

Chapter 17

African Women's Political Participation: Strategies for Positively Impacting Sustainable Socio-economic Development

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Introduction

Women in many countries account for more than 50 % of the population. Yet their participation in political and legislative processes, the national forum for resource allocation and decision-making processes remains very low. Participation is often constrained by cultural attitudes, institutional barriers and perceptions about women's roles in politics. Advocacy for women's participation in politics has grown, and internationally, various conventions and declarations have been signed, promoting the welfare of women. Literature and statistics show however that women have been disproportionately marginalized and excluded from political participation and legislative processes, relegating their role in politics to merely voting. Even in leading western liberal democracies, women have been excluded from leadership positions (for example, the United States and Canada have not had a female Head of State, and the United Kingdom has had only one).

This research examines the role of women in development, especially at the grassroots level. It ties into the political sphere in that economic development is often about the allocation of resources, a political undertaking. In establishing the role of political participation in decision making, resource allocation and development, this study hypothesizes that for effective participation in the political processes, which will lead to increased participation in decision making, women need to increase their participation in politics, eventually increasing their participation in national legislative processes. The study seeks to close the existing gaps in literature and research by seeking, through analysis of existing literature and women's political participation statistics, to address several research questions.

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Among these, how well are women represented in democratic structures of governance? How have international organizations, institutions and conventions contributed to increasing female representation and participation in democratic institutions? Are there significantly different outcomes in countries where women have larger representation in legislative bodies? What challenges do rural women face when participating in democratic structures? Finally, what approaches can best ensure women's participation in development?

Women and Development

According to the United Nations' Human Development Report (HDR 2005), one third of Africa's total population lives in poverty, spending less than \$1 a day. The report notes that one third of sub-Saharan Africa's population (~300 million people) lives in countries that experienced a reversal in the Human Development Index in the years 2003–2005. The report highlights the declining life expectancy, diminishing access to educational opportunities by girls and women and subsequently poverty increase to approximately 600 million people by 2015 (HDR 2005).

The 2005 HDR notes that there are 800 million people in the world who still lack basic literacy skills, and that most of these are in Africa and South East Asia. One third of this number is women. Between 1990 and 2000, the world achieved a 6 % growth in literacy (HDR 2005). For the first time, democracy was identified as an indicator and necessary condition towards achieving human development. Participation in multi-party elections is key in human development, and its expansion portends positive outcomes; "more than two thirds of Africans now live in countries with democratic multiparty election systems" (Human Development Report 2005, 20). However, the report acknowledges that even countries that do not have democratic systems of government such as China (with about one-sixth of the world's population) shows an impressive economic growth trend (HDR 2005), whereas countries that have been continuously democratic have often failed to meet all their development challenges.

One of the other important Human Development Indicators that correlate positively with better health, longevity and positive outcomes for communities is education. Women's education is crucial in its own right and has outcomes that translate across the entire family and communities (HDR 2005). A powerful indicator of development is a reduction in maternal and child mortality. Children of mothers with at least an elementary education are twice as likely to survive infant/child mortality as are those of mothers without an elementary education.

Women are instrumental in economic development, not least due to the role that gendered division of labor plays in families and communities in nation-building. While gendered roles are not necessarily fair, women not only carry the burden of managing households, but are increasingly being called upon to become breadwinners and heads of families. Thomas-Slayter and Rocheleau (1995), quoting Parpart and Staudt, suggest that "states are shaped by gender struggle; they carry distinctive gender ideologies through time which guide resource allocation decisions in ways

that mold material realities” (p. 6). Women in Kenya are finding themselves with changing responsibilities in adjusting to the new realities of the African state (Thomas-Slayter and Rocheleau 1995), but the primary responsibility for meeting the family's basic needs for food, water and fuel remain with women (Mercer 2002).

