WOMEN’S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON GHANA AND TANZANIA

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May, 2014
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ABSTRACT

Globally women’s political participation lags behind that of men. The world average for women in all national parliaments is 21.8 percent, a figure which is not near the ‘critical majority’ of 30 percent of women parliamentarians. Even though the right to vote and stand for elections begun as of the nineteenth century, the political participation of women throughout the world still lacks behind as compared to that of their male counterparts. The beginning of the twentieth century observed transformations in nearly every phase of the daily activities of women, from the household to the public spheres. The emergence of women’s advocacy groups for equal freedom and rights, newly formed women’s associations as well as the increase of female specialists changed the old patriarchal societal echelons across the world. Sub-Saharan African countries’ women in politics have also seen a rise as the continent can now boast of three female presidents in Liberia, Malawi and Central African Republic recently.

Due to the current rise of women’s political participation in the world and the present wave of feminism which has seen some improvements in almost all the continents on women’s political decision making, Africa has also seen improvements in women’s political participation. It is the above that the research is interested in finding ‘what are some of the factors for the steady growth in women’s political participation’ in Ghana and Tanzania. In order to obtain suitable answer(s) to the question posed above, the research depended on databases of Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), UNwomen, International Institute of Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). It also made use of the Government of Ghana’s (Gog) web page, Electoral Commission pages of Ghana and Tanzania to analyze data in order to arrive at a possible solution.

The results indicated that the rise of women’s political participation in the world and Africa has been possible through access to education by men and women, the use of some form of gender affirmative action plans, multiparty democracy, concerted efforts of civil organization both local and international levels and pressures from women’s organizations are all contributory factors to the improvement made by women in political decision making.
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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Women’s suffrage is the right of women to vote and stand for positions in elected political offices. The Finnish national assembly, Eduskunta in Finnish, was the first national assembly in Europe and in the world to accept full gender equality. The accolade was achieved by granting men and women equal rights not only to vote, but also contest for political position (Korpela, 2006). In the first ballot held for the unicameral parliament in Finland in 1907, nineteen women were voted to the national assembly (Harjumen, 2007). The parliament of Finland celebrated its centenary in 2006 and 2007. The celebrations covered two separate years because, universal and equal suffrage was endorsed in Finland in 1906, whilst the first polls for the new unicameral national assembly took place in 1907 (Korpela, 2006). This achievement in Finland is remarkable because prior to the adoption of full suffrage for women, Finland was still an independent Grand Duchy of the Russian empire and later gained independence in 1917 and was primarily an agrarian country until the 1960s (Korpela, 2006; Harjumen, 2007). According to Harjumen (2007) Finnish women have been fairly lively in the political arena and their contribution to political decision making has seen an upsurge decade by decade. The first female president was elected in 2000 in the person of Tarja Halonen and in the national assembly polls in 2007, 84 women out of 200 were elected.

This goes to show that woman suffrage has existed for many years. Even though the right to vote and stand for elections begun as of the nineteenth century, the political participation of women throughout the world still lacks behind as compared to that of their male counterparts. The beginning of the twentieth century observed transformations in nearly every phase of the daily activities of women, from the household to the public spheres. The emergence of women’s advocacy groups for equal freedom and rights, newly formed women’s associations as well as the increase of female specialists changed the old patriarchal societal echelons across the world.

Ogbogu (2012, 1) identifies that there are variations in women’s involvement in the political dispensation on the globe and their active involvement in politics and the democratic development has been necessary for modern discussion on development and governance. In the wake of various agitations for female empowerment by civil societies and international
associations, regular studies have depicted that in different continents around the world, women still lack behind in the political arena and their involvement or participation in government structures and the process of democracy still remains low.

Although women’s participation in politics and its governance has been lacking behind, there has been a steady improvement over the past years. Statistics from the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU, 2013) indicates that women’s political participation has increased. When considering total Members of Parliament in the lower or single house, the percentage has increased to 21.8 percent. Considering the world average for 2012 globally, women in parliaments stood at a little over twenty percent, which was an increment of 19.5 percent in 2012 representing a gain of 5.3 percentage points in ten years.

Available data from IPU (2013) indicates that thirty-three houses of parliament had thirty percent or above women or female members of parliament by the close of 2012, which according to the data is more than tripled ten years past. In the same year 2012, women fared better through either legislation or voluntary quota use. In 2012, electoral quotas were adopted in twenty-two countries which held elections. In circumstances, where elections were based on quotas, women obtained 24 percent of seats in parliaments and in countries where quotas were used voluntarily women made gains of 22 percent. Where there was no existence of quotas, women were able to amass twelve percent of seats worldwide.

On regional averages for 2012, Sub-Saharan Africa of which Ghana and Tanzania are a part had the highest electoral gain and it was achieved in Senegal where women MPs accounted for 42.7 percent. There were great achievements in the Americas as Jamaica, Mexico and the United States of America attained a historic highs. The region has the bragging rights of the most average of female parliamentarians on the globe. In Asia, (IPU, 2012) women were at the center of election when Park Geun-Hye was elected the first ever woman president of the Republic of Korea, as a human rights activist Aung San Suu Kyi stood tall in a by-election in Myanmar. In the Arab states change was sluggish in Libya and Egypt, but Algeria reached the 30 percent mark in the region, becoming the first country (IPU, 2013). The only region to experience stagnation over the past ten years was the Pacific; even then, there were some positives as three women MPs were elected in Papua New Guinea and Palau.

When considering the year 2012 under review, it could be realized that, 2012 accounted for almost a one percentage-point increase in the global average of 20.3%. Except 2007, this average has approximately doubled the yearly rate of upsurge. At the end of 2012, 33 lower houses of parliaments and 17 upper houses had attained the thirty percent mark which is
deemed by IPU (2013) necessary for women parliamentarians to be able to impact on decision-making. This is an indication of more than triple the average numbers ten years past. IPU (2013) records indicate that while there is an increase of 30 single houses in 2011, it reduced from 19 upper houses. New to the 30 and over, percent group were Algeria (31.6%), Mexico (lower house: 36.8% and upper house: 32.8%), Senegal (42.7%), Serbia (32.4%) and Timor-Leste (38.5%).

There were also less parliaments at the other side of the divide where forty lower houses have scarcer than ten percent females in their statuses, equated to 69 ten years ago and forty-six in 2011. Again, six lower and upper houses did not have any women in their parliaments by the close of 2012, an aggregate which has not altered since 2011. These parliaments were basically in two areas with the least representation of women, thus, the Arab States and the Pacific and comprise Haiti, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Vanuatu (IPU, 2012).

In total, 1,711 women obtained seats, amounting to 18.7 percent of the members elected or appointed.

In Sub-Saharan Africa what hinder women’s political participation in the region have been their subservient home duties as noted by Geisler, (1995) and further illustrates that women who obtained seats in national parliaments normally achieve this feat via women’s wings of political parties, which left women sidelined and isolated from the policy formation procedure. However, of recent times the scenario has been varying. Since 1960, none of the remaining regions have seen a rate of intensification in women’s political representation greater than in sub-Saharan Africa, which went from 1 percent in 1960 to 14.3% in 2003 as pointed out by Tripp (2003).

Researchers like Waylen (1996) attribute the low representation of women in politics in Africa to colonialism as the destabilizing factor in women’s underrepresentation in politics in relation to the pre - colonial era. Women’s political roles in customary societies also regularly died out with the arrival of colonialism. For instance, in pre-colonial Ghana, there was a female counterpart to the male ‘king’ known as Omanhema or Obaaahema (queen mother). Not only was the demeanor and wellbeing of the girls and women in the state her immediate duty, but as the power of the throne and had the sole right of recommending the chief, subject to the approval by the council of elders (Okonjo, 1994).
It has also been identified by Hughes (2005) that previous colonies tend to image their previous colonial masters in their present stages of women’s parliamentary exemplification. For illustration, amongst European imperial supremacies, France, has not achieved the 30% threshold of female parliamentary representation at the national level, 26.9 percent. Former French settlements or territories resemble that of France, for example Benin (8.4%), Djibouti (12.7%), and the Ivory Coast (10.4%) and have smaller percentages of women in parliament on average than previous Spanish or Belgian colonies (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2013). Though, France and its colonies have seen increases in percentages since 2007, there is still much more room for improvement.

As looked at from the IPUs perspectives, women have been making steady improvements in the political participation and its governance. It is relevant to also note that Ghana, a Sub-Saharan African nation on the west coast, is also making gradual and steady progress in women’s political ambitions. Women gained a percentage point of 2.21, to increase women MPs to 10.9 percent in 2012 compared to 8.7 percent in 2008. Several studies on gender disparity have emerged and described women’s political participation and gender equality in the African society. According to Dimandja (2004), women in Africa are normally not recognized in the public spheres of authority, as a UN report (2010) indicates that women are least represented in high administrative powers of the state and positions in decision making in government.

Africa as a continent has also witnessed a slight increase in the amount of women assuming leadership roles as compared to previous years, before, during and after independence. This scenario is gradually changing in recent times as recognition is being gained in the areas of education, science and politics in particular. Recently, countries such as Liberia, Malawi and the Central African Republic have women as presidents and this goes a long way to show that there is some improvement in women’s political participation and leadership roles in Africa.

The situation of women’s under representation in political participation and leadership roles is not much different in Ghana, because of the patriarchal nature of the African society, where women’s decision-making is lowered to the societal levels of the family. Politics is seen as masculine in Africa and Ghana, thereby limiting women’s political participation.
1.2 AIMS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The utmost reason for this study is to investigate the present state of concerns in relation to women’s political participation with a comparative analysis of Ghana and Tanzania. The outcome of this research could be adopted as a way for political parties to campaign for the need to include women in internal party elections, constituency and general elections in Ghana and Tanzania. The study seeks to find the development of women’s political participation relying on statistics to good governance and ways of achieving high levels of political participation of women in Ghana and Tanzania. It is the fervent hope of the research to try to pinpoint and look for answers to the encounters women face in their bid to get into politics. Finally, the research will try to suggest recommendations for political parties and the electoral processes as well as policy makers to inculcate in their policies to address ways that prevent women from participating in politics.

Evidently, there is enough reasonable backing to support the claim that women have capabilities, which can be employed to meaningfully enhance economic, social and most importantly the political development of nations. Civil and women's groups have identified that women’s political participation is lacking and have made conscious efforts to address the issue, while such efforts have generated, in certain instances, positive outcomes, there is still much to be done to ensure that women are recognized in the political dispensation of Ghana and Tanzania. It is the above that the research tries to find out ‘What are the factors for the steady increase in women’s political participation in Ghana and Tanzania’? From the above, the following research questions will guide the study:

- What is the role of education in the political participation of women in Ghana and Tanzania?
- What is the role of gender quotas in the course of recognizing women in politics in Ghana and Tanzania?

1.3 METHODS AND DATA

Research has shown that women’s political participation around the world is increasing, but there is still work to be done to enable women pass the threshold in political participation. This study is aimed at researching into women’s political participation in Ghana and
Tanzania. The study will depend solely on secondary source data to compare women’s political representation situation of both Ghana and Tanzania. Data from the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), which is an international association of parliaments and was formed in 1889. The union is the main contact point for global parliamentary debates and endeavors to seek peace and cooperation amongst people. The IPU also maintains the efforts of and work in close association with the United Nations. Again, the union also links with regional inter-parliamentary institutions, as well as with global intergovernmental and non-governmental associations. UNwomen, a body which was created by the United Nations General Assembly. It is an entity in the United Nations for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women. International Institute of Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). It is an intergovernmental association that helps sustainable democracy worldwide and its mission to aid sustainable democratic change by providing comparative know-how, and assisting in democratic reforms and influencing policies and politics. Their areas of expertise include democracy and gender, political parties, participation and representation.

The government of Ghana (GoG) web page, Electoral Commissions of both countries, who are the main institute responsible for the oversight of elections in Ghana and Tanzania. Due to the sensitive and bureaucratic nature of the political system of both countries, it becomes difficult to book an appointment with people in the political realm, thereby hindering firsthand information on the research. For this reason, the research will depend on the databases of the above mentioned institutions for analysis of data and compares Ghana’s situation to Tanzania in terms of women’s political participation.

The two countries studied, Ghana and Tanzania have some elements of governance in common but not all. One peculiar similarity is that both countries’ first presidents encouraged African socialism, but later their dreams to maintain the socialist philosophy died out. Ghana was one time a one party state as was Tanzania (Carbone, 2007). On the other hand Ghana has experienced a military regime form of governance after independence in the 1960s to late 1980s but, that situation cannot be linked to Tanzania. The two countries had their suffrages in the 1950s, Ghana 1954 and Tanzania 1959, but the situation concerning women’s political participation is more encouraging in Tanzania than Ghana, though there has been a slight improvement in Ghana. Remarkably, both countries moved into a multiparty democracy in 1992. They both have a unicameral legislature.
2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON WOMEN’S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

2.1 Introduction

This section of the research deals with existing studies which are relevant to the central theme, and show its association with the topic under investigation. Again, the literature review seeks to explain and justify how the research will lead to uncovering solutions to some of the questions in the research area.

Hardly will you open a book or read from the media, without finding something related to gender and to its pertaining issues. The issue of gender and politics has recently been a topic of discussion throughout the world: in the media, local politics, national level politics and international arenas as well. The scholarship on gender and politics go hand in hand or are intertwined. As posited by Diekman & Schneider (2010), men and women tend to support diverging political attitudes, as it is commonly identified both by social scientists and journalists. Gender has been identified by Waylen, Celis, Kantola & Weldon (2013) as not being about sex nevertheless, cuts across race, ethnicity, nation, class and different scopes of social life. The researchers Waylen et al (2013), attest that male domination in ceremonial, leadership positions had come to be noted as normal and unchallengeable, and male power that existed in the family was viewed as biological obligation and mark of civilization since colonial eras.

2.2 GENDER MATTERS POLITICALLY

Gender is usually understood as sets of generally created understandings of masculinities and femininities. These connotations emanate from categorizations about male and female behavior; from the features of conduct usually linked with men and women; from normative suppositions about suitable behaviors of women and men; and from conventions about biological modification and from social structures of supremacy and alteration (Waylen, 2012). Even though, sometimes receive little attention by both experts and academicians equally, gender in politics needs to be addressed as both a practice and politics as theme of
study as noted by Beckwith (2010). Central to this endeavor, according to Waylen (2012) is that the politics of recognition cannot be overlooked as practice and the discipline of politics different from each other.

The problem confronting both politics as a practice and politics as an educational discipline with respect to gender subjects are interwoven. When considering politics as a discipline and a practice, it is evident that there are massive alterations or modifications to both. True to the issue at hand is that more women have now been noticed as prominent politicians, leaders of state and of acclaimed bodies in Africa, Europe and Latin America, ranging from Angela Merkel in Germany, Dilma Roussef, the president of Brazil and Christine Lagarde at the International Monetary Fund, and also not forgetting female heads of states in Africa: Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Joyce Banda and Catherine Samba-Panza, presidents of Liberia Malawi and the Central African Republic.

It will virtually be difficult to refute that there have been noteworthy efforts and accomplishments, both in terms of accumulating women’s political participation and enlightening the prospects for women academicians in its entirety. Waylen (2012) believes that not just mere increasing of numbers of women has been important, but more reflective modifications are necessary for both politics as practice and politics as a discipline to make them more gender impartial. To be able to make this a reality, it is vital to grasp what it is about politics as an educational field and politics as a practice and the means in which the two work together that account for men being dominant in politics than women. In the United Kingdom there are fewer women ministers in the cabinet, representing 22.5 percent pegging them on the 59th position in the world league table of women’s representation, whilst Ghana is sandwiched at the 109th position with a percentage of 10.9 percent and the United Republic of Tanzania are ranked 23rd among women in parliament in the world (IPU, 2013).

Women’s roles and the postulations made about their roles in the private arena still have an influence on the roles in government sectors. This continues to impact concepts of what is taken into account as politics and the political, which is still primarily high politics in the government sectors; who is perceived as a qualified individual to be involved in politics; and what are rightful concerns that is often shallowly explained and does not take into account definite events and actors and represent particular assumptions of masculinity and femininity, as observed by Waylen (2012). The artificial partitioning of the civic and private, benefitting high politics, and the acceptance of certain models of a person that has made politics as a discipline, somehow diverse of sociology and anthropology and the other social sciences,
which find it freer to connect the private arena and, as a result, have created an easy way to take gender aboard and take account of women in their field.

Considering politics as a practice, it can be noticed that these fundamental suppositions are also mirrored in the ways in which politics is experienced. According to Waylen (2012), second movement feminism confronted the interpretations of what undertakings and issues are justifiably regarded as political. Of course, the women’s movements, as it was known by then, such as the political right and anti-war crusades, that were thought-provoking the status quo in the 1960s and the early 1970s. It is also necessary to bear in mind that upspring of the women’s movement itself was in part a response to prejudice within those other women’s wing.

