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Female Parliamentarians and Climate Change:
A Feminist Political Ecology Analysis

RAYNA ALEXANDER
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Reviewed and approved* by the following:

Lorraine Dowler
Professor of Geography
Thesis Supervisor

Brian King
Professor of Geography
Honors Adviser

* Electronic approvals are on file.

ABSTRACT

“It’s time for women to mother earth,” United Nations officials declared at the Conference on Environment and Development.¹ Gender-environment linkages characterize modern development and climate discourses; however, the relationship between women and the environment did not coalesce in international rhetoric until the early 1990s.² Thus began “gender mainstreaming,” or the inclusion of gender in writing—but largely ignored in practice—in sustainable resource management efforts.³ Three decades later, numerous United Nations-sanctioned policies incorporate complementary environmental protection and women’s empowerment agendas, but little research explores how or *why* there might be a causal relationship (beyond patriarchally charged assumptions).⁴ This claim begs empirical support. The following analysis explores the hegemonic discourse—henceforth referred to as ecofeminism—and offers a competing framework for analyzing gender-environment dynamics, otherwise referred to as Feminist Political Ecology (FPE). This thesis seeks to expose the nuance of gender-environment relationships and integrate historical context, theoretical frameworks, and quantitative observations to critically and holistically examine discourses surrounding gender-environment relationship.

¹ Gaard, Greta. 2015. “Ecofeminism and Climate Change.”

² Resurrección, Bernadette P., and Edsel E. Sajor. 2015. “Gender, Floods and Mobile Subjects: A Postdisaster View.”

³ Feindouno, Sossa, and Patrick Guillaumont. 2019. “Measuring Physical Vulnerability to Climate Change: The PVCCI, an Index to Be Used for International Development Policies.”

⁴ Resurrección and Sajor, “Gender, Floods and Mobile Subjects.”

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Chapter 1

Ecofeminism

United Nations Women—the international entity committed to delivering programs, policies, and standards that address women’s rights—cite the importance of women’s representation in government as agents for more stringent climate change policies.⁵ Consistent with gender mainstreaming, ecofeminists argue women must “embrace” simplified identities and interests to insert gender-related agendas into institutions with other priorities.⁶ However, ecofeminism entrenches racist, classist, and patriarchal structures that exclude and exploit marginalized communities; forcing women to work within oppressive structures is inherently counterproductive. For example, while international entities claim women organize around environmental issues, the hegemonic patriarchal, masculinist approach to tackling climate change favors technological and market-based solutions. Masculine solutions disregard holistic and feminized approaches related to combating ideologies of consumption, capitalism, exploitation, and colonialism.⁷ Ecofeminism does not take into account the dismissal of women in decision- and policy-making processes, but assumes an illogical dichotomy: women are “naturists” and should be in charge of environmental protection, but they are unequipped to engage in the technological, capitalist approach to climate change employed by patriarchy.⁸ This contradiction exposes deep flaws in the ecofeminist argument.

⁵ Quiñones, Laura. 2022. “COP27: Week Two Opens with Focus on Water, Women and More Negotiations on ‘Loss and Damage.’”

⁶ Resurrección, “Gender, Floods and Mobile Subjects.”

⁷ Resurrección, Bernadette P. 2017. “Gender and Environment from ‘Women, Environment, and Development’ to Feminist Political Ecology.”

⁸ Gaard, “Ecofeminism and Climate Change.”

Regardless, perhaps for ease of justification, the United Nations and other international entities assume a relationship between climate and gender across societal scales, homogenizing the heterogeneous experiences of women across nations, classes, cultures, and societies. When women are associated with “unique” environmental knowledge and experiences, they are charged with caring for degraded environments—the responsibility has shifted.⁹ To justify this conclusion, ecofeminist scholars claim gender socialization—the social process of assigning roles and norms to specific genders—orients women towards caring behaviors and assigns them to unpaid care work specifically impacted by environmental change (fetching water, ensuring food security, collecting forest products), specifically in developing regions.¹⁰ These narratives reinforce patriarchal notions of what women must do to fulfill their gender roles.

Popularized narratives infer women are the most climate-at-risk population, citing a lack of mobility (male dependence) and poor socioeconomic status (lower class)—conditions created by patriarchal structures.¹¹ This claim ignores intersectionality and assumes climate change is an exclusive “women’s issue.” In an attempt to substantiate this claim—and a testament to buzzword advocacy—ecofeminists suggest women and children are 14 times more likely than men to die from environmental disasters, citing gendered causality differences in Hurricane Katrina and the European Heatwave (2003), for example.¹² Concerningly, this assertion has an uncertain history and problematic use in shock-and-awe arguments; the “14 times” statistic is not rooted in exploratory research.¹³ Other similar, widely circulated statistics (e.g., women make up 70

⁹ Elmhirst, Rebecca. 2015. “Feminist political ecology.”

¹⁰ Blocker, T. J., & Eckberg, D. L. 1997. “Gender and environmentalism: Results from the 1993 General Social Survey.”

¹¹ Gaard, “Ecofeminism and Climate Change.”

¹² Gaard, “Ecofeminism and Climate Change.”

¹³ Arora-Jonsson, Seema. 2011. “Virtue and Vulnerability: Discourses on Women, Gender and Climate Change.”

percent of the world's poor) are anecdotal—not empirically rigorous—and reinforce other harmful narratives like the feminization of poverty and helplessness.¹⁴ Climate change and national disasters do not only impact women; vulnerabilities to environmentally related disasters vary and are emphasized by age, class, race, nationality, geography, and ethnicity.

The following analysis assesses the realities of climate-gender relationships at the national level, specifically among female parliamentarians in sub-Saharan Africa. Ecofeminists associate women with domestic chores and environmentally dependent livelihoods, focusing on the experiences of lower-class, rural women, not on women involved in policy-making and environmental management. Regardless, scholars have applied these simplified narratives to women in policy- and decision-making positions. It cannot be inferred, however, that rural women are impacted or behave the same as women in politics who likely experience vastly different intersectional identities and socioeconomic realities.

To justify the application of ecofeminism at a national level, some scholars have attempted to study women in politics and national environmental policy, though sparingly.¹⁵ To empirically justify the ecofeminist argument, scholars found a significant, positive, and increasing relationship between women in politics and a country's adaptability to climate change in developing countries, where the variables correlated and increased over time.¹⁶ Similarly, other climate scholars found carbon dioxide emissions per capita decreased in nations where women attained higher political status (controlling for GDP per capita, urbanization, industrialization, militarization, world-system position, foreign direct investment, the age

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Asongu, S.A., Messono, O.O. & Guttemberg, K.T.J. 2022. "Women political empowerment and vulnerability to climate change: evidence from 169 countries."

¹⁶ Ibid.

dependency ratio, and level of democracy).¹⁷ Others, still, found the proportion of women in parliament was positively and significantly related to per capita forest cover, specifically when states reported more than 38 percent of female legislators in their national political bodies.¹⁸ While these findings are statistically significant, they do not explain how or why female representation is linked to improved environmental governance. In addition, the relationship between women and politics and the “environment” is measured in distinctly different ways (carbon emissions, forest cover, etc.).

Ecofeminist scholars have also attempted to explore the causal mechanisms to explain quantitative results, though their conclusions are far-fetched. Some cite the role of gender in advocating for anti-corruption measures. They argued, through the implementation of anti-corruption policies, female parliamentarians indirectly improved environmental protection, because environmental standards improved under countries with stronger governance and less corruption.¹⁹ Conversely, however, other scholars argue that political corruption constrained and discouraged women from advocating for policies that address their interests; female representation only resulted in human development—not environmental policy—when political corruption was low.²⁰ They found high levels of corruption, regardless of women’s inclusion, were associated with worse development, and thus worse climate outcomes.²¹

¹⁷ Ergas, Christina, and Richard York. 2012. “Women’s Status and Carbon Dioxide Emissions: A Quantitative Cross-National Analysis.”

¹⁸ Salahodjaev, Raufhon and Dilyafuz Jarilkapova. 2020. “Women in parliament and deforestation: cross-country evidence.”

¹⁹ Asongu, Simplice, and Raufhon Salahodjaev. 2022. “Do Female Parliamentarians Improve Environmental Quality? Cross-Country Evidence.”

²⁰ Mechkova, Valeriya, et al. 2022. “Women’s Political Representation, Good Governance and Human Development.”

²¹ Ibid.

Still, others argued female parliamentarians increase health and education spending and cited this outcome as a viable explanation for increased public demand for climate action.²² They argued that enhanced education programs produce a more highly educated populace concerned about climate change consequences. Increased awareness of climate threats, they suggested, better position a citizenry to demand climate action from policymakers.²³ Others claimed that when female representation in political parties increases, the result is an ideological shift leftward, and thus advocacy for more government regulation and environmental protection.²⁴ Despite efforts to explain why women *may* tend toward nature-preserving policies, large discrepancies, and overzealous assumptions demonstrate the need for an intersectional feminist political ecology framework analysis.

Ecofeminism has been linked to other international movements, including efforts to include traditional ecological knowledge as a mechanism for climate mitigation where indigenous women, specifically, are again justified as caretakers of nature.²⁵ Regardless of the appeal to simplify complex realities, ecofeminism further entrenches gender, race, and class divisions. The neoliberal epistemological (that is, the Western understanding of what constitutes knowledge) response to climate change, revered and emboldened by male-dominated political spaces, disregards the role of women and indigenous communities and their otherwise collectivist and anti-capitalist approaches to addressing conservation and changing environments. Worrisome still, technological-oriented solutions emphasize colonial notions of population

²² Alber, Gotelind & Roehr, Ulrike. 2006. "Climate protection: What's gender got to do with it?"

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Salamon, H. 2022. "The effect of women's parliamentary participation on renewable energy policy outcomes."

²⁵ Shiva, Vandana. 1988. "Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development."

control (preventing developing countries' population increases as a climate solution) and anti-immigration (ignoring forced migration caused by climate disasters).²⁶

Turning to a recent specific example, Nigerian author and activist, Nnimmo Bassey, published *Oil Politics* (2016) which discusses environmental activism in Nigeria. However, his sexist undertones—characteristic of neoliberal ecofeminism—force women to operate within patriarchal boundaries. He writes, “The demands of the [Nigerian] women have remained largely the same: respect and dignity for them and their communities, clean water and basic infrastructure, jobs for their husbands and sons. In utter desperation the women have been forced to deploy what has been termed ‘the naked option’ – stripping in protest, as the ultimate display of disgust at an industry that ignores the people and the environment and focuses on nothing apart from profit and power.”²⁷ First, Bassey feminizes domestic tasks, focusing on the role of women as caretakers and in charge of domestic chores (fetching water). More concerningly, Bassey argues the demands of women include “jobs for their husbands and sons,” *not* advocacy for themselves or their interests, again, emphasizing the notion of subservient women. Concern for their wellbeing, in his perception, does not exist. Finally, and strikingly, Bassey sexualizes the protest of women by using the “naked option” and “stripping as protest.” These gross characterizations precisely demonstrate the harmful impacts of neoliberal rhetoric justified by ecofeminism that relies on the subordination and sexualization of women.

²⁶ Gaard, “Ecofeminism and Climate Change.”

²⁷ Nnimmo Bassey. 2016. *Oil Politics : Echoes of Ecological Wars*.

Chapter 2

Feminist Political Ecology

As ecofeminism emerged, critiques of the neoliberal and capitalist development frameworks amassed into a competing framework, otherwise known as feminist political ecology (FPE).²⁸ Feminist political ecology embodies an evolution of the feminist geography literature (Resurrección, 2017), a poststructuralist framework (Sundberg, 2015), and a feminist contribution to political ecology (Resurrección, 2017; Elmhirst, 2015; Rocheleau & Nirmal, 2014). Generally, scholars agree feminist political ecology utilizes an intersectional assessment of gender in addition to other identities (class, race, nationality, culture).²⁹ Feminist political ecologist scholars argue the framework is a necessary alternative to the ecofeminist, gender-essentialist, single-axis approach that asserts gender as the sole factor in political decision-making and disregards colonial, imperial, and patriarchal systems that oppress and restrict women.³⁰

Feminist political ecology does not ignore the importance of women involved in movements to protect ecologies and people who reside in them but rather offers a framework cognizant of the harms of essentialist and single-axis characterizations of gender and gendered experiences.³¹ Feminist political ecologists ask, “Can a positive relationship to nature be conceived without romanticizing and recourse to regressive notions of femininity and maternity?”³² Anti-essentialism, individual autonomy, and power characterize feminist political

²⁸ Rocheleau, D., & Nirmal, P. 2014. “Feminist Political Ecologies: Grounded, Networked and Rooted on Earth.”

²⁹ Sundberg, Juanita. 2017. “Feminist Political Ecology.”

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Elmhirst, R. 2015. “Feminist political ecology.”

