

8-2011

SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN: THE CASE OF GHANA'S DOMESTIC VIOLENCE LAW OF 2007

Patrick Tandoh-offin

Clemson University, ptandoh@clemson.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/all_dissertations



Part of the [Public Affairs, Public Policy and Public Administration Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Tandoh-offin, Patrick, "SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN: THE CASE OF GHANA'S DOMESTIC VIOLENCE LAW OF 2007" (2011). *All Dissertations*. 805.

https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/all_dissertations/805

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Dissertations at TigerPrints. It has been accepted for inclusion in All Dissertations by an authorized administrator of TigerPrints. For more information, please contact kokeefe@clemson.edu.

SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN: THE CASE OF GHANA'S
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE LAW OF 2007

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Graduate School of
Clemson University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy
Policy Studies

by
Patrick Tandoh-Offin
August 2011

Accepted by:
Kenneth L. Robinson, Committee Chair
Catherine F. Mobley
Robert W. Smith
Michael A. Morris
Bruce W. Ransom II

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the role of civil society organizations (CSOs), especially gender-based groups in increasing the “substantive” representation or the perspectives, views, and concerns of women in public policy-making in emerging democracies. In the last 30 years, calls for equality in the representation of women have received a boost mainly because of the disparity between the proportions of women in national populations and in legislatures. In Ghana where women are about 50 percent of the population, women constitute only 8.7 percent of the 230-member parliament as of January 2009. Such disparities produce critical implications for women’s empowerment and participation in public policy-making, especially in emerging democracies.

Ghana’s return to democratic governance in 1992 brought with it guaranteed freedoms and new avenues for participation by CSOs. Various civil society groups, including the women’s movement have emerged to take advantage of the new avenues to organize and be part of the democratic process. However, there is yet to be a comprehensive analysis of the role these groups play in the democratization process, especially in increasing women’s substantive representation and participation in Ghana, and so this study fills that gap. This mixed-method qualitative research applies a revision of John Kingdon’s multiple streams framework to comprehensively analyze the activities of the women’s movement to understand their motivations, goals, and impacts on the democratic process in Ghana. The archival information and also key informant interviews reviewed about the resources, strategies, and challenges faced by the women’s movement

in their advocacy for Ghana's 2007 Domestic Violence Law showed that such groups play vital role in democratization.

A major finding from this study is that gender-based CSOs enhance avenues for attracting much-needed outside resources for institution and capacity building for both grassroots groups and official policy actors to improve the democratic process, especially in emerging societies. The study therefore argues that societies should recognize and support the development of CSOs to increase the avenues for participation by under-represented groups like women in the policy process. This position is more relevant in societies where women still have "token" representations or fewer than 30 percent women in legislatures, and where institutional inadequacies exacerbate an already precarious situation for women's participation in the policy process.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family, to AGATHA MENSAH (Agoh Nana), my mother and Alhaji Ahmad M. Afrifah my great uncle, whose vision, inspiration, support, and courage enabled me to reach this height in my academic life. It is also dedicated in loving memory of my great-grandmother Maame Tano Adwoa who, despite being illiterate, played important role in my formative years to make me who I am today.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to the Almighty God for how far He has brought me. I am very fortunate to have many people to thank for their support that enabled me to finish this dissertation. I would like to thank Dr. Kenneth L. Robinson, my committee chair, for his patience, positive encouragement, and his relentless guidance throughout the writing of this dissertation. I would also like to acknowledge the invaluable contributions, thoughtful criticisms, and suggestions of Dr. Catherine Mobley. I am heartily thankful to Dr. Michael Morris and Dr. Robert Smith for their encouragement, supervision and support beyond the dissertation process. I am grateful for the encouraging words, and the many opportunities they extended to me for my professional development.

I am particularly thankful to Dr. Bruce Ransom with whom I worked, and who provided me with avenues for academic and personal development throughout my doctoral studies at Clemson. Our common research and professional interests enabled me to benefit immensely from Dr. Ransom's rich experiences, and his constant thought-provoking conversations shaped this dissertation and in many ways, my professional life. To my committee members Drs. Catherine Mobley, Robert Smith, Michael Morris and Bruce Ransom, I am thankful for your encouraging words, thoughtful criticisms, time and attention during the busy and stressful dissertation process.

To all the staff at the Strom Thurmond Institute for assisting me with all the administrative tasks necessary to complete my doctoral studies: Carolyn Benson, Dr. Robert Carey, Diane Groomes, Geoffrey Mikota, and Patrick Harris. I am also grateful to Angie Guido of the Political Science Department for her administrative support. I am

exceptionally grateful to Mrs. Donna London, Director of the Jim Self Center on the Future at the Strom Thurmond Institute who provided me with enormous research opportunities, as well as emotional and financial support throughout my four years at Clemson University.

Special thanks also go to my wife, Eunice and my son, Eucler, who encouraged and supported me in various ways during my studies as a doctoral student at Clemson University. I am very grateful to Madam Patience Rachel Adoasi and her children for their friendship that made it possible for me to remain focused on my dreams. I am eternally grateful to Mr. Samuel Tutu-Yeboah, Assistant Headmaster of Akim Swedru Senior High School, and Madam Comfort Ntifo, who have played instrumental roles in my academic and personal development. I am very grateful to my circle of friends, school mates, and mentors, whose prayers, advice, and life experiences continue to inspire me to want to be a better person.

I am very grateful to all the gender-rights advocates in Ghana who, despite their busy schedules, agreed to participate in my key informant interviews. Your input enriched my work, educated me, and served as useful sources of information to me and my work in many ways. Special thanks to Sarah Antwi-Boasiako for helping to identify and also for making initial contacts with individuals who eventually provided important information for this dissertation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
TITLE PAGE	i
ABSTRACT	ii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xii
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Overview of Research	1
Research Question.....	3
Objective of the Study.....	4
Relevance of the Study.....	5
Rationale for the Research	8
Scope and Organization of the Study.....	15
II. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	18
Public Policy-Making in an African Context.....	19
Representation of Women.....	24
Quota Laws and Women’s Representation	29
Electoral System Reforms and Women’s Representation.....	33
The Case for an Alternative Approach.....	37
Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and Gender Equality	39
The Civil Society Movement in Ghana.....	44
Domestic Violence in Ghana.....	49
Chapter Summary.....	55

Table of Contents (Continued)

	Page
III. METHODOLOGY AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK	58
Data Sources and Data Collection Methods.....	59
Case Study Method	60
Case Study Selection.....	64
Selecting Key Informants for Interview.....	64
Reliability and Validity	69
Analytical Framework.....	71
Public Policy Frameworks	73
The Multiple Streams Framework.....	76
Limitations of the Study.....	84
IV. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS.....	87
Overview of Ghana’s Domestic Violence (DV) Law	89
Multiple Streams Analysis	91
Problem Stream in Ghana’s DV Law.....	92
Indicators.....	94
Focusing Events	99
Feedback from Existing Programs	104
Policy Stream in Ghana’s DV Law	107
Resources	109
Strategies	115
Political Stream in Ghana’s DV Law.....	123
National Mood and Public Opinion	124
Policy Window.....	127
Policy Community and Actors.....	128
Elections and Change in Administration.....	131
Window of Opportunity and Coupling in DV Law	134
Findings.....	136
Evaluation of the MS Framework.....	148
V. CONCLUSION.....	152
Summary of Findings.....	152
Implications for Theory Development.....	156
Policy Implications.....	163
Conclusion and Future Research.....	166

Table of Contents (Continued)

	Page
APPENDICES.....	170
A: Key Informant Interview protocol.....	171
B: Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms Under the 1992 Constitution of Ghana	173
C: Some Major International Human Rights Instruments And Treaties	174
REFERENCES.....	175

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.1	Post-Independence Regimes in Ghana.....	9
1.2	Women’s Organizations in Ghana before 1993	11
2.1	Women in the Parliaments of Ghana since independence	25
2.2	Percentages (%) of Women in National Parliaments Classified by Regions.....	37
3.1	List of Women’s CSOs Whose Members Participated in The Key Informant Interviews	67
4.1	List of Selected Archival Data Sources Used for this Study.....	88
4.2	List of Organizations and Issue Areas.....	95
4.3	Women in Parliaments by Year and Proportion in Population	100

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1.1	Average Scores from Freedom House’s 2010 Analysis of Democratic Governance in Selected African Countries	14
3.1	Group Affiliations of Key Informants.....	68
3.2	A Modified Diagram of John Kingdon’s MS Framework	83
4.1	Support Systems Available to CSOs.....	113
4.2	Key Strategies Employed by CSOs and the DV Coalition	122
4.3	Sources of Obstacles Faced by CSOs	144

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AWLA	Africa Women Lawyers Association
CHRAJ	Commissioner for Human Rights and Administrative Justice
CPP	Convention Peoples Party
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DOVVSU	Domestic Violence Victims Support Unit
DVA	Domestic Violence Act
DVB	Domestic Violence Bill
DVC	Domestic Violence Coalition
DWM	31st December Women's Movement
FAWE	Federation of African Women Entrepreneurs
FIDA	International Federation of Women Lawyers
GFW	Ghana Federation of Women
GRAP	Gender Research and Advocacy Program
GRDC	Gender Rights and Documentation Center
ISODEC	Integrated Social Development Center
MOWAC	Ministry for Women and Children's Affairs
NCGW	National Council of Ghana Women
NCWD	National Council for Women and Development
NETRIGHT	Network for Women's Rights in Ghana
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NPP	New Patriotic Party
PNDC	Provisional National Defense Council
TWN	Third World Network
WACSI	West African Civil Society Institute
WAJU	Women and Juvenile Unit
WILDAF	Women in Law and Development in Africa
WISE	Women's Initiative for Self Empowerment
WLGf	Women in Local Governance Fund
WOMEc	Women, Media and Change

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview of Research

This study is an investigation on the role and place of civil society organizations (CSOs) and groups like the women's movement, in the democratization processes, especially in emerging political systems. The study uses Ghana's Domestic Violence (DV) Law of 2007 as a case study to highlight how gender-based advocacy groups are helping to increase women's *substantive representation* - perspectives and concerns of women - in public policymaking, while also entrenching democratization in Ghana. Recent political and democratic events in Ghana offer useful lessons that could be studied comprehensively to understand the processes of democratization, especially in the developing world. For instance, the many avenues for CSO participation in public policymaking guaranteed by Ghana's return to democratic governance in 1992, and how groups like the women's movement, are working to entrench democracy, have had a positive impact on Ghana's human rights record among the international community.

