

9th EISA ANNUAL SYMPOSIUM

**Experiences, lessons and good practices in promoting
gender equality in politics in Africa**
Holiday Inn Sandton, Johannesburg, South Africa
11-12 December 2014



Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa

About Eisa

The Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA), formerly known as the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa, has since its inception in July 1996 established itself as a leading institution and influential player dealing with elections and democracy related issues in the African continent. EISA has evolved from an election NGO servicing Southern Africa into a more diversified organisation working throughout the continent with national, regional, Pan-African and global partners. The Institute's work now covers not only elections but also other Democracy & Governance fields like political party development, conflict management, legislative strengthening, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), local governance and decentralisation. Outside the southern African region, EISA has current and past field offices in several countries including Burundi, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Egypt, Mali, Sudan, Somalia, Gabon, and Central African Republic, a reflection of its broader geographical mandate.

The vision of EISA is "An African continent where democratic governance, human rights and citizen participation are upheld in a peaceful environment". This vision is executed through the organizational mission of "striving for excellence in the promotion of credible elections, citizen participation, and the strengthening of political institutions for sustainable democracy in Africa".

Having supported and observed over 40 electoral processes in Africa, EISA has extensive experience in formulating, structuring and implementing democratic and electoral initiatives. It has built an internationally recognised centre for policy, research and information and provides this service to electoral management bodies, political parties and civil society in a variety of areas, such as voter and civic education and electoral assistance and observation.

Besides its expanded geographical scope, the Institute has, for the past several years, been increasingly working in new in-between election areas along the electoral and parliamentary cycle, including constitution and law making processes, legislative strengthening, conflict management and transformation, political party development, the APRM, local governance and decentralisation.

Programme

Thursday

11 DECEMBER 2014

08:30 - 09:00 REGISTRATION

SESSION 1 WELCOME & OFFICIAL OPENING

Chairperson: Dr. Roukaya Kasenally, Lecturer, University of Mauritius, Mauritius

09:00 - 09:30 **Welcome Remarks & and Official Opening**
Mr. Denis Kadima, Executive Director, EISA

09:30-10:00 **Group photo & tea break**

SESSION 2 GENDER EQUALITY IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: TRENDS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA

Chairperson: Ms Ilona Tip, Operations Director, EISA

10:00 - 10:20 **Gender Gap, Competitive Elections, and Democratic Governance in Africa: Where Are We Today?**
Presenter: Ms Sisonke Msimang, Senior Programme Specialist/Policy Development, Sonke Gender Justice, South Africa

10:20 - 10:40 **Achieving Gender Equality in Political Participation: Opportunities, Policy Options & Significance for Democratic Governance**
Presenter: Dr. Mathias Hounkpe, Political Governance Manager, OSIWA, Dakar, Senegal & Mr. Ibrahima Niang, Head of Guinea Country Office, OSIWA, Guinea

10:40 - 11:20 **Discussion**

SESSION 3 TARGETS, QUOTAS & POLITICAL COMMITMENTS FOR GENDER EQUALITY

Chairperson: Dr. Muzong Kodi, Associate Fellow, Africa Programme, Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, United Kingdom

11:20 - 11:40 **Women's Representation in Government: Getting In and Staying In**
Presenter: Professor Amanda Gouws, Department of Political Science, University of Stellenbosch, South Africa

11:40 - 12:00 **Quota Systems and Women Representation in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Women's Business**
Presenter: Ms. Kamissa Camara, Senior Programme Officer, West and Central Africa, National Endowment for Democracy, USA

12:00 - 13:00 Discussion

13:00 - 14:00 Lunch

SESSION 4	GENDER SENSITIVE ELECTION ADMINISTRATION IN PRACTICE: LESSONS LEARNT FROM ZIMBABWE, BURUNDI, KENYA & SOUTH AFRICA
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Chairperson: Professor Tom Lodge, Professor of Politics and Public Administration, University of Limerick, Ireland

