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Powerful Movements Powerful Women: Understanding the Relationship between Women's Movements and Female Legislative Representation

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Abstract

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Since the early 1990s there has been a remarkable push for an increase in the number of female representatives in national legislatures worldwide. The push for increased female representation is predicated upon the theory of critical mass representation, which contends that the interests of women will not be addressed until women represent a critical minority of 30 percent in a country's legislature. To date, the majority of the existing scholarship on women's legislative participation is largely confined to western industrialized nations. However, scholars are increasingly choosing to conduct research on women's legislative participation in non-industrialized countries. In general, most studies on female legislative participation focuses on the electoral system of a country and/or the presence or absence of a quota system. However, this ignores the agency of the women in these countries that contest elections or participate in the women's movement. For that reason, this research has focused on women's legislative participation in African legislatures and has attempted to link the activism of women in the women's movement to the increased participation of women in African legislatures. This was done through an in-depth analysis of the strength of the women's movement in South Africa, Botswana and Zambia between the late 1980s and 2009. My research findings suggest that there is a positive relationship between the strength of a women's movement and the percentage of female legislative representation within a country.

Powerful Movements Powerful Women

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CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

1.0 Introduction

Since the early 1990s there has been a remarkable push for an increase in the number of female representatives in national legislatures worldwide.[1] The call for increased women's representation is often traced back to second wave feminists who "identified male dominance in political life as a problem and questioned the legitimacy of [the] polities that tolerate it" (Htun 2009: 444). At the 1995 World Conference on Women, held in Beijing, the demand that women be represented in political structures became salient and a target of thirty percent female representation was accepted as a reasonable goal for female representation worldwide (Bauer 2004; Beckwith 2007; Larserud and Taphorn 2007; Tripp 2008; Tinker 2004). Following the Beijing conference, the Inter-Parliamentary Union[2] (IPU), which was established in 1889, began to monitor the numbers of women in parliaments around the world. The IPU dataset monitors legislatures in 187 countries and its records clearly demonstrate that there has been a dramatic increase in female representation worldwide since the late 1990s.

Table 1 - Women in Global Parliament: 1997 - 1999

	1997	***2001***	***2005***	***2009***
Worldwide	11.7%	14.1%	16.4%	18.8%
Americas	13.5%	14.8%	19.7%	22.6%
Arab States	3.7%	4.6%	7.0%	9.0%
Asia	9.7%	15.6%	16.1%	18.6%
Europe*	12.3%	14.6%	16.9%	19.5%
Nordic Countries	35.9%	39.0%	40.0%	42.5%
Pacific	12.8%	8.6%	12.0%	13.0%
Sub-Saharan Africa	10.8%	12.4%	16.4%	17.8%

Source: IPU < http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm> *OSCE countries excluding Nordic Countries

[1]Legislature refers to the lower house of a bicameral legislature and the parliament of a unicameral legislature.

[2] The IPU is an organization that seeks to foster contacts, coordination, and the exchange of experiences among parliamentarians and parliaments worldwide (IPU.org).

As of October 2009, the percentage of women in parliaments worldwide is 18.6 percent. This represents a 58.9 percent increase from the December 1997 value of 11.7 percent. Likewise, female representation within regional groupings has exhibited significant gains. For instance, female representation in Asia has experienced an astounding 91.7 percent increase and sub-Saharan Africa has experienced a 64.8 percent increase in female representation – from 10.1 percent in 1997 to 17.8 percent in 2009. The remarkable gains made by sub-Saharan African countries is most evident when one considers the fact that sub-Saharan African countries account for 30 percent of the top 10 countries with the highest percentages of female representation[3] in national legislatures worldwide. Despite this fact, scholarly research on women's participation in politics remains largely confined to western industrialized nations. For that reason, this research will focus on the nature of female political representation in sub-Saharan Africa.

At 17.8 percent, the aggregate data for sub-Saharan Africa provides a very promising outlook for the representation of women in African legislatures. However, this figure obscures the significance of the variation that exits between sub-regions and within sub-regions as well. Table 2 illustrates the difference between the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which are two economic regional blocks in sub-Saharan Africa.

[3] This figure only represents countries with quotas for female representation. The percentage value used to calculate this figure was obtained on February 5, 2010 from: http://www.quotaproject.org/country.cfm?SortOrder=LastLowerPercentage%20DESC

Table 2 - Women's Representation in Africa: 2009

SADC Countries	*% Women in 2009*	*ECOWAS Countries*	*% Women in 2009*
Angola	37.27%	Benin	10.84%
Botswana	7.94%	Burkina Faso	15.32%
DRC	8.40%	Cape Verde	18.06%
Lesotho	24.17%	Cote D'Ivoire	8.87%
Madagascar	**Coup**	Gambia	9.43%
Malawi	21.24%	Ghana	8.30%
Mauritius	17.14%	**Guinea**	**Coup**
Mozambique*	34.80%	Guinea-Bissau	10.00%
Namibia*	26.92%	Liberia	12.50%
Seychelles	23.53%	Mali	10.20%
South Africa	43.50%	Niger	9.82%
Swaziland	13.64%	Nigeria	6.98%
Tanzania	30.03%	Senegal	22.00%
Zambia	15.19%	Sierra Leone	13.22%
Zimbabwe	15.24%	Togo	11.11%
Average:	**22.79%**		**11.90%**

Source: IPU < www.ipu.org> * 2009 Election results not available. Figure is 2008 value.

As the data demonstrates, SADC countries on average have 10.89 percent more female representation than ECOWAS countries. However while this value is puzzling and undoubtedly important, it is not statistically significant. One proposed explanation for the difference between SADC and ECOWAS countries is the 1997 SADC *Declaration on Gender and Development*, which aims to "[ensure] the equal representation of women and men in the decision making [apparatus] of member states and…the achievement of at least [a] 30 percent target of women in political and decision making structures by [the] year 2005" (http://www.sadc.int/)[4]. Yet, while this commitment may partially explain the difference between the two regions, it does not explain the variation among SADC countries. This is because while all SADC countries have signed the 1997 Declaration, the percentage of female representation in countries like Botswana and the Democratic Republic of Congo

[4] In 2005 SADC issued a protocol to the 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development, which calls for SAD governments to reach 50 percent female representation by the year 2015.

(DRC) continues to languish, whereas countries like South Africa and Angola have surpassed the 30 percent target. Consequently, this research seeks to join a growing literature that explains the variation of female representation across countries through an in-depth analysis of SADC member countries.

2.0 Literature Review

Scholars writing on women in national legislatures have articulated a number of explanatory variables for the variation of female representation in national legislatures worldwide. In general, most scholars agree that the global diffusion of political ideas concerning women's rights has played an important role in increasing female representation in politics. However, the increased respect for women's human rights alone fails to explain the variation of female representation in national legislatures. Recognizing this fact, scholars have pinpointed the adoption of quotas, electoral systems, and political parties as the primary explanatory variables that determine the extent of female participation in legislatures. The following is a comprehensive review of each explanatory variable and its major strengths and limitations.

2.1 International Norms & Ideas

In the past decade, women's representation in national legislatures worldwide has experienced an unprecedented and surprisingly consistent increase. The global increase of women's representation can be attributed to the integration of national feminist movements that began in earnest during the late 1980s (Krook 2009: 3, Tripp 2009: 1 – 25). The integration of feminist movements benefited from the United Nations' (UN) 1975 to 1985 Decade for Women, since women's rights activists and civil society organizations (CSOs) were routinely brought together to participate in conferences on the status of women. Between 1975 and 1985, the United Nations hosted three influential conferences on women

in cities around the world: Mexico City (1975), Copenhagen (1980) and Nairobi (1985). In addition, numerous conferences and workshops concerning women's rights were hosted by organizations operating at local, national and regional levels.

The culmination of the UN Decade for Women was the 1995 Fourth World Conference for Women held in Beijing. At this conference activists and government representatives were able to finally agree upon a common vision for the future of the world's women. At the Beijing conference participants published the Beijing Declaration and the Beijing Platform for Action. The latter of the two includes several specific references to increasing women's political representation including section 192A, which calls on governments to "take positive action to build a critical mass of women leaders…in decision-making positions" (http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/decision.htm).

As a result of the UN Decade for Women, women's organizations operating locally, nationally and internationally have increasingly been able to pressure governments into adopting policies that increase women's representation in governmental bodies and political life. In particular, these organizations have been able to pressure regional bodies, such as SADC, into establishing regional goals for female representation in national legislatures. However, the diffusion of international political ideas is not a sufficient explanation for the rise of female representation in national legislatures. This is because it only describes the change in the international political environment and not the mechanisms that women in individual countries utilize to increase female representation in legislatures. In addition, this explanation fails to explain the variation between countries since countries with similar exposure to international ideas, such as the 189 countries that participated in the 1995 Beijing Conference, have widely divergent percentages of women in the national legislature.

2.2 Women and Critical Mass Representation

Section 190A of the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action states, " [governments should] commit themselves to establishing the goal of gender balance in governmental bodies…setting specific targets and implementing measures to substantially increase the number of women…" This in essence is a call for the adoption of affirmative action measures. In politics, affirmative action often takes the form of gerrymandering, quotas, or the provision of reserved seats for ethnic, racial or religious minorities and women (Tinker 2004: 533). The affirmative action demands articulated by women's rights activists and feminist scholars are often based upon the theory of critical mass representation.

Critical mass is a nuclear physics concept that has over the past thirty years moved from its physical science origins into the social sciences of sociology and political science (Grey 2004: 4). Critical mass theory is often said to derive from the works of Rosbeth Moss Kanter, who conducted research into the distribution and character of power dynamics within Fortune 500 companies. Kanter's findings point to the significance of the proportion of ethnic and gender [diversity] in Fortune 500 companies; and the underlying principle of her work is that only in groups that are balanced or composed of a typological ratio of approximately 60:40 will the needs of disenfranchised groups prevail (Grey 2004: 4)

For feminist scholars a balance of 70:30 has been accepted and is commonly referred to as critical mass representation. According to scholar Sandra Grey, the theory of critical mass representation "is based upon the belief that the form of a public body will shape the processes and policies of that organization, and within political science it implies that the election of an adequate number of female politicians will result in governance [that is] more responsive to [the needs of] women (Grey 2004: 3). The widespread acceptance of critical

mass representation is illustrated by the large number of countries that have formally[5] adopted quotas or target percentages of thirty percent for female representation: Argentina 1991, Bolivia 1997, Macedonia 2002, Rwanda 2003, and Indonesia 2003 (Ballington & Karam 2005: 150)

If one accepts the signing of an international or regional document, which explicitly states 30 percent female representation as a goal, as indicative of a country's dedication to improving female representation; then logically it would follow that countries that have signed these documents will have higher levels of female representation than non-signatory countries. However, this assumption does not carry weight since even a cursory glance at the SADC region demonstrates that there is wide variation in female representation despite the fact that all members[6] signed the Declaration on Gender and Development on September 8, 1997. Moreover with the exception of Botswana, Swaziland and Mauritius, these same 12 original members of SADC have all ratified the protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women, which is another document that calls for equality between the sexes in African governments.

Nevertheless, some scholars argue that it is not the willingness of a country to sign international agreements, but rather its ability to implement the principles of these agreements that determines the variation of female representation in national legislatures. For these scholars, the social cleavages that divide women, such as rural/urban, wealthy/non-wealthy, religion, ethnicity and educational background, will necessarily hinder

[5] The use of the word "formally" signifies that the quota is enshrined in the constitution and/or legislative or electoral law of a country. It should be noted that in numerous countries (e.g. Germany) political parties have voluntarily adopted quotas, for female representation, which are set at 30 percent.

[6] The original 12 members of SADC are: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

a country's ability to fully adhere to the principles of critical mass – causing the variation in female representation between countries.

This critique, however, is invalid because women's organizations, especially those post-1980s, are characteristically broad-based and often demonstrate a keen interest in mobilizing across ethnic or religious ties (Tripp 2009: 86). Indeed, when conducting field-research in Uganda, many of my key informants mentioned the necessity of working across ethnic, religious and party lines. At the time, female parliamentarians in Uganda were working on a Domestic Relations Bill (DRB), which would criminalize various offenses like marital rape. One female parliamentarian informed me that when the DRB hit a snag due to the divergent interests of Christians and Muslims, the female parliamentarians quickly decided to create two DRB bills which would cater for the special needs of Christians and Muslims (Adi 2009: 25 – 27). Considering the fact that Uganda has one of the highest percentages of women in the legislatures worldwide, its experience demonstrates that the existence of social cleavages does not necessarily hinder a country's ability to achieve critical mass representation.

The theory of critical mass representation, regardless of if one considers the willingness or ability of a country to pursue its principles, fails to explain the variation of female representation in legislatures. What critical mass theory does explain, however, is the popularity of the quotas that many scholars cite as the primary explanation for the variation of female representation in national legislatures. This is because advocates of critical mass representation believe that it is only through the adoption of quotas that legislative equality between the sexes can be achieved; and their beliefs have been highly influential in the formulation of key international documents that address women's political rights. These documents include the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination

against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Platform for Action, and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's rights on the Rights of Women – all of which demand that governments take legislative action to ensure the equality between men and women in decision-making.

2.3 The Adoption of Quotas

"Quota systems [for female representation] aim at ensuring that women constitute at least a 'critical minority' of 30 or 40 percent…" (Ballington & Karam 2005: 142) and countries that adhere to the tenets of critical mass representation often adopt quotas to ensure women's representation in the national legislature. The motivation for the adoption of quotas can be attributed to: women mobilizing, international notions of equity, the diffusion of political norms/ideas, and the strategic benefits to male elites seeking political support (Julie Ballington 2004: 75 – 76; Tinker 2004: 533; Tripp 2008: 344; Krook 2009: 23). However, although most countries that adopt quotas have the stated goal of improving women's political representation, they often choose different quota types to ensure women's representation in legislatures. The following is a comprehensive outline of the various quota systems adopted by governments.

