Women's Access to Political Leadership in Madagascar: The Value of History and Social Political Activism

Ave Altius

Joel Raveloharimisy

Women's Access to Political Leadership in Madagascar: The Value of History and Social Political Activism

Ave Altius[1] and Joel Raveloharimisy[2]

Abstract

Globally, wide gaps exist between men's and women's participation in leadership roles. This paper explores women's access to leadership in Madagascar through an examination of women's participation in politics and government. Research across the literature found three major reasons for women's political participation: gender quotas, kinship and societal upheaval. However, upon examining Madagascar, women's participation in leadership involves factors, which were not fully explored in this literature. The historical legacy of Madagascar and women's social and political activism were the principal factors in women's participation in leadership. The findings might have implications in explaining women's access to leadership roles.

Keywords: Madagascar, Politics, Women, Qualitative Research

Women's Access to Leadership in Madagascar

While women have admittedly gained more representation in the political arena, there are still major discrepancies between female political participation and that of their male counterparts (Brown & Diekman, 2013). This is the case with regard to politics as well as business and other aspects of daily life. As of January 2014, there are only nine heads of state who are women and fourteen women who are heads of government. Women also only form 21.8% of national parliamentarians and 17% of government ministers are women (United Nations Women, 2014). In all of the history of the United States, only 44 women have served in the Senate, and 32 have ever been elected as governors (Center for American Women and Politics, 2014). The active participation of women in leadership is an integral part of development, as women constitute half of the world's population (World Bank, 2013). Non-governmental organizations and civil society organizations such as the United Nations (United Nations Women, 1979) advocate for a more equitable participation of women in leadership positions and more participation of women in decision-making in general.

---

[1] Ave Altius is graduate student currently pursuing a Master's of Science in Community and International Development at Andrews University. She received her Bachelor of Arts in Spanish and International Studies from Midwestern State University. Ms. Altius has always been interested in international issues, affairs, and politics, and always attuned to how gender functions in each of these areas. Her current concentration in pursuit of an M.S. in Community and International Development is Gender and Development. (altius@andrews.edu)

[2] Dr. Joel Raveloharimisy is the current director of the Community and International Development Program at Andrews University. He attained his Ph.D. in Political Science with a focus on Comparative Politics and Political Economy of Development from Western Michigan University. He has a Master of Business Administration from Eastern Washington University, and a Bachelor of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies from the same institution. His research interests include education, women's empowerment, and economic development. He has published on topics relating to Madagascar in the past, and continues research into affairs relating to the country. (raveloha@andrews.edu)

Currently in Madagascar, a country with a population of 22.92 million people (World Bank, 2013), women form 23% of the national parliament. Based on this figure, Madagascar ranks 73rd in the world for women in parliament (The International Parliamentary Union, 2014). Current advocacy initiatives attempt to bolster women's participation in politics and other areas of leadership through women's education and empowerment among other measures (Women's Leadership and Political Participation, 2015). However, in order to know what methods are best for promoting women's leadership, it is necessary to examine why women participate in leadership roles, and how they have access to those roles. The question for Madagascar therefore, and the question that this research seeks to address is; what accounts for women's leadership roles in politics and government in Madagascar?

In order to develop policies and programs that foment women's participation in politics and societal leadership, it is necessary to first know what contributes to women's participation and by extension, what barriers exist to prevent women from gaining access to leadership. This research will explore the case in Madagascar because, as the literature will show, there is a lack of research around the specific factors that contribute to women's leadership in politics in that country. This research may also be relevant to other countries besides Madagascar and the findings may be useful in informing policy and programs that seek to increase women's participation in leadership in general.

Literature Review

Various theories have been explored as to how women gain political leadership positions, and what barriers they face to their participation in politics. Jalalzai and Krook (2010) outline differences between women's attainment of national leadership positions, and leadership positions in national parliaments. One of the reasons they cite is kinship—women whose husbands or fathers had been in politics found a road already paved for their own entrance into the political arena. This is especially the case historically in terms of national leadership. Jalalzai and Krook (2010) provide examples such as Indira Gandhi of India and Michelle Bachelet of Chile to make this point.

