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The Political Empowerment of Senegalese Women: Understanding Gender Quotas From Women's Accounts

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

Gender quotas have been adopted in Sub-Saharan African countries in an effort to address gender inequality in political involvement. However, the potential effects of gender quotas have been dividing scholars ever since the existence of these quotas. Citizen women's accounts on the subject remain largely understudied, even though women are the group that the measure is trying to further the political representation of, and are the first to witness the repercussions of gender quotas. That is why, for this research, I choose to adopt women citizen's point of view to examine the effects that followed the implementation of the Law on Parity in Senegal on women's empowerment. To conduct this research, I used a mixed method of discourse analysis, with semi-structured interviews with ten Senegalese women citizens, and survey analysis of Afrobarometer data from 2005 to 2018. The study finds that gender quotas do enhance gender equality through multiple effects, the most predominant of which is the capacity to elevate women's perceptions of their own ability to lead. The study also recognizes the resilience of patriarchal and clientelistic norms that impede female political empowerment. However, ordinary women's discourse discloses a practice among those elected by quotas that provides ways for women to counter patriarchal norms in politics.

Les quotas électoraux de femmes ont été adoptés dans les pays d'Afrique subsaharienne dans le but de remédier à la sous-participation des femmes en politique. Cependant, l'effet des quotas de femme divise les chercheurs depuis son existence. Pourtant, l'opinion des femmes citoyennes sur le sujet reste largement sous-étudiée et ce même si c'est leur représentation politique que la mesure électorale tente d'augmenter. Elles sont dans les premières à être témoins des effets des quotas. C'est pourquoi, dans le cadre de cette recherche, j'ai choisi d'adopter le point de vue des citoyennes pour examiner l'effet de l'application de la loi sur la parité au Sénégal sur l'autonomisation des femmes. Pour mener cette recherche, j'ai utilisé une méthode mixte d'analyse du discours avec 10 entretiens auprès de jeunes femmes sénégalaises et une analyse d'enquête à l'aide de 5 séries de données d'Afrobarometer allant de 2005 à 2018. L'étude a révélé que les quotas de femme renforcent l'égalité des genres par le biais de multiples effets, dont la plus prééminente est sa capacité à élever la perception des femmes de leur propre capacité à diriger. L'étude reconnaît également la résilience des normes patriarcales et clientélistes qui entravent l'autonomisation politique des femmes. Cependant, l'analyse de discours révèle une pratique des femmes politiciennes qui leur permettent de contrer les normes patriarcales en politique.

1. Introduction

In recent years, a growing number of countries have established gender quotas to increase the representation of women in electoral politics. A gender quota is defined as a "positive measurement instrument aimed at accelerating the achievement of gender-balance participation and representation by establishing a defined proportion or number of places or seats" (EIGE, 2019).

Gender quotas are heavily encouraged by the international community, because many argue that they enhance women's empowerment, having a trickle-down effect on women citizens. A government in which women are more equally represented is more likely to be gender-aware, and women are more likely to become politically engaged (Barnes and Cordova, 2016, 670-71). It is a way to promote inclusion, enhance how representative the government is, and come closer to democratic ideals (Krook, 2013, 160). They boost women's political empowerment while bringing women's issues into plenary debate. Gender quotas have been proposed by local activists and international institutions to remedy democratic gaps (Kang and Tripp, 2018, 73). Many African countries now have the highest number of women ever elected in legislative assemblies due to the introduction of electoral gender quotas (Muriaas and al., 2013, 89).

However, the literature on gender quotas also criticizes the ability of quotas to elevate gender equality. A body of the literature focus on the impact of gender quotas on authoritarian regimes. In undemocratic states, gender quotas is being a policy instrument to enhance regime legitimacy and do not solve the problem of women's under-representation in politics (Bjarnegard and Zetterberg, 2016; Clayton and al., 2014). Others argue its inefficiency in defending gender-related issues in parliaments, because party discipline and

modes of choosing candidates make elected women dependent on the party (Josefsson, 2014; Sater 2014).

What do ordinary citizen women think of gender quotas? Women citizens are the primary interest group, because it is their political representation that gender quotas are supposed to serve. Their stance on the law is most pertinent to address when studying the impact of gender quotas. I will look at the point of view of women citizens to analyze what, according to them, the effects of gender quotas are. The aim of this study is to explore the following question**: In the context of a Sub-Saharan country that adopted gender quotas, how do women perceive gender quotas? Do quotas empower women or do they camouflage persistent patriarchal and clientelistic politics?** In answering these questions, this research will also confront existing literature with women's perceptions.

This work consists of a single case study on Senegal. Senegal offers an interesting case study, because, it is considered an outlier in terms of gender policies and the state-Islam relations in Africa. It was the first African country to adopt a law on parity (CEDAW report 2015, 9), which nearly doubled the number of female parliamentary representatives in two years, from 23% in 2010 to 43% in 2012 (Ibid, 387). The country combines clientelistic democratic structures with Sufi Islam (Blakenship and Kubicek, 2018, 48). Islam is frequently associated with patriarchal values and a low level of gender equality (Glass, Spierings, and Scheepers, 2018, 686). Finally, Senegal is understudied in the impact of gender quotas.

This thesis utilizes a mixed method of discourse analysis of 10 in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted with Senegalese women and a quantitative analysis with Afrobarometer data surveys. The analysis of women citizens' perspectives through a mixed

method analysis permits us to insert female voices into the literature of gender quotas' effects. Ordinary women reveal ways in which the law on parity promotes gender equality in Senegal while still identifying persistent practices of patriarchal and clientelistic politics that hinder positive impact of parity. The discourse analysis of women citizens' interviews reflects a dichotomy of opinions about the law on parity. On one hand, it confirms the positive impact of the law bringing positive legislative change, although not necessarily for women, and transforming people's perception of women's capabilities. On the other hand, it also shows the incapacity of gender quotas to overcome impeding factors like clientelism and patriarchal norms. Consequently, female citizens perceived the law on parity as changing nothing of the current status quo or the behaviour of the political elite. Finally, women identify competence as the ultimate criterion for politicians. This acts as a double-edged sword, justifying both the necessity of the law and also its inefficiency.

The discourse analysis of women citizens' interviews reflects different opinions about the law on parity. On one hand, it confirms the positive impact of the law bringing positive legislative change, although not necessarily for women, and transforming people's perception of women's capabilities. On the other hand, it also shows the incapacity of gender quotas to overcome impeding factors like clientelism and patriarchal norms. The analysis also uncovers a practice of female politicians that was until now not in the literature. It unpacks the belief that female politicians' actions are impeded by patriarchal norms. Senegalese women are conscious of the constraints imposed on them, and decide not to challenge patriarchal norms but to work in the shadows of male politicians, out of the spotlight. However, this does not mean those elected under quotas are helpless or cannot bring about legislative change.

The survey analysis reinforces findings regarding the capacity of gender quotas to positively impact gender equality. The law on parity seem to change the symbolic representation of women's ability to govern and to improve women's opinions of their government's performance working toward women's empowerment. However, the longitudinal study on women's political involvement did not record any increase since the law on parity was implemented. In the end, the survey analysis did not demonstrate that gender quotas elevate gender equality through bridging the gap in service provision. These results strengthen findings that gender quotas are effective at changing the perception of women's capacity and that of the government to better address women's empowerment.

I adopt Pitkin's work on political representation as my theoretical framework. This approach helps illuminate the connections between descriptive and substantial political representation and how it might affect individual actions/opinions which refers to the symbolic representation. Women's accounts on the subject of gender quotas will reveal their stances on whether the increase in women's presence in parliament had a positive or negative impact on women empowerment. Furthermore, ordinary women's accounts of gender quotas' effects are understudied.

This research will provide a portrait of the effects of gender quotas on gender equality and the current barriers identified by the literature. One of the aims of this paper is to compare the literature's findings with women's accounts. To give further context, I am dedicating a section on the circumstances under which the Law on Parity was put in place, Senegalese history since colonialism, political systems, the functioning of the clientelistic networks, religion and the role of women in society. Finally, before disclosing findings, the theoretical framework and methods of this research will be revealed.

2. Theoretical framework and Concepts

Through the study of perception, this study challenges already studied effect of gender quotas' on women's empowerment. The goal is to broaden our understanding of the impact of electoral measures like the law on parity on gender equality in developing countries, more specifically in Sub-Saharan Africa. The present work has three major objectives: (1) inserting women citizens' perspectives into the depiction of gender quotas' effects and gender equality, (2) challenging the findings of the literature on the repercussions of gender quotas on women's empowerment with the perception of citizen women to develop novel hypotheses, (3) seeking to understand with more precision the possible forces framing women's perceptions of gender equality. The scope of this research is limited to the perception of Senegalese women on the Law on Parity and its potential repercussions on gender equality and thus cannot make causal claims.

In this section, I first introduce the analytical framework of this thesis, which is built on Pitkin's theory of political representation. Furthermore, I will also review the concepts of women empowerment, clientelistic and neo-patrimonialism, which are central to understand women's perception on gender quotas effectiveness.

2.1 Pitkin's political representation as theoretical framework

The seminal work of Hanna Pitkin (1967) tackles the concept of political representation as complex and multidimensional. She identified four different dimensions of representation; formalistic, descriptive, substantive and symbolic (Pitkin, 1967, 10-11; Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005, 407). Formalistic representation refers to the rules and procedures of selecting representatives. It describes the basic attributes of the legislature's composition, substantive ways representatives may raise attention to an interest group's

policy making and symbolic attributes which are concerned with perception and the cultural ramifications of that representation (Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005, 408-9). Pitkin argues that despise their obvious difference, each of the representation's dimensions are interconnected, or as Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler mention it, "integral parts of a coherent whole" (2005, 407).

For the purpose of this thesis, I am concentrating on the descriptive, substantive and symbolic elements of representation's concepts. I choose to leave out the concept of formal representation because the literature on gender quotas simply does not tackle it as much (Franceschet et al. 2012, 5). Moreover, one of the goals of my analysis is to compare my findings with conclusions from scholarly work. It is worth noting that, Pitkin's book did not have a gender perspective, her conceptualization was heavily retrieved in the field of gender quotas and the effect of women's representation. Therefore, I will also present the work emanating from the field that will contribute to the formation of the theoretical framework.

2.1.1 Descriptive Representation

The notion of descriptive representation refers to the view that political legislators should mirror the composition of the population they represent (Pitkin, 1967, 60). Individually, the concept is translates into the basic attributes of the elected politician and thus their ability to physically 'stand for' those they represent (Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005, 409).

More specifically the literature on gender quotas, has focused on understanding the cross national variation of female access to political offices (Franceschet et al., 2012, 7). For instance, Studlar and McAllister (2002) and Arendt (2018) have been examining in

which electoral system women are more likely to be elected. As such, the study of descriptive representation in the field of electoral quotas concentrate on three aspects. First, the potential of quotas to undermine under democratic and traditional practices of candidate selection. Second, inquiry about the attributes and pathway to the election of a quota's women. Third, examine how the quotas shape descriptive in itself and how it might impact the substantive and symbolic representation (Franceschet et al., 2012, 10). This aspect will be further developed in the last section of this chapter.

2.1.2 Substantive Representation

According to Pitkin, substantive representation is best found in the agent's ability to represent those not represented in its characteristics (Pitkin, 1967, 144). Put differently, substantive representation is the attention given to an interest group in policy making in a manner that is responsive to them (Ibid, 209). Thus, the substantive representation is measuring the capability of the representative to act on behalf of the represented (Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005, 409). Without substantive activity, political representation is incomplete according to Pitkin's theory (Lombardo and Meier, 2014, 4).

Research on women substantive representation in the field of gender quotas have focused on understanding if a quota instruction has increased the number of policies, or better articulation of women concerns in parliaments (Devlin and Elgie, 2008; Franceschet and Piscopo, 2008). Taking into account the cultural, political and institutional contexts, the field of gender quotas have been investigating substantive representation on two levels; the form and the content of policy making (Franceschet et al., 2012, 16). An important line of questioning coming from the literature is whether the implementation of quotas did put pressure on female representative to represent women (named the mandate effect), and thus

whether they have been judged more harshly for not doing so (Zetterberg, 2008; Archenti, 2006, and Johnson, 2006).

2.1.3 Symbolic Representation

Resembling descriptive representative, symbolic representation also entails the extend that representative "stand for" the represented with an emphasis on symbols or symbolization. According to Pitkin, what matter is the "symbol's power to evoke feeling or attitudes" (Pitkin, 1967, 97). Symbol becomes the receiver of "belief, attitudes, and assumptions of people" (Ibid, 99-100). Thus, symbolic representation refers to how the representatives are perceived or evaluated by the people (Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005, 409). According to Lombardo and Meier (2016) symbolic representation is the connection between symbol's responses and social habitus (4). People are trained to respond a certain way to a particular symbol and will keep repeating that response. It is in this potential of symbolic representation that lays the interest of scholars on gender quotas (Ibid, 4-5).

Among the three concepts theorized by Pitkin, symbolic representation is the less explore in the literature (Ibid, 5). However some scholars have been studying the impact of the elevated presence of women on public attitudes and their political empowerment asking the following questions; can gender quotas alter gendered view of the politics? Can the election of more women inspire females to get more politically involved? (High-Pippert and Comer, 1998; Tripp, 2005; Burnet, 2012). These interrogations are central in the literature on quotas as they compound the underlying inquiry about the effect of gender quotas in the short, medium and long-term (Franceschet et al., 2012, 18).

2.1.4 The interlacing nature of the three dimensions of political representation

As mention earlier, Pitkin's theorized the three dimensions of political representation as distinct, but also as interconnected. The link between the three concepts can be illustrated with the application of gender quotas. Theoretically, gender quotas aim at to increase the number of female representatives in legislative bodies, which corresponds to descriptive representation. Widely, the assumption is that the more women legislators there are, the more the effect on policy responsiveness, meaning addressing more gendered issues in parliaments. This line of thoughts connects descriptive representation to the substantive (Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005, 414). By increasing women's political presence (descriptive), gender quotas also have the capacity to challenge the political institutions symbol of a male domain and the people's perception of women's role in society; linking both descriptive and symbolic representation (Franceschet et al., 2012, 9-10).

For Pitkin, policy responsiveness (substantive representation) was primordial to legislature legitimacy because it is influencing the symbolic representation of political institutions (1967, 209-10). Female representatives promoting women's issues and accomplishing their tasks well can shift how citizens perceive women capacities and also the political as a male domain (Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005, 414; Franceschet et al., 2012, 10). Therefore, it underlines the importance of substantive representation in changing the symbolic representation.

Overall, since the subject of this study is the perceived effect of gender quotas or, put another way, the effect of the drastic increase of women's political representation on women's attitudes; it intrinsically encapsulates the concept of symbolic representation. This is because the Law on Parity through symbolic representation can influence ordinary

women's attitude and assumptions. Studying women's accounts on the subject of gender quotas will reveal if the principle of gender quotas penetrated women's perceptions, and expose the competitive factors like patronage politics that are influencing the outcome of gender quotas.

2.2 The concept of women empowerment and gender equality

In order to answer the underlying question of whether gender quotas are supporting gender equality and women's empowerment or not, it is also important to understand what gender quality and empowerment are. In this study, the concept of gender equality refers to an equal opportunity for women to realize and enjoy their full human rights and the potential to contribute to public life and development of a country in all sectors (Council of Europe, 2015, 8). The accomplishment of gender equality comes through the empowerment of women. For Kabeer et al. (2013), empowerment is when those who have been deprived of this capacity of choice obtain it. More specifically:

> "It touches on women's sense of self-worth and social identity; in their capacity to question the subordinate status assigned to them; on their ability to exercise strategic control over their own lives and to renegotiate their relationships with others who matter to them; and finally, on their ability to participate on equal terms with men in reshaping their societies in ways that expand the options available to all women and that contribute to a more democratic distribution of power and possibilities." (20).

This definition does not incorporate cultural notions about what should be equal treatment or self-worth should be, so this concept of empowerment is open to context-specific analysis.

2.3 The concepts of neopatrimonialism and clientelism

For this work, I adopt the definition of neopatrimonialism by Sigman and Lindberg (2017) that fits the Senegalese contexts. The author refers to neo-patrimonial rule as when

'(it) combines strong presidents, clientelistic linkages between citizens and politicians, and the use of state resources for political legitimation" (2017, 1). This definition may be incomplete as it did not articulate the characteristic marriage of formal modern state with the traditional/informal institutions of a specific society (Mkandawire, 2015, 565). But a crucial aspect of a neopatrimonialism system is that it evolves according to the changing of power relations between the different actors composing the networks. It is in constant redefinitions (Bossuyt, 2013, 11). The concept is used in this research to describe the functioning of Senegalese politics and certain practices that are unfolding in the country but not to gauge the performance of the state.

Clientelism "reflects the targeted contingent exchange of goods and services for political support" (Sigman and Lindberg, 2017, 5). Therefore, the concept hindered the modern notion of representation, where all citizens have equal access to what their citizenship entails (Benstead, 2016, 187). According to Lemarchand and Legg, the clientelism idea provides, "a useful theoretical connection between micro- and macro-level or state-centred analyses and theories of development." (Cited in Mkandawire, 2015, 568). In this work, the patrons of the clientelism networks are state official and the client are the different traditional customary actors. Their exchange is at the basis of the Senegalese patrimonial state.

2.3.1 The relationship between clientelism and female political empowerment

The concept of clientelism and how its networks function are central to the understanding of the female exclusion from the public sphere. As mentioned, clients are mostly traditional actors and patriarchy is rampant in many informal and neo-traditional structures (Bagayoko et al., 2016, 17). Those actors propagate patriarchal values that

restrained women to their traditional gender role, away from participating in the public sphere (Atasoy, 2017, 684).

At the heart of clientelism exchange is what Benstead defines "homosocial capital." Which means "close, trusting relationships with individuals, often of the same gender, which are similar and have resources needed for electoral success" (Benstead, 2016, 186). The fact that women are excluded from leadership or any substantial position in more traditional structure limits women's homosocial capital. Male dominance in the public sphere is reproduced by the fact that male dispose of more instrumental resources due to their wider homosocial capital (Ibid, 188). In this line of thought, patriarchal norms and attitudes that already cluster women to the private sphere, perpetuate that reality and even justify it by limiting fewer access for women to patronage networks and instrumental systems (Ibid).

This phenomenon is interesting as it showed the interdependence of female empowerment with the clientelism system that is widespread in Senegalese politics (Sigman and Lindberg, 2017, 14). This aspect will be further explored in the fourth section of this work.

3. Literature review

The literature on gender quotas has blossomed in the past few years, especially because of the high implementation of gender quotas in African countries. However, very limited work has been done on the impact of the Law on Parity in Senegal. The scholarship disagrees on the effect of gender quota. Some contend that quotas do in fact improve gender equality given the increasing women's representation and the enhancing of women's social status.

In contrast, others argue that quotas are used to reinforce the power of the state and/or masking and reproducing state patriarchal mechanism.

Since no such studies have been conducted on Senegal, I am focusing on research on the African context and more specifically in Morocco, as the two countries share similar characteristics which are: being a former French colony with a Muslim majority and a similar gender inequality index -- Senegal with 0.567 and Morocco with 0.482 (Gender Inequality Index, 2017).

