



Republic of Zambia

MINISTRY OF GENDER

GENDER STATISTICS ON WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT:

THE CASE OF ZAMBIA

APRIL 2018



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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADD	:	Agenda for Direct Democracy
AU	:	Africa Union
CEDAW	:	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Violence against Women
CSOs	:	Civil Society Organizations
DRC	:	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECZ	:	Electoral Commission of Zambia
FAWEZA	:	Forum for African Women Educationalists in Zambia
FDD	:	Forum for Democracy and Development
ICT	:	Information Communication Technology
MMD	:	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
NAREP	:	National Restoration Party
NGOCC	:	Non-Governmental Gender Organizations' Coordinating Council
PF	:	Patriotic Front
SADC	:	Southern Africa Development Committee
SIDA	:	Swedish International Development Assistance
UDF	:	United Democratic Front
UN	:	United Nations
UNIP	:	United National Independence Party
UPND	:	United Party for National Development
WLSA	:	Women and Law in Southern Africa



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The Gender Statistics Booklet represents the result of technical cooperation among the Ministry of Gender, Non-Governmental Organization Coordination Council, Women in Law in Southern Africa and Forum for African Women Educationalists of Zambia on the subject of Gender Statistics. Special thanks go to the following; - Mr. Simon Kapilima, Ms. Engwase Mwale, Ms. Rudo Mooba and Ms. Agness Mumba, whose substantial contributions have made this Gender Statistics publication a reality. This Booklet has also benefited from the expert contribution of Statistical Sweden staff that provided training in Gender Statistics in Stockholm, Sweden. We are also grateful to the Swedish Government through the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) for the financial support towards the professional three-week training.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Gender Statistics Booklet on women's representation in local government serves as an easy to use reference and advocacy tool showing a comparative statistical analysis in Local Government representation in Zambia. It specifically highlights some of the key aspects impacting on women's participation in local government positions, including the impact of geographical locations on women's responsiveness in the democratic dispensation.

The Booklet outlines basic information of what policy makers need to know and strategies that have worked in promoting increased women's participation at local government within the Southern Africa Development Committee (SADC) region. It further presents progress made by major political parties in promoting women's participation at local government level.

The Booklet also provides recommendations on how we can 'make it happen' using quota system and other affirmative action mechanisms; clearly defining gender statistics programs and enhancing the capabilities of women to participate in politics especially at local government level.

This first publication is an attempt to provide a simplified statistical baseline on Zambia's standing towards meeting the principles outlined in the various women's rights and gender related instruments, including the Africa Union Agenda 2063 and Goal 5 of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals and specifically on meeting the ambitious vision of leaving no one behind.



1.0 INTRODUCTION

This Gender Statistics Booklet is aimed at raising awareness on the importance of presenting Gender Statistics in advocacy for more women representatives in the local councils of Zambia. Subsequent general elections have seen the female local government representation at a paltry 7% and 9% in 2011 and 2016 respectively further raising questions as to what needs to happen to change the low trends.

The Booklet further details some of the key aspects impacting on women's participation in local government positions, basic information of what policy makers need to know and strategies that have worked in promoting increased women's participation at local government within the Southern Africa Development Committee (SADC) region. It highlights the extent of women's participation in decision making and the status of women's representation in the political arena. Further, the Booklet focuses on analyzing the results of women's participation in Zambia's local government elections in 2011 and 2016 within the given political landscape and how different political parties have progressed regarding adopting and nominating female local government aspiring candidates.

Therefore, this Booklet has endeavored to highlight various gender issues from sex disaggregation to geographical presentation of situations impacting on women and men in the local government political arena. This is with a view of changing the advocacy interventions that should subsequently lead to visible policy influence and creating an enabling playing field for women in politics. It is envisaged that the gender statistical presentation in the Booklet will inform the national gender machinery and civil society engagement in the promotion of more women in the local government chambers.



2.0 BACKGROUND

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1946) states that “everyone has the right to take part in the government of his/her country, directly or through freely chosen representation”. Equal participation of women and men in politics remain central to more inclusive and democratic governance and it is the first step towards gender-sensitive policy reforms. It can bring different perspectives on women and men’s needs and priorities when framing local and national policies and allocating budgets.