14:00 - 14:20 EMBs and Gender Equality in Zimbabwe

Presenter: Justice Rita Makarau, Chairperson, Zimbabwe Electoral Commission, Zimbabwe

14:20 - 14:40 EMBs and Gender Equality in Kenya

Presenter: Mrs. Lilian B. Mahiri-Zaja, Vice-Chairperson, Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), Kenya

14:40 - 15:00 EMBs and Gender Equality: Lessons Learnt from South Africa

Presenter: Ms. Shememe Manjoo, Senior Manager - Civic Education, Research and Knowledge Management, Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), South Africa

15:00 - 15:15 Tea Break

15:15 - 16:00 Discussion

16:00 - 16:20 EMBs and Gender Equality: Key Entry Points to EMBs' Gender Mainstreaming Policies

Presenter: Ms. Julie Ballington, Political Participation Advisor/Leadership and Governance Section, UN Women, USA

15:20 - 16:40 Discussion

16:40 - 17:00 Wrap-up Session: Ms. Olufunto Akinduro, Head, Elections and Political Processes, EISA

END OF DAY ONE

Programme

Friday

12 DECEMBER 2014

SESSION 5	GATE-KEEPERS, GATE-CLOSERS, OR GATE-OPENERS? GENDER EQUALITY IN POLITICAL PARTIES
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Chairperson: Mr. Ebrahim Fakir, Head, Governance Institutions and Processes, EISA

09:00 - 09:20 Creating a Level Playing Field for Women: How and How Far Can Men be engaged as Strategic Allies for Enhanced Women's Representation and Participation within Political Parties?
Presenter: Ms. Martha Karua, NARC Leader, Kenya

09:20 - 09:40 Breaking Barriers to Women's Political Access and Influence: Gender and Political Party Leadership in Mauritius
Presenter: Dr. Roukaya Kasenally, Lecturer, University of Mauritius, Mauritius

09:40 - 10:00 The ANC Women's League between a Rock and a Hard Place: Electoral Competition, Gains, and Setbacks in the Struggle for Gender Equality in South Africa
Presenter: Dr. Marianne Severin, Associated Researcher, Les Afriques dans le Monde (LAM)/Sciences, France

10:00 - 10:45 Discussion

10:45 - 11:00 Tea Break

SESSION 6:	WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT: BETWEEN PRESENCE AND EFFECTIVENESS IN DECISION-MAKING
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Chairperson: Mr. Grant Masterson, Programme Manager: African Peer Review Mechanism, EISA

11:00 - 11:20 Assessing Gender Mainstreaming in the Legislative Process in Madagascar
Presenter: Ms. Noroarisoa Ravaozanany, National Coordinator, Focus Development, Madagascar

11:20 - 11:40 The Role of Women's Caucuses and other Dedicated Committees in Enhancing Women's Parliamentary Presence: South Africa & Rwanda
Presenter: Ms. Lindiwe Makhunga, PHD Candidate, Wits University, Johannesburg, South Africa

11:40 - 12:30 Discussion

12:30 - 13:30 Lunch

SESSION 7	REFORMING FOR GENDER EQUALITY: OPPORTUNITIES, CHALLENGES & IMPACT OF ELECTORAL REFORM PROCESSES
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Chairperson: Mr. Hamadziripi Munyikwa, Country Representative, Somalia, EISA

13:30 - 13:50 Not Everything that can be Counted Count: Women, Political Instability, and Post-Conflict Elections in Madagascar (2009-2013)

Presenter: Professor. Mireille Rabenoro, University of Antananarivo, Madagascar

13:50 - 14:20 Promoting Equality or Mediocrity in the Political Space? A Critical Reflection of the 2010 Gender Parity Law in Senegal

Presenter: Professor Mame Penda Ba, Gaston Berger University, Senegal

14:20 - 15:00 Discussion

15:00 - 15:15 Tea Break

SESSION 8:	OFFICIAL CLOSURE
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Chairperson: Dr Lucien Toulou, Programmes Director, EISA