³² Bauhardt, Christine, and Wendy Harcourt. 2019. *Feminist Political Ecology and the Economics of Care in Search of Economic Alternatives*.

ecology.³³ In the analysis that follows, specific attention is paid to the intersectionality and dynamism of female parliamentarians.

Feminist political ecologists criticize ecofeminism as concerned with improving the condition of women within patriarchal systems, not by challenging inequitable gender divisions. Critical scholars find an insignificant relationship between women and the environment. In opposition to ecofeminism, one scholar claimed women are often disregarded in decision-making bodies, specifically at a local governance level where gender norms are more entrenched and where women are typically economically subordinate.³⁴ This substantiates FPE tenants by complicating women's identity and interests as a heterogeneous group. Other critics assessed climate change concern between men and women and found the gender-climate-concern gap only exists in wealthier countries, contrary entirely to the narrative that emerged from the Global South.³⁵ They attributed climate concerns to the perceived economic risks of the middle class, not to gender identity. The middle class, they argued, views climate-friendly initiatives as detrimental to short-term economic growth and their livelihoods. Similarly, others argue socioeconomic factors, like class and education, determine perceptions of climate risk, not exclusively gender.³⁶

In addition, throughout the literature, there is a concerning lack of analysis of the relationship between women in politics and climate adaptation over a significant period. However, time is a crucial factor in the policymaking and implementation process. Policymaking

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Grillos, Tara. 2018. "Women's Participation in Environmental Decision-Making: Quasi-Experimental Evidence from Northern Kenya."

³⁵ Bush, Sarah, and Amanda Clayton. 1 Aug. 2022. "Facing Change: Gender and Climate Change Attitudes Worldwide."

³⁶ Arbuckle, Matthew, and Makenzie Mercer. 2020. "Economic Outlook and the Gender Gap in Attitudes about Climate Change."

requires lengthy debate, progressive implementation, and capacity building, which may take years to lead to the desired impacts. Many publications explore the relationship between the variables based on surveys conducted at a single point in time, or in small periods (4-5 years), of which do not account for the time required for the legislative process. The following qualitative analysis explores a twenty-year legislative period (from 2000 to 2020) since the relative emergence of stringent climate policy.

In addition, studies seldom focus on the authors and advocates of specific policies and legislation, relying only on the quantitative results. This is highly problematic in that it relies on the correlation between variables without assessing causal mechanisms. Studies that focus on qualitative analysis apply only to local resource governance, not national policies or political bodies. Specifically, much work has been done in rural forest governance in South Asia which may explain the United Nations' generalizations.³⁷

Fundamentally, FPE utilizes bottom-up approaches, assesses intersectional identities (gender, class, race, ethnicity) of political actors (individuals who wield power), and offers alternative solutions that value human life and well-being. Feminist political ecology emphasizes localized political actors' identities given unique cultural, social, historical, and political circumstances in different spatiotemporal realities. Ultimately, FPE cannot be applied on a macro-scale; it requires localized analysis and recognizes the heterogeneous nature of individual societies. Feminist political ecology provides both human-centric structures for policy creation and allows scholars to assess contemporary political-ecological situations. Ultimately, FPE focuses on the winners, losers, and causes of inequitable situations from a social justice vantage

³⁷ Shiva, Vandana. "Staying Alive."

point.³⁸ Feminist political ecology “pushes [both] academic and policy circles to examine the gendered and social dimension of climate and migration research by unmasking ‘discourses of power ... to address [individual’s] uneven access to resources to assuage their daily livelihood struggles.’”³⁹ Interestingly, explicit use of the framework is scant in the existing literature.

While ecofeminists argue that, as a result of gender socialization, women possess a deeper environmental understanding and an enhanced capacity to protect the earth as “nurturers” and “pacifists,” feminist political ecologists seek to dismantle this conception.⁴⁰ Women are not only poor, women are not only mothers, and women should not be the only caretakers of earth. It *must* be emphasized that FPE scholars do not argue for the exclusion of women in climate change discourses and decision-making processes. On the contrary, equal representation across identities and intersectionalities is imperative for equitable and sustainable development. Feminist political ecology only begs that institutions do not oversimplify the complex realities and nuances of the world and take a more holistic approach to creating policy that meets the needs of location-specific communities.

³⁸ Randel, Amy E., et al. 2018. “Inclusive Leadership: Realizing Positive Outcomes through Belongingness and Being Valued for Uniqueness.”

³⁹ Resurrección & Sajor, “Gender, Floods and Mobile Subjects”

⁴⁰ Rocheleau, D., & Nirmal. “Feminist Political Ecologies”

Chapter 3

Methodology

A Unique Application

Previous work in the FPE field involved case studies using the framework to analyze natural resource control and access at local levels (see Gonda, 2019; Truelove, 2011; Gillespie & Perry, 2019; Rocheleau, 1995; Kerr, 2011). No previous studies explored environmental management, concern, or control at a national governance level. The founder of FPE, Dianne Rocheleau, offered three general outlines for the application of the framework for analysis: attention to intersectionality, reconciling multiple subjectivities and quantitative methods, and causality through storytelling.⁴¹ The following analysis employs each of the three approaches, first looking at quantitative methods, and then examining the cases of female parliamentarians in Rwanda and Nigeria and their role in advocating for and authoring climate-related policy through a critical narrative lens.

Quantitative Methods – Statistical Methodology

The broad democracy-gender literature assumes as states urbanize and democratize, gender equality generally improves.⁴² Thus, the selection of cases in a rapidly urbanizing and democratizing region is appealing (ecofeminism would assume a correlation in the increase of environment policy). In sub-Saharan Africa, the increase in the number of women in political bodies is largely attributed to the implementation of policies focused on artificially increasing gender representation in governance and commitments to increasing the number of women

⁴¹ Rocheleau, D. 1995. “Maps, Numbers, Text, and Context: Mixing Methods in Feminist Political Ecology.”

⁴² Piccone, T. 2022. “Democracy, gender equality, and security.”

participating in political parties (i.e., gender quotas in political parties/bodies).⁴³ This must also be considered.

This thesis qualifies as a nested analysis. First, a quantitative study (linear regression) exploring the relationship between women in parliament and a country's adaptability to climate change was conducted. Second, a qualitative analysis was employed using a feminist political ecology framework. As outlined by Dianne Rochleau, feminist political ecology can only be effectively employed in small n case studies given its nuanced and explorative nature. In addition, random selection of small n cases should be "absolutely avoided" because it shows a lack of confidence and understanding of the tested theory.⁴⁴ In addition, given sub-Saharan Africa's heightened risk for climate-related disasters and unique gender-politic dynamics, two countries from the continent were selected for the qualitative study from the regression line.

A linear regression between women's representation in national legislatures (using World Development Indicators (WDI) percent of women in parliament) and a country's adaptability to climate change (Notre Dame's GAIN Index) was constructed with data from 46 sub-Saharan African countries. The WDI database, created by the World Bank, measures the proportion of female politicians in national parliaments as the variable "proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments (%)." This includes parliamentary seats in either a single (unicameral) or lower chamber (bicameral). These data are calculated by dividing the number of seats occupied by women by the total number of seats in parliament which is then logically expressed as a percentage.⁴⁵ Parliamentary seats may be filled by general elections, nominations, appointments,

⁴³ Berry, Marie E., Yolande Bouka, and Marilyn Muthoni Kamuru. 2020. "Implementing Inclusion: Gender Quotas, Inequality, and Backlash in Kenya."

⁴⁴ Lieberman, E. 2005. "Nested Analysis as a Mixed-Method Strategy for Comparative Research."

⁴⁵ "World Development Indicators." Washington, D.C. :*The World Bank.*, n.d.

indirect elections, rotations of members, and by-elections.⁴⁶ These data are aggregated using a weighted average and recorded annually. The World Bank sources the data from the International Parliamentary Union, an organization that relies on nationally reported statistics.

Adaptability to climate change refers to a state’s capacity—taking into consideration both vulnerability and readiness—to prevent and respond to climate disasters (domestic/regional policy/efforts, international commitments). The ND-GAIN Index calculates 45 individual variables related to economic, environmental, and political factors which demonstrate a country’s capacity to address climate change.⁴⁷ According to the dataset’s methodology, “recent data and literature and consulted scholars, adaptation practitioners, and global development experts” determined the 45 indicators selected.⁴⁸ Figure 1, sourced from the GAIN Index methodology page, breaks down the adaptability score.



Figure 1: GAIN Index Calculation

As anticipated, there is a visual correlation between a country’s vulnerability and readiness level where, typically, the more vulnerable a country is, the less ready it is to adapt to climate change (see Figure 2).

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ “Notre Dame GAIN Index.” Notre Dame, IN. *Notre Dame Global Adaptation Initiative*, n.d.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

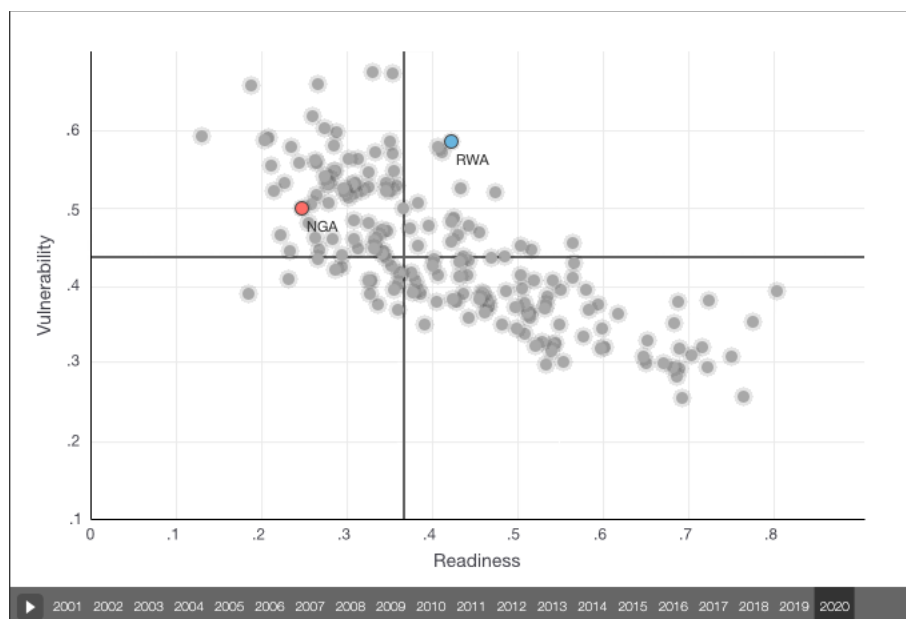


Figure 2: Rwanda and Nigeria's level of readiness and vulnerability among 193 countries

Bivariate Analysis

A linear regression was conducted to analyze the relationship between the percentage of women in parliament (from 0 to 100) and the GAIN index (weighted from 0 to 100, where 0 denotes least prepared to adapt to climate change) for the year 2020. The study sampled 46 sub-Saharan African countries. Only Eritrea was omitted due to a lack of climate data. The null hypothesis argues the percentage of women in parliament is not a useful predictor of climate change adaptability. The alternative hypothesis assumes, in line with the ecofeminist argument, that the percentage of women in parliament is a useful predictor of climate change adaptability. The data were analyzed using the Microsoft extension, XLSTAT. The correlation matrix resulted in a Pearson's correlation coefficient value of 0.151 and a meager R^2 coefficient of 0.023, demonstrating a very poor relationship for the data. In this case, the null hypothesis

cannot be rejected. This assumes the percentage of women in parliament is likely not a useful predictor of climate change adaptability (see Figure 3).

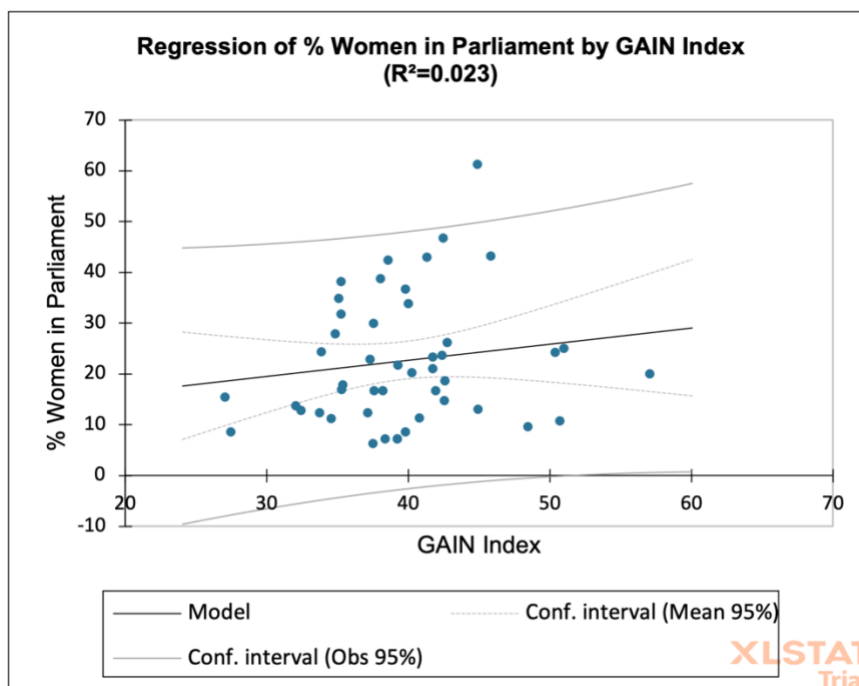


Figure 3: Scatterplot of the percentage of women in parliament and the GAIN Index for the sample 46 sub-Saharan African countries

Contrary to recent studies, this regression demonstrates little evidence that women in parliament contribute to climate change adaptability. However, this regression takes only a snapshot of the data for the year 2020 (cross-section analysis) and does not encapsulate change over time (as a longitudinal/panel analysis would). In line with a feminist political ecology framework, data alone do not account for the realities that explain relationships between gender and the environment. The remainder of this thesis will explore two case studies, Rwanda and Nigeria, and the role of individual female parliamentarians in advocating—or not—for climate change policies.

