



## MATTERS OF REGIONAL INTEREST AND CONCERN TO PARLIAMENTARIANS IN SADC



### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) has established a strong framework to guide the process toward equal representation and participation of women in decision-making. The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development was revised and updated in 2016 and has consolidated the key provisions on gender equality and women's empowerment from continental and international frameworks. This aligns with the African Union's Agenda 2063 which presents a set of aspirations for the continent including Aspiration 6 for an Africa in which women are empowered, with full gender equality in all spheres of life and full gender parity, occupying half of elected public offices at all levels and half of the managerial positions in the public and private sectors.

*The SADC Gender and Development Monitor 2022* provides data and analysis of the current progress towards implementation of the Protocol in the 16 Member States of SADC, and unpacks the provisions to support gender balance in governance processes including the Legislature, Executive and Judiciary, as well as political parties, national commissions and corporate bodies both private and public, and presents methods to facilitate the representation by women and men in politics and decision-making.

This Policy Brief is drawn from the *SADC Gender and Development Monitor 2022*, which was approved by SADC Ministers responsible for Gender and Women Affairs. This is the 8th edition since the Fourth World Women Conference in Beijing in 1995 and shows some significant trends and results over the period in SADC Member States, although action is still needed in most member states to domesticate and implement the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.

The Policy Brief responds to the following questions intended to facilitate adherence to gender equality commitments adopted in the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development as amended 2016, which is aligned with continental and global agreements such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the Beijing Program For Action, and the African Union's *Agenda 2063*.

Thematic issue of focus

- ❖ Which measures may be put in place to increase women representation in Parliament to attain the 50-50 gender parity?
- ❖ Which measures should be put in place to increase the representation of women in the boards of private corporations?



## 1.2 Women in Leadership in the Legislature, Executive and Judiciary

Women in leadership, working with their male colleagues, can and are transforming our societies and norms in many ways, visible and not so visible. However, Action is needed to adjust legislation at national levels to comply with regional and international agreements through the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, which has been signed and ratified by SADC Member States.

There is now a strong foundation. The domestication and effective implementation of legislative frameworks and legal agreements made at regional level are therefore the primary point of action for SADC Member States.

There is work to be done and milestones to be reached, but it is important to remember that this is not all about numbers, but transformation. Therefore, the expected result is that the elected representatives in SADC Member States will take the next steps to ensure that legally binding agreements at regional level will be domesticated and implemented at national level.

The SGDM 2022 report can be an effective tool for that. This is the second report since the adoption of the revised SADC Protocol on Gender and Development in 2016, in which SADC Member States have committed to specific, achievable targets. The Protocol is an instrument for gender equality and women's empowerment already agreed by SADC Member States, but the goals can only be achieved through legislation and implementation at national level.

The subject of the current study is Women in Politics and Decision Making. The data was submitted by SADC Member States and validated, and the report was approved by SADC Ministers responsible for Gender and Women Affairs. The purpose of the monitoring is to track implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, in which Member States have agreed to reach 50:50 gender parity by 2030 and to implement,

*“Special Measures with particular reference to women to eliminate all barriers which prevent them from participating meaningfully in all spheres of life and create a conducive environment for such participation.”*

Parliaments have an essential role in taking forward gender equality. SADC Member States have adopted the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, but the components need to be domesticated into national law in each country and implemented. The intention of 50:50 by 2030 can be achieved if National Parliaments review the current status of national legislation and take action now, and continue to monitor the implementation.

The report has specific comparative results by country and recommendations, and is available online and in print. Parliamentarians are urged to use this report and its contents as source material for your work as it is accurate, accessible and well-presented, illustrated with charts and tables that cover all 16 SADC Member States.

There are Chapters on the Legislature, Executive and Judiciary, and a chapter which you will find very relevant

on the gender impact of the various Electoral Systems used by Member States, which is clearly illustrated in Table 1.1.

These should have deep scrutiny and consideration by the SADC Parliamentary Forum through a parliamentary committee, a review panel, or another format.