15:15 - 15:45 Summary of Proceedings and Way Forward

Mr. Robert Gerenge, Head: Special Programmes, EISA

15:45 - 16:00 Vote of Thanks and Official Closing

Ms. Ilona Tip, Operations Director, EISA

presenters



Mr. Denis Kadima

has been the Executive Director of the Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA) since December 2002. He has participated in about 70 electoral processes worldwide in different capacities. In July 2010, he took sabbatical leave and worked for the United Nations, first as the Director of the United Nations Referendum and Electoral Division supporting the self-determination referendum in South Sudan (July 2010 – March 2011) and, second, as the Chief Technical Advisor for UNDP in Tunisia (April - July 2011) helping to kick-start preparations for the first post-Arab Spring elections. Mr. Kadima has published extensively on party systems and electoral processes. He founded EISA's accredited Journal of African Elections in 2000.

Under his leadership, the content and scope of EISA's work has been diversified beyond elections to encompass, inter alia, political party development, parliamentary processes, participatory constitution making building, the African Peer Review Mechanism, conflict management and other relevant Democracy & Governance areas. These programmes mainstream gender equality and pay special attention to the participation and representation of the youth. He initiated and led efforts leading to the opening of EISA's field offices in a dozen countries, namely Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, DR Congo, Egypt, Kenya, Madagascar, Mali, Mozambique, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan and Zimbabwe as well as continent-wide programmes with the African Union and the Pan-African Parliament and sub-regional programmes with SADC, East African Community (EAC), COMESA and the Economic Community of Central African States (CEAC).



Sisonke Msimang

is a writer and a social commentator who has been published in a range of national and international outlets. She appears regularly on radio and television to comment on social and political issues both in local and international outlets such as the BBC. Sisonke publishes one of the most widely read columns in the Daily Maverick. She also publishes regularly in women's magazines and in more popular journals. Before focussing her attention on writing, Sisonke served as the Executive Director of Georg Soros' Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa working on issues of democracy, governance and human rights across ten countries in the region, including Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zimbabwe.

Prior to this she worked for the United Nations both in New York, and in Johannesburg, focusing on human rights and gender issues. Sisonke is a Yale World Fellow (2012), a World Economic Forum Young Global Leader (2012) and a fellow at the Aspen Institute's New Voices Programme (2014).



Mathias Hounkpe

is a Benin citizen and is currently Political Governance Program Manager at OSIWA, Dakar, Senegal. He has about 20 years of experience working in capacity building, governance and institutional development. He has been part of multidisciplinary research teams on subjects as diverse as the assessment of electoral systems and institutions, security in elections, good governance, elections and public policy related issues. He has designed and implemented training and capacity building activities for various key stakeholders of electoral processes in several West-African countries.

Dr. Hounkpe has also taught mathematics, statistics, game theory and political science. He is bilingual with proficiency in English and French. He holds an M. Phil in Political Science with concentration on accountability mechanism design in new democracies; a doctorate in Mathematical physics with concentration on scattering theory, and a Master in Mathematics.



Ibrahima Amadou Niang

holds an International Baccalaureate, a BA in International Relations and Economics from the University of Reading (England), a Maitrise in International Public Law and a Masters in International Governance from the Cheikh Anta Diop University (Senegal), where he is completing a PhD thesis on political transitions in Africa. He heads the Guinea country office of the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA). Prior to joining OSIWA, Ibrahima worked with the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) as the West Africa Programme Officer based in Accra (Ghana).

He also worked with the Gorée Institute managing the democracy, elections and political processes programme. At the latter, he was in charge of the conceptualization of innovative tools and methodologies for election observation, advocacy and capacity building. A prolific political scientist, researcher and writer with various publications, both in democracy building and literature, Ibrahima is a Building Resources In Democracy, Governance and Elections (BRIDGE) Expert facilitator. He has provided direct technical assistance to many Election Management Bodies in many regions of Africa and supported the capacity building of various civil society organizations and political parties. His areas of expertise include: transitions to democracy, electoral processes, capacity building, civil society, political parties, interparty dialogue, economics of development and advocacy.