Qualitative Case Study Selection

Rwanda has the highest percentage of women in parliament on the continent (61.3 percent). Conversely, Nigeria has the lowest percentage of women in parliament on the continent (3.6 percent). This stark difference encouraged their initial selection for analysis. Interestingly, both Nigeria and Rwanda have similar GAIN scores (see Figure 4). It must also be noted that neither Nigeria nor Rwanda can be considered full democracies. Rwanda, according to Freedom House, is considered a “not free” state.⁴⁹ The country has been governed by the same president, Paul Kagame, since the mid-1990s (post-genocide). Similarly, Nigeria is considered only “partly free.”⁵⁰ Their points on the regression line are highlighted in Figure 4 (Rwanda is the top point, and Nigeria is the bottom point).

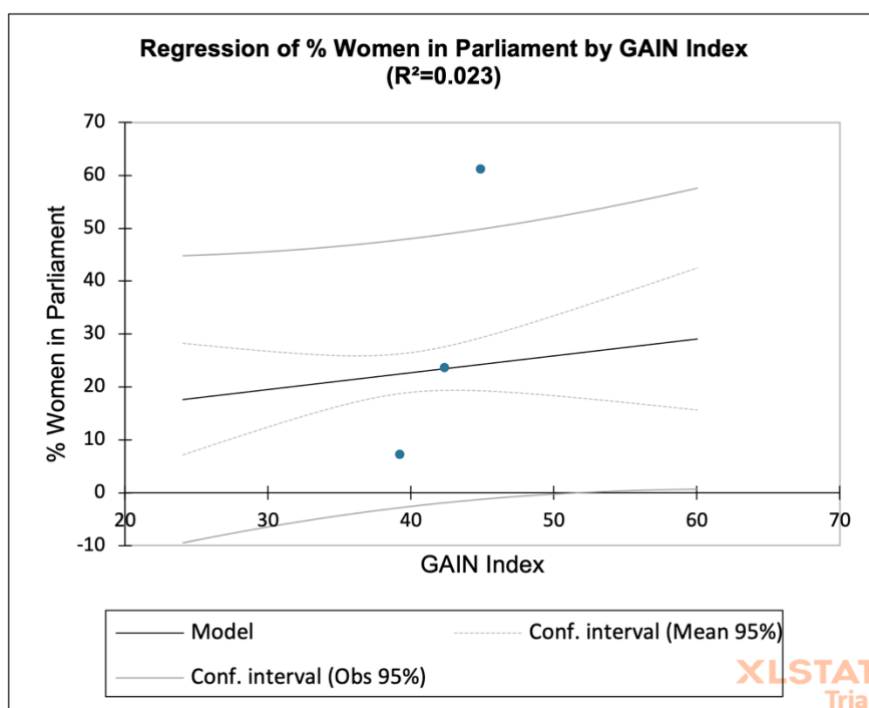


Figure 4: Regression line bolded with Nigeria (bottom) and Rwanda (top) highlighted

⁴⁹ “Rwanda: Freedom House.” *Freedom House*. 2023.

⁵⁰ “Nigeria: Freedom House.” *Freedom House*. 2023.

GAIN Index scores are where the similarities between Nigeria and Rwanda end. The Republic of Rwanda has a population of 13 million people and occupies a territory of 26,338 square kilometers of land.⁵¹ The Federal Republic of Nigeria, however, has a population of 221 million people—17 times larger than the population of Rwanda—and occupies a territory of 923,770 square kilometers of land—35 times larger than the size of Rwanda. Both countries' governments vary in size. Nigeria has 469 elected representatives, whereas Rwanda has only 106 elected officials.⁵² In the case of effective governance, the literature assumes geographical size typically matters, where smaller states are typically more capable of efficient outcomes and institutional efficacy.⁵³

It must also be noted that, although the basis of the case study selection relied on the regression analysis between the percentage of women in politics and the GAIN Index, it cannot be inferred that legislation alone is responsible for climate adaptation and mitigation capacity. Civil society, local organizations, and environmental agencies—where women can hold leadership positions—all have significant roles in managing environmental outcomes. The purpose of relying on the GAIN Index and the WDI indicator was to measure ecofeminist assumptions and compare statistical findings with the existing literature, in addition to identifying potential cases for a feminist political ecology analysis.

Qualitative Methodology

The following analysis looks at individual female parliamentarians in both Nigeria and Rwanda. To compensate for the lack of time consideration in the regression, parliamentarian data

⁵¹ “Rwanda” In *Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook*.

⁵² “Nigeria” In *Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook*.

⁵³ Corbett, J., & Veenendaal, W. 2019. “Why are Africa’s small countries more democratic?”

were assessed over a 20-year period in which climate change action has grown globally. Parliamentary names and data were pulled from the Nigerian and Rwandan government websites and regional and national news sources from election cycles between 2000 and 2020. In both Rwanda and Nigeria, as expected, access to older election data and outcomes was limited. After exhausting the available data online, the universe of cases for each country was not determined, and thus could not be sampled. Accordingly, a total of 87 Rwandan female parliamentarians and 50 Nigerian female parliamentarians were sampled based on the available data. Analysis of non-binary or gender non-conforming individuals in parliamentary positions was not included in this study.

In addition, climate change-related legislation passed between 2000 and 2020 was incorporated into this analysis. Policies were pulled from the Climate Policy Database for both countries. Only laws and acts passed by legislative bodies were included in the analysis. Strategies and plans passed by bureaucratic ministries and executive entities were not included, as they were not authored by members of parliament. The following analysis seeks to determine the concern of female parliamentarians and their strategic policy interests.

Chapter 4

Case Study One: Rwanda

Background

Rwanda is considered a presidential republic. The Rwandan legislature, a bicameral institution, includes a Chamber of Deputies (lower), hereafter referred to as CoD, and a Senate (upper). The CoD, made up of 80 deputies, debates and votes on laws and oversees government activities. The Senate, made up of 26 senators, debates and votes on laws, oversees government activities, monitors political organizations, approves the appointment of officials, and provides opinions on the state finance bill.

In the aftermath of the Genocide, quotas for unrepresented groups in governing bodies were established. Of the 80 Deputies, 53 are elected by the public, 24 are appointed and reserved for women, two are elected by the National Youth Council, and one is elected by the Federation of the Association of the Disabled. In the Senate, 12 senators are elected by specific councils under the administrative entities, eight are appointed by the President, four are designated by the Forum of Political Organizations, one is elected among lecturers and researchers of Public Universities and higher learning institutions, and one is elected among lecturers and researchers of Private Universities and higher learning institutions. Between 2000 and 2020, the percentage of women in parliament increased by 35 percent (from 26 percent to 61 percent).⁵⁴ The first post-Genocide, multi-party Chamber of Deputies elections took place in 2003 and occurred every five years (2008, 2013, 2018 for this analysis). Similarly, the first senatorial elections took place in 2003 and occurred every eight years (2011, 2018 for this analysis).

⁵⁴ “World Development Indicators.” Washington, D.C. :*The World Bank.*, n.d.

Policies

Rwanda has 11 climate change-focused plans and policies including an Intended Nationally Determined Contribution plan and Nationally Determined Contribution plan (mandated by the United Nations Paris Agreement), development and poverty plans, and environmental plans. However, the Rwandan government enacted only three environmental laws between 2000 and 2020.⁵⁵ In the following analysis, laws related to environmental issues but not targeting climate change mitigation or adaptation strategies were excluded as they do not have a direct impact on the country's adaptability (e.g., international animal trade, mineral extraction laws, etc.). Environmental laws enacted by the Rwandan legislative body include, in chronological order, the *Organic Law Determining the Modalities of Protection, Conservation and Promotion of Environment*; *Law Determining the Organisation, Functioning and Mission of the National Fund for Environment (FONERWA)*; and *Law on Environment*.

The *Organic Law Determining the Modalities of Protection, Conservation and Promotion of Environment in Rwanda* was passed by the Chamber of Deputies on 23 December 2004 and by the Senate on 15 February 2005.⁵⁶ The law references international agreements—including the International Convention of Biological Diversity and Kyoto Protocol—demonstrating the country's adherence to international climate change mitigation efforts.⁵⁷ Primarily, the law recognizes all Rwandans have the right to live in a “healthy and balanced environment.”⁵⁸ It seeks to protect natural resources related to livelihoods and well-being

⁵⁵ Nascimento, L., et al. 2021. “Twenty years of climate policy: G20 coverage and gaps.”

⁵⁶ *Organic Law Determining the Modalities of Protection, Conservation and Promotion of Environment in Rwanda*.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, Article 1.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, Article 6.

including soil, water, biodiversity, and air quality.⁵⁹ It largely vests protection, management, and punitive measures in the hands of the state (mirroring the original international efforts to implement top-down climate solutions, i.e., the Kyoto Protocol).⁶⁰ The Senate and Chamber of Deputies Hansards (parliamentary transcripts) were not available for the law's debate sessions.

The *Law Determining the Organisation, Functioning and Mission of the National Fund for Environment (FONERWA)*, was passed by the Chamber of Deputies on 3 April 2012, and, like the *Organic Law*, references international agreements of which Rwanda is a party. Instituting another top-down strategy, the law establishes the National Fund for Environment (FONERWA) as the country's primary environmental management fund.⁶¹ It charges FONERWA with managing funds, conducting research, and supporting private entities to “fight against the climate changes and its impacts.”⁶² Interestingly, like many post-Genocide laws, the law demands that 30 percent of the FONERWA's managing committee must be female.⁶³ Senate and Chamber of Deputies Hansards were not available for debate sessions.

The most recent and comprehensive legislative effort, *Law on Environment*, was passed by the Chamber of Deputies on 3 April 2018. The law's primary stated purpose is “protecting, conserving and promoting the environment.”⁶⁴ Article 21 explicitly states: “Every socio-economic sector must mainstream environment and climate change in the development and implementation of its policies, strategies, plans and programs” and “administrative entities, national and international non-governmental organisations as well as individuals must conserve

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, Articles 11-27.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, Articles 49 to 59.

⁶¹ *Law Determining the Organisation, Functioning and Mission of the National Fund for Environment (FONERWA)*.

⁶² *Ibid*, Article 2.

⁶³ *Ibid*, Article 4.

⁶⁴ *Law on Environment*, Article 1.

the environment and prevent adverse effects of climate change.” This rhetoric echoes the Paris Agreement’s emphasis on bottom-up approaches, specifically focusing on the role of the individual in conserving the environment. The law stipulates school curricula must include climate change, conservation, and adaptation education.⁶⁵ It mandates anthropogenic emission monitoring, international cooperation on transboundary pollution, renewable energy prioritization, and broad climate change prevention activities.⁶⁶

Unfortunately, due to a lack of publicly available data, Hansards were not available for any of the sessions discussing Rwanda’s climate-related laws. The Rwandan government does not publicize voting or legislative drafting records for parliamentarians. Given the lack of available debate transcripts, authors, or notable advocates for the three laws, individual analysis of 87 parliamentarians and the Forum of Rwandan Women Parliamentarians’ (legislative caucus) mission statement and public briefs serve as a reference point in determining the priorities of female parliamentarians in Rwanda.

Forum of Rwandan Women Parliamentarians

In 1996, Rwanda’s parliamentary body established the Forum of Rwandan Women Parliamentarians (FFRP), or the Forum, to support women’s interests and concerns across parties and serve as a collective body of advocacy.⁶⁷ In post-Genocide Rwanda, the Forum assisted with revising the Civil Code, ensuring equal inheritance and succession rights for women, eliminating legal discrimination in governing bodies and political parties, fighting for labor laws and equal pay, ending harassment in the workplace, and eliminating gender-based violence against women

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, Article 22.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, Articles 24, 25.6, 29, 38.

⁶⁷ UN Women, “Revisiting Rwanda five years after record-breaking parliamentary elections.”

and children.⁶⁸ The Forum has not outwardly demonstrated support for climate change, environmental management, or conservation policies.⁶⁹ These issues, at least explicitly, do not appear to be a major policy priority for the caucus.