In the pursuit of increased female representation, governments can adopt constitutional, legislative, or voluntary-party quotas. Constitutional quotas are those that are written into a country's constitution, legislative quotas are those that are enshrined in the election law or political party law of a country, and voluntary-party quotas are quotas that parties themselves adopt (Larserud and Taphorn 2007: 8). There are three types of quotas: candidate quotas, reserved seat quotas and gender-neutral quotas. Candidate quotas specify the minimum percentage of female candidates that must be present in a country's election pool (Ballington & Karam 2005: 142). These candidate quotas can be constitutional,

legislative or the by-product of a political party's law. The key to candidate quotas is that they force political parties to recruit women thereby opening up the political space for women. Reserved seats, on the other hand, set aside seats for women (Ballington & Karam 2005:142), which guarantees women some minimal level of representation in the legislature. Reserved seats are enshrined in either the constitution or legislative code of a country and the women who fill these spots can either be appointed or elected. Lastly, gender-neutral quotas are quotas that establish minimum and maximum percentages that either sex can constitute in the national legislature, such as 70:30. The benefit of this quota type is that it avoids the charge of male discrimination that other quota systems routinely face. The challenge for this quota, however, is that very few countries have the numbers of female legislators needed to achieve such a quota.

Quotas are also differentiated by the fact that they are aimed at different stages of the electoral process. The two stages that quotas are geared towards are: the nomination phase and the election phase, which is based upon results. Quotas that target the nomination phase of the electoral process aim to make it easier for women to be placed in strategic positions on a party's candidate list. The challenge with quotas at the nomination level is that the selected women are often placed low on party lists (PR) or are eventually pushed-aside for male candidates that the political parties feel have a better chance of winning (Majority).

In comparison, results-based quotas directly impact the electoral process because unlike nomination quotas, these quotas ensure some minimal level of female representation in the national legislature. A popular example of a results-based quota is the reservation of seats in legislatures for women through the provision of a "women-only list,' or women's electoral district. Another example of a results-based quota is the highly controversial and unpopular best-loser system. Under the best-loser system the female candidates that receive

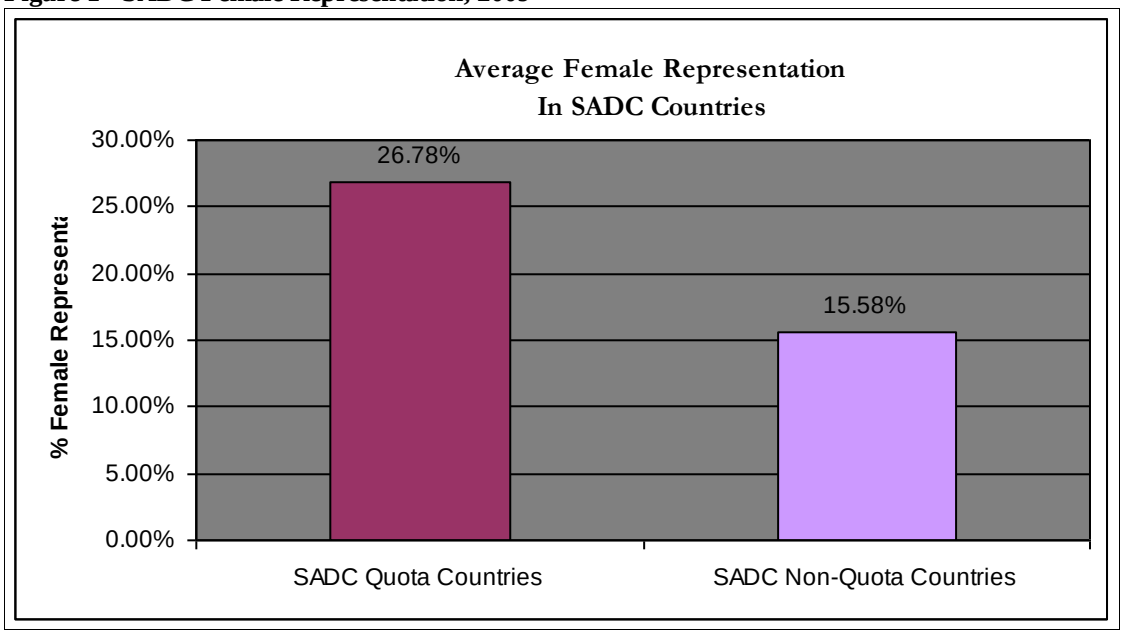
the most votes are elected even though male candidates may have won more seats (Larserud and Taphorn 2007: 8). Finally, all quotas regardless of form are either compulsory or non-compulsory. In some countries like France, where quotas are compulsory "non-compliance…can result in penalties for those political parties that do not apply them" (Larserud and Taphorn 2007: 8). However, in countries like South Africa that have non-compulsory voluntary-party quotas, there is no penalty for failure to comply since the quotas are not legally binding (Larserud and Taphorn, 8).

According to Aili Mari Tripp, voluntary party quotas are the most popular form of quotas in the world present in sixty-eight countries, followed by compulsory party quotas in twenty-eight countries and reserved seat quotas in twelve countries. Prior to 1985, only four countries had adopted quotas for female representation but in 2006 that number had jumped to eighty-four. Consequently, one can justly presume that the "adoption of quotas reflects a growing consensus that women should have greater representation or even equal representation with men (Tripp 2008: 340). General criticisms of quota adoption include these points: quotas only give voice to educated women and serve to exacerbate inequality (Htun 2004: 440), quotas harm the interests of minority groups (i.e. backlash from the majority), and that quotas only lead to the descriptive representation[7] of women. Despite the criticism, studies have shown that the adoption of quotas does, in fact, lead to significant increases in female representation (Tripp & Kang 2008, Tinker 2004, and Bhavnani 2009).

In general, countries with quotas have more female representation in the legislature than countries without a quota system. This fact is demonstrated by the chart of SADC countries in Figure 1.

[7] Descriptive representation occurs when representatives merely resemble the fraction of the population they claim to serve and such representatives rarely challenge the political structures that may discriminate against their constituents. Substantive representation, on the other hand, occurs when representatives advocate on behalf of their constituents for policies that are beneficial (citation??)

Figure 1 - SADC Female Representation, 2009



The difference between quota and non-quota countries has led many scholars to the conclusion that quotas explain the variation of female representation in national legislatures. Indeed, considerable research has gone into identifying which political systems work best with particular quotas. In attempts to explain how quotas lead to the variation of female representation scholars have pointed to the influence of electoral systems and political parties. The next two sections provide a brief overview of these two intervening variables. However, it must be stressed that countries choose to adopt quotas and as such this relationship is not necessarily the effect of the quota but rather the manifestation of some underlying factor.

2.4 Electoral Systems

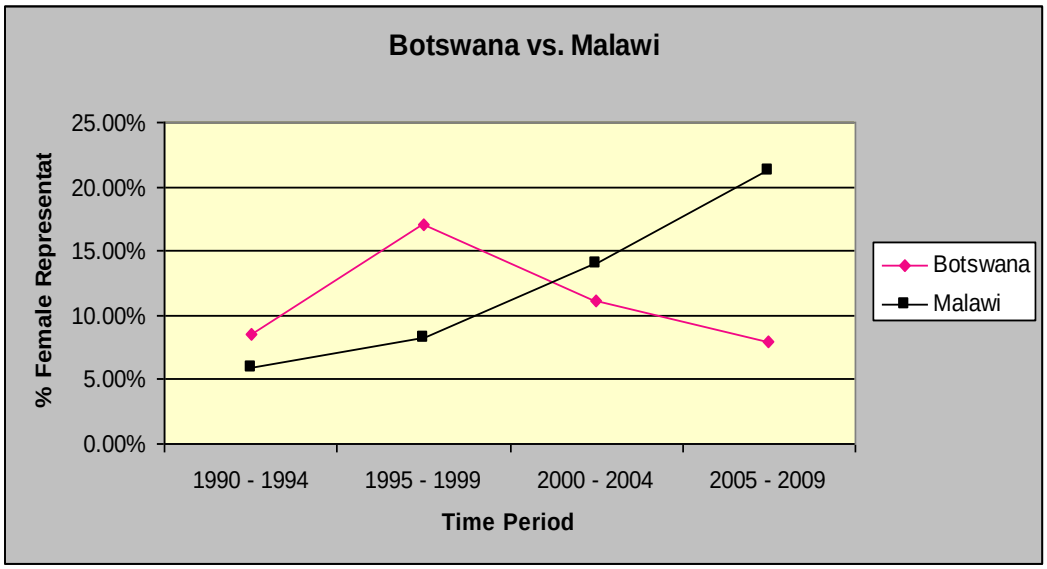
The ability of women to obtain seats in national legislatures is dependent upon district magnitude and party magnitude. District magnitude refers to the number of seats within an electoral district and party magnitude refers to the number of candidates elected from each party in an electoral district (Larserud and Taphorn 2007: 10). When a district is

large and political parties have the option of electing more than one candidate, women have a better chance of being nominated since parties that only have the option of electing one candidate tend to 'play it safe' and nominate men. Research conducted by numerous scholars has demonstrated that list proportional (List PR) systems provide the most conducive environment for the representation of women in state legislatures (Bauer 2004; Beckwith 2007; Caul 1999; Matland 19989; Larserud and Taphorn 2007). This is because if a political party wins 20 percent of the votes, it is guaranteed that proportion of seats in the legislature and so parties are more concerned with using their candidates to appeal to sub-groups of voters within the country (Ballington & Karam 2005: 101). The effectiveness of List PR in increasing women's representation is maximized when political parties alternate the names of male and female candidates on party lists. This method of listing potential candidates is often referred to as the zebra system since the listing of candidates' names by sex resembles the stripes on a zebra (Larserud and Taphorn 2007: 8). In contrast, the competitive nature of the first past the post (FPTP) system for single seat districts provides the least conducive environment for women in politics. This is because party leaders are concerned with finding one candidate to attract the most votes and this candidate is typically male.

The literature on electoral systems and female representation convincingly demonstrates that countries with PR systems tend to have greater percentages of female representation than non-PR system countries. However, while the relationship between quota types and electoral systems is undoubtedly important it fails to explain the variation of female representation between countries with similar electoral systems. For example, Botswana and Malawi both have FPTP electoral systems and both signed the 1997 SADC declaration on Gender and Development. However, as the graph in figure 2 demonstrates these two countries have followed radically different trajectories. For Malawi, each

successive election since 1994 has resulted in an increase in female representation – going from 5.99 percent in 1994 to 21.24 percent in 2009. Whereas in Botswana, the initial increase of female representation in 1999 has given way to a steady decline in female representation. Furthermore, it must be noted that temporal variation of female representation cannot be explained by a country's electoral system since electoral systems tends to remain constant through time.

Figure 2 - Female Representation in Botswana and Malawi: 1990 - 2009



2.5 Political Parties

To date most of the research on the increase and variation of female representation focuses on the application of quotas at the national level. However this, according to Miki Caul, is a mistake because it "overlooks the fact that individual political parties vary greatly in the proportion of female MPs [they hold]….and [the fact] that parties are the real gatekeepers to elected office (Caul 1999: 80). Indeed, the importance of political parties as 'gatekeepers' to political authority in African countries is exaggerated by the predominance of authoritarian regimes and semi-authoritarian regimes. In addition, the existence of one-

party states and de facto one-party states hinders women's ability to enter politics as newcomers since party leaders have incentives to maintain existing patronage linkages. Despite the obstacles, women have succeeded in joining political parties in all regions of the world and have held top executive positions such as President, Vice-President and party chairperson.

The organization of political parties can affect women's ability to obtain positions of power within parties. In general, political parties that are centralized will have more women in the legislature because when a quota is adopted its implementation is easier to enforce. That being said, political parties that are decentralized also offer women opportunities because women can work their way up the party ranks from the local level - developing powerful connections along the way (Caul 1999: 79 – 95). Thus, it appears that women's representation in political parties and in the legislature can increase without regard to the specific organization of the party. Rather, women interested in politics must play a game whereby they ensure their success by altering their strategy to fit the rules of the game. For example, in a country where political parties are centralized women should seek the adoption of quotas for female representation by political parties.

As previously mentioned voluntary quotas by political parties are the most popular quota system worldwide. Both centralized and decentralized political parties have adopted voluntary quotas for increasing female representation in the legislature. This has led many to wonder what predisposes a political party to being receptive to the idea of a quota system. One suggestion has been that it is the political ideology of individual parties (e.g. conservative or leftist) that explains why some parties adopt quotas and others do not. In general, parties on the left of the ideological spectrum have been more open to nominating women, perhaps due to their emphasis on social welfare. However, since the late 1990s the

number of women being elected from parties on the right has converged with leftist parties; and this is most likely due to increased pressure to increase the representation of women in state legislatures (Tripp 2008: 353) and competition between political parties in individual countries to appear gender sensitive.

Scholars have found that the ideology of political parties is significant in industrialized countries (Caul 1999: 79 – 98). In particular, they have found that political parties with egalitarian values tend to have more female representation than political parties that do not espouse egalitarian views. However, this ideological distinction is not an important factor in explaining female representation in African countries since irregardless of ideology most African political parties take a conservative stance on women's social and political activities (Gisela Geisler 2004: 17 – 38). This is despite that the fact that many African political parties are explicitly anti-imperialistic and often use rhetoric similar to leftist parties in industrialized countries such as demanding equality and freedom for all citizens. The reason African women have often found it difficult to progress in political parties is due to the history of the anti-colonial movement.

During the anti-colonial struggle, women's bodies were used to symbolically represent the 'rebirth of African traditional cultures and values' which were forcibly suppressed during the colonial era (Geisler 2006, Geisler 1995, Geisler 1987 and Walsh & Scully 2006). Unfortunately for African women their symbolic role as custodian of tradition has restricted their political participation to supporting roles as wives, fundraisers, and mobilizers of support through praise dancing (Gilman 2001). Thus, the ideology of political parties in African countries is of little importance to explaining the variation of female representation across countries since there is little variation in the popular image of women as 'mothers of the nation' and custodians of tradition (Geisler 2006). Nevertheless, political

parties are an important aspect in explaining the variation in female representation since as Miki Caul has argued they are the gatekeepers to political power.