The electoral system also plays an important role in women's leadership both at the national and parliamentary levels. Nationally, some political systems have both a prime ministerial and a presidential office. Women may get elected to the office that has less power in decision making and influence in the country, in essence being just figure-heads (Jalalzai and Krook, 2010). On the parliamentary level, the type of electoral system plays a role in women's attainment of leadership positions. Whether the system is one of proportional representation or majority determines women's participation (Jalalzai and Krook, 2010). If an electoral system includes enforced quotas that address women's participation in politics, then this increases women's political participation (Krook, 2013). However, there can be bias in the implementation of these quotas. As Ryan, Haslam, and Kulich (2010) note, based on their study of the 2005 United Kingdom general elections, women are often times appointed to contest seats that they have little chance of winning. While Ryan, Haslam and Kulich admit that there might be many factors attributing to this, the fact remains that it has an effect on women's attainment of leadership positions.

There is also a distinction made between whether a female is elected to a position or appointed. According to Jalalzai and Krook (2010), some systems are dual systems where both a president and a prime minister form the head of the government. In these systems, women may sometimes be appointed to the position of less power, and subject to dismissal at the whim of the

president. So while they are in theory in important positions of leadership, their power is in fact limited. The literature also seems to posit that women in appointed positions often do not get elected after the end of their term (Jalalzai and Krook, 2010; Ryan, Haslam, & Kulich, 2010). For instance, where a female is a vice president and the president becomes unable to continue in his office, the female then becomes the president (Jalalzai and Krook, 2010). While this is a possible route to leadership for these female leaders, they are often not re-elected to office (Jalalzai and Krook, 2010).

Another cited reason for women's political participation is instability (Jalalzai and Krook, 2010; Brown and Diekman, 2013; Krook, 2013; Ryan, Haslam, and Kulich, 2010). Jalalzai and Krook (2010) posit women's traditional roles as the reason for their elections during unstable times. But they also argue that in turbulent times, a candidate's qualities as a leader are more important than their gender, and this is the reason women are easily elected during those times. This idea is reinforced by Ryan, Haslam, and Kulich (2010), who claim that traditional women's traits are more useful in times of crisis. According to Brown and Diekeman's (2013) System Justification Theory, political instability leads to social change; if people are satisfied with the current system, they are less likely to support a non-traditional leader. When they are unsatisfied, they are more likely to support women and minorities in leadership roles. Krook (2013) attributes low female political participation in Botswana to the country's decades of political and social stability, arguing that stability does not foster change.

Another factor that affects women's access to leadership is the impact of a country's history on the current situation of women in that country. Case studies of Rwanda (Herndon and Randell, 2013) and Malawi (Tiessen, 2008) make mention of the historical legacy of these countries and the effects these legacies have on women in the present. In the case of pre-colonial Rwanda, women held a high status because of their child-bearing abilities; however, it is arguable whether this has any bearing on Rwandan women's current high rates of political participation. According to Herndon and Randell (2013), the main reason for Rwanda's current high rate of female participation in politics—63.8% women parliamentarians in the lower house (United Nations Women 2014) —is because of the social upheaval caused by the Rwandan genocide. Herndon and Randell's (2013) study is a case for the theory of instability discussed earlier (Jalalzai and Krook, 2010; Brown and Diekman, 2013; Krook, 2013; Ryan, Haslam, and Kulich, 2010).

In the case of Malawi, Tiessen (2008) argues that the history of women's subjugation in the country now contributes to women's low participation rates in politics and access to leadership roles. However, Tiessen's (2008) argument is more tied to culture as well, not just history. This same case may be made for Rwanda—culture and historical legacy in both Rwanda and Malawi have some effect on women's access to leadership in the present day. Jalalzai and Krook (2010) argue that leadership roles of women in politics are affected by religion, culture, and ideology (Jalalzai and Krook 2010). In the case of Madagascar, this present research seeks to explore a different aspect of history that may now have an influence on women's political leadership. Instead of viewing history through a cultural lens of perceptions of women and their roles, this paper instead focuses on women in leadership in the history of Madagascar.

Does a historical legacy of women in political leadership affect women's access to leadership roles? Perkins, Phillips and Pearce (2013) argue that the presence of women in leadership serves as a source of inspiration for other women to become leaders. Their theory refers to real-time situations, and this research also seeks to explore how past female political leaders affect women's access to leadership in the present.