Parliamentarian Analysis

Individual analysis of 87 former and current female representatives was conducted between 2000 and 2020. If representatives' terms started before or after, but at least a year between the twenty years, they were included. Current female parliamentarians were determined by the profiles available on the Rwandan government's website. Data about the parliamentarians were collected from news articles (AllAfrica, The New Times), the Rwandan Senate and Chamber of Deputies members pages, and other publications and resources (see Appendix A). It should be noted, however, that given Rwanda's status as a not-free state, independent media is largely unavailable.

When information regarding parliamentarian background, education, tenure, and service capacity was unclear or unavailable, data were left blank. For this reason, four female legislators—Folake Olunloyo, Oluremi Shade Tinubu, Florence Akinwele, Titi Akindahunsi—were excluded from the analysis. Due to the nature of record management and access, some parliamentarians—following the years after the Genocide and the new government—have few reputable records. Public records on former female parliamentarians were more limited. While 87 parliamentarians are a significant number in terms of the country's legislative history, it does not encompass the total number of women involved in legislative efforts during the period of

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Gomez, J. & Koppel, C. "Advancing Women's Caucuses in Legislatures (Policy brief)."

study (2000-2020) (the universe of cases—all the women who served in the Rwandan parliament—could not be determined nor analyzed due to a lack of data).

Parliamentarians were categorized by chamber (67 Deputies, 20 Senators), province, political party, background and education, and years served (date elected). Particularly of importance in determining the interest and efforts of the parliamentarians, backgrounds, and education were categorized into 13 groups: national government, local government, law, health care, finance, environment, academia, agriculture, business, civil society, economy, and education. These categories were used to determine whether female parliamentarians prioritized environmental issues as representatives.

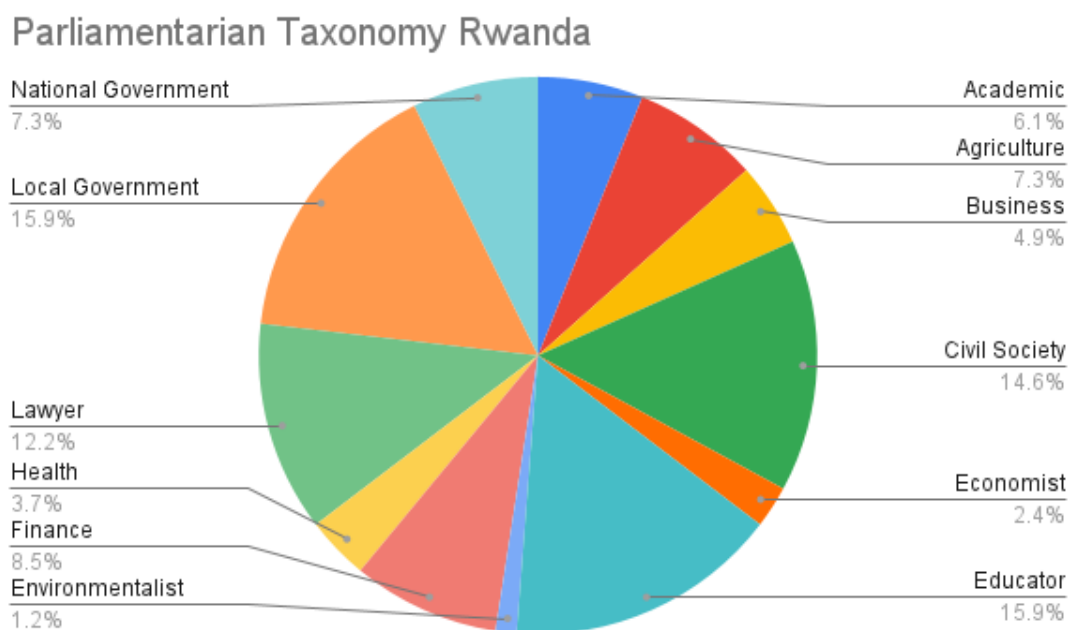


Figure 5: Pie chart of the taxonomy of Rwandan parliamentarians

Notably, only 1.2 percent (one Deputy) explicitly identified as an environmentalist by training, experience, or education. Honorable Rose Mukankomeje, a Deputy from 1995 to 2001, earned her Ph.D. in biology in 1992 and served as the Director General of the Rwandan

Environment Management Authority *after* her time in elected office.⁷⁰ Of 87 representatives from these twenty years, she is the only legislator to explicitly advocate for environmental issues (though votes on specific policies were unclear), and much of her support for climate-related issues came after her time in parliament. Additionally, her years of service lie *outside* the years climate policies were passed (she concluded her term in 2001, and the legislature passed laws in 2005, 2012, and 2018).

Notably, many of Rwanda's female parliamentarians served in previous governing capacities—including as mayors, governors, and ministry heads—or in both bodies of parliament. Unique to Rwanda, many women began their careers as primary and secondary school educators (15.9 percent) or lawyers (12.2 percent). Unsurprisingly, many women were active participants in the Forum of Rwandan Women in Parliament. Of those included in this study, many served in leadership positions. A combination of parliamentary advocacy interests and policy analysis aims to fill the gaps in determining whether women in parliament are uniquely concerned with climate-related issues in Rwanda. It must be noted that it cannot be assumed that individuals who did not outwardly declare their interest in the environment do not care about climate-related issues. This analysis assumes, however, that climate was not a policy priority for the parliamentarians during the period of study.

Political Analysis

Rwanda's political history and geography must be considered. Unique to Rwanda, much of the past two decades of legislation pertains to post-Genocide recovery, retributions, and legal

⁷⁰ "One woman's heroic efforts to restore more than just Rwanda's forests," *United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs*.

consequences for perpetrators of the Genocide. However, a general trend emerged from the news coverage of women in parliament over the past 20 years: women and women's advocacy groups (FFRP, for example) were more concerned with gender equality, gender-based violence, and youth empowerment than environmental issues. Many women, like legislators globally, served as career politicians and in various other industries before serving as elected officials. Contrary to international narratives, in Rwandan news coverage, no parliamentarians were commended or recognized for their work on environmental governance or climate change initiatives. Rwanda's general lack of environmental laws, regardless of its heightened vulnerability, speaks to the prioritization of other policy issues in the country among legislators.

Chapter 5

Case Study Two: Nigeria

Background

Like the Rwandan legislative body, the Nigerian National Assembly (NASS) is a bicameral body made up of a House (360 representatives) and a Senate (109 senators). The House participates in lawmaking. The Senate, the highest law-making body, is responsible for national security interests, dispute resolution, and impeachment. Nigeria's tumultuous and militarized history resulted in the current system—the Fourth Republic—with the first elections in 1999 for the state's democratically elected president. Nigeria, unlike Rwanda, is a federal republic, comprising 36 states; Nigeria maintains both federal and state governments. In the interest of this analysis, however, only federal policies were included. General elections for representatives and senators occur every four years (2003, 2007, 2011, 2015, and 2019, for this analysis); both representatives and senators serve four-year terms. Between 2000 and 2020 the number of women in parliament increased slightly by 3.8 percent (from 3.4 percent to 7.2 percent); in the 2019 elections, only seven women were elected to the Senate and eleven to the House.⁷¹

Policies

Given Nigeria has the lowest percentage of women in the national legislature on the continent, ecofeminists would assume the country would have far fewer environmental policies.

⁷¹ “Only 62 women won elections in 2019, says INEC,” *Punch Newspapers*.

However, Nigeria boasts 37 environmental plans, laws, and policies. Like Rwanda, however, only three were passed by parliament. The environmental laws include, in chronological order of enactment, the *National Environmental Standards and Regulations Enforcement Agency (Establishment) Act, 2007*; *Nigerian Biofuel Policy and Incentives, 2007*; and the *Flare Gas (Prevention of Waste and Pollution) Regulations, 2018*.⁷² Nigeria is heavily dependent on oil exports and extraction and currently holds status as a member of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). This positions the country's economy in opposition to climate-related issues primarily concerning advocacy for renewable energy. Unsurprisingly, many of Nigeria's policies refer to oil use and exports.

The *National Environmental Standards and Regulations Enforcement Agency (Establishment) Act, 2007*, passed by the Senate on 17 May 2007 and the House on 30 May 2007, established the NESREA (National Environmental Standards and Regulations Enforcement Agency), an agency belonging to the Federal Ministry of Environment, to work towards a cleaner and healthier environment for Nigerians. It was approved by the National Assembly's Clerk, Nasiru Ibrahim, and President Musa Yar'Adua (both men). The Agency is charged with enforcing laws and regulations, monitoring environmental issues, and collaborating with environmentally oriented ministries. Parliamentary Hansards were not available during the sessions of debate.

The *Nigerian Biofuel Policy and Incentives, 2007* established standards, offered tax exemptions, and set goals for biofuel use domestically. It does not, however, discuss reducing oil exports or consider the consequences of biofuels and their climate impacts. The law declared that, by 2020, all biofuels produced by the country would be consumed domestically, and the

⁷² Nascimento, L., et al. "Twenty years of climate policy."

Biofuel Energy Commission and Biofuel Research Agency would be charged with the phasing-out process. The law, technically classified as a mitigation strategy, was passed on 24 July 2007. According to one analysis, Nigerian entities are charged with funding “pilot projects aimed at demonstrating the technical and commercial viability of biofuel.”⁷³ However, conclusions of the policy’s efficacy remain unconvincing. Parliamentary Hansards were unavailable for this session, as were House and Senate votes.

Finally, and most recently, the *Flare Gas (Prevention of Waste and Pollution) Regulations, 2018*, was passed on 9 July 2018. According to the Climate Policy Database, “the flare gas regulations establish a legal framework to reduce GHG emission by flaring natural gas. The framework brings a payment regime for gas flaring based upon the polluters pay principle and obligation to register data when flaring gas.”⁷⁴ The policy was officially ratified by then president *and* Minister of Petroleum Resources, Muhammadu Buhari (male). Neither Hansards nor House or Senate votes were made publicly available for the law. As in Rwanda, given the general lack of direct coverage of the parliamentarians responsible for drafting, debating, and voting on laws, an analysis of individual parliamentarians’ interests was conducted.

Parliamentarian Analysis

Unlike Rwanda, Nigeria lacks a female caucus and the number of women involved in politics remains staggeringly low (in 2019, only eleven women won their House races).⁷⁵ Individual analysis of 50 current and former female representatives was conducted between 2000

⁷³ Ohimain, E. I. 2013. “A review of the Nigerian biofuel policy and incentives (2007).”

⁷⁴ Nascimento, L., et al. “Twenty years of climate policy.”

⁷⁵ Onyeji, E. 2019, April 20. “UPDATED: 2019 elections worst for Nigerian women in nearly two decades, analyses show.”

and 2020. The same methodology employed for analyzing Rwandan parliamentarians was used for analyzing Nigerian parliamentarians. As a result, nine representatives were omitted given a lack of credible or available data. They include Kaamuna Khadi Ibrahim, Stella Uchenwa Obiageli Ngwu, Halima Hassan Tukur, Abiola Adebukola Ajaja, Blessing Ibiba Nsiegbe, Folake Olunloyo, Oluremi Shade Tinubu, Florence Akinwele, Titi Akindahunsi.

Data regarding Nigerian parliamentarians was collected from news articles (primarily AllAfrica, Daily Trust, Daily Post), campaign pages, and other publications. Nigeria's government site did not provide information regarding current parliamentarians. When information was unclear or unavailable, data for the representative was left blank (see Appendix B). As in Rwanda, parliamentarians were categorized by chamber (32 representatives, 12 senators, and 6 who served in both chambers throughout their career), province, party, taxonomy, and years served (date elected). Particularly of importance, Nigerian parliamentarian's backgrounds and education (taxonomy) were categorized into only 11 groups: national government, local government, law, journalism, business, civil society, economics, education, sport, environment, and health.

