



**Revue des Sciences humaines
et sociales, Lettres, Langues et
Civilisations**

**ISSN
2958-2814**

Numéro 006, Mars 2024

**Université Alassane Ouattara
UFR Communication Milieu et Société**

revue.akiri-uao.org



ISSN-L: 2958-2814
ISSN-P: 3006-306X

Site web: <https://revue.akiri-uao.org/>

E-mail : revueakiri@gmail.com

Editeur

UFR Communication, Milieu et Société
Université Alassane Ouattara, Bouaké (Côte d'Ivoire)



ISSN-L: 2958-2814
ISSN-P: 3006-306X

INDEXATIONS INTERNATIONALES

Pour toutes informations sur l'indexation internationale de la revue *AKIRI*, consultez les bases de données ci-dessous :

auré HAL
accès aux données
de référence de HAL

<https://aurehal.archives-ouvertes.fr/journal/read/id/398946>

Mir@bel
“(RE)CUEILLIR
LES SAVOIRS”

<https://reseau-mirabel.info/revue/15150/Akiri>



<http://sjifactor.com/passport.php?id=23334>

ORCID

<https://orcid.org/0009-0002-6794-1377>

ISSN-L: 2958-2814
ISSN-P: 3006-306X

REVUE ELECTRONIQUE

AKIRI

Revue Scientifique des Sciences humaines et sociales, Lettres, Langues et Civilisations

E-ISSN 2958-2814 (Online ou en Ligne)

I-ISSN 3006-306X (Print ou imprimé)

Equipe Editoriale

Coordinateur Général : BRINDOUMI Kouamé Atta Jacob

Directeur de publication : MAMADOU Bamba

Rédacteur en chef : KONE Kiyali

Chargé de diffusion et de marketing : KONE Kpassigué Gilbert

Webmaster : KOUAKOU Kouadio Sanguen

Comité Scientifique

SEKOU Bamba, Directeur de recherches, IHAAA, Université Félix Houphouët-Boigny

OUATTARA Tiona, Directeur de recherches, IHAAA, Université Félix Houphouët-Boigny

LATTE Egue Jean-Michel, Professeur titulaire, Université Alassane Ouattara

FAYE Ousseynou, Professeur titulaire, Université Cheick Anta Diop

GOMGNIMBOU Moustapha, Directeur de recherches, CNRST,

ALLOU Kouamé René, Professeur titulaire, Université Félix Houphouët-Boigny

KAMATE Banhouman André, Professeur titulaire, Université Félix Houphouët-Boigny

ASSI-KAUDJHIS Joseph Pierre, Professeur titulaire, Université Alassane Ouattara

SANGARE Abou, Professeur titulaire, Université Peleforo Gbon Coulibaly

SANGARE Souleymane, Professeur titulaire, Université Alassane Ouattara

CAMARA Moritié, Professeur titulaire, Université Alassane Ouattara

COULIBALY Amara, Professeur titulaire, Université Alassane Ouattara

NGAMOUNTSIKA Edouard, Professeur titulaire, Université Marien N'gouabi de Brazzaville

KOUASSI Kouakou Siméon, Professeur titulaire, Université de San-Pedro

BATCHANA Essohanam, Professeur titulaire, Université de Lomé

N'SONSSISA Auguste, Professeur titulaire, Université Marien N'gouabi de Brazzaville

DEDOMON Claude, Professeur titulaire, Université Alassane Ouattara

BAMBA Mamadou, Professeur titulaire, Université Alassane Ouattara

NGUE Emmanuel, Maître de conférences, Université de Yaoundé I

N'GUESSAN Mahomed Boubacar, Professeur titulaire, Université Félix Houphouët-Boigny

BA Idrissa, Professeur titulaire, Université Cheick Anta Diop

KAMARA Adama, Maître de conférences, Université Alassane Ouattara

SARR Nissire Mouhamadou, Maître de conférences, Université Cheick Anta Diop

ALLABA Djama Ignace, Maître de conférences, Université Félix Houphouët-Boigny

DIARRASSOUBA Bazoumana, Maître de conférences, Université Alassane Ouattara

TOPPE Eckra Lath, Maître de conférences, Université Alassane Ouattara

M'BRA Kouakou Désiré, Maître conférences, Université Alassane Ouattara

Comité de Lecture

BATCHANA Essohanam, Professeur titulaire, Université de Lomé
 N'SONSSISA Auguste, Professeur titulaire, Marien N'gouabi de Brazzaville
 CAMARA Moritié, Professeur titulaire, Université Alassane Ouattara
 FAYE Ousseynou, Professeur titulaire, Université Cheick Anta Diop
 BA Idrissa, Maître de conférences, Université Cheick Anta Diop
 BAMBA Mamadou, Professeur titulaire, Université Alassane Ouattara
 SARR Nissire Mouhamadou, Maître de conférences, Université Cheick Anta Diop
 GOMGNIMBOU Moustapha, Directeur de recherches,
 DEDOMON Claude, Professeur titulaire, Université Alassane Ouattara
 BRINDOUMI Atta Kouamé Jacob, Professeur titulaire, Université Alassane Ouattara
 DIARRASOUBA Bazoumana, Maître de conférences, Université Alassane Ouattara
 ALABA Djama Ignace, Maître de conférences, Université Alassane Ouattara
 DEDE Jean Charles, Maître-Assistant, Université Alassane Ouattara
 BAMBA Abdoulaye, Maître de conférences, Université Félix Houphouët-Boigny
 BAKAYOKO Mamadou, Maître de conférences, Université Alassane Ouattara
 SANOGO Lamine Mamadou, Directeur de recherches, CNRST, Ouagadougou
 GOMA-THETHET Roval, Maître-Assistant, Université Marien N'gouabi de Brazzaville
 GBOCHO Roselyne, Maître-Assistante, Université Alassane Ouattara
 SEKA Jean-Baptiste, Maître-Assistant, Université Lorognon Guédé,
 SANOGO Tiantio, Maître-Assistante, Institut National Supérieur des Arts et de l'Action Culturelle
 ETTIEN N'doua Etienne, Maître-Assistant, Université Félix Houphouët-Boigny
 DJIGBE Sidjé Edwige Françoise, Maître-Assistante, Université Alassane Ouattara
 YAO Elisabeth, Maître-Assistante, Université Alassane Ouattara