2.3 GENDER, POLITICS AND CHALLENGES

Returning to politics as a discipline, it can be inferred that much of the initial gender and politics studies echoed these persisting real world phenomena and fears and as such, established two main components of investigation. The initial stage focused on the significance of women’s involvement outside of the conventional political sphere, thereby adding to reconstruct and broaden what is deemed as politically. The second component concentrated on involving women into an examination of conventional politics, identified Waylen (2012). Gender studies underlined various characteristics of women’s involvement and women’s wing explained in vast sense. One significant area has depicted the effect of the varied accomplishments and philosophies that are frequently thought as feminist. It further showed how the feminist movements laid emphasis on central issues on the political agenda. Secondly, gender examination (Waylen, 2012), stressed the positive policy conclusions that came out from feminist fights or movements to get changed, such as the banning of rape in marriages. Finally, it looked at the often self-governing institutions that gave vital services such as women’s refuges and rape crisis centers.

The second form of gender studies shows clearly that the early gender researchers also paid attention to positioning women into the scholarship of conventional politics. Waylen (2012) posits that researchers defied or challenged the globally held prejudices about women’s political movement and character, and the variances among women and men, devoid of either inconsiderately assuming that the two were interrelated or viewing women as somehow a
deviant form of the male behavior. In the meantime, women and men do often show variation in their political outlook and behavior, but not essentially in the ways that had been supposed. Men and women, according to Waylen (2012) do have a tendency to link up on matters in a variety of ways, but not automatically on a direct left-right split.

There is still much more to be done to both politics as a practice and the scholarship of politics. First, there has been upsurge consultation about matters related to gender parity in politics as a practice. In addition to the very segregated influence of recent austerity actions by gender, the present British Coalition government has put an end to the Women’s National Commission, as a share of its ‘bonfire of the quangos’, the Equality and Human Rights Commission; and disregarded the gender parity responsibility announced by the past Labor government in its 2010 emergency budget. In 2011, it started consulting about eliminating the Equality Act altogether as part of its drive to cut ‘red tape’ (Waylen, 2012). These alterations are going on in the perspective of a progressively more sexualized culture in which concerns of violence, rape, street harassment and pornography have enlarged and taken on different forms.

Considerable efforts need to be done to increase politics as a discipline, although gender is now acknowledged as a form of the gender theory of politics, the gender and politics examination still runs largely equivalent to and rejected by most researchers. Waylen (2012) attests that, there are series of vital issues challenging gender studies itself. The effectiveness of its evaluation could be corrected if it expanded its attention in different ways, as it has been realized that minute focus was given primarily to the concerns of intersectionality. Waylen (2012), has revealed that men and women’s voting attitude can only be assumed if there is a critical look at a variety of influences that consists of race, class and age and not just gender. Additionally, more focus should be put on men and machismo, even though this deficiency is comprehensible judging from the initial attention on ‘putting women back in’. Men and machismo should now be problematized.

2.4 WOMEN IN POLITICS AND REPRESENTATION

Women are less represented in politics globally. Just switching on the television to international leaders meeting, deliberations at a United Nations and African Union, meeting show a deficiency of female faces. Women are the majority of every country’s population
worldwide. But the global average proportion of women in national parliaments is merely 21.4% (IPU, 2013). But this shows a slight increase from that of 2007 average of 16 percent (Paxton & Hughes, 2007). Of the more than 195 countries on the globe, a woman is a leader of the government (prime minister or president) in only 19 (World Statemen, 2014), this is also an increase from seven in 2007 (Paxton & Hughes). At the turn of the 21st century, there is obvious discrimination against women in politics. Nearly all countries in the world give women the freedom to partake in politics. Women can cast ballots, women can throw their support for aspirants or candidates and can compete for political office. But the absence of detectable women in the political endeavor of country after country suggests that disguised discrimination against women exists.

From the perspectives of Paxton & Hughes (2007), there is no country in this world that women constitute fifty (50) percent of the national legislature, but few nations come near and even beyond. Sweden for several years occupied the league table of the percentage of women in parliament; however, Sweden was in 2003 overtaken by Rwanda, which reached 48.8%, but now boasts of the world’s highest average of women in parliament with 63.8 percent (IPU, 2013). The difference between the two countries is that Sweden is an industrialized nation and has seen harmony for centuries. In the Swedish case, women’s upsurge in politics was a long slow development. Beginning with transformations in the 1920s, Sweden recorded the 10% streak for women’s parliamentary representation in 1952, boasted the first woman interim prime minister in 1958, and then surpassed the 20 percent mark for women governmental manifestation (Paxton & Hughes, 2007).

On the contrary, in 2003, Rwanda had just started to recuperate from a ruthless annihilation in which over a million people died. The 2003 poll was the maiden balloting of a new constitution, which assured women at least 30 percent of the National Assembly seats. Prior to this, women have been invisible, never reaching 20% of the legislature before the change to a provisional government in 1994 (Paxton & Hughes, 2007). Longman (2006), attributes this achievement of more women in the Rwandan parliament to international organizations, local women’s institutions, and the total number of men who were either exterminated or imprisoned after the massacre, defines the sudden rise of women to significant political supremacy in Rwanda.

Why care about the low number of women governments? Politics is an essential field of decision making. Politicians or government officials take political resolutions at the detriment of others. Judgments by legislators even have an influence on a person’s selection, by
inspiring some conducts and outlawing others. Again, political supremacy is respectable. Martin (2004), asserts that legislators hold supremacy over other societal organizations, such as family or education, and are capable of organizing specific practices into the decree. Political figures have the supreme edge to impose their decisions, sometimes with force. When there is political power, there is a position of control.

In principle, most regulations are gender unbiased, and selected officials focus on voters in the same way. In practice, though, feminist political philosophers have contended that the presence of objectivity toward gender or parity that exists among men and women in political office really hides large gender disparity (Paxton & Hughes, 2007). In general terms men legislators are less likely to move and pass rulings that function in the interest of women and children (Childs & Withey, 2004; Schwindt-Bayer, 2006). But in social equality, opinions of all individuals or groups need to be heard, therefore, the expressions and point of views of women as well as men must be assimilated into political decision making.

2.5 DEBATES FOR WOMEN’S REPRESENTATION

Women constitute 50% of the populace of almost every country in various continents. An unassuming impartial debate would then veto that women and men should be evenly matched in legislations. Opinions about women’s (Paxton & Hughes, 2007) equal representation in politically aware instances are defined in three categories, each form with a diverse idea of representation: namely, formal, descriptive and substantive representation. The initial and most straightforward formulation of equal representation is formal representation. This means that women have the legitimate right to contribute to politics on the same level as men. Formal representation stipulates that any hindrance to women’s contribution to political leadership be exterminated. Women must have the power to cast ballots and the prerogative right to contest in elections as well as biasedness that do not serve the interest of women in the political sphere be removed (Paxton & Hughes, 2007), and that men and women should have the same level playing field in the eyes of the law. In simple terms, women must have similar chances as men to partake in politics.

Presently, women can officially or lawfully take part in politics in almost every country, and resolution declarations much stronger, taking for granted the idea that women can and should contribute. For example, at the Fourth UN World Conference on Women, which took place in
Beijing in 1995, 189 nations established an arena for achievement, stating, ``No government can claim to be democratic until women are guaranteed the right to equal representation`` (United Nations, 1995). In the end, these urgings or debates for official representation are about the unbiased prospect for women. The aim of official representation is the absenteeism of straight unconcealed biasedness against women in politics. Today, the majority of countries across the globe have given women the suffrage – to vote and stand for political office. But as proven earlier, only a small amount of countries has more than 22% women in their national assemblies or legislative bodies. Opportunity of equality via official representation does not seem to spontaneously yield large numbers of women in the political sphere (Paxton & Hughes, 2007).

In the wake of the above, feminist political philosophers began contesting that a new formation or idea of equal representation was needed. Representation of equality can also entail descriptive representation – that there must be a vivid semblance among representative and constituents (Paxton & Hughes, 2007). It is presumed that if women constitute 50 percent of the population, then it is only fair enough that they account for approximately 50% of governmental and decision-making bodies. Contests for descriptive representation advocate that, it is not sufficient to have official political impartiality in the politically aware arena. This in view of Paxton & Hughes (2007), basically lengthening the lawful right to pursue government office to women does not guarantee that women will. The debate suggests that men and women are not the same due to dissimilar socialization and lifetime involvements.

Thus, according to Philips (1956), women bring to politics a different set of values, experiences and expertise. Women and men have different interests, and the concerns of women cannot be represented by men, therefore, women must be visible in political representation. Debates for expressive representation are turning out to be more collective in universal speeches on women’s political situation. For instance, the 1995 Beijing conference for Action indicates, ``women’s equal participation in decision-making is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy, but can also be seen as a necessary condition for women’s interests to be taken into account`` (United Nations, 1995). This proclamation states that equality in representation must surpass fairness and go in the direction of integrating women’s concerns.

To discuss the next category of representation, the query of can women characterize or embody women? This brings the discussion to the next form or level of equal representation, which is substantive representation. Substantive image creation necessitates that, political
figures speak on behalf of and turn to aid in women’s problems. Delving deep into the numerical representation of women discussed in descriptive representation debates, Pitkin (1972) argues that substantive representation depicts that standing for cannot be the same as acting for. As an alternative, for women’s concerns to be denoted in the political sphere, feminine legislators have to be prepared and competent enough to address those concerns. Various commentators have come out with different opinions on the meaning of representing women’s welfares, desires or problems as Childs (2002), reiterates that women legislators could state that they see females as a distinctive portion of their electorates or that they feel a unique obligation to women. Disney (2006), posits that female political leaders could support legislature that openly tries to endorse social, educational or economic justice for women.

Bauer (2006), affirms that female legislators could arrange, support or elect women issues - matters of specific importance and concern to women folk. These concerns may be openly connected to women. An illustration is Namibia’s 2003 Combating of Domestic Violence Act, which backs sufferers of domestic violence and helps the trial of offenses against women. Again, Tremblay & Pelletier (2000), elaborate that female political figures may also arrange, give a helping hand or select plans of specific concern to women, such as abortion. For instance a woman legislator in South Africa may have supported the 1996 Choice on the Termination of Pregnancy Act, which permits abortion for all women upon request (Britton, 2006).

Lovenduski (1993), cautions that organizations or environment may change women beforehand, before women can affect traditions. Women politicians are entrenched in politically aware establishments where male conduct is seen as the standard, these women may need to adjust or get used to follow those customs. It has been argued by Sawer (2000), that if women seek the interests of women there is a possibility of being assigned formal working group roles like, health or social services. A yearning to move out of these positions and acquire more respected or significant ‘‘masculine’’ team duties can lead to the denial of gender.

Campbellers of substantive representation according to Paxton & Hughes (2007), contend that not simply must the figures of females in politics surge, but those women must be supported in their bid to stand in for women’s wellbeing. Including females in politics from the views of Norderval (1985) can make the worth of making decisions in the legislation upsurge. When women participate in politics, it adds to the cream of talent and capacity from which front-runners can be drawn. The absence of women in the political sphere reduces
essential human capital. Not adding women to fully partake in political administrative decisions will be sub-standard than it ought or should be.

Paxton & Hughes (2007), include that the superiority of legislative outcomes should surge with more presence of women because, women’s inclusion increases the complete range of philosophies, principles, priorities and administrative styles. When women are part of the political field there are fresh thoughts or new ideas, in that woman represent diversity of concerns. Campbell & Wolbrecht (2006), attest that women legislators serve as role models for up and coming young girls and women. Therefore, having a significant amount of women in governance aids to promote the confidence levels of other women.

2.6 WOMEN AND QUOTAS

According to the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), women’s liberation and their full contribution on the grounds of parity, in all spheres of influence of society, consisting of membership in decision-making approaches and access to supremacy are important for the accomplishment of parity, growth and peace. From the IPUs (2013), perspective women have become powerhouses and powerful in political life in many nations, hitherto, they still lag behind in their representation in politics in the executive and governance at all echelons.

Ever since the 1990s, gender quotas have been identified and accepted by many states as the most efficient instrument for amassing women’s political participation. This from the standpoint of the UN (2005), recognized that 30% was the critical minority needed for women as a cluster to make an impact and affect parliamentary assemblies. This was to be attained via a variety of instruments with quotas for women’s representation in legislation. Almost half of the nations on the globe today have some form of the democratic gender quota system according to Dahlerup (2009). Still the importance and significance of gender quotas is contended especially in both liberal and young democracies such as countries in sub-Saharan Africa, including Ghana and Tanzania. Discussions continue on how to approach the low representation of women in politics and legislation.

Quotas represent a kind of affirmative action measure intended to ameliorate the low pace of change in the representation of women and marginal groups in parts of societal order, where they are generally lagging behind men, comprising employment, education and in political
organizations. Quotas normally constitute allotting a percentage of spaces to be occupied by those who have a low representation of members. Dahlerup (2002), again stresses that for the past two decades, allocation of seats have been widely used in nations from the length and breathe of the globe as a propelling factor in the political representation of women. The quota system or scheme, according to Dahlerup (2002), puts strains on enlistment not on the individual woman, but on those who manage the process of recruiting. The major principle behind the scheme is to commission women into politically aware positions and to make sure that women are not under-represented.

As earlier pointed out by Dahlerup (2009), the gender quota system has been contended and are topics of constant discussion regarding both their rationality and effectiveness. Antagonists of quotas see it as unimportant, inequitable and a misrepresentation of the democratic development. Some oppose quota as undermining the legality of women who occupy quotas, or as putting a limit on women’s political representation. Proponents of quota from the standpoint of Rodrigues (2011), establishes, that quota is important for established and cultural gender discriminations remains, putting barricades to women in electioneering process is very vital. Others also posit that equity or gender balance lays emphasis on power-sharing among men and women, or embracing different vocabulary to overcome the adverse meanings inferred to by the term quota (Fiji Women’s Right Movements, 2012).

There is a pertinent question in relation to gender parity or quota that, why quotas should be embraced in this current parliament? In principle and in nature, parliaments as an institution is meant to represent their societies. Contemporary legislatures are those in which the citizenry identifies themselves and discover remedies to their questions and candidates. Nonetheless, Johnsson (2011), is of the view that the number of women in legislatures is surging steadily and in almost every legislature globally, is still distant lesser than women’s extensive involvement in their society. One of the major reasons why quotas are necessary is that, it has international recognition of being an essential element of transparent and responsible governance, sustainable development and social cohesion. The standard of gender equality has been entrenched in a series of international conventions and declarations, starting with The Convention of the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) accepted the UN General Assembly in 1979. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, instituted by the UN in 1995 added a particular objective in relation to ‘Women in power and decision-making. Again, it is necessary for equality and representation. A general all-encompassing society is seen as an essential principle of democratic power permitting women to ‘have a voice’ in decisions influence their lives. This communicates to a
progressively more popular debate that women have the opportunity to equal citizenship and that ‘political representation is a human right’ (Bacchi, 2006). As Fraser-Moleketi (2012) puts it:

``Promoting increased women’s political leadership and gender equality is a development issue, a human rights issue and also a moral obligation. More inclusive parliaments also have the capacity to strengthen civic engagement and democratic participation among its citizens…. A political system where half of the population does not fully participate limits the opportunity for men and women to influence and benefit from political and economic decisions``.

Global research according to McCann (2013), indicates that women parliamentarians tend to bring diverse views on politically aware issues, and low representation of women in legislations is therefore probably to have ‘important consequences for the public policy agenda… as well as the acceptability of representative bodies’.

### 2.7 SUMMARY OF REVIEW

Gender gap can be defined as the differences between men and women, particularly as depicted in social, political, intellectual, cultural or economic attainments. The understanding of the gender gap dichotomy is necessary for the course of politics. Having a deeper understanding of gender gaps in politically aware approaches with due appreciation of their integral difficulty, needs a method that combines influences from different disciplines; namely feminist analyses, political science and sociological standpoint. Even though, the gender gap is sometimes treated casually in the mass media, gender gaps are difficult spectacles that need cautious and logical consideration. The academic encounter is to have a deeper understanding of gender gaps not leading to essentialising variances amongst men and women and with emphasis on the appropriate services that design those characteristics.

Again, there is the necessity to have a more refined, in-depth knowledge of players, and to proceed entirely away from concerns of just mere figures. This has before now existing with the upsurge of debate of critical actors, who are definitely men and womenfolk in a variety of settings. Superior investigation of organizations and societies and their interrelation with players or, at the slightest, how organizations define the aims and objectives of the players. To be able to understand why gender matters in politics, it is critical that bodies or associations
are examined. In line with much of social science, there has been a structural turn in sexual role and politics.

In general, it is essentially vital that understanding how together politics as a practice and politics as a discipline are sexualized be developed. To attain this, there should be an upgrade of examination of actors, traditions and the collaboration or relations amongst them. In effect, politics as a practice and a discipline as well as the societal differentiation of actors, structures and policies need to be aligned carefully and critically. Furthermore, the three categories of gender representation described by Paxton & Hughes (2007), thus, formal, descriptive, and substantive representation should be given a serious and critical look to its application of the different levels of the political divide to enable parity of gender in the political arena.

