UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

GHANA’S DRIVE TOWARDS ACHIEVING THE SDG5: THE CASE OF PARLIAMENTARY GENDER REPRESENTATION

BY
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(10178139)

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LEGON DECEMBER 2019
DECLARATION

I Andeline Yinka Akumiah, hereby declare that this dissertation is as a result of my own research conducted under the supervision of Dr. Afua Boatemaa Yakohene. To the best of my knowledge, it has not been submitted by anyone for any academic award in this university or any other. All sources used in this dissertation have been appropriately acknowledged.

A.Y.A

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(STUDENT)      (SUPERVISOR)

DATE: 10 September, 2020     DATE: 10 September, 2020
DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to the Almighty God; indeed, He is the “Lifter up of my Head”. I am grateful for His unfailing love and for providing me with yet another opportunity to develop myself and to contribute to academia. This research is also dedicated to anyone who finds the study useful and is motivated to pursue in-depth studies in a related subject area.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For every good course, good people to see it through to the end. This research has been made possible through the collaborative efforts of many; God is the source of my strength and I am thankful for yet another opportunity to fulfill my academic dreams. My family and friends got me started and helped me stay focused, even in challenging times.

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Last, but not least, I thank Mr. Edward Gbogbo, a Senior Research Assistant at CEGENSA for his insightful contribution to the study. He also assisted with materials relevant to the study, especially helping me in the same way during my undergraduate study in 2008. God bless you all.
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>Economic and Social Council</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>GEM</td>
<td>Gender Empowerment Measure</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICPD</td>
<td>International Conference on Population and Development</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labor Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPU</td>
<td>Inter-Parliamentary Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDA’s</td>
<td>Ministries, Departments and Agencies</td>
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<td>MDGs</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MoGCSP</td>
<td>Ministry of Women, Children and Social Protection</td>
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<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDC</td>
<td>National Democratic Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>New Patriotic Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern African Development Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDGs</td>
<td>Sustainable Development Goals</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDAW</td>
<td>United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
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<td>WSSD</td>
<td>World Summit on Social Development</td>
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ABSTRACT

What factors account for the difference in gender representation in Ghana's Parliament? What is driving Ghana towards the achievement of gender equality in parliamentary representation? What measures are in place to achieve the Sustainable Development Goal five (SDG5) in the area specified? What seems to be slowing the process? Against this backdrop, countries including Ghana have consented to global developmental goals, particularly the SDG 5, aimed at achieving gender equality and empowering women and girls by the year 2030. The issue of gender equality and empowerment has therefore been central to the political gender representation discourse as women, comprising about fifty (50) percent of the global population are underrepresented in several parliaments worldwide and the case is no different in Ghana. Although there is extensive literature on parliamentary representation, few explore parliamentary gender representation in Africa and particularly Ghana. This study is thus, a qualitative exploratory case study that discusses Ghana's drive towards achieving the SDG 5 in parliamentary representation with a focus within 2015, the year of adoption of the global goal to 2019, using a ‘gendered lens’. Hence, the study adopted a purposive sampling approach in the selection of twenty (20) male and female respondents, comprising, former and incumbent Members of Parliament (MPs), experienced Senior Members in academia, Political Party Officials as well as individuals involved in gender programs. Using thematic analysis, the findings of the study revealed that factors including, structural, cultural, socio-economic, contending forces on morality, attacks on women’s personalities, among others serve as barriers to parliamentary gender representation. Furthermore, factors such as advocacy, pressure from organizations and donors, emulation of international best practices serve as a push for Ghana to achieve set targets. Whiles there are available measures including the establishment of gender sensitive governmental and non-governmental institutions, capacity building and training initiatives, political party efforts to reduce filing fees for women, the establishment of women’s organizations and wings to advance interest within political parties as well as the ratification of several gender sensitive protocols and agreements, there are yet some challenges such as inadequate funding, cumbersome and bureaucratic processes in implementing gender policies, misallocation of resources, inadequate priority on gender issues, inherent socio-cultural issues etcetera. Although these measures aimed at achieving gender equality are available, the number of women in the national parliament shortfalls the threshold advanced by the United Nations (UN), a clear indication that, existing measures amid incessant patriarchal systems, entrenched cultural and gender norms among other challenges, have rendered the measures inadequate. Based on key findings, the study recommends and concludes that gender equality in parliamentary representation requires a collaborative effort of all stakeholders. In addition, the passage and implementation of the Affirmative Action Bill, which makes provision for gender-based quotas, as well as the adoption of other gender mainstreaming policies at all levels, among others could enhance Ghana's chances of achieving the 2030 agenda on parliamentary gender representation as these measures have proven to increase the numbers of women parliamentary representation. Without these necessary measures in place and despite the overwhelming positive reactions from all respondents on the relevance of gender equality in parliamentary representation, the outlook looks blurred and set targets are likely to be unachievable given the slow progress. Action is therefore required.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Research Problem

Gender Equality and Empowerment have received significant attention over the years, becoming a global goal. Members of the international community, Educators, Researchers, Civil Society Organizations (CSO’s) among others, are consistently finding ways in addressing these gender inequalities that persists despite some national and international efforts. Although there have been calls and efforts towards achieving greater gender equality and empowerment, it has not been without some challenges and reservations thus, it is yet to achieve the desired results, an area to be critically examined.

The inequalities that exist between men and women are often seen across the world as a 'democratic deficit', given that about fifty (50) percent of the world's population comprises women (Schwindt-Bayer & Mishler, 2005 as cited in Stockemer, 2015, p.1). Similarly, the main argument advanced by the United Nations (UN) is that, the existence of gender inequalities suggests a lack of fundamental human rights. There has been some emphasis on a need to ensure equal rights of men and women as countries have signed and consented to various internationally recognized agreements and frameworks towards gender equality (UNDP; UN, 2018). Ever since gender issues were incorporated into the domain of policy, efforts have been made to monitor the progress of these interventions (Charmes & Saskia, 2003, p.2).

In developing countries for instance, gender disparity is highly extensive compared to the developed ones (Ahmed, Angeli, Biru, Salvini, 2001) which persists in different sectors. According to Nelson and Chowdhury (1994 as cited in Hughes, 2009, p.1), politics is arguably an area where gender inequality remains most prominent although there have been some gains in
legislative presence at the national level over time. Evidently, the main gender that is globally highlighted as underrepresented in different sectors including politics and more specifically parliamentary representation are women. For instance, data published by the global inter-parliamentary institution, Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) as of 1st November 2018 based on information provided by national parliaments, revealed that about 23.7 percent make up women representation in the world, highlighting a grave injustice in consideration to the number of men and women in the world.

The growing awareness towards achieving greater gender equality in all sectors including governance, politics and in decision making across the world is backed by legal and policy frameworks such as, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979), the adoption of the Protocol to Political and Civil Rights (ICCPR), the Beijing Platform for Action (1995), the Millennium Development Goal 3 as well as the U.N Sustainable Development Goal on gender equality and women empowerment (SDG5).

As part of the overall Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) framework and an upgrade to the Millennium Development Goal 3, SDG 5 exists to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls with nine (9) Targets and fourteen (14) Indicators. These Targets specify the goals and the Indicators represent the metrics by which the world aims to track whether these Targets are achieved. According to the UN, Gender Equality between men and women refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities given to both genders. It is worth noting that, "equality does not mean women and men will become the same but the rights of both genders, their responsibilities as well as opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female" (UN; LeMoyne, 2011).
The idea for the SDGs emerged during the process leading to the Rio20 UN Conference on Sustainable Development. The Rio20 Conference in 2012, in its outcome document “The Future We Want”, agreed to a process to negotiate and develop consensus on the SDGs (UN General Assembly, 2012). Negotiations towards the SDGs thus transpired through the Open Working Group in the UN with concurrent, but not always coordinated discussions on financing and the larger post-2015 development agenda (Stevens & Kanie, 2016).

As part of the processes to generate a new, people-centered development agenda, consultations with several actors occurred in the UN, at regional and national levels, as well as through a web-based platform reaching a wider audience. For instance, a series of global consultations were conducted both online and offline. Some members including, CSO’s, citizens, scientists as well as people in academia, and the private sectors from around the world were actively engaged in the process. The discussions therefore resulted in a set of seventeen (17) SDGs with one hundred and sixty-nine (169) targets (Stevens & Kanie, 2016).

The adoption of the SDGs reflects further strengthening convergence of the development agenda. The SDGs also strengthen equity, human rights, and nondiscrimination.1 In Africa, the adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development by the UN General Assembly in 2015 has refocused global attention on the centrality of sustainability to the development discourse. Meanwhile, African countries are prioritizing structural transformation in their national and continental development programs to achieve sustainable development (Armah & Baek, 2015).

Prioritizing the goals is, therefore, important and hence, must merge into the development capabilities and the agenda of states. The SDGs, which were adopted by one hundred and ninety-three (193) countries in 2015, became effective in January 2016 in Ghana. As a member of the

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1 UN General assembly. 69th Session. Agenda Item 13(a) [Last accessed on 2015 Nov 09]. Available at http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/1&Lang=E . [Ref list]
UN and whose incumbent President, His Excellency Nana Addo Danquah Akufo-Addo is coincidentally a co-chair to the SDGs, has reaffirmed his commitment to oversee the implementation of the goals.

The achievement of the SDGs, however, cannot be successful without financial commitments. Africa requires a double-digit growth rate of 16.6 per cent per year between 2015 and 2030 to achieve some of the goals by 2030, which corresponds to an investment-to-GDP ratio and a financing gap to GDP ratio of 87.5 and 65.6 percent per annum, respectively. It is noteworthy that, the estimates on the required growth rates vary widely across the sub-regions and levels of development of individual countries (Kedir, Elhiraika, Chinzara, Sandjong, 2017).

The emphasis on women empowerment by the UN as reflected in SDG goal five (5), expresses the need for countries’ commitment on issues of gender equality and women empowerment. The UN notes that, there are structural and societal barriers that constrain the participation and representation of women when it concerns issues of governance and politics. It is worthy of note that, SDG 5.5 and 5.C speaks to women’s full participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life. Indicators 5.5.1 and 5.C, emphasizes the proportional representation of women; the adoption, strengthening of sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality among women and girls at all levels (United Nations, 2016; Makinde, Onyemelukwe, Onigbanjo, Oyediran, Odimegwu, 2017).

The governance structure of the Ghanaian State runs on the principle of separation of powers, where the three arms of government – Executive, Legislature and Judiciary perform their functions independently of the other in terms of function and personnel. However, each arm serves as a check on the other (Jennings, 1963). The legislature offers an opportunity into
governance by becoming a representative of a people to make laws for the people. The disproportionate representation of gender in many African states, Ghana inclusive is quite unfortunate as majority of the representatives are men, underrepresenting women (Yoon, 2004; Stockemer, 2011). It is important to note that there has been an upward trend in women’s parliamentary representation in recent years, nonetheless cultural, normative, societal, financial obstacles have served as barriers to women’s parliamentary representation (Paxton, Hughes, & Painter, 2010).

This research is, therefore, an attempt to examine Ghana’s drive towards achieving the SDG 5, focusing on SDG 5.5 and 5.C. Using available SDG indicators such as indicator 5.5.1, the proportion of women in national parliaments as well as indicator 5.C adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and empowerment of all women and girls at all levels.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The Inter-Parliamentary Union published a striking data on the average global parliamentary gender representation in 2018. Based on data provided by national Parliaments, about twenty-four percent (24%) comprised women, with some contributions from sub-Saharan Africa (IPU, 2018). The last parliamentary elections held in Ghana on 7th December 2016, also revealed, thirty-five (35) out of the two hundred and seventy-five (275) members of Parliament were females (Parliamentary results, 2016). Although significant, as the figure is an increase of six (6) women as against the 2012 parliamentary elections which voted into office twenty-nine (29) women out of the two hundred and seventy-five (275) seats contested, it is relatively low compared to the threshold of a minimum of thirty (30) percent advanced by the UN as the
percentage of representation needed for women's political participation in decision making to be meaningful.

The UN reaffirms this statement by highlighting a 12.7 percent representation of women in decision making in Ghana’s Parliament as of 2018, with issues of male dominance. The UN further notes that, “the number of men and women in the world is roughly equal, however, the persistence of gender inequalities slows social progress as equal opportunities for men and women accelerate achievement across other developments outcome” (United Nations, 2018).

It is worthy of note that, there are debates and some emphasis on women better advancing women and children’s interests when in politics and in decision making (Phillips, 1995). Some studies have also confirmed that the presence of women have altered decision-making and policies (Wängnerud, 2000; Swers, 2002; Celis, 2006; Kittilson, 2008; Schwindt-Bayer, 2011). Others opposed to the idea of special privileges to ensure equal representation, especially in politics, argue that, measures to ensure gender equality often challenge the general political foundations of competing for elections, political party sovereignty as well as relegating men's own rights to the background. This is often cited with regards to the measures outlined to ensure women's representation in political decision making (Ruiz & Rubio-Marín, 2008).

The introduction of the SDG 5 is therefore yet to reflect the anticipated results, to facilitate gender equality in parliamentary gender representation in Ghana. This dissertation attempts to explore on Ghana’s drive towards achieving SDG 5 in parliamentary gender representation after its adoption. It attempts to unravel the factors accounting for the difference in parliamentary gender representation in Ghana. It also determines the factors driving Ghana to achieve targets in the area specified. It further explores measures in place and those being
implemented to achieve set goals and targets, as well as some of the challenges associated with the measures identified.

1.3 Research Questions
Against this background, this dissertation explores these research questions in line with the research problem.

- What factors account for the difference in parliamentary gender representation in Ghana?
- What is driving Ghana towards achieving SDG 5 in parliamentary gender representation?
- What measures (structures, strategies and policies) have been implemented or are being implemented towards the achievement of SDG 5 in parliamentary gender representation in Ghana?
- What are the challenges to such efforts?

1.4 Research Objectives
The main aim of the study is to explore and assess Ghana's drive towards the achievement of SDG 5 with a focus on parliamentary gender representation.

- To unravel the factors that account for the difference in parliamentary gender representation in Ghana.
- To determine the factors driving Ghana towards achieving SDG 5 in parliamentary gender representation.
- To explore measures implemented and those being implemented towards the achievement of SDG 5 in parliamentary gender representation in Ghana.
To identify some challenges impeding such efforts.

1.5 Scope of the Study

This academic work is a case study to explore some dynamics relating to parliamentary gender representation within the SDG 5 framework. With the adoption of the SDG’s in 2015, countries including Ghana are striving to achieve the goals set in the agenda by the year 2030. This work, therefore, assesses some targets within the SDG 5 in Ghana from 2015, the year of adoption to 2019, as the year ending for the research work.

The research focuses on gender representation in the legislature and precisely on parliamentary gender representation as a target within SDG goal five. It centers on target 5.5 which speaks to “ensuring women’s full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life.

Considering the broad nature of target 5.5, this research investigates the factors accounting for the difference in parliamentary gender representation; the available measures in place; as well as the challenges inhibiting the achievement of the SDG 5 in the area specified. The study further ascertains what is driving Ghana towards the achievement of SDG 5. Nonetheless, the research also covers a general overview of the underpinning concepts including, gender equality, empowerment and parliamentary representation, processes involved in gaining parliamentary representation access, the Millennium Development Goal 3 (MDG3) and its replacement, the Sustainable Development Goal 5 (SDG 5) within the aspirations of the UN and states to provide solutions to shared development concerns the world faces. The study thus views the situation from a global perspective with some focus on Africa and Ghana in particular.
1.6 Rationale of the Study

Political gender representation in both developed and developing countries have received significant attention over the years as there have been efforts to explore the dynamics in the given subject area. As noted in the problem statement, gender equality is an important area of study as gender inequalities still exist and have been viewed as discriminatory, an indication that a specific gender is marginalized. It is argued that, the marginalization of gender is not in the best interest of any country in the quest for democracy and sustainable development. As noted by Bayeh (2016), world leaders and scholars have argued that sustainable development is impossible without gender equality and women's empowerment.

For the purpose of this study, women are significantly underrepresented in parliaments globally and the issue is no different in Ghana, although there have been some improvements as women are now visible in national parliaments, which was not the case in times past. This notwithstanding, the increase has been slow. The study comes in handy especially in consideration that, Ghana has signed on to SDG 5 as part of a broader framework to achieve gender equality.

In addition, this research is timely and significant, especially at a time Ghana is preparing towards an upcoming general election in the year 2020 as it sets the tone and gives a good foundation for this study to be conducted, to ascertain Ghana's direction towards achieving SDG 5 in parliamentary representation. An attempt is also made to solicit information from people with relevant knowledge and experience in order to acquire in-depth understanding into the phenomenon understudy. The research also employs gender as an analytic tool to aid in the understanding of gender relations. Furthermore, both male and female respondents are engaged to ensure objective findings.
This study is also an opportunity to come up with some recommendations that will go a long way to help inform policy decisions based on key findings. The information gathered may also give insight into new directions for further investigations and attention.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

The study is situated within the conceptual framework of gender empowerment. Gender empowerment implies different meanings. Its understanding and application are often determined and explained within the context it is used. Empowerment is common within the development literature - social work, education, psychology and mass communication. According to Mandal (2013), empowerment can be categorized into different types including, Political, Social, Educational, Economic and Psychological (Mandal, 2013).

It is worthy of note that, an attempt at defining gender empowerment could be vague due to cultural relativity, however, some variables remain constant in understanding the concept. Empowerment according to Mayoux (2005) is the process through which disadvantaged individuals achieve equal rights, resources and power. Furthermore, the World Bank defines empowerment as "the process of increasing the capacity of individuals or groups to make choices and to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes". Central to this process of empowerment is the action that builds individual and collective assets, as well as improves the efficiency and fairness of the organization and the institutional context that govern the use of these assets (Chattopadhyay, 2005p.25 as cited in Mandal, 2013).

In politics, gender empowerment advanced with the wave of radical United States (US) politics, during the civil rights movements in the 1960s (Oxaal & Baden, 1997). Gender empowerment was thus, accelerated in the 1980s and 1990s during the dying embers of the Cold War, when the global political economy was undergoing restructuring and globalization at a
faster rate. An issue worth addressing in global politics at the time was how to link the class struggle for greater economic equality with struggles for recognition of difference along gender, ethnicity and sexuality lines as well as the political struggles and academic debates about the inclusion/exclusion of women and marginalized social groups from different policy contexts. (Anderson & Slim, 2004).

