



CSV
Centre for the Study of
Violence and Reconciliation

TRANSITIONING TOWARD GENDER JUSTICE

A TREND ANALYSIS OF 13 AFRICAN CASES



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Overview

Gender justice sees equal power relations, privilege, dignity, and freedom for people of different genders as a necessary component for any “just” society and a prerequisite for development.¹ Gender justice includes gender equality, meaning substantive freedom for all genders to have genuine choices about their lives. Mirroring a global pattern in peace and security practice and policy-making, transitional justice (TJ) practice has tended to reduce gender justice concerns to violence against women (VAW). This policy brief advocates for policy-makers to adopt a broader and more meaningful understanding of gender justice, and to incorporate it into their TJ policy-making.

To demonstrate the need for a broader understanding of gender justice within TJ processes, this policy brief draws upon a study conducted by the Centre for the Study of Violence and

The study examined gender trends emerging from 13 African countries that had State-led TJ processes between 1990 and 2011, and their impacts up until 2016.

Reconciliation (CSVR) on the drivers and impacts of TJ in Africa.² The study examined gender trends emerging from 13 African countries that had State-led TJ processes between 1990 and 2011, and their impacts up until 2016.³ Based on the academic literature and available data for the 13 cases, four key factors were used as basic indicators of gender justice: women’s political rights and representation; women’s economic equity; women’s participation in civil society; and State measures against sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV).

The key findings are:

- While some of the cases were among the best globally for women’s representation in parliament, women were generally denied a broader set of political rights. Women held 30% or more of the seats in the parliaments of **six** cases, but political equality rights were ensured in law and in practice for women in only **three** of these cases. Women occupied below 30% of the seats in **seven** of the cases.
- All the cases performed poorly on the economic indicator. **Five** cases had no legal economic rights for women, **six** cases had some economic rights for women but did not enforce them in practice, and **two** cases enforced economic rights for women but tolerated a degree of discrimination against women.
- Women’s participation in post-conflict civil society was affected by the rights to assembly, association, protest, self-determination, and freedom of movement. **Seven** of the cases had civil society spaces in which women were generally able to participate. **Six** cases had restrictions on the space allowed for civil society as well as women’s freedoms, resulting in women’s generally being unable to participate in civil society.
- Uptake to address SGBV substantively by post-conflict States was relatively low considering the emphasis placed upon SGBV within post-conflict measures and policies. **Seven** of the cases had States that were committed to addressing and redressing SGBV in their countries, whereas this was not the situation in **six** of the cases.

Key recommendations include:

- A gender committee for all TJ mechanisms;
- Gender sensitivity training for all TJ personnel;
- TJ legislation with gender-inclusive and gender-sensitive language that recognises the multiple roles all genders play in conflict, and overtly mandates TJ mechanisms to investigate the full range of gendered experiences of human rights violations;
- Reparations packages that respond to the findings on gender made during investigations into human rights violations;
- Gender budgeting and auditing of an independent and dedicated TJ fund; and
- State collaboration with gender experts and civil society throughout the design and implementation of TJ mechanisms to promote a gender just and participant-led TJ process.

Why is Gender Just TJ Important?

TJ measures mark a critical time for a society transitioning away from conflict. Through TJ, multiple stakeholders – including States, civil society, and external parties such as the African Union and United Nations – use examinations of past conflict to set the blueprint for the future society they envision. Historically, policy-makers have neglected to address gender concerns within this blueprint. Failure to address pre-conflict gender inequality and gendered experiences of conflict means that a post-conflict State is destined to continue and even entrench gendered injustices. This results in half of the population being denied the prospects to fully participate in the development of the post-conflict State.

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This policy brief envisions gender just TJ policies as State policies that (a) recognise the different experiences of conflict for all genders; (b) recognise the underlying causes of these different experiences, which rely upon gender stereotypes that generally marginalise women and gender non-conforming persons;⁴ and (c) develop substantive interventions that take into account a range of factors affecting well-being, including but not limited to political rights and representation, economic, social, and cultural equity and freedom, and conflict-related SGBV.⁵

Early advocacy to put gender matters on the TJ agenda in the 1990s adopted a legalistic understanding of the issue. Gendered experiences of conflict were reduced to women's experiences of wartime SGBV. Prosecutions have been the main recourse for redress.⁶ This led to significant accomplishments in terms of international law and normative frameworks recognising SGBV as a war crime, crime against humanity, and a weapon of war. It also resulted in a restricted understanding of gender justice. Addressing SGBV is certainly *one* component of gender justice, but it is not the sole component.

