Gender Checklist
for Free and Fair Elections
Southern Africa

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SADC-ESN
SADC ELECTION SUPPORT NETWORK
A Guide to Gender Mainstreaming in Elections in SADC Countries

SADC Electoral Support Network

A Gender Checklist for Free and Fair Elections in SADC Countries

Prepared by the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) for the SADC ESN Task Team on Gender and Elections
PREFACE

Elections are an important component of democracy. An election is free and fair when there are no unreasonable or arbitrary limitations imposed on the rights of adult citizens, women and men, in expressing their political will either as electoral candidates or voters. But notions of citizenship and the rights and privileges attached to it, are often gender-neutral or male-dominated.

For citizens in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region it is generally easier for men to be active in political life, and to exercise their political will, than it is for women. This fact has important implications for democracy. One of them is that throughout the SADC region, women remain under-represented. Regionally, about 18.4% of legislative positions and a lower percentage of ministerial positions are held by women. Notably, fewer women hold decision-making positions in election management bodies in SADC.

The checklist for ensuring gender equality in free and fair elections is intended to serve as a mechanism for ensuring that gender equality is taken into account at different stages of an election. If this is done, it is hoped that the political rights to vote and to stand for public office will become a reality for women in the SADC region.

The checklist aims to promote the realisation of the equal representation of women and men in the decision-making processes of member states and SADC structures at all levels, and the achievement of the target of at least 30% women in political and decision-making structures by the year 2005 (SADC Gender and Development Declaration, 1997). The checklist shall be a useful tool for electoral authorities, political parties, election observers, election monitors, gender activists, researchers and others concerned with assessing whether an election is free and fair, taking gender equality into account.

Sincere appreciation is due to Glenda Fick of the Electoral Institute for Southern Africa (EISA) for her significant work in compiling background information on gender and election issues in the Southern African region and composing a draft regional gender checklist, which served as the basis for further inputs from various actors. Appreciation is also expressed to EISA as the secretariat of SADC Electoral Support Network (ESN) for its support of the project. Athalia Molokomme and Christine Warioba of the SADC
Gender Unit should also be recognised for their vital contributions to improve the document.

We would also like to acknowledge the valuable critiques to the document, which were provided at a Regional Roundtable on Gender Mainstreaming in Elections. This working session was organised by Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) on behalf of the SADC ESN in order to bring together a group of resource persons from the region to review the draft document and as a step to enable its operationalisation within relevant structures in the Southern African region.

The TGNP played a leading role in coordinating and guiding the content and process of the development of the checklist, including obtaining input from relevant stakeholders to enhance the document. In this process, the work of several of the staff members of TGNP was critical, most notably Mary Rusimbi, Aggripina Mosha and Miranda Johnson.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) developed this ‘Gender Checklist for Free and Fair Elections in SADC Countries’. The TGNP as the convener of a gender and elections project for the Southern African Development Community Electoral Support Network (SADC ESN) bears the responsibility of promoting the mainstreaming of gender in election-related activities undertaken by network members in the 14 SADC countries.

The premise of SADC ESN’s gender and elections project is the understanding that a necessary ingredient of a free and fair election is the equal exercise of democratic rights. These rights would include the right to vote and the right to stand for public office. This understanding is accompanied by recognition of the fact that women have a difficult time gaining access to positions of political power in the SADC region. The SADC ESN project is aimed at strengthening democracy through mainstreaming gender equality in all electoral processes in SADC by:

- improving the participation of both women and men in the electoral process;
- ensuring the equal participation of women and men in elections as voters and candidates; and
- ensuring that women and men are fully informed of the electoral process and have the necessary support to build their capacities and participate actively.

Developed as part of the SADC ESN project, this regional ‘Gender Checklist for Free and Fair Elections’ aims at providing a series of steps for various actors to take for the purpose of eliminating or avoiding gender inequality in free and fair elections. It targets the following key election stakeholders: regional SADC institutions, national parliaments, independent electoral commissions, other election-related bodies, political parties, civil society organisations, political contestants (particularly women), the media, donor agencies, and the general public. It is envisioned that this regional checklist will provide a basis for adaptation and use at the national level. The checklist is based on various research findings regarding key restraints on gender equality affecting women’s political participation in SADC. These findings are summarised as an overview to the checklist and available in full in a separate report.
Overview of social, cultural and political barriers to women's access to politics and decision-making positions

• **Overall environment in the region:**
  - continuing barriers to democracy: insufficient accountability, transparency and engagement in politics by the general public make it more difficult for disadvantaged groups to gain access to political power; and
  - political instability: civil strife and military control are constraints to women obtaining political office.