Proposition

While the electoral system, kinship ties, quotas, culture, religion and ideology all have an impact on women's accessibility to leadership, we propose that women have greater access to leadership roles in a country where there is a historical legacy of women in leadership positions, as well as active participation of women in the areas of advocacy and social and political activism. Madagascar is a country with a history of women in political leadership as monarchs who had absolute power. It is also a country where currently, women are involved in activism, whether it is social, political, or advocacy. Therefore, these factors may have as important an impact on women's access to political leadership as the other factors so far listed in the existing literature.

Research Methodology

The overall approach to research in this study was the stylized approach. This method was used because the research undertaken was basic research, and it contributes more to the theory and the body of knowledge of the topic of women in leadership than it contributes to immediate solutions to women's participation as in the project-based cycle (Sumner & Tribe, 2008).

In conducting this research, primarily qualitative methods were utilized; however, quantitative data was also used to a lesser degree. Therefore, the method was a mixed method. The data collection focused on: (1) The history of Madagascar as it relates to female political leaders, and what effect, if any, this history has on current women's access to leadership in the country and; (2) Women's activism in Madagascar and whether this activism leads to greater access to women's leadership in politics and government.

In the analysis, reports of non-governmental organizations that work in Madagascar which include the Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa, the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation and the Southern African Development Community were used to understand the current state of gender and politics in Madagascar. Reports of the United Nations and the World Bank were also used in this analysis.

In addition, archival research was carried out on historical records and accounts of Madagascar. Content analysis was also necessary to determine what methods are used currently to foment women's political participation in the country.

Findings/Analysis

Historical Legacy

Before the colonization of Madagascar by the French in 1896, the island of Madagascar had been partially under the control of the Merina Kingdom (Kent, 1962; Ellis, 2003). According to Ellis (2003), the Merina only ever controlled two-thirds of the island; however, the French, British and the United States had acknowledged the rulers of the Merina kingdom as the rulers of Madagascar. Before the period of unification, the island had been divided into various tribes which had their autonomous leaders and governmental structures. Among the Merina monarchs, women figured prominently, often holding absolute power over the government of the kingdom. As a matter of fact, Queen Rafohy was the Merina monarch who initially began the unification of tribes under one ruler (Kent, 1962; Raharijaona et Susan Kus, 2010). She began this unification during the first half of the sixteenth century, and it continued under various monarchs until 1787 when Andrianampoinimerina managed to unify the entire central plateau of Madagascar. Kent (1962)

mentions that during this time period, succession to the throne was treacherous because it involved subterfuge, assassination, and exile, but even from then, women held absolute power as monarchs in Madagascar.

The unification of the island continued under Radama I who was succeeded by Queen Ranavalona I in 1828 (Kent, 1962; Ellis, 2003). Queen Ranavalona sought to extend Merina supremacy throughout the entire island of Madagascar. According to Kent's (1962) historical account, Ranavalona used her power to undo all the policies and practices of her predecessor Radama I, especially as regards foreign policy. King Radama had become influenced by European values, especially those perpetuated by Christian missionaries who had come to the island (Rich, 2004; Ellis, 2003). As a result, according to Rich (2004), he had sought to change many aspects of the Malagasy culture to fit the European concept of what constitutes a civilized society. One of these changes included the dominance of males in leadership in direct contrast to Malagasy tradition which had also allowed for female leadership (Rich, 2004). Ranavalona I sought to restrict foreign entrance and interference into the internal affairs Madagascar and shunned western influences, including Christianity. Kent and Raharijaona and Susan Kus, (1962; 2010) make no mention of Ranavalona I being a figurehead ruler controlled by others. She herself held the reins of power and had absolute sway over the affairs of the kingdom.

Queen Ranavalona represents the absolute political power that women held in Madagascar. She was a monarch who held absolute power over her subjects (Chernock, 2013). The contrast between this notion of an absolute female monarch and western notions of women as monarchs is evident in Ranavalona I's interaction with her British counterparts. Her grip on power was an issue for the British political leaders who had a different concept of the role of women in politics and government. Ranavalona I ruled simultaneously with Queen Victoria of Britain, and British politicians and leaders viewed Ranavalona I as having too much power simply because she was a woman (Chernock, 2013). Chernock (2013) mentions that Ranavalona herself was confused by the British political system because she was always sent official addresses from men, but not from Queen Victoria, and she stated that she would respond to no one except the ruler of the country, and as the monarch of Madagascar herself, she believed the only one who should have been able to address her was Queen Victoria.