The role of women in socio and economic development in developing countries has evolved and featured prominently in development and human rights discourses in the last 20 years. The World Bank acknowledges the importance of women in development (World Bank 2013). Yet, as one of the leading institutions in international social and economic development, even the World Bank has been lagging in its recognition of the importance of women in development. For instance, the World Bank produced its first “Gender Equality and Development” World Development Report in 2012. Interestingly, the report noted that with regard to primary education and overall welfare,

gains have not been universal and that progress has been far too slow in some areas. In many parts of the world, too many women are still dying in childbirth, or, at alarming rates, not being born at all. Women continue to lack voice in the household and the ability to participate in decisions that affect them, their families, and their societies; and too often, their economic opportunities remain very constrained. (World Bank 2013)

Other international bilateral and multilateral agencies have continuously impressed governments, civil society and communities to enhance the role of women in ensuring development (UNDP 2003). Women and gender activists have brought to the fore women's equality and parity issues. Increased participation of rural women in grassroots political leadership is intrinsically interwoven with economic development. Grassroots political participation for women would translate into increased capacity for decision making on resource allocation, educational opportunities for women and healthier, more robust families.

Politics and Development: A Historical Progression

The role of women in development for newly independent states began to take shape in the late 1960s (Mercer 2002). Several approaches evolved over time; they were considered different development approaches in policy to “third world women.” Arising from the critique of past policies on development, the one of the most enduring approaches is “Women in Development” (WID). Various analysts attempt to trace the periods and activities that delineated these development periods.

Women in Development

The Women in Development approach was informed by the need to give more prominence to women's issues in the development arena (Women in Development: Theory and Practice—Report of the Conference, New York, New York, March 23,

1983). The WID approach was quickly embraced in the early 1970s (Coates 1999) and promoted as a way to address underdevelopment and the limitation of the role of women in contributing to the economic sphere. It called for greater attention to women in development policy and practice. It also emphasized the need to integrate women into the development process, not as indirect beneficiaries, but as active participants. These periods are categorized as welfare, equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and empowerment (Coates 1999).

The Welfare Approach to economic development especially for women rose to prominence between the 1950s through the 1970s. This approach traces its origins to the post-independence period. In most African countries it was a residual model for social welfare under colonialism. Its purpose was to bring women into development as better mothers; this would be their most important role in development. In this approach, meeting practical gender needs in the reproductive role (with regard to food assistance, fighting malnutrition and family planning) were emphasized. Women were seen as passive partners in development and did not appear to challenge the status quo.

The Equity Approach was popular between 1975 and 1985, and is seen as the classic origin of WID. It hinged on gaining equity for women in the development process. Women were seen as active participants in development, and the approach aimed to meet strategic gender needs. The approach utilized state interventions, economic and political autonomy. However this approach was criticized as pro-western feminism. For the first time, though, the subordinate role of women was identified and an attempt made to counter it.

The next WID approach to development was anti-poverty, which was linked to redistribution, growth and provision of basic needs. It had its genesis in the 1970s, but still has some popularity. It aimed to ensure that poor women increase their productivity, and saw women's poverty as a problem of underdevelopment, not a result of their "subordinate" status. Meeting practical gender needs in a productive role, earning an income and initiation of small scale income generating projects were seen as key. However, this approach isolated poor women; but that enabled government and NGOs to focus means of aid to these groups.

Efficiency, which was the fourth WID approach, is the most predominant. It arose post-1980s, and was a response to the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). For the third world, these structural adjustment programs forced governments to cut programs to the rural areas and the poor, which adversely affected women. This approach sought to counter this decline by emphasizing women's economic contribution to development and ensure that development is more effective and efficient. Practical gender needs would be met in the context of declining or non-existent social and government services, in order to enable women to access services even as they cost-shared. This approach viewed women in terms of delivery capacity and ability to work extended periods, both at the workplace and at home, and has gained popularity with governments and development agencies.

The 1980s also saw the "conscientization" approach, derived from Freire's ideas of participation in socio-economic and political empowerment. At the same time, institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and donor

agencies began partnering with states to institutionalize participation (Mercer 2002). Neo-liberalism began gaining a foothold.

