

## **Barriers to the Political Participation of Women: A Global Perspective**

**Fardaus Ara\***

### ***Abstract***

*Women are underrepresented in parliamentary politics around the world. A complex interplay of socio-economic, political and cultural factors result in inadequate representation of women. These factors are largely common in nature globally although the extent of the factors varies across nations. This study seeks to identify the barriers to women's political participation based on secondary scholarships from a global perspective.*

**Key words:** Barriers, political participation, women, global.

### **Introduction**

Women are marginal in politics worldwide. On average, women occupy 24.3% of the seats in national parliaments considering both houses; 24.33% in the Lower House and 24.1% in the Upper House/ Senate (Inter-Parliamentary Union [IPU], 2019). Many incidents have taken place to promote women rights such as the UN Conferences on Women, ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), International Women's Day and so on. Underrepresentation of women at all levels of politics, the local, national, sub-national, and international levels was recognized as a critical issue during the 1990s (Sawer, 2002, p. 5). However, on the whole, the extent of women's advancement and participation remains sluggish around all regions and cultures, particularly in leading decision-making positions. The UN estimates that if the contemporary trend of change goes on, women will have to wait until the year 2490 to achieve equal representation with men in the highest stratum of power (Seager, Wilson, & Jarrett, 1997, p. 70).

This study addresses the barriers to the participation of women in politics as elected representatives in the national parliament. It will be argued that women worldwide face multi-dimensional barriers to their political participation although the nature and extent may vary across countries and cultures.

---

\* Professor, Department of Public Administration, Rajshahi University, Rajshahi.  
Email: [dipty777@yahoo.co.in](mailto:dipty777@yahoo.co.in)

## **Methodology**

The study seeks to explore barriers to women's political participation in general. Additionally, it will try to suggest some remedial measures which might be advantageous to improve their position in politics. Data for the study was collected through desk research i.e. examining and reviewing the available literature on women and politics. Therefore, the data are secondary in nature.

## **Barriers to Political Participation of Women**

Academics and researchers have identified a number of interrelated factors that give rise to multiple issues ranging from responsibilities for family and children, traditional gender division of labor, socialization processes, role of political parties, religious and cultural doctrines, and financial barriers as major obstacles to women's political participation. The factors can be broadly categorized as socio-economic; political and institutional; and socio-cultural and ideological.

### **Socio-Economic Factors**

Socio-economic conditions influence the participation of women in political institutions to a greater extent (Shvedova, 2005, p. 39). These barriers concern family responsibilities, lack of education and finance, violence, harassment and lack of security.

### ***Family Responsibility***

The most often cited impediment to women's participation in politics globally is lack of time for public life resulted due to the crisis of juggling between family and professional obligations (IPU, 1999, p. 45). Women around the world are expected to look after the family, take care of their husbands, children and the senior family members. Consequently, they suffer from a shortage of time to get involved in public life or politics (UNDP, 2010, p. 6). Furthermore, many women are engaged in full-time professional jobs in addition to their 24-hrs/7-days week domestic roles. A career in politics in these situations tends to add an extra burden that is very challenging for women (Shvedova, 2005, p. 43). IPU (2000, p. 117) in a global study found that for the majority of the female parliamentarians, their husbands/partners and extended families supported them to join politics. Even with such support, many women politicians suffered from feelings of guilt for not giving enough time to their family and particularly children.

### ***Education***

Education provides the required talent and knowledge essential to take part in politics. Potential candidates require a minimum awareness of the political system, skills in reading and writing, and general knowledge of

issues of importance to the public. Higher education imparts the knowledge, talents, and political acquaintance that facilitate navigating the political world (Hillygus, 2005, p. 27; Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993, p. 14). However, there is large variation among countries regarding the relationship between the level of women's education and their participation in formal politics. While the United States outranks several developed countries in terms of the number of women in higher education, in the labor force, and in specialized positions, the proportion of women in formal politics remains relatively low. Conversely, Uganda, Rwanda, and Mozambique, the poorest countries in the world with a low rate of female literacy of just 41%, 60.2% and 28.7% respectively, have between 25%-30% women in their legislatures. This contradictory picture indicates that the correlation between education and representation in formal politics is not strong (Goetz, 2003, p. 2). Researchers like Paxton Kunovich, and Hughes (2007, p. 267) and Johnson, Kabuchu, and Kayonga (2003, p. 13) find it difficult to set up a particular measure of education applicable across the globe. However, candidature nomination procedures in many countries require a minimum level of literacy and thus keep away illiterate women from participating as candidates for elections (Shvedova, 2005, p. 43).

