

The Effect of Women's Representation in Parliament and the Passing of Gender Sensitive Policies

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Abstract

This paper employs data from 159 developing countries to examine whether countries that have a higher share of women in parliament are more likely to pass gender sensitive laws. We find that all else equal, developing countries that have a higher share of women parliamentarians are more likely to pass comprehensive laws on sexual harassment, rape, divorce and domestic violence. The results are robust. They hold for Ordered Probit, Ordered Logit as well as ordinary least squares (OLS). The results also hold for 4 sample groups: 159 developing countries, 48 African countries, 43 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and 111 developing countries outside SSA.

JEL Classification: K38, O1, O55,

Key words: Gender Laws, Africa, Gender

Introduction

Women political inclusion is a social, economic, and political good in itself. It matters for democracy and gender equality. Democratic process requires the participation of all citizens. Any deviations to this renders any attempts in promoting democracy are just other forms of fostering the social and political norms that created an unfair and unequal power sharing between men and women. This results in unequitable social policies and unfair political processes. Women political inclusion challenges both the power structures and relations that undermine the consideration of women's needs and interest in policy-making. The inclusion of women in decision-making is a democratic good in itself and breaks male dominance in politics (Hassim, 2006). Women political participation promotes gender equality by challenging the social and political existing structures that perpetuate a culture of women's subordination in both the private and public sphere. Including women in the political process engenders political and economic benefits. Politically, it increases the number of women in the parliament, curbs corruption, improves policies outcomes, and promotes the inclusiveness of minority groups in public spheres. Economically, it considers women as actors of development, encourages the integration of women in the labor market, and promotes economic and development growth.

Women political participation is a human right. Political participation as a human right grants "*citizens* the right to take part, directly or through representatives, in the conduct of public affairs and government, and to vote at genuine periodic elections based on universal suffrage and the secret ballot" (Steiner, 1988; Bunch 1990). It is enshrined in both the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Women political participation was later integrated in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) adopted by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in 1979. The article 7 called for the state parties to take appropriate steps to eliminate discrimination against women in both the political spheres by ensuring women and men have equal rights to vote and to be eligible to vote and to be eligible to held public office, to participate in the policy formulation and implementation, and to participate in non-governmental organizations.

However, the implementation of CEDAW lagged behind until the fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1975, which considers women's in power and decision making as one of the twelve critical areas in its Platform of Action. The Platform of Action require states to commit themselves and to take measures to establish and to ensure that the goal of gender balance in governmental bodies and committees, in public administrative entities and in the judiciary by setting specific targets and implementing measures to substantially increase the number of women in order to achieving equal representation of women and men. In 1995, the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) endorsed a 30 percent target of women participation at decision-making levels. In the African continent, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) formulated recommendations for a gender policy and institutional framework, which was later disseminated in the "Declaration on Gender and Development" and adopted in November 1997 in Blantyre by the SADC Heads of Government. The Declaration recognized gender equality as a fundamental human

right and included a commitment to a 30% quota of women in political decision-making bodies by 2005. The increasing significance of women political participation was further recognized by its inclusion in both the Millennium Development Goals (goal 3) and in the new 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (target 5. 5)

The critical mass of 30% is based on the work of Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) and Dahlerup (1988). They posit that women have to constitute at least 30% of the decision-making body in order to exert their influence in promoting pro-women policies (Child and Crook, 2008). However, recent research shows that on one hand women can make a difference even when they have a small minority and on the other hand a greater number of elected women diminishes the likeness of women legislators to pass law favoring women (Child and Kroom 2008). The literature does not reach a consensus on the impact of critical mass even though many international organizations and women's movement advocate for the critical mass as mentioned above. Many authors argue that the number of women in any political body is not important what matter is "critical acts" (Grey 2006, Dahlerup 1988, Lovenduski 2001) or "safe spaces" (Childs 2004). Grey (2006) posits that different critical masses are needed depending on the outcome sought (Grey 2006). Indeed, women holding 15% of seats in a political body can change the political agenda but they will need a proportion of 40% of seats to pass women's friendly policies.

The aim of this paper is threefold. First, it analyses the trends in female political representation in African countries. Second, it uses case studies to compare and contrast the situation for countries that have made progress in increasing women representation in politics with countries that have not been successful. Third, it analyses the relationship between women's representation in national parliament and gender sensitive laws. In the following section, the paper will look at the factors that have contributed to the rapid change of women political participation, barriers to women political participation, and the effectiveness of women political inclusion, and the ways forward for sustaining the gains of political inclusion achieved in the last two decades in the SSA.

This paper starts with an analysis of the trends in female political representation in African countries. It goes on in exploring the main factor behind the surge of women in politics in the last decade. Using Rwanda and Botswana, the chapter takes a deeper look into the impact of women in politics by focusing on the substantive and symbolic representations of elected women.

Literature review: women political inclusion and beyond

This literature review has broad view of the debate on women political inclusion. It goes beyond the debate about the pros and cons of women political inclusion. It first considers obstacles to women's political inclusion, and then it considers the main factor behind the latest movement in women political inclusion; i.e. gender quotas. Third, it focuses on the debate on gender quota in the SSA context. At last, we look at the impact of gender quotas in other regions of the world.

Obstacles to women's entry in parliament

In 2014, women represent half of the SSA population, only 62.52% of them participate in the labour market and 22.1% held a position in the parliament. However, women faces many obstacles to women entry in politics. These obstacles include the level of socio-economic development, education, ethnicity, and cultural. However, these barriers vary across countries and over time.

Shvedova (2005) identifies three main obstacles to women participation in politics. These obstacles are political, socio-economic, ideological, and psychological (Shvedova 2005). Political barriers derives from the implementation lag of the right to vote and the right to stand for election that are embedded in the laws and national policies of most countries nowadays. The right to stand for election guarantees women candidacy, which is the first step in increasing women representation. Increasing women candidacy enables women to exercise their right to vote because in reality women are more likely to vote for women. Therefore, a restriction of women right to stand for election vote prolongs the status quo of high men representation in politics and creates barriers to women political representation.

There are five prominent features of political barriers: the prevalence of the 'masculine model' of political life and of elected government bodies; lack of party support such as limited financial support for women candidates, limited access to political networks, and the more stringent standards and qualifications applied to women; lack of sustained contact and cooperation with other public organizations such as trade (labour) unions and women's groups; lack of access to well-developed education and training systems for women's leadership in general, and for orienting young women towards political life; and the nature of the electoral system, which may or may not be favourable to women candidates (Shvedova, 2005).

The socio-economic barriers stem from the social and economic status of women. In 2014, Women represent more than 55.3 percent of the labour force participation worldwide (World Development Indicators, 2016). Women constitute the majority of workers in low productivity activities and in the informal sector. As entrepreneurs, women operate small informal business with small number of employees, sales, costs and the lower value of physical capital leading them to gain lower profit compared to male entrepreneurs. Women constitute the majority of workers in the retail services and trade sector. Educated women earn lower wage than educated men do. This pattern is similar in both developed and developing countries. This implies women have limited financial resources. This is the second most important obstacles to women entry to politics (Shvedova, 2005). Beside the lack of financial resources, the two other socio-economic obstacles are illiteracy and limited access to education and choice of professions and the dual burden of domestic tasks and professional obligations.

Ideological and psychological obstacles results from the traditional roles of women in the society. Traditionally, women are restricted to the role of mother or caretakers giving them a place in the private sphere. Any involvement outside of the household is to be working mother. These roles forge an image of women being apolitical. Women have internalized the apolitical image that shapes their view of politics. Ideological and psychological obstacles are gender ideology, cultural patterns, and predetermined social roles assigned to women and men; women's lack of the confidence to

stand for election; women's perception of politics as a 'dirty' game; and the mass media depictions of women (Shvedova, 2005).

In a case study of Burkina Faso, Compaore (2005) examines the constraints women face in being elected to the legislature among other goals. Politics is strictly a men area. In 2001, women held 8.1% of seats in the parliament. From 2001 to 2015, the share of women in the parliament increased from 8.1% to 13.30%. Compaore (2005) states that the selection of women for political parties list is based on five criteria: the payment of a deposit; personal ties with a political leader; the need to attract female voters; the place of origin of the candidates; and finally their abilities. Women are required to pay a sum of 3,500,000 CFA francs. Most women are unable to afford such amount even if they are qualified for the position. This is the first barrier that women face. Second, a tie with a political party is the determinant factor for being in the list of political party. This is particularly pertinent for political parties that recruit along ethnicity or region or those that are financially limited. Such political parties draw their candidates from their friends and allies. Hence, women enter politics without the proper qualifications. Women are labeled 'electoral cattle' because the women's organization networks can easily be rallied for campaign rallies, balloting, and for going to the polls in large numbers. Women are yet to become conscious of their electoral potential. In 2002, the legislative elections followed the 13 regions of the national territory. This has forced political parties to recruit candidates from these regions in order to attract the local electorate. Therefore, only women with a certain level of socio-economic are registered in regions where there are few male candidates. In this case, the qualification of candidate does not matter. Intellectual women are increasingly getting involved in politics. However, these women have joined different political parties based on their convictions, party leaders sought after them because of their qualifications. There is an increasing effort to recruit qualified women however this effort is still embryonic.

The above discussion begs the question of how African women overcame these barriers and occupy 22.6 % of seats in the national parliaments. The next sub-section will attempt to answer this question.

Gender quotas: definition, types, and debates.

The last two decades have witnessed a surge of women entering politics at different levels of governing bodies. Most scholars have attributed this surge to the adoption of gender quotas in many countries and particularly in Africa. Gender quotas are not a new phenomenon in Africa. Ghana was the first country to institute gender quotas in 1960 (see table 1 below). Trip et al. (2006) identify four other countries that legislated gender quotas before 1995. These four countries are Tanzania (1975), Egypt (1976-1986), Senegal (1982), and Uganda (1989). Table 1 reveals that most SSA countries have passed gender quotas laws to promote women entry in the lower house and reserved 30 to 50% of seats for women in the lower house, Djibouti and Niger reserve only 10%.

Gender quotas require that women must constitute a certain number of percent of the members of a body, whether it is a candidate lists, a parliamentary assembly, or a government (Dahlerup, 2005). Advocates of gender quotas argue that gender quota is a mean for eliminating obstacles to women

representation in politics created by the exclusionary practices of political parties and political institutions. Hence, gender quotas challenge both those who control the recruitment process and those who nominate and select women candidates in all governing bodies.