Comité de rédaction

N'SONSSISA Auguste, Professeur titulaire, Marien N'gouabi de Brazzaville
 KONÉ Kpassigué Gilbert, Maître-Assistant, Histoire, Université Alassane Ouattara
 KONÉ Kiyali, Maître-Assistant, Histoire, Université Péléforo Gon Coulibaly
 BAKAYOKO Mamadou, Maître de Conférences, Philosophie, Université Alassane Ouattara
 OULAI Jean-Claude, Professeur titulaire, Communication, Université Alassane Ouattara
 MAMADOU Bamba, Maître-Assistant, Histoire, Université Alassane Ouattara
 TOPPE Eckra Lath, Maître de Conférences, Etudes Germaniques, Université Alassane Ouattara,
 ALLABA Djama Ignace, Maître de Conférences, Etudes Germaniques, Université Félix Houphouët-Boigny,
 KONAN Koffi Syntor, Maître de Conférences, Espagnol, Université Alassane Ouattara
 SIDIBÉ Moussa, Maître-Assistant, Lettres Modernes, Université Alassane Ouattara
 ASSUÉ Yao Jean-Aimé, Maître de Conférences, Géographie, Université Alassane Ouattara
 KAZON Diescieu Aubin Sylvère, Maître de Conférences, Criminologie, Université Félix Houphouët-Boigny
 MEITÉ Ben Soualiou, Maître de Conférences, Histoire, Université Félix Houphouët-Boigny
 BALDÉ Yoro Mamadou, Assistant, FASTEF, Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar
 MAWA Miraille-Clémence, Chargée de cours, Université de Bamenda

Contacts

Site web: <https://revue.akiri-uao.org/>

E-mail : revueakiri@gmail.com

Tél. : + 225 0748045267 / 0708399420/ 0707371291

Indexations internationales :

Auré HAL : <https://aurehal.archives-ouvertes.fr/journal/read/id/398946>

Mir@bel : <https://reseau-mirabel.info/revue/15150/Akiri>

Sjifactor : <http://sjifactor.com/passport.php?id=23334>

ORCID : <https://orcid.org/0009-0002-6794-1377>

PRESENTATION DE LA REVUE AKIRI

Dans un environnement marqué par la croissance, sans cesse, des productions scientifiques, la diffusion et la promotion des acquis de la recherche deviennent un impératif pour les acteurs du monde scientifique. Perçues comme un patrimoine, un héritage à léguer aux générations futures, les productions scientifiques doivent briser les barrières et les frontières afin d'être facilement accessibles à tous.

Ainsi, s'inscrivant dans la dynamique du temps et de l'espace, la revue « **AKIRI** » se présente comme un outil de promotion et de diffusion des résultats des recherches des enseignants-chercheurs et chercheurs des universités et de centres de recherches de Côte d'Ivoire et d'ailleurs. Ce faisant, elle permettra aux enseignants-chercheurs et chercheurs de s'ouvrir davantage sur le monde extérieur à travers la diffusion de leurs productions intellectuelles et scientifiques.

AKIRI est une revue à parution trimestrielle de l'Unité de Formation et de Recherches (UFR) : Communication, Milieu et Société (CMS) de l'Université Alassane Ouattara. Elle publie les articles dans le domaine des Sciences humaines et sociales, Lettres, Langues et Civilisations. Sans toutefois être fermée, cette revue privilégie les contributions originales et pertinentes. Les textes doivent tenir compte de l'évolution des disciplines couvertes et respecter la ligne éditoriale de la revue. Ils doivent en outre être originaux et n'avoir pas fait l'objet d'une acceptation pour publication dans une autre revue à comité de lecture.

PROTOCOLE DE REDACTION DE LA REVUE AKIRI

La revue *AKIRI* n'accepte que des articles inédits et originaux dans diverses langues notamment en allemand, en anglais, en espagnol et en Français. Le manuscrit est remis à deux instructeurs, choisis en fonction de leurs compétences dans la discipline. Le secrétariat de la rédaction communique aux auteurs les observations formulées par le comité de lecture ainsi qu'une copie du rapport, si cela est nécessaire. Dans le cas où la publication de l'article est acceptée avec révisions, l'auteur dispose alors d'un délai raisonnable pour remettre la version définitive de son texte au secrétariat de la revue

Structure générale de l'article :

Le projet d'article doit être envoyé sous la forme d'un document Word, police Times New Roman, taille 12 et interligne 1,5 pour le corps de texte (sauf les notes de bas de page qui ont la taille 10 et les citations en retrait de 2 cm à gauche et à droite qui sont présentées en taille 11 avec interligne 1 ou simple). Le texte doit être justifié et ne doit pas excéder 18 pages. Le manuscrit doit comporter une introduction, un développement articulé, une conclusion et une bibliographie.

Présentation de l'article :

- Le titre de l'article (15 mots maximum) doit être clair et concis. De taille 14 pts gras, il doit être centré.
- Juste après le titre, l'auteur doit mentionner son identité (Prénom et NOM en gras et en taille 12), ses adresses (institution, e-mail, pays et téléphones en italique et en taille 11)
- Le résumé (200 mots au maximum) présenté en taille 10 pts ne doit pas être une reproduction de la conclusion du manuscrit. Il est donné à la fois en français et en anglais (abstract). Les mots-clés (05 au maximum, taille 10pts) sont donnés en français et en anglais (key words)
- Le texte doit être subdivisé selon le système décimal et ne doit pas dépasser 3 niveaux exemples : (1. - 1.1. - 1.2. ; 2. - 2.1. -2.2. - 2.3. - 3. - 3.1. - 3.2. etc.)
- Les références des citations sont intégrées au texte comme suit : (L'initial du prénom suivi d'un point, nom de l'auteur avec l'initiale en majuscule, année de publication suivie de deux points, page à laquelle l'information a été prise). Ex : (A. Kouadio, 2000 : 15).
- La pagination en chiffre arabe apparait en haut de page et centrée.
- Les citations courtes de 3 lignes au plus sont mises en guillemet français («... »), mais sans italique.

N.B. : Les caractères majuscules doivent être accentués. Exemple : État, À partir de ...

Références bibliographiques

Ne sont utilisées dans la bibliographie que les références des documents cités. Les références bibliographiques sont présentées par ordre alphabétique des noms d'auteur. Les divers éléments d'une référence bibliographique sont présentés comme suit : NOM et Prénom (s) de l'auteur, Année de publication, zone titre, lieu de publication, zone éditeur, pages (p.) occupées par l'article dans la revue ou l'ouvrage collectif.

Dans la zone titre, le titre d'un article est présenté entre guillemets et celui d'un ouvrage, d'un mémoire ou d'une thèse, d'un rapport, d'une presse écrite est présenté en italique. Dans la zone éditeur, on indique la maison d'édition (pour un ouvrage), le Nom et le numéro/volume de la revue (pour un article). Au cas où un ouvrage est une traduction et/ou une réédition, il faut préciser après le titre le nom du traducteur et/ou l'édition (ex : 2^{nde} éd.).

Les références des sources d'archives, des sources orales et les notes explicatives sont numérotées en série continue et présentées en bas de page.