Despite the fact that, African women have made significant strides in political participation, there is still a wide gap when it comes to the number of women and men in that regard. Therefore, participation of women in politics is increasingly being placed at the heart of the continental and regional agenda both in terms of policy and practice.



3.0 THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IN ZAMBIAN POLITICS.

Zambia is a state party to a number of international and regional instruments which guarantee the rights of women and gender equality and women's empowerment. These include, among others, the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women (AU Protocol) as well as the Southern African Development Committee (SADC) Protocol on Gender.

3.1 Zambia's comparative performance within the SADC region at local government level.

Despite the country signing up to regional and international conventions, the situation of women remains unchanged. There has been a growing concern in the recent past among all key stakeholders in the country on the lower levels and numbers of women's participation in decision making in comparison to the participation of the male counterparts. This has seen Zambia being ranked the 4th lowest performing in the region with, for example, a paltry 9 percent women representation in the local government and 18% in Parliament as at the August 2016 General Elections.

Zambia has embarked on a decentralization process whose main aim is to place the local governance authority at the center of all development processes and to improve community participation and inclusivity. In line with this focus, the local authority will be central in making key decisions on how the development agenda of each district will be structured. Local governance authority will also play a critical role in ensuring that resource allocation as well as key management decisions take into account district specific development priorities. Hence local government structures become a key focus for the promotion of more women in various decision making positions.



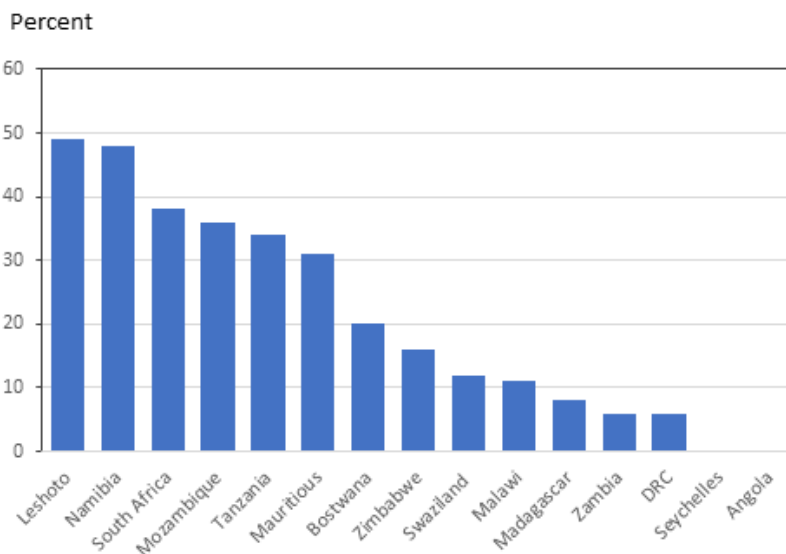
Table 1: Countries in the SADC Regions with and without Women's Quota systems by 2017

SADC Countries with Quota systems 2017	SADC Countries without Quota systems 2017
South Africa	Zambia
Mauritius	Botswana
Angola	Malawi
Namibia	Seychelles
Lesotho	Democratic Republic of Congo
Zimbabwe	Madagascar
Mozambique	

Source: Gender Links, 2017

As in Table 1 above, out of the 15 SADC member states, the following 8 countries had adopted some form of quota system at local government level by 2017 including; South Africa, Mauritius, Angola, Tanzania, Namibia, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Notably, seven SADC countries had not adopted the quota systems by 2017 and these included; Zambia, Botswana, Malawi, Swaziland, Seychelles, Democratic Republic of Congo and Madagascar.

Figure 1: Share of Women in Parliament of Southern African Countries with and without Quotas, 2015