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'Gender' is typically used to refer to gender identities: women, men, transgender people, and gender non-conforming people. More broadly, it refers to systems of oppression based on socially constructed masculinities and femininities.⁷ Globally, gender hierarchies have been built on socially constructed ideas of a 'real man' or 'real woman.' These stereotypes have privileged hyper-masculinity and been used to justify violence against women, transgender people, gender non-conforming people, and people who are homosexual. They have also been used to exclude these groups from various social, political, economic, and cultural spaces.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) recognises gender stereotyping as one of the many causes of VAW and SGBV.⁸ Patriarchal beliefs and violent hyper-masculinity – as well as legacies of colonialism and oppressive regimes, socioeconomic inequality, and poverty – have been identified as significant causal and sustaining factors of VAW and SGBV.⁹

By focusing upon one element of gender injustice, such as SGBV, we fail to address the various structural and social factors that cause and perpetuate it in the first place. It is necessary to adopt more holistic approaches to tackling gender inequality and injustice in order to meaningfully disrupt their causes. Since gender-based marginalisation, violence, and inequalities are social constructions, the right kinds of interventions can reconstruct gender on more equitable terms and interrupt gender-related violence.

Gender Justice Trends in 13 African Case Studies

This section examines the trends regarding women’s participation in politics, the formal economy, civil society, and States’ commitment to redressing wartime SGBV that emerged from CSVR’s study on TJ in Africa. After discussing the rationale and the data behind each indicator, the policy brief makes recommendations on how TJ could contribute to gender justice.

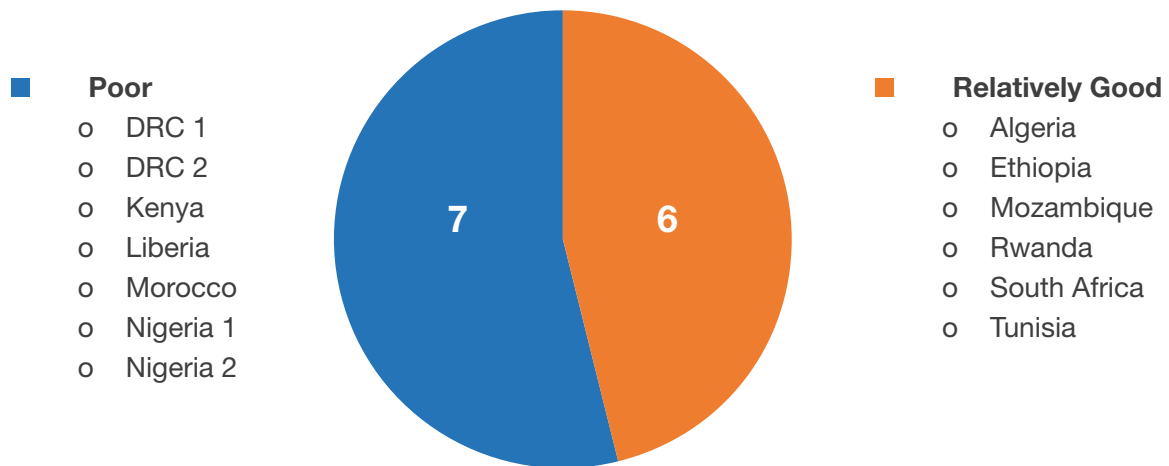
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Women’s Political Rights and Representation

Some African countries have a history of dual-sex political systems, such as the queen mothers in Ghana. The revision of political systems during colonialism, together with patriarchal beliefs, has resulted in the marginalisation of women from positions of power and influence. Women’s access to political power has continued to be denied or neglected in many post-independent African States.¹⁰ The (re)introduction of gender inclusive systems of governance is an important means of achieving gender justice and of redressing the legacies of colonialism.

Representation of women in the law-making body of the State provides a useful indicator of the potential for women to impact upon policies in a decision-making capacity as well as a State’s commitment to gender representation. To get a fuller picture, a broader set of political rights – such as the right to vote and the right to run for political office – have been added as an additional measure.¹¹ Since States are able to impact upon women’s representation in parliament and extend basic political rights to women, the combination of these two measures is a good indication of women’s political rights and representation.