2.6 Beyond Quotas: the Role of Women's Movements

In 2009, while conducting research on critical mass representation in Uganda, I discovered the importance of the Ugandan women's movement to both the adoption of quotas and the substantive representation of women by qualified female legislators. The works of scholars like, Aili Mari Tripp and Shireen Hassim, writing on women in African politics have increasingly pointed to the significance of national women's movements in explaining the numbers of women in legislatures. In the works of these scholars, strong women's movements whose leaders take advantage of political transitions and/or the changing political environment for women all have certain common attributes that enable them to successfully advocate the adoption of quotas.

The first of these shared characteristics is the existence of an umbrella organization that is non-partisan and unifies women's organizations working in disparate sectors of women's lives. The second is that its membership is composed of a broad range of actors including scholars, activists, female politicians, professional women and common urban/rural women. In addition, these movements seek the political, economic and social emancipation of women through legislative change and actively pursue the representation of women in decision-making positions within a country (e.g. land distribution boards and businesses). Lastly, using the media these organizations publicly state their demands in simplistic terms that are easily understood by diverse groups of people (Tamale 1999, Tripp 2000, Tripp et al. 2009, Goetz & Hassim 2003 and Adi 2009).

The adoption of quotas by a country is mediated by the influence of each countries national women's movement. There are five defining components of the relationship

between a strong national women's movement and a quota system. The first is that the women's movement is the principal endogenous agent that pressures governments or political parties to adopt quota systems. Secondly, women's movements actively recruit women to contest elections and to seek party nominations. In addition, women's movements provide training and support to potential female candidates. The resources women's movements provide female candidates include: technical training on how to delegate tasks and conduct oneself in the media, tips on how to conduct a successful campaign and the money and memorabilia needed to publicize one's campaign. Fourthly, the women's movement provides female politicians with continuous technical training on subjects like gender-budgeting, gender-mainstreaming and information and communication technologies (ICT). Lastly, the women's movement acts as a government watch-dog safeguarding women's rights and maintains the politicalization of women's issues. This is done through public demands for governments to address women's rights; public demands for an increase in women's numbers in legislatures and the publicized rebukes of governments or political parties that fail to address women's issues (Adi 2009, Ballington 2004, Ballington & Karam 2005, Tamale 1999, Tripp et al 2009, and Tripp 2000). The following is a comprehensive summary of the relevant literature concerning African women's activism from pre-colonial to contemporary times.

2.6.1 Historical Antecedent of African Women's Activism

Women in Africa are known to be the traditional controllers of markets and have a long history of mobilizing together to protect their economic rights. Prior to the colonial period, women would protest men's intrusion on their space by engaging in "sit-ins" at the offending males' home until the community resolved the situation to the women's satisfaction. Similarly, during the colonial period, attempts by colonial officers to tax market-

women were rebuffed by bands of women who protested by baring their chest to colonial officials[8] (Tripp, Casimiro, Kewsiga, Mungwa 2009: 31) and participating in 'sit-ins'.

Pre-colonial African women had varying degrees of political representation. In some societies women had their own political hierarchy, characterized by age-sets,[9] which were run independently of men and considered to be of equal stature. In familial kingdoms, the mothers, sisters and wives of kings shared power with the king; and in some cases exercised judicial powers, collected taxes and could condemned criminals to death (Tamale 1999: 7). In addition, in some kingdoms these women were considered superior to all male chiefs. Despite the powerful position of some African women in pre-colonial Africa, it would be a fallacy to claim that women in pre-colonial Africa were the political equals of men since women's political authority was often limited to women's activities in commerce and child-rearing.

Under colonization women's limited political power was undercut by the importation of the Victorian model of womanhood, which focused on women's Christian duty as wives and mothers. During this time period women's economic activities in the markets were gradually taken over by men since colonial officers refused to do business with women. In addition, women were forced to abandon cash-crops because colonial officials would not extend agricultural services to women. By the end of colonization, women were largely confined to the domestic sphere and their economic and political powers were severely diminished (Tripp et al. 2009). However, it should be noted that despite their disadvantaged position, women routinely challenge the colonial regime on issues that affected women. For

[8] Female nakedness in Africa is seen as the ultimate form of shaming since all women are the mothers of someone. Naked protest can also be a method of expressing a woman's grief (Tripp 2009: 31).
[9] Men and women in many African communities are divided into groups, by age, which are fixed for life. The men and women progress through life together and as the age each develops its own political system to police its members and regulate communication between age groups and between the sexes. (Martin & Meara 1995: 175).

example in Uganda in 1947, a group of African and Asian women created the Uganda Council of Women (UCW) to protest the inheritance laws that colonial Uganda routinely used to divest widows of their matrimonial home and property. There was also the Uganda African Women's League (UAWL) which supported and endorsed female candidates contesting for positions within the colonial legislative council – evidence of an early attempt by African women to participate in decision-making and influence policies (Tamale 1999 and Tripp 2000).

2.6.2 Women's Activism & National Liberation Movements

During the Second World War, European colonial powers utilized scores of their colonial subjects on the battlefields in Europe. Upon returning home these African soldiers denounced the hypocrisy of colonial powers that fought for the freedom of other Europeans while continuing to deny Africans their own freedom. By the late 1950s activism in Africa against colonialism was at its peak and by the early 1960s a majority of African colonies had declared their freedom from European powers.

Anti-colonial movements were often violent affairs especially in colonies with large numbers of European settlers like Zimbabwe. Due to the imbalance in military power indigenous liberation movements needed as many supporters as possible. Consequently, women were often drawn away from domestic activities in the home and market and into national liberation movements as fighters. Ethnic and religious minorities, as well as women, were often eager to join liberation movements because many of these movements espoused explicitly socialist and egalitarian values. While fighting alongside men, many women came to appreciate the equality between the sexes that the movements promoted. These women were known to advocate the maintenance of equality between the sexes upon liberation. However, in general, women's gender-specific goals were "subsumed or ignored" by liberation leaders

under the pretext that once independence was achieved women's particular concerns would be addressed (Tripp et al. 2009 and Geisler 2004). Unfortunately, this was not to be the case and upon liberation women were once again relegated to the confines of the domestic sphere. Attempts to agitate for women's rights were quelled by accusations that women's protests were divisive (Walsh & Scully 2006: 6) and not beneficial to nation-building. Moreover, attempts by women to organize and advocate for the rights of women were severely constrained by the symbolic use of women's bodies[10] by male elites and the fear that a focus on women's issues would hinder the progress towards development (Walsh & Scully 2006).

2.6.3 Women and the Second Liberation: The rise of Democracy

All African countries, with the exception of South Africa (1994) and Namibia (1990), had by the late 1980s achieved independence from their respective colonial power. From the late 1980s and into the early 1990s, the political environment in African countries was characterized by the decline of autocratic regimes, the adoption of multiparty democracy, and the respect for political and civil liberties.[11] During the transition from autocracy to democracy many social groups, including that of women, were able to take advantage of the opening political space to advocate for their special concerns. Similarly, in countries that were transitioning from protracted civil conflict to democracy women's organizations were able to promote women's specific concerns. While the transition to democracy was an important environmental factor that explains women's ability to gain political concessions,

[10] To justify colonization European powers argued that they had to protect women from the tyranny of African men who practiced polygamy and supported Female Genital Circumcision (FGC). National liberation leaders often used women as the symbolic protector of tradition (e.g. Algeria reclaiming the Veil and Kenya the resurgence FGC) and so women's activism for progressive rights was seen as counter productive for the movement.

[11] For two decades Freedom House rankings of the political and civil liberties in Africa showed a general trend towards increased democratic practice (http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/special_report/77.pdf).

its importance should not be over stated, since even in non-democratic countries like Uganda women's groups were able to pressure their demands. Rather attention should be given to the actions of women's movements during these transitions, since it is women's activism that is ultimately responsible for changes in female legislative representation.

Under autocratic regimes the activism of women's groups was severely constrained because dissension was not allowed. At the time, women's organizations were confined to traditional development concerns and women were often compelled by the state to "dance" for politicians and uphold the state's definition of traditional African values. For example, prior to independence in 1964, the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) established a women's league. The women's league was headed by a popular women's rights activist named Rose Chibambo, who believed that the organization would articulate the interests of women in Malawi and influence public policy. However, in reality, the organization was utilized by President Banda to extort control over women through the extension of goods (e.g. trips abroad and homes) to those women who faithfully wore traditional African cloth engrained with his picture at rallies while singing and dancing his praise (Gilman 2001). Consequently, women who participated in women's leagues across Africa prior to the 1990s were often used as the parties support base and their chief role was to boost morale and mobilize supporters (Gilman 2001: 77 - 83, Semu 2002: 43 – 45)

In the decades immediately following independence from colonial rule the majority of women's organizations focused on traditional development issues. Additionally, women's political activism was largely confined to specific women's branches of established political parties. However, from the late 1980s onwards the nature of women's civil society organizations underwent a radical shift from the traditional *Women in Development* (WID)

approach to *Gender and Development* (GAD) and this transformation had immediate affects on women's political activism.

2.6.4 Women's Organizations: From WID to GAD

The concept of Women in Development (WID) emerged during the 1970s after researchers noticed the differential impact that development projects were having on women as compared to men (Zwart 1992: 16). To counter the historical bias of development projects in favor of men, development practitioners began to target projects specifically towards women. These WID projects sought to integrate women into existing development projects through the focus on women-specific activities. However, WID projects were often considered supplementary to projects targeted at men; they tended to be smaller than men's projects and operated on miniscule budgets (Zwart 1992: 16). The major critique of the WID approach was that its projects "did not address the underlying problems of class and gender inequality" (Zwart 1992: 17) which meant women continued to suffer.

In the 1980s, feminists worldwide increasingly advocated strategies of female liberation that would tackle the root causes of inequality between men and women in society. These feminists focused their activism on understanding how gender intersects with development and many came to believe that women's emancipation necessitates women's involvement in all political and economic structures of society. This new approach is called Gender and Development (GAD) and it promotes projects that work with both men and women. Under GAD projects men and women work together to make decisions and the benefits of development are shared equitably.

In order to pursue the principles of GAD, many women's rights activists founded new women's organizations. These organizations developed independently in all regions of the world. However, the popularity of the GAD approach benefited from the UN Decade

for Women. This is because during the UN Decade for Women (1975 – 1985) women's rights activists were able to come together in big numbers at global conferences and exchange ideas. In general, GAD organizations focus on building the capacity of women to challenge gender based discrimination through the provision of literacy classes, technical skill trainings, and gender-consciousness workshops. In addition, most GAD organizations are headed by a core group of women concerned with progressive changes in women's rights and they tend to focus on increasing the number of women in decision-making positions.

For example, in Uganda a group of professional women in 1985 created the organization Action for Development (ACFODE), which had the objective of increasing women's representation in decision-making positions and to fight gender discrimination through law reform. The women of ACFODE networked with women from other women's organizations to lobby President Museveni for the appointment of women to key-roles in the constitutional commission. In addition, during the constituent assembly these women created a non-partisan organization called the Women's Caucus of the Uganda Constituent Assembly, which they used to publicize and politicize women's issues. Some of their key activities included: hosting seminars on effective lobbying skills, the creation of a Gender Information Centre (GIC) to provide support for female delegates when debating, the creation of a weekly radio show where female delegates could share views with the public, the publication of educational materials on women's rights and networking with women's organizations and sympathetic male delegates (Tamale 1999; Tripp 2000).

Today, women's organizations in Africa can be divided into two categories: WID and GAD. Most WID organizations are organizations that existed before national liberation in major cities across former colonial countries; and these organizations tend to "focus on women's traditional roles as mothers and home-makers" (Zwart 1992: 20). In comparison,

GAD organizations were often established during the late 1980s and early 1990s, were formed by professional women, are located in urban zones and are composed of activists seeking progressive changes for women's rights (Zwart 1992: 20). Yet, due to the activism around GAD in the 1980s, some older women's organizations, such as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) in many countries, following the example set by the new crop of women's organizations have begun to restructure themselves to follow a GAD approach.

3.0 Hypothesis

In this research it is not my intention to dispute the claims of scholars who have demonstrated that in general the adoption of quotas lead to higher percentages of women in national legislatures. Likewise, I do not dispute research that has demonstrated that different quota systems work best under particular electoral systems. Rather, it is my contention that the adoption of quotas is a policy choice taken by governments or political parties at the prodding of women's movements. For that reason, the presence of a quota system alone cannot explain the variation of female representation. In this research I look beyond the adoption of quotas and at the women's movement in countries to explain the variation of female representation between countries in the SADC region of southern Africa.

> H1: Countries with both a strong women's movement and a quota policy will have a higher percentage of women in the national legislature than in countries that do not meet both of these requirements.

For this research countries will be dichotomously characterized by the presence or absence of a quota policy for female representation. In addition, the women's movement

within each country will be ranked as having a weak, limited or strong women's movement. It is expected that countries with both a strong women's movement and quota system will have a percentage of female legislators that approximates a critical mass percentage of female representation. In contrast, in countries that have neither a strong women's movement and no quota policy the percentage of female legislators will be minimal. Lastly, in countries that either have a strong women's movement or a quota policy, but not both, female representation will be variable and will fail to approximate a critical mass percentage of female legislators. This relationship is illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 3 - Relationship between Women's Movements and Quotas

	Quota	No Quota
Strong ♀'s Movement	High ≥25 %	Variable
Weak ♀'s Movement	Variable	Minimal

The presence of a quota for female representation in a national legislature is easy to verify since it only requires the reading of a country's constitution, legal code or political party constitution. In comparison, determining the relative strength of a national women's movement can be difficult since this term is an abstract concept that necessarily changes depending on who and for what purpose it is being used. To avoid confusion, the following check-list details the characteristics this research will use to classify the strength of women's movements.