In historical accounts, Ranavalona I is pitted as a hostile, ignorant ruler who drew Madagascar back into savagery because of her policies. However, Chernock (2013) points out that much of the disparaging of Ranavalona I stemmed from western ideals and values. In essence, disparaging Ranavalona I was the method of showing displeasure at the fact that she had absolute power despite being female. Western writers of the history of Madagascar such as Robert Drury and William Ellis pitted Victoria as a gentle, feminine monarch who cared about her people. They assigned her with feminine qualities and deemed those as appropriate for a female monarch. However, they painted Ranavalona I as a regressive savage who did not care about her people at all, and who was anti-feminine. Her qualities as a strong leader made her an unfit ruler in the western value system (Chernock, 2013). Views of the west on the role of women would soon come to have an effect on Madagascar, and the access women had to power in that country.

Madagascar was ruled by women during most of the nineteenth century. The female monarchs who succeeded Ranavalona I included Queen Rasoherina who ruled from 1863 to 1868; Queen Ranavalona II who ruled from 1868 to 1883, and the final monarch before the onset of the French colonization, Queen Ranavalona III who ruled from 1883 to 1897 (Kent, 1962; Ellis, 2003). Little information was found during the research for this study on these latest queens, but it is worth noting that much of the history of the kingdom period of Madagascar that was explored

tended to focus on the kings of the period more than the queens. Ranavalona I, however, is an example of the fact that the queens were not just figureheads, but held actual power. Her prominence in the literature may have to do with the fact that she ruled concurrently with Queen Victoria of Great Britain at a time when Madagascar was of strategic importance to the European nations. Even now in studying women and leadership, the content displays an obvious bias towards focusing solely on the contribution of men, but Malagasy women's historical access to leadership roles in their country cannot be denied. The unwritten constitution of the Hova tribe made no discrimination on the basis of sex for access to any leadership positions (Chernock, 2013).

Women were respected rulers during the Kingdom of the Merina. During the 63 years under French colonial rule in Madagascar, western ideas changed the country's culture and customs to an extent. Western educational and religious customs came to play a part in women's access to leadership. One of the reasons women lack access to leadership is because they also lack access to education. It was the western custom at the time for the French to only send their boys to be educated, and this system became imposed in their colonies, including Madagascar. By denying women access to education, the values that the French imposed in the country also denied them access to leadership. However, the Malagasy historical legacy of women in leadership is still present, so the idea of women in leadership positions is not one that is far-fetched or a foreign concept to the Malagasy people. This fact makes it easier and less unthinkable for women to attain leadership positions. Outside the concept of the country's historical legacy, another factor emerged from within Madagascar to explain the access that women have to leadership positions – that is their direct and active involvement in the political and social arenas of Malagasy life.

Activism

The French colonized Madagascar by 1896. During the colonial period, there was resistance to the French rule and a push for independence. In fact, there was resistance to European influence even before the colonization of the island by France. As stated previously, King Radama I welcomed European influence and sought to change Malagasy culture to fit western views of society. His changes, however, were not immediately met with acceptance. According to Rich (2004), when Radama I began to make these changes, which included a change from the traditional Malagasy haircut for the king, in 1822 five thousand Malagasy women who were of the aristocratic class gathered in protest to demand a return to tradition. Radama I, now influenced by European views of women, executed the leaders of the protest and demanded that the others return home to see to their domestic duties. The protesters did comply with the king. However, this event is evidence that even when Madagascar was a kingdom not yet wholly influenced by Europe, activism was utilized by women as a method of influencing the governance of their country. This legacy would continue after colonization and independence.

One woman who was active during the period when Madagascar was a French colony was Gisele Rabesahala. Rabesahala was on the leaders of the AKFM–Congrès de l'Indépendence de Madagascar during the French colonial period (Kent 1962). Kent argues that Rabesahala and her cohorts were radical in outlook, and as leaders of the AKFM, the party also became radical in its outlook. She became secretary-general of the party in 1959 and controlled its direction despite the existence of a president of the party (Thompson & Adloff, 1965). Thompson and Adloff (1965) claim that Rabesahala created a cultural Madagascar. And indeed, her activism during the fight for dependence led to her appointment as Minister of Culture and Revolutionary Art of Madagascar from 1977 until 1991 (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 2014).