The debate suggests that men and women are not the same due to dissimilar socialization and lifetime involvements. Thus, according to Philips (1956), women bring to politics a different set of values, experiences and expertise. Women and men have different interests, and the concerns of women cannot be represented by men, therefore, women must be visible in political representation. It can also be said that the superiority of legislative outcomes should surge with more presence of women because; women’s inclusion increases the complete range of philosophies, principles, priorities and administrative styles. When women are part of the political field there are fresh thoughts, in that woman represent diversity of concerns. In addition, the effectiveness of the quota system is relevant to the course of women’s political participation. Considering the world league table of women in parliament, it could be noted that those parliaments which performed well used some form of a quota system. In the case of Tanzania, the affirmative action plan has worked well since the time of its introduction. Ghana on the other hand, still lacks in women’s representation in the national assembly all because, there is no proper defined electoral process which seeks to institute such quota systems to help women in Ghana pass the critical minority.
3. POLITICAL SITUATION OF WOMEN IN GHANA AND TANZANIA

3.1 Political History of Ghana


Ghana is officially referred to as a Republic and a unitary presidential constitutional republic, situated along the Gulf of Guinea and the Atlantic Ocean in West Africa. The country is surrounded by the Ivory Coast in the west, Burkina Faso in the north, Togo in the east and the Gulf of Guinea and the Atlantic Ocean in the south. According to CIA Factbook (2013), the population of Ghana is estimated at 25 million. The country has an area of 238,535 kilometer square land mass and with 2,093 kilometers of international land borders. Ghana consists of ten administrative regions and some islands, part of which are endowed with savannas, woodlands, forests, coastal lines, rivers and waterfalls. The coast of Ghana which has mainly sandy beaches stretches 560 kilometers with a peninsula at Cape Three Points and also along the coastline is castles, forts, ports and harbors (CIA Factbook, 2013).

The nation took its name, Ghana from the innate title given to kings of the Ghana Empire during the medieval ages. By then the land was known as Wagadugu, which was situated to some extent North-West of modern Ghana along the borders of current Mali and Mauritania. Ghana’s current national inhabitants are the outcome of southern migration of the Wagadugu people during the 16th century. Ghana’s initial contact with Europeans came as far as the 15th century, with Portuguese travelers, shortly joined by the British, Dutch, Danes and the French, all ardent for the extreme gold deposits found in the region. Forts were constructed along the coasts by the Europeans for slave business, gold and other goods, while they fought one another for supremacy of the land (African Union).
By the close of the 1800s, the British proclaimed the area as a crown colony, labeling the area with a befitting name, the Gold Coast. Keen on gaining more area supremacy, the British surged further inland, triggering war with the Ashanti people—an indigenous tribe that appeared dominant in the early years via organized military attacks on nearby indigenous and the trade of gold with other neighbors and the Europeans. Many wars were fought that saw both sides losing, but by the early 1900s the British were able to institute their authority over the Ashanti. The Ashantis were forced to surrender and its consequences led to other indigenous communities yielding to the quo, even though slight disapprovals still remained amongst the indigenous kinsmen and the British rule (African Union).

By August 1947, Ghana saw the birth of its first ever political party, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) with the objective of self-government ‘in the shortest possible time’. Under the governance of Dr. Danquah, the UGCC engaged the services of Kwame Nkrumah; a young, politically determined left wing man as the party’s full time organizer. By 1948, Nkrumah together with other UGCC front-runners was imprisoned for glowing antigovernment demonstrations. By the close of the year, the British Governor of Accra, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke and his management team held discussions with UGCC in a ‘semi responsible government’. Hoping that the partnership amid the British and the UGCC would calm down the increasing disorder in the country. The plan allowed a general election, a national assembly with an African majority and a novel executive council comprising mostly of African ministers with the control over internal affairs. However, the British reserved authority of military force, foreign affairs and executive control (African Union).

Not happy with the form of authority, in June 1949, Nkrumah left the UGCC to form the Convention People’s Party (CPP) agitating for instant ‘Self Government’. Due to Nkrumah’s personality and influential way of addressing the indigenous people across the nation, the party soon had a large amount of followers. In 1950, the CPP arranged corpus non-violent refusals and industrial unrests that concluded in a few violent outbursts, causing the arrest of Nkrumah and active memberships of his party. Nkrumah was imprisoned for three years for three charges of provoking and inciting public disorder, a year for each charge (African Union).

On February 1951 at the time when the first elections were held in Gold Coast, Nkrumah registered on the electoral roll after releasing prisoners serving a year sentence, can register for the elections. The CPP won a two third majority of the 104 seats with Nkrumah winning a seat, leaving the Governor no choice but to release Nkrumah from prison after serving
fourteen months. The governor after that held discussions with Nkrumah, which ended in allocating Nkrumah the prime minister status. During his first few years as prime minister, Nkrumah worked on eliminating the customary leaders in the council as he saw them as negotiators of colonial rule, used by the British to retain control. Sensing that Nkrumah and the CPP were destabilizing the traditional authority, and to guard against the interest of the Ashanti people, a new party developed, named the National Liberation Movement (NLM) critiquing the regime for being fraudulent and dictatorial. Testing Nkrumah’s sustenance before giving a date for the Gold Coast’s freedom, the British gave another poll in July 1956. The CPP obtained 57 percent of the poll; unavoidably the British pronounced the freedom to take place on the 6th of March 1957 (African Union).

On March 6, 1957, Ghana became the first African nation of the Sub-Sahara to gain independence. After Ghana’s freedom from colonial rule, Nkrumah set on reforming Ghana via an extremely determined structure and economic growth plans. The initial days of Nkrumah’s rule saw vast developments in standards and organizational improvements, including progress in health, education and roads. In the meantime, Ghana’s encouraging economy fell considerably with exploitation and financial misappropriation. In 1964, Nkrumah debarred all political entities, declared himself leader for life in an effort to calm condemnation and political opposition.

Brigadier Emmanuel Kotoka in 1966, staged a coup and dethroned Nkrumah and seized power while Nkrumah was on his way to Vietnam after getting an invitation from president Ho Chi Minh, leading to his force exile in Guinea after returning to Africa. The front runners of the coup disbanded the parliament, embargoed the CPP party, allowed the comeback of those in banishment during Nkrumah’s reign and carried on to form a council of civil servants. 1968 saw the return of a multiparty system in Ghana. In a general election conducted in 1969 resulted in Kofi Busia been elected as the president. There were high hopes of Busia’s government to put Ghana back into a thriving country. On the other hand, improvement could not match prospects, another coup d'état was staged in 1972 to force him from office. Proceeding low economic stability and political unrest, an abortive coup was staged in May 1979, by Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings. Rawlings and his brigadiers were imprisoned shortly after. In June that same year, another coup emerged, but this time fruitful. Rawlings and his companion coup plotters were released from jail as a result of sympathy they had from the coup stagers (African Union).
The novel management had two years of power before Rawlings ousted the legislation and seized power. Lt. Rawlings positively saw the growth of Ghana’s economy. In 1992 Lt. Rawlings was voted the president and retained his position in 1996 by 57 percent of the votes. In December 2000, Lt. Rawlings could not stand for another term in the general elections leading to John Agyekum Kuffuor of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) as the new president of the Republic. He was re-elected in 2004 in the general elections, making him as the first civilian president in the history of Ghana to be reelected into office. In the 2008 presidential polls conducted, none out of the 8 candidates received a majority of the votes, leading to a runoff election between John Atta Mills (NDC) and Akuffo Addo (NPP). The runoff saw John Atta Mills claim victory by 50.23% of the votes. In July 2012, vice president John Dramani Mahama was sworn-in as the president following the untimely death of John Atta Mills (African Union).

3.1.1 Ghanaian Women Before and After Independence

There is enough backing to support the key role women played in the run-up to attaining independence and soon after. Women’s role was vital in assisting the main political entity of that period, the Convention People’s Party (CPP). It is ascertained that women merchants were strong and powerful supporters of the CPP leadership, which also gave monetary support and helpful services (Allah-Mensah, 2005). According to Tsikata (1999), the women’s caucus of the CPP were mandated with the responsibility to develop women’s division or wings of the party and again, responsible for shaping and unifying the youth wing. In view of the immense contribution of women to the CPP leadership, the party recognized the seriousness of the women’s branch and established it by making legal requirements for a women’s group at local and regional level as the major unifying instrument for women in the party. This came as no surprise that the party attributed the success to the women for internal harmony, unity and realization of the CPP. Manuh (1991), recounts, those women were effective coordinators who could gather thousands of supporters together for a rally at the shortest possible time.

These characteristics, in fact went beyond the boundaries of the party and extended to other political institutions, including women, through the creation of female divisions inter alia, the Ghana Women’s League (GWL) and the Ghana Federation of Women (GFW) and along with the National Council of Ghanaian Women (NCGW) in 1960 (Tsikata, 1999). In fact, it is on
record that the NCGW and additional associations were steadily and tactically drawn into the CPP and adorned party membership cards as sole certified membership cards for the followers. Again, Nkrumah (1980) stated that “the membership card of the party will be the only qualification for membership in these organizations and no other membership card other than that of the Convention People’s Party shall be recognized by these bodies”. This amalgamation though, received a high level politicking in the setting up and the following co-optation of the female wings; it was not denying the fact that it was a good starting point. From the standpoint of Alla-Mensah (2005), the preamble to self-governance nevertheless, encountered considerable but significant variations. Customarily, the women of Ghana have had a long account of the organization. Furthermore, Tsikata (1999), traces the inclusion of women in economic undertakings and their battle for equality on the economic front as well as their political participation of the state particularly the period of 1951 – 1966. Consequently, the realization of freedom, several powerful observers anticipated some reforms in the role of women in their political participation because of their arduous involvement in the process of independence in particular, through the CPP.

In 1957, when self-government was pronounced, the party rewarded the difficult endeavor, resilience and general impact of women to the struggle for self-government. It is appropriately stated that, an assessment of the CPP government’s policies towards women has noted that it consciously encouraged the participation of women in politics and public life with the result that few women held high political offices as members of parliament, deputy ministers and district commissioners, and that these were not acts of tokenism, but a recognition of their abilities (Tsikata, 1999). In consonance with this, Tamale (1999), reiterates that Ghana is seen as one of the first African nations to announce a quota scheme for women in 1960. In that year, the CPP approved a law which gave way for the recommendation and voting of 10 women to the National Assembly.

Though this was a clear starting point from the earlier existing status quo, there was still a lot more to be done for a vibrant participation of women not only in politics of the nation but, also the executive office on which the country propels. The anticipation that the advancement en route for amalgamation of self-government and the growing equality would see a consistent progress of women in the political arena and public administrative powers according to Allah-Mensah (2005), however, saw a hindrance with the attack of independent distractions and the preceding accompanying, continuous and recurrent coup d’états. Consequently, inopportunistly, as would be seen afterwards, the advent of self-government in most African states did very little to influence this shaped status quo. Such a nice initiation
was however, not given the necessary growth as a decline in the political sphere did not
portend well for the efficient and continued progress of women’s representation in politics.

Ghana experienced her civil and economic setbacks after the first military coup that saw the
overthrow of the CPP regime in 1966. From 1966 up to 1992 when another poll took place,
Ghana’s political economy saw what might be defined as painful and stagnant political
relations amid the military and civilian administrations. This unbalanced political and
economic disenfranchisement did not only have an influence on the political, economic
downturn but, also social interaction, and the construction of social capital, the basis for
societal group creation (Alla-Mensah, 2005). In addition, by their outcome and creation, the
military system from the point of view of Alla-Mensah (2005), was gender insensitive and
because of that had very few women in their fold. Indeed, there is not a single record of any
woman or group of women being given any political office in any of the armed regimes with
the exception of the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) era.

This is illustrative of the fact that military or armed governments in Ghana were not only
opposed to women’s political representation and support to civic life but, also hugely subdued
women’s full involvement in the progress of politics and administration. One government
during the period of armed struggle which made an attempt to alter this discernment of the
military and women’s representation was the PNDC regime, which governed the country from

3.1.2 Political Roles of Ghanaian Women from 1992

The drafting of the 1992 constitution has seen a rise in women’s political participation and
has since been growing gradually. Needing examination is, if their role is significant in
Ghanaian politics (Allah-Mensah, 2005) is what is required.

One of the most often used expressions in the political terminology is the word democracy. It
is a way of governing which entails membership. Two of the basic theories of democratic
discussion, participation and empowerment have been assigned global responsiveness.
Membership is a foundation or people-oriented progress which has received response as a
form of the struggle to effective growth practice. Rahnema (1993), explains that participation
was to halt the top-down approaches and activities and to focus more importantly on the
bottom-up and all-encompassing style. In simple language, participation or membership is described as all inclusive involvement of inhabitants with civil organizations.

Allah-Mensah (2005), claims that there is difference amid involvement or participation as a means and participation as an end. With the judicious and effective use of participation to achieve objectives of a mission, it becomes a means; and as an end when the public finds ways of monitoring their own growth or improvement. Irrespective of the mixture, it indicates a power struggle among communities and government and its various organs. As a result, struggling for power among inhabitants and decision-makers as well as organizations with funds, participation extends above compensation levels. Rahnema (1993), has recognized that governments’ concern in the approach and practice of involvement were of diverse motives. For illustration, regimes or government sees no impediments to them; participation has become a resource oriented scheme because the act of maintaining developments has been connected to dynamic and learned participation by the downtrodden and disadvantaged in society. Lele (1975), intensely underscores that having a fair knowledge of the rural societal organizations can meaningfully add in passing accountability of management to local institutions. This form of participation, which is different from protective method, is vital for the future prospects of advancement programs above the phase of philanthropic engagement.

Huttington (1991), emphasizes that participation in the political realm is an eye-catching catchphrase particularly in the era where social equality has been rebranded in developing countries referred to as ‘third wave’, which extended the representation dissertation. Popularity participation or involvement encompasses hearing the voice of the people on matters pertaining to governance, which is vital for democratic dispensation. Participation becomes an enabling practice that gives individuals the opportunity to do their own assessment. That is, real freedom of expression would need to give credit to the more thorough theorization of representation as a transforming approach.

Just much than being politically eye-catching catchphrase, the third movement of freedom of expression spun together with the prerequisite for efficient representation by the people, particularly the underprivileged in society, for example, women explains Alla-Mensah (2005). The highlighting on participation by the people entitled to vote has progressed unhurriedly but increasingly over the years. Thus, women’s contribution in the democratic and the decision-making procedure is vital or central to the existence and equality of the whole approach. Meintjes (1995), clearly states that:
``if the new democratic dispensation simply adopts procedural and conventional liberal, constitutional, legal and political forms which underpin western systems of government, an effective democracy which includes the participation on an equal basis of all its citizens will elude South Africa……. Unless these rights are accompanied by access to property, educational institutions and empowerment opportunities, empowered citizenship will remain a dream….``

In the views of Bauzon (1992), the definition of freedom of expression has been modified beyond the development of political justice and standard representation in administration, and politics to welcome the consent of individuals in pursuing personal economic and societal welfare. Consequently, liberation has to do with the methods or approaches by which electorates are conscious of their personal concerns and how these interrelate with others, so as to equally partake in leadership positions and to have an effect on such judgments. Hence, according to Rowland (1997), freedom of expression extends outside the boundaries of partaking in leadership roles to comprise the approaches that lead individuals to identify the self as belonging and eligible to make resolutions. Empowerment is an important element for the underprivileged people in society, if the people are to transform their circumstances or status quo. Referring to women especially, empowerment is noted, or seen as a procedure and the capability of women to establish them so as to elevate their self-confidence and inner power, affirm self-reliance to define and decide on life, affect the way of transformation via authority over material capital which will lead to confront and eradicate their own relegation, opined Rowland (1997).

Confronting it politically, women’s liberation encompasses acquiring a voice, having freedom of movement and creating an unrestricted manifestation and having authority over the powerful institutions or become a key part of the supreme organization and interactions. Demonstrating this, it is noted that liberation equates processes intended at forming surroundings for a broader participation of women in all vital leadership practices and institutions like, civic associations and leadership positions in the civic supervision and by taking advantage of their potentials and capability (UNDP, 1997).
3.1.3 Women’s Political Participation In Ghana

Women lag behind in political representation in both Ghana and Tanzania. Encouraging the political antecedents of women needs a vigorous and serious consideration. To expedite the coordination and discourse that exist among women internally and externally outside the circumference of politically aware institutions, in order to accept responsibility, particularly in eras of governmental change (Baden, 1999). Observations have been made that the existence of substantial amount of women in the legislature can aid increase the worth of discussion and decision-making process. From 1992, women in Ghana have exhibited a fervent zeal to partake in the democratization discourse in diverse ways and various levels. While the difficulty is strenuous, there is steady improvement.

1992 saw Ghana put to test her first multiparty political affairs after years of military regime leadership under the PNDC. From the aspirants in the presidential race, there were no women challengers even at the party level (Allah-Mensah, 2005). Figures available indicate that in actual numbers, women’s representation has not improved any considerably even though, the amount of women aspirants has seen an upsurge. The table below represents the numbers since 1992.

Table 1: Number of Women in Parliament by Year - Ghana (1992 - 2012)

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<tr>
<td>Seats</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Percentage of Women</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>7.89%</td>
<td>10.91%</td>
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Source: From different sources

The percentages shown above are not encouraging even though there is some inconsequential increase in numbers. It can be seen that the percentages have been up and down, but the figure from 2012 elections indicates there is a better future ahead for women’s political participation
in Ghana. On the other hand, the number of women contestants has been increasing in terms of parliamentary positions from 1992. Table two below is indicative of the amount.