The ability to enforce decisions and rewrite the gender narrative depended on power – the legitimate authority to empower and increase the agency of both gender and more especially women. Power then is very important to the gender discourse, and can be understood and operationalized in several ways:

- **Power over:** This power involves an either/or relationship of domination/subordination. It is based on socially sanctioned threats of violence and intimidation, it requires constant vigilance to maintain, and it invites active and passive resistance;

- **Power to:** This power relates to having decision-making authority, power to solve problems and can be creative and enabling;

- **Power with:** This power involves people organizing with a common purpose or common understanding to achieve collective goals;

- **Power within:** This power refers to self-confidence, self-awareness and assertiveness. It relates to how individuals can recognize through analyzing their experience of how power operates in their lives and gain the confidence to act to influence and change the circumstance (Williams, Suzanne, Seed, Janet & Mwau, 1994).

The notion of power and its link to empowerment is a very important process in deconstructing the notions around, as power occurs at the individual, family and institutional levels (see Schuler and Hashemi 1994; Balk, 1997; Rowlands 1997; Hindin, 2000).
The most general use of the term "empowerment" refers to increasing the power of the low-power group, so that it closely equates the power of the high-power group (Bhadra, 2001, p. 61 as cited in Mandal, 2013). An earlier definition by Sushama Sahay (1998 cited in Mandal, 2013), which further explains the term, defines empowerment as “an active multi-dimensional process which enables women to realize their full identity and powers in all spheres of life”. Mandal notes that, empowerment suggests the delegation of power and authority in the underprivileged that have been isolated in decision making, policy implementation policies among others (Mandal, 2013). The main objective of empowerment is hence, to strengthen and broaden the power base of the disadvantaged, to achieve greater self-reliance (Kwapong, 2009).

Gender empowerment is therefore the empowerment of people of any gender. Gender empowerment is often seen as narrowed to reflect the empowerment of women as gender inequality has been established to affect women more adversely than men, hence a focus on the inequalities that disadvantage women (Mayoux, 2005, as cited in Kwapong, 2009).

According to Rahman (2013), gender empowerment should not be mistaken for empowerment of man against woman or vice versa but it focuses on redefining gender relations towards one of complementarity rather than a conflicting one, without creating a misgiving of emasculating men. Gender empowerment is thus preferred as it fosters a balance in gender relations as against the largely criticized one-sided women empowerment approach, (Rahman, 2013).

The assumptions of this conceptual framework are the emphasis on class stratification, age, education and ethnic group that marginalize a section of the population from enjoying certain privileges that could affect both genders, referred to as intersectionality (McCall, 2008; Nash, 2008). Intersectionality thus refers to “the extent to which gender, age, disability,
ethnicity, sexual orientation and social class may intersect to increase barriers to widening political representation”. Policy makers envisage that gender empowerment can correct such social gaps. Secondly, based on the Human Development Report, Anand and Sen (1995), indicate that empowerment is about participation. Individuals must participate fully in the decisions and processes that shape their lives. (Kabeer, 2001; Chen, 1992; Rowlands 1995; Oxaal and Baden, 1997).

A third assumption of this analytical framework is that it assumes economic development is tied to women empowerment. Considering that a chunk of the economies of many developing countries is informal, which is dominated by women engaged in small scale economic activities; empowering them through funds to recapitalize and providing adult education could bolster a country’s drive towards economic development (United Nations General Assembly, 2000).

1.7.1 Criticisms of Gender Empowerment

A recurrent critique of the gender empowerment concept has been the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) criteria that accompanied the development of the 1995 UNDP Human Development report, aimed at shaping political and economic inclusion in decision making. However, a dramatic shortcoming is the oversight of pertinent issues relating to empowerment across nations which has been challenged. In addition, financial and human resource issues that serve as the engine to gender empowerment was not matched to the economic, social and absorptive capability of many states (Pillarisetti & McGillivray, 1998).

Additionally, although Beteta (2006) in her work, “What is Missing in Measures of Women's Empowerment?” acknowledges the significance of gender empowerment, the author however argues that, the GEM is an imperfect index on women’s empowerment as it focuses on inequalities among the most educated and those who are economically advantaged and hence, it
focuses only on a section of the women. According to Beteta, it fails to include non-economic dimensions of decision-making power both at the house-hold or grassroots or local level politics. Beteta further argues that, the GEM fails to address the issues regarding women’s control over their bodies and sexuality which is an important source of female empowerment and thus, should be included in the measure.

In the article, “Empowerment without Antagonism: A Case for Reformulation of Women’s Empowerment Approach” by Sharma (2000), the author reveals that, the main argument advanced against empowerment is its current form that betrays a pronounced Western – ethnocentric bias. In addition to the concerns raised by Beteta, Sharma notes that, it tends to place too much emphasis on issues of power in relations to privilege and oppression in different spheres of influence as the key strategy of women’s empowerment. It is also marked by a measure of antagonism against men and for these reasons, it is not likely to go far towards achieving the objective of gender equality. Hence, there is a need to rethink it.

It is worth noting that, this study emphasizes on gender empowerment of which Rahman (2013) noted that the concept should not be mistaken for an antagonism between genders, but the focus is on redefining gender relations towards complementarity and thus preferred as it fosters a balance in gender relations as against the largely criticized one-sided women empowerment approach.

Another issue often raised is the methodological approach to gender research with critics doubting the honesty of the reliability of responses gathered from the field. Gender issues are emotive, cultural and sometimes held in sacredness and thus, Critical scholars raise ethical issues that could be a dilemma in gathering data and generating knowledge of complex gender related
findings. Hence, it weakens gender empowerment as a concept due to divergent approaches to its methodology (Scheyvens, & Leslie, 2000).

1.7.2 Relevance of Gender Empowerment to the Research

Notwithstanding the criticisms, the concept of gender empowerment is a critical part of achieving gender equality. It further provides an expansive understanding of the concepts of gender, equality and power relations, as well as the levels and types of empowerment that exist within academic and policy circles. The concept is appropriate for issues covering political representation in the legislature.

The concept also helps to understand why political structures are not friendly to women to engender parliamentary participation and the approaches being pursued to ensure these gender gaps are bridged. It also provides an insightful guide to understand the central arguments in SDG5 – gender equality. Although the GEM has been criticized by scholars including Bateta (2006) and Sharma (2000) for being narrow, the focus of the concept on gender empowerment and its associated measure is a good fit for the study. Gender empowerment therefore reinforces a need for equal access for both genders.

Additionally, the ethical concerns raised by Scheyvens and Leslie (2000) regarding the honesty and reliability of responses from gender related studies using the gender empowerment methodology, has been dully addressed in this study as appropriate steps have been taken to safeguard ethical concerns to obtain objective findings.

1.8 Literature Review

There has been some significant work with a focus on political representation and particularly on parliamentary representation, with the literature contributing to the discourses on
the subject matter. While some of the works focus mainly on the symbolic representation, there are still others that go beyond just the figures of representation by looking at the impact of the presence of women in Parliaments. Although some of the literature focus on a single country, others make cross-country comparisons, employing different kinds of methodologies, including quantitative, qualitative or both to draw meaningful conclusions.

This part of the research therefore covers the literature reviewed in line with the research objectives which includes literature on concepts and themes relevant to the topic under study. It evaluates previous research done to identify research gaps. The various themes explored under the reviewed literature include, Arguments on Parliamentary Gender Representation, Factors Impacting Political Gender Representation with a focus on national parliaments, Studies on Political Gender Representation, Debates on Gender Equality Measures in Political Representation, as well as Parliamentary Gender Participation.

1.8.1 Arguments on Parliamentary Gender Representation

Several arguments have been made for gender equality in political representation and especially in parliamentary representation as this legislative body is vital in deliberating and advancing issues of interest to countries (Sawer, 2000; Thabane & Buthelezi, 2008). Three (3) main categories seem to reflect in various literatures in line with the arguments underlying parliamentary gender representation.

In the article, “Parliamentary Representation of Women: From Discourses of Justice to Strategies of Accountability” by Sawer (2000), Marian Sawer notes that the main arguments for equal representation of women focus on (1) the right to represent, - that is, the Justice argument, (2) the need for representativeness- the Symbolic argument and (3) the representation of
interests- the Substantive argument. Sawer noted that the presence of women will serve the collective goal of women representation.

The Justice argument according to Sawer argues for women's equal rights to participate in public decision making. The symbolic argument on the other hand cites the effects of the presence of women in parliament on the status of other women outside of parliament, and the significance of women representativeness for the legitimacy of political institutions. Sawer notes that under the symbolic argument, the presence of women in parliament increases respect for women in society. It thus associates with the motivational /role model argument which argues that the visible presence of women in public life serves as role models and thus, raises the aspirations of other women. Sawer however draws a thin line between the justice and symbolic arguments, by indicating that the justice arguments at a point, infuses into the symbolic argument.

Another reason cited within the symbolic and justice arguments is the institutional legitimacy argument. According to Sawer, the legitimacy of political institutions is said to be undermined if significant portions of the community appear to be sidelined. The Substantive argument on the other hand argues that, women's representation is important for women to address and advance issues of interest.

In “Bridging the Gap Between De jure and De Facto Parliamentary Representation of Women in Africa” by Thabane and Buthelezi (2008), it goes to reemphasize the arguments noted by Sawer (2004) as being the fundamentals for equal parliamentary gender representation. Thabane and Buthelezi’s work further identifies three (3) main assumptions surrounding the need for gender equality in parliamentary representation. They indicate (1) a believe that gender equality must reflect the gender demographics of African states to give true meaning to equality,
nondiscrimination and democracy (2) the under-representation of women is prevalent amid the existence of international, regional and domestic instruments that provide the rights to representation in decision making processes and hence a need for adherence. To Thabane & Buthelezi, the inequalities mean that, there is a gap between de jure (law) and de facto (actual or real) representation and therefore it warrants some attention.

In the work, “Studying Political Representation: A Comparative-Gendered Approach” by Mona Lena Krook (2010), also identifies similar facets of political representation as noted in the works by Sawer as well as Thabane and Buthelezi; thus, Descriptive representation, Substantive representation and Symbolic Representation. The issues raised by Sawer (2004); Krook (2010); and the work by Thabane and Bhutelezi among others based on arguments goes to explain the foundations for political gender representation. Understanding the main arguments that form the basis of this research is crucial as it gives an insight into the issues of concern and explores the underpinnings of these arguments. The underlying arguments make it easier to clearly identify the focus of the UN in advancing gender equality and women's empowerment. This research is therefore linked to the Justice and symbolic representation arguments which is in line with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 5 which speaks to gender equality as a human right and the fact that women represent more than fifty (50) percent of the world’s population and should therefore be given equal access.

1.8.2 Studying Political Gender Representation

“Studying Political Representation: A Comparative - Gendered Approach”, by Mona Lena Krook (2010) looks at existing literature on political representation by comparing literature by both feminist and non-feminist scholars. Using gender as an analytic concept and cross-case comparisons, the author attempts to address the state of research on women and gender in
relation to the three (3) facets of political representation thus, Descriptive representation, Substantive representation that is, the articulation of policy concerns by specific office – holders and Symbolic representation, which involves the broader meanings and effects that the presence of varying elected officials have for the public at large.

Additionally, Krook attempts to find how comparative politics of gender help to improve the understanding of political representation. This is done by looking at the characteristics of individuals elected to political office, substantive representation and symbolic representation through comparative gendered approach, hence filling a gap where traditional studies on political representation lack.

This literature aids the researcher to understand previous research on political representation as the author highlights issues on the different categories of representation. The author also draws attention to research gaps that could be explored including, a shift of focus to gender by examining men and women together as against the more traditional focus on only women.

“High-profile Female Executive Candidates and the Political Engagement of Women: A Multilevel Analysis” by Carreras (2017) discusses the underrepresentation of women in political governance even though the number of women executive leaders has increased dramatically over the last two decades. Carreras uses data from the four waves of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems surveys and from several waves of the Americas Barometer surveys, the researcher investigates whether the presence of salient female executive candidates in high-profile national elections influences women's political engagement in the electoral process.

The data provided by the author indicates that there is an upward trend of women’s participation in governance; however, it is not reflective of the required changes within the larger
society. ‘As of March 2016, eighty-five women have occupied the position of Head of Government or Head of State: fifty-two prime ministers and thirty-three presidents’ (Carreras, 2017). This data is affirmed by Jalalzi (2013) to argue that more than three quarters of all female executive leaders have occupied these positions in the last two decades. This increase in women’s political participation has received scholarly attention in terms of media coverage, statistics, symbolism among others (Stockemer, 2011; Yoon, 2004)

Contrary to previous research by Atkeson (2003) and Hansen (1997), Carreras (2017) states that beyond the symbolic effects women in top government positions radiate, it has little effect on women. According to her, women politicians during campaign periods and when in office seldom discuss women issues but rather focus on masculine issues like foreign affairs, defense, and the economy. Secondly, findings from her research also showed that women candidates are more likely to identify with male candidates to exhibit a sense of masculinity. Via an analysis of aggregate and individual-level data of more than one hundred elections between 1996 and 2013, he concludes that salient women in national executive elections have no immediate impact on women’s political engagement but can become role models when they rise to become presidents or prime ministers.

This work establishes clearly that despite a surge in female political participation, its impact has been minimal on the larger women population. Even though the research does not cover Africa, it leaves a gap to investigate the effects of women politicians in decision-making roles and how they affect the chances of younger women in attempting elective positions.

1.8.3 Factors Impacting Political Representation

Studies have confirmed that there are various factors impacting gender representation in politics in general and in parliaments. Some studies have focused on the strength of women's
movement, political culture, the party system and social factors as variables affecting representation, (Matland & Taylor, 1997, p.186 cited in Ballington, 1998). In addition, studies by individuals including, Offei-Aboagye (2000), Allah Mensah (2005) and Amoako (2011) indicates that, barriers to political representation include, inadequate finance for campaigning, time for managing household chores and the unavailability of some income-generation activities for women, all hinder their participation and representation.

Women in Africa, and other developing nations are prevented from participating in decision making by numerous factors, including lack of education, culture, structural barriers, lack of resources, the aggressive nature of politics, and ascribed roles given to women as ‘carers’ (Agbalajobi, 2010; Dube, 2013; Bawa & Sanyare, 2013; Tagoe & Abakah, 2015 cited in Munemo, 2017).

According to Thabane and Buthelezi, the socio-cultural factors including patriarchy, sacred cultures, inviolable regions, the constructed public and private life, low levels of education and negative impact of globalization all affect women's rightful place in decision making and particularly parliaments.

Additionally, as indicated by Shvedova, (2005) in her work, “Women participation in parliament: Beyond the numbers”, Shvedova notes that factors that hamper or facilitate women’s political participation vary with level of socio-economic development, geography, culture, and the type of political system. These obstacles according to Shvedova could be political, socio-economic, ideological, and psychological.

The Political barriers as noted by Shvedova are derived from the implementation of laws within national policies which include the right to vote and the right to stand for elections. The right to stand for election guarantees women candidacy, which is an important step in increasing
women representation. Therefore, a restriction on women's electoral rights to stand for elections encourages the availability of more men being voted into political offices hence, a major barrier to women political representation.

This particular article helps the researcher to understand the factors impacting political gender representation and a need to compare existing national laws within the country of the research study to those of international ones in line with gender equality to ascertain whether or not there exist national laws that serve as barriers to achieving greater gender equality or whether these national laws promote equality.

“Explaining Women's Legislative Representation in sub-Saharan Africa” by Mi Yung Yoon (2004), attempts to fill the gap between existing literature on women's legislative representation in advanced industrialized democracies. The researcher sought to answer the question that explains the considerable cross-national variations in women's legislative presence by examining factors that boost or serve as barriers to gender representation in parliaments in Africa. The study focuses on the relative impacts of social, economic, cultural and political determinants on women's legislative representation in sub-Saharan Africa. Using ordinary least squares multiple regression model to understudy sub-Saharan African countries that held its latest legislative elections between January 1990 and June 2001, the study finds patriarchal culture, proportional representation systems and gender quotas as statistically significant to parliamentary representation.

Meanwhile, Mi Yung Yoon did not find strong statistical evidence on the positive impact of education on women representation in parliaments in the selected countries in sub-Saharan Africa, arguing that the content or curricular of education may have been stereotyped. She however notes that, education is nonetheless an important factor on women's political
representation as some studies have proven to increase the number of women willing to stand for elections by enhancing their interests, thus, the women become proficient to seek elected offices (Christy 1987, p.4; Matland 1998; Norris 1985, p.95 cited by Mi Yung Yoon, 2004).

In her work "We do not Enjoy Equal Political Rights: Ghanaian Women's Perceptions on Political Participation in Ghana", Marie -Antoinette Sossou (2011) explores Ghanaian women's perception and voices on gender equality by soliciting information on exercising their political and decision-making rights in connection with political participation. Employing an explorative qualitative research, phenomenology, focus group discussions and demographic surveys, Antoinette Sossou focused on the Greater Accra and Volta regions of Ghana. The findings revealed three (3) main issues; (1) women are relegated to the background, (2) women face cultural, educational and financial barriers and (3) women occupy the lower positions in political parties.

Additionally, Bauer and Bennet (2013), does an interesting comparison between Botswana and Rwanda – two contrasting governance systems. The authors explore parliamentary representation in both systems in their work, “Gender Quotas, Democracy, and Women's Representation in Africa: Some insights from Democratic Botswana and Autocratic Rwanda”. According to the authors, the ‘fast track-approach’, including quotas and reserved seats, has helped to replace issues regarding cultural, political and socio-economic barriers in parliamentary representation (Bauer & Bennet, 2013). The main argument in the article is how governance systems accelerate or decrease women’s parliamentary participation. With case studies from Botswana- which is a stable multi-party democracy in Southern Africa, and Rwanda, a single dominant authoritarian government in East Africa, the authors thus, aimed to provide two contrasting points of analysis.
The authors conclude that, for Botswana, gender quota campaigns have raised awareness, but have been inadequate in achieving quotas, women's parliamentary representation is low and continues to fall; while in Rwanda constitutional gender quota, including reserved seats combined with voluntary party quotas for women have resulted in a majority female lower house of parliament- the only such parliament in the world (Bauer & Bennet, 2013).