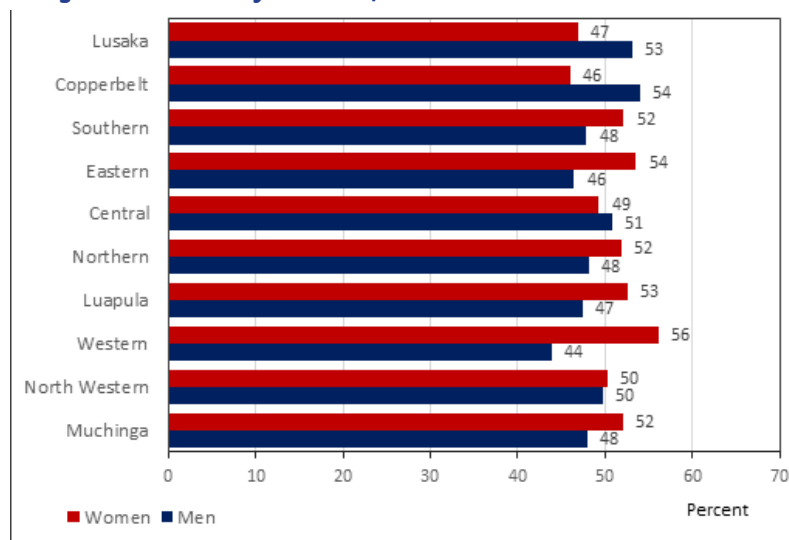


The results in the Chart above show that Lesotho, Namibia and South Africa have the highest number of women in local government, while Seychelles and Angola are the lowest. This can be attributed to the fact that Lesotho, Namibia and South Africa have a quota system in their legislation which clearly provides opportunities for more women to participate at different levels of decision making positions. On the other hand, Seychelles and DRC, including Zambia, have no quotas or any affirmative action provisions in their constitutions and hence the low numbers of women. From the Chart above, it is therefore clear that having specific quotas and other affirmative action clauses in national legislation framework is a positive step towards increasing the number of women in politics.

3.2 Total number of registered voters per province during Zambia's 2016 General Elections.

Zambia's population is estimated to be over 15 million and of this, 51% are females and 49% males. The Electoral commission of Zambia reports for the 2016 General Elections indicate that the total number of registered voters was 6,698,372. Out of this figure, 3,372,935 are females while 3,325,437 are male. Even though the picture presents women as the majority of voters they have not had a fair share of the national cake as they have been the minority in elective positions as Members of Parliament and as Councilors in the local government.

Figure 2: Registered Voters by Province, 2016



Source: Electoral Commission of Zambia, 2017



The results in the Chart above show that Lusaka, Central and Copperbelt Provinces which are largely urban based provinces, had less female registered voters. Western Province, which statistically is the least developed province in the country had the highest female registered voters than all the other provinces. Western was followed by Eastern, Southern, Luapula, Muchinga and Northern Provinces which are all considered rural based provinces. Zambia's population dynamics indicate that rural areas have more women than men and hence explains the more number of women on the Voters Roll. Northwestern on the other hand, showed almost equal numbers of female and male voters.

3.3 Total number of women adopted as Councilors by Political Parties in 2016 General Elections.

To start with very few women applied to stand as candidates in the various political parties. This was as a result of the amended Constitution Act of 2016 that includes a clause on the need for anyone aspiring to stand as a candidate for political office to have a minimum qualification of a Grade 12 School Certificate or its equivalent. This disadvantaged a number of women who had expressed interest and had been trained in some instances, to stand as candidates, but did not possess the required educational qualifications. There were also reports that the adoption process within political parties was characterized with corruption, confusions due to party mergers, lack of finances by most female candidates especially for local government positions and also electoral violence. These discouraged most women from proceeding with their adoptions thereby resulting in very few women being adopted as outlined in Table 2.



Table 2: Local Government Councilors Adopted by Political Parties for 11 August 2016 Elections

Political Party	Total	Women	Men	Percent	
				Women	Men
PF	1,561	145	1,416	9	91
UNIP	53	7	46	13	87
MMD	114	21	93	18	82
UPND	1,556	98	1,458	6	94
FDD	674	94	580	14	86

Source: Local Government Association, 2017

The Table 2 above shows the number of women and men adopted as Councilors by five major political parties. The results show that the PF adopted more women candidates generally followed by UPND and FDD. However comparatively with male candidates the adoption percentages were very low meaning that the three political parties were unable to field women in most of the constituencies. UNIP despite being the oldest political party in power from Zambia's independence until 1991, had the lowest number of both women and men adopted followed by the MMD.

3.4 The total number of female candidates elected as Councillors

In the 2011 and 2016 General Elections clearly points to the fact that the situation of women in terms of being elected into office has not changed much over the years. Statistics show that in the previous Parliament of 2011, out of the 158 parliamentary seats, only 24 seats (15%), and a further 86 seats (6%) out of 1422 at local government level, were held by women. The 2016 elections only went up to 9% female representation at the local government level and 17% in Parliament as outlined in the Table 3.