**Table 2: Number of Women Candidates and Number Elected - Ghana (1992 - 2012)**

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<tr>
<td>Number of Women Candidates</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Women Elected</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Percentage</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>10.87%</td>
<td>7.89%</td>
<td>10.91%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Taken from different sources*

There is no denying the evidence that since 1996, there has been a significant amount of women contesting parliamentary seats. This is illustrative of the fact that, women have shown enthusiasm and desire to partake in the politically aware discourse of the country. From 2000 and 2012, there has been a steady increase in the number of women contestants, but that notwithstanding, there is an abysmal number in the increment to the figures of women elected as parliamentarians. Even though, there may be some aorta of truth that numbers in themselves do not automatically mean a matching intensification in the level of discussion, similarly there is no surety that men represent women and their issues and concerns well. Allah-Mensah (2005), is of the opinion that for moral justification, the sacredness and the real connotation of democracy to be lively, women reserve the lawful right to characterize not only themselves but, to add their special worth to democratic advancement.

Mainwaring (1999), makes thought-provoking account that, in many nations the citizenry are not satisfied with political parties but, on the other hand political parties remain the chief actors of representation and are almost the first agents with right of entry to selected positions in representative politics. USAID (2011), records that engaging women in governance involvement lag in Ghana which is mirrored in the deficiency of it in the constitution. An assessment report by EISA (2012), in the prelude to the 2012 election indicated that, there is a
dismal representation of women in both political and electoral processes, irrespective of the fact that Ghana has made enormous progresses in its democratic dispensation.

This leads to the fact that among all the presidential candidates running for the 2012 election, there were no women nominations, nevertheless, three women were nominated as running mate out of the eight contestants and only about 11 percent of aspirants for parliament were women. The tables below depict presidential candidates and their running mates and parliamentary candidates by region and gender.

**Table 3: Presidential Candidates and Vice - Ghana (2012)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate/ Running Mate</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Dramani Mahama/ K. Bekoe Amissah-Arthur</td>
<td>National Democratic Congress (NDC)</td>
<td>Male/Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Henry Lartey/ John Amekah</td>
<td>Great Consolidated Popular Party (GCPP)</td>
<td>Male/Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo/ Dr. M. Bawumia</td>
<td>New Patriotic Party (NPP)</td>
<td>Male/Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papa Kwesi Nduom/ Eva Lokko</td>
<td>Progressive People’s Party (PPP)</td>
<td>Male/Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwasi Addai Odike/Fred Osei Agyen</td>
<td>Unite Front Party (UFP)</td>
<td>Male/Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hassan Ayariga/Helen Sanorita Dzatugbe Matrevi</td>
<td>People’s National Convention (PNC)</td>
<td>Male/Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Abu Sakara Foster/Nana Akosua Frimpomaa</td>
<td>Convention People’s Party (CPP)</td>
<td>Male/Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Osei Yeboah/ Kelvin Nii Tackie</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Male/Male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Adopted from EISA 2012*
Table 4: Parliamentary Candidates by Region and Gender - Ghana (2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater Accra</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volta</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashanti</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brong Ahafo</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper East</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper West</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1199</strong></td>
<td><strong>133</strong></td>
<td><strong>1332</strong></td>
<td><strong>10.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Electoral Commission of Ghana 2012

It is unfortunate that women have not been adequately aligned with political entities. Comparative analyses indicate that representation of women between 2004 and 2008 elections depicted reduction in the trend. It could be realized that in 2004, 25 women were voted to the legislative body and the figure declined to 19 in the 2008 elections. Presently, there are only seven (7) women among the 25 cabinet ministers (Government of Ghana, 2014), which is very little to represent women and their concerns. The dismal show of women’s under participation in elective politics can be ascribed to numerous factors.

According EISA (2012), two most noticeable elements hindering female participation consists of the absence of a legislative structure to augment women’s involvement in politics and secondly, the failure of political entities to support women inside their structures. Majority of interested parties also attribute the current situation of women’s underrepresentation to deep-rooted patriarchal society in Ghana which undoubtedly, works in favor of male aspirants or candidates. As Ghana continues to walk in the way of democratic union, the country should take control measures of instituting structures to inspire women’s political participation since they account for over 50% of registered electorates.
The deficiency in committing to women’s progress and gender parity runs across all political entities. In the 2008 parliament, two major parties had women legislators in their ranks (International IDEA, 2010). The New Patriotic Party’s (NPP) 128 seats, only twenty (15.6%) were women, whilst the National Democratic Congress (NDC) was dismal with a mere five (5.3%) of the 94 seats. The People’s National Convention (4 seats) and the Convention People’s Party (3 seats) had no female legislators, while the only independent was a man.

3.2 POLITICAL HISTORY OF TANZANIA.

Soon after gaining self-government from the British in the early part of the 1960s, the unification of Tanganyika and Zanzibar emerged and the outcome today is United Republic of Tanzania (Tanzania) in 1964. The country’s one party rule ended in 1995. Zanzibar’s semi self-governing prestige and widespread opposition were the result of two debatable elections since 2005, which the governing party was victorious in spite of international observers’ assertion of election irregularities (CIA World Factbook, 2014). Tanzania is located on the Eastern part of Africa. It consists of twenty-six governmental regions. The current population, according to the National Bureau of Statistics of Tanzania (NBS, 2014) is 44,928,923 from the census of 2012. Kiswahili is their mother tongue and English the main language for trading as well as higher education. They have more than 130 clans which form the Bantu and they constitute 99% of the ethnic groups, and the other 1 percent comprises Asian, European, and Arab.

Tanzania has a diverse religion with mainland Christians constituting 30 percent, Muslim 35%, indigenous beliefs 35%; and in Zanzibar more than 99 percent of the population are Muslims. United Republic of Tanzania has one of the poorest economies in terms of per capita income internationally; nevertheless, it has attained high global growth rates based on the production of gold and tourism. Tanzania’s economy is determined by agriculture, which contributes more than one-quarter of the GDP, generates 85 percent of exports, and engages 80% of the labor forces (CIA World Factbook, 2014). Their main export partners are India (15.2%), China (11.1%), Japan (6.2%), Germany (5.1%) and the UAE 4.8%, the goods exported to these countries include, gold, coffee, cashew nuts, manufactures and cotton (CIA World Factbook, 2012)
In 2008, Tanzania was the world’s biggest recipient of the Millennium Challenge Compact grant, totaling $698 million and in December 2012 the Millennium Challenge Corporation nominated Tanzania for a second Compact. GDP growth in 2009-2012 was a decent 6% per year owing to high gold prices and better production (CIA World Factbook, 2014).

Upon the arrival of the Germans and the English in the middle of the 19th century, colonial rule ensued soon after their arrival. In 1886 and 1890, Anglo-German pacts were reached demanding definite spheres of power for each nation. The British had possession over Zanzibar and Germany took control over Tanganyika. After being defeated in World War I, Germany conceded its African colonial territory and Tanganyika was handed over to the United Kingdom under a League of Nations mandate (National Encyclopedia, 2014).

In 1926, a jurisdictive assembly was created for Tanganyika, but not until 1945 were seats set aside for Africans. Tanganyika in 1946, was a UN trust territory. 1954 saw a request by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) to the UN Trusteeship Council to put pressure on the UK government to draw up a plan for freedom. TANU supported aspirants were victorious in the polls of 1958 – 1960 for the Legislative Council, and Julius Nyerere was elected chief minister in 1960. Tanganyika was pronounced independent state on 9 December 1961 and it became a republic with Nyerere as head of state (National Encyclopedia, 2014).

Tanzania gradually became more socialist under the leadership of Nyerere. In 1980, Nyerere was appointed again as president for the fifth consecutive time without opposition. Tanzania’s economy dwindled in the early 1980s, which led to a failed army revolution against Nyerere in January 1983. In 1984, Jumbe and his compatriots, including his chief minister Seif Shariff Hamad, tried to drive for more power in Zanzibar. As a consequence, Aboud Jumbe was forced by the union leadership to vacate his duty as the vice president of Tanzania and president of Zanzibar in January 1984. Ali Hassan Mwinyi, Jumbe’s replacement, was designated as president of Zanzibar in April 1984. Idris Abdul Wakil was Mwinyi’s successor in October 1985. Mwinyi took over from Nyerere as president of Tanzania in November 1985 in subsequent presidential and parliamentary polls and was voted into power again, in 1990 (National Encyclopedia, 2014).

From the constitutional revision of 1992 emerged the polls in October 1995, the first multiparty polls in Tanzania since the 1960s. On the other hand, the Chama Cha Mapinduzi’s (CCM) promise of free and fair polls was questioned. CCM nominee Benjamin Mkapa was voted the union president in an election that the opposition and international eyewitnresses deemed defective. In Zanzibar, universal witnesses and the opposition Civic United Front
(CUF) alleged that CCMs bullying and voting irregularities affected the outcome of the polls for the islands’ control to favor CCM (National Encyclopedia, 2014).

In October 2000, Tanzanians went to the ballots and re-elected Benjamin Mpaka and giving the majority of the seats in parliament in favor of the ruling party, CCM. The CUF again, rejected the outcome of the elections in Zanzibar. After a year-long deliberation between the CCM and the CUF, a constitutional revision act was passed by Zanzibari parliament on Pemba Island in the direction of putting into practice a reconciliation settlement signed by the two parties in October 2001. The passage of the Act meant that an evaluation of the judiciary and the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC), as well as the institution of a director of public prosecution (National Encyclopedia, 2014).

Following a constitutional revision, the legislative number of seats in parliament was increased from 295 to 324 of which 232 are directly elected. In the presidential election of 2005, the CCM candidate Jakaya Kikwete won the polls with over 80% of votes cast. The CCM had a majority of seats in parliament (206), while the opposition parties had a total of 26 seats (IPU, 2012). In 2010, Tanzanians went to the polls again and re-elected Kikwete as the president with 61% of the votes in his favor. This time the outcome showed that the opposition parties made progress, as the CMM took 186 of the 239 seats a reduction 20 seats in 2005(IPU).

3.2.3 Women’s Political Participation – Tanzania.

One of the very small numbers of nations in Africa, which practice affirmative action so as to help increase women’s political representation, is Tanzania. The system of affirmative action was announced in the 1980s, according to Meena (2003), and the major balloting using the novel procedures took place in 1985. The main brain behind the quota system was to intensify women's representation in the legislature but, in addition, to afford women and other different categories of individuals a say in the one-party system. There were nevertheless, no purposes of accepting particularistic concern in the social order but, to give a wide range perception of the national interest. Therefore, from the standpoint of Meena (2003), the principal goal of distinct seats reserved for women was not to weaken or lessen the remarkable imbalance of participation or engender national politics by encouraging women’s representation.
The 1997 constitutional amendment gave rise to an upsurge of the affirmative action for female seats to be increased to 15% of the parliamentary seats, and the amendment also, reiterated that reserved seats for women should now amount to 25% of the seats in local councils. A reform was made in 2000 which increased the amount of female seats to 20% in legislation and to 33.3% in the local assemblies, with the Beijing Declaration in accordance with SADCs set target of 30% (Meena, 2003). On the other hand, from the viewpoint of Meena (2003), the processes taken to raise female’s representation have not had any effect on the quantity of females selected to the legislature. In the 2000 polls, 4% of the women members of the legislature were victorious in district seats. This can on the other hand, be equated to 7.5% of women parliamentarians being voted in the district elections to the first parliament during the era of 1961 – 1965 (Börjesson, 2005).

The institution of the quota system was partially a scheme to raise women’s representation and the reforms made in 1997 and 2000 indicates that additional processes have been taken to raise the stimulus of women in leadership. Nonetheless, from the commentary of Börjesson (2005), a 5% upturn in the amount of female seats over fifteen years does not indicate an advanced standpoint in the upgrade of women’s political supremacy. The 2005 general polls saw an upsurge in the numbers and percentage of women in parliament from 21.5 percent in 2000 to 30.3 percent in 2005 polls. Of the 323 seats, women amassed 97 seats, out of which 17 were selected from districts which is a rise from 12 in 2000, and only 8 in 1995. Meena (2009), reports that another 75 were selected from the reserved seats, which also showed a surge from 48 in 2000, whilst 3 were allotted by the head of state also, an upturn from 2 in the 2000 general polls. These increases are represented in the following table.

### Table 5: Women's Representation in the National Assembly in Tanzania 1995 - 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Women Representatives</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Constituencies</td>
<td>Women’s Seats</td>
<td>Total Women</td>
<td>Total Seats</td>
<td>% of Women Seats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While Tanzania has achieved the set target of SADC, and the legal standard of the 30 percent critical minority, this is still beneath the African Union Constituent target of 50/50 in legislation. Meena (2009), claims that furthermore, the dissertation on 30 percent or 50 percent has not been juxtaposed with the discussion of transforming the wider picture, addressing the overall state of women in the economy. Meena (2009), cites various reasons which account for low involvement of women in democratic position in Tanzania to consist of the low positioning of women in the societal level because, of cultural behaviors and morals, inability to have access to economic supremacy, lawful and regulatory environment, low support from prevailing or current political entities as well as the kind of electoral process, hinder the progress of women into political positions and representation.

The resourcefulness of the quota system, and developments of the scheme, has not given rise to the 30% set mark of the platform for action- target being met by Tanzania. In what Meena (2003), sees as a lack of a visibly specified plan on how to accomplish this mark is, neither in the offing that the polls of 2005 made any difference on the issue. Irrespective of the struggles made to increase women’s representation, there are uncertainties about the real effect of women in both district and national level politics. The dominance of patriarchal philosophy, seems to have an effect on men’s assertiveness towards women in politics, and the influence it has on women’s self-assurance and feelings of subordination should not be taken for granted. Presently, women in the Tanzanian parliament have achieved the target of the 30 percent threshold, but the question still remains, is it just the mere mention of figures that is important or their role in decision making is what is to be encouraged or fight for.

3.3 A COMPARATIVE LOOK AT GHANA AND TANZANIA

3.3.1 Women and Education in Ghana and Tanzania

Education is the backbone of thriving nations across the globe. In nowhere in the world are the leaders of a nation have no single form of education therefore, education has become a vital instrument for nation building. United Nation’s Millennium Development Goal (2012), has targeted to ensure that by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls equally will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling. It records that growth on primary school attainment has slackened since 2004, though nations with difficulties have gained huge improvements.
Generally, there has been advancement in decreasing girls’ segregation from primary education, with the female segment of dropping out school pupils in unindustrialized nations dipping from 58% to 53 percent concerning 1999 and 2010. But, this notwithstanding, regional sexual inequalities or gaps continue to undermine efforts of achieving worldwide basic education (UN, 2012). It noted that boys as well as girls have equal opportunity of graduating from basic education in all regions with the exception of sub-Saharan Africa and Western Asia. In sub-Saharan Africa, boys are more expected to graduate from primary education than girls in twenty-five (25) out of forty-three (43) countries with data availability. At secondary level of education, the barriers girls encounter are enormous than in primary education. According to available information from the UN (2012), the gender equality index in secondary education in the global south as a whole was 96 in 2010, in comparison with 97 for primary learning. By 2010, sub-Saharan Africa could only boast of 82 girls registered per 100 boys, but in Latin America and the Caribbean, admission levels in secondary training were actually higher for girls than for boys, with Gender Parity Index of 108. Western and Southern Asia appear as the areas with massive attainments in this era, moving from a GPI of a mere 74 and 75 accordingly, to 91 for both in 2010 (UN, 2010).

Gender segregation in secondary education develops from gender-based prejudice in the family and in society in common. Secondary training is much higher in terms of cost than primary schooling, and families are normally coerced to allot resources between children. Parents tend to favor boys where female schooling is seen as less valuable, as well as engendering lower returns. At the tertiary level of education, the GPI of 98 reached in 2010 for unindustrialized nations, establishes equality. This achievement was characterized by high equal values in Latin America and the Caribbean, South-Eastern Asia, the Caucasus and Central Asia, North Africa and Eastern Asia. But equality in higher level schooling continues to be problematic in its attainment in sub-Saharan Africa with a GPI of 63, Southern Asia (76) and Western Asia (89) reports UN (2012).

Commonly, nations with lower attainments of national wealth have the tendency of admitting more men in higher education than women, whilst the reverse emerges from nations with higher average incomes. Thus, in 45 countries with regular gross domestic product (GDP) per capita of $5,200 purchasing power parity (PPP), there were more men than women in higher education, whilst women’s enrollment increased more than men in the 94 nations where GDP was close to $16,500 (UN, 2012).
Basic Education in Ghana

The present configuration of the education system in Ghana begins at the age of 6 years. The structure is represented as follows $6 - 3 - 3 - (3) - 4$, thus six years of primary education, three years of junior secondary training, three years of senior secondary schooling and four years of higher education. Generally, successful candidates who are able to pass the senior secondary examination can also take paths at a polytechnic, teachers training college or other tertiary institutes (GoG).