This work is as important as the findings suggest that, the governance system alone may not be enough to guarantee parliamentary representation. Observation across the world indicates that, democratic systems allow popular inclusive participation in political processes, while autocracies stifle such freedoms; but other factors account for increased parliamentary representation. This study allows the researcher to explore the other dynamics that account for gender representation in parliament.

In the article, “Who Benefits from Gender Quotas? Assessing the Impact of Election Procedure Reform on Members of Parliament's Attributes in Uganda” by Josefsson (2014), an analysis is conducted using an original data set gained from a large sample of individual biographies that covers four legislative terms between 1996 and 2016, with the author attempting to examine a reform of the Ugandan quota law to test if a change in election procedures affects the types of women elected through quotas (Josefsson, 2014).

The findings revealed that, high incumbency rates could indicate that the reserved seats continued to be occupied by MPs who are affiliated to the National Resistance Movement (NRM), i.e. the sole and ruling party at the time until a constitutional referendum in 2015; The study further reveals that, low incumbency rates could suggest that the legislators lack the necessary experience to actively challenge a patriarchal policy agenda. Other factors including, the political experience, educational background, occupation, and interest in women’s issues also
inform the quality of women’s legislation. These factors reemphasize the efficiency of quota systems beyond the reservation of seats in national parliaments for statistical importance. The author thus links the quality of women elected through quota systems to the quota laws, quota regulations and institutional contexts (Josefsson, 2014).

This article is important to this study as it explains the qualitative impact of legislation, based on how the quota system is designed – whether in a single or multi-party state. It aids the researcher to further explore how governance-legal systems can design decent quota systems to impact positively on parliamentary gender representation.

In her work, “Affirmative Action and the Prospects for Gender Equality in Ghanaian Politics” by Dzodzi Tsikata, the author notes that, significant results have been achieved in parliamentary representation in African countries such as Rwanda due to the implementation of specific measures of affirmative action. Tsikata further indicates that, although affirmative action has been employed in Ghana since independence to address gender and regional imbalances in accessing education, health, work and political representation, its successes have been inconsistent and previous implementation has been unsuccessful in Ghana. She notes that, affirmative action has not been effective because it is not equated to the magnitude of inequalities being addressed as commitment to affirmative action in politics has not received full attention. This according to her is because the basis for affirmative action is not shared or properly understood, hence, the resistance (Tsikata, 2009).

In “Women in African Parliaments” by Bauer and Britton (2009), the authors note that, existing research identifies factors including, the manipulation of electoral systems (that is, the use of particular types of electoral systems and gender based electoral quotas); the ideological orientation of the major political parties and the pressure from national women’s movements as
well as social and cultural trends overtime, largely impact on parliamentary representation. They further note that, women should however be available to stand for national political office.

In the working paper on “Driving Forces behind Gender Equality: A Cross-Country Comparison” by Wangnerud and Samanni (2009), the authors aimed to contribute to works on what drives change in the society by looking at the number of women in elected office, gender sensitive legislation, the level of corruption, government effectiveness and the level of democracy in a country, testing in a regression analysis. The authors challenged the notion that a high number of women in elected office are related to a high level of gender equality and calls for a revision. To the authors, a current world-wide quota trend has rather resulted in the upsurge between the number of women in elected office and the status of women in society more generally. The writers therefore conclude that, gender sensitive legislation and the general level of democracy matters, while the level of corruption and government effectiveness are important in driving greater gender equality.

1.8.4 Debates on Gender Equality Measures in Political Representation

Although achieving greater gender equality has been suggested by some scholars, researchers, gender equality advocates to include specific measures to enhance political gender participation and representation, the proposed measures have often been challenged.

Ruiz and Rubio-Marian (2008) in the article, “The Gender of Representation: On Democracy, Equality and Parity”, using French, Italian and Spanish experience, focused on debates regarding parity, which is often understood as even, balanced or comparable presence and the existence of quota measures that seek to guarantee a minimum presence of women representation.
The article notes that politically, there has not been a consensus on whether it is strategically wise to introduce measures intended to guarantee or foster women's equal access alongside men in representative bodies. They note that, opposing arguments suggest, politics is a realm of formal equality where power is supposed to be contested for and therefore, any form of affirmative action should not be encouraged. The opposition argues on the premise that affirmative action would go against the modern notion of political representation as being unitary and general. It would also undermine the rights of excluded male candidates to stand for elections. It is further claimed the autonomy of political parties would be jeopardized, (Ruiz & Rubio-Marian, 2008).

Despite the existence of these oppositions to incorporate well known measures that have been tested to address inequalities in political representation, Ruiz and Rubio-Marian concludes that it is realistic to ensure equal gender representation. Further, the authors indicate that, the principles of generality and unity in modern political representation will not be affected. They further argue that equal representation does not imply women should only vote for women or men only for men or that each gender should only represent its own interests, but elected representatives continue to represent the entire population, (Ruiz & Rubio-Marian, 2008). This work goes to reemphasize a need for gender equality and goes further to explain how the measures proposed to foster greater equality in parliamentary representation do not affect political autonomy and other concerns to undermine the rights of male candidates.

1.8.5 Parliamentary Gender Participation

In their seminal work, “Women and Political Decision Making: Perspectives from Ghana’s Parliament”, Gariba and Musah (2013) looks at the participation of women in Ghana’s Parliament from 1992 to 2008 by soliciting views from various groups including, current and
former women Parliamentarians, civil society, gender equality advocates as well as the leadership of Parliament and several references to official documents of Parliament.

Additionally, the authors examined four main concerns - the historical and current trends regarding women participation in political decision making in Ghana’s Parliament; extent to which Ghanaian women Parliamentarians have participated in debates on the floor of Parliament; the extent to which Ghanaian women Parliamentarians have participated on question times on the floor of Parliament; and the challenges that confront women in their participation, debates and question time on the floor of Parliament in Ghana (Gariba & Musah, 2013).

The findings from this study indicate that although women participate in raising important issues in parliament, the rate of such participation is not regular. The authors also find that women’s debates on the floor have been less encouraging. On the general participation of women, the findings of the research by Gariba and Musah show that women’s participation and effectiveness have not been exceptional, but moderate. The findings also reaffirm the age-long barriers to gender representation in parliament including, socio-cultural barriers, economic barriers and political barriers.

The study is a good addition to the literature as it goes beyond the contribution of women in parliament but includes the examination of spoken texts of women parliamentarians in order to understand the construction of women’s interests in politics. This work provides an exploratory insight into what happens in Ghana’s parliament. The authors conclude that, women are a product of their upbringing, environment and societal issues that affect them, hence are likely to speak to soft issues, rather than hard ones.

This study aids the researcher to have a broader view of women’s participation in the Ghanaian parliament. It also draws attention to some of the visible and invisible barriers that
exists in women’s participation and to explore measures in place to ensure greater representation in the first place.

1.8.6 Conclusion

The above literature discusses issues around the research questions and guides the overall study. Although there are available works on parliamentary representation, a few focuses on Africa. As rightly noted by Stockemer (2011), “many studies address the representation of women in parliaments, but few explore gender representation in Africa” and for that matter, Ghana.

This work is, therefore, an attempt to contribute to the literature on Parliamentary Representation with a focus on Ghana’s drive towards achieving gender equality and women empowerment in parliamentary representation with a gendered perspective. Although this study is different with a focus on a single country, making it more precise to reflect the actual issues pertaining to the country understudy, it is also set within the SDG5 framework. This study further focuses within the year 2015 and 2019. The study is also a qualitative study that employs interviews to solicit information from well informed individuals with in-depth knowledge and experience to gain relevant insight into the phenomenon being studied and thus, fills a gap in quantitative research on parliamentary gender representation. Information is also solicited from both male and female respondents to ensure a balance and objectivity which is different and not skewed towards one gender.

1.9 Research Methodology

This section of the research is an attempt to provide information on how the research was conducted. This is done by outlining how the research problem was approached to answer the
research questions specified. According to Creswell (2009), a research design refers to the overall strategy adopted by a researcher to integrate the different parts of a study in a clear and logical way. It constitutes the outline for the collection, measurement, and analysis of data (Creswell, 2009).

The research methodology adopted is mainly qualitative research. Qualitative research is inductive, constructive and interpretive and appropriate in the conduct of this research as the purpose of the study is to understand and explore the topic which qualitative approach seeks to establish (Creswell et al, 2007). According to Berg and Lune (2012), qualitative research is a scientific method of observation to gather non-numerical data, that seeks to answer why and how a certain phenomenon occur rather than how often, hence my choice of a qualitative research methodology which can achieve the specific objectives of the study. The study’s adoption of a qualitative approach through semi-structured interviews is further intended to develop themes from the data for a qualitative analysis.

1.10 Sources of Data

In order to accomplish the aims and objectives of the study, this work employs both primary and secondary sources of data. The primary sources of data are obtained through semi-structured interviews. The semi-structured interviews are preferred to give respondents the opportunity to discuss their opinions on the subject being investigated. The interviews targeted key officials who possess information and experience that are relevant to the study in various institutions including, The Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection; Centre for Gender Studies and Advocacy (University of Ghana); Senior Members at the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD); The Public Affairs Department , Parliament
House with a focus on both male and female Parliamentarians as well as some Officials of political parties in Ghana.

Secondary sources of data were obtained through reports published by the United Nations on the Millennium Development Goals, Sustainable Development Goals, those published by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, political party manifestos, gender policies, journal articles, open source news articles, books, internet sources and other sources that are relevant to the study. Secondary sources of data were used to gain an understanding of the research study as it already exists; it is a readily available source of acquiring information, economical and less time consuming (Saunders & Adrian, 2009).

1.10.1 Case Study Approach

A case study is an in-depth study of a situation or phenomenon. Simons (2009) defines a case study as an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a project, policy, institution, program or system in “real life”. According to Yin (2003), “a case study design should be considered when the focus of the researcher; (1) is to answer, a how and why questions; (2) you cannot manipulate the behavior of those involved in the study; (3) you want to cover contextual conditions you believe are relevant to the phenomenon and context; or (4) the boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and the context”. This research therefore adopts a case study approach to achieve the research objectives with a focus on parliamentary gender representation in Ghana, in the quest for countries to achieve gender equality within the SDG 5 framework.
1.10.2 Sampling Technique

Purposive (judgmental) sampling method, a type of non-probability sampling technique is adopted to target members of parliament, political parties, individuals as well as institutions including the Ministry of Gender, Child and Social Protection that work directly or indirectly to achieve gender equality in the areas specified to gain in-depth understanding of key issues. This sampling method is a deliberate selection of an informant, as a result of knowledge or information they possess with regards to a subject matter or experience on the subject matter (Tongco, 2007). This explains my sampling choice as the participants selected for interviews were in the capacity to provide the needed information based on their knowledge and experiences.

1.10.3 Target Population

According to Banerjee and Chaudhury (2010), a population refers to a complete set of people with specialized set of characteristics, whiles a sample is a subset of the population. Due to the large size of a population, it is thus important to select a sizeable number from within the target population in order to obtain a good representation for the study. Experts and people who possessed information relevant to the study were therefore targeted, including parliamentarians at the Parliament of Ghana, Officials from the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection in charge of gender programs, Senior Research Assistant who possesses in-depth knowledge and experience at the Centre for Gender Studies (CEGENSA), University of Ghana, , Selected Senior Member at LECIAD, who possess relevant knowledge and experience on the Phenomenon understudy, as well as Senior officials in charge of elections from established and vibrant political parties in Ghana.
1.10.4 Sample Size

The research employed a sample size of twenty (20) people who were specifically targeted due to their knowledge and experience relevant to the study. Although comparatively small as some targets were not achieved, the respondents selected were able to give relevant information that represented the true situation. It is worth noting that, some of the participants were unavailable for the interviews due to busy schedules and especially during the season where parliamentarians were campaigning for votes ahead of parliamentary primaries scheduled within the months of August and September 2019 for the main dominant political parties, i.e. the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the (NDC). In addition, some targeted parliamentarians were still busy as the study further coincided with the preparations towards the reading of the Ghana National Budget scheduled for 15th November 2019. Besides, some targeted respondents did not give any feedback on their participation despite the follow-ups, others declined to participate, largely due to busy schedules.

The purposive sampling method adopted yielded twelve (12) incumbent Parliamentarians, three (3) Senior Political Party Officials, One (1) Senior Official in charge of gender programs at the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, the Deputy Minister for Gender, Children and Social Protection who is also a Member of Parliament, (2) Senior members of the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD), (1) Senior Research Assistant at the Centre for Gender Studies, University of Ghana (CEGENSA), (1) President / Founder of Women on the Move Foundation, engaged in women empowerment programs to facilitate gender equality.
1.10.5 Data Collection

In addition to secondary data, the study employed primary data in order to gain in-depth knowledge and insight into the objectives of the study. The primary data was collected through the use of a semi-structured interview guide. According to Robyn Longhurst (2003) “semi-structured interview is a verbal interchange where one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information from another person by asking questions. Semi-structured interviews unfold in a conversational manner thus, offering participants the chance to explore issues that are important”.

In the collection of primary data, the researcher scheduled an appointment with interviewees in consideration to their busy schedules. Official letters were first dispatched to targeted organizations and individuals in order to gain access to interviewees. The interviews were granted after the appointments were confirmed. The interview discussions were then recorded electronically upon approval, using a tape recorder. After which the data was transcribed manually and grouped into themes based on the research objectives.

The secondary sources of data were obtained from journal articles, published and unpublished works, dissertations, reports, internet sources, newspapers articles, gender publications, women's manifestos, gender policies and internet sources.

1.10.6 Data Analysis

Data from the in-depth interviews were manually transcribed and analyzed using thematic analysis. According to Clarke and Braun (2013, p.2), thematic analysis refers to a method for identifying and analyzing patterns in qualitative data. It involves analyzing, organizing, describing and reporting themes found within a data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006).
The transcribed data was analyzed by first, going through the data to identify information relevant to the research questions and objectives as well as those contributing to the research topic. The sieved data was then scrutinized to identify any similarities in the answers provided to help organize into themes and make it easier in reporting. The data analyzed is presented in four main themes in line with the research objectives; the first part focuses on the dynamics accounting for the difference in gender representation in Ghana’s national parliament. The analysis also looks at the relevance of gender equality in Ghana’s national parliament from the interviewees’ perspective and a link is drawn to identify what is driving Ghana towards achieving SDG 5. The analysis further covers the measures in place to achieve gender equality in the specified area, as well as the achievements and challenges to such efforts.

1.10.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethical consideration refers to the acceptable and unacceptable behavior in conducting research (Resnik, 2015p.1). Resnik further indicates that, ethical standards promote the values that are important for a collaborative work which include, trust, accountability, mutual respect and fairness. Questions of ethics and confidentiality are often highlighted in the conduct of a research and therefore crucial to be adopted for a study in consideration to the research topic, objectives, methodology, collaborative efforts among others. It is therefore important for researchers to protect the dignity of their subjects and publish the exact information gathered (Fouka & Mantzorou, 2011 cited in Ifedha & Makau, 2016). Hence, it is vital to adopt ethical considerations as it forms a major element in a research and to advance the aims of the research, by imparting authentic knowledge, truth and prevent error (Chetty, 2016).

According to Bryman and Bell (2007) ten (10) principles are related to ethical considerations in dissertations which must be adhered. These include, “research participants
should not be subjected to harm in anyway; the respect for the dignity of research participants should be prioritized; full consent should be obtained from the participants prior to the study; the protection of the privacy of research participants has to be ensured; anonymity of individuals and organizations participating in the research has to be ensured; any type of communication in relation to the research should be done with honesty and transparency; any type of misleading information as well as representation of primary data findings in a biased way must be avoided.

To ensure that required ethical standards are met, an introductory letter was obtained from the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy to solicit consent from interviewees. In addition, the consent of participants was verbally obtained, and consent forms signed by participants before the interviews. Participants were also made to confirm where necessary to either include or withhold their names and other personal details in ensuring that, respondents were not required to disclose their names or personal details. The researcher further sought permission to record responses and brief notes were taken.

In addition, the interviewees were also made to confirm the use of their responses in the research work. With regards to confidentiality, respondents were assured that the information given would be well protected and strictly used for academic purposes. The researcher also made sure that the guiding principles on ethical considerations outlined by Bryman and Bell were followed to the latter, with the primary data obtained reflecting the true representation of the information gathered.

1.11 Arrangement of Chapters
The study is organized in four chapters as follows:

**Chapter one** covers the introduction which comprises the background to the research problem, the statement of the research problem, research questions, aim / research objectives, scope of the
study, limitation of the study, rationale of the study, conceptual framework, literature review, sources of data, research methodology and arrangement of chapters.

Chapter two covers an Overview of Gender Equality, Empowerment and Parliamentary Representation in Africa and specifically narrowed to the Ghanaian National Parliament. It discusses gender equality and empowerment in relation to parliamentary representation, the processes of gaining parliamentary access in Ghana. It also assesses the MDG 3 and its replacement, SDG5.

Chapter three identifies the factors accounting for gender inequalities in Ghana’s national parliament. The chapter further highlights what is driving Ghana towards achieving gender equality in the area specified. It also covers the main measures (policies, structures, strategies) in place and those being implemented towards the attainment of set goals. Challenges to attain SDG5 in parliamentary representation are also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter four focuses on summary of findings relative to the objectives and research questions, conclusions and recommendations.
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CHAPTER TWO

AN OVERVIEW OF GENDER EQUALITY, EMPOWERMENT AND PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION FROM A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE AND GHANA’S SITUATION

2.0 Introduction

The introductory section, (chapter one) which constitutes the first part of this study focused on the background information, underpinning the research. It also comprises the statement of the research problem, research questions, aim / research objectives, scope of the study, limitation of the study, rationale of the study, conceptual framework, literature review as well as sources of data, research methodology and the arrangement of chapters.

