LEGON CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY (LECIAD)

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

THE USE OF GENDER QUOTA SYSTEM IN PROMOTING WOMEN'S POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN RWANDA: LESSONS FOR GHANA

BY

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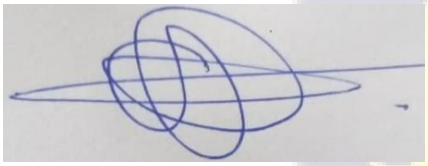
DECLARATION

I, Emmanuel Kwarko Yeboah, hereby do declare that this dissertation is a presentation of my original research work under the supervision of Dr. Afua Boatemaa Yakohene of the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD), University of Ghana, and that, I have adequately ensured that the work does not breach copyright law. The sources of my research have been cited and duly acknowledged.



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9 JUNE, 2022 **9 JUNE, 2022**

DATE……..... **DATE……**

DEDICATION

First, I dedicate this work to God Almighty the giver of life and strength. I also dedicate this work to my dearest family who has been a major pillar throughout this journey of perseverance. To my siblings; Alex, Dominic, Christian, Joseph, and Adepa. I thank you for your countless support, love, and prayers.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANC	-	African National Congress
AU	-	Africa Union
FPTPS	-	First Past The Post System
IDEA	-	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IPU	-	Inter-Parliamentary Union
MPs	-	Members of Parliament
NDC	-	National Democratic Congress
NETWRIGHT	-	Network for Women's Rights
NPP	-	New Patriotic Party
PNDC	-	Provincial National Defence Council
PR	-	Proportional Representation
RPF	-	Rwandan Patriotic Front
SADC	-	Southern African Development Community
SDG	-	Sustainable Development Goal
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNO	-	United Nations Organisation
WiLDAF	-	Women in Law and Development

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ABSTRACT

Today, there are more women representatives in the Rwandan legislature than in many democracies globally. This achievement can be attributed to the adoption of a gender quota system and explicit affirmative action interventions in political institutions. The adoption of these gender quotas has caused many women in Parliament to support the enactment of laws and to make decisions that have gone a long way to empower women and address some issues that once affected women in Rwanda. On the other hand, Ghana which attained independence more than six decades ago and is a role model for democracy in Africa still struggles today to have more women representation in the national legislature and other public offices. This study discusses the lessons Ghana can learn from the Rwandan experience to adopt a gender quota strategy that encourages women's representation in Parliament and other public offices. Through the theoretical lens of Critical Mass as a means of analysing the effectiveness of women who occupy top political and corporate positions such as national parliaments, the study adopted the qualitative research design to understand the use of the gender quota system in promoting women's political representation and well-being in Rwanda and what lessons Ghana can draw from it. The research findings revealed that while gender quotas have been successfully implemented in Eastern and Southern Africa, West African countries including Ghana have not structured the implementation of gender quotas, particularly because of the dominance of the First past the post electoral system in West African countries. The study, therefore recommends that Ghana can maintain its First Past The Post electoral system and still pass gender quota laws, specifically, the legislative quotas with strong enforcement measures.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Research Problem

The inclusion of women in Rwandan politics has led to an improvement in the social, economic, and cultural well-being of women. Women's representation in national legislatures has increased drastically, especially over the past two decades and this has been predominant in the case of sub-Sahara Africa. Uganda was the first country to have increased women's representation by 17.6 percent after its first post-conflict election in 1989. Rwanda followed suit by becoming the world's first nation to have more women than men in a national parliament (Bauer 2012). According to the World Economic Forum (2016), 8 sub-Saharan African countries including Rwanda, South Africa, Seychelles, Angola, Mozambique, Uganda, Burundi, and Tanzania have ranked among the global top 30 countries, with more than 30 percent of women in a single or lower House of Parliament. It is worthy to note that, all these countries including Rwanda have adopted a gender quota system and explicit interventions of affirmative action in political institutions processes. This has favored women's participation and has increased their representation in politics.

After its post-conflict election, Rwanda has become the world's only country with more women serving as elected representatives compared to many democracies. The East African country has 61.3% women in its Parliament. On the other hand, other countries including Ghana, Liberia, and Nigeria are still struggling to fully enact and enforce gender quota electoral laws. It is interesting to know that, all the African countries at the top of the worldwide ranking use a particular

electoral process (gender quotas) in electing more women to Parliament which is absent in many more democracies including Ghana. In contrast to the much slower 'incremental approach' that over time waits for political and socio-economic changes, this trend was identified by Dahlerup and Friedenvall (2005) as taking the 'fast track' to Parliament, using an electoral gender quota to significantly increase the representation of women, often during a single election.

This is why this study focuses on how and why other African countries such as Rwanda have increased women's political representation and participation using affirmative action laws or gender quotas and yet, countries like Ghana which attained independence more than six decades ago are failing to do likewise.

Meanwhile, scholarly debates concerning the gender quota system have revolved around the utility of the system. Scholars such as Ballington and Kara (2010) entreat us to move 'beyond numbers'. They assess the impact that one can identify from having more women in national legislatures. In other words, do having more women Parliamentarians represent women's interests? Bauer and Britton (2006) encapsulated ways in which more women legislators in African countries have had positive effects on institutional cultures within Parliaments, on the passage and enactment of laws that women claim to have launched or strongly endorsed, hopefully, to address women's needs. Hence, using gender quotas brings about substantive representation. Again, more research on African legislatures appears that more women legislators have a symbolic influence on other women, particularly younger generations (Bauer 2012).

For Ghana to draw lessons from the Rwandan model, it is imperative to first look at Rwanda's journey from the 1994 genocide and the inroads made by women, and how Ghana can take lessons from the Rwandan case. Rwanda's feat was achieved a decade after the 1994 genocide which led to the deaths of between 800, 000 people (Bauer and Burnet, 2013).

Before the genocide, Rwanda was a patriarchal society where women were politically underrepresented (Hogg 2010). After the genocide, opportunities were open for women to assume roles that were hitherto played by men (Newbury and Baldwin, 2000). The government of Rwanda, in 2003, gave much impetus to promote women's political representation. It adopted a new constitution that stipulated a thirty percent quota for women in parliament and government (Constitution of Rwanda, 2003). Rwanda has since become the world's highest country with female participation in Parliament.

Thence, this study investigates how Ghana could similarly use the gender quota system to promote women's political representation and well-being by drawing on the Rwandan experience from 2003 which saw the birth of a new Constitution and a new dawn in women's empowerment agenda.

1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

Thanks to the relatively peaceful transition of power since the country's democratic elections in 1992, Ghana is often portrayed as a role model for democracy in West Africa. But in terms of gender aspects of governance, it lags behind other African countries: in the last election (2016), women's political representation in parliament was 13 percent. A survey of 130 countries

conducted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) in 2004 showed that, on average, women hold only 15.4 percent of the elected. A 1995 report published by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) concluded that the minimum representation required for women as a group to exercise significant influence in legislative assemblies would be 30 percent. This level has only been achieved in 15 of the countries included in the IPU survey. One of the 15 countries is Rwanda (61.3 percent), and interestingly it is a post-conflict society, this demonstrates how electoral measures can be instituted as part of the peace process to improve women's representation, (ipu, 2019).

To this end, the study seeks to understand the use of the gender quota system in promoting women's political representation and well-being in Rwanda. Subsequently, it examines the lessons that Ghana can draw from Rwanda's experience to promote the well-being of women in all spheres of life through lawmaking and policy advocacy.

1.2 Research Questions

The study will answer the following questions:

1. How relevant is the use of a gender quota system in promoting women's political representation in sub-Sahara Africa?
2. How has the use of the gender quota system helped in promoting women's political representation and women's well-being in Rwanda?
3. What lessons can Ghana learn from Rwanda's gender quota system experience towards promoting women's political representation and women's well-being?

1.3 Research Objectives

The specific aims of the study are;

1. To examine the relevant use of gender quota system in promoting women's political representation in sub-Sahara Africa.
2. To assess how the use of the gender quota system has helped in promoting women's political representation and women's well-being in Rwanda.
3. To ascertain the lessons that Ghana can learn from Rwanda's gender quota system experience towards promoting women's political representation and women's well-being.

1.4 Scope of the Research

This research is a comparative study of Rwanda and Ghana from 2003 to 2020. This is because a new constitution that included a quota system for women at all levels of government was approved by the Rwandan government in 2003 and has been conscious in promoting gender compared to the efforts made by governments of Ghana in bridging the gap of representation inequality in Ghana's politics.

1.5 Rationale of the Study

The findings have become a useful model not only to help inform the government, Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations but to other African countries with interests in gender issues on how to bridge the gap of inequality between men and women in our national politics using Rwanda as a case study. The implementation of the passing of the affirmative action laws in Ghana will go a long way to

empower women and make them be a part of decision making. The findings of the study have also provided insight into the challenges confronting successive governments to the use of gender quota laws or affirmative action laws in Ghana so that comprehensive steps can be taken to address these challenges drawing lessons from Rwanda.

Finally, the findings of the study have become as reference material for future studies that will be conducted on similar topics or issues. The findings of the study will be published in relevant articles and journals so that stakeholders in gender relations in the country and outside can avail themselves of the contents of the study as a guide to them in addressing gender inequality using affirmative action laws.

1.6 Thesis Statement

The use of gender quotas in Ghana will increase women's representation in Parliament.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The study used the Critical Mass theory to understand relationship between the percentage of female female legislators and the passage of legislations beneficial to women as a group. The theory provides a lens to analyse the effectiveness of the few women who ascend political, public, and corporate offices. Gender and politics scholars suggests that the theory is used to analyse the experiences of women who form small minorities in their respective offices. Data from the Inter Parliamentary Union platform has shown that over the years, there have been fewer women than males in almost all elected assemblies. Hence gender scholars argue that women will not have a significant impact on legislative results until they increase from a small

number of token parliamentarians to a significant minority of all legislators: women will be able to work more effectively together to support women-friendly policy change and to persuade their male colleagues to embrace and approve legislations that promotes women's issue if their numbers grow.

The use of symbolic representation as a way towards achieving gender parity has also received global attention. Women's breakthroughs in public office provide a stage for the symbolic re-enactment of ideas about women's political presence and about gendered social constructions related to women's and men's leadership qualities. Scholars have argued that fewer women in organisations are only a symbolic representation and are easily visible due to their minority. This may result in performance pressures for women or lead to the isolation and the relegation of women to the background. It may also lead to a situation that obliges women to choose from different stereotypes against women. In effect, Kanter (1997), argued that few women in organizations are unable to become effective in advocating for change. Dahlerup (1988) on the other hand, views few women in offices as a critical mass whose advocacy addresses areas affecting the well-being of women in the society such as sexual harassment and influence and power of women. Dahlerup (1988) focused on the opportunities for women to form alliances when their numbers increases and their ability to impact even when they are few.

Childs and Krook (2007) posited that the Critical Mass Theory is often invoked to explain why women, once in political office, do not always appear to represent women. According to the IPU, (2007), some scholars and activists in gender and politics suggest that this trend is not due to female officeholders' inclinations, but rather because in almost all elected assemblies, there are

fewer women than men. It is argued that women are not likely to have a significant impact on legislative results until they grow from a few people to a significant minority of all legislators: women will only be able to work more effectively together as their numbers increase to promote a change in women-friendly policy and to influence their male peers to accept and approve legislation that promotes women's concerns (Childs and Krook 2007). This is evident in most democracies that have high proportions of women representations in national politics as they enact, implement, and enforce policies that favor women's wellbeing. For this reason, it is of much concern to gender activists in countries like Ghana to ensure the passage of women's rights such as gender quotas including affirmative action laws to guarantee some form of substantive representation.