Electoral systems are analysed in the context of electoral results with regard to representation by women, and concludes from the results that some electoral systems are more inclusive than others, and that Special Measures are required to ensure equality of representation by women in Parliament, which is reaching near to gender parity in South Africa, Namibia and Mozambique at over 40 percent (Table 2.1). Half of the presiding officers of SADC Parliaments are women (Table 2.3).

There is significant progress at Executive level with women serving in influential portfolios in Cabinet in all SADC Member States (Table 3.1), although the number of women in Cabinet remains low in most cases. Mozambique and South Africa have achieved 50:50 gender parity at Cabinet level (Table 3.3), so it can be done. Three countries have had a woman President. The United Republic of Tanzania currently has a woman President, and women also serve as Vice President or Prime Minister.

Progress is also reflected in the Judiciary in most SADC Member States.

## 1.3 Political Parties, Independent Bodies, Corporate Sector

While women form the majority of the population in most SADC Member States, this is not reflected in the leadership of most political party structures or committees. The low representation of women in Parliament is attributed to unfavourable legal and policy frameworks and structural rigidities in political party nomination systems, as well as electoral systems. Political party leadership generally remains male-dominated despite proclamations to the contrary. Political party constitutions are not always publicly available and accessible online, so information on gender-equality commitments are not easily accessible, except for the majority parties which usually have gender clauses and commitments in the party constitutions.

There is analysis of Independent Bodies, and the Corporate Sector, both private and public, with some sampling of Boards and CEOs for both sectors, which confirms the need for action.

The SGDM 2022 report has three Recommendations for each chapter, in addition to the main, overall Recommendation to domesticate and implement the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, notably the three clauses analysed here on Constitutional Rights: Article 5 on Special Measures; and Governance: Article 12 (Representation) and Article 13 (Participation).

Other actions that can be taken by SADC PF and National Parliaments to maintain the forward momentum toward 50:50 by 2030 are:

- ❖ Review national progress in domesticating and implementing the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, notably in this context, Articles 5, 12 and 13 under Constitutional Rights, and

Governance, and ensure that member Parliaments adopt relevant legislation to domesticate and comply with this legally binding agreement.

- ❖ Undertake a comparative review of the gender impact of electoral systems used by SADC Member States as indicated in Table 1.1 and Figure 1.1, and share effective practices, as all Member States have achievements and challenges.
- ❖ Develop legislation common to all political parties to encourage compliance with gender parity in their party constitutions, structures and nomination of candidates. Domesticate and implement the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, and ensure that gender parity therefore becomes integral for all political parties.

The commitments by the parties to the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development to Special Measures, Representation and Participation under Articles 5, 12 and 13, include the Corporate Sector, both public and private, which was identified by the Fourth World Women Conference in Beijing as an active participant and a catalyst in achieving gender equality and women's representation. The Corporate Sector should be mobilized to do this, and briefed about the economic benefits of inclusion.

## Conclusion

National progress reports from SADC Member States on the implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development Article 5 (Special Measures), Article 12 (Representation), and Article 13 (Participation) have shown that there is little progress on domestication of regional agreements that would facilitate gender equality and women's empowerment in decision-making positions.

Regional agreements on gender equality and women's empowerment are legally binding and must be domesticated and implemented at national level through constitutional and other legal commitments so as not to remain merely statements of intent.

SADC Member States have a legal obligation to domesticate and transform these commitments into legislation and policies, and to facilitate implementation that supports the achievement of the requisite goals.

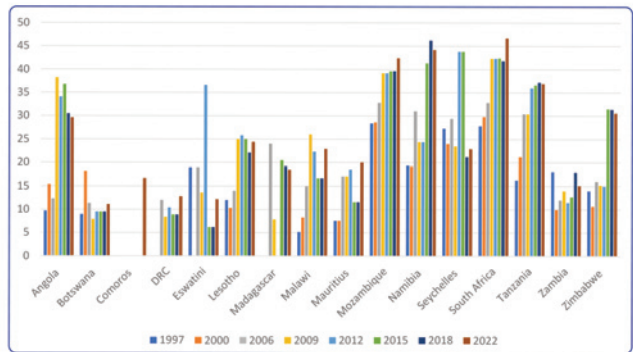


## MAIN RECOMMENDATION

The main recommendation of the SADC Gender and Development Monitor 2022 is for SADC Member States to domesticate and implement the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development 2016 to which they are legally committed.