• **Electoral systems in the region:**
  - male oriented and chauvinistic nature of elections: they tend to be focused on competition and winning rather than balancing the power relations; and
  - proportional representation (PR) vs 'first past the post' (FPTP) electoral systems: experiences have found that PR systems are often more conducive to women.

• **Political parties:**
  - orientation of political parties: male-domination, patronage and bureaucracy within the parties generally serve to alienate women; and
  - lack of funding, particularly by opposition parties: this particularly disadvantages women candidates.

• **Social/cultural discrimination and disadvantaged social status of women:**
  - stereotypes, attitudes and prejudices against women as leaders within patriarchal systems;
  - internalisation by women of patriarchal system norms and non-recognition of roles that women are playing;
  - women's double burden and limited opportunities;
  - lack of control by women over the means of production, resulting in the poverty/low resource base of women; and
  - low levels of self-confidence, assertiveness, interest in politics, leadership skills and knowledge of campaign techniques/electoral processes, due to inadequate education and training.

• **Institutional barriers:**
  - insufficient gender-positive national constitutions, policies, laws, frameworks, and other election-related bodies and instruments, including lack of domestication of international and regional treaties and agreements related to gender equalities; and
  - insufficient coordinated and continuing support for potential women candidates and for gender-sensitive civic and voter education by civil society organisations and the media.

2. SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

The main findings of the background research conducted include the following:

Notwithstanding the signing of the Gender and Development Declaration by all SADC heads of state and the formal recognition of disparity between women and men in areas which include power sharing and decision making generally, women remain under-represented in political decision-making in the SADC region. Furthermore, few steps have been taken to introduce measures that will bring about the achievement of the target of at least 30% of women in political and decision-making structures by the year 2005, which was a commitment made by the SADC heads of state in the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development. Regionally, about 18.4% of legislative positions and a lower percentage of ministerial positions are held by women.

A number of countries in the SADC region hold elections according to laws that do not guarantee women's electoral success. Also, generally, women are under-represented in electoral management bodies. Furthermore, women are generally denied the full benefits of citizenship due to gender stereotyping and attitudes that are strongly reinforced, socially and culturally. As a consequence, men enjoy greater credibility as political leaders. Men and women vote for men more readily than they vote for women. Women's lack of economic resources also contributes to their absence from the political sphere.

Importantly, voter and civic education programmes should strive to undo gender stereotypes and attitudes held about women and men. Voter education programmes need to place emphasis on gender equality as a crucial democratic value and basic human right. Voters should be informed about why it is necessary to vote for parties and candidates responsive to gender equality. Voter education programmes also need to emphasise why it is necessary for the electorate to hold political parties and government structures accountable to gender equality. An emphasis on gender equality should also be developed and strengthened in ongoing civic education programmes.\(^1\)\(^2\)

The checklist which follows is aimed as serving as a means of ensuring that gender equality is taken into account at all crucial stages of an election.
Key gender concepts

In order to address major gender gaps in electoral processes, it is important for the target groups of this checklist to have a common understanding of key concepts relating to gender in elections.

Gender

Refers to socially constructed and culturally variable roles that women and men play in their daily lives. It refers to a structural relationship of inequality between men and women as manifested in labour markets and in political structures, as well as in the household. It is reinforced by custom, law and specific development policies.¹

Gender equality and equity

*Gender equality* means that there is no discrimination on grounds of a person's sex in the allocation of resources or benefits, or in access to services. Gender equality can be measured in terms of whether there is equality of opportunity, or equality in results.