Grey and Krook (2006) agreed that the 'critical mass' has gained wide currency among politicians, media, and international organizations over the last twenty years as a justification for measures to bring more women into political office. Gender and political scientists such as Crowley (2004), however, have become more and more critical of the concept as they have discovered other connections between the number of women elected and the passage of laws beneficial to women as a group. For instance, he found that, women are able to cause change when they form a very small minority, and, indeed, perhaps a greater difference. Carroll, (2001) reaffirmed that an increase in the proportion of women elected decreases the likelihood that, individual female legislators will act on behalf of women as a group. Creevey (2006) explained that national legislatures in Africa are weak and therefore women's increased presence in them may be fairly meaningless. Goetz and Hassim (2003) reiterated that many of those countries with more women in Parliament are single-party dominant regimes in which women's increased

presence has been cynically embraced by dominant parties to increase their support or has contributed to the dominance of the Executive (Muriaas and Wang, 2012). The Critical Mass Theory describes a variety of different results, most obvious cases where higher numbers of women lead to greater attention to the problems of women, but also cases where higher numbers of women lead to little or no change, on the basis that women may not yet constitute a 'critical mass.'

Bratton, (2005) and Thomas, (1991 and 1994) posited that, in low-representation legislatures, parliaments with large numbers of women implement and pass more bills on women's issues than their female counterparts. They further argued that, as the number of women increases, the number and rate of enactment of such bills also increases. This is because a supportive legislative environment by the presence of more women is produced. For this reason, to enact laws that will favor women and remove certain barriers that hinder women's empowerment opportunities, there should be an enabling environment with the provision of more women in Ghanaian politics. Hence the need to draw lessons from Rwanda.

The criticisms to 'Critical Mass Theory is encapsulated by Childs et al (2004) who argued that the 'Critical Mass Theory' focuses on cases where there is no policy change, even as the proportion of women in the legislature reaches 'critical mass' proportions, defined at levels ranging from 10 percent to 40 percent. However, according to Childs (2007), the second set of scholars are much more skeptical of the magic of numbers and try to delineate the different boundary conditions that can prevent women from pursuing reforms addressing the concerns of women.

Focusing on the limits of proportions, the opportunities and constraints stemming from the affilia tion of political parties (Childs, 2004; Poggione, 2004), membership of the legislative committee (Norton, 1995;Swers, 2004), institutional standards (Considine and Deutchman, 1996; Kathlene, 1995; Rosenthal, 1998), legislative inexperience (Cowley and Childs, 2003; Jeydel and Taylor, 2 003) and legislative inexperience (Cowley and Childs, 2003). The potential for backlash, which generally increases as the number of women rises, compounds these structures (Kathlene, 1995; Towns, 2003; Yoder, 1991; Health et al., 2005). Because of this, women can mobilize individually (Crowley, 2004) or through the legislative caucus of women (Reginald, 2000; Thomas, 1991) to achieve women's gains without having to contend with the opposition of powerful men, women can be more effective when they are less.

The 'Critical Mass Theory' is very useful to this study because it enables an assessment/ utility of the gender quota system as applied in Rwanda and subsequently when applied in Ghana. The theory allows an examination of the outcomes when women ascend political offices (in the case of Ghana's Parliament) and see how an increase in their numbers may end up in greater attention to women's issues or otherwise. Finally, the critical mass theory draws attention to the fact that the number of women in an organization is a major determinant of their outcome.

1.8 Literature Review

1.8.1 Gender Quotas as Practiced in Asia, the Americas, Middle East, and Europe

Existing literature on the gender quota system is rife as the system is practiced all over the world. The gender quota system has today become a feature of modern statehood. According to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5 target 5, member states shall ensure full

and effective representation of women and equal leadership opportunities at all levels of decision-making in political, economic, and public life. Available from: https://sdg-tracker.org/gender-equality. (Accessed 2018).

Dahlerup and Freidenvall (2010) asserted that, in an attempt to remedy the under-representation of women worldwide, electoral gender quotas have become a prominent and ubiquitous solution. The Insitute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance has noted that in half of the countries in the world today, some sort of gender quota is in use in public elections. In more than a hundred countries, gender quota policies aim to increase the proportion of women in political office (Burnet 2011).

Bush (2011) has identified three strands of the gender quota system practiced worldwide. The first type is where seats are reserved or place aside for females in parliament. The second type is the legislative quotas where political parties are obliged by law to nominate a certain percentage of women as their nominees in elections. The voluntary party quotas demand individual political parties to voluntarily nominate a certain proportion or percentage of females as their aspirants in an election. Dahlerup and Freidenvall (2009), posited that, in the party statutes, voluntary party quotas are mandated and are adopted for their electoral lists by the individual parties.

This suggests that the application of gender quota varies in many ways. In terms of the quota size for instance there are yawning differences from one country to another. In 1991, Argentina became the first democratic government to pass the legislative quotas where “a national gender quota law” required “that women constitute 30% of the candidates put forth by all political

parties running for election to the Chamber of Deputies" (Schwindt-Bayer, 2009:6). The proportion of party candidates that are required to be women varies widely. Armenia and Nepal require 5% of women, while South Korea and France seek 50 percent equal representation. In other countries, the process of implementing gender quota laws was gradual. There is a gradual increase in quota size with time. In Belgium, for example, the law passed in 1994 for the first post-quota election set the quota size at 25 percent, but the quota increased to 33 percent in the second post-quota election. Ecuador has also implemented a quota, with the size of the quota gradually increasing. Originally, the 1997 law set the quota at 20 percent and a 2000 reform to the electoral code changed it to 30 percent with a 5 percent increase until it reaches 50 percent in each subsequent election.

Apart from quota size, there are also variations in how countries enforce the adherence to gender quotas and the punishment for those who do not adhere to the system. Some quota laws have weak enforcement mechanisms and do not deter political parties from flouting the law. In France, for example, there is a financial penalty for parties who do not follow the required quota systems. The state reduces the amount of public funding in future elections to such political parties. Yet, many parties prefer to take the penalty and support male incumbents rather than to abide by the quota (Norris 2003). There are however stringent laws in other countries to enforce gender quota laws. In Belgium and Brazil, for instance, parties that do not meet the required gender quota are required to leave open the positions that should be filled by women (Schwindt-Bayer, 2009). Countries such as Bolivia, Costa Rica, Mexico, Paraguay, and Peru are even stricter in enforcing gender quota laws as parties who fail to adhere to the laws are disqualified by electoral authorities even before the elections (ibid).

The relevance of the above on gender quota system for practice in Ghana is that they provide significant pointers for implementation in areas such as the type of gender quota to adopt, the quota size, and even the type of laws required to make the system effective.

1.8.2 Impacts of Gender Quotas in Asia, the Americas, Middle East, and Europe

According to (Krook 2006, pg. 111) while gender quota policies tend to emphasize the number of women in government, in many countries they "have led to a shift not only in the political agenda but also in the gender consciousness of female representatives and the political engagement of female constituents". This means all these countries have adopted one form or another, a gender quota system not only to increase the proportion of women in parliament but also to give voice to the woman. Case studies from countries with gender electoral laws have proven that more women in parliament can make inputs on all issues concerning women. Dahlerup and Friedenvall (2005) agreed that one surest way to increase women's representation significantly is by using an electoral gender quota system-'fast track to parliament'.

Contrary to debates that gender equality in parliament would be naturally achieved in the course of time (Dahlerup and Friedenval, 2010) and thus unnecessary, other scholars have also noted that such arguments are speculative as gender quotas are very important. They have contributed to more countries having higher representation for women. For example, the Nordic countries and the Netherlands were ranked first in women's political representation worldwide. However, today several other countries have reached the top of the list: Argentina, Costa Rica, Belgium, and Spain, all through the use of certain types of gender quotas particularly mandatory, voluntary, or reserved seats (Dahlerup and Friedenvall, 2010). Studies on Latin America conducted by Zetterberg (2009) showed that not only does quotas increase the numbers of

women in elected bodies, they also provide a role model effect for Latin American young girls and also influence women's interest in politics.

1.9 Methodology

1.9.1 Research Design

The work adopted a qualitative research approach. Qualitative research is a type of social science research that collects and works with non-numerical data and that seeks to interpret meaning from these data to help understand social life through the study of targeted populations or places, Crossman (2019). In "Techniques of Modern Research" Marshall and Rossman (2006) posited that, "Qualitative research is pragmatic, interpretative and grounded in lived interpretations of people". They additionally added that the qualitative approach allows researchers to, through complex reasoning, explore the topic under study in dynamic ways.

The qualitative method allowed for an in-depth understanding of subjective views such as values and perceptions on women's laws or gender quotas in Ghana. Lastly, triangulation was also employed to better understand the challenges successive governments have gone through in their bid to implement quota laws, and also understand how Rwanda has implemented quota laws. Considering the objectives of the research, individual gender experts, and institutions that have done related research in this field was useful to ensure validity. Jonsen (2009) found that using the triangulation method provided instructional guidance on how to increase validity and reduce subjectivity in qualitative studies through the use of different perspectives. Therefore, using triangulation helped to balance biases and to validate sort findings.

1.9.2 Sources of Data

The work employed both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary sources of data included interviews with selected key respondents from the Affirmative Action Bill Coalition, a representative from the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection with vast experience on the effectiveness of women in Parliament (in promoting women empowerment) – a key area of debate in the quota system – and also provided information on the role of the Gender Ministry in pushing for gender quotas. Gender experts from the civil society space and representatives from the two main political parties in Ghana. The secondary sources of data used books, journal articles, book chapters, and credible Internet publications.

1.9.3 Sampling Procedure

The sampling method used in the collection of data for this study was purposive sampling. Guarte and Barrios (2006) described purposive sampling as a method which involves randomly selecting sampling units from a specified population who possess the most information required for your study. Since not everyone is a gender expert, a judgmental non-probability sampling technique was adopted to interview key individuals who were well informed in gender-related issues to investigate how the gender quota system may be applied in Ghana.

1.9.4 Sample Size and Study Population

In all, 6 people were selected for a one-on-one in-depth interview. The breakdown is as follows: 1 from the Ministry of Gender, Children, and Social, 2 gender experts from Abantu for Development, and the Executive Director of Gender Planning Consults Limited. The Convener of the Affirmative Action Bill Coalition, the two major political parties in Ghana thus the

Women's Organizer from the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the Women's Organizer from the National Democratic Congress.

1.9.5 Method of Data Collection

The study collected data from the participants of the study through the use of a semi-structured interview guide with experts in the field of gender studies and lead actors in the Affirmative Action Bill. This source of data collection was very advantageous because it allowed the researcher to ask follow up questions in cases where clarifications are needed (Malholtra, 2007).

1.9.6 Data Analysis

The qualitative method of data analysis was employed in the process of analyzing data in this study. Qualitative data analysis allows researchers to systematically acquire and organize interview transcripts and other relevant non-textual materials the researcher gathers to make meaning of data collected while building the understanding of the study (Wong, 2008). Interviews, based on the consent of the participants were audio-recorded and transcribed. The transcribed data was read extensively to tease out themes corresponding to the research questions. In this regard, the thematic analysis technique was used to analyze the data gathered in this study. Braun, Clarke & Weate (2006), defined thematic analysis as a method that operates by identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns found within a given set of data. These patterns are the themes that are relevant patterned responses identified in the data. Thematic analysis was employed for this study because it helped the researcher outline the various patterns of themes that are required to address the identified research questions. Hence, the data used in this study are presented in the main themes and sub-themes.

1.9.7 Ethical Considerations

According to Fouka and Mantzorou (2011, p.4), "Research ethics involve requirements on daily work, the protection of the dignity of subjects and the publication of the information in the research."

1.9.8 Informed Consent

Fouka and Mantzorou (2011) in their work "What are the major ethical issues in conducting research? Is there a conflict between the research ethics and the nature of nursing?" referred to informed consent as one of the most important ethical issues to be considered in conducting research. Informed consent gives the participants of the research the freedom to voluntarily determine their willingness to partake in research. Informed consent is eminent in the process of conducting research. All participants in this research were informed about the academic nature of the study and provided with informed consent forms that gave a brief background of the study and indicated the need for them to give their consent to participate in the study.

