IDRC ✳ CRDI   DFID Department for International Development   Canada

Democratic Governance and Women's Rights in West Africa

Rose Mensah-Kutin
ABANTU for Development

2010

Contents

Acronyms

ABANTU	ABANTU for Development
AIDF	Association Ivoirienne pour la défense des Droits des Femmes
AKIWOL	Akwa Ibom Women League
AWLA	African Women Lawyers Association
BAOBAB	BAOBAB for Women's Human Rights
BPfA	Beijing Platform for Action
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CFEL-CI	Coalition des Femmes Leader de Cote D'Ivoire
CHRAJ	Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice
COSEF	Conseil Senegalais Femmes
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
DOVVSU	Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit
FEFS	Federation des Association Feminines du Senegal
GADI	Gender and Development Initiative
GEAR	Gender Equality Architecture Reform
GPI	Girls Power Initiative
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
IWSN	Initiative for Women Studies in Nigeria
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOWAC	Ministry of Women and Children Affairs
MP	Member of Parliament
NCCE	National Commission on Civic Education
NCWD	National Council on Women and Development
NWM	National Women Movement
NETRIGHT	The Network for Women's Rights in Ghana
OHCHR	Office of the High Commission for Human Rights
OP	Optional Protocol
ONEFF	Organisation Nationale pour l'Enfant, la Femme et la Famille
PNAF	Plan Nationale d'Action pour la Femme
PAVAW	Project Alert on Violence Against Women
RWN	Rural Women Network
RWD	Rahama Women Development
UN	United Nations
UDHR	Universal Declaration on human Rights
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programmes
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UN-INSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training for Advancement of Women
WACSI	West Africa Civil Society Institute
WANEP	West Africa Network for Peace-building

WAO	Women Action Organisation
WARDC	Women Advocates Research and Development Centre
WAWA	West African Women Association
WAELE	Women Advancement for Economic and Leadership Empowerment
WILDAF	Women in Law and Development in Africa
WiN	Women in Nigeria
WNC	Women's Nation Coalition
WSRDA	Widening the Scope of Rights and Development in Africa
WMC	Women's Manifesto Coalition
WCAR	World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, and Xenophobia
WCN	Women's Consortium of Nigeria
WODF	Women's Optimum Development Foundation
WRAN	Women's Rights Advance Network

Acknowledgements

Executive Summary

The International Development Research Centre (IDRC) is seeking to launch a global initiative on Democratic Governance and Women's Rights under the Centre's Women's Rights and Citizenship (WRC) programme. The idea is to initiative research that examines the ways in which democratic governance processes advance women's needs and concerns. It was decided that a number of regional background papers needed to be written to provide a basis for developing the research. This paper was therefore prepared to provide relevant background information about the situation in the West African sub-region. The discussion in the paper was based on a theoretical and methodological framework that recognizes that inequalities exist in different forms in the societies in the region and affect women in different ways. The struggles and demands for gender justice are therefore seen as a way of promoting meaningful democratic governance in the region.

It was noted that the quest for democratic governance is not a new phenomenon in the region. On the contrary, it is directly rooted in the historical and colonialist experiences of the various countries. The embedded nature of gender inequality is similar to what pertains in other regions of the world even as women's experiences continue to be shaped by their specific realities. This was supported by evidence in the literature which deals with many of the sub-themes of women's rights and democratic governance broadly and with specific reference to different contexts.

The fragility of the region in terms of its history, religions, fragmentation along the lines of Anglophone and Francophone, and the endemic nature of coup d'états and conflicts, were noted

to have had significant implications for the nature of governance structures and systems and their implications for women's rights promotion. Due to the nature of the data available, information about the various countries in the region was used to draw out similarities and differences. However a number of countries were particularly relevant. These were relatively stable democracies (Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal and Burkina Faso) as well as others emerging out of conflicts or experiencing some form of it (Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone). The picture that emerges is one of a region with a limited interest in the integration of women's rights in democratic processes with varying degrees of intensity in individual countries. Even though there is a sense of activism among women in the region, it was clear that more integration of efforts was needed to move beyond the boundaries and divisions of geography and language to consolidate gains across the region.

On research, it was noted that a number of research institutes such as AAWORD and CODESRIA exist in the region. While both work on gender equality themes, the former has been limited by organisational challenges while the latter seems to have dealt with women's rights issues as an aside from its core business. The paper ends with a number of research themes being proposed for support by IDRC. The themes are basically located within the critical issues of concern to women in the region which include their experiences in the household, communities and public life. Research that is relevant from women's lives is what will promote gender justice. This requires serious efforts in bridging the gaps between 'academic' and 'activist' research.

Figure 1: Map of West Africa Showing the Sixteen ECOWAS Countries
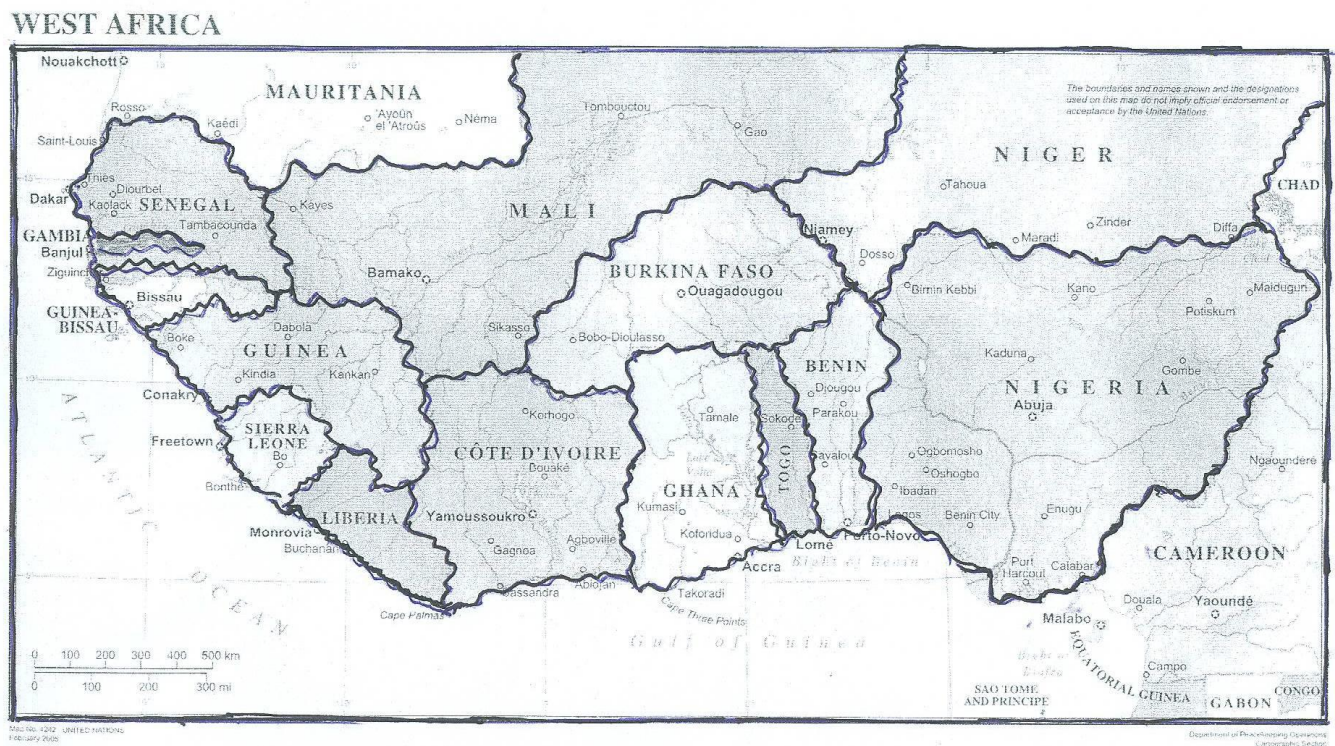
Source: United Nations map n0.4242, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Cartography Section, February 2005

1. Background to the Discussion on Women's Rights and Democratic Governance

1.1 Introduction

Historically, women have been ignored from actively participating in the structures of governance that determine political and legislative priorities that promote democracy. Active participation of women is crucial for overall social development and democratic governance. As such, structures and processes that sideline the views, perspectives and interests of women have to be interrogated while others that point to possibilities and opportunities need to be supported. This paper is a contribution to the debate on how to deepen research and analysis on women's rights and its relevance for achieving more equitable and democratic societies. It builds on previous work in the field of women's rights and democratic governance and specifically looks at the West Africa sub-region as a site requiring urgent research in priority aspects of women's rights promotion as part of democratic governance processes. Such research will provide a basis for relevant national, regional and international policies and strategies needed to promote women's rights as a central feature of democratic governance, with direct impacts on the West Africa sub-region. An understanding of the key issues of women's rights and democratic governance is pivotal in developing a research agenda that provides relevant data and analysis to affect the political agendas of various countries in the West African sub-region. To this end, the paper is seeking to respond to these broad questions to inform the exploration of the theme of Democratic Governance and Women's Rights in West Africa (WA):

- What do feminist researchers/activists and policy-makers in the West Africa region define as the critically important issues related to democratic governance and women's rights?
- Do elite and marginalised women employ different strategies and mechanisms to effect change in terms of democratic governance?
- What are the linkages between feminist researchers, women's organisations and policy-makers within the West Africa region, and between West Africa countries and other parts of the world?
- How are research agendas developed in West Africa countries?

The paper is therefore structured around addressing these key questions mainly by reviewing and presenting the aggregate views and experiences in a number of Anglophone and Francophone West African countries gleaned from secondary data sources.

1.2 Methodological Issues

It became obvious from looking for relevant materials on the subject that it was almost impossible to find concrete data. It was easy to find information around the subject of women's rights, participation in politics, and issues relating to violence against women. However a direct link with processes of democratic governance was not obvious given the tendency to make a demarcation between women's issues as essentially located in the family and the household, and not having a stake in governance and public affairs. Thus even though there was quite some

extensive literature on democratic governance with specific reference to West Africa, here also, much of the information mentioned women only tangentially without exploring the nuances involved in how they access rights within specific contexts, and situations. The approach adopted therefore was to utilise whatever information was available from secondary sources around aspects of the subject matter and to attempt to structure and make meaning to facilitate and contribute to the discourse, and analyse nuances and possibilities with specific reference to the West African region. Much of the information was general in terms of Africa. While this was useful in terms of establishing connections, linkages and enabling boundaries across the sub-region to be crossed, the ability to have specific national and sub-regional histories is equally relevant as it creates possibilities of moving back into the mainstream for transnational possibilities. Such an approach is also important given that the boundaries that exist are both real and imagined. Thus even as there is an attempt to look at women's rights and democratic governance within the context of the West African sub-region, there is a consciousness that this does not become what Mama (2006:153) has referred to as "gender interventions in which gender is applied as depoliticised technical device, generating log frames and statistics, that do little to challenge unjust gender relations". On the contrary, what is presented is the utilisation of documentary evidence to point to the complexity of the constructions of women's rights, gender equality, and democratic justice and how the experiences of unequal gender relations impact on different lives including those of women, men, girls and boys of diverse backgrounds but with much common concerns. Thus whether in Anglophone or Francophone West Africa, there were possibilities of noting similarities and differences both within and between the boundaries.

Therefore a complex, diverse and differentiated picture that women navigate, through which they themselves play an active role as creative beings, and the struggles and challenges involved is what emerges. Thus a comparative framework that places the West African sub-region and the countries within it in a historical context is what can enable us explore the relevant questions that have been discussed elsewhere and locate their meaning and relevance for women. The paper therefore generates more questions than answers and therefore paves the way for a research endeavour that is located within the material conditions of the everyday life experiences of women in the region as a means of making whatever knowledge is generated a part of an international agenda setting to promote gender justice that would eventually be beneficial to different groups of women in the region.

1.3   Theoretical Approach

In the light of the foregoing, the theoretical approach being adopted in the preparation of this paper is rooted in theories of social justice, particularly as has been advanced by Goetz, (2007) who provides a conceptual framework of four key elements namely:
- The continued influence of sub-state human communities within which gendered norms are generated.
- How formal and informal relationships within these communities determine the extent to which power-holders answer to less powerful members.
- The nature and character of relationships that define how rules are made and rights accessed.
- The subtle institutionalisation of male bias in the systems for adjudicating disputes or punishing offenders.

Goetz position is that the ability of women to access their rights is influenced and constrained to a large extent by the persistence of inequality and patriarchal domination at all levels of society. Thus even as women continue to utilise spaces in creative ways to advance their interests institutionalised discriminatory practices continue to pose major challenges for democratic governance. Many of the arguments in the paper derive their energy from these perspectives. In contrast to Goetz' position, traditional theories of justice have failed to pay attention to women's demands for equality and the many challenges and constraints when efforts are made to demand equality. Nussbaum (2007) however has said that it is important to look at gender justice and its theoretical implications "since it involves acknowledging that the family is a political institution, not part of a "private sphere" immune from justice. Mukhopadhyay and Singh (2007) have also used the terms "gender justice", "citizenship" and "accountability" as important theoretical concepts to explore for promoting women's rights in relation to men in society. Following these authors, Goetz (2007) distinguishes three key elements of gender justice. First of all, gender as a social category is more than a term belonging to a homogenous group given that it cuts across boundaries of class, ethnicity, marginalisation, as well as other "social categories, producing differences of interests and conceptions of justice between women". (2007:18). A related aspect is that quite distinct from other social groups, the social relationships between women and men in the family and the community "are a site of gender-specific injustice and therefore any strategy to advance gender justice must focus on power relations in the domestic or private context" (ibid:18).

The third element proposed by Goetz is about how patriarchal relationships, attitudes and behaviours move beyond the so-called private sphere and becomes reproduced and embedded in social, economic and political institutions. This conception of gender justice differs significantly from some of the other conceptions of gender justice in the literature. The first approach is that rooted in the literature of the liberal feminist framework where women's subordination is conceived of basically in terms of lack of opportunities and resources and the need to advocate for policy responses that provide minimum economic and social well-being to enable women make decisions for themselves. Nussbaum, 2000, 2007; Young, 1990; have elaborated on this utilising the notion of 'capabilities as developed by Sen (1999) which refers to what individuals are "able to do and to be" (Goetz:19). This approach as proposed by Nussbaum, is problematic given its retreat from critical challenges involved in working towards equality at all levels, among different social groups as well as between women and men. Others who argue against the liberal feminist notion of social justice (Kabeer, 1998; Malhotra and Mather, 1997) say that the approach limits the whole conception of social justice to how individuals access public goods and liberate themselves as individuals, rather than provide "an understanding of the way women and men may construct their interests as part of a social collectivity" (Goetz, 2007: 19).

Another notion of gender justice is rooted in ideas about how addressing gender-based discrimination, justified in applying provisions in the 1999 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) can lead to gender justice. This approach however ignores the limitation of CEDAW itself which lacks viable enforcement mechanisms and the extent to which "universally applicable principles of justice" can be applied in an equitable fashion especially since there are legal systems hidden behind formal ones that are often discriminatory but difficult to deal with, given their embeddedness in everyday life

experiences. The rights-based approach is also another way in which gender justice has been conceived of. This approach takes into account the way in which power relations affect policy impacts and how the legal system and state accountability mechanisms should be used to promote human development. While this approach gives recognition for women to demand their rights and to hold the state accountable to their needs and concerns, Seshia (2002) has referred to them as legalistic, top-down and unable to deal with situations where weak sections of society do not have a chance to even make claims or get those who have power to be responsive to their needs and concerns.

With the above discussion in perspective, Goetz (2007:31) provides a working definition of gender justice that is applicable to the central theses of this paper on women's rights and democratic governance:

"Gender justice is the ending of and if necessary the provision of redress for inequalities between women and men that result in women's subordination to men. These inequalities may be in the distribution of resources and opportunities that enable individuals to build human, social, economic, and political capital. Or, they may be in the conceptions of human dignity, personal autonomy and rights that deny women physical integrity and the capacity to make choices about how to live their lives. As an outcome, gender justice implies access to and control over resources, combined with agency. In this sense it does not differ from many definitions of 'women's empowerment'. But gender justice as a process brings an additional essential element: accountability. Gender justice requires that women are able to ensure that power-holders-whether in the household, the community, the market, or the state-can be held to account so that actions that limit, on the grounds of gender, women's access to resources or capacity to make choices, are prevented or punished. The term 'women's empowerment' is often used interchangeably with 'gender justice', but gender justice adds an element of redress and restitution that is not always present in discussions of 'women's empowerment".