Figure 4 - Guideline for Strong Women's Movements

1) The main women's organizations pursue a GAD agenda and focus on women's social, economic and political empowerment		X
	A) Pressure government/ parties for quota adoption	X
	B) Actively recruit female candidates for the legislature	X
	C) Train/support potential female candidates/politicians	X
	D) Politicize women's issues	X
	E) Monitor governments commitment to gender equity	X
2) Membership in the women's organization is broad. Consisting of activists, scholars, professionals, politicians and ordinary women/men, who focus on a broad range of issues		X
3) Women's organization(s) utilize the media to sensitize the public and state their demand for more women in decision-making positions		X
4) Existence of an independent umbrella Organization that is non-partisan and unifies women's organizations operating in the country		X

A strong women's movement will meet at least three of the four major criteria as listed above. In contrast, a limited women's movement will only meet two and a weak movement will only meet one. In order for a women's movement to classify as meeting criteria one, it must meet at least four of the five sub-criteria. If a movement meets three or less it is classified as having a limited GAD agenda and does not meet the first criteria.

4.0 Research Design

This research builds upon the conclusions I developed while conducting research in Kampala, Uganda. The primary objective is to determine if the relationship I found in Uganda between women's organizations and female parliamentary representation is present in other African countries. This research is non-experimental and utilizes a comparative analysis of three case studies from the SADC region to test the hypothesis. For this research I have utilized deductive reasoning to illustrate how women's movements influence the variation of female representation in SADC legislatures.

Study Population and Sampling

The Southern Africa Development Community is composed of fifteen countries. Ten of the fifteen countries have quotas for female representation and five of the countries have no quota. Seven of the ten countries with quotas have voluntary party quotas, one has reserved seats, and one has a legislative quota. One country, Madagascar, is not included in the study population since the parliament was dissolved during a December 2008 coup d'état.

Figure 5 - Profile of SADC Countries

SADC Countries	***Electoral System***	***Quota***	***Quota Type/Date***
Angola	Proportional	Y	Legislative Compulsory Quota for Political Parties: 2005
Botswana	Majority	Y	Party Mandate: 1999
Lesotho	Mixed	Y	Party Mandate: Year Unknown
Malawi	Majority	Y	Party Mandate: Year Unknown
Mozambique	Proportional	Y	Party Mandate: 1994
Namibia	Proportional	Y	Party Mandate: 1997
South Africa	Proportional	Y	Party Mandate: 1994
Tanzania	Majority	Y	Constitutionally Reserved Seats: 2000
Zimbabwe	Majority	Y	Party Mandate: 2005
DRC	Mixed	Y	Party Mandate: 2006
Mauritius	Majority	N	None
Seychelles	Mixed	N	None
Swaziland	Majority	N	None
Zambia	Majority	N	None
Madagascar	**COUP**	**N**	**None**

Sources: Tripp Casimiro Kwesiga Mungwa: 2009; Krook: 2009;www.eisa.org

The countries selected to participate in this study have been identified through purposive sampling based upon the suitability of each country to this research and the availability of data. First each SADC country was placed in the appropriate category as illustrated below based upon the presence or absence of a quota policy. At this point of the research process

the strength of each country's women's movement was unknown. Consequently, I used the percentage of female legislators in each country as of 2009 to further sub-divide each country.

Figure 6 - Potential Case Studies from the SADC Region

	Quota	No Quota
Strong ♀'s Movement	Angola Mozambique Namibia South Africa Tanzania	Mauritus Seychelles Swaziland Zambia
Weak ♀'s Movement	Botswana DRC Lesotho Malawi Zimbabwe	None

Countries for the case study were then selected on the basis of it having had no change in either the electoral system or presence or absence of a quota system between 1990 and 2009. For consistency, each of the countries with quotas selected has a voluntary party quota. The rationale for choosing countries with voluntary quotas is that 67 percent of SADC countries with a quota system have voluntary party quotas. For this study the electoral system of each country was not controlled due to limitations of the study population. However, this does not pose a significant limitation to the study since this research is only concerned with establishing the link between women's movements and female legislative representation. At this point in the research I had five countries to choose from: Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe. My decision to study South Africa, Zambia and Botswana was made based upon the availability of data concerning female politicians in each of these countries.

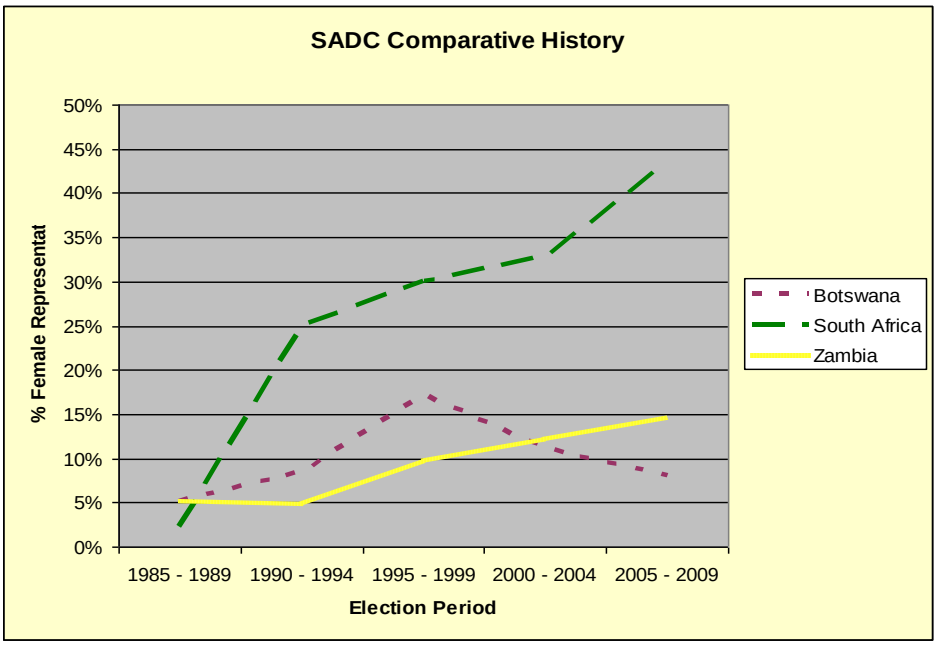
Research Methods

In this research I rely upon both primary and secondary resources. Primary resources include newspaper articles, party manifestos, organizational pamphlets, and government documents. Access to primary resources was obtained from LexisNexis, Allafrica.com, organization websites, government websites and the Emory University Woodruff Library. While using LexisNexis and Allafrica.com, I used a combination of the following the key words to elucidate relevant newspaper articles for each country involved in my research: women, female, politics, parliamentarian, election and quota. This was followed by a subsequent search for newspaper articles that reference the dominate women's organization(s) operating within each country. These organizations included South Africa's Women's National Coalition, Zambia's Non governmental organizations coordinating council and the Zambia National Women's Lobby Group, and Emang Basadi of Botswana. Relevant articles were limited to those written between 1996 and 2010 due to the limitations of both search engines. A complete list of the articles used in this research can be found in Appendix 1.

Secondary resources include scholarly works that cover women's movements, liberation movements and female legislators in Africa. These scholarly works provided a wealth of information concerning the history of each country's women's movement and the social and political environment of each country during the 1990s and into the 2000s. Through the use of both these primary and secondary resources I was able to determine the relative strength of each country's women's movement and to explain how these women's movements influenced the amount of female representation in each country's national legislature.

5.0 Findings

Figure 7 - Female Representation in Select SADC Countries, 1985 - 2009



In the preceding figure, the percentage of female legislators in three SADC countries -Botswana, South Africa and Zambia from 1985 to 2009 is illustrated. All of these countries started off with very low levels of female legislative representation in the late 1980s – South Africa 2.27 percent, Botswana 5 percent and Zambia 5 percent. At the time, South Africa was under an apartheid regime, Zambia was under the autocratic leadership of President Kenneth Kaunda and Botswana was enjoying twenty years of peaceful democracy. In the early 1990s each of these countries would see the emergence of a coordinated women's movement in response to the changing domestic political environment. The following is an in-depth analysis of the activities of women's movements in South Africa, Botswana and Zambia from the late 1980s to the present.

5.1 South Africa: Women in Charge

The apartheid system that prevailed in South Africa from 1948 to 1994 was based upon over one hundred years of colonial domination and racial exclusion by various European ethnic groups including the Dutch, French, German and English. In 1910, South Africa was granted self-rule from the British as the Union of South Africa (Britton 2005: 6 - 9). However, the independence of 1910 was restricted to the white population, and it was not until 1994 that the totality of South Africa's population would become independent as the Republic of South Africa. In the decade prior to independence in 1994, South Africa endured its most tumultuous period of racial animosity and violence. Despite the high level of racial tension women managed to work across the racial divide to ensure women's mutual political empowerment at independence.

Background: Women under Apartheid

South African racial groups have always lived in racially divided neighborhoods. However, it was not until the 1950 Group Areas Act that this practice was made into law. Under the 1950 Group Areas Act, the South African population was completely segregated based upon race and this included neighborhoods, bus systems, hospitals, schools and more (Britton 2005: 9). In general, the white population lived in the urban centers and the black population lived on the outskirts of cities. However, black women were a common sight in white neighborhoods since they often worked as housekeepers and/or nannies for white families. Similarly, black males also frequented city centers since some worked in city-based industries. The movement of the black male population in city centers was always carefully monitored by the South African government using a pass system, which required black men to carry passes stating that they had work in particular industries. From 1890 to 1913 black

women were also subject to the pass law. However, after protesting in 1913 black women were exempt from the pass law until 1950, when the apartheid government used violent tactics to compel the women to carry the passes once more (Britton 2005: 16).

In addition to being racially segregated from one another, women in South Africa were also subject to different legal codes and restrictions based upon their racial and ethnic identity. White women were only subject to South African law and had more privileges than non-white women, including the right to vote which was granted in the 1930s. However, it should be noted that white women's access to abortion was limited, domestic violence laws were minimal and white women did not have equal rights with white men in terms of property and tax laws.

It is also important to remember that the white South African population is not homogenous; but divided between English and Afrikaner. In general, English women were able to exercise greater freedom than Afrikaner women due to the differences in the social norms of each group. For example, English women were often able to engage in wage earning activities while black women cared for their homes and children. In contrast, Afrikaner women were often excluded from formal wage earning due to internal pressures from the Afrikaner society. For example women married to men belonging to the Afrikaner Brotherhood, a secret male society bent on preserving Afrikaner language and culture, were expected to raise the children and make a home for the family (Waylen 2000; 526, Britton 2005: 13; Hassim 2002:705). However, in general the lifestyle and opportunities available to white women were more progressive and far-reaching than that of the non-white population.

African women were subject to both South African apartheid law and customary law. Under customary law, African women were perpetual minors who could not own or inherit property, gain credit and often had no legal rights to their children. Similarly, colored women

faced discrimination from the apartheid government and the traditions of their own particular ethnic group (e.g. Indian customary law). This means that African and colored women were discriminated against on the basis of both their sex and race – this is called double discrimination. Nevertheless, the fact that all women in South Africa were familiar with the pains of discrimination would later serve as the basis for women's networking for mutual gains in a male dominated political system.

Although women were racially segregated and had divergent experiences with the political system of South Africa, there were attempts during the apartheid regime to bridge the differences between women. The best-known non-racial women's organization operating during the Apartheid regime was the Federation of South African Women (FSAW). The FSAW was established on April 17, 1954 and its primary purpose was to organize women's struggle against the apartheid regime. Although the organization was non-racial the majority of its members were African or colored since apartheid generally did not negatively affect white women. The FSAW is popularly known for its August 9, 1956 protest against the pass law for women, during which more than 20,000 individuals marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria. However, the most important role the FSAW played in the South African women's movement was its promulgation of a Women's Charter in 1954, which demanded equal rights for all women regardless of race or ethnicity (Fick, et al 2002: 29).

The last elections of apartheid South Africa occurred on September 6, 1989. During that election women were only able to secure 2.27 percent of the legislative seats (www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/2291_A.htm). The dearth of female legislators is a reflection of women's preoccupation with the dismantling of the apartheid system.

In 1950, the apartheid government passed the Suppression of Communism Act, which was used to ban organizations that opposed the apartheid government. Accordingly, this act was used to ban powerful black liberation organizations such as the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (Martin & O'Meara 1995: 395 - 412). Due to the banning of these organizations, the leaders of many women's organizations began to take central roles in the anti-apartheid movement. Consequently, by the 1980s many women's organizations were in disarray and the members of such organizations were more often concerned with the dismantling of the apartheid system than their rights as women (Hassim 2002: 694, Seidman 1999: 289). The rationale for women's decision to ignore women's rights during the 1980s was expressed by a leading female member of the ANC at the 1985 conference on the status of women held in Nairobi, where she declared: "It would be suicide for women in the antiapartheid movement to discuss gender inequalities…to do so might undermine the struggle for racial justice by creating division and rancor" (Seidman 1999: 287).

Five years later the women's movement in South Africa would re-emerge stronger than ever and pressure for concessions, which would drastically alter the face of South African politics. The re-emergence of the women's movement is attributed to the 1990 un-banning of several political parties – especially the African National Congress. When the ANC was un-banned several semi-autonomous women's organizations were incorporated into the women's league of the ANC. One benefit of the consolidation of women's organizations into the ANC women's league (ANCWL) was that women's demands could be expressed beyond the confines of ANC membership, but retained access to the leadership of the ANC. In addition, through expanding the reach of the ANCWL, the women were exposed to new ideas and skills (Hassim 2002: 694, Seidman 1999: 292). This is because

many women had received degrees and training in Universities across Europe and Africa. While living outside South Africa, many women learned how liberation movements in other African countries, like Zimbabwe, quickly sidelined women and women's issues once independence was achieved (Britton 2002: 37; Hassim 2002: 717). Consequently by 1990, members of the women's league were eager to create a national women's organization that would unify women and articulate women's common concerns.

In early January 1990, several South African women convened in Amsterdam, Netherlands to host the Malibongwe Conference. The theme of this conference was "women united for a unitary, non-racial, democratic South Africa." At this conference women discussed many issues such as working women, women's familial rights, culture, education and health. However, most importantly they agreed that there was a need for a national women's organization that would to work integrate gender equality into the new democratic South Africa (http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/women/pr900118.html). The following section discusses the Women's Charter in detail.