3.1 Positive impacts

Some scholars consider the positive impact on the implementation of gender quotas for elevating gender equality and women's political engagement. Yoon's (2011) article on Tanzania argues that the growth in women's legislative representation had a positive impact on parliamentary debates, atmosphere, and policy outcomes. Referring to the concept of substantive representation, women's interests, concerns, and perspectives have been better articulated in the parliament (Ibid, 95). However, female MPs are still meeting challenges impeding their parliamentary effectiveness. The women with reserved seats are not directly elected, rather, the political parties designate these seats for them (Ibid, 86). Consequently, reserved-seat women are chosen for their party loyalty rather than their competences and thus their actions may be more constrained (Ibid, 87). As such, Yoon concludes that even if improvements can be found for women's causes, female MPs' effectiveness is impeded in Tanzania under democratic conditions like cronyism and one-party rule. To help women representatives, Yoon suggests stronger legislature and multiparty systems are needed to be put into place (Ibid, 95).

For Morocco and Algeria, two electoral authoritarian regimes, the research from Benstead (2016) also suggests the positive impact of quotas. The author argues that the increase of females in parliament as beneficial for women's access to their constituency serves as a provision in patriarchal societies (185). Broadly, gender quotas are elevating women's social status by reducing gender gaps in service access because elected women increase service provision to females (Ibid, 198). As a result of their patriarchal societies in Morocco and Algeria, women are more likely to be excluded from clientelistic networks or 'wasta' as they called in the region, and consequentially women candidates are pushed away from corrupt structures (Ibid, 186).[1] However, the introduction of gender quotas is impacting that dynamic; women achieving political power are now entering into the clientelistic structures of the political class. The remaining elements of the theory of homosocial capital states that because of their gender, elected women are more susceptible to serve women in patriarchal and clientelistic settings. Benstead draws her conclusion from qualitative interviews and an original survey of 200 MPs from the two countries. She concludes that female parliamentarians are improving gender equality (Ibid, 187). Therefore, the strength of Benstead's argument remains in her ability to demonstrate that when women are integrated power structures, they are as much likely to participate in patronage politics as men.

A less developed part of the literature also focuses on the positive effect of gender quotas in elevating egalitarian attitudes at the citizen level. The research on Rwanda by Burnet (2012) investigates whether drastic increase of women in the public sphere raised awareness of women's empowerment. Through group and individual interviews with

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[1] See Benstead's table in Appendix III, it summarizes mechanism of exclusion.

grassroots women's organizations (194), Burnet finds that gender quotas have accelerated the change of gender roles in Rwandan society through an increase of female citizens' agency. However, Burnet also notes that cultural change of the place of women in society can have "negative consequences, such as marital discord, rising divorce rates, and increased workload for women" (2012, 206).

3.2 Negative impacts

Some studies look at more nuancedand negative effects of gender quotas for women's empowerment, especially in the context of patronage and patriarchal politics. Sater's (2012) study focuses on patronage politics in Morocco which favours women from elite backgrounds and with political connections (78). As such, according to Sater, the more female MPs have ties to elite networks, the less they are willing to identify with women as a group and to advocate for women's empowerment. For Sater, two factors impede the effect of gender quotas: patriarchal and neo-patrimonial political structures. If implemented in regimes where these two aspects are present, quotas' ability to bring substantial change for women's empowerment is significantly restricted (Ibid, 84).

Importantly, Sater addresses how the population's negative view of the political class can affect their perceptions of female politicians. Concretely, he suggests that quotas elected might be associated with the unpopular group of politicians if they cannot differentiate themselves as able to bring about change in the eyes of citizens (Sater, 2012, 84). According to the scholar, in Morocco, female representatives are judged as bad as their male counterparts because the public do not differentiate their political actions (Ibid). That finding is interesting because it suggests that symbolic representation of female politicians can be tarnished by association with men.

Focusing on Morocco, Lloren's study (2014) investigates the descriptive and symbolic representation of women at the party level (Ibid, 527). It examines whether the introduction of reserved seat quotas for women in parliament affects party members' perception of its female members of the Socialist Union of Popular Forces (SUPF). Lloren concludes that quotas increased women's descriptive representation while not automatically leading to more gender equality in party practice (Ibid, 528). She explains that quotas failed to challenge the power structure of the male Moroccan political regime and that gender quotas can actually be a tool for the political elites to serve and reinforce patronage politics (Ibid, 536).

3.4 This work's contribution

Despite their disagreements, most studies concentrate on the effects of gender quotas in political institutions. This study instead focuses on how female citizens perceive the impact of Parity Law. Their perception can bring light on the relationship between descriptive, substantives and symbolic political representation. In other words, utilizing Pitkin's theory of political representation to study citizen-level women's perception is relevant because their account on the subject can reveal, what the effects of quotas are on the symbolic representation of political institutions and women place in the public sphere.

Existing studies seem to agree that patriarchal structures and norms, as well as patronage networks are strong opponents to women's empowerment, and that only democratization and representation parity could achieve equal access for both genders to services and women's empowerment in the public sector. Yet politicians do not only face patronage and clientelistic networks in authoritarian context, but also in more democratic structures (Sigman and Lindberg, 2017, 15-16). Senegal is a better-established democracy

than Morocco, Algeria and Tanzania (Freedom House, 2019), and the only African country to have implemented Parity Law. It is theoretically interesting to study the impact of patronage networks and patriarchal norms on women empowerment despite democratic institutions and legal instruments for gender equality.

Senegal stands out among African countries because of its advance democratic consolidation and pioneering of the Parity Law. The West African country was labelled 'exceptional' when in 1978, it was the first Sub-Saharan country to organize a multi-party presidential election, years before the wave of democratic transition took over the continent in 1990 (TSEP, 2018). Since the country has held regular presidential and legislative elections (Gueye, 2006, 268) without any mass outbreak of violence or military coup making Senegal one of the most stable countries of the region (Gifford 2016a, 688). Although Senegal could only veritably be described as a democracy in 1993, whereby all political parties agree on common election rules, even if the election did not bring an alternation of power (Villalon, 2013, 243). From that point on, the country continued its democratic construction while still relying on clientelistic networks. Consequently, Senegal joins other 'established' democracies like Japan, Italy and India, that did not abandon their clientelistic norms and practices while consolidating their democratic institutions (Beck, 2008, 29). As such, Senegal can be described as a clientelistic's democracy (Ibid). Although according to V-Dem coders, Senegal do have 'de-jure' and 'de-facto' democratic institutions (Lurhman et al., 2018, 71). Considering that the literature on gender quotas has focused heavily on the implementation of gender quotas in authoritarian or semi-authoritarian context in Sub-Saharan Africa, Senegal constituted an outlier on that aspect.

The other more consolidated democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa, such as Ghana or Botswana (Freedom House, 2019) did not adopt gender quotas at the constitutional level. Political parties can voluntarily adopt gender quotas but no legislation have been put into places (IDEA "South Africa"). South Africa, another African functioning democracy, has implemented a quota of 50% of female candidates for party's list at the local level, and the ANC -- principal South African political party -- have voluntarily adopted a 50% gender quotas. Currently, 170 of 398 (43%) seats in the National Assembly are held by women (Ibid). Rwanda has the world highest number of female holding seats in parliaments where 61% of the Chamber of Deputies are held by women, but only adopted an electoral quota of 30% (IDEA "Rwanda"). In contrast, the Law on Parity in Senegal is applied to all elected bodies, and all levels of government (CEDAW report 2015). The Parity Law of Senegal is more akin to the candidate's quotas model, which means that each political party has to present their electoral list with at least 50% of women (Arendt, 2018, 297). To avoid the women being at the bottom of the candidate list or to be assigned to unwinnable districts, the list must be composed of an alternation of male and female candidates. The country electoral commission is in charge to assure all lists are conformed to the law (ONP, 2016, 34).

Since 1990, with the adoption of the Law on Parity, Senegal became the Muslim-majority country with the most female representatives with 41.8%, before Tunisia with 35.5% and Albania with 29.3% (IPU, 2019). While Islam is frequently associated with patriarchal values and a low level of gender equality (Glas, Spierings, and Scheepers, 2018, 686), scholars have noted that Senegalese Sufi Islam has been generally tolerant towards women rights movements (Blankenship and Kubicek, 2018, 49)

Therefore, in terms of democratic institutions and legislations that protect and advance women's rights, Senegal is an outlier in Africa. By exploring deviant or outlier cases, case study analysis can identify new variables and hypotheses (George and Bennet, 2005, 22). This study aims to generate new insights on gender quotas effect.

4. Women and their place in Senegalese society : The law on parity in context

The purpose of this chapter is to present the multidimensional context that frames women's political empowerment in Senegal, and thus, the context in which the parity law was put into place. I emphasize the importance of contextual factors as people's beliefs, attitudes and perceptions that are shaped by the society they live in and thus can influence their conceptualization of gender quotas. The focus on Senegal's characteristic overview, female empowerment history from its conception as a French colony to politics after independence, the functioning of the clientelistic networks and religion sections, will serve to contextualize the role of women in the Senegalese society. More precisely to explain women's exclusion from politics and why Senegalese women's movement advocated in favour of the establishment of gender quotas at the beginning of 2000.

4.1 An overview of Senegal

The following overview outlines Senegal's history and helps situate the overall context of the female interviewee and of the law on parity. Senegal is a West African country located just under the Saharan desert, bordered by the Atlantic Ocean to the west, Mauritania to the north, Mali to the east and Guinea and Guinea-Bissau to the South. With a total of 14 million residents, the Senegalese's population is young with 42% of the population under the age of 15 (Foucher and Bost, 2019). The population is roughly divided

in seven ethno-linguistic groups. The Wolofs are the dominant, comprising about two fifths (38.7%) of the total population, and their language is the most widely used one in the country (Encyclopedia Britannica, "Senegal"). More than 39 languages are spoken in Senegal, including French, the official language, and Arabic. In comparison with other African countries where there exists dozens, even hundreds, of ethnic groups, Senegal has a relatively homogeneous society (Beck, 2008, 50). In religious terms, Senegal is also homogenous. Around 95% of the population is Muslim, though there is variation in practices ranging from Sufi orders to brotherhoods. Christianity is practised by a small proportion of the population around 5%, and 1% of the population hold indigenous beliefs (Ibid).

The country is largely under-industrialized with limited diversification of the economy (Foucher and Bost, 2019). A census taken in 2016 showed that informal businesses (excluding ambulatory activities) accounted for 97% of businesses across the country, generating half of GDP, 90% of jobs and a fifth of investments (Mbaye and Gueye, 2018). The consensus also exposed the the scarcity of employment in the public sector, especially for women. According to the World Trade Organization, 36.2% of young people (aged 15 to 24) were not in employment, education or training in 2015. Women were more likely to be effected by umployment with at 42.8% versus only 28.7% of men (ILO, 2015). In addition, young people have a low levels of education with only 24% attending school beyond the primary level and for women the percentage is even lower at 17.8% (Dieng, 2016). While formal employment is scarce for youth, women are dispproportionately effected by low levels of education. Therefore, statistics clearly demonstrate the larger extent to which women are excluded from the public sphere.

Finally, Senegal's political system inherited aspects of the French political system including laws and institutions from colonialism. The country is a multiparty republic strongly centralized around the president. The head of the state and the government was made the president since the 2001 constitutional reforms. The president is elected by direct universal adult suffrage and the term of office is for seven years and limited to two terms (Encyclpedia Brittanica, "Senegal"; TSEP, 2018). Senegal has a unicameral legislative parliament called the 'Assemblée Nationale'. It has 150 members elected by universal suffrage for a five-year term. The parliamentarians are elected through a mixed elective legislative method, some seats are contested in a proportional representation system and other seats in a majority system and both have to comply with the Parity Law (Bauer, 2014, 5; TSEP, 2018).

4.2 The historical path of women political empowerment

In this section, I will present the historical path of Senegalese political empowerment and their present sociological and economic conditions. Most scholars and historians agree on the fact that Senegalese women's roles and status in pre-colonial societies indicate that females possessed greater political rights, as they were taking part in the process of power transmission. Senegal was a French colony from 1885 to 1960. Colonialism was responsible for deteriorating the status of women in Senegalese society. During that period, Dakar became the capital of all the French West African Territories making it the epicentre of French bureaucracy (Madjiguene 2001). Consequently after independence, the country not only inherited the capital administrative structures and the functionaries formed during the colonial period, but also its law and constitution. Notably, the principle of secularism inherited from the French was left untouched in 1963 constitutions, the first of the country

(Dièye, 2009, 4). Although, the 'Laïque' (secular) standard of the state has often been contested (Villalon, 2013, 252). However, the colonizer rule did not support or maintain women's traditional political roles in the communities. Rather, women saw their property rights stripped by the colonial appropriation of lands, as well as by the heightening of husbands' and fathers' guardianship over women, be they daughter or wife (ONP, 2016, 20). The intensification of Islamization in the period also participated in eroding women's social power (Bop, 2005, 1107). From that point, the struggle for women's empowerment mainly focused on the right to vote, which would be granted in 1945 (ONP, 2016, 20).

Women's rights activists contributed to the independence movement, although independence did not bring substantial change to the status of women in the New Republic. The absence of democracy was one of the reasons for excluding women from politics. It was only in 1970 that the country transformed into multiparty system and it took 30 more years for a party, besides Union Progressiste Sénégalaise (UPS), to win an election. As such until 2000, the country was considered a de facto one-party state (Encyclopædia Britannica "Senegal", 2018; Osei, 2013, 585). During the UPS years in power, women's movements were confined to the single party and this limited the actions of the group. A handful of female relatives, including the wives of high-profile politicians were nominated for office at that time (Beck, 2003, 147). Otherwise women were absent from political bodies until the mid-1980s. At that time, a wave of educated females took advantage of the political opening in the multiparty system to create independent women's groups and associations that put pressure on the government to advance women's causes (Ibid, 21).

In the following years, two peaceful transitions of power consolidated the country's multiparty system, which represented the established strength of democratic structures in

the Senegal (Creevey, Ngomo and Vengroff, 2005, 470). Consequently, the country attracted greater involvement of external actors, which impacted female activism in the country at the time. The Senegal's reliance on foreign aid pushed them to adopt more sensible gender policies (Tripp, 2016). Furthermore, the women's rights movement also received a lot of support from NGOs, which helped to reinvigorate and accentuate women's political activism at the beginning of 2000s (ONP, 2016, 22), despite the country still adopting laws penalizing women. This showcased the continuing difficulty of the state to comply with conventional principles like the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and brought women's empowerment (Sieveking, 2007, 36).

As a result, to this day, traditional Senegalese and religious diktats confine women to the private sphere, dependency and motherhood (Crossouard and Dunne, 2015, 46 - 55). The ideal of the perfect housewife set the boundaries for what is expected of women: to be submissive and obedient to her father and, when married, her husband (Adjamagbo et al., 2006, 7). With a 95% Muslim population, religious discourses are one of the strongest opponents of women's empowerment by supporting patriarchal norms. Some Islamic figures are using sacred texts in their arguments against women's education, integration to the job market and political empowerment (Mbow, 2001).

Moreover, the Senegalese Family Code -- a mix of customary, Quranic and French law -- is the most prominent source of unequal laws and norms between men and women. It stipulates "women's legal position, determining conditions for marriage, inheritance and custody" (Sieveking, 2007, 36). Therefore, it has long been the primary subject of dispute between women's rights activists and various Islamic figures (Ibid), representing major barriers to women's empowerment.

Economically, the employment rate of women in Senegal is one of the lowest in the world, at only 46.8%. They rank 107 out of 141 countries, according to the World Economic Forum (WEF, 2017, 298). Women get mostly low-paying jobs in the informal sector, and they run one third of the informal activities (OECD, 2018, 1; Périllieux and Szafarz, 2015, 438). This could be explained by the fact that only 33.6% of women are literate: despite the fact that 74.8% of girls enrol in primary school, only 17.8% of them continue with secondary education (WEF, 2017, 299). This is compounded by a young population, the average age being 22 years old and 65 % being below the age of 25 (Crossouard and Dunne, 2015, 49). Female youth unemployment represents a major challenge for women's empowerment as a whole, as, without it, women cannot gain economic independence.

4.3 Corruption, clientelistic networks relationship with religious institutions

As mentioned previously, Beck considers Senegal as a clientelistic democracy. Senegalese corruption and clientelistic networks can impact the population's attitude towards their political leaders framing them as less effective or less ethical. It is thus pertinent to explore how these networks unfold and impact the politics of the Sub-Saharan country and to understand how they might influence female citizens' perception of gender quotas' impact. I will also explain how its relationship with religious institutions contributes to women exclusion from the public sphere.

As the term "clientelistic democracy" indicates, although Senegal adopted a democratic structure, the political institutions are still relying on varying levels of informal clientelistic networks and patronage (Beck, 2008, 29). This phenomenon is a remittance of the neo-patrimonial system of the country as leaders are rewarding local patrons in exchange for their electoral support (Koter, 2013, 664).

Senegelease clientelistic networks involve clan leaders, religious leaders, government officials and entrepreneurs and have deep historical roots (Spector, 2012, 163). Going from the French rule that dealt with marabouts to control peripheral lands, to independence when Senghor, the first president, incorporated every important Senegalese ethno-religious group into clientelistic relationships with the state. Through these occurrences, the marabout inherited administrative and agricultural control of a majority of regions (Bossuyt, 2013, 10). The arrangement assured relative stability of the West African country because from that point on it developed a tradition of de-politicization of ethnicity and religious identities. Still today, ethnicity plays a minor role in political party formation and is seldom addressed in the national politics (Osei, 2013, 587). However, that also created an expectation for rulers to capture the state resources and to use them to enrich their loyal supporters and clients. As such, election contenders need resources as a means to attract and keep their support. Usually, this support can be gained by promising to award contracts in the public and construction sector (Spector, 2012, 163-168).

There is also corruption at the base level of government officials who are not well paid. For those individuals, they view administrative corruption as a supplement to their salary. Although payments are not substantial, this form of corruption undermine the trust between citizens and the state and increase the distance of the government with the people (Spector, 2012, 164). Under president Senghor, the state was accused of cronyism and corruption and the phenomenon accentuated in the successive presidency. President Wade became linked to concentrating his power and having the most extensive clientelistic network (Bossuyt, 2013, 10; Koter, 2013, 666).

Without disturbing the democratic characteristics of the state, clientelistic networks create an unequal system where private interests are prioritized (Beck, 2008, 37). Thus, not all groups equally benefit from the system (Osei, 2013, 587). Interestingly, this favoritism does not seem to bother the population. In fact, a large portion of the population, even those who are not benefiting from the patronage system, are accepting of this functioning of the state (Beck, 2008, 37).