Women's Political Rights and Representation



What were the key findings?

- Women held 30% or more of the seats in the parliaments of **six** cases, and below 30% in **seven** of the cases.
- In addition to women occupying 30% or more of the legislature seats, political equality rights were ensured in law and in practice to women in **three** of the cases.

What do these findings mean for gender justice?

- The cases have relatively good performance markers in global terms for the Women's Political Rights index from the CIRI Human Rights Database. This demonstrates an overall positive trend towards at least removing formal and/or legal barriers to women's participation in political spaces. It is important to remember, however, that the global bar is set low.
- Legal measures are a prerequisite for improvements in this area, but insufficient. Women are about 50% of each case's population, but rarely occupy that percentage of seats in State decision-making structures. Furthermore, representation and legal rights do not translate into an enabling and equal environment that ensures women's votes, opinions, concerns, and suggestions are held in the same esteem as those of their male counterparts.
- The data suggests that there is a significant challenge in ensuring that political rights are practicable and meaningful. Improvements could be attained without the need for many resources. Rather, good performance in this indicator is primarily dependent upon political will to extent the full set of political rights to women and to implement policies that ensure women are proportionately represented in parliaments.

How does this relate to TJ and what TJ mechanisms could be used?

- The cases' performances and the link to TJ was unclear because of the tendency for gendered matters (aside from SGBV) to be excluded from the TJ agenda in most cases. The cases that performed consistently well in the gender measures were ones that had States with effective decision-making authority and the political will to implement international and regional frameworks such as CEDAW, the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (the Maputo Protocol), and United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security.

- A common TJ measure used in the post-conflict setting is **institutional and law reform**. This measure has been used to impact upon women’s political rights and representation in various ways, including:
 - o Leadership recruitment and training of women;
 - o The introduction of strong quota systems that require a minimum of 50% women in the legislature and other State bodies, including at managerial levels;
 - o Gender-responsive policy training and budgeting for all government officials; and
 - o Gender-sensitive civic education that deliberately includes women, with an effort to demonstrate the ways that their current livelihoods and activities could draw upon the legal frameworks of the State.

Women’s Economic Equality

Colonial rule saw the economic restructuring of most African societies. Alongside many changes to economic relations, colonialism saw the codification of privatised land. This usually excluded women from land ownership despite their previously having authority over land in some countries. Consequently, women were deprived of land access and made to be increasingly economic dependent upon men.

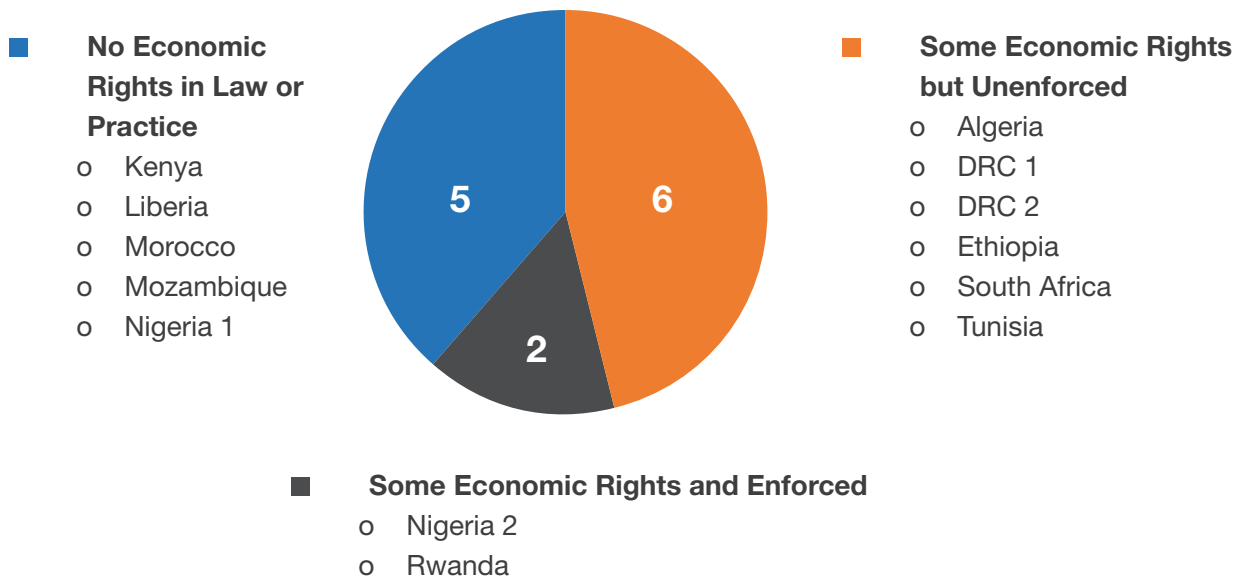
For example, Kikuyu women of Kenya – who were major food producers – had access and authority over land, but lost this due to the effects of the British colonial system. Additionally, colonialists typically excluded women from the wage labour system, which reinforced economic marginalisation. Such exclusions intensified patriarchy through the promotion of the gender stereotypes that men are ‘breadwinners’ and women are (unpaid) ‘caretakers.’