The Women's Charter

The Women's National Coalition (WNC) was established in July 1992 as a broad political coalition of over seventy organizations and eight regional coalitions. The primary mission of the WNC was the drafting of a non-partisan women's charter, which would articulate the demands of both individual women and women's organizations, and be presented to members of the interim constitutional committee (Seidman 1999: 298, Hassim 2002: 699 – 714). There were three groups of organizations that were allowed to be members of the WNC: national women's organizations, national organizations with women members (e.g. Trade Unions) and regional coalitions of women's organizations.

Prior to drafting the Women's Charter, members of the WNC embarked on an 18-month nation-wide expedition to discover the common woman's demands. Accordingly, WNC members conducted 203 focus groups with 1,620 members and administered 2,973 individual questionnaires (Seidman 1999: 298). The responses of black and colored South African women were predictably based upon their racial experience under the apartheid regime. For example, some black women discussed white women's exploitation of black domestic servants. However, in order to avoid alienating white members of the coalition these issues were included using the neutral terminology of "equal access to employment and training for all South Africans" (Seidman 1999: 299). The Women's Charter was completed in February 1994 and adopted June 1994. Unfortunately, the charter was not completed before the interim constitution, but the demands articulated within the document would provide the foundation for the women's movement and women's demands (Hassim 2002: 711 – 714).

Negotiating Women's Rights: 1990 - 1994

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa, which is the name of the negotiated talks that ended apartheid rule, commenced on December 20, 1991. The exclusion of women from the negotiating teams of political parties raised the ire of women from a broad range of backgrounds. This is evident from the number of individuals, including university principals, who placed Ads in newspapers demanding greater female representation (Hassim 2002: 701). Female ANC members were also upset and publicly demanded that the ANC account for its failure to include women. In addition, the ANCWL proposed that it be granted separate status from the ANC so that they could be admitted to the talks (Hassim 2002: 715). However, this proposal was rejected and in response the strategizing group of

the ANCWL submitted a paper to CODESA detailing the gender issues prevalent in each of the conference's working committees. At the same time, the ANCWL developed partnerships with women from the Democratic Party (DP) and the National Party (NP) and it was agreed that women should pressure their individual parties to include women in CODESA. Soon all political parties had approved the creation of a Gender Advisory Board that would consider the gender implications of the negotiated agreements (Seidman 1999: 293; Fick et al, 2002: 33).

However, women's activists were unhappy with the powers accorded to the Gender Advisory Board and decided that female representation was necessary within the negotiating chambers. In March 1993, ANC women's activists entered the negotiating chambers and stalled the talks until they were finally allowed to remain. Following this protest, all 26 of the participating political parties agreed to a gender quota for the Multi-party Negotiating Process (Hassim 2002: 717; Seidman 1999: 294). The quota agreed upon mandated that each two-person negotiating team had to have one male and one female member, which means that half the negotiators that approved the provisional constitution and the commenced the elections were women (Seidman 1999: 294). The female negotiators created a caucus during the last constitutional negotiations to ensure that women's common interest were addressed in the constitution. The two major provisions secured by the women's caucus were: the non-sexism clause and a provision that declares respect for gender equity supersedes customary law.

South Africa: The 1994 Election

On April 26, 1994, the Republic of South Africa held its first post-apartheid election. This election resulted in an increase in women's representation from 2.27 percent to 26.7

percent. A total of nineteen political parties participated in this electoral exercise and seven parties were successful in gaining seats in the legislature. With the exception of two political parties, the *African Christian Democratic Party* and the *Freedom Front*, each political party that was successful had at least one female representative in the 1994 legislature (www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/2291_A.htm). Female representation in the 1994 legislature is listed in table 3 by political party. The willingness of political parties to field female candidates and the dramatic increase in the number of female legislators in the 1994 – 1999 National Assembly is a reflection of the strength of the South African women's movement. The following details the strategy the women's movement used during the 1994 election to increase women's representation in the legislature.

Table 3 - Female Representation in South African Parliament, 1994

Political Party	*Representatives*	*Female Reps.*	*Percentage*
African National Congress	252	90	35.7
Democratic Alliance	7	1	14
Inkatha Freedom Party	43	10	23
National Party	82	9	10
Pan Africanist Congress	5	1	20

Source: Hassim 2006: 174

For the 1994 elections, the South African women's movement had two objectives: 1) to get women into the national assembly; and 2) to get women to vote (Fick et al, 2002: 103). As a result, the women's movement developed a two-prong strategy that they felt would enable them to influence the participation of women in the 1994 election. The first approach, involved sidelining women's particular interests so that attention could be given to debating the mechanisms (i.e. quota system) which would ensure women's representation in

the legislature (Fick et al, 2002: 103). The second approach involved voter education specifically targeted at women.

To date, the African National Congress is the only political party in South Africa to adopt a quota, which guarantees women a specific percentage of slots on the party's candidate list. However, it took the ANCWL three years to get the leaders of the ANC to agree to this commitment. In 1990, following the un-banning of the African National Congress, the ANC women's league was re-launched as an autonomous organization. In 1991, the ANCWL proposed that the ANC adopt a 30 percent quota for female representation but this proposal was unsuccessful (Waylen 2007: 533). A subsequent attempt was made in 1992 but this attempt ended in failure as well. After the second failure to secure the 30 percent quota, the ANC Women's League changed its strategy and chose a man sympathetic to the women's cause to forward the proposal to the top ANC leadership. This strategy was successful; and in the 1994 election the ANC ensured that women accounted for 30 percent of its list (Waylen 2002: 533 – 543).

There was a great need for voter education campaigns prior to this election because for the majority of South African voters this was to be their first time to vote. In the years leading up to the 1994 election, various non-governmental organizations and political parties worked together to conduct voter-education campaigns. To avoid duplication, the Independent Forum for Electoral Education (IFEE) was established in 1993. The objective of the IFEE was to "implement a 'co-ordinated and nationwide electoral preparation programme' by sharing resources." The IFEE successfully integrated more than half of the NGOs working in voter education prior to the 1994 election. And by the time the government created the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) in 1994, more than 108

voluntary non-partisan voter education programs had been established in the country (Fick et al, 2002: 141 – 144).

As the election neared, voter education campaigns were increasingly targeted at women. During this time, organizations like the ANCWL, the Black Sash and the Women's Development Foundation (WDF) conducted workshops specifically designed for women. At these workshops women were encouraged to know each party's policy on gender and to vote for the party that addressed their concerns (Fick et al, 2002: 147). However, it was not only women's NGOs that were targeting women; other organizations like churches, civic councils and the IEC were also focusing on women's electoral participation. This fact demonstrates the wide-spread impact the women's movement had on society's common perception of women and political participation.

South Africa: The 1999 and 2004 Elections

On June 2, 1999, South Africa held its second post-apartheid election. At this election, women's representation in the national assembly increased from the 1994 value of 27 percent to 30 percent. Thus, in 1999 South Africa achieved critical mass representation and also met the SADC target of 30 percent female representation by 2005. Similarly, in 2004 female representation jumped from 30 percent to 32.75 percent. The following figure details female representation in both the 1999 and 2004 legislature by political party.

Table 4 - Female Representation in South African Parliament, 1999 and 2004

Party	1999			2004		
	All Reps.	Female Reps.	Percent	All Reps.	Female Reps.	Percent
African National Congress	266	95	35.7	279	104	37
Democratic Alliance	38	6	15.7	50	13	26
Inkatha Freedom Party	33	9	27.2	28	5	18.5
New National Party	28	4	14.2	7	0	0

United Democratic Movement	14	1	7	9	4	44.4
Independent Democrats	-	-	-	7	3	43
African Christian Demo. Party	6	2	33	6	2	33
United Christian Demo. Party	3	1	33	3	0	0
Pan Africanist Congress	3	0	0	3	0	0
Other	5	2	40	4	0	0

Source: Hassim 2006: 174

During both the 1999 and 2004 elections, the ANC remained faithful to its pledge of having its party list be comprised of at least 30 percent women. However, since the 1994 election, the voter education campaigns have grown progressively weaker due to declining funds and a lack of coordination between civil society organizations. For example, in 1999 only a few organizations, like the Women's Development Foundation and EISA, conducted voter campaigns that specifically targeted women (Fick et al, 2002: 103 – 159). These efforts were largely confined to rural areas and focused on getting women to acquire the proper identity papers, electoral registration protocol and how to vote on polling day. Nevertheless, during the 1999 election there were 1.5 million more women registered to vote than men. This is an indication that women as a group were informed about their voting rights (Fick et al, 2002: 103 – 159).

At the time of the 1994 elections, the women's movement in South Africa was very strong and its activities were coordinated under the Women's National Coalition. The success of the WNC had raised hopes that the coalition would continue to serve as a coordinating organization for the women's movement (Hassim 2002: 726). These hopes, however, were dashed in 1994, when the ANC women's league withdrew its representatives from the organization and ordered its members not to work with the WNC[12]. Despite this order, many ANC women's league members continued to work with WNC. During the 1994

[12] The original mandate of the Women's National Coalition was limited to developing a women's charter. Consequently, leaders of the ANC women's league believed that the coalition was no longer necessary or valid.

elections the WNC lost a significant portion of its top leaders to the legislature. As a result, the leadership of the organization fell into disarray and since then the WNC has been virtually absent from politics (Hassim 2002: 725 – 727, Waylen 2007: 533 - 539).

However, the women's movement in South Africa has not disappeared. The movement continues to strongly advocate women's rights through a number of women's NGOs that conduct research on women's rights and train women. In addition, these women's NGOs often create sector specific coalitions, through which the organizations are able to carryout joint campaigns on issues like violence against women (Waylen 2007: 538 – 539). In addition, politicians, activist and scholars continue to speak with one voice in the media. From 1998 to 2004, they consistently demanded that women feature prominently on party lists and political parties acquiesced. When women achieved 30 percent representation, the movement began to clamor for 50/50 representation and in 2006 the ANC cited 50 percent female representation as its goal.

5.2 Botswana: Stuck in the Mud

Botswana achieved independence from the British on September 30, 1966. At the time, the country was one of the poorest in the world but the discovery of diamonds after independence and the ability of the government to manage the resource resulted in Botswana having one of the strongest economies of the developing world by the 1980s (Leslie 2006: 1). Botswana is also a peaceful democratic country – an anomaly for a resource rich African country – and has conducted free fair elections every five years since independence. Botswana's political and economic strength has led many to proclaim Botswana the shining star of African democracy. However, despite the democratic nature of Botswana's political system women continue to play minimal roles in the political system of the country.

Women in Botswana's Society

Scholars have attributed Botswana's peaceful democracy to limited ethnic fractionalization and the fact that the colonial system did not greatly interfere with the traditional political system of the Batswana population which is called Kgotla. The Kgotla was an open-air assembly, typically held in the chief's courtyard, where people could participate in decision-making for their community. In the Kgotla, community issues were debated and laws and resolutions were passed. However, while all members of the community could be present at the Kgotla, women and children were not allowed to take part in discussions unless they were asked about a matter that specifically pertained to them (Leslie 2006: 2). The modernization of the Kgotla political system has continued to exclude women from decision-making despite the fact that women have literacy rates that surpass that of men and are the face of business in Botswana (van Allen 2000: 147).

During the colonial period, education in Botswana had a composition that was vastly different from other regions of Africa that were also colonized at that time. This is because in Botswana the girl child was more likely to be sent to missionary schools than male children. For instance in 1937, colonial officials reported that 83% of the schoolchildren in attendance were girls. The rationale for this is that in Botswana young boys were often sent to monitor cattle posts for long durations far from home; while the girl child remained at home to tend the garden and house (van Allen 2000: 143). Consequently, girls were the only children around to be sent to schools. Women, who were traditionally kept silent in the Kgotla, soon discovered their voice through participating in church groups, which organized to spread the Christian religion and to address welfare issues affecting the church community. Through these groups, many women developed strong leadership skills and

soon women were taking over the Kgotla on Sundays to discuss community affairs (van Allen 2000: 143). Despite women's educational advantage and leadership skills, at independence the decision-making power remained an exclusively all male affair.

Invisible Women: Politics as a Family Affair

The Botswana government is characterized by a strong dominant party named the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) and a highly fractionalized opposition which is prone to splitting. The most important oppositional political party for this research is the Botswana National Front (BNF), since it is the main opposition party and the first political party to make concession to women's rights. In Botswana, unlike South Africa, there was no liberation movement to compel men and women to work together to achieve their right to freedom. Consequently, women were not viewed as important by the main political parties at independence (Geisler 1995: 549). The insignificance of women to political parties is illustrated by the fact that neither the BDP nor the BNF had a women's branch until 1987 and 1977 respectively. However, an early attempt to organize women in Botswana was made by Ruth Williams Khama, the British wife of the first president, who established the Botswana Council of Women (BCW) soon after independence (Geisler 2004: 100).

The Botswana Council of Women was dominated by BDP supporters and was an exclusive organization for the wives of ministers, parliamentarians and tribal leaders. This organization engaged primarily in social welfare activities such as teaching African women the art of being good housewives. During this period, the wives of parliamentarians and ministers were the only ones to exercise political power since many viewed their participation as an extension of their domestic duty (Geisler 199: 550). Predictably, these

women's political activities were restricted to supporting their husbands through fundraising, cooking at conferences and supporting party activities.

In the late 1980s, when the BDP established its official women's wing, the women's movement in Botswana was just beginning to emerge. However, contrary to what women's rights activists like Clara Ohlsen the first executive secretary of the BDP women's wing, believed, this organization did not serve as a forum for women to discuss women's issues and influence party policies. Instead male politicians expected the members of the women's wing to fundraise and support male party members (Geisler 1995: 550). Women's wings of political parties were treated with hostility by the wives of politicians who felt threatened by the new ideas and methods of mobilization that the members of the new BDP women's league expressed (Geisler 2004: 100).