Civil society and the press have a strong presence in Senegal, and they are critical of the patrimonial aspect of the government. Therefore, the lack of freedom of press or association is not the root cause of the surprising acceptance of corruption (Spector, 2012, 165). Rather, it could be explained by the prominent role played by Sufi leaders in clientelistic system. The brotherhoods have played a dominant role in preserving the status quo in the Senegalese society. More specifically, the brotherhoods served what could be described as a religiously based 'civil society' (Faton, 1995, 12). The brotherhoods have the advantage of cutting cross ethnic lines and creating a single cultural group sentiment in their community, particularly in central Senegal (Osei, 2013, 587). For decades, religious institutions have, in return for resources and privileges, played a role in regulating the relationship between the state and citizen. In the Senegal River Valley, the Toorodo elites are the principal intermediaries, and in Casamance where most Christians are, are strong intermediaries. In this setting, local authorities are lacking and therefore it is the region that has had the most contentious relationship with Dakar (Koter, 2013, 670). As such, the marabout's system is the central structure in state-society relations and thus essential to the relative success of the country in maintaining political stability (Faton, 1995, 244).

In the end, the urbanization process also impacted clientelist politics in Senegal. This is because nearly a quarter of the Senegalese population is concentrated in the region of the national capital, Dakar (World Bank, 2018).Due to the inability of agriculture to cover the living expenses and modern desires of young people who are more and more educated. Migration to Dakar and the major centers is now an integral part of the life course of Senegalese youth, including the young women (Delauney et al., 2016). The urbanization process is on-going and has accuenated in the last few years. The city is the home of different ethnic and brotherhoods and is less socially cohesive than the rural regions which makes clientelism in capital less effective (Koter, 2013, 663). This is mainly because the local patrons in urban setting are less able to apply social controls as the competition between patrons is tighter in those areas and the monitoring voting behaviour in urban areas is harder (Ibid, 664). Moreover, the voters in Dakar are more individualistic, they want to give their vote to the highest bidder for their interest. In contrast in villages, an entire community can vote for the same candidates (Ibid, 666). As my interviewees were all living in Dakar, this element might influence their attitudes toward female politicians.

Even though the relationship between traditional structure of the society and the political spheres have been successful in the country to maintain stability and even created political and economic development, its inherently patriarchal dimensions is detrimental for women's political empowerment. This point will be further explored in the next sections. This section also highlights how entrenched is clientelism is in Senegalese political life and thus might greatly impact citizen perceptions of women leaders' performance.

4.4 Role and position of women in Sufi brotherhood

The Sufi brotherhood plays an important part in the state regulation of the population mainly through clientelistic networks and their patriarchal structures impact womens' positions in society. In this way, this section served to present the functioning of the brotherhood and how it contributes to the exclusion of women from the public sphere through the instrument of religion. As mentioned, Sufi brotherhoods are renowned for their more open stance about women participating in the public sphere than the more orthodox Islamic brotherhood (Bop, 2005, 1101). However, the patriarchal cultural norms are still widespread in Senegal and correlate with conservative, rather than progressive, interpretations of Islam and thus womens' inferior position in society (Ibid, 1102).

The three major brotherhoods in Senegal are the Qadiriya, the Tijaniya and the Muridiya (Mouride). Brotherhoods are organized in a rigid hierarchical manner, where the relationship between religious leaders, called the marabouts, and disciples are codified. In exchange for devotion and obedience to the disciple, the marabout provides 'guidance, protection and intercession' (Bop, 2005, 1104).

The Sufi brotherhoods do provide autonomous spaces for women to participate in the religious structures, creating a space for them to manipulate it and even accommodating it to their needs, but they are still marginalized women from the main and official power structures of the brotherhoods (Ibid, 1102). In fact, Sufi brotherhoods are established in a way that they are controlled by men, and women are not offered social outlets. Women are disciples and nothing more. However, in the Mouride and Qadiriyya brotherhoods, women can hold *Shayk* position, and as such they can write, teach and perform mystical retreats but still cannot direct prayers like Imams. They do not have the right to have disciples and cannot receive tithes, but can collect money for a marabout (Ibid, 1110).

However, women still find ways to play a greater role in the religious structures. They cut themselves a place in the rigid institutions mainly through their involvement in *dahiras*, which are religious organizations that can be found in neighborhoods, workplaces, schools or universities. They can be all male, female or mixed, but in the Senegalese context they are often only female. They declare allegiance to a chosen marabout and their role is to support the marabout and increase its influence (Ibid, 1110). As such, it can serve as political backing, and thus be part of clientelist transactions, but their role is still minor (Ibid, 1116).

However, these new forms of participation for women in the brotherhood still confine them to a secondary role and do not challenge the patriarchal organization of the brotherhoods. The reason is believed to be that women's roles in the brotherhood are inspired by the female relatives of the founders, especially their mothers. The mothers and daughters of the brotherhood's founders are presented as ideal women and ideal wives. They present the image of extraordinary patience, perseverance, commitment, loyalty and modesty, as the most important. Females are expected to follow their examples. Alternative representations of women are furiously undermined and discouraged (Ibid, 1114-5).

4.5 The link between the exclusion of women from the patrimonial state and the networks of clientelism

As outlined in the concepts section, the exclusion of women from religious organizations is keeping women out of clientelist networks which hinders women's social capital. It is not that women are completely stripped of instrumental in-service exchange, but that they see significantly less than males in the Senegalese context. The cultural conception of political leadership is traditionally male and social dictates are keeping women away from fully engaging in politics matters (Beck, 2003, 147). Women's limited

access to the clientelistic networks are offering less for political parties which in turn do not give as many resources to women candidates. Consequently, women have fewer means to compete and protect their tenure (Ibid, 157). In the same line of thought, this timeless cost-benefit calculus of political parties with patronage politics is reproducing gender imbalances in political institutions. As clientelism is not disappearing with democratization, how will women politicians or women's rights activists able to elevate women's status?

Religion is present in all aspects of Senegalese life, and especially the religious support patriarchal norms. Women do not have the choice but to defy religion when petitioning to extend their rights and influence. Consequently, the secular dimension of the Senegalese state has provided and continues to provide a ground where women are able to fight without directly confronting religious authorities and using secular arguments. In this way, women take advantage of the dichotomous nature of their state. At some point, they were even able to exert the brotherhood's support for some debates concerning their status, even though women were still excluded from the religious power structures (Bop, 2005, 117). Women activists and politicians are not challenging their religious and traditional role but are able to extract some rights with that strategy. This forces us to ask if with the law on parity, will women continue to bypass the patriarchal and neo-patrimonial aspect of the state with parity it can change these gender dynamics and substantially increase gender equality?

4.6 The adoption of the l**aw on** p**arity**

In constrast to other pioneer states like Tanzania and Uganda, the gender quota question was introduced late into the political arena in Senegal, in 1995, a year after the Conseil Sénégalais des Femmes (COSEF hereafter) was created. COSEF was an initiative

of several women's associations, political parties, and NGOs that advocated for women's increased political participation. COSEF pressed political parties to adopt a voluntary quota of 30%, but after the minuscule number of women elected in the 1998 election, the organization decided to focus on legal measures (Tripp, 2016, 387). As such, COSEF created broad alliances with other civil society organizations to help develop proposals for adding gender quotas to the electoral code.

One specificity of the Senegalese case is that COSEF decided in early 2000 to focus on parity rather than quotas. COSEF explain their choice in the campaign named "With parity, we consolidate democracy."(ONP, 2016, 27). They based their argument on the ineffectiveness of voluntary quotas took by political parties in the country. According to them, party practises were unfavourable for women's representation on electoral lists. Consequently, only a law on parity could guarantee a greater representation of women in parliament (Ibid, 27-28).

Meanwhile, COSEF launched several campaigns over the following years. These served to put pressure on the government but also to familiarize the public with the new concept of parity (ONP, 2016, 28). Therefore, the women's movement in Senegal was the first predicator of parity, although they eventually found an ally in President Wade who was elected in 2000. Indeed, Wade made campaign promises to put gender equality on his agenda, and COSEF was quick to keep Wade faithful to his promises (Tripp, 2016, 6 387). In 2002, Wade proposed a gender quota of 50% in the African Union, which was followed in 2005 by a COSEF campaign named "With parity, we consolidate democracy." After years of COSEF pressure, in 2006 the Senegalese government established a committee aimed to design the Gender Parity Law and to coordinate the efforts of COSEF, President

Wade, and civil society to adopt parity (ONP, 2016, 28). A first version of the law was adopted in 2007 but later declared unconstitutional by the opposition, which forced Wade and the committee to rework the Gender Parity Law. The reformed law was finally adopted in 2010 but only enforced in May 2012, during the legislative election (Ibid, 29).

Senegal's gender parity law is more akin to a candidate quota model, meaning that each political party must present an electoral list consisting of at least 50% women (Arendt, 2018, 297). To avoid women being at the bottom of the candidate list, or being assigned unwinnable districts, the list must be composed of an alternation of male and female candidates (ONP, 2016, 34). Furthermore, Senegal has a mixed electoral system, with some seats contested in proportional fashion, while other seats of multi-constituencies are elected through a majority system. Both have to comply with the Gender Parity Law (Bauer, 2014, 5).

As the implementation of parity relies on political parties' compliance with the law, enforcement measures are central. Thus, the Observatoire National pour la Parité (National Observatory on Gender Parity) was established to monitor the implementation of the law during elections. Even though the women's movement lobbied with political parties, they did not all agree to the parity format of the law (Bjarnard and Zetterberg, 2016, 395- 6). Overall, a party's candidates list can be rejected by the electoral commission if it fails to comply with the Gender Parity Law (ONP, 2016, 34). To summarize, the gender quota design in Senegal is considered effective for promoting female politicians.

All in all, parity was advocated by women's movement as a way to fight against the conservative attitudes of the population towards women leaders (Tripp, 2016, 386) that contributed to the exclusion of women from the political sphere. In order to fully grasp the

framing components of female political under representation in Senegal, I firstly covered the political history of the state that explains the democratic and secular aspect of the state. I then explained the clientelism and religious intermingled relations with the state before exploring how those factors impact women empowerment in Senegal and thus, the necessity for gender quotas.

5. Methods

In this study, I use a mixed method of interviews and large N data analysis. Through interviewees' discursive analysis on the issue of gender quotas, the structural conditions influencing their opinions and perceptions will become apparent, facilitating the comparison of outcomes of gender quotas with the findings of the existing literature. The longitudinal analysis with Afrobarometer data since 2005 served to track change in time, and thus to measure effect since the adoption of the law of female citizen attitudes towards their gender status.

5.1 In-depth semi-structured interviews

As the principal aim of this study is to reinsert women citizens' perspectives into the depiction of gender quotas' impact and to confront those depictions with the literature's findings, the use of semi-structured interviews was the most appropriated method. In order to understand the complex effect that gender quotas can have on women citizens, it is thus primary to begin to retrieve and inquire about women's perspectives. We, as researchers, do not see "the world through the same lens as many people we study" (Walsh, 2009, 180), and the study could not only rely on the survey, which represents the other half of this research.

In-depth semi-structured interviews are used to access not only perceptions and attitudes but also the experiences of women on the topic of politics, gender equality and representation of gender quotas. As Stier (2011) explains, ethnographic methods "[enable] participants to accurately represent their views and to reveal how their views challenge accepted ones" (200), which is one of the goals of this research. To reach this end, semi-structured interviews were the most appropriate way of proceeding.

I did interviews while being a volunteer at the EQWIP HUBs for three months (mid-September to mid-December 2018). As a foreigner, I was aware of the bias it could create in the answers of my interviewees. They would tend to give me the answer that they thought I was looking for. Thus, using long semi-structured interviews was the most appropriate method. Furthermore, the questions deemed more political were at the end of the interviews, so by the time we were addressing this subject, women were more at ease to speak their minds.[2] Also, I was sensitive during the interview to whether a woman was not comfortable answering the most personal questions. I would then reformulate the question to be more open and society-oriented, in order for them to still address the questions without invading their privacies.

5.2 Fieldwork

I completed fieldwork during the three months of fall 2018 when I was a volunteer of an employment and entrepreneurship development programmed named EQWIPS HUBs (a Canadian NGO) in Dakar. From mid-November to mid-December, I completed all ten of the interviews with present and past beneficiaries of the program. Sampling was not driven by representativeness purposes. I individually asked each woman if they were interested in

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[2] See Appendix II for the interview guide.

giving me an interview. Seven of the women that accepted to do the interview were the ones that I interacted the most during my internship (i.e., we talked to each other during workshops, they asked me for help, or we went to some promotional event together). Two were random and one by reference.

By participating in the program, the interviewees were to some extent challenging their traditional gender roles. They aspire to start their own companies or to get independent by working. They all were following the news through different medium (newspaper, television, social media), making them all to a certain extend informed about public affairs. Four were from the region of Dakar and six of them were from other regions of Senegal. The ones coming from Dakar were drawn to the region to study and because the capital offers more professional opportunities. However, all of them held university degrees (university is free in Senegal). Thus the interviewees are not from the elites, but not from the less developed countryside, either. As the program focused on youth, the interviewees were between the ages of 20 and 35. Seven of them were Muslims, two were Christians and one was considering herself both. All these elements are biases that may affect their responses. As such it is important to take into account these limitations while analyzing the discourse of these women. [4]

5.3 The Analysis of the Interviews' Content

5.3.1 Thematic Analysis

This work seeks to answer if women citizens' perceptions and attitudes reflect existing findings on the effect of gender quotas. I use contextualized and latent discourse analysis to interpret and reveal the meaning of these women's narratives.

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[4] See Appendix V for interviewees list

The account of women on the subject might not be explicitly expressed, because gender norms are deeply internalized and discussing political views with a foreigner can also push the participants to soften their remarks. As such, I needed a discourse analysis method that would go beyond the semantics. Thematic analysis was best suited to extract the most data out of this kind of discourse, because the method goes beyond the semantic and examines the latent content of the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 84). Thematic analysis is a method of identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data, which help achieve the third aim of this research, seeking to more precisely understand the possible forces influencing multiple women's perceptions of gender equality. It will be possible through thematic analysis to discern similar themes raised in women's discourses that were maybe not explained in the same words but were referring to the same phenomena. Because every subject expresses their opinions in their own subtle ways, an in-depth analysis of the underlying meaning that those discourses might translate to is the more surfaced semantic part of the discourses (Vaismoradi et al., 2013, 403).

5.3.2 The six phases of reflexive thematic analysis of Braun and Clarke

To do the thematic analysis, I will be following the "six phases" method of reflexive thematic analysis by Braun and Clark (2006 and 2019). [5] The first phase is familiarization, where the researcher immerses him/herself with the data to get an overall knowledge of the data collected. At this stage, notes and ideas of coding emerge and will be subsequently useful for the next step (Ibid, 2006, 88). That includes noticing the possibilities of connection between participation data or existing literature (Ibid, 2019, 852).

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[5] See Appendix IV for summary table of Braun and Clarke the six phases of reflexive thematic analysis

The next phase, "generating codes", begins when the researcher has a general idea of the interesting ideas worth pursuing in the data. This phase is a more detailed and systematic engagement with the data, as it serves to produce the initial codes (Ibid, 853). During this step the researcher is organizing the data into meaningful aggregations or "chunks of text" with which the researcher will attach codes (Ibid, 853; Ibid, 2006, 89). The coding can be inductive, which is a rather bottom-up approach where the data are at the start of the analysis, or with a deductive orientation, where the researcher tackles the data with various ideas, concepts and/or theories in mind. Those are thereafter explored and are codes in the dataset. My approach with the interview dataset is more akin to the latter, as I want to compare the literature's findings with the perceptions collected in the data (Ibid, 2019, 854).

The third phase continues the process started in the second phase, constructing themes. Concretely, this step consists of searching for themes. The analysis at this point is on the themes rather than the codes, as it was in the previous part. The researcher may combine codes together to create overarching themes. It is this phase where one begins thinking about the relationships between themes and the different levels of themes (Ibid, 2006, 89). This way of proceeding reflects the first way to proceed, where codes are seen as "building blocks." The second way to proceed is a thematic mapping. All potential themes and their sub-themes are mapped visually. The goal is to determine the ones with the most meaningful content for telling the story of the data (Ibid, 2019, 854). The map will also play a part in the next phase.

The subsequent phase focuses on the review of the themes and involves the refinement of them. More precisely, it ensures the collective quality of the themes by

looking at the individual quality of each of the themes. That task requires that there is enough data supporting them and that those are not too diverse, that those two themes are not overlapping each other, or that one is not too big and should be broken into smaller themes (Ibid, 2006, 91). Another level of reviewing the themes ensures if the themes relate to the dataset or, in other words, if the themes accurately reflect the content of the data as a whole. For this, the researcher needs to review the entire dataset at least two times (Ibid). In the end, the researcher can see if the thematic map works, as it is a great test to see if the analysis is ready to go to the next phase (Ibid, 2019, 855).

The definition and naming of themes is the fifth step, and this step is about determining what is the "essence" of each theme and what dimension of the data the theme is capturing. The aim is not to paraphrase the content of the theme, but rather to extract what is interesting about it and why. Once this is done, the phase involves writing a detailed analysis concerning each theme, defining the theme in itself and how it relates to research's aims and how it contributes to a broader story. To ensure not repeating and overlapping content, it is equally important to consider the relationship between the different themes (Ibid, 2006, 92). At the end of this exercise it should be clear to the researcher what the theme is.

The final phase is to write reports, which is not purely about writing. This is the final occasion for the researcher to look at the themes and to test their validity within the dataset, and to revise how they work and how they relate to other themes (Ibid, 93). This step is crucial to ensure that the themes well reflect the data and well apply to the research questions. It is the final phase of analysis, but it is still very important at that point that the

revision will strengthen the clarity, consistency and comprehensiveness of the thematic analysis (Ibid, 2019, 857).

The six phases reflexive method of Braun and Clarke is a comprehensive method that encapsulates many advantages: its relatively easy application, its capacity to summarize data and still offer robust description, the fact that it highlights the similarities and differences across a data set, and its capacity to uncover unanticipated insights. All the characteristics are highly useful for research like mine, when I, myself, am a novice in discourse analysis and the technique is flexible. The method can be criticized because it cannot take into account the contradiction or discontinuities in any individual account (Ibid, 2006, 97). This is why I decided to add the positional map method to balance the weak element of the method.

5.4 Survey Data

I will employ Afrobarometer data surveys. To evaluate existing studies on the effects of gender quotas, I compare before and after the implementation of the Parity Law in 2012. The variance between the two periods will contribute to the analysis of women's perceptions of quotas' outcomes.

Afrobarometer is a trusted institution that since 2001 have joined global barometer network and conducted public attitude survey on democracy, governance and economic development, among other things (Afrobarometer, 2019). The institutions conducted several survey rounds in Senegal and other African countries that are relevant to the study. The population of each survey round is meticulously chosen to be representative, as opposed to my interview sample of Dakar women, the survey is interrogated rural women. The population is composed on 600 men and 600 women in each rounds. Moreover,

Afrobarometer data was previously used to trace changes in the symbolic representation of women (Barnes and Burchard, 2013; Toraasen, 2016).

In the years 2005/2006, 2011/2013, 2014/2015, and 2016/2017, Afrobarometer included several statements regarding gender, attitude towards women being elected to political offices, and perception of how effective the government is at promoting women's empowerment and gender equality. For example: "Statement 1: Women should have the same chance of being elected to political office as men." "Statement 2: Men make better political leaders than women and should be elected rather than women." Respondents choose with which one of these two contrasting statements they agreed the most. Another set of questions addressed citizen political participation and another on government corruption. For instance, they ask if women citizens think parliamentary representatives are corrupt.