### ***Finance***

Finance is essential in politics, as it is tough or virtually impossible to fund a campaign or other political affairs without some money. Furthermore, money is an important indicator to determine the financial and social status of an individual in order to be chosen as a candidate and be elected by voters (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995, pp. 273-274). Although the number of women in politics is gradually rising, women globally are lagging far behind men regarding the share of the wealth (Sidhu & Meena, 2007, p. 6). Worldwide, women generally have less financial assets than men; men earn more than women and women are engaged predominantly in low paid and unprotected jobs, as well as in the informal sector and migrant labor pools. Consequently, women face financial challenges that become extreme during the process of gaining a nomination. Public financing might commence, party support may increase, and visibility may be more prominent that will help in attracting additional supplies of financial assistance only after securing the nomination (Sidhu & Meena, 2007, p. 11).

### ***Violence, Harassment, and Security***

Violence against female politicians or women looking for political office is very common, particularly in politically unstable regions (True, Niner, Parashar, & George, 2012, p. 2). Violence against women and girls along

with increasing incidence of electoral violence and insecurity has a severe impact on the attainment of their economic, social, civil and political rights and discourage women to participate in public life including politics (iKNOW Politics, 2002, p. 1; True et al., 2012, p. 2). Chowdhury, Nelson, Carver, Johnson, and O'Loughlin (1994, pp. 11-12) argued that the vulnerability and weakness of women resulting from their sex and powerlessness to defend themselves keep many potential and capable women away from politics.

### **Political and Institutional Factors**

The vast amount of scholarships dealing with the representation of women in legislative bodies have a common finding that politics is a man's world where women are systematically underrepresented. Specific and consistent data on women in parliament even now support the assertion given by Putnam more than three decades ago when he claimed that in politics an iron law of "and rarchy" rules (Kjaer 2010, p.1; Putnam, 1976, p. 33).

Politics is always dominated and controlled by men; men create the laws of the political game, and men set the criteria for assessment. The continuation of this male-dominated model results in lower interest and involvement of women in politics. The traditional concept of politics confines political activity merely in the public arena while the private sphere of family life is considered apolitical and safe. This public-private division in the traditional explanation of politics is used to eliminate women from politics. The masculine nature of politics, lack of party support, limited access to political networks, and lack of quota are identified as major political hindrances to women.

### ***The Culture of Politics***

The "culture" of politics refers to the attributes of the political arena that are deemed either attractive or, as is more often the case, hostile to women. Lovenduski(2005) described politics as difficult and contested. She furthermore depicted politics as gladiatorial competitions or races. This view suggests that politics is confrontational in nature. Similarly, Sapiro (1983, p.30) defined politics as a business of men; government as a men's club. For women, entrance into politics means participating in activities and institutions designed primarily by men who possess a different set of social norms, rituals, language, dress, and to some degree, values. In addition, politics is a rough-and-tumble world, involving competition, aggressiveness, power, independence, and corruption.

Shvedova (2005, pp. 35-36) claims that politics often incorporates the idea of "winner and loser," contest and conflict. Political life is organized

according to male standards and values instead of collaboration and consensus, particularly divided over partisan loyalties that discourage cooperation. Therefore, women face difficulties while trying to enter into the world of politics. Besides, women are generally not elected to the locus of power within party structures because of gender biases of male leadership (Bari, 2005, p. 4).

### ***Role of Political Party***

Political parties are the key vehicle for women to enter the electoral office and political leadership positions (UNDP & NDI, 2012, p. iii). Parties select the candidates to be nominated, assist throughout the election campaign, and keep on supporting members after the election. Candidates may also nominate themselves and run as “Independents.” However, it is difficult to be elected without the patronage of a political party, particularly at a national election. Therefore, women seeking entry into electoral politics generally join political parties (UNDP, 2005, p. 35). It is found that while many women are active at the grassroots level in campaigning and mobilizing support for their parties, few occupy senior decision-making positions within the parties.