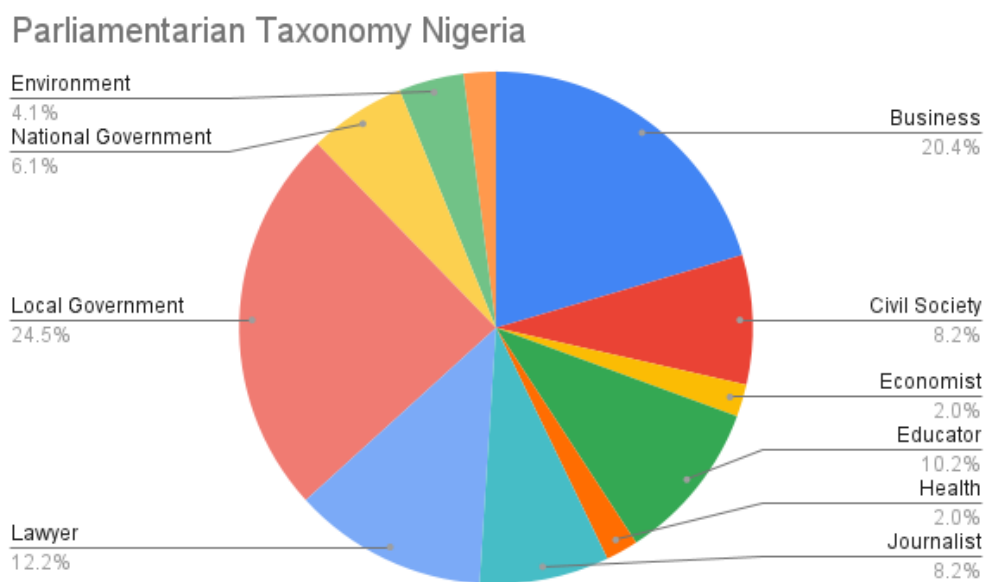


Figure 6: Breakdown of Nigerian parliamentarians' backgrounds

Two women (4.1 percent) were explicitly categorized as environmentalists by education, interest, or professional backgrounds: senators Helen Esuene (former Minister of Environment and Housing) and Oluremi Shade Tinubu (Vice-Chairman of Environment Committee (2015-2019)). Senator Nenadi Usman (former Commissioner for Environment & Natural Resources in Kaduna State) was categorized in “national government” due to her extensive career in politics; however, her environmental role in Kaduna State should be noted (see Appendix B). Of the two parliamentarians with a demonstrated environmental commitment at the federal level, only one served in an environment-related role in a legislative capacity: Hon. Tinubu was the Vice-Chairman of the Environment Committee. Hon. Tinubu received a degree in education with teaching certificates in biology and zoology.⁷⁶ She first became involved in environmental advocacy as First Lady of Nigeria. As First Lady, she established the New Era Foundation, a

⁷⁶ Madu, G. 2022. “Full details of Bola Tinubu’s marriage, wife and children.”

civil society organization dedicated to educating youth and promoting public awareness of environmental health and community service.⁷⁷ Her role, if any, in drafting the 2018 policy is absent in the country's news coverage and government publications; coverage of Hon. Tinubu focuses specifically on her civil society work with empowering youth and her role as First Lady.

Political Analysis

Nigeria's main export (90.7 percent) is oil and other mineral fuels.⁷⁸ Given the economy's heavy dependence on fossil fuels, environmental strategies outside legislation are likely to target adaptation and mitigation strategies that *do not* harm the oil industry and exports. Interestingly, the Flare Gas Policy aims to eliminate flaring and venting by shifting the industry to gas. The Ministry of Environment houses the Department of Climate Change, an entity responsible for monitoring the country's success and NDC commitments. Notably, the Department's Environmental Vision 2050 emphasizes the role of innovation in mitigating climate change. It reads, "Achieving a low emission development future for Nigeria in the context of the projected population increase and economic growth requires that a strong emphasis be placed on the role of innovation. There will be a need to embed technological, policy, governance, economic and environmental innovation, among others."⁷⁹ As expected, this neoliberal angle excludes feminine and collective efforts to address environmental issues and echoes concerning population reduction rhetoric.

Similar to Rwanda, a general trend emerged from the news coverage of women in parliament over the past 20 years in Nigeria: women and women's advocacy groups were more

⁷⁷ "Senator Oluremi Tinubu: A Journey to Nigeria's Political Seat of Power," *This Day Live*.

⁷⁸ Workman, D. n.d.. "Nigeria's Top 10 Exports."

⁷⁹ Department of Climate Change. 2021. "2050 Long-Term Vision for Nigeria."

overtly concerned with gender equality, gender-based violence, and youth empowerment than environmental issues. While Nigeria has not experienced genocide, the tumultuous history of military rule (four republics) and numerous coups should be noted. Many Nigerian women served as career politicians and businesswomen before their tenure in the House and/or Senate, and in various other industries before serving as elected officials. Unique to Nigeria, 8.2 percent of female parliamentarians began their careers as journalists. In fact, many politicians formerly worked in the journalism industry. The current president, Bola Tinubu, founded *The Nation*, one of the country's top newspapers.⁸⁰ Many others were married or related to politicians and/or military officials, demonstrating Nigeria's nepotistic, elite, and exclusive political nature.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Kolawole, Simon, and Emeka Umejei. n.d.

⁸¹ Igbinalolor, N. 2022, November 1. "Analysis: How nepotism is taking a toll on Nigeria."

Chapter 6

Discussion

This analysis, cognizant of notable gaps in the qualitative data related to available Hansards, attempts to assess the role of women in national legislative bodies in two countries in the Global South, Rwanda and Nigeria, and their role in climate change policy advocacy. It ultimately aims to challenge the accepted international notion that women are concerned about climate-related issues and are at the forefront of adaptation and mitigation advocacy. A nested analysis, including a quantitative study, and a feminist political ecology framework (analysis of law authors and advocates, women's caucus position papers, and individual parliamentarians' priorities and realities) cast doubts on this inherent ecofeminist—and harmful—assumption.

The following discussion expands on these initial quantitative and qualitative findings using a feminist political ecology analysis. As feminist political ecologist, Dianne Rochelau emphasizes, FPE analyses must pay attention to intersectionality, reconcile multiple subjectivities, and prove causality through storytelling. Then, emerging themes, salient political issues, and limitations are discussed.

Attention to Intersectionality

The intersectional identities of female parliamentarians were recorded and weighed (party, geography, education, etc.). Their distinction as national-level politicians separates them from the homogenous rural, poor women implied by United Nations frameworks concerned with propagating women-environment relationship narratives. Speaking to this distinction, the female

parliamentarians analyzed in Rwanda *all* completed at least lower education (through secondary/high school), a luxury for many individuals in the country (only 4 percent of Rwandans above the age of 25 attained any higher education).⁸²

In both Rwanda and Nigeria, many female parliamentarians received graduate degrees, including doctorates and law degrees. Many also worked, studied, and lived abroad. Their academic backgrounds and mobility demonstrate the stark differences in the socio-economic realities of Rwandan and Nigerian parliamentarians compared to rural women analyzed in previous analyses. These findings, again, speak to the need for intersectional analysis of power dynamics in environmental management and concern discourses and demonstrate the necessity of feminist political ecology analyses.

Reconciling Multiple Subjectivities

Rocheleau notes that attention to subjectivities and previous quantitative results demonstrates the lack of attention to nuance, broad generalizations, and ignorant assumptions that perpetuate harmful narratives (homogenization/one-explanation-fits-all conclusions). Conclusions in other papers scramble to supplement quantitative findings with far-fetched causal explanations using additional quantitative data (see the study on corruption in Mechkova et al., 2022, for example). They fail to explore the intricacies in the vastly different realities of each case. To combat this hurdle, this study aimed to incorporate quantitative and qualitative data with political and historical analyses.

As demonstrated in the analysis of Rwanda and Nigeria, female parliamentarians were not explicitly concerned with environmental issues; in the legislative realm, they were *primarily*

⁸² Trines, S. 2021. "Education in Rwanda."

concerned with issues of gender equality. This is not to say, however, that they are not concerned with the environment, but their outward advocacy efforts reflect a commitment to other issues, contrary to essentialist assumptions.

Causality Through Storytelling

Finally, the analysis explores the stories of female parliamentarians' experiences in Rwanda and Nigeria. Rwanda's history of Genocide helps contextualize the gender quotas and artificial increase in the number of women serving in political bodies in government in the past two decades. It could even be argued gender quotas help to legitimize Paul Kagame's rule among international supporters. Regardless, NGOs focused on women's issues "stepped in to fill the vacuum" of chaos and power following the genocide, and developed a tri-entity coalition to coordinate advocacy efforts.⁸³ These bodies include the Pro-Femmes (civil society), the Ministry of Gender and Women in Development (executive branch), and the Forum of Women Parliamentarians (legislative branch).⁸⁴ These entities were primarily concerned with increasing the number of women in politics, securing safety, and preventing future atrocities from occurring through diverse political representation. Storytelling, using historical and political contextual analysis, provides background on the interests and priorities of Rwandan female parliamentarians and political entities in the country.

In Nigeria, historical analysis explains how the tumultuous military rule and oil dependence led to the country's struggle to establish a sound democratic tradition. Many women elected in Nigeria were related or married to military leaders from previous republics. Others

⁸³ Powley, E. 2005. "Rwanda: Women hold up half the parliament."

⁸⁴ Ibid.

owned oil businesses or were married or related to owners of oil companies (see Rep. Doris Uboh, Rep. Khadija Bukar Abba Ibrahim, Rep. Lynda Chuba Ikpeazu, Senator Stella Adaeze Oduah, and Senator Fatimat Raji-Rasaki). Their connection to fossil fuel industries, in sustaining their livelihoods and propping up the country's economy, contradicts ecofeminist assumptions of women's "naturist" concerns. It also speaks to the nepotistic and elitist nature of Nigerian politics. While this is not to diminish the ethical concerns and successes of Nigerian parliamentarians, it exposes the history of the country and contextualizes the political and economic history that led to contemporary circumstances.

Emerging Themes

Employing a feminist political ecology framework, Rwanda and Nigeria, though geographically, demographically, and historically diverse, exhibit some similar trends. Women in national politics were generally far less outwardly concerned with environmental policy and protection than ecofeminist rhetoric implies and generalizes. Following the analysis of 137 female parliamentarians from Nigeria and Rwanda, most (133) were not explicitly concerned with environmental issues or engaged in legislative committees concerned with climate change adaptation or mitigation. This, again however, does not mean they were not at all concerned with the environment. Pro-environment political platforms in Nigeria—where female politicians already experience harassment and oil dominates the economy—would likely destroy potential political careers. This must also be considered.

In addition, as deduced from the content analysis, of the six policies passed by Nigerian and Rwandan parliaments between 2000 and 2020, none were *explicitly* authored or advocated for by female parliamentarians or their caucuses. Policies and environmental management efforts

were typically employed by various ministries rather than legislative bodies. While Nigeria boasts 26 more policies than Rwanda (37 and 11, respectively), both countries passed only three environmental laws through legislative channels. Interestingly, environmental laws commonly designated management to new entities of the bureaucracy rather than vesting management in the hands of the legislative body (see Nigeria's *National Environmental Standards and Regulations Enforcement Agency (Establishment) Act, 2007* and Rwanda's *Law 16 (2012), determining the Organisation, Functioning and Mission of the National Fund for Environment (FONERWA)*). This may be due to a lack of legislative capacity and/or the authoritarian nature of both countries.

Salient Political Issues

Women in parliament, in both Rwanda and Nigeria, were outwardly concerned with issues largely related to gender and youth empowerment. In both countries, more than 10 percent of female parliamentarians analyzed were primarily educators before entering politics, and many exhibited a commitment to civil society and activism in these realms (youth empowerment, education access advocacy). Many Nigerian and Rwandan female parliamentarians served as their party's gender heads, ministers of gender-related ministries, and gender-related NGO founders. For example, former Nigerian representative and senator Uche Lilian Ekwunife founded the Youths and Widows Support Centre.⁸⁵ In Rwanda, Deputies Esperance Mwiza and Veneranda Nyirahirwa, among others, expressed their commitment in both word and practice to women's economic and political empowerment.⁸⁶ Issues categorized as unique to women

⁸⁵ "Empowering and Helping the Less Privileged In Nigeria." n.d. *Uche Egorah Foundation*.

⁸⁶ "Rwanda: World Bank Lauds Sub-Sahara Africa On Women Economic Empowerment." 2013, September 27. *PeaceWomen*.

typically covered gender-based violence, women's and widow's rights, voting and land tenure rights, and increasing the number of women in legislative and governing bodies.

Limitations

It should be noted that parliamentary bodies, while important, do not solely determine environmental governance and climate action. Private entities and state and local governments play a large role in environmental management and climate solutions globally. However, national policies generally determine the broad framework, extent, and methods for environmental governance. It cannot be accepted that female parliamentarians are not concerned with ecological issues at all; however, as demonstrated by their background and involvement, many prioritize other issues as policymakers. Ultimately, feminist political ecology emphasizes the heterogeneous experience and concerns of all women. The intent of this analysis was primarily to force gender essentialists to reconsider their harmful rhetoric through quantitative and qualitative findings that contradict ecofeminist assumptions.

From a qualitative perspective, a lack of parliamentary Hansards and debate transcripts for the six laws analyzed poses a significant barrier to drawing definitive conclusions; it was inferred—by caucus mission statements, news reports, and parliamentarian backgrounds—that women's groups and individual female parliamentarians were not explicitly concerned with environmental issues. In addition, the general lack of media coverage and publicly available government records proved a major challenge in determining how many women served as elected officials in Rwanda and Nigeria between 2000 and 2020, as well as understanding their involvement and interests. However, the quantitative results align with the qualitative data available and thus contribute to the robustness of the study.

