



An Analysis of Political Parties' Constitutions/Policy Documents/Manifestos in the SADC Region from a Gender Perspective

Study Commissioned by the SADC Parliamentary Forum (SADC PF)





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Acronyms

AMA	Associação de Mulher Angolana (Association of Angolan Women)
ANC	African National Congress
ANCWL	ANC Women's League Constitution
BCP	Botswana Congress Party
BDNP	Basotho Democratic National Party
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
BEC	Branch Executive Committee
BNF	Botswana National Front
BNP	Basotho National Party
CBO	Community Based Organizations
CEDAWU	UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CoD	Congress of Democrats
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern African States
DDP	Democratic and Development Programme
DTA	DTA of Namibia
FDMA	Federacao Democratica da Mulher Angolana (Democratic Federation for Angolan Women)
FNLA	Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola (National Front for Liberation Angola)
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertacao de Mozambique (Liberation Front of Mozambique)
JMPLA	Jovens do Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola
LCD	Lesotho Congress for Democracy
LIMA	Liga das Mulheres Angolana (The Angolan Women's League)
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MFP	Marematlou Freedom Party
MMD	Movement for Multi-Party Democracy-New Deal
MPLA	Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola
NDF	National Democratic Focus
NEC	National Executive Committee
NGO	Non Government Organization
NIP	National Independent Party
NUDO	National Unity Democratic Organization
OMA	Organizacao das Mulheres de Angola (Angola Women's Organization)
OMM	Organizacao da Mulher Mozambicana (Organization for Mozambican Women)
OMR	Organizacao da Mulher Renovadora (Organization of Renovator Women)
PAJOCA	Partido Popular (Popular Party)
PEC	Provincial Executive Committees
PAGE	Programme for the Advancement of Girls' Education
PF	Patriotic Front

Acronyms

PLD	Partido Liberal Democratico (Liberal Democratic Party)
PNDA	Partido Nacional Democratico de Angola (National Democratic Party of Angola)
PRD	Partido Renovadora Democratico (Renovation Democratic Party)
PRS	Partido de Renovacao Social (Social Renovation Party)
RENAMO	Resistencia Nacional de Mozambique
RWPC	Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus
SADC	Southern African Development Committee
SADC PF	Southern African Development Committee – Parliamentary Forum
SME	Small and Medium Enterprises
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infections
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe National African Union-Patriotic Front
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
ULP	United Liberal Party
UMRS	Uniao da Mulheres de Renovacao Social (Union of Social Renovation Women)
UN	United Nations
UNIP	United Independence Party
UNITA	Uniao Nacional para Independencia Total de Angola (National Union for Total Independence of Angola)
UPND	United Party for National Development



Executive Summary

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) is committed to attaining at least 30% of women's participation and representation in all levels of politics and decision-making as enunciated in the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development. However, it is worth noting that through the Protocol on Gender and Development (2008) the target was upgraded to at least 50% of women's participation and representation in all sectors by 2015.

The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development has been signed and endorsed by all member states except Botswana and Mauritius. Currently the process of domestication which will have it effectively translated into practice at the national level and political party level is underway.

In this analysis of political parties' constitutions, policies and documents, provisions made for women's political participation are reviewed from a gender perspective. The SADC Parliamentary Forum (The Forum) commissioned this assessment in order to provide measures for political parties to implement their commitments of achieving at least 30% representation of women in positions of power and decision making within the political parties, Government and Parliament.

This assessment was conducted between 26th March and 11th April 2008 in Windhoek, Namibia. Party constitutions, manifestos, programs and other supporting documents from at least 32 political parties in 8 SADC member states were reviewed. The method used was a text analysis conducted by a team of two gender consultants. Further consultation and briefing was performed by SADC-PF gender unit and staff.

The political parties were grouped into three categories; the first includes those that make minimal or no reference to gender. The second includes those that make provisions for women's participation in party organs but do not make a firm commitment such as by including a quota requiring a certain percentage of places on the party candidate lists to be filled by women. The third includes those that commit to measures ensuring women's entry and participation at all ranks and party organs.

Findings of the assessment are that party constitutions, manifestos and supporting documents are generally not drafted from a gender perspective. Women's participation is derived mainly from women's leagues, mass organizations, unions or autonomous organizations. Such groups tend to play a marginal role in politics since they have limited resources with which to participate meaningfully. Furthermore, the mandates and responsibilities of women's leagues are often related to issues of welfare, administration or party propaganda.

Last, the party constitutions and supporting documents contained herein do not reflect current national, regional, or global trends and commitments such as those espoused by the SADC

Declaration on Gender and Development, the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women, and the African Protocol on Human Rights, among others.

While political parties' constitutions tend to have a longer shelf life, manifestos, plans of action and program documents normally have a fixed term, possibly 5 years from one election year to the next. As a result, political parties have the opportunity to adopt responsive and progressive measures to meet emerging needs through their party manifestos and plans which are regularly reviewed. This also means that the extent to which gender is mainstreamed in political parties is indicative of a party's dynamism and degree of responsiveness to current issues.

Finally, recommendations for measures and provisions that will promote and help to achieve gender equality as well as women's empowerment are directed to the political parties and the SADC-PF. Political parties need to formalize their positions on gender equality by revising internal party structures, processes and access to party resources in support of women's increased political participation. The SADC-PF needs to follow through with continued gender training aimed at helping the parties introduce visible and sustained changes that reflect gender equality at all levels of the political process.

Monitoring for desired results and evaluating performance is critical in order to ensure that political parties truly enact change and mainstream gender equality in their policies and structure.



1. Introduction

1.1 Background

In line with its Strategic Plan (2006-2010), the SADC Parliamentary Forum identified women's political participation and representation in positions of power and decision making as essential for the achievement of gender equality and sound democratic governance in the SADC Region. The political participation and representation of women, who constitute more than half the population in SADC countries, necessarily implies that this is an important democratic advance that is worthy of SADC Parliamentary Forum advocacy. In line with this, the SADC-PF has worked with the Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus (RWPC) since 2002 in order to build upon lessons learned from good practices in the region. Examples from the RWPC demonstrate that without addressing key issues of electoral systems and quotas with regard to women's political participation, there cannot be a rapid increase in women's representation in elected office. Women continue to be under-represented at most levels of government, especially in ministerial and executive bodies (United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995). Moreover, there has been slow progress towards the attainment of set targets for ensuring a critical mass of women in decision-making at all levels, especially as regards political participation.

*Gender equality is not an option;
it is a right and an obligation.*

Gender equality is not an option; it is a right and an obligation. As a result, gender equality should be sought by member states through their constitutional and political processes. Heads of State in the African Union Solemn Declaration of Gender Equality in Africa committed to the principle of gender parity enshrined in Article 4 (1) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union, as well as to other existing commitments, principles, goals and actions set out in the various regional, continental and international instruments on human and women's rights. These include the following:

The Dakar Platform for Action (1994)

The Beijing Platform for Action (1995)

The Convention for the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW – 1981)

The African Plan of Action to Accelerate the Implementation of the Dakar and Beijing Platform for Action for the Advancement of Women (1999)

The Outcome Document of the Twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly Special Session on the Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (2000)

UN Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security

The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003)

SADC Summit report regarding the increased target of women representation at political and decision making positions from 30% to 50% in line with the African Union target (August 2005)

Clearly, African Heads of State and Governments, including those in the SADC regional economic community, have committed to the highest international and continental instruments for gender equality. This indicates that the commitment to mainstreaming gender equality in women's representation and political participation is generally accepted in the SADC Region. Still, it has yet to be effectively translated into practice at the national and political party level. Noting, for instance, that only a few countries in the SADC region have attained the 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development target of having at least thirty percent (30%) representation of women in positions of power and decision making at all levels. In August 2005, the target was elevated by SADC Heads of Government. Though the "critical mass" of at least thirty percent (30%) is commonly considered crucial for women to have a significant impact in decision making as conduits for democratic governance, progress is slow and in some instances small gains have been eroded. Therefore more robust measures must be adopted in order to institutionalize gender equality and accelerate the transformation of governance processes from a gender perspective at all levels.

We recognize that in many instances the low participation and representation of women is in fact part of a broader issue of cultural and traditional attitudes that are entrenched and perpetuated within political party leadership organs that are mainly male dominated. Therefore, a paradigm shift is also required in order to challenge the status quo. Evidence from the SADC Region, which is similar to experiences around the globe, demonstrates that the political participation and effective representation of women in positions of power and decision making at all levels seldom happens by chance. Rather, it is a result of focused and concerted efforts in the implementation of catalytic multi-dimensional strategies that build and inculcate the democratic governance ideals of effective participation and contribution of all population groups without regard to class, sex, gender, ethnic or religious background. There is a need for political parties to move away from traditional methods and business as usual approach, to, inter alia, pursue and implement measures and strategies that effectively promote the vigorous inclusion of women in equal numbers as men at all levels and forums.

Political party constitutions and documents should reflect the spirit of their national constitutions, since these national constitutions tend to entrench principles of equality and uprooting discrimination based on race, sex, and colour, among others. Thus the majority of political parties have clearly failed to draw upon this provision to create equal opportunities for

women to participate in political decision making at par with men. Urgent measures including legislative and administrative frameworks should be provided by oversight agencies, as well as intra-party arrangements recognizing the right of women to equal participation. Such measures are required in order to stimulate action for political transformation in the direction of equal rights for women.

Key elements necessary for achieving higher levels of women's representation include: a conducive political climate, gender inclusive political party systems and structures, an electoral legislative framework and system that recognize the unique role of women in politics, and the political will to adopt special measures that will increase women's representation. Thus far, significant levels of women's representation have been achieved by invoking political party quotas, whether voluntary or legislated. This is partly due to the fact that political parties remain the real gatekeepers to the advancement of women in politics. Consequently, it is at the political party level that the principle of gender equality must be put into practice and tested for practical value addition. There is also a need for systematic inclusion and involvement of women at all levels of political participation in order to avoid the current practice in some political parties of only having quotas for women's representation at select levels.

1.2 Why is it important that more women should be involved in politics?

Development requires more than increasing access to resources and improving the standard of living. Development is a process by which the benefits of development are obtained and sustained. Thus development entails that citizens themselves be involved as participants in the development and governance process. They should not merely be passive beneficiaries, but rather they should be able to improve their own capacity to engage, recognize and overcome their own challenges. Thus, insofar as development is about citizens, it is worth recalling that women generally comprise more than 50% of the population in the SADC Region. However, their life path is generally viewed as different from that of their male counterparts due to socialization and corresponding gendered behavior, and this in turn results in comparatively limited opportunities for women. It therefore becomes imperative to combine women's right to political participation and self-representation with the concept of equality of opportunity between women and men in all spheres of life in order to fully understand the urgent need for gender balance in political decision making for development.

Pragmatically speaking, there are significant advantages to be gained for political parties if they increase their levels of women's representation. Here are four main arguments in favour of increasing women's representation in political decision making:

- a) **Symbolism:** Women comprise at least half the population and so they should be present in politics in equal numbers to men. Only in this way can democratic principles of fairness and justice be realized. Also, once in Parliament, these women can act as role models for subsequent generations of women in politics.

- b) Substance:** Women have particular experiences and thus they have the capacity to deal with issues that men are less likely to have encountered, particularly since societies in Southern Africa are still divided strongly along gender lines. By bringing their experiences and knowledge to the political decision making sphere, women will be able to effect change on the issues that directly concern them. Specific issues in this category include childcare and domestic violence, which have recently moved much further up the political agenda.
- c) Style:** Women practice a different style of politics. They tend to be less adversarial and confrontational, as well as more consensual and constructive in addressing developmental and other, potentially capricious, issues. Including women in political decision-making invites the potential for a more balanced approach to politics overall.
- d) Sense:** Evidence suggests that having more women in political decision making positions appeals to women voters on a number of levels:
- It changes the image of the party to a female friendly one.
 - The party can use the expertise of its female politicians to develop policies, manifestos and programmes that attract women voters.
 - More women turn out to vote when women run for election.

