Women's political participation in the Sahel Region

By Elisabeth Sherif April 2013

For the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue

This background document has been commissioned to initiate discussions at the High-level Conference on Women's Leadership in the Sahel countries which took place under the joint sponsorship of the European Union, the Special Envoy of the United Nations Secretary General for the Sahel Region and UN Women on 9 April 2013 in Brussels with technical support from the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.

Information and views mentioned in this document are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official views of the European Union or the United Nations. The European Union institutions, United Nations agencies, and any person acting on their behalf cannot be held accountable for any use which might be made of the information contained therein.

Introduction

The question of the presence of women in public life in general and in particular the political arena is a global challenge which the world continues to face. Several international frameworks have been adopted on this issue (for example the Beijing Declaration of 1995, and the relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council in particular Resolution 1325 (2000) on "women, peace and security" In Africa, the commitments made by regional organizations are notable, in particular by the African Union and ECOWAS for increased participation by women in governance and within the electoral processes. As a follow up of these commitments, some states have also adopted and implemented national action plans concerning women.

The countries in the Sahel, following the example of other African countries, embarked in the early 90s on a process of democratization which gave rise to expectations filled with hope at the political level as well as at the economic and social level. At the political level it was largely perceived as a decisive step towards more popular involvement in the decision-making mechanisms of government.

Sharing these aspirations, many women from the Sahel saw in these democratic dynamics opportunities to increase their representation in the political institutions and to promote their economic empowerment. Political competition and the periodic organization of the elections were seen by the women as opportunities to contribute to political leadership of their country, having participated actively in the resistance against dictatorship and repression. In addition to the possibility of being included in government and parliament they progressively worked for these issues within political parties, participating in electoral campaigns as well as in voting and as candidates.

This study focuses on Burkina Faso, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Chad. These six countries are among those with the lowest human development index rankings: Senegal and Mauritania are at position 154 and 155 respectively while Burkina Faso is at 183, Mali at 182, Chad at 184 and Niger at 186 meaning they are regularly classed among the bottom ten on the UNDP Human Development Index up to 2013, with very poor results on the social indicators in regards to the status of women such as literacy rate, access to the job market, and life expectancy.

Besides this, their democratic governance systems are fragile, and have experienced frequent setbacks. Even where democracy and peace supposedly exist, they can be threatened by extremism spearheaded by radical groups¹.

In view of all these challenges, what efforts are women making to ensure their empowerment? What are the measures being taken at national, regional, and international level in order to maximize what

favourable conditions there are for their promotion in politics?

The process of democratization starts with free and transparent elections, a process which supposes putting in place structures to monitor transparency and proper functioning of the political process such as the constitutional courts, media regulation bodies, electoral commissions, forums for political dialogue, etc. How are women represented in these institutions? How much say do they have?

The objective of this study is to find out the state of affairs, to understand the current dynamics and the numerous challenges arising in order to formulate the necessary recommendations for improving the status of women in Sahel.

Women in democratic institutions

The opening up of the public space has enabled Sahelian women to participate just like the men in the process of selection of the political candidates and in the drafting of constitutional texts before regulating the democratic institutions. But their representation within the government and parliamentary bodies resulting from these processes did not always measure up to their mobilization and expectations.

1. Women in executive and parliamentary organs

The organization of elections at regular intervals has considerably increased the opportunity for training and renewal of government and parliamentary bodies. Also the presence and number of women within these institutions have in the same manner improved in comparison to trends observed in the pre-democratization period, but without actually dealing with the question of their actual visibility and their real weight within these institutions.

2. Gradual increase in number of women ministers and parliamentarians

The entry of women to government bodies goes back to 1958 at Burkina, 1968 in Mali, 1975 in Mauritania, 1987 in Niger, 1978 in Senegal, and 1984 in Chad. The number of women in succeeding governments in these countries has increased slightly from zero to two per cent on average, according to the context, and as high as seven per cent in certain cases.

The presence of women within parliamentary institutions follows a similar trajectory. Since 1958 women have been members of parliament in Burkina Faso. They made their first appearance in 1959 in Mali, in 1962 in Chad, in 1963 in Senegal and in 1989 in Niger, before increasing gradually; from at most one to two per cent, their participation now exceeds the threshold of 10% in all these parliaments, and in Senegal at the end of the 2012 legislative period stood at 43 per cent.