*Gender equity* is about ensuring that development policies and interventions leave women no worse off economically or in terms of social responsibility than before the intervention. This approach tries to ensure that women have a fair share of the benefits, as well as the responsibilities, of the society, equal treatment before the law, equal access to social provisions, education, equal pay for work of equal value.²

Gender mainstreaming

Paying attention to gender equality in relation to policies, planning processes and institutional practices that set the overall conditions for democracy and development. Mainstreaming involves utilising available resources to correct gender imbalance and ensuring that policies are substantive and implementable in regards to gender issues.

Patriarchy

Patriarchy is a system that is both an ideology and a practice, which is entrenched in the attitudes, culture and values of any given society. It is part of the economic, social and political systems and presents itself in different ways within democracy and capitalism. Patriarchy is based at the household level and the ways in which roles are defined within the family. It extends to different institutions throughout society, including the schools, religion, and the state and laws that are constructed by it.

Women’s empowerment

The process by which women and young girls become aware of structural gender inequalities to which they are subjected and execute actions to obtain equal opportunities and rights.

3. CHECKLIST FOR ENSURING GENDER EQUALITY IN FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

International standards for free and fair elections

One formulation⁵ of the international standards for free and fair elections developed against the background cast by various international instruments recognises, *inter alia*:

- the right of the individual to vote on a non-discriminatory basis in parliamentary elections; and

- limitations on candidature, the creation and activities of political parties and campaign rights should not be applied so as to violate the principle of non-discrimination on grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political opinion, social origin, property, birth or other status (emphasis added).

These standards do not expressly mention non-discrimination on grounds of gender. Non-discrimination on grounds of gender entails a different enquiry to one focused on non-discrimination on grounds of sex. An enquiry into the former would be concerned with addressing economic empowerment of women, education and training, and the political
participation of women. Meena relies on a definition of gender as being:

socially constructed and culturally variable roles that women and men play in their daily lives. It refers to a structural relationship of inequality between men and women as manifested in labour markets and in political structures, as well as in the household. It is reinforced by custom, law and specific development policies.\(^6\)

A gender responsive checklist seeks to introduce gender equality at every stage of an election. The checklist supposes that longstanding and deep-rooted practices of gender discrimination are difficult to address through recognition of formal equality. Formal equality does not take social, economic and other disparities between women and men into account. It is informed by an understanding of citizenship strongly committed to substantive equality or 'equality of result' in relation to gender. Substantive equality requires an examination of the social, economic and political conditions of women and men to determine whether a commitment to gender equality is being-effected. A commitment to the latter form of equality is necessary to address such disparities and the ensuing gender discrimination experienced by many women.

The checklist also recognises that the electoral process is largely the domain of men and that men are accommodated more readily than are women. Although realising that men and women share the same political rights and that they have to work together to eradicate gender imbalances in the electoral environment, the checklist is intended to serve as a mechanism for ensuring that women are not left out the electoral process.

Governments may use the checklist when they formulate electoral policy. It can also be used by parliaments to ensure that gender equality is reflected in electoral laws. Furthermore, it is intended to be used as a guide to achieving gender equality before, during and after an election, by the electoral authorities, political parties, election observers, monitors, gender activists, researchers and others concerned with assessing whether an election is free and fair, taking gender equality into account. Although not intended to be exhaustive, the checklist considers the conditions necessary for guaranteeing the involvement of women in free and fair elections in an environment of gender equality.

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Checklist to guide gender mainstreaming in all election processes

(a) Policy: International, regional, sub-regional and national frameworks for gender equality in elections

SADC countries have committed themselves to various international, regional, sub-regional and national frameworks that promote gender equality in political processes. At the international level, such treaties include the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. At the regional level, such instruments include the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development. At the national level, countries that are signatories have been given the responsibility to domesticate these instruments into national policies and laws.

In this way, it important to ask the following questions regarding the extent to which the country under discussion has agreed to and complied with such international, regional, and sub-regional frameworks that help to ensure access to political office and political rights by women and other marginalised groups:

- □ Has the country signed, ratified, acceded to, or adopted international, regional, sub-regional and national instruments on gender equality? If not, ensure that the country signs, ratifies, accedes, or adopts these instruments as well as adopts a national gender policy instrument.

- □ Have these instruments been put into domestic laws? If not, ensure that these instruments are domesticated into national laws, popularised and made accessible to the general public, implemented and monitored.