Table 1: Gender quotas types and legislation in SSA

Country	Parliament type	Voluntary political party quotas	Quota type	Quota Details		
			Single/Lower House	Constitutional	Year of Latest Amendment	Lower House Quota (%)
Algeria	Bicameral	No	Reserved seats	No	2012	20-50
Angola	Unicameral	No	Legislated Candidate Quotas	No	2010	30
Botswana	Unicameral	Yes	No Legislated	-	-	30*
Burkina Faso	Bicameral	No	Legislated Candidate Quotas	No	2009	30
Burundi	Bicameral	No	Reserved seats	Yes	2009	30
Cameroon	Unicameral	Yes	No Legislated	-	-	25-30 *
Cape Verde	Unicameral	No	Legislated Candidate Quotas	No	2010	50
Côte d'Ivoire	Unicameral	Yes	No Legislated	-	-	30*
Congo, Democratic Republic of	Bicameral	No	Legislated Candidate Quotas	Yes	2011	50
Djibouti	Unicameral	No	Reserved seats	No	2002	10
Egypt	Bicameral	No	Legislated Candidate Quotas	No	2014	9
Equatorial Guinea	Bicameral	Yes	No Legislated	-	-	-
Eritrea	Unicameral	No	Reserved seats	No	2002	30
Ethiopia	Bicameral	Yes	No Legislated	-	-	30*
Ghana	Unicameral	No	No Legislated	-	-	-
Guinea	Unicameral	No	Legislated Candidate Quotas	No	2010	20
Kenya	Bicameral	Yes	Reserved seats	Yes	2010	33
Lesotho	Bicameral	No	Legislated Candidate Quotas	No	2011	16.7
Liberia	Bicameral	No	No Legislated	-	-	-
Libya	Unicameral	No	Legislated Candidate Quotas	No	2012	20
Malawi	Unicameral	Yes	No Legislated	-	-	25-33*
Mali	Unicameral	Yes	No Legislated	-	-	30
Mauritania	Bicameral	No	Legislated Candidate Quotas	No	2012	13.6
Mauritius	Unicameral	No	No Legislated	-	-	-
Morocco	Bicameral	No	Reserved seats	No	2011	7.5
Mozambique	Unicameral	Yes	No Legislated	-	-	40*
Namibia	Bicameral	Yes	No Legislated	-	-	50*
Niger	Unicameral	Yes	Reserved seats	No	2001	10
Republic of The Congo (Brazzaville)	Bicameral	No	Legislated Candidate Quotas	Yes	2007	15
Rwanda	Bicameral	No	Legislated Candidate Quotas	Yes	2003	30
Senegal	Unicameral	No	Legislated Candidate Quotas	No	2004	50
Sierra Leone	Unicameral	No	No Legislated	-	-	-
Somalia	Unicameral	No	Reserved seats	No	2012	30
South Africa	Bicameral	Yes	No Legislated	-	-	50*

South Sudan	Bicameral	No	Reserved seats	Yes	2012	25
Sudan	Bicameral	No	Reserved seats	Yes	2008	25
Swaziland	Bicameral	No	Reserved seats	No	2005	30
Tanzania, United Republic of	Unicameral	Yes	Reserved seats	Yes	2010	30
Togo	Unicameral	No	Legislated Candidate Quotas	No	2013	50
Tunisia	Unicameral	No	Legislated Candidate Quotas	Yes	2014	50
Uganda	Unicameral	No	Reserved seats	Yes	2006	30
Zimbabwe	Bicameral	Yes	Reserved seats	Yes	2013	22

Sources: Global Database of Quotas for Women (2016)

Notes: Legislated Candidate Quotas only guarantee women a place on the ballot; they do not directly translate into seats

* Indicates adoption by individual political parties, not legislated

Percentage calculated by the author, because

- 1) the actual quota is designated by a number of seats, not a percentage
- 2) The given quota applies only to a portion of the legislature.

In general, there are two types of electoral gender quotas: candidate quotas and reserved seats. Candidate quotas specify the minimum percentage of candidates for election that must be women and apply to political parties' lists of candidates for election (Dahlerup, 2005). Candidate quotas can be legal or voluntary. Legal candidate quotas are instituted in the constitution in the electoral or political party laws. Voluntary party quotas are quotas that political parties voluntarily institute in incorporating women in their candidate lists.

Reserved seats set aside a certain number of seats for women among representatives in a legislature, specified either in the constitution or by legislation (Dahlerup, 2005). Most reserved seat quotas set 30 % to 40 % of seats of various governing bodies for women based on the critical mass theory (Kanter 1977, Dahlerup 2005) and the requirement of various international treaties and conventions. Reserved seat quotas do not necessarily exempt women to participate in election. Reserved quotas seats can take the form of appointments or election of women. Initially, Tanzania's constitution reserves 20% of seats in the parliament for women. The reserved seats are distributed among political parties based on the number of seats that they gain in the parliamentary elections. Political parties can choose either to appoint or to allow them to stand for election. However, women party members elect the women candidates for election and women compete among themselves for a place in the election lists and not with men (Trip et al. 2006). In 2000, women held 22.3% of parliamentary seats in Tanzania¹.

Gender quotas can also set a limit on the representation of both gender hence no sexes will have a greater representation in making-decision bodies. This is also known as gender-neutral quotas. Under the gender-neutral quotas, for instance, neither gender can occupy more than 60% or less than 40% of the seats.

The above three mentioned types of gender quota guarantees an increase in women representation but they require a strong power base in both the parliaments and the political parties. They require a large minority of women to challenge social and political prejudices and norms and to remove the various constraint of women political participation leading to a gradual acceptance of women in politics. This is known as the "quotas incremental track" (Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005). Most Scandinavian countries represent the incremental approach and took them sixty to seventy years to reach the 30% critical mass (Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005). The "quotas fast track" as opposed to the quotas incremental track represents a kick-start for women to gain entry to politics. Rwanda and South Africa are two countries in SSA that have use fast track quotas.

The debate around the adoption or gender quotas must consider both the advantages and disadvantages of gender quotas. Table 2 summarizes the two sides of the debate.

Table 2: the advantages and disadvantages of gender quotas

¹ In 2005, Tanzania increased the reserved seats for women to 30 % following the SADC declaration on gender and development (Trip et al. 2006).

Advantages	Disadvantages
Quotas for women do not discriminate but alleviates women barriers entry to politics	Quotas are against the principles of equal opportunity for all because it favours women rather than men
Quotas enable women to form committee or assembly to minimize the stress experienced by token women	Political representation should be a choice between ideas and party platforms, not social categories
Women have the right as citizens to equal presentation	Quotas are undemocratic because voters should be able to decide who is elected
Quotas forces political parties to nominate both men and women hence extending the pool of candidates for election	Quotas for women will be followed by demands for quotas for other groups, which results in a politics of sheer group-interest representation.
Quotas cause conflicts in the short-run but not in the long run.	

Sources: Dahlerup, 2005

The African context of gender quotas

In Africa, five main factors have contributed to the introduction of gender quotas: international agreements, women's movements, post-conflict factors, state objectives and democratic influences.

The impetus for gender quotas first came through their recognition of several international conventions such as the CEDAW, the Beijing Platform for Action, the SADC, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the African Union. Women's organization increased women's awareness of their critical numbers in influencing politics and influenced women's aspirations to challenge the political structures that perpetuated their under-representation. Women's movement transcends the political, ethnic, and religious diversity of women to overcome the tokenism perception of women representation in the legislature and to create strategic partnership to reject patronage and corruption practices. In Senegal, various women's organizations along with 30 NGOs formed a non-partisan group to campaign for the increase of women legislation to at least 30% (Diop 2001, Sakho 2002, Trip et al. 2006).

Countries coming out of conflicts have the opportunity to draw new constitutions and establish new parliamentary rules and practices. Therefore, countries in post conflicts are more likely to adopt gender quotas (Trip et al. 2006). An example of such country is Mozambique. After its independence in 1975, Mozambique enshrined the principle of equality between men and women in its constitution, prioritize women's literacy, and eliminate discrimination against women. In the 1977 election, women held 12 to 28 % of positions of the local councils or in the assembly. State objective or changing domestic agendas have been the influential force for the adoption of gender quotas. Here, the creation of a modern image for challenging conservative societal forces is the reason for adopting gender quotas rather than the advancement of the women's agenda. This is the

case in Morocco and Tunisia (Trip et al. 2006). Trip et al. (2006) further explore how gender quotas can be utilized to achieve a political goal. They state that in Uganda women elected using reserved seats are seen as being rewarded for their loyalty to the president. These women passed anti-democratic and anti-women legislation (121). In the late 1980s and early 1990s, a movement of democratization and political liberalization swept through Africa which resulted in the rejection of authoritarian regimes and shift from one party to multiparty system and from military to civilian rule. The democratic movement gave a new breath to women's organization. With multipartism, women's organization could co-operate across party lines. An example of such women organization is Women's Political Party Organization (FPP) in Guinea. FPP seeks to build synergies between women's NGO and women politicians and working to lessen rivalries and strengthen co-operation between women's organization (Trip et al. 2006). However, in Namibia, women's political organization falls between party lines.

The debate around gender quotas revolves around two main issues: tokenism and merit. African feminist object to the use of gender quotas because they believe that it led to tokenism and is another strategy at the service of the state or political party patronage. Opponents argue that politicians can appropriate gender quotas to win over the women's vote, to consolidate their positions, and to guarantee their majority in the parliament. Therefore, women elected through quotas may not be qualified and will be unable to work the system to push a political agenda in favour of women. This would ultimately devalue the position of women and lower the quality of legislators. A conscientious effort must be put in training women to enhance their political skills and in providing women the resources, political resources, education, and political connections to run for office. Advocates of gender quotas argue that even the most meritorious women would be unable to gain entry in the parliament when faced social and political barriers. The meritorious discourse keeps women in the subordinate position whereas gender quotas open doors for women and promote equity. There is an implicit quota for men in place through cultural attitudes against women's involvement in politics.