- Pour les sources orales, réaliser un tableau dont les colonnes comportent un numéro d'ordre, nom et prénoms des informateurs, la date et le lieu de l'entretien, la qualité et la profession des informateurs, son âge ou sa date de naissance et les principaux thèmes abordés au cours des entretiens. Dans ce tableau, les noms des informateurs sont présentés en ordre alphabétique
- Pour les sources d'archives, il faut mentionner en toutes lettres, à la première occurrence, le lieu de conservation des documents suivi de l'abréviation entre parenthèses, la série et l'année. C'est l'abréviation qui est utilisée dans les occurrences suivantes :
Ex. : Abidjan, Archives nationales de Côte d'Ivoire (A.N.C.I), 1EE28, 1899.
- Pour les ouvrages, on note le NOM et le prénom de l'auteur suivis de l'année de publication, du titre de l'ouvrage en italique, du lieu de publication, du nom de la société d'édition et du nombre de page.
Ex : LATTE Egue Jean-Michel, 2018, *L'histoire des Odzukru, peuple du sud de la Côte d'Ivoire, des origines au XIX^e siècle*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 252 p.
- Pour les périodiques, le NOM et le(s) prénom(s) de l'auteur sont suivis de l'année de la publication, du titre de l'article entre guillemets, du nom du périodique en italique, du numéro du volume, du numéro du périodique dans le volume et des pages.
Ex : BAMBA Mamadou, 2022, « Les Dafing dans l'évolution économique et socio-culturelle de Bouaké, 1878-1939 », *NZASSA*, N°8, p.361-372.

NB : Les articles sont la propriété de la revue.

SOMMAIRE

LANGUES, LETTRES ET CIVILISATIONS

Études hispaniques

1. **La pragmática en la enseñanza del ELE/ L2:
aproximación a algunos manuales diseñados y usados en Camerún y España**
Roseline FOUODJI WAGOUM Epse DJATSA 1-19

Lettres Modernes

2. **Problématique de l'emploi de la virgule dans *Les Sept douleurs*
de William Aristide Nassidia Combarry**
Tilado Jérôme NATAMA..... 20-36
3. **La masculinisation de l'esprit féminin :
réalisme ou surréalisme dans *Le Deuxième sexe* de Simone de Beauvoir**
Vincent NAINDOUBA & Serge Simplicie NSANA..... 37-50
4. ***Le roi de Kahel* de Tierno Monénembo : un roman historique à tonalité épique**
Komi Seexonam AMEWU..... 51-72
5. **Dynamique des langues et politique éducative au Mali**
Ousmane Ag NAMOYE & Aldiouma KODIO, 73-88

COMMUNICATION, SCIENCE DU LANGAGE, ARTS ET PATRIMOINE

Sciences du langage et de la communication

6. **Description morphosyntaxique de l'adverbe du marka**
DAO Nébremy 89-107
7. **Cadre stratégique pour la refondation au Mali :
reconstruction et déconstruction d'une communication**
Adama KODJO..... 108-124

SCIENCES HUMAINES ET SOCIALES

Archéologie

8. **Protection des sites archéologiques au Burkina Faso :
le cas du chantier école de Wargoandga**
Lassina SIMPORÉ & Fonyama Elise THIOMBIANO, épouse ILBOUDO 125-138

Histoire

9. **Coopération néerlandaise et développement socioéconomique
du Burkina Faso : cas du PDI/Z (1983-2006)**
Sébastien GUIPO..... 139-155
10. **Le contrôle de la production d'huile par le monopole d'état dans
l'Égypte antique sous domination gréco-romaine**
YAPI Fulgence Thierry 156-167
11. **Eschine et la paix à Athènes au ive siècle avant Jésus-Christ :
dialogue et négociations avec le royaume de Macédoine**
OULAI Fabrice & DAGO Thomas DADIE..... 168-180

- 12. Crises de succession au *Moogo*, de 1897 à 1983 :
cas du *Konkiistēnga* et *Tema***
François RIBOU..... 181-199
- 13. L'art plastique contemporain burkinabè sous l'influence de l'école
des *Avant-gardes* : analyse de quelques productions d'artistes**
Boukary DABAL & KY Jean Célestin..... 200-218
- 14. Les relations controversées entre les musulmans et l'administration
française dans la région de Grand-Bassam (1922-1949)**
Amon Jean-Paul ASSI,..... 219-236
- Géographie**
- 15. Des classes sous paillotes pour étendre l'accès à l'éducation
en milieu rural burkinabè**
Issiaka OUEDRAOGO, Goama NAKOULMA & Aude NIKIEMA 237-254
- 16. Impact des mesures barrières du covid-19 sur les revenus agricoles
des paysans dans la sous-préfecture de Lakota**
Jean-François Aristide GBODJE..... 255-271
- 17. Analyse de la dynamique spatio-temporelle de l'occupation du sol
dans la commune de Niakhar (Fatick, Sénégal) entre 2000 et 2022,
à travers des outils de la télédétection**
Ibrahima DIOUF & Mohamed Lamine NDAO 272-290
- 18. Variabilité climatique dans la Province du Mouhoun
au Burkina Faso de 1991-2021**
Amadou ZAN, Abdoul-Azize SAMPEBGO & Joachim BONKOUNGOU..... 291-302
- 19. Impacts des stations de lavage de véhicules sur l'environnement
et la santé à Korhogo**
DIOMANDE Gondo, Lacina Adama FOFANA & SORO Nambé Arouna..... 303-320
- 20. Exploitation agricole et dégradation forestière dans le département
de Soubré (sud-ouest de la Côte d'Ivoire)**
Mathieu Jonasse AFFRO, Assoh Hortance Aman Epse N'GUESSAN,
Nambegué SORO & Kouamé Felix KOUADIO..... 321-337
- 21. Disparités spatio-temporelles des formations sanitaires publiques
À Brazzaville en république du Congo**
Berchmans Giraldo Audron & Clotaire Claver Okouya..... 338-356
- 22. Recourir aux soins traditionnels à Ouagadougou :
une question de distance ?**
Sidbénwendé Esaïe Yanogo 357-371
- 23. Des initiatives comportementales pour une gestion organisée
des déchets en commune V de Bamako (Mali)**
Seydou A. TOGOLA, Baba COULIBALY & drissa KELLY 372-386

Philosophie

- 24. Ce que la paix veut dire chez Nietzsche**
Ndéné MBODJI 387-398
- 25. Vers un auto-impérialisme du développement durable :
une analyse bioéconomique de la crise environnementale**
ABLO Ange & OUATTARA Attchoumounan Paulin 399-417
- 26. Platon, Abû Nasr al-Fârâbî et Rousseau :
à propos de l'éducation. Enjeux de la réflexion pour Afrique**
Pamphile BIYOGHE & Alain BOULINGUI MOUSSAVOU 418-429

Anthropologie et sociologie

- 27. Les facteurs explicatifs du retour à la défécation à l'air libre
dans la commune de Karimama au Nord-Bénin**
Soulé EL HADJ IMOROU..... 430-443
- 28. Crise sécuritaire, écoles bilingues et irrédentisme linguistique
au Burkina Faso**
Zomenassir Armand BATIONO..... 444-457
- 29. Pratiques potières dans le District de la vallée du Bandama en Côte d'Ivoire**
Dja Flore KOUASSI-LAGO, Drissa DIARRASSOUBA Bintou TIOTE,
Saran CISSOKO COULIBALY & Lacina COULIBALY 458-475
- 30. Perceptions du VIH et non-observance au traitement antirétroviral
chez les personnes vivant avec le VIH suivies à l'hôpital de jour
du CHU de Bouaké (Côte d'Ivoire)**
Yéchinmèdjo SORO..... 476-488
- 31. Perceptions sociales de la gravité de l'ulcère de Buruli chez les
communautés Baoulé et Bété de Taabo, Djébonoua et Daloa (Côte d'Ivoire)**
Navouon FANNY & Koffi Dermane KOUAKOU..... 489-502
- 32. Analyse des tendances lourdes à l'objectivation du projet
de gestion durable des mangroves à Ouidah au Bénin**
Appolinaire D. GNANVI 503-519
- 33. Structures publiques et privées dans la lutte contre
le VIH/sida à Bouaké : ambivalences et logiques**
Affoua Toutouwa Marie ADOU, Dimi Théodore DOUDOU,
Zié Adama OUATTARA & Lorraine Nadia KOUADIO..... 520-543