Therefore, it is important that the national gender machinery, working through the women's movement constantly innovates around initiatives that will aim at increasing women's participation in the local authorities through elective positions. This is key in that it will enable women influence the process of development by ensuring that the concerns and needs of women and communities in general are taken care of when development agendas are being discussed and resolved at that local level.



Table 3: Number of Women Councilors Adopted in the 2011 and 2016 General Elections by Political party and Province

		<i>Number</i>									
Year	Party	South	Lusaka	C/belt	NWest	West	East	Muchg	North	Centrl	Luap
2011	PF	1	5	4	0	0	3	6	8	5	5
	UNIP	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0
	MMD	4	3	2	4	2	3	1	2	3	3
	UPND	7	0	3	4	3	0	0	0	0	0
	FDD	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0
2016	PF	2	7	27	0	0	11	12	3	9	1
	UNIP	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
	MMD	4	3	2	4	2	3	1	2	3	3
	UPND	10	2	6	8	17	0	0	0	8	0
	FDD	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0

Source: Local Government Association, 2017

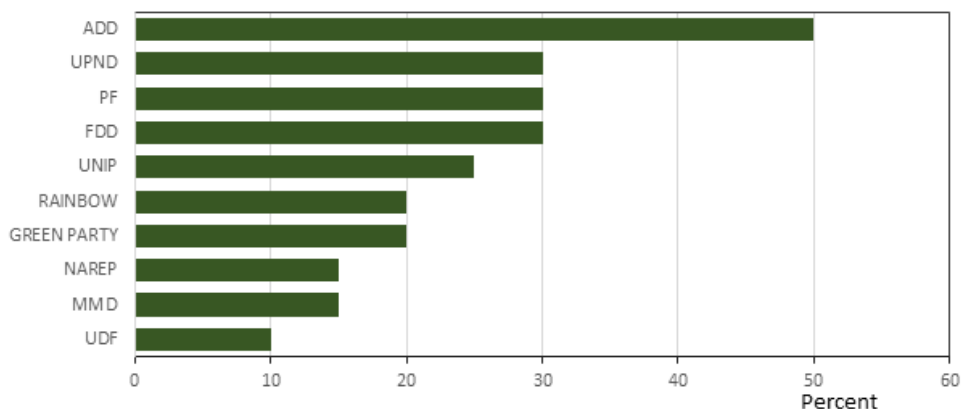
The Table 3 indicates serious data gaps in electoral processes that may hinder effective gender statistics presentation going by the 2016 available data depicting female contestants only. However, given the aggregate number of men adopted (4141) and elected (1323) as compared to female candidates at (425) adopted and (132) elected to local government positions, the results in the Table above show that more men than women were adopted in all the wards at provincial level. Luapula and Northern Provinces had the least number of women adopted by the respective political parties collectively for both years. Comparatively the results further show that the Patriotic Front adopted more women than the other political parties with more women being adopted in Copperbelt, Eastern and Muchinga Provinces. However, they did not adopt any women candidates in Western and North-Western Provinces. Similarly, UPND did not adopt any women candidates in Eastern, Muchinga and Northern Provinces. UNIP had the least number of women adopted for local government in both 2011 and 2016 and only fielded female candidates in Eastern Province.



3.5 Percentage of Women holding Senior Positions in Political Party

Percentage of women holding senior positions in political party structures reveals that the political party landscape in Zambia is premised on multi-partism but still remains largely patriarchal with the main political parties' executive arms being male championed. The political parties' constitutions and manifestos also remain gender blind with no clear indications on how to champion gender equity and equality at all levels of political party structures. This is compounded by the patriarchal culture and practices which render women as second class citizens. Women are mostly relegated to Women's Wings of political parties and have little decision making opportunities in the main party national executive committees. In most cases this has resulted in women not fully realizing their full leadership potential. Political parties are yet to comprehend and appreciate the need to create meaningful spaces which will see more women equally participate and contribute to the political discourse.

Figure 3: Political Parties and Percentage of Women Holding Senior Positions in the Party Structures



Source: Local Government Association, 2017

Figure 3 shows the percentage of women in senior party positions in the different political parties. The indication is that ADD had more women in their senior party structures than all the political parties followed by the PF and UPND. On the other hand, FDD and UNIP have 30% and 25% women representation in senior party structures respectively but field the least number of female candidates in local government as shown in Table 3.



