Beyond Numbers: Women’s Political Leadership in Delivering Democracy and Development in Africa

A high-level dialogue co-hosted by the African Union Commission and the Commonwealth Secretariat

New York, Friday 13 March 2015
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Beyond numbers: Women’s political leadership in delivering democracy and development in Africa
Meeting Summary and Outcomes

Background

The African Union and the Commonwealth Secretariat co-organised a high-level dialogue on the theme of women’s political participation, in the margins of the 59th United Nations Commission on the Status of Women in New York, on Friday 13 March 2015. This dialogue commemorated 20 years of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, as well as the African Union’s theme for 2015 – ‘The Year of Women’s Empowerment and Development towards Agenda 2063.’

Themed “Beyond numbers: Women’s political leadership in delivering democracy and development in Africa,” the dialogue aimed to identify gaps and share strategies to increase the number of women in decision making positions across the governance spectrum, and to improve the impact they make on development and democracy. A detailed meeting report is attached at Annex 1.

The dialogue was attended by 130 participants including speakers of parliament, members of parliament, ministers, senior representatives from election management bodies, media, civil society, and representatives from international and regional organisations across Africa and beyond (see Annex 2 for a profile of participants, and Annex 3 for a copy of the programme).
Highlights of discussions

Participants discussed mechanisms and strategies to advance women’s political participation such as: gender quotas; electoral, legislative and constitutional reforms; the role of political parties; meeting regional and internationally agreed gender targets; retention of women in political leadership; and preparing the pipeline of aspiring young leaders, among others.

An emerging consensus was that women’s participation is not simply about increasing the numbers, but about the ability of this participation to effect meaningful policy change and improve lives. A recurring theme was that a combination of the following five elements is critical in advancing women’s political participation:

- A conducive gender sensitive legal framework
- Gender quotas within the electoral framework
- Political will to achieve inclusive political participation
- More active participation by women in political parties
- The role of Election Management Bodies (EMBs) in catalysing and enforcing gender related legal mechanisms

This high-level dialogue generated significant interest, as evidenced by the turnout. Discussions which were moderated by the Special Envoy for Gender of the African Development Bank, Ms Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, were dynamic and reflected an appetite to translate outcomes into accessible tools and resources for women in politics. The key outcomes of the meeting are captured in the subsequent section.

Meeting outcomes and actions to be taken forward

Creating a network of women (and men) in politics to delve deeper into selected themes

The dialogue convened participants from multidisciplinary backgrounds who discussed a range of mechanisms and shared country experiences. Important issues were raised and good practice shared. However, due to time constraints, as this was a half-day dialogue, most of these issues could not be explored in-depth. There was a demonstrable appetite for continuing this dialogue.

The Commonwealth is exploring the creation of a time-bound virtual network of women in politics. This will provide a platform for further debate on selected thematic issues arising from the New York dialogue as part of a broader knowledge and research activity aimed at developing practical resources for women in politics as well as aspiring young women leaders.
Implementing the gender recommendations of election observation reports: Supporting EMBs, political parties and the legislature to advance inclusive elections

A recurring theme from this conference was the central role EMBs can play in enforcing gender legislation within the electoral framework, where they exist, and in working with political parties and the legislature to enact same where they do not.

The Commonwealth has observed over 130 elections across its membership to date. More than half of these have been in Commonwealth Africa (which constitutes a third of its membership). Most of these consistently highlight gender gaps in elections and make recommendations on advancing women’s political participation where necessary.

Going forward, as the Commonwealth places emphasis on working with countries to implement the recommendations of election observation mission reports, it will pay particular attention to the participation of women in the electoral process. In implementing these gender recommendations in its observation mission reports, the Commonwealth will seek to include politicians and the legislature in this dialogue.

The role of regional and international institutions in promoting women’s political participation

The value regional and international institutions bring in mobilising key actors and focusing attention on this topic was demonstrated by this collaborative dialogue convened by the African Union Commission and the Commonwealth Secretariat.