I use descriptive statistical analysis to trace potential changes in women's perceptions and actions, which helps assess if the parity law has brought more equality. I also measure the potential change in perception concerning political corruption and government performances. These results will complement the discourse analysis. Noteworthy in several instances, I compare the result by gender to weight my analysis to measure the effect of gender quotas on women perception and empowerment in Senegal. Men results serve as a point of comparison in order to measure the effect of the law on parity on women's beliefs and actions. It will help to determine with more accuracy Senegalese citizen behavior and thus whether parity had an impact on women's empowerment. The purpose of comparing some results by gender is purely to evaluate more conclusively the effect of parity on gender equality.

6. Results

6.1 **Thematic analysis: Perception of women citizens on the effectiveness of the Law on Parity**

What became obvious while analyzing women's discourse is that their opinions, attitudes and perceptions are as diverse and contradictory as the literature's contribution on the impact of gender quotas. Some perceived the outcomes of the law on parity as positive because elevating gender equality and others as negative. Specifically, the interviewees view parity negatively because, as they phrase it, it changed nothing about the current political elite's behaviour.

The first theme retrieved during the discourse analysis highlights how, according to women, gender quotas can positively affect women's empowerment by elevating their social identity. Briefly, the substantive representation of a few women ministers is challenging Senegalese women's status, because elected women are subtly transforming society's vision of the public sphere as reserved only for men. Women politicians were seen as working more, but not necessarily more for women specifically.

The second theme emerging from the women's discourse emphasizes how parity is not bringing substantial change to the current political status quo. Concretely, female citizens qualified the Senegalese political system as cronyist and corrupt. This vision combined with the impression of female politicians are doing nothing in parliament to reframe the perception of ordinary women and thus the the law on parity is ineffective. Rather than camouflaging resilient clientelistic politics, the law on parity is perceived by ordinary women as ineffective in containing corrupt practises, and thus they judged the measure negatively. Ordinary women's disappointment is also expressed through the belief that

female politicians are not questioning their subordinate place even when holding positions of power.

The third theme touched upon is the fact that the majority of the interviewees identified the rigidity of women's roles and the weight of patriarchal norms as hindering female politicians' capacity and thus their ability to ameliorate gender equality. This aspect was also hugely present in the literature. However, female interviewees heavily mentioned the concept of competence when addressing the impact of parity. Some used the sub-theme to justify the presence of the law against patriarchal norms of the society; others addressed competence to refute the law.

I finish the discourse analysis by addressing a practice of Senegalese females evidenced in the discourse analysis that was until now not identified in the literature. This finding challenges the assumption that elected women are helpless within patriarchal and clientelistic politics. Even with these barriers, female politicians found a way to exercise strategic control over their political roles without challenging their traditional ones.

6.1.1 Positive perception: The increase of female politicians makes a difference

This section will address the first theme distinguished by the discourse analysis concerning the positive effect of the Law on Parity on women's empowerment. It will tackle Yoon's (2011) findings on the ability of election quotas to bring about legislative change. Subsequently, it will discuss Burnet (2013) and Yoon's (2011) conclusions on gender quotas' capacity to positively impact the symbolic representation of women's place in society.

6.1.1.1 Women bringing legislative change

As a first step in my analysis of citizens' perceptions, Senegalese female politicians are perceived as bringing legislative change but not specifically representing more gendered perspectives in parliaments. As such women discourses are dismissing the mandate effect, referring to the citizen expectation that female politicians should promote women's concerns in parliament (Franceschet et al., 2012, 10). However, they are picturing females elected as more sensible in their representation.

This finding resembles Yoon (2011) study's findings. She advances in her article that the rise of women's presence in government is bringing legislative change for females by addressing more women's concerns. Furthermore, she explains how the parliamentary women's caucus in Tanzania is able to better articulate gendered issues in parliaments (Yoon, 2011, 90). This phenomenon refers to the concept of substantive representation, the fact that women representatives are 'standing for' women in their political actions.

To begin, one participant directly raised the importance of having females in parliament to defend women's rights, but she was the only one to give that reason, the others speaking in more general terms, saying women's presence was beneficial because they are "more sensible" or "social," as these testimonies shows:

> "It's an advantage for society because the women are more sensitive than men. The woman is generally more social than the man, the woman feels the pains more easily, so when she makes politics she feels the existing pains and the miseries of the society." (Interview 1)

> "That's not true [about the fact that men are better politicians], because women see things differently, they are sensitive to more things." (Interview 4)

> "Women are listening more to the population." (Interview 2)

As such, women are not seen as defending more gendered issues, but rather as listening more to the public and being nearer to them. It is impossible to rule out the argument that ordinary women simply do not have the necessary access to the parliament or that the media are not relaying the information and thus cannot judge if they are, or are not, acting for women's issues. However, these discourses reveal that Senegalese female citizen do not anticipate their elected counterpart to promote women's concern, thus they do not label them as only 'women legislator'. They rather strengthen the quality of female representatives to listen to the represented group. Therefore, female citizens' portraits of female politicians remained positive with citizens emphasizing the fact that female politicians are bringing something new to the political scene.

However, women in their interviews made an interesting link between female politicians being more social in their political representation and being more of a technocrat than politician, as the following quotations show:

> "Yes, as I told you, they have more public goods in mind and there are some [referring to female politicians] who are not good politicians because of it." (Interview 9)

> "But female politicians are more technocrats than politicians that is the problem. She [referring to Mimi Touré] is more concerns about studies. She is not a real politician." (Interview 9)

These assumptions about female politician are pertinent because of their peculiarity, thinking more about their represented need made them lesser politicians. Moreover, some women are pushing this argument further. In their understanding of female politicians, they attribute the characteristic of "less political" with "more social" and thus "less corrupt." We can see this amalgamation in this extract:

"I believe that in Africa, women are more dynamic than men, who are there as politicians only to steal. Women are less political, they are not participating much in politics, but a lot for the development of the country." (Interview 8)

The intermingling of perceptions of women politicians as being "more social," "less political" and "less corrupt" is well expressed above. Ordinary women are viewing female representatives as less keen to fall prey to corruption because they are thinking more about the wellbeing of the society, or, as the interviewee is saying here, "to the development of the country." This peculiar finding could be explained by a popular belief that women according to their societal role are supposed to be more "sensible" and thus cannot engage in things like corruption.

More specifically, as explained in the section on women's role in society, the Senegalese value the mother and wife as positions of women the most in the society. Therefore, they do not think of female politicians as MPs who would put their own interests before those of the population. As the Sufi brotherhood's image of women conveys, women should be selfless and modest. This image of them as being the caregiver and altruist could be affecting ordinary women's perceptions because they internalize those social dictates themselves.

Additionally, women citizens are applying these patterns on female politicians, as one of the interviewees stated:

"Women are more prompt to take risk, they try to manage more issues. Men are more pragmatic, they do not take risks. Usually, they are prouder, they do not like to take risks and to make mistakes, while women put up with people's criticism. In comparison, men never admit when they are wrong." (Interview 4)

The interviewee illustrates female politicians as persevering and committed, even in the wrong. Women will stand to swallow their pride, referring to the selfless concept of a

Senegalese ideal of women. Likewise, the conception of the persevering women can be discerned in women's discourse as this extract raised:

> "Women have to prove more than men, because if you put a woman in a higher position, people tend to gauge her more harshly. Some might say that she has a lot of characters but that is because she has more to prove and more to bring. Like Mimi Touré, the justice minister, she has been rightfully named the 'Iron Lady.'
> " (Interview 9)

As they are viewed as less capable of holding public office, the standards are higher for elected women. This interviewee relays that womens' reactions are not to let go, but to persevere and continue to fight to prove their worth. These two representations of female politicians show how the vision of women is anchored in a gendered conceptualization of their behaviour. Women are expected to act within social constructions of how they ought to be. This furthers the assumption that women cannot be corrupt, as shown above. As such, the idealization of women's attributes seemed to deeply impact female citizens' perception of female politicians.

All in all, ordinary women perceived the substantive representation of female representatives as "more sensible" and thus "less political but more managers." The social conceptualization of how a woman should behave, according to Sufi principles, seem to influence ordinary womens' perception of female politicians' substantive representation. Accordingly, womens' perception of female politicians remained within what was expected of a woman: the altruist and selfless individual that cannot deceive the population by taking part in corruption. In that sense, rather than challenging gendered roles, female politicians here are showing women do have a place in parliament; establishing politics as a patriarchal sphere. As such, it does not promote women's empowerment per se, but contributes to womens' sense of social identity beyond the private sphere.

6.1.1.2 The impact of the symbolic representation of women politicians

The results of Yoon and Burnet suggested that the enhancement of women in politics can have a positive impact on changing women's status in society were retrieved in Senegalese women' discourse. According to Yoon, the good governance that some politicians demonstrate with concrete achievement can bring positive change to the societal attitudes towards female politicians and encourage more women to run for elective office (2011, 91). More theoretically, her argument is that the descriptive and substantive representation of female MPs favourably impacts the symbolic representation of women politicians and thus could change the imagery of women's place in society. Gender quotas can elevate women's status in society.

This line of thought is translated in the perception of the interviewees. First, the good performance of female ministers seemed to greatly affect women's perception of female politicians. In those testimonies, female politicians were described as "hardworking" and "more serious," as the following extracts illustrate:

> "There was a woman who impressed me a lot: Awa Seck, the past health minister. She was a very hardworking woman. During the Ebola crisis, I was working in the health sector. We were trained to recognize the clinical signs of Ebola in every admitted patient. She really handled the situation well. She had all the appropriate skills to manage this minister." (Interview 3)

> "Well well well, I can talk for Awa Seck, she was really open-minded. She had the 'niak' as we are saying, rigorous in her work and she is competent, that I can say. I have observed her going and she was not taking any time for any fuss nor makeup. She was all about work." (Interview 9)

Accordingly, these two extracts show that the actions taken by that female ministers were great enough that the female citizens could recognize their accomplishments and even qualify them as "hardworking" and "serious."

Futhermore, it was possible to discern in the interviews that the favourable portraits of a few female ministers impacted the entire vision of female politicians. This citation conveys well this phenomenon:

> "There was the livestock minister. She played a really important role. She went to see the people in the country side, in the most remote areas of the country. Even the president thank her for her work. That is right, women do their best. They do a good job." (Interview 2)

The link between what this minister has accomplished and the interviewee's impression of female politicians as doing "a good work" is clearly stated here. A similar pattern can also be distinguished in the following extracts:

> "They have to prove more than men, because if a woman has a higher position, people tend to gauge her more harshly, so they will say that she has a lot of characters because she has more to prove and bring more. Like Mimi Touré, the minister of justice, she did her very well and people called her the 'Iron lady.' " (Interview 9)

Again, the interviewee is taking the example of Aminata Touré, casually named Mimi Touré, once Prime Minister and, previously, the Minister of Justice, to construct her opinions of women representative as "hardworking." Therefore, some of the interviewees attributed positive characteristics to women politicians as a whole, because the substantive representation of a few influenced their whole perception of female representatives. In that aspect, Yoon's finding is present in the perception of ordinary women in Senegal. Nonetheless, female citizens did not make the link directly between the actions of the women politicians (substantive representation) and a change in the perception of women's role.

Furthermore, Burnet specifically addressed the concept of the symbolic representation of female politicians as raising awareness about women's capacities and therefore challenging women's place in society. That argument was conveyed in multiple

interviews and also the capacity of the law on parity to challenge women's gendered role,

as these two quotations demonstrate:

> "Since there are more women in politics, there are more women in fashion, more women's businesses, women excel more at studies. More women in politics are pushing more women into unconventional sectors and demanding more parity in all areas, more women are getting involved in more 'men' fields like the army, the police and the Milice." (Interview 6)

> "I see that the government is making efforts because women are increasingly asserting themselves and women are holding more and more professional positions. Now in the Senegalese society, people believe more in women's ability. Because women are now becoming ministers, women even became great figures for this country. So I believe that women now have their place in the Senegalese society." (Interview 2)

According to these testimonies, women are investing more in public spaces since parity was

implemented. Thus, women believe that they should not be confined to the private sphere

anymore. Following this line of thought, the law on parity can change women's self-

perception of their gendered role. In women's opinions, the fact that they have more women

in parliament is transforming their symbolic representation and creating space for them in

the public sphere. It fosters women's belief in their capacities to lead. This interpretation

again exposes a positive effect of the law on parity on women's empowerment.

However, an interviewee also detected the potential backlash that this transformation

of gendered roles can cause in the Senegalese society, as Burnet identified, too, in her study

in Rwanda. The citation goes as follows:

> "Some are saying that the divorce rate has increased because of parity. Women are beginning to assert themselves and some people do not understand this concept so suddenly people are saying it is going too far and it creates problems." (Interview 1)

She emphasized the detrimental effect that parity can have as it empowers women.

Interestingly, she mentions the fact that some people do not understand the concept of

parity, and so, they are fighting it. She does not say that parity is incompatible with

Senegalese political life, but that ignorance about the concept is thriving which is why people are fighting it.

Although this result is promising, the sample for the interviews was made up of university women who were now living in Dakar, and their views are colored by their positionality and environment. Changes may be taking place in Dakar but cannot be generalized to the whole of Senegal, especially when in rural areas the situation is very different.

Overall, some ordinary women perceived the effect of the Law on Parity favourably for women's empowerment. Female citizens perceived the increased number of female politicians as positive because of the substantive representation of a few women ministers and the transforming potential of the symbolic representation of women in the government on their overall status in society. However, ordinary Senegalese women were not expecting female representatives to promote more substantially female concerns, dismissing the mandate effect of quotas. Finally, Burnet's argument that the gender quotas have accelerated changes in general roles was found in ordinary women's discourse but, interestingly, women were still portraying female politicians' actions according to what is expected traditionally from a woman. Rather than directly challenging women's status, elected women are subtly transforming society's vision of the public sphere as reserved only to men. It allows ordinary women to question the conception of politics as a patriarchal domain. Further, it elevates Senegalese women's belief in their capacity to lead. Therefore, the law on parity is positively impacting women's empowerment.

6.1.2 Negative perception: Parity changes nothing

In this section, the most critical perceptions of the effect of law on parity will be discussed. Ordinary women identified some aspects of Senegal's patriarchal and clientilistic state as influencing female elected work and their ability to foster gender equality. The analysis will begin by addressing Sater's study on the incapacity of female politicians to exercise substantial political representation. It will next touch upon Lloren's findings on the inefficiency of gender quotas to bring about change in the patriarchal state. It finishes by going back to Sater's work that advanced the theory that the public perception of political elites potentially negatively impacts the images of female politicians.

6.1.2.1 The neopatrimonial mode of choosing candidates as an impeding factor

The literature on the impact of gender quotas demonstrates the inefficiency of gender quotas to foster gender equality, a dimension which was also found in women's discourses. The main argument is the inability of gender quotas to challenge neopatrimonial traditions within politics. Sater (2012) explains in his study how the Moroccan regime is in truth using gender quotas as a tool to reinforce patronage politics (78). By favouring women who are linked to the elites, like the wives and daughters of some important politicians (78). He concludes that female elites are less willing to identify as women as a group and to advocate for women's empowerment politically because they are indebted to parties and are not dependent on their actions (Sater, 2012, 72). As a result, female politicians are not able to 'stand for' gendered issues in parliament and to ameliorate government's handling of gendered issues. Thus, the egalitarian measure that is the gender quota increased women's representation (their descriptive representation) but has no effect on women's empowerment. This component was partially raised by Senegalese women.

In fact, some interviewees identified the cronyism system of Senegal as "avoir le bras long" (having a long arm). The term systematically reppeared in all the interviews when they addressed the barriers of women's empowerment in the Senegalese public sector. Female citizens explained the concept of the "long arm" as follows:

> "The 'long arm' is a network of contacts. The jobs in Senegal, you find them through your social network. You know someone who makes you enter somewhere." (Interview 6)

> "I also noticed that if you don't have a 'long arm,' which is to ask someone to help you, like an acquaintance to make you enter a market. So it means that here in Senegal, if you do not know people, it is unfortunate but you can't work." (Interview 4)

These two quotations demonstrate how deeply anchored is the "long arm" practice in the public sphere. It is cited as essential to even be able to invest in the public sectors. Without any connections, people's chance at finding a position is significantly reduced. Therefore, people need to already belong to a certain class or a certain sector of the society to even hope to access some specific positions. Not that this system is fundamentally flawed, but, according to women citizens, this practice also translates into politics to explain how candidates are selected, and how women enter politics. In that sense, the "long arm" system favours people from the same class and refers to the spirit of Sater's argument, where female representation is from the elite. When asked about how women politicians were chosen to be part of the electoral list, an interviewee answered:

> "It's our leader who chooses them, of course. Here there is what is called 'yama neikh,' which means 'I like you,' that is to say that you, who is my friend, with zero skills, I will give you a position of high responsibility." (Interview 10)

Thus women need to be a friend and acquaintance, but also appreciated by a person in a position of power to even be considered. More importantly, it underlines that the 'long arm'

mode of choosing it not based on merits. Another woman, when asked if the 'long arm' system was also affecting women politicians, said this:

> "Me, I would say that it exists for the two genders, man and woman. It can be found everywhere, in all field, including politics. You are chief somewhere, you will take advantage of the situation, and insert your acquaintances." (Interview 5)

These comments depict that these women are not denying the existence of the 'long arm' custom in politics, or that females are not escaping it. They emphasized the role of the social network and making acquaintances as essential to be counted on the electoral list. However, ordinary women did not precisely state from which background woman politicians were or if the political class is considered 'elite.' Nonetheless, this kind of patrimonial way to choose candidates inherently insinuates this effect, influencing which kind of women are coming into offices.

There was also an assumption that some women politicians were entering into politics with their husband, and that a lot of them were in fact doing politics as a couple:

> "As we say behind every great man there is a woman, it is the women who push men who did well in their positions, often it was actually the couple who was doing politics together and in fact we appreciated more the women than the man." (Interview 2)

> "Most of the time, a woman will go into politics with her husband, they leave together and return together." (Interview 5)

The belief that women politicians enter into politics as couples could be emanating from what Sater identifies as part of the clientelistic model of the ruler to maintain power. Indeed, the regime is placing women from their entourage in quota chairs to preserve its power. However, the data retrieved in women's discourse do not specify the link with a strategy to stay in power from the Senegalese government.

However, what I found while analyzing the discourses is that this couple's practice to go into politics together might also be reinforced by the fact that women in Senegal need the approval of their husband if they want to investigate the public sphere and become politicians (interview 5).

Patriarchal norms will be explored in the next section, but it is important to mention it here because this norm can impact which kinds of women become politicians. It is possible to think that if the women's relatives is already involved in some ways in politics, chances are higher they will agree more easily for the women to do politics. They might even seek benefits for doing so, because men's place in the parliament is reduced, due to the law on parity. This hypothesis is backed by what one of the interviewees said:

> "We do not have this management ethic… it's always the same people who are in power, who do not want to see the system change or evolve." (Interview 8)

This is only an observation that is based on women's perception of politics and so might as well be wrong, flawed or incomplete. However, it reveals that from women citizens account, cronyism is still an important factor in candidacy choosing and perpetuates clientelism.