Depending on the nature and scale of war, economic processes could be disrupted. The post-conflict State often faces the need to restructure the economy to ensure that the underlying causes of conflict are addressed by enabling better access to the economy.

In CSVR’s study, the United Nations Development Programme’s data on estimated gross national income per capita, which is disaggregated by gender, was used as a basic measure of women’s relative economic equality. This measure was expressed in relative terms because overall performance across the 13 cases was poor. The cases were classified into two groups: relative gender income equality and relative gender income inequality.¹² Additionally, the CIRI Human Rights Database’s Women’s Economic Rights index¹³ was used.

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Women's Economic Rights



What were the key findings?

- **Five** cases have no legal economic rights for women. They have potentially unfair gender discriminatory laws, and States that have neglected to address discrimination against women.
- In **six** cases the State had some economic rights for women but did not enforce them in practice, and tolerated discrimination against women.
- Only **two** cases had States that enforced economic rights for women in practice. However, they tolerated a degree of discrimination against women.
- In **five** cases it is clear that the first step, which is within a State’s power (and mandate), to enshrine women’s equal human rights in the economic sphere has not occurred. In **six** cases it is evident that having these laws is a necessary precondition, but an insufficient one because the historical and structural exclusion of women from the formal economy requires active State implementation of economic equity laws for it to translate to tangible changes.

What do these findings mean for gender justice?

- The overall scores for the economic variable were poor. The results suggest that States have not prioritised – or have struggled to pass – legislation that would promote affirmative action for women in the economic sector.
- The results demonstrate that women continue to be excluded and underrepresented in the formal economy. This is part of a global pattern whereby 90 of 143 economies have restrictions on women’s economic rights, and 79 of these economies have seen legal restrictions on the jobs that women can occupy.¹⁴

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- Consequently, the economic potential of a post-conflict State is unmet as half the population is not enabled to actively participate in it. Global gross domestic profit would increase by 26% by 2025 if women played the equivalent role to their male counterparts in markets.¹⁵ This statistic suggests the growth potential of including women in the formal economy.

How does this relate to TJ and what TJ mechanisms could be used?

- TJ processes must consider the historical marginalisation and development challenges that present a challenge to TJ goals such as non-recurrence and sustainable peace.
- The underlying socioeconomic causes of conflict and violence are well recognised in policy-making spaces.
- Economic restructuring is typically a component of post-conflict peacebuilding, but TJ can contribute to this process. TJ can establish the foundations for future, developmental policies through a number of mechanisms:
 - **Truth-seeking** processes should investigate the causes and patterns of socioeconomic human rights violations. A gender-sensitive approach to this truth-seeking process should be incorporated during investigations as well as in report-writing.
 - **Reparations** should respond to women’s skills and education needs to redress their experiences of socioeconomic exclusion. Childcare services and assistance should be developed for single-parent and orphaned homes resulting from the conflict to ensure that children – in practice, usually girl-children – are not prevented from attending school to care for their siblings, parents, and/or grandparents.
 - **Law reform** should ensure that impediments to women’s equal participation in the formal economy are removed. This should include employment equity policies to ensure women’s representation in management, full economic rights for all genders, and access to basic and higher education for girl-children and women.