Examination of female parliamentarians in other countries and across different governing scales using an embedded feminist political ecology framework would contribute significantly to these initial findings. In addition, further exploration into the role of key environmental advocates involved in civil society organizations and local governing entities in Rwanda and Nigeria—similar to other work in the field—would expand this research and aid in dismantling harmful neoliberal and patriarchal rhetoric across scales. Similarly, case-by-case approaches in other national legislatures throughout the Global South may also be of use. There remains much room for further research.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The fine line between gender essentialism and purposeful inclusion *must* be considered. Policymakers, specifically in international fora, must be cognizant of the harms of buzzword legislation that forces systematically oppressed individuals to operate within the realms of their oppression. Reuters recently noted that only 12 percent of the world's top climate scientists are women.⁸⁷ This is an issue that should not be ignored, as diverse representation is important to account for the dynamic experiences of individuals. Likewise, scholars and policymakers must not assume that all women are not concerned with the environment; individuals who identify as women are not a homogenous group.

Feminist political ecology emerged as a necessary, alternative framework to harmful homogenization, essentialization, and generalization of women in broader development rhetoric. Feminist political ecology employs scholars to work within an intersectional framework, cognizant of the harms of homogenization. As this analysis aims to demonstrate, realities exist beyond epistemological binaries. Women, like all humankind, experience intersectional identities and backgrounds that determine their advocacy interests and abilities. Women, like all marginalized groups, may provide essential alternatives to the hegemonic–white, heteronormative, patriarchal, neoliberal, and imperial–discourses and structures. This study demonstrates how essentializing any one identity and ignoring political and historical contexts threatens to overlook the compounding intersections that characterize the human experience and that must be considered to create sustainable policy solutions.

⁸⁷ Tamman, M. 2021, April 20. “The Reuters Hot List.”

Appendix A: Rwanda Parliamentarian Data

Name	CoD Senate	Province	Party	Speciality/ Experience	Taxonomy	Leadership	Term	Source
Alice Muzana	CoD	West	WR	Biology, Reproductive Care	Academic	Deputy Chairperson Committee Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Security	2018	https://www.ktpress.rw/2022/10/social-media-reacts-after-parliament-rejects-reproductive-health-bill/ https://allafrica.com/stories/202110140516.html
Christine Muhongayire	CoD	South	RPF	Higher Education, Professor	Academic		2013	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles
Furaha Emma Rubagumya	CoD	Kigali	WR	Higher Ed Administration	Academic		2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=3&cHash=7c1a95795e124166bd110258c1b29a83
Athanasie Gahondogo	CoD		RPF	Education, Science, Culture and Youth	Academic		2003-2008	https://www.newtimes.co.rw/article/33746/National/gahondogo-to-replace-mp-kanzavire
Beatrice Mukabaranga	Senate			Botanist, Science Teacher, Chaired Rwanda chapter of the Forum for African Women Educationalists (fawe) Member of the Forum for Rwandan Women Parliamentarians	Academic		?	https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/WL0909/S00949.htm?from-mobile=bottom-link-01
Julianna Kantengwa	CoD		RPF	FFRP Vice President; Regional Government - Vice President of Pan-African Parliament	Agriculture	Chairperson of the Committee on Economy and Trade	2003	https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNACX891.pdf https://100women.avancemedia.org/JULIANAKANTENGWA/ https://coeidentities.mak.ac.ug/about-us/early-career-researchers/juliana-kantengwa
Laetitia Nyinawamwiza	Senate	North		Agriculture Professor; vice-chairperson of General Assembly of the Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians (CWP) Rwanda Chapter	Agriculture	Deputy Chairperson of the committee on Economic Development and Finance	2019	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/senate-2/senators-profiles/senators-profile-1
Christine Murebwayire	CoD	North	RPF-Inkotanyi	Agriculture	Agriculture		2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=2&cHash=ede8f376b5287b7a3348df5228671962
Clarisse Imaniriho	CoD	West	Youth Apnt.	Agriculture, Youth Programs	Agriculture		2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles

Marie Claire Uwumuremyi	CoD	South	WR	Teacher, Land Officer	Agriculture		2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=3&cHash=7c1a95795e124166bd110258c1b29a83
Veneranda Uwamariya	CoD	South	WR	Higher Ed, Agriculture	Agriculture		2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=3&cHash=7c1a95795e124166bd110258c1b29a83
Henriette Umulisa	Senate			Secretary General for the Rwanda Women Parliamentary Forum; peace studies and business majors; Secretary General in the Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission (RDRC), Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion (MIGEPROF)	Business	Secretary General in the Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission (RDRC), Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion (MIGEPROF)	2009	http://imbutofoundation.org/who-we-are/our-board/article/mrs-henriette-umulisa
Connie Bwiza Sekamana	CoD		RPF	Business, Women's Empowerment	Business		2000	https://www.newtimes.co.rw/article/19096/meet-hon-connie-bwiza-sekamana https://www.newtimes.co.rw/article/85271/under-rpf-leadership-the-sky-is-the-limit-for-rwandan-women--connie-bwiza-mp
Francesca Tengera	CoD	Kigali	RPF-Inkotanyi	Business; Chairperson of General Assembly of the Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians (CWP) Rwanda Chapter	Business		2013	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=3&cHash=7c1a95795e124166bd110258c1b29a83
Cécile Murumunawabo	CoD	Kigali	RPF-Inkotanyi	Development, Project Management	Business		2013	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=2&cHash=ede8f376b5287b7a3348df5228671962
Evariste Kalisa	CoD		PL	Deputy speaker, oversight and legislation; Tutsi genocide survivor	Civil Society	Chairman of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Unity, Human Rights and the Fight against Genocide	2008	https://www.newtimes.co.rw/article/151884/News/kwibuka24-mp-kalisa-recalls-the-famous-aibvitsoa-saga
Esperance Mwiza	CoD		RPF	Women and Children, post-genocide response	Civil Society	Chairperson of the Social Affairs Committee	2000	https://www.peacewomen.org/content/rwanda-rwanda-world-bank-lauds-sub-sahara-africa-women-economic-empowerment

								https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/report/16784/rwanda-new-assembly-members-sworn-others-resign
Veneranda Nyirahirwa	CoD	East	PSD	gender equity and women's empowerment	Civil Society	Deputy chairperson Committee on Education, Technology, Culture and Youth; chairperson of the Committee on lands, agriculture and environment	2008	https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1aqFrFV62YugfnOJSI8Wft48i9X3EH2Wx7osLn4Cvbu4/edit#gid=0 https://www.ktpress.rw/2020/06/mp-valens-muhakwa-elected-new-pac-chair/ https://acelebrationofwomen.org/2014/04/veneranda-nyirahirwa-rwandas-women-lead/
Yvonne Uwayisenga	Senate	Kigali	Appnt.	Women's issues	Civil Society	Deputy Speaker of Parliament; Deputy chairperson of the Committee on Political Affairs and Gender	2008	newtimes.co.rw/article/30070/mp-warns-women-on-supremacy
Rose Mukantabana	CoD	Kigali	Appnt.	Civil Society, Women's issues	Civil Society	President of the Chamber of Deputies of Rwanda	2008	file:///Users/raynaalexander/Downloads/10.1515_9780822373568-003.pdf https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rose_Mukantabana
Anne Marie Musabyemungu	CoD			Peacebuilding during genocide	Civil Society		2008	https://issuu.com/ssfp/docs/55418_she_stands_ebook/s/16688304 https://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/2014/04/05/rwanda-women-paved-way-reconciliation/unDRUAxjGSMr13eYcK85OM/story.html
Winifrida Niyitegeka	CoD	Kigali	RPF-Inkotanyi	Party Seniority, Headmaster	Civil Society		2008	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=2&cHash=ede8f376b5287b7a3348df5228671962
Anitha Mutesi	CoD	Kigali	RPF-Inkotanyi	Gender, Social Affairs, Civil Society	Civil Society		2013	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=2&cHash=ede8f376b5287b7a3348df5228671962
Annoncée Manirarora	CoD	West	RPF-Inkotanyi	Youth, Reproductive Health	Civil Society		2013	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles
Iphigenie Mukandera	CoD	East	RPF-Inkotanyi	Health Professional, HIV AIDS	Civil Society		2013	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=2&cHash=ede8f376b5287b7a3348df5228671962
Therese Bishagara	Senate	West	RPF	Molecular Biologist, founding member of the Rwanda chapter of the Forum for African Women Educationalists	Civil Society		2011	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Therese_Bishagara_Kagovire

Kanziza Epiphanie	Senate	East	appointed	Social Work, NGO, Teacher	Civil Society		2019	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/senate-2/senators-profiles/senators-profile-1
Jeanne d'Arc Uwimanimpaye	CoD	East	RPF-Inkotanyi	Legal Affairs, Govt Oversight, Teacher, Public Relations, Auditor	Economist	Deputy Speaker	2008	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jeanne_d%27Arc_Uwimanimpaye https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=3&cHash=7c1a95795e124166bd110258c1b29a83
Angélique Nyirabazayire	CoD	West	WR	Auditor, Economy and Trade Specialist	Economist		2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=2&cHash=ede8f376b5287b7a3348df5228671962
Agnès Mukazibera	CoD		RPF		Educator	Chairperson Committee on Education, Technology, Culture and Youth	2008	https://africa.cgtn.com/2018/05/31/rwanda-passes-anti-cybercrime-law/
Umuhire Adrie	Senate	South		Professor, Social Affairs	Educator	Chairperson of the committee on Social Affairs and Human Rights	2019	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/senate-2/senators-profiles/senators-profile-1
Jeanne d'Arc Mukakalisa	Senate	Kigali	PDC Appnt.	Former primary school teacher; VP of FFRP	Educator	VP Committee on Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Security	2012	http://expressnews.rw/our-priority-is-to-fight-gender-based-violence-beline-uwineza/ https://en.igihe.com/spip.php?page=mv2_article&id_article=3482 https://police.gov.rw/media/news-detail/news/mps-visit-rwanda-national-police-to-assess-road-security/
Alphonsine Mukamana	CoD	East	WR		Educator		2003	
Marie Rose Mureshyankwano	CoD/Senate	West	RPF-Inkotanyi	Governor, Teacher	Educator		2005	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marie_Rose_Mureshyankwano https://www.parliament.gov.rw/senate-2/senators-profiles/senators-profile-1
Athanasie Nyiragwaneza	CoD	Kigali	WR	Teacher	Educator		2008	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=3&cHash=7c1a95795e124166bd110258c1b29a83
Euthalie Nyirabega	CoD	South	RPF-Inkotanyi	Professor, Teacher	Educator		2008	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=2&cHash=ede8f376b5287b7a3348df5228671962
Justine Mukobwa	CoD	Kigali	RPF-Inkotanyi; Youth (appointed)	Teacher	Educator		2013	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage

								%5D=2&cHash=ede8f376b5287b7a3348df5228671962
Aimée Sandrine Uwambaje	CoD	West	WR	Good Governance/Corruption, Technology	Educator		2018	https://allafrica.com/stories/202304240138.html
Berthilde Uwamahoro	CoD	East	WR	Teacher	Educator		2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=3&cHash=7c1a95795e124166bd110258c1b29a83
Chantal Mbakeshimama	CoD	South	RPF	Teacher	Educator		2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles
Christine Mukabunani	CoD	East	PS IMBE RAKUR RI Party	Teacher	Educator		2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=2&cHash=ede8f376b5287b7a3348df5228671962
Margaret Nyagahura	Senate	Kigali	Appnt.	Bachelors Degree in Social Sciences, Teacher in Gacuriro	Educator		2012	https://www.newtimes.co.rw/article/81622/National/who-are-the-new-senators https://www.parliament.gov.rw/news-detail?tx_news_pi1%5Baction%5D=detail&tx_news_pi1%5Bcontroller%5D=News&tx_news_pi1%5Bnews%5D=7661&cHash=b01952ac451caa8427a8c1724e836026
Rose Mukankomeje	CoD		RPA	Director General of the Rwandan Environment Management Authority	Environment alist		1995	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rose_Mukankomeje
Constance Mukayuhirwaka	CoD			Economist	Finance	Chair of the Budget and State Property Committee	2003	https://www.newtimes.co.rw/article/21177/News/stakeholders-assured-on-budget-implementation https://www.ktpress.rw/2018/08/mps-approve-tenfold-increase-in-property-tax/
Jacqueline Muhongayire	Senate	South	PSD	Party Vice President, Presidential Cabinet, Regional Government	Finance	Chairperson of the Senatorial Standing Committee on Economic Development and Finance	2014	https://allafrica.com/stories/201902210141.html https://chimpreports.com/exclusive-kagame-appoints-new-envoys/ http://eala.org/members/view/muhongayire-jacqueline https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_legislature_of_the_Rwandan_Senate
Consolee Uwimana	Senate		RPF	Entrepreneurship, Banking	Finance	Chairperson Standing Committee on Economic Development and Finance, Secretary General of Rwanda Women Parliamentarian Forum; Ad Hoc Committee on monitoring the	2003	https://www.newtimes.co.rw/article/6361/news/politics/who-is-consolee-uwimana-the-new-rpf-vice-chairperson