Additionally, chapter two of the research covers an overview of some literature on the main issues underlying the research, that is, gender equality, empowerment and parliamentary representation by exploring some historical antecedents on global gender equality and political representation, with a focus on Africa and particularly Ghana; issues on parliamentary gender representation is also discussed by looking at parliaments in general and a focus on the Ghanaian Parliament. It gives a clear picture of Ghana’s Parliament, its mandate, processes in gaining access to parliament as well as evolving trends in Parliamentary gender representation in Ghana.

2.1 Gender, Equality and Parliamentary Representation

The term Gender has been defined in many ways by International Organizations such as the UN; feminists’ scholars and other scholars of different fields and disciplines. Yet, the common idea that seems to be highlighted in these definitions suggests that, gender is socially constructed. According to Diamond (2002), Gender refers to the social or cultural distinctions associated with being male or female. Similarly, the World Health Organization (WHO) defines
gender as the socially constructed characteristics of women and men. WHO however notes that gender varies from society to society and it is not static. It is important to note that, although gender has been traditionally restricted to a man and a woman, recent contestations suggests a “third gender”. However, for the purpose of this study on parliamentary gender representation, gender refers to male and female as recognized within the United Nations framework.

The issue of gender and parliamentary representation has received significant attention as the legislative body offers its members the opportunity to advance issues of concern, which is one of the main arguments to ensure gender equality in parliamentary representation. According to Galligan, Clavero and Calloni (2007), representation is a core concept in the study and practice of politics that explains who represents, what is represented, and how it is represented. It is worthy of note that, global parliamentary representation has generally been male dominated although there has been some significant progress over the years, as women are gradually becoming visible in national parliaments, (Inter-parliamentary Union, 2016).

The gradual change towards achieving greater gender equality in different sectors worldwide and more especially in political representation results from conscious efforts including, sustained mobilization, institutional engineering and political party commitments (Wangnerud & Samanni, 2009). According to Wangnerud and Samanni, women’s activism, as well as, mobilization at the country, regional and national levels have also been pivotal towards the recognition of gender equality on the international agenda. In addition, global gender indexes including the UN’s Gender Development Index, as well as the Gender Empowerment Index have further helped to highlight the prevailing inequalities between men and women, thus, pressuring leaders with less flattering results.
The effort towards political gender equality therefore began with countries granting women the fundamental democratic rights, that is, the right to vote and to stand for elections. It is worth noting that, New Zealand became the leading country to give women the right to vote in 1893, whiles Finland was the first European country to adopt both democratic rights in the year 1906. Despite the early leads by some countries to incorporate these rights into their legal systems, there were still others including Saudi Arabia that delayed until it recently permitted women to vote and stand as candidates in municipal elections in 2015 (World Bank, 2015; Irish Times, 2018).

In Africa, the number of women legislators increased significantly between 1990 and 2003 when the number of seats held by women rose from eight (8) percent to 14.3 percent with the African country, Rwanda gaining the highest female legislative representation in 2003 as the government approved a new constitution that included a quota system for women at all levels of government. The women therefore claimed about 48.8 percent of parliamentary seats – surpassing the Nordic countries (Mari Tripp, 2003).

Rwanda is still a leader with the highest number of females occupying up to 61.3 percent of the Rwandan parliamentary seats as at the first part of 2019 (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2019) with the increase largely resulting from Rwanda's one-sided gender ratio stemming from the 1994 genocide, the careful implementation of a quota system and a governmental system that appoints and supports high-level female officials (Bennett, 2014). Additionally, other African countries including Namibia and South Africa have also made some progress over the years with 46.2 percent and 42.7 percent respectively on women representation in parliament (World Economic Forum, 2019; IPU, 2019).
2.2 Emergence of Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment

Gender equality and empowerment emerged as a human right and a global goal, which has been enshrined in international agreements and commitments. It is worthy of note that, Gender equality finds its foundations as enshrined in both the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN General Assembly resolution 217A) and the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which entered into force in March, 1976, and gives legal force to the 1948 Declaration (UN General Assembly Resolution, 1948;1966).

Achieving greater gender equality therefore resulted in major conferences on women including, the Beijing platform for action in 1975, Copenhagen (1980), and Nairobi (1985). The Calls for equal participation of women and men was integrated in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1979, which among other things calls for parties to initiate steps to eliminate discrimination and to ensure women and men have equal rights in all spheres (UNDAW, 2004). Subsequently, the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) endorsed a thirty (30) percent target of women participation at decision-making levels in 1995. The United Nations in recent times is focusing its global development agenda on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), with specified targets that recognizes women’s equality and empowerment as both the objective, and as part of the solution (United Nations, 2017).

African Governments, regional and sub-regional organizations have also made significant commitments over the years towards gender equality and women's empowerment through platforms including, the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003) and the Solemnization Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2004). The Southern African Development Community (SADC) also formulated
recommendations for a gender policy and institutional framework, which was later incorporated in the “Declaration on Gender and Development” and adopted in November 1997 in Blantyre by the SADC Heads of Government. The Declaration recognized gender equality as a fundamental human right and included a commitment of a thirty (30) percent quota for women in political decision-making bodies by 2005.

The increasing significance of women political participation was further recognized by its inclusion in both the Millennium Development Goals (goal 3) and in the Sustainable Development Goal (target 5. 5), which is being pursued in the African Union's Agenda 2063 as well. Ghana’s efforts towards achieving its national responsibility on gender equality and women empowerment agreements and protocols are thus guided by the 1992 Constitution. Article 17 of the Constitution thus prohibits discrimination of persons based on gender. In addition, other national and international frameworks on human rights, good governance and accountability among others guide the country in its quest towards gender equality and empowerment (Constitution of Ghana, 1992; Ghana’s National Gender Policy, 2015).

2.3 Assessing Millennium Development Goal 3

In the year 2000, the UN agreed on eight (8) Millennium Development Goals with eighteen (18) targets, aimed at addressing developmental issues at the time. The millennium declaration signed by one hundred and eighty-nine (189) countries, marked an important era as countries committed to shared strategies on global developmental efforts. The United Nations Millennium Declaration, signed in September 2000 committed world leaders to act to reduce poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, environmental degradation, and discrimination against women.
The eight (8) MDGs were made to encourage all countries to strive for accelerated human development. As Lomazzi, Borisch and Laaser (2013) notes, everyone who has a cause wants a goal. To this end, targets were prescribed to cushion the realization of the agreed goals. MDGs have no doubt come to dominate international development debates because they respond to the greater demand from the public and politicians for ‘results-based management’ in development aid (Hulme, 2010).

Gender equality and Women empowerment is the third of eight (8) goals. With it, was the sole target to eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005, and in all levels of education by 2015. On account of the target-specific element, MDG 3 has been marked as successful given that the goal of eliminating gender disparity in all levels of education has been reasonably achieved (United Nations, 2018).

It is worthy of note that, gender equality and women’s empowerment is essential rather than an instrument for achieving other goals (Kabeer, 2005). Important as education is, the translation of this goal into the target of eliminating gender disparities at all levels of education within a given time period remains disappointedly narrow. Several scholars aligned with this view on the inherent deficiency associated with the MDGs approach in using indicators as a measure of performance. For Vandemoorlele (2009), the MDGs are a faulty yardstick for judging whether a country or region-specific performance is on track (p. 356).

Generally, the concept of Gender Equality and Women Empowerment can be understood by relying on the three-standalone indicators agreed as effective barometers to examine progress. Largely, gender equality nested through women empowerment will be effectively harnessed when the disparity in access to education, paid work and ultimately, political representation is bridged (UN Women, 2017).
Similarly, Jejeebhoy (1995) notes that there is considerable evidence for the claim that access to education can bring about changes in cognitive ability, which is essential to women’s capacity to question, to reflect on and to act on the conditions of their lives and to gain access to knowledge, information, and new ideas that will help them. Access to education increases the likelihood that women will look after their own well-being, along with that of the family.

Furthermore, it is recounted in the study of Tamil Nadu that, better-educated women scored higher than less educated women did on a composite index measuring their access to, and control over, measures, as well as their role in economic decision-making. In a similar vein, the nexus between access to paid work and women empowerment can be advanced. There is also a solid body of evidence to show that access to paid work in variegated manner as self-employment or wage labor empower women to have a say in decision-making and control of resources (Kabeer 2001; Kabeer forthcoming; the review in Dolan and Surby 2003).

The last indicator; political representation, moves the focus to the arena of politics. It is hinged on the number of women representations in national parliament. Kabeer (2005) documents that, this represents the most ambitious of the forms of change singled out to measure progress on women’s empowerment and could have the greatest potential for transformation. Despite its seeming potential to address many of the constraints that limit the life chances of poor women, parliamentary representation of women is heavily dependent on a number of factors; political culture in which parties operate, electoral system etcetera.

As stated earlier, the perceived targets aimed at eliminating gender disparities are disappointedly narrow and fail to consider the complexities attached to gender equality and women’s empowerment. It is not enough to single out education as a competent catalyst to harness women empowerment, because the context of education embodies and promotes the
social relations and construction of gender roles. Kabeer posits that, in societies that are
categorized by extreme forms of gender inequality, not only are women’s access to education
curtailed by various restrictions on their mobility and their limited role in the wider economy, but
its effects may also be more limited (Kabeer, 2005).

As part of the eight Millennium Development Goals, MDG 3 focused on efforts to
promote gender equality and empower women and girls. According to the UN reports on the
MDG’s, the achievements have been mixed especially in Ghana; although some targets such as
achieving gender parity in primary school have been met with substantial progress, however, in
the areas of equal share of women in non-agriculture wage employment and especially women’s
involvement in governance, progress has been slow (United Nations, 2017). For example, out of
the 275 members of Ghanaians that stood to contest for elections at the end of 2016, only twenty-nine (29) were women. This goal did not translate into achieving set targets in its entirety as
some areas still lagged at the end of the year the target was set. The SDG’s were later adopted to
build on where the MDGs left off towards sustainable development.

2.4 Transitioning from MDG3 to SDG 5

The SDGs follow and expand on, the MDGs, which were agreed by governments in 2000
and expired in 2015. Moving well beyond the narrow target of the MDGs, the 2030 Agenda for
Sustainable Development with its 17 Sustainable Development Goals and 169 targets promises
to address many of the shortcomings of the MDGs. This includes the non-participatory way the
MDG agenda was defined, and the reductionist approach evident in the narrow scope of its goals
and targets. Goal 3 of the MDGs, which sought to increase or improve gender equality and
increase women empowerment, was tainted with irregularities due to the approach and metric
devised to measure progress. In the memorable words of Peggy Antrobus (2003), she described
the MDG as a “Major Distracting Gimmick” from the much more visionary Beijing Platform for Action with its 12 areas of concern.

Razavi (2016) emphasizes further that, in contrast to the MDGs, not only has the process of defining the SDGs been more inclusive and open to participation but also the goals themselves draw attention to a far more variegated set of concerns. The attention to structural impediments is also evident in the remarkably broad scope of the targets under the specific goal 5- from discriminatory laws, harmful practices, and violence against women and girls, for sexual and reproductive health and rights through spiraling gender inequality in the distribution of unpaid care work, women’s participation in decision-making, p3. Unlike the narrower frame of the MDGs on some key measurable facets, the SDG was more anchored on human rights principles. In addition, it is a global template suitable for a world that is increasingly integrated through flows of finance and people (Razavi, 2016, p28).

The progress of the SDG5 in global parliamentary representation has generally been slow although there has been some increase. The UN global assessment reports on the SDG 5 in parliamentary representation indicate a slow progress of representation from 2016 to 1st January 2019. The assessment revealed that, based on parliamentary elections held in about fifty-three (53) countries in 2016, there was an increase in the global average of women in national parliaments from 22.6 percent in 2015 to 23.3 percent in December 2016. This according to the UN is a marginal 6.5 percent point gain in ten (10) years (UN, 2017; IPU, 2017). In 2017, women in national parliaments world-wide recorded a 23.4 percent, which is a ten percent point higher than the year 2000. 2018 recorded 23 percent of women in global national parliaments while as at 1st January, 2019, the UN special edition report indicated a range from 0 to 61.3 percent as the percentage of women in global national parliaments, with the average
representation at 24.2 percent, which the UN describes as an increase of 19 percent in 2010 (UN Reports of the Secretary General, 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019). This therefore underscores that despite the slight increase, global progress has been slow.

2.4.1 Gender Empowerment and Parliamentary Representation

Understanding the term empowerment has been varied due to its widespread usage. However, the term empowerment has been sparingly used to connote the power to make choices. Oxaal and Baden (1997) maintains that the idea of power is at the root of empowerment and that can be understood as working at different levels, including the institutional, the household and the individual. One way of thinking about power is in terms of the ability to make choices. To be disempowered means to be denied choice, while empowerment refers to the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such ability. In other words, empowerment entails change (Kabeer, 2005).

The idea of gender empowerment is at the heart of redistribution of power to all persons to cause change in human and other related perspectives. As Rowlands (1995) notes, empowerment is not only about opening up access to decision making, but also must include processes that lead people to perceive themselves as able and entitled to occupy that decision-making space. It is against this backdrop that empowerment corresponds to women challenging power structures which subordinate women (Oxaal, 1997). Many a times, the term is given a narrowed definition focusing on women empowerment.

2.4.2 Gender Empowerment and Related Approaches

Several areas of activity in development have become closely associated with the promotion of women’s empowerment, such as political participation, reproductive health, micro
credit and much innovative work has been done in these areas. However, there are clearly limits on the extent to which such activities can be genuinely empowering (Oxaal & Baden, 1997). Oxaal & Baden further argues that, there is a tendency to assume that increasing access to resources or decision-making power in one area will necessarily carry through into other areas. The term empowerment has seen interplay of initiatives geared towards the realization of gender equality.

Recent UN conferences have advocated that women’s empowerment is central to development. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in its Agenda 21, mentions women’s advancement and empowerment in decision-making in areas including women’s participation in national and international ecosystem management and control of environment degradation’ as a key area for sustainable development (quoted in Wee and Heyzer, 1995, p.7).

The International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo, discussed the population issues not just as a technical or a demographic problem, but as a choice that women should be empowered to take within the context of their health and reproductive rights. The Copenhagen Declaration of the World Summit on Social Development (WSSD), called for the recognition that empowering people, particularly women, to strengthen their own capacities is a main objective of development and that empowerment requires the full participation of people in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of decisions that determines the functioning and wellbeing of societies.

The Report of the UN Fourth World Conference on Women called its Platform for Action, ‘an agenda for women’s empowerment’ meaning that the ‘principle of shared power and
responsibility should be established between women and men at home, in the workplace and in
the wider national and international communities (UN, 1995a, no. 1).

2.5 Parliamentary Representation in Ghana

2.5.1 Parliament of Ghana

According to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, a Parliament is the
group of people who are elected to make a country’s laws and discuss important national affairs.
Additionally, the Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines a Parliament as a formal conference for
the discussion of public affairs. Generally, a modern parliament has several functions including,
representing the electorate, making laws, and overseeing the government through hearings and
inquiries.

As of 2018, Ghana adopts a unicameral Legislature composed of two hundred and
seventy-five (275) Members of Parliament from single-member constituencies. A unicameral
parliament or unicameral legislature is a legislature which consists of one chamber or house. The
1992 Constitution mandates the Executive President to appoint Ministers with majority picked
from Parliament. The Parliament of Ghana thus, follows the Westminster model, making
provision for Ministers to be questioned in Parliament. It also allows Members of Parliament to
make statements on matters of public interest, to introduce motions on the matters which they
consider important and for them to approve the policies of Government in general. The
Government, for example, cannot enter into any international agreement without the ratification
of Parliament.

Although the basic function of the Ghana Parliament is law making, it also has a number
of routine functions in accordance with the Constitution. The clearly identified among others
include Legislative, Financial, Oversight of the Executive, Representational and Deliberative functions (Parliament of Ghana).

### 2.5.2 Qualifications and Eligibility of Members of Parliament

The qualifications and eligibility of Members of Parliament are outlined in the Representation of the People Law - 1992 (PNDCL 284). Section – 9 of the 1992 Constitution outlines the eligibility and qualifications to become a Member of Parliament as follows; a person aspiring as a candidate for the office of Parliament must be a citizen of Ghana, a registered voter and must have attained the age of twenty-one (21) years. It is important to note that, the aspirant will be disqualified if he or she holds allegiance to any other country apart from Ghana.

It is also mandated upon the aspiring MP to reside in the constituency for which he stands as a candidate for election into parliament or has been a resident of the said constituency for not less than five (5) years out of the ten (10) years immediately preceding the election for which he stands or hails from that constituency. The aspiring candidate must have paid all taxes or in the process to do so at the appropriate authority for the payment of taxes.

According to the Constitution, a person would be deemed ineligible to contest as an MP if adjudged or declared bankrupt under any Ghanaian law in force and has not been discharged. The would-be candidate should be of sound mind and should not have been detained as a criminal lunatic under any law in force in Ghana and should not have been convicted for treason or any offence involving the security of the State, fraud, dishonesty or any issues that are immoral or of extreme punishable sentence or imprisonment.

In addition, the aspiring candidate must be in good standing and must not have been found by a committee of enquiry to have abused public office or be incompetent. It is also important for the aspirant to have been cleared of legalities to be eligible to become a Member of Parliament.
Parliament or is not in any way connected with the conduct of elections or any affiliated processes. The aspiring candidate should not be a part of the major security organizations in the country including, the Police Service, the Prison’s Service, the Armed Forces, the Judiciary, the Legal Service, the Civil Service and the Audit service. The aspirant should not occupy the position of a chief and must have declared his assets in accordance to the laws of Ghana.

2.5.3 Securing Parliamentary Nods

According to Ranney (1981), Candidate Selection refers to the process by which a political party decides on a person’s legal eligibility to hold an elective office (Ranney, 1981, p.75 as cited in Daddieh & Bob-Milliar, 2012). Recruiting individuals to legislative office is seen as a core function of political systems, with the quality of candidates selected impacting ultimately on the quality of government delivered (Gallagher & Marsh, 1988; Katz, 2001).

Moreover, Lovenduski (2005) notes that, it is mandated on political parties, as a matter of responsibility to their members and the public they hope to represent, to identify the best possible candidates through fair and effective selection procedure. The central question is how some people succeed in moving through the ‘eye of the needle’ into the high office as Members of Parliament. Broadly speaking, there are systemic factors in determining what goes into parliamentary approval. These factors can be narrowed to three inter-level analyses: the legal system; the electoral system and the party system (Norris, 1997). Norris documents that these levels can be understood as nested in a ‘funnel of causality’, so that the supply and demand works within party recruitment process.