- □ Is there an institutionalised mechanism for ensuring that international, regional, and sub-regional instruments that have been signed by each government are domesticated within national policy frameworks?

(b) National constitutions

National constitutions are crucial mechanisms for institutionalising a country's commitment to gender equality in political processes.
within the highest law of the land. According to a SADC report:

There is a strong correlation between the existence of explicit guarantees for gender equality in national constitutions (for example in Tanzania, Mozambique, Namibia, Malawi and South Africa) and progress towards the achievement of gender equality, including in the area of decision making.7

Some Southern African countries have already adopted constitutional provisions guaranteeing women's equality before the law and protections for women to vote; however, very few clearly protect women's political rights. For example, out of all the countries in the SADC region, only Tanzania has incorporated provisions for a legislated quota for women in political office at local and national level into its constitutional framework. Such a provision demonstrates a more long-term and sustainable commitment by the country to reach the 30% target of women in political positions. Overall, the following key questions should be asked to gauge the extent to which the constitution of the SADC country under discussion protects gender equality in political processes:

☐ Have these instruments been incorporated in the national constitution and enforced accordingly? If not, ensure the revision of the national constitution to incorporate equality between women and men in the social, economic and political activities of the country;

☐ Does the national constitution have statements on equality between women and men in matters pertaining to elections: the right to vote, the right to stand for public office, the right to have access to information related to elections and the right to participate in all activities pertaining to elections? There should also be clearly defined mechanisms to ensure that these rights are protected. If not, ensure the revision of the constitution to incorporate specific sections on equality between women and men in political activities;

☐ Is there a conflict between customary law and the national constitutional framework? If so, ensure that the constitution provides that statutory law supersedes customary and religious law in situations where two or more are applicable;

☐ Does the national constitution incorporate a provision mandating affirmative action for women in political and decision-making positions at all levels? If not, ensure such provisions are constitutionally recognised; and

☐ Does the national constitution allow for independent candidates and an independent law commission? If not, ensure that the national constitution allows for independent candidates to contest political office as well as mandating the existence of an independent human rights commission.

(c) Legal framework: Election act/law

With regard to promoting gender equality in political processes, the national election act or law is an important instrument that governs all aspects of the electoral process, including the independent electoral body or structure, political parties, and all other electoral stakeholders and processes. It is therefore critical that every major area of the document is gender responsive. The following questions will guide various actors in the gender analysis and improvement of the respective document:

☐ Does the election act or law that establishes the independent electoral body or structure provide for equality in opportunity between women and men in the selection and appointment of office bearers and decision-makers at all positions within the organisation and at all levels? If not, ensure the amendment of the law to incorporate equality of opportunities in appointments and employment, to policy and decision-making positions within the body or structure and to short-term employment opportunities during pre- and post-election processes;

☐ Does the election act or law provide the right to every woman and man to participate in all activities of the election process? These include the right to vote, to stand for public office, to choose a political party, to access information on registration, campaigning, election procedure, and to freedom of association;

☐ Does the electoral act make provisions for political parties to register a gender positive constitution and manifesto to be eligible for registration as a political party? If not, this requirement should be added to guidelines for registering political parties;
(d) Political parties

Experience has shown that the extent to which political parties are gender sensitive are key determinants of the ability of women and other marginalised groups to become active political actors at decision-making levels. Their commitment to gender equality must constitute more than paying lip-service to 'women's issues'. Political parties must be alert to gender equality and must ensure that they advance the electoral opportunities of women candidates within their governing policies and structures.