Political parties may differ considerably across nations regarding the strategies to encourage women to get involved in politics as well as pre-selection of women as party candidates. Party policies also differ across nations concerning their way of addressing political, economic and social issues of particular concern to women. In addition, the party laws might incorporate provisions specifically designed to increase the political participation of women, such as a gender equality agenda in the party constitution; gender balanced party management and policy committees; and a gender-balanced candidate list in the election using various types of quota (UNDP, 2005, pp. 35-36). Indeed, it is the party quotas that assure a certain percentage of the party’s list be women that is seen in the Nordic countries and play a significant role in the higher representation of women among elected representatives (International IDEA, IPU, & Stockholm University, 2015; Matland, 2005, p. 95).

IPU (2000) on an international survey, found 50% of the female participants mentioning hostile attitudes towards women in political parties. A Western European female parliamentarian recognized the non-written rules exercised by the parties as the problem (IPU, 2000, p. 56). In addition, women have few or no networks within the party that make it difficult for them to enter and continue in politics (UNDP & NDI, 2012, p. 1).

### ***Electoral System***

The electoral system of a country influences the political representation of women (IPU, 2014, p. 6; Shvedova, 2005, p. 39). Electoral systems are

the principles by which candidates and parties are voted into office, and those offices are organized. Electoral systems can be categorized broadly as the majority/plurality, proportional and mixed systems.

Globally 46% of the countries use the majority/plurality electoral systems. The most familiar variation of the system is first-past-the-post where the candidates contest in a district or electorate and the one getting the most votes is declared the winner. In majority/plurality systems the party selects simply one candidate; party leaders emphasize victory and thus nominate the person who can appeal to the majority of voters in the electorate. Therefore, if the party thinks that a female candidate may face discrimination, they most likely nominate a male than her.

Proportional representation systems, on the other hand, convert votes into constituencies in such way that confirms parliamentary representation is mostly proportional to the party's portion of the total votes. Thus if a party secures 20% of the votes, it will get about 20% of the seats in the legislature. This system is practiced in 36% of countries. Here voters pick between the lists of candidates nominated by political parties. Whether the candidate list is open (such that the voters can rank which of the party's candidates are elected by secret vote) or closed (the party decides the rank order of contestants) is a crucial factor in this system. In proportional systems, campaigns usually highlight national leaders and parties rather than emphasizing individual candidates. As the party hopes to elect a number of representatives from a district, the possible costs of nominating a woman are not high despite some part of the electorates' prejudices against women. Some sort of mixed system is used in about 15% countries around the world (IPU, 2008, p. 23; Matland, 2005, pp. 99-103).

A mixed electoral system incorporates several components of plurality or majority systems and proportional representation systems. In this system voters cast two votes— one to elect a member by the direct franchise to represent their electorate according to the first-past-the-post system; and a second for a party, according to a previously formulated list of candidates, similar to the list proportional representation system. A predetermined percentage of parliamentary seats are filled by the plurality vote, and the rest are filled by the party list vote, distributed in proportion to the total vote the parties obtained (Moser & Scheiner, 2004, p. 576; Virgint, 2016, p. 6). Mixed systems are considered fairly effective to increase the number of female candidates in the election (IPU, as cited in Virgint, 2016, p. 6). In such systems, although women encounter hurdles in getting elected in a single electorate, parties can ensure the election of women via party lists (Virgint, 2016, p. 6).

The IPU supports proportional systems on the grounds that more women may be elected as the parties nominate a list of candidates rather than a single contestant. Similarly, Norris (1987, p. 129) claims that in

proportional representation systems the voters choose a party rather than individual contenders. Among the party applicants, some elected candidates happen to be women. As central party organizations have substantial influence over the selection of candidates, they can put forward a balanced list by incorporating more women along with men.

### ***Quotas in the Legislature and Political Party***

Quotas have become an integral part of the electoral landscape in many countries around the world (Tripp & Kang, 2008, p. 339). As of 2015, 129 countries have employed some sort of quota to increase the percentage of female candidates in electoral politics. Gender quotas take a wide range of forms in countries around the world. However, the three most common types of gender quotas are voluntary/political party quotas, reserved seats, and legal candidate quotas (International IDEA, IPU, & Stockholm University, 2015). Quotas are a form of affirmative action strategy intended to address the insignificant participation of women and other minority groups in all areas of society including job, education and politics (McCann, 2013, p. 4). Dahrelup (2005, p. 141) describes gender quotas as a strategy to ensure that a certain number or proportion of the total members of an organization is women. It may be a parliamentary assembly, a committee, a government, or a candidate list. The intention of gender quotas is to increase the representation of women in elected or appointed organizations like governments, parliaments and local councils.