Going back to the Sater's overarching argument, women did not specifically address how this mode of selecting political candidates was impeding female politicians at fostering gender equality. However, with the previous finding indicating that women were not viewing female politicians as promoting more gendered issues, leads me to presume that according to citizens, female politicians are not identifying to women as a group. As Sater suggested, women representatives in Senegal do not seem to advocate more for women's concerns. But women's discourses do not permit me to determine it is because they are from the "elite". Women know that a "long arm" is important and that some female

politicians enter politics because of it. They also notice that often women were doing politics as wives of other politicians. As such, those ordinary women have the impression that female representation is not in offices based on merits, which is affecting their perspective on female politicians and their ability to bring change.

6.1.2.2 Less visible women politicians do not mean less working

To continue, from female citizens' point of view, female representatives were not able to bring change. They express this perception through three interrelated characteristics attributed to female citizen: they do not hold important positions, they are not visible and more discreet in their actions and they are present but not participating. These characteristics recall what Lloren was advancing in her study: the increase of women's descriptive representation does not necessarily lead to a change in government practises where women would have more voice or impact. At first, some women citizens were representing their political peers as not really participating:

> "They [female elected] must know their responsibilities, they must be well aware of their role and I think it's necessary. Because there are women who are in politics who don't know their role to play, who do nothing and who are just making the tea." (Interview 8)

This comment illustrates the assumption of young women that female politicians are bringing nothing because, as she points out, women are not leaders, they are merely followers in politics. This representation can also be found in the following quotation:

> "Women are in the background, we favour the male sex. Most of these women [female politicians] they don't speak, they are assistants they are not there for society, they stay in the background, they are spectators." (Interview 3)

Here, female politicians are clearly portrayed as doing and bringing nothing concretely political because they are not given an important role in the government. The lack of minister opportunities was noticed many times by women, like this one illustrates:

> "Because in Senegal, there is always more male ministers than women minister and even if there are many women who have skills to manage, to manage very well the governments." (Interview 3)

As such, women are elected but not given any substantial positions, hindering their potential to achieve substantive representation. That element accentuates the importance of the substantive representation as forging people's assumptions of the quality of the politicians. While women's are not given the opportunity to prove their worth with more important places in the government, people still believe they are not capable, or, worse, not central, to political life. An interviewee explained the impact it has on her perception:

> "I don't hear much about these women [women politicians] I don't know what they do. We don't give them a position that will give them visibility, we give ministers such as women, social action and all these ministries." (Interview 3)

Highlighting the importance of visibility in order for her to form an opinion of female work, this extract emphasizes the primary role that substantive representation plays in order to portray the political work of females as beneficial. What is understood here is that, unlike what was promised with the law of parity - parity of representation - what is occuring is the perpetuation of male domination in political arena and the lack of agency for female politicians to change this dynamic. However, women did not make the link to clientelistic measures of the government as one of the reasons for this reality.

However, a novel aspect was pinpointed by some women that could explain why they hear less of female political accomplishment: the fact that women prefer working in the shadows, as this interviewee suggested:

> "Because I can also say that most women prefer to work in the shadows, they don't like to be [she sighs]… but they're tough. They will less publicized their work, what they do." (Interview 8)

This comment suggests that there is a common assumption that women do not wish to have their work exposed to the public, which strangely looks like the modesty requirement of the ideal Senegalese woman. It is possible to think that this characteristic attributed to women might be a part of why this custom was attributed to female politicians and why they are perceived as doing nothing. Even famous female ministers were cited having this tendency:

> "Awa [Seck] is a leader in her field, she masters her domain. We put a health minister in her place. A gentleman who doesn't know much. However, Awa is following his leadership. Like recently we held a health forum in Senegal, we received important persons, and she was the one's organizing everything." (Interview 9)

The most revealing example is the testimony of one woman interviewee. She was involved with a political party in her localities in the past. She was representing her village but did not present herself for the election. She let a man take that place while she was doing the work, she explained:

> "That is why when I am getting involved [Politically] I'm not… Each time, I delegate to another person, particularly a man, to be in front. Although, it's me who does the work behind. If I expose myself like that it's not good." (Interview 3)

She is pushing her reflection to the extent where that is 'not good' for her to get politically exposed, even if she had the will. She later explains that she has this belief because her father was told her politics is not for women and that it is not suitable for her gender to speak in public (interview 3). Thus from the perspective of this interviewee, it is hard to imagne how the law on parity could change such a deeply entrenched belief that does not accept women's exposure to the public sphere or their place in it. Another woman also declared that "If they [female politicians] want to do some good things, they have to go through men." (Interview 7). This strengthened the belief that female politicians work more behind doors, and for the account of male politicians. This section of the analysis meets

Lloren and Sater's findings about the incapacity of gender quotas to challenge the patriarchal norms of politics.

However, these testimonies indicate that women might willingly choose not to defy gender norms, and that they might prefer working behind closed doors. That behaviour suggests that even if gender quotas are not outwardly defying patriarchal norms, they do not automatically hinder their capacity to work or to advocate for women's causes. Consequently, the path towards gender equality is not completely broken. Women decided to bend to patriarchal norms but do not hinder their substantial representation. They are continuing their journey in shadows, slowly but surely.

The disadvantage of working in shadows is that there is less visibility for what they do and this reinforces the belief that gender quotas' women politicians are doing little. Women are perceiving female politicians' voice as confined, because they are not holding important positions, not participating actively in the political debates, or simply not wanting the media attention, preferring working in the shadows. This perceived role of female representatives is strengthening the assumption that having more women in politics is doing little to change changing politic life and therefore has a negative perception of the law on parity.

6.1.2.3 The contaminator: Symbolic representation of the political class

As Pitkin's theory of political representation suggested, female politicians have the potential to change the symbolic representation of political institutions mainly through the substantive, but also, descriptive representation of elected women. As such, when the interviewees are say that female representatives are "doing nothing," it does not challenge their assumption that politics is a male sector and not altering this symbolic representation.

When female citizens are doing this amalgam, they do not perceive parity as elevating women's societal status since female politicians are "doing nothing".

In the same line of thought, Sater argues that symbolic representation of the political class may affect the public perception of female politicians. In a nutshell, if people perceive the political class as corrupt, and they have no proof that women are doing something differently, they will believe that women to be corrupt. This line of thought was observed in ordinary Senegalese womens' discourse. To begin with, here are a few extracts that demonstrate how women picture their country's political class:

> "Also, I find regrettable the way we do politics, it's not wholesome. We just talk and talk. They [politicians] play in people's consciousness, as most of them did not study much and well… Now I see, we have lost our values. Those thieves that comes to power, it's regrettable." (Interview 8)

> "I say that here in Senegal, our problem is the government. We really have a mediocre government, they have no sense of priority. Anyone who is there, is there for power, they aren't there as patriots. But at the same time, it's difficult to speak as a nation here, there is no nation, everyone is out for himself: 'how can I make the most for my family?', 'how can I get out of misery?' It's me first, then the other I don't care." (Interview 10)

This representation reveals how pejorative young women's perceptions of politicians are. The theme of corruption radiates from these two extracts, qualifying politicians as "thieves" and "thinking only about power." They clearly see politicians as unjust and not thinking about the well-being of the population and not adhering to ideals of good governance.

The preconceived idea of politicians leads women to the impression that female politicians are the same or as corrupt as men. These quotations highlight this reasoning well:

> "So for me, I don't see what they [women elected) do exactly, they are just in the current political movement. They do not try to stand out, show the place of women

in politics, or try to do something that will distinguish them from others. They remain in the movement, the lack of total ethics." (Interview 10)

"There is no woman leader as such in Senegal. They all tend to copy those who are there." (Interview 8)

Both testimonies, showcase the idea that women are not distinguishing themselves, the second even suggesting that it was because women are not leaders. They blame female politicians for not trying something different, which reflects the double standard that exists for male and female politicians. Female politicians cannot as easily get way with corruption as their male counterparts. It seems like women are even more harshly criticized. The constructed image of femininity could explain why this double standard exists. The image of women simply does not allow women to be corrupt, selfish, deceitful and disloyal. In women's psyches, females should not possess these kinds of behaviours. The next citation demonstrates well how women politicians because of their profession and corruption allegations are in fact losing a part of their femininity:

"Sometimes women who do politics are accused of being macho. People say that they have the spirit of a man because they think like a man, and that is not the place of a woman. Even sometimes we will say that a woman who does politics, need to sell herself that they do deal with institutions… Everywhere in politics, men steal from us and that is OK, they take the community money and put it in their own funds. But if a woman does it, that is something else." (Interview 3)

Consequently, this extract well identified the double standards of tolerance existing between males and females on the subject of corruption. This kind of behaviour is seen almost as normal for men, but not for women. The stakes are thus higher for female representatives. In women's perspectives, if they do not demark themselves, they are as corrupt. Even if they are conducting the same clientelistic practices as male politicians, they end up being more harshly criticized than men for doing so.

Curiously, the perception of corrupted female representatives is altered by the assumption of women as being more loyal:

> "The concept of parity allows more women to access to politics, because they are more faithful in politics than men not more or less corrupt. Men are not faithful in the sense that they will take the money of many parties, swear fidelity but will not fulfil what they swore. They'll make promises but don't respect them because they will only make the ones benefit them. But well, they only want to remain in power." (Interview 6)

Thus women are not less corrupt, but rather they are more ethical in their corruption, which seems contradictory while respecting the female self-imagery. However, Sater's argument that women's symbolic representation could be contaminated by the representation of the political class was present in Senegalese women's discourses. I noticed that the conceptualization of women as not demarking themselves was essential for this impression. It is via the immobility of female politicians and the lack of substantial representation that some female citizens were assuming that they were as corrupt as the rest of the elected officials.

Women believe that the parity law had not changed anything in the political status quo. In these conditions, elected females are not able to elevate women's status in society. Ordinary women were being quite harsh on elected females who engaging clientelism, revealing a double standard for women where the societal role assigned to them does not allow such behaviour. However, as the last quotation shows, it can also have another impact on the perception of female politicians. They are as corrupt as men, but with more dignity in their corruption.

In sum, the law on parity was judged inefficient at elevating gender equality. This assumption comes from the belief that the measure is changing little in the clientelistic and

cronyist political culture in Senegal. The frustration of the women towards their political pairs seemed to originate from their perception of the political class as a whole and the inability of women representatives to stand out from the elected crowd. Consequently, female politicians are criticized by their own gender for their inability to change the status quo, not for having stood out. However, female citizens do not reveal if parity is used to camouflage patriarchal or clientelist politics; they only highlight the fact that having more women in the government cannot transform the patrimonial state practises.

6.1.3 Patriarchal norms as common threat, and competences as a double-edged sword

The final section of the discourse analysis will tackle a common theme in the literature: patriarchal norms as the ultimate barriers to women's political empowerment. Unsurprisingly, ordinary Senegalese women made the same observation. They transposed their own lived experienced to women representatives, making the assessment that elected women have to be submissive to their male counterparts, as it is expected of them in the private sphere. Women reinforced this belief by using the concept of competence to dismiss the need for parity. While others believe the contrary, the Senegalese government needs parity to permit more competent women to enter politics.

6.1.3.1 Impossible to shackle: T**he patriarchal norms in the public sphere**

Scholarly work on gender quotas agree that even if some beneficial effect could be stirred out of gender quotas, the measure is not able to fundamentally challenge patriarchal norms in political society. Consequently, Sater and Lloren argue that gender quotas' inability to overcome the neopatrimonial state was affecting their potential to elevate women's empowerment. In Yoon and Benstead's case studies, they identified ways quota-

elected women were able to bring change to women status, but still recognize the resilience of patronage and patriarchal traditions in politics.

Unsurprisingly, all the interviewed women also identified patriarchal norms as a major obstacle for female political empowerment in Senegal. I distinguish in women's discourse two barriers related to patriarchy that were perceived as limiting female political emancipation: the family and religious belief. The two concepts were closely linked and reveal how women perceive their gender as making them second-class citizens confined to the private sphere and how they see this assumption being transposed to females that are investing in the public sphere. They believe that women have to be submissive, and it remains the same for female politicians, even if they are in positions of power.

I begin with a quotation that demonstrates how females are expected to depend on men in their entourage, showing the extent of patriarchal structures' grip on women's empowerment:

> "Because when you're a woman, in the Senegalese society, we are educated on the fact that a woman should always depend on her partner. From infancy you depend on your parents, and it just continues with the husband. There are also some communities who think women should not go to school since she will be supported by her husband." (Interview 8)

This quotation illustrates the idea existing in Senegalese society that women's place is to be submissive to men, and how this belief was internalized by women in childhood and transmitted to the next generation. Another interviewee explicitly translated that reality for the political environment:

> "That is why there are no women at the head of government. It's like in the family. It's always the man who has the power, who decides everything. The woman is just obeying so it's the same thing in government." (Interview 7)

As such, women are taking their lived experience in the private sphere and transposing it into the public space. Their perception of female representatives' behaviour and their place

in the government is tainted by patriarchal norms that they know too well. Parity is supposed to challenge this societal structure that is hindering women from contributing to public life. Furthermore, the interviewee correlated the reason why women do not easily access higher positions in the government to their conceptualization of females' place in society. In their conceptualization of femininity, women cannot give orders, as they have to be submissive and modest. This illustrates how strong patriarchal values are anchored in women's perceptions, and how they have been shaping the impression of politics as a male domain and where women cannot pretend to equally participate. Nonetheless, the optimism invested in gender quotas, the law on parity, in this context, is not changing this assumption.

Moreover, if a woman comes to a power position, here is how she is perceived:

"If the woman has a high position with a good salary, what will happen is that she will become authoritarian, she will not remain submissive, she would tend to forget the rules, her customs, her culture… that's how people see things." (Interview 3)

Thus, similarly to the corruption, women who are defying their gender roles are perceived as losing their culture and as "authoritarian," which is pejorative. Their involvement is not viewed positively because she is losing her culture in the process. Even in several interviews, some female politicians are renowned as "Iron Ladies," referring to their authoritarian characteristics and their subversive gender roles.

This intermingling between women's role in the private and public spheres is also linked to religious beliefs. A participant, when asked what she thought about the law on parity, did not answer right away and was very shy to express her opinions. Finally, after several seconds, she answered that it was difficult to talk about it. I asked her why and she replied: "As it is through traditions and religions all this." (Interview 7). The discomfort that this participant was feeling shows how the law on parity is disturbing and defying the

female role that is codified by religion and traditional values. This participant continued her explanations, when asked if we should talk about parity in Senegal:

> "Yes, we can talk about it, but not too much, because there are men who think they are superior, they do not believe in parity and equality between men and women. However, there are certain religions that do not accept that we speak about it…" (Interview 7)

She is clearly stating how dichotomous the principle of parity is with what she knows of religions. She even said that, according to her knowledge, some males are against the idea. Hence, according to the interviewee, patriarchal values are a barrier that female politicians still have to surmount to gain gender equality. In the same line of thought, the next extract continues the explanation of how religious belief constitutes an obstacle to female political empowerment:

> "In the four presidents of the country, I haven't seen a female president. Maybe I don't know the law well, if it's forbidden or not for a woman to be the head of power, but here we are 95% of Muslims, and in Islam it says that a woman must not rule, she must not have power over others. So it's the man who takes the whole place… " (Interview 7)

The participant demonstrated how, despite parity, female politicians cannot pretend to participate on equal terms with men in politics. In her understanding, women are not supposed to strive for political decisions because of religious dictates denying women this right to attain power. She is making the association between religion, patriarchal values and barriers to female politicians. She directly expresses how religious belief and tradition are superior and how they do not believe in gender equality and thus that women cannot aspire to be politicians because of it. The belief that women cannot have power over others goes back to the belief that women should obey men, husband or father. This idea is so internalized by the participant that she does not even believe that females can be president.

This extract shows well how patriarchal values are perceived as a huge barrier for women by women.

As mentioned, the literature on Senegalese politics stated a strong link between Sufi structures and political institutions. A participant distinguished the impact it could have on individual behaviour:

> "But now, it's mostly religious politics that play in this country… In that way men are more listening to than women, and that's really not changing. Women can occupy these positions, it's happening everywhere now, but if the women speak, even if they do not want to accept it, they can think to themselves 'this girl is right' but in front of everybody they will never admit it. Because men are much stronger, he must stand out." (Interview 10)

According to the interviewee, politics and religion are proceeding together in Senegal and influencing its gendered attitude. Men are more listened to and they need to be the strongest, and so men are more prone to doubt women's discourses, as it goes against traditions and the common belief that women should obey men. The quotation illustrates how hindering patriarchal norms are for female politicians' voice. It impacts their ability to express their agency and the potential of their substantive representation. This sounds like the premise, or a part of it, of the negative perception of the law on parity.

As religion is omnipresent in Senegal, influencing several aspects of Senegalese life, the fact it was regularly cited in interviews as an obstacle to women's empowerment was anticipated. However, an interviewee wisely indicated that religion is not fundamentally opposed to parity, and that it is rather people's interpretation that is contrasting parity with religion and traditional belief.

> "It is a cultural issue in fact, the saying that women's place is at home. It was like that before we voted the law on parity… So it's a cultural and religious issue. And in parentheses, people interpret religion as they want. Even religious figures have advocated for parity because if we compare the number of times that women and

man are mentioned in the Quran, it's actually the same. So man and women are equal. But religion is not applied to its true value. This is especially so, when a woman that is saying a leader, whether it is political or to lead something, she is never taken seriously." (Interview 9)

This participant is bringing more nuance to that argument. People interpret religion in a way that advances their arguments and, in this case, to support patriarchal norms. Of course, female citizens are not impermeable to those mainstream discourses and some, as presented, have deeply internalized it since childhood. This widely impacted their symbolic representation that politics is a male domain and that even if women invest in it, they are still expected to behave the same as in the private sphere, which is to listen to men and if they do they will not be 'taken seriously'.

Overall, religion is perceived by ordinary women as an impeding factor to gender equality which the law on parity is not perceived as able to change. In this way, the interviewees' assumption resembles the argument of the literature that recognizes the resilience and the extent of patriarchal values in the political arena. Ordinary women only marginally express how patriarchal norms play out in the parliament while not directly expressing how it affected female MPs' actions as it has been shown in the literature. Admittedly, the point of view of female citizens might simply be inappropriate to tackle the effect of the law on substantive representation. However, as I suggested in the previous section, it might have impacted the symbolic representation of quotas elected because women citizen also state the inability of female elected to equally participate in politics.

6.1.3.2: Competence as the double-edged sword

The concept of competence came up numerous times in the women's discourse. It was heavily addressed in every interview. The competences concept acted as a double-edged sword: first, it was used to justify gender imbalance in the public sector and to back

patriarchal norms in the public sector. Second, it was used to justify the law, meaning that quotas permit competent women to finally have access to power. According to women's conceptualization, competence could favourably and unfavourably influence assumptions on the effect of the law on parity.