## SELECTED TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS SGDM 2022

Figure 1.3 Women in the National Assembly in SADC Member States 1997–2022



Source SADC Member State National Progress Reports, with additional information March 2022 from Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU) which uses official data submitted by member Parliaments. Graph updated from SADC Gender and Development Monitor 2018, p27

Women Presiding Officers of Parliament/Senate in SADC Member States

Table 2.3

Country	Chamber	Full Name and Period (Past)	Full Name and Period (Present)
Botswana	National Assembly	Hon Dr Margaret Nasha October 2009–October 2014	--
		Hon Gladys Kokorwe 2014–2019	
DRC	National Assembly	Jeannine Mabunda 2019–2020	--
Eswatini	Senate	Hon Gelane Zwane 2008	Lindiwe Dlamini October 2018–Present
Lesotho	National Assembly	Hon Ntloho Motsamai 1999 – 2012	Mamonaheng Mokitimi July 2017 –Present
	Senate	March 2015 – 2017 June	
Madagascar	National assembly	--	Christine Razanamahasoa 16 July 2019–Present
Malawi	National Assembly	--	Catherine Gotani Hara 19 June 2019–Present
Mozambique	Assembly of the Republic	Verónica Nataniel Macamo Dihovo January 2010 – January 2020	Esperanca Laurinda Francisco Nhiuane Bias January 2020– Present
Namibia	National Council	Margaret Mensah-Williams December 2015 – December 2019	--
South Africa	National Assembly	Hon Frene Ginwala May 1994–2004 July	Nosiviwe Nolutshala Maphisa-Nqakula August 2021– Present
		Hon Baleka Mbete 2004–2008	
		May 2014 –May 2019	
		Hon. Thandi Modise 2019–2021	
Tanzania	National assembly	Hon Anne Makinda November 2010–November 2015	Tulia Ackson February 2022– Present
Zambia	National assembly	--	Nelly Butete Kashumba Mutti September 2021–Present
Zimbabwe	National Assembly	Hon Edna Madzongwe November 2005–September 2018	
	Senate	Hon Mabel Chinomona (Deputy) 2013–2018	Mabel M. Chinomona September 2018–Present

Source: Parliaments of SADC Member States

Parliamentary committees chaired by women

Table 2.4

Country	Lower House		
	Total	No. Chaired by Women	% Chaired by Women
Angola	10	4	40
Botswana	12	--	--
Comoros	--	--	--
DRC	10	1	10
Eswatini	80	21	26.2
Lesotho	13	1	7.6
Madagascar	--	--	--
Malawi	19	3	15.7
Mauritius	7	1	14.2
Mozambique	9	4	44.4
Namibia	8	3	37.5
Seychelles	8	3	37.5
South Africa	51	20	39.2
Tanzania	18	4	22.2
Zambia	23	4	17.3
Zimbabwe	19	3	15.7

--no data  
Malawi has 19 committees, however there is provision for a 20th committee to be established when needed. Eswatini statistics are for standing committees.  
Source: SADC Member States