1.4   Data Sources and Limitations of Study

This paper has been produced mainly utilising secondary data sources to secure responses on the issues of investigation. It was very clear that there are huge gaps in terms of the available data from the different countries in the sub-region. Even as library sources and internet searches yielded substantial information, many times, it was impossible to obtain data which was directly relevant to the subject. Much of the time one had to make meaning out of information that said little about women's rights and democratic governance. This actually points to the huge gaps in the literature on the subject with reference to the sub-region, which then justifies the need for the proposed research in the area of women's rights and democratic governance. As the data was not easily available, evidence from any individual country in the region was used. However actual cases selected from Anglophone West Africa were Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia and Sierra Leone. The following countries were of particular interest in the context of Francophone West Africa: Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea and Burkina Faso. The criteria for choosing countries were as follows:
- Relevance as a relatively stable democratic state (Ghana, Senegal, Nigeria, Burkina Faso)

- Experiencing or emerging from conflict (Guinea, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire).[1]

There were particular challenges with reference to identifying strategies and options used to access women's rights in the various countries. This is a critical area which will require actual accounts by researchers/activists in the region interacting with individuals and groups through participatory and other innovative methodologies. Perhaps this is the main purpose of a background paper such as this in terms of how it demonstrates gaps in the literature and the research needed to be undertaken. So many changes are going on all the time in governance processes in the region and very little is said or written with specific reference to what is happening to women and how they are coming to terms with the changes. What is happening in Guinea is a case in point and perhaps it is important that the research project also looks at how an alert system can be institutionalised to track women's experiences given the fragility of the states in the region. There was also a particular challenge with the French language in relation to the information obtained about Francophone Africa.

Finally, it is hoped that future studies on the subject can dwell more fully into these issues and concerns to deepen the analysis of these components of the study.

1.5 Outline of Paper

The paper has been developed around six sections. After this introduction, section two provides a review of the literature on democratic governance and women's rights generally. The purpose of the review is to examine and analyse the key issues of the debates and the challenges and implications for feminist research. This is followed by section three (3) which provides a background to democratic governance and women's rights and its historical evolution in West Africa, as well as an articulation of the differences in character in Francophone and Anglophone West Africa. Section four (4) focuses on how women's rights are accessed within the context of the West African region with examples being drawn upon from specific countries to point to the key issues, strategies and challenges involved. The section also examines the different and common trajectories of the evolution and shifting discourses of women's rights and democratic governance in specific countries in both Francophone and Anglophone West Africa. Based on this, the issues of similarities and difference as well as challenges and achievements in the region in creating democratic political structures and institutions that are committed to women's rights promotion are looked at. Section five (5) then provides an overview of research on democratic governance and women's rights in West Africa, the agendas and themes as well as institutions and individuals involved. Finally section six (6) outlines a number of research issues and themes that emerge for consideration by the International Development, Research Centre (IDRC) for promoting women's rights in democratic governance within the context of the West Africa region.

---

[1] Summarises of issues from these countries are provided in appendix II.

2. Assessment of the Literature on Democratic Governance and Women's Rights

2.1   Concepts and Principles

The nature of women's rights and how they have been promoted in different countries is directly related to the nature, character and practice of democratic governance. It is therefore important to explore what others have written on the subject and the issues they have looked at. One strand in the literature on governance attempts to provide a sense of the key concepts and principles. McCarthy 2006: 2 and Malena 2006:3 provide various definitions of governance while Ashworth (1996) refers to the five interconnected levels of governance namely, the household, community, local, national governance and global institutions. While Grugel and Piper (2007:3) describe the nature of "global governance", Brody (2009) acknowledges the importance of including the household, the family and communities as institutions of governance since this is "where many gender inequalities are acted out, shaped by decisions made at international, national and local levels that define rights and responsibilities" (p10). Other authors also focus on providing meanings about "good governance" (Annan, 1998. Malena 2006). While efficiency arguments are often used to judge whether a governance system is good or bad, this paper agrees with Brody's assertion that "governance can only be effective if it focuses on achieving social justice and gender equality, and that gender equality in society enables more effective governance" (2009:11). The principles of governance have also attracted some discussion (Goetz, 2007, 2008; UNIFEM, 2008. Pedwell, 2008. Pedwell & Perrons, (2007); Cornwall and Molyneux, (eds) (2007); BRIDGE, 2004) Yuval-Davis (1997). In these discussions issues of accountability, transparency, responsiveness, equity, inclusiveness, upholding rights and following the rule of law are identified as the ultimate goals of social justice and equity (Brody, 2009).

2.2   Power and Governance

Vivienne Taylor (2007) in her book "Recasting power and transforming governance: A feminist perspective from the South" looks at the many challenges that experiences of governing and being governed pose for democratic movements and for those individuals and groups who have previously been excluded from government. Drawing on research on the global South by the Development Alternatives with Women in a New Era (DAWN) on governance and social transformation, she points to several factors that emerge from the research that have implications for women's rights promotion and democratic governance. Among them are how governments face the need for a transformative break with old and entrenched systems and at the same time how they operate to ensure its continued validity and relevance, and how women with a critical feminist consciousness go into political spaces in ways that affect political institutions to work in an impactful way in terms of making governments more accountable to citizens. She also touches on the different types of resources needed to change formal and informal rules and structural relations of power. Lister (1997) had earlier argued about the need to address citizenship's exclusionary power in relation to both nation states as 'outsiders' and 'insiders'. With the former, she argues that a feminist theory and politics of citizenship must embrace an internationalist agenda and offers the concept of a 'differentiated universalism' as an attempt to resolve the universalism that lies at the core of citizenship with the demands of a politics of difference.

2.3   Citizenship

In looking at citizenship this way, Lister (2002) argues that we are able to have an important theoretical and political tool which then enables us to even reconceptualise dichotomies such as the "public" and "private". Lister (1995) also reviewed some of the main dilemmas associated with the development of a feminist conception of citizenship in relation to both republic and social rights foundations. She poses a number of questions which are critical in contextualising a discussion about democratic governance and women's rights. To begin with, she wonders how relevant the concept of "citizenship" can be at a time when the whole notion of "the nation-state" is becoming less critical economically and politically and when migration is on the increase. Relatedly, she poses the question of how the concept of universalism can sufficiently articulate the notions of difference and diversity and whether or not women with all their similarities and differences can form part of a status quo which originally thrived on their exclusion. She proposes a synthesis in resolving the dilemmas between a gender-neutral and a gender differentiated notion of citizenship. As she puts it, "an appreciation of the differences within and of the interdependence between binary categories must not be at the expense of a gendered analysis of the power relations which still underpin these categories and which thereby serve to perpetuate women's exile as a group from full citizenship" (p35).

2.4   Governance and Inequalities

Goodman (2004) also refers to feminist politics as critical for tackling the dangers posed by corporate governances, consolidation and militarism. At the same time however, she sees that feminism is in danger of being ideologically co-opted into restrictive and undemocratic trends. She therefore argues that feminism can and must contribute to challenging the private appropriation of public power and shape the democratic hopes of the public's global future. Brody (2009) in an overview report prepared for BRIDGE/IDS has also focused on issues of democracy, transparency, accountability, inclusive citizenship and participatory processes as ways in which governance ideas and practices can be utilised to promote concrete changes in favour of gender equality. The report points to the failure to challenge the entrenched unequal, gendered power relations and other forms of exclusion that have been built into processes and institutions of governance historically. It argues that gender equality in these decision-making spaces is critical for facilitating far-reaching social change and for empowering people who are excluded from decision-making mainly on the basis of their gender. Similar to other authors (Molyneux & Razavi, 2002, Mukhopadhyay and Singh, 2007), Brody (2009) acknowledges the progress made in redressing gender imbalances in national and local governance processes and institutions such as through electoral reform.

However, she goes on to point to the limits of such mechanisms as they do not guarantee quality and equality of participation in governance institutions and processes. Nussbaum et.al, (2003) also focus on gender and governance to point to the numerous social norms and expectations that condition women's lives. This requires that a study of gender and governance must understand governance in its broadest sense which includes structures, relationships and processes that strengthen capabilities and makes it possible for addressing well-being. In these papers, engendering governance process is seen as influenced by several interconnected factors

including changing relationships, processes and structures in women's movements, the state and civil society. The nature of women' participation in governance and the obstacles encountered are also discussed. Waylen (2008) concentrates on demonstrating the contested nature of the ways in which policy-makers and politicians at different levels use the concept of governance. Depending on who is using the term therefore, some emphasis might be placed on some of its aspects while limiting some of its characteristics. The writer however acknowledges the extent of its use by governments and the innovative ways in which governing is being thought of. The missing link according to Waylen (2008) however is the absence of gendered perspectives from the growing literature on governance. Demetriades (2009) noted that "mainstream work has rarely gone beyond mentioning women's organisations as new policy actors. And to date feminist critiques of this mainstream literature remain sparse" (p4). At the same time Waylen (2008) points to the possibilities of what this creates for feminist research and researchers in the focus on "governance" as a concept away from "government", which include providing a broader understanding in interrogating changing relationships among different actors and the false dichotomies of the "public" and the "private": "The aim should not be to throw out the concept of governance but to change the substance to reflect gendered understandings" (pp135).

2.5 Governance Institutions and Inequalities

Other authors focus on issues relating to governance institutions and the need to understand the embedded nature of gender inequality within them as a basis for monitoring them to make them more responsive to women's ability to access power and resources. Kabeer and Subramanian (1996) for example provide information about how the failure to integrate gender awareness into policies and planning processes create negative consequences for equity, efficiency and welfare objectives. Ashworth (1996) on the other hand examines the gendered nature of governance structures and processes, and how they tend to favour men and create barriers for women. Goetz (1997) also makes proposals on how to deal with forms of social organisation that discriminate against women. While Goetz (1997) identifies political struggle as the basis for change, Scott and Wilde (2006) provide a framework for generating gender – responsive indicators that can assist policymakers in monitoring and evaluating democratic governance at national levels. Areas identified for the application of the frameworks are: electoral systems and processes, human rights, justice, access to information and the media, decentralisation and local governance, public administration and anti-corruption efforts.

2.6 Women's Experiences and Governance

Another strand in the literature is the attempt to broaden the notion of what is "political" to include a range of experiences and activities of women that are impactful and constraining on gender relations including state relationships. Part of the literature provides information about government gender action plans and how they serve as a basis for drafting legislation (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2005). Others provide information about women's political participation rates (IPU, 2009, IDEA, 2005; UNDP, 2000). IDEA's work particularly makes an important point about the need for a "critical mass" of women which can also be of no effect if it is not backed by the quality of representation. The issue of electoral quotas and how their use in over 40 countries have enhanced levels of female political representation is also articulated (Dahlerup, 2009; Jayal, 2006. Kantengwa, 2007). Other publications focus on issues relating to

capacity-building (ABANTU, 2000) as well as the role of national machineries on women (Mama, 2000; Tsikata, 2000; Mensah-Kutin et.al, 2000). The evidence points to unclear mandates and weak institutional structures of national machineries, limiting possibilities of contributing to the promotion of women's rights in democratic governance. The opportunities created by post-conflict environments for the promotion of gender equality is also well documented (Moser, 2007). Such initiatives have particularly benefited from UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and UN Security Council Resolution 1820.

2.7   Decentralisation

Decentralisation and local governance are also central themes in the democratic governance and women's rights literature. Rakodi, (2002) touches on the need for enhanced voices for making demands for the right of access to basic services at the local levels while Vandemoortele, (2002) examines user fees and narrow targeting as limiting possibilities for assuring universal access to basic social services such as water, health and education and their implications for women and the poor. In terms of actual participation in local governance, Beall, (2005); and Byrne and Schnyder (2005), touch on the patriarchal nature of local government and advocate for gender equitable decentralization processes and practices. Other publications (Evertzen, 2000; Joseph, 2002) have produced methodologies that are expected to serve as tools for dealing with how issues of service delivery can be equitably undertaken to promote gender equality at the local level. Other issues addressed in the literature are global governance, civil society and the concept of governance as it relates to community and the household. On global governance, the various authors provide information and analysis about global governance institutions and the specific instruments they have for promoting women's rights and gender equality.

2.8   Policies for Promoting Women's Rights

Rai and Waylen (eds) (2008) look at the frameworks, rules and processes of management through which international policies are managed and makes a proposal about the need for a gendered analysis of the processes and institutions as a basis for evolving the needed strategies for social transformation. The IPU (http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/law.htm) on its part has provided an outline of key international laws and conventions that relate to the promotion of women's rights in governance processes. Waldorf, (2004) also provides additional details and analysis of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), while the full text of the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) which has specific provisions on participation in power structures and decision-making, can be accessed from http://www.un.org/womenwatchdev/beijing/platform/decision.htm.

An aspect of global governance is how governments can be held accountable for promoting women's rights. Thus a number of tools are available for doing this. An example is the production of shadow reports (IWRAW, 2009), tools for advancing gender and racial, justice (http://www.wicej.addr.com/tools2.html) and information about UN Reform being undertaken by a panel of experts whose mandate has been extended to include an analysis of gender equality architecture and gender mainstreaming. Jones (2008) as well as Cabrera-Balleza et. al. (2006) provide an analysis of mainstreaming gender in global governance (Hafner-Burton and Pollack, 2002) and the use of a gender mainstreaming scorecard (UNDP, n.d.). Another aspect of global

governance is trade, and Bridge (2006), Lorio, (n.d.) and Williams (2003) provide useful information about key gender issues in trade and governance and related tools (Floro and Hoppe, 2005, Gammage et. al,2002; ITC, 2001; Auret and Barrientos, 2004; CIDA, 2003; ILO, 2007).

2.9   Civil Society

The role of civil society in promoting a more inclusive governance system is well acknowledged and a component of the literature focuses on how civil society can advance women's rights in governance processes. Hoodfar and Pazira (2000) provide strategies for social and political activism based on the experiences of Women Living Under Muslim Laws (WLUML) while Mukhopadhyay et.al.(2006) demonstrate how organizational change for gender equality is a key feature of gender mainstreaming processes. A guide and workbook has also been developed to enable citizens take part in the assessment of how national laws are meeting the BPFA (PDHRE, 2003) while UNDP(2005) has a guide for its staff in terms of how their work on democratic governance can advance and strengthen collaboration with civil society and the women's movement.

2.10   Household and Community

Traditional conceptualization of governance excluded the household and certain communities. However the World Conference on Human Rights in 1993 contributed in bridging this gap by confirming that threats and acts of violence, torture, enslavement and exploitation of women and girls within the private sphere are also equally violations of human rights and democratic principles in the same way as those considered so in the public sphere, (Ashworth, 1996). This means that a discussion of governance from a gender and women's rights perspective has to include communities and households in terms of problem analysis and strategy formulation initiatives. In this area, Baden, (2000) examines the links between gender, governance and poverty within family contexts and the wider society. Gupta (2004) makes additional contributions to this debate focusing on an analysis of issues of power and power sharing and how ordinary women negotiate power relations at all levels of the governance process in transformational ways. Another article also assesses the reasons and consequences of the failure to acknowledge and measure unpaid work (Hoskeyns and Rai, 2007) and in so doing advocates for a broader focus on democratic processes to include social and reproduction issues.

From the above, it is obvious that a whole range of issues are examined in the literature to explore the complexities of democratic governance that give meaning and legitimacy to women's rights promotion. How this is utilised and strengthened through exploring and deepening existing work in the West Africa sub-region through research is a challenge and an opportunity.

3.   Democratic Governance and Women's Rights in West Africa

The nature, character, functioning and implications of democratic governance and women's rights in West Africa has to be located within the context of the political history and democratisation processes of the various communities in the sub-region. This will provide a basis for establishing the key distinguishing and common features of Anglophone and Francophone

countries of West Africa. An important point that has to be underscored at this very early stage in this chapter is that even though there have been some improvements, there are still very serious challenges in the area of the promotion of civil liberties, the guarantee of democratic rights and freedoms and gender equality in many West African countries.[2]

3.1   Features, Similarities and Differences in Anglophone and Francophone West Africa

There are some distinct differences between Anglophone and Francophone West Africa, rooted in the legacy of the different colonial powers on the traditions and structures of the various countries. There are also some common trends in the political histories. Essentially, there have been three main political cycles in West Africa: Immediately after independence, there was a short period of multi-part democracy. The tensions and contradictions of developing political party systems in newly independent states gave way to the second cycle of the era of one-party dominance and military dictatorships, characterised by military rules in Togo in 1960, Nigeria and Ghana in 1966, and Senegal from 1966 to 1974. In many cases political parties were totally banned; in others there were no opposition parties and the political space was extremely flawed and unclear. The third cycle which is typically referred to in the literature as the period of "democratic governance" started in the late 1980s and 1990s in West Africa. The nature, pattern and course of the democratization process have been uneven in the sub-region. In some countries it was crowned by national conferences at which the established political authorities were challenged, paving way for the enhancement of citizen-led power struggles. Some of the national conferences facilitated regime change and the opening up of the political space such as in Benin. However in Togo, this did not succeed. Thus the national conference was the general pattern in francophone West Africa (IDEA, 2007). In some Anglophone countries such as Ghana and Nigeria, the democratisation process was organized in a formal way through political transition programmes. Here, the military drew up a phased political transition agenda to hand over power to civilian politicians. A third phenomenon is that of democratisation processes turning into civil strife and full scale wars. Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Liberia and Sierra Leone are examples. There are also major threats of outbreaks of violence in several countries such as the separatist agitation of the Casamance in Senegal since 1982, the Tuareg insurrection in Mali and Niger, the Niger Delta problem in Nigeria, the northern conflict in Ghana and recent developments in Guinea and Gambia. These tendencies have implications for effective democratic governance and the promotion of women's rights.