1.9.9 Anonymity and Confidentiality

Data collected was kept anonymous and confidential to ensure the responses of the participants cannot be linked to their identities. Participants were made aware of their rights to withdraw from the interview should they feel uncomfortable or unsafe at any point in the research. The names of participants were not used in the analysis and the data collected is being kept and secured with a password on the researcher's personal computer.

1.9.10 Privacy

The area of study involves sensitive areas such as stereotyping as a result of questioning the power dynamics of male dominance in society. Respondents were made free to determine the extent to share or to withhold private information considered as delicate or an invasion of their privacy. Ethical considerations such as anonymity were strictly be adhered to. Permission was sought from interviewees before recording the interview sessions. If the permission to record were to have been declined, hand-written notes would have been used to collect the information. After the interviews, and administered questionnaires, data collected was collated and analyzed manually to provide better analytical conclusions.

1.10 Arrangement of Chapters

The study is organized into four chapters.

Chapter One comprises the introduction. This includes the background of the study, Problem Statement, Research Questions, Objectives of the Study, Rationale of the Study, and the Scope of the Study.

Chapter Two is a study of the relevant use of Gender Quota System in sub-Sahara Africa.

Chapter Three focuses on the lessons Ghana could draw from Rwanda in effectively implementing Gender Quotas.

Chapter Four provides the Summary of Findings, Conclusions as well as Recommendations of the Study.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE PRAXIS OF GENDER QUOTA SYSTEM AND WOMEN POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN SUB SAHARA AFRICA

2.0 Introduction

As compared to other regions, scholars have noted the significant surge in the implementation of gender quotas in Sub-Saharan Africa from the 1990s than any other regions in the world (Tripp, 2004). Some African countries that have shown interest in this nascent political institution include Mozambique, South Africa, Rwanda, Namibia, Uganda, Sierra Leone, and many others. According to Hughes and Tripp (2005, 1513), "The number of women legislators in African parliaments tripled between 1990 and 2010, resulting in African countries having among the highest rates of women's legislative representation in the world." What explains the massive adoption of the gender quota system in Sub-Saharan Africa? What kind of quota system is dominant in Sub-Saharan Africa and why? So far, what has been the relevance of the adoption and practice of quota systems in Sub-Saharan Africa?

To answer these questions, this chapter examines the practice of the gender quota system in sub-Saharan Africa, paying detailed attention to the case of Rwanda. It does so by first examining the processes and factors which have influenced the recent adoption of gender quota systems in sub-Saharan Africa within the past two decades, the types of quotas adopted, and the impact of the adoption of quotas on both women and sub-Saharan African societies.

2.1 Adoption of the Gender Quota System in Sub-Saharan Africa

Gretchen and Britton (2006) noted some common characteristics among African countries that have adopted the gender quota system. First, the majority of these sub-Saharan African countries had experienced conflicts and a political transition of a sought. This was the 'first wave' of the surge of the implementation of the quota system in Africa in the 1990s and the 2000s (Bauer, 2019). These political conflicts described here took the form of civil wars and protests against minority rule such as colonialism and apartheid regimes. Bauer (2010) has, thus, noted a trend where East and Southern African countries have become the pacesetters because of their political transition experiences. In Bauer's view, countries that had little or no political transitions in the 1990s and 2000s lag in the implementation of the system. Countries like Rwanda, Mozambique, Namibia, and South Africa all emerged from conflicts and subsequently have achieved high rates in their practice of the quota system in the post-conflict period.

On the other hand, as part of the expansive constitutional reform process, 'the second wave' countries such as Senegal and Kenya have adopted legislative procedures to double women's representation in politics. Nonetheless, Ghana has not experienced any civil strife apart from coup d'etats as can be seen from Rwanda and other countries which paved the way for reformation. The West African country has experienced relatively peaceful political development since the inception of democratic rule in 1992. Madsen (2019) explained that the low level of women in Parliament in Ghana would be too simplistic to explain by the absence of the two trends described above. The statistics on female representation in Ghana provides knowledge on women's political representation in more peaceful countries with a democratic development

characterized by a plural majority system which does not favour women to the same extent as proportional representation (Fallon, 2008; Tripp, 2009).

The reason why post-conflict countries usually adopt the quota system is not far-fetched. “In Africa, women’s organizations seized on these moments of flux to demand greater political representation, typically by demanding gender quotas” (Hughes and Tripp, 2015, 1517). During these conflicts, women activists played significant roles as they advocated for peace and raised awareness on gender-based violence, particularly against other women. “The end of conflict creates new opportunity structures - peace talks, constitution-making exercises, new electoral commissions, truth and reconciliation processes—through which women can assert their demands. Thus, the post-conflict period affords women multiple points of entry through which they try to influence the process (Ibid, 1531). Thus, in the aftermath of such conflicts, some of these women became vociferous, stood for office, and contributed to the drafting of the constitution of those countries (Seidman, 1999). For example, Bauer (2006) highlighted the role of women Members of Parliament in Namibia as largely responsible for the adoption of quota systems in the country. Tamale (1999) argued that President Museveni of Uganda only agreed to welcome calls for women to be included in political space (by implementing the gender quota system) as a reward for their efforts in bringing him to power during political conflicts.

The second wave of women representation is influenced by global movements and local women’s organizations as a catalyst in the implementation of gender quota system, particularly in sub-Sahara Africa. Bush (2011) posited that international motivations and conventions influence the practice of the quota system worldwide. Bush’s (2011)’s argument was predicated

on Meyer et. al. (1997)'s world polity theory which stipulated that, a country's adoption of quota increases as it becomes connected to the world polity through global associations. Examples can be found in the case of Rwanda, Senegal, and South Africa.

On international organizations, Bauer (2012) has noted the influence of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the African Union (AU) in the implementation of the gender quota system in Eastern and Southern Africa. Tripp (2005) suggested that SADC Heads of Government in 1997 adopted a Declaration on Gender and Development, committing themselves to achieve 30 percent representation of women in politics by 2005. Today, although SADC has not been able to meet this target countries like South Africa have reached parity in its national legislature.

Pressure has also been mounted on African governments to adopt the quota system through international women conferences such as the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (SDGs) under Target 5 which mandates member countries of the United Nations (UN) to ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all level of decision-making in political, economic and public life, hence, has placed a responsibility on member states to enact women-friendly electoral laws (SDG-tracker, 2018). The AU's 2003 Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa calls for equal gender representation (au. int, 2016). Women organizations both and international have also mounted pressure on political parties and states to implement gender quotas.

In the case of Ghana, international organizations such as Network for Women's Rights (NETRIGHT), Abantu for Development, Women in Law and Development in Africa among others are organizations that constantly remind political parties and the states on the need for some form of gender quotas to bring more women in the decision making space but to no avail. In South Africa, The Women's wing of the African National Congress (ANC) known as the Women's League pressed for the need to increase female representation in parliament in the 1990s (Tripp, 2003). In the end, they achieved a 30 percent quota for women in the National Assembly. Similarly in Namibia, a group of women organizations, non-governmental organizations and civil society persuaded political parties to adopt voluntary party quotas capped at 50 percent female representation before the 1999 elections (Ibid). Even though most of the political parties did not stick to the resolution, the advocacy and pressure resulted in "26.4 percent female representation in parliament in 1999, a jump from 12.5 percent in 1994" (Ibid, pg. 6). The Parliamentary Women's Caucus and the Namibia Elected Women Forum (including elected women from the local, regional and national levels) have also been involved in this campaign.

The 'third wave' redefines the notion of ethics and its relation to gender (Dobson et al, 2017). They explain that the traditional notion of the "feminine" as captured by virtue ethics or ethics of care disappears, to be replaced by a concept of fluid gender defined in terms primarily of power relations. The third suggests the imposition of gender quotas into corporate governance as a means to represent the interest of women. In most African countries, corporate governance is dominated by men which is a disparity. The inclusion of women brings about diversity in

development and decision making. This type is much more inclusive of women and girls of colour compared to the first and second already discussed.

2.2 Types and Variations in the Practice of Quota System in Sub-Saharan Africa

As pointed above in chapter one, there are three main types of the gender quota system namely, the reserved seat system, the legislative quotas, and the party voluntary quotas (Bush, 2011). Reserved seats establish seats that only women are eligible to compete for. Party quotas are set by political parties to aim for a particular number of women among their candidates for political office. Lastly, legislative quotas are a legal requirement that applies to all political groupings. It sets a minimum for the share of women on the candidate list (Ibid).

All these typologies of the quota system have been practiced in different parts of sub-Saharan Africa. However, there are trends: the reserved seat system is commonly practiced in Eastern Africa. This type of quota system is popularly practiced in East Africa has been largely successful as it has increased women's' representation in parliament in the region (Bauer, 2019). For example, in 1995, the Ugandan Constitution provided for some reserved seats in the national parliament not only for women but also for other categories of people such as the youth, disabled, and the army (20 percent must be women). By the 2006 elections, there were 74 reserved seats for women out of the 323 seats. By the close of the election, the Ugandan parliament had recorded 99 women representatives representing about 30 percent of the National Assembly. This was a significant increase from 15 percent in 1995 and 20 percent in the 2000 election (Bauer, 2019). In all, 11 countries used the Reserved seat system in Africa by 2015

namely, Rwanda, Djibouti, Sudan, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zimbabwe.

Even though the reserved seat system has been largely successful, it comes with its challenges. O'Brien (2012) pointed out that women who occupy parliamentary seats in Uganda differ from regularly elected Members of Parliament. According to O'Brien, the system has created a two-tier system of women legislators; those elected through reserved seats and those who were regularly voted for. This shatters the self-confidence of those female legislators who have been given the 'fast track' pass to parliament. However, Bauer (2012) also pointed out that in Tanzania, the reserved seat system served as a training ground for female Members of Parliament. The reserved seat system gave them exposure to parliamentary and governance issues and prepared them for future political activities. Thus, the laws concerning the reserved seat system in Tanzania limits the number of terms for females to two terms, after which they could contest without the quota system (Bauer, 2012).

While Eastern Africa has made strides in using the reserved seat quota system, Southern Africa is noted for its success chalked in their practice of voluntary party quotas (Bauer, 2019). It has been noted that the voluntary party quota works best in countries use the Proportional Representation (PR) electoral system (Tripp, 2003). The PR electoral system focuses on sharing the seats/ percentage of seats in the national assembly based on the percentage of national votes a political party obtains. This kind of electoral system promotes women's representation in parliaments because it promotes multi-party representation and allows an opportunity for minority representation in the national assembly, unlike the simple majority or the First Past the

Post (FPTP) electoral systems (Duverger, 1986). PR electoral systems make it easier for parties to reserve seats, especially in their strongholds for women.

Several countries in Southern Africa have adopted the PR electoral system and have made progress in the use of party quotas. South Africa and Mozambique, for instance, adopted a close list PR electoral system after independence for their national legislative elections. Brittons (2008) notes the influence of women in the adoption of the PR system in South Africa. Due to the PR system in South Africa, the ANC willingly adopted a 30 percent quota for women in the National Assembly after independence. In all, by 2015, 23 Sub-Saharan African countries had adopted the voluntary party quota system. "16 of the 23 countries that use voluntary party or legislated candidate quotas do so with a PR (or mixed) system, namely, Angola, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Lesotho, Mauritania, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Senegal, South Africa, and Togo" (Bauer, 2015, pg. 6). Only 7 of those countries use the voluntary party quotas with different electoral systems such as the FPTP. The combination of the FPTP electoral system and voluntary party quotas seem to be ineffective in terms of increasing the number of women in parliaments. For example, political parties in Botswana and Ivory Coast do not abide by the set quota during elections (Bauer, 2015).

According to the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), there is an increasing number of countries that are currently introducing various types of gender quotas for public elections. As of 2020, half of the world uses some type of electoral quota for their parliament, thus, mandatory or reserved or voluntary seats. The IDEA suggests that out of the 54

countries, there are currently 42 countries that have accepted one form of gender quotas, although most of these countries have implemented the mandatory type of gender quotas.