Women in Parliament in SADC Member States

Table 2.1

Country (No. Women MPs 1995)	Women MPs % 1997	Women MPs % 2000	Women MPs % 2006	Women MPs % 2009	Women MPs % 2012	Women MPs % 2015	Women MPs % 2018	Women MPs % 2021
Angola (7)	9.7	15.4	12.3	38.2	34.1	36.8	36.8	29.6
Botswana(4/47)	9.0	18.2	11.3	7.9	9.5	9.5	9.5	11.1
Comoros, Union of	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	16.7
DRC	--	--	12	8.4 (L) 4.6 (U)	10.4 (L) 4.6 (U)	8.9 (L) 4.6 (U)	9.5 (L) 4.6 (U)	12.8 (L) 23.9 (U)
Eswatini, Kingdom of	19.0	7.3	19.0	13.6	13.6 (L)	6.2 (L)	15.4 (L)	12.2(L)
Lesotho (3/65 L, 8 U, Kingdom of)	12.0	10.3	14.0	25.0	25.8 (L) 27.3 (U)	25.0 (L) 24.2 (U)	14.7 (L) 25.0 (U)	24.4 (L) 21.2 (U)
Madagascar	--	--	24.0	7.87	--	20.5 (L) 19.0 (U)	20.5 (L) 20.6 (U)	18.5 (L) 11.1(U)
Malawi (10/76)	5.2	8.3	15.0	26.0	22.3	16.7	16.7	22.9
Mauritius	7.6	7.6	17.1	17.1	18.6	11.6	11.4	20.0
Mozambique(61/250)	28.4	28.6	32.8	39.2	39.2	39.6	39.6	42.4
Namibia(6/72)	19.2	23.1	26.9	34.6	25.6 (L) 30.7 (U)	46.1 (L) 38.4 (U)	41.3 (L) 24.4 (U)	44.2 (L) 14.3 (U)
Seychelles	3.8	7.6	26.9	26.9	43.8	43.8	22.0	22.86
South Africa (101/400)	27.3	24.0	29.4	23.5	42.3	42.3 (L) 32.1 (U)	42.4 (L) 35.2 (U)	41.7 (L) 37.0(U)
Tanzania (28/248), United Republic of	27.8	29.8	32.8	42.3	36.0	36.6	36.0	36.9
Zambia	16.3	21.2	30.4	30.4	11.5	12.7	10.0	15.1
Zimbabwe (22/150)	18.1	10.0	12.0	14.0	15.0 (L) 24.7 (U)	31.5 (L) 47.5 (U)	31.5 (L) 48.1 (U)	30.6(L) 44.2(U)

Source: SADC Member States, SADC Gender and Development Monitor 2016 and 2018, and Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPIU) (L) Lower House (U) Upper House -- No Data provided

SADC Elections Calendar

Table 2.2

Country	Type of Election	Last Election	Next Election
Angola	Parliamentary, Presidential (indirect)	August 2017	August 2022
Botswana	General Elections, Presidential (indirect)	October 2019	October 2024
Comoros	--	--	--
DRC	National Assembly, Presidential	December 2018	December 2023
Eswatini	Parliamentary	August & September 2018	September 2023
Lesotho	Parliamentary	June 2017	September 2022
Madagascar	National Assembly, Presidential	2019	2024
Malawi	General Elections, Presidential	June 2020	2025
Mauritius	Presidential (indirect)	December 2019	December 2024
Mozambique	General Elections	November 2019	November 2024
Namibia	Local Government	October 2019	October 2024
Seychelles	National Assembly, Presidential	October 2019	October 2024
South Africa	General Elections, Presidential	November 2019	November 2024
South Africa	Parliamentary, Presidential (indirect)	October 2020	October 2025
South Africa	Local Government	May 2019	May 2024
Tanzania	Parliamentary, Presidential (indirect)	May 2019	May 2024
Zambia	General Elections, Presidential	October 2020	October 2025
Zimbabwe	General Elections, Presidential	August 2021	August 2026
Zimbabwe	Harmonized elections, Presidential	July 2018	2023

Source: compiled by SARDC from internal research and national progress reports  
Eswatini and Lesotho are constitutional monarchies with the King as Head of State  
General Elections or Harmonized means presidential, parliamentary and local elections  
Indirect means the President is elected by Parliament or is leader of the majority party  
-- No Data provided

Women in Cabinet in SADC Member States

Table 3.3

Member State	Women Ministers 1995	Women Ministers 2000 (%)	Women Ministers 2006 (%)	Women Ministers 2009 (%)	Women Ministers 2012 (%)	Women Ministers 2015 (%)	Women Ministers 2018 (%)	Women Ministers 2020 (%)	Women Ministers 2022 (%)
Angola	4	11(2002)	7	32.3	22.9	21	38.7	42.2	33.3
Botswana	2	23(2002)	28.6	18.8	12.5	16.6	16.6	16.7	17.9
Comoros	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
DRC	--	--	2.5	2.5	10.7	8.3	10	17	26.8
Eswatini	--	13.3	18	20	22.2	25	26.3	38.9	29
Lesotho	1	12.5(2002)	31	31.6	23.8	17.8	22.2	7.1	16
Madagascar	--	--	--	--	--	20	21.8	26.7	34
Malawi	3/33(9%)	17.3	21	24	27.3	15	22.2	23	38.7
Mauritius	--	8	10	9.5	12.0	12.5	13.6	12.5	14
Mozambique	1	12	23	25.9	28.6	22.7	29.2	35.3	50
Namibia	2/20(10%)	14.2	27	22.7	22.7	19.2	17.4	34.6	34.6
Seychelles	--	21.4	27.2	28	23.1	21.4	41.6	45.5	38.4
South Africa	3/24(12.5%)	33	42.8	42	38.8	40.5	43.3	50	50
Tanzania	3/25(13%)	13	20	23.3	30.0	20	19	18	30.4
Zambia	12%	8.3	28.8	13.6	15.0	25.9	25	28.6	16
Zimbabwe	2/24(8%)	24	19	17.5	17.5	15	15	22.2	27