Bathily (2005) has pointed to the sharp contrasts in the democratisation processes in West Africa and notes that almost all the countries of the sub-region point to signs of constant political instability and could be referred to fragile states. Countries such as Cote D'Ivoire and Guinea are victims of unresolved conflicts; others are pursuing efforts at peace-building with support from the international community such as Guinea Bissau, Liberia and Sierra Leone and others such as The Gambia, Burkina Faso and Togo are virtual autocracies, with incumbent regimes holding on to power and denying other actors such as political parties, the space to contribute to the decisions that affect them. Still, others have made remarkable progress in the democratic path with opposition political parties or candidates able to unseat incumbent political regimes and leaders through democratic processes such as in Benin, Ghana and Senegal. In Benin, free elections have been held since 1990 while in Ghana this has happened since 1992. Even though

---

[2] The historical perspectives of these processes have been provided in Appendix I.

the democratic process in West Africa is fragile and possibilities of reversals loom ominously in many countries, West Africa can be said to have made some progress in political liberalization with an enhanced context for political actors to exist, operate and contribute to governance processes. The civil space has opened up considerably with civil society and women's organisations able to flourish, and a comparatively improved observance of human rights, rule of law and a free media: Mali has about 30 private newspapers, 147 independent local radio stations, seven state radio stations and one national television station. In Ghana there are 37 registered newspapers of which 33 are privately owned, about 52 radio stations and nine television stations, eight of them being independent. Mali also has over 1,000 civil society organisations working on different issues across the country. Togo has five private television stations, 30 private radio stations and about 40 private newspapers and magazines (IDEA, 2007). Thus the media space is no longer monopolised in many West African countries. Political parties are also able to register and operate in several countries unlike the mid-1960s and early 1990s. Cote d'Ivoire has 130 political parties, Senegal has 77, Liberia, 22 and Ghana 10. Challenges faced include lack of internal democracy, ideological direction, poor organisational skills and commitment, and inadequate sensitivity to the promotion of women's rights (IDEA, 2007). While the political context has improved significantly there are serious challenges in terms of the respect for civil liberties and the guarantee of political freedom in many West Africa countries.[3] A number of factors therefore affect the effectiveness of democratic governance and women's rights in the region.

3.2   Religion and Women's Rights

Religions worldwide still affect state structures and public opinion. For women and their right to equality, there is much at stake in how religion and politics intertwine. In the context of the West African region, religion plays a key role in influencing the extent to which women are able to access their democratic rights. All the major religions such as traditional religion, Christianity, and Islam emphasis the headship of men and the subordination of women even though a number of women's organizations are actively using relevant religious texts to point to alternative perspectives about women's leadership and participation in public life and decision-making.[4] Various churches and other religions fight against the advancement of women, opposing everything from women's right to speak in public, to the use of anaesthesia in childbirth, and woman's suffrage. Today the most organized and formidable opponent of women's social, economic and sexual rights remains organized religion. Some religious fundamentalists in the region are currently engaged in oppression and harassment of women who attempt to access their rights. Those seeking to challenge inequities and advance the status of women today are therefore fighting a massive coalition of fundamentalist churches and other religious groups who have mobilized themselves to fight women's rights, and secular government.In Nigeria for example, the use of Sharia Law in a number of states in the North has denied women the right to choose, raising the crucial question of whether religious movements are an ally or a threat in the struggle for women's rights. In the context of West Africa, there are complex gender, ethnic and class inequalities which require that processes that assure inclusive civic participation are seen as essential in generalizing social capital, building trust and accountability between citizens and

---

[3] See Appendix II for a list of countries and the extent to which they have succeeded in promoting democratic rights for women. West African countries are hardly represented.

[4] Boabab for Women's Human Rights is one such organization., based in Nigeria.

government, and different social and political groups (ECA, 2004). The region has made some progress but the general picture is one where governance remains an area requiring a lot of work. While some governance issues are being addressed, others such as the promotion of women's rights require greater concerted efforts. West African countries have made the slowest progress in women's representation in parliament in sub-Saharan Africa (IDEA, 2007)) and their shortcomings needs to be addressed to enhance democratic governance.

4. Accessing Democratic Rights: Issues, Strategies and Challenges in West Africa

It is clear that where there is an overall improvement in democratic governance, in terms of greater inclusiveness, responsiveness, and accountability in management of public affairs, there are greater possibilities of experiencing greater accountability to women. This section therefore attempts to examine the historical process of democratisation within the context of West Africa and the extent of its responsiveness to the promotion of women's rights and gender equality in both Francophone and Anglophone West Africa. The section also looks at the main challenges contributing to the creation of democratic political structures and institutions that are committed to women's rights promotion. The strategies, approaches and methodologies used by different actors such as women themselves, policy makers, researchers and activists in the area of democratic governance and women's rights are examined using case studies from Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Liberia for Anglophone West Africa. Cases are also drawn from Senegal, Cote D'Ivoire, Burkina Faso and Guinea in Francophone West Africa. The experiences of women across the world in terms of the extent to which they are able to demand accountability for the promotion of their rights within the context of democratic governance processes are complex and varied. They are often mediated by factors such as class, race, religion, age and ethnicity and the extent to which countries advance their obligations to create an enabling environment for effective women's political participation, (UNIFEM 2008). Generally however, democratic accountability for women is said to have been promoted where women's political and decision-making processes lead to the achievement of greater gender equality:

"Reforms aimed at strengthening democracy will only be successful if they acknowledge the challenges faced in particular by the poorest and most marginalised women in realizing their rights and participating in all public decision-making processes". (UNIFEM, 2008: 18).

The key issues to be considered are the nature and character of women's movements in West Africa, electoral systems, political parties, the nature of women's presence in governance and its consequences, laws and policies favouring women's political participation and the extent to which politics is being transformed to promote greater accountability to women.

4.1 Women's Movement Building

In spite of the important role women played in the independence struggles and liberation movements, their contributions were not sufficiently acknowledged and promoted through enhancing their rights as citizens and enabling them to participate actively in public affairs and

governance structures. Thus the colonial legacy of restricting women's rights and status seems to have continued as evident in the legal, political and economic structures of independent West African countries (Lo, 2009). In Nigeria, the period of the 1960 to 1966 did not see much change in women's status. The situation in Ghana was however different as the late President Kwame Nkrumah of the then Convention People's Party (CPP) acknowledged women's resistance (Manuh, 1991). In Cote d'Ivoire women gained the right to vote in 1952 while Senegal recognized women's contributions by electing a woman as vice president of the national assembly in 1971. The nature of women's participation in politics and governance processes is also related to the nature of the political context. During the period of conflicts and military dictatorships in the region especially during the period 1966 and 1999, initial gains of women were eroded in countries like Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana and Nigeria, particularly in terms of their representation in governance and democratisation processes. Lo (2009) has noted how this reversal actually worsened the social and economic vulnerability of women in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire. The development of autonomous women's movements, mobilising around common interests was not particularly encouraged during the period of military dictatorships. The "First Lady" syndrome, a characteristically West African phenomenon emerged at this time. In Ghana the founding of the 31st December Women's Movement (DWM) by Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings (1979-1999) let to some initiatives for women. However the contentious nature of the movement's relationship with the ruling junta and other women's groups raised questions about the ideology and practice of the movement and the extent of its commitment to women's rights (Mensah-Kutin, 2000). In Nigeria, the first lady, Maryam Babangida also established the Better Life for Rural Women Programme (BPL) and also dominated a Family Trust Fund Programme coordinated by the Ministry of Women's Affairs (Mama, 1998) Similar to their counterparts in Anglophone countries, in Francophone West Africa, "premieres Dames" are credited as having implemented substantial social welfare programmes even though their political role, legitimacy and relationships with other women's movements and political leadership remained contentious. Mama (1997:81) has referred to the phenomenon of "First Ladies" as a regression for women, referring to it as "state feminism" and "femocracy". Over time, the first lady phenomenon has gained legitimacy with the Economic Commission of West African States (ECOWAS) providing a platform for advancing their organisational and social agendas. One however notes a changing profile of first ladies in West Africa with a muted role in the context of Ghana and a heightened position in 2009.

Within the context of the West Africa region, women's role in conflict and peace-building and reconstruction efforts have been extremely significant. In the past decade, inter-state conflicts have occurred in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Cote d'Ivoire and Togo. These conflicts have led to the destruction of the whole fabric of the society, sacrificing human security, and leading to large-scale human rights abuses and gender-based violence. In this situation women have found themselves actively working to promote peace even as they have had to contend with the worst forms of atrocities unleashed on them as a result of their gender. In Cote d'Ivoire and the Casamance, women have contributed to household and community maintenance and survival, served on peace negotiations and peace-building, actively participated in mediations within national, indigenous and regional networks for peace and struggles for transformed political agendas.

4.2 Instruments and Electoral Systems

Within the context of the West Africa sub-region, women have sought to increase their voice and presence in democratic structures and processes as a means of realizing their rights. This interest has been facilitated by the increasing move towards multiparty systems of governance which has tended to open up spaces for political activism and increased the range of possibilities for women's participation in politics. The growth of the international women's movement has also inspired women in the region to utilize relevant policy documents to act upon their interests. Such documents include provisions in CEDAW, the Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA) and the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs, Goal 3).

Electoral systems play an important role in enhancing the participation and representation of women in politics. There is a remarkable difference in the way elections are organised in Anglophone and Francophone West Africa. Apart from Sierra Leone, where a Political Party Regulatory Commission (PPRC) exists with the National Electoral Commission, in other countries in Anglophone West Africa, namely Gambia, Ghana, Liberia and Nigeria, the electoral commission handles the whole process for the conduct of elections and the announcement of election-results. In Ghana, the Electoral Commission (EC) is responsible for elections while the National Elections Commission (NEC) exists in Liberia with the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in Nigeria. In Francophone West Africa however, different institutions are involved in the electoral process. Political parties are registered by government departments. For example the Ministry of Interior is responsible for this in Senegal and Togo; in Mali it is the Ministry of Territorial Administration and Local Authorities; while in Burkina Faso and Guinea it is the Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralisation. The electoral commission is therefore only responsible for the organisation of elections. The situation is compounded by the fact that there are further divisions of the role of the electoral commission in some countries. For example, there are a number of institutions involved in electoral processes in Togo including the courts (IDEA, 2007).

According to UNIFEM (2008) electoral systems are a strong predictor of the numbers of women in representative politics, and that proportional representation (PR) creates space for women to participate and win elections than simple majority systems, "because they tend to have multi-member constituencies where seats are assigned in proportion to the percentages of votes won by parties. This encourages more diversity in party platforms and candidates" (ibid; 21). In the context of West Africa where majority of countries utilise the majority electoral system, one notices that there are wide implications for the nature of political life, competitive electoral politics and the extent to which the space can be broadened to enhance women's rights. The pivotal role of politics and power relations and their complexities in state and civil society relationships in West Africa requires a more inclusive gender-responsive participatory electoral system as against the majoritarian electoral system of the winner-takes all male-dominated system (IDEA, 2007).

Women in National Parliaments: Situation as of 31 October 2009

Rank	Country	Lower or single House				Upper House or Senate			
		Elections	Seats*	Women	% W	Elections	Seats*	Women	% W
1	Rwanda	9 2008	80	45	56.30%	10 2003	26	9	34.60%
2	Sweden	9 2006	349	164	47.00%	---	---	---	---
3	South Africa 1	4 2009	400	178	44.50%	4 2009	54	16	29.60%
4	Cuba	1 2008	614	265	43.20%	---	---	---	---
5	Iceland	4 2009	63	27	42.90%	---	---	---	---
6	Argentina	6 2009	257	107	41.60%	6 2009	72	27	37.50%
7	Finland	3 2007	200	83	41.50%	---	---	---	---
8	Netherlands	11 2006	150	62	41.30%	5 2007	75	26	34.70%
9	Norway	9 2009	169	66	39.10%	---	---	---	---
10	Denmark	11 2007	179	68	38.00%	---	---	---	---
11	Angola	9 2008	220	82	37.30%	---	---	---	---
12	Costa Rica	2 2006	57	21	36.80%	---	---	---	---
13	Spain	3 2008	350	127	36.30%	3 2008	263	79	30.00%
14	Andorra	4 2009	28	10	35.70%	---	---	---	---
15	Belgium	6 2007	150	53	35.30%	6 2007	71	27	38.00%
16	New Zealand	11 2008	122	41	33.60%	---	---	---	---
17	Nepal	4 2008	594	197	33.20%	---	---	---	---
18	Germany	9 2009	622	204	32.80%	N.A.	69	15	21.70%
19	Ecuador	4 2009	124	40	32.30%	---	---	---	---
20	Belarus	9 2008	110	35	31.80%	7 2008	56	19	33.90%
21	Uganda	2 2006	332	102	30.70%	---	---	---	---
22	Burundi	7 2005	118	36	30.50%	7 2005	49	17	34.70%
23	United Republic of Tanzania	12 2005	319	97	30.40%	---	---	---	---
24	Guyana	8 2006	70	21	30.00%	---	---	---	---
25	Timor-Leste	6 2007	65	19	29.20%	---	---	---	---
26	Switzerland	10 2007	200	57	28.50%	10 2007	46	10	21.70%
27	The F.Y.R. of Macedonia	6 2008	120	34	28.30%	---	---	---	---

28	Mexico	7 2009	500	141	28.20%	7 2006	128	23	18.00%
29	Austria	9 2008	183	51	27.90%	N.A.	61	15	24.60%
30	Portugal	9 2009	230	64	27.80%	---	---	---	---

Source: IPU, 2009.

4.3   The Role of Political Parties

Even as the process of political party formation differs from country to country, almost all West African countries operate multiparty democracies. Senegal presents a case of a long history of multi-party democracy, while in Ghana and Nigeria, it was through a long history of struggle by civil society and other political actors, while pressure by donors forced Togo to allowing multiparty general elections in 2005 open up for political multiparty systems. Peace-processes in Liberia, culminating in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2003 created a transition period, and the election of the first female president in Africa, Mrs. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. Even as the political space was stifled in 1999 in Nigeria with the INEC working with the state to limit the proliferation of political parties, a Supreme Court intervention in 2002 has liberalised the political space and facilitated the competitiveness of politics.

Women play different roles in political parties. In democratic systems of governance, political parties are the main entry points for advancing political participation of different interest groups such as women and youth. However in West Africa as in the rest of the world, women's interests in politics have not been taken seriously by political parties. The barriers women face including their double burden, lack of finances, and unfamiliarity with the political culture, are not sufficiently appreciated as political party structures continue to be essentially male-dominated affecting women's ability to influence party decisions to include their interests and perspectives. The legal framework for the establishment of parties in almost all countries in West Africa are meant to ensure that they are representative enough to forestall any formations along ethnic, religious, gender, sectoral or language basis. This provision not understanding, representation often favours a particular gender or ethnic group. Most political parties in West Africa have not put in place specific quota or affirmative action measures to enhance women's political participation and legal provisions in the various countries. Thus as the above table shows , no West African country is featured in the list of thirty (30) countries with the highest female representation in the electoral regulations also do not address women's representation in parties and electoral offices (IDEA, 2007). However there are useful examples in the case of Burkina Faso and Liberia as the Congress for Democracy and Progress adopted a directive to reform party structures and bodies by imposing a 25 per cent quota for women in all structures and organs of the party.

5. Research on Democratic Governance and Women's Rights in West Africa

We now provide an overview of research on democratic governance and women's rights in West Africa, the agendas and themes as well as institutions and individuals involved. This is linked with an assessment of research capacities, gaps and opportunities particularly in the areas of

theoretical and methodological approaches and insights. Given the nature of women's experiences and issues in the context of the West African region, the first issue that becomes obvious is the need to even justify research on the subject area of women's rights in democratic governance. The term "research" itself has tended to be associated with "academic expectations of universities around the kind of thinking, working and representation which lead to the recognition of research as professional" (Bennett, 2008:2). This notion of research is often conflictual with the kinds of issues that may be interrogated by feminist researchers. As Sow (as cited in Horn, 2008:124) has said, "feminist knowledge is still not perceived, as scholarly. It is a site where you are always having to prove yourself and that what you are doing is 'scientific' and 'valuable'".

Feminist research in Africa has basically been interested in how discriminatory practices and injustices working through traditional and post colonial structures and institutions can be addressed to promote women's rights. This has created possibilities of moving beyond the boundary of making a differentiation between what is "real research" and "activism". As Bennett (2008:3) has said: "Research and researching are vital processes within the project of transforming conditions of war, misogyny, injustice and poverty in African contexts remains indisputable". While acknowledging the difficulties involved in making a differentiation between theory and methodology as far as feminist research on issues of concern to Africa is concerned, at the same time it is important that conceptual frameworks are clarified as they serve as the basis for creating new ways of knowing that can have possibilities of promoting gender justice. Here again, thoughts from Bennett, (2008:4) are instructive: "The demands of our work and the institutional and organisational conventions through which we channel it, frequently leave us neither time or direction in terms of how to actually think through the meaning of "doing research" in our contexts". This dilemma confronts researchers within the context of West Africa as well. While feminist researchers are making efforts to be creative and innovative in the process of knowledge production, the conventional ways of doing research upheld by Western institutions who incidentally often fund such research pose challenges for how the oppression that feminists attempt to deal with can be addressed in alternative ways of being and knowing (Pereira, 2002). Some of the dilemmas include issues relating to qualitative and quantitative data collection, relationships with subjects on the field and how data is interpreted. The close contact and relationship with research subjects and the empathies and commitments involved can more often than not be challenged and interpreted as biases.