Voluntary party quotas are decided by political parties to include a specific proportion of women as candidates in the election (Tajali & Hoodfar, 2011, pp. 46-47; Tripp & Kang, 2008, p. 339). It is found that some socialist and social democratic parties in Western Europe first used party quotas in the 1970s. This was followed by few green and conservative parties in the 1980s and 1990s across Europe and to a limited extent in other regions. Voluntary party quotas are largely practiced in the developed Western world in countries such as Australia, Canada, Finland, Sweden and the UK (Tajali & Hoodfar, 2011, p. 47; Dahlerup, 2005, p. 145).

The legislated candidate quota provides the provision to preserve a certain number of the total candidates on the electoral lists for women. This is the most current type of the quota system, commencing in the 1990s in developing nations, primarily in Latin America, post-conflict Africa and the Middle East. Legislative quotas often guarantee 25% -50% of the total seats reserved for female candidates (Tajali & Hoodfar, 2011, pp. 47-48; Krook, 2009, p. 161).

Reserved seats keep a specific number of seats for women amongst representatives in a parliament or local body, mentioned in the constitution or by laws. This quota system is usually employed in three

ways. First, parties get the reserved seats in ratio to the votes they obtain in the election. For instance, in Tanzania, 20% of the constituencies are reserved for women and distributed to the political parties in proportion to the number of elected seats in the election. Second, individual electoral lists are formed for women. For example, in Rwanda, 30% of the seats are set aside for women elected by a special procedure specified in the constitution. Third, women with the highest votes per district are elected to the parliament to fill the prescribed seats. This system is employed in Afghanistan and Jordan (Dahlerup, 2005, p. 142; Tajali & Hoodfar, 2011, p. 49).

Despite the fact that quotas differ considerably around the world, debates for and against quotas are similar. Advocates assert that women will get access to politics in greater numbers because of quotas. It is claimed that while quotas may not remove the institutional, structural, and psychological obstacles, it might assist women to prevail over them and thus guarantee increased participation (Krook, 2006, p. 110; 2014, p. 1283; Murray, 2010, p. 94). Conversely, opponents claim that quotas strengthen negative stereotypes of women, and may advance incompetent women to political positions out of a need to fill quotas. Consequently, quotas may ultimately deter women's participation in electoral politics. In addition, women elected under quotas may be accused of being unnecessarily privileged, incapable, and fully loyal to male party leaders (Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008, p. 403; Krook, 2006, p. 110; 2014, p. 1283; Lovenduski, 2005, p. 98; Phillips, 1995, p. 60). Although different gender quotas are widely practiced globally to increase women's participation in politics, implementation of quotas is rather controversial that impedes participation of women in top political positions.

### **Socio-Cultural and Ideological Factors**

Culture can be broadly described as the values, norms, and traditions of a society that shapes the outlooks common to society in general (Liu, Volčič, & Gallois, 2011, p. xiv). Indeed culture influences social expectations regarding behaviours and appropriate roles of women and men and the gender relations over the world.

The main cultural factors identified in the literature that affect women's participation in politics are traditional gender roles. These roles are the result of various socialization practices and popular ideologies promoted by families, religious groups and the mass media (amongst other institutions), and which have a profound effect on women's self-confidence in public life and their perception of politics as an appropriate and desirable sphere to participate.

#### ***Traditional Gender Role***

Traditional norms and practices globally specify women's key roles as mothers and homemakers and place them in the private arena of home



and men in the public sphere. Because women are inextricably associated with the private domain, women need to bargain for their entry into the public sphere depending on the accessible resources in a given culture and society (Bari, 2005, p. 4; Shvedova, 2005, p. 44).

### ***Socialization***

Socialization is a process of learning that may vary across culture and society. Children initially get oriented to the morals and attitudes of their society mostly through socialization. Additionally, socialization might shape boys and girls to react in a separate way to indistinguishable circumstances (Tucker, 1999, p. 5).

It is argued that childhood socialization (also referred to as primary socialization) may lead to different political attitudes and segregation between sexes beginning early in life and continue throughout his/her life to triggering interest or lack of interest in politics (Fridkin & Kenney, 2007, p. 139). Atkeson and Rapport (2003, p. 518) point to gender socialization as a probable reason for women's lower levels of political participation. Women globally are socialized into a sex role that is more submissive, private, rule-following, and empathetic, whereas men are learning to be assertive, public, and self-sufficient (Brownmiller; Fox & Lawless; West and Zimmerman, as cited in, Coffé & Bolzendahl, 2010, p. 320). The socialization of girls ultimately influences their interest in politics negatively. It is seen that majority of the role models for political participation are male while women are seldom seen in leadership positions to provide inspiration (Sapiro, 1983, p. 38), which has a follow-on effect of reinforcing the view that politics is a male domain.