The following questions can assist political parties and other actors to scrutinise and enhance the gender sensitivity of parties:

☐ Have the constitution, manifesto, policies and structures of each political party incorporated gender equality and women's empowerment objectives to ensure equal representation and participation of women and men in decision-making at all levels? If not, ensure all political parties incorporate objectives to achieve gender equality into their constitutions;

☐ Do the procedures to select candidates for decision-making positions within the party structures, as well as for the nominations to presidential, parliamentary, provincial and local government positions, allow for gender equality between women and men? Are the party leadership and nomination structures democratic, transparent, gender balanced and gender sensitive? If not, such procedures should ensure that there is equality between women and men candidates and mandate a gender balance within the nominating and decision-making structures within the political parties;

☐ Do the political parties have programmes to ensure an increased number of women in party decision-making structures at all levels and for nomination to parliamentary provincial and local councils so that a minimum target of at least 30% of women in such bodies is achieved? If not, ensure such programmes are put in place and that the party actively supports the election of their women candidates during the campaign process;

☐ Do political parties include commitments to promote gender equality and equity as a priority issue in their manifestos and campaign platforms? If not, the document and agenda should be reviewed to ensure that gender issues are mainstreamed;

☐ Do political parties have awareness-raising, training and capacity building programmes, specifically for women members, aimed at enhancing their capacities and competence? If not, ensure political parties develop such programmes aimed at the political empowerment of women; and

☐ Have the political parties set norms and standards aimed at promoting the position of women and preventing physical, sexual and verbal harassment of women? If not, such norms and standards should be institutionalised in all political parties.

(e) Institutional framework: Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)

The achievement of gender equality within electoral processes depends a great deal on the nature of the institution that administers elections. This structure governs and coordinates all aspects of the electoral process, including voter registration, campaign processes, civic and voter education, and logistics and procedures for voting. In this way, the gender balance and commitment to gender equality of decision-makers within the
national independent electoral commission is very important, as is the inclusion of gender equality provisions within these relevant tasks.

The overall monitoring and evaluation done by the IEC should take into consideration the extent to which the election process was gender sensitive as a determinant for declaring the election to be free and fair.

These questions can assist in guiding such a task:

- What are the decision-making structures of the IEC? Do the selection procedures and appointments of decision makers and other personnel at all levels provide for equal opportunity between women and men? If not, ensure that criteria for selection and appointments contain a clause on equal opportunity between women and men in all appointments and selections;

- Advertisements for the positions should include an equal opportunity phrase and should encourage women to apply; and

- Planned activities coordinated, implemented and/or monitored by the independent electoral commission should take into consideration the following:

Registration of voters:

- ensure that information on registration, dates, timing and registration centres is made public for a minimum of three months and known to all eligible women and men voters in all localities;

- ensure that eligible women and men voters in the locality of the registration station write registration forms in the language that is easily readable and understandable;

- ensure that registration centres will be easily and safely accessible to women and men with physical disabilities, women with children, pregnant women and aged women and men (a maximum of five kilometres distance);

- ensure that time and season for registration takes into consideration the busy work schedule of women and that it will be flexible enough to allow for either early or late times for registration;

- ensure that the person registering voters is acceptable within the local community;

- ensure that there are mechanisms to be followed that ensure the right of illiterate women and men, or those with difficulty in communicating, to register to vote; and

- ensure that the register indicates the sex of the registered voters.

Voter education programmes:

- ensure that the different voter education and training programmes conducted by the IEC, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and civil society groups, government departments, and political parties are gender responsive and target women, men and youth at all levels. These programmes should be conducted on an on-going basis;

- ensure that the IEC conducts an intensive gender-responsive campaign to raise awareness of the voters of the registration and voting procedures, beginning at least one year before the election; and

- ensure that there are mechanisms and indicators to monitor implementation of such activities and that women are among the actors.

Campaign processes:

- ensure that the campaigning rules and regulations are clear, including strategies for the prevention of corruption;

- ensure the right of party members, candidates and voters, particularly women, to security with respect to their lives, safety and property during campaign rallies and throughout the electoral process; and

- ensure frequent and quality coverage of women contestants by...
government and private media, in a manner that is not gender stereotyped.

Procedure for voting:

- on the voting day, ensure that special provisions are made for women and men with physical disabilities, pregnant women and those with children. Aged women and men should spend the shortest time waiting in line to vote;

- ensure that voting centres are close to the majority of people to ensure that the categories mentioned above have easy access to these centres;

- ensure that voting papers are clearly printed and contain clear photographs of the persons to be voted for; and

- ensure that the right to vote in secret is preserved for all citizens regardless of sex.