1.3 Purpose of the Analysis

The overall purpose of this report is to analyze political party documents in order to provide measures for political parties to implement their commitments to achieving at least 30% representation of women in positions of power and decision-making. It is hoped that securing a 30% minimum representation of women in political parties will translate into similar representation at other levels, including at the level of local government and parliament.

This report suggests improved alternatives that political parties can adopt to achieve the minimum representation of women in decision making. The findings contained herein will inform the development of a prototypical legislative framework to address the lack of mechanisms, measures and policies within political parties' constitutions directed at realizing at least 30% representation of women in political decision-making positions. This, in turn, will strengthen the knowledge-based information available to women's inter-party parliamentary caucuses to advocate for the transformation of party structures and party nominations processes.

1.4 Objectives

The main objectives of this review are to:

- a) Improve political parties' policy documents and constitutions as well as intra-party democratic processes in order to promote the political participation and representation of women; and:
- b) Contribute to reforms of electoral frameworks and laws so as to facilitate women's political participation and gender balanced representation.

1.5 General Outline on Findings of the Analysis

- a) In general, party constitutions and supporting documents are not drafted from the perspective of improving opportunities for women. In many instances there is reference to "equality" in general but the inclusion of gender is not explicit. It is therefore not clear how the equal participation of women can be guaranteed.
- b) Generally political parties fall into 3 broad categories:

Category 1 Parties' constitutions, manifestos and other basic documents make minimal or no reference to gender and development, nor to women's participation in party organs and decision making activities;

Category 2 Parties generally make provisions for women's participation in the party organs but do not make a firm commitment, for example by providing a quota securing women's involvement and participation in the party organs. There is also some degree of gender mainstreaming in these political parties' documents;

Category 3 Parties commit to measures in their constitutions for ensuring women's entry and participation right through their ranks and party organs. They also exhibit the mainstreaming of gender in their policies and party programs.

- c) In instances where women's participation comes in the form of an established women's league, mass organization, union or autonomous organization, these organs tend to be marginalized with few resources to make meaningful engagement and participation in influencing the party's political agenda. The participation of members of the women's league and its equivalents in the party organs does not appear to constitute a critical mass necessary for making a significant impact on political party decisions and policies.
- d) The mandate and responsibilities of the women's leagues and organizations within the political parties is often related to welfare, administration and party propaganda. The result is gap in targeted women's empowerment programs that should enable and ensure quality participation by women in the party's political agenda as well as its structures and programs.

- e) In many instances there are gender gaps and inconsistencies regarding women's participation, party constitutions and documents. Though gender may be mentioned sporadically at some levels of the party structures, there is often no firm commitment to ensure standards and reliable processes that secure women's equal participation in the party and its organs.
- f) In general, the party constitutions and supporting documents do not reflect or adopt broad current national, regional, and global trends and commitments such as those espoused by the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development, the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women, and the African Protocol on Human Rights.

1.6 Factual Evidence

Political parties are principal agents in analyzing, adopting, internalizing and implementing national, regional and international commitments relating to meaningful political power sharing and decision-making among women and men, and realizing set targets. To this extent, political parties are directly and primarily responsible for negotiating and putting in place measures that should promote the creation of opportunities that facilitate the equal involvement and participation of women and men at all levels of political decision making. In this way, political parties are accountable towards determining the degree to which women and men get involved in politics.

While there exists general agreement that excluding women from political party decision-making processes would be retrogressive and detrimental, this analysis of political parties' constitutions, manifestos, plans of action, programs of work, structures as well as systems and procedures has revealed realities that contradict this generally held notion. Below are findings on the extent of gender inclusiveness and responsiveness in the various political parties' documents. The analysis focuses on:

- a) Measures and provisions for promoting and achieving gender equality and women's empowerment as reflected in policy frameworks such as constitutions, manifestos, plans of actions, programs of work, and other policy documents;
- b) The positioning and role of women's wings, unions, and leagues in political parties relative to other party structures; and
- c) How intra-party systems and procedures are organized to promote and encourage women's participation and representation in decision-making.

2. Political Parties' Documents

Angola

1.1 Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola (MPLA)

Party Constitution

- 1.1.1 Composition of intermediary conferences lists representatives of JMPLA (MPLA Youth Organization) and OMA (Angola Women's Organization) and other social organizations associated with MPLA.
- 1.1.2 Composition of intermediary committees states representatives of JMPLA and OMA in numbers correspondent to a tenth of the total of the members of the Central Committee elected by the competent organs.
- 1.1.3 Provincial secretary of OMA is a member of executive provincial commissions
- 1.1.4 Composition of the Central Committee states one representative of OMA corresponds to a tenth of the total number of members of this organ elected by their respective representatives.
- 1.1.5 Responsibilities of the general secretariat include monitoring and informing the polite bureau on administrative activities, human resource management, and assets of JMPLA and OMA and other social organizations associated with the party.
- 1.1.6 OMA Secretary General is a member of the polite bureau.
- 1.1.7 Composition of the polite bureau secretariat - the coordinator of the audit and disciplinary commission, the president of the parliamentary group, MPLA's first secretary of the national secretary and OMA secretary general are permanent members of the polite bureau.
- 1.1.8 OMA is the feminist organization of MPLA whose objective is to mobilize and educate the women to realize MPLA's policies.
- 1.1.9 OMA is administratively and financially autonomous; and it is governed by its own constitution.
- 1.1.10 Guidelines for party funds and assets states, when drawing up the party budget, JMPLA and OMA have a specific budget line.

Party Programme

- 1.1.11 The social and cultural policy of MPLA aims to create dignified conditions of living, taking into consideration all individual and collective efforts that guarantee autonomy and social integration for disadvantaged social groups in the areas of education, health, employment, professional training, social security, housing, and culture. It also aims to attend specifically to problems that characterize the status of children, youth, the elderly, women, the disabled, and issues such as

environmental protection, social protection, civic responsibility and the well-being of the individual and family units.

1.1.12 Implementing new social security services such as the protection of workers from accidents at the place of work, and disability, maternity, and unemployment services.

1.1.13 MPLA commits to:

- Promoting policies that guarantee the effective emancipation of and promotion of women, gender equality of opportunities in education, and the employment and participation of women in political, economic, socio-and cultural spheres.
- Promoting proportional remuneration for maternity by broadening services in the public sectors that reduce women's domestic burdens in order to permit them to participate in the country's development.
- Developing effective awareness in the place of work aimed at reducing violence and abuse against women both in the house and at work.
- Continuing to promote research on family planning and abortion from a perspective of promoting the rights of women and of the unborn child without putting the life of the woman at risk.
- Revising laws that protect women from domestic violence in order to make domestic violence a punishable crime.

1.2 Partido Nacional Democrático de Angola (PNDA)

Party Constitution

- 1.2.1 Any Angolan aged 18 and above can become a party militant as long as he accepts the party constitution, regardless of race, sex, place of birth, religion, ideology, level of education and social and economic status.
- 1.2.2 FDMA, the Democratic Federation for Angolan Women is the women's league of Angolan women who accept the Programme and constitution of PNDA.

Party Programme

- 1.2.3 Striving to bring together all Angolans, regardless of sex.
- 1.2.4 Equality is a prerequisite for freedom.
- 1.2.5 Working towards eradicating all forms of discrimination, affirming the right to equal opportunity to access justice.
- 1.2.6 Guaranteeing maternal and infant health Programme with the objective of increasing the level of service delivery to pregnant mothers in order to reduce maternal mortality,
- 1.2.7 Defending a maternal and infant policy that promotes better maternity conditions.
- 1.2.8 Assisting most vulnerable groups of society, including women.

1.3 Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola (FNLA)

Party Constitution

- 1.3.1 The Associacao de Mulher Angolana (AMA), the Association for Angolan Women is listed as one of the party's organs.
- 1.3.2 Organize the women through political and patriotic education in implementing social and cultural programmes of the party at all levels.
- 1.3.3 AMA is governed by its own constitution.
- 1.3.4 Delegates of AMA are members the party congress.
- 1.3.5 AMA is represented on the Central Committee.
- 1.3.6 The Secretary of AMA is member of the polite bureau.
- 1.3.7 Duties include:
 - a) Orienting women's participation in party activities at the national level.
 - b) Fighting against illiteracy of women and sensitization at the community level.
 - c) Carrying out the programme on child protection and the integration of abandoned children as suggested by the party executive.
 - d) Creating lines of corporation with other national and international feminist organizations.
 - e) Establishing programmes on infant mortality for approval by the polite bureau.
 - f) Cooperating with other party organs in mobilization, propaganda and other activities of a social character.
 - g) Integrating Angolan women war veterans in social affairs of the party.
 - h) Submitting monthly AMA activity reports to the secretariat of the mass organizations and the polite bureau.
 - i) Representing the Angolan women on behalf of the party in relevant state institutions, as well as national and international organizations.
 - j) Orienting the national policies of feminist organizations while ensuring the promotion and adoption of global requirements and protocols.

Code of Conduct

- 1.3.8 FNLA's fundamental principles include those of freedom and equal rights.

FNLA from its inception to date:

FNLA gives priority to youth and women.

1.4 Partido Popular (PAJOCA)

Party Constitution

- 1.4.1 PAJOCA's Popular Women's Alliance is the feminist organization that is governed by its own independent constitution and programme.

Party Programme

- 1.4.2 Equality and justice: The fight for equality is the most important in achieving freedom.
- 1.4.3 Implement a governance programme with a broad participation of women.

1.5 Partido Liberal Democratico (PLD)

Declaration of Intentions

- 1.5.1 Dignity for Angolan women - give them the respect they deserve and (ensure) integration at all levels in Angola's social and economic sectors.
- 1.5.2 Provide transit homes for mothers.
- 1.5.3 Provide maternity protection with pre- and post-natal subsidies during pregnancy.
- 1.5.4 Give recognition and dignity to professional and domestic work and the right to remunerate work done by women in the home.
- 1.5.5 Abolish the status of illegitimate children and protect single mothers.
- 1.5.6 Abolish all situations that prohibit the participation of women from entering certain professions.
- 1.5.7 Enforce equality before the law, without discrimination on the basis of sex.

1.6 Partido Renovadora Democratico (PRD)

Party Guidelines

- 1.6.1 Equality of opportunity for all citizens and respect for fundamental human rights.
- 1.6.2 PRD's Women's Organization (Organizacao da Mulher Renovadora – OMR) listed as one of the party's organs.

Political Declaration

- 1.6.3 Advocates for social politics that protect widows and single mothers among others.

1.7 Partido de Renovacao Social (PRS)

Party Constitution

- 1.7.1 Monitor the activities of UMRS (The Women's Organization) and support their activities.
- 1.7.2 The Uniao da Mulheres de Renovacao Social (UMRS), the Women's Union is stated as a PRS mass organization.
- 1.7.3 Objectives of UMRS include educating its members in order to take a decisive role in realizing party programmes and orientations in order to overcome all forms of discrimination against women.

Party Programme

- 1.7.4 Equality in salaries and the criteria of admission in jobs for all citizens without discrimination by sex.
- 1.7.5 Considering that health is a fundamental human right, without distinction of race, sex, tribe, and political ideology, economic and social conditions in accordance to the WHO convention.
- 1.7.6 PRS guarantees the fundamental rights of working women and supports the right to equal opportunities in public service and employment.