Science de l'éducation

- 34. Les difficultés de l'expression orale des étudiants arabophones libyens,
cas des étudiants du département de français de Waddan**
Fodé Baba KEITA..... 544-557

Sciences juridiques et politiques

- 35. An assessment of the challenges of representation
of Cameroonian women in politics**
Stanley Chung DINSI..... 558-575



An assessment of the challenges of representation of Cameroonian women in politics

Stanley Chung DINSI
Political science,
Lecturer and Researcher,
University of Yaoundé II-Cameroon,
Email: dinsistanley@yahoo.fr

Abstract

This article examines the challenges of representation of Cameroonian women in politics. The article examines the enhancement of the political representation of women and the challenges that affect the effective representation of women in politics by applying public policy, historical and gender theories. Primary and secondary data have been used in this study. Findings of this study reveal substantial government efforts in enhancing the representation of Cameroonian women in politics by instituting sound legal and administrative frameworks even though the political representation of women in major political institutions such as; in parliament, regional and local councils and in top positions in political parties remains a major challenge. Findings of this study also indicate major representation challenges of Cameroonian woman in politics due to; cultural, social, and economic setback among others. The study concludes by proposing possible measures to be undertaken by key political stakeholders including; the government, political parties, the civil society, women and the family as the way forward to improve on the representation of Cameroonian women in politics.

Key words: Cameroon, women, politics, representation, Challenges

Une évaluation des défis de la représentation des femmes camerounaises en politique

Résumé

Cet article examine les défis liés à la représentation des femmes camerounaises en politique. L'article examine l'amélioration de la représentation politique des femmes et les défis qui affectent la représentation efficace des femmes en politique en appliquant les théories des politiques publiques, de l'histoire et du genre. Des données primaires et secondaires ont été utilisées dans cette étude. Les résultats de cette étude révèlent des efforts substantiels de la part du gouvernement pour améliorer la représentation des femmes camerounaises en politique en instituant des cadres juridiques et administratifs solides, même si la représentation politique des femmes dans les principales institutions politiques telles que ; au parlement, dans les conseils régionaux et locaux et dans les postes de direction des partis politiques reste un défi majeur. Les résultats de cette étude indiquent également des défis majeurs dans la représentation des femmes camerounaises en politique en raison : des revers culturels, sociaux et économiques, entre autres. L'étude conclut en proposant des mesures possibles à prendre par les principaux acteurs politiques, notamment : le gouvernement, les partis politiques, la société civile, les femmes et la famille, comme voie à suivre pour améliorer la représentation des femmes camerounaises en politique.

Mots clés : Cameroun, femmes, politique, représentation, défis



Introduction

Although women represent over 52% of Cameroon's population of about 30 million, they are grossly underrepresented in national political life (in the National Assembly, Senate and political parties). Women politicians in Cameroon continue to face many gender-related challenges. Representative democracy can be described as a model that "takes the form of party-based parliamentary rule and functions primarily through elected representatives" Political representation is considered important in democracies because it establishes the legitimacy of political institutions and helps governments respond to their citizens (Dalton et. al., 2001, p. 142). Non-transparent recruitment in political parties, loopholes in legislation that allow parties to circumvent gender quotas, weakness and ineffectiveness in formal institutions intended to mainstream gender equality and discriminatory traditions are key obstacles for women in starting and developing a political career. Cameroonian women like their counterparts in many African societies where customs and traditions have resisted modernity, face numerous challenges. Gender stereotyping is considered to be a significant issue obstructing the representation and participation of women (Naznin et al 2021: p.1) in the political decision-making process

The international drive for the inclusion of women in political decision-making as manifested in protocols and instruments such as The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action has resonated on the African continent in, for example, the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa adopted in 2003. However, large gaps still remain in women's representation at different levels of political leadership. The struggle of women to gain a fair share of political power remains a work in progress throughout the world and the achievements should nevertheless be ignored. According to a World Bank statistics of March 2014, some Scandinavian countries for example such as Norway, Sweden and Denmark have high rates of female representation at parliamentary level: 40%, 45% and 39% respectively. Rwanda has the highest proportion of female parliamentarians in the world which stands at 56%, with a quota of well above 30%. A report by UN Women and the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) found that 17 of the 59 countries that held elections in 2011 had introduced quotas and, in those 17, women gained 27% of parliamentary seats, compared with 16% in those without quotas.



Legally binding institutions in Cameroon such as the Constitution and the electoral code guarantee the rights of women in politics, but women politicians continue to face numerous challenges. However, the progress in female political representation in Cameroon is relatively encouraging though much is left to be done. The constitution of Cameroon upholds the principle of gender equality, and the election governing body Elections Cameroon (ELECAM) defends sociological and gender representations in the composition of lists by political parties, and those who do not adhere have their lists rejected. A National non-governmental organization known as; Gender Empowerment and Development in a study carried out in 2010, reported that in the 2013 general elections for example, 20 out of 48 party lists were rejected for failing to respect the gender requirement. Proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments in Cameroon was 5.56 % (lowest) in 1997 and 33.89 (highest) in 2021 To have a better understanding of the challenges of women in politics in Cameroon, we will in the first section of this work examine the enhancement of the representation of Cameroonian women in politics and in the second section we will look at the challenges of the political representation of women.

1. Enhancing the representation of cameroonian women in politics

The participation of women in politics remains a major challenge in Cameroon since independence in 1960. Despite efforts made by the government, female representation remains relatively timid in national political life. This section of the study begins by examining government efforts in enhancing the representation of women in politics with focus on the legal and administrative dispositions taken by the state, and in the second part, it makes a critical analysis of the representation of women in politics in Cameroon.

1.1. Enhancing the representation of Cameroonian women through sound legal and institutional dispositions

The putting in place of appropriate legal and institutional frameworks by the state is indicative of government's determination to ensure fairness and the respect of basic human rights in national political life.

1.1.1. Legal considerations

Since 1995 there has been a global call on governments all over the world to take measures to ensure that women had equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making. Cameroon has responded positively to this global call and has ratified the main



international and regional legal instruments for promoting and protecting women's rights (R-A. Doffonsou et al 2014: p.12). At the international level, the country has ratified the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1972), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and its additional protocol on women's. In addition, Cameroon took part in the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing (1995), whose objective was to advocate for the empowerment of women in all sectors. At the regional level, Cameroon is party to several declarations made by the African Union (AU), which include Article 4(1) of the Constitutive Act, Dakar Platform for Action (1994), African Plan of Action to Accelerate the Implementation of the Dakar and Beijing Platforms for Action for the Advancement of Women (1999), Protocol for the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003) and the AU Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2004) (Online Discussion on Women 2007, p. 3).