Amanda Gouws

is Professor of Political Science at the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa. She holds a PhD from the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign in the USA. Her specialization is South African Politics and Gender Politics. Her research focuses on women and citizenship, the National Gender Machinery and representation. She is the editor of (Un)Thinking Citizenship: Feminist Debates in Contemporary South Africa. (UK: Ashgate and Cape Town: Juta, 2005). In 2007 she was the Edith Keeger Wolf Distinguished Visiting Professor at Northwestern University, USA.

In 2011 she was selected as a Fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation Centre in Bellagio, Italy, where she was working on a book on the Women's Movement in South Africa. In 2012 she received the Wilma Rule Award for the best paper at the International Political Science Association Conference in Madrid, Spain, in the category Gender and Politics with the title "Multiculturalism in South Africa: Dislodging the Binary between Universal Human Rights and Culture/Tradition". Her edited book "Gender and Multiculturalism: North/South Perspectives" has just appeared with Routledge Press. She was a Commissioner for the South African Commission on Gender Equality.



Kamissa Camara

is the Senior Program Officer for West & Central Africa at the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) where she oversees a multi-million grant portfolio to civil society organizations in the West and Central Africa sub-regions, designs country strategies and identifies policy gaps in transitional justice, human rights, peacebuilding, democracy promotion, corruption and civil-military relations that can potentially be addressed by local partners through NED funding. Prior to her employment with NED, Ms. Camara worked for the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) where she managed electoral assistance programs in sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean.

She has trained over 300 electoral management officials in Senegal, Niger, Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Burundi, Nigeria, Gabon, France and Uganda on electoral operations and electoral management. Ms. Camara holds an M.A. in International Economics and Development from Université Pierre Mendès France (Grenoble, France) and a B.A. in International Relations from Université Denis Diderot (Paris, France). Ms. Camara has published in Good Governance Africa, World Politics Review, African Arguments, Think Africa Press, the Fletcher Forum of World Affairs and UN Vision and is regularly quoted in IRIN News. She was a guest on Monocle Radio and on France24 French and English TV programs. Ms. Camara is a native French speaker and is fluent in English and German.



Justice Rita Makarau

is a Judge at the Supreme Court of Zimbabwe. She is the Chairperson of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) and President of the SADC Electoral Commissions Forum. Justice Makarau is a University of Zimbabwe law graduate. In 1982 she graduated with a Bachelor of Laws Degree before graduating with an Honours Degree in 1983.

She first worked as a Public Prosecutor at the Harare magistrates court before going into private practice. From 1995 to 2000, she was a lecturer at University of Zimbabwe. In December 2000, she was appointed High Court Judge. In 2006, Justice Makarau became Zimbabwe's first female Judge President. Before being appointed ZEC Chairperson, Justice Mukarau was the Acting Chief Executive of the Judicial Service Commission.



Commissioner Lilian Bookeeye Mahiri-Zaja (Mrs.)

is the Vice-Chairperson of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), an Advocate of the High Court of Kenya and formerly a member of the African Union Commission on International Law (Addis Ababa) between 2009 and 2011. From 2004 to 2011 she was a Deputy Chief Legal Officer in the Ministry of Justice, National Cohesion & Constitutional Affairs (now a department within the Attorney-General's Office) before her current appointment. National Appointments -She was previously appointed to serve on various Presidential National Committees and Commissions; and she also represented the Ministry of Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs in various ministerial committees and national Task Forces.

Regional and International Experiences - Commissioner Mahiri-Zaja has served in various capacities at regional and international levels. She served as a national representative in various regional initiatives, including the NEPAD-African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM); and, the International Conference of the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR).