Nonetheless, as of 2015, there were 15 sub-Sahara countries which had not implemented any form of quotas. Today, according to the IDEA there are only 12 countries in the whole of the continent that do not practice this system. Interestingly, out of the 16 countries in West Africa, just about 6 of them do not practice this system and also have low numbers in terms of female representation. Some of these countries include Ghana, Nigeria, Benin, and Guinea-Bissau. From this, it is clear that the implementation of gender quota system in West Africa is becoming popular just as in Eastern and Southern African countries although more can be done.

2.3 The Impact of Gender Quota System in Sub-Saharan Africa

Scholarship on the impacts of gender quota system is widespread in Sub-Saharan Africa since the onset of the implementation of the system. The consensus in literature is that gender quota systems have led to an increase in the number of female participation and representation in political activities (Dahlerup and Friedenvall, 2005). However, the most important question is how the increase in numbers for females has impacted the lives of females in terms of policy and how they have been perceived in society in general.

Bauer and Britton (2006) noted that the gender quota system has led to substantive representation of women through those who can make it to parliament. In a democratic dispensation, substantive representation is the willingness of Members of Parliament (MPs) to advocate on behalf of the minority or less privileged groups. Gender inequality has been become a global

challenge, particularly in Africa taking into consideration our socio-cultural orientation. It is therefore the tendency of women MPs to address very issues with legislation and policy advocacy.

According to Bauer and Britton, women's real representation is manifested through two main ways; first, women parliamentarians have passed legislations that have positively impacted the lives of their constituents (women). For example, in Namibia, women MPs pushed for the passage of the Married Persons Equality Act in 1996, which made both men and women equal partners in a marriage. Second, women MPs also pushed for the passage of the Combating Rape Act in 2000 which spelt out strict punishment for rape perpetrators and more rights for rape victims. The Communal Land Reform Bill of 2002 was also passed in the same country to protect women wishing to remain on their spouse's land after their demise. In South Africa too, there have been similar successes chalked in terms of legislation that positively affected the lives of women. For example, women MPs in South Africa pushed for the passage of the Choice of the Termination of Pregnancy Act in 1996 which permits women to have a voice regarding their health and reproductive rights, and pregnancy.

Gretchen Bauer (2012) identified two main factors that propel women's performance in African parliaments. The first of these is the collaboration between women parliamentarians (from different political parties) to form a women's caucus to have a unified voice and secondly, their collaboration and working with women's organizations and civil societies. This is confirmed in Ahikire (2004) he acknowledged the strong relationship between Uganda's civil societies, women organizations, the Ministry of Gender, and the women's caucus in parliament. Women

with a strong unified voice can articulate clearly their interest in decision making and in the making of laws that affect women positively.

Apart from their effectiveness, there is also the question of whose interest quota-elected women MPs serve in Africa. Again, in cases where there is a clash between party interest and gender-related interests, it has been observed that women MPs selected based on the reserved seats subvert their party interests. For example, Matembe (2006) noted that women MPs in Uganda have been 'trapped' and have become 'hostages' to the quota system because they are torn between party interest and advocating for women. Because women get into parliament through a political party it sometimes becomes demanding for women to represent the interest of their political parties rather than advocating for the interests of fellow women. Hence, party leaders may replace such an MP if she goes contrary to the party's position. Matembe (2006) further noted that the women MPs selected through the quota system view it as a privilege - something to be thankful and subservient for – rather than their political rights. Finally, women MPs elected through the gender quota system are perceived to be unrepresentative of the women (and men) who elected them into office (Bauer, 2012), hence are loyal to their political parties particularly in advocacy. Again, it has been noted that few women in parliament are elites, unlike the masses.

Despite the identified weaknesses, some scholars have noted that the implementation of the quota system is more significant in terms of some symbolic representation it offers African women (Bauer, 2012). The symbolic representation of women's interest comprised how the increasing presence of women in parliaments has largely influenced the unfavourable cultural and social attitudes towards women not only in parliament but in the society as a whole (Yoon,

2011). According to Burnet (2011), the symbolic representation refers to the broader socio-cultural benefits of increased participation of women in politics. Symbolic representation analyses how widely known perceptions about women in society, in general, are influenced as a result of the increased numbers of women in politics (Ibid). Thus, "women have reaped other benefits than legislative gains from women's increased presence in parliaments, 'including respect from family and community members, enhanced capacity to speak and be heard in public forums, greater autonomy in decision-making in the family, and increased access to education'"(Bauer, 2012; 379). Indeed, other studies have also noted the change in perception for both men and women concerning the capabilities of women because of their increased numbers in African parliaments. Women's presence and exhibition of their capabilities in parliament have even gone a long way to change traditional perspectives concerning the role of women in politics. For example, in his field research in Botswana, Bauer (2014) pointed out that the increased numbers of women in parliament has influenced the views of traditional rulers in the country and have reinforced the idea that women could also become chiefs.

Finally, literature on the use of quotas in Africa suggests that the impact of quotas in Africa become more effective when there is about 30 percent of women in parliament, recalling earlier debates about the critical mass theory (Bauer, 2012). It is therefore imperative for political leaders and policymakers in Africa not to pay lip service to women participation but to offer substantial opportunities ie (expanding the already existing quota system) so that they can make the necessary impact.

2.4 The Rwandan Experience: Historical Antecedents, Political Conflicts, Women Representation and Post-Conflict Practice and Challenges of Quota System

Rwanda is often mentioned as an accomplishment in terms of its effects in the use of gender quotas. However, before 1994, few people outside the region knew much about Rwanda, a small, densely populated country in the center of Africa (Newbury and Baldwin, 2000), with a population of 13 million people (World Population Review, 2020). Rwanda is now seen as the only country in the world to have a majority of women in parliament-the lawmaking arm of government. This remarkable achievement came just over a decade after the swiftest genocide in recorded history led to the deaths of between 800 thousand Rwandans, the annihilation of government institutions, and the destruction of the country's infrastructure (Bauer and Burnet, 2013). Prior to the genocide in 1994, Rwanda was a patriarchal society where women were relegated to the private space. Hogg (2010) suggested that in pre-genocide Rwanda society, male domination within the family was the norm. Thus, being a man was a symbol of authority. However, Hogg, (2010), posited that women were raised to help their mothers in the household chores. Which meant that women before the genocide were not completely absent from political life. The Rwandan genocide which is also known as the genocide against the Tutsi ended in July 1994. Unfortunately, the war led to the deaths of about 800,000 Rwandans. Thousands of people also died of hunger and other diseases such as malaria and cholera (Newbury and Baldwin, 2000) including the massive destruction of properties and infrastructure.

Looking at the war from a gendered perspective, it must be noted that unlike other episodes of violence in Rwanda that targeted men (Human Rights Watch, 1996), the perpetrators of the extermination targeted women and children including men. Individual women were at risk

simply because of their gender, while certain categories of women were targeted because of their actual or presumed membership in particular groups. It is well documented that all Tutsi women were targeted, simply because they were Tutsi, and large numbers were killed, often after having been subjected to sexual violence and torture. Educated and elite women were attacked by marauding militia gangs, regardless of their ethnicity (Newbury and Baldwin, 2000). Some Hutu women were subjected to violence by Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) soldiers, in revenge for the violence perpetrated by Hutu men. Some women managed to survive by playing dead, hiding, or running away - but often they escaped only after having been raped repeatedly and abused in other ways. Some Tutsi women were compelled by their captors to live as "sex slaves" for weeks or months (Human Rights Watch, 1996). Women assumed more responsibilities where they were burdened to care for their surviving families and orphans with the provision of food, clothing, and satisfying their husbands sexually with all the emotional trauma they went through.

Nonetheless, there have been a number of in-roads made by Rwanda in the aftermath of the conflict. The following paragraphs will look at the processes, legislation, policies, and strategies that have enabled their success story although there have also been some challenges in establishing their wins in women representation. Post-conflict Rwanda opened opportunities for women to assume roles that were originally played by men. The laws and policies that were instituted protected and gave some form of recognition to women. As already described earlier, Rwanda is one of the African countries under the first wave of feminism to quickly adopt a gender quota system after an armed conflict in the 1990s (Hughes and Tripp, 2015) as a means to redress the very issues that affect women. Aside from the first wave, it is also important to state

that Women Activists, in post-genocide Rwanda, coupled with international calls and conventions signed and ratified by the country have also contributed to the success story.

In terms of policies and strategies, the government first demonstrated political will and commitment by appointing women to prestigious political offices as Ministers, Secretary of State, and even to the Supreme Court (Burnet, 2008). The government for the first renamed the Ministry of Gender, Family and Social Affairs to the Ministry of Gender and Women Development in 1999 – a body mandated to champion gender equality in Rwanda (Ibid). Indeed, the Ministry proved useful as it, for instance, organized elections in 1998 for "representative leadership among women at all levels of government administration, from the cell up to the national level" (Ibid, pg. 368) hence, the women leaders became known as women's council and were responsible for the promotion of women's interest. The government of Rwanda demonstrated its commitment towards working to promote women's political representation and participation.

The rights and protection of women's rights were safeguarded made stringent with the introduction of a constitution. The 2003 Rwandan constitution was a testament to the government's commitment to promoting women's representation. The legalization of gender quotas in the constitution stipulates a thirty percent minimum (30%) quota for women in parliament and in the executive (Constitution of Rwanda, 2003) this also became binding on all political parties to comply with the new law. Surprisingly, in that year after the Parliamentary elections, women gained 49% of the seats in parliament (Hansen, 2017). The constitution through a reserved system has provided 24 seats out of 80 seats to be occupied by women in

parliament. Today, according to Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and IDEA Rwanda has the highest female with 49 out of 80 parliamentary seats for women, representing 61.3%. The policies and laws enshrined in the constitution have benefitted Rwandan women. Newbury and Baldwin (2000) postulated that before the war and genocide, women did not work as day laborers on construction sites; this has now become a common sight in Kigali.

Burnet studied women's descriptive, substantive (Burnet, 2008a) and symbolic (2011) representation as impacts of the implementation of the gender quota system in Rwanda. In his study of the symbolic benefits of the quota system as practiced in Rwanda, Burnet (2011, 303) concluded that the quota system in Rwanda has increased the respect for women in the Rwandan society in general and have "also enhanced capacity to speak and be heard in public forums, greater autonomy in decision making in the family, and increased access to education." The inheritance "law also gave women full legal rights to enter into contracts, seek paid employment, own property in their names and separately from their husbands, and open bank accounts without the authorization of their husbands or fathers" (Burnet, 2008, 376). Again, the introduction of the 1998 'inheritance law' is another testament to the effects of female representation. The legislation made has today obstructed the relationship between men and women in Rwanda (Burnet, 2011). The 'inheritance law' has given women full legal rights to enter into contracts, seek paid employment, own property in their names and separately from their husbands, and open bank accounts without the authorization of their husbands or fathers" (Burnet, 2008, pg. 376).

On the contrary, in as much as Rwanda has chalked some successes with the adoption of gender quotas, there have been some challenges in establishing their wins. Some scholars have identified some negative impacts of the implementation of gender quotas in Rwanda. The 1998 inheritance law passed in Rwanda "has increased friction between women and their brothers" because of the "extension of the inheritance rights to women" (Ibid, 322). Burnet (2011, 322) also noted that other negative impacts of the increased numbers of women in parliament have created "the withdrawal of men from politics, and increased marital discord." Although there have been successful interventions from women in the Rwandan parliament, their presence has not yet trickled down to improve upon the lives of the ordinary Rwandans. Rwanda is still one of the countries in Africa with persistent poverty and a low level of literacy rate. Powley (2007) identified some attitudes towards the position of women and ignorance about the rights of children. From this, it is clearly seen that there a huge gap between legislation implementation in Rwanda.