Important theoretical basis for this study includes those that compare the proportion of women in society with women in legislatures around the world, and the implications any disparities in the proportions generate for equality, empowerment, and participation especially of women in the democratization process. The activities and participation of gender-based CSOs in agenda-setting and human rights reforms that resulted in the creation of the DV Law in Ghana in 2007, has been studied by researchers

and scholars from backgrounds such as, sociology, law, political science and international development. This study applies a revision of John Kingdon's *multiple streams* (MS) framework to serve as a lens for comprehensively analyzing the various accounts and documents that has catalogued the role and place of civil society in democratization and public policymaking. This study mainly focuses on the opportunities offered by evolutions in civil society for understanding the motivations with which groups such as the women's movement in Ghana have represented women's interests, views, and perspectives in the policymaking process in recent years.

The study, a qualitative mixed-method approach, combines analyses of archival information with key informant interview responses as the main sources of data. The key informant interviews were conducted with individuals who were familiar or were involved in activities that resulted in the passage of Ghana's domestic violence law in 2007. The participants included social science and civil society researchers in academia who are affiliated with the various umbrella groups championing women's rights and gender equality in Ghana.

The interviews were used to corroborate and legitimize the archival data sources. The archival data sources consisted of journal articles, research documents, and newspaper reports that catalogue the activities of the CSOs during the DV law reform process. The revision of Kingdon's framework was done to make the framework usable or applicable to the Ghanaian and an emerging democratic environment.

1.2 Research Question

Using Ghana's Domestic Violence law as a case study, this study explores the research question *why is it necessary to have a comprehensive view of the efforts by (gender-based) CSOs to enhance the representation of women's views and perspectives in public policy processes in Ghana?* More specifically, how are gender-based CSOs organized, and what challenges do they face? What are the strategies and resources these groups employ in their advocacy efforts, and how have their achievements impacted Ghana's democratic development at the national level?

The usefulness in answering these questions is that such answers will highlight the expanded role of civil society groups in the democratization processes not only in the developed West, but also in developing societies like Ghana that are part of the third wave democratization (Huntington 1991).

To answer the research question of whether it helps to have a holistic view of the activities of CSOs and their effects on the substantive representation of women in Ghana, this study proceeds on the following three propositions on what democratic processes can do to make CSOs viable partners. The first is that the democratization process that started in the early 1990s in Ghana has created opportunities for guaranteed freedoms and civil liberties that have allowed independent organizational forms to emerge and highlight under-representation of groups such as women in public policy processes.

The second proposition is that the existence of civil society and gender-based groups provide avenues for more people, especially women, to be part of the democratization process from outside of formal political power arenas. The third and

final proposition is that in the short run, society can adopt, recognize, and support CSOs to become a viable means for addressing gender imbalance in policymaking while efforts are made to increase the descriptive representation of women in Ghana in the long run. The proportion of women in the parliament of Ghana since the start of the fifth parliament of the fourth Republic in January 2009 stands at 9 percent.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main argument of this study is that societies need to recognize and support gender-based CSOs to provide substantive representation for women in the policy-making process. This is because gender-based groups play significant roles in the democratic developments, especially in emerging systems where governance institutions are either nonexistent or are ill-equipped to ensure accountability and transparency. Through their associational life, CSOs have built credibility with regards to attracting and applying donor support to build capacity, educate grassroots, network with other organizations to pursue their agenda of increasing women's representation in Ghana's democratic process.

In particular, this study specifically seeks to explore and highlight the factors that affect the activities of the women's movement in their effort to increase gender equality in public policy-making in Ghana. The study also evaluates the resources and support systems available to CSOs and how these support systems enhanced or hindered the process to get the DV law passed. Ghana, like many other developing democracies

presently, does not have quota laws at the national level to help elect women into the parliament.

This study also seeks to organize and analyze the relevant information available about activities and outcomes of the women's movement in Ghana that is helping to transform political and democratic developments in Ghana. In the process, the study also proposes that societies should recognize and support gender-based CSOs because of their potential for increasing the representation, perspectives and views of women in politics and public policymaking. This position is more important, especially in societies like Ghana where women still have *token* representations or fewer than 30 percent representation in the legislature. Ultimately, the study also evaluates the usefulness of Kingdon's multiple streams framework as a policy analysis tool in policy fields like gender studies, and in emerging democracies like Ghana. This effort is intended to contribute to theory development for policy analysis, especially in developing country settings, to enhance discussions of gender issues, good governance and democratization.

1.4 Relevance of the Study

An important goal of this study is to make a case for societies to create the necessary conditions for CSOs to develop, expand, and be incorporated into the public policymaking process because of their perceived agenda-setting potential. This study is particularly interested in understanding the motivations with which CSOs, such as the women's movement in Ghana, are working to enhance avenues for representing the interests, views and perspectives of women in the policymaking process in recent years.

The application of a revision of the MS framework as the main analytical model in the study is an attempt to achieve several objectives: First, different researchers who write about the evolving roles of women and civil society organizations in Ghana's political landscape have independently identified most of the framework's factors. Second, most of these archival information sources variously enumerate the conditions under which activities and strategies of the CSOs generate impacts on the public policymaking process, especially during the agenda-setting process.

In this regard, there are research endeavors that trace the history of women's movement in Ghana; Gadzekpo (2001) describes women's use of the media and journalism even during colonial days that enabled society to rid itself of various myths about women in order to appreciate the essential role played by women in all facets of social and economic environment. There are others whose work focused on the cultural significance (Kessey 1997a), human rights (Darkwah, Amponsah and Gyampoh 2006; Anyidoho 2009) and women's economic contributions to the overall national development of Ghana (Allah-Mensah 1998, 2001, 2005; Harrison 2004; Kessey 1997; Ofei-Aboagye 2000; Tandoh-Offin 2009). This study fills a significant gap by synchronizing different perspectives of the activities, strategies, and outcomes of gender-based CSOs with a common lens, the MS framework, as a way to enhance how society appreciates the role of CSOs in democratization.

Furthermore, gender inequality also exists not only in political representation, but also in the gender, social and economic relations that affect or regulate the everyday livelihoods and interactions in societies. In the United States, even after the passage of

the Title IX¹ laws of the Education Amendment Act of 1972 that sought to remove all forms of discrimination against women in intercollegiate athletics, and the ratification of various human rights conventions, social and economic inequities still persists in the American system (Passeggi 2002). Thus, it is refreshing to find that civil society institutions in emerging democracies provide avenues for women to become active participants in democratic and national development in the developing world. This study also contributes to literature development on CSOs by focusing on their importance in representing a very important demographic, women, in public policymaking and democratization.

Finally, policy professionals and scholars need to recognize the relationship that gender inequality bears with other forms of inequities such as in paid and unpaid employment and earnings, and poverty in society. The reason is that a recognition and appreciation of any such relationships allow for the design of programs and policies that address political and other forms of inequalities in society. More specifically, this study makes the case for societies to develop and strengthen CSOs and other nonprofit social advocacy groups in the fight against inequality in women's descriptive and substantive representation and other socioeconomic inequities. This study, among other things, highlights CSOs and their coalitions as important subsystems in the policy environment, and vital components of the democratization process, especially in the developing world.

¹ Education Amendment Act of 1972, Title IX, Section 1681 (a). Accessed on December 10, 2010. Online at: <http://www.dol.gov/oasam/regs/statutes/titleix.htm>

1.5 Rationale for the Research

One important question that needs to be clarified at this early stage of the study is the question, why the focus on Ghana? Answering this question not only offers readers a clear understanding of the motivations and objectives for the study, but also strengthens and provides a direction for the study. It also contextualizes the study and the foundations of renewed involvement of CSOs in democratization, especially in emerging societies such as Ghana. Democratization in Ghana since independence from British colonial rule in 1957 has gone through critical evolutions. Such evolutions have generated important implications for associational life, for representation, empowerment and participation, especially of women in the public policymaking process. It is important to note that these evolutions are not peculiar to only Ghana, but has been a phenomenon among the majority of emerging democracies in Africa and the global South.

Ghana attained independence from British colonial rule on March 6, 1957 and became a Republic on July 1, 1960, with Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as the first president until his government was overthrown in a military coup in February 1966. The period between 1966 and 1992 were turbulent times for political and socioeconomic development of Ghana due to the constant interference by the military in the processes of democratic development and governance. All the three attempts at democratic governance that occurred between 1960 and 1992, listed in Table 1.1 below, were short-lived because of discontent among the military personnel with how civilian leaders handled the affairs of government (Abdulai 2009; Gyimah-Boadi 2004). The military governments, in most

cases, targeted and persecuted local businesses and entrepreneurs, especially women who were perceived to be corrupt, and were blamed for the economic woes in the country.

Table 1.1: Post-independence Regimes in Ghana

Years	Regime	Leader	Government
1957 - 1966	Convention People's Party (CPP)	K. Nkrumah	Civilian
1966 - 1969	National Liberation Council (NLC)	E. K. Kotoka	Military
1969 - 1972	Progress Party (PP):	K. A. Busia	Civilian
1972 - 1978	National Redemption Council (NRC)	Acheampong	Military
1978 - 1979	Supreme Military Council (SMC)	F. Akuffo	Military
1979 - 1979	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC)	J. J. Rawlings	Military
1979 - 1981	People's National Party (PNP)	H. Liman	Civilian
1982 - 1992	Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC)	J. J. Rawlings	Military
1993 - 2000	National Democratic Congress (NDC)	J. J. Rawlings	Civilian
2001 - 2008	New Patriotic Party (NPP)	J. A. Kufuor	Civilian
2009 -	National Democratic Congress (NDC)	J. E. A. Mills	Civilian

Source: Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA, Ghana), "Democracy Consolidation Strategy Paper Addressing Ghana's Democracy Gaps." A publication of the IEA/GPPP, August 2008; p.21

The volatile political environment was also detrimental for the development of political, democratic, as well as socioeconomic and civic institutions (Gyimah-Boadi 2004). One group that suffered during the tumultuous times was the women's movement (Manuh 1991; Prah 2004). It all started in the early 1960s when Dr. Nkrumah attempted to co-opt all women's groups in Ghana into the women's wing of his Convention People's Party (CPP) and ended up banning all forms of women's organization, except

the CPP women's wing. These policies of sidelining and limiting women's organizing abilities in Ghana also affected the political economy, social integration and the development of social capital which are vital ingredients for a vibrant civil society development and participation in public policy-making (Allah-Mensah 2005).