### ***Popular Attitudes and Ideology***

Women are compelled to perform stereotypical roles due to the general attitudes of people. In earlier days, women acting unconventionally were viewed negatively; and, women who engaged in political activities were considered unwomanly for ignoring the wishes of their families (Halder, 2002, p. 42). For several hundred years, Western political scholars, for example, Aristotle, Rousseau, Hobbes, and Locke have supported the prohibition of women from politics as they thought that women were irrational (Paxton, 1997, p. 446). Eagly, Makhijani and Klonsky (1992, p. 3) claim that people accept autocratic behavior by male leaders more easily than by women. Society usually views female leaders as odd or strange. Women who have reached high positions of power do not match the traditional stereotype of females and viewed by people as "Iron Ladies." Such happened to Indira Gandhi in India and Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom (Carras, 1995, p. 56). So, despite making progression in employment and education sectors women in many countries are barred from electoral politics (Lawless & Theriault, as cited

in, Paxton et al., 2007, p. 271). An IPU (2000) study finds negative attitudes as an important factor for lower participation of women in politics.

### ***Self-Confidence***

Participating in electoral politics requires the confident stride of putting oneself before the people and enduring intense scrutiny, loss of privacy, opposition, setbacks in career advancement, and distraction from usual schedules. Therefore, this decision requires self-confidence, competence, and risk challenging ability that is customarily associated with masculine rather than feminine values (Lawless & Fox, 2012, p. 10). Further, women must endure additional challenges in politics by virtue of the array of additional expectations and setbacks previously discussed.

Lack of confidence is one of the fundamental causes of the inadequate representation of women in formal political organizations. Women indeed have all potentialities to lead but fear at times keeps them away from participating in electoral politics (Shvedova, 2005, p. 45).

### ***The Perception of Politics as Dirty***

The public perception of politics may act as a hindrance to women participating in politics. In many societies, politics is perceived by women as “dirty” (Shvedova, 2005, p. 45). For instance, in many countries across Asia, politics is viewed as a male domain where dishonesty is a part of the political culture; bribery, corruption, and violence are widespread among politicians (Iwanaga, 2008a, p. 13). In Japan, politics is considered too dirty and nasty for women to take part. Women are also socialized to adopt moral superiority, an excuse frequently exercised by females for not joining politics. This attitude discourages women and often makes it tough for them to enter male-dominated political institutions, particularly in developing countries where politics is intertwined in funding drives and corruption that men dictate (Iwanaga, 2008b, p. 125).

### ***The Role of the Mass Media***

Mass media plays a significant role in generating public attitude and consciousness (Shvedova, 2005, p. 47). The way the media portrays women most of the time and female politicians, in particular, have a significant influence on their participation in politics. In many countries, the media spreads stereotypes of traditional roles for women rather than conveying a positive image of women as political leaders that can have a major impact on the advancement of women as candidates (Ukrainian Women’s Fund, 2011, pp. 17-18). Traditional media usually highlight women’s physical appearance than her intellectual abilities and reinforce the conventional patriarchal pigeonhole of the “weaker sex,” where

women are seen as sexual objects and “second class” citizens. Women’s families, their personal situations, and sexuality are highlighted more than their contribution (Shvedova, 2005, p. 47). Thus, “Angela Merkel’s dress sense is subject to as much media analysis and discussion as the way she governs Germany or her position on global terror”(OpCit Research, 2013, p. 34).

### ***Religion***

Hall (1992) asserts that all religions are dominant sources of female subordination. Iwanaga (2008a, p. 13) contends “religion may influence political culture and consequently political participation of women as it shapes attitudes and practices regarding gender roles and inequality in the private and public spheres.” This is particularly applicable to countries where the separation between religion and politics is not specified.

