

WOMEN'S POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT, REPRESENTATION AND INFLUENCE IN AFRICA

SEPTEMBER 2016



Women's Political Empowerment, Representation and Influence in Africa: A Pilot Study of Women's Leadership in Political Decision-Making

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FOREWORD

We believe that a full and robust democracy depends on the equal participation of women. For 10 years, the Women's Democracy Network (WDN) has brought women activists from around the world together to identify and target barriers to women's political participation, leadership and representation.

One such barrier is a lack of information about the degree to which women are fully represented in government decision-making. Even after overcoming hurdles to assuming elected office, women in government often find themselves marginalized in the day-to-day work of developing legislation, enacting policies, and overseeing budgets. To better understand challenges to gender equality in political representation and influence, WDN embarked on a pilot study to develop a new, quantitative measure to capture women's political leadership beyond the percentage of parliamentary seats or executive positions held by women.

We are pleased to release "Women's Political Empowerment, Representation and Influence in Africa," a report outlining the results of this pilot study, some initial analysis of factors that influence women's full and equal participation in government, and recommendations for improving the availability and quality of data on women's political leadership. This report represents a very initial, but important first step in understanding how to capture the nuanced and often unacknowledged challenges facing women political leaders globally. Nonetheless, we hope that this project will prompt additional research on these issues and their impact on the development of countries throughout the world.

This drew on the methodology and research behind the Women's Leadership Index produced by Marie Claire Vasquez Duran on behalf of the International Republican Institute (IRI) with research assistance from Samantha Durdock. We are grateful for the consultations offered by Professor Melanie Hughes and Professor Phillip Swagel, and would also like to acknowledge the efforts of the following individuals who also provided assistance: Kerri Anderson-Czerkas, Perry Aritua, Matthew Baker, Michelle Bekkering, Fazlin Fransman, Tumukunde Hope Gasatura, Sofia Herrera, Graham Hopwood, Monica Koep, Liz Lewis, Liz Ruedy, Douglas Simpson and Erika Veberyte.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania, Tunisia, Togo, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The Index found that South Africa leads the region's rankings, with the highest percentage of women's leadership and influence over the four indicators, followed by Rwanda, Cabo Verde and Uganda. Sudan, DRC, Zambia, Malawi and Sierra Leone received the lowest Index scores, indicating low leadership and influence of women. The Index also confirmed that for the countries in the pilot sample, women in both the legislature and executive cabinet/ministry level tend to occupy leadership positions in the so-called "soft" ministries related to social development and welfare. Countries studied in the Index that are more democratic tend to perform better on executive influence, while less democratic countries perform better on legislative influence. The Index also validates findings which suggest that the use of certain gender quotas can increase women's political leadership. The Index concludes with suggestions for further research and programming approaches to promote women's political empowerment.

IRI conducted a pilot study of women's political leadership in Africa using quantitative data related to women's role in national government. The resulting Index provides a snapshot of women's representation and leadership in the legislative and executive levels across 29 countries and their influence based on four indicators. Legislative influence is measured with two indicators: the percentage of women represented in the national legislature and the percentage of legislative committees chaired by women. Executive influence is measured by the percentage of women serving as heads of the executive cabinet or ministry, and the percentage of the national budget allocated to ministries led by women. The results provide a more nuanced picture of women's representation and influence and the correlation between women's political representation, leadership and influence.

The Index results are based on the 29 out of 54 countries in Africa for which data for all four indicators was available at the time of data collection. This sample represents 54 percent of the countries, 71 percent of the population and 73 percent of the continent's gross domestic product. The countries are: Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Burundi, Cabo Verde, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi,

UNDERSTANDING THE GENDER GAP IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

“Women’s ability to make an impact in male-dominated institutions will be limited until they are represented in numbers large enough to have a collective voice, until they reach a ‘critical mass’”

(Powley, 2006, p.2).

Despite women comprising half of the world’s population, they continue to be drastically underrepresented in political leadership positions around the world. According to the World Economic Forum’s 2015 Global Gender Gap Index¹, although the world’s population has nearly closed the gender gap in health outcomes and educational attainment between women and men, only 21 percent of the political empowerment gap has been closed. While progress is being achieved, the gains have been slow. In 1955, women made up just three percent of members of parliament worldwide; this number increased to 11.6 percent in 1995.² The last twenty years have seen particular progress, with women’s representation nearly doubling from that in 1995 to nearly 21.8 percent in 2016.³ The trajectory is similar for women ministers in the executive branch. In 1999, women occupied less than nine percent of all ministerial positions in the executive branch; today, women represent 17.2 percent of worldwide ministerial positions.⁴

Research suggests that these gains may be self-reinforcing. Studies have shown a positive correlation between an increase in the number of women in the legislature and an increase in the number of women at the ministerial level.⁵ In addition, research suggests that the greater the percentage of women serving in the legislature, the greater the percentage of women represented in executive committees, ministerial positions, and as heads of government and state.⁶ Lastly, analyses have reported that an increase in women at the ministerial level is linked to an increase in women at the sub-ministerial level, and vice versa.⁷

However, despite these gains, women’s access to public office remains unbalanced with male counterparts, and biases and stigmas against women in politics remain. For example, some have posited that bills sponsored by women are more likely to be scrutinized with hostility and subject to debate than those introduced by men; men dominate policy areas considered more prestigious while women may take leadership on what are considered “social” issues; and women in the legislature find it more difficult to voice their opinions.⁸ Furthermore, in the executive, women are often more likely to occupy the “soft” ministries such as education, health and welfare, rather than the “hard” ministries such as defense, finance and foreign affairs.⁹

1. <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2015/>

2. See Inter-Parliamentary Union report on women in national parliaments.

3. Ibid.

4. See Inter-Parliamentary Union report on women in national parliaments.

5. See Whitford et al. Also see Reynolds, 1999, Mathiason & Dookhony, 2006, and Escobar-Lemmon & Taylor-Robinson, 2006.

6. See O’Brien and Rickne.

7. See Reynolds.

8. See O’Brien and Rickne.

9. See Reynolds. Also see Mathiason & Dookhony, 2006, and Escobar Lemmon & Taylor Robinson, 2005.

Importantly, gender equality can act as a litmus test for the level of inclusivity of a political system. The existence of inequalities related to gender representation within government institutions often hints to further, deeper inequalities beyond gender.¹⁰ Furthermore, women’s increased presence in the legislature contributes to the adoption of social policies that favor women and other marginalized groups.¹¹ The inclusion of women in politics enhances democracies through achieving justice, promoting gender-sensitive policy issues, and making use of women’s resources for the betterment of society.¹²

Unfortunately, the most readily available data on women’s political leadership – the number of women occupying seats in the national legislature, leading executive ministries or serving as heads of state, or the percentage thereof – does not sufficiently capture the complexity of gender equality in politics and fails to represent the full scope of the gender gap. When discussing women’s political leadership, the term representation has often been used simplistically - referring to the number of women in decision-making processes, and thus focusing on their presence. However, when we define representation as “a person or group that speaks or acts for or in support of another person or group,¹³” we shift the concept from focusing on women’s presence to focusing on their actions on behalf of the group they are representing. Thus the term “representation” includes many variations in scale, and in itself does not conclude the influence of women’s political leadership. This range is often described in political theory literature as falling into two separate categories: descriptive and substantive representation. Descriptive representation is the extent to which a representative resembles those being represented and their needs; which may or may not be influenced by gender. Substantive representation, in contrast, is the activity taken on behalf of, in the interest of, as an agent of, and as a substitute for the represented: for example, when issues of priority to women are acted on or given equal weight in the political process.¹⁴

The first step toward supporting a more equitable level of political participation and leadership for women is to understand both descriptive representation – the commonly cited data on number of women parliamentarians – and substantive representation – the ability for women to influence the political process. Collecting and comparing data of this type would then allow for the identification of the complex interplay of factors that facilitate or detract from women’s ability to achieve political empowerment around the world. With such a dataset, the research and policy community will be better placed to determine what factors might enable and constrain gender equality in positions of political leadership, and how. This information can then be used by implementers, governments and donors to promote evidence-based reforms to further overcome the gender gap.

To address this need for data, IRI developed a new metric, the Women’s Leadership Index (WLI or the Index hereafter). The Index is designed to fill the data gap on assessing women’s political leadership and its impact, and will benefit the broader stakeholder community, including implementers and funders, as well as individual countries, to offer interventions to ensuring women are able to fully and equitably participate in national political decision-making.