To acquire a healthy living standards and being able to live freely, poverty embraces the ability to have a right of entry into school. The right to primary schooling has a lengthy history in Ghana. According to Addae-Mensah (2000), after self-government, an initial pledge to 6 years of free and obligatory basic training was stretched to ten years under the 1961 Education Act.

In 1987, the system of education in Ghana was redefined and basic schooling was restructured as 9 years of free and compulsory training; six years in basic schooling and 3 years in junior secondary training. In 1995, the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) restructuring targeted two significant objectives: universal primary schooling by 2005 and a bigger matriculation for girls (Akyeampong, Djangmah, Oduro, Seidu & Hunt, 2007). Presently, more restructuring pronounced in 2004 stretched basic schooling to eleven years, beginning with two years kindergarten, six years of primary tuition and three years of junior secondary training. From the beginning of 2007, official basic schooling for Ghanaian children starts at the age of four and ends at fifteen (GoG).

Right of entry to basic school has been, as a course of action from 1951, but in practice it is not so. More children of school going age did not enroll in school or graduated a basic training with the outcome that only 57.9% of Ghanaian adults are able to read and write (UNDP, 2006). Access to primary education has since 2006 increased quite remarkably. Available data from UNESCO (2013), shows the difference in primary school enrollment. The table below explains the increase.
Table 6: Primary Education Enrollment in Ghana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2011 Regional Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GER (%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MF</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>(…) 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>(…) 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>(…) 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NER (%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MF</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>(***)</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>(***)</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>(***)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adopted from UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2013

From table 5 above, it clearly indicates that there has been improvement in primary school enrollment in 2011 compared to previous years. Comparing the Gross Enrollment Ration (GER) for females and males, it could be realized that, boys and girls accounted for 86% and 81 percent respectively in 2002. It further increased from 107 percent and 106% for male and female in 2011 which were higher than the regional average. In the same vain the Net Enrollment Ratio (NER) for boys and girls in primary school enrollment also saw some increase in their numbers, growing from 62% for girls to 84% in 2002 and 2011 respectively, whilst that of the boys reached 83% from 62 percent surpassing the regional average of 77% in 2011. This is indicative of the fact that, the restructuring of the primary educational reforms is yielding the required results for both girls and boys, though there is still work to be done to attain the UN target of education for all everywhere by 2015.
Tertiary Education in Ghana

Figure 1: Total % of the Population of Tertiary age in Higher Education by Sex - Ghana

![Gross enrolment ratios in tertiary education by sex (%), 1991-2011](image)


The figure above indicates the number of enrollments in the tertiary level of education in Ghana. Though, it is difficult to achieve gender parity in the sub-region, it can be deduced that, there has been insignificant gains in terms of gender parity at the tertiary level. The current enrollment in tertiary education stands at 12 percent for both men and women. Even though the percentage is dismal, it can be said that there has been an increase from 1 percent in 1991 to 12 percent in 2011. The percentages for men and women in tertiary enrollment currently is 15 percent for men and 9 percent for women, which is still seen as a plus.

The increase in enrollment is as a result of the increase in number of universities in Ghana. Currently, there are about eight public universities, 10 polytechnics and over 30 accredited colleges of education and more than 50 private tertiary institutes with accreditation, though, the bill for Colleges of Education has not yet been in effect (NCTE, 2010). Student enrollment in government institutions went up by nine percent from 93,973 in 2007/08 to 102,543 in 2008/09; together 47.9 percent of applicants had admission in 2008/09 academic session. In 2007/08 academic period polytechnics increased by 12 percent from 34,448 to 38,656 2008/09 academic year. The private institutions also saw an upsurge in enrollment by 19% from 18,278 in 2006/07 to 21,857 in 2007/08 academic years whilst student registration in distance studies program in government sponsored institutions surged by 54% from 20,772 in 2006 to 31,994 in 2009 (NCTE, 2010).
Basic Education in Tanzania

The educational structure of the official schooling and training scheme in United Republic of Tanzania is 2 - 7 – 4 – 2 – 3+, this means that years of pre-primary schooling (year 1 & 2), seven years of primary training (Standard I-VII), 4 years of secondary ordinary level schooling (form 1-4), two years of secondary advanced level education (Form 5 & 6) and three or more years of higher education. The formal school admission age ranges from 5-6 for pre-primary, 7-13 for primary, 14-17 for lower secondary, 18-19 for upper secondary and 20-24 for higher schooling (MoEVT, 2010).

Access to primary school education for Standard 1 in 2012 was 1,404,998. This indicates an upsurge of 1.2 percent when equated to registration of 2011 which was 1,388,216. Additionally, the registration of age seven in 2012 was 952,971 corresponding to 67.8 percent. The remaining were 32.2 percent, which consisted of over age 22.6 percent and 9.6 percent underage. This indicates that more work is needed to inform populations, parents and guardians to improve matriculation of the children of the precise age (BEST, 2012). This will aid in minimizing membership of overage children who are registered in standard 1. Table 6 indicates the enrollment of primary school by age in standard 1.
Table 7: Primary School Enrollment, by Age in Standard 1 in Tanzania (2007 - 2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>ENROLMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 7</td>
<td>189,765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>721,926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8+</td>
<td>467,602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,379,293</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania, 2012

According to BEST (2012), in totality general registration of Standard I – VII has reduced by 1.4 percent from 8,363,386 in 2011 to 8,247,172 in 2012. The declining movement was also identified in Gross Enrolment Ratio and Net Enrolment Ratios in 2012, which was 98.4 percent and 92.0 percent correspondingly, compared to 2011 where GER and NER was 102.7 percent and 94 percent respectively. Table 7 below is illustrative of the decline nature.

Table 8: Primary Schools Enrollment of STD I and STD I - VII in Tanzania (2007 - 2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Enrollment STD I</th>
<th>Enrollment STD I - VI</th>
<th>Enrollment Ratios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>699,255</td>
<td>680,038</td>
<td>1,379,293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>700,524</td>
<td>679,666</td>
<td>1,380,190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>684,388</td>
<td>674,402</td>
<td>1,358,790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>681,983</td>
<td>674,591</td>
<td>1,356,574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>699,483</td>
<td>688,733</td>
<td>1,388,216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>706,321</td>
<td>698,677</td>
<td>1,404,998</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Source: Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania, 2012

It could be seen that for the past couple of years there have been instabilities and decline in primary School NER as can be depicted in Table 7. According to the NER education report of July 2012, the whys and wherefores for the instabilities and declines in NER were attributed to absence of awareness of parents, inadequate meals, and lack of infrastructures and poverty of parents which leads them to their inability to pay for indirect costs of their wards. In spite of the declining drift of the general registration, the membership of age 7-13 years, which is the correct school age, has surged and peaked 93.5 percent in 2012 matched with 91.5 percent in 2011. This is an implication that the government is on the right path of attaining the EFA target and MDGs of registering all children at the precise age of 7-13 years by 2015 (BEST, 2012).

Complementary Basic Education (COBET) is also an important intervention for better-quality access and parity. In the course of the period under review, membership of COBET learners Cohort I (age 11-13) has increased and peaked 49,293 (22,811 females and 26,482 males). This is a decline of 11.8 percent, corresponding to the admission of 55,889 in 2011. Gender Parity Index (GPI) has been attained in the proportion of 1:1 in primary schooling. This indicates that boys and girls are matriculated on the same speed in primary training. In view of this, it means that Tanzania has been able to eradicate gender inequality in primary level education earlier than 2015 which is the timeframe fixed for EFA and MDGs objectives (BEST, 2012).

Access to higher education in 2011/2012 had a total of 166,484 students admitted in 43 universities and university colleges (11 Government and 32 private) with females amounting 60,592 accounting for 36%. This shows an upsurge of 19% from 139,638 membership of 2010/2011 academic year. In 2011/2012 academic year, public universities and university colleges admitted nearly 75% whilst, private universities and university colleges registered 25% in the academic session. Also, there was a surge of medical, dental and veterinary students from 1,750 in 2010/2011 to 1,900 in 2011/2012 admissions. The government similarly continued to urge the private division to establish higher educational institutes to help the government’s strength, especially training in medical, business and engineering degree programs (BEST, 2012).

Table 9 beneath shows the enrollment for Universities in 2011/2012 – Tanzania.
Table 9: Enrollment in Universities in Tanzania 2011/2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>39,331</td>
<td>75,200</td>
<td>114,531</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>21,261</td>
<td>30,692</td>
<td>51,953</td>
<td>45.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60,592</td>
<td>106,892</td>
<td>166,484</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania, 2012

The Ministry of Education also organized 200 grants offered to Tanzania under a Bilateral Cultural Agreement for both undergraduate and postgraduate schooling in 2011/2012 academic year. Again, the ministry was involved in some 292 postgraduate grants from Government universities, under the Science Technology and Higher Education Project sponsored by the World Bank (BEST, 2012). The project is directed towards increasing the quality and quantity of progress in science, technology and education via an enhanced learning arena in government institutions. The Minister in addition, took part in advanced schooling exhibitions, which had the opportunity to create awareness for studies in advanced learning and critical policy issues. There was the same level of chance in the celebration of the 50 year anniversary of independence in 2011. As depicted in table 8 above, 60,592 females were admitted in 40 present institutions of higher education and colleges. This shows an upsurge of 0.6% from 2010/2011 registration, out of the 60,592 female learners admitted in various universities, 21,261 were in private institutions of higher learning. The low numbers of women in higher education have an impact on their level and way of partaking or assuming leadership roles. Even though, female enrollment is low at the tertiary level, this shows an increase from 2007/08 academic year. In 2007/08 year enrollment level of female proportion to male was 30.4 percent to 69.8 percent, respectively, according to Meena (2009).

There is the continuous promotion of equality by piloting a pre-entry course for both male and female candidates. The purpose is to get more students to be registered. At the tertiary level, there has been an experience of low equitability in percentage, as female membership was 36.4 percent compared to 35.8 percent in 2010/2011. Though, there has been a slow increase in Gender parity, it is still far from accomplishing parity. The institutions of higher learning are faced with equality challenges in enrollment, and level of access to labor market and decision making (BEST, 2012).
3.3.2 Ghana And Tanzania In Retrospect

Not only do women lag behind in numbers in political representation but, also in leadership and decision making as well. Though women are not well represented in the political platform globally as well as regionally, their contribution to politics cannot be overemphasized. Taking into consideration Ghana and Tanzania for instance, women on the Ghanaian political front played an integral role in the attainment of independence through their pivotal support for the governing party, the Convention People’s Party (CPP). Women contributed to the independence by organizing women's movements to support the CPP in the struggle for self-government. This resilience and the impact women had in the prelude to independence been rewarded with a quota of 10 women into the national assembly in 1960. This was a sign of good hope for women in the Ghanaian politics, but again was destabilized by military intervention leading to the overthrow of President Nkrumah in 1966.

Comparing women’s political participation and their involvement in the prelude to the independence struggle of Ghana, it moves on a different wave length in the case of Tanzania, as Tanzania has not experienced any military regime era of governance to destabilize women’s participation in politics. Though the dominance of patriarchal philosophy seems to have an effect on men’s assertiveness towards women in politics and the influence it has on women’s self-assurance and feelings of subordination, kept women in the dark in politics. Until the recent amendment to the national constitution, which reserved seats in government for women both at the local and national levels, brought Tanzanian women into the limelight of politics.

On the level of political participation of women among Ghana and Tanzania, it can be said that Tanzania’s average of women in parliament exceeds that of Ghana due to the quota system being legally constituted. For political participation among women to be strong in Ghana as in Tanzania, there should be a legal regulation to include women in politics, not just with numbers but with active positions in government. Comparing figures in national parliaments of Tanzania and Ghana, Tanzania has been able to achieve the MDGs benchmark of 30% of women in parliament and are in contention to reach the African Union Constituent target of 50/50 in parliament. Since 1995, the figures and percentages in the national assembly of Tanzania have been increasing. The upsurge in percentage and figures is evident from table 9 above. In 1995, there were only 45 women in the national assembly, representing 16.7%,
ten years later there has been a massive improvement in percentage, with 36% of women in national parliament indicating a total of 126 women representatives (IPU, 2014).

One the contrary, Ghana has seen some changes in percentage though insignificant. There has been a fluctuation in relation to Ghana’s women parliamentarians. In 2004, the number of elected women into parliament was only 25, representing 10.5%, the number reduced to 19 in 2008 which is 7.8%, but in 2012 elections women had 30 seats in parliament which is 10.91% (IPU, 2013; Electoral Commission, 2012). There are some positives to be drawn from the previously held elections in both countries. For example, in 2005, Tanzania had her first female contestant in the presidential elections in the person of Anna Claudia Senkoro, and three other political parties had 3 women running mates, but the same cannot be said of Ghana. Ghana’s only women candidates in presidential elections were running mates from three political parties in the 2012 general elections, as the only female aspirant for the 2012 presidential elections was disqualified for late registration.

In the event of the above, it can be deduced that, Tanzanian women are streaks ahead of Ghana practically due to the quota system at the party, constituency and national levels. One peculiar scenario in Ghana is that the number of female candidates for parliamentary elections keeps increasing during each election year. In the 2012 elections, there were a total of 133 women contesting to be elected to parliament; this was an increase from 103 in the 2008 general elections. Their inability to occupy positions or fight for parliament are not different from what Meena (2009), mentioned earlier like, lack of political party support, lawful and regulatory environment, lack of economic power as well as the electoral structure have become an impediment to the progress of women in politics and the occupancy of higher office at the national level.

On education, the two countries are making a steady progress in terms of enrollment at both primary education and the higher levels of education. The total Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) for Tanzania in primary education stood at 102.7 percent according, to the BEST (2012) in 2011 and the Net Enrolment Ratio (GER) was 94 percent, but there was a decrease in 2012 as the GER and NER were recorded at 98.4 and 92 respectively. On the contrary Ghana’s GER and NER for primary education was 106 and 84 respectively in 2011, but the total combined had 107 in 2011 which indicates that Ghana is doing well in terms of primary school enrollment (UNESCO, 2013). Available statistics on tertiary education in both countries show that there are challenges facing the tertiary level education. The female enrollment in both private and public universities combined have an average of 36 percent, with the state
sponsored institutions of higher learning at 34.4 percent whilst the private higher institutions contributed 45.6 percent of female enrollment in Tanzania. Comparatively, Ghana is not faring any better in terms of tertiary enrollment. Ghana has a total percentage of 61 percent as of 2012 in tertiary enrollment, which indicates that in both countries, gender parity has not been achieved yet, but at the primary level gender equity is visible. Education plays an important role in shaping the lives of citizens as well as affecting their political participation. Women, on the other hand, have become vulnerable to access education in sub-Saharan African region, Ghana and Tanzania included.

In order to achieve parity at the tertiary level, there should be a good and uniformed educational structures, which will enable mothers send their wards to tertiary schools. Education at the tertiary level, should be easily accessible with learning facilities, good laboratory set up and the necessary apparatus to keep the tertiary education running. If possible governments should encourage stakeholders and investors to help solve the inequality by providing an education which will be affordable by all.

3.3 CIVIL SOCIETIES IN GHANA & TANZANIA

Civil society activities in Africa can be outlined back to political activities that contended colonial supremacy for self-government. In the view of Jones and Tembo (2008), the move to multiparty democracies in most African states gave rise to Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) participation in policy formulation and allowed more legality by ruling administrations that noted the popularity of partaking in defining alternative politics. Some critics have queried the level to which ‘civil society’ practiced now in Sub-Saharan Africa, gives a platform for candid representative change and exemplification of the population. The ability to function as an active criticizer of the state is burdened under this practice of civil organization and rather has a tendency to maintain the social order (Buhler, 2002; Hearn, 2001). There has been further support that the development of civil society organizations foundation and reinforcement in many sub-Saharan African settings have been subjective and fortified by donors, as part of the comprehensive determinations to care for political freedom. Nasong’o (2007), reiterated that distance from both the regime of governance and the public, have rendered it problematic for CSOs to develop dependable strategy substitutes, as Fatton (1999), emphasizes similar opinion that CSOs are unsatisfactorily organized, ill funded and in many cases too detached from the state to exert substantial influence.
Other scholars, still maintain that a concerted way of working with the state is important, judging from the already weak political strength of many African nations (Robinson & Freidman, 2005). Giving the nature of recent democratizing and post-conflict administrations, the attention of civil society may conveniently be focused towards forming a set of minimum ‘engagements’ with policy making and governmental subdivision actors, encouraging government transparency and a respect for human rights (Amundsen & Abreu, 2006). Michael (2004), posits that if CSOs were able to overawe fragile structural growth and control reluctance to engage with administrations, then they would be better placed to shape strategy outlines of the continent. It is in this respect that argument is being made that CSOs commitment and influence can reinforce government roles in having contact with a sign that in turn accelerates enhanced policymaking.