In enhancing discourse to indicate how parliamentary approval is ascertained, it must be emphasized that these levels must be subjected to scrutiny to highlight what comes into play. Generally, the legal system sets the pace in determining same. In most countries, the law sets out
some limitations to establish minimal eligibility criteria. In some instances, the law highlights persons who are not eligible to hold certain positions. For instance, in Britain, the House of Commons Disqualification Act, 1975 prohibits certain categories of people from becoming members of the House of Commons (House of Commons Disqualification Act, 1975).

In the same vein, the electoral system simply connotes the localism of the selection process; by strengthening the links between individual prospective MPs and their constituents. It has been established in a series of cross-national and single nation studies that, compared with the population, members of national legislatures tend to be drawn disproportionately from a similar social background in terms of gender, social class etcetera (Norris, Carty, Erikson, Lovenduski & Simms, 1990).

Norris et al (1990) further notes that, in countries with majoritarian electoral systems, there is little evidence that parliamentary representation of women, ethnic minorities and the working class has improved substantially during recent decades. It is important to consider that indicators of candidates’ characteristics show that the more promising the seat, the more likely a conventional candidate will be nominated. Such validation is not agreeable to groups of women and ethnic minorities within parties and to that effect, several affirmative programs have been rolled out to mitigate the deficiency (Norris et al, 1990).

Generally, before a prospective candidate gets on a ballot paper, the person undergoes some form of endorsement on the tickets of a political party. That does not simply erode the possibility of candidates contesting on a non-partisan ticket vouching to hold the position put up for election. Party procedures are apparent in many democratic dispensations, and with primaries and precinct caucuses now firmly entrenched in intra-party contest. Party procedures worldwide leans towards a more open process than before. Pertaining to candidates who intend running for
office on the tickets of a political party, such a person is subjected to the full rigors of internal party mechanisms (Daddieh & Bob-Milliar, 2012).

Many a time, the selection decision is primarily a matter for each local constituency party although the national executive of each party plays a part. To this end, candidates are nominated by accredited delegates or better still, local party members and expected to apply for positions thereof. Standardized selection practices have become a part of the normal work experience for the public that political parties cannot remain immune to the need for more objective processes.\(^2\) Under the cloak of nomination, Shepherd-Robinson and Lovenduski (2002) describe how senior party members frequently seek to improve the chances of ‘favourite sons and daughters’ (Shepherd-Robinson & Lovenduski, 2002).

As stated earlier, primaries are widely accepted as a determining factor in ascertaining the extent to which a candidate can amass parliamentary approval. Organization of primaries, according to Silvester (2012), is a more extensive selection process, as it outdoors the chosen candidate of a party. It is obvious that parliamentary candidates are usually expected to first ‘cut their teeth’ by showing commitment to the party’s objective and ideology as well as their ability to campaign and galvanize support vigorously (Silvester, 2012).

Candidates’ attractiveness and ability to amass support partly determines electoral fortunes. Silvester posits that, similarly, electoral performance is influenced by a range of contextual factors such as historical patterns of voting; the performance of a political party nationally; levels of campaign resources available to a candidate, and the strength of their political opponents. That pretty much sums up what goes into parliamentary approval.

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In the context of Ghana, parliamentary approval is defined by the factors indicated earlier, as reflective in most practicing democracies. Nonetheless, the factors presented above are not static and are sometimes contextually defined, even though the fundamental tenets may remain unchanged. Again, the conduct of intra and inter-party elections are regulated by law. The former finds its basis through the 1992 Constitution, which stipulates when elections could be held and determines the eligibility of candidates (Norris, 2006; Constitution of Ghana, 1992).

Furthermore, Ghana’s electoral system is predominantly majoritarian (first-past-the-post) and requires only a plurality of the valid votes cast for a parliamentary candidate to be elected. A crucial function of political parties concerns their gate-keeping role in nominating candidates for office. This key function of political parties has potential implications for levels of intra-party conflict and the composition of parliament as well as emerging government (Daddier & Bob–Milliar, 2012).

In tune with global trends, party procedure aimed at selecting candidates for parliamentary slots has undergone some reforms, democratizing their candidate selection using open nominations and primaries. In the early years of Ghana’s Fourth Republic, competition for nomination to represent parties in the legislature was hardly keen. Since then, parliamentary primaries have assumed greater importance and have become the scenes of bloody contestation, partly because of the growing recognition that the office of MP carries with it not only status and prestige but also certain privileges including financial perks and even power, especially for the fortunate few who get tapped for ministerial positions.

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4 [ibid]
Carey and Polga-Hecimovich (2006) posit that the electorate’s value openness, transparency and internal party democracy in the selection of candidates. They further state that primaries provide a ‘stamp of legitimacy that is an asset to candidates relative to rivals selected by other procedures (Carey & Polga-Hecimovich, 2006, p.531). This view is in sharp contrast to Ichino and Nathan (2010) understudy of parliamentary nominations within the rank and file of the two major political parties in Ghana.

Ichino and Nathan demonstrated that, beyond the trace of perceived electorates’ value for openness and transparency, organization of primaries is demand driven. They recount that, the underlying assumption is that party leaders are not interested in the policy positions if potential nominees, and contrary to the literature, primaries are not more likely in competitive constituencies or weaker parties instead, the probability of primaries increases with the predicted success of the nominee in the general election.

Daddieh and Bob-Milliar (2012) documents that, candidates seeking nomination on the ticket of the parties formally go through four stages: nominations, certification, campaign and elections. Several factors influence the certification process, defining who is eligible to pursue the nomination for MP, and generally, parliamentary nominations adhere to prescription contained in their respective constitutions (Daddieh & Bob-Milliar, 2012, p.210)

Campaign financing also plays a vital role in determining the outcome of parliamentary elections. This has resulted in calls for the introduction of regulatory schemes to streamline the extent of cash-in-flows to political parties. Elsewhere, more stringent disclosure reporting, and
auditing requirements have also been instituted for both the political parties and the donors (see Ferdinand, 2003; Nassmacher, 2003).

Saffu (2003) has observed that political financing is relatively under-regulated in Africa. In the specific case of Ghana, the legal framework of party financing includes constitutional provisions, laws governing political parties and their financing as well as those governing elections campaigns as enshrined in Act 55 (14) of the 1992 Constitution and the Political Parties Act (Act 547) of 2000. These two acts leave political party financing completely unregulated, with the sole exception of banning non-citizens and foreign corporate entities from making donations, in cash or in kind, to parties.

2.6 Parliamentary Gender Representation in Ghana

2.6.1 Pre - Fourth Republican Era

The field of politics and decision-making is one area where gender disparities are most visible, persistent and challenging to tackle (Tsikata, 2009). Ghanaian women have participated in politics since independence and have contributed to various aspects including social, economic and political life of Ghana since then. It is worthy of note that, the women have also participated in policy making towards women's issues and gender equity as well as within the international arena. Despite the evidence of Ghanaian women history of engagement, women are noticeably absent from mainstream political decision-making processes (Tsikata, 1997).

In addition, Ghana was one of the first countries in Africa to introduce some form of a quota system in 1959, which ensured the nomination and election of ten (10) women in parliament by the then President Kwame Nkrumah under the Convention People’s Party (CPP). The initiative was short-lived as it was tied to the government and thus, it dissolved with the overthrow of President Nkrumah in 1966 (Madsen, 2019).
The history of Ghana’s parliamentary composition thus, paints a murky picture of gender representation, depicting the gross disparity in man to woman ratio. The age-long deficiency persists despite a steady increase in the percentage of women to men in parliament. Women’s poor representation therefore clearly highlights the pervasiveness of gender inequalities engrossed in all facets of human endeavor.

The surge in demands for parity in decision-making was not the case as today. This is reflective in the number of women that voluntarily put themselves up for election. The 1954 parliamentary elections for instance saw the first woman, Mabel Dove, elected to represent the Ga Constituency as against one hundred and three (103) men (Frempong, 2017, p.29).

Various reasons have been offered for the low levels of women's participation in public life, politics and decision-making, which are systemic and structural. The three main reasons often cited are 1) the impact of women's position in other spheres of life as a result of the inequalities in the sexual division of labor, women's disadvantages in the control of resources and gender ideologies which naturalize and reinforce inequalities; (2) the problems of the political system and (3) the failure of public policy (Tsikata, 2009, p.22). Beyond all these inherent systemic factors, the trend of women empowerment across the world had not gathered momentum alike.

2.6.2 The Fourth Republic Era

The Fourth Republican era, as stated, recorded steady improvement in the number of women to men ratio in parliament. In sharp contrast to the post-independence era, the fourth republic witnessed a global change against gender inequality. Several conventions, conferences were organized, geared towards the emancipation of women. Countries were required as a matter of obligation to integrate protocols into their domestic laws. For example, Ghana on 13th June,
2007, signed and ratified the Maputo Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa and has pledged its commitment to support the advancement of women in the continent, as well as the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance.

Articles 8, 29 and 43 of the Charter mandate Member States to adopt legislative measures to guarantee the political rights of women, create the necessary conditions for their full and active participation in decision making processes and structures at all levels as a fundamental element of democracy, and to be replicated in electoral processes (UNDP, 2017, 7-8). This has thus, contributed enormously to steady improvement in women’s parliamentary participation within the bracket of the Fourth Republic.

The proportion of female winners has been around 10 percent (1992-2012) of the total membership, far below the UN – mandated 30 percent threshold. In 1992; sixteen (16) of two hundred (200), representing eight (8) percent were elected; in 1996, eighteen (18) of two hundred (200) representing nine (9) percent; in 2000, twenty (20) out of 200 (10%); in 2004, twenty-five (25) of two hundred and thirty (230), constituting 10.9 percent; in 2008, twenty (20) of 230 (8.7 percent) and in 2012, thirty (30) of 275 (10.9 percent). The 2016 elections saw a remarkable increase in the number of women, totaling thirty-seven (37) out of (275) seats – however, this represented a paltry 13.5 percent, more than half below the threshold of at least 30 percent (Frempong, 2017, pp 406-407).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>CONTESTANTS</th>
<th>ELECTED</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female %</td>
<td>Male %</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>1,121</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>1,332</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>856</td>
<td>89.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>849</td>
<td>89.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>90.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>721</td>
<td>92.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>94.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>781</td>
<td>97.1</td>
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From the above data in figure 1, it is evident that women have been generally underrepresented given the number of males to females and in consideration that, women make up a significant number of the population in Ghana. The gender representation in parliament is therefore skewed towards males, raising concerns of advancing issues of gender equality and women’s empowerment despite minimal increase in the numbers of women MP’s overtime.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter discussed an overview of the underpinning issues and concepts in line with the research topic and problem. The chapter thus, provides a brief on global gender equality, empowerment and parliamentary representation with a focus on Africa and the Ghanaian Parliament in particular. Global parliamentary representation has generally been male dominated, which warrants consented efforts to ensure gender equality in the area specified. Global gender equality in politics thus, evolved overtime as an issue of human right which saw the gradual change of norms, allowing women the rights to vote and to be elected as political representatives. Gradually, the global goals have been adopted by several countries including Ghana. The goals
have since been integrated into other regional, sub-regional and national agreements and protocols to ensure the achievement of gender equality and empowerment.

The process involved in gaining access to parliamentary representation is largely the responsibility of political parties that have the authority within its powers to choose whom to select as a candidate to stand for elections. It is however worthy of note that, the process and eligibility of the candidate is prescribed under a country’s Constitution and in Ghana, the process is guided by the 1992 Constitution. This however does not erode the powers within which political parties select their preferred candidate for parliamentary elections, once a candidate is cleared to be eligible.

Despite the adoption of several protocols and agreements towards achieving gender equality and women’s empowerment in parliamentary representation, the progress has generally been slow and the notable countries including Rwanda, Namibia and the Nordic countries that have made significant gains on gender equality in parliamentary representation, did so as a result of deliberate efforts and strategies. The situation with the Ghanaian parliament has also seen some progress overtime in comparison to previous parliamentary results. This however, is still below the threshold advanced by the UN. Hence, it is important to ascertain the factors that have accounted for the difference and identify the measures in place to achieve set goals within the SDG5 framework. The next chapter therefore discusses the findings obtained from the primary data, in line with the research objectives.
REFERENCES


CHAPTER THREE

GHANA’S DRIVE TOWARDS ACHIEVING THE SDG 5 IN PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter, (chapter two) attempted to discuss the main issues underlying the research, thus it centered on gender equality, empowerment and parliamentary representation from a global perspective, a focus on Africa and Ghana in particular. The chapter discussed a general overview as well as historical antecedents underpinning some of the concepts. It further focused on evolving trends in parliamentary gender representation in Ghana from 1979 to the current representation in 2016 to highlight and provide an understanding of the phenomenon understudy.

This chapter, constituting chapter three provides details on the primary data collected through in-depth interviews in line with the research questions. The analytical discussions of the themes will be done drawing from the underpinnings of the main conceptual framework of the study which is gender empowerment. The findings are supported with direct quotations from participants and the use of available secondary data. While a few of the participants gave their consent for their names to be included in the analysis, others opted for anonymity due to the sensitive nature of the responses. The discussions are thus presented with few names at some sections, whiles others are withheld in line with ethical considerations.

All sections of anonymity are represented with Respondents (R). The data analyzed is presented in five (5) main sections. The first section highlights the gender ratio of respondents as the main demographic factor of interest, as information was obtained from both males and females. The last four (4) sections are organized in line with the research objectives, with a focus
on SDG 5.5 and 5.C. Target 5.5 calls on signatories to “ensure women’s full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life” while 5.C calls for the “adoption and strengthening of sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels”. It is worthy of note that, although this chapter discusses Ghana’s drive towards achieving gender equality and empowerment in line with the SDG 5, it is prudent to first ascertain the factors that have accounted for the difference in gender representation.

The four main sections of the data analysis are hence categorized as follows; the first part of the analysis answers the question on the factors that account for the difference in gender representation in Ghana’s national parliament. The second part discusses the relevance of gender equality in Ghana’s national parliament from the interviewees’ perspective and a link is drawn to identify among others what is driving Ghana towards achieving SDG 5. The analysis further covers the measures in place to achieve set targets, constituting, part three, while part four identifies the challenges associated with specified measures.

### 3.1 Gender Ratio of Respondents

![Gender Ratio of Respondents](http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh)

Fig 2- Source: Field Data, 2019.
The information in fig 3 above presents an equal percentage representation of the number of male and female respondents who participated in the research. This was important to maintain objectivity of key findings as both gender perspectives are relevant to enrich the study.

3.2 Objective 1: Factors accounting for the difference in Gender Representation in Ghana’s Parliament

The parliamentary gender representation of Ghana has generally been male dominated. With the responses from twenty (20) respondents, the main themes identified as barriers include, (1) inadequate general supply of women; (2) socio-cultural factors including, bad perception about women in politics which leads to name-calling and stigmatization, general notion that women are not supposed to be in politics based on traditional gender stereotypes, fear of being a target of the media; lack of support from family, balancing political and family life; (3) lack of education; (4) aggressive nature of politics; (5) contending forces on morality (6) political party politics to support men rather than women and (7) Lack of financial resources.

As revealed in this study, the main barriers to parliamentary gender representation in Ghana are not unusual from other findings and thus, reaffirms earlier studies by scholars including, Agbalajobi (2010); Dube (2013); Bawa and Sanyare (2013); Tagoe and Abakah (2015). The studies by these authors confirm that, a lack of education, culture, structural barriers, lack of resources, the aggressive nature of politics, and ascribed roles given to women as “carers”, all serve as barriers to women representation in parliament. The study further reveals some additional factors as well which include the contending forces on morality, fear of the media and political party politics to support men rather than women.

3.2.1 Inadequate Supply of Women
Women and men have contributed to the successes of governance in Ghana, with Tsikata (2009) emphasizing that, Ghanaian women have been active in politics since the fight for independence and have since contributed in diverse ways in all spheres of life. Nonetheless, the history of Ghana’s parliamentary representation highlights a low representation of women. One of the reasons as identified from the data gathered indicates that, there is a general low supply of women vying for parliamentary positions, largely due to some barriers and the general lack of interest in political representation.

According to Respondents, some qualified women refuse to contest for positions in the first place. R 3 stated that, “we generally have fewer women contesting. We just completed our vetting and in my party for instance, out of sixty - three (63) total aspirants, only thirteen (13) are females, so right from the beginning, fewer women contest these positions and the reasons are well known and documented”. According to her, “politics is generally seen as a domain for men and as a woman, it is tough to compete with these men who are in the majority. People also have wrong perceptions about women who have made it into politics. Sometimes women are not able to participate because of a general lack of support from family, public and even within the political party, they prefer to support a man more than a woman. The media also pick up on the women to dig up their past; it is also not easy for women to cope with family life and politics. Although some women are qualified, they do not have the resources, politics is very expensive”. (Field Interview, July 2019).

Additionally, Hon. Freda Prempeh, MP for Tano North Constituency indicated that, “I have personally encouraged some well-educated and highly qualified women to engage in politics, but they have refused because there is a lack of interest in politics” (Field Interview, July 2019). Similarly, R6 notes that, “some well qualified women do not offer themselves for
parliamentary elections and this creates a gap in women’s representation right from the onset” (Field Interview, July 2019).

The low supply of women has been largely due to the various barriers confronting women for political representation. According to Rosen (2010), socioeconomic variables and ideological factors impact the supply of women. Research has also indicated that Patriarchal norms, sacred cultures do affect women representation in parliament (Thabane & Buthelezi, 2008) and thus, these inhibits women to avail themselves.

Norris and Lovenduski (1995) also indicates that two key factors shape the supply of aspirants including, (1) resources such as time, money, and experience, and (2) motivation, such as drive, ambition, and interest in politics. These factors, according to Norris and Lovenduski determine the level of interest of women participation in political representation. The disinterest in politics by Ghanaian women is therefore largely due to the several barriers already mentioned that inhibit women’s representation in parliaments.