The first edge of the sword is that competences can be used to reinforce the patriarchal values by countering gender as a political issue and fight the parity's principle. The most transparent declaration of two interviewees on the subject was made when I asked why, according to them, the law on parity was having no effect:

> "Competence is necessary whether you are a man or a woman, you need competencies. That's the most important thing. Because, me, I say that a woman can't be equal to a man anyway, it's just necessary that you got the competences. If you do, you will have the position, man or woman. Like that everyone has to win their place. The strongest occupy the position whether it's a man or a woman. We should always favour the strongest, the most qualified rather than the parity because it will lead us to nowhere." (Interview 5)

> "We should only select candidate based on skills, and not on the fact that this one is a woman. So we accept their candidacy but they do not have the support of the society" (Interview 9)

These citations effectively demonstrate the assumptions that merit should be the only criteria, not gender. In the first one, the interviewee even emphasizes the importance of being the most qualified and the strongest candidates to be politically considered. This mode of selection is unfair in the sense that the conception of the public sector is male-based and constructed to advance masculine attributes. The principal consequence is, as we have seen in the previous section, women are automatically seen as less capable than men. Furthermore, the competitive mode of choosing politicians is coming from a system that favours the strongest, masculine attributes, and that is more often disregarding feminine attributes such as sensitivity.

To conclude, according to some women's assumptions, competence is elevated as the ultimate criterion for elected politicians regardless of representation. This could be emanating from citizen's concerns for having an efficient government than a representative one. In this line of thought, the parity law is not an effective measure and is seen by the female citizen as almost undemocratic.

The second edge of the sword was signified in female citizen's speeches to justify the law on parity. In those discourses' competence was seen as a way to counter the "long arm" mode of selecting candidates. Similarly, competence was seen as this unsurpassable criterion to choose political candidates, but for a different reason than the first arguments. On the contrary, as the extract shows, ordinary women were mentioning the pertinence of women's representation because women complete men:

> "I think it's not on the first hand, there are women who have more qualities than some man, being a man doesn't mean that you must be in power and run the society. There are also women who have quality to lead. We should mix men and women in the government. It's better that way because the two gender complement each other. If a woman has more quality than a man, she can complete him." (Interview 7)

This is not just because the best should be favoured but because the merit system will counter the clientelistic dimension of Senegalese politics that, from their perspective, keeps competent women out of the political arena. Politics without women was incomplete or inadequate. The law on parity is making political positions accessible for competent women which were otherwise kept away and is bringing more balance to the political scene. It is thus rending the political system fairer, as this citation shows:

> "The law on parity has changed, for example, the mentalities that men have towards women by reviewing the abilities that women have. Which means to give them what they deserve. Not to say that women cannot handle that… to allocate by merits really." (Interview 2)

The interviewee believes in the capacity of the law on parity to not only give allow women

into office women who have the appropriate skills, but also to change men's perspective on women's capacities (symbolic representation).

Competence was omnipresent in all the interviews. It was seen as the number one criterion for choosing politicians. Some saw merit as an excuse to explain why women were kept out of politics and held that imposing a law on parity in the government was against the principle of competence and even democracy since women need to compete on the same rule as men. In this aspect, this reasoning backed the patriarchal political system. Some, on the contrary, saw parity as a way to rebalance representative politics, because it gives the opportunity to competent women. Thus some people saw the law on parity as contributing positively to gender equality and, for others, as an unfair way to designate elected officials that disregard competence.

6.1.3 Beyond the literature: How did women citizens' accounts contribute to the study of the gender quota's effect?

Ordinary Senegalese women's accounts on the issues of gender quotas affirmed most of the findings of the literature on gender quotas in its negative and positive effects. However, women citizens' perceptions offered a dive into Senegalese culture around gender dynamics and power. This exploration of those themes with the ordinary women permits one to unpack how gender quotas, even if constrained, still have the potential to elevate gender equality.

Quotas force a larger number of women to take place in the parliament, although such measures cannot change cultural norms as quickly as it took to adopt the law on parity. In this way, the literature is correct: women are still facing important barriers coming from the patriarchal and neo-patrimonial nature of the political sphere that previously excluded women from these power structures. The government is reflecting its represented society,

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acting as its microcosm. As such, women are meeting tremendous obstacles even if they obtain a seat in parliament and thus holding power positions.

However, what was found in this study is that those barriers might not completely hinder women in their substantive representation to 'stand for,' even if not in their full capacity. Rather than challenging upfront patriarchal power structures, female politicians strategically decide to work behind doors, in the shadows, and sometimes even for their male counterparts. They accept the contingencies of their gender and try to work from within these barriers. To some extent, women politicians even have a certain advantage of being perceived as 'white doves'; selfless and modest and the ones thinking about the public good. They are perceived as hardworking and doing more for their society. The downside of not exposing their work is to be criticized for doing nothing substantial and contributing to the corrupt culture of the political class.

This nuance to the impeding capacity of patriarchal norms is unpacking the shared belief that nothing can be done by those women elected in neo-patrimonial and patriarchal regimes. Of course, this idea is marginal and has to be further studied, but it still reveals an aspect about those elected by quotas that no one so far has reported. Yoon does talk about the complaints of some female politicians saying that men are taking credit for their work (2011, 92). This means that Tanzanian females elected were not doing it voluntarily. In contrast, from what was retrieved from Senegalese women's discourse, females choose to do it this way. However, this practice does not concur with Kabeer et al's (2013) definition of female empowerment where women should be able to participate on equal terms with men (20). Yet empowerment is a process and this practice of Senegalese women is a step towards gender equality ideal.

Returning to the question asked in the section "explaining the link between the patrimonial state, the clientelism network and female underrepresentation in politics", from ordinary women's point of view, the females elected with the law on parity are perpetuating the tradition of bypassing the patriarchal and neo-patrimonial aspect of the state. Those are so deeply entrenched in the conceptualization of the women's roles that women prefer not to challenge those norms directly. They choose rather to work with around it in order to change things and thus to advance gender equality gradually and steadily.

6.2 Survey analysis results

The aim of this work is to study the effects of gender quotas from the point of view of women citizens, the primary interest group of gender quotas. Ordinary citizens observe the political domain from an outside point of view, and they are the primary judge of whom they elect. Thus it is pertinent to acquire large N data on ordinary women's attitudes, beliefs and assumptions relating to government and gendered issues. This will offer a larger-scale perspective on the effects of the parity law.

In several instances in the survey analysis, I will compare female results with male results to properly assess the effect gender quotas on women. More precisely, comparing the results by gender will provide benchmarks for how the Senegalese population acts or thinks. It will help to come to more accurate conclusions about the effect of parity on women's perception and empowerment. Thus, I can more exactly measure whether the descriptive increase in women's presence in parliament can elevate gender equality.

Afrobarometer data on attitudes ranges from 2005 to 2018, so I can compare data from before and after parity was adopted. In this way the survey analysis allows me to study whether the descriptive increase in women's presence in parliament has had any effect on

women citizens' political participation or belief in different governments or gendered issues. As the discourse analysis, the conclusions of the survey analysis are dichotomous. The results show different ways in which gender quotas elevate women empowerment but also others in which the measure does not prove enhancing gender equality.

More precisely, I will begin by assessing repercussions of the law on parity on the citizen's attitudes towards women's ability to govern (referring to the symbolic representation). I am exploring people's perceptions of the government's performance in handling women's empowerment and gender issues. Next, I address whether the law on parity has affected women's political participation. To finish, I am taking Benstead's theory on the capacity of gender quotas to elevated gender equality. In several instances of the survey analysis, I will compare female results with male results to evenly weight my analysis.

6.2.1 The Law on Parity changing people's perception of female political leader

As one of the most prominent findings of this study, the survey analysis demonstrate that parity can change the symbolic representation of women. More specifically, to transform people's perception on women's ability to govern, enhancing gender equality. In her study, Burnet reported a positive effect of gender quotas on the symbolic representation of women in Rwandan society. Indeed, she found that having more women in parliament (descriptive representation) shifted Rwandan representations of women's capability, opening more doors for women and helping with their empowerment. By the same fact, Burnet demonstrated an interdependent link between descriptive and symbolic political representation, showing the impact of the former on the latter.

In order to measure if the law on parity in Senegal had a comparable effect from what was disclosed by Burnet in Rwanda, I compare the attitude of citizens towards two statements regarding women as political leaders through time. This analysis should show if the attitude of citizens towards female political leaders has become more positive (having higher percentage of agreement with statement A[6]) since parity was put into place by the Senegalese government in 2012, and if they agree more with the idea of having female political leaders.

Figure 1. The range of attitude of men and women towards female leaders from 2005 to 2017

	Male	Agree very strongly with A	Agree with A	agree strongly with B	Agree with B	Agree with neither	Female	Agree very strongly with A	agree with A	agree strongly with B	agree with B	agree with neither
2005/2006		37,20%	47,30%	15,50%	16,80%	1,10%		42,10%	30,30%	7,90%	12,70%	0,50%
2011/2013		32,70%	15,80%	27%	23%	1,20%		48,50%	23,80%	13,50%	12,80%	1,20%
2014/2015		39%	12,80%	38,50%	8,50%	0,50%		66,70%	10,80%	14%	7%	0,60%
2016/2018		54,10%	26,90%	17,90%	10,20%	1,70%		69,80%	16,90%	7,10%	4,10%	0,50%

"Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement A or Statement B. Statement Statement A: Women should have the same chance of being elected to political office as men. Statement B: Men make better political leaders than women, and should be elected rather than women."

The figure shows a clear progressive change through time where attitudes in favour of women having equal chances of being elected have increased, which indicates that

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[6] Statement A : Women should have the same chance of being elected to political office as men
Statement B: Men make better political leaders than women, and should be elected rather than women.

Burnet's argument applies to Senegal. In 2016/2018, it is worth noting that 54% of men and 69% of women agree that women should have the same chance to become a political leader but this is still far away from the desired 100%. Still according to the number of 2016/2017, there is also a 15% difference between men and women, which suggests that women are more affected by gender quotas than men. Moreover, the difference between men and women's attitudes started at only about 5% in 2005 and grew to 15% in 2018. This could support the belief that women's opinions towards female leaders are moving quicker than men's or that they are simply more inclined to see women's symbolic representation change. Other factors were not tested and thus it is impossible to say if the law on parity is the primary factor causing this shift. Other causes might have influenced this outcome.

Additionally, the results could also indicate an unfavorable sentiment towards female politicians' performance. Indeed, in 2011/2013 and 2014/2015 the percentages of men and women who strongly agree that men are better political leaders than women were higher than in 2005/2005. The percentages of men and women who strongly agree that men are better political leaders than women were higher than in 2005. It doubled for women and radically increased for men, from 15.5% in 2005 to 38.5% in 2014. For women, in 2014/2015, a strong majority still thought their gender should have equal chances. As this augmentation is observed after the parity law was implemented and it could indicate that the population has been disappointed by elected women's work in parliament may encourage people to think that women are worse politicians than men. It could also indicate that the first year's record number of women elected under quotas have not met the public's expectations, reinforcing the belief that women are not bringing anything to the political life of the country, as it was observed in the discourse analysis.

Overall, the effect of gender quotas takes time to change people's belief. In the last round, the percentage of men and women strongly agreeing with statement B significantly drops, returning nearly to what it was in 2005/2006. This could indicate that for the first 7-8 years of parity, a part of the population was still suspicious of female leaders, and that the gender quotas take time to generate change the population's attitudes toward women's political capacities. It is possible that, as Burnet (2013) and Tripp (2016) suggest in their study, the introduction of gender quotas can override conservative attitudes of the population towards women leaders but in the long run (Tripp, 2016, 386).

6.2.2 Gender quotas do not encourage women to participate more in politics

One of the most hoped-for outcomes of gender quotas is to enhance ordinary women's participation in political life (Barnes and Cordova, 2016, 670-71). Although the literature explored in this work did not directly address it, scholars studying the effects of gender quotas on symbolic representation have been addressing whether the election of more women can inspire women to get more politically involved (Franceschet et al., 2012, 18; Barnes and Cordova, 2016, 671). Benstead also comes to the conclusion that the implementation of gender quotas in neo-patrimonial states could spur womens' political participation and electability, and therefore impact female symbolic representation (2016, 198). As Afrobarometer data holds multiple questions addressing political participation, I compare different indicators of political participation before and after the law on parity was put into place. The first is voting, as it is the most obvious (figure on the next page).

Figure 2. The percentage of women that voted in the elections from 2005 to 2017
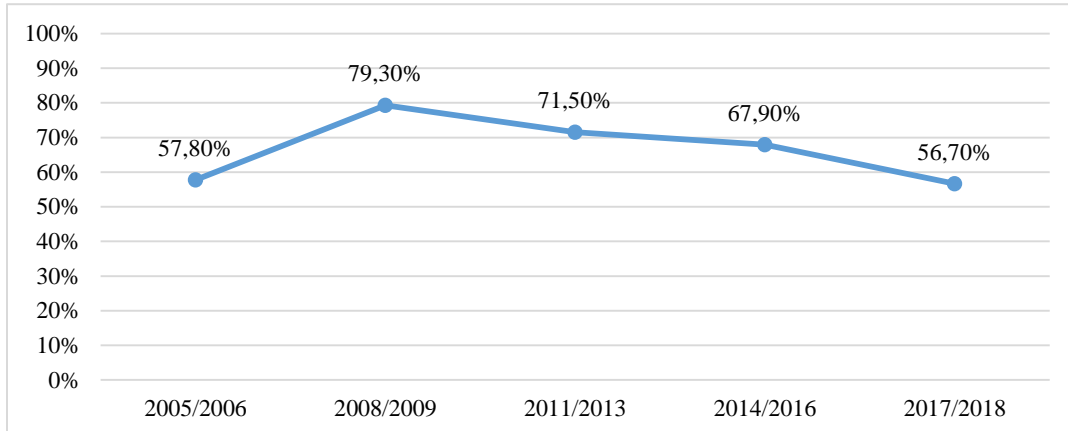
Unexpectedly, the percentage of women who voted went down after the law on parity was put into place during the 2012 election. We cannot determine that the increased number of female politicians has encouraged female citizens to vote. The percentage of women who vote in 2017/2018 was the lowest in more than 10 years, at 56.7%. The two main reported reasons for not voting were "because they were not registered" and "for other reasons," which suggests that the law on parity had little to no impact on female voting behaviour. Other factors might explain why the female vote went down.

For the next two indicators, I compare the results by gender to balance my analysis of the effect of gender quotas on womens' political participation. It is particularly interesting to compare female political engagement with men as it provides benchmarks about how Senegalese society behaves. For instance, if womens' political involvement results are low, but the same could be said for men, it does not mean the law on parity is not effective, it could mean this particular political action is not popular on the whole. Therefore, I aim to utilize results from men as a point of comparison to further enrich my analysis of the effect of parity on women.

The second indicator of political participation analyzed here is attendance at community meetings. Since the law on parity is applied to all levels of government, the local level would be the first to see the effect of parity because of the proximity and accessibility of local politics to citizens, compared to the national level. Theoretically at the same time quotas elevate descriptive representation of women in local politics and transform the symbolic representation of women. Thus it could encourage more ordinary women to participate in local politics.

Figure 3. The percentage of men and women who attended a community meeting between 2005 and 2017

	Male	No, would never do this	No, but would do if had the chance	Yes, once or twice	Yes, several times	Yes, often	Don't know	Female	No, would never do this	No, but would do if had the chance	Yes, once or twice	Yes, several time	Yes, often	Don't know
2005/2006		10%	21%	8,60%	19,50%	40,50%	0,30%		14,60%	22,70%	6,50%	19,40%	33,90%	2,80%
2008/2009		6,10%	24,70%	8,10%	25%	35,70%	0,30%		7,60%	24,60%	9,60%	25,90%	32%	0,20%
2011/2013		6,80%	22,40%	10,20%	20,70%	39,60%	0,30%		10,10%	25%	9,70%	23,10%	31,30%	0,70%
2014/2016		7%	34%	12%	16%	30,20%	0%		7,60%	39,50%	10,80%	20,50%	21,20%	0,30%
2017/2018		12,90%	29,10%	9,70%	19,30%	29%	0%		18,90%	30,70%	10,30%	18,10%	21,70%	0,30%

"Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance: Attended a community meeting?"

The figure suggests that since the law on parity was implemented, women have not attended more to community meetings. For women and men, the percentage of people answering 'yes, often' has decreased significantly between 2005 and 2017. Men are still

more likely to attend community meetings, and their percentages of participation are enhancing through time. However, there are marginally more women who attended once or twice in 2017 than there were in 2005. As such, the law on parity did not cause more women to attend community meetings, and thus we cannot affirm that it contributed to female political involvement.

Finally, I look at whether individuals worked for a candidate or a political party. I used the same logic here according to the theory after the parity was adopted: women should have increased their work rate for a candidate or political party.

Figure 4. The percentage of men and women who have worked for a candidate or party during elections in 2012, 2014 and 2017

	Men	No	Yes	Don't know	Women	No	Yes	Don't know
2011/2013 – 2012 election		67,70%	32,20%	0,20%		75,50%	24,30%	0,20%
2014/2016 – 2014 election		72,20%	27,70%	0,20%		79,30%	20,50%	0,20%
2017/2018 – 2017 election		62%	38%	0%		56,60%	43,30%	0,20%
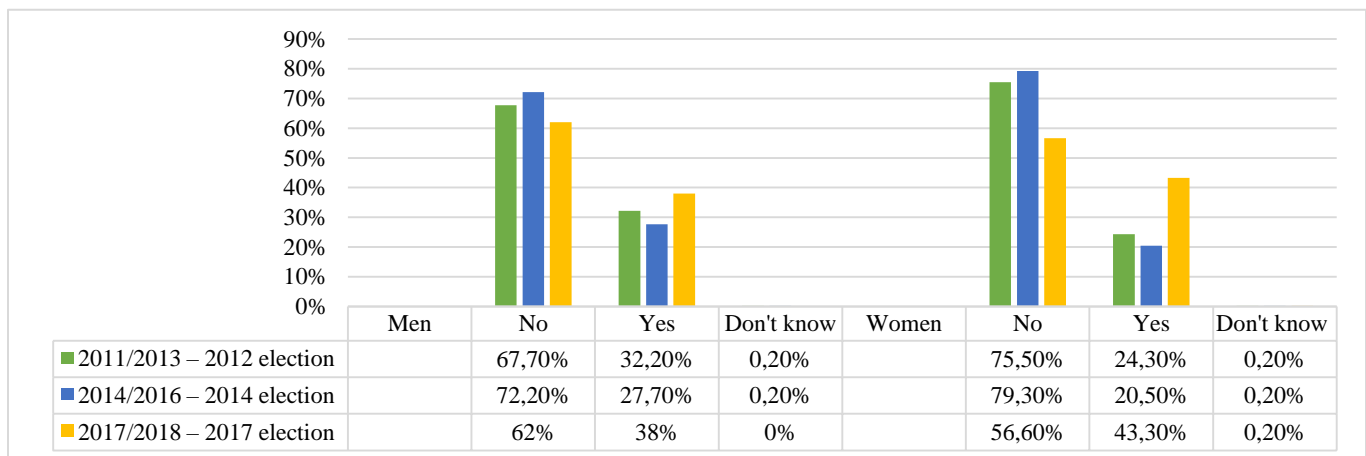
"Thinking about the last local election in (put the year of election), did you: Work for a candidate or party?"