Finally, it does also appear that in Rwanda, the increased numbers of women in government has negatively impacted the vibrancy and advocacy of civil societies in the Country. This is because all the vocal women advocates and civil societies were incorporated into the government machinery creating a "vacuum in leadership" for those societies. Critics have demonstrated that after the transition in 2003, most vibrant women groups such as the Women's Rural Development Network went into oblivion as it experienced some of its old members resigning their positions to join the government.

2.5 Conclusion

Gender quotas as practiced in sub-Saharan Africa present a complex framework for promoting the participation of women in politics. I have demonstrated that a number of factors have influenced the adoption of gender quotas in different parts of Africa. Some of these factors include the experience from political conflicts, the influence of women organizations or civil society, and finally the influence of international organizations. Moreover, different regions in Sub-Saharan African have adopted different types of quotas be it the reserved seat system, legislative quotas, or party voluntary quotas. Because East and Southern African countries were noted for their strides in adopting the quota system, there is a rife body of literature examining their quota system. On the other hand, there seems to be a scholarly void on West Africa and its adoption of the gender quota system because countries in this region have generally made little impact in the adoption of the system. For example, as of 2015, 7 out of 16 West African countries including Ghana, had not adopted any quota system at all.

The adoption of gender quotas has undoubtedly increased the number of female legislators on the African continent over the years. More importantly, the increased numbers of females in African parliaments have had a substantive impact on women, specifically on the passage of legislation that promotes the well-being of women. Increased numbers of women in parliaments have also had symbolic impacts on women as in many countries. Quota systems and the increased number of women in parliaments have shaped the cultural perception of women in many Sub-Saharan countries.

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CHAPTER THREE

IMPLEMENTING GENDER QUOTAS IN GHANA: LESSONS FROM RWANDA

3.0 Introduction

Ghana is a party to many international conventions and agreements including the United Nations' SDG 5 which encourages more female participation and representation. Ghana prides itself as a beacon of democracy in Africa due to its peaceful transitions of power since the Fourth Republic. It has however struggled since gaining independence to enact and implement gender quotas for political positions. Today, the country is lagging behind most African states with only 13 percent female representation in her national legislature, a figure highly below the minimum of 30 percent as suggested by some international and regional conventions.

The purpose of this chapter is to find out why Ghana has struggled with the enactment and implementation of gender quotas and how it can successfully implement gender quotas drawing lessons from Rwanda for the overall wellbeing of Ghanaian women.

3.1 Historical and Post-Independence - Women Representation in Politics in Ghana

Women have been instrumental in the achievement of socio-economic and political gains since the pre-colonial days in Ghana. Musa and Gariba, (2013) posited that even though historically women constitute a greater proportion of Ghana's population, they are under-represented politically. Often, men have dominated most leadership positions in all areas of society. Nonetheless, some women who have occupied the little echelons of power over the past years have demonstrated a high level of intellect and circumspection in decision-making and achieved countless successes than most men in the same realm. For example, Ghana has seen

its first and second female Chief Justices, the first female Speaker of Parliament, first and second female Chairpersons of the Electoral Commission of Ghana succeeded by another female head of the Electoral Commission, Government Statistician, several Ministers of State including other women who have held key decision making positions and have demonstrated a high level of leadership.

Participation of women in politics is very important for good governance, hitherto Ballington (2008:5) suggested that the attainment of gender equality and the full representation of women in decision-making are key tenets of democracy. Hence, the inclusion of women in all levels of political life brings out more equitable societies and provides a stronger and more representative democracy.

Efforts to increase the participation of women in Ghana started in 1957 with the Convention People's Party (CPP). The UNDP J-PASS Project,(2017) suggests that in May 1951 the CPP led by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah appointed Hanna Cudjoe, Ama Nkrumah, Leticia Quaye, and Sophia Doku as Propaganda Secretaries and their duties was to organize the CPP Women's League. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was not only a pioneer of Pan-Africanism but also the first Leader of Government Business to have appointed women into high positions in political parties. Subsequently, Susan Alhassan became not only a Parliamentarian but a Minister of Social Welfare and Community Development in 1965 (UNDP J-PASS Project, 2017) as a result of the level of leadership she demonstrated as a Women's organizer in 1951 under the Nkrumah government. In response to the issue of male dominance in Parliament, the leader of the Convention People's Party and the first Prime Minister of Independent Ghana, Dr. Kwame

Nkrumah introduced the Representation of People's Amendment Bill which made it possible for women to participate in politics (Oquaye, 2004). An affirmative action bill was passed into an Act in 1960 in an attempt to ensure some form of gender parity in the new Republican Parliament.

This subsequently made Ghana one of the first African countries to introduce a quota system for women (UNDP J-PASS Project, 2017). The passage of the Women Members Act ensured the nomination and election of 10 unopposed women to Parliament out of 114 seats. This was an acknowledgement of the important role women played during the struggle for independence (Nordic Africa Institute, 2019).

In a field interview, it was confirmed that the Passage of the Women's Members was an appreciation of the role women played leading to Ghana's independence; "during the colonial period, Nkrumah saw the relevance of women in organizing because, at the time, the colonial rule was such that women too felt the need to support the nationalist movement, so a lot of women supported with resources, some travelled with them and so forth. Because of that on the eve of independence, Nkrumah felt that women had proven themselves so supportive, so capable, so relevant that they could not be left aside". Notable among them was Madam Susan Alhassan who became a Member of Parliament for the then Northern region of Ghana. The number further increased from ten (10) in 1960 to (nineteen) 19 women in Parliament of which 10 got into Parliament through the special law, nine (9) out of these women contested elections and won on merit (UNDP J-PASS Project, 2017). Unfortunately, this initiative was tied to the CPP so it died with the overthrow of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in 1966.

The inclusion of women in politics and decision-making processes as introduced by the first President of Ghana should have been continued by successive governments. Unfortunately, women were relegated from politics and unlike Nkrumah's government, no woman was appointed to high-ranking positions especially with the coming into force of most military regimes (1966-1981). This meant a reinforcement of male domination (Nordic Institute, 2019). Gyimah-Boadi (2008) opined that women played supportive roles even though they were not front-liners manning the affairs of the country. They helped in mobilizing women during rallies and elections amongst others. Furthermore, Tsikata (1989) showed evidence that women financially supported the Convention People Party when Dr. Kwame Nkrumah contested for the Presidency. In an interview with the past Convener of the Affirmative Action Coalition, it was admitted that women played a key role in the 1951 and the 1956 elections; "Women willing supported Nkrumah with their hard-earned money because they knew Nkrumah could rescue the nation from imperial rule, they sang songs to cheer up Nkrumah whilst some women personally funded Nkrumah's campaign and mobilized women for rallies.

On the other hand, the Provincial National Defence Council (PNDC, 1981-1992) military regime led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings adopted laws which progressively enhanced women's rights and caused a number of them to make it into the Executive arm of government. According to the Nordic Africa Institute, (2019), Susanna Al-Hassan who had been Ghana's first female minister under Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was brought into the PNDC with her level of expertise. Again, the wife of the leader of the PNDC, Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings, also successfully established the 31st December Women's Movement which was a mass organisation and an organ of the revolution. However, it was disputed in a field interview

that the formation of the 31st December Women's Movement allowed for a radical change in the situation. Interviewe:

> The activism started especially during the period of Rawlings but it was skewed in favour of the First Lady and you know that if you are the Head of State and you are to build a movement, and the movement is headed by your wife, there are limitations because people will question her commitments and maybe they will think that her allegiance is much more to the husband than to the citizens so even though they succeeded in doing some good things like the set up for daycare centres and so on, the lack of trust about the leadership of the 31st December Women's Movement did not allow for any radical change in the situation.

The aftermath of the 1981 coup was marked by a climate of tension and fear with some women market traders being victimized for their corrupt dealings which led to tough economic conditions. This was a surprise twist as the 31st December Movement was expected to promote the human rights of women (Nordic Institute, 2019). Eventually, political reforms ushered in constitutional rule in 1992 under the PNDC leadership (now transformed into the National Democratic Congress (NDC) political party). Efforts to address gender inequality particularly in the area of politics deepened in the 1990s with the formation of Civil Society Organisations such as the Network for Women's Rights (NETWRIGHT) among others. This was in line with the commitment made by Ghana at the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995 to increase women's representation. The number of female parliamentarians increased from 10 in 1992 to 19 in 1996. Although there has been an increase in advocacy and the number of commitments to international treaties and conventions, the number of female MPs represented in Parliament since 2000 has since seen sluggish growth.

The table below gives detailed information on the number of women that contested parliamentary elections as against those that were elected amidst all the conventions and treaties Ghana has signed under successive governments since 1960.

Table 3.1: Gender Comparison of Parliamentary Candidates since 1960

CANDIDATES WHO CONTESTED ELECTIONS			ELECTED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT		
Year	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total (Constituencies)**
2019 By-election	+ 1		38 **(14%)**	237 **(86%)**	275
2016	136 **(11.9%)**	1008 **(88.1)**	36 **(13.1%)**	23 **(86.5%)**	275
2012	133	N/A	30 **(11%)**	245 **(89%)**	275
2008	103 **(10.7%)**	856 **(89.3)**	20 **(8.7%)**	210 **(91.3%)**	230
2004	104 **(10.9%)**	849 **(89.1)**	25 **(10.9%)**	205 **(89.1)**	230
2000	102 **(9.3%)**	986 **(90.7)**	18 **(9%)**	182 **(91%)**	200
1996	59 **(7.6%)**	721 **(92.4)**	19 **(9%)**	181 **(91%)**	200
1992	23 **(5.2%)**	418 **(94%)**	10 **(5%)**	190 **(95%)**	200
1979	23 **(2.9%)**	781 **(97.1)**	6 **(4.3%)**	134 **(95.7%)**	140
1969	7 **(1.5%)**	472 **(98.5)**	1 **(0.7%)**	139 **(99.3)**	140
1965	N/A	N/A	19 **(18.3%)**	85 **(81.7)**	104
1960	52	N/A	10 **(10%)**	94 **(90)**	104

Source: Tsikata (2009), and updated from the Electoral Commission Ghana

The pursuit to raise the percentage of women in the legislature as a way of addressing women issues in Ghana has seen some improvement under the various governments within the Fourth Republic. Nevertheless, Amoako (2011) postulated that the hunt to realize a 30% allocation of women representation in government and political life as recommended by the UN has unfortunately eluded the country.

Looking at the statistics provided above, the Institute of Local Government together with Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (2018) suggested that gender disparities in the representations have raised concern regarding women's representation in parliament. As a result, this affects how women contribute towards political leadership in Ghana. How so? In 1998, Cabinet issued a Directive on Affirmative Action "to provide a set of guidelines for systematic and sustained implementation of the various aspects of affirmative action which includes gender quotas towards equality of rights and opportunities for women in Ghana" (Memorandum to the Affirmative Action Bill, 2013). The Affirmative Action Policy called for the establishment of the National Council of Women and Development (NCWD) to mainstream women's issues into national development processes (WiLDAF Ghana, 2016). Furthermore, the policy established targets for increased representation of women in Parliament, at district and sub-district levels of administration and provided a quota of 40% for women in parliament and to be appointed to all government and public bodies including boards, commissions, councils, committees and other public bodies (ibid). In view of this, the 1998 'administrative directive' on affirmative action provided guidelines for the National Electoral Commission to encourage political parties to put up more female candidates in pursuit of 40 percent representation of women in parliament (Nordic Africa Institute, 2019). Unfortunately, it has not been implemented.

From the above explanation, it is clear that historically, politics in Ghana have intentionally or unintentionally excluded some groups from decision making structures to a degree- women being the most victims and the quest to increase women into politics have been met with resistance. The UN upholds that women are entitled to enjoy the same rights as do men on the same level. Therefore, elections that do not allow full and equal participation of women fail to comply with international standards. For elections to be truly free and fair, women must have the same opportunities as men to participate in all aspects of the electoral process (United Nations report, 2005). This calls for the creation of an enabling platform that critically uproots myriad hindrances that limits the opportunities for women's participation and representation. Which makes it important that women candidates who wish to stand for elections should be given the same platform of acceptance, funding assistance, coaching, and mentoring opportunities given to men who seek to contest in national elections.