From 1970 onwards, the Empowerment Approach, which rose out of failure of the equity approach, and which was actively supported by third world's feminist writing and grassroots organizations, sought to empower women through greater self-reliance (de Waal 2006; Essama-Nssah 2004). It viewed women's subordination as both a patriarchal societal problem and an expression of colonial and neo-colonial oppression. It became popular in the 1990s due to its aim to actualize strategic gender needs through bottom-up mobilization, utilizing practical gender needs as a means to fight oppression (de Waal 2006). For women, it concentrated on strategic development needs as identified by the women themselves and resulted in the *integrated approach*, seeking to integrate awareness and competence into development. It underpinned development thought, policies and programs giving the right and ability for a group to act within specified domains (Essama-Nssah 2004). Consequently, Essama-Nssah (2004) asserts that development is a transformation of the way people think and behave (Essama-Nssah 2004).

This approach has largely been home-grown, achieved through voluntary organizations, has been unsupported by governments but has avoided western feminism critiques. Although generally these are underfinanced, the localization of the needs has translated into more realistic, grounded achievements.

Gender and Development

In *Gender and Development: Australia's Aid Commitment*, a policy speech delivered by the Australian Foreign Minister, the report notes that since 1976, Australia sought to refine the Women in Development approach in order to provide special funding for innovative women-specific projects, training and monitoring of accomplishment of the WID goals (Australian Agency for International Development 1997). De Waal (2006) notes that during the 1970s, "the poverty approach of the 1970s perceived underdevelopment as the main issue, rather than gender subordination" (p. 220). This has been touted as the beginning of a shift in paradigm in the way development with regard to gender was seen.

The GAD approach to development policy and practice "focused on the socially constructed basis of differences between women and men and emphasized the need to challenge existing gender roles and relations" (de Haan 2009, 156). This approach widens the strategic emphasis to "include women's rights, women's role as active participants and agents in development, and their role as actors with a specific agenda for development" (Asian Development Bank 2003, 16). Part of the strategy of this approach is to deal with unequal position in society.

The two approaches to women's development have gained currency from various proponents. Contrasting the approaches, the WID approach has focused exclusively on women as agents to improve women's status, while the GAD approach recognizes that improvements in women's status require analysis of the relations between men and women and creating allies among men to achieve equity and alter the

social and economic position of women (Asian Development Bank 2003; Reeves and Baden 2002). The GAD approach is seen to be more attuned to the intricacies obtained by socio-cultural relationships.

Modern literary work on participation and empowerment has focused on women and the role of participation in women's organizations leading to individual and collective empowerment (Kabeer 1994; Mercer 2002; Sen 1999a, b). Harcourt (2006) notes that whereas the previous 15 years have brought a change in the status of women, and access to public services such as education and job equality, most developing countries are still saddled with external debts. Governments are unable to meet their commitments to such issues as basic health, education, literacy and funding of programs, due to these external obligations. The most affected persons in the decisions regarding especially education are women and girl children. This, Sen (1999a, b) argues, leads to further deprivation (of the capabilities) of women to access income.

International Backing of Women's Participatory Rights

In 1979, the UN General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (United Nations 1998). This has been touted as the equivalent "bill of rights" for women. By 2003, 174 countries had ratified it (UNIFEM 2003). On 4th December 1986, the UN General Assembly adopted resolution 41/128 (the Declaration on the Right to Development). On 20th December, 1993, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women. And in the year 2000, World leaders met and commissioned the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (UNDP 2000), which seek to, among others, "eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005, and at all levels by 2015" (Goal #3).

From the above, inexhaustive list of conventions, summits, conferences and declarations assented to by governments and nations; the international commitment to women's rights, development as well as equal treatment is there. However, there has been a huge gap in the actualization of these development outcomes (United Nations, Division of the Advancement of Women, Department of Economic and Social Affairs 1979).

Neo-liberal Approaches to Participatory Development

Between 4th and 15th September 1995, the Fourth World Conference on Women was held in Beijing, China. It resulted in the "Declaration and Platform for Action" by participating governments (UN Habitat 1995). Items 4 and 5 acknowledged that although the status of women had advanced in the 1980s, inequalities and access to opportunities that severely affected mankind, as well as increasing poverty (UN Habitat 1995, 4 and 5).