From independence in 1966 to the 1980s, the women's organizations in Botswana were exclusive, fractionalized and welfare-orientated. In addition, the wives of politicians were hostile to the professional women who occupied women's wings of political parties and rebuffed the attempts of younger women to join the BCW in the 1980s (Geisler 2004: 100). As a result, the working relationship between these groups of women was negative and younger professional women spurned politics and chose to enter the business and non-profit sectors. Considering the hostile relationship between women, the welfare-orientation of the BCW, and the limitations of the women's leagues, it is not surprising that during the 1980s female legislative representation hovered around a mere 5 percent (Geisler 2004 99 – 105).

Emang Basadi: the Birth of the Women's Movement

In the late 1980s a coordinated women's movement emerged that would change the nature of female political participation in Botswana during the 1990s. However, during the

1980s, the Botswana government remained unaware of women's issues and failed to send delegates to the 1985 Nairobi conference. However, individual groups of women from Botswana did manage to attend the conference. Their attendance, although not supported by the Botswana government, marked the first time that Batswana women attended a United Nations conference on women. In addition, the ideas these women were exposed to during the conference inspired their activism against government imposed gender restrictions on citizenship (Leslie 2005: 79, Geisler 1995: 563).

The women's movement in Botswana emerged to protest the 1982 Citizenship law that discriminated against women married to foreigners. Since independence, Botswana citizenship had been based upon one's birth in the territory. However, in 1980 the Law Reform Committee proposed that citizenship be based upon the principle of *jus sanguinis,* which means that an individual's citizenship is predicated upon having an ancestor who is a citizen of the country. The principle of *jus sanguinis* is popular in many African countries. However, in Botswana the application of *jus sanguinis* was discriminatory against women since men married to non-citizens could pass citizenship to their children, but women could only pass citizenship on to their children if they were not married to the non-citizen male (van Allen 2000: 139). Accordingly in 1986, the Emang Basadi Women's Association was established to lobby for the abolition of this law.

Emang Basadi means "stand up, women" in the Setswana language of Botswana. The organization was established in 1986 by a group of female lecturers at the University of Botswana who shared an interest in gender issues (Molokomme 2001: 848). However, the principal founding member of the organization was Athaliah Lesiba Molokomme who taught family law in the Department of Law. The organization had the following objectives: (1) to identify the problems and issues related to women through discussion and research;

(2) to develop action-orientated strategies with a view to change the socioeconomic and legal position of women in Botswana; (3) to mobilize and increase awareness among women and the public in general about the specific problems faced by women in all sectors of Botswana society; (4) to highlight the role of and enhance concrete recognition of women's participation in national development; (5) to work towards greater social equality and the removal of all cultural and legal barriers that hinder the advancement of women; and (6) to publish information on matters related to the interests of the organization (Molokomme 2001: 849). One should take note of the fact that no mention is made of increasing the representation of women in decision-making bodies.

From 1986 to 1992, Emang Basadi embarked upon a Legal Awareness Campaign whose mission was to make women aware of discriminatory laws and to advocate law reform. During this campaign Emang Basadi conducted workshops, seminars and conferences to sensitize women on gender issues and to mobilize them for action (Leslie 2005: 51). Soon other women's organizations developed like Metlhaetsile Women's Information Centre, which also focused on legal issues. Emang Basadi networked with many of these civil society organizations to raise awareness on the legal rights of women in Botswana. In addition, Emang Basadi hosted a seminar with the Women's Affair Unit of the ministry of Home Affairs called "Women and Law in Botswana," where women from around the country discussed women's common issues.

In 1990, Emang Basadi decided to challenge the 1982 Citizenship Act by having a woman who had suffered its discrimination take the issue to court. The chosen woman was Unity Dow, the founder of the Metlhaetsile Women's Information Centre, whose children were denied Botswana citizenship because their father was a foreigner (Leslie 2005: 52, Geisler 2004: 168 – 169). During the Unity Dow case the government attempted to discredit

Emang Basadi and Dow by claiming they were a group of women married to foreign men who did not respect Batswana culture (Geisler 2004: 167). However, the government's tricks did not work and in 1992 Unity Dow won her case. Yet, despite the high court's decision the government refused to accept the results and a rumor spread in local newspapers that the government was considering hosting a referendum to amend the constitution. Emang Basadi followed up with a petition declaring that hosting a referendum on an issue of basic human rights was undemocratic and the referendum never came to pass (Geisler 1995: 565). Nevertheless, by 1993 the government had still not overturned the Citizenship Act. In response, Emang Basadi embarked upon the Political Education Project.

The 1993 Political Education Project marked a radical shift in the nature of Emang Basadi's promotion of women's rights. Whereas the Legal Awareness Campaign merely sought to make women aware of their rights, this project aimed to increase the numbers of women in decision-making bodies by targeting female decision-makers and voters. Emang Basadi decided to push for the representation of women the national legislature because its leaders realized that in order to protect women's interests; the women's movement needed women's voices in government that could speak on behalf of women. In particular, Emang Basadi focused upon the drafting of a Women's Manifesto and the goal was to have its tenets incorporated into the manifestos of political parties participating in the 1994 elections. The manifesto was written in consultation with seventeen other organizations. This broaden the support base and focus of the women's movement since for the first time issues that affect non-professional women were heard and incorporated into the women's demands (Geisler 2006: 78, Leslie 2006: 77 – 86, van Allen 2000: 160). The 1994 Women's Manifesto met with limited success before the 1994 elections. For example, the BNF, the main opposition party, promised that 30 percent of all positions in the party would be reserved for

women. However, the ruling BDP refused to promise women anything and merely stated that women have the freedom to exercise their right to be heard (Geisler 1995: 567).

At the time of the 1994 election, the Botswana women's movement was just beginning to evolve into a broader coalition of women's organizations headed by Emang Basadi. This non-formal coalition was had many of the characteristics of a strong women's movement: the membership was broad and focused on a range of issues, women's organizations were concerned with political empowerment and women's issues were increasingly being incorporated into the agenda of political parties and the media (Leslie 2002: 69 – 106). Yet, despite having a relatively strong women's movement prior to the 1994 election the women's movement was only able to record modest gains in female legislative representation. The rationale for this is that, unlike South Africa, the Botswana women's movement had not yet developed an effective strategy for reaching out to potential female candidates and voters. In addition, in comparison to South Africa, the Botswana women's movement had less than one year to draft the manifesto, conduct nation-wide voter education and identify potential female candidates for the 1994 election. These were obviously tasks that could not be accomplished in one year.

Botswana elections 1994, 1999

In October 1994, Botswana held parliamentary elections for 40 elective seats. Nine political parties contested this election but only the ruling BDP and main opposition party, the BNF, secured seats in the legislature. The ruling BDP secured twenty-seven spots and the opposition took thirteen seats. Only two women were elected to parliament in 1994 and both of these women came from the ruling BDP. It is interesting to note that the BNF did not field a single female candidate despite its adoption of a 30 percent quota in its 1994

manifesto (Geisler 2004:105). However, the representation of women benefited from the appointment of two women as special MPs by President Sir Ketumile Masire[13] (http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/2041_arc.htm). The following is a description of the strategy that Emang Basadi used to increase women's parliamentary representation.

From November 1993 to October 1994, Emang Basadi carried out its first Political Education Project (PEP), which sought to address the under-representation of women in decision-making positions. The Women's Manifesto was the starting point for the implementation of the PEP program. The document was drafted in multiple consultative conferences held in 1994 and five thousand copies were given out to the following individuals: the president, ministers, parliamentarians, councilors, political parties and all women's and human rights NGOs that had participated in the drafting of the manifesto (Emang Basadi 1998: 5).

Similar to the South African women's movement, the women's movement in Botswana had a keen interest in the extension of voter education programs to women. Emang Basadi called its voter education campaign 'Constituency Workshops'. To carryout the program, fifteen community mobilizers (CMs) were trained in how to conduct workshops using participatory methods. These women were also made familiar with the principles of the women's manifesto. The goal was to reach four thousand registered voters by hosting two workshops in each of Botswana's forty constituencies before the 1994 election. However, in actuality Emang Basadi was only able to conduct twenty-five workshops, which means that only 22.5 percent of the initial target population was reached.

[13] The appointment of these women as special MPs is attributed to the women's movement. This is because their appointment is viewed as the President's response to the demand that all four specially nominated seats in parliament be occupied by women, which was written in the 1994 Women's Manifesto.

Emang Basadi's attempts to conduct training workshops for female candidates were also less successful than planned. This is because the organization only had time to conduct one workshop for forty female councilors – Emang Basadi failed to attract even one female MP (Emang Basadi 1998: 5 – 8). The 1994 PEP program was primarily a learning process for Emang Basadi. Following the disappointing elections Emang Basadi allowed another NGO, the Cooperation for Research and Development and Education (CORDE) to evaluate the project and make recommendations. The key recommendation given was that Emang Basadi should start PEP II well in advanced of the next elections.

PEP phase II was initiated three years before the 1999 elections. In PEP II, Emang Basadi targeted a wider range of groups in Botswana. These groups included female MPs and councilors, women's wings of political parties, prospective candidates, female voters and youth voters. During PEP II, the voter education program was once again only partially successful since only 16 percent of the targeted population was reached. However, the workshops that Emang Basadi hosted were very successful. For instance, Emang Basadi's workshop for prospective female candidates resulted in the publication of a booklet that provides women with a step-by-step guide on political campaigns. In addition, many of the female participants in Emang Basadi workshops urged the organization to conduct more workshops (van Allen 2000: 160, Emang Basadi 1998: 13 – 28). Lastly, prior to the 1999 elections Emang Basadi once again networked with other women's organizations to revamp and publish an updated Women's Manifesto.

Emang Basadi's PEP phase II program benefited from better planning and timing. The high profile activism of women during the run-up to the 1999 elections had a serious impact on political parties. For instance in 1997, the BNF elected a woman to be the Deputy Secretary General and elected three women to hold shadow portfolios (van Allen 2000: 161).

On October 16, 1999 seven parties contested the forty elective seats and three were successful: BDP 33, BNF 6 and the Botswana Congress Party 1. During this election, six women out of the eleven that contested were elected into office on BDP party tickets – no opposition women were elected. Female representation in the parliament benefited once again from the appointment of two women as special MPs by President Fetus Mogae.

Between 1994 and 1999 the percentage of women's representation in the Botswana legislature doubled. The high profile activism of women and the success of women at the poles caused one reporter to dub the 1999 elections 'the year of the women' (Geisler 2004: 105). However, during the next elections women's representation would witness a dramatic decline.

Botswana: Women Losing Ground

On November 18, 2004 the legislative representation of women in Botswana fell from 17.02 percent to 11.11 percent (www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/2041_arc.htm). Some would argue that the sudden drop in women's legislative representation is because the number of constituencies was raised prior to the 2004 election from forty to fifty-five (Geisler 2006:78). This argument gains credibility when one considers the fact that the actual number of women in parliament only decreased by one between the 1999 and 2004 election. However, the creation of new constituencies means that during the 2004 election there were six constituencies that did not have incumbents. This means that the women's movement could support female candidates in six constituencies that did have a male incumbent[14].

[14] Male incumbency is a factor that often inhibits women from winning elections under the FPTP system.

However, during the 2004 elections women's organizations did not advocate for an increase in women's representation and failed to support the female candidates (Alexander et al, 2005: 23).Consequently, it seems more likely that the decline in women's participation is a reflection of the collapse of the women's movement in Botswana rather than the increase in constituencies. The following attempts to explain the collapse of the Botswana women's movement.

Table 5 - Female Candidacy in Botswana, 2004 and 2009

Party	2004			2009		
	Nominees	Female Nom.	Percent	Nominees	Female Nom.	Percent
Botswana Democratic Party	57	7	12.3	58	3	5.2
Botswana National Front	42	4	9.5	48	3	6.3
Botswana Congress Party	40	2	5	42	0	0

During the 1994 and 1999 parliamentary elections the women's movement was preoccupied writing manifestos, workshops and voter education campaigns as part of the PEP program. However, the women's movement was conspicuously absent from both the 2004 and 2009 elections. The decline of the women's movement started with the appointment of key leaders to government posts. For example, Unity Dow to the High Court in 1998, Athaliah Mslokomme to the High Court and as Attorney General in 2003 and 2005 respectively, and Onalenna Selolwane as head of the Botswana University Sociology Department (Leslie 2006 and Geisler 2004). These women were all founding members of Emang Basadi and each played an instrumental role in the Botswana Women's Movement. In addition, the close working relationship between the government and the women's organization has curtailed the activism of the women's movement. This is because most events hosted by the women's movement are attended by government officials. Moreover,

the fact that women's organizations rely upon the government for the majority of its resources causes the women's movement to temper its activism (Leslie 2006: 122). As a result, the women's movement is always conscious of the government and they no longer actively pursue the political empowerment of women.

Furthermore, the women's movement appears to have abandoned the some of the principles that it outlined for itself in the Women's Manifesto. For example, in the manifesto the women's movement demanded that women be appointed to all the specially nominated seats. The Women's Manifesto specifically stated:

> Following the 1999 elections His Excellency the President should nominate competent female MPs who are gender sensitive as specially nominated Members of Parliament. This should be done for *all* seats in Parliament which are filled through nominations in order to increase female representation in parliament to at least 30 percent (The Women's Manifesto, 1999)

However, in the follow-up to the 1999 elections there is no mention of the government's failure to comply with this demand. This is in contrast to the response of women in both South Africa and Zambia, where in the aftermath of successful elections the women's movement always maintains that the government should do better. For instance, in South Africa following the 1994 election, the women's movement demanded that women be given higher priority on party lists despite the fact that female representation had increased by more than a thousand percent.

In addition, after reviewing numerous newspaper articles for each of the case studies written between 1998 and 2010, it is safe to say that the Botswana women's

movement is decidedly quiet on the issue of increasing women's representation in the legislature. For instance, in March 2009 a female MP tabled a motion to increase the number of specially elected legislators from four to eight with the stipulation that at least four of the nominated MPs are women. This motion sparked fierce debate in the country and the local press has given extensive coverage to the issue. Unfortunately, the voices of women representing the women's movement are absent for this debate (see Appendix 1 for relevant articles).