The Index defines women’s political leadership for the purposes of this study as women occupying decision-making roles in the national legislative body and in minister-level positions within the executive body, and their influence over the national budget. This report tests the Index methodology used and examines the relationship between these indicators, as well as how these indicators interact with the level of democratic development in the country. For example, a larger number of women serving in the legislature has been linked to greater representation of women’s interests, the creation of a female-friendly political culture, more collaboration within politics, and a change in norms to a more favorable environment to female leadership.¹⁵ Studying how women are making an impact at the executive cabinet level is also critical: particularly in parliamentary systems, cabinet ministers play a significant role in setting the legislative

10. See Cornwall and Lynch.

11. See Atchison and Down. Based on study of 18 advanced democracies.

12. See Phillips.

13. Merriam-Webster Dictionary

14. See USAID report, 2014

15. See O’Brien and Ricke

agenda through such activities as introducing new legislation and implementing policies.¹⁶ Moreover, ministers have considerable influence over substantial portions of the national budget.

The Index tracks and compares women's representation in the legislature and executive branch within a single scoring. As a result, the Index identifies and aggregates components that may be more or less equal for each country, and compares countries both at the level of individual indicators, as well as at the overall aggregate measure of the Index. The Index also provides a new way of understanding the comparative differences between different types of representation; descriptive or substantive. The Index includes two indicators of descriptive representation that are often cited: the percentage of women in parliament and the percentage of women who serve in executive branch positions. However, the Index also collects data on two indicators that attempt to capture substantive representation (influence) by measuring the percentage of women who serve as parliamentary chairs and the percentage of the national budget managed by women executives in the cabinet.

16. See Bauer and Tremblay.



METHODOLOGY

The Indicators

The Index examines components of leadership and influence at the legislative and executive levels. At the legislative level, the Index looks at the lower house or unicameral house of the national level legislature; at the executive level, the Index focuses on national-level ministerial positions. Each component is broken down into two indicators that, when combined, measure women’s political leadership and influence within the given branch. It is important to note that additional indicators could contribute to an even more comprehensive assessment; however, at this pilot stage, the number of indicators was purposely limited.

	Indicator	Type	Source	Description
Legislative Leadership and Influence	Percentage of women serving in the lower or unicameral house of the national legislature	Percentage	Inter-Parliamentary Union	Figures correspond to the percentage of seats filled in parliament by women, considering the single house or lower house in a bi-cameral system.
	Percentage of committees or commissions in the legislature chaired by women	Percentage	Official parliamentary websites for each country	Figures correspond to the percentage of committees or commissions chaired by a woman as a percentage of the total number of committees or commissions listed on official websites. Only committees or commissions in the single house or lower house in a bi-cameral system were considered.
Executive Leadership and Influence	Percentage of cabinets/ministries led positions occupied by women in the national executive	Percentage	Official government websites for each country	Figures correspond to the percentage of cabinet/minister positions on the national level filled by women. Presidents, vice presidents and prime ministers are not included in this metric.
	Percentage of national budget allocated to ministries that are led by women	Percentage	Official federal budgets or appropriation acts from each country	Figures correspond to the sum of the resources allocated to the ministries led by women as a percentage of the national budget.

Calculation of the Index

The Index architecture for the pilot study equally weighs each of the four indicators, with each indicator ranked on a 0-100 scale. Further research and feedback from thematic experts and methodologists may lead to different methodologies in future iterations. The calculation for the Index is:

$$\text{Index} = 200 - (\text{PWP} + \text{PCW} + \text{PWE} + \text{BCW})$$

- Index: Women’s Leadership Index
- PWP: Percentage of women serving in the lower or unicameral house of the legislature
- PCW: Percentage of committees/commissions in the legislature chaired by women
- PWE: Percentage of cabinet/minister positions occupied by women
- BCW: Percentage of national budget allocated to the ministries that are led by women



The value for each indicator ranges on a scale of zero to 100. In a country whose legislature and executive were perfectly gender-balanced, each of these indicators would take the value of 50 (i.e., 50 percent of members of parliament are women, 50 percent of the budget is managed by women.) Thus, a value of any given indicator less than 50 would signify an imbalance favoring men over women and a value greater than 50 would signify an imbalance favoring women over men. The possible value range for the sum total is between zero and 400; however, the extremes are not expected, as a value of zero corresponds to a country where there are no women in the legislature or the executive, and a value of 400 corresponds to a country where there are no men in either of these institutions. A perfectly gender balanced country would then have a sum total of 200 (a value of 50 in each one of the four indicators).

To be more intuitive, the final calculation for the Index is based on the deviation of each country's added score from the ideal score of 200 ($\text{Index} = 200 - (\text{PWP} + \text{PCW} + \text{PWE} + \text{BCW})$); the closer to zero, the smaller the overall gender imbalance. In other words, an Index score closer to zero indicates a greater gender balance between the number of positions in the legislature and ministerial/cabinet level occupied by women and men. A negative score would indicate that the aggregate women's influence is larger than that of men, and a positive score would indicate that the aggregate male influence is larger than that of women.

RESULTS

The pilot research focused on 54 countries in Africa, using data from October 2014 – January 2015 for each given indicator/country.¹⁷ The Index results are based on the 29 out of 54 countries for which data for all four indicators was available, representing 54 percent of the countries, 69 percent of the population and 72 percent of the continent's gross domestic product. These countries are: Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Burundi, Cabo Verde, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania, Tunisia, Togo, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Appendix B provides details on which indicators were available for the remaining countries not included in the pilot Index. Two countries were automatically excluded from the Index because of the lack of a functioning parliament at the time of data collection – Central African Republic and Egypt.

Africa is an appropriate region for this pilot for several reasons. First, IRI has extensive experience in Africa due to its decades of democracy and governance programming on the continent. While the Index is based on methodological research, IRI was interested in backing up the empirical evidence gained on this subject through its programs supporting women's political leadership, and strengthening multi-party political systems and legislative institutions throughout Africa. Second, Africa provides a range of case studies on the effectiveness of affirmative action policies, specifically gender quotas, intended to affect gender balance in political decision-making: 34 African countries utilize either a legislated quota (28 countries) or voluntary political party quota (6 countries). However, all but 12 countries have less than 30 percent female representation in parliament. Finally, achievements related to gender equality in Africa are not well known outside of country and regional specialists.¹⁸ Thus, the Index contributes valuable information about women's political leadership in the region and provides a more nuanced picture of the state of this leadership across legislative and executive branches of government.



Figure 2. Mapping of Countries with Full Data Availability

17. Data for Angola, Cote d'Ivoire, Cameroon, Sudan, Zambia, Mozambique, and Togo were collected in a second wave of data collection; the data collected focused on the year 2014 and so is comparable to other countries within the sample.

18. See Bauer.

Country Scores and Ranking

Under the Index, South Africa leads the region with the lowest gender imbalance scores, when assessed over the four indicators. South Africa is followed by Rwanda, Cabo Verde and Uganda. On the other end of the scale, Sudan, DRC, Zambia, Malawi and Sierra Leone showed the largest gender imbalance score. In general, the data shows that women's representation is higher in legislative bodies relative to the executive's ministry/cabinet level; the average score for legislative influence was 53.49 compared to 60.73 for executive influence. This is the case in 20 out of the 29 countries assessed in the Index.

Overall Index Ranking	Country	Female Legislative Representation and Influence	Female Ministerial Representation and Influence	Index
1	South Africa	11.35	5.72	17.1
2	Rwanda	-3.8	48.95	45.2
3	Cabo Verde	64.87	2.2	67.1
4	Uganda	23.63	46.36	70.0
5	Burundi	57.02	16.43	73.5
6	Senegal	11.2	66.01	77.2
7	Mozambique	24.4	64.34	89.0
8	Angola	13.18	76.83	90.0
9	Tanzania	25.1	69.81	94.9
10	Liberia	79.94	17.85	97.8
11	Kenya	66.06	36.49	102.5
12	Namibia	36.86	66.76	103.6
13	Ghana	85.89	18.35	104.2
14	Zimbabwe	27.62	79.25	106.9
15	Madagascar	50.47	61.9	112.4
16	Cameroon	46.67	68.99	115.7
17	Algeria	68.4	56.26	124.7
18	South Sudan	51.27	76.26	127.5
19	Nigeria	84.4	58.93	143.3
20	Botswana	68.78	74.78	143.6
21	Togo	71.31	72.83	144.1
22	Tunisia	60.79	84.87	145.7
23	Morocco	60.84	86.33	147.2
24	Cote D'Ivoire	73.85	76.18	150.0
25	Sierra Leone	76.8	77.79	154.6
26	Malawi	74.23	86	160.2
27	Zambia	89.24	75.03	164.3
28	DRC	75.06	89.54	164.6
29	Sudan	75.71	100	175.7
	<i>Average</i>	<i>53.49</i>	<i>60.73</i>	<i>114.22</i>
	<i>Median</i>	<i>60.84</i>	<i>68.99</i>	<i>112.37</i>

As previously noted, South Africa has the smallest gender imbalance with an Index score of 17.0, placing it at the top of the Index ranking. All four of South Africa's indicators are close to the ideal balance of political leadership and influence being distributed evenly between men and women; that is, each indicator is close to 50, and each component is close to 100. Rwanda, which ranked second on the Index, is an interesting case because the gender imbalance is biased towards women in the legislative component, but favors men in the executive component. After South Africa and Rwanda, Senegal, Uganda and Tanzania contain the highest female influence in the legislature with legislative component scores of 88.8, 76.4, and 74.9, respectively. After South Africa, the following countries comprise the highest influence of women in the executive: Cabo Verde with a ministerial component score of 97.8, Burundi with 86.2, Liberia with 82.2, and Ghana with 81.7. The country with the highest gender imbalance is Sudan with an Index score of 175.7; its ranking is heavily weighted due to the absence of a single women minister in the executive branch. Rounding out the bottom of the list with Sudan is DRC and Zambia with respective scores of 164.6 and 164.3.