5.1   Key Themes

Within the context of West Africa much of the work on democratic governance and women's rights has tended to broaden understandings of democratic governance to include issues relating to women's daily experiences as a means of realising rights and justice.

Some of the key themes include female sexuality which is often looked at through an interplay of culture, society, law and gender. Mamama Barry (Guinea) Ken Bugul (Senegal) and Calixthe Beyala (Cameroon) within the context of Francophone Africa have contributed in this respect. In Anglophone West Africa, some writings have focused on domestic violence and the struggles for citizenship rights through an examination of civil society advocacy. Case studies are available on Ghana (Adomako-Ampofo, 2008). Other studies have focused on economic crises

and their impacts on women and the implications for gender relations and democratic governance. (AAWORD, 1985; Manuh, 1999). Biases and inequalities within households as related to consumption patterns, health care and educational patterns have also been major thematic concerns. There is also the thematic area of employment sectors and women's place within them, pointing to women's concentration in low-wage jobs, in the informal sectors, leading to the notion of the "feminisation of poverty" (Tsikata, 1995; AWEPON, 1996; Apusigah, 2006).

Militarisation and politics is also a major thematic area. Lewis (2002) and Mama (1999) have provided an overview of this genre of research and advocacy on gender and militarism. Relatedly there is work on traditional gender hierarchies even in conflict situations. There are also discussions about violence and masculinities as well as the histories and socio-economic conditions shaping the development of men's gendered subjectivities (Pereira, 2002). Another trend is the interest in peace studies looking at how women maintain households and communities in times of conflict and war. Other dimensions include women's vulnerability to torture, rape and the pressures of care-giving in the context of war, leading them to take an active interest in peace-building initiatives. Thus the ability to articulate gender relations within militarisation helps us to broaden our understandings and knowledge on the connections between politics, violence and the differential experiences at the collective and individual levels in the context of West Africa. In all of this, feminist knowledge has not just been about adding on to what has been produced already but "about invigorating and transforming what we understand by progressive research" (Pereira: 15). Generally, feminist research within the context of the West Africa sub-region, has tended to focus on critical issues based on the experiences of women in both formal and informal structures within the 'private' and 'public' domains to point to their implications for governance, democratisation and the well-being of women and men. In this sense the notion of democratic governance has been broadened to include analytical perspectives on women's subordination and inequality towards possibilities of broadening the space for transformatory purposes. This is beyond other research work that has tended to merely describe women's lives and experiences (Mama, 1996; Lewis, 2002). [5]Is there literature on women and public policy-making?

5.2   Agendas and Institutions

Research in the field of women's rights and democratic governance has had a number of agendas. These include donor interests, the state, civil society organisations and academia. Often it is not possible to establish a clear dichotomy between the various actors involved in defining the agendas as researchers are found moving within the various boundaries and transcending them. The research institutions involved in research in the area include Universities, Independent Research institutions and Women's Organisations. Currently many of the universities in the West Africa sub-region have gender studies programmes or centres which enable them to do research on critical issues of concern to women. The University of Ghana for

---

[5] Linda Nicholson (2005) has provided a literature review of civic participation in public policy making. Even though the information is largely based on the UK experience, other examples from OECD countries, Canada, Australia and the U.S have enriched the collection. There is also another interesting book, "Women's Lives and Public Policy: The International Experience" (1993), edited by Meredith Turshen and Briavel Holcomb. The book considers the impact of public policy on various aspects of women's lives, including sex and birth, marriage and death, work and child rearing, and women's responses to those policies.

example had the Development and Women's Studies (DAWS) programme located at the Institute of African Studies (IAS) at the University of Ghana, Legon. This has now been transformed into the Centre for Gender Studies and Advocacy (CEGENSA). The gender studies centre and programmes make a conscious effort to move beyond the boundaries and divisions between "research" and "advocacy" or "activism". They succeed in doing this by closely working with women's organisations and civil society organisations and policy makers and institutions both within the countries and beyond it, initiating research that bring in case studies for comparative purposes across the sub-region.

In Francophone West Africa, similar centres of gender studies exist in Senegal, Benin, Ivory Coast and others. What is important is that these institutions have not only focused on issues specific to their locations but have looked at broader issues of gender relations across the continent, engaging in collaborative and comparative research initiatives with other institutions in Africa and beyond. The African Gender Institute (AGI) in Cape Town, South Africa for example has played a leadership role in working with gender studies institutions in the sub-region in setting critical agendas around methodologies and conceptions of gender relations as well as on themes such as 'sexualities' and 'militarism'. With reference to research institutions, two major ones exist. One is The Association of Africa Women for Research and Development/Association des Femmes Africaines pour la Recherche et le Développement (AAWORD/AFARD), which was founded in 1977 to play a leadership role in research on gender and women in Africa in general. There is also the Council for the Development of Social Research in Africa (CODESRIA). Incidentally both institutions are located in Dakar, Senegal.

AAWORD was the first regional institution set up to facilitate Africa women researchers working on issues of gender and development. As an institution, AAWORD has gone through a number of challenges even though it remains an important institutional location for feminist research. It was set up to develop an agenda for feminism in Africa as a whole by supporting research and activism by African women scholars. In the beginning of its existence, it provided leadership by organising workshops to discuss issues of methodology and other thematic issues of development. Over the years however, its influence has been limited by organisational challenges of leadership, funding and sustainability. CODESRIA is also important for intellectual engagement for transforming the situation in Africa. CODESRIA was formed and led by male scholars who have demonstrated commitment to gender-responsive research against the background that "knowledge production can never be neutral" (Pereira, 2002: II). But again as Pereira (2002) has shown, CODESRIA seems to have followed a two-track approach: doing research on gender issues as a separate endeavour, and 'malestream' research as a different one, with hardly any connection between the two. There are also some NGOs in the sub-region who are involved in research. These include ABANTU for Development, a gender and policy advocacy organisation, Women in Law and Development in Africa/Femmes, Droit et Développement en Afrique (WILDAF) whose sub-regional office is in Lome, Togo. Other organisations such as Third World Network-Africa (TWN-Af), and the West Africa Network for Peace-building (WANEP) have also developed capacities on gender and development research on issues of trade and peace-building respectively. Are international and regional organizations important in the production of knowledge/research on the subject in the region?

5.3   Research Capacities, Gaps and Opportunities

Feminist analyses have led to the creation of knowledge about women, social, economic and political realities. CODESRIA has made a lot of contribution to gender and women's studies issues. It has supported feminist researchers such as Amina Mama, Fatou Sow, Ayesha Imam, Takyiwaa Manuh and Dzodzi Tsikata to undertake research on critical issues of power relations and gender analysis. Younger researchers are also emerging and they need to be supported to do more research on gender issues. A major gap however is that much of the research that has been undertaken run parallel to the malestream of scholarship in which lack of gender responsiveness is accepted as the norm, a situation which raises the broader question of how successfully feminist thought has permeated non-feminist "progressive scholarship on Africa". (Pereira, 2002: 15). In order words, a major gap/challenge that needs to be confronted is how to consolidate feminist research within the context of the West Africa region not as parallel to mainstream research but as an integral part of it. This requires more synergies between research undertaken in different institutions in order to bridge the gaps between researchers, activists and policy-makers to transform institutions and societies for gender equality and gender justice. At the same time, however autonomous spaces created by women themselves and led by them at different sites and levels need to be strengthened to "produce scholarship that engages with the possibilities and practices of re-imagined futures". (Pereira; 2002:30).There is also international institutes such as IDEA and IDRC working on the issues.

Clearly the West Africa sub-region presents opportunities and challenges for deepening research on issues of concern to women. The fragile nature of democratic governance requires that women continue to enhance their voice by demanding accountability and using spaces for accessing their rights. Working together on common and differentiated areas of concern is critical. Both young and older researchers need to also work closely together to maximize the use of resources and increase the numbers of feminist researchers.

6. Research Areas for IDRC Support

Previous sections have demonstrated that in the context of the West Africa sub-region, as it is with other regions in Africa and the rest of the world, women's rights and gender equality concerns are top agenda issues for feminist researchers. There is a firm conviction that issues of civic and political rights, freedom of speech, assembly and association, the right to vote and be voted for, freedom from arbitrary arrests and abuse of rights are all gendered. Thus the persistence of inequalities continues to pose major challenges to democratic governance in the region. Gender justice is therefore a pre-requisite for democratic governance as the notion of citizenship cannot be effective if the rights and dignity of one group of people, women, are constantly being denied in their households, communities and in the wider society. In this connection, the words of Pereira (2002:29) does point the way to what IDRC can do to support feminist research in the context of both Anglophone and Francophone West Africa:
         "There is a clear need to find ways of broadening and deepening spaces for feminist scholarship in Africa. Mobilising, capacity and theory-building among feminists are priorities here. At the same time feminists should expect continued resistance to the uptake of their work by male scholars, even those regarding themselves as progressive, and should prepare for this

resistance. This means continuing to develop strategies such as the sharpening of arguments, as well as nurturing theory building. There is also the need to promote forums for exchanging ideas and engaging in collective intellectual work". (Pereira, 2002:29).

The idea therefore is to build on existing research on democratic governance to offer a contribution that reflects on gendered experiences and struggles and the pathways of realising rights as well as the challenges of demanding gender justice. IDRC's vision and actions should focus on developing a network of researchers utilising existing and emerging regional resource centres in the sub-region to provide the needed institutional frameworks to consolidate the formation of a sub-regional network.

Strategic partnerships could also be created to broaden the international perspective of IDRC. It could for example work with other donors/development agencies to further strengthen the research networks and place them on a sustainable footing to work on women's rights and democratic governance. In terms of the comparative aspect of developing research in the above areas, intra-sub regional initiatives as well as intercontinental and international research proposals could be encouraged to address the interface between democratic governance and women's rights in different contexts. The knowledge thus generated could be made available to development specialists, politicians and policy makers. Partnerships and linkages with existing institution s and organisations that already have meaningful relation ships with social movements and other social formations could facilitate the links of research products with policy-making thereby having the impact of promoting greater gender justice.
A number of themes and approaches are therefore possible.

6.1   Gender and Governance

Gender and governance is a critical theme for research in the context of West Africa. The narrow conception of governance has to be interrogated to explore the range of understandings, goals and practices of governance from a gender equality perspective. Such a theme can allow the analysis of conceptions of governance from a perspective that moves beyond dualism to explore complexities bringing women's lived experiences at the household, community and public space into perspective. A comparative approach could be applied looking at what happens in both Anglophone and Francophone countries and the differences and commonalities involved, and their implications for promoting women's rights in a transformative way. This could involve both activists and academics. A comparative approach could be adopted where different countries in the sub-region could bring their own perspectives and experiences to bear on the research.

6.2   Theory and Methodological Issues on Gender and Governance

Theory and methodological approaches of doing feminist research is important in developing new ways of thinking and analysis about governance that moves beyond conventional notions of governance to include women's realities taking into account the role of different actors such as academics, activists and grassroots women. Thus even as there is an attempt to look at women's rights and democratic governance within the context of the West African sub-region, this theme could enable researchers to explore the complex dynamics of seeking to frame and understand

what is going on at different levels. This will clarify ways of knowing and the approaches and tools needed to present the complexity of the constructions of women's rights, gender equality, and democratic justice and how the experiences of unequal gender relations that impact on different lives including those of women, men, children of diverse backgrounds but with much common concerns in the West African region.

6.3 Militarisation, Women's Rights and Governance

Despite the interest in promoting democratic governance in the region, the West African landscape is conflict ridden with a culture of militarism permeating the fabric of the society. Many countries in the region are very fragile and going through processes of reconstruction after years of conflict and civil war. In this situation, women who wish to enter political office do not only have to deal with this hostile environment of politics but they also have to contend with those that exist at all levels of society. Exploring the gendered nature of women's political participation within a socio-economic and cultural framework that thrives on conflicts militarism and insecurity is fundamental. This theme is not just about armies but it is about moving out of the present to look at the history of the region to explore the embedded nature of militarism since the colonial period and how the hierarchical impact of power has created a history of injustice in which gender relations transform themselves to exclude women in both traditional and formal power structures and undermine their rights. Countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia and Sierra Leone, Guinea have gone through particular experiences which will be interesting to study in a comparative way. Recent challenges in Niger, Ivory Coast and Guinea are instructive in this regard. How do women deal with oppressive gender relations in the context of militarized and conflict prone contexts?

6.4 Globalisation, Women's Rights and Democratic Governance

A major source of inequality in the sub-region is the ways in which globalisation policies are working to affect Africa countries and their quest for economic development. The current global and financial crises are hurting many countries in the sub-region limiting possibilities for addressing poverty. This is worsening the experience of gender inequalities as women in the region have weaker control over property and resources, are in vulnerable employment and have limited access to social protection measures, even as they are primarily responsible for household care-giving. The overriding concern of economic reform is balancing budgets and liberalizing markets to promote growth. Thus policy makers do not demonstrate commitment to the elimination of gender imbalances in access to and control over resources. Thus there is an obvious conflict between growth-led objectives and the social impacts on citizens. This has wide implications for the promotion of women's rights based on human rights and principles of gender justice. It is therefore important to examine issues of economic rights as it relates to the violations of the human rights of African women and their implications for questions of participation, access to information and other resources, and with regard to democratic governance. Issues to explore should include whether or not the concept of 'good governance' as enshrined in ECOWAS policy documents seriously consider women's rights to participate and determine the economic policy frameworks that can address their needs. The research can interrogate these issues to link economic justice, gender justice and democratic governance. Feminist research methodologies could be utilized at different levels to enable women provide

testimonies about their understanding of economic rights and its meaning in relation to democratic governance.

6.5 Women's Political Participation

This theme is important in terms of looking at the nature of women's participation in politics, the extent of their representation, how their perspectives are incorporated at all levels of decision-making and the impacts this has on democratic governance. Issues relating to women's political participation can also add to the work on measures and mechanisms such as quotas and affirmative action for enhancing women's representation and explore the whole area of whether women's enhanced participation promotes democratic governance and gender justice at all levels. Here sub-themes could be developed to examine the role of institutions at the international, state and local levels. The role of the women's movement, political parties, and the state in the region would also be important. One key question that needs to be explored in a comparative manner across the countries in the sub-region is whether or not there is a political environment that empowers women and simultaneously sensitize men and transforms masculinist structures and processes on the importance and strategic relevance of increasing the role of women in national and sub-regional political decision-making processes for the advancement of democracy Developing young women's leadership is also critical.

6.6 Decentralisation, Women's Rights and Democratic Governance

Having been identified as an important site for engaging on women's rights issues, it is important to develop a comparative picture of how decentralization plays out in the various countries in the sub-region to deepen democracy and strengthen representation at the local level. The difficulty of reducing the depth and impact of poverty present major threats to the modest gains in the ongoing political and institutional reform processes going on across the region. In particular, it is critical to interrogate the interrelationships between neo-liberal economic policies, local governance and state institutions, the role of traditional authorities both in everyday life in households and at the community level and engendered democracy and decentralisation. Barriers to gender-equitable decentralisation processes and practice including resource generation and distribution will also be explored. Other important issues in this regard include the extent of promotion of women's rights and human rights, the extent to which the administration and dispensation of justice occurs at the local level to benefit women and the extent to which processes of national dialogue recognizes women's rights as a central issue in building consensus on governance issues.

6.7 Strategies, Mechanisms for Realising Women's Rights in terms of Democratic Governance

This theme is extremely relevant given the gap noticed in the literature of the specific initiatives that have been used in countries in both Anglophone and Francophone West Africa to access rights. Comparative research work in this area is urgent. From the 1995 Beijing Platform to the Millennium Development Goals, recommendations from leading human rights organizations are unanimous. In order to reduce gender inequities, more women need more seats at the table. Women's access to decision-making roles and full participation in a country's political life is a

requisite step for a truly just society. Furthermore, research has shown that strategies for engagement in political affairs are crucial for effective participation in governance. This year the review of the Beijing Platform for Action at the 54th Session of the Un Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) offers an opportunity to deepen understanding through research of the strategies women use in realizing their rights within the context of the West Africa sub-region. Forms of organizing from the local, to national and sub-regional levels could be explored.

6.8 Religious Fundamentalism and Women's Rights Promotion in Democratic Governance Processes

Given the history of the region and the embedded nature of religion and trends of fundamentalisms, it would be useful to deepen gender analysis of religious influences, especially emerging trends of fundamentalisms in the various religions and how they play out in women's lives at different levels in the unfolding democratic governance processes in both Francophone and Anglophone West Africa. Fundamentalism is about social power and control and not really about the need to become a true religious person. Misogynist theory and practices are used as a means by extremists to undermine women's rights and it is important to explore the complexities of women's responses within the context of the West African sub-region. Do women reject fundamentalism for a more secular culture or they demand for their rights in relating to and interpreting religion in ways that responds to their own felt spirituality and survival? In studying this trend we would be able to contribute to a better and an alternative understanding of women's negotiations with the global upsurge of fundamentalism, and their gendered implications for realising rights in the context of West Africa.