1.8 Uniao Nacional para Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA)

Party Constitution

- 1.8.1 Build a democratic state based on rights and a society based on equal opportunities and social justice.
- 1.8.2 Not to put at risk the principle of equality of rights, restricting the right to vote.
- 1.8.3 Delegates to the congress include representatives of mass organizations.
- 1.8.4 UNITA's mass organizations include LIMA, The Angolan Women's League.
- 1.8.5 The political commission is composed of 251 members and includes senior officials of various mass organizations among which one is LIMA.
- 1.8.6 The political commission is composed of a maximum of 18 members of which only 1 seat is guaranteed for the LIMA national president.
- 1.8.7 Out of at least 20 provincial sub-committee members, only 3 seats are reserved for LIMA members.
- 1.8.8 The Central Committee is composed of at least 36 members and only 3 seats are reserved for LIMA.
- 1.8.9 The communal assembly (ward level) includes LIMA representatives.

UNITA X Congress Documents

- 1.8.10 Active and stronger participation of women in decision making structures.
- 1.8.11 UNITA has attained the 30% quota as stipulated by SADC.

LIMA pamphlet

- 1.8.12 Objectives include promotion of at least 30% representation of women in the management of public affairs.

Botswana

2.1 Botswana Congress Party (BCP)

Party Constitution

- 2.1.1 Promotion of the interests of women's organizations and the implementation of programmes to ensure the equal representation of women in decision-making processes at all levels.
- 2.1.2 No restriction or privilege to be recognized on account of sex, among others.
- 2.1.3 Advocates for social security and services for widows.
- 2.1.4 Maternity insurance to provide pre- and post-natal care and protection for women.
- 2.1.5 30% of the 24 members of the Central Committee to be women.
- 2.1.6 Auxiliary organs of the party include the Women's League, a women's wing of the party.
- 2.1.7 Guaranteed women's representation through members of the Central Committee (30%) including Secretary of Women's Affairs, and as follows at other levels and forums:
 - a) Regional, Constituency and Ward Committees: 1 guaranteed seat each for Secretary of Women's Affairs, out of more than 10 members per committee.
 - b) Regional and Constituency Executive Committees: No guaranteed representation of the Women's League or women.
 - c) National congress: 30% from the party Central Committee and 5 delegates from the Central Committee of the Women's League.

Manifesto 2004

- 2.1.8 BCP includes women's issues on its priority list.
- 2.1.9 Adopting measures for gender sensitive empowerment and laws to deal effectively with violent crime against children and women, good governance, social justice, women and youth empowerment and cultural diversity.
- 2.1.10 Special attention to providing opportunities for young people and women to have access to international trading markets.
- 2.1.11 Equality between women and men, and aims to promote their equality in private and public life through:
 - a) Strengthening legal instruments to protect women, addressing paternity obligations, gender-based discrimination, inheritance and property rights, domestic violence and women's human rights.
 - b) Facilitating the economic participation of women through special schemes for female-headed households especially in rural areas, and increasing employment opportunities for women, removal of women's barriers to credit facilities, training to increase productivity in the informal sector where women are in the majority, and providing incentives for companies/groups supporting women's economic projects.

- c) Strengthening health services for women by providing women with the capacity to take steps to promote their health, improving sexual and reproductive health service options, and introducing special clinics for women.
 - d) Making education and training more accessible to women through gender sensitive curriculum at all levels, assertiveness and leadership training programmes for women, and affirmative action to facilitate women's entry into areas where they are under-represented.
 - e) Promoting political participation of women by introducing relevant educational programmes involving both women and men, implementing a quota system to ensure fair representation of women at both local and national levels.
- 2.1.12 Targeting social security to the neediest groups including domestic workers, the majority of whom are women.
- 2.1.13 Including the exposure of sports women and men to international experience.
- 2.1.14 BCP notes that lack of commitment to rural development has driven most able women and men to urban areas, leaving rural areas the least able to pursue meaningful development.

Democratic and Development Programme (DDP) January 1999

- 2.1.15 Gender included among priority issues for the party.
- 2.1.16 Determination to remove all forms of systematic barriers to women's opportunities
- 2.1.17 Avail opportunity and open participation for all to achieve self-fulfillment and enjoy good quality of life irrespective of their gender.
- 2.1.18 Medium term empowerment Programme with annual quotas to enable women to come to the centre of politics, economy and social life of society.
- 2.1.19 Establish a broad political movement that is not based on gender exclusivism.
- 2.1.20 Equity in opportunities, equity in access and provision, and equity in outcomes of quality of life.
- 2.1.21 Equality – all people are equal and should therefore have the same opportunities for development
- 2.1.22 Promotion of the interest of women's organizations in the struggle for democracy, economic independence and social justice, human rights and peace; and for the development of programmes that ensure equal representation of women in decision-making processes at all levels.

The BCP Programme

- 2.1.23 Establish a permanent gender commission to advise government on gender matters; giving priority to women's sexual and reproductive health.
- 2.1.24 Eliminate income inequalities and promote gender empowerment.
- 2.1.25 Exploitation and utilization of environmental resources should be accessible to all Botswana regardless of gender.
- 2.1.26 Develop a clear focused communication strategy for HIV prevention, targeting adolescents and youth, women, and men.

- 2.1.27 Ensure that girls and women are afforded full and equal opportunities at all levels of education.
- 2.1.28 Noted: that family privacy and marital powers are used to deny women access to legal protection from violence at home.
- 2.1.29 Equal rights of women and men in the public and private spheres, the provision of legal protection against violence in the home, and the creation of legislation to protect women against any deprivation of rights
- 2.1.30 Develop mechanisms for recording and recognizing women's work, and abolish all laws that discriminate against women.
- 2.1.31 Serve all Botswana without distinction based on social class, ethnic, religion or gender.

2.2 Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)

Party Constitution

- 2.2.1 Pursuance of a policy of equality, justice, liberty, solidarity, peace, political, economic and social progress, and prosperity for the people of Botswana.
- 2.2.2 Establishment of a Women's Wing in the party.
- 2.2.3 Representation of women in committees and forums is as follows:
 - a) Central Committee: 1 out of 18 seats reserved for the Chairperson of the Women's Wing.
 - b) Committees at other levels – Regional, Branch, Ward and Cell: There is no guaranteed Women's Wing or women's representation.
 - c) National Congress: 1 reserved seat for the Chairperson of the Women's Wing, all members of the Inner Executive Committee of the Women's Wing.
 - d) Regional Congress: 2 delegates from each branch of the Women's Wing.
 - e) Branch and Sub-branch Congresses: Chairperson and Secretary of each Branch/ Sub-Branch of the Women's Wing Committee.

Manifesto

- 2.2.4 Equality is included in the values of the party.
- 2.2.5 Achievements include:
 - a) Addressing the challenge of school dropouts resulting especially from teenage pregnancy and committing to address it.
 - b) Participation of girls in Agriculture clubs and women in projects.
 - c) Drafting of the law abolishing marital power
 - d) Recognition of efforts to mainstream gender into national development planning.
 - e) Financial assistance for women's income generation projects.
 - f) Emphasis by the Revised National Policy on Education on gender equity in access to education.
 - g) Various gender sensitization activities, including training and commemoration of various international days.
 - h) Technical and financial support to NGOs, CBOs and women's groups.

BDP Promises for 2004 - 09

- 2.2.6 Intensify efforts to reduce new HIV infections and improve care-giving services among economically active men and women in order to promote productivity.
- 2.2.7 Eradication of all forms of discrimination against women by amending laws in order to achieve social harmony.
- 2.2.8 Mainstreaming gender in the formulation and revision of all major policies and programmes to achieve more equitable national development.
- 2.2.9 Providing a safe environment for raising young men and women in society uncontaminated by crime and corruption; for social harmony and economic growth.
- 2.2.10 Feasibility of recruiting women into the defense force.

2.3 Botswana National Front (BNF)

Party Constitution

- 2.3.1 Struggle against all forms of discrimination, exploitation and oppression.
- 2.3.2 Promote and strengthen mass democratic organizations such as women's organizations.
- 2.3.3 Recognizes the possible membership of women's groups.
- 2.3.4 No restriction or privilege on account of gender, among others.
- 2.3.5 Social security and services for widows.
- 2.3.6 Maternity insurance for pre- and post-natal care and protection.
- 2.3.7 30% of the members of the Central Committee shall be women.
- 2.3.8 Establishment of a Women's League.
- 2.3.9 Guaranteed women's representation through members of the Central Committee (30%) including Secretary of Women's Affairs, and as follows at other levels and forums:
 - a) National, Regional and Constituency Executive Committees: No guaranteed representation of the Women's League or women.
 - b) National congress: 30% of the Central Committee members and 30 delegates from the Women's League.
 - c) Regional congress, Regional conference: 1 reserved seat for the Chairperson of the Women's League and 5 delegates from the Women's League.
 - d) Constituency congress: 1 reserved seat for the Women's League chairperson and 5 delegates from the Women's League and Youth League in the constituency.

Manifesto/The Social Democratic Programme of the Botswana National Party (BNP)(1995)

- 2.3.10 Repealing laws that oppress women.

Table 1

Committee	Total membership	Guaranteed number of women members
1. National Executive Committee	23	1
2. District Committee(s)	11	1
3. Constituency Committee(s)	10+	1
4. Locality Committee(s)	10+	1
5. Village Committee(s)	10	1

- 2.3.11 Coordinating and articulating the common interests of members expressed, for example through women's organizations, to influence state policy.
- 2.3.12 Fighting all discrimination based on origin, gender, religion, creed, race and class.
- 2.3.13 Producing and distributing wealth and social justice, speaking to the accordance of full rights and legal protection of domestic workers.
- 2.3.14 Equality between men and women, and their participation as equals in national and international co-operation, partnership and unity based on mutual respect and interdependence.
- 2.3.15 Equality between women and men as well as equal rights, obligations and opportunities as a manifestation of the equal dignity of all human beings.
- 2.3.16 Further issues raised include job security and equal involvement of men in the caring of children and homes.
- 2.3.17 Applying affirmative action to put women in positions of leadership and responsibility.
- 2.3.18 Reforming the national constitution to guarantee the rights and freedoms of women.
- 2.3.19 Adopting special measures to eliminate conditions in society which constitute a breeding ground for abuse.

Lesotho

3.1 Basotho Democratic National Party (BDNP)

Party Constitution

- 3.1.1 Mobilizing women and youth to enable them to meet their strategic needs.
- 3.1.2 Supporting equality between men and women in all spheres of life.
- 3.1.3 Promoting and supporting protection of women, youth and children.
- 3.1.4 Establishing the Women's League.
- 3.1.5 Summarizing the representation of the Women's League and women in various party committees.

3.2 Basotho National Party (BNP)

Party Constitution

- 3.2.1 Supporting women and youth and enable them to take their rightful place in politics and national development.
- 3.2.2 Nominating electoral candidates – Women, people with disabilities and youth are encouraged to stand for both parliamentary and council elections.

Manifesto 2002

- 3.2.3 First political party to make provision for women's right to participate in elections.
- 3.2.4 Women's empowerment entails respect and promotion of women's human rights as well as elimination of all forms of discrimination against them.
- 3.2.5 Women have a right to participate and take any position of leadership including in Parliament, according to the Constitution.
- 3.2.6 Promote women's participation and involvement in decision-making at all levels.
- 3.2.7 Remove women's barriers and restrictions.
- 3.2.8 Review all laws that discriminate against women and prevent them from contributing fully.
- 3.2.9 Adopt a comprehensive programme on the right of women to access decision-making at all levels.
- 3.2.10 Women especially encouraged to contest any party or parliamentary positions in their respective constituency.
- 3.2.11 Support equal participation for women and men.

3.3 Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD)

Party Constitution

- 3.3.1 Fight discrimination and abuse in all its forms.
- 3.3.2 Fight discrimination of women in employment, government, business and land ownership; by eradicating all laws that discriminate against them.
- 3.3.3 All women and girls who are members of the party are members of the Women's Organization.
- 3.3.4 Recognizes the significant contribution of women throughout the history of the party and regrets their under-representation in important positions.
- 3.3.5 At least 30% representation of women at all levels.
- 3.3.6 Minimum target of 30% women's representation in all organs/committees and meetings of the party.
- 3.3.7 Pledges core budget funding support for the Women's Organization to carry out the mandate of the party.