Women’s Participation in Civil Society

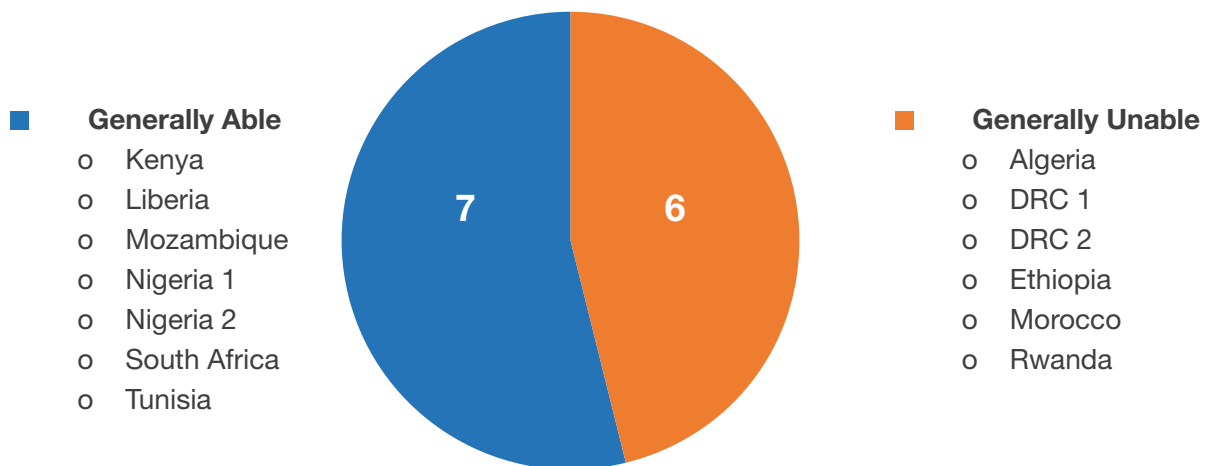
The denial of civil liberties – such as the freedom of movement, self-determination, assembly, association, and gathering – intersects with patriarchal social structures to exclude women from politics and the economy. Civil society is an alternative space that women could potentially access despite their exclusion from the political and economic spheres. Participation in civil society is not guaranteed. Repressive regimes suspend many of their citizens’ basic civil liberties. Marginalising civil society has been a tactic used by such regimes to further embed their authority.

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In the CSVR study, this indicator measured two aspects of civil society to establish women’s participation. It sought to establish if civil liberties that enable free participation in civil society have been ensured for all citizens. The measurement also sought to establish if these civil liberties have been extended to women in particular, as some States have legal barriers that prevent women’s participation in civil society.

As colonialism formally marginalised women from public participation, civil society is an important marker not just of the democratic spaces available to women in a post-conflict society, but also of the extent to which the legacies of colonialism have been tackled. Primary survey data together with the CIRI Human Rights Dataset’s Freedom of Association index and Gender, Institutions and Development Database’s Access to Public Spaces index were used to create this indicator.

Women's Participation in Civil Society



What were the key findings?

- **Seven** of the cases had civil society spaces in which women were generally able to participate. **Six** had restrictions on this freedom resulting in women’s generally being unable to participate in civil society.
- The **six** cases with restrictions have regimes that are less democratic than the seven cases that did not restrict women’s civil society rights. There is a range of different barriers that affect women’s participation in civil society spaces. This includes their legal rights, but also extends to cultural, economic, and social barriers. For example, while women may have the legal right to protest, there might be a social norm that restricts women to the household domain.
- There was a positive correlation between the high involvement of civil society in driving TJ processes and women being generally able to participate in civil society spaces in the post-TJ context. The reason for this may be the high level of involvement of civil society in shaping TJ results in measures that promote human rights, particularly equality. Another explanation might be that the failure to deliver on key issues brought forward by civil society during a TJ process, such as gender, resulted in renewed efforts to campaign for improvements in these areas after the TJ process.

What do these findings mean for gender justice?

- Civil society often replicates many of the patterns of exclusion and marginalisation of broader society. If there are high rates of gender discrimination generally, then it is likely that this is a barrier to women’s participation in civil society.

How does this relate to TJ and what TJ mechanisms could be used?