Quotas open doors to other minority groups to claim special reservations and rights which in the context of African society is a Pandora's box of claims and counterclaims (Diop 2002). However, gender quotas in itself cannot all the barriers to women's entry in politics.

Gender quotas and women's representation

The widespread adoption of quotas and the surge of women representation in politics have engendered a literature that explores the impact of quotas on women's representation. The literature on women's representation investigates whether quotas focuses on the overall numbers of women elected in office (descriptive representation), whether elected women pursue political objectives that are different from men (substantive representation), and how women's presence affects the perceived legitimacy of elected bodies or alters voters beliefs about male domination in politics (symbolic representation).

In a case study of Tanzania, Yoon (2011) examines whether the increase number of female members of parliament (MPs) elected through reserved had an impact on parliamentary debates and atmospheres, attitudes toward female parliamentarians, recruitment of women into parliament and

policy outcomes. This study is based on qualitative data from interviews of 30 MPs - 21 females and nine males from both the ruling and opposition parties – conducted in 2008. The increased number of women MPs has brought positive and numerous change in the parliament. It has increased the proportion of women's contribution to parliamentary debates, and has broadened parliamentary discourse. Issues affecting women, children, and families are better articulated and more frequently discussed. The increased number of women MPs has created a parliamentary environment where female MPs are more comfortable to pursue a pro-women agenda. This was facilitated by the election of the first female speaker. Male MPs observed that special-seat MPs are among the most active contributors to parliamentary debates. They passed several laws such as Labour Act of 1997, the Sexual Offences Act of 1998, the Land Act of 1999, the Village Land Act of 1999, the Land Amendment Act of 2004, and repealing, in 1996, the law that expelled pregnant girls from school. However, female MPs experienced mounting constraints due to the weak separation of power, party discipline, the lack of skills and English language proficiency. Party discipline obligates women to support their parties' positions because their seats depend on party membership. This is not exclusive to female MPs, newly elected male MPs lacks skills and parliamentary experience.

During Mozambique's first multiparty parliament, women MPs held 35 percent of the parliamentary seats, 26.9 % of women were ministers, and 26.7% of vice ministers were women (Disney, 2006). This led to question the difference the quantitative and quality aspects of women political representation. Disney (2006) answers this question by analysing the new Family Law enacted in 2003. The new Family Law is described as the most progressive family law in the history of Mozambique. The new law recognizes all three types of laws; i.e. religious, customary, and civil laws. The law challenges the patriarchal traditional family structure in several ways. First, the law protects women and children of both polygamous and monotonous marriages and challenges the notion of male head of household. The new law allows women to be chief of the family. Second, it recognizes both customary and de facto unions – woman and man cohabiting for at least three years but not marrying legally. Women in both customary and de factor unions can seek for alimony, maintenance, or custody in the case of divorce or separation. Third, the law eliminates the distinction between legitimates and illegitimates children and give equal right to both children. Fourth, it raises the minimum age of marriage for boys and girls from sixteen and fourteen to eighteen except for sixteen years old girls under special circumstances and parental consent. Fifth, the law makes it easy to adopt children and acknowledge the concept of foster family allowing the adoption of the number of children orphaned or abandoned due to wars and deaths of parents from HIV/AIDS. Sixth, it abolishes the requirement that a woman should seek her husband or father permission to work, to go into business, or to contract debts. However, the credit of the new family law is for women's organization that worked from the outside to pressure government agencies.

O'brien (2012) focuses on the impact of quotas on women's descriptive representation in Uganda. The study specifically compare the qualification of female politicians elected through the reserved seats system with the qualification of those male and female parliamentarians elected without the assistance of affirmative actions. Uganda was among the first country in Africa to adopt the reserves seats quotas in 1989. The enactment of the quota policy was the results of the lobbying of women's

organization and the political considerations of the ruling National Resistance Movement (NRM) after years of conflict and political instability². The policy reserves seventy-nine seats of the 332 parliament seats for women. However, women elected to reserve seats are female representative of the district because they are selected via electoral colleges made up of members of both women's and local councils. To access a seat, the women candidate to reserve seats had to gather the approval of a smaller number of elites rather than a districtwide constituency. This gave an advantage to elite women that could easily secure the approval and made other women vulnerable to politic patronage. These women are not selected based on their qualifications or are not screened by women's organization. For the purpose of the study, O'Brien (2012) compares quota and nonquota representative on demographic attributes such education, occupational background, and political characteristics – experience in bureaucracy and elected office. Elite status is defined by comparing the educational and occupational backgrounds of quota women with nonquota parliamentarians and the Ugandan population. The results of the study fail to support most critics levied against the adoption of quotas such as quotas promote women who do not merit their positions, elite, and women are selected based on their party or governing regime loyalty. Indeed, the results show that the women selected using the reserve seats are not different from female county representatives based on their educational attainment, occupational background, and party identification.

Research from other regions of the world focuses on the impact of quotas on institutions, corruption, and governance. Swamy et al. (2011) investigate the relationship between gender and corruption. First, legislative corruption is itself an important dimension of governmental corruption, and if women tend to accept fewer bribes, the incidence of legislative corruption will be lower where women hold more seats. Second, members of parliament may influence the incidence of bureaucratic and judicial corruption through the passage of laws designed to deter bribery, through their influence on judicial or executive branch appointments (in some countries), or through placing corruption on the public agenda and encouraging the media and other elements of civil society to focus on the problem. Their results suggest that increased presence of women in public life will reduce levels of corruption. Indeed, corruption is negatively correlated with the share of women in parliament and the share of women in the labor force as well as with the share of women in senior position in the government bureaucracy. (Swamy et al. 2001).

Shukralla and Allan (2011) hypothesize that if women's involvement in politics helps curtail corruption, and if one major reason for foreign aid's ineffectiveness is corruption, then foreign aid may be more effective in those countries with larger participation of women in politics. For this, they assesses whether foreign aid and political gender equality (measured as the percentage of women in parliament) affect perceived corruption using data from the 2000s. They find that neither aid nor the percentage of women in parliament affects perceived corruption significantly. Moreover, the impact of aid on corruption does not seem to be affected by the share of women in parliament. The mere increase in the percentage of women in parliament does not necessarily affect policy decisions. Nevertheless, democracy curbs corruption. Moreover, the link between corruption and a

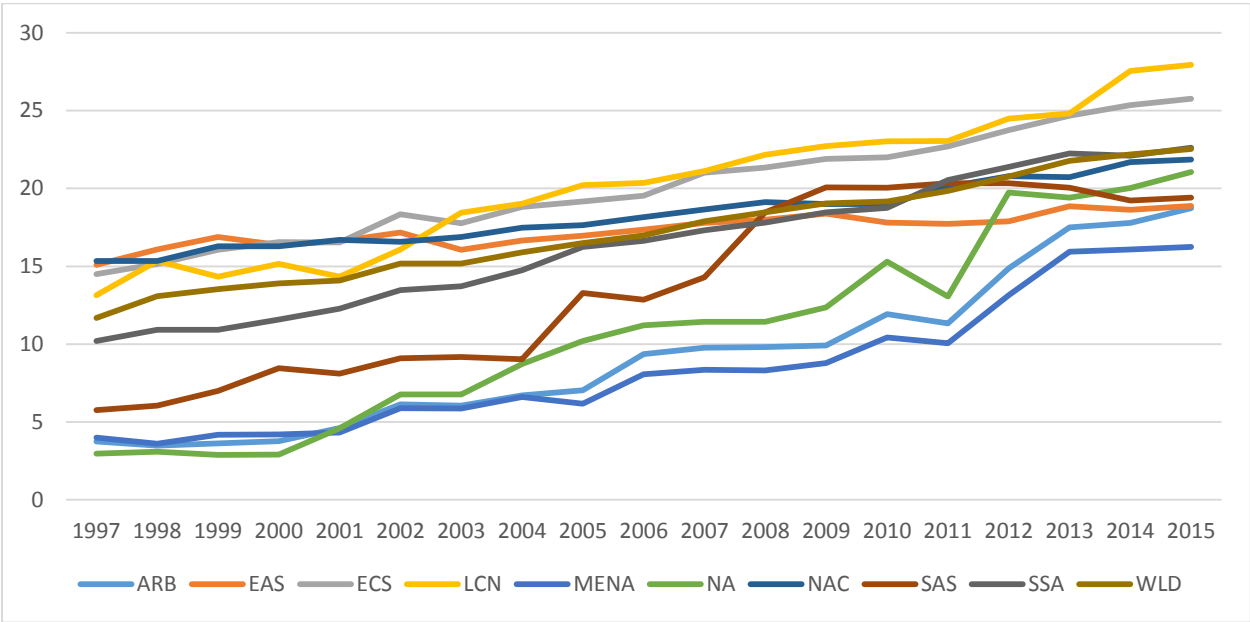
² This policy was viewed as political strategy for the president Museveni to gain the support of female voters.

larger share of women in government is driven by other aspects of democratic societies. They find evidence that women in the lower house of parliament may not be as effective as women's representation at upper houses.

Women's political representation: an analysis of the trends.

In the last three decades, women increasingly integrate the public spheres by occupying positions that were previously unavailable to them. One such area was politics. Figure 1 depicts the slow integration of women in politics. Worldwide, women occupied 11.69% of seats in the parliament. In Africa, women integration in politics was slower than in other regions of the world. Indeed, the Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) average was 10.20% whereas in North Africa (NA) the average was 2.97% in 1997. Only four regions had an average above the world average. These regions were North America (NA), East Asia and Pacific (EAP), Europe and Central Asia (ECA), Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) with 15.33%, 14.51%, and 13.14% respectively. All remaining regions had an average of below 6%. The adoption of the MDGs in 2000 gave a boost to this agenda by including women political representation as one of the indicators for gender equality (goal 3).