2007 Elections manifesto of the LCD

- 3.3.8 LCD - - - shall select from all the people, able men (and women) - - - of truth, hating covetousness - - -
- 3.3.9 Protection of women is listed as one a priority area.
- 3.3.10 Continued enforcement of laws to protect women.
- 3.3.11 LCD aligns itself to international commitments for the protection of women.
- 3.3.12 Enactment of laws ratifying land inheritance and other rights of children, orphans and widows.
- 3.3.13 Care and support for expectant mothers in order to reduce morbidity.
- 3.3.14 Open access to credit from banks/financial institutions in order for women and men, including married women, to start businesses.
- 3.3.15 Minimum of 30% women representation at all levels.
- 3.3.16 Continue to adopt measures to ensure women's involvement and participation in all matters of the State.
- 3.3.17 Increased numbers of women judges, chief executive officers of parastatals, members of Parliament, government ministers, and principal secretaries.

3.4 Marematlou Freedom Party (MFP)

Party Constitution

The Sixth Manifesto of Marematlou Freedom Party for 2007 Elections

- 3.4.1 Police to be provided with necessary resources to enable them to combat all types of crime such as rape, child and women's abuse.
- 3.4.2 Acknowledgement for the contribution of women in national development.
- 3.4.3 End the abuse of women by men.
- 3.4.5 Encourage women to continue to fight for their rights and their share in the leadership of the country.
- 3.4.6 Remove all barriers that prohibit women from having equal opportunities with men.
- 3.4.7 Promote women's participation and involvement in leadership and raise women's representation to one third.
- 3.4.8 Repeal all laws that discriminate against women.

3.5 National Independent Party (NIP)

Party Constitution

- 3.5.1 Party membership open to all citizens of Lesotho regardless of colour, creed or sex.

Manifesto

- 3.5.2 Ensure women occupy positions of leadership and are supported through capacity building.
- 3.5.3 Protect women and children through full enforcement of existing laws as well as enactment of new ones to protect all Basotho, especially those who are vulnerable such as children, women and those with disability.
- 3.5.4 Uphold and promote women's human rights by:
 - a) Repealing all laws that discriminate against women.
 - b) Enacting laws that accord women and men equal rights.
 - c) Enacting laws that empower state agencies to give women full protection.
 - d) Enforcing the death sentence for rape.
 - e) Strengthening laws that protect women, children, people with disability and other vulnerable groups, from all forms of abuse.
 - f) Allocating 30 out of 120 parliamentary seats to women.

Mozambique

4.1 Frente de libertacao de Mozambique (FRELIMO)

Party Constitution

- 4.1.1 Mozambican women, men and youth constructors of the national independence continue the tradition born on the 25th June 1992.
- 4.1.2 Fundamental principles include protection of human rights, democratic socialism, freedom, democracy, social justice, equality and solidarity.
- 4.1.3 Fundamental objectives include guaranteeing national unity, consensus, freedom and equality of Mozambicans independent of differences based on sex, among others.
- 4.1.4 Secure an institutional framework that is conducive for growth of social interest groups such as women.
- 4.1.5 Obligations include to respect and uphold the emancipation of women.
- 4.1.6 The Organization for Mozambican Women, OMM, is defined as a social organ of FRELIMO.

4.2 RENAMO

- 4.2.1 The party constitution does not make reference to gender.

Namibia

5.1 Congress of Democrats (CoD)

Party Constitution

- 5.1.1 Resources and bounties of Namibia should be shared by, and exploited for the common benefit of all irrespective of gender among others.
- 5.1.2 Emancipation of women and empowerment of the youth requires urgent attention in order to move faster to a more equal and gender sensitive society.
- 5.1.3 Promote peace and human brotherhood/sisterhood at all levels.
- 5.1.4 Promote gender equality and strive to pursue a gender balanced approach in all its structures, organizational and political activities, and in particular, to protect the interests of women.
- 5.1.5 Build a society free from all forms of discrimination based on race, ethnic origin, gender, marital status, sexual orientation.
- 5.1.6 Support and advance gender balance and the complete emancipation of women
- 5.1.7 Promote a politically and culturally tolerant society, and discourage chauvinism and the bias against women.
- 5.1.8 The National Executive Committee may grant honorary membership to men and women who do not qualify under regular terms.
- 5.1.9 Fight against racism, tribal and ethnic chauvinism, sexism, religious and political intolerance, or any other form of discrimination or chauvinism.
- 5.1.10 At least 80% of the voting conference delegates to be elected from the branches, and the remaining 20% of the delegates to be allocated by the NEC among the Youth and Women's organizations, and a delegation of the CoD parliamentary caucus and officials.
- 5.1.11 Implement affirmative action and provide a gender quota in order to ensure that women are adequately represented in all decision-making structures.
- 5.1.12 Establishment of the Women's Organization with its own constitution.
- 5.1.13 Guaranteed women's representation through members of the National Executive Committee is 1 seat for the Secretary-General of the Women's Organization, and as follows at other levels and forums:
 - a) National Working Committee: The Women's Organization is not represented
 - b) Regional Working Committee: 1 reserved seat for the Secretary of the Women's Organization.
 - c) Regional Executive Committee: 2 seats reserved for the Women's Organization.
 - d) Branch Executive Committee: No guaranteed representation of the Women's Organization or women.

CoD's Programme for a better Namibia

- 5.1.14 Women constitute 43% of the CoD list for National Assembly and CoD has nominated more women as regional council candidates.
- 5.1.15 CoD's commitment to the promotion of gender equality includes ensuring that:
- Gender balance and equity is realized in all senior government as well as Cabinet positions.
 - Women are freed from traditional and stereotypical roles, and conditions are created that are conducive to their employment nurturing responsibilities.
 - Women receive full pay during maternity leave (and paternity leave for fathers).
 - Sexual harassment and gender based discrimination at the workplace are punishable by law.
 - Special economic empowerment programmes are developed and implemented to promote companies' ownership by women, and that women are employed in top management positions of national and multi-national companies.
 - Women in rural areas form cooperatives to develop rural economy and create prosperity.
 - Letter from Ben Ulenga, CoD President, lists gender equality (women and men, together and equal) as one of its 11 commitments.

Table 2

Forum	Total number of delegates	Guaranteed number of women members
1. Congress	22 members of the National Bureau – including Secretary-Generals from party wings + all chiefs + 6 special advisors + Regional executive committees + Branch executive committees + 10 delegates from wings	13
2. Regional conference	9 + all Branch chairpersons + all Branch secretaries for Information and Mobilization (all constituting the Regional Executive Committee) + 10 delegates per branch	1

5.2 DTA of Namibia

Party Constitution

- 5.2.1 Women's League listed as one of the 11 organs of the DTA.
- 5.2.2 Examples of Women's League representation in various committees.

Election Manifesto of the DTA of Namibia 2004

- 5.2.3 Role and potential contribution of women in the development of society has not been adequately appreciated. The DTA commits to supporting the removal of all barriers that hamper the potential of women and contribute to the elimination of discrimination of women in all walks of life.

5.3 National Unity Democratic Organization (NUDO)

Party Constitution

- 5.3.1 Establishment of the NUDO Women's League.
- 5.3.2 Guaranteed women's representation in various forums, congresses and conferences is as follows:

2004 Election Manifesto of NUDO

- 5.3.3 Promote safe motherhood.
- 5.3.4 Provide all rape victims with a free course of antiretroviral and treatment against sexually transmitted infections (STIs).
- 5.3.5 Provide all HIV positive mothers and their new borne babies with Nevirapine.
- 5.3.6 Work tirelessly to dispel the myth that raping virgins reduces the spread of AIDS.
- 5.3.7 Introduce harsher punishment for rapists.
- 5.3.8 Improve court facilities for raped women.
- 5.3.9 Promote SMEs as engines of employment growth and ensure a significant increase in public sector outsourcing to SMEs for the benefit of, among others, women and young people.

5.4 SWAPO Party

Party Constitution

- 5.4.1 Aims and objectives include to:
 - a) Unite the people of Namibia, irrespective of race, religion, sex or ethnic origin, into a democratic, vibrant and peace loving nation.
 - b) Combat retrogressive tendencies of tribalism, ethnicity, nepotism, sexism, chauvinism, regionalism and personality cult.
 - c) Put forward proposals and defend his or her opinion before a decision is reached on the matter under discussion.
- 5.4.2 The Congress: 20 delegates from SWAPO Party Women's Council to attend.
- 5.4.3 The Secretary of the Women's Council is a member of the Central Committee.

- 5.4.4 Responsibilities for the Secretary of Women' Affairs include:
- a) Being the party's spokesperson on women's affairs.
 - b) Articulating SWAPO Party's policies and political programme.
 - c) Supervising all activities of the Women's Council.
 - d) Giving guidance in the formulation and execution of plans and programmes designed to promote the specific interest of Namibian women.
 - e) Promoting cooperation and solidarity with other progressive national and international women's organizations.
 - f) Being accountable to the Central Committee and the Political Bureau.
- 5.4.5 The Secretary of Women's Council, 1 delegate from the Regional Executive Committee and 4 Women's Council delegates attend the Regional Conference (also to be attended by members of the Regional Executive Committee, 4 delegates from each of the Districts in the Region, 4 delegates from each of the party wings and affiliated organizations, all elected members of the Regional Council attend as ex-officio members).
- 5.4.6 One representative of the Women's Council is a member of the Regional Executive Committee- other members are the Regional Coordinator, the Regional Treasurer, the Regional Information and Mobilization Officer, all District Coordinators in the Region, all District Information and Mobilization Officers in the Region and 1 delegate from each of the party wings and affiliated organizations.
- 5.4.7 One representative of the Women's Council is a member of the District Executive Committee. Other members are the District Coordinator, the District Treasurer, the District Information and Mobilization Officer, all Branch Coordinators, all Branch Secretaries, and 1 delegate from each of the party wings and affiliated organizations.
- 5.4.8 Establishment of the SWAPO Women's Council (SPWC), with membership composed of women aged 18 years and above and its own constitution.

Election Manifesto 2004

- 5.4.9 Gender imbalances still need to be corrected.
- 5.4.10 Women are well represented in the civil service. However, their representation at the management level needs to be improved considerably.
- 5.4.11 Unequal social relations between men and women persist and SWAPO commits to removing all obstacles hindering the full participation of women in decision-making within the party, government structures and society at large.
- 5.4.12 Progress made through the development of the National Gender Policy, the Affirmative Action Act, the Married Persons Equality Act, Combating Domestic Violence Act, and improved representation of women in local authority councils. However there is acknowledgement that the number of women parliamentarians needs to be increased to an acceptable level.
- 5.4.13 The SWAPO Party commits to:
- a) Continuing to address practical barriers experienced by women in accessing resources, services and opportunities,

- b) Building capacity for mainstreaming gender equality at the workplace,
 - c) Supporting the advancement of women and the prevention of violence against women and children, and
 - d) Working towards gender balance at all levels of organizations and institutions, in both the private and public sectors.
- 5.4.14 Enactment and enforcement of progressive laws for the protection of fundamental human rights and freedoms, affirmative action, and the emancipation of women.
- 5.4.15 Provide women with better health care and family planning facilities and services.
- 5.4.16 Female enrollment increased to 50.1% and 50.8% respectively primary and secondary school levels by 2002.
- 5.4.17 Provision of water in homes and near the communities has not only improved access to portable water, but has reduced the burden on women, who have to carry water over long distances.
- 5.4.18 Introduce the Green Scheme - an irrigation employment creation project specifically targeting women and youth.
- 5.4.19 Continue to support SMEs – with at least 35% of SMEs being owned by women.
- 5.4.20 Women constitute about 80% of the workforce of the fish industry.
- 5.4.21 Commitments include:
- a) Further strengthening of democracy through broader participation in public affairs, decentralization and gender equality.
 - b) Increasing efforts to counter crime against women and children, and strengthening support mechanisms for victims of violence.