- Civil society is an important means through which TJ processes are supported, enhanced, and promoted. Civil society organisations act as a platform for constituencies, including minorities and those otherwise marginalised by the State. States should ensure that they include representatives of civil society with gender expertise at all stages of a TJ process as stakeholders and technical advisors.
- Civil society organisations serve as interlocutors between citizens and the State. This means that their involvement in TJ processes would bolster the State’s efforts and maximise the groups reached.
- A number of TJ mechanisms are well-suited to improving and promoting women’s participation in civil society:

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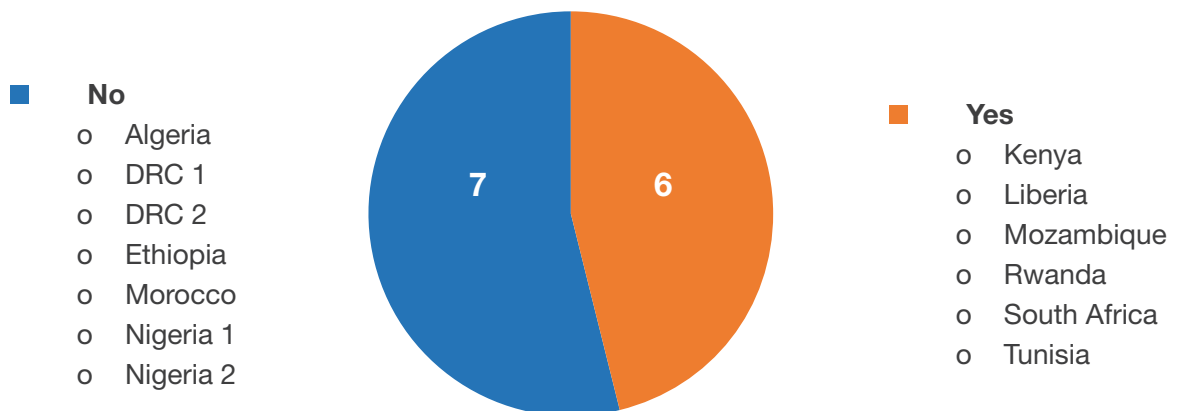
- o **Truth-seeking** processes and **prosecutions** offer a good opportunity for women’s civil society organisations to assist with the intake of statements from female victims of human rights violations. These two mechanisms could also establish the underlying causes that prohibit women’s free participation in civil society, if this is an issue.
- o **Law and constitutional reform** efforts should dismantle discriminatory laws that prevent women from participating in civil society, as well as those laws that prohibit a free civil society. Civil society should be invited to make recommendations about institutional, legal, and constitutional reforms that might be needed.

State SGBV Measures

Conflict-related SGBV exacerbates pre-existing structural factors that sustain gender inequality and gendered patterns of violence. These complicated and interlinked factors reinforce each other. Wartime SGBV should be understood within this broader context and history. TJ processes offer an opportune time for States to recognise the particular dynamics that wartime SGBV encompasses, as well as contextualise these wartime patterns within a deeper history of SGBV.

The SGBV indicator provides a reflection of the official policies and actions taken by the State to address SGBV, and the steps taken to recognise SGBV experiences during past conflict.

State Has Adopted Measures against SGBV



What were the key findings?

- **Seven** of the cases had States that were committed to addressing and redressing SGBV in their countries, whereas this was not the situation in **six** of the cases.
- Only **three** cases included gender in their TJ mandates. This is a troubling result because it means that for **ten** cases a gender approach was not incorporated into the TJ design, resulting in gender processes being an afterthought, if incorporated at all.

What do these findings mean for gender justice?

- SGBV has typically been the main way that gender matters of the past have been considered. This is an important means of understanding different experiences of violence and its underlying causes. This should inform TJ recommendations and future development policy decisions.
- As SGBV tends to persist long after conflict, forward-looking reforms informed by TJ processes are important to help disrupt these patterns.

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How does this relate to TJ and what TJ mechanisms could be used?