It is critical to recognize that Ghanaian women have historically been victims of suppression due to neopatrimonialism and patronage (Gyimah-Boadi 2004). Additionally, the patriarchal cultural practices and traditional norms that taught women to accept their position through the socialization processes and belief systems that perceive women as inferior beings also militated against women's active participation in public policymaking in the past (Manuh 1991; Opong 1973; Prah 2004). Similarly, some Ghanaian traditional customs do not permit women to partake in decision-making, especially in public. Suffice to say that the British colonial administrations greatly helped with the suppression and disintegration of Ghanaian women's political agency through their lack of recognition, and limited roles for women in the governmental system (Gadzekpo 2001; Gyimah-Boadi 2004; Prah 2004; Tsikata 1989).

In spite of these political and sociocultural challenges, Ghanaian women struggled to make significant impacts beyond the socioeconomic needs of their household and were involved in the public domain prior to, during and beyond colonization (Prah 2004). Ghanaian women, according to Tsikata (1989), were actively involved during the independence struggles and in the early days of postcolonial Ghana; they played key roles in supporting the CPP through financial contributions from their business and trading activities and grassroots movements. Manuh (1991) argues that women efficiently

organized and garnered supporters for campaigns and rallies for the political parties, including Nkrumah’s CPP, where the agenda for organizing were beyond gender equality issues (Prah 2004). These early women’s organizational potential in Ghana resulted in the formation of groups such as the Ghana Women’s League (GWL), and the Ghana Federation of Women (GFW) which played significant roles such as sit-ins, marches and campaigns in the lead up to independence in the 1950s as shown in Table 1.2 below.

Table 1.2: Women's Organizations in Ghana Before 1993

Group name	Year Formed
Convention Peoples’ Party (CPP) Women's League	1951
Ghana Federation of Women (GFW)	1953
National Council of Ghana Women (NCGW)	1960
International Federation of Women Layers (FIDA, Ghana)	1974
National Council for Women and Development (NCWD)	1975
Federation of Ghana Women (FEGAWO)	1982
31st December Women's Movement (DWM)	1982
Development & Women's Studies Program (DAWS)	1989

Source: Mansah Prah (2004) “Chasing Illusions and Realizing Visions: Reflections on Ghana’s Feminist Experience,” <http://ccs.ukzn.ac.za/files/prah.pdf>

Additionally, there were negative economic ramifications that resulted from the hostile political and governance situation that was witnessed in Ghana between the 1960s and late 1980s by the women’s movement. Ghana’s per capita income of \$262 in the late 1960s was one of the best in Sub-Saharan Africa (Sossou 2003). However, the 1970s saw sharp declines in the gross domestic product and per capita income while inflationary

tendencies became prevalent, resulting in devaluation of Ghana's Cedi against the major currencies like the Dollar. The targeting and persecution of business owners, local entrepreneurs (who were mostly women), resulted in limited opportunities for business development, low productivity, budget deficits and difficult terms of trade for the country's primary product export on the world markets (Sossou 2003). The external donor community, human rights advocates, and international financial institutions instituted measures both to deal with the unstable political environments and their impacts on governance and socioeconomic development in Ghana (Clarke and Manuh 1991; Sossou 2003).

Meanwhile, the prospect of returning to democratic governance in the early 1990s after over a decade of military dictatorship under Fighter Pilot Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings and his Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC), was seen by the women's movement and civil society generally as a new opportunity for changing the fortunes of the woman. As a result, Ghanaian women, through the National Council for Women and Development (NCWD) and other gender-based CSOs, fully participated in all the processes that ushered in the 4th Republic such as the Consultative Assembly and the Constitutional Commission that drafted the new constitution (Saunders 2002).

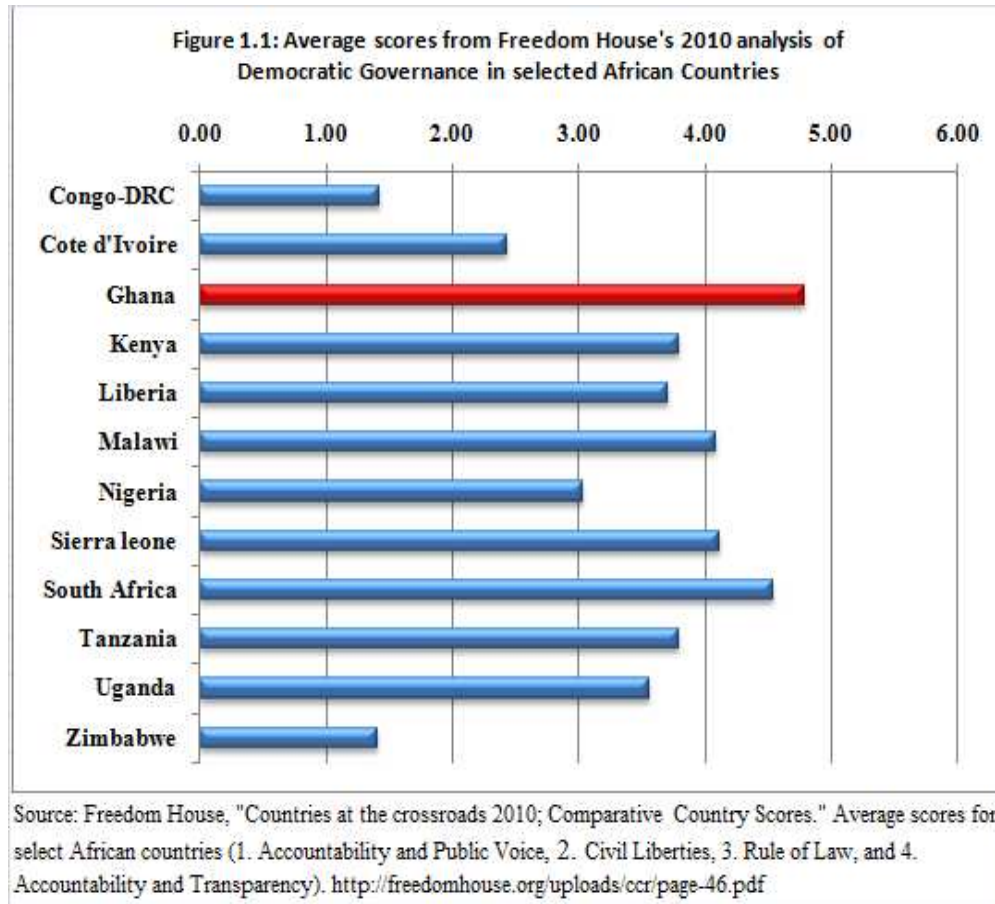
The new constitution arrived with renewed hope for the women's movement through guarantees, such as the freedoms for association, civil society organization, and the multiplicity of avenues for unrestrained participation in public policy (Abdulai 2009). The mere availability of constitutional provisions meant to promote women's rights have not been enough to remove all discriminatory sociocultural practices that militated

against women's active participation in the Ghanaian society. The women's movement in Ghana has engaged in massive organization to bring public attention to issues that affect women and children, such as violence, maternal health, property rights, employment and income discrimination (Clarke and Manuh 1991; Ninsin 1989).

The combined effects of Ghana's return to democratic governance, the freedoms guaranteed by the new constitution, and the enhanced opportunities for CSO participation have propelled Ghana to be a model for emerging democracies in the global South. As indicated in Figure 1.1, Ghana ranked first in three of four factors used by the Freedom House² in 2010 to evaluate democratic governance in 32 democracies in the global South which also included 12 African countries. Ghana's average score from the four factors (Accountability and Public Voice, Civil Liberties, Rule of Law, and Anticorruption and Transparency), 4.79 out of seven, was the highest not only among the 12 African countries but among all the 32 two countries that included Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico. Apart from Ghana, other African democracies like South Africa, Malawi, Kenya, Liberia, and Tanzania all ranked higher than democracies in other regions such as Nicaragua, Bahrain, and Nepal on the average scores used by the Freedom House to evaluate democratic governance around the world. The comparisons are important because governments in African where the public policymaking process also have opportunities for enhanced civic participation, electoral system reforms and media independence,

² Freedom House is an international advocacy organization that focuses on freedoms of the press and democratic governance around the globe. The freedom House has various programs for monitoring freedoms, corruption and civil liberties and rule of law which are considered to be key ingredients for democratic development around the world.

further deepening of democratization also evolve as has been the case with Ghana, Tanzania and Rwanda.



The foregoing shows that Ghana's democratization processes provide useful points that could be organized and highlighted more comprehensively as this study proposes to do and be used as a template to evaluate other emerging democracies. The comprehensive analysis will help to identify and appreciate the variables or factors that

account for the political and democratic evolutions taking place in much of the developing world. The focus on the activities of the women's movement as a civil society movement in Ghana is also based on how in spite of many challenges, such groups survived and became important players in the democratization process, while expanding women's representation and empowerment avenues in society.

1.6 Scope and Organization of the Study

Exact scope of the study is the period between 1993 and 2007 when the new constitution that ushered in Ghana's fourth Republic, also opened avenues for enhanced civil society participation. This was the period when the processes that culminated in the reform of domestic violence law in Ghana also took place. However, accounts of how CSOs, especially the women's movement have been involved in policymaking in Ghana since Independence in 1957 were also relied on to evaluate recent events and activities of the women's movement analyzed in this study.

The groups and individuals whose activities were analyzed belonged to the Network for Women's Rights in Ghana (NETRIGHT) which was created in 1999 as an umbrella organization for women's rights advocacy groups such as The Ark Foundation, ABANTU for Development, and several others. Other women's network organizations whose members participated in this study or whose activities were analyzed included the Women's Manifesto Coalition (WMC), Domestic Violence Coalition (DVC), the Women in Local Governance Fund (WLGf), and Women in Law and Development in Africa, Ghana (WILDAF, Ghana). The various coalitions and their affiliate women's rights

advocacy groups were made the focus of this study because their activities were deemed to have been influential in the processes that resulted in the reform of domestic violence legislation in Ghana in 2007.