South Africa

6.1 African National Congress (ANC)

Party Constitution

- 6.1.1 The ANC has emerged to lead the struggle of all democratic and patriotic forces to destroy the apartheid state and replace it with a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa in which the people as a whole shall govern and all shall enjoy equal rights.
- 6.1.2 Fundamental goal of the ANC remains to construct a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic society in South Africa.
- 6.1.3 Aims and objectives include to support and advance the cause of women's emancipation.
- 6.1.4 The ANC is a non-racial and non-sexist and democratic liberation movement.
- 6.1.5 The ANC will support the emancipation of women, combat sexism and ensure that the voice of women is fully heard in the organization and that women are properly represented at all levels.
- 6.1.6 Membership of all bodies of the ANC will be open to all men and women in the organization without regard to race, color or creed.
- 6.1.7 Fight against racism, tribal chauvinism, sexism, religious and political intolerance or any other forms of discrimination or chauvinism.
- 6.1.8 In the endeavor to reach the objective of full representation of women in all decision-making structures, the ANC shall implement a programme of affirmative action, including the provision of a quota of not less than one-third in all its structures to enable such effective participation.
- 6.1.9 The ANC Women's League is open to women who are members of the ANC and has the same basic structure, namely, national, provincial and branch.
- 6.1.10 The remainder of the 10% of the voting delegates at the Conference shall be allocated by the NEC from among the Provincial Executive Committees, the ANC Youth League and the ANC Women's League.
- 6.1.11 In accordance with Rule 6, not less than one-third of the directly elected and co-opted members of the NEC must be women.
- 6.1.12 Reference made to the President and the Secretary as "He or she" (an important recognition of gender).
- 6.1.13 The remaining 10% of the voting delegates of the Conference shall be from the Provincial Executive Committee and members of the ANC Youth League and the ANC Women's League as allocated by the PEC.
- 6.1.14 In accordance with Rule 6, not less than one-third of the elected and co-opted members of the PEC must be women.
- 6.1.15 In accordance with Rule 6, not less than one third of the members of the PWC must be women.
- 6.1.16 In accordance with Rule 6, not less than one-third of the members of the RWC must be women.
- 6.1.17 In accordance with Rule 6, not less than one third of the directly elected and co-opted members of the Branch Executive Committee (BEC) must be women.

ANC Women's League Constitution (ANCWL)

- 6.1.18 Aims and objectives of the Women's League include spearheading the emancipation of women within the ANC and its structures as well as all levels of government and South African society as a whole.

6.2 Democratic Alliance (DA)

Party Constitution

- 6.2.1 Vision: Open Opportunity Society where every person is free, secure and equal before the law, and in which everyone has the means to improve the quality of his life and pursue her own aspirations.
- 6.2.2 Beliefs including that all South Africans are of equal worth and have a right to full participation in the life of our common South African society.
- 6.2.3 South Africa's constitution recognizes that every person is equal in dignity and worth.
- 6.2.4 Principles include equality before the law.
- 6.2.5 Mission statement - promotion of an Open Opportunity Society in which every person is free, secure, equality before the law and has the means to improve the quality of his or her life.
- 6.2.6 Programme of action - need for cooperation with those on the African continent who share its passion for freedom, dignity, equality and democracy.
- 6.2.7 General structure of the Party – recognition of the assistance and support of the Democratic Alliance's Network in the overall running of the party
- 6.2.8 Federal Congress – delegates include the Federal Leader, Deputy Federal Leader, the Federal Chairperson, and Provincial Leaders of the Democratic Alliance's Women's Network.
- 6.2.9 The Federal Leader of the Democratic Alliance's Women's Network or her nominee is a member of the Federal Council.
- 6.2.10 The Federal Leader of the Democratic Alliance's Women's Network or her nominee is a member of the Federal Executive which has a total possible membership of up to 22.
- 6.2.11 Membership of the Democratic Alliance's Women's Network or women's representation is guaranteed neither on the National Management Committee, nor on the Federal Finance Committee.
- 6.2.12 Democratic Alliance Women's Network: established to further the vision, principles and programme of action of the Party among women; and to pay particular attention to the interests of and matters affecting women.

Zambia

7.1 Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) New Deal

MMD Manifesto 2007 – 2011

- 7.1.1 Recognizes the contribution of women and men in the founding of the MMD.
- 7.1.2 Achievements include:
 - a) Maintaining closer collaboration and liaison with all stakeholders, especially women's business groups, among others.
 - b) Developing and implementing a policy that facilitates the allocation of 30% of available land to women and other disadvantaged groups, as well as the enactment and enforcement of laws to ensure that women acquire land without reference to their marital status.
 - c) Continuing emphasis on promotion of the education of the girl-child, which continues to be a commitment for 2006 – 2011
 - d) Implementing projects and programmes for women, promotion of functional literacy and implementation of support programmes for the aged who take care of AIDS patients and orphans.
 - e) Developing and adopting the National Gender Policy and the Strategic Plan of Action.
 - f) Domestication of the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women.
 - g) Mainstreaming gender into the national development planning process.
 - h) Introducing the Pregnancy readmission policy.
 - i) Implementing the Programme for the Advancement of Girls' Education (PAGE).
 - j) Facilitating increased female representation in Parliament.
 - k) Domestication of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women.
 - l) Legislation on the Zambia Matrimonial Causes, Legislation on Gender-based Violence.
 - m) Facilitating regional (SADC-wide) training involving women and men, to enhance their capacity and preparedness in the military.
- 7.1.3 Commitments include:
 - a) Continue promoting the participation of women and youth in Agriculture.
 - b) Continuing support for small and medium scale enterprises, especially those promoted by women and youth.
 - c) Promoting the participation of women in commercial and manufacturing activities.
 - d) Putting in place a programme, with incentives to specifically encourage women and other disadvantaged groups to acquire land.

- e) Ensuring that women are given equal opportunities in decision-making positions thereby contributing to national development; strengthening and streamlining the provision of functional literacy; continuing to support women's development clubs.
- f) Encouraging the formation of women's development associations and cooperatives in order to foster development.
- g) Supporting for gender mainstreaming through institutional capacity building and the development of necessary instruments.
- h) Conducting in-depth gender analysis.
- i) Streamlining, simplifying and decentralizing procedures for obtaining credit as well as enhancing awareness creation among women on the existence of poverty reduction Programmes; increased support for affirmative action programmes for increased enrollment and retention rates for girls and women; engendering the electoral process to enhance women's participation in politics.
- j) Facilitating the particular involvement of women as sources of information gathered from their communities; adopting measures to ensure local media content is gender sensitive; making counseling services for victims of sexual abuse and other forms of violence free and compulsory; and encouraging girls to take up science and mathematics courses in school.
- k) Promoting gender equity as an integral part of child welfare and development interventions; and mainstreaming gender into all youth programmes in order to eliminate discrimination, violence in general and gender-based violence in particular.
- l) Ensuring that vulnerable groups, especially women and youth, have access to clean and adequate water supply.
- m) Focusing on Rape and Sexual offences, and Inter-state Succession Act.
- n) Continuing to uphold gender equality, particularly in international affairs.

7.2 National Democratic Focus (NDF)

Manifesto

- 7.2.1 Gender balance shall be promoted in our programme through affirmative action, which shall aim at achieving 50-50 participation.
- 7.2.2 Adopt all international conventions and agreements on the advancement of women as part of Zambian law.
- 7.2.3 Commitment to Women rights.
- 7.2.4 Promotion and sustenance of the girl child education.
- 7.2.5 Work for the restoration of human rights and freedoms including women's rights.
- 7.2.6 Provide for not less than 30% women representation in all activities of the party.
- 7.2.7 Commitment to the full integration of women in the decision making and general governance through affirmative action.

- 7.2.8 Design and promote special women economic empowering programmes through tax incentives and creation of special women development fund as an affirmative action in the promotion of the economic status of women.
- 7.2.9 Legislate positive affirmative laws to provide equal opportunities for women in all national, social and economic activities.

7.3 Patriotic Front (PF)

Party Manifesto

- 7.3.1 The Police Service makes reference to police officers as “men and women”
- 7.3.2 Remove discrimination of foreign husbands of Zambian women in matters relating to residing and working in Zambia.
- 7.3.3 The same conditions of service outlined for the police and civil services will apply to men and women in the Immigration Service.
- 7.3.4 Give equal opportunities to both men and women to take up farming as a business.
- 7.3.5 Put in place a number of measures aimed at promoting gender equality through:
 - a) Mainstreaming gender in all ministries and institutions.
 - b) Appointing focal persons in all ministries who will be responsible for the coordination of gender issues.
 - c) Promoting equitable distribution of productive resources so as to empower both women and men.
 - d) Continuing promoting the concept of the girl child in educational programmes.
 - e) Implementing the SADC Protocol which advocates the appointment of at least 30% of women to decision making positions.

7.4 United Liberal Party (ULP)

Party Manifesto

- 7.4.1 ULP commits to empowering women in agriculture to enhance their strategic role as the main producers of food and major agricultural entrepreneurs by facilitating their access to land, credit, inputs, extensions and training services, education, technology, on farm storage facilities, transport, and market facilities.
- 7.4.2 Gender and equality are acknowledged as preconditions for human development. An equity and gender-based approach to development ensures equal participation by all citizens in national life. ULP therefore, shall enhance gender, equity, sensitivity and tolerance through:
 - a) Affording equal access to education, land and capital.
 - b) Equal opportunities in employment, decision making, and national life.
 - c) Repealing gender insensitive laws.
 - d) Developing new gender-sensitivity curricula in schools.

- e) Ratifying, observing and enforcing international conventions, statutes and protocols on the legal status of women and children.
- f) Encouraging women to define their gender needs.
- g) Reducing inequities in the distribution of wealth.
- h) Working in partnership with relevant NGOs to introduce policies and programmes for spouses/partners and children.
- i) Working closely with relevant NGOs to carry out intensive public education to eradicate violence against women and children.
- j) Continuing to audit the constitution, laws, policies and programmes and remove all forms of discrimination on the basis of gender, and enacting laws to combat crimes against women and children.

7.4.3 International Relations include upholding international covenants, conventions, statutes and protocol and participating in SADC, COMESA, AU, UN and other international organizations, hereby obliging to conventions to protect women's rights and promote women's equal participation in political activities.

7.5 United Independence Party (UNIP)

Party Constitution

- 7.5.1 The Women's League Secretary and Vice Secretary sit at the following party organs:
- a) Section Committees and also attend the Section Conference.
 - b) Branch Committee and participate in the Branch Conference.
 - c) Ward Committee and participate in the Ward Conference.
 - d) Constituency Party Committee and participate in Constituency Conference.
 - e) District Committee and participate in the District Conference.
- 7.5.2 Provincial Party Committee and Provincial Executive of the Women's League participate in the Provincial Conference.
- 7.5.3 Central Committee and the Secretary of the Women's League is a member of the Central Committee.
- 7.5.4 The duties of the Secretary for Women's League at Section, Branch, Ward, Constituency, District, and Province include:
- a) Spearheading the organization of the Women's League in the Section.
 - b) Recruiting new members in the Party and the Women's League.
 - c) Organizing women's activities and programmes as provided under the Women's League Constitution.
 - d) Performing such other duties as may be directed by the Chairperson and the Section Committee from time to time.
 - e) Responsible for organizing the Youth League.