The AU and the Commonwealth have agreed to continue this specific collaboration and will map out concrete ways of carrying this forward.
Annex 1: Meeting Report

Opening session

Dr Aisha Abdullahi, African Union Commissioner for Political Affairs

The Commissioner stressed the weight the AU gives to this issue, noting that the AU is “gratified that we have co-organised this dialogue together with the Commonwealth Secretariat on a timely and relevant theme.” African Heads have dedicated 2015 as “The Year of Women’s Empowerment and Development towards Africa’s Agenda 2063”. The AU has further declared 2016 “The Year for Human Rights with special Focus on the Rights of Women”. These initiatives highlight the AU’s commitment to this issue.

Dr Abdullahi noted the significant progress Africa has made in women’s political leadership, highlighting the case of Rwanda. She emphasised that “women’s participation is not simply about a certain number of female representatives, but about the ability of this participation to effect meaningful policy change and improve the lives of all women and girls around the continent.” She outlined the AU’s normative framework which carries obligations for member states to ensure women’s full and meaningful participation in democratic governance and development as well as equal representation in decision-making structures of the State. These include: the 2003 Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (the Maputo Declaration); the 2004 Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa; and the 2007 African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance.

She acknowledged the existing gap between norm-setting and effective implementation, and highlighted the obstacles to women’s political participation such as “entrenched patriarchal ideology, attitudes, stereotypes and structural barriers.” Dr Abdullahi proposed the following antidotes among others:

- Visionary and transformative leadership at all levels of leadership in Africa
- Participation, representation and leadership of women in political parties
- Review of electoral systems in place in each African country; she pointed to the evidence that winner-take-all electoral models tend to inhibit gender equality (unless combined with effective gender quotas as in Tanzania), while Proportional Representation models have proved facilitative of gender equality as illustrated by Rwanda, South Africa, Mozambique and Angola
- Women must be represented in higher echelons of the judiciary, otherwise “justice is most likely to be dispensed through gender blind approaches” Women must be represented in other arms of the state, namely the public service at both national and local levels and the security agencies as these institutions play an important role on various governance matters and thus need to mainstream gender equality sufficiently
Women cannot play an effective leadership role in governance if they are absent in formal structures such as civil society, academia, the media and the private sector.

**Dr Josephine Ojiambo, Commonwealth Deputy Secretary-General**

In her recorded message, Dr Ojiambo paid tribute to the AU’s commitment to gender empowerment, and reiterated the Commonwealth’s full support for this. Dr Ojiambo outlined the Commonwealth’s own framework for gender empowerment under the Commonwealth Plan of Action for Gender Equality, and other Commonwealth commitments on gender equality and women’s empowerment.

She urged participants to take stock of the progress made in advancing women’s political participation, and distil successful strategies across Africa and beyond to improve not just the numbers but the quality of the decisions women make when they are in positions of power.

She noted that in spite of the progress made, more remains to be done. For instance although the percentage of women in parliament globally has nearly doubled in the last 20 years, this only translates into 22% of women in parliament today.

Furthermore, twenty years after the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, women’s participation in leadership has only increased by 10%.

She concluded, as the Commissioner did, that a critical mass of women in power is needed to create a society that genuinely works for everyone.

**Mrs Zainab Hawa Bangura, Under-Secretary-General, Special Representative of the UN Secretary General on Sexual Violence in Conflict and former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Health, Sierra Leone**

Mrs Bangura drew from her personal experience as a former Minister of Foreign Affairs, former Minister of Health, a Civil Society leader, and a UN official.

Mrs Bangura shared her past experience recording the testimonies of survivors of wartime violence in Sierra Leone for the Special Court. She outlined the leadership role played by women in building peace such as reuniting communities and ensuring the physical and economic security of their families. She further shared evidence of women’s contribution to democracy and development from her experience in civil society. Despite their role as frontline activists and educators, women remain largely absent from formal political structures and processes, including peace negotiations, she highlighted.

Mrs Bangura underscored the difference women make when they participate in peacebuilding and democratic governance; they tend to redirect attention and resources to human rights, education and justice. She further noted that “when women have a voice in peace talks, the resulting agreement is more inclusive and legitimate. It is also less likely to provide amnesty for crimes of sexual and gender-based violence, as the so-called ‘price of peace’.”
Women’s representation, she pointed out, also advances the rights of children and family-friendly laws and policies, including on health, nutrition, education and social justice. In her view, therefore, “women’s representation in democratic governance is both a right in itself, and a pre-requisite to realising other human rights.” She outlined some of the barriers to women’s political participation and suggested solutions to raise the profile of the Women, Peace and Security/Sexual Violence in Conflict agenda such as dedicating expertise to the advancement of women at the national, regional and international level; examples include the appointment of a Special Representative on Women, Peace and Security by the African Union, and a Special Envoy on Gender by the African Development Bank. She also underscored cross-regional cooperation, through the exchange of best practices and innovations, as critical to meeting gender challenges.