Beyond these dates and numbers, the presence of women within government and parliamentary

institutions mostly raises the further question of what say they have within them, and their capacity to improve the cause of women by the adoption and implementation of measures destined for the improvement of their political and social conditions.

"There were spheres where decisions were taken, and myself, I couldn't get access to those spheres [...] I analysed that. I said, what am I going to do [...] to be able to come up with a decision, follow it up to the point where it is taken or even applied? That is what motivated me to join politics." Like this lady from Burkina Faso who was several times a minister and parliamentarian, many women joined the high spheres of decision-making with the intention of influencing the course of things. Their fervour has however often been constrained by serious and evident discrimination, including the nature of portfolio they are assigned.

3. Persistence of stereotypes in ministerial portfolios and the parliamentary role of women

Women ministers have remained largely confined to ministries with direct or indirect links to the roles and duties traditionally assigned to women, like education, family, youth, promotion of women, health, social affairs, etc. They have not found themselves in technical ministries except as Secretaries of State. The nomination of a woman to the position of Prime Minister in Senegal in 2001 and in Mali in 2011, just like the attribution of the portfolio for foreign affairs to a women in Niger for some ten or so years, are exceptional cases, which however, represent a significant and symbolic advancement.

At parliamentary level, women remain underrepresented in the offices and in presidency of the commissions and parliamentary groups. They are found overwhelmingly in the commissions in charge of social affairs and in very limited numbers in technical commissions of the parliamentary Assembly.

Faced with this situation, women leaders in Sahel are resorting more and more to extragovernmental and parliamentary structures and initiatives, with the aim of increasing the significance and efficiency of their actions. Many among them take part, for example, within the "Réseau des Femmes africaines Ministres et Parlementaires" network for African ministers and parliamentarians (REFAMP), created in 1994. In Mali, members of REFAMP are renowned in the fight against AIDS and they have increased initiatives for social integration of the sick. In Senegal and Burkina, REFAMP advocated strongly for the adoption of the law on the quota for women's representation in politics. In 2009, in Niger, members of this network initiated a joint mission within the framework for the reinforcement of democracy financed by UNDP, to publicize and popularize the need to integrate women in development processes, the importance of educating girls and of family planning, and the law on quotas, etc.

The way women leaders have mobilized through this network is proof that the mere presence of women within these government and parliamentary institutions is not enough in itself and at this stage of the evolution of the political institutions, to efficiently overcome the obstacles to women's representation and their pursuit of their interests in the political process.

Obstacles to women's representation in politics

Obstacles to the political participation of women are socio-cultural, institutional and economic in nature and are already well known. In the last twelve years or so, a considerable number of meetings, workshops, conferences, and for a on these issues have been organized at regional level.. However research still remains very limited in this domain.

1. Socio-cultural obstacles

Sahelian societies are on the whole based on roles divided according to sex which relegate women to the private sphere. From a young age, young girls are trained for household tasks, how to take care of their young brothers and sisters; they are prepared to demonstrate calmness, patience, obedience, home-loving habits, etc. These concepts are not helpful to the cause of women's leadership as they make politics by default an "exclusive preserve" for men.

2. Political and institutional obstacles

Institutional and political obstacles highlight the existing gap between the mushrooming of innovative texts on the promotion of women in politics and their persistent underrepresentation within the political arena.

Proliferation of texts and the persistent under-representation of women

The Sahelian States have adopted various texts which feature the right of women to participate in political matters and to exercise political responsibility in the same capacity as their fellow citizens of the opposite sex. Yet despite an increase in number of such laws and policies, women remain underrepresented in decision making, at national as well as regional level.

Managerial positions, just like places on the electoral lists, are subject to stiff competition and tend to favour those already in power. Women's political aspirations signal a reduction in their chances of keeping or acquiring these coveted positions for male executives and militants of political parties.