7.6 United Party for National Development (UPND)

Party Manifesto

- 7.6.1 UPND's vision is to create a united and prosperous Zambia and equal opportunities across ethnic, tribal, religious, physical challenges, and gender considerations, living in harmony in a free society
- 7.6.2 UPND strategies include:
- a) Empowering rural women in agriculture to enhance their strategic role as the main producers of food
 - b) Improving gender, equity, quality and accessibility to all levels of the education sector (pre-school to higher education) through putting in place measures that will ensure girls' retention in schools, colleges and universities
 - c) Reducing mortality and morbidity from preventable and communicable diseases such as malaria, cholera, T.B. small pox and measles
 - d) Promoting women's income generating activities
- 7.6.3 Actions for promoting Gender, Equity, Sensitivity, the Physical Challenged and Tolerance include:
- a) Affording equal access to education, land and capital to all its citizens regardless of their physical, political, social, economic or gender status
 - b) Providing equal opportunities in employment, decision making, and national life
 - c) Repealing any gender insensitive legislation
 - d) Developing new gender-sensitive curricular in schools
 - e) Ratifying, observing and enforcing international covenants, conventions, statutes and protocols on the legal status of women and children
 - f) Encouraging women to define their gender needs
 - g) Endeavoring to open up opportunities for women to rise to the highest offices in government (public sector)
 - h) Reducing inequalities in the distribution of wealth
 - i) Working in partnership with relevant NGOs to introduce policies and programmes that will mitigate the effects of violence on spouses/partners and children, carry out intensive public education, and amend/enact laws to deal effectively with violent crimes against women and children
 - j) Continuing to audit the constitution, laws, policies and programmes, and remove all forms of discrimination on the basis of gender or physical status

Zimbabwe

8.1 Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)

Party Constitution

- 8.1.1 Creation of a just society where women's rights are at the core of a healthy and productive society.
- 8.1.2 Encourage and support the role of women in agriculture.
- 8.1.3 Enhance gender and equality in education.
- 8.1.4 Less than 10% of the population is engaged in the formal economy and of this less than 22% are women.
- 8.1.5 Respect for minorities and protection of vulnerable groups particularly women and youth and the disabled.
- 8.1.6 Equality of opportunity for women, men and disadvantaged groups, which should translate into a stronger role for women in local governance and development of policies that affirmatively deal with concerns of disadvantaged groups.
- 8.1.7 Ensure gender equality in urban title holding.
- 8.1.8 Encourage the involvement of women in the mining industry.
- 8.1.9 Engender tourism development that endorses key environment protection strategies that protect the natural resources and the tourist destinations.
- 8.1.10 A Zimbabwe in which all women and men enjoy peace, democracy, freedom, dignity, gender disparities in all their forms in the social, political and economic spheres, are eliminated and there is prosperity in all areas of life, without discrimination.
- 8.1.11 The nine aims are to:
 - a) Integrate gender perspectives in legislation, public policies, programmes and projects by establishing and strengthening institutional mechanisms to promote the advancement of women.
 - b) Establish a Gender Commission that ensures the emancipation of women in all spheres of life.
 - c) Work with all stakeholders to design, promote, monitor, advocate and mobilize support for policies to advance the status of women.
 - d) Take into account and address the challenges faced by rural women and the significant roles which rural women play in the economic revival.
 - e) Take appropriate measures to ensure that women and men enjoy equal and enforceable rights in the field of education, career and vocational guidance.
 - f) Take appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, access health care services, including those related to family planning.
 - g) Speed up job creation and development of skills training for women and other disadvantaged groups in order to empower them.
 - h) Ratify all international instruments that advance the cause of women.
 - i) Combat any forms of crime against women.

8.2 Zimbabwe National African Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU - PF)

Party Constitution

- 8.2.1 The Secretary for Women's Affairs and the Secretary of Gender and Culture are members of the Central Committee
- 8.2.2 Women's League to nominate 17 members to represent the League at the National Women's Conference
- 8.2.3 The Women's League Secretary and the Deputy are members of the National Consultative Assembly
- 8.2.4 The Provincial Executive Committee of the Women's League partly constitutes the Provincial Coordinating Committee as well as the Joint Provincial Council
- 8.2.5 One representative of the Women's League is a member of the Ad Hoc Appeals Committee of Congress
- 8.2.6 The District Secretary for Women's Affairs is a member of the District Coordinating Committee
- 8.2.7 The District Secretary for Gender and Culture is a member of the District Executive Council
- 8.2.8 The Women's League is organized and represented at all levels of the party structure (national, provincial, district and village/cell)
- 8.2.9 Each province shall have 5 women representatives (fifty members in all)
- 8.2.10 The responsibilities of the Secretary for Women's League include:
- a) Heading the Women's League
 - b) Formulating and implementing programmes for general education of women designed to enhance the process of transformation and liberation of women from the bondages of illiteracy, ignorance and oppressive customs and traditions
 - c) Promoting and sustaining the role of the Women's League in relation to the organization and administration of women's associations and other popular women's organizations
 - d) Fostering the unity and harmony of all women's associates and organizations in Zimbabwe
 - e) Promoting self-reliance in the implementation of development programmes among women in Zimbabwe
 - f) Establishing, promoting and maintaining relations with all women's international groups whose aims and objectives are consistent with those of the party, in consultation with the Secretary for External Relations
 - g) Presiding over the sessions of the National Assembly and National Executive Council of the Women's League
- 8.2.11 Among the key responsibilities of the Secretary for Gender and Culture is to ensure that issues of gender balance and equity are addressed and incorporated in all economic and social spheres of the party and society
- 8.2.12 Responsibilities of the Secretary for Gender and Culture include:

- a) Ensuring that the issues of gender balance and equity are addressed and incorporated in all economic and social spheres of the party and society
- b) Ensuring that Zimbabwean culture is addressed by the party in all spheres of life and activities
- c) Liaising and coordinating with community groups, NGOs and government agencies responsible for gender and culture.



3. Analysis of Findings

This analysis has taken into account the nature as well as the process of generating the documents under review. Political parties' constitutions tend to have a longer shelf life while party manifestos, plans of action and programme documents normally last a fixed term, possibly only 5 years, from one election year to the next. Thus we note that while older documents such as the constitution may appear to be more conservative in content, political parties have the unique opportunity to adopt responsive and progressive measures that meet emerging needs through their parties' manifestos and plans of action/programmes of work because they are more regularly reviewed. We take into consideration these differences in our attempt to present a holistic analysis based on the comprehensive review of all available documents.

- 3.1 Measures and provisions on promoting and achieving gender equality and women's empowerment as reflected in policy frameworks such as constitutions, manifestos, plans of action/programmes of work, and other policy documents.
- 3.1.1 Equality as a foundational principle for political power sharing and decision-making features in almost all political parties' constitutions and/or manifestos and plans of action or programmes of work. However, the degree of elaboration on specific details of said equality varies significantly.

The review noted and categorized political parties into three levels as follows:

Level 1: Equality is mentioned among other fundamental principles such as justice and liberty, commonly in the preamble. This is followed by minimal specific reference to women's issues in the entire document.

Level 2: In the majority of political parties, while efforts have been made to integrate a gender perspective into the political structures and processes, glaring gaps continue to exist between principles of equal political opportunities for women and men, and grounded reality in intra-party structures and procedures. As a result, gains remain minimal. Political decision-making remains male-dominated and the visibility of women in political structures and their participation persists at unacceptably low levels.

Level 3: There are a few political parties that make specific reference to gender equality as a key principle and value upon which the party rests. This policy position is normally followed through with consistent and extensive gender analysis of, and responses to, priority issues discussed in the document. These political parties have put in place measures to ensure adequate women's representation in all party organs and forums.

The following table is an attempt to place all political parties at the levels defined above, based on assessment of the documents that were available for review. We note the likelihood that many political parties may have already adopted and implemented measures to improve women's participation in political decision making, and in such cases, these ratings may not be valid. However, since these ratings are mostly indicative of what the existing documents contain, it is still appropriate to map the performance of political parties regarding the involvement and participation of women. It is hoped that this analysis will invoke introspection and mutual learning and eventually facilitate more focused strategies for improved results.

Table 3: Categorizing Political Parties from a Gender Perspective

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3
Minimal or no reference to gender equality and gender inclusive processes	Mentions gender and generally demonstrates good gender analysis of development issues but fails to develop and adopt or consistently implement firm measures to reflect commitment to gender equality and women's political involvement and participation	Mentions gender equality throughout the document(s) and generally demonstrates good gender analysis of development issues. Has measures in place to ensure women's active and adequate participation and representation at all levels of the party. Demonstrates commitment to the inclusion of both women and men in political decision making in all party structures and forums. Recognizes the equal opportunity of women and men to hold any position in the party. Uses gender sensitive language.
PAJOCA - Angola	MPLA - Angola	ANC - RSA
PNDA - Angola	FNLA - Angola	LCD - Lesotho
PLD - Angola	UNITA - Angola	NUDO - Namibia
PRD - Angola	BCP - Botswana	SWAPO - Namibia
PRS - Angola	BDP - Botswana	
BNP - Lesotho	BNF - Botswana	
MFP - Lesotho	BDNP - Lesotho	
NIP - Lesotho	FRELIMO - Mozambique	
RENAMO - Mozambique	CoD - Namibia	
	DTA - Namibia	
	Democratic Alliance - RSA	
	MMD - Zambia	
	NDF - Zambia	
	PF - Zambia	
	ULP - Zambia	
	UNIP - Zambia	
	UPND - Zambia	
	MDC - Zimbabwe	
	ZANU PF - Zimbabwe	

3.1.2 Political parties at Level 3 can serve as models of good practice because:

- a) Political parties at this level have made a firm and public commitment to ensure women's representation at 30% or higher. This degree of transparency serves as a contractual agreement between the political party and the general public. By publicly committing to a target relating to women's involvement, political parties at this level assume accountability for results. As such it becomes incumbent upon the political party to develop and implement measures to deliver as expected and sustain achievements.
- b) There is a strong likelihood of more gender balanced deliberations at all levels and therefore improved equity in creating, accessing and exploiting opportunities.
- c) Recognizing, acknowledging, and confronting factors that continue to limit women's full participation and contribution in political power sharing and decision making is crucial. Continuing to ignore the marginal position of women in political decision making positions basically deprives political parties of the unique contributions by women, resulting in only partial success insofar as democratic governance is concerned. Strategic analysis of the different challenges, needs and aspirations of women and men naturally is critical and indispensable. Furthermore, as a tool for development, gender analysis has potential to revolutionize the perception as well as the actualization of the sharing of political space by women and men and to lead to enhance gender equity and synergy in political participation.
- d) Women's participation in politics has been notably restricted by dominant gender roles and society's expectations. The consistent attempt by political parties at the third level to address women's social, cultural, and economic challenges; as well as structural barriers that continue to limit women's access to available opportunities, is important. Political participation often requires resources, both financial and technical, that are not always readily available to women. Therefore empowering women in other spheres of their lives is likely to enhance their chances for more active political participation.

- e) These political parties have realized that due to many years of socialization of women into subservient roles in society, and also as a consequence of their limited exposure and access to resources, women are likely to take a very long time to make inroads into politics if no provisions are made to better incorporate them in to political decision-making and other forms of engagement. Clearly, it takes the combined effort of women and men to challenge the status quo and change the course of political participation from male domination to gender balance through increasing female representation. Parties at Level 3 tend to be more proactive in developing strategies and putting in place mechanisms for nurturing women leaders and grooming them.

Documents consistently reflect gender inclusive language that recognizes that any position identified in political party structures can be held by a woman or a man.

- 3.1.3 Following the adoption of an increased target of women's representation at political and decision making positions from 30% to 50% in line with the African Union target by SADC Heads of Government in August 2005, the SADC Secretariat produced a progress report on the performance of different member countries. At the time of reporting only two member states, South Africa (42.9%) and Lesotho (31%), had attained the original 30% target of women representation at Ministerial level. At the Deputy-Minister level three countries, South Africa (42.8%), Malawi (33%) and Tanzania (32.25%), had obtained the original 30% target. With regard to women's representation in Parliament, only three Member States had reached the 30% percent target; Mozambique (36%), South Africa (32.65%) and Tanzania (30.4%). Lesotho and Zimbabwe had surpassed the 30% target at the Senate level with 34.4% and 36% respectively. The table below presents the percentage representation of women Ministers, Deputy Ministers, Members of Parliament and Councilors.