Over the last 10 years, the democratic citizenry and sustainable development theory (HDR 2003; Mercer 2002), within the framework of a reformed state has gained prominence. However, a growing body of literature critiques these concepts as just bounded within empty buzzwords, questionability into the efficacy of ending poverty (Mercer 2002; Sachs 2005) and the possibility of local communities effecting socio-economic changes that will stand up to a globalized world. The major question raised by critics of this theory is whether participation is empowering, who defines it and what its measurements are.

The Capability Approach assumes that the capabilities that people have and the exercise of these capabilities will lead to people being able to make choices of lifestyles they “have reason to value” (Sen 1999a, b). This approach underestimates the absence of capabilities and puts most of the onus on governments, proposing that governments have the best intentions towards their people. The Capability Approach encompasses empowerment, viewing poverty as “capability deprivation” (Essama-Nssah 2004).

One of those capabilities is *income deprivation*.” Others include access to educational opportunities, investment climates, political opportunities, access to health and other *public goods* which local development and populations are hardly capable of meeting. Whereas this approach spans both governments and the public, the approach overlooks that capabilities such as access to education and information may not be in the best interests of the government, and therefore, a grassroots approach may equip citizens with these necessary tools to advocate for development (Sen 1999a, b).

Women in National Politics

Women are generally underrepresented in local councils, legislatures and at the national levels. A review of data from the International Parliamentary Union (IPU) shows a world average of 24 % representation by women around the world (the data combine women representation in both single chamber Houses and with Senates (see Appendix: Table 17.1—Representation breakdown by Gender (both houses, combined), Table 17.2—Parliamentary gender breakdown (Upper House or Senate) and the representation in Table 17.3—Women in Parliament (single or lower house)). Data on regional representation show Nordic countries having the highest representation by women, at 42 % followed by Europe with 24.6 %, the Americas, with an average of 24.2 %. Sub-Saharan countries have a representation of approximating world averages of around 21.3 % (see Table 17.4).

In terms of individual countries, Rwanda leads the world averages at 63.8 % women representation in the legislature, 63.8 % in the lower or single House, and 38.5 % in the Senate, for an average of 49.2 % representation (see Table 17.5) (IPU 2003; Norris and Ingelhart 2001). The World Bank assessment of other variables that affect women paints an equally poor picture: as of 2010, 16.2 % of ministerial-level positions were held by women (World Bank 2013).

In the Kenyan elections of 2003, 16 women were elected to parliament, which represents a paltry 7.31 % of the population, despite demographics which show women comprising approximately 51 % of the population. While this marked an increase of 100 % from 3.6 % in 2001, it is still unrepresentative (IPU 2006). Recognizing this underrepresentation, Kenya's new constitution (promulgated in 2010) reserved at least 47 seats for women, increased representation at County levels and mandated other changes that together, may improve women's representation and also encourage participation (Kenya Law Reports 2010).

In the 2013 elections, 18.6 % of elected parliamentarians were women, far shy of the 50 % threshold, while 26.5 % of elected senators are women (IPU 2013). This indicates some positive changes but is still far shy of, for example, Rwanda. Norris and Inglehart (2001) note that despite the achievements that women have made on other fronts, by 2001 only 9 of the 191 countries of the world had a woman as Head of State or Head of Government. In African, data shows interesting trends. Rwanda and Burundi, racked by internecine ethnic violence, have the highest representation by women in the House and the Senate (See Table 17.5).

Chadya (2003) notes that although women played a major role in the fight for independence, the top leadership in the anti-colonial struggle was held by men, who continue to do so today. Even statesmen such as Julius Nyerere regarded the "uneducated women" who had actively participated in the struggle, as not fit for positions of leadership, and as such they got low-paying jobs, such as "street cleaners" (Chadya 2003, 2).