At the national level, a set of laws and legal texts relating to the advancement and political representation of women exist. The Constitution of January 18, 1996, is the principal law that guarantee's the political advancement of women. The constitution has also internalized all international conventions relating to women's rights that have been duly ratified by Cameroon. Cameroon's Electoral Code adopted on April 19, 2012, and amended on April 15, 2019, provides in its article 151(3) that "the Constitution of each list must take into account the different sociological components. It must also take into account gender." This provision simply increases the chances of women's representation in the electoral lists presented by all political parties.

1.1.2. Institutional dispositions

The government has engaged in carrying out important sectoral reforms that promote women empowerment including; the newly created Ministry of Women Empowerment and the Family (MINPROFF) headed by a woman. Under the impetus of this ministry, several strategic instruments, including the National Gender Policy (2011-2020) and the Multi-sectoral Action Plan for implementing the National Gender Policy (2016-2020), were adopted. They were considered as the national charters for the promotion of gender equality in all areas. In addition, women have been at the head of various ministries and state institutions between 1990 and 2024,

some of which include; the Ministry of Social Affairs- Mrs Yaou Isatou; the Ministry of Scientific Research and Innovation-Mrs Magdelene Tchunte; the Ministry of Secondary Education-Mrs Nalove Lyonga; the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development-Mrs Ketcha Courtess, and the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications Mrs Libom Li Likeng. Women who have headed state Universities include; the University of Yaounde I-Mrs Dorothy Njeuma; University of Bamenda-Professor Theresa Nkuo-Akenji; University of Ngaoundere Professor Uphie Chinje Melo. In the territorial command between 2010 and 2024, there have been a total of two (02) women prefects out of 58 divisions and eight (08) sub-prefects out of the 360 sub-divisions. Even though there is a progressive improvement compared to the past where no woman occupied such positions, it stands out clearly that female under-representation remains a major challenge. This is also the case in Parliament and in the executives of decentralized territorial authorities where female representation is limited. Between the 2013-2019 and 2020-2025 municipal terms of office, the number of women mayors increased significantly, from 29 to 39 women. The same is true of those holding the positions of 1st and 2nd Deputy Mayor, which rose from 221 to 327 women during this period (see details of the table below).

Table1. Duty positions held by women in councils between the 2007-2012, 2013-2019 and 2020- 2025 municipal terms of office

Duty position	Number of positions	Number of positions held by women		
		2007-2012	2013-2019	2020-2025
Mayor	360	22	29	39
1st or 2nd Deputy Mayor	720	82	221	327
Total	1080	104	250	366

Source: MINATD, Statistical Yearbook 2013; MINDDEVEL

International organizations are partnering with the government of Cameroon to promote the advancement of female inclusion in state institutions. The UNWOMEN Cameroon adopted their “New Strategic Notes 2022-2026” in September 2021 with Gender mainstreamed throughout and a stand-alone Gender Outcome. According to UNWOMEN Cameroon, the advancement of the National Agenda on gender equality faces several challenges amongst which; low dedicated financial and human resources, gender data gaps, the persistence of patriarchy and harmful norms and the increasing humanitarian needs. To respond to these challenges, UN Women is bringing its unique comparative advantage and its ability to leverage its triple mandate of normative support, UN coordination, and operational activities. UNWOMEN Cameroon in their “New



Strategic Notes 2022-2026” have projected that by 2026; youth, women, the most vulnerable groups, and people living with disabilities, including refugees and IDPs actively contribute to the efficiency of policies and the performance of public institutions at national, regional and council levels, and fully enjoy their rights.

1.2. Critical analyses of the representation of Cameroonian women in politics

Women in Cameroon are underrepresented at all levels of national political life including; top positions in political parties, in parliament and in decentralized political collectivities.

1.2.1. Few women occupy high positions in political parties

In 1990, Cameroon experienced a paradigmatic shift that introduced a new form of ‘governmentality,’ consisting of “a set of institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections, albeit power complex, which targets the population” (L. Sindjoun and E-M Owona, 2000: 13-77). This move took into account ethnic minorities and social categories, including women and children, disadvantaged groups, who do not always have the freedom and means to protect themselves against arbitrary action, to make their voices heard to influence the decisions that affect their lives (I. Mouiche, 2012: p.145). This has led Cameroon to undertake corrective actions with regard to the political situation of women which falls in line with the UN’s call for a minimum of 30% representation of women in decision-making bodies. The former US Secretary of State Hilary Clinton in 2009 observed that, «When women have rights, equal opportunities in education, health, employment, and political participation, they invest in their families, they contribute to their families’ future, to the future of the community and the future of their country. When they are marginalized, mistreated, ignored, diminished, then progress is impossible no matter how wealthy and educated the elite are. »

The Cameroon National Union (CNU) and the Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement (CPDM) political parties have progressively given the opportunity for women to occupy high positions in the party in power. In 1969, the Central Committee of the CNU made up of 35 members, had only one woman. Few years later in 1975, Delphine Tsanga and Mary Akwe, became the only two women alternate members of the Central Committee of the party. Mary Akwe and Delphine Tsanga were alternate members. Out of a total membership of the central committee of the CNU, there were only three women. The representation of women grew progressively along the years and in 1980 the number of women increased by one (i.e 04 women)



in a central committee of 50 members (D. Abwa and J. Tchunkam, 2014:212-213). After transforming the CNU to the CPDM during 1985 congress in Bamenda, six women were elected into the Central Committee of the newly formed Cameroon Peoples' Democratic Movement (CPDM). Yaou Aïssatou, Isabelle Bassong, Gwendolyne Burnley, Ruth Ekindi, Josepha Mua and Julienne Pahane (D. Abwa and J. Tchunkam, 2014:212-214) were elected into the Central committee of the newly created CPDM party to occupy important political leadership positions in Cameroon.

Opposition political parties in Cameroon have also made efforts to increase on the representation of women at the highest decision-making structure. A typical example is the Social Democratic Front (SDF) which was the major opposition party in Cameroon between 1990 – 2018 has progressively incorporated women in high positions in the party although very timidly. In 2014 for example, only four women were members of the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the Social Democratic Front (SDF) party (D. Abwa and J. Tchunkam, 2014:212-214).

1.2.2. Weak representation of women in parliament

Women are eligible to contest elections which is a fundamental right guaranteed by the Constitution of Cameroon although many political parties rarely endorse women as candidates during elections and do not have any laws instituted in their statutes that protect the interest of female candidates especially that of prescribed quota representation for women as advocated by many. Cameroon's electoral code takes into consideration the representation of women in politics by ensuring that gender among other social considerations are reflected in electoral lists of all political parties. However, this electoral law does not provide for independent candidates hence, reducing the chances of women capable of running as independent candidates (see Law No. 2012/001 of 19 April relating to the Electoral Code).