Table 4: Women Ministers, Deputy Ministers, MPs and Councilors

COUNTRY	Ministers		Deputy Ministers		Members of Parliament		Rural/ Provincial Councilors		Urban Councilors	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Angola	93%	7%	78%	22%	87.7%	12.3%	96.5%	3.5%	97%	3%
Botswana	71.4%	28.6%	83.3%	16.7%	89%	11%	80%	0%	80.4%	19.6%
DRC	97.5%	2.5%	*	*	88%	12%	*	*	*	*
Lesotho	69%	31%	75%	25%	(N A) 86% (Sen.) 65.6%	14% 34.4%	42%	58%	67%	33%
Malawi	79%	21%	66.7	33.3%	85%	15%	----	----	91%	9%
Mauritius	90%	10%	100%	0	83%	17%	94%	6%	86%	14%
Mozambique	77%	23.0%	73.4%	26.6%	64%	36%	----	----	----	----
Namibia	73%	27%	75%	25%	73%	27%	88%	12%	55%	45%
South-Africa	57.2%	42.8%	57.2%	42.8%	67.34%	32.65%	63%	37%	60%	40%
Swaziland	82%	18%	0	100%	81%	19%	84%	16%	80%	20%
Tanzania	80%	20%	67.75%	32.25%	69.6%	30.4%	----	----	64.5%	35.5%
Zambia	74%	26%	84%	16%	88%	12%	94%	6%	93%	7%
Zimbabwe	81%	19%	94.7%	5.3%	(HA) 84% (Sen.) 64%	16% 36%	90.4%	9.6%	88%	12%

3.1.4 A comparison of Tables 3 and 4 shows a pattern where countries at Level 3 on Table 3 have a higher percentage of women in political decision making positions and those that are at Level 1 tend to have significantly fewer women in the same positions. This comparison verifies the need for instituting systems and mechanisms of effective involvement and participation of women in political decision making. It demonstrates that determined and consistent effort can lead to exemplary results.

Measures associated with success in achieving set targets in women's political representation include:

- a) Focusing on sensitization, public education, lobbying and advocacy initiatives. Additional impetus has come from organized popularization of the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development. Furthermore, member states have developed guidelines and advocated for gender mainstreaming to be applied at all levels, with spin-offs including increased participation of women in politics.

- b) Translating key documents such as the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development, the local Gender and Development Policy, and the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women into the local language (see Lesotho).
- c) Adopting and consistently applying quotas and other positive measures such as proportional representation by political parties to ensure women's political participation (Lesotho: minimum 30%; Namibia: 50/50; South Africa: minimum 30%, moving towards 50/50).
- d) Putting in place legislative measures to ensure that any Presidential nominations of Members of Parliament illustrate gender parity (Tanzania).
- e) Developing and delivering capacity building and training programmes to empower women Parliamentarians (Botswana, Tanzania).
- f) In Swaziland, the cumulative effect of the new gender responsive national constitution and the prominent leadership provided by Her Royal Highness the Queen Mother appears to have significantly raised the number of women in leadership, and more specifically in political decision making.
- g) The positioning and role of women's wings/units/leagues in political parties relative to other party structures.

3.2.1 Most political parties have a provision for the establishment of a women's organization.

3.2.3 The documents reviewed show that political parties that fully employ a mandatory quota for women's involvement are able to fully mainstream their women's organizations as reflected through:

- a) Consistent and adequate representation of the women's organization (and of women) at all levels and in all forums.
- b) The full integration of the women's organization's programme into the overall political party programme.
- c) Identification and implementation of support for specific and substantial roles for the women's organizations.
- d) Systematic and obligatory funding allocations for women's organizations from political parties' core budgets, allowing for sustained programme activities and follow through.

3.3 There are yet situations where the women's organizations operate as independent structures where they are:

- a) Minimally represented in political party organs.
- b) Given a grant to support programme implementation.
- c) Seemingly running an agenda that is not mainstreamed into the party's priorities and overall programme.

3.4 The preceding scenarios are further discussed below:

- a) Establishing women's organizations as organs of political parties is a common strategy for women's structured involvement in politics. However, it is imperative to regularly ensure that the purpose and the role served by these organs is well understood by all. This step is critical as it largely determines whether women's organizations are involved as a token or whether they are considered deserving and essential partners in political and national development.

When women are involved as a cursory implementation of gender commitments within any context, there is a tendency to be inconsistent in the adoption as well as application of measures for equity in women's representation. Indeed, this is how some political parties are able to commit to a quota for women's political participation at some levels- say, the Central Committee- and yet fail to ensure that this commitment is enforced at other levels and forums of the party. Regular reviewing and revamping of the mandate of women's organizations is critical as this process could provide an opportunity to scrutinize and prioritize important issues and concerns that should define the women's organizations so that they remain relevant and responsive.

- b) In general, women's organizations are considered autonomous and so therefore they are assumed to have the capacity to operate as an independent body within the party. This has an effect of isolating and marginalizing women's organizations from mainstream political party support. Consequently, women's organizations have limited access to much needed resources that are critical to the successful implementation of their programmes.
- c) A few political parties have established professional women's organizations that are able to organize training and capacity-building activities that complement the efforts of the party. These women's organizations are viewed by their respective political parties as critical partners in the implementation of their political programmes. As a result, this explains the facilitative role of the party; it enables the women's organization to perform its function as a professional and technical organization within.

Simultaneously, the mandates of many women's organizations tend to be more inclined towards issues concerned with welfare, administration and propaganda, with little in their scope for women's empowerment. This has serious implications for the quality of women's contribution in political parties. Women need technical skills and financial resources in order to have an impact in their political parties. Unstructured and sporadic capacity building activities do little to prepare women for focused and strategic involvement in politics. Failing to mainstream the resource requirements of the women's organizations into the core budgets of political parties thus makes it difficult for these organizations to develop long term strategies for women's targeted and sustained political engagement. As a result, it is important to continuously engage political parties and to facilitate learning through the sharing of examples of good practices and their potential benefits, as well as the development and implementation of transformative processes in order to positively influence current mindsets for improved women's representation in political decision making in the future.

3.5 How intra-party systems and procedures are set up through strategies and measures to promote and encourage women's participation and representation in decision-making.

3.5.1 A few political parties have adopted measures including affirmative action; employing quotas for ensuring enhanced women's participation. Out of about 32 political parties' documents that were reviewed, three political parties have been able to fully implement affirmative action, using a minimum of 30% as a target for women's involvement. Five more political parties are partially implementing a quota as a mechanism for women's involvement. The remaining 24 either make reference to affirmative action without applying it to their party structures, or they remain non-committal to the use of quotas.

3.5.2 In cases where a political party does not have a firm commitment to women's participation, the women's organization is only partially mainstreamed. As a consequence:

1. Representation of the women's organization is not guaranteed and therefore it is inconsistent and not predictable. This poses a challenge to strategic planning for high impact political participation by women.
2. The women's organization is not represented in executive committees. This is the level at which critical and confidential party business is transacted and recommendations are agreed upon. Participating at this level would provide particular insights into vital party leadership that would in turn influence the ways in which the women's organizations are managed. More importantly, excluding the women's organization in certain committees and other party structures actually constitutes marginalization of the organization and denial of equal opportunity to participate in political decision making.

3. There is little or no traceable commitment for financial support to the women's organization and the organization is expected by party leadership to be supported by grants/subventions, making longer term planning an indomitable task due to lack of resource security.
4. Women's guaranteed representation is generally low across party structures and forums. It is also probable that the quality of the contribution from the women's organization is compromised because of lack of focused preparation and skill development to ensure women are enabled to rise above board in their representational capacity.

3.5.3 It is common practice for political parties to nominate additional members to various committees and forums. This provides an opportunity for increasing the number of women representatives at all levels.



4. Key Lessons Learned

- 4.1 The extent to which gender is mainstreamed in political party agendas and structures appears to directly correspond with the party's dynamism and the degree to which the party is proactive in responding to issues. The political party documents reviewed in this report clearly state unqualified equality of all persons and non-discrimination as foundational principles. Consequently, there exists a powerful yet largely untapped opportunity for gender equality in political participation. In order to fully exploit this opportunity, necessary action requires making consistent demands for the full accountability of political parties on every aspect of their commitments.
- 4.2 Gaps in how information is presented in older documents such as political party constitutions, and newer ones such as political party manifestos, can be confusing. This is especially so when the two do not appear to be complementary. There is a need for periodic updates that reconcile information across all documents in order to ensure the compatibility and validity of content. This is especially important for newly adopted party commitments such as the introduction of measures for enhanced women's political participation.
- 4.3 In many instances, the value of establishing women's organizations appears to be elusive. This is evidenced by the many unfocussed mandates and programmes of work in political party documents-including, at times, the oversight of youth organizations. Failing to define the scope of work for women's organizations within political parties makes accurately tracking results an impossible task, negatively affecting accountability as a result. It is crucial to keep defining, refining and evolving the mandates of women's organizations to ensure that they remain relevant. If not, the alternative for women's organizations is to become like any other business repository for political parties because they often seem available to take the call.
- 4.4 The establishment of a women's organization does not necessarily translate into effective women's participation. In fact, if not properly structured and supported, women's involvement can be reduced to tokenism and marginalization. On the other hand, the existence of women's organizations if properly organized within political parties provides the opportunity for growth and better informed decision making. For instance, there is the opportunity for a gender-balanced research and responsive political agenda setting where the needs and views of both women and men are taken into account. Since women generally tend to have better outputs when they act collectively than as individuals, women should be provided with the opportunity to contribute optimally to political party leadership and general discourse. The traditional role of women in modern political settings relegates women and women's organizations to mundane chores that closely resemble their gender roles around the home. Instead, women's organizations that

are adequately structured and supported within political parties provide the opportunity for women to act as a group and to demand their rights based on party commitments, resources and services, among others.

- 4.5 Many women's organizations are often highly constrained in their programme planning and execution because they depend on external and frequently unreliable sources of funding. This sets women's organizations up for failure regardless of the quality of their programmes. Women's organizations are integral organs of political parties and as such, political parties should take primary responsibility for financially supporting them.
- 4.6 The critical mass of women in political parties' decision making processes is instrumental to their ability to address the challenges and aspirations of both women and men who constitute their membership base and who matter for broader national development issues. Adopting firm measures for women's involvement and participation in politics has been proven over time to be an effective strategy for increasing the number of women that, at the very least, constitute a necessary critical mass. However, numbers alone will not fully meet the need for effective self-representation of women by women. There is a need for women to undergo targeted training to boost their representational capacity.
- 4.7 Partial adoption of affirmative action is tantamount to breach of promise. Expectations are formed but remain unfulfilled as political party leaders struggle to find intermediary measures between the standards prescribed by the adopted concept, and the failure to implement it. In the end both the implementers, the political party leadership and those targeted through the innovation, become frustrated and disillusioned.



5. Recommended Actions

For Political Parties:

Measures and provisions on promoting and achieving gender equality and women's empowerment:

- Develop and implement systems and procedures for mainstreaming gender at all levels of the party to ensure standardization, validation and reliability. This includes establishing minimum levels of female representation on governing boards and bodies, and minimum participation levels of women as candidates.
- Formalize party positions on gender equality and women's empowerment.
- Create structures to recruit and promote women and the issues important to them.
- Ensure women have equal access to party resources.
- Develop simple guidelines to facilitate consistent application.
- Conduct periodic document updates to ensure validity, relevance and consistency.
- Develop guidelines for domestication and implementation of international conventions, declarations, etc.
- Organize intra-party forums for awareness creation and capacity building.
- Develop a specific plan of action and enforcement mechanism.
- Ensure consistency and compliance with the provisions of national constitutions (e.g. human rights) as a foundation for developing parameters for the participation of women and men in politics.