Mrs Bangura gave a flavour of the annual report of the Secretary-General on conflict-related sexual violence compiled by her Office to be presented to the Security Council in April 2015. The Report shows how the current confluence of global crises such as violent extremism affect the security of women and girls. The report notes that opposition to the freedoms and education of women and girls is integral to the ideology of extremist groups, such as ISIL and Boko Haram. “However, women’s empowerment is not yet central to the international community’s response.”

She urged regional organisations to deepen their expertise on these issues in order to develop contextual solutions. She called for boldness in efforts to improve the number of women in power, and the positive impact they are able to make in other women’s lives noting that “the aim is not merely presence, but influence; not merely participation, but transformation.” In her view, the best hope for forging a prosperous, conflict-free future is women’s political leadership and the reform of national institutions to ensure they are gender-balanced, not gender-blind. She urged a partnership with men in power in seeking that balance.

Ahmed Issack Hassan, Chair of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) of Kenya (current Chair of the Steering Committee of the Commonwealth Electoral Network (CEN))

Mr Hassan opened the panel discussions with a comparative analysis of the three main political systems and their impact on women’s participation in politics: First Past the Post (FPTP); Proportional Representations (PR) and Mixed Member Proportional System (MMP). He affirmed the emerging consensus, based on evidence, that the PR and MMP systems are the most conducive to women’s political participation as they provide the flexibility to place more women on party lists.

He noted the importance of countries reviewing their electoral systems and laws to meet gender commitments under AU pronouncements such as the 2003 Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (the Maputo Declaration); the 2004 Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa; and the 2007 African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance. He acknowledged the critical role EMBs can play in making proposals to the legislature to affect these changes, and in enforcing existing gender sensitive electoral laws and obligations. However, he argued that it takes all key stakeholders to make the change; EMBs, the legislature, political parties and women themselves.
Conclusions from the opening session

- Twenty years after the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, women’s participation in leadership has only increased by 10%.
- Africa has made significant progress yet more remains to be done. There is still a gap between the gender targets set by the AU and other regional bodies and their implementation by African countries.
- It is important for countries to review their electoral systems and laws to meet gender commitments under AU pronouncements such as the 2003 Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (the Maputo Declaration); the 2004 Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa; and the 2007 African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance.
- When it comes to elections, the Proportional Representations (PR) and Mixed Member Proportional System (MMP) have been proven to be more conducive to women’s political participation.
- Women’s political leadership makes a difference in the diplomacy space; women make a difference when they participate in peacebuilding and conflict prevention and resolution. Resulting agreements tend to be more inclusive.
- Women’s representation in politics tends to advance rights of children and progress family friendly laws and policies including on health, nutrition, education and social justice.
- It takes all the key stakeholders to increase the number of women in politics – EMBs, political parties and the legislature, among others.
Emerging Themes from the Panel Session

(Panel session chaired by Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, AfDB Special Envoy on Gender)

The electoral framework and election management bodies

There was broad agreement that to deepen women’s political participation, electoral systems and laws must be reviewed. National, regional and continental gender commitments must be reflected in these laws while noting that most of them actually set minimum thresholds. The AU itself has set a good example by advocating and internally practising gender parity within its institutional governance structures.

The PR and MMP systems tend to result in more women in political positions. But this alone is not enough. Other countries shared their own strategies for increasing women candidates and eventually office holders. For instance, Namibia shared its experience during the last elections where the ruling party, SWAPO, put forward a party list based on a ‘zebra style’ of 50/50 gender representation in parliament. [Because there were more male SWAPO MPs than female MPs, SWAPO further put forward plans to expand parliament to remove the risk of male MPs losing their seats as a result of this gender policy].

It is notable that the issue of male counterparts resisting legislative efforts that mandate gender equality due to the risk of losing their seats was one that a significant number of participants raised.