This study has five chapters and is organized as follows; Chapter 2 provides a review of relevant literature on women's representation and starts with an overview of the policymaking process in Africa. Other sections of the chapter include a review of the relevant literature on representation. The chapter also traces the historical developments and changes that have taken place in civil society organization in Ghana especially the women's movement. The chapter ends with an overview of domestic violence in Ghana, and explains how CSOs, especially the women's movement, has impacted the legislative process to address the menace of domestic violence in Ghana. Chapter 3 is a discussion of the methods used for data collection and the framework for the analysis. The chapter also evaluates the suitability of the case study method used for this study.

In Chapter 4, the study applies the MS framework to analyze the activities, strategies, and events of CSOs that culminated in the passage of the Domestic Violence Law in Ghana, in 2007. The chapter offers discussions of how the three streams (problems, policy, and politics) will each provide the detailed explanatory factors to strengthen each other, as well as how their coupling occurred to bring about a policy change in Ghana in 2007. The chapter ends with an evaluation of the multiple streams framework as a suitable policy analysis and research tool in environments outside its original home, the advanced democracies. Finally, Chapter 5 reports about the study's

findings, implications for theory development, as well as for policy-making, especially in developing democracies. The chapter then presents recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews key research findings in the academic literature. The chapter starts with a section that sets the context for this study, public policy-making and analysis in developing democracies and the challenges and prospects for enhancing participation and empowerment especially of women in democratization processes. Furthermore, the research draws on relevant literature to highlight the difference between women's descriptive and substantive representation. It reviews efforts aimed at increasing women's descriptive representation or proportion in legislatures, such as quotas and electoral system reforms, in relation to strategies for increasing women's substantive representation or views and perspectives in public policymaking.

Additionally, the chapter provides context to civil society (CS) organizations in the Ghanaian sociocultural and political development process, and how evolutions in the CS movement is improving women's substantive representation in Ghana. Such contextualization is necessary because it provides a focus and structure for the study. The chapter also offers an overview of this study's focus, domestic violence generally, how it manifests in Ghana, as well as how the Ghanaian society has dealt with its menace over the years.

2.1 Public Policy-Making in an African Context

The nature of public policymaking in Africa is both context-specific and evolving (Looby 2010). The process is context-specific due to colonial influences and the multi-ethnic nature of most of the countries in Africa. The systems and forms of government in the majority of democracies in Africa still mimic, albeit with some modification, what pertains in the former colonial nations in Europe. In that sense, the former French colonies have systems that are similar to France. Additionally, the multi-ethnicity of the majority of African nations makes it difficult for any one ethnic group to dominate the policy process. In view of these events, most sovereign nations in Africa resort to the use of the language, and in most instances, the political culture of Western European nations.

Meanwhile, Looby (2010) says that policymaking is also evolving just like the majority of the democracies on the continent. Bauer (2008) states that Africa democratic development in Africa is still evolving because most of the countries are either emerging from long years of dictatorship and autocratic regimes like Egypt, or years of military interference in governance such as Ghana and Nigeria. Others too, like Rwanda and Angola, have just emerged out of years of civil wars. As a result, majority of these newly or emerging democracies in Africa are now developing institutions for democratic governance, and in other cases, existing institutions are now being strengthened to function properly. Policy analysts, development advocates, and researchers therefore need to understand the sociocultural, economic, and political environments of a particular country or region so as to appreciate the components of the policy-making process.

Notwithstanding the unique conditions, the policy process in much of the developing democracies is interdisciplinary in approach just like the rest of the developed West. African policy analysts and researchers also rely on literature from different disciplines, such as sociology, anthropology, political science, business management, and statistics to develop tools for understanding or analyzing public policies (Anangwe 1997; Looby 2010; Ndegwa 1996). The interdisciplinary approach to the study and analysis of the policy process in African systems and the evolving nature of most systems accounts for a lack of clarity or unanimity in defining and identifying a universal model for policy-making in Africa.

Since the last quarter of the twentieth century, policymaking in Africa, just like institutions of governance in the majority of the countries in the region, went through a metamorphosis as part of the new wave of democratization (Huntington 1991). The changes in approaches and tools for public policy-making and governance in most African countries also means that, now, the policy process require direct representation, empowerment and active participation, especially of hitherto marginalized members of society, such as women in public decision-making. Majority of the countries that emerged from years of dictatorships, autocratic and repressive governments reformed their governance systems and with that has arrived increased avenues for participation, especially by civil society and other interest groups in the democratization process (Ghaus-Pasha 2004; Gyimah-Boadi 2004; Paul 2000).

Meanwhile, Anangwe (1997) contends that the public policymaking process in African context, generally is a five-stage activity: (1) the policy environment, the issue

area or field where action is needed; (2) policy inputs, made up of public demands and resources; (3) conversion, or the decision-making system and the organizational network to support the decision-making; (4) policy outputs, decisions and solutions proposed to address identified problems such as new laws and legislation reforms; and (5) a feedback mechanism for generating ideas to rework the selected policy outputs.³ According to Stover and Johnston (1999), analyses of the policy process in Africa are mostly conducted with revised versions of the theoretical frameworks offered by Harold Lasswell (the stages model) and Meier (the linear model), and also happen at three levels; (a) policy making, (b) policy implementation, and (c) policy evaluation (Anangwe, 1997). At each of these three levels, a number of problems and challenges can be identified, and thus, create opportunities for policy actors and analysts to continue in their search for ways of refining policy outputs and programs to respond to the development needs of society.

Challenges and problems are not peculiar only to the African policy context. However, specific concerns have been identified with African policy making. African policy makers are still getting used to the evolving policy environment that is unfolding with democratic developments that are taking place on the continent for some time now. African policy makers are still experimenting with their policy environment in relation to the problems and challenges they are confronted. For instance, in the majority of African countries including Ghana, years of alternating military and civilian governments that finally ended in the 1990s also meant that it is going to take a while before clearly

³ Policy Processes in Africa: Theory and Practice,” by Emelyne Egglely for PDA Ghana in response to a research request from Evidence-Based Policy in Development Network in Africa. See www.pdaghana.com

defined policy approaches emerge for dealing with the development challenges faced by these countries.

However, opportunities for policy learning and adoption abound on the African continent due to the activities and programs initiated by regional and sub regional bodies, such as the African Union, to facilitate the development of governance institution. Other programs and frameworks by regional organizations in African include the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). These programs and frameworks allow African democracies to engage in collaborative infrastructure and institutional development to facilitate governance and entrench democratization on the continent.

African countries also suffer from a deficit of relevant institutions for engaging in research, documentation and analysis of issues, and even where they exist, most governments tend to marginalize inputs and contributions from research institutions and Think Tanks in the policy process (Anangwe 1997; Gyimah-Boadi 2004). Third, policy-making in African countries is mostly dominated by elites who control economic and political resources, and who are usually removed from the rest of the population, thereby making it difficult for them to appreciate the concerns of the masses. There also are implementation challenges which range between five percent and thirty percent of legislated policies and programs, as well as the politicization of policy implementation by ruling governments (Eggley 2010). Finally, other constraints on policy making in Africa include reliance on inadequate information arising from poor data collection, a lack of clear distinction between political and administrative functions, coupled with the

difficulty in mobilizing and effectively using resources to address national development challenges (Anangwe 1997; Egglely 2010; Gyimah-Boadi 2004; Looby 2010).

In spite of these problems, the return to democratic governance in most of Africa in the last 30 years has generated significant achievements, particularly in areas of empowerment and participation for civil society groups, especially gender-based advocacy groups in issues of human rights, health, and education (Abdulai 2009; Allah-Mensah 2005; Prah 2004). Prior to the spread of democratic governance that has characterized the third wave of democratization (Huntington 1991), most African countries either refined their national constitutions or created entirely new ones (Gyimah-Boadi 2004). The new constitutions tend to reflect global development trends and international standards to protect human rights, and guarantee that individuals are free and have the space to participate in governance. Rwanda, after the genocide revised her constitution, and with input from civil society groups, incorporated provisions that enabled more women to be elected into the national legislatures which currently boasts of 56.3 percent women as of January 2011 (Bauer 2008; Ghaus-Pasha 2000; Schwartz 2004).

Similarly, the consultative assembly that drafted Ghana's 4th Republican Constitution worked with representatives from diverse backgrounds including academics, lawyers and women's groups (Allah-Mensah 2005; Prah 2004). The process has thus allowed for enhanced participation and empowerment of civil society, development of institutions such as independent and plural media that are helping to entrench democracy. These institutions are working with relevant groups to highlight and bring problems,

policy issues and concerns to the attention of policymakers (Gyimah-Boadi 2004). These achievements are critical for democratization, especially the avenues for increasing the representation of hitherto marginalized groups like women. In the next section, the study reviews relevant literature on representation and opportunities for increasing women's perspectives and views in the policymaking process generally and in emerging societies.

2.2 Representation of Women

The idea of women's representation has assumed prominence and public interest in national development and public policymaking among many societies and Ghana is no exception. Reasons for this phenomenon include the proportion of women in legislatures compared with the proportion of women in the population, as well as the relentless efforts of CSOs and feminist movements to ensure equality in representation in legislatures and in public policymaking processes (Darkwah, Amponsah and Gyampoh 2006). The calls for equality in the representation of women have come on the heels of the fact that women make up about 50 percent of the population in most countries (Adams 2004). In Ghana, women make up 51.3 percent according to the latest population census in 2010.⁴ Thus, women constitute a very important demographic whose interests, concerns, and contributions ought to be front and center of public policy processes in all societies including Ghana. As indicated in Table 2.1 women consistently make up less than 20 percent of the nine parliaments since independence in 1957.

⁴ <http://www.ghanaembassy.org/index.php?page=population>

Table 2.1: Women in the Parliament of Ghana since Independence

Year	Total Seats	Total Women	Percent (%) Parliament Comprised of Women
1960	104	10	9.6
1965	104	19	18.2
1969	140	1	0.7
1979	140	5	3.5
1992	200	16	8.0
1996	200	18	9.0
2000	200	19	9.5
2004	230	25	10.9
2008	230	20	8.7

Source: 1. Ghana Statistical Service “Seats in Parliament Held by Women,” <http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/SPHW.html>, 2. Ghana Legislative Assembly/ Parliamentary Commission “Women’s Representation in the Ghana Legislature, 1954 – 2004.” 3. Ghana Democracy and Political Participation, A review by AfriMAP And the Open Society Initiative for West Africa and the Institute for Democratic Governance (p.89).