1.2.3. Less women in the National Assembly

A retrospective view indicates a weak representation of women in Cameroon's parliament right from the days of a federal republic. Between 1960 and 1970, there were only two women out of a total of 50 parliamentarians in the federal assembly of Cameroon. After the 1972 Referendum transforming Cameroon into a unitary state, seven (07) women were elected into a parliament of 120 members in 1973. In recent years, some political parties have made efforts to reverse trends in a bid to increase the number of women as candidates in elections. For example, during the



2007 legislative and municipal elections the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) tried through a circular letter to ensure the endorsement of one female candidate where there were three contesting seats (CPDM, 2007). Based on party investitures, a majority of political parties since 1992 including the leading parties like the CPDM and SDF, a majority of women endorsed by political parties as candidates for elections have often been alternate rather than substantive candidates. Substantive candidates are the real candidates while alternate candidates are expected to replace the substantive candidate only in case of vacancy which practically is hardly ever applied in Cameroon. In 1992, out of 180 members in the National Assembly, 23 were women. In the 1997 legislative elections, only 10 women were elected into the National Assembly. The situation saw a significant improvement in the 2002 legislative poles to 19 women in the National Assembly (with 33 women alternate members), and in 2007 the number increased to 25 women. In 2013, an impressive 30% with 56 seats occupied by women in the National Assembly made Cameroon a reference among the few countries around the world noted for empowering women in political leadership. The high point of women representation in the history of Cameroon's parliament was in 2020, where up to 61 women, approximately 33.8% women were elected into the National Assembly (see official results of the 2020 legislative and municipal elections in Cameroon).

1.2.4. Few women in the senate

In 2013, Cameroon's pioneer senate had an impressive number of women increasing for the first time the number of women in the country's parliament. In the April 14, 2013 senatorial election, seventeen (17) women were elected out of 70 elective seats and three (03) of the 30 appointed by the President of the Republic, given a total of twenty (20) women senators. Despite this numerical increment of in parliament, women representation remains insufficient in a country whose population is predominantly women. It is worthy of note that the high number of women senators was as a result of the gender obligations enshrined in the new electoral law. The fact that just three women of the 30 appointive positions were appointment confirms the fact that women representation in politics remains problematic. In the 2023 senatorial poles, the number of women senators increased to 26 of a total of 100 senators (see official results of the 2023 senatorial elections).



1.3. Weak representation in decentralized territorial collectivities

The representation of women in Cameroon's political leadership remains low even though efforts have been made in this direction to reverse the trend. Despite a thirty per cent quota imposed, very few of the councils have adhered to it. Women's representations in the local councils have been very timid compared to men. Between 1987 and 2012, the number of women councilors in Cameroon rose from 436 out of 5,347 to 1,651 out of 10,632 councilors. Within the same period, the percentage of women's representation in these councils rose from 8.3 to 15.5. The number of female mayors also rose from only 1 in 1987 to 24 in 2012. But these 24 women mayors were out of a total of 360 mayors in the country (Gender Empowerment and Development, 2010: p.15). With the renewal of decentralization marked by the adoption of the General Code of the DTC on December 24, 2019, and the establishment of the regions in January 2021, women's dream of obtaining room for maneuver for better representation in the political field (S. Tametong and V. Aboudi, 2021, p.23) has not been attained particularly in the Decentralized Territorial Collectivities. Although it is progressive, the representation of women at the level of the CTD is still limited, with less than 10% of women mayors. In 1994, only one (01) woman was mayor out of 175 rural and urban municipalities; in 1996, out of 330 municipalities, two (02) women were mayors; in 2002, there were 10 women mayors out of 337, while in 2007, there were 23 women mayors out of 360 mayors. In the dual municipal and legislative elections of September 30, 2013, 31 women were elected as mayors, and in 2020 there will be 35 women mayors in 360 municipalities. In the politically active North West Region, there were only three female Mayors in 2016 (Mussa, 2016, p.2). Of the ten (10) pioneer regional executives' establishment in December 2020, no woman has been elected as head of a regional executive (Mussa, 2016, p.3). This general trend shows the capacity of the Cameroon political field to "resist societal pressures" (I. Mouiche, 2014: 145-160) for a better consideration of women in decision-making bodies. John Fru Ndi, leader of the Social Democratic Front (SDF) leading opposition party in the 1990s, made tremendous efforts to improve the representation of women as substantive candidates during elections when he declared that «Our councils must be more representative – we must meet youth, ethnic and gender quotas, to represent the interests of all people». He introduced a 25% quota for women in the SDF although meeting this target was a major challenge. As a matter of fact, Cameroon's Democracy is relatively young, and the men are not willing to relent to women. Among other factors, most women are shy. Cameroonian women



have complained of low participation in politics ahead of elections. Female activists in Cameroon have urged political party leaders to push for greater representation for women in politics. Some local NGOs such as Community Initiative for Sustainable Development (COMINSUD) in the city of Bamenda, has already trained more than 450 women and minority candidates to become councilors as clearly put by Bih Pascaline, lead project staff on the Democracy and Empowerment of Women program at COMINSUD.

2. Challenges of representation of women in politics

The underrepresentation of women in politics could be contextual based on specific national realities. However, major causes of weak representation of women in politics include but not limited to; political, social, cultural as well as inadequate information, communication and financial problems.

2.1. Political, social and cultural barriers

The persistent resistance to women in politics takes many forms across Africa. While politics is persistently a male dominated occupation, social and cultural realities in most African societies are major barriers to women's political participation.

2.2. Political challenges

The reluctance to effectively implement quotas as a political measure to improve on the underrepresentation of women in politics and the nature the political system in place will directly affects gender parity in politics.

- Weak application of quotas

Increasingly, some African countries have legislated quotas in the form of reserved seats for women in their parliaments, while others have constitutional and/or legislated candidate quotas (Gretchen 2008: 348-368). These generally range between 20% and 30%. Cameroon is among the few African countries that have made significant efforts to strengthen women's political participation with a 31% plus representation of women in the National Assembly in 2020 and a 26% representation of women in the senate in 2023. However, the enforcement of quotas in political parties remains a major challenge which is undermined by the absence of sanctions for non-compliance and a lack of statutory compliance. There is generally a low level of party involvement in the selection of women as candidates during elections. Women often lack the



support of the party even when they are discriminated upon and face open hostility in some cases. Statistics of the 2005 census in Cameroon shows that the population strength of women outnumbers that of men by an estimated 4%. 52% of Cameroon's population is made up of women while that of men is 48%. Despite this numerical gap and the electoral strength of women, the political representation of women remains timid. Political parties continue to undermine the political capabilities of women despite their electoral strength. On the contrary, political parties replicate gender relations of male supremacy and female subordination. This explains why the policy of Presidents Ahidjo towards women's participation in the legislature and executive arms of government as leaders of their own constituencies was determined by political and other forces (R. Arriola and M. Johnson, 2014, p.495). In keeping with the socio-cultural and family values of many ethnic groups in Cameroon Ahidjo at first encouraged women to remain good mothers and housewives (D. Galega and M. Tumnde, 2004: 237-238). It was not the wish of his government to generally encourage women to improve their participation in governance. Nonetheless, in an attempt to narrow down on gender inequality a few years later, the Ahidjo government decided to encourage women's participation in politics in a separate structure of their own, the Women Cameroon National Union (WCNU), an arm of the CNU formed in September 1966.