Reynolds (1999, p. 559) finds that Christian countries have more women in decision-making positions than non-Christian nations. Additionally, the Catholics and Protestants have a greater number of women in political office than the Eastern Orthodox societies. The Hindu and Buddhist states have the second highest number of female representatives in their parliament while Muslim, traditional (animist), and Jewish countries, particularly the Muslim and Jewish nations of the Middle East, have the lowest women in the legislature irrespective of socio-economic advancement. Reynolds (1999, p. 551) further claims that no major religions show friendly attitudes to the election of women to political office, although, some religions are more hostile to women than others.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

Women worldwide are struggling to ensure their rights in all spheres of life including politics. In some countries, women have advanced a lot while in other places the degree of their advancement is not that satisfactory. The world is still directed by patriarchal norms regarding women’s role in society. However, the extent of male-domination may differ across countries depending on a number of factors like socio-economic advancement, cultural and historical legacy, and social and women’s movement.

Political parties have a lot to do to bring more women in politics. Political parties need to encourage, attract, support, train and mentor more women to participate in politics. Political parties may initiate affirmative action policies like introducing quotas for women. The parties can play a stronger role by selecting an equal number of women in the party structure as well as in the pre-selection. In addition, it is necessary to change the aggressive nature of politics. Politicians as a whole need to stop the aggressive culture of attacking one another to attract more women into politics.

Financial support should be offered to women in need while campaigning for election.

The government should ensure more women in decision-making and other senior positions in business, trade unions and all other sectors where women might make a transition into politics. More women-friendly policies like free childcare centers, convenient meeting time and ways of overcoming domestic responsibilities are required to be initiated by the government.

The mass media can change traditional mindset of people by broadcasting and publishing positive news about female political leaders.

And finally, cooperation from family members, especially husband and in-laws is vital for women to participate in politics. Family members can look after the children and supervise household activities so that interested women can manage time for politics.

## References

- Atkeson, L. R., & Rapoport, R. B. (2003). The more things change the more they stay the same: Examining gender differences in political attitude expression, 1952-2000. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 67(4), 495-521
- Bari, F. (2005). *Women's political participation: Issues and challenges*. Paper presented at the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women Expert Group Meeting: Enhancing participation of women in development through an enabling environment for achieving gender equality and the advancement of women. Bangkok
- Brady, H. E., Verba, S., & Schlozman, K. L. (1995). Beyond SES: A resource model of political participation. *The American Political Science Review [H.W. Wilson - SSA]*, 89(2), 271-294
- Carras, M. C. (1995). Indira Gandhi: Gender and foreign policy. In F. D'Amico & P. R. Beckman (Eds.), *Women in world politics: An introduction*. Westport, Conn: Bergin & Garvey
- Chowdhury, N., Nelson, B. J., Carver, K. A., Johnson, N. J., & Loughlin, P. L. O. (1994). Redefining politics: Patterns of women's political engagement from a global perspective. In B. J. Nelson & N. Chowdhury (Eds.), *Women and politics worldwide* (pp. 3-24). New Haven: Yale University Press
- Coffé, H., & Bolzendahl, C. (2010). Same game, different rules? Gender differences in political participation. *Sex Roles*, 62(5), 318-333. doi:10.1007/s11199-009-9729-y

- Dahlerup, D. (2005). Increasing women's political representation: New trends in gender quotas. In J. Ballington & A. Karam (Eds.), *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers* (pp. 141-153). Stockholm: International IDEA
- Eagly, A. H., Makhijani, M. G., & Klonsky, B. G. (1992). Gender and the evaluation of leaders: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *111*(1), 3-22. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.111.1.3
- Franceschet, S., & Piscopo, J. M. (2008). Gender quotas and women's substantive representation: Lessons from Argentina. *Politics and Gender*, *4*(3), 393-425. doi:10.1017/S1743923X08000342.
- Fridkin, K. L., & Kenney, P. J. (2007). Examining the gender gap in children's attitudes toward politics. *Sex Roles*, *56*(3-4), 133. doi:10.1007/s11199-006-9156-2
- Goetz, A. M. (2003). *Women's education and political participation*. Retrieved from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001467/146770e.pdf>
- Halder, N. (2002). *Effective representation of women legislators in parliaments: A case study of New Zealand in theoretical and global perspectives* (PhD Thesis). University of Canterbury, New Zealand. Retrieved from <http://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/handle/10092/4780>
- Hall, C. M. (1992). *Women and empowerment: Strategies for increasing autonomy*. Washington: Hemisphere.
- Hillygus, D. S. (2005). The missing link: Exploring the relationship between higher education and political engagement. *Political Behavior*, *27*(1), 25-47. doi:10.1007/s11109-005-3075-8
- IKnow Politics. (2002). *Ending violence against women and girls: pacific regional scan*. Retrieved from [http://iknowpolitics.org/sites/default/files/actionsendvaw\\_pacific\\_report.pdf](http://iknowpolitics.org/sites/default/files/actionsendvaw_pacific_report.pdf)
- International IDEA., IPU, & Stockholm University. (2015). *Gender quotas around the world*. Retrieved from <http://www.quotaproject.org>
- IPU (1999). *Participation of women in political life: An assessment of developments in national parliaments, political parties, governments and the Inter-Parliamentary Union, five years after the Fourth World Conference on Women* (9291420654). Retrieved from [http://www.ipu.org/PDF/publications/womenplus5\\_en.pdf](http://www.ipu.org/PDF/publications/womenplus5_en.pdf)
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2000). *Politics: Women's insight: Analysis of the IPU survey* (Vol. 36.). Retrieved \_\_\_\_\_ from [http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/womeninsight\\_en.pdf](http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/womeninsight_en.pdf)
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2008). *Equality in politics: A survey of women and men in parliaments*. Retrieved from <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/equality08-e.pdf>
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2014). *Women in parliament in 2013: The year in review*. Retrieved from [www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/WIP2013-e.pdf](http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/WIP2013-e.pdf)