Other reasons often offered for supporting equal legislative representation for men and women, among other things, include the fact that legislatures are the law-making authorities in most societies, and that elected members are expected to be the representatives of their constituents (Celis, Childs, Kantola and Krook 2008; Mansbridge 1999). Women, like any demographic group, tend to have shared and common needs, interests, and concerns that emanate from their life experiences. These shared concerns and interests that drive women to be more concerned about social policies than men, have been confirmed empirically in Wängnerud’s (2000) study of the Swedish Parliament, *the*

Riksdag, to support the claim that women legislators better represent women's interests and perspectives.

There is also the policy diffusion argument or explanation for how women's descriptive representation occurs, which suggests that the presence of a *policy entrepreneur* - the presence of women in legislatures who represent the views of concerns of women - significantly increases the probability of policy innovation (Mintrom 1997). Political parties are constantly competing for control of the political and governmental agenda (Kittilson 2006; Lovenduski and Norris 1993; Wängnerud 2009). They thus see working to increase the descriptive representation of women first as a way to infuse new ideas for improving their strategic positions, and a boost for power and control over the governmental agenda (Kittilson 2006; Wängnerud 2009). In spite of all these, women constitute only about 19.2 percent of legislatures around the world as of March 2011.⁵ Compared to the proportion of women in national populations, this is woefully inadequate. These developments generate important questions for gender and policy research, such as how are women's interests and perspectives represented in society?

Drude Dahlerup, in a 1988 study "From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics," applied Elizabeth Moss Kanter's (1977) theory of "tokenism" to political settings and thus became the first researcher to introduce the "critical mass" concept into political science and thinking. Findings from Dahlerup's study affirmed that 30 percent is the "critical mass" point for women's legislative representation and that, whenever women make up less than 30 percent of the total legislature, they face

⁵ The current world averages for the lower Houses. Rwanda has the highest at 56.3% followed by Sweden at 45.0%. Ghana's parliament has 8.3% women. See <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>, accessed May 9, 2011.

difficulties in being accepted as legitimate participants in the particular political environment (Broughton and Zetlin 1996; Dahlerup 1988; Kanter 1977; Mansbridge 2005).

Similarly, when women constitute less than 30 percent of the total legislature, it becomes difficult for them to have a significant influence on policies, and represent women and “women’s issues” more effectively (Childs 2004; Dahlerup 1988; Grey 2002; McAllister and Studlar 1992). Feminist researchers have made the case rather that whenever women are inadequately represented, society as whole is denied the unique voice that women may bring to public decision-making process (Gilligan 1993; Tripp 1994b; Walzer 2002).

The push for increased presence of women in the policymaking processes is based on the idea that women possess distinct interests in common for which only they (women) demonstrably seem well-placed to bring attention to on their own behalf (Celis 2008). These distinct interests usually referred to as “women’s interests” include issues relating to child-bearing and health, exposure to sexual harassment and violence, unequal division of paid and unpaid labor, and exclusion from most arenas of economic and political power (Phillips 1995; Wängnerud 2009). Invariably, women’s “descriptive” representation is needed to generate “substantive” representation in issues and policy areas that are important to the advancement of women, and also for society because of the equality implications it generates (Celis 2008; Wängnerud 2009).

The idea of a “critical mass” or “descriptive representation” of women connotes the state of having at least 30 percent representation of women in national legislatures

and other public assemblies. The concept of “critical mass” has been differentiated from another equally important concept “critical acts” by scholars who contend that the most important thing for women’s “substantive representation” in politics is their “critical acts” or those of other actors such as the women’s movement and feminist groups or even male legislators (Beckwith and Cowell-Meyers 2007; Dahlerup 1988; Krook 2006; Lovenduski and Norris 2003). Proponents of the critical acts concept argue that the very lack of women in most democratic legislatures make it difficult to appreciate fully how critical masses (descriptive representation) of women lead to substantive representation (critical acts), especially of women and women’s issues (Studlar and McAllister 2002). The nature of issues that researchers have categorized as women’s issues are mostly social, economic and institutional, such as basic human and property rights, adolescent and maternal health care, violence against women and children, public health and social issues and health care for underserved women and women with disabilities.

A recent study of legislators in Honduras by Taylor-Robinson and Heath (2003) concluded that female legislators are more likely than males to place a high priority on women’s rights issues. Additionally, a 1994 study by Sue Thomas on U.S. politicians at the state level found that female legislators have broadened existing legislative agendas by increasing the attention paid to “women’s issues”. Similarly, in the Swedish Riksdag, Wängnerud (2000) also states that women’s interests tend to be primarily represented by female politicians. Similar conclusions have been registered from different countries and levels of government about the relationship between increased female participation and policy outcomes that advance the interests of women (Bratton and Haynie 1999; Conway,

Steuernagel, and Ahern 1997; Dodson 1998; Jones 1997; Norris 1996; Reingold 2000; Swers 2002; Wängnerud 2000).

There is no shortage of research on the descriptive representation of women, as well as the approaches employed to ensure increased presence of women (critical mass), in legislatures mostly as a way to bring about gender equality in legislative representation (Matland 1998; Matland and Brown 1992; Norris 1985, 1992, 1996; Reynolds 1999; Rule 1987; Wängnerud 2009). A predominant international trend that has been employed by different political systems to increase the proportion of women in legislatures and also address issues of gender equality has been the creation of institutional measures like quota laws and electoral system reforms. It is critical to evaluate these institutional measures to determine their usefulness in generating improvements in women's perspectives and interest representation in the public policy process and their outcomes.

2.2.1 Quota Laws and Women's Representation

Quota laws have been adopted by different societies to increase the presence and perspectives of women in legislatures and public policymaking processes (Celis 2008; Matland and Brown 1992; Norris 1992, 1996, 2006; Rule 1987; Walsh 2008; Wängnerud 2009). The International IDEA's Global Database of Quotas for Women estimates that as of 2005, about 181 political parties in 58 countries have instituted some form of quotas to help the proportion of women in national legislatures (Norris 2006). Quota laws have been instituted either by political parties or are enshrined in national Constitutions by

different democratic societies to help increase the visibility of women in arenas for public decision-making, as well as to address gender equality.

At least three major versions of quotas have been noted: The first consists of laws and provisions enshrined in national constitutions as is the case in Rwanda. These are known as *statutory* quotas (Dahlerup 2006; Norris 2006). Statutory quotas are usually promulgated and incorporated into the laws of the land to which all parties contesting national elections are expected to comply. Statutory quota laws have been implemented in European and Latin American democracies such as Finland, Norway, France, Argentina, Peru, and Brazil. Research on the implementation of statutory quota laws in Europe and Latin America has offered mixed results with no clear support for or against such programs (Norris 2006).

Another version of quotas is *reserved seats* policy which has been used in New Zealand, Uganda, and South Asia. The reserved seats policy allows democratic societies to reserve a certain predetermined percentage of the seats in the national or local council to be contested by women or other minorities as happens in New Zealand with the Maoris (Norris 2006). Despite the benefit of ensuring that a legislature or local council has the minimum number of women or other minorities included in the decision-making process, critics also contend that reserved seats policy have the potential to be used to sideline women in the long run (Reynolds 1999; Tinker 2004).

In addition to the statutory quotas and reserved seats, *voluntary* quota laws are mandated by political parties to increase women's presence and perspectives in public policy processes (Dahlerup 1998). Voluntary quota laws have been adopted by mostly

leftist parties in Scandinavia, Western Europe, and Latin America, as well as Communist parties in Central and Eastern Europe (Kittilson 2001; Dahlerup 2006; Norris 2006). Overall, the verdict on quota laws is that Socialist parties have been more open to the different forms of quotas as measures to increase the presence of women in public policy arenas than nonsocialist parties (Kittilson 2001; Norris 2006; Reynolds 1999; Tinker 2004; Wide 2002).

Norris (1996) describes three important factors that determine the adoption of quota laws in most democracies: (1) the political system as determined by the electoral and party systems, and legislative competition; (2) the party context determined by party ideology and party organization; and (3) the supply and demand factors in the recruitment process which is also based on social background, resources and motivation. As if the determinants described here are not enough, potential quota candidates also need to overcome the judgment of party gatekeepers and voters in order to become the people's representative. The presence of obstacles to equal participation by potential female candidates has been a major source of highly skewed national governments that are neither symbolic nor representative of their general population at least in terms of gender. The United States, heralded as a model advanced democracy, typify the issue of unequal constituent representation. As of 2010, the House of Representatives with its 10 percent African-Americans and about 18 percent female is highly unrepresentative of the general population. The Senate similarly with its single African-American member and 16 female members is far from being representative when compared to the national population

where African-Americans make up about 14 percent and women make up over 50 percent.

In Ghana where women make up about 50.5 percent of the population, in the national parliament, only 25 (11 percent) out of the 230 members are women. But neither the U.S. nor Ghana have adopted any form of quotas in the election of females into the national assemblies. Regardless, in places where quota laws have been instituted as in Mexico and Bangladesh, there are studies that show that outcomes have not been all that pleasant for potential candidates due either to the lack of the necessary conditions described by Norris (2006) or their weak implementation (Dahlerup 2006). The institution of quota laws has pushed the critical issue of representative government to the center of contemporary debates in political science because growth in societies is associated with complexities in enfranchisement and in representation (Barber 2000; Canon 1999). In earliest models of government, self-representation in the ancient city-state, gave way to the delegate system which was and continues to be highly biased against most minority groups in society, such as women in contemporary times (Canon 1999). It has therefore become necessary to reconsider the whole idea of representation by reflecting on some of the following questions: (1) What is the focus of representation?; (2) What do societies hope to achieve through representation?; and (3) Is it about rights or responsibilities, equality of opportunity or outcomes?

Among other things, the institution of quota laws of all forms works to address the last question (Barber 2000; Canon 1999; Mansbridge 1999). In spite of the mixed results from the use of quota laws and other electoral reforms to ensure improvements in

women's legislative participation, alternative approaches have proven to be better than the status quo that does not guarantee equality of opportunities for men and women.