7. Conclusion

The vision of ensuring that all members of society participate actively in deepening democracy in the West Africa sub-region requires that women are enabled to access their rights through participating in governance processes. It is hoped that IDRC will put in place an innovative research initiative on women's rights and democratic governance to strengthen existing spaces of research and initiate new one to build capacity, create feminist knowledge and enhance policy advocacy. Women researchers both in academia and civil society should actively participate in this initiative to develop new agendas on gender and governance that contributes to feminist scholarship and women's activism in the sub-region.

Bibliography

ABANTU for Development, (2003), 'Positioning Women and Their Concerns in Governance Processes…Experiences of District Assemblywomen in Ghana, Achimota School , Accra, Ghana

ABANTU for Development, 2004, data base research, Accra, Ghana

ABANTU for Development, 2005, "Report on the 2nd Biennial Conference on Enhancing Women's Participation in District Assemblies" Strategies for District Elections 2006"

Abeyesekera, S., 1995, 'Women's human rights: questions of equality and difference', *Institute of Social Studies Working Paper Series*, The Hague: Institute of Social Studies

Afkhami, M. (ed.), 1995, *Faith & Freedom: Women's Human Rights in the Muslim World*, London: I.B. Tauris

Afkhami, M. and Friedl, E., 1997, *Muslim Women and the Politics of Participation: Implementing the Beijing Platform*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press

Afkhami, M. and Vaziri, H., 1998, 'Claiming our Rights in Muslim Societies', Montreal: Sisterhood is Global Institute. Location: http://www.sigi.org/Programs/HREP/index.htm

Agarwal, B., 1998, ''Widows vs. daughters or widows as daughters: property, land and economic security in rural India', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol 1 (Part 1)

Ahern, P., Nuti, P. and Masterson, J.M., 2000, 'Promoting gender equity in the democratic process: women's paths to political participation and decision-making', Washington D.C.: International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW) and Washington D.C.: Centre for Development and Population Activities (CDPA)

Alexander, P. and Baden, S., 2000, 'Glossary on macroeconomics from a gender perspective', *BRIDGE Report* No 47, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies

Allah-Mensah, B., 2003, 'Governance Issues Confronting Policy Makers and the Challenges for Promoting Gender", Paper presented at 'Two Day ABANTU for Development Seminar on 'Positioning Women and Their Concerns in Governance Processes in Ghana'. Achimota School, Accra.

Allah-Mensah B., 2005, Women in Politics and Public Life. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Accra

Al-Jraibi, M**.,** 2000, *Women and Political Participation in Jordan: The Development of Attitudes Towards Allocating a Quota of Parliamentary Seats for Women*, Jordan: Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Research Centre

Amadume, I., 'Gender, political systems, and social movements: a West African experience', in M. Mamdani and E. Wamba-dia-Wamba (eds) *African Studies in Social Movements and Democracy*, Senegal: Codesria Book Series

Amadiume, I. 1987.Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society, London: Zed Press.

Amadume, I. 2002. 'Daughters of the Goddess and Daughters of Imperialism'. New York: Zed Publishers

Anderson, K., 1999, *After Suffrage: Women in Partisan and Electoral Politics Before the New Deal*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Annan, K. (1998) *Partnerships for Global Community; Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization*, New York: UN. Location: http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/Report98/con98.htm

Ashworth, G., 1996, 'Gendered governance: an agenda for change', Gender in Development Programme (GIDP), New York: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Location: http://nird.ap.nic.in/clic/rrdl100.html

Asia Foundation, 1998, 'A changing Asia: women in emerging civil societies', Transcript of the discussion from the Asia Foundation's Asian Perspectives Seminar Series, September 18, 1998, at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, D.C Location: http://www.asiafoundation.org/pdf/rpt_chan1.pdf

Asia Foundation, 1999, 'Strengthening democracy through women's political participation', Emerging Issues in Asia seminar, April 14, 1999, The Asia Foundation. Location: http://www.asiafoundation.org/pdf/rpt_emerg2.pdf

Auret, D. and Barrientos, S**.,** 2004, *Participatory Social Auditing: a Practical Guide to Developing a Gender-Sensitive Approach,* IDS Working Paper 237, Brighton: IDS

Baden, S., 1996, 'Gender issues in financial liberalisation and financial sector reform', Topic paper for Directorate General for Development, European Commission. *BRIDGE Report* No 39. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies

Baden, S., 1999, 'Gender, governance and the 'feminisation of poverty', Background paper for UNDP Management and Development Division conference on: Women and Political Participation in the 21st Century, 24-26 March 1999, Delhi, India

Baden, S**.,** 2000, "Gender, Governance and the "Feminisation of Poverty"", *Women's Political Participation and Good Governance: 21st Century Challenges*, New York: UNDP

Bakker, Isabella, Dr. (ed.), 1999, 'Economics and gender (macro, meso, micro levels): foundations and tools', papers from a workshop on integrating gender issues in programme aid, sector investment programmes, market reform and forms of economic policy assistance, 6-7 May, Paris: Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) DAC Working Party on Gender Equality

Banerjee, L.H. and Oquist, P., 2000, "Overview", *Women's Political Participation and Good Governance: 21st Century Challenges*, New York: UNDP

Barkman, K., 1995, 'Politics and gender: the need for electoral reform', *Politics*, Vol 15 No 3: 141-6

Barry, J., Honour, T. and Palnitkar, S., 1998, 'Women, urban governance and the public service ethos', *Crime, Law and Social Change*, Vol 29 No 2-3: 251-72

Basu, A. (ed.), 1995, *The Challenge of Local Feminisms: Women's Movements in Global Perspective*, Boulder: Westview

Basu, A., 2000, "Gender and Governance: Concepts and Contexts", *Essays on Gender and Governance*, New York: UNDP

Beall, J., 1996, 'Urban governance: why gender matters', Gender in Development Programme (GIDP), New York: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

Beall, J., 2005, *Decentralizing Government and Centralizing Gender in Southern Africa: Lessons from the South African Experience, Discussion Paper*, Geneva: UNRISD

Beijing Platform for Action website. Location:
http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/e5dplw.htm

Brasileiro, A. M., 1996, 'Women's Leadership in a Changing World', New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

Brasileiro, A.M. (ed.), 1996, *Building Democracy with Women*, New York: UNIFEM

Brody, A., 2009, 'Gender and Governance: Overview Report', *Cutting Edge Pack* Brighton: BRIDGE/IDS. Location:
http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/Governance_OR_final.pdf

Budlender, D. and Sharp, R. with Allen, K., 1998, *How to do a Gender-Sensitive Budget Analysis: Contemporary Research and Practice*, Canberra: Commonwealth Secretariat and Australian Agency for International Development; London: Commonwealth Secretariat, London

Budlender, D., 2001, 'Review of gender budget initiatives, Community Agency for Social Enquiry' (draft)

Bulbeck, C.**,** 1998, "Individual versus Community", *Re-Orienting Western Feminisms: Women's Diversity in a Postcolonial World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Bureau for Development Policy (BDP), 1998, *Tracking Gender Mainstreaming In MDGD Activities*, New York: Management Development and Governance Division, Bureau for Development Policy Location:http://magnet.undp.org/Docs/Gender/Testgend.htm

Byrne, Laier et al**.,** 1996, *National Machineries for Women in Development: Experiences, Lessons and Strategies for Institutionalising Gender in Development Policy and Planning*, BRIDGE report, prepared for the European Commission, Directorate-General for Development, Brighton: IDS

Center on Law and Globalization**,** 2009, *The Politics of Culture in International Law*, Champaign, IL: Center on Law and Globalization, http://clg.portalxm.com/library/keytext.cfm?keytext_id=55

Chandra, S.K., 1997, 'Women and empowerment'*, Indian journal of public administration*, Vol XLIII No 3: 395-9

CIDA governance website. Location**:** http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/CIDAWEB/acdicida.nsf/En/JUD-121135230-Q5V

Clark, C. and Lee, R.J., 2000, *Democracy and the Status of Women in East Asia*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner

Clibsy, S.**,** 2005, Gender Mainstreaming or Just More Male-streaming? Experiences of Popular Participation in Bolivia, in Porter, F. and Sweetman, C. (eds) *Mainstreaming Gender in Development: A Critical Review*, Oxford: Oxfam

Cohen, C.J., Jones, K.B. and Tronto, J.C., 1997, *Women Transforming Politics: an Alternative Reader*, New York: New York University Press

Colliers, Jakkie, "Human Security in Africa, A Conceptual Framework for Review", Africa Human Security Initiative.

Collinson, D., and Hearn, J.**,** 1996, *Men as Managers, Managers as Men: Critical Perspectives on Men, Masculinities and Managements*, UK: Sage

Commission on Human Security. 2003. Human Security Now. New York

Commonwealth Secretariat, 1998, 'A report on integrating gender into the national budget: a Commonwealth initiative', for a South African Development Community (SADC) workshop in Zimbabwe, November 1998

Connell, R W, 1990, 'The state, gender, and sexual politics: theory and appraisal', *Theory and Society***,** Vol 19: 507-44

Cook, R.J., 1995, 'Enforcing women's rights through law', *Gender and Development*, Vol 3 No 2: 8-15

Corner, L**.,** 1998, "Women in Politics and Good Governance: Transformative Politics in Asia Pacific", *Journal of International Development,* 10, 927–8

Corner, L**.,** 2005, *Gender Sensitive and Pro-poor Indicators of Good Governance*, Paper Prepared for the UNDP Governance Indicators Project, Oslo Governance Centre

Cornwall, A**.,** 2004, "Introduction: New Democratic Spaces? The Politics and Dynamics of Institutionalised Participation", *IDS Bulletin,* Vol. 35, No. 2, Brighton: IDS

Cornwall, A. and Nyamu-Musembi, C**.,** 2005, "Why rights? Why now? Reflections on the Rise of Rights in International Development Discourse", in Pettit, J. and Wheeler, J. (eds) *Developing Rights, IDS Bulletin,* Vol. 36, No. 1*,* Brighton: IDS

Cornwall, A. and Molyneux, M**.** (eds), 2008, *The Politics of Rights: Dilemmas for Feminist Praxis*, London: Routledge

Cowan, J., Dembour, M.-B., and Wilson, R**.,** 2001, *Culture and Rights: Anthropological Perspectives*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Craske, N., 1998, 'Remasculinisation and the neoliberal state in Latin America', in V. Randall and G. Waylen (eds), *Gender, Politics, and the State*, London: Routledge

Crook, R., and Manor, J**.,** 2000, *Democratic Decentralization*, OECD Working paper series, No. 11, Washington, DC: World Bank

Cunanan-Angsioco, E., 2000, Constituency-building and Electoral Advocacy with Grassroots Women in the Philippines' Washington D.C.: Asia Foundation
Location: http://www.asiafoundation.org/programs/prog-area-wome.html

Dahlerup, D**.,** 2005, "Strategies to Enhance Women's Political Representation in Different Electoral Systems", in Dahlerup, D. and Francisco, J. (eds) *Gender, Governance and Democracy*, Manila: Isis Demetriades, D. (2009), *BRIDGE Supporting Resources Collection on Gender and Governance*, Brighton: IDS 73

Dairiam, S., 1995, 'Universal, indivisible, interdependent, interrelated ... and in peril', *Populi: journal of the United Nations Population Fund*, Vol 22 No 7: 18-21

Darity, W., 1995, 'The formal structure of a gender-segregated, low-income economy', *World Development*, Vol 23 No 11

DasGupta, M., 1999, 'Liberte, egalite, fraternite: exploring the role of governance in fertility decline', *Journal of development studies*, Vol 35 No 5: 1-25

Davison, J. and Strickland, R., 2000, 'Levelling the playing field: promoting women's economic capabilities and human rights', International Center for Research on Women and the Center for Development and Population Activities

Demery, L., Chao, S., Bernier, R. and Mehra, K., 1995, 'The incidence of social spending in Ghana', *PSP Discussion Paper Series* No 82, Washington: Poverty and Social Policy Department, World Bank

Demery, L., 1996, 'Gender and public social spending: disaggregating benefit incidence', *Poverty and Social Policy Department Discussion Paper*, Washington D.C.: World Bank

Development Studies Network, 2000, 'Gender and governance', *Development Bulletin* No 51, Canberra: Development Studies Network Institute of Development Studies, 1993, 'Good government?' *IDS Bulletin*, Vol 24 No 1, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies

DFID, 2006, *Eliminating World Poverty: Making Governance Work for the Poor (White Paper on International Development)*, London: DFID

DFID, 2006, *Summary of White Paper key messages*, London: DFID,

Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), 2000, 'Bringing international human rights law home', Judicial colloquium on the application of the CEDAW and the Convention on the Rights of the child at the domestic level. Location: http://www.un.org/pubs/sales.htm

Dollar, D., Fisman, R. and Gatti, R., 1999, 'Are women really the "fairer" sex? Corruption and women in government', No.4, *Policy Research Report on Gender and Development*, Washington D.C.: World Bank

Dovi, S., 2002, "Preferable Descriptive Representatives: Will Just Any Woman, Black, or Latino Do?" In *American Political Science Review*, UK: Cambridge Journals online

Dovi, S., 2007, "Theorizing Women's Representation in the United States", in *Politics and Gender* , Volume 3, Issue 03, UK: Cambridge Journals online

Edwards, L., 2000, 'Policing the modern woman in republican China', *Modern China*, Vol 26 No 2: 115-47

Elson, D. and Pearson, R. (1981) „Nimble Fingers and Foreign Investments, in Elson, D. and Pearson, R. (eds) *Women's Employment and Multinationals in Europe*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Elson, D., 1995, 'Gender awareness in modelling structural adjustment', *World Development,* Vol 23 No 11: 1851-68

Elson, D., 1997, 'Gender-neutral, gender-blind or gender-sensitive budgets? Changing the conceptual framework to include women's empowerment and the economy of care', Preparatory country mission to integrate gender into national budgetary policies and procedures, Commonwealth Secretariat, London

Elson, D., 1997, 'Integrating gender issues into public expenditure: six tools', University of Manchester, Graduate School of Social Sciences, GENECON Unit

Esplen, E**.,** 2009a, *BRIDGE Overview Report on Gender and Care*, Brighton: IDS

Esplen, E**.,** 2009b, *BRIDGE Supporting Resources Collection on Gender and Care*, Brighton: IDS Ethical Consumer website. Location:
http://www.ethicalconsumer.org/CommentAnalysis/Features/ExportProcessingZones.aspx

Equality and Human Rights Commission website. Location:
http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/Pages/default.aspx

Erturk, Y., and Kardam, N., 'Expanding gender accountability: women's organisations and the state in Turkey', Monetary Institute of International Studies and Santo Domingo: the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) (draft)

European Commission**,** 2008, *Women and Men in Decision-making, 2007: Analysis of Situation and Trends*, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities,

Evertzen, A**.,** 2001, *Gender and Local Governance*, The Hague: Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV)

Facio, A., 1995, 'From basic needs to basic rights', *Gender and Development*, Vol 3 No 2: 16-22

Feminist Africa, 2008, Researching for Life: Paradigms and Power. Issue 11, Africa Gender Institute, University of Cape Town, South Africa

FIDA (K) Annual Report on Legal Status of Kenyan Women, The Women's Rights Monitoring and Report Writing Project. Federation of Women Lawyers -Kenya FIDA (K)

Fischer-Buder, K., 1998, 'Human rights and democracy in Southern Africa', papers presented at the conference: Cultivating co-operation amongst human rights institutions in the UNITWIN network in Southern Africa, University of Namibia and UNESCO

Floro, M. and Hoppe, H**.,** 2005, *Engendering Policy Coherence for Development: Gender Issues for the Global Policy Agenda in the Year 2005*, Germany: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

Fontana, M., Joekes, S. and Masika, R**.,** 1998, "Global Trade Expansion and Liberalisation: Gender Issues and Impacts", *BRIDGE Gender and Development Report No. 42*, Brighton: IDS

Friedman, E., 1998, 'Why machismo was stronger than a military dictatorship: the paradoxes of gendered political opportunities and women's organising in the Venezuelan transition to democracy', *Latin American Research Review*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina U.P.

Gallagher, A., 1997, 'Ending the marginalization: strategies for incorporating women into the United Nations human rights system', *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol 19 No2: 283-333

Ghana Statistical Service, 2002, 2000 Population and Housing Census, Accra

Global Exchange website. Location:
http://www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/econ101/neoliberalDefined.html

Goetz, A.M., 1995, 'The politics of integrating gender to state development processes: trends, opportunities, and constraints in Bangladesh, Chile, Mali, Morocco, and Uganda', *UNRISD Occasional Paper* No 2, Geneva: UNRISD

Goetz, A.M., 1996, 'Dis/organizing gender: women development agents in state and NGO poverty reduction programmes in Bangladesh', in S. Rai and G. Skinner (eds), *Women and the State: International Perspectives*, London: Taylor and Francis

Goetz, A.M., 1996, 'Local heroes: patterns of field worker discretion in implementing GAD policy in Bangladesh', *IDS Discussion Paper* No 358, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies

Goetz, A.M**.,** 1997, *Getting Institutions Right for Women in Development*, UK: Zed Books

Goetz, A.M., 1998, 'Fiddling with democracy: translating women's democratic presence into development practice in Uganda and South Africa', in M. Robinson and G. White (eds), *Towards Democratic Development State*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Goetz, A.M., 1999, 'Lobbying for economic justice: women's movements and the World Bank', in R. O'Brien, A. M. Goetz, J. Aart Scholte and M. Williams, *Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral Economic Institutions and Global Social Movements,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Goetz, A.M. and Gaventa, J**.,** 2001, *Bringing Citizen Voice and Client Focus into Service Delivery*, IDS Working Paper 138, Brighton: IDS

Goetz A.M., 2007, Gender Justice, Citizenship and Entitlements: Core Concepts, Central Debates and New Directions for Research in M. Mukhopadhyay and N. Singh (eds) *Gender Justice, Citizenship and Development*. Zubaan: IDRC.