The graph shows an increase in women's involvement. The percentage of females that say they worked for a candidate or political party in the last election has nearly doubled between 2012 and 2017, from 24.3% to 43.3%. However, the percentage went down in 2014. That could be explained by the fact that the election of 2014 was a local one and thus might have less means to mobilize people than the general election. The percentage of men that answered "work for a candidate or party" has remained the same between 2012 and

2018, with a similar drop as women in 2014. However, the percentage of men working for political parties or candidates is higher than women, but the rate only increased by 6%, while for women it nearly doubled since parity was implemented in 2012. Thus, the percentage of female working for a candidate or political party have grown more than man since parity. As a results, in 2017/2018, 5% more women than men reported working for a candidate or a political party. This finding could demonstrate that, since the law on parity, more women have been actively participating in political campaigns for a candidate or political party. This could confirm the belief that more women in politics encourage more women to get involved in politics.

However, the results could also reinforce the findings from the discourse analysis that the preference of Senegalese women interested in politics to work for someone else and to avoid spotlight. Thus the data leads me to stipulate that parity might modestly encourage more women to get politically involved for a party or candidate by working for them, but this participation still correlates with the gender role assigned to women and does not necessarily help gender equality. Moreover, many other factors, like salaries, could indicate why women have a higher propensity to work for parties or candidates.

In conclusion, the three indicators do not show sufficient evidence to conclude that the law on parity in Senegal has encouraged ordinary women to get politically involved. In the previous point, we saw that the law on parity impacted people's attitude towards female leaders, although that transformation of the symbolic representation did not seem enough to encourage women to get politically engaged. It is fair to affirm that political engagement is a very complex phenomenon and that gender parity might not be appealing enough factors to urge women to participate more in politics.

6.2.3 The public's perception of the government's performance at handling gendered issues

This part of the study discloses Senegalese public's opinion on the government's ability to tackle gender issues. The survey analysis shows it has enhanced since the law on parity. In women's discourse analysis both Yoon (2011) and Sater (2012) contradicting findings were found. One suggests that gender quotas can elevate gender equality by better articulating gendered issues in parliament, and the other suggests it has no impact.

To test the literature's hypothesis in the Senegalese context, I use the question "How is the government handling women's empowerment and the promotion of women's rights?" asked in three rounds of the Afrobarometer before and after the law was passed. More precisely if Yoon is correct, the population should have perceived an amelioration of the government's performance handling women's empowerment after the law on parity was implemented. If Sater is correct, the population's attitudes towards their parliament's performance in addressing gendered issues should have worsened or remained stable.

Thereafter, I am using the Gender Inequality Index (GII) of the Human Development Report, constructed by the United Nations Development program (UNDP), to verify if, gender equality did improve in the past years, and if the citizen's impressions were following that trend.

To start, the following figure shows the attitudes of women towards the performance of their government in handling empowerment and the promotion of women's rights. In the third round, the majority of respondents indicated 'fairly well.' Nonetheless, the percentage of women has increased approximately 20% in 10 years, signifying an improvement in the government's performance in the eyes of female citizens.

It is possible to conclude that the percentage of Senegalese women citizens who perceived their government 'fairly well' and 'very well' at handling women's empowerment, and the promotions of women's rights has increased since 2008 (figure on the next page). Citizen's perceptions improved as Yoon's hypothesis suggested. However, I cannot assert that the law on parity is the main cause of this amelioration. It probably contributed, but I cannot determine to what extent.

Figure 5. According to female, how does the government is handling women empowerment and the promotions of women's rights from 2008 to 2018

	Very badly	Fairly badly	Fairly well	Very well	Don't know/haven't heard enough
2008/2009	25,10%	23,30%	33,70%	14%	3,90%
2011/2013	14,50%	23,20%	45,10%	9%	8%
2017/2018	10,30%	18,60%	57,90%	8,80%	4,50%
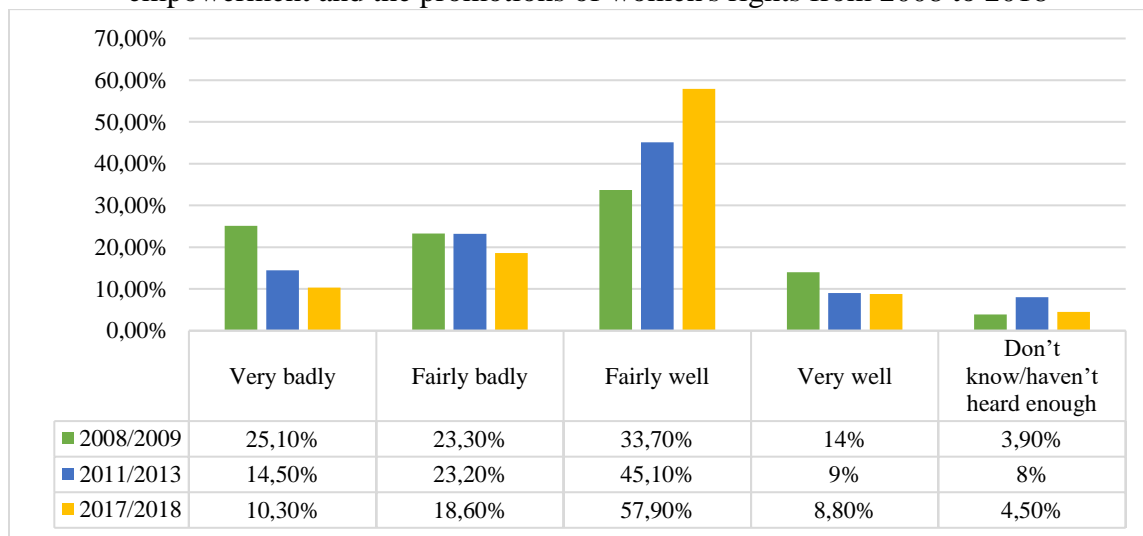
"How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Empowering and promoting women's rights?"

Moreover, the results do not permit me to rule out the existence of the constraints mentioned by Sater, such as women politicians' dependency on party actions. Even if those constraints exist, their impact is not strong enough to hinder the public perception that that state's performance at handling women's empowerment increases. Overall, women citizen's attitudes generously increased between 2011 and 2017, after the law on parity was put into place. It would be optimistic to affirm that this phenomenon is due only to gender quotas, but it is equally naive to not consider it as an important factor.

To complement this analysis, I use another indicator to measure if ordinary women are perceiving an amelioration in women's empowerment since the law was implemented. In 2017/2018 the respondents were asked if equal opportunity and treatment for women was better or worse than it had been a few years before or if it is stayed the same. In other words, citizens were asked if gender equality has improved in the last few years.

Figure 6. In 2017/2018, the opinion of female on if equal opportunities and treatment for women have increased or not in the last few years.

	Much worse	Worse	Same	Better	Much better	Don't know
■	5,60%	12,30%	25%	49,10%	3,30%	2,30%
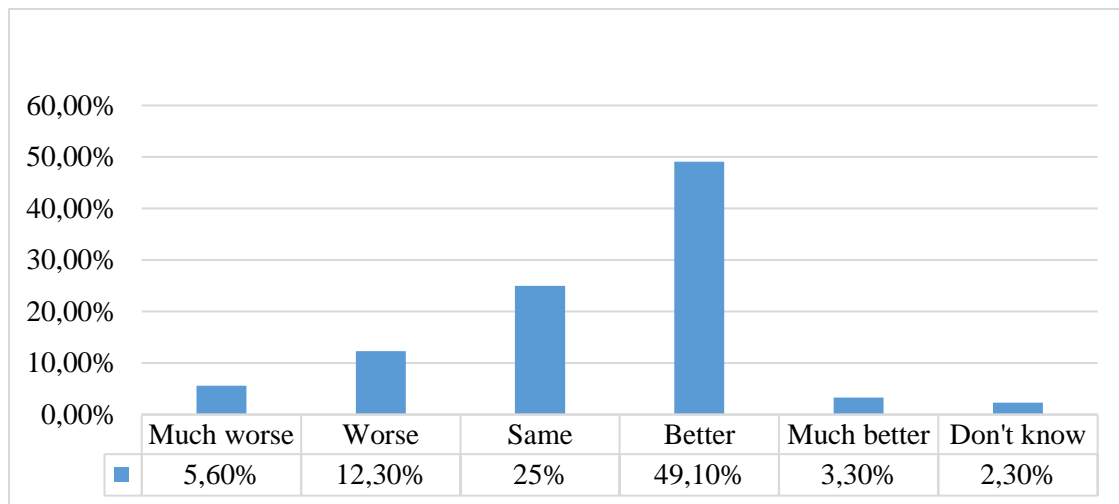
"In the last few years, is equal opportunities and treatment for women have increased, worsen or stayed the same?"

According to these results, most of women perceived that gender equality improved in the past few years. Overwhelmingly, 49.1% of women answered that equal opportunity and treatment for women were better now than before while 12.3% said the situation is now worse. Although, 49.1% is only half of the female population and 25% of women are critical of the improvement of gender equality, saying the situation remain the same. This reinforces the result of the first question: in the citizen's point of view, women's empowerment and gender equality is improving in Senegal. But is it objectively true?

To answer this question, I refer to the Gender Inequality Index made by the UNDP. For Afrobarometer, I am looking at Senegal over time to establish if it improves in the last

few years. The GII is a measure reflecting inequality in achievements between women and men. In doing so, the measure combines three dimensions that reflect how women are disadvantaged: reproductive health, empowerment and labour markets (UNDP; Composite GII, 2019). The higher the value, the higher the inequalities.

Table 1. Senegalese Gender Inequality value's range from 2000 to 2017

Years	2000	2005	2010	2013	2017
Gender inequality value	0.621	0.592	0.554	0.537	0.515

Source: UNDP, Gender inequality Index, http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/gender-inequality-index.

The value of the Gender Inequality Index improves as the value decreases in time. Despite the apparent improvement, it remains that Senegal was put in the 'medium human development' category, as it ranks at number 124 out of 189 in 2017, according to the UNDP's classification on Gender Inequality (UNDP; GII, 2019). Therefore, the citizens' impression that gendered issues and women's empowerment have improved in the last years are present in the data, even if only modestly.

Nevertheless, this study cannot measure whether or how much female politicians can be responsible for this outcome. The number of female politicians is one of the measures of female empowerment used by the GII (UNDP; Composite GII, 2019). In that sense, the law on parity contributed to the improvement of the GII value, but I cannot measure its effect on the perceptions of the citizens with the Afrobarometer survey data.

Yoon's conclusions about the incapacity of gender quotas to increase women's empowerment is supported by the survey analysis. Afrobarometer demonstrates that, according to citizens' points of view, the government's handling of gendered issues and

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women's empowerment is improving. Yet the survey analysis cannot override the presence of patriarchal practices that can hinder elected female's performances and thus the government. However, the analysis shows us that, even if those practices exist, they do not prevent gender equality improving. Citizens are even giving evidence that the parliament is handling women's empowerment and women's rights issues are better. Gender quotas are positively impacting gender equality.

6.2.4 Gender quotas to bridge the gender homosocial capital gap in service provision

Gender quotas were assessed by Benstead's study. They have had a positive influence on gender quality because of their capacity to reduce the gender gap in access to constituent services in patriarchal and clientelistic states (Benstead, 2016, 185). However, Benstead's argument on this specific effect of gender quotas was not found in the survey analysis with Senegalese opinions and attitudes. I will first explain the argument and then continue with the survey analysis that lead me to this conclusion.

According to Benstead's development of the homosocial capital theory, women are excluded from the political scene because they have less homosocial capital to offer in the clientelistic political market. Homosocial capital is defined as "close, trusting relationships with individuals, often of the same gender, which is similar and have resources needed for electoral success" (Ibid, 186). Moreover, the author refers to clientelism in its parliamentary aspect, meaning "to help with personal problems, including medical treatment, judicial or bureaucratic corruption, jobs, money or grants, or electricity" (Ibid).

However, gender quotas force a larger number of women to invest in the political domain. The electoral measure puts more women in positions of power and because of the mandate effect, they are more susceptible to identify with women as a group. As such

female politicians are more susceptible to listen and to increase service provisions for women. The heart of Benstead's argument is that men have substantial advantages in accumulating homosocial social capital, because men in patriarchal societies hold more instrumental resources that give them more easy access to state services. Because women are excluded from patronage politics, they have fewer instrumental connections, and thus have more difficulty accessing those services. Accordingly, gender quotas can reduce the gender gap in service provisions, because female politicians will use their new instrumental resources to ease the access of ordinary women to government services (Ibid, 188).

This potential effect of gender quotas did not arise in Senegalese women's discourse analysis. In her study, Benstead surveyed female MPs in Morroco and Algeria in order to analyze if those elected under quotas were more likely to 'stand for' further female services provision, and thus to act for them. She concluded that they do, mainly because of the mandate effect (Ibid, 198-199).

Although Afrobarometer does not offer such data, it is still possible to test Benstead's hypothesis. If her assumption is right about the effect of gender quotas on women's access to public services, it should be possible to discern a change in the number of women contacting their MPs and reporting easier access to government services since parity was put into place. In order to do so, I first compared the rate of citizens contacting their MPs over time. Second, I compared the result of the two questions referring to two different government services (medical care and household services) from 2005 to 2018, with different Afrobarometer rounds. I choose those two because they were listed on the most common and second most common problems for which citizens contact female parliamentarians in Morocco and Algeria (Benstead, 2016, 193). To balance my analysis,

I compare the results by gender to more accurately measure the effect of parity on womens' actions. Results from men will serve as comparative benchmarks for the analysis.

Figure 7. The percentage of men and women who contacted their MP between 2005 and 2017

	Male	Never	Only Once	A few times	Often	Don't know	Female	Never	Only once	A few times	Often	Don't know
■ 2005/2006		88,50%	4,50%	4,50%	1,20%	0,10%		88,60%	5,30%	3,40%	2,30%	0,30%
■ 2008/2009		88,80%	2,70%	4,10%	3,40%	0,80%		91%	1,70%	3,80%	2,30%	1,30%
■ 2011/2013		89,70%	2,50%	2,50%	4,70%	2,80%		94,80%	2%	2,20%	1%	0,00%
■ 2014/2016		92,50%	4,80%	2,50%	1%	0,20%		93,50%	3,20%	2,20%	0,60%	0,30%
■ 2017/2018		90,80%	2,50%	4,20%	2,50%	0,00%		91,50%	3,60%	2,80%	1,20%	0,80%
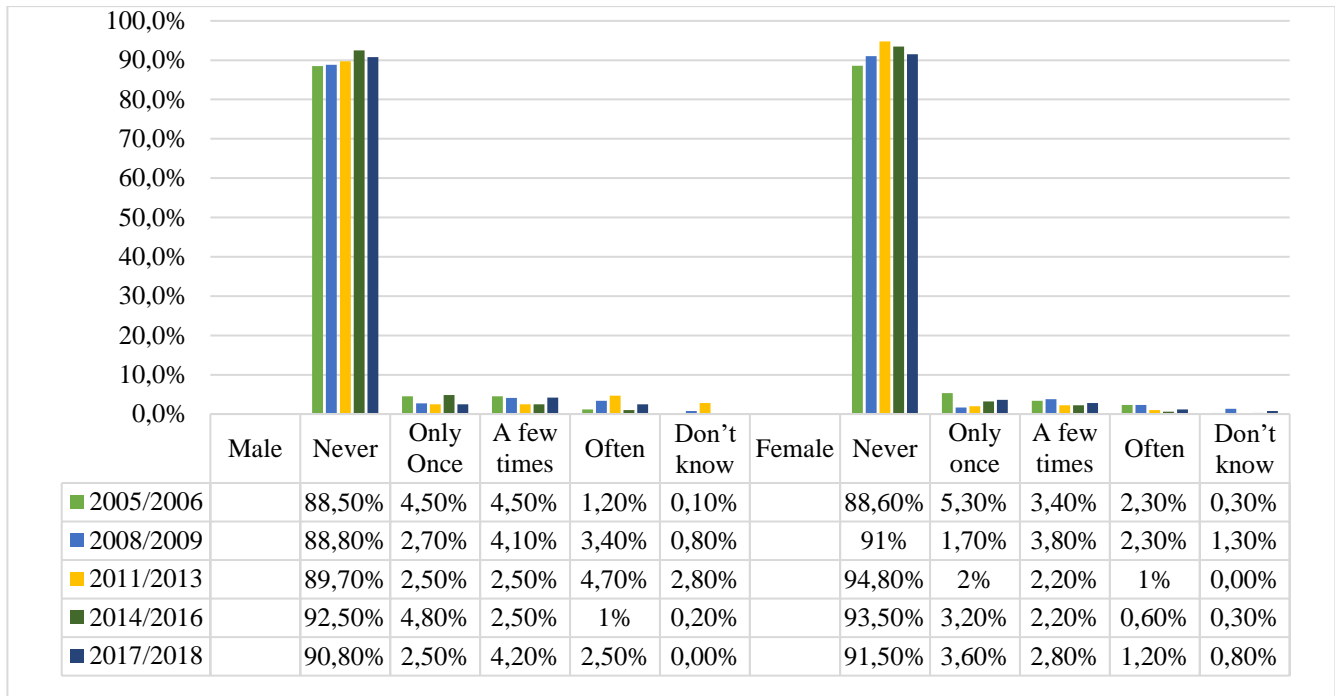
"During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views: A Member of The National Assembly?"

According to the results, ordinary female have not been contacting more their MPs. In 2005, the number of people contacting their MP was already low, around 10%. Furthermore, the percentage indicated a decline in citizens contacting their representatives, and this tendency was similar in both men and women. Therefore I cannot establish that women citizens have been voicing more their complaints to their MPs or to exercise parliamentary clientelism.