- \_\_\_\_\_. (2019). *Women in national parliaments: Situations as of 1<sup>st</sup> February 2019*. Retrieved from <http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>
- Iwanaga, K. (2008a). Introduction: Women and politics in Asia: A comparative perspective. In K. Iwanaga (Ed.), *Women's political participation and representation in Asia: Obstacles and challenges* (pp. 1-22). Denmark: NIAS Press.
- Iwanaga, K. (2008b). Women's political representation in Japan. In K. Iwanaga (Ed.), *Women's political participation and representation in Asia: Obstacles and challenges* (pp. 101-129). Denmark: NIAS Press.
- Johnson, D., Kabuchu, H., & Kayonga, S. V. (2003). Women in Ugandan local government: The impact of affirmative action. *Gender & Development, 11*(3), 8-18. doi:10.1080/741954365
- Kjær, U. (2010). Women in politics-The local-national gender gap in comparative perspective. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift, 334-351*.
- Krook, M. L. (2006). Gender quotas, norms, and politics. *Politics and Gender, 2*(1), 110-118. doi:10.1017/S1743923X06231015.
- (2009). *Quotas for women in politics: Gender and candidate selection reform worldwide*. Cary: Oxford University Press, USA. (2014). Electoral gender quotas: A conceptual analysis. *Comparative Political Studies, 47*(9), 1268-1293.
- Lawless, J. L., & Fox, R. L. (2012). *Men rule: The continued under-representation of women in US politics*: Women & Politics Institute. Retrieved from <https://www.american.edu/spa/wpi/upload/2012-Men-Rule-Report-web.pdf>.
- Liu, S., Volčič, Z., & Gallois, C. (2011). *Introducing intercultural communication: Global cultures and contexts*. London: SAGE.
- Lovenduski, J. (2005). *Feminizing politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- McCann, D. J. (2013). *Electoral quotas for women: An international overview*. Australia: Parliament of Australia Retrieved from [http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/prspub/2840598/upload\\_binary/2840598.pdf;fileType=application/pdf](http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/prspub/2840598/upload_binary/2840598.pdf;fileType=application/pdf).
- Matland, R. E. (2005). Enhancing women's political participation: Legislative recruitment and electoral systems. In J. Ballington & A. M. Karam (Eds.), *Women in parliament: Beyond numbers, A revised edition* (pp. 93-111). Sweden: IDEA.
- Moser, R. G., & Scheiner, E. (2004). Mixed electoral systems and electoral system effects: Controlled comparison and cross-national analysis. *Electoral Studies, 23*(4), 575-599. doi:10.1016/S0261-3794(03)00056-8
- Murray, R. (2010). Second among unequals? A study of whether France's "quota women" are up to the Job. *Politics and Gender, 6*(1), 93-118. doi:10.1017/S1743923X09990523.