**Socio-cultural / Structural Factors**

**3.2.2 Perceptions about Women in Politics**

Another barrier to women’s representation in Parliament which was revealed by respondents emphasizes that the notions around women in politics has generally been negative. According to respondents, there have been concerns regarding “name calling”, where women are negatively branded with names that are often intimidating and lead to stigmatization. The general negative notions surrounding women in politics accounts for the various names given to these women. From the study, women are sometimes referred to as “prostitutes”, “Iron lady”, “Obaa
denden” among others. The name calling have largely been attributed to the general socio-cultural and gender norms that expect women to behave in a certain way.

From the data gathered, R4 indicated that, “gaining political office is difficult for unmarried women since they are perceived to have used their bodies to gain some advantage” (Field Interview, June 2019). Similarly, R6 notes that, “people generally have bad perceptions about women in politics. Some women are branded prostitutes because they are perceived to have engaged in sexual relations with men to make it to the top and not because of their competence” (Field Interview, July 2019).

Another important disclosure made by R8 is that, “culturally, women are expected to be soft and if you are a bit tough you appear difficult. You are not expected to behave strong and competitive as a woman. If you do not fit in that box, you are given names like, ‘Obaa denden’ or ‘Iron lady’. The main explanations to the name calling have to do with the fact that women are to behave in a certain way. As noted by Tsikata (2009), women have been seen to own a weaker voice as compared to their male counterparts. Through socialization, cultural orientation and gender norms, women and men have been perceived as different and what it means to be a ‘man’ or a ‘woman’ is engrained in early childhood experiences (Kwapong, 2009). This to a large extent provides some of the underpinnings of how a woman or a man is expected to behave in the society. Additionally, women have been highlighted as inferior to the man in many societies, including Ghana.

3.2.3 Traditional Gender Stereotypes/ Social Norms

It was further revealed by respondents that traditional gender stereotypes also influence the general perception about women in Parliament. According to respondents it inhibits women’s participation and representation, and these accounts for their low numbers in Parliament.
According to the UN, gender stereotyping refers to the practice of ascribing to an individual specific attribute based on their gender or roles in society. The UN further notes that gender stereotyping is seen as unlawful when it violates human rights and fundamental freedoms. States are thus obligated under Article 5 (a) of CEDAW (1979), to take appropriate steps to “modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women to eliminate practices, based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women.” Article 2(f) reinforces article 5 by requiring States Parties to take appropriate measures to “modify or abolish laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women.”

From the study, respondents noted that, traditionally, there is a long-held belief that politics is not for women and that it is a “man’s game. It is believed that men should be in politics and not women. For instance, Peace Medie, a Research Fellow at LECIAD, University of Ghana indicated that, “politics is seen as men’s game, which discourages women” (Field Interview, October 2019). Hon Kojo Asemanyi, MP for Gomoa East Constituency further reaffirms this statement by indicating that “politics is generally viewed as a man’s game and women are not encouraged to go into it”. (Field Interview, October 2019). These statements further reemphasize that, men have dominated in leadership over the years (Allah-Mensah, 2003). This is largely due to the patriarchal nature of the Ghanaian society.

In addition, R2 noted that, “politics is seen as a man’s game and the culture has been to support men by political parties and may occasionally support a woman, who is linked to an influential person”. The issue of politics as a ‘man’s game’ is largely because males have dominated politics for a long time, with women being less active.
3.2.4 Lack of Support from Family / Balancing Work and Family

Another issue identified in the information provided indicates that women generally find it difficult to venture into politics as they do not receive support from their families. For example, it was revealed in the study that, women sometimes do not receive endorsement from their husbands to venture into politics. Hon. Ntim-Fordjour, MP for Assin South Constituency notes that, “it is not easy for a woman to receive support from husband especially, when politics involves a lot of time in campaigns and the woman will be out of the home for a long time” (Field Interview, October 2019).

In addition, Hon. Kodwo Asemanyi posited that, “sometimes the women do not receive support from family members when they attempt to get into politics” (Field Interview, October 2019). R9 also notes that, “women do not receive support from family to enter into politics, and even sometimes the woman can be disowned or even downgraded if she goes ahead” (Field Interview, June 2019). Additionally, R7 stated that, “women are concerned about who will take care of their children, if they should go into politics. Political office is demanding” (Field Interview, July 2019). R4 noted that, “it is not easy to juggle political life with marital life, and even worse if the woman has children. The situation can even result in broken homes, especially where attention is not given to family issues” (Field Interview, June 2019).

3.2.5 Women as Targets of the Media

The study further revealed that, one other factor that have accounted for the difference in parliamentary representation has been a fear of being targeted by the media. R5 said that, “there is a fear of the media to pick on you. You know our media is also dominated by the men. Sometimes when you talk as a woman, the media quickly picks on you. They even go to the extent of digging into your history about your past relationships and all that. It is difficult for
women to be exposed in that light especially with our cultural setup and upbringing, some women cannot stand that” (Field Interview, July 2019). R8 also noted that, “as a woman, you are targeted by the media which is also dominated by the men. They pick up on you and try to destroy your image through the stories they post about you”. (Field Interview, July 2019).

Studies have indicated that the media encourages gender biases and promotes a stereotype about “a woman’s place” and does not adequately inform the public about the rights and roles of women in society (Shvedova, 2005, p. 45-46). Additionally, Omtatah (2008, p. 60) argues that, the media is biased against women as it fails to embrace gender-neutral language and promotes barriers such as elevation of conflict, intimidation, negative attitudes, and stereotypes against women. Thus, according to Kamau (2010), the media works against women’s interests by ignoring issues concerning women such as their achievements and rather focusing on their failures. The situation thus highlights a negative acceptance of women into the public domain. It also reveals how cultural and gender norms have infiltrated various parts of the society and to the extent of influencing media judgments.

3.2.6 Lack of Education

There has been some emphasis on education as an important factor to ones’ success in society. Although education may not be the only determinant of success, it empowers the individual with the capacity to fully engage or participate in any sector of society (UNFPA, 1994). As noted by Respondents, lack of education has relegated some women into the background as a higher office of the legislature requires some level of education to read, understand and articulate issues.
According to Hon. Dr. Bernice Heloo, MP for Hohoe Constituency, “illiteracy and the lack of education is a barrier to women’s representation in parliament. The insistence of literacy as part of the requirements of gaining access into parliament has put people, especially women outside the brackets since more men than women have attained higher education, although the situation is gradually changing. Even women with the money do not also contest because they lack the relevant education and will not be able to articulate issues, they are limited” (Field Interview, July 2019). Similarly, R9 indicated that, “I believe education is very important to achieve success in Parliament. Some women with the money do not participate in politics as they lack education and will not be able to articulate issues in parliament” (Field Interview, June 2019).

The main issues accounting for the lack of education among women has largely been as a result of a preference for the male child to be in school at the expense of the woman. The woman was thus relegated to the background with some studies confirming that, parents were of the view that, the place of the female is in the kitchen and for that matter their education is not important as compared to their male counterparts (Dolphyne, 1995). This situation is however changing as there is an upsurge in women education.

3.2.7 Contending Forces on Morality

The general understanding gained from the responses on the factors affecting gender representations in Ghana’s Parliament further has to do with some issues of morality. As indicated by R3, “in politics, it is not always about the truth, it is not always transparent as you must kill your conscience; modify your values to the extent of playing at the whims of the Party. Sometimes, you are confronted to act in a way that could be morally improper” (Field Interview,
June 2019). Additionally, R7 indicated that, “politics is a dirty game, women are expected to be morally right, and hence, those in politics or parliaments are seen as negative and this hinders women” (Field Interview, July 2019).

Similarly, R2 further reiterates this statement by indicating that, “you have to indulge in immoral acts if you want to gain votes. There are issues of ‘sex trading’ as there is the notion that, you should sleep with people to bond with them. If as an aspiring male MP, you are confronted with these challenges, what about women? Time and money invested in the campaign could actually push you to indulge in immorality” (Field Interview, July 2019). In addition, R1 indicated that, “there is some manipulations by the men where men intentionally take women as partners and are able to capture the votes of the individual and even extend to their families such influence, so once they are able to capture them, they have in turn captured their votes and that of their families as well. You know, as a woman MP, you cannot do that and it becomes difficult competing with the males” (Field Interview, July 2019).

3.2.8 Aggressive/ Adversarial Nature of Politics

Aggression in politics is not a new phenomenon as there have been several recorded incidences of clashes among leaders and followers within political parties in Ghana. According to respondents, the nature of politics has generally been characterized by some forms of aggression, sometimes resulting in physical clashes and verbal abuse, which often deters women aspirants. For instance, Hon. Ntim-Fordjour notes that, “the adversarial landscape of politics makes it difficult for women to be interested since there have been instances of violence, insults and propaganda” (Field Interview, October 2019).
Additionally, Peace Medie revealed that, “politics in Ghana have been characterized by some violence, which serves as deterrence to women political participation. This has been well documented by Linda Darkwa on Political Violence in Ghana” (Field Interview, October 2019). According to Linda Darkwa’s contribution in the work, “Gender, Elections and Violence: Pricing Women Out of Democracy in Ghana”, the author confirms that, the low numbers of women representation in competitive elected position is largely due to election related violence as the study revealed evidence of politically motivated violence. This deters women.

3.2.9 Economic / Financial Resources

The general notion on politics is that, it is expensive as a lot of financial commitments go into political campaigns, filing fees and others. The implication is that, financial constraints prevent women from participating. The upsurge in the cost of politics thus, becomes the domain of the elite, preventing others to participate in politics. The responses from the study revealed that, lack of financial resources account for the difference in parliamentary representation.

As noted by Kennedy Ahorsu, a Senior Lecturer at LECIAD, University of Ghana, “politics is very expensive, you need money for your campaigns and other activities, a lot of women do not have the money to enter into politics” (Field Interview, October 2019). In addition, R8 notes that, “most women do not have the financial resources to venture into politics as we do not veer into big ventures or businesses and so you have to fall on the men again. Mind you, this whole thing is about money. Nowadays it is not even about equality but the money, if you don’t have the money you cannot get there” (Field Interview, July 2019). In addition, Peace Medie noted that, “the cost of running campaigns and pursuing politics is very expensive. How many women have that kind of resources?” (Field Interview, October 2019).
Additionally, Hon. Ntim Fordjour stated that, “males are more economically empowered in the Ghanaian society than women except for few exceptions where the woman is seen as being wealthier than the man. Politics involves a lot of money and even more, to undertake meaningful campaigns to win. Sometimes people receive sponsorships and here, sponsors will be more willing to sponsor men, who they believe is likely to win a seat in a particular constituency than a woman”.

To emphasize the expensive nature of politics in Ghana, Lindberg (2010) affirms that, parliamentary primary elections are becoming deeply contested and expensive that, both aspiring incumbent MPs raise their campaign funds overseas. In addition, a study done by a team, led by Kojo Asante on the ‘Cost of Politics in Ghana’, revealed that, candidates raise about three hundred and eighty-nine thousand, eight hundred and three Ghana Cedis (GH₵389,803) to secure party primary nomination and compete in the parliamentary election in their constituencies. This outcome is based on the experiences of aspiring and incumbent MPs in the 2012 and 2016 elections as election expenditure covers among others, campaigns, payment of party workers, media and advertisement and donations.

3.4 Objective 2: Factors Driving Gender Equality and Empowerment in Parliamentary Representation in Ghana

Several drivers inform change. This part of the research thus answers the question on what could be driving Ghana to achieve SDG5 in parliamentary representation. The data revealed that, (1) general agreements and protocols signed by countries are a push for signatories to achieve set targets, others including; (2) advocacies from women’s movement and other CSOs, (3) emulation of international best practices especially from success stories; (4) pressure from international organizations and donors; as well as (5) presence of political will and drive.
3.4.1 General Agreements and Protocols signed by countries

Countries including Ghana have assented to various agreements and protocols in line with the achievement of gender equality and empowerment and as rightly noted by Hon Humado, MP for Anlo Constituency, “the several protocols and agreements on gender equality, empowerment and human rights in general that have been signed by countries, including Ghana, are binding instruments that countries are expected to adhere”. As noted by Madam Kpekata, Ghana has adopted and ratified several agreements and protocols on gender equality and empowerment. This means that, parties are mandated to work to achieve set targets and it serves as a push” (Field Interview, July, 2019).

3.4.2 Advocacies / Pressure from International Donor Agencies

Advocacies from several groups including political party women’s wings, NGO’s, CSO’s partners, gender - sensitive have all in the last decades pushed for women’s agenda, especially on issues of gender equality and empowerment as inequalities have persisted over time. R14 thus revealed that, “advocacies have helped to a large extent in highlighting issues of inequalities in the country. That is how come we have seen a lot of progress on gender equality and empowerment”. R3 stated that, “the contributions by advocacy groups in pushing the gender agenda have been very instrumental in bringing to light the inequalities that exist in all spheres of life”.

According to R2, “some women-centered advocacy groups, made up of the Network for Women’s Rights in Ghana (NETRIGHT), the Women’s Manifesto Coalition (WMC), the Domestic Violence Coalition (DV) and the Women in Law and Development (WiLDAF), have endeavored in the last decades to push for gender equality and empowerment
in different sectors including education, family, politics, governance, and healthcare, among others. This revelation thus confirms the assertion by Wangnerud and Samanni (2009), who indicated that, gradual change towards achieving gender equality have resulted from conscious efforts from sustained mobilization, women’s activisms,

On the pressure from international organizations and donors, Kennedy Ahorsu noted that, “pressure from international organizations and donors including, the UN, World Bank, and other intergovernmental organizations serve as driving forces for Ghana to achieve gender equality in parliamentary representation, to the extent that, there are provisions in donor forms to ensure the incorporation of gender issues”. (Field Interview, October 2019). Additionally, R5 indicated that, “international donors demand that a country adopts issues of human rights, gender and empowerment as a beneficiary of donations”.

3.4.3 Emulation of International Best Practices

According to respondents, success stories especially those on the African continent challenges and motivates the country towards achieving gender equality in parliamentary representation. According to R1, “Ghana is compelled to ensure greater gender equality, especially being a leader of democracy on the continent and with the success stories from countries like Rwanda, South Africa, Mozambique and others, we are motivated and challenged to do more in our parliament as well”.

3.4.4 Political Will and Drive

Another interesting dynamic that emerged as contributing to Ghana’s direction towards achieving gender equality is the presence of political will and drive. As noted by Hon. Ntim-
Fordjour, “It is rather political will that is driving the country towards achieving SDG 5 in recent times, although advocacies have helped to some extent”. He further noted that, “there are several advocacy groups, including the LGBT+ Movement seeking for some rights but have been unsuccessful despite being active lately. This is because the issue of LGBT+ has not gained any momentum in the country due to a lack of political will”. He further noted that, “Other countries have been able to do it, so it serves as a motivation for Ghana to do same”. (Field Interview, October 2019).

3.5 Objective 3: Measures in place to achieve SDG5 in Parliamentary Representation in Ghana

Achieving gender equality and empowerment has been a collaborative effort. Measures towards achieving set objectives in politics have hence resulted from the activities of government institutions, CSO’s, other NGO’s, political parties, women’s wings within and outside political parties, international institutions that provide countries with international laws, agreements and protocols on ensuring gender equality and empowerment, individuals and other stakeholders. In order to address objective three (3), which is to ascertain some measures (policies, structures, strategies) in place towards achieving the SDG5 in parliamentary representation and thus to ascertain Ghana’s overall drive to achieve set goals and targets. This part of the research was important in order to determine the measures implemented and those being implemented towards achieving set goals.

The measures identified by respondents include, (1) the establishment of both government and non-government structures to advance the interest of gender-related issues; (2) Capacity building/training initiatives from both government and CSOs; (3) at the political party level, respondents noted that, the two main dominant political parties in Ghana, thus the NPP and
the NDC have initiated a reduced filing fee for female parliamentary candidates, (4) the establishment of women’s organizations and wings to advance the interest of members, (5) Ghana has also ratified and consented to several gender-sensitive protocols and agreements among others.

3.5.1 Structures/Policies/Agreements/Political Party Initiatives towards Gender Equality and Empowerment

3.5.1a Establishment of the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (MoGCSP)

The Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection was established in Ghana in January 2013 as a successor to the Ministry of Women and Children’s Affairs. As a government ministry, it is responsible for policy formulation, coordination as well as the monitoring and evaluation of issues on gender, children and social protection within the national development agenda. The main objective of the Ministry is to promote Gender mainstreaming and Gender-responsive budgeting in Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDA’s) as well as in Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs).

According to Madam Sabia Kpekata, a Senior Official in charge of Gender Programs at the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, indicated that, “generally there are a lot of measures in place to ensure gender equality and empowerment in different sectors”. She further made an interesting disclosure by indicating that, “although there are no specific measures directed towards gender equality and empowerment in parliamentary representation, there are yet measures to ensure set targets cover political representation and participation in general by empowering women with different tools, skills and opportunities”.

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Madam Kpekata stated that, the establishment of the Gender Ministry is a great step towards the achievement of gender-related issues, the Ministry in collaboration with other stakeholders engages in several programs and activities and assist to draft gender-sensitive policies towards gender equality and empowerment”. Madam Kpekata further indicated that, “there are ongoing capacity building programs to ensure women are empowered and well equipped to take up positions in politics”. According to her, other “CSO’s and partners engage women in capacity building”. We have seen some successes as some beneficiaries of the programs are currently part of the 2016 elected parliamentarians” (field interview, July 2019).

Additionally, The Deputy Minister for Gender, Children and Social Protection, who is also an MP, noted that, “there are ongoing sensitization programs for women to offer themselves for political positions” (Field interview, July 2019). In addition, Madam Kpekata revealed that, “women are trained on how to campaign and on public speaking at various levels. We also educate the electorate and canvas for electorates to vote for women by letting them know the importance of voting for women. For instance, we engaged in a campaign and strategy on voting for women in the 2016 elections which yielded some results as I can identify few women in parliament who have benefitted from our programs” (Field Interview, July 2019).

3.5.1b Roles and Responsibilities in the Implementation of Gender Policies by MoGCSP

The Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (MoGCSP) has been Mandated to promote gender equality and safeguard the welfare and full participation of women in social, political and economic development process with other responsibilities including:

- Lead resource mobilization efforts towards effective implementation of Gender Policies
• Facilitate the deployment of necessary human capital towards the implementation of the Policy.