Table 4: Number of Councilors Holding Executive Positions and Chairing Council Sub Committees in Relation to their Various Skills

Party	Total	Number and Percent			
		Number		Percent	
		Women	Men	Women	Men
ADD	1	0	1	0	100
FDD	47	7	40	15	85
Greens	1	0	1	0	100
Independents	34	2	32	6	94
MMD	14	1	13	7	93
NAREP	1	0	1	0	100
PF	103	15	88	15	85
RAINBOW	20	1	19	5	95
UDF	5	3	2	60	40
UNIP	6	0	6	0	100
UPND	99	11	88	11	89
Totals	331	40	291	12	88

Source: Local Government Association, 2017

The Table 4 shows the number of councilors holding executive positions and chairing council sub-committees in relation to their various skills. The results show that more men than women are in executive positions and heading the council sub-committees. The PF and UPND who have more numbers in local councils also indicate more numbers of women in council executive positions and heading sub-committees.

3.6 Education implications for women's leadership opportunities

It is a well-known fact that in most of Zambia's rural areas, the drop-out rate for girls from schools is higher than for boys. According to a UNESCO Report, in 2010 the dropout rate was at 1.79 percent for boys and 2.33 percent for girls. The reasons for this situation included girls falling pregnant, economic hardships and child marriages. Zambia has one of the highest child marriage rates in the world with 42% women aged 20-24 years married by the age of 18 as of 2016 statistics. The rates of child marriage vary from one region to another and are as high as 60% in Eastern Province, and as low as 28% in Lusaka Province.

**Table 5: Dropout Rate for Grade 1 to 12, 2013-2016**

Years/ Grades	Grades 1- 7		Grades 8 – 12	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
2013	2.1	1.4	1.7	0.7
2014	2.1	1.5	1.8	0.6
2015	1.9	1.3	1.9	0.5
2016	1.8	1.3	1.8	0.7

Source: MESVTEE. 2016 Educational Statistical Bulletin

Table 5 show that more girls than boys dropped out of school in the period 2013-2016. Generally, more girls dropped out of school during the lower Grades 1-7 as compared to when they were in higher Grades. However, for 2015 and 2016, the number of girls dropping out of lower Grades 1-7 and those dropping out of higher Grades 8-12 was the same for each year.

Table 6: Completion Rate by Education Level, 2013-2016

Years/ Grades	Grade 9		Grade 12	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
2013	60	69	27	35
2014	55	61	29	35
2015	55	60	27	34
2016	68	69	41	64

Source: MESVTEE. 2016 Educational Statistical Bulletin

Table 6 show that more girls reach Grade 9 while the retention levels reduce as they attain higher Grades to 12. The Table however shows improved completion rates for both girls and boys in 2016.