Institutionalised monitoring and evaluation mechanisms:

- the IEC should ensure that the set targets for gender equality are achieved. Monitoring indicators and mechanisms should be set for each activity pertaining to the election processes as criteria for declaring the elections to be free and fair. Gender and/or women’s activists groups, civil society and the national machineries responsible for gender equality and women’s empowerment should be involved in this process;

- ensure that monitoring is a continuous process that is done prior to elections, during and after; and

- ensure that mechanisms are put in place to ensure that internal and external monitoring reports are synthesised into a summary report that is broadly disseminated for public discussion and action. The recommendations, including those based on gender concerns, should be highlighted for action by relevant authorities.

(7) Roles of other civil society actors

Civil society actors can play a key role as partners in the electoral process through conducting civic and voter education, analysing and advocating for transformation of relevant policies and structures, building capacity of political actors, and monitoring the process and its outcomes. Specifically, the media serves to influence public perceptions of candidates and their parties, as well as the election conduct. NGOs and CBOs can serve the important function of influencing various election-related actors and structures to be gender responsive. In this task, the questions below and the checklist as a whole can be a helpful guide:

The media:

Do the media have a code of conduct that:

- recognises gender equality as an important aspect of democracy and which includes a commitment to report on gender equality in relation to an election;

- includes a commitment to reporting on all women candidates at least as frequently as it reports on men candidates;

- provides for women and men to be accorded equal opportunity to present their campaign messages; and

- recognises gender issues, such as domestic violence and discriminatory customary laws and practices, as important electoral issues?

If not, these issues should be included in a Media Code of Conduct, along with monitoring frameworks.

NGOs and CBOs:

- Have NGOs and CBOs put in place clear mechanisms to influence the government and political parties to adhere to national commitments to fulfil gender equality objectives? If not, they should institute such relevant mechanisms and monitoring structures;
• Have NGOs and CBOs instituted mechanisms to promote national commitments to gender equality within their democratisation and election-related programmes? If not, these organisations should ensure that their programmes are coordinated and implemented in a gender-positive manner and that they have sufficient internal gender capacity to do so;

• Are these organisations sensitive to the need for gender balance of participants in their activities and, at times, the need for conducting programmes specifically targeted for women? If not, steps should be taken to ensure that women are able to participate freely in and benefit from such programmes;

• Do civic education programmes support the right of both women and men to be candidates and political leaders within the democratic process? If not, they should include these concerns within their programmes;

• Do these organisations have training programmes aimed at building the capacity of women candidates, regardless of party affiliation? If not, they should design relevant capacity building sessions in areas such as public speaking, lobbying, use of the media, developing gender-sensitive campaign platforms, fundraising, and others; and

• For gender-focused organisations, do they play the role of supporting the efforts of government, political parties, media and CBOs and NGOs to mainstream gender within their respective institutions? If not, they should develop programmes of action to analyse relevant policy instruments and build gender capacity of key actors working in the area of elections and democratisation.

(f) Donor/development partners

As most election and democratisation processes in Southern Africa remain reliant on external support, the extent to which donor and development partners prioritise gender sensitivity within their support packages and commit sufficient funding for their implementation can influence the process as a whole. The following question is therefore important in this regard:

• are donors and development partners that fund election and democratisation processes including gender-sensitivity as a key variable in their assessments of programmes to support? If not,

donors and development partners should ensure gender is included in their guidelines and becomes a prerequisite for election programme funding and impact monitoring.

4. IMPORTANT REFERENCE SITES

International and regional treaties and conventions

Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
www.unesco.org/most/rr4iccpp.htm

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action
www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/

The African Charter on Human and People’s Rights
www.oau-oua.org

The SADC Declaration on Gender and Development
www.sadc.int

Relevant institutions

Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA)
www.eisa.org.za

Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP)
www.tgnp.co.tz

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)
www.idea.int

SADC Parliamentary Forum
www.sadcCPF.org

SADC Gender Department
www.sadc.int
WORKS CITED


6 Ruth Meena, Gender Research, ibid, 1992.

7 Southern African Development Community (SADC) Gender Unit. ‘Women in Politics and Decision Making in SADC: Beyond 30% in 2005, Report of the proceedings of a conference held in Gaborone, Botswana, 28 March–1 April 1999.’