• Lead in the roles of coordination, networking and facilitation of all strategic measures outlined in the Policy.

• Mainstream gender issues into all sectors in order to eliminate all negative economic, social and cultural practices that impede equality and equity of the sexes, bring men into the mainstreaming framework.

• Oversee and spearhead social protection programs and projects to ensure gender equality and women’s empowerment.

• Ensure that all policy formulation and reviews, action plans, and other major planning exercises apply a gender responsive planning approach.

• Liaise with other institutions to pay attention to key gender concerns and related issues, e.g. property ownership, land tenure, credit, legal rights as well as relevant options for addressing them such as constitutional guarantees, law reform and literacy campaigns.

• Provide technical guidance and back up support to other institutions/ sector ministries to promote gender analysis and planning.

• Strengthen links between Government, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and the private sector in mainstreaming gender and women’s empowerment into respective sectors policies, plans and frameworks.

The Parliament of Ghana under its Committee on Gender and Children in collaboration with the MoGCSP, assesses the impacts and relevance of policies on Gender equality and empowerment concerns. The institution passes national legislation and localizes International Instruments that ensure women’s rights are respected; they further incorporate measures necessary to ensure gender equality to address inequalities (Ministry of Gender Children and Social Protection, 2015).
3.5.2 Gender Policies/ Agreements/Laws

Countries including Ghana have drafted national policies and laws to address issues regarding gender inequalities in the society. Additionally, Ghana has signed on to several agreements and protocols in the quest towards achieving the SDG 5. According to respondents there are available gender policies, agreements and laws that guide the country to ensure gender equality and empowerment. While there are some policies including the 2015 Gender Policy spearheaded by the MoGCSP, the Affirmative Action Bill is however, yet to receive approval.

According to Madam Sabia Kpekata, “the Ministry helped to draft a gender policy in 2015 and the Affirmative Action Bill which is currently yet to be passed as a law”. Madam Kpekata revealed that, “The Ministry spearheaded the Affirmative Action Policy 1998 which is advocating for forty (40) percent representation of women across all sectors. The process started with nationwide consultations, meeting with various political parties and stakeholders including institutions that are responsible for the implementation of the Bill”. The final draft bill got cabinet approval in 2016, but it did not proceed to the consideration stage in parliament due to a change in government. Subsequently, there was a need for review and so the process began again. Currently, the bill is in its final stage of conclusion, it is the hope that the bill receives approval” (Field Interview, July 2019).

3.5.3 Constitutional, Legislative and National Gender Equality/ Empowerment Frameworks

The responses received from the twenty (20) respondents on some measures available in Ghana towards the achievement of the SDG 5 further revealed the under listed constitutional,
legislative and gender equality frameworks that Ghana has established and consented to in order to achieve gender equality.

- The Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW OP) 1999 (Signed on 24 February 2000)
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) 1966 (Ratified 7 December 2000)
- The Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (ECOSOC)
- The Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, 1985
- The Vienna Declaration on Human Rights, 1993
- The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995
- The International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) declaration, 1994
- The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), 2000.
- The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) 1966 (Ratified on 7th December, 2000).
Implementation of the Education Strategic Plan (ESP) 2010-2020, focuses on the achievement of equitable access to good quality and gender parity in education. (Field Interview, July/October 2019; Ghana Gender Policy, 2015).

3.5.4 Political Party Initiatives to Empower Women and Ensure Gender Equality

Political parties are the main structures through which political aspirants become politically engaged and get elected. Political parties’ practices, policies, and values can have a great impact on women’s political participation and representation as political parties nominate candidates for both local and national elections, provide campaign funding, rally voters, set policy and governance priorities, and form governments (Ballington et al, 2011). Their role in promoting gender equality cannot be overemphasized.

In Ghana, political parties have over the years adopted some strategies in a bid to increase women participation in parliamentary representation. It is recalled in the history of Ghana that, the Convention People’s Party (CPP) government, led by His Excellency, Former President Kwame Nkrumah, passed the Representation of the People Act, which resulted in the nomination and election of ten (10) women. This however was short-lived with the overthrow of President Nkrumah. This is a clear indication that, issues of gender equality and empowerment in political representation has been advanced for a long time in Ghana, however, the measures have not been sustainable and does not translate into reality (Madsen, 2019).

On addressing issues regarding measures in place towards the achievement of parliamentary representation, Respondents revealed that, there are conscious efforts at the political party level to ensure women are encouraged into parliamentary representation. For example, respondents disclosed that, as part of political party initiatives, women pay a reduced filing fee in comparison to that of the men parliamentary aspirants. According to Hon. Bernice
Heloo, “there are measures in place in my party, where women pay reduced filing fees of fifty (50) percent of the total filing fees of twenty-five thousand Ghana Cedis (GHS 25,000) in addition to a nomination form of two thousand Ghana Cedis (GHS 2,000). This means that, women are to pay twelve thousand, five hundred Ghana Cedis (GHS 12,500) excluding fee for nomination form” (Field Interview, July, 2019).

Additionally, R7 noted that, “In my party for instance, women pay a reduced fee for registration compared to the men. It is a way to encourage women participation in parliamentary representation.” (Field Interview, July, 2019). Similarly, another respondent, R8 revealed that, “You know, the NDC has pegged its filing fee at twenty-five thousand Ghana Cedis (GHC 25,000) for the 2019 primaries and as you are aware, the NPP has also pegged its fee at twenty-thousand Ghana Cedis (GHC20, 000) and women in these parties are to pay half of the general filing fees as an incentive to encourage more women into parliamentary representation” (Field Interview, July, 2019).

Respondents further revealed that, political parties have made provisions for gender-sensitive policies in their manifestos. For instance, R15 noted that, “All political parties now have manifestos that include issues of gender, which is to eliminate discrimination” (Field Interview, October, 2019).

A Senior Official from one of the two main dominant political parties indicated that, “in 2015, the NPP introduced an initiative on parliamentary seats for women within the party but it did not receive much support and so it was shelved. The initiative was an attempt to provide that, any constituency occupied by a female, could only be contested by another female within the party. This did not receive much support since it was viewed as constituting a top-down approach without extensive consultation”.
3.5.5 Non-Governmental Organizations / Civil Society Efforts

Gender equality and empowerment measures have been determined to be a collaborative effort from several stakeholders. Thus, there have been international, regional and national efforts by development partners to ensure gender equality and women empowerment are attained. As noted by R3, “development partners such as ABANTU for Africa, Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF), Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), UN, United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), German Technical Cooperation Agency (GTZ) and Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) among others, have engaged in advocacies and sensitization programs to increase the participation of women in decision-making levels within politics and governance; community as well as family” to empower women”.

In addition, R13 noted that, “government and non-governmental organizations have collaborated to train and organize women to better equip them. For instance, ABANTU for Africa, UNFPA, CIDA, DANIDA among other partners, with government institutions responsible for gender empowerment and equality have aided women’s organizations to participate in policy formulation. These groups also provide training to women candidates seeking elections and those already in parliament and through technical assistance projects. Women parliamentarians and Ministers of state are also beneficiaries”.

3.6 Objective 3b: Gender Equality and Empowerment Measures being implemented

3.6.1 The Affirmative Action Bill

Affirmative Action are a set of measures adopted by governments, public and private institutions such as political parties, educational establishments among others to ensure gender equality and empowerment in different spheres of life. The Affirmative Action Bill is to
empower women across Ghana to ensure gender equality. In Ghana, the Affirmative Action has been employed since independence to address gender and regional imbalances in access to education, health, work and politics (Tsikata, 2009). The Affirmative Action Bill seeks to identify and correct areas of social, cultural, economic and educational imbalance in Ghana, and to promote full and active participation of women in public life through an equitable system.

According to respondents, the Affirmative Action Bill is the main issue currently being debated in parliament and has received some support, but it is yet to be passed as law. R 7 indicated that, “as you may be aware, the Affirmative Action bill is being debated in parliament and it has received some support, but we are yet to complete all processes and pass into law”. Additionally, Madam Kpekata revealed that, “the MoGCSP spearheaded the Affirmative Action Policy of 1998 which is advocating for forty (40) percent representation of women across all sectors. The process started with nationwide consultations, meeting with various political parties and stakeholders including institutions that are responsible for the implementation of the Bill”. Currently, the bill is in its final stage of conclusion, it is the hope that the bill receives approval” (Field Interview, July 2019).

3.7. **Outcome of Interventions in Parliamentary Representation**

As indicated by Madam Kpekata, “women are trained on how to campaign and on public speaking at various levels and in 2016 elections for instance, we engaged in a campaign strategy that yielded some results as there was an increase of six (6) women compared to the 2012 elections”.

Although there have been several interventions from government and non-governmental agencies in promoting and empowering women in different areas such as economic, educational,
politics in general, a few focuses on parliamentary representation. This notwithstanding, parliamentary results in Ghana over the years have seen a slight improvement. Progress has however, been slow as women in Ghana continue to be in the minority in decision making and political spheres, despite comprising the majority of the population. The statistical representation of women in Parliament in comparison of previous years to the current Parliament, 2016 indicates a slow and marginal increase. It therefore raises the question as to whether these available measures have made impact in the first place. This could therefore be an avenue for further research.

3.8 Objective 4: Challenges Implementing Parliamentary Gender Equality Measures

Questions were posed to respondents to indicate some of the challenges that seem to have hindered the successful implementation of measures in line with the achievement of gender equality and empowerment in parliamentary representation. The main challenges identified by respondents include (1) cumbersome and bureaucratic processes involved in drafting and implementing gender policies and programs; (2) inadequate priority on women’s issues; (3) misallocation of resources; (4) the top-down approach to the creation and implementation of measures are not the best; (5) inadequate funds, (6) socio-cultural issues.

R3 revealed that, “some of the people to implement these measures are not on the ground. They don’t know the realities; you have to be with the people to understand their plight in order to bring about appropriate measures” (Field Interview, July, 2019). With regards to the allocation of resources, R12 noted that, “Women are not direct beneficiaries of resources allocated despite the available evidence of underrepresentation”. Thus, there is a missing link between evidence and practice” (Field Interview, October, 2019).
It was further revealed in the study that, women’s issues are not prioritized. R10 for instance indicated that, “people don’t prioritize women’s issues. In parliament here, they sit to calculate what should be passed now and what should come later but once you force it and it doesn’t fall in line with people’s expectations, it will be difficult for it to gain support, the men are in the majority and so they prioritize issues that are of interest to them” (Field Interview, July, 2019). Respondents also revealed that, the processes involved in creating and implementing policies cause delays. According to Madam Kpekata, “although the Affirmative Action Bill has received support, the back and forth on inputs to put in the complete bill have delayed the process”. In addition, to the challenges, she further indicated that, “Our cultural setting and the way we are socialized do not encourage women to offer themselves” (Field Interview, July, 2019).

The study further revealed that, inadequate funding is a source of concern as gender related policies and projects, like any other requires enough resources for successful implementation. According to R6, “funding to cover a wide scope of gender-related needs is a challenge as budget allocations are limited to specific tasks”. Additionally, Madam Kpekata indicated that, “consultations require a lot of money, but the budget allocation is not enough, despite financial support from both government and private entities” (Field Interview, July, 2019).

3.9 Other Factors considered in the study

3.9.1 Relevance of Gender Equality in Parliamentary Representation

Respondents were further asked to determine the extent to which gender equality was relevant in parliamentary representation. This was done to ascertain among others on what is driving Ghana towards achieving SDG5 in parliamentary representation as its reliance is likely to
ensure the agenda is given some precedence as majority of the respondents are involved in policy decisions. All twenty (20) respondents noted that, gender equality was relevant in parliamentary gender representation. R 11 cited some of the reasons for the relevance as “gender equality is very relevant because it is a human right and important to achieve and maintain democracy (Field Interview, October, 2019). Additionally, R6 noted that, “it is important to ensure women address their interests, serve as role models to others. It is also important for parliament to reflect the people in the society (Field Interview, July, 2019). Additionally, Peace Medie noted that, political structures have generally been male-dominated and the results are clearly documented so “why not give women the chance?” (Field Interview, October, 2019).

The findings from the study on the relevance of gender equality in parliamentary representation reveals that, all respondents to an extent believes that the issue is relevant.

3.10. Conclusion

This chapter presented that, several factors account for the difference in parliamentary gender representation in Ghana. These factors can generally be categorized as socio-cultural; socio-economic; social and gender norms; structural, issues of morality, fear of the media; violent nature of politics among others. The study thus confirmed the findings by Mi Yung Yoon (2004) on the barriers to gender representation in Africa as the author found patriarchal culture as impacting representation. This seems to be the case in Ghana as patriarchy is a major barrier given the several responses by participants. On the other hand, the political barrier noted by Shvedova (2005), which emphasizes on the implementation of national laws such as the right to vote and the right to stand for elections, did not reflect in this particular study as there are laws including the 1992 Constitution, which allows women the right to vote and to be elected.
Subsequently, the main factors that serve as driving forces to achieving greater gender equality in parliamentary representation has been highlighted as including, advocacies, emulation of best practices, pressure from international organizations and donors as well as political will and drive. This chapter further highlights various measures (structures, policies, strategies) adopted by both governmental and non-governmental institutions towards achieving set targets and objectives. The chapter also shows that, although there are several measures in place towards achieving gender equality and empowerment, these measures are general and not specific to only parliamentary representation, although there are few exceptions. The chapter further reveals some challenges impeding the efforts and concludes that, although there are available measures to drive Ghana towards achieving SDG 5, it raises concerns as to whether the measures are making impact in parliamentary representation, an area that needs further research.
CHAPTER FOUR
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

The study basically sought to determine and discuss Ghana’s drive towards achieving the SDG5 in parliamentary representation. As part of the objectives, this research attempted to unravel the factors that account for the difference in parliamentary gender representation in Ghana. It further endeavored to determine the factors driving Ghana to achieve the SDG5 in the area specified. The study also explored some measures implemented and those yet to be implemented towards the achievement of set targets and further attempted to identify some challenges impeding the measures specified.

The previous chapter (chapter three) provided an analysis and discussion of the information obtained during interviews. This chapter in addition provides a summary on the key findings. It reviews and summarizes the outcome of the entire study. It further provides a conclusion on the study, based on the findings and the general outcome of the study and hence, outlines some recommendations in a bid to assist in providing a shared solution to the research problem.

4.1 Summary of Findings

The research was carried out to ascertain Ghana’s drive towards achieving the SDG5 in parliamentary representation, using available goals and targets. Thus, the study adopted Gender Empowerment as the analytical framework for the study. The information acquired from interviewing twenty (20) respondents, which include MPs, political party officials, senior members in academia and individuals who are involved in gender-related issues/programs reveals and highlight interesting findings in line with research objectives.
4.1.1 Factors Accounting for the Difference in Parliamentary Representation in Ghana

From the responses gained from the data analysis, it is indicative that, several factors serve as barriers to women parliamentary representation in Ghana, however, the underpinnings of these barriers largely stem from social and gender norms as well as the prevalent patriarchal culture, characterized by the Ghanaian Society. Hence, these factors seem to serve as drivers in several of the issues identified. Social norms according to Gertz, (1973) is the informal rules that govern behavior in groups and societies. Gender norms are therefore social norms that are gender-specific (Macus & Harper, 2015).

The main barriers identified by respondents include, (1) inadequate general supply of women; (2) bad perception about women in politics which leads to name-calling and stigmatization, general notion that women are not supposed to be in politics based on traditional gender stereotypes, fear of being a target of the media; lack of support from family, balancing political and family life; (3) lack of education; (4) aggressive nature of politics; (5) contending forces on morality (6) political party politics to support men rather than women and (7) Lack of financial resources.

The findings on the main barriers that account for the difference in parliamentary gender representation in Ghana confirms other submissions by scholars such as Martland and Taylor (1997 as cited in Ballington 1998; Thabane & Buthelezi, 2008), on the barriers to women representation as these studies also confirmed that, patriarchy (male dominance), political culture, the party system and social factors affect women representation. Additionally, this study confirms with previous studies done on Women in Africa and other developing nations by scholars including, (Agbalajobi 2010; Dube, 2013; Bawa& Sanyare, 2013 as cited in Munemo, 2017). The main barriers discovered by these scholars include, a lack of education, culture,
structural barriers, lack of resources, aggressive nature of politics and ascribed roles given to women as ‘carers’. This thus confirms the findings of this study.

The study further confirms the findings by Mi Yung Yoon (2004) on the barriers to gender representation in Africa as the author found patriarchal culture as impacting representation. This seems to be the case in Ghana as patriarchy is a major barrier given the several responses by participants. On the other hand, the political barrier noted by Shvedova (2005), which emphasizes on the implementation of national laws such as the right to vote and the right to stand for elections, did not reflect in this particular study as there are laws including the 1992 Constitution which allows women the right to vote and to be elected.

4.1.2 Driving Forces Behind Achieving Gender Equality and Empowerment in Ghana

Meanwhile, the main driving forces behind Ghana’s push to attain gender equality in parliamentary representation as gathered has been as a result of collaborative efforts including, the existence of agreements and protocols that country’s including Ghana are mandated to achieve within specified targets. This thus confirms the assertion by Wangnerud and Samanni (2009) that, global gender indexes attached to agreements and protocols as well as forms of activism have pressured countries to achieve set targets. It was further revealed that, in as much as advocacies have helped to draw global attention to a need for gender equality in parliamentary representation, an increasing political will serves as a driver to achieve gender equality and parliamentary representation in Ghana, given that more attention is currently directed to gender policies and measures that are geared towards achieving gender equality and women’s empowerment.
This situation has been highlighted in the recent ongoing debates in parliament over the implementation of the Affirmative Action Bill as work on the bill had been dormant for a while, but debates begun in parliament on the passage of the Bill in 2017, with several groups and individuals, demanding for the Bill to be passed. There are also some indications that, women’s issues have gained some prominence as women are increasing moving into political and public spheres in Ghana which was not the case in times past. Comparatively, the numbers of women in Ghana’s Parliament has increased in the last elections held in 2016 to that of 2012. Comparatively, out of the one hundred and thirty-three (133) seats contested in 2012, twenty-nine (29) were women and in 2016, women occupied thirty-five (35) of the total seats of one hundred and thirty -seven (137).