There is a legal basis for affirmative action and gender quotas found in international, regional, and national laws. Ghana has signed onto several treaties and conventions which mandate the West African country to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women to ensure the right to vote, to be elected, and to participate in the formulation and implementation of government policies.

First amongst them was the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which Ghana signed in 1980 and ratified in 1986 without reservations. According to Tsikata (2009), there were calls on the government of Ghana by CEDAW to temporarily provide special measures which could include incentives and other

compliance mechanisms in order to improve women's participation in politics and public life. Unfortunately, the 1992 Constitution did not include indirect discrimination which the country signed onto. The 1992 Constitution of Ghana again did not have any legislative framework to ensure the application of CEDAW although it had signed the convention. Again, the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995 called for an increase in 50% of women in national legislatures. The Millennium Development Goal 3 (Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women) which metamorphosed to Sustainable Development Goal 5 Target 5 (Ensure full participation in leadership and decision-making) by 2030 are all legal justifications for the use of gender quotas and affirmative action.

Another justification for the use of affirmative action in Ghana on the regional level has to do with the African Charter on Human Rights in 1986 which Ghana ratified on 24th January, 1989. It was intended to promote and protect human rights and basic freedoms on the African continent. The Charter binds all states to ensure the elimination of discrimination against women and also to ensure the rights of women. This agreement that Ghana signed onto has not been expedited as women are almost frequently discriminated against right from the local assembly elections through to national elections. Furthermore, the African Charter on Human and People's Rights popularly known as the Maputo protocol is another agreement the country signed onto. Article 9 of the protocol provides for women's right to participate in politics and to partake in decision-making processes. The protocol provides that the State shall take action to promote participative governance and the equal participation of women in the political life of their countries through affirmative action. Unfortunately, it has taken the country almost 20 years to pass the bill.

In spite of all international and regional justifications to the use of affirmative action to guarantee equality among men and women, Ghana's municipal or national laws thus the 1992 Constitution also provides a legal basis for affirmative action to address imbalances and inequalities in Ghanaian societies. First, Article 12 clause (2) of the constitution states that "every person in Ghana, whatever his race, place of origin, political opinion, color, religion, creed or gender shall be entitled to the fundamental human rights and freedoms of the individual contained in this chapter but subject to respect for the rights and freedoms of others and for the public interest" (Constitution of Ghana, 1992). Fundamental human rights and freedoms include rights to vote and be voted for (participation in the electoral process), therefore to promote national development and respect for the Constitution socio-economic and political barriers that limit the participation of women in national politics like the legislature must be addressed.

More importantly, Article 17 (4) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana provides that nothing shall prevent Parliament from enacting laws that are reasonably necessary to address issues that affect the wellbeing of people. Hence, the Constitution makes it unlawful for affirmative action to be delayed in Ghana, and for that matter, parliament must be answerable to that effect. It is equally important to acknowledge that Article 40 of the same Constitution binds Ghana to promote and respect international laws and treaties of international organisations of which Ghana is a signatory. It is therefore imperative for the country to adhere to the international, regional, and national laws it has subscribed to.

3.2 Discourses concerning Gender Quotas in Ghana: A comparison with the Rwandan Experience

So far, I have argued that existing legislation, laws, and conventions Ghana subscribed to have not created more representation for women in the country. This section examines the framework for implementing gender quotas in Ghana. If Ghana is to implement the gender quota system, what kind of quota system should it adopt and why? What are the views of key stakeholders such as politicians and civil society organizations on the implementation of gender quotas in Ghana? To what extent are political parties willing to implement gender quotas in Ghana? The section addresses some of these pressing questions with regards to the implementation of quotas in Ghana.

One of the common characteristics of African countries that have adopted gender quotas is their experience of conflict. A classic example can be found in the Rwandan case study where gender quotas were adopted following the genocide in1994 (Hogg, 2010). After such conflicts, women organizations become very vociferous to influence political decisions as was the case in Rwanda (Burnet, 200). An expert in a field interview described this assumed prominence of women in Rwand as thus:

> Now talking about Rwanda…They had gone through this horrible genocide, many of the men had died, women had shown that they are capable and so it was important for a measure to be put in place to enable more women to come into the decision-making team. So it was not like they like women. No, it was relevant. It was important. It was necessary at that point in time because the men were not available in their numbers, women had also demonstrated the capacity during the genocide period, they had taken on different kinds of posts especially in the peacebuilding process, so if you are a serious government and you want to make it then you have to recognize these contributions and support women to give all their best. (field work)

Very crucial to this newly assumed role of women after the genocide was the role of civil societies. In Rwanda, Catherine Newbury and Baldwin (2001, pg. 77) have observed that the role of civil society organisations in realizing the inclusion of women after the genocide "seems nothing short of remarkable" as they positively responded to the crisis of women and contributed to policy formulation. Thus, the involvement of the women organisations set the pace for greater equality and representation for women in a future Rwanda (Debusscher and Ansoms, 2013).

3.3 Advocacy in the implementation of Gender Quotas

Unlike Rwanda, Ghana has not experienced any such serious civil conflict. In the absence of civil conflict, women organizations are key to realizing gender quotas. What then can women organisations and civil society organisations do to also ensure the realization of gender quotas in Ghana? Just like in Rwanda, one of the means of ensuring this is through advocacy. The Convener of the Affirmative Action Coalition argued that civil society organisations and women organisations have done fairly well in terms of advocacy for the implementation of gender quotas and other women-friendly legislations:

> So for civil societies we have to intensify our advocacy, we need to go a notch higher than we are doing already… Without the advocacy, we wouldn't have gotten there. So the advocacy has helped. In Ghana when people are talking about advocacy, they want people wearing red-beret and moving around. Advocacy, Yes! But the intensity of the advocacy to be able to get a hearing to be taken seriously, you have to intensify your advocacy with dispute action or something like that. (From field work).

Her comment above underscores the evocative significance of the widespread association between the inactivity of civil society organisations in Ghana and the inability to pass women empowering legislations like gender quotas. However, further interrogation suggests that women organisations in Ghana have by and large made some in-roads in terms of advocacy even though

gender quotas are yet to be passed. The expert threw more light on the activities and the gains of some civil society organisations and the need for more action:

> As part of our advocacy, the Affirmative Action Coalition at a point some of the groups I mean the NGOs they were being supported by STAR-Ghana, so they facilitated a few red banned walks through town etc but we would need a little more so advocacy has helped to get us this far but maybe the intensity has not enabled us to let the Executive know that we are really "eye-red". (From field work).

It is important to note that the advocacy championed by civil society organisations in Ghana has resulted in a steady increment in the number of women that have entered into politics particularly in the legislature. From 2008, the percentage of women has increased steadily from 8.7% to 13% as at the 2016 elections. Subsequently, Madam Lydia Alhassan of the NPP won the Ayawaso West constituency bye-election in 2019 following the demise of her husband who was the then incumbent. Although she was accused by some section of the public as a bloody widow amongst other derogatory words she still emerged as the winner of the election. Currently, there are 14% of women MPs in Ghana's legislature although more can be done. Generally, there has been an increase in the number of women candidates in Ghana's Parliamentary elections since 1992. In the 2016 Parliamentary elections, a total of 136 women candidates out of 1,158 candidates contested in the elections. This year, with the number of women that filed for nomination at the Electoral Commission, it appears the country will see a major increase in the number that will contest in the December, 2020 polls.

In the area of Presidential elections, Ghana has not had any female President, however; the country has recently experienced female Presidential candidates during General Elections. Nana Konadu Agyemang Rawlings in 2016 became the first Ghanaian female to contest for Presidential elections in the country. The 2020 December elections will see three (3) females out

of nine (9) male Presidential Candidates running for the highest position of the country. Lately, the country has again seen the involvement of females as vice-presidential candidates albeit for small political parties. Professor Naana Jane Opoku Agyemang has become Ghana's first woman vice-presidential candidate of the largest opposition party NDC. This is indeed a step in its right direction in the fight against gender inequality particularly in the area of female political representation with the involvement of women. Advocacy from women groups in Ghana has contributed immensely to the current developments in female representation although more can be done with the passage of the affirmative action bill. For this reason, there is a need for more advocacy from organisations to achieve the goal of gender quotas.

3.4 The role of Political Parties in the fight for gender quotas

If women organisations have a role to play, then political parties in their own small ways can also cause a change. In Rwanda, the RPF has been the dominant political party since 1994 has given much impetus to implementing gender quotas. Apart from reserving seats for women in parliament, the party has also created women's councils from the local level to the national level and has promoted the activities of civil society organisations in Rwanda (Burnet, 2008a). Clearly, such a zealous political will is needed by major political parties in Ghana for gender quotas to be achieved.

It is however useful to acknowledge that some of the political parties have put in place some measures to include women in governance but some of these policies do not yield expected results. A representative from the New Patriotic Party in an interview pointed out that the NPP's

attempt to reserve seats for women was met with fierce resistance from party members and this led to the abolition of the provision:

> Before 2016, the party came up with a proposal that women who are already in Parliament should be contested by women, that if a woman is occupying a seat she should be contested by her fellow woman, and a few other changes to push the other females up and look at the way a lot of people in the party rose in arms against that policy although we have reduced the cost of filing fees for women, that is not enough. (From field work).

This was a good step that was not properly communicated to party members for their acceptance. She called for the policy to be reformulated for the sake of preventing a reduction in the number of women in parliament:

> I'm hoping it will be brought back again at least for the protection of the women caucus in parliament and so if we have a woman has to be able amidst all the aforementioned challenges and become an MP in the constituency at least the party should be able to encourage other women who will be able to go and contest her and not a man. (From field work).

Although the expert believes that the NPP has created an enabling environment for women to compete fairly with men during elections, she agreed that the NPP could have done more in the build-up to the 2008 elections;

> In the build-up to the 2008 general elections the flag bearer of the New Patriotic Party and now President of the Republic of Ghana Nana Addo Danquah Akuffo Addo nominated Madam Hajia Alima Mahama as his running mate for the elections unfortunately, some leaders and women caucus in the party fiercely rejected this excellent… the reason being that she was a woman and could not contend with her fellow male politicians. (From field work).

In a similar vein, the NDC prior to the 2016 election put in place some measures to encourage its women members to participate in contests for parliamentary seats. An expert of gender studies and a former Deputy Minister for Communication in the Republic of Ghana stated how the NDC

was handling gender quotas and how women were being motivated to contest parliamentary elections:

> Nothing has been beyond mere rhetoric. The only thing that can be said to encourage more women is the money for the filing fees. Women pay half what men pay and that is tokenism. There have not been formal quotas in the party. Some women are supportive of the affirmative action bill but it is still in Parliament and both parties are there, I don't know what they are doing with it… Although there's been this measure it has not been effective enough. Some women cannot even raise the amount. We have to position all this inequality in terms of men and women representation, who gets access to funding, and how wealth is distributed in the country. I have witnessed a lot of women who cannot raise that amount of money for politics. (From field work).

According to the NDC, the candidates with disabilities and women were required to pay half of the 25,000 cedis nomination fees in the build-up to the 2019 party primaries. Similarly, the NPP required women to pay half of the 20,000 cedis as filing fees in the run-up to the 2020 party primaries. However, none of the two major political parties have introduced any of the voluntary or mandatory gender quotas not even the safe seats in an attempt to bridge the gap of inequality.