2.2.2 Electoral Systems Reforms and Women's Representation

Essential revelations from research that support women's increased presence and perspectives in public policy, especially through reform of electoral systems suggest that women legislators do raise unique concerns and issue priorities, even if they are not able to transform entire legislative institutions (Celis 2006 2008; Dietz 2003; Lovenduski and Norris 2003; Phillips 1995; Pitkin 1967; Wängnerud 2009). According to Phillips (1995), women's interests are linked to the structure of particular societies in time and space. This characterization by Phillips generates vital questions about the extent to which an increase in women's descriptive representation affects the functioning of societies. According to Wängnerud (2009) crucial questions that emerge when issues associated with representation are considered in terms of gender include: (1) whom does elected politicians represent?; (2) What is at stake in the parliamentary process?; (3) What do we know about the interplay between legislatures and the everyday lives of citizens?; and (4) Do female representatives "matter" for women's substantive representation?

It is well documented that female representatives are more likely than males to favor or support policies that appeal to female voters (Beckwith and Cowell-Meyers 2007; Bratton and Haynie 1999; Carroll 2001; Mazur 2001; Norris 1996; O'Regan 2000; Swers 1998; Thomas 1994; Wängnerud 2005). The legislative behavior differences between male and female representatives tend to reflect the policy preferences favored by

males and females generally. Studies about state legislatures in the United States have shown that there is a gendered variation in how members are assigned to different committees (Franceschet and Piscopo 2008; Heath, Schwindt-Bayer and Taylor-Robinson 2005), as well as in debate participation (Celis 2008; Grey 2002; Tremblay 1998). There is evidence from both advanced and developing democracies that support the fact that female representatives tend to initiate or sponsor more women's interest legislation and social policy bills that are customarily favorable to women (Bratton and Haynie 1999; Franceschet and Piscopo 2008; Jones 1997; Mazur 2001; Norris 1996; O'Regan 2000; Saint-Germain 1989; Swers 2002; Taylor-Robinson and Heath 2003; Thomas 1994; Wängnerud 2005).

In the area of policy outcomes, researchers have also used worldwide evidence that supports a relationship between the number of female representatives and the responsiveness of legislatures to women's interest issues and bills and the impacts of female legislators on gender equality, political and social rights in Latin America (O'Regan 2000; Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler 2005). Other areas include the adoption and scope of maternity and childcare leave policies in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) member countries (Kittilson 2001). The empirical support for the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation of minority groups is not peculiar to women's research alone. Similar findings have been obtained for other minority groups such as African-Americans in the U.S. (Bratton and Haynie 1999), and Hispanics (Hero and Tolbert 1995). There is thus a general case to be made that whenever society permits increases in the descriptive representation of

minority or conventionally marginalized groups, the result includes increases in the number of policies and laws that are beneficial to these minority groups (Bratton and Haynie 1999).

The foregoing findings about equal representation of men and women have given support for electoral systems reforms as another way to bring about equality in representation. Electoral system reforms guarantee, among other things, that elected officials are representatives of the populations they represent (Bratton and Haynie 1999; Kittilson 2001). Electoral systems that have been identified by researchers include the *Proportional Representation* (PR), *Majoritarian*, *Mixed*, and *Plural* systems (Norris 2006; Wide 2002). It is important to note that, the four major electoral systems also have variations within their respective traditions with minor differences which distinguish them from each other. On the whole, variants within the proportional representation such as party list (where political parties place women higher on the candidate lists) has been successful in electing more women into legislatures than Majoritarian electoral systems and the other systems (Matland 1998; Norris 1985; Reynolds 1999). The success rates associated with the PR system across societies has more to do with factors such as the colonial heritage, political culture, party system, and the level of democratic development (Norris 2006).

Evaluating and comparing electoral systems based on these variables reveal mixed outcomes in the ability of the different systems to bring about increases in the presence and perspectives of women in the legislature. Widespread variations in the representation of women have also been recorded from within each of the four families of

electoral systems (IPU 1995, 2000; Reynolds and Reilly 1997; Wide 2002). The causes of intra-family variations among the major systems include among other things: levels of proportionality; the use of statutory and voluntary gender quotas; party ideologies (where leftist parties are found to be more favorable to issues of gender equality); and the type of party organization (Norris 2006; p.204).

In the meantime, in countries like Rwanda, Uganda, Nepal and Afghanistan, where women have relatively high share of seats in parliament (descriptive representation), they have yet to translate their numerical superiority in the legislatures into substantive representation or policy products that are beneficial to women and women's interests without any external aid (IDEA 2006a). Numerous empirical studies have confirmed that merely increasing the descriptive side of the equation fails to generate any significant effect in gender inequality in society (Johnson and Turnbull 1995; Monroe and Chiu 2010; Wenneras and Wold 1997). As depicted on Table 2.2, women in both developed and transition democracies continue to have token representations in legislatures and in their effort to influence public decision-making (Dahlerup 2002; Kanter 1977; Monroe and Chiu 2010).

Apart from the Nordic or Scandinavian countries where the combined regional average for both the lower and upper houses has consistently been above 30 percent, the remaining regions all have token representations for women in their legislatures. These findings, have thus led some scholars to conclude that despite the strong and consistent association, they are not enough to generate significant improvements in the representation of women (IPU 2000; Norris 2006; Wide 2002). This is in view of the fact

that multiple sites and actors are working as alternatives to and outside of the formal political system to promote women's substantive representation (Celis, 2008).

**Table 2.2: Percent (%) of Women in National Parliaments
Classified by Regions**

Regions	March, 2011	December, 2001	January, 1997
Americas	12.9	15.1	12.7
Sub-Saharan Africa	19.1	12.5	10.4
Nordic Countries	41.6	39.0	36.4
Europe Including Nordic Countries	21.5	16.0	12.6
Europe excluding Nordic Countries	20.0	14.6	11.5
Asia	18.0	15.4	13.1
Pacific	14.7	8.5	11.6
Arab States	10.7	4.3	3.3
World Average	19.2	14.0	11.7

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union. The percentages for the regions are the averages of both the Lower and Upper Houses where they exist. The data was compiled by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) based on information supplied by National parliaments. Regions are classified by descending order of the percentage of women in lower or single House, www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm

2.3 The Case for Alternative Approaches

The fact that women constitute only 19.2 percent⁶ of the members of legislatures around the world has been a topical issue that the feminist movement, academics and social advocacy groups have spent reasonable time and effort highlighting for some time now. In budding democracies like Ghana, and even developed ones like the United States and Canada where the threshold for women in the legislatures is yet to be reached, it is

⁶ IPU Secretary General, Mr. Anders B. Johnson, presenting the statistics of women in parliaments and in governments to the press in New York and in Geneva, on 29 February and 4 March 2008.

necessary to look at alternative ways other than focus on critical mass or descriptive representation mostly through the use of quota laws to improve the substantive representation of women. Alternative ways may include the activities of critical actors like civil society and male legislators to organize and collectively campaign for policies that are favorable to women, based on women's relatively low threshold for action through legislatures (Celis et al. 2008; Childs and Krook 2006). Critical actors initiate approaches to increase women's perspectives in public policy-making. They also work to increase women's empowerment generally in ways that satisfy social justice and human rights requirements for political development and democratic governance (Celis 2006, 2008; Ryan 2004).

Theoretical discussions of representation, especially of women that is limited only to formal approaches to power and responsibility in nation states according to Pitkin (1967) are no longer adequate as a result of international and domestic political transformations. Thus, the Fourth World Conference on Women (FWCW) in Beijing, China, in 1995, has been considered to be a major defining moment in women's representation and gender equality struggles because it served as a climax for decades of calls to action by feminists and other social advocacy groups (Johnson and Turnbull 1995). Alternative approaches that engender substantive representation of women may also have implications for the idea of representation generally because it can provoke accountability and responsiveness on the part of elected officials towards their constituents (Celis et al. 2008; Childs and Krook 2006).

2.3.1 Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and Gender Equality

The idea of civil society, according to Seligman (1992), is a moral and ethical vision or representation of social life. Political Philosopher John Locke (1666) posits that it is the realm of political association that is instituted among men to deal with the inconveniences and insufficiencies of the state through mutual consent and contract. CSOs thus offer the perfect freedom, the rights and privileges, and independence provided by nature for the enjoyment of humans (Seligman 1992). Postmodern conceptions and approaches to the development of CSOs especially in Africa and other developing societies have been different from their earliest developments or how they evolved in Western political thinking before the twentieth century (Ainuson and Tandoh-Offin 2009; Tandoh-Offin 2009; Tsikata 1989).

The concepts' medieval and early modern traditions of natural law speculations are known to be some of the important political and philosophical underpinnings for the revival of the idea of civil society in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Seligman 1992). In its contemporary forms, CSOs are dominated by women's groups and gender equality advocates who continue to use civil society organizations as platforms to gain recognition, empowerment, and participation in public policymaking (Tsikata 1989).

Different scholars have noted several factors as having been the genesis of civil society movements in Western and in central and eastern European political environments. These have included crisis in the social order such as that which took place in the seventeenth century and resulted in commercialization of land, labor, and capital; the growth of market economies; discoveries; and the continental revolutions that took

place in Europe and North America. Seligman (1992) argues that all these events created more questions than answers for the existing models of social order and authority and paved the way for people to begin to want to be directly involved in decision processes about the workings of their societies. According to Locke (1966), the result was a breakdown of the existing paradigm of the idea of order in society as citizens began to question authority.

The social order crisis in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries signified the arrival of the idea of the “contract” which, according to Seligman (1992), political thinkers of the *Scottish Enlightenment* such as Adam Smith, Ferguson and Hutcheson, is based on mutuality and reciprocal recognition. Thus, the combination of the available intellectual traditions and the search for new modes of social order formed the basis for a new political authority and social order. The idea of civil society is synonymous to conflict because it creates room for mutually conflicting particular interests to engage in reciprocal relations for the transformation of the state and its political system. To this end, approaches adopted by feminist researchers and advocacy groups to highlight the distinction between descriptive and substantive representation of women also intentionally prohibit society from recognizing the fact that women as a demographic group, have differences based on factors like socioeconomic, cultural, political and environmental variations (Childs and Krook 2006; CIVICUS 1997; Tripp 1999; Tsikata 1989). These approaches tend to overlook the significant role that men can and do play on behalf of women as a demographic group in society (Celis, et al. 2008).