Ironically, as Masanja (2001) notes, in some African countries, political parties have gone to lengths to encourage participation of women in political activity. In the same socialist leaning Tanzania, for instance, in the late 1960s, the all government parastatals had formed the *Umoja wa Wanawake Tanganyika* (Unity of Women in Tanganyika [later Tanzania]) (UWT) to improve the welfare of women (Masanja 2001).

In other parts of Africa, women's organizations agitating for inclusion of women in politics have been active from an early age. The National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons [NCNC] and the Federation of Nigerian Women's Societies [FNWS] were active before Nigerian independence; however, they could not agree to support women candidates to run for elections (Chadya 2003). This, in part, illustrates that some women stand to gain from the divisions that arise, implicitly supporting a paternalistic society. In South Africa, Bantu Women's League, a wing of the African National Congress, arose from the 1918 women's protest against carrying passes, which was required of black women (Chadya 2003).

In South America, the ability or inability of women to rise to power, and the presence or absence of women in decision making realms has been identified as an indicator and consequence of female subordination in society (Valdes et al. 2003). Despite proven social leadership skills and ability to contribute to social production and reproduction, women remain excluded from a range of places and access, such as public places or power, at all levels of government. Increasingly, countries with democratic governance institutions are seeing an increased level of participation by women in politics (Ibid.).

Some of the issues highlighted that limit women participation in leadership in areas of administration, politics and education include, among others, the insufficient number of women available for recruitment candidacy, mitigating factors to those women qualifying for recruitment but decline/are not ready to apply, gender biased recruitment criteria of candidates running for office, gender insensitive environment for retention and advancement of women already recruited and lack of affirmative action at recruitment and for academic career development (Masanja 2001).

Acknowledging the role of women in development and in leading change, the United Nations Population Fund in collaboration with the YWCA published a training guide entitled *Empowering Young Women to Lead Change: A Training Manual* (UNFPA 2006). In the preface of the manual, the UNFPA notes that

[young] women encounter challenges everyday. Apart from sharing their communities' struggles over limited resources like water, land or jobs, many systematically face discrimination simply by virtue of being female. This includes physical and sexual violence, being kept out of school, disproportionate vulnerability to HIV infection and lack of access to property and other rights. [Yet...] women are continually developing innovative, effective ways to improve their lives. By bringing together their wisdom and creativity, young women are leading change. (p. 2)

International organizations continue to lead the change. The YWCA affirms its commitment to the requirement that at minimum, 25 % in all decision-making bodies at national and world levels be women. It needs to be noted, however, that political representation of women in legislatures and the political sphere cannot be seen as the only indicator of development. The United States, the leading economy in the world, is ranked 67th (see Table 17.5) in female representation.

Higher representation by women in parliaments does not always translate into grassroots development. Maroda (2004) examined the role of women representation and the outcomes of higher representation in political structures, through the lenses of empowerment development theory, capability approach and the psychosocial theories of the difference in the expression of power between men and women. Maroda finds that neither men nor women show a greater tendency to motivation for power and expects that women ought to be as equally represented in organizations and positions that exercise power. However, the expression of power takes the form of *egoistic dominance* among men, and *responsible nurturance* among women. Such responsible nurturance, if applied to leadership, would perhaps play a greater role in the allocation of resources that would insure access to life's basic needs, such as food, shelter, security and clothing; to secondary needs such as schooling, jobs, and equal opportunities.

Defining (Under) Development

Who defines development? What is the conception of development among women? According to Mercer (2002), among the rural women of Tanzania, to be "empowered" includes building one's own brick and corrugated roof house, access to

utilities and services such as electricity, water supply, and possession of cars or large herds of animals. Implicitly, the definition of “development” becomes thus intertwined with the western concept of development, while at the same time attempting to preserve and uphold local cultural practices.

Literature has previously held that one key aspect of empowerment of women in rural areas in Africa lies in “overcoming internalized oppression” (Mercer 2002). However, Kabeer (1999) asserts that empowerment from the lens of overcoming internalized oppression, remains subjective, since it is informed by a Eurocentric, white-woman measuring rural, poor black woman. The notion of emancipating the women from this foreign, value based judgment completely denies the economic, social and political realities on the ground (Mercer 2002).