Positioning and role of women's wings/units/leagues in political parties relative to other party structures:

- Promote recognition of the relevance of women's organizations based on their constituency bases as well as potential contributions.
- Review and revamp the mandates of women's organizations regularly for context, relevance and responsiveness.
- Ensure that they have voting powers in decision-making processes, and have the authority to affect policy and strategic outcomes.
- Conduct regular education campaigns to allow for political party education on the nature and functions of women's organizations.
- Identify and clearly define niche areas for women's organizations with performance targets (technical and administrative) in the short/medium and long term in order to promote accountability
- Ensure that women's organizations are mainstreamed into the party's operations.
- Include women's organizations in parties' core budgets.
- Implement capacity building activities for women's organization's leaders and members.
- Institutionalize performance monitoring and evaluation systems and procedures.

For the SADC Parliamentary Forum:

- Develop prototype training materials and implementation guidelines.
- Conduct training of trainers who will in turn train other members of their political parties.
- Train members of political parties to develop gender responsive documents.
- Develop guidelines or model framework for promoting women's participation in political decision making processes.
- Work with political parties, governments and NGOs to develop and implement public awareness campaigns regarding civic education rights-based programmes.
- Work with political parties and oversight structures/agencies, such as Electoral Commissions and Gender Commissions, to develop and implement checks and balances, and to monitor progress in facilitating the adoption of measures for gender parity between women and men in political participation and decision making processes.
- Work with other regional entities such as the SADC Secretariat, African Union and UN Economic Commission for Africa to share information and promote dialogue about suggested ways forward.
- Facilitate training and capacity building.
- Assist in the development of various tools.
- Facilitate information exchange through activities such as sharing of documents and 'twinning' of political parties.
- Conduct a full-fledged study on political parties' women's organizations in order to identify more specifically their mandate, role, real value added and comparative strengths.
- Facilitate information sharing on the domestication of various commitments and the measures adopted by various countries to incorporate these commitments.
- Organize and facilitate training as well as the development of relevant materials.
- Encourage political parties through direct intervention and specific proposals for implementation to transform systems and structures so that they become more gender responsive.
- Identify upcoming elections and work with the Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus to develop preparatory programmes for women candidates/aspirants.
- Work with all stakeholders to develop comprehensive monitoring and evaluation frameworks for use by political parties.



6. Conclusion

Political parties should urgently embrace positive action aimed at increasing the number of women in decision making processes in order to benefit from enhanced legitimacy among voters.

6.1 Political parties should urgently embrace positive action aimed at increasing the number of women in decision making processes in order to benefit from enhanced legitimacy among voters. Political parties should be held accountable to their national constitutions and in all cases where the national constitution contains equality and non-discrimination as a foundational principle, it should automatically and equally apply to the participation and access of men as well as women to political processes. In turn, political party constitutions should be obliged by national constitutions to reflect equality of opportunity for both genders.

6.2 Adopting and implementing affirmative action to guarantee women's participation in politics is the obligation of every political party, recognizing women's right to equal participation and self – representation as well as the responsibility to eliminate gender-based discrimination. Further postponement of this action simply compounds political parties' losses of potential contributions by women as well as the real opportunity for women and men to work in partnership for the growth and success of these parties. It is in the best interest of political parties to nurture and harness the talents and skills of women for better synergy and more efficient management.

Any worthwhile course needs champions to succeed. Technical expertise regarding women's political participation is certainly not lacking. However, women's considerable involvement in political decision-making requires passionate leaders who are convinced in their hearts that they are personally responsible for delivering results.

6.3 Women, especially in rural areas in the SADC Region, remain uninformed regarding their political and human rights. As such it is difficult for them to recognize and address violations of these rights. Serious efforts towards establishing the equal involvement and participation of women and men in political decision making necessitates that all women, regardless of geographical location, economic status or social standing among others, are brought on board. This is required in order to provide widespread access to critically empowering information for women, and also in order to facilitate women's informed decision making about political processes.

- 6.4 The environment within political parties remains predominantly male-influenced with highly internalized sexism. Moreover, political power is closely associated with systematic, male-defined political standards and benchmarks as well as processes. Because this is so profoundly internalized, women and men are highly likely to apply them without question. Such a generic application of male-defined political standards removes the opportunity for women to reflect more deeply and to bring fresh ideas informed by their own experiences to political decision making processes. It is therefore not surprising that women's roles in political decision making tends to be considered trivial and that women are able to tolerate much political abuse and disrespect seemingly without realizing it.

Urgent measures are needed for both genders to address sexism in order to create better opportunities for women to employ their intellect and life experiences in fuller and more productive political engagement. Indicators for success in such cases include the ability of women to systematically challenge political abuse and any act of disrespect, and to vigilantly stand up for their rights. The gap in the level of political engagement between women and men is a result of many years of counterproductive socialization. It will take concerted effort and commitment by political parties to develop and implement empowerment programmes so that the current mindset of women and men can change for better.

- 6.5 Despite variations at the level of gender mainstreaming, there is significant overall progress in taking on board the specific challenges and needs of women and men in the process of developing political party policies and related programme implementation documents. Many political parties are predominantly at the inception stage of internalizing the concept of gender mainstreaming. They use the appropriate language but fail to adopt and apply essential follow-through measures for the systematic incorporation of a gender mainstreaming framework in all party structures, processes and activities. The next logical step is to monitor political parties for desired results and evaluate performance in order to consolidate gains and/or make improvements.

Gender balanced political participation is an actualization of many of the principles and values espoused by many political parties, such as social justice, fairness, equality of opportunity, and democratic governance. Any gains realized in this regard provide incremental building blocks for a fair and just society.

- 6.6 The assumption that women's organizations within political parties can sustain their operations independent of the overall parties' support is baseless and highly likely to put tremendous stress on these organizations to prioritize fundraising activities and neglect other important but not immediate functions. Research has shown that compared to men, women have less resources to facilitate their political participation. Therefore they do not have adequate personal resources to sustain the efficient running of women's organizations. In fact, women's poverty, which has been noted as a contributing factor to women's exclusion from political decision making structures, continues to negatively impact women by trivializing their fundamental mandate as partners in political development and decision making. Central allocation of resources for the programmes and activities of women's organizations is an important prerequisite and a critical determinant for success in strategic skill development and meaningful capacity building. This is a commitment that political parties must make and strive to realize because it serves as an important primary indicator of the extent to which the party is determined to empower women.
- 6.7 If not closely monitored and revitalized, the respective mandates of the women's organizations can become redundant and also risk becoming trivial over time, focusing more on social party support rather than on the primary role of mobilizing and empowering women for improved effectiveness. It is imperative that the function of educating political party members on the mandate of women's organizations, as well as the development of internal support mechanisms is not left to chance or left in the hands of women alone. This issue sits at the core of political party advancement and should be a matter of interest to, and action for, both women and men. Realizing an empowered women's organization can only facilitate greater success in the overall party programme.
- 6.8 It is important to monitor progress and account for results. For instance, international obligations such as the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development (1997) should, once signed by respective governments, be domesticated. Furthermore, clear implementation guidelines and a monitoring and evaluation framework should be provided. Political parties, especially ruling parties who would have been party to the signing of these conventions and declarations, take more responsibility and accountability for results.

Reading List and Reference Materials

Political Party	Reviewed Documents
Angola	
1. MPLA	MPLA General Regulations on Organization and Functions of the Structures MPLA Programme MPLA Constitution MPLA Strategy MPLA Proposed National Consensus Agenda; summary "All for a Better Angola"
2. Partido Nacional Democratico de Angola (PNDA)	Party Constitution Party Programme
3. Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola (FNLA)	Party Constitution History Political Journey of A. H. Roberto Internal Regulations
4. Partido Popular (PAJOCA)	Party Constitution Party Programme
5. Partido Liberal Democratico (PLD)	Party Constitution PLD History Declaration of Intentions Regulations of Parliamentary Group
6. Partido Renovadora Democratico (PRD)	Electoral Commission Regulations Party Guidelines Political Declaration Disciplinary Regulations Code of Conduct
7. Partido de Renovacao Social (PRS)	Party Constitution Party Programme

<p>8. Uniao Nacional para Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA)</p>	<p>Party Constitution UNITA X Congress Documents Organizational Organs of X Congress LIM Pamphlet</p>
<p>Botswana</p>	
<p>1. Botswana Congress Party (BCP)</p>	<p>BCP Constitution Manifesto 2004 Democratic and Development Programme, 1999 BCP Democracy Alert No. 1 of 2007</p>
<p>2. BDP (Botswana Democratic Party)</p>	<p>Party Constitution Party Manifesto</p>
<p>3. Botswana National Front (BNF)</p>	<p>Party Constitution Party Manifesto The Social Democratic Programme of the Botswana National Party (BNF)(1995)</p>
<p>Lesotho</p>	
<p>1. Basotho Democratic National Party (BDNP)</p>	<p>Party Constitution</p>
<p>2. Basotho National Party (BNP)</p>	<p>Party Constitution Party Manifesto</p>
<p>3. Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD)</p>	<p>Party Constitution 2007 Elections Manifesto of LCD</p>
<p>4. Marematlou Freedom Party (MFP)</p>	<p>Party Constitution The Sixth Manifesto of Marematlou Freedom Party for 2007 Elections</p>
<p>5. National Independent Party (NIP)</p>	<p>Party Constitution Party Manifesto</p>

Mozambique	
1. Frente de Libertacao de Mozambique (FRELIMO)	Party Constitution
2. RENAMO	Party Constitution
Namibia	
1. Congress of Democrats (CoD)	Party Constitution Letter from the President CoD's Programme for a Better Namibia
2. DTA of Namibia	Party Constitution Election Manifesto of the DTA of Namibia 2004
3. National Unity Democratic Organization (NUDO)	Constitution 2004 Election Manifesto of NUDO
4. SWAPO	SWAPO Constitution Election Manifesto 2004
South Africa	
1. African National Congress (ANC)	Party Constitution ANC Women's League Constitution (ANCWL)
2. Democratic Alliance (DA)	Party Constitution
Zambia	
1. Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) New Deal	Manifesto 2007-11
2. National Democratic Focus (NDF)	Manifesto 2006
3. Patriotic Front (PF)	2006 Manifesto

4. United Liberal Party (ULP)	Party Manifesto
5. United National Independence Party (UNIP)	Party Constitution
6. United Party for National Development (UPND)	Manifesto 2006
Zimbabwe	
1. Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)	2008 Manifesto
2. Zimbabwe National African Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU- PF)	Party Constitution



References

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- AU Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa
- International IDEA (2004) The Implementation of Quotas: African Experiences
- International IDEA (1998) Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers
- Progress Report on Implementation of the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development (November, 2006)
- The SADC PF (2002) The SADC MPs Companion on Gender and Development in Southern Africa
- SADC PF (2003) A Guide to Gender Dimensions in SADC Constitutions
- SADC PF (2007) Advocacy and Lobbying Mission to the Kingdom of Swaziland
- SADC PF Aide Memoir SADC RWPC Advocacy and Lobbying Gender Mainstreaming and the Political Participation of Women Programme
- SADC PF (2006) Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucus Lobbying and Advocacy Mission Report 2006
- SADC PF (2004) Role of the SADC RWPC in Achieving the minimum 30% Representation of Women in Parliaments "Critical Minority"
- SADC PF (2001) Norms and Standards for Elections in the SADC Region
- SADC PF RWPC Role on achieving at least 30% Representation of Women in SADC Parliaments Zimbabwe, Namibia and Tanzania
- Tanzania Women Parliamentary Group Strategic Direction 2006 -10