The Chairperson of Elections Cameroon (ELECAM) Dr. Samuel Azu’u FONKAM, shared Cameroon’s experience in increasing women’s political participation which included the production of a gender manual for women during elections. As a result, following the legislative elections held on 30 September 2013, the National Assembly now has 56 women deputies, out of a total 180, i.e. 31.1 per cent. This exceeds the threshold set out in the Beijing Plan of Action and is more than double the number from the previous legislature which only had 25 women deputies out of 180. Cameroon used a mix of advocacy, capacity strengthening, awareness-raising, and political will at the highest level of decision-making, to achieve this result. He concluded however that the best way forward remains the enactment of an enabling legal framework without which nothing is possible in a consistent manner.

The Independent Election Commission of Nigeria (INEC) shared its Gender Policy which was launched in November 2014. The Gender Policy promotes female participation in elective positions and is also aimed at ensuring that INEC’s own policies and operations are gender responsive. INEC also advocated an enabling legislative environment to achieve gender equality that will bridge gaps in political representation in elective positions at all electoral levels.
EMBs were urged to further pursue other strategies including reducing nomination fees for women politicians.

Drawing from the experience of her country, the Bangladesh Speaker of Parliament emphasised that beyond electoral laws, the national legal framework in general must guarantee adequate gender balance across all governance structures.

Key Conclusions

The AU and regional organisations such as SADC have set minimum gender targets that promote inclusive elections. EMBs can play a central role in enforcing gender legislation within the electoral framework, where they exist, and in working with political parties and the legislature to enact same where they do not. All three stakeholders have a role to play in advancing women’s political participation. Beyond electoral laws, national legal frameworks in general must guarantee adequate gender balance across all governance structures.

Role of quotas

There was an overwhelming support for quotas, although there were concerns that women leaders emerging from this process are sometimes not accorded the same ‘respect’ as those from elective positions. Nonetheless, the role of quotas in giving women the ‘leg-up’ in politics or a foot in the door was endorsed.

Algeria shared its experience of using quotas as a result of which 30% of parliamentarians are women. Commissioner Abdullahi encouraged women who have emerged from the quota system to be proud of this. She advised that once appointed through the quota system, women leaders can improve on their performance by identifying and making use of mentors, including male ones. In effect, she stressed that women need quotas to improve their numbers in governance structures. Enabling legislation is also required for countries to implement suitable quota systems.

Within this context, the imperative for introducing quotas in countries where women’s participation is low was discussed. The case of Nigeria was highlighted: in the outgoing parliament of about 360 members, only 24 are women. There was broad agreement that this dismal situation needs to be turned around by Nigerian legislators.

A different take was presented on the issue of increasing numbers through quotas. Women’s own appetite for entering politics was debated. Another point was that policies on quotas, and in fact their implementation in terms of how these quotas are filled are being decided by men. Women need to be part of this conversation, it was emphasised.

Kenya’s experience seemed to prove that women do indeed have the appetite, and can act upon it once the enabling legislation is in place. The Kenyan delegation pointed to an increase in women’s political participation further to changes in the constitution. There are 33% of cabinet ministers are women. However, an emerging obstacle to this positive development is that women in parliament are facing a
'backlash': their reserved seats are being used by some to misinform the electorate that as women are already entitled to some seats they do not need to be elected into power. The meeting was informed that this ‘backlash’ was contributing to a slow-down in the number of women entering parliament. For instance, in the 11th parliament, there has only been a one percent increase.

**Key Conclusions**

Quotas matter when it comes to women’s political participation as they give women a foot in the door. Once in power, women must identify and take advantage of opportunities to improve their leadership skills and their capacity to deliver. Enabling legislation is also required for countries to implement suitable quota systems.

**The roles and responsibilities of political parties**

Political parties operate within a legal framework, and therefore their responsibility to ensure a gender balance when it comes to putting up candidates for elections would be dictated by the relevant laws. This places a heavy responsibility on the legislature. Another reality, as noted by a number of participants, is that political parties in some African countries tend to be quite patriarchal in character and women continue to be side-lined when it comes to elective positions.