Ghana, Liberia, Angola and Zimbabwe are interesting cases to highlight from the Index. Ghana, which ranks thirteenth in the Index, has a very low legislative leadership and influence component (14.1), but a very high ministerial leadership and influence component (81.7); it is this latter score which influences Ghana's median score of 104.2. Liberia, which is ranked tenth, has a similar situation with a relatively low female legislative leadership and influence (20.1) and a high ministerial leadership and influence (82.2), the latter helping reduce the overall gender imbalance. This situation is reversed in Angola, where the legislative component is high (86.8), and the ministerial low (23.2), placing the country in the eighth place; and in Zimbabwe, where the legislative component is high (72.4), and the ministerial low (20.8), placing the country in the fourteenth place.

The following map shows the overall Index scores for each country included in the Index.

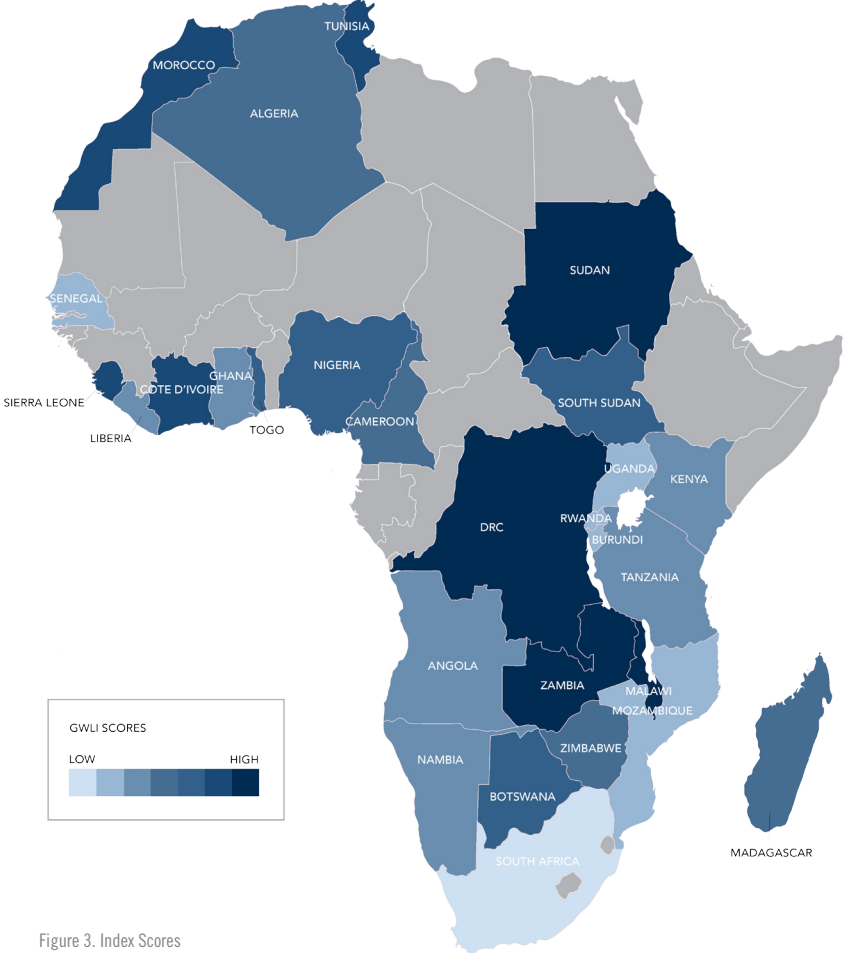


Figure 3. Index Scores

Results by Indicator

Table 3 depicts all indicators for the 29 countries.

Table 3: Indicators by Country ¹⁹				
Country	% Women in Single/ Lower House	% Women Committee Chair- persons in Single/Lower House of Parliament	% Minister Positions Held by Women	% Executive Budget Women Ministers Manage
Algeria	31.6%	0.0%	16.7%	27.0%
Angola	36.8%	50.0%	18.4%	4.77%
Botswana	9.5%	21.7%	23.8%	1.4%
Burundi	30.5%	12.5%	32.0%	51.6%
Cabo Verde	20.8%	14.3%	33.3%	64.5%
Cameroon	31.1%	22.2%	15.6%	15.4%
Cote D'Ivoire	9.4%	16.7%	10.3%	13.5%
DRC	10.6%	14.3%	9.4%	1.1%
Ghana	10.9%	3.2%	23.3%	58.4%
Kenya	19.1%	14.8%	27.3%	36.2%
Liberia	11.0%	9.1%	33.3%	48.9%
Madagascar	20.5%	29.0%	21.2%	16.9%
Malawi	16.7%	9.1%	13.0%	1.0%
Morocco	17.0%	22.2%	12.2%	1.5%
Mozambique	39.2%	36.4%	31.3%	4.4%
Namibia	25.6%	37.5%	14.3%	18.9%
Nigeria	5.6%	10.0%	25.7%	15.4%
Rwanda	63.8%	40.0%	34.3%	16.8%
Senegal	43.3%	45.5%	17.1%	16.9%
Sierra Leone	12.1%	11.1%	6.5%	15.7%
South Africa	40.8%	47.9%	44.7%	49.6%
South Sudan	26.5%	22.2%	20.8%	2.9%
Sudan	24.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Tanzania	36.0%	38.9%	28.6%	1.6%
Togo	17.6%	11.1%	18.4%	8.8%
Tunisia	28.1%	11.1%	7.1%	8.0%
Uganda	35.0%	41.4%	27.8%	25.8%
Zambia	10.8%	0.0%	13.0%	12.0%
Zimbabwe	31.5%	40.9%	10.3%	10.5%
<i>Average</i>	<i>24.7%</i>	<i>21.8%</i>	<i>20.3%</i>	<i>18.9%</i>
<i>Median</i>	<i>24.3%</i>	<i>16.7%</i>	<i>18.4%</i>	<i>15.4%</i>

¹⁹ For additional information on comparative performance of countries not included in the Index, please see Appendix B.