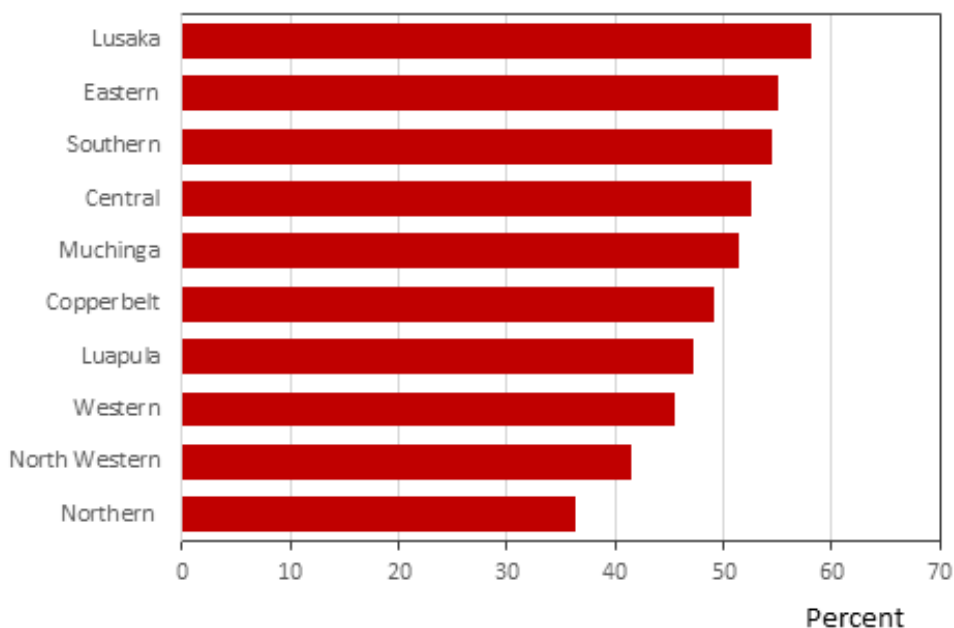


Table 7: Pregnancies, Re-admissions and Percent Drop Out for Grade 1-12 by Province, 2016

<i>Number and Percent Drop Out</i>				
Provinces	Pregnancies	Re-Admits	Drop Out	Percentage drop Out
Muchinga	740	360	380	51
Northern	861	549	312	36
Lusaka	1,348	564	784	58
Luapula	1,355	714	641	47
Copperbelt	1,499	764	735	49
Central	1,577	747	830	53
Western	1,584	863	721	46
North Western	1,964	1,151	813	41
Southern	2,126	968	1,158	54
Eastern	2,168	973	1,195	55

Source: MESVTEE. 2016 Educational Statistical Bulletin

Figure 4: Percentage of Girls' Pregnancy Dropout Rates at Provincial level 2013-2016



Source: MESVTEE. 2016 Educational Statistical Bulletin



Table 7 and Figure 4 results show that the girls drop out as a result of teenage pregnancies in comparison to re-admits at all levels of Grades 1-12 is high averaging 50% making retention very difficult even with the introduction of the Re-Entry Policy. The Chart above shows that Lusaka, Eastern and Southern Provinces have an increase in girls' dropout rates, with Lusaka being the highest.

3.7 The Media and Women in Politics

The role of the media in the capacity building of female aspiring candidates is extremely important. It is through the media that people will get to know about the aspirants and what they are able to do for their communities. Strategies are important to get the media to contribute to supporting women attain the necessary skills needed to present themselves to the electorates positively.

Table 8: SADC Participation and Portrayal of Women in the Media in 2016

<i>Number of Women</i>			
Countries	Women in Management Position	Women Sources	Women Images
Angola	-	-	-
Botswana	32	28	34
DRC	17	6	15
Lesotho	53	21	21
Madagascar	34	21	29
Malawi	39	21	36
Mauritius	43	10	30
Mozambique	31	25	24
Namibia	40	19	27
Seychelles	24	28	50
South Africa	35	20	37
Swaziland	44	18	28
Tanzania	24	22	10
Zambia	37	19	25
Zimbabwe	10	24	38

Source: SADC Gender Barometer, 2017



With the absence of male participation and portrayal in the media, Table 8 above endeavored to show the composition of women in management positions in the media, women that are sources for media articles and statements and how women are portrayed in the media. The results show that Lesotho, Mauritius and Swaziland have more women in management positions in the media, while Botswana, Mozambique and Seychelles use more women as sources of information. Tanzania and DRC are the least in the negative portrayal of women in the media. Results also point to the fact that having more women in media management positions does not necessarily translate into having more women sources for the media like in the case of Mauritius with more women in management positions (43) but with only 10 women as sources of media information and as high as 30% negative portrayal of women in the media.



4.0 Factors that Impede Women's Political Participation in Zambia

4.1 Social-Cultural factors

Women continue to face prejudices as leaders because there is a cultural assumption that leadership is a masculine trait (Kunovich et.al.2007). Women are considered subordinate to men both in the family and in the society especially in most rural areas. Many are reluctant to run for political office and if they seek office, they fail to attract sufficient party and electoral support to win. Political life is organized by male norms, values, lifestyle and working patterns (Norris et.al. 2008).

4.2 Religious factors

Religion is another arena where women's inferiority to men has long been used to exclude women from aspects of political life. The exclusion of women from religious institutions and leadership may have a negative impact on women's status in society and limit their opportunities in politics and public life. In most religion, power and authority is believed to divinely belong to men hence subjugating women (Kunovich et.al.2007). Women are also seen to be their own enemies in their own political advancement and empowerment, especially when they internalize these long held anachronistic assumptions and perception that politics is a dirty game, thus a preserve game for men (Douglas, 2014).