- SGBV could be included in TJ through almost all the measures available:
 - o TJ **mandates** should include SGBV as a human rights violation investigated in order to ensure that patterns and types of violence are more accurately recorded.
 - o **Reparations** packages could be offered to SGBV victims and survivors. Reparations for SGBV should minimally include counselling services, immediate and long-term medical support, and trauma-management training.
 - o Specialised SGBV personnel should be used to assist with taking statements from SGBV victims and survivors for **prosecutions** and **truth-seeking** processes.
 - o All staff involved in TJ processes should be given **gender and SGBV sensitivity training**. Internal anti-sexual harassment policies and procedures should be circulated to staff.
 - o **Institutional reform** recommendations should consider the institutions that SGBV victims and survivors could approach to report their experiences and receive legal, medical, and psychosocial support. **Constitutional reform** recommendations could include a dedicated national gender commission, which includes responding to SGBV matters in its mandate.

Recommendations for Promoting Gender Just TJ

The research sample suggests that TJ processes are more likely to positively impact upon gender justice if they (a) include all sides of the conflict as victims and perpetrators; (b) are able to fulfil their mandate with cooperation, but not interference, from the State; and (c) include reparative measures. States need to deliberately design gender just policies in order to realise this potential. A gender-sensitive and gender-responsive approach needs to be integrated into TJ processes from the start.

A gender-sensitive and gender-responsive approach needs to be integrated into TJ processes from the start.

It is recommended that TJ processes be designed in the following manner:

- **TJ laws** should be developed through a consultative, multi-stakeholder process that deliberately includes women's interest groups and gender experts. Legal definitions of human rights violations should overtly require a gender analysis of these crimes.
- A dedicated **TJ fund** should be established to ensure the independence of the TJ process. The fund should undergo gender budgeting and gender auditing to ensure funds are allocated to enable a gender just approach to TJ.
- A dedicated **gender committee** should be established in the TJ process to investigate and redress gendered experiences of conflict, including but extending beyond SGBV. This committee should help to ensure that gender-sensitive terminology and analysis is used in the TJ documents and processes.
- In line with Article 25 of the Maputo Protocol, the TJ process should include **gender-sensitive reparations and remedies** to redress the exclusion of women from political, economic, and social institutions.
- **Equal gender representation** in TJ mechanisms, and the overall peace process, should be a prerequisite. Furthermore, equal decision-making power must be guaranteed. Ensuring the participation of women in peace processes upholds Article 10 of the Maputo Protocol, the right to peace.
- Thorough **gender-sensitivity training** should be given to all TJ personnel to encourage gender just processes.
- **Partnerships** with different stakeholders such as civil society organisations, the media, the international community, and religious institutions are needed during the design and implementation of TJ mechanisms in order to (a) bolster a gender-just approach within the TJ process, (b) encourage gender-just coverage of and engagement with the TJ process, and (c) a TJ process that is jointly owned by the people of the conflict-affected society.

About the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

CSVV is an independent non-governmental organisation established in South Africa in 1989. We are a multi-disciplinary institute that seeks to understand and prevent violence, heal its effects and build sustainable peace at community, national, and regional levels. We do this through collaborating with, and learning from, the lived and diverse experiences of communities affected by violence and conflict. Through our research, interventions, and advocacy we seek to enhance State accountability, promote gender equality, and build social cohesion, integration, and active citizenship. While primarily based in South Africa, we work across the African continent through collaborations with community, civil society, State, and international partners.

Comparative Transitional Justice Study in Africa

This publication is one of the outputs of the Comparative Transitional Justice Study in Africa. The study presents a comparative analysis of 13 country case studies in Africa where transitional justice mechanisms have been implemented. Mapping the range of processes in this field, the study pays particular attention to transitional justice mechanisms employed between 1990 and 2010 to deepen understandings of how these processes were developed, and the role of their respective contributions to the prevention or recurrence of war and repression. Specifically, the study examines the factors that shaped State policy decisions in framing the diverse set of responses to dealing with legacies of dictatorship, civil war, and mass human rights abuses, and assesses the consequences of these decisions for achieving sustainable peace and preventing future human rights abuses.