Source: National progress reports on implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development; SADC Gender and Development Monitor 1999, 2001, 2006, 2009, 2013, 2016, 2018; Government websites; SADM validation meeting. Mozambique achieved gender parity in Cabinet in April 2022.

Women in the Judiciary in SADC Member States 2022

Table 4.1

Country	Supreme Court/Court of Appeal/High Court								Magistrates Court	
	Attorney General		Chief Justice		President		Judges		Magistrates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %
Angola	--	--	--	--	1	2	--	--	63.7	36.3
Botswana	1	0	1	0	0	1	81	19	31.1	68.9
Comoros	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
DRC	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Eswatini	1	0	1	0	1	0	75	25	54	46
Lesotho	1	0	1	0	1	0	35	65	58	42
Madagascar	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Malawi	1	0	1	0	1	0	72	28	73.3	26.7
Mauritius	1	0	1	0	1	1	30	70	29	71
Mozambique	0	1	1	0	1	2	69.4	30.6	58	42
Namibia	1	0	1	0	1	0	67	33	50.5	49.5
Seychelles	1	0	0	1	1	0	57.2	42.8	83.4	16.6
South Africa	1	0	1	0	9	4	61.8	38.2	50.2	49.8
Tanzania	1	0	1	0	1	0	60	40	52	48
Zambia	1	0	1	0	0	1	37.5	62.5	73.1	26.5
Zimbabwe	1	0	1	0	0	1	43.2	56.8	59	41

-- No data  
Source: National Progress Reports on the implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development; SADC Gender Monitor 2013 and 2016; and National Judiciary websites

Gender Composition of Electoral Commissions in SADC 2011 and 2022

Table 6.3

Country	Total	2011		2022		
		Women	Women %	Total	Women	Women %
Angola	11	3	27.3	11	3	27.3
Botswana	7	1	14.3	6	3	50
Comoros	--	--	--	--	--	--
DRC	8	3	37.5	9	2	22.2
Eswatini	5	2	40	6	2	33.3
Lesotho	3	1	33.3	3	1	33.3
Madagascar	21	3	14.3	9	0	0
Malawi	7	3	42.9	7	2	28.6
Mauritius	7	1	14.3	7	1	14.3
Mozambique	13	2	15.4	17	3	17.6
Namibia	5	2	40	4	2	50
Seychelles	5	1	20	7	3	42.9
South Africa	5	2	40	5	3	60
Tanzania	7	2	28.6	7	3	42.9
Zambia	5	3	60	5	2	40
Zimbabwe	9	4	44.4	8	5	62.5

--no data Source: National progress reports on implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, 2022

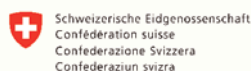
Women as CEOs and Board Members in the Top 5 Private Sector Companies per Member State

Table 7.1

Country	CEOs	No. of		Board Members	No. of	
		Women	Women %		women	Women %
DRC	5	0	0	48	10	20
Eswatini	5	1	20	35	10	29
Lesotho	5	1	20	18	2	11
Madagascar	3	0	0	22	4	18.2
Malawi	64	7	11	34	10	29
Mozambique*	-	-	-	49	10	20.4
South Africa	5	0	0	70	25	35.7
Tanzania	5	0	0	36	4	11.1

Source: Member States primary data (March 2022) \*Mozambique submitted consolidated statistics

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