Women too were urged to take active roles in politics and to ‘take charge of the leadership of political parties’ as a way of ascending into elective positions. The Special Envoy for Women and Girls, Trinidad and Tobago, underscored that this strategy has enhanced the participation of women in politics in Trinidad.

An obstacle to women’s participation in politics was identified as resources; women often lack the resources to become political players. The resources required to campaign, for instance, put some women off. It was suggested that women in politics need to link up with women in the private sector.

The contrast between women’s relatively higher participation as voters on one hand, and their low participation as candidates, was pointed out, with a call to women electorates to insist on gender balance from political parties.

It was suggested that legislation in this context should apply sticks and carrots. For instance, when it comes to political party financing, parties that receive funds must demonstrate gender accountability. Notably, civil society participants from Swaziland, emphasised that legislation alone would not change attitudes within the political space: the need for greater political will to change the status quo was emphasised.

**Key Conclusions**

Political parties across Africa remain patriarchal in character and women continue to be side-lined when it comes to elective positions. By promulgating gender responsive electoral laws which mandate the inclusion of women in politics, the legislature can help to open up the space for women to participate more widely in political parties and be nominated for elective positions. Women too need to take an active interest in pursuing leadership positions within political parties.
Building the capacity of aspiring leaders and those already in power, to deliver on expectations

Some of the strategies discussed for building the capacity of both aspiring women leaders and those already in politics were as follows:

- Strengthening leadership skills through intra-party training and capacity building programmes.
- Equipping women for public speaking.
- Training women on issues-based campaigning: it was felt that this could give women an edge over men when it comes to campaigning, given that the culture of campaigning in Africa is characterised by personality issues and not policy or ideology.
- Providing mentorships opportunities for women already in politics and those about to enter same: women were urged to identify both female and male mentors. One strategy for retaining the experience and knowledge of women in politics who are no longer in power is to build networks between the two groups for mentorship opportunities.
- The fundamental role of education as a means of empowering girls and preparing them for future leadership roles was emphasised. The Ambassador of Grenada to the UN stressed the importance of political education for girls. Additionally, the Bahamas Ambassador to the UN shared Bahamas’s experience in exposing young women to regional and international political processes and to forums such as the 59th CSW, where a group of young women had formed part of the country’s delegation just to provide them with the exposure.
- There was an emerging consensus that a critical mass of women in leadership roles across the governance spectrum is required to effect changes – for instance pushing through policies and advancing same to legislation and implementation stages.

Key Conclusions

Education of girls is a critical means of empowering them and preparing them for future political leadership roles. Former women politicians, can impart their knowledge to aspiring leaders through mentorships.

Cross cutting themes

- Retention/longevity of women in power: this conversation centred around devising ways of ensuring that women who are no longer in power are still able to make a contribution and in particular, share gender perspectives. It was felt that losing the investment made in such women, especially those brought in through the quota system would be a missed opportunity.
- Women and the Constituency: women MPs need to deepen the relationship with their constituencies and to ensure that they deliver on expectations.
Beyond numbers: Women’s political leadership in delivering democracy and development in Africa

- **Link between economic empowerment of women and their participation in politics** was made, in particular women’s participation as voters. The Uganda Speaker of Parliament pointed out that in a number of communities across Africa, women are the principal home makers and providers – they travel miles to fetch water, firewood etc. These activities often prevent them from taking part in political processes. Providing communities with the basic amenities such as portable water, electricity, goes a long way in empowering women’s economic and political participation.

- The media’s critical role in supporting women in politics was raised but not extensively discussed owing to time constraints.

**Key Conclusions**

Women’s ability to participate actively in politics is linked to their general development and empowerment. As the traditional home makers across a significant number of rural African communities, women are often the most affected by the lack of social amenities such as potable water and electricity. The lack of these fundamental services render their daily chores more burdensome and can prevent them from participating fully and meaningfully in political and social lives.

**Conclusion**

This dialogue flagged solutions to existing and emerging obstacles to women’s full and meaningful participation in politics. It reaffirmed some of the known gender responsive mechanisms and strategies such us the use of quotas, legislative reforms and the importance of political party participation, to name a few. It touched on some of the solutions that empower women in power to make an impact.

The dialogue was meant to tease out issues and provide some initial pointers regarding where the gaps might be. This was achieved. What remains to be done is to dig deeper into how the Commonwealth and the AU can assist their shared members institutionalise and embed best practice in practical ways.