Ghana offers a paradigm to examine the prospect of the enlistment of women with the shift to democracy. As in most, if not all, sub-Saharan republics, Ghana has a dynamic civil society with many different women’s groups at the local and national levels (Fallon, 2008). From the perspectives of Fallon (2008), women may seize these gendered constructions to mobilize against the ruling classes. Hitherto, likewise as in other sub-Saharan African nations, females have normally been debarred from the formal political procedures earlier in the most current move to democracy. Though womenfolk were, and some remain to be politically active within local political structures, colonial political structures did not give a chance for women’s dynamic membership. Consequently, preceding the change and throughout the move, womenfolk had to do with the creation of the 31st December Women’s Movement, which is a big women’s society linked to the nation that tries to co-opt women in backing government. Hence, the 31st December Women’s Movement, acting as a partisan association, may stop women from using existing civic women’s establishment to organize contrary to the state (Fallon, 2008).

Ghana has gone through numerous presidential and parliamentary polls, and it can be studied over a long period of time. Also, some women’s groups in Ghana have tried to inspire women to take part in the formal politically aware development with the change to democracy. The societies hope to organize women, contrary to the state for their issues or concerns to be heard. In view of this according to Fallon (2008), women’s social-movement forms, however, rests on previous experiences coupled with women’s categorization and the politically aware knowledge. As posited by Fallon (2008), in other sub-Saharan nations, ranked other organization and dual gendered constructions show conspicuously in Ghana. Due to colonization by the British, women were excluded from all social activities which benefitted
both men and women. From farming, education, economic and political life, women were excluded. In all, colonization nullified women’s social, economic and political status as they were exiled from the formal partisan constructions, and with their reduced position within the formal economy, educational institutions, and employment opportunities, their prospect of contributing to formal political affairs was further weakened (Fallon, 2008).

Women in Ghana were, however active once more during self-government struggle. Before Ghana achieved self-government from the Great Britain in 1957, women contributed actively in the anti-colonial struggle when they perceived a threat to their economic and social well-being. They became active partakers in refusals contrary to strategies, which comprised taxation, employed by the colonial administration (Fallon, 2008). When Kwame Nkrumah was elected the president in 1960, he tried to integrate women into government system, by establishing the People (Women Members) Act of 1959, which permitted the parliament to select ten women to the national assembly. With the endorsement of this Act, females accounted for approximately 10% of parliamentarians. Women were still recognized even when Nkrumah announced Ghana as a one party regime and had 19 women in the national assembly in 1965. When Nkrumah was ousted in 1966, female participation in decision-making or government weakened (Fallon, 2008).

Despite the military regime attempts to quell citizens, civil groups defied all the odds to protest against bad leadership and for that matter human rights. Several civil society groups like the Trades Union Congress, the National Union of Ghana Students, Movements for Freedom and Justice, the Ghana Bar Association and the Catholic Church called on the need for Ghanaians to unite for the reason of creating an egalitarian nation. After these civil groups and the subsequent transition to democracy, many other organizations sprung up agitating for the visibility of women in decision-making and leadership positions with the help of donor agencies like the UNwomen, Abantu, Womenaglo etc.

The spread of independent associations permitted women’s establishments to increase their schemata to take on women’s rights matters more cautiously and to fight for greater female political participation. The women’s movement in Uganda, for example, has been able to publicly raise many diverse issues, ranging from women’s representation in office, domestic violence, corruption and other trepidations that have seldom been addressed by women’s movements in nations, where a ruling political party has dominated the movement. In Ghana, Jerry Rawlings’ Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) and later the National Democratic Congress (NDC), poses a stark difference to the Ugandan case with its control of
the 31st December Women’s Movement, the largest women’s organization in Ghana (Tripp, 1994). Despite some achievements for women, the PNDC power of authority asphyxiated the women’s organisation and put a burden on the scope of demands by keeping the organization’s goals directed at furthering PNDC influence (Mikell, 1984).

In several African states, the women’s NGOs that were created in the 1980s and the 1990s, offered an increasing challenge to remaining women’s wings by endorsing programs that were much more far reaching in addressing established limitations on women’s progression (Tripp, 1994). In nations where party-imposed establishments had reduced much of associational existence, women’s wings were among the major improvement of the novel spaces to institute a great collection of officialdom and informal, local and national organizations.

In Tanzania, as in many other African countries, women’s associations of every nature instituted after the inception of political transitions, dealing with various issues differed as the environment, women in the media, entrepreneurial interests, reproductive rights and land laws (Tripp, 1994). What accounted for the spread of these organizations was the multiplying of networking institutions, which had not been visible in the past in large volumes. One of the oldest to be incorporated was the Tanzanian Association of Non-Governmental Organizations (TANGO), which officially was introduced in 1988 as pinpointed by Tripp (1994). As noted by Tripp (1994), women present at the 1985 Nairobi conference shaping the end of the UN Decade of Women were motivated to form networks among already available women’s association, after their return to Tanzania. Even though, began with women’s groups, TANGO emerged as the main institute for all NGOs. Women’s associations have also been linked via groups such as Tanzania Gender Networking Program (TGNP), which has assisted in coordinating undertakings, establish joint policies around legal restructuring, structural change and proposed Equal Opportunities Act among other related and relevant concerns.

The Kilimanjaro Women’s Information and Education Corporation (KWIECO), is also a regionally linked institution of proficient women in Moshi that coordinate the affairs of women’s associations together, to deliberate on women’s lawful transformations, health concerns and economic happenings. In relation to this Tripp (1994), further elaborates that networking civil associations alike, sprung up in different parts of the country on local, district and national levels. Ad hoc alliances designed to defend the citizenry on the contrary, to unfair government policies and to lobby for transformation.
Connolly (2007), points out that Tanzania’s heritage of colonialism and the formation of its freedom association have had a long standing association on the configuration of civil groups and its relations to the nation. Primarily, this expected that the civil society organizations, comprising specialized associations, trade unions and women’s organizations, which materialized in the later periods of colonization, turn out to be the source for the national liberation movement from which Julius Nyerere’s Tanganyika African National Union party (TANU) developed (Connolly, 2007).

This suggests that TANU party emerged out of civil society and social struggle happenings and since then had a close association with civil groups. Due to the collective nature of TANU, and the creation of a one-party state, predestined that the party came to be the dominant force of civil society and formally self-determining societies were merged into the party structure, just as Kwame Nkrumah did in the CPP by incorporating a women’s wing, which formed the basis of all other civil associations with membership card of the CPP as the only national valid card for all members of the women’s association.

According to Connolly (2007), the TANU party formed authorized trade unions, a women’s group of the party and a youth division, prohibiting other forms of societies. In 1977, Nyerere amalgamated TANU with the Zanzibar ruling party, the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) to form the Chama Cha Mapinduzi Party (CCM). The supremacy by CCM of both partisan and civil society spheres of influence continued nearly without opposition until the economic crunch of the late 1980s. In the 1990s, Tanzania was mandated to make a series of modifications at the request of the global community in return for aid, including the institution of a multi-party structure and the streamlining of its economy. This development of transition, and the influx of aid, ensued in a rapidly increasing civil society groups in this decade, and also the commencement of a process of regrouping of state-civil society associations (Connolly, 2007).

The structural modification programs that happened in the 1980s and 1990s and its associated limitations on regime expenditure, encouraged the government to open the public arena to civil organizations. It has been emphasized by Tripp (2000), that the advent of associational independence in the 1990s and the frequently awkward connection amongst the state-run and civil society has had an inordinate influence on the value of independent life than formal electoral practices and the opposition political parties. As Lange, Wallevik & Kiondo (2000), opinionated that during the time when the Tanzanian administration was opening up to civil organizations it could still act oppressively, forbidding or intimidating groups.
3.4 GENDER QUOTAS IN POLITICS

Data available to IPU (2013) indicates that nations in Sub-Saharan Africa have a total average of 21.7% of women parliamentarians in their national assemblies, with both houses combined. Nations in this area have made considerable advancements in reaching the benchmark for a critical mass of women leaders in political and public sectors since the 1990s, and the region is the leader in the world of announcing quotas (IPU, 2013). Recent studies have acknowledged various reasons that have added the region’s strong upturn of gender quotas together with the ‘liberation ideology of political entities, the continuous increase of women’s movement as an outcome of their participation in the struggle for independence, and the chance for election amendment in the rebuilding of countries following the revolution (ACE, 2012).

Quotas have long been the extent to which women’s legislative representation in Sub-Saharan Africa can be improved. Sub-Saharan Africa has four of IPUs top 10 ranked legislatures on the globe. Evidently, momentous progress was made in Senegal where members of women parliamentarians increased by 24.7 percentage points to 42.7% of women MPs. This high achievement is as a result of enforced quota laws (IPU, 2013).

Table 10: Regional Averages of Women in National Assemblies - 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Single House %</th>
<th>Upper House %</th>
<th>Both Houses %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nordic Countries</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americas</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe (Nordic included)</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe (Exc. Nordic)</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td><strong>22.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>18.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>21.8</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab States</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), 2013

Table 10 above, displays the averages of each region around the world and show the progress sub-Saharan Africa has made with the use of gender quotas. There has been an increase of 10.6 percentage points from 1995 (9.8%) to 20.4% in 2012 (IPU, 2013).
Gender quotas were first made known in Africa, in Ghana after liberation by the Convention Peoples Party in 1960 (Dahlerup, 2006). Tanzania on the other hand kept 15 parliamentary seats for women in 1975 and Egypt for a short while implemented an eight percent affirmative action plan for women legislators between 1979 and 1986. Senegal’s Parti Socialiste, Dahlerup (2006), claims allotted one-quarter of its seats for women in 1982 and Uganda implemented reserved seats policy for women in 1989. On the other hand, greatest mainstream of gender quotas in Africa was enforced after 1995, the period of the UN Conference on Women in Beijing, in which a Platform for Action approved by parliamentary designations sought to guarantee women’s equal involvement in all levels of power structures and decision-making (Dahlerup, 2006).

These policy implementations at Beijing, from the perspectives of Dahlerup (2006), were hugely influenced by women’s NGOs and associations of domestic and regional, as well as international entities. Following the Beijing Conference, several African nations adopted a national action to apply endorsements, concerning the position of women and the growth and development was to be checked over time. The effect of the universal women’s activities and actions was felt at the regional level too. Regional institutions, such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the East African Parliament, and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) laid down strategies to improve gender representation and put enormous pressure on nations that were behind.

Accordingly, the fact that most of the motivation for the institution of gender quotas emanated from the universal arena, the more instantaneous pressures came from regional associations and the transmission effects were obvious. Massive consciousness raising by civil movement associations, and the ensuing formation of gender organizations in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), for instance, organized a strong campaign amongst civil groups for gender representation of women in decision-making (Dahlerup, 2006). What has turned out to be vibrant from the past few years’ experience is that with nonexistent of quotas, African states cannot reach the benchmark. Dahlerup (2006), has stated that in southern Africa, witnesses have established that there is a surge in agreement across political entity ranks that, quotas are a vital temporary route of making sure that women inch closer to the decision making door.

Gender quotas have yielded positive results in sub Saharan Africa and in countries which use the quota system in Africa. On the IPUs list of the top ten women in national politics, Africa
boasts of 4 positions. The following table represents the first ten countries with the majority of women in national parliaments:

Table 11: First 10 Countries with Women in National Parliament - Worldwide (2013)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Lower/Single House</th>
<th>Upper House/Senate</th>
<th>Election</th>
<th>Seats</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>% W</th>
<th>Election</th>
<th>Seats</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>% W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>9, 2013</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>63.8</td>
<td>9, 2011</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Andorra</td>
<td>4, 2011</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>2, 2013</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>299</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>9, 2010</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>157</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Seychelles</td>
<td>9, 2011</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>7, 2012</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>4, 2011</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>4, 2009</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>169</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>4, 2009</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>11, 2011</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (as of 1st December 2013).

http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm

3.4.1 Quota Systems, Advantages And Drawbacks

Gender affirmative action was just recently implemented across West Africa, therefore it becomes difficult to assess its contribution, but on the contrary, it has a long standing history of use in east and southern Africa (Bauer, 2013). Bauer (2013), states that the current wave gender quota practices which has surfaced in sub-Saharan Africa, countries such as Kenya, Lesotho, South Sudan are all following the use of such affirmative action plans. In the countries where gender quotas are adopted, organized women’s groups work in close association with continental or international institutions such as the African Union or UNwomen. Sub-Saharan countries which are yet to institute a legal affirmative action plans are mostly Anglophone states with first past the post electoral systems including Ghana, Malawi, Nigeria, Botswana and Zambia (Bauer, 2013).

Electoral gender quotas vary from legal quotas implemented by means of lawful reforms or varying voting decrees to voluntary party quotas announced by main political entities, willingly setting an allocation in their own party laws. International IDEA (2012), has recognized the most collective forms of political allocations in use to attend to the low representation of women in parliaments as in the following:
**Reserved Seats:** These are lawful quotas stipulated in a country’s legislation that set aside a definite number or proportion of parliamentary seats that different groups are not eligible to stand for. Reserved seats may include nomination or election and may be used in respect to a laid down procedure or formula.

**Legislative Quotas:** Such quotas necessitate political entities to select a certain percentage of female aspirants for election, even though it is not a sure bet in women’s representation in the legislative assembly. It guarantees that political organizations are dedicated to discovering qualified political aspirants, and many contain measures to aid them or lawful sanctions for non-adherence will be applied. The United Nations for instance gave special aid to the Timor Leste in the country’s switch to egalitarianism, to assist the preparation of female aspirants and granted additional air time on radio and television for political organizations with a threshold of 30% women on their choice lists. Bush (2011), recounts that the Republic of Ireland has in recent times set a law mandating the nation’s political institutions to select a minimum of 30% of contestants from both gender, or forfeit half of their political promotion funding.

**Voluntary Quotas:** (the journal.ie, 2012), recollects that voluntary quotas are those implemented willingly by the political institutions of a country and have no legitimate standing. Individual political parties may take on a quota demanding that females consist of a specific percentage of the contestants selected to stand for the party in an election. Voluntary party procedures may vary from endorsements to obligatory rules and requirements like, interchanging men and women names on the party list. Political entities may also welcome organizational quotas to enhance female’s representation in internal party decision-making ranks.

**Legal Candidate Quotas:** Legal candidate and voluntary party quotas are the best collective forms of quota schemes employed within the present top 50 IPU-ranked nations with women in national assemblies, as eight of the best 50 ranked nations join both legislated and voluntary quotas.
**Advantages and Drawbacks of Political Quota:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FOR</th>
<th>AGAINST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Electoral allocations have demonstrated to be the most operative method for advancing good gender equality.</td>
<td>Quotas favor women above men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotas give electorates the opportunity to vote both men and women.</td>
<td>Quotas are not democratic because the electorates should be in the position to choose who is voted for.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women have the right as citizens to the same representation.</td>
<td>Quotas mean that representatives are selected because of the sex, not because of their experience and women who are selected via quotas may not be deemed capable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The life capabilities of females are as effective as men’s in governments and policy making.</td>
<td>The majority of experienced aspirants may not be included to allow a quota to be occupied.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women who are as equally competent as men are at times not valued in a male-dominated political structure.</td>
<td>Quotas generate clashes in the party organization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotas do not act as a discriminatory factor, but instead reward for blockades that inhibit women from accomplishing equality in representation within parliaments.</td>
<td>Quotas disrupt the philosophies of liberal social equality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotas reduce the strain experienced by the token woman when there are more women together in committees.</td>
<td>Quotas may lead to incompetent parliament or elected representatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotas can add to the method of democratization by creating a selection process more transparent.</td>
<td>Quotas give wrong signals that only females can stand for women, while men are in place for both men and women, this will go contrary to women attaining representation on the premise of political philosophies they stand for instead of their sex.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If the show by women are exhibited diligently by women, electorates are most</td>
<td>Women may feel uncomfortable with being elected simply because of their gender, and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
probably going to vote for women candidates in subsequent polls, even when quotas do not exist.

may be defamed as ‘quota women’.

Quotas will speed up the prospect that other females will contest and achieve selection by setting an example as role models.

Legislated quotas make women contest against women instead of crusading together to accomplish superior impact.

Quotas quicken women equal representation

More females in legislation benefit the social order by drawing on a variety of endowments and resources and establishment democratic participation.

Source: IDEA, Electoral Quotas for Women.
4. GENDER IN POLITICAL STRUCTURES AND POSITIONS

This section looks at political structures and positions in both parliaments. It also takes into consideration cabinet ministers, and some of the various committees within the two parliaments; Ghana and Tanzania and their gender compositions. It compares the two countries’ gender parity within the parliaments to showcase how important it is to have equal number of both genders on committees as well as sector ministers for a balanced and informed decision making. Before discussing those gender compositions, this section looks at how the two countries’ parliaments came into effect.

4.1 THE PARLIAMENTS, GHANA AND TANZANIA

Ghana’s Parliament

As far back as 1850, Ghana then called the Gold Coast, was given its own parliamentary council to counsel the colonial governor in passing laws primarily, in the form of Ordinances for the peace, order and better governance of the central focus. The parliamentary assembly was basically to give advice, as the Governor implemented all judicial and administrative supremacy. In 1916, the parliamentary assembly was re-formed to consist of nine appointed members, six of whom were Africans, as contended by eleven representatives and the Governor. The major statutory council selection ever to emerge came in 1925 under the tutelage of the Guggisberg Constitution. Under this organization, the administrator was the utmost power controller of the decision making (Parliament of Ghana, 2014).