5.3 Zambia: Seizing the Hour

On October 24, 1964 the former British colony of Northern Rhodesia achieved independence and changed its name to the Republic of Zambia. The country would be run as a one-party state under the leadership of President Kenneth Kaunda for twenty-seven years. Throughout the twenty-seven years of one-party rule, civil society actors intermittently pressured the Kaunda government to allow multi-party elections. In the late 1980s, the agitation for multi-party democracy reached its pinnacle and with the emergence of a strong opposition party, the Movement for Multi party Democracy (MMD), President Kaunda had no choice but to allow multi-party elections the following year. The return to multi-party democracy meant that the political space in Zambia was once again open to new opinions and ideas (Geisler 2004). Accordingly, numerous civil society organizations emerged and chief amongst these organizations were women's NGOs. However, Zambian women's organizations, unlike their counterparts in South Africa, were ill prepared to take advantage of the opening of the political space. Nevertheless, the enthusiasm of women in these organizations and their desire to empower women has meant that women's representation in Zambia, unlike Botswana, is a priority that women's organizations and the women's movement rally behind.

Women under One-Party Rule

As with South Africa, women in Zambia were politically organized by political parties prior to independence. In the 1950s, Zambian women were members of the Women's Brigade of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), whose mandate was to mobilize women for the anti-colonial struggle. Initially the Women's Brigade was an independent organization, but in 1963 it was made a subordinate structure to the greater UNIP (Geisler 2004: 89). Consequently, the Women's Brigade at independence was controlled by men who appointed its leadership and set the policies and activities that the organization would pursue. The weakness of the Women's Brigade is evident in the first post-independence elections that occurred on December 19, 1968. During this election 105 deputies were elected to the national parliament and not one of these elected deputies was a woman. However, during this election, women's representation in the legislature benefited from the appointment of two women as appointed deputies by President Kaunda. Thus, women's legislative representation in 1968 stood at 1.82 percent.

In the mid-1970s the Women's Brigade was re-named the Women's League, but autonomy remained elusive since the organizations executive secretary was appointed by the President. The Women's League was a very conservative organization that did not address controversial women's issues, but rather focused on welfare activities. The Women's League was conservative for two reasons: the first is because its activities were set by men who were not interested in giving up male privileges; and the second is that its members were reliant upon the male-dominated government for certain small-privileges, and as such were ever-conscious of their own vulnerability.

Membership in the Women's Brigade was exclusive. The majority of the Brigade's members were small-scale market-women, who jealously guarded their economic rights, while at the same time ignoring the needs of other women in the country (Geisler 2004: 93). The Women's Brigade believed that the biggest threat to their political and economic influence in Zambia came from the groups of younger, educated professional women, who had benefited from increased educational opportunities in the post-colonial era. Accordingly in the 1970s, the Brigade embarked upon a decade-long campaign against the immorality of younger women. Their targets were often single young women who dressed in western clothing (e.g. mini skirts) and held professional jobs in the city. The campaign against young women was successful since it succeeded in preventing younger women from seeking to join the Women's League and also prevented them from joining politics (Geisler 2004: 94 –98).

Under the leadership of President Kaunda, the percentage of women in the national legislature never exceeded six percent. The lack of female legislators is directly attributed to the weakness of the women's movement during the time period. In particular, it was the hostility of the Women's League to the introduction of new members and new ideas that prevented the movement from developing. On October 26, 1988, the last parliamentary elections under one-party rule were held; and of the 134 deputies only seven, or 5.22 percent, were women.

Women under Multi-party Democracy

By the 1980s, membership in the Women's League was dangerously low because professional women refused to join and older members left due to the petty politics that many of the leaders engaged in (Geisler 2004: 98) The dearth of membership in the League was illustrated at the 1985 Second National Women's Rights Conference hosted by the

UNIP Women's League, where only two participants out of more than one hundred claimed to be members of the Women's League (Geisler 1987: 43). However, this illustration does not mean that the women's movement in Zambia had disappeared, but instead highlights the fact that the locus of women's activism had moved beyond the limitations of the government controlled Women's League.

The new face of the women's movement emerged from the depths of civil society organizations. The protagonists of these organizations were the young professional women whom the Women's League had persecuted in the 1970s. These professional women chose to avoid the hostile women's league, but continued to advocate for women's rights within the confines of civil society. However, as a result of their experience in the 1970s these organizations initially avoided the politicalization of women's issues. After participating in the 1985 Nairobi conference, the women from these NGOs established the Non-Governmental Organization's Coordinating Committee (NGOCC), in order to better coordinate their activities. At the 1985 Nairobi conference, women's rights activist from Zambia were re-introduced to the importance of politicizing women's issues. However, it was not until the return of multi-party democracy in the 1990, that women's organizations began to advocate women's political empowerment and engage in dialogue with the government (Geisler 2004: 154 – 164)

In the late 1980s, the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) appeared on the Zambian political landscape with the sole purpose of ousting the UNIP from office and establishing multi-party democracy in Zambia. Leaders of women's organizations welcomed this change, but were also quick to publicly question the MMD on its stance towards gender equity and women's political empowerment. In 1991, recognizing that women's issues could not be divorced from politics, over one hundred women formed the National Women's

Lobby Group (NWLG), which was to promote women representation and participation in decision-making at all levels through advocacy, lobbying and capacity building for women in Zambia (www.womenslobby.org.zm). In contrast to the Women's League, the NWLG was an all inclusive organization and the membership included members of diverse professional organizations, lawyers, women's activists and women's organizations (Geisler 2004: 155)

Although the NWLG formed a mere three months prior to the 1991 elections, the organization was determined to take active steps towards improving women's represent in all decision-making bodies, but especially in the legislature. The goal of the NWLG was to embark upon a mass voter education campaign and to identify female candidates for legislative positions for whom they could fund-raise. However, the actions of the NWLG were criticized by the leaders of political parties, who claimed that the NWLG was confusing the voters who were already unfamiliar with multi-party democracy by saying that its members belonged to both the UNIP and the MMD (Geisler 2004: 155 – 157).

The UNIP took the most hostile stance towards the NWLG. In an advertisement in the Times of Zambia, the UNIP claimed that the NWLG was working with the United States government to install a puppet government in Zambia (Geisler 2004: 155 – 158). This attack was followed by a statement from the Women's League that argued that the NWLG was not truly independent since no UNIP Women's League member was a NWLG member. In addition, attempts by NWLG members to sensitize market-women Lusaka on voting procedure were interrupted by members of the UNIP Women's League (Geisler 2004: 155 – 158). Criticism from the MMD was generally less hostile and primarily came primarily from Princess Nakatindi Wina, the chairperson for Women's Affairs, who declared "that women involved in politics should either belong to the UNIP Women's League or the MMD WID committee she was chairing" (Geisler 2004: 156). In addition, although many female MMD

members were identified with the NWLG mission they were prevented from attending its workshops and using its funding by the MMD leadership.

In the 1991 election only 14 women were fielded between both the UNIP and the MMD political parties. The parliament was composed of 150 deputies, of which only seven, or 4.67 percent, were women. The failure to substantially increase the amount of women in the Zambian legislature is attributed to the limited strength of the women's movement. The strong points of the women's movement include: the fact that the membership was broad, the existence of an umbrella organization, and the pursuit of women's political empowerment through increasing the number of women in decision-making positions. However, the women's movement was ultimately limited because at the time of the 1991 elections the movement was just beginning to emerge and only had three months in which it could educate the populace. The newness of the movement meant that it was vulnerable to misrepresentation by established political parties in the media. Nevertheless, the women's movement continued to advocate women's political rights and at the 1996 election women's legislative representation was 9.86 percent.

Zambia: Progress without Quotas

On December 27, 2001, Zambia held parliamentary elections for 150 elective seats. Of the fifteen political parties contesting the elections, eight were successful in securing seats in parliament. There were 202 female parliamentary candidates contesting the elections and sixteen, or 8 percent, were successful. Table 6 details the political parties to which these candidates belonged. President Mwanawasa specially appointed eight MPs following the election and two of these were women. Consequently, female representation in Zambia following the 2001 elections stood at 12.03 percent

(www.ipu.org/parline/reports/2359_arc.htm). There is a lack of data on Zambian women's legislative experience since the return to multi-party democracy. This is probably because there is no quota system in the country which would cause scholars to examine the case in depth. Nevertheless, using Zambian newspaper articles the following will demonstrate that the women's movement in Zambia has remained strong since the return to multi-party democracy.

Table 6 - Female Representation in Zambian Parliament, 2001

Political Party	*Total MPs*	*Female MPs*	*Percentage*
Forum for Democracy & Development	12	3	25
United Party for National Development	49	5	10.2
United National Independence Party	13	2	15.4
Heritage Party	1	1	100
Movement for Multiparty Democracy	69	5	7.2
Independent	-	5	-

Source: http://allafrica.com.proxy.library.emory.edu/stories/200202250846.html

In June 2001, NGOCC launched a new program of action called Movement 2000 (M2000). The primary objective of M2000 was to organize NGOCC and its members so that they could mobilize women and their strategic allies into a critical mass, which would contribute to the achievement of gender equity in all areas of national development from 2000 and beyond (Saluseki 2001). When planning this initiative the women's movement remained conscientious of the need to work with women and men from diverse backgrounds. Accordingly, the movement decided to simultaneously launch the program in nine different regions of the country. In addition, the movement used this program to reaffirm its commitment to bridging the divide between rural and urban women because in the words of NGOCC chairwomen, "it is necessary for rural and urban women to build stronger alliances and recognize the interdependence between them" (Nsabika, Phiri 2001).

Unfortunately, no information was found that details the activities that NGOCC performs under the M2000 program. However, during the run-up to the 2001 elections NGOCC pledged to support up to thirty female candidates and gender-sensitive male candidates who were running as independent. Likewise, the NWLG provided women with financial support who were contesting the elections (Phiri 2001).

Like the South African women's movement, the women's movement in Zambia monitors the government's commitment to women's legislative representation and gender equity. For example, following the 2001 elections NGOCC denounced the fact that President Mwanawasa had only appointed two female cabinet ministers out of eighteen (Kayumba & Saluseki, 2002). A review of the Zambia's press showed that the women's movement consistently comments on the government's commitment to gender equity. In 2005, the government complained that instead of commending the President for appointing women to positions of decision-making the women's movement only agitated for more slots. The women's movement responded by saying that women have a birthright to participate in the governance of Zambia and that their participation in politics is not an act of charity (Saluseki, Kayumba: 2002). This is in contrast to the case of Botswana where the women's movement rarely comments on the government's commitment to gender equity.

Despite the strength of the women's movement in Zambia, the movement does not expect female representation to reach 30 percent target without quotas. Consequently, in January 2004, the NWLG proposed that gender equity should be enshrined in the electoral laws of the country (Times Reporter 2004). The following month, female Mp Patricia Nawa proposed a women's law motion. The motion urged the government to adopt a proportional representation system so that women would have a better chance of achieving 30 percent female representation. However, Nawa was forced to withdraw the motion in March 2004

because it was argued that she had not consulted sufficiently, but she vowed to bring the motion back to the House at a later stage (Kabwela 2005).

However, if the Zambian women's movement wants the government to adopt a quota system then it should evaluate the experience of other countries like South Africa and Uganda. In examining these countries, the women's movement will realize that in both cases the adoption of a quota system was possible because the women's movement had a good working relationship with the government and political parties. Currently, the relationship between the women's movement and the government in Zambia is hostile. This was made evident on February 9, 2005 when the President Mwanawasa stated that he was hesitant to nominate women to government because they were always fighting the government.

5.4 Understanding the Findings

In figure four, I outlined the defining characteristics of a strong women's movement. These characteristics were: the pursuit of a GAD agenda that focused on women's social, economic and political empowerment; a broad membership base; the use of the media to publicize and politicize women's issues and the existence of an umbrella organization that is non-partisan and unifies the women's organizations operating in the country. The three case studies discussed in this research have demonstrated that there is a clear link between women's movements and female legislative representation. This link has been shown to exist between the countries studied and within the countries as well – particularly in Botswana. The following summarizes the major distinctions between the three case studies.

In South Africa the startling increase in the number of female legislators is due to the relationship between the country's women's movement and the quota system that was adopted by the ANC in 1994. The South African women's movement was at its strongest during the negotiated end of apartheid rule in the early 1990s. During this period the

women's movement was coordinated under the auspice of an independent, non-partisan coalition of women and women's organizations called the WNC. This organization represented the interests of diverse groups of women who were differentiated based upon race, ethnicity, education and region. Since the WNC had a limited mandate the leaders of the organization chose to focus upon the institutionalization of gendered politics at all levels of the new South African government. The primary goal of the WNC was to establish a cohort of women in decision-making positions - especially in the new legislature. To achieve this goal the WNC used the media to sensitize the public on women's issues, targeted voter education programs at women and encouraged women to contest in the 1994 elections. Today, the women's movement in South Africa is no longer organized under a women's coalition. However, the movement remains strong because the various women's organizations operating in the country continue to: advocate for women's inclusion in decision-making bodies; use the media to politicize women's demands; and demand that parties adhere to quotas or the principle of gender parity in all elections.

In direct contrast to the South African case study is the experience of the women's movement in Botswana. Unlike the South African women's movement, the Botswana women's movement was initially highly fractionalized and centered on the polarizing issue of the discriminatory Citizenship Act. The Botswana women's movement lacked an independent, non-partisan women's coalition and in fact the movement was confined to one organization named Emang Basadi. During the early 1990s, when the WNC of South Africa was focused on the institutionalization of gendered politics, Emang Basadi continued to focus on legal reform and no effort was made to network with other women's organizations in the country. The lack of a coalition and networking amongst the women's organizations in Botswana was detrimental, since the experience of South Africa with the WNC has already

demonstrated the benefits of having a broad movement that has access to different levels of the male leadership of political parties and the electorate. In late 1993, the Botswana women's movement broadened its support base and range of issues discussed. Like the WNC in South Africa, the Botswana women's movement under the auspice of Emang Basadi promulgated a document outlining women's demands. Emang Basadi, like the WNC, was able to secure the adoption of a quota policy from the male leadership of one of the country's political parties. However, the Botswana women's movement suffered from a lack of coordination and limited time during the 1994 elections and for that reason the level of female representation remained low in 1994.