Maxine Rubin
*Centre for the Study of Violence
and Reconciliation*

- 1 Oxfam, "Gender Justice," available at <https://policy-practice.oxfamamerica.org/work/gender-justice/>, accessed on 3 July 2018.
- 2 CSVSR, "African Transitional Justice Comparative Study," available at <http://www.csvr.org.za/programmes/156-research/2641-african-transitional-justice-comparative-study>, accessed on 15 July 2018.
- 3 This policy brief investigates 11 countries, but has 13 cases: Algeria, DRC 1, DRC 2, Ethiopia, Kenya, Liberia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nigeria 1, Nigeria 2, Rwanda, South Africa, and Tunisia. Two countries, Nigeria and DRC, both experienced two TJ interventions during the time period under review, which were treated as discrete cases and labelled accordingly. The evidence used in this policy brief has been gathered through qualitative questionnaires from case experts and complemented with additional data from secondary databases. It is important to note that there are significant gaps in the data available about gendered experiences of conflict and post-conflict societies. Two key databases were identified that had the most comprehensive data available for all 13 cases: the CIRI Human Rights Dataset and the Gender, Institutions and Development Database 2014 (GID-DB). Consequently, this policy brief focuses on a narrow conceptualisation of women. Due to a lack of appropriately disaggregated data, information about the experiences of a broader set of gender identities that are typically targeted by SGBV perpetrators – lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and gender non-conforming people – could not be included in the analysis.
- 4 Léa Lemay Langlois, "Gender Perspective in UN Framework for Peace Processes and Transitional Justice: The Need for a Clearer and More Inclusive Notion of Gender," *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 12, no. 1 (2018): 146–67.
- 5 SGBV refers to any act that is perpetrated against a person's will and is based on gender norms and unequal power relationships. It can be physical, emotional, psychological, or sexual in nature and includes socioeconomic exclusion (i.e., structural violence). This includes violence against women and violence against lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, and gender non-conforming persons.
- 6 Christine Bell and Catherine O'Rourke, "Does Feminism Need a Theory of Transitional Justice? An Introductory Essay," *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 1, no. 1 (2007): 23–44.
- 7 Lemay Langlois, 'Gender Perspective in UN Framework for Peace Processes and Transitional Justice'.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Nonhlanhla Sibanda-Moyo, Eleanor Khonje, and Maame Kyerewaa Brobbey, "Violence Against Women in South Africa: A Country in Crisis 2017," 2017, available at <https://www.csvr.org.za/pdf/CSVSR-Violence-Against-Women-in-SA.pdf>, accessed on 25 July 2018.
- 10 We acknowledge that this phenomenon is not unique to the African continent. Indeed, patterns of exclusion of women from politics are evident throughout the world.
- 11 This data was gathered from the CIRI Human Rights Dataset. The Women's Political Rights (WOPOL) index has been defined in the CIRI Human Rights Database as:
 "Women's political rights include a number of internationally recognized rights. These rights include:
 - *The right to vote*
 - *The right to run for political office*
 - *The right to hold elected and appointed government positions*
 - *The right to join political parties*
 - *The right to petition government officials.*"
 David L. Cingranelli and David L. Richards, "The Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Data Project Coding Manual Version 5.20.14," 2014, available at <http://www.humanrightsdata.com/p/data-documentation.html>, accessed on 22 June 2018.
- 12 The UNDP has other gender-related economic data. Two possible additions or alternatives that were identified were the Gender Development Index and "Population with at least some secondary education." However, Nigeria's data was missing.
- 13 The Women's Economic Rights index was defined as:
 "Women's economic rights include a number of internationally recognized rights. These rights include:
 - *Equal pay for equal work*
 - *Free choice of profession or employment without the need to obtain a husband or male relative's consent*
 - *The right to gainful employment without the need to obtain a husband or male relative's consent*
 - *Equality in hiring and promotion practices*
 - *Job security (maternity leave, unemployment benefits, no arbitrary firing or layoffs, etc...)*
 - *Non-discrimination by employers*
 - *The right to be free from sexual harassment in the workplace*
 - *The right to work at night*
 - *The right to work in occupations classified as dangerous*
 - *The right to work in the military and the police force.*"
- 14 UN Women, "Facts and Figures: Economic Empowerment," available at <http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/economic-empowerment/facts-and-figures>, accessed 15 July 2018.
- 15 Jonathan Woetzel et al., "The Power of Parity: How Advancing Women's Equality Can Add \$12 Trillion to Global Growth," McKinsey Report, September 2015, available at https://www.mckinsey.com/~/media/McKinsey/Featured%20Insights/Employment%20and%20Growth/How%20advancing%20womens%20equality%20can%20add%2012%20trillion%20to%20global%20growth/MGI%20Power%20of%20parity_Full%20report_September%202015.ashx, accessed on 15 July 2018.



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