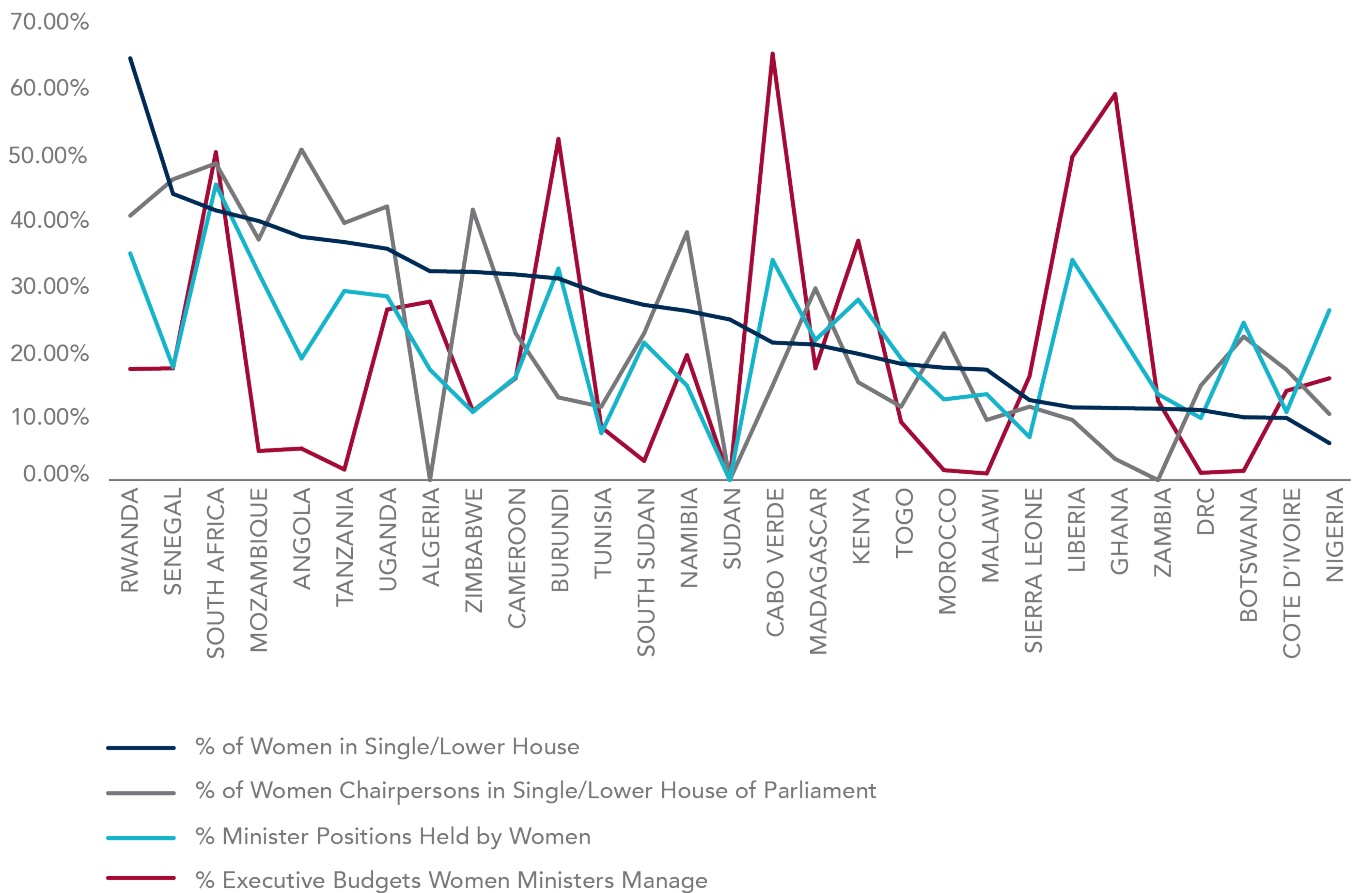


Figure 4. WLI Country Indicator Performance

Indicator 1: Percentage of women serving in the lower or unicameral house of the national legislature

The percentage of women who are members of the single or lower house of the national legislative body ranges from a mere 5.6 percent in Nigeria, to a notable 63.8 percent in Rwanda. The average percentage of female representation in these 29 countries is 24.7 percent. With a median of 24.3 percent, the closest country to the median is Sudan with 24.3 percent.

Indicator 2: Percentage of committees or commissions in the legislature chaired by women

The country with the highest percentage of female committee chairs in a national legislature is Angola with 50.0 percent and South Africa with 47.9 percent, closely followed by Senegal with 45.5 percent; the lowest percentages are in Zambia, Sudan and Algeria where no women chair any legislative committees. The average percentage of female chairs of committees is 21.8 percent. With a median of 16.7 percent, the closest country is Cote D'Ivoire with 16.7 percent.

Indicator 3: Percentage of cabinet/minister positions occupied by women in the national executive branch

The Index reveals that women’s leadership in the executive branch is lower than that in the legislative branch. The average percentage of female ministers in these 29 countries is 20.3 percent, while the median is 18.4 percent. The country with the highest percentage of female ministers is South Africa with 44.7 percent, and the country with the lowest is Sudan with no executive women ministers and Sierra Leone with 6.5 percent. With a median of 18.4 percent, the closest country to the median is Angola with 18.4 percent.

Indicator 4: Percentage of national budget allocated to ministries that are led by women

In addition to the types of ministries women head, the Index provides insight into women’s influence over the national budget. Women manage the highest percentage of the national budget in Cabo Verde, where 64.5 percent of the budget is appropriated to ministries led by women. Cabo Verde is followed by Ghana with 58.4 percent, Burundi with 51.6 percent and South Africa with 49.6 percent. At the opposite extreme are Sudan, Botswana, DRC, Malawi, Morocco and Tanzania, all with less than 1.7 percent of the national budget managed by women ministers. Among the 29 countries in this sample, the average percentage of the budget administered by women is 18.9 percent. With a median of 15.4 percent, the median country is Nigeria with 15.4 percent.

Gender Ratio in General Population

While women are categorized as “half the world’s population,” often the ratio between male and females in an actual population differs from a perfect 50/50 split. In order to explore how sensitive the Index scores and rankings are to the gender ratio within the general population, IRI conducted an analysis to see how the scores and rankings might differ if the weightings are adjusted to take the actual gender population ratio into account. The percentage of women in a country’s total population ranged from a low of 49.1 percent in Nigeria to a high of 52.1 percent in Rwanda. To factor in this population imbalance, we created an optimal gender balance number to calculate the weighted score by taking the percentage of women in the population and multiplying by four. For example, if women only represented 40 percent of the population the new score would be 160 (40 times 4). This then allows a new weighted WLI score to be calculated.²⁰

The Index architecture for the pilot version equally weighs each of the four indicators, with each indicator ranked on a 0-100 scale. The calculation for the Weighted Index is:

$$W_Index = OGB - (PWP + PCW + PWE + BCW)$$

- Where:
- W_Index: Weighted Women’s Leadership Index
 - OGB: Optimal Gender Balance figure by taking the percentage of women in population multiplied by four
 - PWP: Percentage of women serving in the lower or unicameral house of the legislature
 - PCW: Percentage of committees/commissions in the legislature chaired by women
 - PWE: Percentage of cabinet/minister positions occupied by women
 - BCW: Percentage of national budget allocated to the ministries that are led by women

20. The source of the data was the percentage of females in the total population from the World Bank Development Data which was The United Nations Population Division’s World Population Prospects for the year 2014.

The weighted scores and ranks are presented in the table below. Interestingly, there are only minor differences between the weighted WLI and the original WLI, with only 8 out of 29 countries changing ranks. Of these eight countries, only one moves by more than one place: Cote d'Ivoire moves up three places. These changes are also sensitive to the distribution of countries within the sample. The conclusion therefore is that a reweighted Index provides little additional insight to the level of gender leadership or influence in a country. rocco and Tanzania, all with less than 1.7 percent of the national budget managed by women ministers. Among the 29 countries in this sample, the average percentage of the budget administered by women is 18.9 percent. With a median of 15.4 percent, the median country is Nigeria with 15.4 percent.

Table 4: Original and Weighted Index Scores and Ranks						
Country	WLI	WLI Rank	WLI_W	WLI_W Rank	Score Difference	WLI_W Rank Difference
South Africa	17.07	1	20.48	1	-3.41	0
Rwanda	45.15	2	53.73	2	-8.58	0
Cabo Verde	67.07	3	69.78	3	-2.71	0
Uganda	69.99	4	70.09	4	-0.11	0
Burundi	73.45	5	75.86	5	-2.40	0
Senegal	77.21	6	80.93	6	-3.72	0
Mozambique	88.74	7	93.55	8	-4.81	-1
Angola	90.01	8	91.59	7	-1.57	1
Tanzania	94.91	9	96.16	9	-1.25	0
Liberia	97.79	10	96.27	10	1.52	0
Kenya	102.55	11	102.60	11	-0.05	0
Namibia	103.62	12	109.09	13	-5.47	-1
Ghana	104.24	13	105.49	12	-1.25	1
Zimbabwe	106.87	14	109.72	14	-2.85	0
Madagascar	112.37	15	112.99	15	-0.62	0
Cameroon	115.66	16	115.68	16	-0.02	0
Algeria	124.66	17	123.37	17	1.29	0
South Sudan	127.53	18	127.29	18	0.24	0
Nigeria	143.33	19	139.69	19	3.64	0
Botswana	143.56	20	143.70	20	-0.15	0
Togo	144.14	21	146.62	22	-2.48	-1
Tunisia	145.66	22	147.90	23	-2.24	-1
Morocco	147.17	23	149.67	24	-2.50	-1
Cote D'Ivoire	150.03	24	146.44	21	3.59	3
Sierra Leone	154.59	25	156.74	25	-2.15	0
Malawi	160.23	26	160.66	26	-0.43	0
Zambia	164.27	27	164.58	27	-0.31	0
DRC	164.60	28	165.17	28	-0.57	0
Sudan	175.71	29	174.93	29	0.77	0

CONCLUSIONS

To better understand the factors impacting, and impacted by, women's political leadership and influence, IRI analyzed how the data from the four indicators in the pilot study relate to each other and how women's political leadership correlates with other indicators of a country's representativeness and inclusiveness. As discussed earlier, the interconnected and mutually reinforcing relationships between levels of gender equality in legislative and executive branches has been cited within the literature. For example, an increase in the number of women in the legislature has been positively correlated with the increase in the number of women at the ministerial level.²¹ In addition, the greater the percentage of women in the legislature, the more women have seats in executive committees, ministerial positions and as heads of government and state.²² The Index data also led IRI to analyze two additional factors that might affect women's political leadership and influence: the levels of democracy in a country and gender quotas.