While women do not choose to remain in underprivileged and dependent roles, political participation to influence development cannot overlook the role of socio-cultural norms. Rather, as in the case of Oman (Jackson 1999), there is a home-grown women sense of agency that conforms to the societal norms, while economically and politically empowering them and drawing state resources to support their income generation activities.

The question of merely exposing women to information and rhetoric on emancipation and empowerment without changing their capability to access sources of economic sustenance and support has not been seen to work (Mercer 2002). The dual questions of what the measure of oppression and what the women themselves want still remains. The formation of women’s groups has been hailed as instrumental in local development, yet the power balances have not shifted in any sufficient way to shift the balance of power and the dynamics of asset holding.

Women, Participatory Democracy and Allocation of Public Resources

The contribution of women to development has continuously been measured against the comparable achievement by men (de Waal 2006). Mercer (2002) notes that even where there are grassroots organizations that operate at the community, the cadre of jobs that these organizations accomplish centre on the home, childcare, women’s agricultural responsibilities and community initiatives such as running village educational facilities.

It is notable that an inherently paternalistic orientation of development manifests itself within many communities. Andersson and Roche (2006) note that gender based planning helps ensure that women’s voices are heard, implying that they are not equal development partners, that a favor is extended to them for their needs to be included in community based development. Data collection still remains largely independent of resource allocation processes. Similarly, the allocation of development resources, a substantial function of government (Sen 1999a, b), singularly excludes women owing to their marginal representation in legislative bodies. Political representation, building momentum from the grassroots levels, is critical to

changing the way resources are allocated. In order to achieve this, women need to participate and increase their visibility in legislative and administrative processes, all the way from the grassroots level.

Women need to participate in grassroots leadership to gain greater representation in governance and development. Tremblay (1998), in a study of representation by women in the Canadian parliament, found that women parliamentarians substantively represent women constituents' issues to a greater degree than their male counterparts. The study also found that women parliamentarians try to shape the legislative agenda more favorably towards women than their male counterparts. Although men parliamentarians were found to speak on women's issues, women were found to be more proportionately involved than their male counterparts. It can be thus argued that women may be more predisposed to sustain the needs, wishes and interests of women where direct legislative policy is likely to influence the outcomes for women.

Conclusions

Development, being the expansion of individuals' choices, cannot succeed if it excludes and/or marginalizes half of the world's population. Countries that have actively involved women in their national development programs, in participatory governance and in political processes (for example, Rwanda), have witnessed rapid economic growth and development. Gendering the role of women in development has shown time and again to be problematic; poor development outcomes for women almost always translate into poor social and economic development. Literature and practice has shown that women with lower levels of education are likely to witness more infant deaths, poor nutrition and inability to provide adequate or proper care to their children and their families, leading to lower life expectancy. It appears therefore, that improving the lot of women is not only good for the women themselves, but also for development of a capable workforce to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century economy.

Women remain vastly underrepresented in political leadership, where a majority of national resources and development plans are formulated and implemented. There is an absence of a crucial voice that could argue for alternative ways of looking at development. The systemic marginalization of women at these levels—not only in African countries but as a general practice across the world—has had significant negative outcomes for a lot of women and countries. The Millennium Development Goals did attempt to address the role of women in social and economic development, but it is not clear that much progress has been made in a way that reverses eons of discrimination and lack of inclusion. It will do countries well to look at examples of countries that have changed the levels and roles of representation of women in their political processes to determine to what extent this model is sustainable.