Furthermore, given the gendered roles in Sahelian societies, which relegate women to the private sphere, political officials are hesitant to put women up front for fear of losing support from their electorates. Much as they are highly solicited in the process of mobilization and running political meetings, women are rarely taken into consideration when putting in place governing bodies for political parties and in the compiling of electoral lists. Political parties have very few women at the

top (three in Mauritania, one in Senegal and two attempts in Burkina). Only four women have been presidential candidates: Aicha Mint Jeddane in Mauritania in 2003, Sidible Aminata Diallo in Mali in 2007, Mariama Bayart Gamatie in Niger in 2011 and Marieme Wane Ly in Senegal 2012.

Furthermore, the line-up of the governing bodies of the political parties in power reveals the following results: in Senegal, only four women out of 27 members of the Alliance for the republic (*Alliance pour la Republic*) *APR* from which the President Macky Sall hails; in Niger, 31 women out of 178 members of the national executive committee of the *Parti nigérien pour la Démocratie et le Socialisme*, the Nigerian party for Democracy and Socialism of President Mahamadou Issoufou; in Chad, 10 women out of 29 members of the *Mouvement Patriotique du Salut (MPS)* of President Idriss Deby; and in Burkina Faso, 10 women out of 38 members of the national executive committee of the *Congrès pour la Démocratie et le Progrès*, the Congress for Democracy and Progress *(CDP)* of President Blaise Compaore.

The structure of the political game

Moreover the conflicting dimensions of the political game within these countries, tends to clash with the principles which govern the socialization of girls in the societies in Sahel.

Also pressure from women on the power structures within their political parties is not only aimed at equal representation within the political structures; the women are also advocating the introduction of rules for more consensual party politics, which would put the resolution of the socioeconomic problems of communities at the heart of their parties' commitment and political action.

The low representation of women within party organs is not as a result of only these external elements. They also originate from certain female behaviours themselves.

Non-masculine causes for the underrepresentation of women

The internalization of principles which relegate the woman to second place and limit her to the deprived sphere, lead women to perceive political activity as being the favoured domain of men. Some thus end up being disinterested in politics. Others are persuaded that men's predominance in politics is related to their physical and psychological attributes, and so choose to engage themselves in politics while imitating the behaviour of men, further reinforcing a certain gender based stereotyping in political competition and thus discouraging other women from taking part in these activities.

Furthermore the mushrooming of associations and those engaged in the defence of women rights can in some cases weaken the clarity and efficiency of the political and social emancipation messages of Sahelian women. For example, we can note the distance that exists between women

politicians and activists in general, as well as the divergence between leaders of secular women's associations which argue for the adoption of the family code, and women from denominational associations, closely aligned with certain religious circles, who are hostile to its adoption.

On the other hand the socio-economic situation of the Sahelian women tends to limit their political empowerment. The political analyst Janine Mossuz-Lavau, for example, emphasizes that in the case of women from the West, "if in the face of politics women have changed, it is largely because their socio-economic situation has improved, and that they have made massive inroads, relatively diversified and permanent, into the world of work"; whereas in the Sahel, the professional perspectives of women are often compromised by the phenomena of low levels or quality of education of which young girls are frequently victims.

This situation is not favourable for better understanding of the political stakes and the acquisition of social positions facilitating women's integration into the political and economic spheres. One of the arguments against the adoption of the law on quotas was based on the illiteracy and the poor education of women. Moreover, the economic dependence of women does not allow them to freely express or exercise their choice and political commitment. Lack of financial resources, indispensable to support increasingly expensive electoral campaigns, can equally deter many women from engaging in electoral competitions.

Initiatives and best practices for integration of women in the political and decisional process: mobilization of women in political parties

States in the Sahel, as well as regional and international organizations, have worked at promoting women politically. These efforts have translated into the adoption of policies and texts meant to improve women's cause and to increase their mobilization within political parties as well as by increased support to women associations who advocate for the implementation of the commitments in those texts.