More Women in Parliament is Associated with More Women in Parliamentary Leadership Roles

The pilot supports and confirms the literature that claims that increases in the percentage of women in parliament correlate with the higher percentages of women serving as parliamentary committee chairs. Simply put, if a country has more women in parliament, it is also more likely to have more women chairing legislative committees. There are two notable outliers, Algeria and Sudan, who have 31.6 percent and 24.3 percent women in parliament but have no women serving as parliamentary committees. Similarly, while Rwanda performs very well on the percentage of women in parliament with 63.8 percent, it performs less well on the percentage of women serving as parliamentary chairs with 40 percent.

The Index reveals that to accurately gauge the influence of women's leadership in the legislative component, additional indicators need to be included that assess the number of gender-sensitive policies and legislative initiatives championed by women legislators in order to accurately gauge the correlation between the number of women serving in the legislature and substantive representation of women's interests.

More Women in Both the Legislature and Executive tend to Lead on “Soft” Policy Sectors versus “Hard” Policy Sectors

The Index confirmed that for the countries included in this pilot sample, women in both the legislature and executive ministry/cabinet level tend to be placed in leadership positions in the so-called “soft” ministries related to social development and welfare more often than in any other. In general, across the 29 countries, women primarily chair committees pertaining to “soft” policy sectors, such as gender, family, youth, social welfare, education, and health. Women only serve as chairpersons of a committee on “hard” policy sectors such as defense, foreign affairs, or finance in seven of the 29 countries: a woman chairs the committee on defense in Angola, Tanzania and Uganda, the committee on foreign affairs in Angola, Mozambique and Nigeria, the committee on finance in Cabo Verde and the committee for economic development in Togo.

According to the collected research, women head a diverse spread of ministries throughout the executive branch. Despite this, similar to the legislature, the majority of women ministers lead “soft” ministries that typically receive lower levels of funding than so-called “hard” ministries.²³ In 20 out of the 29 countries analyzed for the pilot Index, women head ministries of social development, welfare, or ministries related to gender, children, women, and family. It is

21. See Whitford et al. Also see Reynolds, 1999, Mathiason & Dookhony, 2006, and Escobar-Lemmon & Taylor-Robinson, 2006.

22. See O'Brien and Rickne.

23. This is in line with the academic literature, see above references to the data collected under this Index.

important to note that in some countries, the ministry of family and ministry for women’s affairs are separate, while in other countries there is one ministry for family, women and youth. For the purpose of comparability, the pilot Index organizes these ministries into one category of social development and welfare. These are followed by ministries of education, which were headed by women in 11 of the 29 countries: ministries related to trade, industry, commerce, crafts and tourism are led by female ministers in 13; planning, transportation, public works, environment, water, energy and mining in 12; housing, human settlements and urban planning in eight. In total, women serve as minister of defense, finance, and foreign affairs only in seven of the 29 countries. Women head ministries of foreign affairs in five of these countries, ministers of defense in three, and ministers of finance in two.

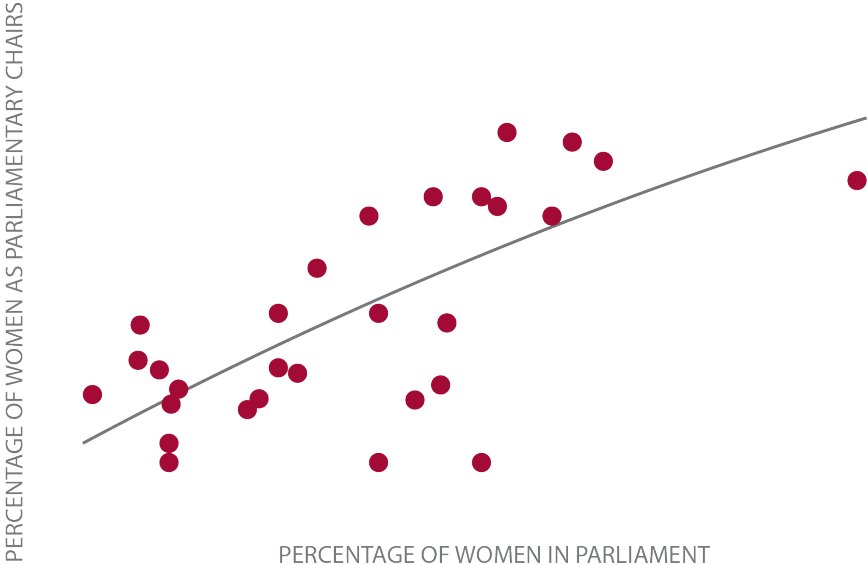


Figure 5. Scatter plot of the percentage of women in parliament and the percentage of women serving as parliamentary committee chairs

Women Ministers and Women’s Influence over National Budgets

The Index found that there is a positive correlation between the level of women in executive office and the percentage of the national budget managed by women ministers. However, assessing the influence of women managing more money when they are in executive positions is more complex. The Index reveals that to accurately gauge the influence of women in the executive, additional indicators could be included to determine links between the number of women overseeing national budgets and the effects of public programs and spending.

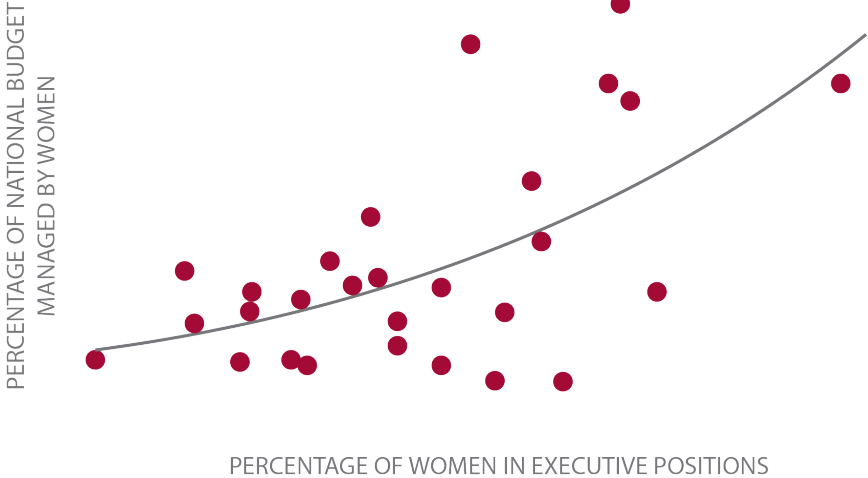


Figure 6. Scatter plot of the percentage of women in executive positions and the percentage of the national budget managed by women ministers

Democracy and Women's Political Leadership

Democratic political systems can potentially provide benefits to women regarding their ability to fully participate and engage in the political process by allowing greater transparency on areas such as candidate selection. However, some research suggests that being a democracy does not automatically confer an improvement in the percentage of women in political leadership roles, indeed it can reduce the level of women's representation in parliament, although the type of electoral system appears to play a role.²⁴ Dividing the pilot study in accordance with the level of democracy in each country provides a way to analyze the correlation between women's political leadership and the country's political system. When we assess the data collected under the Index on all four indicators based on a country's polity score,²⁵ we observe that countries with the lowest level of democracy tend to have the highest levels of women in parliament with an average of 32.7 percent. In contrast, countries that have medium and high levels of democracy have 19.2 percent and 21.4 percent respectively.

Democracy	Number of Countries	Average of POLITY	Average of WLI	Avg. Percentage of Women in Parliament
Low	8	-2.36	110	32.7%
Medium	7	3.17	136	19.2%
High	14	7.29	109	21.4%
<i>Average</i>		<i>3.59</i>	<i>114</i>	<i>24.2</i>

Despite the legislative findings, countries that are more democratic exhibit higher levels of women's representation in executive leadership positions. For example, the average score for low democratic countries is 28.7 for ministerial representation and influence, but 60.9 for legislative representation and influence. In contrast, high democracy countries have an average score of 50.7 for ministerial influence but only an average score of 40.5 for legislative influence. This suggests that less democratic systems may require assistance focused on breaking through the 'glass ceiling' of executive leadership.