Julie Ballington

is the Policy Advisor on Political Participation in the Leadership and Governance Section at UN-Women. She oversees the section's work on women's political participation, including in electoral assistance, parliamentary strengthening, political party support and local government. She previously served as UNDP's Gender Advisor in the Global Programme on Elections within the Division for Democratic Governance. Prior to joining the United Nations, Julie was the Programme Specialist in the Gender Partnership Programme at the Inter-Parliamentary Union based in Geneva, where she worked on enhancing women's participation in parliaments, electoral processes and within political parties.

She also led the project on Gender Sensitive Parliaments assessments and research. From 2001-2005 she was responsible for the Women in Politics Programme at International IDEA in Stockholm, where she initiated the global project on Electoral Quotas for Women. She also previously worked at the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA) based in Johannesburg, managing the work on gender related aspects of electoral participation and administration in southern Africa. She has also participated in several electoral observation missions in Africa and the Middle East.



Martha Wangari Karua

a Kenyan household name with international acclaim, is a social justice luminary. Her thirty years plus career, rooted in law and spanning across social activism, judicial, constitutional and political arenas, is distinguished and has garnered her numerous accolades. Martha Karua is an accomplished, precedent setting lawyer cum politician. The founding and development of Kenya's pluralistic politics is not without the notable contributions of Martha Karua. As an activist lawyer, Martha worked with colleagues to agitate for expanded democratic space in Kenya.

The role of women in Kenyan politics has greatly benefitted from Martha Karua's efforts and exemplary career. As a founder of organizations such as the League of Kenyan Women Voters or leading women's advocacy through FIDA, Martha actively lobbied for increased women representation in political positions. A feat she further advanced as a Member of Parliament and Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs. In these capacities, Martha oversaw the architecture of a self-propelling legislation that yielded a long fought for new Kenyan constitution.

As a Member of Parliament for Gichugu constituency and a Minister of Water, Martha instituted reforms that decentralized water services and improved administrative efficacy and financial accountability. In 2008, Martha culminated her incredible passion and remarkable political career towards a Presidential bid. Martha's Presidential campaign broke new grounds and set new standards of integrity and accountability, challenging established attitudes on leadership and women in leadership.

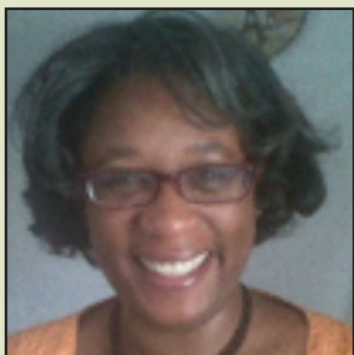
Outside government, Martha continues to be an outstanding, principled and accomplished champion of social justice in Kenya. Martha holds an LLB from the University of Nairobi and an MBA from USIU.



Roukaya Kasenally

is the Director of Programmes – African Media Initiative (AMI) and Researcher on Democratic Governance. She manages the different programmes that AMI is involved or planning to develop. Her portfolio ranges from open governance, leadership and ethics, media datasets and capacity and capability for media professionals. She has authored / co-authored a number of publications on media and democratic systems. She is the co-founder of the Mauritian think tank – the Institute of Social Development and Peace (ISDP).

In 2010/2011 she was the Regan Fascell Democracy Fellow at the National Endowment for Democracy (NES), Washington DC. Roukaya Kasenally was educated in Mauritius and the United Kingdom and is fluent in English and French.



Marianne Séverin

is Doctor in political sciences and is associate researcher with the research centre for African Studies "Les Afriques dans le Monde" (LAM)/ Sciences Po Bordeaux, in France. A French national, Marianne Séverin is specialised in South African politics. After a Master degree in History and in "African Studies" in political sciences at the Center for African Studies - Centre d'Etude d'Afrique Noire (CEAN), she did a PhD research on "The African National Congress (ANC) networks (1910-2004) - Political history of the South Africa's leadership constitution".

Since then, Dr Marianne Séverin has been regularly speaking in French and foreign media on issues affecting post-apartheid politics in South Africa while continuing her research through several publications and participations in colloquia and conferences.