Goetz, A.M**.,** 2007, "Political Cleaners: Women as the New Anti-Corruption Force?", *Development and Change,* 38(1): 87–105

Gopal, G., 1999, 'Gender-related legal reform and access to economic resources in Eastern Africa', *World Bank technical paper* No 405, Washington, D.C.: World Bank

Griffiths, A.M.O., 1997, *In The Shadow of Marriage: Gender and Justice in an African Community*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Grugel, J. and Piper, N**.,** 2007, *Critical perspectives on global governance: rights and regulation in governing regimes*, London: Routledge

Gudnadottir, E., Smith, S., Robson, S. and Corry, D**.,** 2007, "Where are all the Women?: Women's representation in Local Strategic Partnerships", *UK Poverty Resources*, Oxford: Oxfam

Haddad, L., Brown, L., Richter, A., and Smith, L., 1995, 'The gender dimensions of economic adjustment policies: potential interactions and evidence to date', *World Development* Vol 23 No 6: 881-96

Hafner-Burton, E. and Pollack, M.A**.,** 2002, "Mainstreaming Gender in Global Governance", *European Journal of International Relations,* Vol. 8, No. 3, 339–373

Hamadeh-Banerjee, L**.,** 2000, Women's Agency in Governance, *Women's Political Participation and Good Governance: 21st Century Challenges*, New York: UNDP

Hilsdon, A.-M., Macintyre, M. and Mackie, V., 2000, *Human Rights and Gender Politics: Asia-Pacific Perspectives*, London: Routledge

Hirschmann, D., 1998, 'Civil society in South Africa: learning from gender themes', *World Development*, Vol 26 No 2

Hoskins, C. and Rai, S**.,** 2007, "Recasting the Global Political Economy: Counting Women's Unpaid Work", *New Political Economy,* Vol. 12, No. 3, London: Routledge

Houlihan, Carole (ed.), Collected works of Elson, Diane et al Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 2000, 'Gender and economic reform in development co-operation', DAC Working Party on Gender Equality,

Houtzager, P. and Joshi, A**.,** 2008, "Introduction In State Reform and Social Accountability", in Houtzager, P., Joshi, A., and Gurza-Lavalle, A. (eds.) *IDS Bulletin,* Vol. 38, No. 6, Brighton: IDS

Howell, J., 1998, 'Gender, civil society, and the state in China', in V. Randall and Georgina Waylen (eds), *Gender, Politics, and the State*, London: Routledge

Howell, J., 2000, 'Organising around women and labour in China: uneasy shadows, uncomfortable alliances', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol 33: 355-. Location: http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/govern/govpubs.htm

Howell, J**.,** 2006, "Women's Political Participation in China: in whose interests elections?" *Journal of Contemporary China,* 15 (49), November 2007: 603–19

Humphries, J., and Rubery, J. (eds), 1995, *The Economics of Equal Opportunities*, Manchester: Equal Opportunities Commission

Hurt, K. and Budlender, D. (eds), 1998, *Money Matters: Women and the Government Budget*, Cape Town: Institute for Democracy in South Africa

IMF Fact sheet on PRSPs, available at: http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/prsp.htm

Institute of Development Studies, 1995, 'Getting institutions right for women in development, *IDS Bulletin* Vol 26 No 3, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies

Institute of Development Studies, 1995, 'Towards democratic governance', *IDS Bulletin* Vol 26 No 2, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies

Institute On Governance website. Location: http://www.iog.ca/

Inter-Parliamentary Council, 1998, 'Parliamentary action for national follow-up to international agreements and treaties regarding women', 162nd session, Windhoek, 11 April 1998. Location: http://www.whrnet.org/resources.html

Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), 1997, *Men and Women in Politics: Democracy Still in the Making: a world comparative study*, Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union

Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), 1997, *Universal Declaration on Democracy*, Geneva: IPU. Location: http://www.ipu.org/cnl-e/161-dem.htm.

IPU website. Location: http://www.ipu.org/english/home.htm

Itzin, C. and Newman, J. (eds), 1995, *Gender, Culture, and Organizational Change*, London: Routledge

Jacobs, S., 1998, 'The gendered politics of land reform: three comparative studies in Latin America', in V. Randall and G. Waylen (eds), *Gender, Politics, and the State*, London: Routledge

Jad, I**.,** 2006, *A Critical Assessment of the Palestinian Women's Machinery: the Ministry of Women's Affairs*, unpublished paper, Palestine: Bir Zeit University

Jahan, R., 1995, *The Elusive Agenda: Mainstreaming Women in Development*, London: Zed Books

Jain, D., 1996, *Panchayat Raj: Women Changing Governance,* Gender in Development Programme (GIDP), New York: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

Jalal, I., 1997, *Law for Pacific Women: a Legal Rights Handbook*, Suva: Fiji Women's Rights Movement

Jaquette, J.S., 1997, 'Women in power: from tokenism to critical mass', in M. Naim (ed.) *Foreign Policy*, No. 108

Jayal, N.G**.,** 2006, "Engendering local democracy: The impact of quotas for women in India's panchayats", *Democratization,* Vol. 13, No. 1, 15–35, London: Routledge

Joekes, S.**,** 1999, *A Gender-analytical Perspective on Trade and Sustainable Development, UNCTAD, Trade, Sustainable Development and Gender*, Geneva: UN Conference on Trade and Development

Joshi, A.**,** 2008, "Producing Social Accountability? The Impact of Service Delivery Reforms", *IDS Bulletin,* Vol. 38, No. 6, Brighton: IDS

Kabeer, N.**,** 2000, *The Power to Choose: Bangladeshi Women and Labour Market Decisions in London and Dhaka*, London: Verso

Kabeer, N. and Subrahmanian, R., 1996, *Institutions, Relations and Outcomes: Framework and Tools for Gender Aware Planning*, IDS Discussion Paper, No. 258, Brighton: IDS

Kadros, N.K., 2000, 'Turning a rusty wheel: building coalitions for public influence in Egypt', Washington D.C.: Asia Foundation

Karam, A.**,** 2000, "Bejing +5: Women's Political Participation: Review of Strategies and Trends", *Women's Political Participation and Good Governance; 21st Century Challenges*, New York: UNDP

Kardam, N., 1995, 'Conditions of accountability for gender policy: the organizational, political, and cognitive contexts', *IDS Bulletin*, Vol 26 No 3, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies

Kardam, N., 1996, 'The emerging international women's regime', California: Monterey School of International Affairs

Kaufmann, D., Kraay, A., and Mastruzzi, M**.,** 2007, *Governance Matters VI: Aggregate and Individual Governance Indicators 1996–2006*, World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 4280, Washington, DC: World Bank

Kidd, P.E., 1997, 'Botswana families and women's rights in a changing environment', Women and Law in Southern Africa Research Trust, Botswana

Kothari, U. and Valodia, I., 1998, 'Gender, governance and policy: an introduction', *Journal of International Development*, Vol 10 No 7: 927-8

Kuumba, M. B. and Dosunmu, O.A., 1995, ''Women in national liberation struggles in the Third World', in B. Berberoglu (ed), *The National Question*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press

Landsberg-Lewis, I., 1998, *Bringing Equality Home: Implementing the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*, UNIFEM. Location: http://www.unifem.undp.org/cedaw/indexen.htm

Larsevd, S. and Taphorn, R**.,** 2007, "Designing for Equality: Women's Quotas and Women's Political Participation", *Development,* Vol. 50, Issue 1

Lister, R., 1997, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, London: MacMillan

MacLeod, A.E., 1995, 'Hegemonic relations and gender resistance: the new veiling as accommodating protest in Cairo', in B. Laslett, B., J. Brenner and Y. Arat, Y., *Rethinking the Political: Gender, Resistance, and the State*, London: University of Chicago Press

Malena, C**.,** 2006, *CIVICUS Participatory Governance Programme 2006–2008: Concept Note*, Johannesburg: CIVICUS. Location: http://www.civicus.org/new/media/PG_Annex6_ConceptNote.pdf

Mana N. Htun, 'Moving into Power: Expanding Women's Opportunities for Leadership in Latin America and the Caribbean', Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. Location: http://www.iadb.org/sds/doc/Prolead-MovingIntoPower-E.pdf

Manuh T., 1991, "Women and Their Organisations During the Convention People's Party Period." In Kwame Arhin (ed.) The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah (Sedco Publishing ltd, Accra)

McCawley, P**.,** 2006, *Governance in Indonesia: Some Comments*, Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute

McKinnon, C**.,** 1983, "Feminism, Marxism, method and the state: towards a feminist jurisprudence", *Signs,* 8(2), 635–58

McPhedran, M. et al**.,** 2000, *The First CEDAW Impact Study*, New York: UNDAW

Meer, S. and Sever, C**.,** 2004a, BRIDGE *Gender and Citizenship Overview Report*, Brighton: IDS

Meer, S. and Sever, C**.,** 2004b, "Gender and Citizenship", *Gender and Development In Brief*, Brighton: IDS

Menell, K. and Jobson, M., 1995, 'Women's rights in South Africa: a guide to national organizations with a gender focus', Human Rights Institute of South Africa, Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa

Mensah - Kutin, R et al. (2000). The National Machinery for Women in Ghana- NGO Evaluation. Third World Network- Africa

Merry, S. E., Women, Violence, Human Rights, in Agosin M., Ed., Women, Gender and Human Rights, a Global Perspective. London: Rutgers University Press.

Meyer, M.K., Prugl, E. and Hernandez Truyol, B.E., 2000, 'Gender politics in global governance', *American Journal of International Law*, Vol 94 No 1: 209-11

Miller, C. and Razavi, S. (eds), 1998, *Missions and Mandarins: Feminist Engagement with Development Institutions*, London: Intermediate Technology Publications in association with the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark (Danida), 2008, *Gender Equality in Good Governance*, Copenhagen: Danida

Mishra-Panda, S**.,** 2008, "Engendering Governance Institutions: an Introduction", In Mishra-Panda, S. (ed.) *Engendering Governance Institutions: State, Market and Civil Society'*, UK: Sage Publications

Misihairambwi, P., 1995, 'Post-elections in Zimbabwe', *Southern African Feminist Review*, Vol 1 No 2

Morna, C**.,** 2004, *Gender and Governance: a Proposed World Bank Action Plan*, Location: http://www.gdrc.org/gender/governance/wb.pdf

Moser, A**.,** 2007, *BRIDGE Cutting Edge Pack on Gender and Indicators*, Brighton: IDS

Moser, A. and Moser, C**.,** 2005, "Gender Mainstreaming Since Beijing: a Review of Successes and Limitations in International Institutions", in Porter, F. and Sweetman, C. (eds) *Mainstreaming Gender in Development: A Critical Review*, Oxford: Oxfam

Mouffe, C., 1998, 'Feminism, citizenship, and radical politics', in C. Mouffe, *Return of the Political*, London: Verso

Muikiibi, B**.,** 2000, "Alliances for Gender and Politics: The Uganda Women's Caucus", *Women's Political Participation and Good Governance: 21st Century* Challenges, New York: UNDP

Mukhopadhyay, M. and Meer, S**.,** 2004, *Creating Voice and Carving Space: Redefining Governance from a Gender Perspective*, Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute (KIT)

Muragu Nyabera, A., Mawani, A. and Ngari, W., 1999, *Setting the Pace: the 1999/2000*

Nash, K., 1998, 'Beyond liberalism? Feminist theories of democracy', in V. Randall and G. Waylen (eds), *Gender, Politics, and the State*, London: Routledge

Nussbaum, M**.,** 2003, "Gender and Governance: an Introduction", In *Essays on Gender and Governance*, (Nussbaum, M., Basu, A., Tambiah, Y., Jayal, N. G. eds.), UNDP

Nussbaum M.C., 2006, Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Specie Membership. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press Cambridge, Massachusetts, London

Nyamu-Musembi, C. and Cornwall, A**.,** 2004, *What is the "rights-based approach" all about? Perspectives from international development agencies*, IDS Working Paper 234, Brighton: IDS

OECD/DAC, 1995, *Participatory Development and Good Governance*, Paris: OECD

OECD/DAC, 1997, *Final Report of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Participatory Development and Good Governance*, Paris: OECD

Ofei-Aboagye, E., 2000, *Promoting the Participation of Women in Local Governance and Development: the Case of Ghana*, European Centre for Development Policy Management

Ogunsanya, K**.,** 2004, *Namibia Elections and Conflict Management*, Namibia: ACCORD

Omeria, M., Esim, S., and Sufyan, A**.,** 2008, *Labour Governance and Economic Reform in the Middle East and North Africa: Lessons from Nordic Countries*, Economic Research Forum Working Papers Series, No. 436, Cairo: Economic Research Forum

Pala, A., 1997, *Gender and Democracy: the Unfinished Agenda*, New York: UNIFEM

Palmer, I., 1995, 'Public finance from a gender perspective', *World Development* Vol 23 No 1: 1981-6

Palmieri, S. and Jabre, K., 2005, "Case Study on Inter-Parliamentary Union", in Ballington, J. and Karam, A. (eds) *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, Stockholm: IDEA

Paris Lastarria - Cornhiel, S., 1997, 'Impact of privatization on gender and property rights in Africa', *World Development*, Vol 25 No 8: 1317-33

Pateman, C., 1989*, The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism, and Political Theory*, Cambridge: Polity Press

Pedwell, C. and Perrons, D., 2007, *The Politics of Democratic Governance: Organising for Social Inclusion and Gender Equity*, UK: One World Action

Pettai, V. and Illing, E., 2004, "Governance and Good Governance: Introduction to the Special Issue of TRAMES", *TRAMES*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 347–51

Petchesky, R.P., 2000, 'Reproductive and sexual rights: charting the course of transnational women's NGOs', United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD)

Peterson, V.S. and Sisson Runyan, A., 1993, 'The politics of resistance: women as non state, antistate, and transstate actors', in Peterson and Runyan, *Global Gender Issues*, Colorado: Westview Press

Phillips, A., 1991, *Engendering Democracy*, Cambridge: Polity Press

Phillips, A., 1995, *The Politics of Presence*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Poe, S.C.; Wendel-Blunt, D. and Ho, K., 1997, 'Global patterns in the achievement of women's human rights to equality', *Human Rights Quarterly,* Vol 19 No 4: 813- Location: http://www.whrnet.org/resourcess.html

Poulsen, K., 1995, 'Human rights for women: battles of culture and power', *Gender and Development,* Vol 3 No 2: 36-42

Porter, F. and Sweetman, C., 2005, *Mainstreaming Gender in Development: A Critical Review*, Oxford: Oxfam

Powley, E., 2005, "Case study on Rwanda", in Ballington, J. and Karam, A. (eds) *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, Stockholm: IDEA

Rahman, A., Quasem, A.M., Ali, Z. and Rahman, M.M.S., 1999, 'Preparing a pro-poor national budget using participatory tools: lessons from bottom-up initiatives in Bangladesh', Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, presented at the Workshop on Pro-Poor, Gender and Environmental Sensitive Budgets, 28-30 June 1999, New York

Rai, S., 1996, "Women and the State: Issues for Debate", in Rai, S. and Lievesley, G. (eds) *Women and the State: International Perspectives*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Rai, S., 2008, "Analysing Global Governance", in Rai, S. and Waylen, G. (eds) (2008) *Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*

Rai, S., and Waylen, G, 2008, "Introduction: Feminist Perspectives on Analysing and Transforming Global Governance", in Rai, S. and Waylen, G. (eds) (2008) *Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*

Rakodi, C., 2002, *Influence and Accountability: Citizen Voices, Responsiveness and Accountability in Service Delivery*, UK: One World Action

Rama, M., 2001, *The Gender Implications of Public Sector Downsizing: the Reform Program of Vietnam*, Washington D.C.: World Bank
Location: http://www.worldbank.org/gender/prr/19abstract.html

Ranaboldo, C., Cliche, G. and Castro, A., 2006, *Participación de las mujeres indígenas en los procesos de gobernabilidad y en los gobiernos locales*, Santo Domingo: United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW) – (Participation of Indigenous Women in Governance Processes and Local Governments)

Randall, V. and Waylen, G., 1998, *Gender, Politics and the State*, London: Routledge

Randriamaro, Z., 2005, *BRIDGE Gender and Trade Overview Report*, Brighton: IDS

Rao, A., 2006, *Gender Equality Architecture and Gender Equality Reforms*, paper for submission to the UN Secretary-General's High Level Panel on System-wide Coherence by the Center for Women's Global Leadership (CWGL) and the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO)

Rao, A. and Kelleher, D., 2005, "Is There Life After Gender Mainstreaming?", *Gender and Development Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 11, Oxford: Oxfam

Rao, A., Rieky, S. and Kelleher, D., 1999**,** *Gender at Work: Organisational Change for Equality*, West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press

Rathgeber, E. M. and Ofwona Adera, E. (eds), 2000, *Gender and the Information Revolution in Africa*, Ottawa: International Development Research Centre (IDRC)

Razavi, S. and Miller, C., 1995, *Gender Mainstreaming: a Study of Efforts by UNDP, the World Bank and the ILO to Institutionalise Gender Issues*, Geneva: UNRISD

Ray, R., 1999*, Fields of Protest: Women's Movements in India*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Republic of Ghana, 2005. Report of the Ghana Reconciliation Commission, Accra. Location: www.ghana.gov.gh.