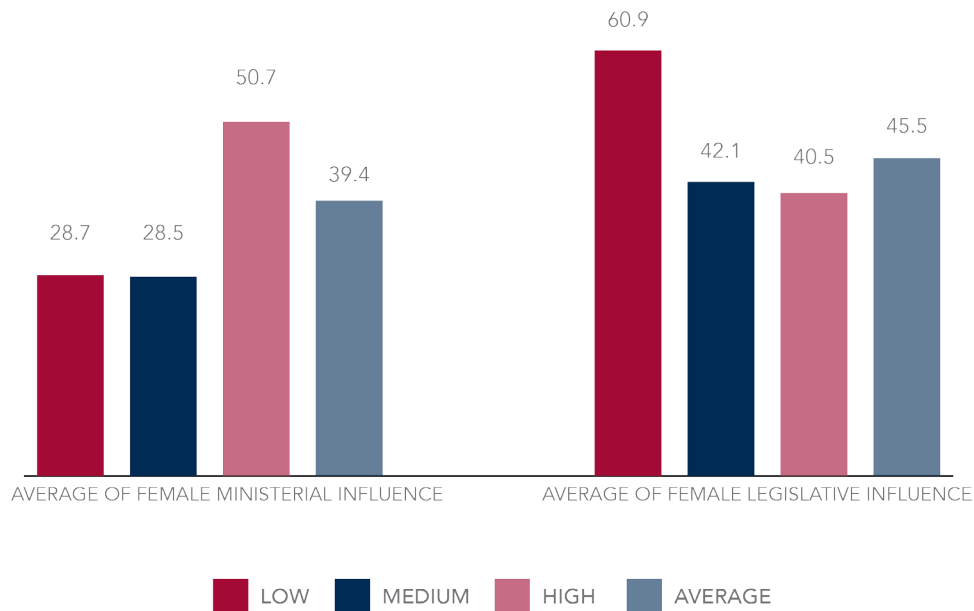


Figure 9. Bar chart of the average executive and legislative influence scores shown by level of democracy.

24. See Yoon, 2001.

25. Polity indicator was taken from Marshall, Monty G., Keith Jaggers & Ted Robert Gurr. 2011. Polity IV Project: Dataset Users' Manual. Arlington: Polity IV Project for the year 2014. Each country receives a POLITY score that ranges from +10 (strongly democratic) to -10 (strongly autocratic). This provides a rough approximation of the level of democratic development. Each country was split into three categories by recoding the Polity Score into three categories: Low are countries with scores from -10 to -1, 0-5 were classified as medium and 6-10 were classified as high democratic countries.

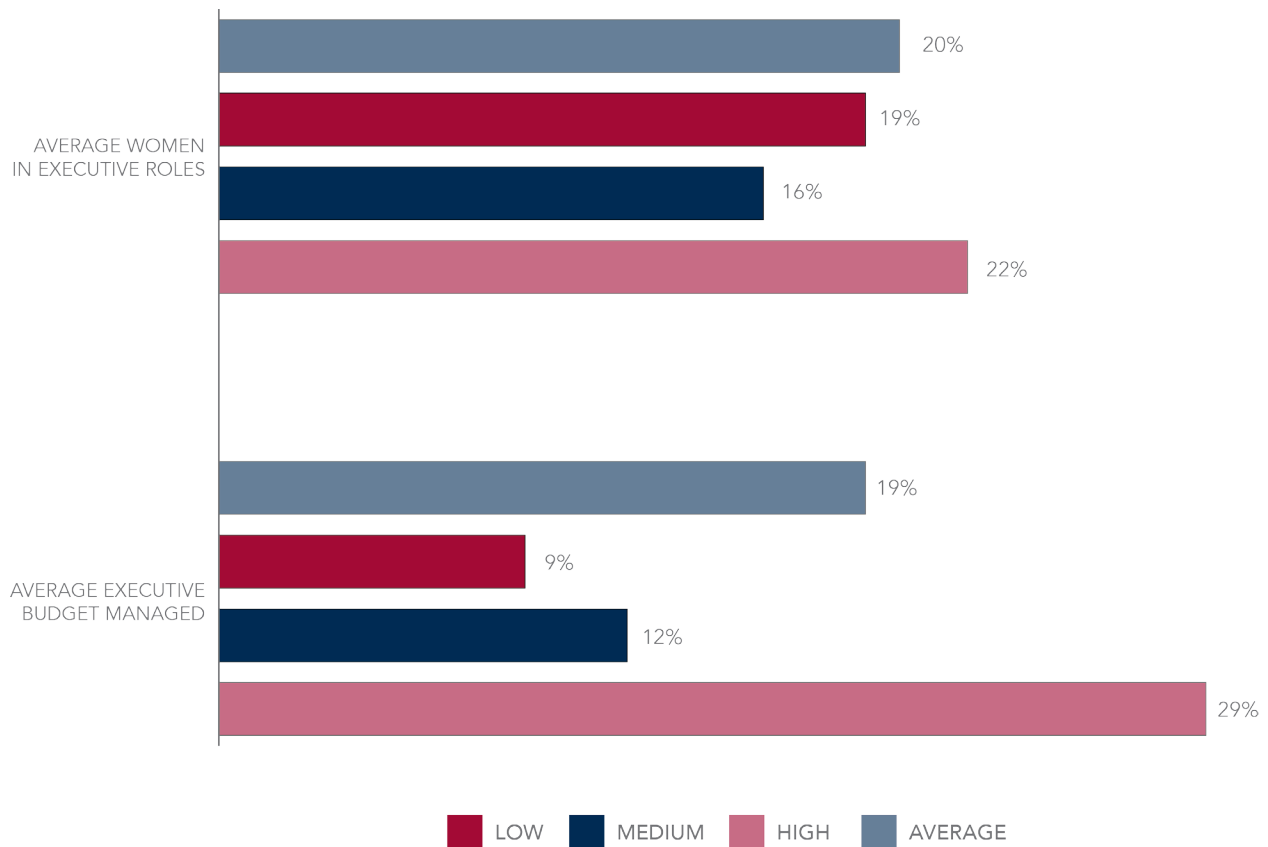


Figure 10. Bar chart of the average percentages of women in executive positions and the percentage of the national budget managed by women ministers shown by level of democracy.

There also appears to be a positive correlation between the level of democracy in a country and the amount of the national budget managed by women: the percentage of the national budget managed by women is related to not just the percentage of women leading ministries in the executive branch, but also whether the country is a democracy. If a country is more democratic, the amount of the national budget managed by women also increases, even when controlling for country income.

In order to explore this further, we conducted an additional weighting exercise to create an Index adjusted for political type to see how the Index scores would be impacted by a measurement of the level of democracy.

$$PA_Index = Std_WLI + Std_Polity$$

Where:

- PA_Index: Polity Adjusted Women's Leadership Index
- Std_WLI: Standardized WLI score – see above for calculation
- Std_Polity: Standardized Polity Score²⁶

In order to create the PA_Index score we standardized both the original WLI score for each country and the polity score for each country.²⁷ The standardized scores for both indicators were calculated by subtracting the mean of the scores from the country score and dividing it by the standard deviation of the total scores for each indicator. The

26. Polity indicator was taken from Marshall, Monty G., Keith Jagers & Ted Robert Gurr. 2011. Polity IV Project: Dataset Users' Manual. Arlington: Polity IV Project for the year 2014.

27. Standardization is the process by which similar data received in various formats is transformed to a common format that enhances the comparison process.

standardized scores for the WLI and Polity are added together, which gives each score equal weighting. The scores for the PA_Index differ markedly given the new weighting. Only two countries retained the same ranking, with 27 countries moving from 1 to 12 places in ranking with an average change of 5 places. The PA_Index is led by South Africa with Sudan ranking the lowest. The countries which dropped the most in the rankings when adjusting for the level of democracy are Rwanda, Uganda, Tanzania, Angola and Cameroon while the countries which gained the most in the rankings are Sierra Leone, Botswana, Ghana and Zambia. Many of these gains are due to the closer distribution of the scores due to the process of standardization. This can be seen in Table 4 that shows the PA_Index rankings are sensitive to small changes in scores.