During the mid 1990s the Botswana women's movement continued to develop and organize. Prior to the 1999 elections women once again organized under the auspice of Emang Basadi and attempted to conduct voter education and support female legislative candidates publicly. However, while the objectives of Emang Basadi were similar to that of the WNC in South Africa the outcome was different. For instance, in South Africa the voter education project was largely successful and managed to reach a large proportion of the South African electorate. In contrast, the ambitious aims of the Emang Basadi voter education project were largely unmet as less than half of the projected beneficiaries of these projects were actually reached. The rationale for this difference rests in the fact that the Botswana voter education project was only conducted by Emang Basadi, whereas in South Africa the voter education project was conducted by numerous civil society organizations.

Despite the limited success of Emang Basadi's voter education project, the level of female legislative representation in Botswana dramatically increased in 1999; primarily due to the increased politicalization of women's issues during this period as expressed by the promulgation of an updated Women's Manifesto in 1999.

However, the gains made in the late 1990s have given way to a steady decline in the percentage of female legislators in the Botswana parliament. The failure of the Botswana women's movement to maintain and increase the percentage of female legislators despite the presence of a quota system is due to the inauspicious origins of the country's women's movement, which has caused it to remain highly fractionalized and vulnerable to co-option. For instance, in both South Africa and Botswana many of the leading figures of the women's movement were either elected or appointed to political office during the 1990s. However unlike South Africa, the women's movement in Botswana was heavily reliant upon a core set of leaders and had no secondary leadership structure that could take over the organizations operation. Consequently, when its leaders were appointed to government positions, the women's movement was scattered and activism returned to the safety of legal reform and the institutionalization of women in decision-making bodies was abandoned by activists.

The women's movement in Zambia emerged in 1991 to pursue the empowerment of women in all aspects of their lives. In contrast to Botswana and like South Africa, the women's movement in Zambia was coordinated under the guidance of an independent, non-partisan women's organization – the NWLG – which was itself a member of another coalition for NGOs operating within the country named NGOCC. Like South Africa, one of the Zambian women's movement's primary objectives was the institutionalization of women in decision-making bodies. During the early 1990s, the Zambian women's movement, like the Botswana women's movement, suffered from a lack of development and organization and as result women's legislative representation remained minimal. However, since the 1996 election female legislative representation has been steadily increasing. This is because the Zambian women's movement remained united under the NWLG and NGOCC, continued to politicize women's issues, and continued to demand greater female representation in the

legislature. This increase has been moderate because the Zambian women's movement has not been able to successfully pressure political parties into adopting a quota policy. Nevertheless, the history of Zambia and Botswana demonstrate that when quotas are voluntary it is more important for a country to have a strong women's movement than to have a quota policy.

6.0 Conclusion

The existing scholarship on women's legislative participation is largely confined to western industrialized nations. However, scholars are increasingly choosing to conduct research on women's legislative participation in non-industrialized countries. In general, most studies on female legislative participation focus on the electoral system of a country and/or the presence or absence of a quota system. However, this ignores the agency of the women in these countries that either contest elections or participate in the women's movement, which often advocate for an increase in women's participation in decision-making bodies. For that reason, this research has focused on women's legislative participation in African legislatures and has attempted to link the activism of women to the percentage of female legislators in African countries. This was done through an in-depth analysis of the strength of the women's movement in three southern Africa countries between the late 1980s and 2009.

The major contention of the research is that the key to achieving exceptional percentages of women in national legislatures is the existence of a quota system that is closely monitored by an aggressive women's movement. In this study, South Africa was the only country that had both a quota system and a strong women's movement that closely monitored the government's commitment to gender equity and women's participation in decision-making. For that reason, South Africa is the only country in this study that has

achieved 30 percent female representation. In Botswana, the women's movement achieved the adoption of a quota system but failed to closely monitor the government's commitment to women's political participation. It would seem that the women's movement in Botswana has achieved what it initially set out to do – abolish the 1982 Citizenship Act – and has now retreated back to the safety of working on women's political empowerment one law at a time. The women's movement in Zambia, like South Africa, aggressively monitors the commitment of the government and political parties to gender equity. However, Zambian women have only been able to achieve modest gains in women's representation because they have so far been unsuccessful in getting a quota system adopted by any political party. The failure of the Zambian women's movement to secure a quota for female legislative representation can be attributed to the hostile relationship between the ruling party and the women's movement, which is a feature that was absent in both the South Africa and Botswana case studies.

My research findings suggest that there is a positive relationship between the strength of a women's movement and the percentage of female legislative representation within a country. However, while these findings are stimulating it should be noted that as with all research, this study was by no means perfect. For instance, the selected case studies had divergent electoral systems (South Africa – PR and Botswana/Zambia – Majority) due to the limitations of my study population SADC of the region of southern Africa. However, for the purposes of this research this anomaly was not significant since I was merely concerned with linking women's movements to the female legislative participation. Nevertheless, in the future this variable should be controlled for so as to avoid the influence of electoral systems on the findings. Similarly in the future, the cases selected to participate in the study should have political history that is as similar as possible. In this study, the case

of South Africa is something of an outlier due to its unique political history with Apartheid and the complete overhaul of the political system in the country during the early 1990s. It is possible that the unique situation of South Africa during this time period resulted in the ability of the women's movement to interact with the political system in ways that are inaccessible to women operating in a more stable political environment. However, for the purpose of this research the divergent political history of South Africa does not significantly detract from the basic argument that links women's movements to female legislative representation. This is because this study has demonstrated that the rapid increase of women's representation in South Africa was a direct result of the activism of women operating within the women's movement during the early 1990s.

The history of the three case studies discussed in this research has also demonstrated that the efficacy my definition of a strong women's movement can be strengthened in two ways. The first is that the first criterion should read "the orientation of a women's movement in a given country must have a primary focus on the institutionalization of gender equity in decision-making positions" rather than simply stating that a country should pursue a GAD agenda. This change is necessary because my use of the GAD agenda has resulted in my first criterion for a strong women's movement being too broad a category. For example, a women's movement that pursues women's empowerment through legal reform is technically pursuing a GAD agenda. However, legal reform does not necessitate the inclusion of women in decision-making bodies. The second is that there needs to be some measure of institutional capacity - quality of leadership, organization and funding. This measure is important because it will add depth the current measure by allowing me to differentiate between women's movements that are developed and those that are underdeveloped. For instance, both Botswana and Zambia during the early 1990s had

underdeveloped women's movements that despite having met my criteria for a strong women's movement nevertheless failed to record an increase in female legislative representation.

In addition, the robustness of my research findings was hampered by the fact that I was unable to conduct any field-research and the distance between myself and my research subjects. For instance, I was unable to conduct interviews with key informants, who include: female MPs, prospective female MPs, civil society organizations and the general public. I was also unable to observe the working relationship between women in parliament and women in the women's movement. Lastly, I had limited access to primary literature from women's organizations – which is most clearly expressed by the case of Zambia. However, these were obstacles that could not be avoided at this time, due to limited time and resources. In the future, this research can be improved upon by updating the definition of a strong women's movement and taking the time to conduct field-research in the relevant countries. In addition, it would be interesting to compare the gender-friendless of laws in countries with high levels of female representation and others with low levels of female representation. This is because such a study would help to elucidate the exact mechanisms through which women influence public policy that affects women's issues.

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Appendix I

	Date	Article	Newspaper
Botswana	22 October 1999	1999 Elections at a Glance	Mmegi
	29 June 2001	Rights Association Honours Women	Mmegi
	22 August 2003	Gender Activists Defends Patriarchy	Mmegi
	17 May 2004	Beijing Conference, a Challenge to Humanity – Mogae	Mmegi
	18 May 2004	Conference Examines Gender Imbalance	IRIN
	15 September 2004	Women's Empowerment Still Falls Short	Mmegi
	18 November 2004	MP Faults Parties on Female Representation	Mmegi
	10 December 2004	A Legal Coup Against Men	Mmegi
	11 January 2005	Abolition of Marital Power?	Mmegi
	22 September 2005	Women Hopeful about Gender Parity	Mmegi
	14 March 2006	Women Empowerment – the Struggle Continues	Mmegi
	20 September 2006	Activist Calls for Female President in 2016	Mmegi
	25 September 2006	Reflections on Gender Activism Since Emang Basadi	Mmegi
	16 October 2006	Women Activists Struggle Against Patriarchy	Mmegi
	31 January 2007	Seretse Eyes Women's Wing Top Post	Mmegi
	5 March 2007	Emang Basadi Forges Enduring Legacy	Mmegi
	9 July 2007	These Women are Cry Babies	Mmegi
	14 May 2007	Women Plan to Push for Marital Rape	Mmegi
	20 September 2007	What of Women in Politics?	Mmegi
	8 November 2007	Women Refute 'Sex for Favours' Stigma	Mmegi
	29 August 2008	Political Women under Threat	Mmegi
	4 February 2008	Hands Off Traditional Brew – Women	Mmegi
	11 February 2008	Domestic Violence Bill Sails Through Parliament	Mmegi
	10 April 2008	Women Urged to Seek Political Office	Mmegi
	20 November 2008	Tlou Calls for 'Men's Wing'	Mmegi
	13 February 2009	Nasha the BDP 'Iron Lady', the New BDP Kingpin	Mmegi
	23 February 2009	Thirty Percent Quota for Women in Power Elusive	Mmegi
	16 March 2009	MPs Trash Increased Special Election	Mmegi
	27 March 2009	Has the Lot of Women Improved	Mmegi
	30 March 2009	'Give it Up,' says Mosojane, 'That's Rape,' Cries WAR	Mmegi

	30 March 2009	Modublule Scorns Window-Dressing for Women	Mmegi
	2 April 2008	Khama Fires Five Ministers	Mmegi
	6 April 2009	'Pastor' Mbaakanyi Preaches to Parliament	Mmegi
	8 April 2009	Oh, Please Save us the Cheek!	Mmegi
	9 April 2009	Opposition Women Dismiss Special Election Motion	Mmegi
	30 April 2009	No Easy Task for Women	Mmegi
	20 May 2009	Government to Increase Specially Elected MPs	Mmegi
	16 June 2009	Mamela Accuses Khama of Dishonesty	Mmegi
	17 June 2009	Gabathuse Launched in a Colorful Ceremony	Mmegi
	3 July 2009	Parties Block Women Candidates for Upcoming Elections	Inter Press Service
	9 July 2009	Don't Touch the Constitution – Dikgosi	Mmegi
	10 July 2009	Divided Dikgosi Pass Bill	Mmegi
	14 July 2009	Best Nation has only Four Women in Parliament	Catholic Information Service for Africa
	15 July 2009	Botswana Ruling Party Holds Polls	Daily Nation on the Web
	17 July 2009	SADC-PF Women Slam Electoral System	Mmegi
	24 July 2009	Women Voters a Let Down, Says BDP Women's Wing Boss	Mmegi
	24 July 2009	How the Battle was Won and Lost	Mmegi
	11 August 2009	Moatlhodi Blasts Women Politicians	Mmegi
	18 August 2009	Specially Elected MPs a threat to Democracy	Mmegi
	20 August 2009	Specially Elected MPs are Unacceptable	Mmegi
	21 August 2009	Skelemanik Supports Specially Elected MPs	Mmegi
	21 August 2009	Merafhe Urges Women to Unite	Mmegi
	21 August 2009	Speaker Thwarts Factional Collusion	Mmegi
	18 September 2009	Pawns in Khama's Political Grand Plan	Mmegi
	24 September 2009	Moatlhodi Attacks Women Again	Mmegi
	21 November 2009	I Lost the Election, But I am a Winner	Inter Press Service
S. Africa	28 October 1998	Keeping Parliament Female Friendly	The Sowetan
	20 January 1999	Why I Turned my Back on the Chauvinists Nats	Cape Argus
	19 February 1999	Who'll Cook for the Women MPs?	Mail & Guardian

30 March 1993	Why not more women on the parties List?	The Sowetan
1 April 1999	Women's Groups Commends Progress in Gender Equality	PanAfrican News Agency
12 April 1999	South Africa Gender Body Bares its Teeth at the State	Businessday
13 April 1999	Hard Climb to Equality	The Sowetan
22 April 1999	South Africa Women Talking Tough on Gender Equality	PanAfrican News Agency
30 April 1999	Key Challenges lie ahead for women	Mail & Guardian
14 June 1999	Number of Women in Parliament to Increase	WOZA
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	20 August 1999	Wina Urges Women to Rescue Zambia	The Post
	4 October 1999	Jealousy is hindering women's progress	The Post
	17 January 2000	Police Arrest 39 Demonstrating Lusaka Women	PanAfrican News Agency
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	28 February 2001	Kanyanga Urges Women to Vote for Fellow Women	The Post
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	6 November 2001	NGOCC Congratulations Wina over Adoption	The Post
	9 January 2002	NGO Group Urges Mwanawasa to	The Post

	Appoint More Women	
15 January 2002	Call Boys Strip Women in Mini Skirts, Trousers	The Post
16 January 2002	We Shall Undress in Front of State House, Warns Sikazwe	The Post
18 January 2002	Stop Violence Against Women' Public Protest Set for Today	The Post
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27 December 2004	Zctu Women Call for Empowerment of Women Unionists	Times of Zambia
9 February 2005	'Derogatory' Remarks Irk State House	Times of Zambia
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10 May 2005	Konie Urges Women to Support Each Other	The Post
3 November 2005	Woman President for Zambia?	Times of Zambia
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5 December 2005	FDD Accuses NGOCC of Being Petty over Nawakwi	The Post
7 December 2005	NGOCC and Nawakwi	The Post
10 December 2005	Does Nawakwi Really Need NGOCC Backing to Win?	The Post