Party leadership of the ruling CPDM and leading opposition parties such as; the SDF, MRC and UNDP is controlled by men, and it is difficult for women to reach the top positions in party hierarchies where decisions are taken. Regrettably, the over three hundred and thirty political parties in Cameroon pay lip service to women's leadership, but the national system does not promote accountability in terms of gender equality and representation (T. Kumichii, 2010:12-13). On the contrary, some African countries have voluntary party quotas, where one or more parties commit themselves to either a 30% representation of women on their party lists or a zebra system on party lists (B. Gretchen, 2008: 348-368). For example, the large presence of women in parliament; of the African National Congress (ANC) in the South African, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo) in Mozambique and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia is due to the respect of quotas (B. Gretchen, 2008: 348-368).



- **Nature of the Electoral Systems:**

Some electoral systems around the world favor men. According to S. Singh (2011)¹, some electoral systems have a plethora of discriminatory laws but adequate anti-discriminatory measures don't exist. In most young democracies, the type of electoral system plays an important part in women's political representation. Gender bias in electoral process prevents women in entering into politics. Some argue that proportional representation systems are better suited than majoritarian systems in increasing women's representation. While others believe that the first-past-the-post (FPTP) single-constituency electoral system in particular makes it difficult for women to be elected and in most cases, political parties generally do not nominate women as candidates for "winnable" constituencies. For example, the low representation of women in parliament in Ghana (13.09%), Nigeria (3.63%) and Botswana (10.77%) among other reasons can be attributed to the FPTP electoral system. The increasing violence (physical or verbal abuse) in public against women in many African countries restricts their political activities or deters them from standing for elections. Given the zero-sum nature of the political contest in some electoral systems, where competition is a do-or-die affair, violence against female candidates seems to be more prominent (S. Singh 2011, p.23).

2.1. Social and cultural factors affecting the representation of women in politics

Human societies vary, and as a result, different social realities as well as customs and traditions of a people influence at different degrees the political participation of representation of women in politics.

2.1.1. Social obstacles

Low level of education is one of the most significant barriers to women's political engagement. Although the education of the girl child is on the rise in Cameroon, education of the girl child remains a major challenge in the northern regions of the country in particular where a majority of girls are not allowed to go to school, but rather they are prepared as future wives contrary to what obtains in most parts of the southern part of the country where the education of the girl child is very encouraging. The percentage of educated women above forty years of age is not very encouraging a majority of who are ignorant and show a high degree of complex in getting involved in the political game. They are unaware of their basic and political rights due to a lack

¹ Singh S. Challenges faced by women for vertical mobility in politics: A comparative study of Sweden and India, A structural social work approach for gender empowerment, 2011.



of awareness. School dropout due to poverty is also a significant barrier to women's political engagement. An impoverished family's daughter kid is the primary victim, and she faces several challenges. There is a greater rate of women dropping out of school than men. Also, the customs and traditions of Muslims in the northern part of Cameroon is such that women's thinking is trained in a sense to accept that they are of a lesser class than males since this has been the viewpoint of many in society due to social and cultural standards. The caste system, or social class structure, is also a significant barrier. Because of their families' poor financial situation, women from lower castes were unable to attend school. To provide for their family, many women were involved in low-paying jobs. In India, the majority of women do not own land or property. They don't even get a piece of their parents' assets (S. Singh, 2011, p.24).

2.1.2. Culture

Africa has remained glued to its male centered customs and traditions and this has led to an intensification of discrimination against women in all forms. In many societies, the widespread cultural patterns are the traditional ones which assign predetermined social roles to women and men. There is an unequal power relation between women and men in the family for example, the woman is mostly in charge of care, house, children, and private area in general, while the man is in charge of the public area. In the northern region of the country for example, much importance is still attached to customs and traditional laws especially in the rural areas. Women continue to be disadvantaged by discriminatory cultural practices and patriarchy is still deeply entrenched in rural areas. Some scholars believe that the absence of monitoring mechanisms in the state and non-state sector and a clearly articulated agenda in support to women's social, economic, political and cultural rights are the main constraints to the women's involvement in politics. The deeply rooted cultural, religious and traditional stereotypes around the role of women in society remain a major barrier to the political participation of women in politics. Women's identity is still predominantly conceived as being domestic in nature, and this continues to act as a barrier to women's entry into formal politics. The cultural beliefs based on the concept of male supremacy are perpetuated by socialization that conceives of politics as male territory.



2.2. Information gaps and financial challenges

Information gaps and financial insufficiency are among the leading causes of women under representation particularly in young democracies.

2.2.1. Insufficient awareness

There is a low level of political awareness among Cameroonian women. Majority of women in Cameroon are not adequately informed about politics this partly explains the timid involvement of women in politics. Political ignorance exacerbated by a male dominated political system is among the major contributors to the timid political participation of Cameroonian women. Awareness of one's own rights and claiming them, access to information on the legislation in force, on policies, institutions and structures which govern their life; self-confidence, self-esteem and capacity to provoke and to face the existing State structures and networks can greatly contribute to women's political participation. The increasing awareness gap on politics among Cameroonian women has awakened Cameroon's civil society in the past few decades. The civil society has along the years engaged in raising women awareness on the necessity to get involved in politics. However, much is yet to be done although the following efforts have been made by civil society organizations in some parts of the country. In 2007 the network of More Women in Politics, with support from UNIFEM organized a training session on the theme 'Women and Politics in Parliament', and put in place a gender network in parliament, which is made up of both men and women. In 2007, the network of More Women in Politics also trained 30 journalists in gender sensitive reporting of election proceedings (T. Kumichii, 2010:12-13). On their part, the Cameroon Gender and Development Network (CAMGADNET) organized a series of training workshops in the country for women from different Political Parties on how to organize and run campaigns during elections. Within the framework of its program on Democracy and Empowerment of Women (DEW), the Community Initiative for Sustainable Development a civil society organization has trained women on political leadership in the North West and West Regions of Cameroon (T. Kumichii, 2010:12-13).