For example, the creation of consultation groups by women within their political parties, falls within the dynamics of the fight for an equitable representation of women. In Burkina the <u>la Coalition</u> burkinabé des Droits de la Femme or Coalition for Women's Rights, (CBDF) made up of women from different political parties, also initiated a "gender caucus" of the assembly, targeted plans for gender sensitization and for making their case before almost 85 political parties and the broader population who are in favour of the adoption of measures to promote the presence and visibility of women within political institutions. In Senegal, the council of women, made up of women representing all the political parties joined forces with other women's organizations in the country to lead the fight for the adoption of the law on quotas, making their case to before political leaders,

religious dignitaries and through media campaigns, etc. In Niger women activists from the major political parties met under the coordination of the NGO and Women's Association of Niger, to_carry out actions devised in favour of a larger representation of women. The group for initiatives for advocacy for the participation of women in politics (GI3P $\$) is also made up of women activists from different Mauritanian political parties both from majority as well as those from the opposition.

Supported by international bodies both public and private like the UNDP, UN Women, National Democratic Institute, Care International and other development partners, these women who have tried to transcend their party and social identities for the defence and promotion of women, have contributed to the adoption of laws on quotas for women's representation in Burkina, Mauritania, Niger, and Senegal.

The impact of quotas on parliamentary representation of women

Country	Date of	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Expected
	adoption	demanded	of		of		date for next
	of the	in law	women		women		renewal
	law		before		after		
			adoption		adoption		
Burkina	2009	30%	13	11.71%	20	15.75	2017
Mali	-		15	10.20%			
Mauritania	August	20%	3	3.70%	21	22.11	2013
	2006 ¹						
Niger	2000	10%	1	1.20	15	13.27	2016
Senegal	2010	50%	27	18%	64	42.67	2017
Chad					28	14.89%	2016
	No quota						

The adoption of these quotas favoured the emergence of elite parliamentarians and hundreds of local counsellors. But even accompanied by incentives and punitive conditions, these laws are not enough in themselves to guarantee effective women representation in the political process: appearance on electoral lists is not synonymous with electoral victory. There is always the possibility of moving backwards. In Mauritania the reform of 2011 substituted the 20% places set aside for women on the electoral lists with 20 women on the national list. Yet this change took place at the same time with an increase in the total number of seats from 95 to 146, reducing *de facto* the percentage of the quota reserved for women. The percentages accorded to women in Niger,

7

¹ The Ordinance of 29 August 2006 was amended in October 2011 by President Mohammed Ould Abdel Aziz, substituting the 20% quota for 20 candidates on the national list..

considered as progress some years back having been the first country in Sahel to adopt the law on quotas have proved today to be insufficient: these experiences prompt prudent thinking on the effect of laws on quotas in the long term, and they reinforce the legitimacy of efforts destined to support empowerment from the bottom up through electoral mobilization of women. Other associations or international bodies have also put a lot of effort in building the budgetary capacities of those elected, so that they are able to efficiently take part in debates which govern the definition and financing of the priority areas of public policy.

Women involved in prevention and resolution of crisis linked to political transitions

The delicate nature of the democratic governance in the Sahel is one of the sources of crisis and conflicts witnessed in the sub region. These countries have in fact been involved for the last twenty years or so in contested democratization processes. Some have experienced power changeover (Senegal, Mali, and Niger). Many have had to face political instability sometimes leading to rebellions (Niger, Mali) and or coups (Niger, Mali, Mauritania). All these failures of stability and transition are major obstacles to women's empowerment and women's participation in public life. The development of narco-jihadism has also come to further complicate the status of women and to adversely affect progress made for several years in particular in zones in Mali, which remained under the occupation of such groups between March 2012 and January 2013 (e.g. Gao, Timbuktu, and Kidal).

The Role of Women in the prevention of electoral crisis

The management of electoral processes, periods of political succession and the challenges related to the changeover and management of new teams in power are part of the immediate and common causes of the entire crisis in the region.

In the Sahel several women's initiatives were launched at local, regional and international levels for the prevention of political violence including during the electoral period.

In Senegal, for example, on the day preceding the presidential election in 2012, UN Women supported the setting up of a "Women's Situation Room" to support non violence in the electoral process under the coordination of the NGO Femmes Africa Solidarité with the collaboration of mainly l'Association des Femmes de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (AFAO), the West African women's Association (WAWA) women. This project deployed women leaders in observation missions and to run the "situation room". The activities included training journalists and observers and deploying observers and monitors to the ground. Technical operators, computer experts, statisticians, media professionals, and specialists of the United Nations agencies (UN Women and UNDP) were also mobilized before, during and after the elections to receive, register, classify, and transmit all the information which could disrupt the normal electoral process including possible violence against

women. Members of the "Situation Room" were furthermore in constant contact with the security services and the electoral authorities such as the national independent electoral commission (CENA) in order to alert them of all the incidents noted for their prompt action.