Reyes, S., Conda, E. and Bello, C., 1997, *Increasing Women's Political Awareness and Consciousness: A Manual of Exercises*, Pasig City: The Center for Legislative Development. Location: http://www.cld.org/

Reynolds, A., 1999, *Women in African Legislatures and Executives: the Slow Climb to Power*, Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of South Africa

Rishmawi, M., 1995, 'Working on women's human rights: the developing approach of the International Commission of Jurists', Development and socio-economic progress / Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, no.63, 5-13

Robinson, M., 1996, 'Human rights and good governance in the 1990s', Background paper on European bilateral and multilateral aid to foster democracy United Nations development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), 1996, *Women and Democracy in Africa: Views and Perspectives*, New York: UNIFEM

Rosenau, J, Czempial, E., 1992, *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Sabbagh, A., 2005, "Case study on the Arab States", in Ballington, J. and Karam, A. (eds) *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, Stockholm: IDEA

Sadasivam, B., 1997, 'The impact of structural adjustment on women: a governance and human rights agenda', *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol 19 No 3: 630-65

Sandusky, S.R., 1999, 'Women's political participation in developing and democratizing countries: focus on Zimbabwe', *Buffalo Human Rights Law Review*, Vol 5: 253-81
Location: http://www.whrnet.org/resources.html

San Francisco CEDAW Task Force/Commission on the Status of Women (CSW)**,** 2000, *Guidelines for a Gender Analysis: Human Rights with a Gender Perspective, Implementing the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (Steps 1–5)*, San Francisco: CSW

Schild, V., 1995, 'NGOs, feminist politics, and neo-liberal Latin American state formations: some lessons from Chile', *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, Special Issue, Ottawa

Schmidt, E., 1995, 'Patriarchy, Capitalism, and the Colonial State in Zimbabwe', in B. Laslett, J. Brenner and Y. Arat*, Rethinking the Political: Gender, Resistance, and the State*, London: University of Chicago Press

Sen, G., 1996, 'Gender, markets and states: a selective review and research agenda', *World Development*, Vol 25 No 5: 821-9

Sen, P. and Kelly, L., 2007, *Violence Against Women in the UK: Shadow Thematic Report for the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*, London: London School of Economics and London Metropolitan University, Location: http://www.endviolenceagainstwomen.org.uk/data/files/shadow_thematic_report_on_vaw_final.pdf

Sexton, S., Nair, S. and Kirbar, P., 2004, *A Decade after Cairo: Women's Health in a Free Market Economy*, Corner House Briefing 3, Location: http://www.thecornerhouse.org/uk/item.shtml/=62140

Shahra, R. and Miller, C., 1995, 'Gender mainstreaming: a study of efforts by the UNDP, the World Bank, and the ILO to institutionalise gender issues', Geneva: UNRISD

Sh'hada, N.Y., 1999, *Gender and Politics in Palestine: Discourse Analysis of the Palestinian Authority and Islamists*, The Hague: Institute of Social Studies

Shillington, K., 1992, Ghana and the Rawlings Factors. Accra: Macmillan Press Ltd

Shvedova, N., 2005, "Obstacles to Women's Participation in Parliament", in Ballington, J. and Karam, A. (eds) *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, Stockholm: IDEA

Sibiya, T.E., 1995, 'Gender and politics in Swaziland', *Southern African Feminist Review*, Vol 1 No 2

Singh, K., 2003, *Aid and good governance: a discussion paper for the reality of aid*, New Delhi: Public Interest Research Group

Snyder, M., 1995, 'A unique fund for women', in M. Synder (ed.), *Transforming Development: Women, Poverty and Politics*, London: Intermediate Technology Publications

Snyder, M., 1995, *Transforming Development: Women, Poverty and Politics*, New York: UNIFEM

Staudt, K., 1994, *Getting Institutions Right: Crossing the Threshold to Mainstreaming Women*, Geneva: UNRISD

Staudt, K., 1995, 'Bringing politics back in: bilateral efforts to mainstream women', UNRISD

Staudt, K., (ed.), 1997, *Women, International Development, and Politics: the Bureaucratic Mire*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press

Steans, J., 1998, 'States, nationalisms, and gendered identities', in J. Steans, *Gender and International Relations: an Introduction*, Cambridge: Polity Press

Steans Vogel, U., 1998, 'The state and the making of gender: some historical legacies' in V. Randall and Georgina Waylen (eds), *Gender, Politics, and the State*, London: Routledge

Sternbeach, N.S., Navorro-Aranguren, M., Chuchryk, P. and Alvarez, S.E., 1995, 'Feminism's in Latin America: from Bogota to San Bernardo', in B. Laslett, B., J. Brenner and Y. Arat, *Rethinking the Political: Gender, Resistance, and the State*, London: University of Chicago Press

Subrahmanian, R., 1997, 'Women's empowerment and development administration: the case of Mahila Samakhya, India', Paper for the conference on public sector management, IDPM, Manchester, 29 June – 2 July 1997

Sweetman, C., 2003, "Editorial", *Gender, Development and Citizenship*, Oxford: Oxfam Publishing

Tambiah, Y., 2003, "The Impact of Gender Inequality on Governance", in Nussbaum, M., Basu, A., Tambiah, Y. and Jayal, N.G. (eds) *Essays on Gender and Governance*, New York: UNDP

Tang, K-L., 2000, "The Leadership Role of International Law in Enforcing Women's Rights: the Optional Protocol to the Women's Convention", in Sweetman, C. (ed.) *Women and Leadership*, Oxford: Oxfam Publishing 76

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance: International IDEA, 2001, *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, Strömsborg: International IDEA

Tibamwenda, I. and Kyomukama, M., 2008, *Achieving Gender Equality Results in a Local Government Development Program – Uganda*, Presentation at 6th Development Assistance Committee Network on Gender Equality Meeting, OECD, Paris, 7–8 July 2008

Tremblay, R.C. and Kumtakar, P., 1998, 'Governance and representation: a study of women and local self-government', *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol XLIV No 3: 454-67

Tripp, A.M., 1996, ''Women's associations and challenges to neopatrimonial rule in Africa', *MSU Working Papers on Political Reform in Africa* No 15

Tsikata D., 2001, Gender Training in Ghana: Politics, Issues and Tools. (Woeli Publishing Services: Accra).

Tzannatos, Z.,1992, "Potential Gains from the Elimination of Labour Market Differentials", *Women's Employment and Pay in Latin America, Regional Studies Program Report No. 10*, Washington: World Bank

United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF) *Situating the UN Democracy Fund in the Global Arena*. Location: http://www.un.org/democracyfund/XSituatingDemocracy.htm

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), 1995, *Legal Status and Legal Reality: CEDAW Advocacy Kit*, New York: UNIFEM
Location: http://www.whrnet.org/resources.html

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), 1995, *Political Participation: CEDAW Advocacy Kit*, New York: UNIFEM and New York: UNICEF
Location: http://www.whrnet.org/resources.html

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), 1996, *Women in Penal Codes in Latin America and the Caribbean*, New York: UNIFEM

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), 2006, Promoting *Gender Equality in New Aid Modalities and Partnerships, UNIFEM Discussion Paper*, New York: UNIFEM

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), 2008, *Who answers to women? Gender and accountability*, New York: UNIFEM

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 1997, *Governance for Sustainable Human Development: A UNDP Policy Document*. Location: http://mirror.undp.org/magnet/policy/

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 1999, 'Women and political participation: 21st century challenges', UNDP sponsored meeting on women's political participation, New Delhi, India - 24-26 March 1999. Links to papers from the meeting can be found at: http://magnet.undp.org/

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2000, *Unveiling Women as Pillars of Peace: Peace Building in Communities Fractured by Conflict in Kenya. An interim report*, New York: UNDP. Location: http://magnet.undp.org/

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2000, *Women's Political Participation and Good Governance: 21st Century Challenges*, New York: UNDP. Location: http://magnet.undp.org/new/pdf/gender/wpp/women_book.pdf

UNDP, 2002, *Deepening democracy in a fragmented world, Human Development Report*, New York: UNDP

UNDP, 2005, *A guide to civil society organisations working on democratic governance*, New York: UNDP

UNDP, 2006, *Measuring Democratic Governance: a Framework for Selecting Pro-Poor and Gender-Sensitive Indicators*, New York: UNDP. Location: http://www.undp.org/oslocentre/docs06/Framework%20paper%20-%20entire%20paper.pdf

UNDP, 2008, *User's Guide to Gender-sensitive Basic Services Delivery: Indicators and Methods of Measurement*, Oslo: UNDP Oslo Governance Centre

UNDP Democratic Governance Group, 2007, *Annual Report 2007*, New York: UNDP

UNDP and United Nations Population Fund, 2007, *UNDP budget estimates for the biennium 2008–9*, New York: UN. Location: http://www.undp.org/execbrd/word/dp08-3.doc

UNECA, 2004, Ghana National Field Trails for Development Index. (Addis Ababa)

UN 2002, Report of the UN Secretary General to the Security Council Document S/2002/1300

United Nations Division of the Advancement of Women Department of Economic Affairs, 2009, *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW). Location: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm

UN Global Compact website. Location: http://www.unglobalcompact.org

United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP)**,** 2009, *What is good governance*, Bangkok: UNESCAP, Location: http://www.unescap.org/pdd/prs/ProjectActivities/Ongoing/gg/governance.asp

USAID, 1995, 'The role of women's participation in economic reform', prepared for the Meeting of the Special Programme of Assistance for Africa Working Group on Economic Reform in the Context of Political Liberalisation,

Van Donk, M. (1997) *Local Government and Gender: Towards Engendering the White Paper, Seminar Report and Policy Recommendations*, Cape Town: Gender Advocacy Programme

Vercelli, A. (2003) *Updated liberalism vs. neo-liberalism: policy paradigms and the structural evolution of western industrial economies after WW II*, Siena: Universita Delgli Studi Di Siena, Dipartimento di Economica Politica, Quaderni, 398

Vettai, P., and Illing, E**.,** 2004 "Governance and Good Governance: Introduction to the Special Edition of TRAMES"*, TRAMES,* 8(58/53), Vol. 4, 347–351*,* Estonia: Estonian Academy of Sciences

Vyasulu, P. and Vyasulu, V**.,** 2000*,* "Women in the Panchayat Raj: Grassroots Democracy in India"*, Women's Political Participation and Good Governance: 21st Century Challenges*, New York: UNDP

Walthall, A., 1995, 'Devoted wives/unruly women: invisible presence in the history of Japanese social protest', in B. Laslett, J. Brenner and Y. Arat, *Rethinking the Political: Gender, Resistance, and the State*, London: University of Chicago Press

Wanzala, W.L., 1995, 'Politics in Namibia', in *Southern African Feminist Review*, Vol1 No 2

Waylen, G., 1994, ''Women and democratisation: conceptual issues and gender relations in transition politics', *World Politics*, Vol 46 No 3: 327-54

Waylen, G., 1995, *Gender and Third World Politics*, Milton Keynes: Open University

Waylen, G., 1998, "Gender and governance: democratic consolidation and economic reform", *Journal of International Development***,** Vol 10 No 7, 957-67

Waylen, G., 2008a, Transforming Global Governance: Challenges and Opportunities, In (Rai, S. and Waylen, G. eds.) *Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macimillan

Waylen, G.**,** 2008b, Gendering Governance, in Goetz, G. and Mazur, A., (eds) *Politics, Gender and Concepts: Theory and Methodology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp114–35

Wilkinson, R. and Hughes, S**.,** 2002, *Global Governance: Critical Perspectives*, Oxford: Routledge

Williams, M**.,** 2007, *Civil society and the new aid modalities: addressing the challenges for gender equality, democracy and participation*, paper for NGO Forum, Eighth Commonwealth Women's Affairs Meeting, Uganda

Woehl, S**.,** 2008, Global Governance as Neo-liberal Governmentality: Gender Mainstreaming in the European Employment Strategy, in Rai, S. and Waylen, G. (eds) *Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives,* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Women Manifesto Coalition, 2004, The Women's Manifesto for Ghana: Combert Impressions, Accra)

WomenWatch, 1997, *Women and Decision-making*, Women 2000, WomenWatch

World Bank**,** 1989, *Sub-Saharan Africa: from crisis to sustainable growth: a long-term perspective study*, Washington, DC: World Bank

Woodford- Berger, P.1997, Associating Women, Female Linkage, Collective Identities and Political Ideology in Ghana", in Rosander E. 9(ed) Transforming Female Identities; Women's Organisational Forms in West Africa. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet

World Bank, 1994, 'Development in practice: Governance: the World Bank's experience'*, Development in Practice,* Operations Policy Department*,* Washington D.C.: World Bank

World Bank, 1995, *Toward Gender Equality: the Role of Public Policy*, Washington D.C.: World Bank

World Bank, 2006, *Gender Equality as Smart Economics: A World Bank Group Gender Action Plan (2007–10)*, Washington, DC: World Bank 77

World Bank, 2009, *What is governance?* Location: http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/MENAEXT/EXTMNAREGTO PGOVERNANCE/0,,contentMDK:20513159~pagePK:34004173~piPK:34003707~theSitePK:4 97024,00.html

World Trade Organization (WTO), 2009, *Work with Other International Organizations*, Geneva: WTO. Location: http://www.wto.org/english/theWTO_e/coher_e/wto_un_e.htm

Yuval-Davis, N**.,** 1997, Women, Citizenship and Difference, *Feminist Review 57*, Basingstoke: Palgrave

Appendix 1

Democratic Governance in Pre-colonial and Colonial Period

The West Africa sub-region has a long history of having engaged with issues of governance (Olukoshie, 2007). In the formation of national and state building projects, many challenges were encountered in the political communities that were being formed in the area. Some of these challenges were related to how political communities could be designed and operationalised, processed for building consensus, institutions required and the rules and regulations needed for effective functioning of public institutions (Olukoshi, 2007). During the pre-colonial times, several attempts were made in ensuring that rules and regulations were put together to ensure that specific issues of concern to citizens were addressed. Clearly many African societies did practice some kind of democratic values and they were part of so many pre-colonial African societies.

The idea of living in a community in West Africa was exercised in the 15th century. Citizens participated in open political discussions, raised political issues based on the democratic way of decision-making the community where all the people were invited for discussion on matters that concerned them (Olukoshie, 2007). However even though democratic practices existed in Africa long before the colonial times it will not be possible to lump all together as African democracy. Every single society developed its system based on its own society's reality and there were several experiments with constitution-making, the separation of powers, the decentralization of authority, and the drawing up of moral codes to guide rulers in the exercise of their functions. For example, as a form of checks and balances, some nations exercised limits on the absolute power of their leaders by electing and removing traditional leaders or chiefs. Many rulers had to consult with community leaders before implementing vital decisions. (CBASSE, 1992). Traditionally, participation was encouraged through a process of consultation that fostered community input. Women during this period, had social status and responsibilities, but structures were essentially patriarchal. Thus even though women had recognised roles and responsibilities, much of the time this did not move beyond the household. Still there were societies where women had some power such as among the Asantes of Ghana.

The colonial period drastically halted whatever processes of political formations were taking place. Strategies used included the re-demarcation of the boundaries of political communities and their redefinition into entities meaningful for the colonialised projects. In West Africa, the practice of colonialism consisted of a "denial" of the basic rights of the populace and the imposition of a systemic regime of racialised exploitation and exclusion that found its consequences in the coercive nature of the colonial state system (Olukoshi, 2007)

Democratic Governance and Women's Rights in the Post Colonial Period

As systems of control and dominance develop within them, initiatives of struggle and freedom, so did the colonial project begin to fail in West Africa through anti-colonialist struggles and the attainment of independence in Ghana in 1957. Most of the countries in the sub-region gained their independence during the 1960s, with the last set made up of the formal Portuguese colonies of Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau in 1975.

On the eve of independence, a number of challenges confronted West African countries in terms of how they could develop systems of governance taking into account issues of ethnicity, religion, gender and class relations. Two main approaches were adopted namely, economic development and nation building. Many independent states recorded growth in the first decade of independence with growth rates of about 7-8% and their indicators of social well being moving upwards (Olukoshi, 2007).

In Ghana for example many colonial policies were change enabling women to have access to education and employment opportunities. (Manuh, 1999). However, the attempt at nation-building proved problematic casting a long shadow on the sub-region, particularly during the 1960s and 1980s. Within the context of West Africa, the idea of monolithic states was seen as best suited by the various governments as a basis for achieving national unity. As Olukoshi has said, "it was their banner that ultimately justified the muzzling of oppositional politics, the strident effort at the cooptation or decimation of labour, youth, and women's movements and the concentration and centralization of power in the presidency" (Olukoshie: 5).