Noro Ravaozanany

is a sociologist, specializing in qualitative research and gender, working in the domains of human rights, governance, education, and public health. To her credit, she was a gender expert and leader of a project for the International Labor Office, before moving on to become a national then international consultant to countries in the Indian Ocean region and French speaking Africa (Comoros, Mali Central African Republic, Senegal, etc.) for bilateral and multilateral bodies.

Her interventions cover a wide spectrum of gender actions, ranging from developing, managing, monitoring and evaluating programmes or projects to capacity building, through the surveys that she has conducted with Focus Development, of which she is co-founder and chairperson. Since 2006, she has focused on the issue of gender in governance in Madagascar, with women's low representation in decision-making positions as the background for her works.



Lindiwe Makhunga

is a PHD candidate in the Department of Political Studies at Wits University, and researches primarily in the field of gender relations in post-conflict settings, governance, and legislative politics. She has travelled extensively on the African continent and her PHD dissertation is a comparative study of women's parliamentary representation in post-genocide Rwanda and post-apartheid South Africa.

She holds an MA degree (with distinction) in Gender and Development from the Institute of Development Studies, Sussex University. She completed her undergraduate degree in Politics at Wits University.



Mireille Rabenoro

is the Senior Lecturer, University of Antananarivo, Madagascar. Promoter of the first 'Gender, Culture and Society' Masters Course (Faculty of Arts and Humanities). She is the Vice-chairperson of the national chapter of the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) and Vice-chairperson of the National Council of Women (Conseil National des Femmes de Madagascar).

As a national consultant, she produced and disseminated Madagascar's National Gender and Development Action Plan (PANAGED, 2003).



Mame-Penda BA

is Associate Professor at Gaston Berger University, Saint-Louis (Senegal), and the first Senegalese woman to pass the aggregation competition for professorship positions in Political Science. She is the Scientific Director of the Master II in Political Science. She heads the Laboratoire d'Analyse des Sociétés et Pouvoirs/Afrique-Diasporas (LASPAD), a research lab on societies and powers/Africa-diaspora, and co-founder on the Groupe de Recherche interdisciplinaire sur les Inégalités et les Vulnérabilités au Sénégal (GRIV) on inequalities and vulnerabilities in Senegal.

Her main research focus includes gender, political sociology of religion, sociogenesis and state dynamics in Africa, as well as public policy analysis.

Symposium Overview

For the past eight years, EISA has held an annual symposium, each of which focused upon a selected democracy and governance issue. The first Annual Symposium, in November 2006, examined the challenges of conflict, democracy and development in Africa. The second, in October 2007, focused on policy discussion around the prospects for sustainable democratic governance in Africa in an environment of dire socio-economic conditions and entrenched poverty. The third, in October 2008, dealt with the challenges facing civil society engagement with the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). The fourth Symposium focused upon the problem of persistent, violent election-related conflicts in Africa with a view to understanding their causes, magnitude and consequences for democratic governance. The fifth in November 2010 provided a platform for political parties from across Africa to develop benchmarks to support political parties in institutional development and to enhance democratic systems of governance through political parties. The sixth Symposium explored the role of ICT in promoting political change in Africa. It provided a platform for stakeholders from across the continent to share experiences and learn best practices on the use of ICT, democracy and elections. The seventh Symposium reviewed two decades of election observation in Africa since the dawn of multi-party elections and assessed the role, performance and impact of election observation on democracy building in Africa. The eighth annual symposium was aimed at explaining the causes of pre-election alliances of political parties and party coalitions following an election, and exploring the effects of these alliances and coalitions on party systems, democratic consolidation, state governability and national cohesion.

The ninth Symposium is themed “Experiences, lessons and good practices in promoting gender equality in Africa”, taking stock of identifiable trends, challenges and results achieved across countries, national processes and institutions in support of enhanced women’s participation in the political arena all over the continent.

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