Another important question to be answered is that if gender quotas are to be implemented, what kind of gender quotas should be implemented, and why? First, as already stated, three gender quota systems have dominated the Sub-Saharan African region, namely, the reserved seat system, the legislative quotas, and the party voluntary quotas (Bush, 2011). The choice of the type of Gender quota of a country is dependent on a number of factors, especially the electoral system practiced in that country. For example, countries that have succeeded in the use of voluntary party quota mostly use the Proportional Representation. (See chapter two). Indeed, Rwanda's success in the implementation of gender quotas has been attributed to her use of the PR electoral system in the country. Thus, some interviewees argued that, for the sake of effective implementation, Ghana should practice the legislative quotas. Such a view was expressed by representatives from the two main political parties in Ghana. The NPP representative advocated

for the implementation of mandatory quotas to ensure compulsion in the implementation of the quota system. She heavily criticized the Party Voluntary quotas for its weakness in implementation in a country like Ghana. According to her:

> I would want the mandatory gender quota because if it is there…we have no choice but to look for a woman who is qualified to fill it then we get more women involved…if we don't do that and we leave it opened and we say voluntary…that will be difficult. (From field work).

Other stakeholders also advocated for a change in Ghana's electoral system if she wants to effectively implement voluntary party quotas. In an interview, the responsdent argued that Ghana's choice of gender quotas should be based on the type of electoral system practiced in Ghana; "I think the PR is a good starting point…in Ghana, the voluntary thing is not going far enough so there must be mandatory quotas."

The Convener of Affrimative Action Coalition also acknowledged the effectiveness of Gender quotas if the PR is being practiced and therefore advocated for a change in Ghana's electoral system in the long run:

> Achieving it in the first-past-the-post system is very difficult so I would say that if we could change our electoral system to Proportional then it should be easier… There is no country with the first-past-the-post system where they've been able to implement this. So that's why I'm saying that we would have to change our electoral system unless we have women seats for each electoral area which will require an additional cost expanding our Parliament. In the first-past-the-post system, it is difficult. (From Field work).

3.5 Perceived Impacts of Gender Quotas in Ghana: Drawing from the Rwandan Experiences

A very important aspect of the discussion of gender quotas is the question of its impacts on women. As discussed in the previous chapter, the impacts of gender quotas can either be substantive and symbolic impacts. Rwanda has witnessed a substantive increase in the number of women in parliament since 1994. Since 2008, women have occupied more than fifty percent of the total number of Parliamentarians in Rwanda. Indeed, a number of observers in Ghana have similarly noted that the implementation of gender quotas have the likely propensity to also increase the number of female parliamentarians in Ghana. The Convener was of the view that if Ghana wants to achieve higher female representatives in parliament, implementing gender quotas should be the way to go:

> The Rwandan experience shows that if you have an effective quota system it works to increase the numbers of women…It would ensure that a reasonable percentage of the population is also equally represented, currently, we have 51% of women in the last census, we don't know what the new one will bring. So if we have so many women why is it that just a small fraction of them are represented in Parliament? (From field work).

However, some scholars have pointed out the relevance of gender quotas should not be simply gauged by the number of women who enter parliament. They rather pay attention to the real impact of women who have been elected as parliamentarians and how their work affects the larger section of women, especially in terms of legislation they push and support on the floor of parliament (Bauer and Britton, 2012). In Rwanda, female parliamentarians have been noted for passing and pushing legislation that is relevant to the well-being of women. The Forum for Women in Parliament (FWP) has led the enactment of women-friendly laws such as the inheritance laws of 1998, which gave women equal rights to inheritance, the incorporation of gender quotas in the 2003 constitution, and the passage of the gender-based violence laws in 2008 (Burnet, 2011). This force of pushing for the interest of women may be missing in the

Ghanaian political scene. It was observed by Bauer (2012) that women in parliament are more effective when they are more than 30 percent as they can push for the enactment of laws. It is in this spirit that the UN has called for at least a 30 percent representation in decision-making institutions such as the legislature. According to the NPP representative, more women in Ghana's parliament are a must if more women-friendly laws are to be passed:

> If there are more of us in positions of Parliament issues like maternity issues will be addressed. Women understand themselves better. The men sometimes do not understand us, the men sometimes look out for their interest so when we are more we will look out for own interest and as I keep saying we are more than 50% of the population so 50% of us should be where we can also look out for our interest. (From field work).

The Affrimative Action Convener corroborated Bauer (2012) as she stated that if Ghana should have more women in her Parliament;

> It will enable women's perspectives also to be articulated. I'm sure when you were growing up, there were certain things that if you go and tell your father he will just tell you his peace of mind, but if you go and tell your mother she knows how to handle it. So the way women think about certain things in terms of basic needs, men will never think from that angle. and then basically if you want to achieve massive development we need both sexes to be equally represented in decision-making spaces so that their voices can also be heard. So if we comply with our constitution there shouldn't be any discrimination. (From field work).

Apart from the real impact higher women representation may bestow on us, there are also the symbolic impacts of gender quotas as more women in leadership change the cultural perception about women in leadership and the society as a whole (Yoon, 2011). In an interview with an expert from the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, it was indicated that:

> Long before this movement started particularly in Ghana, it was unusual to see a woman as a role model, particularly in politics. There were just a few although they faced fierce opposition even from their families, today, although it is not we want there have been quite a number of women who have risen through the ranks

> in the area of politics…..young women feel motivated when they see their fellow make it in life. They also want to get there. (From field work).

Burnet (2011) have argued that symbolic impacts of gender quotas on Rwandan women include women's greater access to education, their ability to now speak in public, their active involvement in entrepreneurship as a means of independent livelihood, earning respect, and finally, the fact that women are now actively involved in domestic decision-making processes (p. 16-19). In response to the question of the symbolic impact of gender quotas when implemented in Ghana, an official rom the civil society space was very optimistic Ghana would also reap from gender quotas:

> If you see women represented in big spaces, it increases the confidence of especially young people not just young women but also young men because they begin to see women differently even their mothers, their sisters, they begin to see that ow! So my mother or my sister could do something much than just providing mere food in the household. So that role modelling component is very important. (From field work).

Despite the seeming benefits of gender quotas, a respondent from a field work cautioned the danger in the wholesale adoption of the Rwandan system as it may be fraught with its own challenges. First, there is a general concern regarding the type of women who enter parliament through gender quotas and the interest they serve. O'brian (2012) hinted that women elected through gender quotas in Uganda are elite women and are unrepresentative of the general mass of common women who voted them into power. The very basic issues affecting the average woman are usually not the problems of these elites. Hence they sometimes do not find the need to addressing them with urgency. Secondly, although women may get into parliament to promote women's wellbeing, these women are sometimes swayed by representing the interest of the party. As elite women, Burnet (2011) similarly observed that women elected through gender

quotas in Rwanda only enforce the existing status quo as it has not proffered any challenge to the ruling RPF but has rather "solidified the RPF ruling party's hold on power" (p. 31) because of the benefit they derive from such positions. In view of this, women that are in power are not just because they of representation but for their interest hence the increase in women in politics may not necessarily translate to promote the wellbeing of women. By endorsing the status quo, women parliamentarians in Rwanda have, in some sad instances, failed to champion the course of women if such advocacy contradicted party interest. For example, in 2004, the Rwandan PWF failed to revert or criticize the Labour Law in 2009, even when such a law reduced the maternity leave for women from eight to two months (Burnet, 2011) with the view of reducing absenteeism at work and improving work.

What we can therefore learn from the impact of gender quotas in Rwanda is that merely increasing the participation of women in parliament does not necessarily lead to greater gender equality nor the implementation of women-friendly laws. Women elected through gender quotas may be influenced and controlled by their personal interest rather than for ordinary women. To deal with such situations, an expert pointed out that it is important to pay attention to the kind of women who would infiltrate parliament when gender quotas are passed in Ghana. According to the expert, women who are informed and sensitized about the needs and interests of women should be pushed to parliament. In her words:

> In terms of representation of women in Parliament, just getting any woman there is not enough, you need sensitized women, and the sensitized women hopefully when they are in positions will be able to influence policy to reach out to other women. And as I keep saying we need a re-socialization process. (From field work).

The respondent continued to express fears in nominating women who were non-informed:

> So we can get the woman there but if the women are 'unsensitized' we won't get anywhere. I've done work with Parliament over the years and very few of the women there are receptive. They're like "we have struggled hard to get elected and you people are now coming to ask us to go and push this, everybody too can. (From Field work)). South Africa and Uganda are countries are have ensured some form of parity in terms of women representation, however, critics are of the view that these quotas do not have a rippling effect on the average woman in society.

In response to this, a representative from the Gender Ministry suggested that:

> In my view, we should know that those that we are putting there really those that really bring the change that we are all looking for and it is not just about putting women there… there are qualified women out there, there are women who have what it takes to operate any institution or whatever you entrust in them. (From field work).

Thus, for Ghana to benefit from gender quotas, more consideration must be put in place so as not to get puppets in parliaments who would not make any impact in terms of enacting women-friendly legislation.

3.6 Enforcing Gender Quotas in Ghana

This section draws from the experience of Rwanda to examine how gender quotas may be enforced in Ghana given the opportunity. Schwindt-Bayer (2009) pointed out that without enforcement measures, gender quotas may become like mere recommendations which may become otiose. Indeed, many African countries have failed to implement or enforce gender quotas. In West Africa, as of 2015, and out of the nine countries which had adopted gender quotas, only Niger was able to meet her target of putting 10% of women in Parliament (in that year, the total percentage of women who went to parliament was 13.3 percent; see, Bauer; 2016, 199). This means that the mere passage of gender quota laws does not guarantee more women in parliament.

Schwindt-Bayer (2009) argued that countries, which do not attach any enforcement measure to gender quota laws, are less likely to implement them for an effective outcome. So the question is how should governments, and other stakeholders enforce gender quotas? Schwindt-Bayer (2009) has identified two forms of enforcement mechanisms. The first is strong enforcement. Schwindt-Bayer (2009) argued that there is a rejection of ballot papers of political parties which defaults or fails to implement quota laws. This simply requires political parties to forfeit elections when they fail to adhere to gender quota laws.

The second type of enforcement mechanism identified by Schwindt-Bayer (2009) is weak enforcement where in cases of not adhering to gender quotas, political parties are given sanctions other than forfeiting elections. For example, some countries only enforce quotas defaulters through fines; such punishments are not deterrent enough to ensure enforcement of quotas. Many rich parties especially France prefers to take the penalty and support male incumbents rather than to abide by the quota (Norris 2003).

Rwanda has succeeded in beating the 30 percent ceiling it set for itself in its 2003 constitution. Currently, she has more than double her target; the Rwandan parliament as of 2015 had 63.3 female representatives. What can Ghana learn from Rwanda in terms of enforcing gender quotas? A critical look at Rwanda's electoral system shows that the implementation of gender quotas was a gradual process. In 1994, Rwanda first implemented the reserved seats for local government elections; concurrently, political parties specifically the RPF also implemented voluntary party quotas for women until a legislative quota of 30 percent was levied on all

political parties to fill the national parliament with Women. Apart from the explicit legislative requirement, there is no explicit enforcement measure imposed in defiance of quota laws.

Ghana cannot afford to tow this line of Rwanda because she does not have the same experience Rwanda has. It is important to note that women in Rwanda rose to greater prominence after the genocide because of the newly assumed gender roles thereafter. Indeed, Burnet (2011) pointed out that more men, than before began to withdraw from politics following the genocide. I argue that for gender quotas to be effectively enforced in Ghana, there need to be stricter enforcement measures as pushed for by Schwindt-Bayer (2009) otherwise it may not work. A respondent from the field work suggested that a Commission should be formed to ensure the strict adherence of gender quotas when passed in Ghana:

> I think it will be based on the institutional framework that has to be established, if I take the affirmative action bill as it is now, some structures are to be established to serve as the basis for implementation so it will require that institution is equipped with the relevant expertise, with the relevant sources, it has to be positioned in a way that it can bite. So in that bill, we were talking about having a Commission like for example like the Petroleum Commission so that it can ask questions and Parliament can ask it questions, so you have a much more robust institution to get the work done. (Interview with Rose Mensah Kutin, 2020).

