate effectively in politics at all levels;
- 1.6.13. Where the system exists, advocate for it to be enshrined in the constitutions and laws, be implemented, monitored and evaluated and provide adequate financial resources to support the implementation of the system and to sensitize, train and equip women with necessary skills and resources to contest for all political positions; and
- 1.6.14. Work with women parliamentary caucuses and development partners to ensure a continuing program of civic education linked to electoral processes to enable women to participate in elections in a well-informed manner.

1.7. Development Partners

Development partners, also known as donors, should support gender-sensitive voter education programs and ensure women's full participation in their design and dissemination. They need to support civic education programs that include information on the benefits of democracy, reconciliation, and peace building, and on the equality of women and men. Furthermore, they should provide funding for voter and civic education programs aimed at increasing women's participation and support voter and civic education training and mentoring opportunities for women.

In addition, development partners should:

- 1.7.1. Increase provision for capacity building of potential women candidates across party lines in the skills necessary to engage in competitive electoral processes and in particular dealing with entrenched gender biases;
- 1.7.2. Harness media support and sustained public awareness-raising campaigns to combat negative stereotypes as well as popularize the legitimate role of women in decision-making processes at all levels to make it acceptable to a critical mass; and
- 1.7.3. Facilitate ongoing research about conditions under which women's participation and representation is increased and enhanced in political parties, government and parliament, and disseminate good practices as well as support pilot implementation of actions.

To conclude, in the development of a democratic political culture, all national and international stakeholders should be guided by good practices for enhancing women's participation and political representation. These include inter alia, adherence to international standards for the protection of women's civic and political rights, include women as members of delegations to peace negotiations, and in bodies created for the implementation of peace accords. This needs a careful design and implementation of new laws and electoral processes to ensure and enhance women's participation.

All stakeholders should also effectively increase the possibility of women being elected and make certain that the practical aspects and details of the electoral process do not discriminate against women indirectly. They should further consider adopting temporary special measures, such as quotas that encourage political parties to nominate and support women candidates by placing them high on their candidate lists.

In the long run, it is to create platforms that ensure women's voices and concerns are heard. It is also to design and conduct voter registration and education campaigns targeting women.

Civic education is most effective when linked with a program that puts the election into context for voters and provides an explanation of the purpose of the election, the surrounding issues, and their significance. Ideally, civic education should be built into a country's educational system so that when children reach voting age, they will already understand the basis of the national and local political and electoral systems. However, since this is not always the case, and since these systems may change over time, it is vital to have a continuing program of civic education linked to electoral processes.

All functions of states and governments (Legislature, Executive and Judiciary), CSOs, academia and political parties should promote education of girls and women to enable them to participate effectively in party politics. Political parties and women parliamentary caucuses should encourage and support women to participate in all activities of parties at all levels.

Governments and political parties should criminalize corruption at all levels and forms, especially during electioneering. Women parliamentary caucuses should work with CSOs and development partners to document impact and value addition of women representation to increase public confidence.

Endnotes and References

- i. SIHA, *Beyond Trousers: The Public Order Regime and the Human Rights of Women and Girls in Sudan*, Submission to the 46th Ordinary Session of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, Banjul, the Gambia. 16th November 2009.
- ii. Other aspects of election systems—including types of candidate lists, district magnitude, and threshold levels—significantly affect women's electoral prospects as well. UN (2000) *Women in Elections: A guide Book*. <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/index.html#pub>, Accessed on 5th December, 2009
- iii. *Ibid.*, UN (2000)
- iv. Today women constitute 18.4 percent of the members of parliaments around the world. Recently, Rwanda superseded Sweden at the number one in the world in terms of women's parliamentary representation — 56.3 percent women against Sweden's 47.3 percent. Rwanda is an example of the new trend to use electoral gender quotas as a fast track to gender balance in politics.
- v. Where they exist, the commissions were the only organs with up-to-date data on participation and representation of women collected internally while monitoring.
- vi. Meier, Petra, 2004. 'Gender Quotas or Electoral Reform: Why More Women Got Elected during the 2003 Belgian Elections'. Paper presented at International IDEA conference on *The Implementation of Quotas: Experiences from Europe*, Budapest, on 22nd and 23rd October. In Julie Ballington and Azza Karam *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, IIED: Stockholm
- vii. While HRWDM “institutional norms and practices” and “learning systems” can be read to cover a concern for processes, the examination of processes is not seen as the point of departure for capacity assessment or development. Indeed, it does not suggest a point of departure but rather that everything is important. Yet, the examination of processes is where we need to start. From this starting point, it is possible to offer a checklist that is also the sequence in which issues are to be raised and questions posed. Such a checklist would reflect the understanding that capacity requires: establishing effective processes carried out by appropriate actors, organized in effective structures for accountability, who understand what they have to do and have the skill, motivation and material support to perform effectively according to rules conducive to effective performance that are acknowledged.
- viii. Entered into force on 25th November 2005
- ix. Some political parties in Kenya, such as Orange Democratic Party charge women candidates less registration money than is charged male candidates as per documented policy. In Ethiopia, it was reported that some parties waive the fee.

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