Appendix 17.1: Tables and Figures

Table 17.1 Gender breakdown by gender (single/lower house)

Both houses combined	
Total MPs	45,875
Gender breakdown known for	45,546
Men	35,823
Women	9,723
Percentage of women	21.3 %

Table 17.2 Parliamentary gender breakdown: Upper house or senate

Upper house or senate	
Total MPs	7,238
Gender breakdown known for	7,166
Men	5,795
Women	1,371
Percentage of women	19.1 %

Table 17.3 Women in parliament—single or lower house (%)

Single house or lower house	
Total MPs	38,637
Gender breakdown known for	38,380
Men	30,028
Women	8,352
Percentage of women	21.8 %

Table 17.4 Women in parliament: Regional averages

	Single house or lower house	Upper house or senate	Both houses combined
Nordic countries	42.0 %	–	–
Europe—OSCE member countries including Nordic countries	24.6 %	22.6 %	24.2 %
Americas	24.2 %	23.8 %	24.1 %
Europe – OSCE member countries excluding Nordic countries	23.0 %	22.6 %	22.9 %
Sub-Saharan Africa	21.1 %	18.7 %	21.7 %
Asia	19.1 %	13.8 %	18.5 %
Arab states	17.8 %	7.7 %	15.9 %
Pacific	13.1 %	38.6 %	15.9 %

Regions are classified by descending order of the percentage of women in the lower or single house

Table 17.5 Women representation in legislatures: African countries' ranking on a global scale

World classification									
Rank	Country	Lower or single house				Upper House or Senate			
		Elections	Seats*	Women	% W	Elections	Seats*	Women	% W
1	Rwanda	9 2013	80	51	63.80 %	9 2011	26	10	38.50 %
2	Andorra	4 2011	28	14	50.00 %	–	–	–	–
3	Cuba	2 2013	612	299	48.90 %	–	–	–	–
4	Sweden	9 2010	349	156	44.70 %	–	–	–	–
5	Seychelles	9 2011	32	14	43.80 %	–	–	–	–
6	Senegal	7 2012	150	64	42.70 %	–	–	–	–
7	Finland	4 2011	200	85	42.50 %	–	–	–	–
8	South Africa	4 2009	400	169	42.30 %	4 2009	53	17	32.10 %
9	Nicaragua	11 2011	92	37	40.20 %	–	–	–	–
10	Iceland	4 2013	63	25	39.70 %	–	–	–	–
11	Norway	9 2013	169	67	39.60 %	–	–	–	–
12	Mozambique	10 2009	250	98	39.20 %	–	–	–	–
13	Denmark	9 2011	179	70	39.10 %	–	–	–	–
14	Ecuador	2 2013	137	53	38.70 %	–	–	–	–
"	Netherlands	9 2012	150	58	38.70 %	5 2011	75	27	36.00 %
15	Costa Rica	2 2010	57	22	38.60 %	–	–	–	–
16	Timor-Leste	7 2012	65	25	38.50 %	–	–	–	–
17	Belgium	6 2010	150	57	38.00 %	6 2010	71	29	40.80 %
18	Mexico	7 2012	500	184	36.80 %	7 2012	128	42	32.80 %
19	Germany	9 2013	631	230	36.50 %	N.A.	69	19	27.50 %
20	Spain	11 2011	350	126	36.00 %	11 2011	266	91	34.20 %
"	Tanzania	10 2010	350	126	36.00 %	–	–	–	–
21	Uganda	2 2011	386	135	35.00 %	–	–	–	–
22	Angola	8 2012	220	75	34.10 %	–	–	–	–
"	FYR Macedonia	6 2011	123	42	34.10 %	–	–	–	–
23	Austria	9 2013	183	61	33.30 %	N.A.	62	18	29.00 %
"	Grenada	2 2013	15	5	33.30 %	3 2013	13	2	15.40 %
24	Nepal	4 2008	594	197	33.20 %	–	–	–	–
"	Serbia	5 2012	250	83	33.20 %	–	–	–	–
25	New Zealand	11 2011	121	39	32.20 %	–	–	–	–
"	Slovenia	12 2011	90	29	32.20 %	11 2012	40	3	7.50 %
26	Algeria	5 2012	462	146	31.60 %	12 2012	142	10	7.00 %
27	Zimbabwe	7 2013	270	85	31.50 %	7 2013	80	38	47.50 %
28	Italy	2 2013	630	198	31.40 %	2 2013	317	92	29.00 %

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