Previous to this she was also the first woman elected as a representative for the Atananarivo City Council in 1958.

Gisele Rabesahala's example shows that activism does increase women's access to leadership. Her activism during the struggle for independence paved the way for Rabesahala's appointment into a political leadership position. Additionally, the example of Gisele Rabesahala shows the importance of history to women's current access to leadership. Rabesahala's image and story have been made into a comic strip which details her struggles and activism for Madagascar's independence, and also other achievements throughout her life (UNESCO, 2014). It serves to encourage young women and demonstrates the power that is attached to past female leaders and the ability that their having existed provides to other women to gain access to leadership. Although past queens were not found to be utilized in this same way, it is possible to assume that they could be used as examples, because the presence of women in leadership tends to serve as an inspiration to other women to become leaders (Perkins, Haslam, & Kulich, 2013).

The period between Giselle Rabesahala's activism and contemporary Madagascar generated very few female leaders in the government. However, female leaders could still be found in other areas of public life. For instance, Lila Hanitra Ratsifandrihamanana, during the period from 1986 to 1998 was a researcher and teacher at the Higher Teacher Training School's Center for Studies and Research in Natural Sciences; she was the head of the center from 1993 – 1997. She then became the Minister of Scientific Research in 1997. In 1998 to 2002, she was the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Madagascar. Ratsifandrihamanana was also appointed as the Malagasy ambassador to various states in Africa (United Nations, 2009). Lila Hanitra Ratsifandrihamanana's example demonstrates that leadership and active participation in other civil areas of life can lead to leadership in general and political leadership in particular.

In the present period, other women have demonstrated that their activism opens the way to leadership for women. In the realm of political activism, there exist women like Saraha Georget, who is the leader of the Green Party in Madagascar. Another party leader is Brigitte Rasamoelina who is the leader of the Women in Politics Political Party (AMP). Rasamoelina was president of the Association of Women Mayors before becoming the leader of her own party which she reports currently has over 5000 members. Another party leader is Yvette Sylla, who does not call her organization a political party, but a development association known as Mother Madagascar (Women's Movement in Politics, 2015).

All three of these women are examples of political activists who have in a sense created access to leadership positions for themselves by virtue of their activism. Their interests in the political government of Madagascar, and their dissatisfaction with the political parties already existing led them to actively create and establish their own political parties in the country. Like Rabesahala, their activism opened their access to leadership. Bauer and Burnet (2013) note that in the case of Botswana, women are not very active either socially, politically, or with advocacy, and this has led to very low participation rates of women in politics in the country. Activism, therefore, plays an important role in women's access to leadership.

The 2013 Norwegian Embassy report on women in politics in Madagascar states that the current political instability in Madagascar is a deterrent to the participation of women in politics in the country, but that women's participation in activism is higher at this time because of the lack of political participation opportunity. Therefore, women are more active in seeking to influence their leaders through campaigns and other political activism. The formation of the Women's Movement in Politics (VMLF) group may be an example of this. The group aims to increase women's access to political leadership through various campaigns (Norad, 2013). One campaign

138

includes the 30-50% movement, which attempted to increase women's presence in the Malagasy Parliament to 30-50%.

Another part of VMLF's activities is the creation of a handbook that contains information to educate the population on women in politics (Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa, 2012). While there is not one outstanding leader of this group, it can be argued that the group as an activist organization itself provides a springboard for women's access to leadership. For instance, one of the mainstays of the group is support for female candidates contending in elections in Madagascar; the group acts as a support base for these women, and as campaigners for them as well. At the same time, it also encourages its members to go to the polls and vote for these female candidates. Therefore, women's activism in groups opens access to leadership for other women whom they support in leadership positions.

Most recently, women in leadership positions have demonstrated their activism by advocating and encouraging women to vote. The first lady of Madagascar and the female ministers in the country organized a campaign to ensure that women knew they could vote, and encouraged them to do so (United Nations Human Rights, 2015). These women already in positions of power continue the tradition of women's activism by using their positions to empower other women.