The platform was recognized as a significant contributor to the electoral process as a mechanism for conflict prevention. It earned recognition from the Senegalese authorities and the international community. Members of the platform received a visit from the president of the *Commission électorale nationale autonome* (CENA) national independent electoral commission and the former Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo, the coordinator of the ECOWAS observers. This initiative shows both the possibility as well as the necessity of the constructive involvement of women in the African electoral process. It is an example of good practice to be replicated with a view to ensuring the organization of calm, transparent, elections with accurate results accepted by all.

The presence of women within election administration bodies (electoral commissions) and in constitutional courts is important elements of their participation in the country's public life. Yet analysis shows that they are few or not present within these institutions. There are no women in the constitutional courts in Senegal, Mauritania and Chad. In Niger after March 2013, the court has only one woman among the seven members compared to two before.

In regard to electoral commissions women involvement is at similar levels. There is one woman out of 15 members in Mali, one woman out of 15 members in Burkina Faso, and one woman out of 7 members of the national independent electoral commission (CENI) in Mauritania. In Senegal and Mali, two countries where the Ministry of Territorial Administration is the operating agent of elections, no women seems to occupy a key position in the electoral organization system.

However, despite the low participation by women in constitutional courts, they can play an important and determining role. In 2009, in Niger, the constitutional court then led by a woman, Fatoumata Bazeye, gave a ruling declaring unconstitutional the intention of the then president to extend his term in violation of the provisions of the constitution.

Women were also mobilized as part of the process of installing transitional governments or governments of national unity mainly in Niger, Mauritania or more recently in Mali. Similarly the mobilization of regional and international organizations and the consideration of women in the peace process should be highlighted. In this vein, the 2011 Declaration of Praia for the region of the Sahel is also noteworthy.

Recommendations

At the sociocultural level

- Support media involved in the fight against gender based discrimination and inequality through the dissemination of programmes which promote women and their achievements.
- Introduce analysis of gender issues in school curricula a way of implementing Article 12-1-b and of the **Maputo Protocol**.
- Seek support from development partners, as a follow up to Article 7 of Resolution 1325 of the United Nations Security Council for the development of a programme that would provide additional incentives and assistance to the *communes rurales* (rural districts) which have recorded the highest enrolment and success rates of girls in their school facilities. This will also help these countries to honour their commitment made under Article 12-2-c of the Maputo Protocol and for the member countries of ECOWAS, Article 30-4 of the additional ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance.
- -Increase scholarship initiatives and programmes, specifically, for young girls, and in particular in fields where they are underrepresented.
- Encourage the setting up of institutes and centres for research on gender, just like the <u>laboratoire</u> <u>de recherches sur le genre</u> (Gender Research Centre) at Cheick Anta Diop University in Dakar, in order to contribute to the enhancement and renewal of reflection on themes related to gender.
- -Provide more support to the initiatives to establish databases on women's behaviour in politics and in particular on the extent, motives and trends of their votes in facilitating the development and implementation of targeted policies for their political empowerment.

At the political and institutional levels

- Draw the attention of the decision- makers to the need to take into account the principles of secularism, peaceful co-existence and religious tolerance.
- Encourage the ratification of international conventions relating to the rights of women and the adoption of favourable laws at the national level for socioeconomic and political empowerment of women.
- -Capacity building for people dealing with justice in the area of protection of women's rights and make sure these rights are accessible to women who wish to assert their rights in case of their violation, in accordance with Section 7-1 of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights.