Meanwhile, the so-called relationship between women's descriptive and substantive representation, whether in terms of the policy process or in terms of policy outcomes, has been challenged (Mansbridge 1999; Phillips 1995; Tripp 1994b, 2010; Tsikata 1989). In the general sense, there are instances where increases in the numbers of women in political office have not generated any correspondent changes in either the policy process or outcomes, especially for those policies that affect women's interests and perspectives (Grey 2002; Skjeie 1998). Thus, in the presence of various constraints arising from differences in party affiliation, institutional norms, legislative experiences, and the external political environment, electing a critical mass may not automatically generate policy gains for women (Beckwith and Cowell-Meyers 2007; Celis 2008; Childs 2004; Kathlene 1995). At best, increasing the proportion of women in legislatures, especially through quota laws, is noted to have only process-oriented but not outcome oriented results because it allows women to make early impact by proposing women-friendly legislation (Franceschet and Piscopo 2008). However, these hardly become laws as a result of several factors that can be classified as institutional or system level constraints, ideological differences and infighting among women (Wängnerud 2009).

Empirical studies to confirm how institutional and system-level constraints affect the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation have been carried out in both the United States and the United Kingdom. These studies have all shown that even senior female representatives tend to have fewer opportunities to initiate policies and bills that are gender-focused (Childs 2004; Tsikata 1989). Additionally, female legislators do not always have a common front and would rather vote against pro-female

initiatives that appeal to constituents than incur the displeasure of party leaders (Cowley and Childs 2003).

In Uganda, where political parties provide the medium for female candidates to get into elected positions, party influence can also serve as a force for breaking the common front that the women's caucus develops through party ideology. As a result of pressure from the women's movement, the Museveni government has instituted *reserved seat* quota laws to enhance the participation of women, but scholars have expressed skepticism about the intentions of the quota law as a way to win the votes of women and not necessarily to advance women's collective interests (Tripp 1994; Yoon 2004; Wide 2002). Similarly, much as legislators' gender have often been considered important indicator of their policy positions, when it comes to liberal opinions on gender-focused policies, it is party membership and for that matter ideology that holds sway (Htun and Power 2006).

The foregoing brings a vital conclusion about the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation: the extent to which having more women in legislatures is expected to affect inequalities in female-friendly policy outcomes remains disputable and varied. The ambiguities that shroud the underlying association between descriptive and substantive representation therefore highlight questions such as (1) who acts in the substantive representation of women?; and (2) what are the channels for substantive representation of women to take place?

Answers to these questions call for some attention to be paid to alternative strategies with the potential to affect or change gender inequality in society in terms of

their contribution to both the policy process and policy outcomes. Strategies such as the role of civil society and all the interest group organizations that have been variously referred to as the “third sector” or nonprofit organizations (NPOs) or civil society organizations (CSOs) are worth considering (Seligman 1992). Civil society organizations and other social advocacy groups are known to have the capacity to serve as the link between the state and its citizens and have been influential in filling the void in vital public policy fields where equal representation is necessary. The group of nonprofit, nongovernmental organizations and advocacy groups that work to bring about social justice in societies have been referred to as the “third sector” because of the prominence that such groups have assumed in public policy processes in different democracies (Bell 1976).

The third sector agencies provide avenues for women especially to participate in the public policy process outside of the electoral political bubble through civic organization, volunteering (LeBlanc 1999), and participating in various social movements to advance women’s issues and fight other social injustices (Maclachlan 2002). Participation in the third sector is thus considered positive because of the impact it has for the representation of women and their interests. However, there is yet to be a focus on the methods and strategies for developing and supporting civil society groups as a way to bring about equality in the legislative representation and public policymaking in areas that could result in the substantive representation of women.

2.3.2 The Civil Society Movement in Ghana

Participating effectively and meaningfully in order to have an impact is a process of empowerment that enhances the self-worth of individuals and groups (Allah-Mensah 2005). Civil society and interest groups have always been part of the political and sociocultural development processes in Ghana even during the struggle for independence from British colonial rule (Ainuson and Tandoh-Offin 2009; Chazan 1983). Ghanaian women's organizing abilities and associational life helped political parties like the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) to achieve strong internal cohesion, solidarity and success during the struggle for independence.

The women employed those same energies and attributes in the formation of women's groups such as the Ghana Women's League (GWL), the Federation of Ghana Women (FEGAWO) and the National Council of Ghana Women (NCGW) in the late 1960s (Manuh 1991; Tsikata 1989). However, Nkrumah's one party ideology in the 1960s followed by years of military interruptions in government stifled civil society development and participation in the democratic process. Between 1966 and 1992, there were five military governments that ruled for a total of 22 years and two civilian governments from 1969 to 1972 and 1979 to 1981. Thus, the first thirty years of post-independent Ghana had limited role for civil society involvement in governance.

Since the inception of Ghana's current democratic dispensation in 1992, there has been extraordinary impetus for civil society activities and a reinvigoration of previously dormant groups that seek to represent issues that span across economic, social and political interests. These groups have taken advantage of the freedom of association

guaranteed under the democratic consolidation process to embark on record levels of organization with coordinated efforts aimed at pushing their favored projects through the policy system (Ainuson and Tandoh-Offin 2009).

In 1992, the adoption of a new Constitution through a referendum and subsequent general elections set Ghana on the path to its fourth attempt at democratic development. That process has brought with it a plurality of associational life by way of enhanced opportunity for civil society organization and participation in public policymaking, freedoms of association and of the press (Reverter-Banon 2003). The interest groups and their coalitions, especially the gender-based groups, were instrumental in pushing for issues of women's equality and empowerment to be highlighted by the leading political parties during their campaigning activities for the 2000, 2004, and 2008 election cycles. These efforts have culminated in significant accomplishments for women in Ghanaian society and boosted gender equality in public policy processes (Anyidoho 2009).

Notable groups and institutions include the National Council on Women and Development (NCWD), African Women Lawyers Association (AWLA), International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA International), and the Federation of African Women Entrepreneurs (FAWE). Other groups include the Institute of Local Government Studies (ILGS), The Christian Council of Ghana and other development and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Women's interest advocacy has seen a lot of success in the last twenty years. The areas where the women's interest groups and their coalitions have made significant impacts in the public policy process include property

and inheritance rights, domestic violence law, and women's equality (Allah-Mensah 2005; Anyidoho 2009; Prah 2004).

Globally, analysts have considered the fourth United Nations international women's meeting in Beijing in 1995 to be the most effective platform in recent years that have helped to propel women's empowerment into prominence in public policy discussions. The meeting added to the call by local and international advocacy groups, civil society generally, and feminists groups for increased opportunities for women to participate in public policy processes. The impact of the Beijing conference has also been felt in the Ghanaian society just like in the rest of the world where governments have committed to fighting violence against women and create laws that address equal rights and opportunities for women (Gyimah-Boadi 2004; Tripp 2001). Other researchers like Manuh (1991) have argued that the long periods of military rule that were inimical to the women's participation in government, also provided opportunities for elite women from the Ghanaian society to learn the ways of political advocacy for empowerment and participation from their international counterparts.

Meanwhile, other factors listed for the enhanced women's role and participation in the public sphere in Ghana include the return to multi-party constitutional governance in 1992 and the guaranteed rights under the fourth republican constitution for freedom of association and expression (Allah-Mensah 2005). The meaning of public participation especially for women in Ghana has evolved over the years. In the 1950s and 1960s, women's participation only consisted of party membership, voting, voluntary associations and protest movements. However, Verba and Nie (1972) state that, since the

1970s, participation has had a different meaning and tends to focus on those activities that directly or indirectly determine the composition of government, and the kinds of policy choices made by governments. As a result, participation now connotes a transformation process that empowers the masses to be able to conduct their own analyses of events as part of a representative democracy (Allah-Mensah 2005).

To this end, Meintjes (1995) says the new meanings also call for increased access to property, educational institutions and opportunities for women to be active and functioning participants in development decision-making processes. Thus, women's empowerment encompasses gaining a voice, having mobility, gaining control over power structures, establishing a public presence and being an essential part of the power structure and power relations (UNDP 1997). The presence of these opportunities in a society moves the discussions beyond women's participation in decision-making into making individuals aware of how women's interests relate to those of other members in society and how to arrive at collective decisions that are favorable to all (Rowland 1997).

Since returning to democratic governance in 1992, civil society groups in Ghana have embarked on collaborative organization that is unparalleled in the history of the nation to push for the advancement of women and their interests in the public policy process. It is pertinent to note that by their organizational processes and the methods adopted to influence public policy in Ghana in recent years, gender-based interest groups and their coalitions tend to have open membership and do not serve the interests of any particular political ideology, ethnic or regional group. The groups work to bring the

attention of the public to issues, interests, and values that affect women and minorities generally (Bratton, 1989).

The programs and policies pursued by gender-based civil society groups in Ghana cut across social policy, human rights protection, social interests and citizen empowerment. These groups can be considered therefore, as multipurpose organizations (Darkwa, et al. 2006). Additionally, the range of issues that the women's groups tend to focus on leads one to conclude that gender-based CSOs in Ghana are more amorphous and flexible in their organizational set-up (Ainuson and Tandoh-Offin 2009). In 2007, the Parliament of Ghana concluded its work on landmark legislation, the Domestic Violence Act (DV Act), ACT 732. The Act provides protection for spouses (especially women), partners, children, other family members and minorities in the Ghanaian society who hitherto, have suffered various forms of abuse from members of their family and other individuals. Debates for that bill took place mostly on the floor of the House of Parliament and at various House committee and subcommittee levels.

The build-up to the passage of the DV Act highlighted a phenomenon that may have been around but as Kingdon (1984) suggests, became an agenda whose time arrived with the DV Act. The passage of the DV Bill into law in 2007 is one example of how civil society organizations are actively participating in public policy in Ghana. This point will be developed and explained later under the methodology section. The DV law, in the space of John Kingdon's multiple streams (MS) framework, is a policy outcome achieved due to the *coupling* of the three streams – the problem, the policy and the political

streams - at a time when, according to Kingdon, the national mood made such a policy an agenda whose time has come.