						Government Development Programmes		
Hadidja Murangwa	Senate	Kigali	Appnt.	Legal Consultant	Finance	Senator and Vice Chairperson of Political Affairs and Governance Committee	2019	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/senate-2/senators-profiles/senators-profile-1
Clotilde Mukakarangwa	Senate	South	Appnt.	Business, Human Resources, Auditing	Finance	Vice Chairperson of the Committee on Economy and Trade	2012	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/senate-2/senators-profiles/senators-profile-1
Annonciata Mukarugwiza	CoD	East	WR	Accountant	Finance		2013	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=2&cHash=ede8f376b5287b7a3348df5228671962
Christine Bakundufite	CoD	East	WR	Accountant	Finance		2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles
Marie Pelagie Uwamariya	CoD	West	RPF-Inkotanyi	Nurse	Health		2008	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=3&cHash=7c1a95795e124166bd110258c1b29a83
Marie Therese Nirere	CoD	North	WR	Nurse	Health		2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=2&cHash=ede8f376b5287b7a3348df5228671962
Phoebe Kanyange	CoD	Kigali	WR	Hospital Administration, FFPR, PSP Chairperson	Health	FFPR, PSP Chairperson	2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles https://www.newtimes.co.rw/article/39631/National/kanyange-elected-ffpp-spokesperson
Bernadette Kanzayire	CoD		RPF	Lawyer, Supreme Court	Lawyer	Chairperson Chamber of Deputies Standing Committee on Political Affairs	?	https://www.ktpress.rw/2018/08/court-of-appeal-to-reduce-delays-in-justice-delivery-kagame/
Donatille Mukabalisa	CoD	East	PL	Transitional Assembly, Economy/Trade; 2003-2008 CoD, 2011-2013 Senator; Treasurer of the FFRP	Lawyer	Deputy Chairperson of Standing Committee on Political Affairs (CoD); 2013 Speaker of Chamber	2003	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles
Marie Mukantabana	Senate		RPF	Minister of Gender, RPF Women's League Chair, FFRP chairperson	Lawyer	Vice President of Senate	2003	https://www.newtimes.co.rw/article/56005/ https://www.newtimes.co.rw/article/58477/National/the-sky-is-the-limit-kagame-tells-women http://www.ipar-rwanda.org/who-we-are/governance/board-of-directors/article/mr-gasamagera-wellars
Esperance Nyirasafari	Senate	Kigali	Appnt.	Minister of Sport/Culture, Gender/Family,	Lawyer	Vice President of Senate	2019	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/senate-2/senators-profiles/senators-profile-1

				former CoD, national prosecutor					
Elisabeth Mukamana	CoD	South	PPC	Lawyer, Civil Society	Lawyer			2016	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=2&cHash=ede8f376b5287b7a3348df5228671962
Beline Uwineza	CoD	East	WR	Legal Officer, Coordinator of Gacaca Courts'	Lawyer			2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=3&cHash=7c1a95795e124166bd110258c1b29a83
Madina Ndangiza	CoD	Kigali	WR	Judicial strengthening	Lawyer			2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=2&cHash=ede8f376b5287b7a3348df5228671962
Solange Uwingabe	CoD	North	WR	Legal Advisor	Lawyer			2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=3&cHash=7c1a95795e124166bd110258c1b29a83
Germaine Mukabalisa	CoD	South	WR	Legal Advisor, Higher Ed	Lawyer			2020	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles
Agnes Mukabaranga	Senate		PDC Appnt.	Transitional National Assembly (former governing body)	Lawyer			1994	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agnes_Mukabaranga
Marie Alice Uwera	CoD	South	WR	Journalist, Vice Mayor in Charge of Social Affairs at Kamonyi District	Local Government	Chairperson of the Committee on Land, Agriculture, Livestock and Environment		2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=3&cHash=7c1a95795e124166bd110258c1b29a83 https://thecvf.org/climate-vulnerable-forum-global-parliamentary-group-cvf-gpg-inaugural-annual-dialogue-brings-together-parliamentarians-from-climate-vulnerable-nations
Rose Kabuye	CoD		RPF	Lieutenant Colonel, Mayor of Kigali	Local Government	Chairperson of the Defense and Security Committee		1998	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rose_Kabuye https://bangambiki.wordpress.com/2008/11/25/who-is-rose-kabuye/
Julienne Uwacu	CoD		RPF	Vice Mayor of Nyabihu District; cabinet minister of sports and culture	Local Government	Deputy Chairperson of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Security; chairperson of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Security and National Sovereignty		2008	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julienne_Uwacu https://www.newtimes.co.rw/article/36148/National/hon-uwacu-to-head-security-committee

Jeanne D'Arc Gakuba	Senate	Kigali	RPF	Teacher, Mayor of Kigali	Local Government	Vice-President for Finance and Administration	2011	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jeanne_d%27Arc_Gakuba https://www.newtimes.co.rw/article/61893/National/who-is-who-in-the-new-senate
Marie Therese Murekatete	CoD	North	WR	Local government, agriculture	Local Government		2008	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=2&cHash=ede8f376b5287b7a3348df5228671962
Georgette Rutayisire	CoD	Kigali	PSD	Economist	Local Government		2013	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=3&cHash=7c1a95795e124166bd110258c1b29a83
Gloriose Uwanyirigira	CoD	South	WR	Gov Admin	Local Government		2013	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=3&cHash=7c1a95795e124166bd110258c1b29a83
Jeanne Mukabikino	CoD	West	WR	Civil Status Officer, Labor Inspector	Local Government		2013	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles
Marie Mediatrice Izabiliza	CoD	Kigali	RPF-Inkotanyi	Gender, Family, Youth and disability; former mayor of Gisozi	Local Government		2013	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles
Marie Florence Uwanyirigira	CoD	South	RPF-Inkotanyi	District Secretary	Local Government		2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=3&cHash=7c1a95795e124166bd110258c1b29a83
Médiatrice Ahishakiye	CoD	South	WR	Headmistress, local governance	Local Government		2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles
Odette Uwamariya	CoD	East	RPF-Inkotanyi	Governor; Cabinet Director; Secretary in Ministry of Local Government	Local Government		2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=3&cHash=7c1a95795e124166bd110258c1b29a83
Winifrida Mpmbyemungu	CoD	North	RPF-Inkotanyi	Headmistress, Mayor	Local Government		2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles
Suzanne Mukayijore	CoD	North	PL	Member of Committee on Agriculture, Livestock and Environment; Member of Committee on Budget and National Patrimony; President of	National Government	Deputy Chairperson of Committee on Agriculture, Livestock and Environment	2008	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles?tx_news_pi1%5B%40widget_0%5D%5BcurrentPage%5D=2&cHash=ede8f376b5287b7a3348df5228671962

				Budget Committee on Rwanda Women Parliamentarians Forum/FFRP				
Edda Mukabagwiza	CoD	Kigali	RPF-Inkotanyi	Ambassador (Canada, Cuba);	National Government	Deputy Speaker in charge of Government Oversight and Legislation	2013	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles
Uwera Pelagie	Senate	South		Political Affairs, Teacher, Election Commission	National Government		2019	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/P%C3%A9lagie_Uwera
Alvera Mukabaramba	Senate	Kigali	Appnt.	Community Development, Social Affairs, Health	National Government	Vice President of the Senate in charge of Finance and Administration	2003	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/senate-2/senators-profiles/senators-profile-1
Penelope Kantarama	CoD	West		Governor of Western Province; Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Internal Security	National Government	Vice Speaker Deputy	2003	https://allafrica.com/stories/200604250413.html https://www.newtimes.co.rw/article/11886/National/governor-condemns-arrests-of-rwandans-in-dr-congo https://www.newtimes.co.rw/article/14112/kantarama-hands-over-provincial-seat
Speciose Ayinkamiye	CoD	West	WR	Parliament Clerk, Hansard Editor	National Government		2018	https://www.parliament.gov.rw/chamber-of-deputies-2/member-profile/deputies-profiles
Marie-Josée Kankera	CoD		RPF	Deputy speaker, administration and finance		Deputy Speaker Chamber of Deputies	2011	http://www.virunganews.com/rwanda-president-kagame-calls-for-integrated-efforts/ https://allafrica.com/stories/201205240443.html
Betty/Berthe Mukamusoni	CoD		WR				2000	
Anastasie Mukandora	CoD			FFRP Member			2003	
Claire Kayirangwa	CoD			FFRP Member			2003	https://www.eala.org/members/view/kayirangwa-claire
Speciose Mukandutiye				President of Women's Caucus (2007-2009)				

Appendix B: Nigeria Parliamentarian Data

Name	House/ Senate	State	Party	Specialty/ Experience	Taxonomy	Leadership	Term	Source
Doris Uboh	House	Ika	PDP	Electrical engineer, business owner; manages an oil and gas company	Business		2007	https://www.ikaweekly.com/pas-sion-to-serve-reason-for-seeking-re-election-doris-uboh/
Lynda Chuba Ikpeazu	House	Onitsha	PDP	Former Miss Africa, Oil Business; MBA and JD	Business	Chair, House Committee on Maritime Safety and Education	1999-2003; 2004	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lynda_Chuba-Ikpeazu https://dailytrust.com/women-must-have-equal-opportunity-in-politics-lynda-ikpeazu/
Nnenna Elendu-Ukeje	House	Abia	PDP	Hotel management	Business	Chairman of House Committee on Foreign Affairs	2007	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nnenna_Elendu_Ukeje https://guardian.ng/features/nigerian-womens-scorecard-in-2015-polls/
Binta Garba	House/ Senate	Adamawa North	APC	Business, ministry; started poverty alleviation program for the women and youths	Business		1999-2011; 2015	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Binta_Masi_Garba https://www.manpower.com.ng/people/15490/binta-garba
Uche Lilian Ekwanife	House/ Senate	Anambra	APGA, PDP	Established Youths and Widows Support Centre; Business/MBA	Business		2007-2015; 2019	https://lists.ng/all-the-female-representatives-in-the-9th-national-assembly/ https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uche_Ekwanife
Monsurat Jumoke Sunmonu	House /Senate	Oyo Central	APC	Accountancy and Business Management	Business	Chair of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs; Speaker of House	2011; 2015	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monsurat_Sunmonu
Nkechi Nwaogu	House/ Senate	Abia	APC	Business, CEO Libra Investment; Financial management,	Business	Chairperson Senate Committee on Banking, Insurance and other Financial Institutions	2003-2007; 2007	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nkechi_Justina_Nwaogu
Aishatu Ahmed Dahiru	Senate	Adamawa	PDP, APC	Business owner, engineer	Business	Chairman of Senate Committee on SDGs; Chairman of Senate Committee on Women Affairs	2011-2015; 2019	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://newswirengr.com/2022/10/15/aishatu-dahiru-binani-biography-education-career-marriage-net-worth-achievements-and-controversy/

Stella Adaeze Oduah	Senate	Anambra North	PDP	Minister of Aviation, Sea Petroleum & Gas; Company Limited Founder; sponsored Carbon Tax Bill 2019, NYSC Act + hydrologic dams	Business		2015	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://stellaoduah.com/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stella_Oduah
Nkoyo Toyo	House	Calabar-Odukpani	PDP	Ambassador to Ethiopia and Djibouti; co-founded Gender and Development Action (GADA); women's rights advocate	Civil Society		2011	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nkoyo_Toyo
Olajumoke Okoya-Thomas	House	Lagos	APC	Women Leader of the Lagos State chapter of the All Progressives Congress; women's issues	Civil Society	Chairman of the committee on Public Procurement	2003	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://citizensciencenigeria.org/public-offices/persons/olajumoke-abidemi-okoya-thomas
Oluga Taiwo	House	Osun	APC	Special adviser on culture and for tourism at the State of Osun	Civil Society	Vice Chairman of Progressive Solidarity Forum; Chairman at Women in Parliament Committee	2015	https://taiwooluga.org/biography.php https://taiwooluga.com.ng/
Yomi Onanuga	House	Ogun	APC	Youth empowerment	Civil Society	Chair of the Women Affairs and Social Development Committee	2019	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/
Betty Jocelyn Apiafi	House	Rivers	PDP	Economist, banker, teacher; "advocate for women affairs, education and bank sector reforms"	Economist	Chairman House Committee on Health; Deputy Chairman House Committee on Diaspora	2007	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://lists.ng/all-the-female-representatives-in-the-9th-national-assembly/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Betty_Apiafi
Rose Oko	House/Senate	Yala	PDP	House 2011, Senate 2015; Chairman of the Committee on Diaspora and Civil societies; teacher and military government employee	Educator	Deputy Chairman House Committee on Education	2011-2015	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rose_Oko
Aishatu Jibril Dukku	House	Gombe	APC	Teacher, Minister of State for Education: legislative interest on the education of the girl child, women and youth empowerment, and poverty alleviation and skills acquisition	Educator	Chairman Committee on Electoral and Political Parties	2015	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aishatu_Jibril_Dukku
Maimunat Adaji	House	Kwara	ANPP, PDP		Educator	Deputy Chairperson of the Internal Affairs	2003	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://citizensciencenigeria.org/lists/representatives/Kwara/lga/Kaiama