	Male	Very difficult	Difficult	Easy	Very easy	Never try	No contact	Don't know	Female	Very difficult	Difficult	Easy	Very Easy	Never try	No contact	Don't know
2005/2006		19,40	32%	42%	3,70%	2,10%	0	0,80%		15,50	36,50	41,30	2,10%	3,30%	0	1,40%
2011/2013		24%	41,70	28,80	4,80%	0,30%	0	0,30%		21,50	41,30	30%	5,30%	1,30%	0	0,50%
2014/2016		15,70	19%	15,30	6,50%	0	43,50	0%		20%	17,50	18,30	8,80%	0	35,30	0,20%
2017/2018		13,90	13,90	16,80	4,50%	0	50,80	0,20%		15,60	17,20	23,40	6%	0	37,30	0,50%
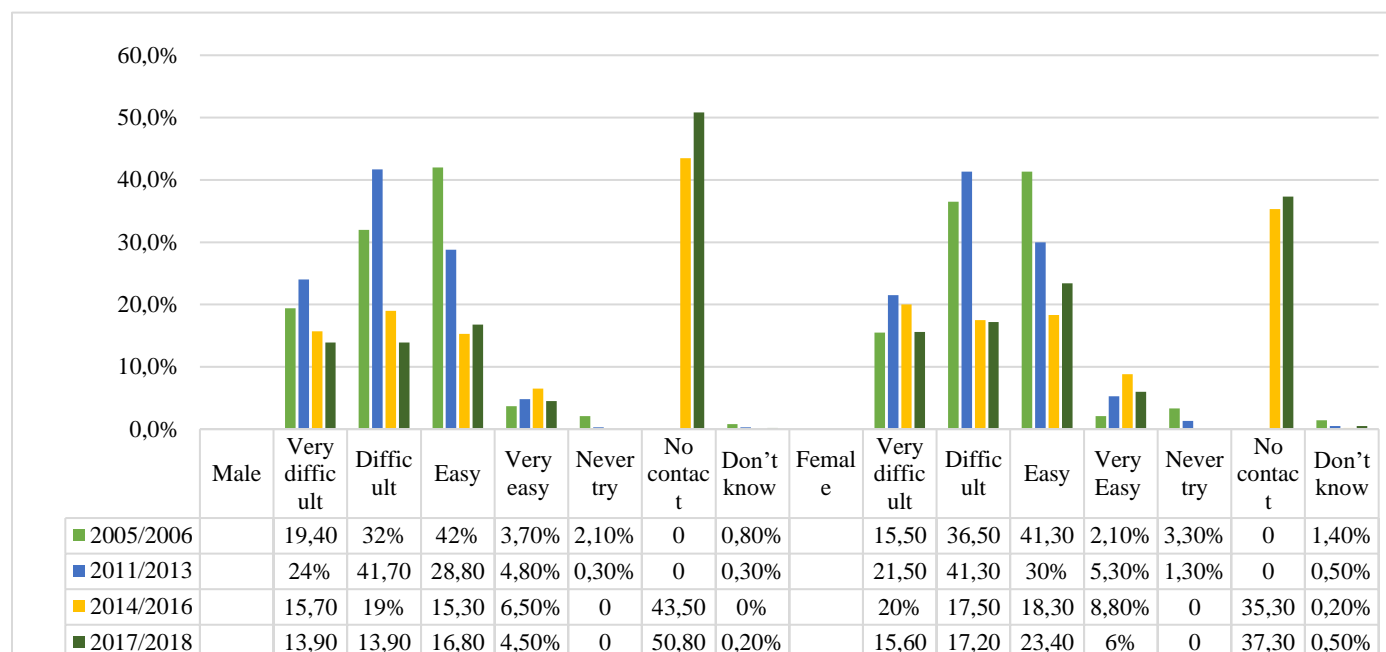
"In the past 12 months have you had contact with a public clinic or hospital? [If yes] How easy or difficult was it to obtain medical care you needed?"

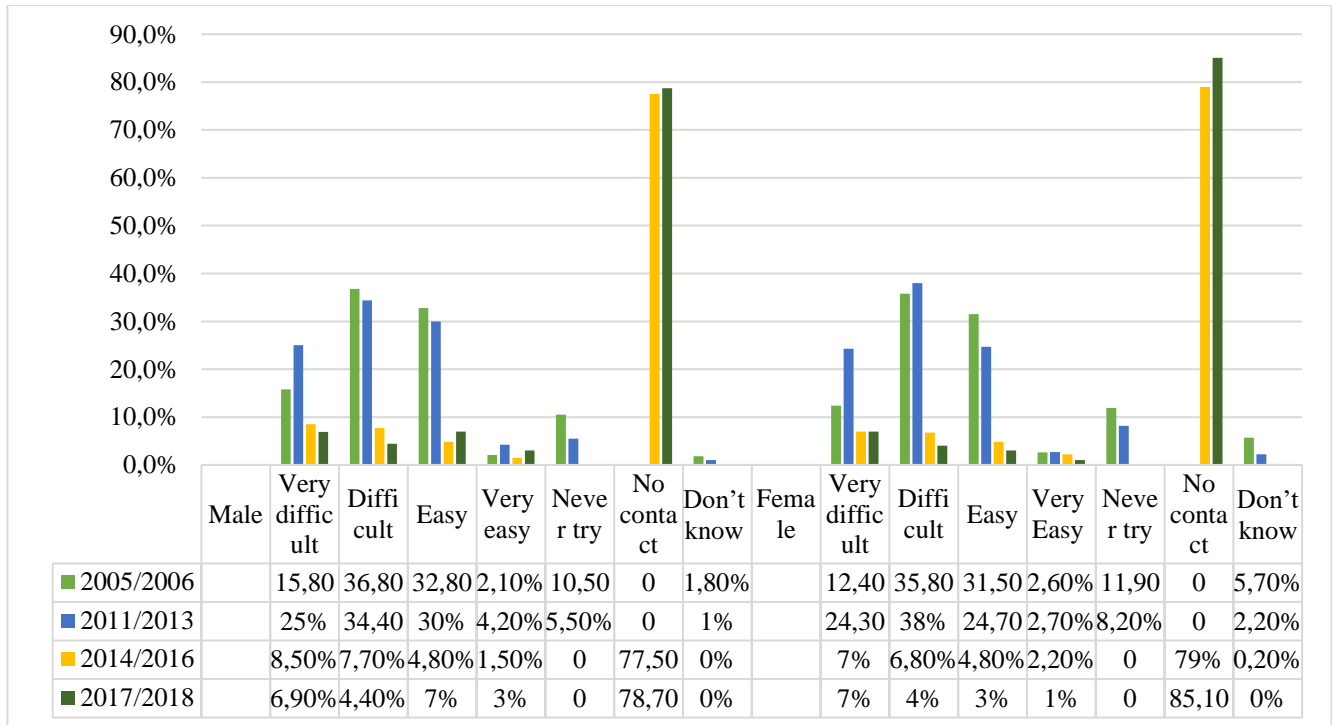For both genders, the percentage of citizens reporting that obtaining medical care was difficult decreased. For women, it went from 36.5% to 17.2% between the first and last round. This reduction occurred after the law on parity was adopted. However, the percentage of women saying it is easy has also decreased, and we cannot conclude that parity, or the increase in women politicians having more homosocial capital, had repercussions on women's access to medical care.

For household services (figure on the next page), the percentage of men and women having 'no contact' in 2014 and 2017 indicated that household services were not frequently demanded by Senegalese citizens after 2011. The percentage of men and women indicating it was difficult to access them diminished between 2015 and 2018. There is no evidence that it is now easier for women to access those public services than before because of the high percentage of women simply having no contact with this service. The percentage of

men and women indicating it was easy did shrink, not for want of indicating that it became

more difficult, but to indicate they had no contact with these services in the last past year

Figure 9. The range of attitude of men and women towards the degree of difficulty to obtain household services (water, sanitary, electricity) from 2005 to 2018

	Male	Very difficult	Difficult	Easy	Very easy	Never try	No contact	Don't know	Female	Very difficult	Difficult	Easy	Very Easy	Never try	No contact	Don't know
■ 2005/2006		15,80	36,80	32,80	2,10%	10,50	0	1,80%		12,40	35,80	31,50	2,60%	11,90	0	5,70%
■ 2011/2013		25%	34,40	30%	4,20%	5,50%	0	1%		24,30	38%	24,70	2,70%	8,20%	0	2,20%
■ 2014/2016		8,50%	7,70%	4,80%	1,50%	0	77,50	0%		7%	6,80%	4,80%	2,20%	0	79%	0,20%
■ 2017/2018		6,90%	4,40%	7%	3%	0	78,70	0%		7%	4%	3%	1%	0	85,10	0%

" In the past 12 months have you tried to get water, sanitation or electric services from government? [If yes] How easy or difficult was it to obtain the document you needed? "

Therefore, it is difficult to conclude that since the law on parity more Senegalese women's access to household services or medical care increased. Multiple reasons could cause these results. Some possible explanations being the inadequacy of my measurement instrument, as the effect of Benstead's theory of gender quotas closing the gender gap in service provisions might take more than 6 years to be reported by female citizens.

More interestingly, the results of this longitudinal analysis could show that, in Senegal, access to services seems to be no less of an issue than it is in Morocco and Algeria. Although citizens were pointing out a modest access amelioration for medical care from

2005 to 2017, citizens were not indicating a significant difficulty in accessing those services. Thus, that citizens indicated either a seemingly satisfactory access to those two services or no contact might simply indicate that parliamentary clientelism in Senegal touches upon those kinds of services as citizens are not overwhelmingly dissatisfied with it. Therefore, Benstead's theory seems unfitting for the clientelist context of Senegal and I cannot confirm that gender quotas can help reduce the gap between men and women in service provisions or gender equality.

To conclude, the survey analysis of Afrobarometer data on Senegalese women's attitudes shows the ability of gender quotas to improve citizen's perceptions of women's empowerment, but not citizen's actions. On one hand, the survey analysis strengthens the assumption that the law on parity can elevate the public perception of women's ability to govern, changing women's role in society. It also supports the assumption that gender quotas can help the government better handle gendered issues such as female empowerment and women's rights. On the other hand, the law on parity reveal its inefficiency at raising women's political participation, as women reported similar political behaviours before and after parity was adopted. Finally, Afrobarometer data analysis demonstrated that the service provision gap might not be an important source of gender inequality in Senegal.

7. Conclusion

African women's movements push their state to adopt gender quotas because of the measure promised outcome of increasing female political empowerment (Tripp, 2016, 383). According to Pitkin's theory of political representation, gender quotas can achieve this goal through a descriptive increase in women's presence in parliament, which will impact substantial and symbolic representation (Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005, 407).

Theoretically, the more women politicians there are, the more gendered issues will be addressed in parliaments (Ibid, 414). By increasing women's political presence, gender quotas can challenge the perception of women's role in society (Franceschet et al., 2012, 9-10). Female representatives, by promoting women's issues and also by accomplishing tasks well, can shift how citizens perceive women's capacities and how they perceive politics as a male domain.

The literature on gender quotas finds that Pitkin's theory is correct. In both the statistical and discourse analysis, the increased female presence in government seemed to positively impact the symbolic representation of women by enhancing women's own belief in their capacity to lead and to invest in the public space. Gender quotas empower women by changing their ideas of self-worth and social identity, as Kabeer et al. (2013) suggested. Women's discourse perceived the increased number of female politicians as positive because of the substantive representation of a few female ministers and the transforming potential of symbolic representation in the government and in society. More precisely, the good performance of a few women ministers tinted their opinions of female presence in the government. They qualified women's presence in parliament as being "more serious" and "hardworking." Ordinary Senegalese women did not report that female politicians were better at articulating female concerns. The statistical analysis showed that Senegalese men and women's perceptions of their government's performance handling women's empowerment increased since the law on parity. Further research needs to be done on the subject.

An important body of literature shows the inability of gender quotas to deliver greater gender equality (Sater, 2012; Lloren, 2014; Bjarnegard and Zetterberg, 2016). Scholars

identify two main factors hindering women's political empowerment, despite the implementation gender quotas: patriarchal norms and clientelistic practises (Lloren 2014, Sater 2013). Even optimistic scholars like Yoon (2011) and Benstead (2016) recognize the resilience of these two factors. This study's discourse analysis reflected this other side of gender quotas' literature. In sum, the negative perception of the effect of the law on parity comes from the belief that the measure changes nothing in the current political situation and that the inactivity of female politicians is being criticized by their own gender. The frustration from women toward their political peers seems to originate from their perception of the political class as a whole and the inability of women representatives to stand out from the elected crowd. Consequently, female politicians are criticized for their inability to change the status quo, not for having stood out, and thus the law on parity is judged ineffective by female citizens. Ordinary women also identified patriarchal norms as an insurmountable barrier strengthened by the concept of competence, which females supposedly lack. In brief, female citizens criticize their political counterparts in their inability to question the subordinate status assigned to them even in positions of power and thus their inability to become empowered.

For its part, the survey analysis reveals that the law on parity was not able to push women to get politically involved. Eight years after the implementation of the law on parity might be too soon to see the impact of the measure on women's behaviour. As I concluded that gender quotas are challenging gender inequality, it is possible to discern a growing belief in female attitudes in women's perceptions, opinions and attitudes, but empowerment is an ongoing process. The transformative effect of symbolic representation might take longer to be noticed in women citizen's behaviour. Strengthening women's self-worth is

the first step towards sustainable egalitarian attitudes and behaviour. Senegal is still a neo-patrimonial and patriarchal society. As one of the interviewees said (interview 10), people might agree with female leaders, but they will keep this opinion to themselves, because it is still publicly contentious to hold such a belief. In the end, gender quotas are only one measure is limited in their capacity to further women's empowerment.

By adopting women citizens' own point of view, this research was able to integrate ordinary female perspectives into the portrayal of gender quotas' effects, bringing to light nuances about how the primary interest group of the law on parity was perceiving the outcomes of the measure. Precisely, the analysis of women's discourses did not distinguish the mandate effect, meaning that women expect female representatives to concentrate their efforts on gendered issues. They did not confine female politicians' substantial representation to only female policy responsiveness, but also more widely their political potential. Yet they did characterize them with traditional attributes such as being the selfless and motherly figure of the nation.

Taking women's account as a starting point for analysis also allowed me to discern a novel practice adopted by politically engaged Senegalese women. Women have a tendency to work in the shadows of their male counterparts, preferring to work away from the spotlight because it is not proper for their gender to be publicly exposed. Therefore, female politicians do not directly challenge their gender role, as it does not participate on equal terms with men, but still show their capacity to exercise strategic control over their political roles. Even if women do not publicly expose their works (substantial representation), they can still work and advocate for women's issues, but in a less public fashion. However, these practices have a downside: citizens are less able to gauge their work because, from their

point of view, they are doing nothing. As such, women are demonstrating ways through which they counter patriarchal norms, revealing their own resilience. Further research needs to be done on the subject in order to develop and test this interesting finding and see how it unfolds in Senegal or other developing countries where gender quotas have been adopted.

Citizens are the judges of the government's actions, and gender quotas are an imperfect measure that has its downside and thus divides the population in its efficacy and even relevance. Women's account on the subject reveal how divided the perception of the effects of the law on parity is. It is be reasonable to think that that gender quotas cannot alone deliver their promised impact on women's empowerment. It will be interesting to study gender quotas' effects in a more multidisciplinary approach, to determine with which other women's empowerment measures the effects of gender quotas might be most effective. Arendt (2018) conducted research that indicated in which political context gender quotas were the most effective. It would be interesting to further push her line of thought and look more globally at other factors impacting women's empowerment, such as the economic and sociological. Gender is deeply entrenched in society and is traditionally coded, thus it is arduous to change in order to achieve equality. State reforms alone cannot be the solution for such a complex issue, hence the necessity to look more globally at the issues.

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Appendix I – Research Ethics Board I approval

McGill

Research Ethics Board Office
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Research Ethics Board I
Certificate of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Humans

REB File #: 218-1018

Project Title: Female Senegalese youth economic and political empowerment

Principal Investigator: Camille De La Durantaye-Guillard

Department: Political Science

Status: Master's Student

Supervisor: Prof. Juan Wang

Approval Period: <u>November 14, 2018 to November 13, 2019</u>

The REB-I reviewed and approved this project by delegated review in accordance with the requirements of the McGill University Policy on the Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Human Participants and the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct For Research Involving Humans.

Deanna Collin
Ethics Review Administrator, REB I & II

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* Approval is granted only for the research and purposes described.
* Modifications to the approved research must be reviewed and approved by the REB before they can be implemented.
* A Request for Renewal form must be submitted before the above expiry date. Research cannot be conducted without a current ethics approval. Submit 2-3 weeks ahead of the expiry date.
* When a project has been completed or terminated, a Study Closure form must be submitted.
* Unanticipated issues that may increase the risk level to participants or that may have other ethical implications must be promptly reported to the REB. Serious adverse events experienced by a participant in conjunction with the research must be reported to the REB without delay.
* The REB must be promptly notified of any new information that may affect the welfare or consent of participants.
* The REB must be notified of any suspension or cancellation imposed by a funding agency or regulatory body that is related to this study.
* The REB must be notified of any findings that may have ethical implications or may affect the decision of the REB.

Appendix II- Interview Guide

1. What motivated you to participate in the EQWIP HUBs program?

2. Did you participate in other programs before this one? If yes, which ones? Have they been useful or not?

3. In your opinion, what are your qualities that allow you to continue/finish the program?

4. Did you have any difficulty participating in the training? If so, what were these difficulties?

5. If you were to give advice to future participants, what would it be?

6. Are you currently employed? Are you looking for a job?

7. What has changed in your daily life since you were employed?

8. What do you think is the biggest obstacle/challenge to women's employability?

9. In your opinion, what could help women's integration into the job market in Senegal?

10. Do you listen to the news? If yes, by which medium (radio, newspapers, television, social media)?

11. How many times per week?

12. Do you follow political debates in the media? What are the issues that interest you the most?

13. Would you say that you discuss political issues with your families and friends?

14. What do you think about the gender parity law in the government?

15. In your opinion, should women be involved in politics?

16. What is your opinion about the women elected to government offices?

17. What qualities do you think political women need to have to succeed in politics?

18. Do you see changes in public debates on women's issues?

19. Statement 1: Men are better political leaders than women and should be the only ones elected to political office.

20. Statement 2: Women should have the same chance of being elected to political office as men.

21. Do you engage in organizations, associations, or community centers? If so, what form does your commitment take and why?

22. Do you know any organizations or associations working with women? If so, what do you think of their action?

Appendix III – Benstead's table on the mechanism of exclusion of female from service provision

TABLE 1
Mechanisms of Exclusion from Service Provision

	Instrumental Resources Structural/Situational Contributions to Exclusion Patriarchal Structures	Expressive Resources Dispositional Contributions to Exclusion Patriarchal Norms
Supply, elite Politician-regime networks	Patriarchal structures limit female deputies' instrumental resources to provide services; females stereotyped as less effective sources of wasta.	Patriarchal norms limit female deputies' linkages with male elites; female deputies can provide fewer services to constituents, who are more likely to be female.
Demand, mass Citizen-politician networks	Patriarchal structures exclude female citizens from employment and politics; females have fewer instrumental resources and are less politically active, making their support perceived as less important to mobilize.	Patriarchal norms limit male deputies' interactions with female citizens, leading to less service provision to women.

Source: Benstead, 2016, 189

Appendix IV – The six phase of thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2008)

Table 1 Phases of thematic analysis

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Source: Braun and Clarke, 2006, 87

Appendix V- Interviewees list

	Date of the interview	age	Civil status	City of origins	Education	Religion
Interview 1	19/11/18	26	Single	Dakar	Master in Sociology	Islam
Interview 2	21/11/18	22	Single	Saint-Louis	Geography Undergrad	Islam
Interview 3	24/11/18	26	Married with children	Ourossogui	Nurse undergraduate	Islam
Interview 4	27/11/18	24	Single	Dakar	Economic and business law undergraduate	Christian
Interview 5	28/11/18	25	Single	Turban	Philosophy Undergrad	Islam mouride
Interview 6	29/11/18	29	Single	Casamance	English literature undergraduate (not completed)	Islam
Interview 7	03/12/18	24	Single	Louga	Management undergrad	Islam
Interview 8	04/12/18	29	Single	Zinguinchor	Law undergraduate	Christian
Interview 9	04/12/18	35	Single	Dakar	Licence in bank and finance	Islam
Interview 10	07/12/18	24	Single	Dakar	International relations and business undergrad	Islam/christian