The Commonwealth intends to continue promoting women’s political leadership through advocacy, dialogue, promoting networks to share best practice and experiences, in partnership with the African Union and others, as follows:

- **Creating a network of women (and men) in politics to delve deeper into selected themes**

  The dialogue convened participants from multidisciplinary backgrounds who discussed a range of mechanisms and shared country experiences. Important issues were raised and good practice shared. However, due to time constraints, as this was a half-day dialogue, most of these issues could not be explored in-depth. There was a demonstrable appetite for continuing this dialogue.
The Commonwealth is exploring the creation of a time-bound virtual network of women in politics. This will provide a platform for further debate on selected thematic issues arising from the New York dialogue as part of a broader knowledge and research activity aimed at developing practical resources for women in politics as well aspiring young women leaders.

- **Implementing the gender recommendations of election observation reports:**
  Supporting EMBs, political parties and the legislature to advance inclusive elections

A recurring theme from this conference was the central role EMBs can play in enforcing gender legislation within the electoral framework, where they exist, and in working with political parties and the legislature to promulgate same where they do not.

The Commonwealth has observed over 130 elections across its membership to date. More than half of these have been in Commonwealth Africa (which constitutes a third of its membership). Most of these consistently pick up on gender gaps in elections and make recommendations on advancing women’s political participation where necessary.

Going forward, as the Commonwealth places emphasis on working with countries to implement the recommendations of election observation mission reports, it will pay particular attention to the participation of women in the electoral process. In implementing these gender recommendations in its observation mission reports, the Commonwealth will seek to include politicians and the legislature in this dialogue.

- **The role of regional and international institutions in promoting women’s political participation**

The value regional and international institutions bring in mobilising key actors and focusing attention on this topic was demonstrated by this collaborative dialogue convened by the African Union and the Commonwealth Secretariat.

The AU and the Commonwealth have agreed to continue this specific collaboration and will map out concrete ways of carrying this forward.
Annex 2: Profile of Participants

An estimated 130 participants from across Africa (with limited attendance from Asia, the Caribbean and Europe) attended the meeting. It must be noted that since not all participants’ registration details were legible, the charts below capture only the information that could be gleaned. Therefore the numbers do not correlate to the total number of attendance. However they give a snap shot of the interest on this theme by region and sectors.

Attendance by Continent

- Caribbean 5%
- Europe 1%
- Asia 4%
- Africa 90%

Africa Regional Breakdown

- Central Africa 8%
- West Africa 18%
- Southern Africa 23%
- East Africa 41%
Participants by sector

RO - Regional Organisations/s
GM - Government Ministries (Gender; Social Affairs; Health; Internal Affairs)
CS - Civil Society
DC - Diplomatic Community (High Commissioners/Representatives; UN Organisations)
MP - Members of Parliament
YN - Youth Networks
DB/C - Development Bank/Corporate
EMB - Election Management Bodies
A - Academia
Beyond numbers: Women’s political leadership in delivering democracy and development in Africa

The Africa Union in collaboration with the Commonwealth Secretariat are co-hosting a meeting to commemorate Beijing+20 and AU Agenda 2063, to advance common goals and targets for promoting women in political leadership and decision-making. The priority areas of focus for the joint meeting will include:

- **Reviewing progress**, and assessing challenges with respect to women in decision-making within the context of the Beijing Platform for Action
- **Sharing lessons and strategies** for advancing women’s equitable and effective representation in decision-making in Africa and the Commonwealth
- **Assessing the impact** of women in decision-making on development and democracy across Africa and the Commonwealth
- **Post-2015 Development Agenda**: gender priorities for Africa and the Commonwealth
## Provisional Agenda

**Friday 13th March 2015**

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<td>• Commonwealth Secretariat – Dr Josephine Ojiambo, Deputy Secretary-</td>
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<td><strong>Practical experience of a woman political leader</strong> – Ms Zainab</td>
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<td>UN Secretary General on Sexual Violence in Conflict and former</td>
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<td>• Ahmed Issack Hassan, Chairperson Independent Electoral and</td>
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<td>• Affirmative action policies: Quotas versus the politics of</td>
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