4.1.3 Measures Available to Drive Gender Equality and Empowerment in Parliamentary Gender Representation in Ghana

On the available measures implemented and those being implemented to achieve the SDG 5, it was revealed that, although there are several measures in place, the main ones identified by respondents include, the existence of gender-sensitive protocols and agreements that Ghana has signed on to, political party initiatives to reduce filing fees for women, the existence of women’s wings to advocate for the interests of women, political parties have also adopted gender strategies into their manifestos, ongoing training and capacity building towards gender empowerment from government and non-governmental agencies and partners as well as the existence of available legal frameworks such as the 1992 Constitution, are all geared towards the achievement of gender equality and women empowerment.

From the study, although these measures are general towards gender equality and empowerment at various levels and focus, a few are identified as specifically targeting
parliamentary representation. This notwithstanding, all these measures are interrelated to bring about general gender empowerment which affects other areas including parliamentary representation.

It was further revealed that, the Affirmation Action Bill has received cabinet approval, but it is yet to be passed as law and implemented. The findings thus reveal that, although there are existing measures towards achieving gender equality, these measures have not translated into the figures of parliamentary gender representation, an indication that, the measures have been are inadequate.

4.1.4 Challenges to Gender Equality and Empowerment Measures in Parliamentary Representation

The main challenges identified as inhibiting the measures in place as identified by respondents include, cumbersome and bureaucratic process, inadequate priority on women’s issues, misallocation of resources, top-down approach in implementing measures, inadequate funds, socio-cultural issues, inadequate political will are contributory factors to slow the achievement of set targets. The factors revealed as serving as challenges to the implementation of gender-sensitive measures can largely be categorized as structural, socio-economic and socio-cultural a factors.

4.2 Conclusions of the Study

This exploratory qualitative case study attempted to ascertain Ghana’s drive towards achieving the SDG5 in parliamentary representation after its adoption in 2015 to 2019 as countries have consented to achieve set targets within the broader framework of the SDGs. The SDG 5 thus, demands that signatories achieve gender equality and women empowerment at all
levels by 2030. In consideration to the broad nature of the SDG5, this study focuses on parliamentary representation using available targets and indicators. The study hence centers on target 5.5 and 5.C, which calls on signatories to “ensure women’s full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision making in politics, economic and public life” and adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and empowerment of all women and girls at all levels” respectively, with a focus on parliamentary representation.

As part of the objectives to achieve the overall aim of the study, the study aimed to ascertain the factors that account for the difference in parliamentary gender representation in Ghana as women, constituting about fifty (50) percent of the population are significantly underrepresented. In addition, the study identifies some of the factors driving Ghana towards the achievement of SDG5 in the area specified. Attempt is further made to explore measures in place to achieve set targets. The study also highlights some challenges slowing the process on gender-related measures identified.

The findings of the study revealed that several reasons account for the difference in parliamentary representation in Ghana, with the main factors broadly categorized within inadequate general supply of women; socio-cultural factors, lack of formal education, aggressive nature of politics, contending forces on morality, political party politics to support men rather than women and Lack of financial resources among others.

Although Ghana’s 1992 Constitution prohibits discrimination, and there are other legal conventions and agreements, as well as the availability of some gender-sensitive measures towards gender equality in parliamentary representation, the progress to achieve set targets has been slow. Thus, the main challenges discovered as inhibiting gender-sensitive measures in
parliamentary representation include, inadequate funding, cumbersome processes and misallocation of resources, women’s issues are not prioritized, Cultural/Social settings of the country etcetera.

This study thus adds to the literature on Parliamentary Gender Representation with a focus on the SDG 5. The study employs interviews to gain in-depth understanding into the phenomenon. The study comes in handy as Ghana has signed on to the SDG 5 as part of a broader framework to achieve gender equality. In addition, this research is timely and significant, as it comes ahead of Ghana’s upcoming general elections in the year 2020 as it sets the tone and provides a good platform for this study to be conducted, to ascertain Ghana's direction towards achieving the SDG 5 in parliamentary representation. The research also employs gender as an analytic tool to aid in the understanding of gender relations. Furthermore, both male and female respondents are engaged to ensure objective findings.

This exploratory study like any other is not without some limitations as the main constraining factor has been the timeframe within which the study is being conducted. For this, any delays were to be avoided. This constrained the researcher to work with available respondents and data received. The study would have benefitted from a wider net of respondents to include more responses from other smaller political parties in the country as well as those from other CSO’s and other stakeholders. That notwithstanding, the study provides a good representation of the actual situation as respondents possess relevant knowledge and experience and were in the position to make meaningful contributions to the study. Attempt is also made to support findings with available literature and ethical considerations were followed to the latter.

Based on significant findings, the study concludes that the underpinning factors serving as barriers to women parliamentary representation largely stems from social and gender norms
and biases. Although there are some measures available including international and national agreements, available measures are broad. Few are directed towards parliamentary gender representation, despite a linkage in measures as different measures of gender empowerment collate to ensure the overall empowerment which in turn fosters gender equality.

In consideration that, the 1992 Constitution of Ghana addresses issues of gender inequalities in coalition with other available gender sensitive measures, this does not appear to commensurate the numbers of women representation in parliament as progress has been evidently slow. The situation thus requires more commitment and collaborative efforts of all stake holders.

Additionally, the passage and implementation of the Affirmative Action Bill which includes an adoption of quota systems among others could enhance Ghana's chances of achieving the 2030 agenda on parliamentary gender representation as these measures have proven to increase the numbers of women in parliament in several countries including Rwanda (see Ballington, 2004; Bauer & Bennet, 2013; Josefsson, 2014). Thus, without these necessary measures in place and despite the overwhelming support from all respondents on the relevance of gender equality in parliamentary representation, set targets are likely to be unachievable given the slow progress amid several challenges. More action is therefore required. This study thus provides some recommendations based on key findings.

4.3 **Recommendations**

Based on key findings and shared knowledge from respondents, gender equality and empowerment require collaborative and conscious efforts from all stakeholders if Ghana aims to achieve gender equality and empowerment in parliamentary representation.
• Generally, all stakeholders including government, CSOs, family, general public, individuals and other partners among others, should endeavor to cooperate and promote gender empowerment. This will enable both genders to be informed, well equipped and encouraged to assume decision making positions and more especially in parliament.

• There should be constant monitoring and support by governments and non-governmental institutions and partners for the implementation of gender mainstreaming strategies in order to ensure accountability and effective implementation.

• In addition, specified measures of Affirmative Action, including quotas and proportional representation that have proven to increase women parliamentary representation in other countries including Rwanda should be encouraged to help increase the numbers of women in Parliament. However, there is a need for more education and public sensitization on these ‘special measures’ in order to disabuse the negative perceptions as some respondents noted on the sidelines that, there were apprehensions that these measures could discriminate against men.

• Furthermore, the concerns by respondents on the barriers to parliamentary gender representation and the general challenges to implementing gender-sensitive measures in Ghana are diverse. Thus, proposed measures should equate to proposed solutions. It is therefore recommended that, the issues should be addressed from different angles, including, personal level, family level, societal level, political party level as well as the national level.

• The Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection in collaboration with other CSO’s may wish to intensify advocacies and public education in order to ensure increased awareness. This will thus, ensure minimal resistance of gender policies.
Advocacy programs advanced by governmental, other civil society and non-governmental institutions and individuals, among others should further consciously include men in order to disabuse the misconceptions on women in politics and to prepare men for the empowered women in order to reduce resistance.

**Personal level**

- Women should be self-motivated and challenged to pursue decision making positions in politics and especially at the national parliament. This will offer them the platform to articulate issues of concern and better represent their interest.

- Personal development through education and acquiring some formal or informal skills is essential to better equip women and men who are under privileged to challenge the status quo and be confident to pursue a higher office of decision making such as the legislature. Personal development and self-motivation are crucial as despite the barriers, some of the women respondents who have made it into Parliament indicated that, they had to challenge themselves to break-through the “glass ceiling”.

**Political Party Level**

- Although political parties in Ghana have among others implemented some gender-sensitive measures including the halving of parliamentary filing fees for women, the establishment of women’s wings to advance the interest of women within the party, which are in the right direction, more is still required in consideration that political parties wield a lot of power in candidate selection for parliamentary elections. Political
parties should further encourage, support, adopt and implement more gender mainstreaming policies to ensure set targets are achieved.

**National/Institutional level**

- The Affirmative Action Bill and other gender-sensitive measures should be prioritized by all stakeholders including, governments, non-governmental agencies, political parties etcetera. This will help partly improve the numbers of women representation.

- National gender equality policies and strategies, which provide the overall framework for a comprehensive approach to the promotion of gender equality should be reviewed and strengthened to ensure clear goals, targets, timelines and accountability and reporting mechanisms. This is crucial as although there are measures in place, the successes have been marginal.

- The effective implementation of gender-sensitive measures further requires the establishment and enforcement of sanctions for non-compliance and breaches.

- Government and other stakeholders engaged in women empowerment and gender equality should ensure specific measures are tailored to specific groups to encourage and support women to seek and gain political office. These measures should be enhanced to include programs that would directly impact on capabilities and ensure success, as it was noted by respondents that, some of the programs are not directly beneficial. It was further revealed that, although there are a lot of available measures towards general women empowerment and gender equality, few are targeted specifically to parliamentary representation.
• Stakeholders including governments, civil society and donor partners must ensure enough resources are available to support gender programs. Commitments to gender issues are crucial, as gender issues are diverse and could be costly to a country if necessary measures are not taken. Thus, the issue requires substantive resources to ensure sustainability.

• Strategies are needed to promote changes in organizational culture, rules of procedure and working methods of institutions such as parliaments and political parties to ensure gender-sensitive responses to the needs and interests of both women and men.

• Obstacles to women’s participation, such as stereotypes, low levels of education and training, limited access to financial resources and other constraints must be identified and addressed.

• Gender-sensitive measures should target different stakeholders, including the private sector, political parties, traditional and religious leaders, the educational system, media and the general public. This will help incorporate other stakeholders into the gender discussion.

• Enhanced collaboration with CSOs, including non-governmental organizations and women’s organizations at all levels is essential and will help ensure little resistance.

• Enactment of legislation as well as voluntary action or other self-regulatory mechanisms are essential to combat discrimination and gender stereotyping in the media.

• It is also important gender equality should have the necessary political support and the adequate commitment to implement mandates effectively.
• As it was revealed in the study, some of the driving forces of gender equality have been as a result of an emulation of global best practices; it should thus be encouraged as these are backed by evidence.

• Civil society groups including community-based organizations should increase efforts at organizing education on peace and tolerance to raise awareness among various groups, of the consequences of intolerance and violence, especially prior, within and after elections to better address some of the violence that emanates from political interactions.
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**C. Documents/Reports/Papers**


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Stevens, C., & Kanie, N. (2016). The transformative potential of the sustainable development goals (SDGs).


**D. Interviews**

Personal Interview with Dr. Peace Medie-Research Fellow, Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD)/ Senior Lecturer in Gender & International Politics, University of Bristol, 21st October, 2019.

Personal Interview with Dr. Kennedy Ahorsu-Senior Lecturer, Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD), on 8th October, 2019.

Personal Interview with Hon. Freda Prempeh-Member of Parliament, Tano-North
Constituency/Deputy Minister for Gender, Children and Social Protection, on 7th July, 2019.

Personal Interview with Hon. Ntim Fordjour, Member of Parliament Assin-South Constituency, 15th October, 2019.

Personal Interview with Hon. Kojo Asemanyi, Member of Parliament Gomoa-East Constituency, 15th October, 2019.

Personal Interview with Hon. Dr. Bernice Heloo, Member of Parliament, Hohoe Constituency, 12th July, 2019.

Personal Interview with Madam Sabia Kpeka, Senior Official in charge of Gender Programs, Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, 2nd July, 2019.

E. Internet Sources


APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW GUIDE

This interview guide is an attempt to solicit for relevant information on the topic, *Ghana’s Drive towards Achieving SDG5: The Case of Parliamentary Gender Representation*. I am a final year student hoping to complete my studies by December, 2019 at the Legon Center for International Affairs and Diplomacy, University of Ghana. The interview is being conducted as part of an academic research requirement in partial fulfillment for the award of an MA in International Affairs and Diplomacy. It is purely for academic purpose and by providing information as accurate as possible, you will be assisting to highlight real issues of concern regarding the above topic. It will also be an opportunity to contribute to academia and may help redirect attention to issues identified.

I would therefore be grateful for your cooperation, time and attention.

Thank you.

Contact Details

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Tel: 0244730473

E-mail: ay.akumiah@yahoo.com

Clarification of Concepts as used in the Study

**Gender Equality:** According to the United Nations (UN), *Gender Equality refers to “the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men; girls and boys. Equality does not mean that women and men will become the same but women’s and men’s rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female”*.  

**Gender:** The UN defines Gender as socially constructed attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men; girls and boys, as well as the relations between women and those of men.
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Background Questions

1. Name:
2. Position:
3. Phone number:
4. Gender:

Main Questions

1. What accounts for the difference in gender representation in Ghana’s national parliament?
   *Political
   *Cultural
   *Religious
   *Social
   *Economic
   *Other

2. To what extent is Gender Equality in parliamentary representation relevant?

3. What is pushing or propelling Ghana towards achieving SDG 5 (Gender Equality) in parliamentary representation?

4. A. What measures (strategies, policies, frameworks, and structures) are in place to ensure gender equality in parliamentary gender representation in Ghana?
   B. What are the Challenges to the above specified measures?

5. A. What measures are being considered or are being implemented towards the achievement of Gender equality (SDG5) in parliamentary representation?
B. How advanced are plans?

6. In your opinion as a stakeholder, what needs to be done or should be done to ensure gender equality in parliamentary representation?
## APPENDIX II

### WORLD CLASSIFICATION

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<th>Upper House or Senate</th>
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<tr>
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<td>12</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tonga</td>
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<td>Benin</td>
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<td>7.2%</td>
<td>23.10.2018</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
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<td>Comoros</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iran (Islamic Republic of)</td>
<td>26.02.2016</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
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<td>5.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
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<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>17.08.2015</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>06.05.2018</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maldives</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>26.11.2016</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haiti</td>
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<td>2.5%</td>
<td>20.11.2016</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>Solomon Islands</td>
<td>19.11.2014</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
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<td>Oman</td>
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<td>85</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
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<td>Yemen</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>28.04.2001</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
* Figures correspond to the number of seats currently filled in Parliament

1 - South Africa: The figures on the distribution of seats in the Upper House do not include the 36 special rotating delegates appointed on an ad hoc basis, and all percentages given are therefore calculated on the basis of the 54 permanent seats.

Updated on the 29 May to include data on lower chamber of Afghanistan, following the confirmation of the results of the October 2018 elections

Source: IPU, 2019

Regional Averages on Global Parliamentary Representation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regional Averages</th>
<th>Single House or lower House</th>
<th>Upper House or Senate</th>
<th>Both Houses combined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nordic countries</td>
<td>44.0%</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americas</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe (Nordic countries included)</td>
<td>29.6%</td>
<td>28.5%</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe (Nordic countries not included)</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
<td>28.5%</td>
<td>28.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>24.1%</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
<td>24.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>20.1%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East and North Africa</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>43.8%</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regions are classified by descending order of the percentage of women in the lower or single House

IPU's regional groupings for calculating regional averages of women in national parliaments have been reorganized at 1 January 2019. The current composition of each group may be consulted in other data provided on the website, http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm

Source: IPU (2019)
APPENDIX IV

Interview Consent Form

Ghana’s Drive Towards Achieving SDG5: The Case of Parliamentary Gender Representation

Principal Researcher
Andeline Yinka Akumiah
Student, Legon Center for International Affairs & Diplomacy
University of Ghana, Legon.
ay.akumiah@yahoo.com

Student Supervisor
Afua Boatemaa Yakohene, PhD.
Lecturer, Legon Center for International Affairs & Diplomacy.
University of Ghana, Legon
afua.yakohene@gmail.com

I am a final year student at the University of Ghana, Legon expected to complete my studies by December 2019. As part of academic requirement towards the award of an MA in International Affairs, I am undertaking this research which is solely for academic purpose. My research, entitled “Ghana's Drive Towards Achieving SDG5: The case of Parliamentary Gender Representation,” aims to identify factors that account for the gender gap in parliamentary representation, explore available measures towards achieving SDG 5 in the area specified and to ascertain what is driving Ghana towards this direction. By providing information as accurate as possible, this study will contribute to academia, help to highlight issues of concern and may direct further research and attention.

Description
As a participant, you have been selected based on your rich experience and knowledge acquired over the years. You would be required to complete a face-to-face interview. An agreement is also required to seek clarity or confirmation over phone after a completed interview. If agreed, you would be asked questions concerning a brief background information of yourself, factors accounting for the difference in parliamentary gender representation in Ghana as well as associated questions towards Ghana's Drive in achieving SDG 5 in parliamentary representation. With your permission, the interview would be audio recorded. Your participation would require approximately 30 minutes of your time.

Depending on the information you provided, you may wish to be treated as an anonymous participant. If you choose to participate anonymously, all records or your participation would be confidential. With your permission, the interview would be audio recorded and later transcribed into writing. The results of this study will be published in my master’s dissertation, and it will be for academic purposes.

Your participation is completely voluntary. You may withdraw from the study at any time where practicable. If you would like to review and potentially make changes to the transcript of the interview, you may withdraw up to two weeks from the time of being provided a copy of the transcript. If you decline to review the transcript, you may withdraw up to two weeks from the date of the interview. If you choose to withdraw from the study, all the information you provided during the interview would be withdrawn from the study and destroyed.
Consent

I have read and understand the information provided above, and hereby consent to participate in this research under the following conditions:

I consent to the interview being audio recorded. [ ] Yes [ ] No

I consent to having my personal identity disclosed in the products of the research. [ ] Yes [ ] No

I consent to being quoted in the products of the research. [ ] Yes [ ] No

Participant Name ________________________ Participant Signature ____________________________

I, Andeline Yinka Akumiah, commit to adhere to the procedures described in this consent form.

Principal Investigator / Researcher Signature __________________________  Date __________________