Many of these countries became single party systems and even as they were resisted, some remained as such while many became military dictatorships. In whatever form they existed, a generalized system of militarialisation of the political system prevailed, limiting the exercise of rights by ordinary citizens such as women, the poor and other marginalized groups. Thus two decades after independence, the West Africa sub-region became the center of coups d état, religious and ethnic conflicts that sometimes turned into full blown civil wars. This was worsened by the economic crisis of the 1980s and the subsequent structural adjustment policies (SAPs) adopted by several governments under the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) frameworks. Generally the period found women largely treated as economic saboteurs given the innovative ways and their resilience in coping with the negative impacts of the crisis. At the same time depending on one's relationships with the state and the power relationships intertwined within them, individual or groups of women could become beneficiaries or losers in the harsh dictatorial systems.

Democratic Governance and Women's Rights in West Africa in the contemporary Period

The West Africa sub-region is confronted with economic decline, human insecurity and political instability. Four of the five countries listed on the bottom of the UNDP Human Development Index (2006) are in West Africa, namely Sierra Leone, Niger, Burkina Faso and Mali with all the countries in the Region located at the bottom 25% of the Human Development Index. There is widespread poverty and low GDP per capital incomes. Generally, education, water and health services reach less than half the population with the HIV/AIDS pandemic having alarming rates in Cote d'Ivoire (10%) and Sierra Leone (7%). There are however wide disparities in the region among countries with Ghana's GDP more than four times that of Sierra Leone (ADF IV, 2006). Since the last decade of the 20th century, there has been a holistic shift in the pattern of governance in West Africa with several countries transforming themselves largely from dictatorial regimes and military juntas towards democratic systems. This has been referred to as the "second liberation" essentially seeking to deal with dictatorships and political monopoly and their replacement with constitutionalism and multiparty politics. The results have however been

mixed. Countries such as Benin, Mali, Ghana, Senegal, Nigeria and Cape Verde seem to have made a lot of progress towards democratic governance and human security. But Countries such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau and Cote D'Ivoire have had to go through civil war on an unprecedented scale and scope. More than two million people are said to have died in the different violent conflicts in the sub-region since the 1990s (ECA, 2004). This has resulted in lawlessness, economic stagnation, abuse of women's rights and impunity on the part of rebels and warlords.

Thus a number of issues arise from the contemporary governance situation in West Africa. These include the process of establishing a framework of effective governance, how a culture of democratic accountability can be established at all levels of government and in public life; how a culture of peace can be established as a central feature of the political system; the promotion of fairness in electoral processes for an inclusive representativeness, ensuring effective representation of women and the promotion of their rights as citizens; broadening participation of citizens in the political process and defining human and civic rights of citizens (ECA, 2004; Olukoshi, 2007; IDEA, 2007). Even as the above governance concerns lie at the core of politics in contemporary West Africa, the way they play out in different countries vary. There are also similarities and the complexities involved create possibilities of comparisons even beyond the scope of the region to Africa as a whole and internationally.

Appendix 2

A number of factors affect the effectiveness of democratic governance in the region. The current population is estimated at 295 million inhabitants and is expected to reach 430 million by 2020. Those under 15 years of age make up 45 per cent of the population with worrying implications for demographic and democratic representativeness (IDEA, 2007). Another issue is that while the political context has improved significantly there are serious challenges in terms of the respect for civil liberties and the guarantee of political freedom in many West Africa countries as indicated in the table below:

Civil liberties and political freedom in 13 West Africa countries, 2006

Country	Political rights	Civil liberties	Status
Burkina Faso	5	3	**Party free**
Cote d'Ivoire	6	6	**Not free**
The Gambia	5	4	**Partly free**
Ghana	1	2	**Free**
Guinea	6	5	**Not free**
Guinea-Bissau	3	4	**Partly free**
Liberia	4	4	**Partly free**
Mali	2	2	**Free**
Niger	3	3	**Partly free**
Nigeria	4	4	**Partly free**
Senegal	2	3	**Free**
Sierra Leone	4	3	**Partly free**
Togo	6	5	**Not free**

Source: Freedom House, Freedom in the World Report, 2006 (Washington, DC: Freedom House, 2006).

As the above table indicates, only three countries, Ghana, Mali and Senegal are classified as free in terms of the guarantee of civil liberties, the rule of law and political freedom. Seven fall into the "partly free category" with three within the "not free" category. This means that many of the countries in West Africa are still at an early stage of democratisation, with wide implications for the extent of promotion of women's rights and gender equality, as part of this process. Another challenge is the endemic nature of poverty in the region. West Africa is home to the world's poorest countries.

The four least developed countries on the UNDP Human Development Index (HDI) for 2006 are in West Africa. They are Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Sierra Leone. As well, all the West Africa countries are in the low-income bracket of the UNDP ratings. Illiteracy and poverty levels makes the situation worse as seen below:

Human Development Index ratings for West African countries and adult literacy levels

Country	HDI rating (2006)	Adult literacy (2004) (%)
Togo	147	59.6
The Gambia	155	NA
Senegal	156	39.3
Nigeria	159	66.8
Benin	163	39.8
Cote d'Ivoire	164	NA
Guinea-Bissau	173	NA
Burkina Faso	175	19.0
Mali	175	12.8
Sierra Leone	176	17.1
Niger	177	_

Source: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Human Development Report, 2004 and 2006

Out of the 177 countries covered by the UNDP Human Development Report of 2006, the last five were in West Africa. This means that the fragile nature of the democratization process in West Africa and the harsh socio-economic characteristics provide serious challenges and obstacles and some opportunities for promoting women's rights in West Africa. How women's movements surmount such constraints and challenges will demonstrate the extent to which democratic governance processes in West Africa are moving along the path of greater inclusiveness and the promotion of gender equality.

Appendix 3

Achievements and Challenges in Promoting Women's Rights in Processes of Democratisation

This section presents a number of case studies to respond to the issues of the different strategies and mechanisms used by different women from different socio-economic backgrounds to effect change in terms of democratic governance.

Anglophone West Africa

Ghana:
Due to the advocacy efforts of women's organisations, the participation of women in election 2008 became a major campaign issue. Several women's organizations including ABANTU for Development (ABANTU) the Women's Manifesto Coalition (WMC), and Women in Law and Development (WilDAF), implemented a wide range of activities including capacity building, voter education and media sensitization programmes around gender equality issues. The elections, the fifth to be conducted under the 4th Republican Constitution of 1992, has been declared free and fair. For this reason, Ghana is being hailed as a truly democratic country on the African continent even as women's representation remains woefully inadequate.

One of the features of the Ghanaian democratic experiment is the increasing role of women's rights organisations in working to gain public acceptance of gender equality issues even though representation is still low. This is the result of women's activism on a number of fronts: economic justice initiatives by the Network for Women's Rights In Ghana (NETRIGHT); demand for enhanced women's political participation by the Coalition on The Women's Manifesto for Ghana (WMC) and the passage of a Domestic Violence Law spearheaded by the Domestic Violence Coalition (DVC). In the 2008 elections, one significant development was in the discussion and nomination of women as vice-presidential running mates. The approach adopted and the women whose names came up was problematic. First of all many of the women were not known political activists within the political parties. By attempting to select women outside the political party structures, an impression was being created about those active in the political parties that they were of no account.

A number of women who had lost in previous general elections and District assembly elections contested in the 2008 parliamentary elections. The total number of women who contested in the 2008 elections was one hundred and three (103) compared to one hundred and four (104) in 2004. Regrettably only twenty (20) candidates won their seats compared to twenty-five (25) in 2004.

The Table below gives the political parties' breakdown of women parliamentary candidates in Election 2008:

Women Parliamentary Candidates in Election 2008 (Political party representation)

Political Party	No of Candidates	No. Elected
New Patriotic Party (NPP)	23	14
Peoples National Convention (PNC)	16	0
National Democratic Convention (NDC)	15	5
Democratic Freedom Party (DFP)	10	0
Democratic Freedom Party (DPP)	9	0
Convention People's Party (CPP)	23	1
Reform Patriotic Democrat (RPD)	1	0
New Vision Party (NVP)	1	0
Independent candidates	5	0
TOTAL	103	20

Source: Electoral Commission, 2008

In spite of all these achievements, the 2008 election is also the only one since 1992 in which a deviation was made in terms of the numbers of women elected to parliament. Although the number of women elected into parliament in previous election was low, the trend was positive as the numbers kept increasing although insignificantly:

Women's Participation in Elections from 1992-2008

	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008
No of candidates	23	53	95	104	103
No elected	16	18	19	25	20
Total no of seats in Parliament	200	200	230	230	230
Percentage (%) in Parliament	8.0	9.0	9.5	10.9	8.6

Source: Electoral Commission, 2008.

This development certainly raises huge concerns as former parliamentarians some with ministerial positions also could not retain their seats in the election. Although women's participation within the political parties is yet to witness the desired reforms, it is worth noting that some political parties are making efforts at engendering their structures. For example in the Convention People's Party (CPP), three out their ten national officers are women and one woman regional chairperson. The percentage representation of women in the national executive committees of three out of the four political parties with representation in parliament is as follows: Convention's People's Party (CPP) - 30%, National Democratic Congress (NDC) - 21%

and New Patriotic Party (NPP) – 14.2%. After many years of advocacy and capacity building efforts by the Women's Manifesto Coalition and other civil society groups, women within the political parties are demanding their inclusiveness within the party hierarchy calling on them to put measures in place towards fielding more women parliamentary candidates.

Nigeria:
The major challenges that undermine women's rights promotion in democratic governance can be located in the ways in which the resources of the country continue to be controlled by elite groups leading to the feminisation of poverty. Women have limited access to financial resources which is a major requirement in entering politics in Nigeria. Women are denied access to vital resources such as loans due to their lack of collateral.

Tradition and cultural norms particularly in Moslem communities frown on women acceding to leadership positions. This limits the ability of women taking up the challenge of contesting for positions and for society to also accept those who venture out.

Similar to other countries in the sub-region, the organisational processes and structures of political parties continue to have a masculinist orientation thereby working to largely exclude women. Political party meetings go deep into the night when women have to be home to manage their household responsibilities. This eventually excludes them from top positions in the parties and from subsequent high positions in society. The electoral structure itself has many limitations in terms of inclusiveness, once again denying women a chance for active participation:

Women are however working through their organisations and have made specific demands through different forms of organizing on the following issues to ensure gender parity.
- Conventions such as CEDAW, African Protocol and Gender Policy to be domesticated as part of national and local laws.
- The need for proportional representation and the push for 35% politics as measures to transform the nature of politics.
- The need to set up a fund to support women who context (contest?) elections.
- Strengthen media relations to benefit women.

Capacity-building initiatives are also embarked upon.

Liberia:
Liberia is the first African country to elect a female head of state. President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf has demonstrated commitment towards enhancing women rights and gender equality as a central feature of promoting democratic governance.

The legal framework for protection against sexual and gender based violence has been strengthened through the passing of laws on rape, and inheritance as well as developing a National Plan of Action to address gender based violence. Inspite of these efforts the war on women's bodies continues in Liberia. Rape, trafficking, sexual exploitation and abuse as well as domestic violence remain key issues of concern to women and girls in Liberia. This means that a holistic approach is required in addressing the rights of women in a post-conflict context. The

process is deeper than ensuring that large numbers of women are placed in high positions within the executive, legislature and judiciary.

Women's groups are continuing their peace-building efforts, capacity-building and policy engagement as a way of contributing to national unity and cohesion in the post-conflict society. Protection of women and other vulnerable groups within the justice system is also on course. The interesting thing about Liberia is the political will of the leadership which creates possibilities for women to engage constructively. Representation of women in the National House of parliament is low standing at 8 women out of a total of 64 seats.

Sierra Leone:
The situation in Sierra Leone is not much different from that of Liberia except in terms of the nature of leadership and extent of commitment to gender equality. A major stumbling block for Sierra Leonean women is the relationship between traditional beliefs which indict women who attempt to enter into public decision-making spaces. Limited access to education, resources and opportunities also limit possibilities for entering formal structures. Some clauses in the law also affect women adversely. For example in the northern part of the country, women are banned from becoming paramount chiefs. Girls therefore grow up thinking that such positions are the preserve of men so they do not aspire to fill them. The role of secret societies in politics also affects the participation of women adversely.

In spite of these challenges, women's organisations at different levels have mobilized themselves to promote sensitisation programmes for women about their rights. As such, planners now attempt to promote gender sensitive measures in their frameworks. There has also been an allocation of funding to the women's machinery to generate gender statistic as well as an enforcement of MDG 2 and 3 which are specific to women. Another positive trend is the formation of women's advisory bodies instead of women's wings in political parties.

Other strategies being adopted include a call on the government to send documents on gender issues to ECOWAS and other bodies for them to comment on and monitor progress. Advocates are also calling on UNIFEM and other UN agencies to name and shame governments in the region who do not comply with international conventions and laws that support gender equality.

Francophone West Africa

Senegal :
The law provides that women and men are equal under the law and prohibits discrimination based on gender, race, class or language. However similar to other countries in the region, domestic violence, rape, discrimination against women, child abuse and FGM are problems. Several NGOs and women's groups such as the NGO Committee to Combat Violence Against Women are actively campaigning against the high incidence of violence against women. There is evidence of a wide gap between the situation of women in urban areas and those in rural areas still dominated by tradition.

Women's groups are also campaigning to have a larger percentage of places on the legislative electoral ballot devoted to women to reflect the population of women. The Senegalese

Democratic Party (PDS) places 30 women on its legislative electoral list for 60 seats. In 2007 there were 24 women in the 120 seat National Assembly and six women in the 43-member cabinet. Only 13 percent of locally elected leadership was women. Even in areas where women won local leadership positions they often remained a minority in the local bureaucracy.

Burkina Faso:
Similar to other countries in Francophone Africa women are not sufficiently represented in power structures of Burkina Faso. A proportional representation system is in place. The system accords priority to closed lists with two different lists per party, one regional and one national. Even though the proportional list system can facilitate the promotion of women, its effect is only possible when political parties have committed to promoting women and placed them on their lists in positions that will enable them to be elected. In 2002, women were largely place as alternative candidates. As the report says:

"Without a solid network of women's groups there can be little influence on the nomination and selection criteria and the political parties' procedures to press for increased female representation and participation" (IDEA, 12005: 141).

Guinea:
The brutal acts, rape and massacre perpetrated by armed troops against women and unarmed civilians on September 28, 2009, has brought to the fore critical issues of democratic governance in Guinea in francophone West Africa where human rights and women's rights are sacrificed.

Once seen as a peaceful country in a region well-noted for conflicts there is rising tensions in Guinea since a coup was fomented by a junior army officer Mossa Camera, who declared himself president and head of a newly formed National Council for Democracy and Development. The former president, Lansana Conte who took power in 1984 died in December 2008 and the military immediately took over power. The African Union and ECOWAS have suspended Guinea's membership until elections are held. Guinea under Conte introduced multi-party democracy but he remained a military autocrat, ruling with a clique of military and civilians who owed allegiance to him.

Most Guineans especially women live in poverty with limited access to basic commodities such as food and shelter. Discriminatory practices against women exist. The family code remains largely unfavourable to women. Violence against women is common but the extent to which it occurs is difficult to assess. Even though domestic violence is an offence under the Penal Code and constitutes grounds for divorce, the police hardly intervenes. Rape is also punishable under the law, but like elsewhere in the region, social stigma discourages women from pressing charges. Politics is male dominated with the former president having served as both head of state and head of government of Guinea.

The National Assembly has 114 members elected for a four year term. 38 members are in single-seat constituencies while 76 members are elected by proportional representation. Until the coup d'état, there was a one-party state with the Party of Unity and Progress in power. Even though opposition parties are allowed, there was hardly any chance that they would gain power.

Cote d'Ivoire:

The constitution of Cote d'Ivoire prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex, and government policy encourages full participation by women in social and economic life. Nevertheless, Ivorian women remain confined to traditional roles, especially in rural areas.

Women in Cote d'Ivoire have a moderate degree of legal protection with regards to family matters. The state recognises only marriages that are performed by a registry, and the law prohibits the payment and the acceptance of a bride-price. Legislation regarding the age of marriage is quite strict: the law forbids the marriage of men under the age of 20, of women under age of 18, and of any person under the age of 21 without parental consent. Still, the incident of early marriage is very high. Laws protecting the physical integrity of women in Cote d'Ivoire are quite weak. Violence against women, including spousal abuse (usually wife beating) occurs frequently and is not specifically penalised. Domestic violence is regarded as a family problem with severe social stigmas attached to women who are often shamed for their presumed bad behaviour and need of correction. The law prohibits rape and imposes prison terms of five to ten years. The government appears to enforce this law where possible.

Legally, there is no gender discrimination regarding access to property other than land. This right is, however, limited under the option of "marriage with community of property" which considers husbands to be the head of the household and gives them the authority to manage assets. Access to bank loans is difficult for women, not because of legal discrimination but because of heir situation. Very often, they are unable to meet the lending criteria established by banks, such as a title to a house and production of a profitable cash crop. Some banks also require married women to secure their husband's approval loans.