Figure 1: Proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments by regions (percent), 1997 to 2015

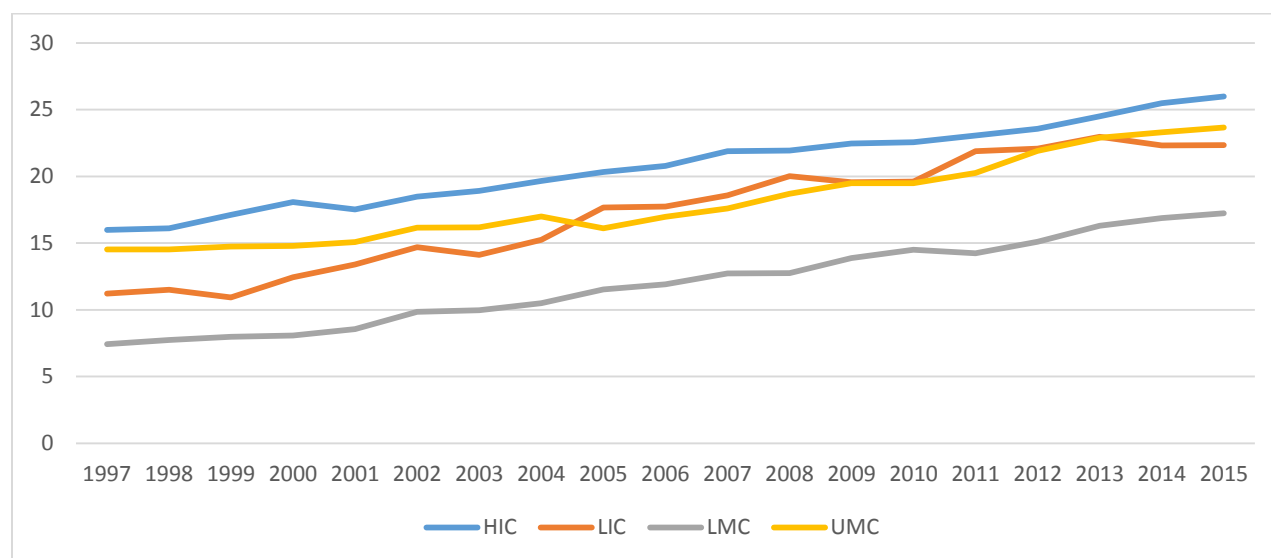


Sources: WDI, 2016

A similar trend is observed when looking at the percentage of women in parliament by income level (see Figure 2 below). In 1999, high income countries led the way with a 17.12% average followed by upper middle income countries (14.74%), low income countries (10.93%), and lower middle income countries (7.97%). The gap between high and low income countries closed overtime. In 1997, the gap between high and low income countries was 4.79 %, this gap was as low as 1.16% and peaked in 2015 to reach 3. 65%. Looking at figure 2, the trends of low and upper middle income countries are

noticeable. In 1997, the upper middle income countries average was 14.52% whereas low income countries average was 11.21% with a difference of 3.3%. However, between 2005 and 2013, the gap turned negative in favor of low income countries. In 2011, the gap was as large as 1.62%.

Figure 2: Proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments by income levels (%), 1997 to 2015



Sources: WDI, 2016

International trends of women political inclusion

Nordic countries were the leaders in women political participation for several decades prior to 1999. From 1997 to 2002, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark had the highest share of women in the parliament. Their share of women seats in the lower house were always above the 30 % critical mass. In 1997, 31.3% of seats of Netherland’s parliament were held by women and in 1998; women increased their seats holding to 36%. In 2002, Costa Rica overtook Iceland in the number of women in the parliament. Prior to this, Cuba achieved a 27.6% seats of women in the parliament and was ranked 10th in 1999. In 2003, 14 countries had more than 30% of parliamentary seats for women. Two of these countries were SSA countries and 3 countries were Latin America countries. The 14 countries were Rwanda, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, Norway, Cuba, Belgium, Costa Rica, Austria, Germany, Argentina, Iceland, and Mozambique. Hence, 2003 is considered the year when Nordic countries have lost their leadership positions in terms of women’s political inclusion. In 2003, Rwanda almost achieved the parity between men and women in political representation (48.8%). Sweden trailed behind with a 45.3% (see table 3 below).

African trends of women political inclusion

In Africa, Mozambique led the way in women’s political inclusion because women held 25.2 % of parliamentary seats in 1997. In 1998, South African’s women held 28.8% of parliamentary seats

which ranks South Africa as 7th out of 107. The following years (1999 and 2000), both Mozambique and South Africa reached the critical mass of 30%. These two countries maintain their leading position in women political inclusion for 3 years. However in 2003, Rwanda entered the ranking with a 48.8% of lower house seats held by women. In doing so, Rwanda took the leading position whereas Mozambique and South Africa had the 30% and 29.8% respectively in 2003 (see table 4).³ In 2006, Mozambique and South Africa increased the women's representation to reach 34.8% and 32.8%. In 2006, Burundi and Tanzania entered the ranking by reaching 30.5% and 30.4% of women in the parliament (see table 4). Moving forward, every year at least two countries increase their share of women in the lower house such that they achieve the 30% critical mass.

Table 4: African classification of the percentage of women in the lower house from 2003 to 2015

Country	2003	2006	2009	2011	2014	2015
Algeria	6.2	6.2	7.7	8	31.6	31.6
Angola	15.5	15	38.6	38.2	36.8	36.8
Benin	6	7.2	10.8	8.4	8.4	7.2
Botswana	17	11.1	7.9	7.9	9.5	9.5
Burkina Faso	11.7	11.7	15.3	30.5	30.5	30.5
Burundi	18.4	30.5	31.4	15.3	18.9	13.3
Cabo Verde	11.1	15.3	18.1	20.8	20.8	20.8
Cameroon	8.9	8.9	13.9	13.9	31.1	31.1
Central African Republic		10.5	9.6	12.5		
Chad	5.8	6.5	5.2	12.8	14.9	14.9
Comoros		3	0	3	3	3.0
Congo	8.5	8.5	7.3	7.3	7.4	7.4
Cote d'Ivoire	8.5	8.5	8.9	11	9.4	9.2
Dem. Republic of the Congo	?	8.4	8.4		10.6	8.9
Djibouti	10.8	10.8	13.8	13.8	12.7	12.7
Egypt	2.4	2	1.8	2		
Equatorial Guinea	5	18	10	10	24	24.0
Eritrea	22	22	22	22	22	22.0
Ethiopia	7.7	21.9	21.9	27.8	27.8	
Gabon	9.2			14.2	15	14.2
Gambia	13.2	13.2	7.5	7.5	9.4	9.4
Ghana	9	10.9	8.3	8.3	10.9	10.9
Guinea	19.3	19.3			21.9	21.9

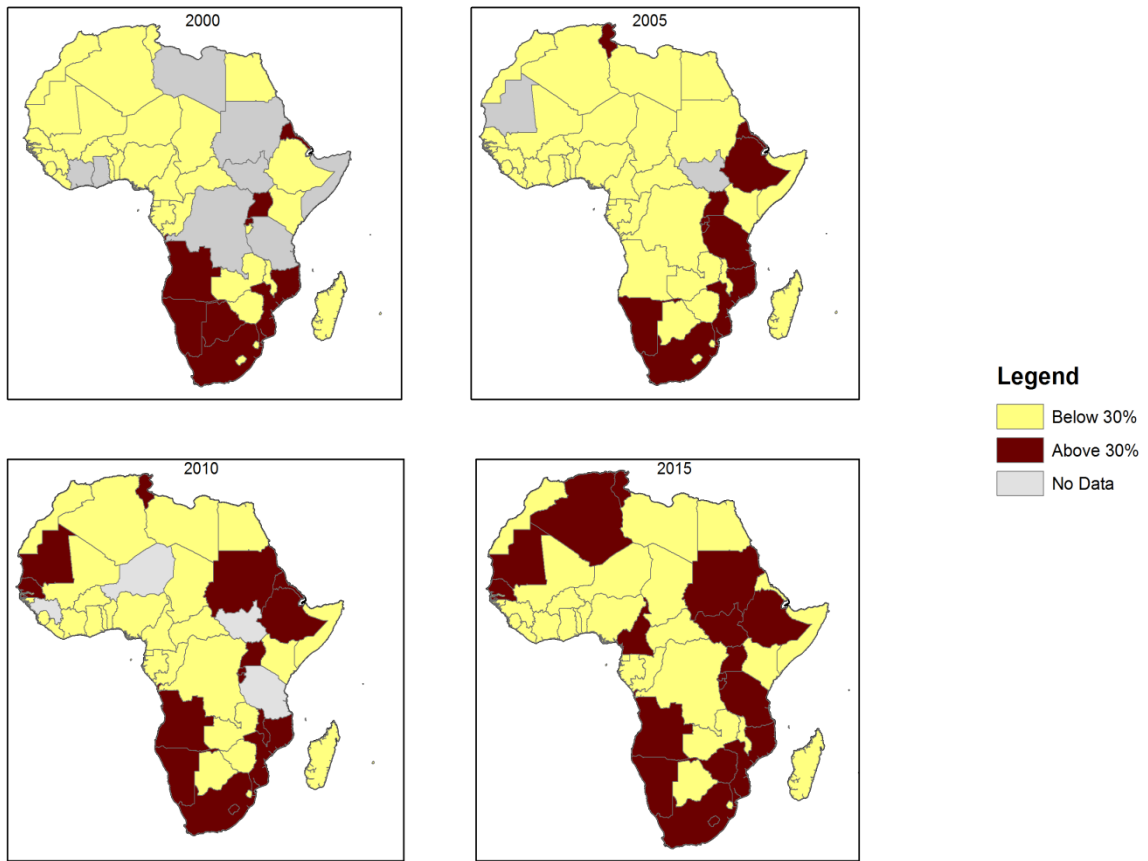
³ We focus on the period from 2003 to 2015 for space reason. A bigger table could not fit in the page.