Under the 1946 Bums Establishment, which substituted the Guggisberg establishment, the officials of the people, composed of the majority in the National Assembly. The principal administrator ceased to be ex-officio president of the council and unendorsed officer or member was nominated as head of the Legislative Council. This structure existed until 1951 when the Council selected its first speaker under the 1950 constitution. In 1951, the first ever national election to parliament was held with 75 members being selected. There were three appointed ex-officio affiliates and six distinctive fellows on behalf of commercial and mining
In 1954, the provisional legislation provided for an assemblage of a speaker and 104 membership selected on party ranks on the basis of common adult suffrage (Parliament of Ghana, 2014).

In 1957, when there was full political freedom, the constitution was molded to follow the Westminster ideal. In June 1960, ten women were voted by the General assembly to occupy specifically created seats in parliament. This was in resonance to rendering women to legislative or parliamentary life. This structure of selection was temporary. The Deed did not specify filling a position triggered by death, resignation or removal of a female colleague. Ghana became an independent unitary Republic in July 1960 and in February, 1964 Ghana espoused a one-party form of governance. The first parliament of the Republic was annulled in 1965 and a national poll was conducted and 198 members, all of which were followers of the national party, the Convention People’s Party (CPP) were nominated without challenge.

The 1964 constitutional revision amongst other things, augmented the supremacy and privileges of the president. In February 1966, the First Republican Government was dethroned by a military junta which gave supremacy to military leadership which stayed in power until September 1969 when it handed over power on its own discretion to a legislatively elected government and thereby, restoring parliamentary decree again. After only one year and ten months in office, the second legislative, also surrounded to another coup d’état from January 1972 and October 1979, when pressure was mounted politically. The military leadership was forced to usher in the third Republican legislative structure. In December 1981, governmental equality was once more trampled upon resulting in another military takeover. However, the nation went back to a constitutional statute again on 7th January 1993 (Parliament of Ghana, 2014). Since the inception of the Ghanaian parliament in 1951, there has been only one woman speaker of parliament, from 2009 – 2013 in the person of Justice Joyce Adeline Bamford-Addo (Parliament of Ghana, 2014).

**Parliament of Tanzania.**

The National Assembly of Tanzania was in force before political independence in 1926 as Legislative Council of Tanzania Mainland, which was formerly known as Tanganyika. The Legislative Council was enacted under Tanganyika Legislative Council Order, a decree endorsed by the British Parliament. The regulation was gazetted in Tanganyika on 18th June 1926 and the assembly was propelled in Dar Es Salaam on 7th December 1926 under the guidance of the Governor of Tanganyika, Sir. Donald Cameron. The assembly had 20
memberships nominated by the Governor. The most important transformation to the Statutory Assembly emerged in 1953, when the first speaker was selected to take over from the Governor as chairman of the assembly. The first speaker assumed office on November 1953 (Parliament of Tanzania, 2014).

The second most important modification was made in 1958, when for the first time the Council had few memberships selected by the populace. This heralded a very massive alteration in the politics of Tanganyika for the reason that, it was the first voting to be permitted in the colony and it was the first time that registered political parties by then joined in the voting. Three political entities took part in the balloting comprising: Tanganyika African Union (TANU), United Tanganyika Party (UTP) and African National Congress (ANC). On the other hand, only TANU were victorious in some districts to become the first party to have followers in the National Assembly. The third modification to the Legislative assembly happened in 1960, when the second polls took place. The alterations were among the measures for self-government of Tanganyika. For the first time ever in the history of Tanganyika, the populace was allowed to select all memberships of the council after the annulment of all members nominated by the Governor (Parliament of Tanzania, 2014).

The name of the Legislative Council was altered to be the National Assembly. These modifications were statutorily important for the reason that the Queen of England or Leader of the British Government, gave prominence to the decrees endorsed by the Legislative Council. Modifications to the Nationwide Assemblage preordained that after self-government, the decrees passed would not be sent to England for accent. As a replacement, the president of autonomous Tanganyika would accent all the laws. Since the modification to the National Assembly, there have been few alterations specifically in the quantity and form of membership. Nonetheless, its characteristics and directive has been unchanged and for the first time, the National Assembly has a female as the Speaker of parliament in the person of Hon. Anne Makinda from 2010 to date (Parliament of Tanzania, 2014).
4.2 GENDER COMPOSITION OF CABINET MINISTERS IN GHANA AND TANZANIA

Table 12 below shows the gender composition of cabinet ministers in Ghana’s parliament from 2000 – present.

Table 12: Gender Composition of Cabinet Ministers in Ghana (2000 - Present)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total Ministers</th>
<th>% Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000 – 2005</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005 – 2009</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009 – 2012</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012 – present</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: GoG & PoG.

Though women’s participation in Ghanaian politics is still much to be desired of, there have been significant and steady improvements in women ministers from 2000 to present. Out of a total of 25 cabinet ministers between the period of 2000 – 2005, only 5 were women representing 16.67 percent of cabinet ministers. Women cabinet ministers increased to 28 and 6 were females, indicating a percentage of 17.64, which was an increase of 1 percentage point from 2000 – 2005.

Figures for women’s representation in decision-making have been quite stable between the periods under review. Women Ministers in Ghana surged from 17 percent between 2005 – 2009 to 26 percent in 2009 – 2012, which was a massive improvement judging from the number of ministers. Women can now see a light in the tunnel because, their ministerial appointments, keep on increasing in number as currently women constitute 28 percent of ministers in Ghana’s parliament with 7 out of 25 ministers, regional ministers not included. Women have been able to maintain their ministerial positions through the periods under discussion, even though there have been various forms of government reshuffles but, have been retained their positions or given other ministerial appointment in government.

This exemplifies that; given the chance women can be more effective in their roles in government, irrespective of the fact that men see politics as a masculine platform and that femininity has to do with caring for others and duties in the home as posited by (Diekman &
Schneider, 2010; Dimandja, 2004), in their social role perspective dissertation and the role and place of women in sub-Saharan African societies.

Depicted below is table 13, which shows the gender makeup of cabinet ministers in Tanzania from 2000 – present. The table shows the number of women and men ministers from the period being discussed.

**Table 13: Gender Composition of Cabinet Ministers in Tanzania (2000 - Present)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total Ministers</th>
<th>% Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000 – 2005</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005 – 2010</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010 – 2012</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>24.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012 – Present</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 13 captured above, shows the gender composition of cabinet ministers in Tanzania. Tanzania’s women's political participation has seen progress in the number of MPs in the national assembly all because of the quota system being employed in the country’s politics. For this reason, the number of females appointed as ministers keep on increasing. From 2000 until now, increases have emerged on women’s ministerial appointments. From 2000 – 2005 there were only 3 women ministers in cabinet representing 16.67 per cent. It further increased from 16.67 percent in 2000 – 2005 to 25.9 percent in 2005 – 2010, an upsurge of 9.3 percentage points which was a massive leap. Presently, women account for 33.3 percent of cabinet ministers in Tanzania which is a huge indication that women are making a meaningful impact in political participation. Currently, there are 10 women out of 30 cabinet ministers. This also shows that not only have they seen improvement in their numbers in parliament, but their efforts are being rewarded by heading full ministries. Both Tanzania and Ghana are seeing some light in the tunnel, this is to say that there is a bright future for women’s political participation in both countries.

The low numbers of women in Ghanaian parliament have an effect on the ministerial appointment by governments. Considering deputy cabinet ministerial appointments excluding, deputy regional ministers, those posts available to women have been affected by their low representation in parliament. The table below shows the gender formation of deputy ministers in Ghana’s parliament, excluding deputy regional ministers from 2000 to present.
A look at the table 14 above, shows women’s lack of political participation in the Ghanaian setting. Appointments to the high office of administration and decision-making have been slow but steadily progressing. Figures for 2000 – 2005 recorded a 17 percent of women deputy ministers. The number of appointments of women to deputy ministerial ranks have not been stable over the past years. In 2005 – 2009 there were 13 deputy women cabinet ministers, it decreased to a low of 3 ministers in 2009 – 2012 representing 10 percent and a further surge of 5 women deputy ministers amounting to 17.85 percent currently. Inability of political parties and a weak constitution, which fails to address lack of women’s political participation, can be blamed for these fluctuations in numbers.

On the other hand, Tanzania has also seen fluctuations in women deputy ministers, a situation which is quite similar to the Ghanaian case. Even though, women in Tanzania have quota system where special seats are reserved for them and the fact that Tanzania has more women in parliament than in Ghana, the issue of appointments into high positions within government seem to elude both sides in the governmental structures of leadership. The table below shows the number and percentages of women with deputy ministerial posts in Tanzania.

### Table 14: Deputy Cabinet Women Ministers in Ghana (2000 - Present)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total Deputies</th>
<th>% Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000 – 2005</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17.24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005 – 2009</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009 – 2012</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012 – Present</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17.85%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: GoG & PoG

### Table 15: Women Deputy Cabinet Ministers in Tanzania (2000 -Present)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total Deputies</th>
<th>% Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000 – 2005</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005 – 2010</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010 – 2012</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012 – Present</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tables 14 and 15 presented, show that women’s political participation in both countries are still underrepresented both in numbers and in decision-making. But in terms of numbers in representation of women, Tanzania is ahead of Ghana with 136 women out of 350 parliamentary seats indicating 36 percent, whilst Ghana on the other hand, boasts of only 30 women out of 275 seats in parliament representing 10.91 percent, which is an increase from previous years though. In 2005 – 2010 deputy women ministerial post was high in Tanzania, indicating 23.8 percent, but saw a declining in 2010 – 2012 with a percentage of 10 which was a double reduction from the previous years 2005 – 2010. Presently, there are 5 women deputy ministers, which is a surge from 2010 – 2012 indicating 20 percent.

The subsequent table demonstrates ministries or sectors where women are ministers of state in Ghana and Tanzania under the current political administration. In the meantime Ghana’s current political administration has seven (7) women ministers of state and Tanzania has ten (10) women ministers of state. A critical look at the table underneath displays the ministerial portfolios women are occupying in both countries. These positions go to affirm Diekman & Schneider’s (2010) social role theory that the vigorous scopes of gender categorization take into account agency and communion. Where an agency redirects attention on character and stereotypically connects with men, whilst empathy echoes concentration on others and is stereotypically concomitant with women.

Thus, political behaviors that emphasize highlighting discrete self-determinations or aggression are concomitant with male stereotype, whilst political behaviors that lay emphasis on empathizing with others are connected with the female categorization. From the table below, all indicate that the positions or ranks women are occupying in the political spheres are, thus, in conformation with Diekman and Schneider’s (2010) social role theory that women are more often than not being relegated to caring or empathizing with others irrespective of their positions. This also explains the nature of patriarchy in the African society, where women are most often seen as keepers of the home and taken care of household activities. These notions are being exemplified in the political realms in the African society, judging from the current political portfolios which women occupy in Ghana and Tanzania.
Table 16: Ministries with Women as Minister in Ghana and Tanzania (2012 - Present)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ghana</th>
<th>Tanzania</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs &amp; Regional Integration</td>
<td>Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection</td>
<td>Ministry of Labor and Employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
<td>President’s Office (Public Service Management)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Health</td>
<td>Ministry of Justice &amp; Constitutional Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Tourism, Culture &amp; Creative Arts</td>
<td>Ministry of Information Youth &amp; Sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Transport</td>
<td>Prime Minister’s Office (Investment &amp; Empowerment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney-General &amp; Ministry of Justice</td>
<td>Ministry of Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ministry of Development &amp; Gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vice President’s Office (Union Affairs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ministry of Housing &amp; Human Settlements Development</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: PoG & PoT, 2014 [www.parliament.gh](http://www.parliament.gh) and [www.parliament.go.tz](http://www.parliament.go.tz)

On the issue of committee, both Ghana and Tanzania have the same types of committees, thus parliament select committee and standing committee. The only difference is that Tanzania’s two committees are joined whilst Ghana operate different sets of committees. Ghana has altogether thirty-one committees thus, select and standing committees, with each committee having different set of memberships and at time some personalities serve on different committees. But, Tanzania has together eighteen committees overseeing to the affairs of parliament. In this regard, parliament or national assembly is not only interested in affirming laws, but in addition, also concerned with putting the government to account in reverence of its procedures and direction (PoG, 2014; PoT, 2014).

The composition of gender on the committees in both Ghana and Tanzania is abysmal though encouraging. Men still are the majority on those parliamentary committees. In areas where women outnumber men on committees are those sectors or positions which Diekman &
Schneider refer to as care work or as helping others. In Tanzania, women were the majority on the committees of HIV/AIDS Affairs and Social Services committees with women numbering 11 and 12 respectively. On the other hand, where women had high numbers in Ghana, was on the committees of Health and Gender with 4 and 11 members in that order. The following table shows the gender composition of all the committees combined in both countries presently.

Table 17: Gender Composition of Parliamentary Committees in Ghana and Tanzania (Present)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total Committees</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: PoG & PoT, 2014 [www.parliament.gh](http://www.parliament.gh) and [www.parliament.go.tz](http://www.parliament.go.tz)

4.3 DISCUSSION

Considering the gender composition of cabinet ministers in both countries, the situation in each country can be likened to each other. Though women’s representation in Ghanaian politics is still much to be desired of, there have been significant and steady improvements in women ministers from 2000 to present. Women have been able to maintain their ministerial positions through the periods under discussion. Even though, there have been various forms of government reshuffles, women have been able to retain their positions or given other ministerial appointment in government.

In areas where women are appointed ministers of state, are normally what social commentators refer to as care taking role or home service positions. Currently, there are 10 women out of the 30 cabinet ministers in Tanzania. This also shows that not only have women seen improvement in their numbers in parliament, but their efforts are being rewarded by heading full ministries. Both Tanzania and Ghana are seeing some positives in women’s full political participation. This is to say that there is a bright future ahead of women’s political representation in both countries.

Women’s political portfolios in both Ghana and Tanzania, are most of the time limited to roles deemed to be women dominated. For example in areas of health and education. It is time
women in both countries strive to gain higher political status like, minister of Finance post and other compelling positions in government. This explains that; given the chance women can be more effective in their roles in government, irrespective of the fact that men see politics as a masculine platform and that femininity has to do with caring for others and duties in the home as posited by (Diekman & Schneider, 2010; Dimandja, 2004), in their ‘social role perspective’ dissertation and ‘the role and place of women in sub-Saharan African societies.’

In the case of deputy ministerial portfolios, Tanzania has also seen fluctuations in women deputy ministers, a situation which is quite similar to the Ghanaian case. Even though, women in Tanzania have quota system, where special seats are reserved for them and the fact that Tanzania has more women in parliament than in Ghana, the issue of appointments into high positions within government seem to elude both sides in the governmental structures of leadership. The composition of gender on the committees in both Ghana and Tanzania is abysmal though encouraging. Men still are the majority on those parliamentary committees.
5. CONCLUSIONS

This section presents the findings, implications and some recommendations for policy makers in the political field so as to arrive at seeking women’s overall participation in politics, not only in Ghana and Tanzania, but throughout the globe. A well designed policy implementation geared towards involving women in politics will be a welcome news and a step forward in recognizing women and their political participation.

5.1 FINDINGS AND RESULTS

Returning to the main research question ‘what are the factors for women’s steady progress in political participation in Ghana and Tanzania’. It could therefore, be seen that the factors for achieving this is not about a single reason, but various actors and players have contributed to the rise of women in politics in both countries. The most important and relevant, to these factors for increased women’s political participation in Ghana and Tanzania are not limited to the reasons below, but other reasons could be attributed to the rise, and these are only but a few.

One notable reason for women’s visibility in the African political realm has been the move away from one party state, military takeover to multiparty democracy. This could be explained to mean that the birth of women’s movements or organizations happened together with the rise of self-government of women’s movements that seized the opportunity to open up politically aware spaces in the 1990s. These institutions had leaders who started to call for an extensive program, which comprised of females broader political representatives.

Again, it is evident that access to educational opportunities being made available to girls and women, have had an influence in women’s visibility in the political realm globally and regionally. Though there are challenges facing both Ghana and Tanzania in terms of achieving gender parity in education at the highest level, they have been able to achieve success, thereby creating a larger pool of women who are capable to contest for political positions.
Furthermore, women’s past experience with their ability to organize and form networks, whether formal or informal has helped in gaining recognition in politics. Often, it becomes easier for women to seize the opportunity of novel politically aware platforms given by democratic governments. In view of the above, women possess strong worth of NGO organizations in terms of seeing to it that development institutions include programs that seek to address women’s concerns. In Tanzania it is not surprising to note that the major NGO networking association, TANGO was initiated by women and they boast of strong women's demonstration in their ranks. Likewise, in Ghana an organization called Sisters’ Keepers organized a demonstration which sought to bring an end to serial killings that emerge between 1997 and 2001. This women’s association’s demonstration affected the elections of December 2000 massively as the incumbent National Democratic Congress lost the runoff (Fallon, 2008). Thus, females’ vast knowledge in working as a unit in varying platforms has time and again made it easier for them to take hold of different organizational openings in a liberalizing setting.