4.3 Economic factors

Lack of economic resources is one of the biggest obstacles that prevent women's participation in politics. Most women are financially dependent on their male partners or relatives to enter politics which poses hurdles for women to participate in politics in most developing nations like Zambia (Shvedova, 2002). Despite the increase in the number of women in paid employment, there additional work burden prevents them from having time to engage in politics.

4.4 Media factors

Gender biases in media coverage continue to hinder women's chances of ascending to political positions. They are often allocated less time and spaces in the media than their male counterparts and often times women in politics are subjected to a higher negative bias in coverage. In most cases, women politicians are covered less by the



mass media than their male counterparts and events and issues of importance to women are not covered as much as other issues. Mass media also reinforces gender cultural stereotypes about the role of women which prevent women from engaging in politics.



5.0 Areas of Focus for increasing Women's Participation in Local Government

NO.	CURRENT SITUATION	PROPOSED ACTION
1	Amended constitution with gender equity and equality statement but with no quota system and proportional representation	Inclusion of minimum of 30% quota system and proportional representation in the constitution
2	Enacted Gender Equity and Equality but no Commission has been constituted	Immediate appointment of Commissioners and operational mechanisms for the Commission
3	Inadequate advocacy targeting local government women's participation	CSOs to identify and build capacities of potential female candidates for participation at local government
5	Unavailability of political party platforms and processes for building capacities for women in politics	<p>*CSOs to identify champions to provide mentorship opportunities and programmes for potential female candidates at local district level.</p> <p>*Political Parties to develop and adopt Gender Policies and Action Plans that should be disseminated to all party organs</p>
6	Insufficient gender responsive civic and voter education to promote more women's participation at local government	<p>*ECZ and CSOs to provide for civic and voter education awareness for the promotion of women's participation in politics</p> <p>*CSOs and Political Parties to develop training materials and programs for academy of girls and young women to build broad based leadership skills</p>
7	Low levels of utilization of ICT and community media to support women's participation in local government	CSOs to build capacity for serving/potential female candidates to be assertive and confident to utilize various ICTs
8	Low levels of media coverage for female serving and aspiring candidates in local government	<p>*CSOs to create opportunities for constructive engagement between the media and serving/potential female candidates.</p> <p>*CSOs and political parties to mobilize enough resources to channel towards gender programs and profiling of more women leaders in the media</p>



6.0 Good Practices for Women's Participation in Local Government in the Sadc Region

A comparative analyses of the countries within the SADC region shows that Zambia is one of the least countries in terms of women's participation at Local Government level at 9% as of 2016. Zambia's situation is in contrast with Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, Mozambique and Tanzania with more that 30% female representation at local government which have since recorded some of the following benefits:

- There is more coordination of development programs and there is less pressure on the central government to perform area-specific development¹.
- There is increased opportunities for political participation by women².
- There is increased potential for inclusive economic growth and high performance in terms of service delivery at community level³.
- There are more opportunities for extra participation of women in the governance system of their communities⁴.
- There are opportunities for women becoming more visible and audible (critical mass) on the governance discourse⁵.
- Countries with gender equality provisions at various sectors show inclination for improved access to productive opportunities, for example, since Rwanda adopted gender parity at all levels of decision making, it has revised its Land Policy resulting in 36% of women owning land out of which 52% have obtained loans/finances using land as collateral⁶.

In conclusion, overall, Political Scientists have contended that women's participation in politics is important for the improvement of governance in Africa and its development sustainability. This is because the attainment of gender equality and the full participation of women in decision making are key indicators of democracy. Hence the need to strengthen collection and presentation of gender statistics in order to ensure that adequate information is available and accessible to undertake gender analysis for more targeted interventions and effective participation of women at all levels.

1 Paper by Sekatle, P. (2010): Empowerment of Women in Local Government in Lesotho.

2 Paper by Sekatle, P. (2010): Empowerment of Women in Local Government in Lesotho.

3 IMF presentation, during the 2017 Annual Meetings

4 Report by Kapena L. etal (1998): Affirmative Action for Women in Local Government in Namibia

5 Lesotho Council of NGOs, Policy Brief (2015)

6 Remarks by Minister of Finance, Rwanda, Gender Equality Conference (2017)