Guinea-Bissau		14	10	10	13.7	13.7
Kenya	7.1	7.3	9.8	9.8	19.1	19.7
Lesotho	11.7	11.7	24.2	24.2	26.7	25.0
Liberia	7.8	12.5	12.5	9.6	11	11.0
Libya					16	16.0
Madagascar	3.8	6.9		12.5	20.5	20.5
Malawi	9.3	13.6	20.8	22.3	16.7	16.7
Mali	10.2	10.2	10.2	10.2	9.5	8.8
Mauritania	3.7	17.9	22.1	22.1	25.2	25.2
Mauritius	5.7	17.1	17.1	18.8	18.8	11.6
Morocco	10.8	10.8	10.5	17	17	17.0
Mozambique	30	34.8	39.2	39.2		39.6
Namibia	26.4	26.9	26.9	24.4		41.3
Niger	1.2	12.4	9.7	13.3	13.3	13.3
Nigeria	4.9	6.1	7	6.8	6.7	5.6
Rwanda	48.8	48.8	56.3	56.3	63.8	63.8
Sao Tome and Principe	9.1	7.3	7.3	18.2	18.2	18.2
Senegal	19.2	19.2	22.7	22.7	43.3	42.7
Seychelles	29.4	29.4	21.6	43.8	43.8	43.8
Sierra Leone	14.5	14.5	13.2	12.9	12.1	12.4
Somalia		7.8	6.9	6.8	13.8	13.8
South Africa	29.8	32.8	44.5	42.3	41.5	41.9
South Sudan				26.5	26.5	26.5
Sudan	9.7	17.8	18.9	24.6	24.3	30.5
Swaziland	10.8	10.8	13.6	13.6	6.2	6.2
Togo	7.4	8.6	11.1	11.1	17.6	17.6
Tunisia	11.5	22.8	27.6	26.7	31.3	31.3
Uganda	24.7	29.8	31.5	35	35	35.0
United Rep. of Tanzania	21.4	30.4	30.7	36	36	36.0
Zambia	12	14.6	14	11.5	10.8	12.7
Zimbabwe	10	16.7	15	15	31.5	31.5

In map 1 below, we draw the evolution of women's entry in politics from 2000 to 2015. Countries are classified based on the 30% critical mass. As we can observe, there is an increasing trend in the share of women political inclusion in general as we move from 2000 to 2015. At the country level, we can observe how women's entry in politics varies over time.

Map 1: Evolution of women's entry in the parliament from 2000 to 2015.

Proportion of seats held by women in parliament from 2000 to 2015



Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) (www.ipu.org).

0 950 1,900 3,800 Miles

Case studies: Rwanda and Botswana

Rwanda

In 2003, Rwanda made a surprise entrance in the ranking of countries with high share of women in the parliament. Following the October and November 2003 election, women gained 48.8 % of seats in the parliament. This catapulted Rwanda to be the country with the highest percentage of women in the parliament in the world. This put Rwanda ahead of Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, and Norway that are leaders in women participation in politics. Overtime, women share in the parliament increases and in 2008 the Rwandan parliament was the first parliament where women are the majority. Women held 63.8% of the seats in the parliament. The success of the 2003 election found its origin on the party quotas strategies pursued by all political parties starting in 1999.

Although the government pursued the reserved seats, party quotas, and legislative quotas since 1999, however they were only instituted in 2003.⁴

In order to establish the impact of women political inclusion on women, we need to examine the political, social, and economic context that has led to the current position of women in politics. In precolonial Rwanda, women had a prominent place in both the private and public sphere. Women held positions in religion serving as spirits medium, priestess, or traditional healer. Women also held positions in politics. The queen mother had power in court and played a role in determining royal succession. The queen mother owned her lands, herds of cattle, and clients. During the colonial period, power was centralized hence limiting women's involvement in the public area. The incorporation of autonomous areas into central kingdom destroyed the precolonial power and health distribution and eliminated the indigenous religious in favour of Christianity. This undermined women political, religious and economic positions. After Rwanda gained its independence in 1962, the country had an ethnical uprising of the majority Hutu against the minority Tutsi who were agents of indirect rule and had privilege positions in the society. The first postcolonial government had a conservative approach, which in many ways was a result of its close tie to the Catholic Church. Army Chief Juvénal Habyarimana overthrew this government in 1973. In the years after the independence, women position did not change and their positions and situations in the society did not change. This changed in the 1980s as more women got involved in the civil society. They used this as platform to expand and improve women's social and political empowerment. However, civil society was weak because the Habyarimana government instituted a single party, the National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development (MRND), which controlled all aspects of political and social activities.

These two governments had little interest in improving the position of women. Longman (2006) reports that "Rwandan women have an undeniable status. They are completely subjected to the authority of their husband and of their community. They do the bulk of the domestic work and work on the land. They often seem to carry life on their shoulders and in their bodies like an unbearable burden" (135). In 1980s, women's involvement in civil society served as a base for women representation in the parliament and other government institutions. However, the civil society was still very weak because the Habyarimana regime established a single party system in 1975 where the National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development (MRND) control all aspects of social and politics life including women's organization. Women were involved in Trafipiro a former independent consumer's cooperative. In the early years of 1990s, many organizations emerged but these organizations were apolitical rather they responded to practical society needs. They were completely outside of the party state. However, women were the primary force that organized and drove the civil society. This was purely motivated by economic necessity due to economic downturn, overpopulation, the collapse of the coffee prices, corruption, and mismanagement. Women became the major constituents of churches and other organizations that sponsored development cooperatives and other economic projects both at the local and national

⁴ The section draws on the case study realized by Longman (2006) unless otherwise stated.

levels. This period saw an increase in the number of women organizations which focused solely on women's interests and rights. In the late 1980s, there was a greater demand for democracy and political reforms, which gave civil society a prominent role to play in the country. Women took a more open political position in the movement for democracy and political reform. In 1991, Rwanda abandoned the one party system and women held many positions in the newly formed political parties. Agathe Uwilingiyimana became minister of education in the first multiparty government in 1992. She was later named prime minister in 1993. She was among the first victims of the genocide.

In 1994, the majority Hutu used violence to overturn the political reforms of the preceding years and to strengthen their political positions. They launched their violence against moderate Hutu as well as the minority of Tutsi. This was not the first time that the minority Tutsi were the target of violence. In the 1960s and in 1973, Hutu attacked Tutsi. The difference between the former and latter periods of violence is that in the past women were spared, the attacks targeted men. One of the characteristics of the 1994 genocide was the extent and the magnitude of sexual violence against women. Taylor (1999) states that Hutu men used sexual violence as a retaliation mechanism for punishment for women's political advancement in the years prior to 1994. At the end of the genocide, a new government was formed and placed under the power of the victorious party of the civil war Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). After the genocide, many women became heads of household and were left to raise their children and yet the property and inheritance laws kept them in a vulnerable position. Hutu and Tutsi women victims of sexual violence and children born as a result of rapes were stigmatized and many of them had become infected with HIV/AIDS. These situations have engendered a new generation of women's organizations focused on helping women to reconstruct their lives through emergency material assistance, counselling, vocational training, assistance with income-earning activities, and healthcare and psychotherapy (Newbury and Baldwin, 2000). Avega is the example of such women's organizations. Avega assists Tutsi genocide widows and pressures the government to provide services and assistance. Pro-femmes/Twese Hamwe is an umbrella group for women's organizations forty members groups including cooperative groups.

In the period post genocide, the public influence of women's groups grew rapidly, which also gave them a certain level of political power. For instance, Pro-Femmes and Forum for women parliamentarians pushed for the adoption of a law banning discrimination against women, the inheritance laws, and pushed for harder sentences for rapes. Civil society played a major role in the advancement for women representation for two reasons. First, experience in civil society has become a prerequisite for entering politics. Second, civil societies are the voice that promoted women legitimacy and importance in politics. However, the greater support for promoting women representation came from within the RPF itself.

The RPF was created by Tutsi refugees in Uganda in the 1980s (Longman, 2006) because of persecutions that they faced under the regime of President Milton Obote. Originally, the RPF was made of Rwandans that got involved in the National Resistance Army (LRA) that brought President Museveni in power. The RPF gave women positions within its ranks and established gender quotas for women based on President Museveni's approach to women political participation. The RPF

instituted a decentralization program in 2001. This program recognized local administration and implemented a three tiered system of voting – the cell, sector, and the district. It also created a committee of seven members that included a position for women at each level of the administration. The women’s representative is elected through a special ballot for women. The new constitution adopted in 2003 further pushed the RPF agenda for women by institutionalizing reserved positions for women. The constitution reserved 30 percent of the seats in the parliament for women. However, Longman (2006) states that the rise of women’s participation cannot fully be attributed to gender quotas because the number of women in nonreserved elected seats has also increased (141). Despite the authoritarian regime of the RPF, its leaders have a strong commitment in expanding women rights in both the private and public spheres. Therefore, from 1994 to 2003, women served as ministers, mayor, and various other important positions in the government.

The successful implementation of gender quotas in Rwanda has sparked a debate on the impact of women parliamentarian in achieving equality and on the symbolic, descriptive, and substantive representation of female MPs. This is the objective of the remaining part of this case study.

Burnet (2011) investigates the impact of gender quotas on the symbolic representation of women and girls in Rwandan society using data gathered through formal interviews with the leaders and members of women’s civil society organizations and with ordinary men and women in the rural and urban areas.⁵ The increasing representation of women has resulted in women’s increased engagement at each level of governance structures. Women serve as cell, sector, or district elected officials and are accepted by their communities. Interviews have revealed that many interviewees stated that girls’ increased access to education as a benefit of the increased representation of women. However, it is difficult to attribute the universal education to the actions of women in parliament since the government has implemented the universal education in the post genocide years. Rural farmers associated increase education girls to gender quotas. There is an increase acceptance of women to speak in public which is contrary to Rwanda patriarchal tradition. Many women perceived that their willingness to speak in public to gender quotas because it generates positive attitudes among men and women about female citizen’s competency. One of the most mentioned benefit of gender quotas is the increase autonomy of women as economic actors and men and women joint decision making about domestic resources. Gender quotas also generated some downside. The 1998 inheritance law increased friction between brothers and sisters because the law protects the rights of girls and women at the death of the father or brother. Since the late 1990, as more women entered politics, men withdrawn. Many men have turned away from politics because women are the winners. Women are winners because of the fact they always win all the election and have access to better opportunities. Civil society favours women candidates over male candidates. Elections outcomes predetermined, some men present their candidacy while knowing in advance that the position will go to a woman. Unfortunately, gender quota did not change in terms of gender roles, political power, or the democratic legitimacy of the government. For instance, women head of household were and are still making decisions. They always exercise power in the family and in the community enjoying

⁵ Read Burnet (2008 and 2014) and Powley (2005) for more information on women in parliament in Rwanda.