- Norris, P. (1987). *Politics and sexual equality: The comparative position of women in Western democracies*. Boulder;Brighton, Sussex;: Rienner.
- Opcit Research, (2013). *Women in decision-making: The role of the new media for increased political participation*. Retrieved from [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2013/493010/IPOL-FEMM\\_ET\(2013\)493010\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2013/493010/IPOL-FEMM_ET(2013)493010_EN.pdf)
- Paxton, P. (1997). Women in national legislatures: A cross-national analysis. *Social Science Research*, 26(4), 442-464. doi:10.1006/ssre.1997.0603
- Paxton, P., Kunovich, S., & Hughes, M. M. (2007). Gender in politics. *Annual Review of Sociology [H.W. Wilson - SSA]*, 33, 263-284.
- Phillips, A. (1991). *Engendering democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Putnam, R. D. (1976). *The comparative study of political elites*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Reynolds, A. (1999). Women in the legislatures and executives of the world: Knocking at the highest glass ceiling. *World Politics*, 51(4), 547-572. doi:10.1017/S0043887100009254
- Rosenstone, S., & Hansen, J. M. (1993). *Mobilization, participation and democracy in America*. New York.: MacMillan.
- Sapiro, V. (1983). *The political integration of women: Roles, socialization and politics*. Urbana: Univerisity of Illinois P.
- Sawer, M. (2002). The representation of women in Australia: Meaning and make-believe. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 55(1), 5-18. doi:10.1093/parlij/55.1.5
- Seager, J., Wilson, A., & Jarrett, J. (1997). *The state of women in the world atlas* (Vol. New rev. 2nd). London: Penguin.
- Shvedova, N. (2005). Obstacles to women's participation in parliament. In J. Ballington & A. M. Karam (Eds.), *Women in parliament: Beyond numbers* (Vol. 2, pp. 33-50). Stockholm: International Idea.
- Sidhu, G. L., & Meena, R. (2007). *Electoral financing to advance women's political participation: A guide for UNDP support*. New York: UNDP. Retrieved 2016 from <https://www.ndi.org/files/Electoral%20Financing.pdf>
- Tajali, M., & Hoodfar, H. (2011). *Electoral politics: Making quotas work for women*(First ed.). London: Women living under Muslim laws.
- Tripp, A. M., & Kang, A. (2008). The global impact of quotas: On the fast track to increased female legislative representation. *Comparative Political Studies*, 41(3), 338-361. doi:10.1177/0010414006297342
- True, J., Niner, S., Parashar, S., & George, N. (2012). *Women's political participation in Asia and the Pacific*. Paper presented at the SSRC Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum.

Retrieved from

## Barriers to the Political Participation of Women

<http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/thebordercrossingobservatory/files/2013/02/UNDP-Women%E2%80%99s-Political-Participation-in-Asia-and-the-Pacific.pdf>

Tucker, K. K. (1999). *The impact of socialization on the political participation of women in the American political system*. (Masters of Arts). Clark Atlanta University, Atlanta, State of Georgia, U.S. Retrieved from

<http://digitalcommons.auctr.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2956&context=dissertations>

Ukrainian Women's Fund. (2011). Women's participation in politics and decision-making in Ukraine: Strategy paper. In: OSCE. Retrieved from

<http://www.osce.org/odihr/85974?download=true>

UNDP. (2005). *Women and elections- Guide to promote the participation of women in elections*. New York: UNDP. Retrieved from

<https://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/publication/WomenAndElections.pdf>

UNDP. (2010). *Women's representation in local government in Asia-Pacific status report 2010: Going beyond national targets in monitoring status for MDG 3 on women's political empowerment*. Retrieved from

[http://Www.Capwip.Org/Readingroom/Topotheshelf.Newsfeeds/2010/Women's%20participation%20in%20local%20government-Asia%20pacific%20\(2010\).Pdf](http://Www.Capwip.Org/Readingroom/Topotheshelf.Newsfeeds/2010/Women's%20participation%20in%20local%20government-Asia%20pacific%20(2010).Pdf)

UNDP, & National Democratic Institute [NDI]. (2012). *Empowering women for stronger political parties: A guidebook to promote women's political participation*. New York: UNDP & NDI. Retrieved from

<https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Empowering-Women-Full-Case-Study-ENG.pdf>

Virgint, E. (2016). *Electoral systems and women's representation (background paper)*. (2016-30-E). Ottawa, Canada: Library of Parliament, Ottawa, Canada Retrieved from

[http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection\\_2016/bdp-lop/bp/YM32-2-2016-30-eng.pdf](http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2016/bdp-lop/bp/YM32-2-2016-30-eng.pdf)