Table 6: Original and Polity Adjusted Index Ranks (listed by Polity Adjusted Index)					
Country	WLI Rank	Standardized Score	Standardized Polity Score	Polity Adjusted Index Rank	Polity Rank Difference
South Africa	1	2.49	3.71	1	0
Cabo Verde	3	1.21	2.65	2	1
Senegal	6	0.95	1.72	3	3
Burundi	5	1.05	1.59	4	1
Kenya	11	0.30	1.52	5	6
Ghana	13	0.26	1.25	6	7
Liberia	10	0.42	0.96	7	3
Namibia	12	0.27	0.81	8	4
Mozambique	7	0.65	0.75	9	-2
Madagascar	15	0.05	0.59	10	5
Rwanda	2	1.77	0.29	11	-9
Zimbabwe	14	0.19	0.28	12	2
Botswana	20	-0.75	0.24	13	7
Uganda	4	1.13	0.10	14	-10
Tunisia	22	-0.81	-0.04	15	7
Sierra Leone	25	-1.04	-0.27	16	9
Zambia	27	-1.28	-0.52	17	10
Tanzania	9	0.50	-0.54	18	-9
Algeria	17	-0.27	-0.62	19	-2
Angola	8	0.62	-0.64	20	-12
Malawi	26	-1.18	-0.64	21	5
Nigeria	19	-0.75	-0.65	22	-3
Cote D'Ivoire	24	-0.92	-0.83	23	1
DRC	28	-1.29	-0.97	24	4
South Sudan	18	-0.34	-1.15	25	-7
Cameroon	16	-0.04	-1.74	26	-10
Togo	21	-0.77	-2.02	27	-6
Morocco	23	-0.85	-2.55	28	-5
Sudan	29	-1.58	-3.28	29	0

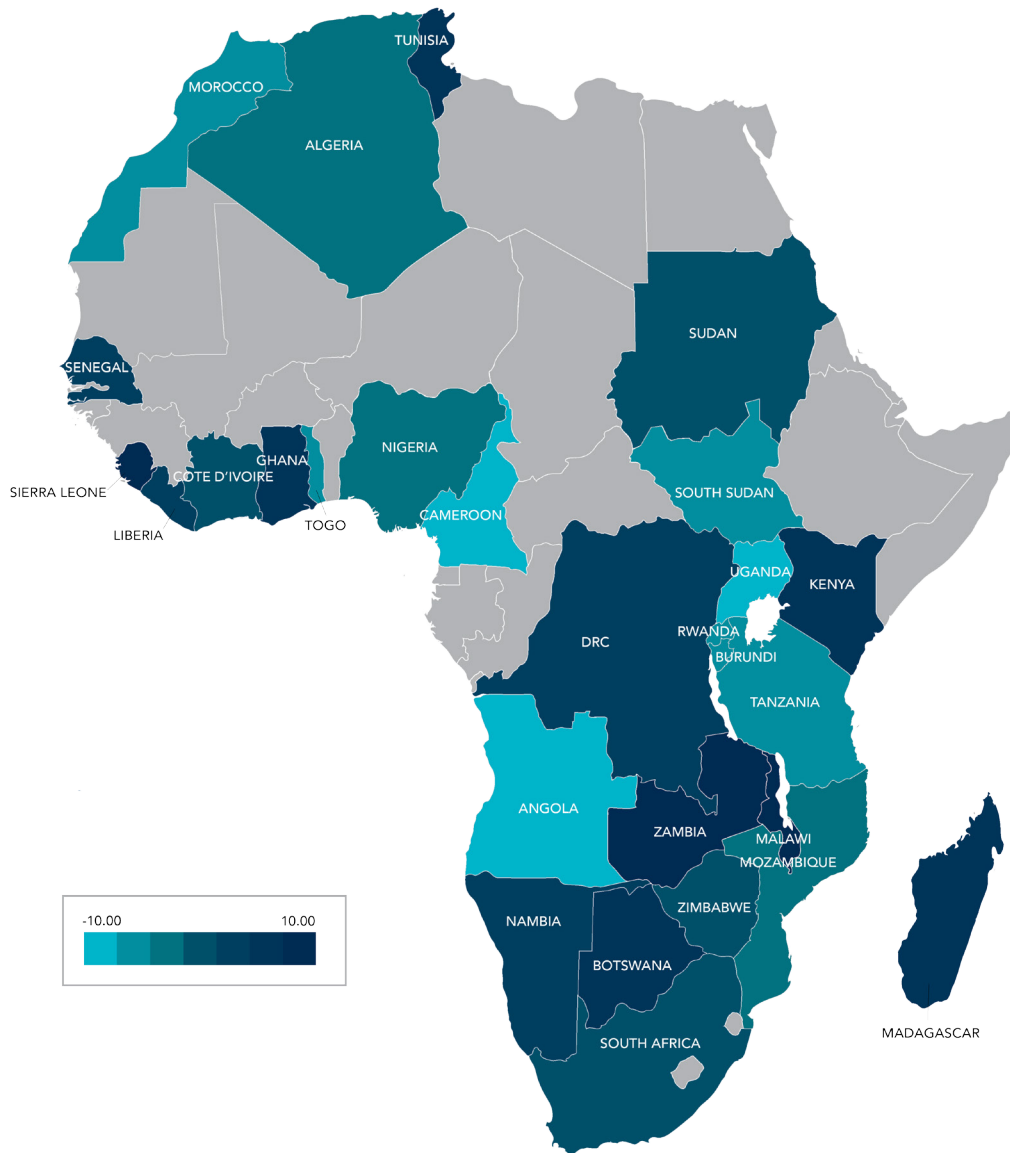


Figure 12. Differences between Polity Adjusted WLI and Original WLI. Yellow implies that the ranking went down when democracy was taken into account while blue indicates that the rank increased when the level of democracy was taken into account.

Legislative Quotas and Women's Political Leadership

The rise of gender quotas has been cited as affording increased opportunities for women's political leadership, specifically in the legislature; however, it is the subject of much debate and remains largely misunderstood. First, it is important to note that there are several types of gender quotas. The Global Database of Quotas for Women, compiled by the International IDEA, Inter-Parliamentary Union and Stockholm University, refers to three types²⁸:

- **Voluntary Political Party Quota:** These are rules or targets set by political parties to include a certain percentage of women as election candidates. This does not include quotas for internal party structures.
- **Legislated Candidate Quotas:** This quota provision reserves a number of places on electoral lists for female candidates.
- **Reserved seats:** Reserves a number of seats in a legislated assembly for women.

28. Dahlerup, D., Hilal, Z., Kalandadze, N., & Kandawasvika-Nhundu, R. A. (2013). Atlas of Electoral Gender Quotas. International IDEA Inter-Parliamentary Union Stockholm University.

Each of the three quotas will affect women’s gains in political leadership at varying levels and over varying lengths of time. Secondly, it is important to understand how each quota is mandated; for instance, whether the quota is provided for in a country’s Constitution, regulated by the national legislation overseeing electoral laws or simply a voluntary option for political parties when compiling candidate lists. These factors greatly determine the quota’s influence on increasing women’s political leadership.

The Index validates findings²⁹ which suggest that the use of certain gender quotas can increase women’s political leadership. The pilot study contains 21 countries with legislative quotas of varying different types for women and eight without any form of quota. Those countries with a quota have significantly higher percentage of women in parliament, 27.5 percent compared to 17.2 percent for those countries without a quota.

However, these legislative gains are not uniform when compared to the study’s other indicators. For example, the percentage of the national budget managed by women ministers is lower for countries with legislative quotas: an average of 29.5 percent for countries without a reserved seats quota, and only 14.9 percent for those with a reserved seats quota. In addition, the level of democracy also appears to be linked to the presence of a reserved seats quota. For example, the average overall Polity score that measures the level of democracy of countries without a reserved seats quota is higher at 6.63 compared to a lower 2.43 score for those with a reserved seats quota.

More research to investigate whether these findings are similar to regions outside of Africa could help illuminate the potential role, if any, quotas play in women’s leadership and influence.

Table 7: Average Performance of Pilot Countries by Legislative Quota

Women Quota	Number of Countries	Avg. Percentage of Women in Parliament	Avg. Percentage of Women serve as Parliamentary Chairs	Avg. Percentage of women who serve in executive office	Avg. Percentage of national budget managed by women
Not Present	8	17.2%	18.5%	22.8%	29.5%
Present	21	27.5%	23.1%	19.4%	14.9%

29. See Rosen, 2013.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND INFLUENCE

More Data is Needed

In order to accurately assess the levels of women's political leadership a study must be done to determine the number or percentage of women occupying seats in the national legislature, leading executive ministries, or serving as heads of state. However, this data alone can be misleading unless the impact of women's political leadership is also assessed. IRI's pilot Index examines components of influence at the legislative and executive levels broken down into four indicators that, when combined, measure the influence of women's political leadership. IRI also recognizes that the Index can be strengthened by additional indicators and weighting. However, much of this data is currently not readily available.

Consider the Barriers

To increase the number of women in political leadership positions, it is important to assess the unique barriers that contribute to the gender gap in this sphere. IRI's women's empowerment programming has evidenced a myriad of barriers including, but not limited to: entrenched cultural or societal definitions of leadership which favors male leaders in the public realm; lack of confidence; lack of support systems; the prevalence of corruption or "money politics" in campaigns; harassment and the threat of physical or sexual violence; as well as male dominated political parties which limit women's entry points on candidate lists or to party leadership positions. The barriers will be unique to each country, but understanding the barriers and capturing them through research would provide a better blueprint from which to design women's capacity programming.