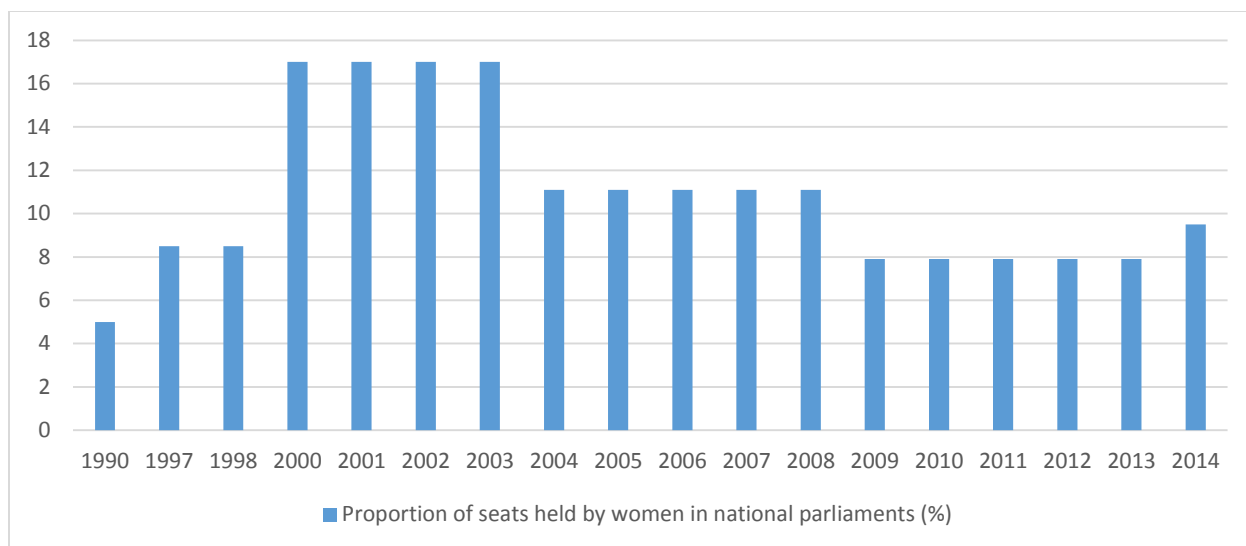
symbolic men. The average peasant perception of female officials is no better than of male officials. Both female and male officials face the same pressure of complying with the directives from above and just as corrupt. The symbolic representation of women did not change the population perception of the government. The institutions are still considered as not democratic. Many interviewees, well-educated urban elites in Kigali, stated that the gender quota policy is a way for the RPF to solidify its hold on power.

Botswana

Botswana is hailed as a miracle of growth in Africa. Over the last two decades, Botswana's economic growth rate has increased from 6.77% in 1990 to 9.32% in 2014 while the GDP per capita averaged around \$US 4923.95 during the same period.⁶ Hence, Botswana reached a middle-income country status in 1973. Botswana has also been an example of peace and strong democracy in region where democratic process and peace has been fragile. In the midst of Botswana's economic and political success, women were left behind in the area of political inclusion. Indeed, in 1990, women held 5% of the parliamentary seats. Ten years later, the share of women in the parliament reached 17% however, the latest data shows a regression in the number of women in the parliament. In 2015, women held 9.5 % of the seats in the parliament (see figure 3 below). Similarly, to the Rwanda's case study, the goal of this case study is to examine political, social, and economic context that has led to the current position of women in politics and to investigate the substantive and symbolic representations of elected women.

Figure 3: Proportion of seats held by women in the national parliament in Botswana, 1990-2015.

⁶ All data are from WDI (2016).



Sources: World Bank, 2016

Botswana is a parliamentary republic with a unicameral parliament (the National Assembly) which is composed of 57 elected members, four special elected members, and two ex officio members (Bauer, 2010).⁷ The number of constituencies increased from 31 in 1965 to 57 in 2004 based on new population census. Beside the National Assembly, Botswana has a House of Chiefs that act an advisory committee to the National Assembly in the matter related to provisions of the constitution and powers of chiefs, sub-chiefs or headmen, customary courts, customary laws, or tribal organization and property (Bauer, 2010). Botswana electoral system is the first-past-the-post (FPTP).⁸ The FPTP electoral system is utilised both for the parliamentary and local government elections. Many authors have pointed out that the FPTP has severely impeded the electoral process in Botswana by limiting the political opposition (Maudeni et al 2007, Selolwane and Shale 2008). There are three main political party in Botswana: the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), the Botswana National Front (BNF), and the Botswana Congress party (BCP). In reality, the BDP has held the power for the last three decades mainly due to a fragmented opposition. Civil society is not developed nor encouraged. However, women in Botswana fare relatively better in Botswana than in other countries in southern Africa. For instance, women are more literate than men are, and more women are entering the university in Botswana. Surprising, women occupy high profile position in the private sector. In 2012, 39% of senior management were women. This contrasts with the sluggish inclusion of women in politics. What explains this paradox?

Two main factors can explain this paradox. The first is the lack of provision for gender quotas and the second is that women still face considerable political obstacles. Bauer (2010) states that unlike other African countries that went through a period of transition that gave them an opportunity to write new constitution, Botswana did not experience a political transition in the last 20 years as such

⁷ The constitution requires the President to nominate four individual for the four special seats and the parliament elect these individuals however, the process boils down to an appointment of individual in the seats.

⁸ Another name for the FPTP system is the plurality/majority electoral system.

they missed [or never had] the opportunity for significant transformation and is still guided by its original British-drafted constitution passed at its independence in 1966. The constitution has a little gender provisions, speaks poorly of women, and kept women to move beyond the discriminatory phase (Banda, 2006). This has two main consequences: limit the extent to which political actors can pursue policies that contribute to the advancement of women (Scribner and Lambert, 2010) and limit the revision of the electoral laws (Bauer and Burnet, 2013). Scribner and Lambert (2010) posit that the women movement has been proactive in fighting attempts to further limit the women's right rather than pushing for greater women's equality and passing laws for the promotion of women's political and economic empowerment. The constitution provision for the FPTP electoral system is not compatible with electoral gender quota. Laserud and Taphorn (2007) states that reserved or special seats works and are the best fit for any electoral system but they are the only best fit for FPTP electoral system. This conclusion emphasises Matland's observation that less democratic states are likely to adopt reserved or special seats than any other type of quota and states that are more democratic are less likely to adopt reserved seats or special seats (Matland, 2006).

In the 1990s, there have been a mobilisation for the adoption of an electoral gender quota by *Emang Basadi* ("Stand up, women") – women's lobby group – and in the aftermath of the SADC Gender Declaration. Bauer's interviews with several male and female MPs revealed that people think adopting electoral gender quotas requires a change of the electoral system from the FPTP to the proportional representation (PR) electoral system. There is a strong resistance to any type of affirmative actions for women or minorities. Many male MPs argue that women must compete with men for all positions and the structures of each political party and the party elections regulation ensure a level playing field for women candidates, gender quotas would unfairly advantages women, and would result in the election of unqualified elite women in the parliament (Bauer, 2010). Bauer (2010) reports that only one (BCP) of the three political parties in Botswana refers to quotas in its 2009-2014 election manifesto or constitution. The BDP's 2009-2014 manifesto support the promotion of women into high positions in the private and public areas but its 2008 constitution does not have a provision for women in its central committee. The BNF's 2009 General Election Manifesto supports the emancipation women and it does not have a provision for women in its central committee. The BCP's manifesto has the most progressive provision for women. The manifesto pledges to work toward an anti-sexist society, to implement a quota system for increasing women representation at the national and local level through a change of the electoral system and its current constitution to ensure that women shall constitute 30% of the its central committee's members.

In 2009, Bothogile Tshireletso, a female MP, introduced an amendment for increasing the reserved seats from four to eight without specifying that any of the eight seats would be especially reserved for women. The amendment was criticized because it took a piecemeal approach to the issue of women's under representation and it was viewed as an attempt for the BDP to consolidate its majority in the parliament (Bauer, 2010). Tshireletso's attempt failed but Margaret Nasha – Minister of Presidential Affairs and Public Administration in 2009 – reintroduced Tshireletso's amendment as

a bill. However, the bill was never passed due to factional disputes within the BDP and the dissolution of the National Assembly in 2009 (Bauer 2010).

This begs the question of how women overcame these obstacles. In the 1980s and 1990s, the women's movement was effective in promoting women entry in politics, however in the 2000s, this changed. Indeed, from the 2000s onward, there has been a clear dwindling of women's mobilization. Prior to 1970s, Botswana had two organizations – The Botswana Council of Women (BCW) and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) - that focus on women's interests however, these organizations had no political orientation rather focuses on social welfare and development. Political parties that existed prior to 1970s did not have a women's wing. Women's wings were created years after the formation of political parties, these wings were social clubs for spouses of males' politicians, and women's role was restricted to fundraising, canvassing support for men, and providing entertainment during political rallies (Bauer. 2011). Between 1970s and 1980s, Botswana followed the international trend on women's rights and discourses. Hence, in 1981, Botswana created the Women and Development Planning and Advisory Committee (WODPLAC) and Women's affair unit in the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs under the Department of culture, Registration, and Social Welfare. Between 1980s and 1990s, women's movement gained prominence in Botswana. During this period, *Emang Basadi* was created because of an investigation of laws that discriminated against women, and challenge an amendment to the Citizenship Act of 1984 establishing citizenship through a father only, and impetus of the Nairobi Conference (Bauer, 2011). Initially, *Emang Basadi* was a platform for initiating discussions on issues affecting women and focused on legal reform. Indeed, it held workshops and seminars to raise women's awareness on discriminatory laws and to advocate for the reforms of these laws. *Emang Basadi* promoted the emergence of new women's organizations: Metlhaestile Women's Information Center, Ditshwanelo, and the Botswana Chapters of Women in Law in Southern Africa (WILSA), and the Women in LAW and Development in Africa (WILDAF). In 1993, *Emang Basadi* established its political education and empowerment due to women continued marginalization in politics and society and a reluctance on the government to respond to women's needs. In the 2000s, *Emang Basadi* was a shadow of its former self (Bauer, 2011). *Emang Basadi* did not have a manifesto for the 2004 and 2009 elections and training sessions for women candidates were handed over to a third party. Despite the difficult political context, women forged their ways into the parliament and were able to affect the parliamentary debates and passed laws in favour of women. Bauer and Burnet (2013) undertook a comparative study of Rwanda and Botswana. The countries selection is based on their political system. Botswana is a stable multiparty democracy whereas Rwanda is an increasingly authoritarian single party dominant state. The study seeks to answer three questions: Are African democracies more likely to adopt gender quotas and/or to elect more women to parliament? Are women members of parliament more able to represent women's in more democratic countries? Are women MPs undermining the prospects for democratization by participating in large numbers in parliament in countries with less than democratic political systems? In Botswana, low women representation led to substantive representation due to the heightened awareness of women's interest brought about the demand for greater representation. Women MPs passes several laws despite the many challenges of being in the parliament. They passed the 2008 Domestic Violence Bill, the 2009 Children's Bill, the 2004 Abolition of Marital Power Act. In Rwanda, the impact of gender quotas and symbolic representation (increased women representation) has been mixed. Most laws and policies that enhance and protect women's rights and interest were passed before the