- -Increase awareness campaigns for women on the importance of ensuring equitable representation of women in decision-making and voting bodies.
- -Encourage the setting up of permanent groups within the civil society organisations and women's associations, specifically dedicated to supporting women in the process of voter registration so that as many women as possible who are of voting age can exercise their right to vote.
- -Invite development organisations and partners involved in cooperating with local governments to channel part of their funding to women's groups in villages, sectors and towns and especially to the women's groups living in those areas which record the highest number of women voters.
- -Take measures geared towards: capping electoral expenditure; fighting against vote buying, with a view to enabling candidates to play on a level field promoting the emergence of an informed voting culture based on candidate's programmes and track records rather than their financial resources.
- Encourage the comprehensive use of the gender parity principle among the electoral observation mission members working for regional and international organizations and appoint women to head these high level missions.

Abbreviations and acronyms

WAWA The West African Women's Association

APR Alliance pour la République

CBDF Burkina Women's Rights Coalition.

CDP Congrès pour la Démocratie et le Progrès

ECOWAS Economic Community of West African States

CEDAW Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women

INEC Independent National Electoral Commission

CONGAFEN Coordination des ONG et Association Féminines du Niger

FAS Femmes Africa Solidarité

HDI Human Development Index

MPS Mouvement Patriotique du Salut

NDI National Democratic Institute

IOF International Organization of the Francophonie

UN United Nations

OSIWA Open Society Initiative for West Africa

PNDS Parti nigérien pour la Démocratie et le Socialisme (Niger party for Democracy and Socialism)

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

REFAMP Réseau des Femmes africaines Ministres et Parlementaires (The network of African women

ministers and parliamentarians)

REPSFECO Réseau Paix et Sécurité des Femmes de l'Espace CEDEAO

AU African Union

EU European Union

IPU Inter-Parliamentary Union

UNOWA United Nation's office for West Africa

Bibliography

Alice Tiendrebeogo-Kaboret, Burkina Faso: les obstacles à la participation des femmes au parlement.

Bruno Denoyelle, Des corps en élections. Au rebours des universaux de la citoyenneté : les premiers votes des femmes (1945-1946), Genèses, 31, 1998, pp. 76-98.

Burkina Faso, Document de la politique nationale genre, November 2009.

CEDEAO, Traité révisé de la CEDEAO du 24 juillet 1993.

Celine Lesourd, Femmes mauritaniennes et politique : de la tente vers le puits, l'Année du Maghreb, CNRS éditions. 1997

Conseil de sécurité, Rapport du Secrétaire général sur les femmes et la paix et la sécurité, october 2012.

Conseil de sécurité, Rapport du Secrétaire général sur « Violence sexuelle liée aux conflits, January 2012.

Décret n°2013/212/PRM du 6 mars 2013 portant création, organisation et modalité de fonctionnement de la Commission dialogue et réconciliation.

Hamed SIDIBE, Histoire politique du syndicalisme malien, Paris, Harmattan, 2012, p. 218.

IPU, Les femmes dans les parlements, 2013.

Ismaela Madior Fall, Sénégal : une veille démocratie en mal de réforme, OSIWA, June, 2012.

Joseph KI-ZERBO, Eduquer ou périr: impasses et perspectives africaines, Dakar, UNESCO-UNICEF, AAWARD, 1990.

Le Conseil de sécurité, résolutions sur les femmes, la paix et la sécurité : <u>Résolution 1325</u> (2000) ; Résolution 1820 (2008); Résolution 1888 (2009) ; Résolution 1889, Résolution 1960 (2010).

Lydia Rouamba et Francine Descarries « Les femmes dans le pouvoir exécutif au Burkina Faso (1957-2009) », Recherches féministes, vol 23, n° 1, 2010, p. 110.

NDI/PNUD, Promouvoir le rôle des Femmes pour renforcer les partis politiques, 50 pages.

PNUD, Rapport sur le développement humain, 2013.

République du Niger, politique nationale genre, 2008.

République du Sénégal, Stratégie nationale pour l'égalité et l'équité genre, 2006.

UE, <u>Une stratégie cohérente de l'UE pour le Sahel</u>, May, 2012», EU, Direction générale des politiques externes.

UN Women, Women's participation in Peace Negotiations: connections between presence and influence.

Union Africaine, <u>Protocole à la charte africaine des droits de l'Homme et des peuples relatif aux droits des femmes</u> (July 2003)

UNOWA, Déclaration de Praia sur les élections et la stabilité en Afrique de l'Ouest, en Mai 2011.