Support – and Measurement – of Women's Political Leadership Must Be Holistic

Programming designed to increase women's political leadership historically has focused on the election cycle; supporting women candidates in their endeavors to get elected to office. However, IRI recognizes that effective empowerment programs represent the natural progression in women's political empowerment: first, educating women on the importance of political participation and providing entry points for this participation; second, training women seeking elected office on how to run issue-based campaigns which reflect the concerns of voters while building their networks of support; and third, ensuring women elected to office have the skills they need to make an impact. Programming under the first tier is critical to laying the groundwork to inspire women's engagement in public life and politics, ensuring the following theory of change: if women have improved skills and knowledge on how to participate in the public and political sphere, as well as opportunities in their communities and countries to practice these skills, then they will be encouraged to participate in public life. Programming under the second tier supports women who have made the decision to take their political activism to the next level by pursuing leadership positions and is based on the following theory of change: if women have the skills and confidence to serve in leadership positions, and are encouraged and have support to run for office by their party leadership and peers, they will actively pursue leadership positions. Programming under the third tier recognizes that women who have reached positions of leadership often need the most support to ensure their representation is substantive, and is based on the following theory of change: If women develop the support structures and skills to effectively fulfill their roles, they will be better positioned to positively impact their constituents, and thus change public perceptions of women as leaders. IRI's future research efforts will focus on building the body of evidence for these theories.

Focus on Support Networks

An underlying theme of IRI's women's empowerment programming focuses on coalition building, recognizing that true gender equality will only be obtainable when supported across a country's sectoral and societal landscape. Data on women's political inclusion should thus be contextualized with data on inclusion and equality in other sectors. IRI programs identify multi-partisan, multi-sector stakeholders committed not only to democratic development but also gender equality more generally to build networks of support for key initiatives necessary to eliminating the social, economic and other barriers that impede women from achieving gender equality.

Gender Mainstreaming and Gender-Sensitive Programming Are Complementary

Effective women political empowerment programs recognize the importance of coupling gender mainstreaming with gender-sensitive programming; ensuring that women are beneficiaries, participants and partners in all of its programs and activities while also conducting programming that focuses on women as the key program beneficiary. Similarly, data and research on women's political participation should not be limited to women, but also on wider societal trends that influence their participation.



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APPENDIX A: TECHNICAL NOTES FOR THE INDEX INDICATORS

1) *Percentage of women serving in the lower or unicameral house of the legislature*

The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) provides a list of the percentage of women within the single or lower house of parliament for every country included in the Index. IRI utilized IPU data as of December 1, 2014 which was based on information provided by the national parliaments. The percentage was calculated by dividing the number of women parliamentarians by the total number of members of parliament in the single or lower house.

2) *Percentage of committees/commissions in the legislature chaired by women*

Lists of all of the parliamentary committees and their chairpersons in the single or lower house of parliament were taken from the official parliament website for each country. When this information was not found on the official websites, information was collected from individuals within countries who have direct access to the national parliaments. The percentage was calculated by dividing the number of parliamentary committees chaired by women by the total number of parliamentary committees in the single or lower house.

3) *Percentage of cabinet/minister positions occupied by women*

Minister positions for every country included in the Index were taken from the official government websites for each country for the period of October through December 2014. The percentage of minister positions held by women was calculated by dividing the number of minister positions held by women by the number of total minister positions within the executive. This calculation excluded the positions of monarch, president, vice president and prime minister.

4) *Percentage of national budget allocated to ministries that are led by women*

National budget information for 2014 was collected from either an official national budget report or a country's appropriations act. This information was taken from either a country's government website or provided by the individuals within the country with access to this information. When countries split their fiscal year budget between years, the 2013-2014 fiscal year was used.

The calculation was determined using three steps. First, the total amount of the national budget that went to each ministry was determined. When a budget document specified individual programs rather than the ministry, the allocated amount of the budget that went to that program was included in the total allocated budget for the ministry that program was housed under. Second, the ministries headed by a female were identified using the list of female ministers provided for each country by the official government website for each country. Finally, the percentage was calculated by dividing the sum of the budget allocated to each ministry led by a female minister by the total national budget allocated to the executive branch. Allocations to the legislature and interest payments were excluded from this calculation when specified in the budget.

APPENDIX B: ADDITIONAL DATA

The following two tables present data used for above calculations and data available for those African countries which were not included in the pilot sample because of missing data for at least one indicator.

Table 6 depicts indicators included in the calculation of the weighted and polity adjusted Indices. The polity score ranges from -10 to +10 depending on how autocratic and democratic the country with -10 being the most autocratic and +10 being the most democratic. Countries in the pilot study varied from -4 for Cameroon, Morocco and Sudan to Cabo Verde and South Africa with scores of 9 and 10. The average polity score in the sample was 3.6 on a scale from -10 to +10. Countries in the pilot study ranged from 49.1 percent of women in the total population for Cote D'Ivoire and Nigeria to 52.1 percent for Rwanda. The average across all countries included in the Index was 50.3 percent. Table 7 depicts available Index indicator data for countries not included in the Index. In total, both of these separate data collection limitations prevented the calculation of the legislative influence component for 18 countries. Furthermore, the ministerial influence component could only be calculated for one country with partial data: Swaziland. This left 22 countries without sufficient data for an Index calculation. This was primarily due to difficulty in finding reliable and publicly available information on executive budgets for countries broken down by ministry allocations.

Despite the above data limitations, from the indicators and components shown in Table 6, there are a handful of cases that are interesting to highlight. For example, Angola and Mozambique have legislative leadership and influence scores of 86.8 and 75.6, respectively, which would have been the fourth and sixth highest, had they been included in the pilot Index. Cases at the other extreme are Congo, Zambia, and Niger with respective legislative leadership and influence scores of 7.4, 10.8 and 13.3.

Additionally, looking at the indicator of the percentage of ministries led by women, there are several countries with remarkable scores. For instance, the Seychelles is a leader on the continent of Africa with 31.6 percent of female ministers, respectively. In contrast, Somalia has no female ministers in executive cabinets, which places the country at the bottom of the continental rankings for this particular indicator.

Table 8: Sensitivity Index Indicators for Pilot African Countries		
Country	POLITY	Percentage of Women in Population
Algeria	2	49.7%
Angola	-2	50.4%
Botswana	8	50.0%
Burundi	6	50.6%
Cabo Verde	10	50.7%
Cameroon	-4	50.0%
Cote D'Ivoire	4	49.1%
DRC	5	50.1%
Ghana	8	50.3%
Kenya	9	50.0%
Liberia	6	49.6%
Madagascar	6	50.2%
Malawi	6	50.1%
Morocco	-4	50.6%
Mozambique	4	51.2%
Namibia	6	51.4%
Nigeria	4	49.1%
Rwanda	-3	52.1%
Senegal	7	50.9%
Sierra Leone	7	50.5%
South Africa	9	50.9%
South Sudan	0	49.9%
Sudan	-4	49.8%
Tanzania	-1	50.3%
Togo	-2	50.6%
Tunisia	7	50.6%
Uganda	-1	50.0%
Zambia	7	50.1%
Zimbabwe	4	50.7%

Data sources: Polity indicator was taken from Marshall, Monty G., Keith Jagers & Ted Robert Gurr. 2011. Polity IV Project: Dataset Users' Manual. Arlington: Polity IV Project for the year 2014. The percentage of females in the total population was taken from the World Bank Development Data which was The United Nations Population Division's World Population Prospects for the year 2014.

Table 9: Available Index Indicators for African Countries not Included in the Pilot						
Country	% Women in Single/ Lower House	% Women Committee Chairpersons in Single/Lower House of Parliament	Legislative Influence Component	% Minister Positions Held by Women	% Executive Budget Women Ministers Manage	Ministerial Influence Component
Benin	8.4	X	X	12.9	X	X
Burkina Faso	18.9	X	X	12.5	X	X
Chad	14.8	X	X	19.1	X	X
Comoros	3.03	X	X	15.4	X	X
Djibouti	12.7	X	X	11.1	X	X
Equatorial Guinea	24.0	X	X	10.7	X	X
Eritrea	22.0	X	X	20.0	X	X
Ethiopia	27.8	X	X	13.3	X	X
Gabon	15.0	7.7	22.7	20.8	X	X
Gambia	9.4	X	X	28.6	X	X
Guinea	21.9	X	X	16.7	X	X
Guinea-Bissau	13.7	X	X	23.5	X	X
Lesotho	26.7	X	X	22.2	X	X
Libya	16.0	X	X	2.9	X	X
Mali	9.5	X	X	13.9	X	X
Mauritania	25.2	X	X	24.1	X	X
Mauritius	18.8	X	X	3.0	X	X
Niger	13.3	0.0	13.3	9.1	X	X
Republic of the Congo	7.4	0.0	7.4	11.6	X	X
Sao Tome and Principe	18.2	20.0	38.2	16.7	X	X
Seychelles	43.8	14.3	58.1	31.6	X	X
Somalia	13.8	X	X	0.0	X	X
Swaziland	6.2	X	X	18.2	24.8	43.0

Data sources: IPU, official parliament websites for individual countries, and official reports of the federal budget or a country's appropriations act.

Note: X means that indicator was not available.

**Central African Republic and Egypt not included due to dissolved legislature.

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