3.7 Conclusion

Gender quotas are one of the many ways of gender equality in terms of occupying political offices can be achieved. The literature on gender quotas in Africa focuses on East and Southern African countries because of their success in its implementation. There is less scholarly work done in West Africa because only a handful of West African countries have implemented gender quotas excluding Ghana. The chapter acknowledges all previous efforts at getting women to

occupying political offices in Ghana but contends that these efforts have yielded very little results in Ghana, especially in terms of the number of female parliamentarians in Ghana since 1992.

In dealing with this challenge, and based on the Rwandan case, this chapter has raised several issues that need to be dealt with if Ghana wants to successfully implement gender quotas. However, since Ghana and Rwanda have different political and historical experiences I have indicated areas, based on field research where Ghana needs to modify gender quotas as practiced in Rwanda to suit her situation. For example, if Ghana is to adopt gender quotas, there is no need to change her political system because of the success of Rwanda, it can pass legislation for party quotas with strong enforcement measures; where political parties which default may be prevented from even registering to contest the elections. Through this way, we could avoid the inactivity of female parliamentarians existing in reserved seat systems.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

The issue of gender equality has been a major concern for many governments throughout the world. In Ghana, there have been frantic efforts to promote equality among males and females, especially in terms of political representation. However, these measures have failed to yield many results as female representation in the national legislature have never superseded 20 percent since independence. Based on the Rwandan experience, this dissertation, therefore, sets out to examine how Ghana could successfully adopt gender quota system in the quest to promote women's political representation and well-being. I drew on the theory of critical mass theory as a lens for analyzing the effectiveness of women who occupy top political and corporate positions, such as the national parliament. This theory has been given much impetus by scholars such as Kanter (1997) who argues that fewer women in political positions are less likely to become effective. The theory helped to examine how effective female representatives in the Rwandan parliament have become and the likely possibility of a similar phenomenon in Ghana when gender quotas are finally adopted.

To contextualize the use of gender quotas in Rwanda, I first examined the use of gender quotas in Sub-Saharan Africa in general in Chapter Two. First, I examined some of the conditions which promoted the use of gender quotas such as conflicts, the role played by international and women organisations, and the political system adopted in those countries. In countries such as Rwanda, South Africa, and Uganda, etc. which had just emerged from conflicts of a sought to set the pace in implementing gender quotas because of the instrumental role women played in

negotiating peace processes and the changing gender roles after such conflicts. Again, international and women organizations and conventions all exerted pressure on such governments to adopt gender quotas. Second, I demonstrated that Sub-Saharan countries used all the three types of gender quotas, namely; reserved seats, legislative quotas, and voluntary party quotas. I also examined how various regions in Sub-Saharan Africa had adopted different types of gender quotas. For example, Southern African countries were noted to be using the voluntary party quotas whereas Eastern Africa was also noted to be using the reserved seat system. I then examined the impacts of gender quotas in Sub-Saharan Africa. Substantive representation comprised the increase in the number of women who represented the people in national legislatures and how they shaped legislation that promoted the interest of women. Symbolic representation comprised the change in the cultural perception of women after women had been given the chance to serve in national legislatures.

In chapter three, I examined and analysed some important issues concerning the implementation of gender quotas in Ghana and how Ghana could learn from the Rwandan success story. Major themes discussed in this chapter were roles of political parties in promoting gender quotas, the role of women organisations, the type of gender quota to be adopted, the impact of gender quotas when adopted in Ghana, and the enforcement measures to put in place to make gender quotas effective when implemented. Since Rwanda had different historical experiences from Ghana, the chapter did not endorse the wholesale adoption of the Rwandan experience.

4.1 Summary of Findings

The research questions which guided this project were:

- How relevant is the use of gender quota system in promoting women's political representation in sub-Sahara Africa?
- How has the use of the gender quota system helped in promoting women's political representation and women's well-being in Rwanda?
- What lessons can Ghana learn from Rwanda's gender quota system experience towards promoting women's political representation and women's well-being?

As a response to these broad questions, the following findings were made based on the chapter organisation of the work:

- Gender quotas have been successful in promoting women's political representation in the Sub-Saharan countries which have implemented it. I demonstrated in chapter two that gender quotas did not only promote a substantive impact on the increased number of women in parliaments, it also created a symbolic impact on women. This was due to the increasing presence of women challenged some unfavourable traditional and social attitudes towards women. The symbolic impact includes increased respect for women, increased access to education, and the change in the traditional notion that women could not become leaders.

- While gender quotas are very popular in Eastern and Southern Africa, West African countries including Ghana have not paid much attention to the implementation of gender quotas. I argued that the reason for this is because of the dominance of the First Past The

Post (FPTP) electoral system in West African countries. In chapter two, I demonstrated that 50 percent of countries who practiced the FTPT electoral system were from West Africa. Unlike other electoral systems such as the Proportional Representation (PR), FTPT makes the implementation of gender quotas very difficult although some countries have implemented gender quotas using the FTPT. Rwanda's success in the implementation of gender quotas is partly as a result of the PR electoral system she practices.

- Rwanda has been very successful with the implementation of gender quotas and has earned a positive global reputation for that. It has achieved both substantive and symbolic impacts. Rwanda's success in increasing the numbers of women in her parliament could be attributed to factors such as her historical experience and the assumed role of women following the genocide after 1994, the political will of political parties and government, her PR political system, and the role of civil society organisations and international organsations. Thus, in 2008, Rwanda became the first and only country in the world with a majority-female, national legislative body. Rwanda continued to lead the world in terms of increased women representation in her parliament so that as of 2018, there was 61 percent of women in its Chamber of Deputies. It has surpassed the 30 percent quota enshrined in her 2003 constitution. Increased numbers in the Rwandan parliament have been very useful as more women-friendly legislation such as the inheritance law which was passed in 1998 and allowed women to own personal properties without any restrictions from their husbands or brothers.

- Even though Rwanda is successful in terms of gender quotas, the evidence suggests that women in parliament have not given their best because of how the leadership of the Rwandan Patriotic Front has courted the women who have made it to parliament through gender quotas. Thus, most of the women, it was found, were rather doing the bidding of their political parties rather than fighting for the interest of ordinary women who voted for them; thus defeating the purpose of gender quotas – seeking the interest and well-being of women.

4.2 Conclusions

Clearly, earlier efforts at promoting women's representation such as the affirmative action bill, signing to international treaties have all failed to yield higher numbers in female representation in our national legislature. As a beacon of democracy, peace, stability, and good governance, Ghana should, therefore, as quickly as possible pass gender quotas in order to promote gender equality in terms of representatives in our national legislature. However, party quotas in Ghana must not be voluntary since, as demonstrated above, the two leading political parties in Ghana, that is NPP and NDC have all failed to enforce their legislation of promoting women in politics.

It is possible the implementation of gender quotas may cause public uproar since it challenges patriarchal leadership norms, however, with constant public education, gender quotas would become part of Ghana's political ethos. The success and lessons from the implementation of gender quotas in Ghana's national parliament must be, in the not too distant future be replicated in other higher offices such as in the judiciary, executive, and the corporate world.

4.3 Recommendations

Based on the major findings, the following recommendations are made, if Ghana wants to pass gender quota laws in the near future.

- Based on the impact of gender quotas in sub-Saharan Africa discussed in chapter two, Parliament must immediately pass gender quota legislation in order to bridge the yawning gap between the numbers of men and women in her parliament; and also benefit from the symbolic impact gender quotas bestows on women. Specific to the type of electoral system, it has become evident from the study that, countries that have a PR electoral system made more progress with gender quotas. The success of Rwanda's quota system is largely based on the PR electoral system, hence, Ghana must make constitutional amnedments to its electoral system from a FPTP to a PR system to order to address the gap in women inclusion particularly from the party level. Legislative quotas should be imposed on political parties to file, at least 30 percent female in their lists for parliamentary candidates. Legislations for parties should be backed with strong enforcement measures; where political parties that default may be prevented from even registering to contest the elections. This is very important to avoid the inactivity of female parliamentarians existing in reserved seat systems and also to avoid the lackadaisical attitude of political parties in implementing gender quotas in the voluntary party quota system.

- In the process of the implementation of gender quotas, Ghana should pay more attention to the kind of women she puts to parliament through the system. Women who would get to Parliament through gender quotas must show commitment to the interest of their fellow women. One way of gauging the commitment of such women should be the

examination of the track record of such women in promoting the interest of other women in the past.

- The percentage of women to get to the national legislature through gender quotas should be pegged to not less than 30 percent, in order to create a critical mass of women who can mobilise to promote the interest of other women in general.

- The executive arm of government must adhere to all international and regional commitments regarding women inclusion in decision-making. This must be done by passing local legislations, which reinforces such international agreements and/or treaties. The Sustainable Development Goal 5 Target 5 should be affected by the year 2030 to help ensure there is a fair representation of women in politics. Hence to improve upon the wellbeing of women.

- There should be a special focus on girl child education as a means of building the capacity and efficiency of women for political positions in the future. The government must take the lead in removing obstacles to girl education such as lack of funding, discrimination against girls in education (especially against pregnant girls), some cultural factors which do not promote the education of girls, and natural barriers such as menstruation and other female reproductive complications. The government must therefore provide more funding and/or scholarship for educating girls and legislate against discrimination against and abuse of female students, etc. Educating girls is very important to create a 'critical mass' of women who would be in the position to change the oppression of women in all aspects even if they do not enter politics.

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APPENDICES

INTERVIEW GUIDE

APPENDIX I

To Civil Society Organisations

1. What has been the trend of female representation in Ghana's Parliament?
2. Has there been any attempt to enact electoral laws friendly to women to increase female representation in Ghana's parliament?
3. To what extent have these laws been effective in increasing female representation in Ghana's parliament?
    a. Have there been any challenges in the enactment of these laws?
4. Ghana has signed and ratified several international conventions which require the promotion of female representation in politics together with the 1992 constitution not forgetting the Maputo Protocol, Sustainable Development Goals, Sustainable Development Goals among many other. Why has Ghana refused to experiment with the enactment and implementation of gender quotas as a mechanism for increasing female representation?
5. Why is it necessary to enact and implement gender quotas in Ghana in an attempt to increase the representation of women in Ghana's parliament?
6. What specific type of gender quotas would be most effective to increase the representation of women in Ghana's parliament looking at our electoral system?
7. How will the increase in women's political representation through gender quotas help to address issues affecting women hence to ensure their wellbeing?

a. As already seen in some Sub-Saharan countries like South Africa and even Rwanda, the increase in women's political representation does not necessarily have a rippling effect on the average woman whereby there is still a high prevalence of violence against women. How will the implementation of gender quotas ensure substantive and symbolic representation of women in Ghana? How will the promotion of gender quotas create a critical mass in Ghana's parliament?

8. With the success in the implementation of gender quotas in Rwanda and some Eastern and Southern African countries, what lessons can Ghana draw from the Rwandan experience in order to promote women's political representation and wellbeing?
9. Do you agree that the change of governments in Ghana is also a cause of the delay in the passing and implementation of affirmative action laws?
10. What role should civil societies, international organizations, and MPs play to speed up the legislation and implementation of gender quotas in Ghana?
11. How do we ensure that political parties and other stakeholders adhere to and strictly implement these measures once the legislation takes place?

APPENDIX II

To Political Parties in Ghana

1. What has been the trend of female representation since the formation of the New Patriotic Party?
2. What is the cause of the low participation of women in the context of elections and engagement in political activities?
3. What is the current mechanism put in place by your party to promote female participation and representation in elections and political activities?
4. How effective have these mechanisms been?
5. Are there any future plans to adopt gender quotas in increasing women's representation?
6. How will the increase in women's political representation through gender quotas help to address issues affecting women hence to ensure their wellbeing?
7. What are the possible challenges to the enactment of gender quotas as a political party?
8. What are the perceived benefits to the implementation of gender quotas