Implications

What significance does this analysis hold? We hope that the findings here can lead to the adaptation of measures that can be taken in Madagascar to improve the access that women have to leadership. However, getting more women in leadership positions is not an end in and of itself; getting more women in leadership positions opens the way for more involvement of women in public life on a larger scale. When women are visibly involved, this prompts more women to become involved as well and to see that it is possible for them to participate actively in shaping the decisions of their country (Perkins et. al., 2013).

This research has also demonstrated that in developing policies to foment greater participation of women in public life in any country, research is a necessary step. The literature examined in this study tended to focus overwhelmingly on gender quotas as one of the main methods that may be used to establish greater equality in leadership (Krook, 2008; 2013; Bauer and Burnet, 2013; Ryan et al., 2010). Gender quotas are in fact the most popular measure currently utilized to increase women's participation in political leadership. In the case of Madagascar, gender quotas cannot be ruled out as a method to increase women's political leadership because currently, there are no formal or informal political gender quotas in the country (Southern African Development Community Gender Protocol, 2014). However, the effectiveness of gender quotas is questionable because there is a track record in Madagascar where laws and policies exist but enforcement does not (United Nations Human Rights, 2015). Madagascar's situation must be considered in isolation; measures taken by other countries to improve women's participation may not work in Madagascar.

The political context of a country is also important when attempting to increase women's participation in political and public life. There must be research carried out to determine what the political climate is in order to know what policies could be effective. Madagascar has been experiencing constant political upheaval, with the latest occurring in 2009 (International Crisis Group, 2014). This political upheaval has affected the adoption of measures to improve women's participation. For instance, there have been attempts to institute gender quotas in the Malagasy

political system, but these have ended in failure in parliament (United Nations Human Rights, 2015).

This research attempts to serve as evidence that no one theory can universally explain women's access to leadership positions, and no one measure can be universally applied to increase women's participation. It is important to understand how women get positions of leadership both in the past and present. This can be done through research. The research also introduces the possibilities that historical legacy and women's activism may be important determinants of women's access to leadership in other countries besides Madagascar.

Women make up more than half of the world's population, yet as demonstrated at the beginning of this paper, this is not reflected in the gender composition of leadership of the world population. Additionally, this paper has pointed out that women's access to leadership may be increased based on their empowerment. The activism of the women in Madagascar mentioned here was a result of the women's empowerment of themselves as in the case of women forming their own political parties, and also through women's empowerment of each other, as in the case of the VMLF.

Conclusion

Historical legacy does have an impact on women's access to leadership in Madagascar. While I was unable to prove any direct relation between the past female rulers of Madagascar and women's current access to political leadership, the colonial period example of Gisele Rabesahala did provide evidence of a female leader from the past being used to encourage young women in leadership in the present.

Secondly, the research showed that women's activism also had an impact on women's access to leadership. Activism led to women empowering themselves and women empowering each other, and this opened access to leadership positions. Women either formed their own political organizations or they ran for office with the support of other women. Either case would result in more women in leadership positions. Historical legacy and women's activism in Madagascar paves the way for women's access to leadership.

This research does have limitations. For instance, while historical legacy and women's activism have been proven to have an effect on women's access to leadership, the magnitude of that effect was not determined. The question of whether gender quotas may increase women's access to leadership more than activism, for example, is one that this research cannot answer. So while the possible implications for this research included the formulation of policy and programs to encourage women's engagement and empowerment, there is no guarantee that any policies or programs created will be more effective than establishing legal gender quotas.

Exactly how much historical legacy and activism matter in women's access to leadership, is a possible future direction of this research. Determining the weight of the other factors found in literature such as kinship ties, culture and the electoral system is an area that could be explored to be able to better determine the impact of activism and historical legacy. This further exploration could help policy makers better determine what programs should be put in place to increase women's access to and participation in leadership.

References

Bauer, G., Burnet, G. E. (2013). Gender quotas, democracy, and women's representation in Africa: Some insights from democratic Botswana and autocratic Rwanda. *Women's International Forum, 41,* 103-112.

Brown, E.R., & Diekman, A. B. (2013). Differential effects of female and male candidates on system justification: Can cracks in the glass ceiling foster complacency? *European Journal of Social Psychology, 43,* 299-306.

Center for American Women and Politics. (2014). Fact sheet: Women in the U.S. Senate 1922-2014. Retrieved from http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/levels_of_office/documents/senate.pdf

Chernock, A. (2013). Queen Victoria and the Bloody Mary of Madagascar. *Victorian Studies 55* (3) 426-449.

Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa. (2012). Annual Report. Johannesburg, South Africa.

Ellis, S. D. K. (2003). Rethinking resistance: Revolt and violence in African history. In *Colonial conquest in central Madagascar: Who resisted what?* (p. 69-86.) Leiden, Brill Academic Publishers.

Herndon, G. & Randell, S. (2013). Surviving genocide, thriving in politics: Rwandan women's power. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal*, 5(1), 69-96.

Hojgaard, L. (2002). Tracing differentiation in gendered leadership: An analysis of differences in gender composition in top management in business, politics and the civil service. *Gender, Work and Organization, 9*(1), 15-38.

International Crisis Group. (2014). *A cosmetic end to Madagascar's crisis?* Africa Report No. 218, Belgium.

Jalalzai, F., Krook, M. L. (2010). Beyond Hillary and Benazir: Women's Political Leadership Worldwide. *International Political Science Review*, *31(1)*, 5-21.

Kent, R. K. (1962). *From Madagascar to the Malagasy Republic*. New York, N.Y. Praeger Publishers Inc.

Krook, M. L. (2008). Quota laws for women in politics: Implications for feminist practice. *Social Politics 15*(3), 345-368.

Krook, M., L. (2013). Electoral gender quotas: A conceptual analysis. *Comparative Political Studies, 20,* 1-26.

Krook, M. L. (2013). Gender quotas and democracy: Insights from Africa and beyond. *Women's Studies International Forum, 41,* 160-163.

Perkins, S.E., Phillips, K. W., Pearce, N. A. (2013). Ethnic diversity, gender, and national leaders. *Journal of International Affairs, 67*(1), 85-104.

Raharijaona et Susan Kus, V. (2010). Longing, lust and persuasion: powerful and powerfully sensuous women in Imerina. *Etudes ocean Indien, 45*, 51-66.

Rich, C. H. (2004). Protest on the road to freedom: The women of Madagascar. *Scriptura, 86*, 210-223.

Ryan, K. M., Haslam, S. A., & Kulich, C. (2010). Politics and the glass cliff: evidence that women are differentially selected to contest hard-to-win seats. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 34,* 56-64.

Schanke, L. & Maminirinarivo, R. (2011). *Women's participation in and contribution to governance in Madagascar 2008-2011.* Oslo, Norway. Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation.

Southern African Development Community (2014). *Gender protocol 2014 barometer.* Johannesburg, South Africa, Gender Links.

Sumner, A. & Tribe, M. A. (2008). *International Development studies: Theories and methods in research and practice.* London, Sage Publications.

Thompson, V. and Adloff, R. (1965). *The Malagasy Republic: Madagascar today.* Stanford, Stanford University Press.

Tiessen, R. (2008). Small victories but slow progress: An examination of women in politics in Malawi. *International Feminist Journal of Politics, 10*(2), 198-215.

United Nations. (2015). *Lila Hanitra Ratsifandrihamanana.* Retrieved from http://social.un.org/coopsyear/docs/bios-speakers.pdf

United Nations Education and Scientific Organization. (2014). *Women in Africa.* Retrieved from http://en.unesco.org/womeninafrica/

United Nations Human Rights. (2015). *Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women considers the report of Madagascar.* Retrieved from http://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=16734&LangID=E.

United Nations Population Fund. (2010). *A human rights based approach to programming: Practical implementation manual and training materials.* Boston, MA. Harvard School of Public Health.

United Nations Women. (1979). *Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women.* Retrieved from http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm

United Nations Women. (2014). *Facts and figures: Leadership and political participation.* Retrieved from http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/leadership-and-political-participation/facts-and-figures

United Nations Women (2015). *Women's leadership and political participation.* Retrieved from http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/leadership-and-political-participation

Women in National Parliaments. (2014). *World classification.* Retrieved from http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm

Women's Movement in Politics. (2012). *Women in decision making positions that have marked the history of Madagascar.* Retrieved from http://www.vmlf.mg/actualites/93-les-femmes-dans-les-postes-decisionnels-qui-ont-marque-l-histoire-de-madagascar.html

World Bank. (2013). [Graph depicting world female population]. Retrieved from http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL.FE.ZS/countries?display=graph