In addition, the introduction of affirmative action plan has been very vital to women gaining representation in politics. The advanced political depiction of women is a political will, rather than any economic actor. Some of the weak economic states worldwide fare better than many nations in the global north in women's parliamentary representation, for example, Tanzania and Seychelles. Party quotas and reserved seats also play an important role for the high numbers of women parliamentarians in Tanzania, Rwanda, Senegal and many other African states.

Another notable ingredient for the visibility of women’s political participation, has been the international women’s movements. International women's bodies like the UNwomen, the IPU and the rest have contributed to the recent high rates of women in political office due to their involvement in encouraging females to aspire to political administrative office and affect decision-making. Even though, the pressure to increase women’s political representation has been emanating internally in countries, international pressures and rules have given the necessary stimulus to these current demands. To curtail the underrepresentation of women in politics, the concern was raised at the UN Beijing Conference on Women in 1995, by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) which is the global institution for national assemblies.

In as much as women have gained visibility in politics and being recognized, their roles in political decision making have been playing second fiddle to their male counterparts. Considering ministerial positions in Ghana and Tanzania, it is evident that most of the main
ministries are headed by male politicians, the only ministries headed by women in both countries have been those touted as female care work, thus in areas of health, education, tourism, women and children’s affairs and secretarial duties. In both parliaments, men outnumber women in all parliamentary committees, and the few committees which have more women are the same as previously mentioned, for example health, tourism and education. This raises the question of whether to consider just women in terms of numbers in political participation or their roles and assumption in the decision making process should be of prime importance. In the event of the above, more attention now should be diverted to their role in the policy making arena and not just to mere numbers of tokenism of representation but active involvement in making decisions.

5.2 IMPLICATIONS

The problems women in Ghana and Tanzania are being confronted with politically, is not peculiar to women in both countries alone, it runs along other African nations. As Ferguson & Katundu(1994), elaborate about some undesirable information about women who intended to find their way into the political realm in Zambia. An example from the Zambian scenario is that, women who tried to enter into politics were prevented by their husbands and use divorce as an intimidation to prevent their entry into politics. The existence of a diverse legislative instrument concerning gender parity has been enacted and is still instrumental. But, the level of the change that is intended to benefit females is at a low pace. As evidently depicted, women are now becoming vibrant in partisan politics, yet; they are more of the time playing the role of assistants in the political dispensation of both countries. It is undeniably true that, higher educated females and gender equality advocates who exhibit an interest in the politically aware environment have had assaults of different kinds, just to stop them from participating in politics asserts Nzomo (1997). Political figures and administrative leaders see modern African women political figures as rather determined and as representing interests that are adverse to the interest of the nation. This problem pertains in Ghana and Tanzania, as well as in many other African countries.

Women in Ghana are lowly represented in political decision making. Even though there is a clear legislative instrument is made to seek female’s representation in strategizing, the implementation of this strategy is derailed by gender stereotype attitudes in politics (Ongom, 1999). Out of the current 25 cabinet ministers in Ghana, a mere 7 are women, and are in
ministerial positions that can be termed as caring for others. Women have come to the crossroads today, trying to find a way to alter the perceived assumptions that they are not capable to perform well in decision making which can influence society. Tanzania, South Africa and Seychelles have adopted a constitutional change which makes way for a quota system to be used to have more women in political decision making positions. Angola and Zimbabwe like, Tanzania, also have affirmative action instrument allowing a certain percentage of women in national assemblies.

Irrespective of this, care is needed to hold onto the system to avoid derailment and political malfeasance (African Center for Women/Economic Commission for Africa, 1998). Nevertheless, an African nation is leading the league table of women’s political representation in the world, Rwanda with 63.8 percent of women members of parliament and eleven other African countries are also among the first 40 top ranked countries with women in national assemblies. These nations are Rwanda 63.8%, South Africa, 44.8%, Seychelles 43.8%, Senegal 43.3%, Mozambique 39.2%, Angola 36.8%, Tanzania 36%, Algeria 31.6%, Zimbabwe 31.5%, Cameroon 31.1%, Burundi 30.5%, Tunisia 28.1% and Ethiopia 27.8%. Ghana has 10.91 percent of women parliamentarians which is far below achieving the critical minority (IPU, 2014).

After independence, Ghana and Tanzania women started to seek political ambitions and assume decision making roles, as Ghana had for the first time appointed a female speaker of parliament in 2009 to 2013 and currently a woman Chief Justice and Tanzania also boasts of a female speaker of parliament since 2010 and a Finance minister.

Some female faces and declarations are starting to be seen and heard in some African countries even though their impact is still minimal and their obstacles daunting. The 1990s have had the plaudits as the era of the commencement for females in politics in Africa. Until this time; it was difficult to hear of, for females to run for the highest administrative position in a nation according to Sossou (2011). In 1998 two women contested in the presidential polls in Kenya. There were two other females who filed for their parties’ nominations in presidential primaries in Tanzania in 1995 and Nigeria in 1998.

There are positives from this even though they failed to win in their political struggle for supremacy, they laid the foundation for other women, as it can currently be seen that Africa has three women presidents in Liberia, Malawi and Central Africa Republic have taken the lead for other women to follow (Rulers.org, 2014).
Females’ representation and participation in mainstream politics has significant repercussions for wider sphere of governance in any nation. The old patriarchal nature of the African society which tends to tag politics as a ‘dirty game’ and that women are not tough customers when it comes to doing politics impinges on women’s aspiration of becoming a political leader. Masculinity has nothing to do with politics. Politics is about knowing the problems of your electorates and addressing them. The old African tradition which defined a woman’s role as only household duties like caring for children, taking care of the home and most at time farming work has started to disappear with the advent of female activists.

It is now clear that women can also be leaders in decision making institutions, such as good governance. This exemplification is evident in recent times as women are being elected presidents in countries like Brazil, Argentina, Liberia, Malawi and the Central African Republic. Assuming political power has nothing to do with physicality, but with psychological strength, which women have. The masculinity tag for politics as being for men only is elusive, it is only divulged of lack of diversified opinions when it comes to decision making in the higher hierarchies. It is therefore important to represent and involve women in political decision making so as to have varied opinions and decisions which will be in the best interest of all constituents.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

This subsection of the research tries to suggest recommendations for political decision makers on how important it is for female representation in political decision making. It is in the view of the researcher that, the recommendations being suggested will be appropriate enough for political policy makers, various political parties as well as gender activists and other civil society groups to consider in advancing women’s political participation in Ghana and Tanzania.

In the first place though, this might sound radical in the opinion of the research, but it could yield positive results for women’s participation in politics in Tanzania and Ghana. The investigator merely suggests that women, especially in Ghana should try to boycott a national election and if possible start from internal party primaries. Since they are the voting majority in any case, this boycott will have serious consequences on the election outcomes, which will put political decision strategists in a tight corner. In other cases, women can also move away
from their political parties and form one women’s political party to contest for polls. If this is done there will be enormous pressure on those in charge of the political policy formulation to address the low numbers of women in national politics in both countries, especially Ghana, where the MDG and Beijing Declaration’s threshold of requiring at least 30% of women in national parliaments has not been achieved yet.

With reference to Mainwaring’s (1999), thought-provoking account that, in many nations the citizenry are not satisfied with political parties but, on the other hand, political parties remain the chief actors of representation and are almost the first agents with right of entry to selected positions in representative politics. This is to say that political entities are the institutions which can push for or start to recognize women at the local levels of party representation.

It will be prudent enough for political parties to have a set standard for women’s representation in the community or district levels, which will motivate them to aspire to high political office at the national level. If possible, political parties should have in their constitution a certain percentage of women to be elected into political office locally and by so doing the number of women aspiring for political office decision making will not be lagging behind, and it will serve as a source of motivation for up and coming young women who have an interest in politics. This proves why Tanzania is performing better in terms of women’s representation in parliament than Ghana, because they have party quotas for women at the local levels, which is translated to the national level and it comes as no surprise that Tanzania is among the countries with a high number of women representatives in the national assembly, when it comes to the world league table of women in parliaments.

Again, with the current percentage of 21.8% women in national parliaments in the world which though is low, but encouraging, an adaptation of a form of affirmative action plan will be necessary to increase women’s low participation in politics globally and regionally. The application of a gender quota system in politics, it is believed that women’s political participation will increase, especially in Ghana. Considering the countries with higher percentages of women in national assemblies, one form of gender quotas exist to achieve the critical minority of 30% or 40% of women’s political representation. It is worthy to note that a form of affirmative action is needed in Ghana if women’s political ambitions are to be realized in the near future.

There should be a constitutionally laid out plans for a quota system to be introduced in the Ghanaian politics to allow women’s voice to be heard and aspire to the highest decision making ranks in politics. It comes as no surprise that a member of parliament for Tano North
in the current administration in Ghana, Freda Prempeh has called for legislative quota seats to be introduced (GoG, 2014). For women to be actively recognized in politics in Ghana, parliament should strive to pass the affirmative action bill. Looking at the current league table of women in national parliaments, countries doing well with women parliamentarians have instituted a form of quota, for example countries in sub-Saharan Africa like Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Senegal and Seychelles are doing well in terms of women’s participation in politics all because of the quota system.

Moreover, in order for gender parity to prevail in the political representation of women, good educational policies in achieving equal measure of education for men and women at all levels of education, especially at the higher levels should be put in place. This is because, the low numbers of women in higher education have an impact on their level and way of partaking or assuming leadership roles like that of political offices. To achieve this, challenges facing the tertiary levels of education in Ghana and Tanzania should be streamlined to allow equal access to higher education. Though tertiary education has been encouraging in both countries, gender imbalance still occurs as most women are unable to pursue higher education due to the parents’ inability to pay for school costs leaving girls to drop out along the way due to other family commitments by the parents. The example in the Africa traditional society when women are seen as taking care of the house, when it comes to sponsoring the education of children of the same age, the boys are normally favored by parents over girls.

Furthermore, forming strategic networks with civil society groups is a way to promoting women’s active participation in politics. Networking among women and civil associations can be significant to increase awareness on policy schemes. In many situations, especially when political entities tries to alter or modify the constitution or enact laws to elevate females political empowerment, political party specialist are in close working relationship with civil society organizations to arrive at their objectives. With this in a place, CSO organizations in their bid to seek active participation of women in politics have to put enough pressure on the state and request for constitutional amendments. Though, local CSOs together with other international women’s movements have started to put pressure on governments to address the low number of women’s political participation alone is not enough. Funding could be provided by these organizations to sponsor women’s political course.
5.4 CONCLUSIONS

Even though women's suffrage has existed since the 19th century, their political participation is underrepresented. Upon their underrepresentation in world politics, women account for 21.8 percent of national parliaments globally (IPU 2014). Although women’s representation in politics and its governance lag behind, there has been a steady progress over the past years. Figures from the Inter-Parliamentary Union, (2013) show that women’s political participation has improved significantly. When considering total Members of Parliament in the lower or single house, the percentage has surged to 21.8 percent. Considering the world average for 2012, women in national assembly stood at a little over twenty percent, which was an increase from 19.5 percent in 2012 representing a gain of 5.3 percentage points in ten years.

Indicated above shows an upsurge in women in national parliaments because thirty-three houses of parliament managed to achieve a thirty percent or more female members of national assemblies by the end of 2012 (IPU, 2013), which has more than tripled ten years past. In the same year 2012, women fared better through either legislation or voluntary quota use. In 2012, electoral quotas were adopted in twenty-two countries which held elections. In circumstances, where elections were based on quotas, women obtained 24 percent of seats in parliaments and in countries where quotas were used voluntarily women made gains of 22 percent. Where there is no existence of quotas, women were able to amass twelve percent of seats worldwide.

Considering averages around the world, it is noted that in 2000, eleven percent of women were voted into parliaments in lower houses. There was a further increase of almost 7%, in 2003 where women members elected surged to 18 percent. By the end of 2008 15 percent of national assemblies had attained the 30% threshold, the standard set in the Beijing Platform for Action and in the Millennium Development Goals (Waring, 2010).

African women are breaking the glass ceiling since twelve countries have attained the set standard according to IPU (2014), which goes to mean that significant strides have been achieved in women’s political representation. Importantly modifications have emerged when administrative heads have been females, as in Liberia, Malawi and recently Central African Republic (Waring, 2010, rulers.org 2014) when there has been a political space generated by a
female of extraordinary universal profile in the cases of Tanzania and Ghana where a woman is the speaker of the national assembly and the Chief Justice respectively. Accordingly, in other legislative assemblies where women are underrepresented in parliaments for example, in Ghana, there have been noteworthy improvements in the legislature with effervescent active women’s organizations.

The 30 percent threshold as a target set as the ‘critical mass’ for female legislators has been achieved in more than 35 countries. In the 37 or so countries, 12 are in Africa. The United Republic of Tanzania has seen a surge in the figures of women parliamentarians through seats set aside for women, the total of females in the national assembly and the numbers of females challenging and being successful in, open seats. Initially reserved seats for women were set at 20 percent and in 1995 11% of women were elected in the national assembly. There was an increase in percentage in 2005; women occupied 21 percent with women winning 97 seats emanating from 17 electoral areas and 80 coming from the reserved seats in parliament. Special seats were increased in 2009 to 30 percent after changes in the constitution. Currently, women in Tanzania constitute 36 percent of the national assembly.

The quota system available to women in Tanzania was first made possible under the one party regime in 1985 in the first past the post single-member majority scheme. With the Eighth Constitutional modifications, the election process and quotas were allocated on the premise of proportional representation, between political parties which were victorious in polls in districts and secured seats in the national assembly. The system of allocation was altered again in 2005. The reserved seats were disseminated uniformly on the basis of votes available to each political entity, and not on the foundation of amount of seats. Political entities which won not less than 5% of total votes cast were in the position to recommend names for reserved seats. Considering the upsurge in the total amounts of reserved seats, this indicates that in 1995 36 spaces were reserved for women and in 2000 there was an increase of 48 reserved seats and there was a further surge yet again amounting to 75 special spaces in 2005. These upsurges can be linked to the active involvement of political activities by different women's groups: especially pushing works of the United Women of Tanzania, female stateswomen and gender parity advocate NGOs, UNwomen and other nonpartisan groups which have emerged in recent times.

It could be said that the changes in Tanzania and the surge in figures of females in the national assembly have occurred via a continuum from one party regime. The changes in the electoral procedures, particularly the quota or affirmative action plan for women, the
continuous exertion of pressure from women’s organizations for increased percentage and the encouragement of females to contest in elections, have help women to pass the critical mass in Tanzania.

On the other hand, in Ghana interpretations could be made that the presence of a considerable amount of women in parliament can help upsurge the substance of debate and policy making process. From 1992, women in Ghana have displayed an ardent zeal to partake in the democratization process in varied ways and at different levels. While the struggle is persistent, there has been steady progress in women’s political participation.

1992 saw Ghana put to test her first multiparty partisan activities after years of military leadership under the PNDC administration. Since independence women have lagged behind in the political dispensation of the country. From the candidates in the presidential race since self-government, there has never been a woman challenger even at the party level (Allah-Mensah, 2005). Figures available indicate that in actual numbers, women’s representation has not improved any considerably even though the amounts of women candidates have seen an upsurge since 1992. There is a continuous instability in the percentage of women parliamentarians in the Ghanaian set up.

Currently Ghana has 30 women parliamentarians representing 10.9 percent, which is an increase from the previous elections in 2008 of 7.89 percent. For women in Ghana who desire to stand for the political post, it encompasses cultural hindrances, with opposition from spouses and relations as well as society. This explains the patriarchal nature of the Ghanaian political terrain. It becomes difficult for women to win primaries at the party level due to financial constraints, thereby putting a stumbling block in their election into political office. Nevertheless, there have been some steady improvements in their political participation as women are now being appointed ministers of state. Out of the current 25 ministers, seven women hold full ministerial positions in government. In the policy implementation process in Ghana, the women’s ministry is one of the agencies which cut across all the ministries.

The women’s organization has concentrated on domestic violence, women’s right and health and child care, with the national assembly passing the Domestic Violence Act, Human Trafficking Act and the Children’s Act. With all these Acts and measures in place, women in the legislature are limited. In 1992, Ghana had a referendum, which supported a representative system and had the first free and fair polls in 2000, depicting a record of rise compared with many other countries in Africa. Political parties in Ghana are also not helping
the course of women to rise to high political offices hence their low representation in the national assembly.

For example, in the 2008 legislature two major political parties had women elected representatives in their parties (International IDEA, 2010). Of the New Patriotic Party’s (NPP) 128 seats, only twenty (15.6%) were women, whilst the National Democratic Congress (NDC) was dismal with a mere five (5.3%) of the 94 seats. The People’s National Convention (4 seats) and the Convention People’s Party (3 seats) had no female legislators, while the only independent was a man.

In summation, the results indicated that the rise of women’s political participation in the world and in Africa has been possible through access to education by men and women, the use of some form of legislative gender affirmative action plans, the move away from one-party state and military interference to multiparty democracy, concerted efforts of civil society organizations both at local and international level and mounted pressure from women organizations, gender activists and different pressure groups. These are all contributing factors to the improvement made by women in political decision making in Ghana and Tanzania as both countries; currently boast of the Minister of Justice and Attorney-General post and the Minister of Finance respectively.
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