adoption of gender quotas in 2003. These laws include the classification of rape or sexual torture as a crimes in the genocide, rights for pregnant and breastfeeding women in the workplace, a new children's rights law based on the United Nations Declaration on the rights of the child, and the constitutional mandate of gender quotas. After 2003, female MPs struggled to find a set of policy initiative that could unify them and for which they could advocate freely. Two factors can explain the inability of women MPs to unify. First, women MPs, elected through reserve seats or not, behold the RPF political party policies and contentious legislation rather than those who elected them. Second, elite women elected to reserved women's seats or named on party lists had few ties to rural women, lived in urban areas, and share a different set of interests than rural women. For instance, in 2009, the majority of female MPs approved new labour laws that increased the work week from 40 to 45 hours hence increasing the burden on working mothers. These proposals emerged from the executive as part of a set of initiatives to gain "business friendly" status for Rwanda. Many Rwandans perceived the women support for the proposal as an example of women MPs putting their individual interests first. In Botswana, women MPs are serving a role model, are more engaged in politics, and are advancing women's interest. Today, more women are becoming chiefs whereas before they could only be regents. In Rwanda, the increase representation of women has changed the perception of women as political actors. Women speak out more in public. Elected women have inspired more women and girls to get their education and are getting involved in all arenas of life.

Empirical Analysis

In this section the relationship between the political representation of women in national parliaments and the gender sensitive laws is been analyzed. The five gender sensitive laws analyzed are: (1) legal quotas to promote women's political participation at national and sub-national levels. (2) Women given equal parental authority as men to be the legal guardian of and have custody rights over a child after divorce. (3) Laws on domestic violence offering legal protection to women from domestic violence. (4) Laws on rape offering women legal protection from rape. (5) Laws on sexual harassment offering women legal protection from sexual harassment. These laws are scaled on the basis of their stage of legislation and implementation. Table 6 shows the definition of the laws and scale used for the measurement for each law.

This analysis utilizes the data of 159 countries and three subsamples considered are: 43 countries from Sub-Saharan Africa, 48 countries from Africa, 111 countries from outside Africa. The data for the variable: share of women in national parliament for the countries is taken from World Development Indicators, World Bank. The data for the five gender sensitive laws is taken from Social Institutions and Gender Index, OECD Development Center. Table 7 shows the summary statistics for the variables for the sample groups.

The estimation results are shown in tables 8.1, 8.2, 8.3 and 8.4. The column (1) shows the results of the Ordered Probit, column (2) shows the results of Ordered Logit and column (3) shows the results of ordinary least squares (OLS). Table 8.1 shows the estimated results for the full sample of 159 developing countries, the results show a positive association is observed between political

representation of women and all the five gender sensitive laws. All else equal countries with a higher share of women in national parliament are more likely to pass and implement the gender sensitive laws. This association is found to be significant at 1% level. In case of the 43 countries from Sub-Saharan (Table 8.2) and 48 countries from Africa (Table 8.3), the results show that all else equal, countries with a higher share of women in national parliament are more likely to pass and implement the gender sensitive laws. This association is found to be significant at 5% level. However, in case of the laws on domestic violence show a stronger relationship with the share of women in national parliaments, the results are found to be significant at 1% level for all the three estimation methods (Ordered Probit, Ordered Logit and OLS). In case of 111 countries outside Africa (Table 8.4), shows that all else equal countries with a higher share of women in national parliament are more likely to pass and implement the gender sensitive laws. These results are found to be significant at 1% level, except for laws on quotas which are significant at 5% level. The results from all the four samples, (that is, all developing countries (159 countries), Sub-Saharan Africa (43 countries), Africa (48 countries) and outside Africa (111 countries)) and the three estimation methods: Ordered Probit, Ordered Logit and OLS show a significant and positive relationship between the women's representation in national parliament and gender sensitive laws.

Table 6: Definition and source of the variables

Variable	Definition
Political representation	Share of women in national parliaments. Source: World Bank (World Development Indicators)
Laws on Quotas	Whether there are legal quotas to promote women's political participation at national and sub-national levels. 1: There are legal quotas to promote women's political participation both at the national and sub-national levels. 0.5: There are legal quotas to promote women's political participation either at the national or at the sub-national level. 0: There are no legal quotas to promote women's political participation. Source: Social Institutions and Gender Index, OECD Development Center
Laws on Parental authority in divorce	Whether women and men have the same right to be the legal guardian of and have custody rights over a child after divorce. 1: The law guarantees the same parental authority to women and men after divorce. 0.5: The law guarantees the same parental authority to women and men after divorce, but there are some customary, traditional or religious practices that discriminate against women. 0: The law does not guarantee the same parental authority to women and men after divorce, or women have no rights to parental authority. Source: Social Institutions and Gender Index, OECD Development Center
Laws on domestic violence	Whether the legal framework offers women legal protection from domestic violence. 1: There is specific legislation in place to address domestic violence; the law is adequate overall, and there are no reported problems of implementation. 0.75: There is specific legislation in place to address domestic violence; the law is adequate overall, but there are reported problems of implementation. 0.5: There is specific legislation in place to address domestic violence, but the law is inadequate. 0.25: There is no specific legislation in place to address domestic violence, but there is evidence of legislation being planned or drafted. 0: There is no legislation in place to address domestic violence.

	Source: Social Institutions and Gender Index, OECD Development Center
Laws on rape	<p>Whether the legal framework offers women legal protection from rape.</p> <p>1: There is specific legislation in place to address rape, marital rape is included, perpetrators cannot escape prosecution if they marry the victim and implementation is effectively enforced.</p> <p>0.75: There is specific legislation in place to address rape, marital rape is included and perpetrators cannot escape prosecution if they marry the victim, although implementation is not effectively enforced.</p> <p>0.5: There is specific legislation in place to address rape, marital rape is not included and perpetrators cannot escape prosecution if they marry the victim.</p> <p>0.25: There is specific legislation in place to address rape, marital rape is not included and perpetrators can escape prosecution if they marry the victim. However, legislation is being planned or drafted.</p> <p>0: There is no legislation in place to address rape.</p> <p>Source: Social Institutions and Gender Index, OECD Development Center</p>
Laws on sexual harassment	<p>Whether the legal framework offers women legal protection from sexual harassment</p> <p>1: There is specific legislation in place to address sexual harassment, the law is adequate overall and there are no reported problems of implementation.</p> <p>0.75: There is specific legislation in place to address sexual harassment, the law is adequate overall but there are reported problems of implementation.</p> <p>0.5: There is specific legislation in place to address sexual harassment, but the law is inadequate.</p> <p>0.25: There is no specific legislation to address sexual harassment, but there is evidence of legislation being planned or drafted.</p> <p>0: There is no legislation in place to address sexual harassment.</p> <p>Source: Social Institutions and Gender Index, OECD Development Center</p>

Table 7: Summary Statistics

VARIABLES	Full sample		SSA		Africa		Outside Africa	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Share of women in national parliament	20.89	11.32	20.51	12.37	20.35	12.18	21.13	10.98
Laws on Quotas	0.40	0.46	0.44	0.45	0.47	0.45	0.38	0.46

Laws on Parental Authority	0.72	0.39	0.60	0.39	0.56	0.38	0.79	0.38
Laws on Domestic Violence	0.57	0.35	0.38	0.37	0.36	0.36	0.66	0.30
Laws on Rape	0.61	0.26	0.55	0.19	0.54	0.19	0.64	0.27
Laws on Sexual Harassment	0.58	0.34	0.45	0.33	0.44	0.32	0.64	0.34

Table 8.1 : Effect of political representation of women in national parliament on the gender sensitive laws for 159 developing countries.

VARIABLES	(1) Ordered Probit	(2) Ordered Logit	(3) OLS
Laws on Quotas	0.0287*** (0.001)	0.0461*** (0.001)	0.0106*** (0.001)
Laws on Parental Authority	0.0478*** (0.000)	0.0824*** (0.000)	0.0128*** (0.000)
Laws on Domestic Violence	0.0382*** (0.000)	0.0635*** (0.000)	0.0121*** (0.000)
Laws on Rape	0.0432*** (0.000)	0.0722*** (0.000)	0.0094*** (0.000)
Laws on Sexual Harassment	0.0320*** (0.000)	0.0532*** (0.000)	0.0096*** (0.000)

P value in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 8.2 : Effect of political representation of women in national parliament on the gender sensitive laws for 43 countries from Sub-Saharan Africa.

VARIABLES	(1) Ordered Probit	(2) Ordered Logit	(3) OLS
Laws on Quotas	0.0449*** (0.006)	0.0734** (0.010)	0.0150*** (0.001)
Laws on Parental Authority	0.0388*** (0.009)	0.0629** (0.017)	0.0109*** (0.003)

Laws on Domestic Violence	0.0429*** (0.000)	0.0674*** (0.001)	0.0138*** (0.000)
Laws on Rape	0.0357** (0.017)	0.0623** (0.026)	0.0058** (0.016)
Laws on Sexual Harassment	0.0266** (0.048)	0.0460** (0.044)	0.0076** (0.032)

P value in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 8.3: Effect of political representation of women in national parliament on the gender sensitive laws for 48 African countries.