2.2.1. Media issues

A practical manifestation of the patriarchal nature of most African countries is the fact that women candidates have been far less visible in election-related media coverage than male candidates during the election campaign period. In addition to the fact that few women are



invested as candidates in elections, gender stereotypes and stigma also characterize the coverage of female candidates. Naturally, media is the source of information for every citizen, male or female. People get political news and information through television, newspapers, magazines, radio and news websites. Media plays a significant role in determining how women in politics and decision-making bodies are viewed and perceived by society in general. It does not only play an important role in shaping the values of society but also reflects those values. It plays the role of an informer, educator and a mediator for social change. Media, which is considered to be the best medium of creating awareness among society, needs to play a proactive role. In case of highlighting women's issues in many African countries including Cameroon, media role has been a matter of debate. Increasingly, media has stereotyped the image of women as homemakers and limited to private sphere only. It sometimes does not focus on woman's political performance. Their values, beliefs and experiences are not only overlooked by the media but also their interest in political participation is criticized citing the reasons of cultural beliefs. Public and private media don't adequately recognize women politicians, their voices, their contributions in decision-making and highlight women's issues. By not adequately mediatizing the contributions of women in politics, they also do not appreciate enough, the work done by women in order to increase their inclination towards the political system. In most election campaigns where women are involved, some media houses and publications don't provide gender-sensitive coverages of elections. The media consciously or unconsciously have promoted negative stereotypes of women and highlighted women's image as a weaker sex that is fit for secondary roles only (Naznin and Nayak, 2021:1-17).

2.2.2. Financial factors

Financial constraints significantly affect female political representation in most African countries south of the Sahara. For example, the number of offices held by women in each state's government in Nigeria, weighed according to their 'autonomy, legitimacy, budgetary influence, oversight capacity, and security of tenure of the position', for the years 2003-2015, with Lagos state, the commercial capital of Nigeria, having the highest representation of women (L. Kelly 2019, p. 15). Experience has shown that in most growing democracies, women generally lose out when money dominates politics. It has been observed that in many African countries for example, women having persistently lower incomes due to; gender gap in pay, occupational segregation, disproportionate unpaid family care, frequent unwillingness to face the social consequences of



pushing for higher salaries or promotions. As a result of social and business interaction proceeding heavily along gendered lines, women are far less likely than men to be in the social and business networks that pour money into political campaigns. Women often lack the necessary financial resources, which limits their capacity to participate in elections. In Ghana, Kenya and Nigeria for example, the amount of money required for elections is often large – ranging from campaign expenses to considerable amounts that have to be paid to be considered in the candidate nomination/selection process.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is worthy of note that despite government efforts of enhancing women's representation in politics, the Cameroonian women continue to face major challenges in political representation. As a remedy to the under representation of Cameroonian women in politics it is imperative for all stakeholders to optimize better participation and representation of women in political bodies in Cameroon by undertaking multiple initiatives at the level of the State, political parties, women's civil society, and families. Firstly, government should come up with an implementation plan for the quota system put in place for women and materialize the quota system. Secondly political parties should tackle gender stereotypes in committees and elect women as party chairs. Also, political parties should formalize their quota system and make it practical by promoting affirmative action in winnable constituencies where women are candidates. They should establish parity in parliament and local institutions by setting up a political coloring system called the "zebra system," in which each political party is obliged to present a list with an equal number of male and female candidates. Thirdly, women should build their capacity towards political participation and develop the zeal and character needed for this. Also, women should be more available and improve both their social and economic/financial capital. In the fourth and last place, families should take the responsibility to educate the girl child without social and religious prejudices.



Références bibliographie

ABWA Daniel et DIFFO Justine, 2014, « Evolution perfectible des femmes dans la vie publique et politique camerounaise », in Justine DIFFO TCHUNKAM (dir.), *Genre, leadership et participation politique au Cameroun (1931-2013) : Le Cameroun sur le chemin de la parité*, Yaoundé, Colorix, première édition, p.193- 227.

ARRIOLA Leonardo and JOHNSON Martha, 2014, “Ethnic Politics and Women's Empowerment in Africa: Ministerial Appointments to Executive Cabinets” *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 58, No. 2, p. 495-510.

CPDM, 2007, *CPDM central committee ref. note for 2007 legislative/municipal elections*

DALTON Russel, BURKLIN Wilhelm and DRUMMOND Andrew, 2001, «Public Opinion and Direct Democracy». *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 12, Issue 4. p141-154.

DOFFONSOU Richard and SINGH Lisa, 2014, *Cameroon*. African Economic Outlook.

DOVI Suzanne, 2007, *The Good Representative*, New York: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing.

DVORNICHENKO Daryna, 2022, *Breaking Barriers to Women's Participation in Politics in Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine*, Washington D.C

GALEGA Samgena and TUMNDE Martha, 2004, «Reversing Decades of Gender Injustice in Cameroon » In John Mukum Mbaku and Joseph Takougang (eds), *the Leadership Challenge in Africa: Cameroon under Paul Biya*, Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, p.235-267.

Gender Empowerment and Development, 2010, Beijing +15: *The Reality of Cameroon and the Unfinished Business*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

GRETCHEN Bauer, 2008, « Electoral gender quotas for parliament in east and southern Africa», *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Volume 10, Issue 3, p.348-368

IBRAHIM Mouiche, 2012, *Démocratisation et intégration sociopolitique des minorités ethniques au Cameroun : Entre dogmatisme du principe majoritaire et centralité des partis politiques*. Dakar, CODESRIA.



IBRAHIM Mouiche, 2014, « Genre et asymétrie structurelle du pouvoir d'état : quelles leçons pour le Cameroun ? » in Justine DIFFO TCHUNKAM (dir), *genre, leadership et participation au Cameroun (1931-2013). Le Cameroun sur le chemin de la parité*, Yaoundé, Colorix, p145-160.

IPU, 2021, *Cameroon-Proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments (%)*. SG.GEN.PARL.ZS

KUMICHII Tilder, 2010, *Local Power and Women's Rights-Gender Perspectives on Decentralisation Processes*. Report of the Venro Project on the Africa-EU Partnership

LUKE Kelly, 2019, *Barriers and enablers for women's participation in governance in Nigeria*, PhD thesis, University of Manchester.

MOKI Edwin, 2023, *Cameroon Activists Push Gender Parity for Senate Elections*. VOANEWS

MUSSA, 2016, *Cameroon-Northwest Region gets Third Female Mayor*. Sisterspeak237

NAZNIN Tabassum and BHABANI S Nayak, 2021, «Gender Stereotypes and Their Impact on Women's Career Progressions from a Managerial Perspective», *IIM Kozhikode Society & Management Review*, Volume 10, Issue 2, p1-17

SINDJOUN Luc et NGUINI Mathias, 2000, « Egalité oblige ! Sens et puissance dans les politiques de la femme et les régimes de genre », in SINDJOUN Luc. (dir.), *La biographie sociale du sexe*, Paris, Editions Karthala et Codesria, p.13-77

SINGH Susan, 2011, «Influence of Empowerment on Political Participation of Dalit Women». *International Journal of Advanced Research in Management and Social Sciences*, Vol. 7, p103-117

TAMETONG Steve and ABOUDI Vanessa, 2021, *Democratization and Political Advancement of Women in Cameroon: The Case of Parliament and the Decentralized Territorial Authorities Executives*. Nkafu Policy Institute of the Denis & Lenora Foundation, Policy paper.

UNWOMEN Cameroon: *The New Strategic Notes 2022-2026*,

WORLD BANK, 2014, *Which country has the highest proportion of women in parliament?* The World Bank