								https://allafrica.com/stories/200307071043.html
Martha Bodunrin	House	Plateau	PDP	Teacher	Educator			https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martha_Bodunrin https://issuu.com/dailywatch/docs/celebrities_28-04-13/5 https://citizensciencenigeria.org/public-offices/persons/martha-h-bodunrin
Akon Eyakenyi	Senate	Akwa Ibom South	PDP	Teacher, Head Mistress, PhD in Education; Minister of Lands, Housing and Urban Development	Educator			https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Akon_Eyakenyi
Elizabeth Ogbaga	House	Ebonyi	PDP	Women's health/youth advocate	Health			https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://ebonyistate.gov.ng/Ministry/Tourism/Commissioner.aspx
Abike Dabiri	House	Lagos	APC	Communications/media, journalism	Journalist	Chairman of the House Committee on Media & Publicity		https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ Chairperson of the House Committee on Diaspora Affairs https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abike_Dabiri
Biodun Olujimi	Senate	Ekiti South	PDP	Commissioner for Works and Infrastructure; Director of Women Affairs	Journalist			https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abiodun_Olujimi
Chris Anyanwu	Senate	Owerri	PDP, APGA	Imo State commissioner for Information, Youth, Sports, Culture and Social Welfare; publisher/editor-in-chief of TSM (The Sunday Magazine)	Journalist			https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chris_Anyanwu
Mercy Almona-Isei	Senate	Ukwuani	PDP		Journalist			https://missparliament.com/our-team/ https://citizensciencenigeria.org/public-offices/persons/mercy-almona-isei https://blerf.org/index.php/biography/almona-isei-chief-mercy/
Boma Goodhead	House	Rivers	PDP	High court judge	Lawyer			https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boma_Goodhead
Mulikat Adeola-Akande	House	Ogbomoso	PDP	Lawyer; chair of the board of Pilot Finance Ltd	Lawyer	House Majority Leader		https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mulikat_Akande-Adeola https://www.narrativelandscape.com/

								com/product_author/honourable-mulikat-akande-adeola/
Olubimi (Patricia) Etteh	House	Osun	PDP	Beautician; law	Lawyer	House Speaker	1999	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patricia_Etteh https://ng.opera.news/ng/en/politics/16657d9a6010779c73b0c7dbefd66d1d
Juliet Akano	House/Senate	Imo	PDP		Lawyer	Deputy Chairman Committee on Women Affairs	2007-2015; 2015-2019	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://allafrica.com/stories/200708200995.html https://blerf.org/index.php/biography/akanohon-juliet-obasi/
Aisha Jummai Alhassan	Senate	Taraba North	PDP	Law, Chief Registrar of the High Court of the Federal Capital Territory; first female Attorney-General of Taraba State	Lawyer		2001	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aisha_Alhassan https://features.neusroom.com/obituary-of-aisha-al-hassan/
Fatimat Raji-Rasaki	Senate	Ekiti Central	PDP	Good Governance; Protecting the interest of women and the rights of children; Chief Executive Officer of Mimah Global Oil.	Lawyer	Chairman of the Senate Committee on Trade and Investment	2015	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fatimat_Raji-Rasaki https://www.manpower.com.ng/people/15506/fatimat-raji-rasaki
Eucharika Azodo Okwunna	House/Senate	Anambra	PDP	Local/state political office	Local Government		2011-2015; 2015	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eucharika_Okwunna
Evelyn Omavowan Ojatakovoi	House	Delta	PDP	Youth empowerment and capacity building	Local Government	Chairman of the House Committee on Women in Parliament	2015	https://www.manpower.com.ng/people/16740/hon-evelyn-omavowan
Binta Maigari Bello	House	Gombe	PDP	Teacher, Gombe State Commissioner for Women Affairs and former Acting Commissioner for Ministry of Youth Development; Deputy Chairman, Shomgom Local Government of Gombe State	Local Government	Deputy Minority Whip; Chairman of House Committee on Women in Parliament	2011	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Binta_Bello https://allafrica.com/stories/201309091098.html
Onuh Onyeché Blessing	House	Benue	APGA	Special Assistant to the Minister of State for Education; Special Assistant to the Minister of Inter-Governmental, Local Government and Special Duties	Local Government		2019	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blessing_Onuh
Peace Uzoamaka Nnaji	House	Nkanu	PDP	Commissioner for Gender Affairs and Social Development	Local Government		2007	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/
Saudatu Sani	House	Kaduna	PDP	Board chairman of Kaduna State Contributory Health Management Authority; Founder	Local Government		2003	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saudatu_Sani

				of Women and Youth Development Centre				
Suleiman Oba Nimota	House	Asa	PDP	State's Commissioner for Women's Affairs; state women's leader of the PDP; founder of ADIRAHF foundation	Local Government		2011	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://issuu.com/dailywatch/docs/celebrities_28-04-13/5
Nkeiruka C Onyejeocha	House	Abia	PDP, APC	Executive Transition Chairman of Umunneochi Local Government Area of Abia State; executive cabinet of Abia State as commissioner for Resource Management and Manpower Development; concerned with human rights	Local Government	Chairman House Committee on Aviation; Chairman Women in Parliament	2007	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nkeiruka_Onyejeocha
Ogunlola Omowumi Olubunmi	House	Ljero/Ekiti	APC	Ekiti State House of Assembly, 2011-2015; Former South West APC Zonal Publicity Secretary, May-July, 2018; Former South West Zonal Publicity Secretary. 2018-2019	Local Government	Chairman House Committee on Information; Chairman Civic Orientation	2019	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://nass.gov.ng/mps/single/107
Tolulope Tiwalola Akanda-Sadipe	House	Oluyole/Oyo	APC	Accountant; Special Adviser to the Governor of Oyo State on Projects; Special adviser to the Governor on Oyo State on Projects and Bureau of Investment Promotions	Local Government	Chairperson of the House Committee on Diaspora	2019	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tolulope_Akande-Sadipe
Zainab Gimba	House	Borno	APC	Hon. Commissioner Ministry of Poverty Alleviation and youth Empowerment (Borno) (2011-2014); Hon. Commissioner Borno State Universal Basic Education Board (2014-2015); Hon. Commissioner Ministry of Water Resources (2015-2018); Commonwealth Women Parliamentarian Vice President	Local Government		2019	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zainab_Gimba
Zainab Kure	Senate	Niger	PDP	Civil servant, permanent secretary	Local Government	National Grazing Reserves Establishment and Development Commission Bill, 2008 and the National Poverty Eradication Commission Bill, 2008	2007	https://www.ecosia.org/search?q=Zainab%20Kure&addon=chrome&addonversion=5.1.3&method=topbar

Christina Demnenge Alaaga	House	Benue	PDP		National Government		2007	https://citizensciencenigeria.org/public-offices/persons/christina-demnenge-alaaga
Beni Butmak Lar	House	Plateau	PDP	Minister of Sports; women's rights activist, child trafficking advocate	National Government	Chair on Women's Affairs, Chair on Human Rights	2007	https://dailypost.ng/2023/02/27/plateau-pdps-beni-lar-re-elected-for-5th-term/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beni_Lar
Helen Esuene	Senate	Akwa Ibom South	PDP	Minister of State for Health; Minister of Environment and Housing	Environment	Chairman Senate Committee on Women Affairs and Youth Development	2011	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Helen_Esuene https://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/07/governorship-plans-real-helen-esuene/
Esther Nenadi Usman	Senate	Kaduna	PDP	Civil service, founder of NGO Education and Empowerment for women; Commissioner for environment & natural resources (Kaduna State), minister of finance; campaign manager	National Government		2011	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nenadi_Usman https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/02/ex-minister-nenadi-usman-cancer/
Ayo Omidiran	House	Osun	ACN	Fifa women committee; head of Nigeria Football Federation (NFF) Women Football Committee	Sport	Deputy chairman House Committee on Sports	2011	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayo_Omidiran
Kaamuna Khadi Ibrahim	House	Borno	PDP	Maritime policy		Deputy House Committee Chairman on Marine Transport	2011	https://mmsplusng.com/kaamuna-ibrahim-khadi/
Stella Uchenwa Obiageli Ngwu	House	Enugu	PDP	Youth & Women Empowerment, and Child & Women Rights			2011	https://www.manpower.com.ng/people/16764/hon-stella-ngwu
Halima Hassan Tukur	House	Kebbi	PDP				2007	
Abiola Adebukola Ajaja	House	Oyo	ACCORD				2011	
Blessing Ibiba Nsiegbie	House	Rivers	PDP					
Folake Olunloyo	House	Oyo	PDP, APC				2007	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/
Oluremi Shade Tinubu	Senate	Lagos Central	ACN	Education, youth empowerment and advocacy	Environment	Vice-Chairman at Environment Committee (2015-2019); Chairman at Communications Committee (2019-present)	2011	https://dailytrust.com/22-years-after-women-still-poorly-represented-in-nigerian-parliament/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oluremi_Tinubu https://takemetonaija.com/2016/12/senator-remi-tinubu-full-biography.html
Florence Akinwele		Ekiti	PDP				2007	

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Academic Vita

Penn State University – University Park, PA

Schreyer Honors College, College of Liberal Arts, School of International Affairs

Thesis: *Deconstructing Neoliberal Ecofeminism*

Master of International Affairs Candidate

Political Science (Bachelor of Arts)

Geography Minor

(Integrated undergraduate-graduate degree program, completing degrees concurrently)

Honors: Paterno Fellows (Liberal Arts Honors Program), Rising Star Award (French language), Iota Iota Iota (Women's Studies Honor Society)

Dean's List – all semesters

Expected Grad: Dec. 2024

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Virtual Student Federal Service Innovation and Leadership Development Intern April 2023 to Sept. 2023

U.S. Department of State – Remote

- Established a strategic plan, calendar, and accountability system to coordinate post-writing among 11 interns
- Developed [LinkedIn brand](#) and online rapport for the Chief of Staff to the Under Secretary of State for Management
- Created monthly newsletters (150 recipients) highlighting network successes in foreign affairs

Africa Division Intern

May 2023 to Aug. 2023

International Republican Institute – Washington D.C.

- Conducted business development research in potential program-host countries in the Sahel (French) and Southern Africa
- Translated interviews (French to English) with youth activists in Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Benin, and Togo
- Copy-edited grant proposals for government solicitations (USAID, DOS) and program quarterly reports
- Drafted publications pertaining to [The Gambia](#), [women](#) and [youth](#) in Ugandan politics, and democracy advocacy in [Sudan](#)

Chief Administrative Executive

Aug. 2023 to Present

Penn State Student Fee Board – University Park, PA

- Organize the internal operating budget, including budgeting, financial planning, and cost management
- Manage three strategic planning committees tasked with eliminating a \$6 million spending deficit
- Oversee contracts and agreements (memorandums of understanding) to ensure compliance and mitigate future risks
- Supervise executives and delegate tasks (hiring, performance evaluations, policies on position responsibilities)

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

Research Intern, Africa Program June 2022 to Sept. 2022

Foreign Policy Research Institute – Philadelphia, PA (Remote)

- Explored issues pertaining to [food insecurity](#), extractive industries, [reproductive rights](#), and trade agreements
- Met with ambassadors, intelligence analysts, academics, and government officials to draft informed publications
- Planned external fundraising efforts with Africa program directors and leadership team

Undergraduate Research Assistant

May 2021 to Sept 2023

Penn State Dept. of African Studies – University Park, PA

- Produced literature reviews of 53 publications on gendered impacts of climate-induced water scarcity in Morocco
- Examined Indigenous African communities' international advocacy efforts in United Nations fora
- Presented food security and advocacy efforts of Maasai as a panelist at an African graduate conference
- Coded (NVivo) 40 INGO/government reports and policies to determine key biodiversity narratives in Zambia

Children, Media, and Conflict Zones Lab Fellow

June 2023 to Aug. 2023

Rock Ethics Institute – University Park, PA

- Drafted weekly three-page literature reviews pertaining to gender in Western Sahara and Equatorial Guinea
- Analyzed disability laws and United Nations reports in sub-Saharan African states (English, French)
- Summarized Human Rights Watch disability rights reports and identified key global trends on rights abuses

INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Perspectives Ambassador – Student Leader Immersion

Dec. 2022 to Jan. 2023

Penn State Hillel – Jerusalem, Israel

- Discussed geopolitical dynamics of Israeli/Palestinian life with 15 politicians, activists, and journalists
- Explored Arab-Israeli systems of coexistence to promote applicable compromise/dispute resolution skills
- Visited key Abrahamic holy sites to improve understanding of nuances of international religious conflicts