VARIABLES	(1) Ordered Probit	(2) Ordered Logit	(3) OLS
Laws on Quotas	0.0386** (0.014)	0.0638** (0.018)	0.0133** (0.013)
Laws on Parental Authority	0.0379** (0.015)	0.0617** (0.020)	0.0110** (0.017)
Laws on Domestic Violence	0.0449*** (0.001)	0.0710*** (0.002)	0.0140*** (0.001)
Laws on Rape	0.0318** (0.024)	0.0553** (0.027)	0.0054** (0.019)
Laws on Sexual Harassment	0.0278** (0.037)	0.0487** (0.030)	0.0079** (0.041)

P value in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 8.4: Effect of political representation of women in national parliament on the gender sensitive laws for 111 countries outside Africa.

VARIABLES	(1) Ordered Probit	(2) Ordered Logit	(3) OLS
Laws on Quotas	0.0255** (0.018)	0.0402** (0.023)	0.0094** (0.019)
Laws on Parental Authority	0.0566*** (0.000)	0.1013*** (0.000)	0.0132*** (0.000)
Laws on Domestic Violence	0.0381*** (0.000)	0.0646*** (0.000)	0.0105*** (0.000)
Laws on	0.0503***	0.0825***	0.0113***

Rape	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Laws on Sexual Harassment	0.0342*** (0.001)	0.0564*** (0.001)	0.0102*** (0.000)

P value in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Ways forward: education and political effectiveness

The main goal of instituting gender quotas system is to increase women representation in order to reverse the problem of women under-representation. Gender quotas policies are affirmative actions which in nature are temporarily measures to be used until the barriers for women’s entry to politics are removed. Dahlerup (2005) states that

“...the relevance of strategies in increasing women representation depends on the way that women’s under-representation has been framed. If the problem is discursively constructed as women’s limited knowledge or experience, then educating women is a better remedy than gender quotas. If the institution is the cause of women’s” exclusion, then the burden of change should be placed on the institution and political parties hence gender quotas is the right remedy.” (144)

The way forward lies in removing barriers to women’s entry to politics and on women political effectiveness. There exist numerous mechanisms for removing women’s obstacles to participate in politics. Here, we focus on two of these mechanisms: education and women’s organizations or groups. As mentioned above, education is primordial for women as individual and as a group. For women already in politics, education will equip them with the necessary skills to ‘learn the rules, using the rules, and changing rules’ in order to have the greatest impacts on both the legislative bodies and their countries. Karam and Lovenduski (2005) identify three strategies on how to improve women’s how the ‘learn the rules, using the rules, and changing rules’ strategy can foster institutional and discourse changes as illustrated in table 5 below. The implementation of this strategy needs to take into account the political and electoral system of each country.

Table 5: Rules to make a difference in the parliament

	Institutional/Procedural and Representation	Influence on Output and Discourse
Learning the rules	Participate in training and orientation exercises on internal parliamentary codes of conduct (e.g., how to ask for the floor); develop public speaking and effective	Distinguish between women’s perspectives, women-specific needs, and gender issues. Caucus with media, national and international organizations.

	<p>communication; and relate to and lobby male colleagues.</p> <p>Network with women's organizations.</p> <p>Mentoring and shadowing by more MPs that are senior.</p> <p>Understand and handle the media.</p>	<p>Draw attention to sexist discourse.</p> <p>Establish a presence within different committees (e.g. budget, defence, foreign affairs).</p> <p>Clarify the value and importance of 'soft' committees.</p>
Using the rules	<p>Make a point of nominating and voting for women in internal elections and within parties.</p> <p>Draw attention to absence of women mothers in key positions.</p> <p>Invest in committee work. Push for and establish government equal opportunity positions and women's ministries.</p> <p>Campaign to expand existing structures to include women's concerns.</p> <p>Set up networks to train in more convincing and less adversarial types of debate.</p>	<p>Influence parliamentary agendas: introduce women-sensitive measures (e.g. changes in parliamentary work schedules to suit working).</p> <p>Establish public enquiries on women's issues and use findings to place issues on government agendas and within legislative programmes.</p> <p>Speak for, co-sponsor and sponsor bills.</p> <p>Seek partnership with male colleagues.</p> <p>Make public issue out of certain concerns by cooperating with the media (e.g. on ways of referring to women in parliament, sexual harassment issues).</p> <p>Link gender inequalities to other inequalities.</p> <p>Form alliances with other excluded groups to seek representation.</p> <p>Use the media as a part of the effective outreach strategy to widen women MPs' constituencies and public support bases.</p>
Changing the rules	<p>Change candidate selection rules for the entire party, especially for leadership positions.</p> <p>Introduce quota systems on certain committees or issue of proportionality for men/women representation.</p> <p>Establish a women's whip.</p> <p>Establish gender equality committees.</p> <p>Establish national machinery to monitor implementation and ensure accountability; institutionalize regular debates on progress into the parliamentary timetable.</p> <p>Establish mechanisms to encourage female speakers (e.g. giving them priority over male colleagues).</p> <p>Participate in institutional and procedural reform and modernization processes to ensure the resulting</p>	<p>Encourage the providing of financial incentives to programmes/projects designed to facilitate women's decision-making endeavours (e.g. for leadership-training schools, increasing government subsidies to political parties with more women in leadership positions/candidates; introducing a specific women's budget earmarked for enhancing women's decision making).</p> <p>Cooperate with the women's movement and the media to change the image of women as 'only' homemakers, to portray them as effective and efficient politicians and to normalize the image of a woman politician.</p> <p>Be proud of identity as a woman, instead of attempting to imitate men and hide or deny womanhood.</p> <p>Expand legislation to include emerging issues of importance to women (e.g. conflict resolution changes are women-friendly. and peace-making, human rights, special women's budgets).</p>

Source: Karam and Lovenduski, 2005

Both policymakers and scholars recognize the impact of women's organizations in influencing political actions and raising awareness on women's issues. Women's organizations play an important role in empowering women for politics, selecting qualified candidates, facilitating women's nominations and election, providing capacity-building and training for younger women that seek to enter politics, encouraging cooperation between women from different spheres of society as well as inside and outside of the realm of politics, raising resources and funds for women's candidates

campaign, and creating networks where women can form alliances for the advancement of women's issues. A grass roots or bottom-up movement is a necessity for many developing countries where women still need to prove their political abilities and influences. Powerful women can emerge through women's organizations that can serve as role models for younger women for confidence building and minimizing the effect of patronage or party affiliation on them. This would enable aspirant women to pursue policy agenda, which focuses on gender equality, and women's empowerment instead of pursuing a political parties' agenda that might not considered these issues as priorities.

African women future involvement depends not only on removing the social, economic, political barriers but certainly depends more on the political effectiveness of African women pioneers in politics. In other words, the future of women's political inclusion will depend on the impact of female MPs in improving the life of poor women. Goetz (2003) defines women's political effectiveness as the ability to use voice to politicise issues of concern to women, to use electoral leverages to press demands on decision makers, to trigger better responsiveness from the public sector to their needs, and better enforcement of constitutional commitments to women's equal rights" (29). This definition emphasizes voice, representation, and accountability, which Goetz called voice-to-representation-to-accountability (Goetz, 2003). These three factors are not necessarily linked, the achievement of one of the factors does not guarantee the achievements of the two others. This explains how countries with strong women's movement are unable to achieve greater inclusion of women in politics.

Accountability has both vertical and horizontal dimensions: Vertical accountability obligates politicians to answer to their constituency through the process of voting however, the electoral process can be obstacle for women. Horizontal accountability captures the failures of the state to answer to the citizens' needs or sanction for gender biases in public actions. Accountability should be integrated at the political, fiscal, administrative, and legal systems. Accountability is the supply side of women political effectiveness as it looks at the political institution response to women's issues.

Voice represents the demand side of political institution and is determined by the extent to which the state and civil and political institutions facilitate the representation of women and other marginal groups. These must enhance women as human resource and the capital of women. Goetz posits that effective public accountability contributes in building voice by creating a point of access to the state for groups of citizens. Looking at both the supply and demand side of political effectiveness allows understanding that voice does not lead to better outcomes for women because the political system may have entrenched gender biases that undermined the voice of women in politics.

Political effectiveness depends on how the interests of men and women are integrated in the civil society, the political system, and the state. Civil society or women's lobby group role is to mobilize resources and public concerns to the issue of women's needs and guarantees the autonomy of the women's movement. The prospect of women advancing in the political process depends on the number and nature of parties, their ideologies and memberships, the relative importance of finance

or crime or discourse of ethnic and national unity in politics. The commitment of the state to democracy, welfare orientation of the state, and the advancement of women's positions and empowerment determine how women would be integrated in politics. .

From what proceeds, we can derive three main policy implications. SSA countries should continue their efforts in educating women. Education enables women to acquire the skills which will enable them to compete with men. This is significant for young women aspiring to enter politics. For those already involved in politics, education enhances their skills by providing them with tools to impact the parliamentary debate, introduce women-sensitive measures, establish public enquiries on women's issues and use findings to place issues on government agendas and within legislative programmes. Women MPs must strive to remove gender bias in the political systems and electoral process in order to pave a way for future women MPs hence women political effectiveness matters. Women should be encouraged in participating in women's movement.

Conclusion

This paper examines women's political inclusion in SSA. For this purpose, we first analyse the trends in female political representation in African countries from 1997 to 2015. Second, we use two case studies to compare and contrast how women political inclusion is conditional on the states commitment in promoting women's and gender equality. Third, we analysed the relationship between the political representation of women in national parliament and the gender sensitive laws in case of Sub-Saharan Africa, Africa, outside Africa and the whole sample. The results indicate that the countries with higher share of women in national parliament is more likely to pass and implement the gender sensitive laws. At last, we suggest the ways forward in strengthening and advancing women's political inclusion: education for women aspiring to enter politics and increasing the political effectiveness of women who are already in politics.

In light of the literature on women political inclusion, our research reveals that gender quota is the main factor behind African countries. Gender quotas opened ways for women greater inclusion in politics by removing the different obstacles that kept women away from politics. However, gender quota is an affirmative action, as any affirmative action it has its limits. Gender quotas ceases to be effective as the reasons for establishing the gender quotas had been removed. Gender quota has had a major impact in symbolic and substantive representation in Africa. Indeed, gender quotas increased the percentage of women in the parliament in most African countries regardless of their political system. Female MPs had an impact in passing laws removing gender biases in the laws and in empowering women both in the private and public arenas.

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