2.4 Domestic Violence in Ghana

Domestic violence or intimate partner violence (IPV) is globally accepted to be one of the most serious crimes against humanity. It is the past or present physical and sexual violence between former or current intimate partners, adult household members, or adult children and a parent (Snugg, Thompson, Thompson, Maiuro and Rivara 1999). Abused persons and perpetrators could be of either sex, and couples could be heterosexual or homosexual. In as much as IPV is gender-neutral, the general consensus is that women tend to be more likely than men to be victims and more likely to suffer physical injuries and psychological abuse as a result of domestic violence (Rodriguez, Bauer, McLoughlin and Grumbach 1999).

Meanwhile, the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women whose operational definition is used in this study interprets the concept to include the use of physical force by one person against another individual, a group, or a community in ways that may result in physical, sexual or psychological injuries.⁷ In their effort to highlight the different dimensions of violence against women in Ghana, Coker-Appiah and Cusack (1999) identify four major types or forms of domestic violence that take place in Ghana: physical violence, financial oppression, psychological violence, and sexual violence. The definitions of domestic violence provided here have a lot in

⁷ <http://www.unicef.org/newsline/00pr45.htm>. Accessed on December 2, 2010

common: they seem to suggest, domestic violence is violence between adult intimate partners where, ‘intimate partners’ is used in a much broader sense to cover people who are dating or have dated in the past (Newton 2001). Additionally, the meaning of the word ‘adult’ in the definition has been interpreted broadly to include the following: husbands, wives, ex-husbands, ex-wives, partners, ex-partners, brothers, sisters, mothers, fathers, children, and people who have lived together (which could include cousins, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, and caregivers).

Furthermore, the definitions also emphasize the acts that take place such as emotional abuse, physical abuse or sexual abuse between individuals who are or have been in an intimate or family relationship. The inclusion of ‘family relationships’ in the definition broadens the scope to incorporate the more recent and dynamic forms that domestic violence has assumed in society. Adult family members who may not be in any “intimate” relationship such as brothers, sisters, cousins, brothers’- and sisters’ in-law, mothers- and fathers-in-law, for instance, could become targets or perpetrators of domestic violence.

In most societies including Ghana, the occurrence of domestic violence was treated as private issues that should be resolved by families. In Ghana, prior to the passage of the Domestic Violence Law (Act 732), in 2007, the most important regulation to fight crime, the Criminal Code of 1960 (Act 29) had only a silent provision to deal with perpetrators of acts of violence against spouses and family members. In fact, Section 42g of the Criminal Code accepts the use of force in marriage on the basis of the

supposed consent given upon marriage, and thus, failed to recognize violence of all forms that occurred in a marriage, except murder, as criminal acts (Manuh 2007a).

Additionally, in the Ghanaian society, a majority of marriages and partnerships are contracted under systems of customary laws, but these laws fall short of acknowledging equality between men and women, in spite of the existence of many similarities between the genders in society. Thanks to the declaration by the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Ghana, like many other countries who are signatories to the UN Declaration on Human Rights now has some legislation in place to deal with incidence of domestic violence. The causes, incidence and effects of domestic violence in Ghana are not very different from the rest of the global community. In most cases, the perpetrators tend to be men who are in positions of trust, intimacy and power, whether social, economic or professional, such as husbands, fathers, and close relatives, as well as employers and politicians (Coker-Appiah and Cusack 1999; Newton 2001; Snugg et al. 1999). Besides, victims of various abuses usually failed to report their ordeal for reasons such as the fear of reprisal, desire to protect the perpetrator, or the need for privacy and fear of stigmatization (Felson, Messner, Hoskin, and Deane 2002).

Ideas for Ghana's domestic violence legislation evolved in 1998 with the creation of Women and Juvenile Unit (WAJU, now renamed the Domestic Violence Victim Support Unit, DOVVSU) by the Ghana Police Service. DOVVSU was created specifically to deal with issues of violence, and to develop documentation for all human rights abuses against women and children. The case has been made that efforts to deal

with the incidence of violence against women in Ghana was given a much needed boost by the Fourth World Conference of Women in Beijing in 1995 (Bowman 2003).

Women activists in African countries including Ghana started to focus attention on documenting incidence of domestic violence and used the data to engage in lobbying for the passage of domestic violence legislation (Agyei 2000; Bowman 2003). To this end, Coker-Appiah and Cusack (1999) report that, a 1998 Ghana National Study on the incidence and responses to violence against women commissioned by the Gender Studies and Human Rights Documentation Center, a local NGO, found that 33 percent of women had been either beaten, slapped or physically abused by a current or recent partner. Additionally, the 1998 study which surveyed 2,069 women and girls in Ghana also found that 67 percent of women who had experienced domestic violence suffered injuries with 20 percent of the injuries being as severe as open wounds, broken bones and broken teeth.

The same study also found that about 40 percent women had been threatened by a male partner, with about 13 percent being deprived of their earnings. Even though, there is a general consensus among domestic violence advocacy community that the incidence rate for domestic abuse is usually higher than is mostly reported, findings from the 1998 Ghana study confirmed that only about 11 percent of the women who have suffered violence reported to the police. Ghana's domestic violence legislation was drafted in 2002 as a collaborative effort between a coalition of civil society organizations and the office of the Attorney General to provide a comprehensive and operative legal framework for addressing domestic violence in Ghana. The motivation for the bill, in addition to the

advocacy efforts of the women's movement in Ghana was the serial killings of women in Ghana that shocked the country in 2000. Thus, the data documentation process that began with the establishment of the WAJU and the media plurality that emerged in the mid-1990s provided strong bases for advocacy and lobbying to get the support of the citizens and public officials to recognize domestic violence as a problem in the Ghanaian society.

The promulgation of the domestic violence law in Ghana is considered to be a major accomplishment and indication of the emerging critical role of civil society that has characterized Huntington's (1991) "third wave" democratization, especially in the developing world. The 2007 law provides broad redress for cases of domestic violence, sanctions on perpetrators and protective remedies for victims. It is also meant to show Ghana's compliance and commitment to improving its legal obligations under international human rights standards. The law contains provisions that incriminate various acts of violence – physical, sexual (within or outside of marriage, and between a wide variety of individuals in a domestic relationship including family and non-family members such as house-helpers and people who do not physically live together, economic and psychological abuse, intimidation and harassment. It makes provision for protection orders, psychological and rehabilitative services for victims or perpetrators, and processes for promotion of reconciliation.⁸

The passage of the domestic violence law has been a significant accomplishment for both civil society and Ghana's human rights standing among the international community. However, the law has yet to achieve most of the objectives that underpin its

⁸ <http://www.pathwaysofempowerment.org/GhanaDV.pdf> Accessed on December 2, 2010

existence due to challenges arising from institutional, cultural, and socioeconomic factors that explain the incidence of acts of violence against women in the Ghanaian society. The socioeconomic and cultural challenges relates to conceptions and understandings of power relations and social structure in Ghanaian society. In most households in Ghana, men are the “bread winners,” and that connotes some influence for the men while making the women dependent and are eternally expected to show deference. Quarm (2009) argues that dependence on the other partner has mostly been responsible for the development of abusive relationships in Ghanaian society and its perpetuation where younger children have been witnesses of domestic abuse arising from men’s perceived power and women’s expected deference.

Meanwhile, there is no doubt that certain traditional norms and cultural institutions may have contributed to the incidence of domestic violence in Ghana. Society’s perpetual disregard for the negative impacts of gender inequality, polygamy and unequal access to resources are some of the sociocultural and traditional norms that operate against victims’ ability to seek redress when they suffer any form of violence or abuse. The traditional or customary practice of marriage in Ghana asks the man to pay huge sums of money as bride prize on the women (Kuenyehia and Offei-Aboagye 1998). The implications of these customs and traditional norms have been misunderstood by the men as paying the purchase price to ‘own’ and as such, could treat or mistreat the women. Such mistreatment of women was also recognized under the Criminal Code of 1960 (Act 29) as the man’s right to ‘discipline’ a wayward wife and children.

Changes in institutional, cultural practices and traditional norms usually occur at an incremental pace (Helmske and Levitsky 2004; Lauth 2000; North 1990; Pollack 2005). Thus, even after the passage of the domestic violence law, there still exist vestiges of violence against women in the Ghanaian society for which civil society and the domestic violence coalition are still exploring ways to and organizing resources to see to the full implementation of the law. The task ahead may seem impossible given the enormity of the hurdles that need to be cleared with the implementation of the law as it exists.

However, the organizational efforts that were marshaled to get domestic violence legislation developed and passed into law prove that the civil society movement, given the needed supports, could be effective and important participants in agenda-setting. Additionally, CSOs also play an important part in the other stages of the policy process such as policy implementation and policy evaluation. This study, therefore, employs Kingdon's *multiple streams* framework, which will be explained in the next chapter, to analyze the activities, strategies and resources of the gender-based civil society movement in Ghana to make a case for strengthening of the civil society organizations to provide avenues for women's substantive representation.

2.5 Chapter Summary

The literature reviewed in this chapter confirmed that differences exist between women's descriptive and substantive representation, and that it is substantive representation which is generally accepted as accounting for gender equality in the public

policy-making process. Even though, societies have responded to calls from advocates of equality in representation such as John Stuart Mill, and have adopted programs like quota laws, electoral system reforms to increase the size of women in legislatures – descriptive representation. Meanwhile, there are still some democratic societies without any form of quota law or electoral reform law to increase women’s descriptive representation. Among the societies with some form of regulation to increase women’s descriptive representation, their effects on policy outcomes that are favorable to women and children, in the absence of any outside support, at best has been mixed (Broughton and Zetlin 1996; Childs 2004; Grey 2006; Kathlene 1994; Lovenduski and Norris 2003; Thomas 1994). It is not out of place, therefore, for this study to seek alternative ways to increase the representation of women in a society that is meaningful because of how it impacts both the process and the outcomes of public policies. The focus of this study, therefore, is on the civil society movement.

This study identifies and evaluates variables researchers have used to assess the effectiveness of civil society in the democratic development processes of both advanced and developing nations. These variables include the activities, roles, functional capacity, organizational and definitional features, and policy outcomes (Orvis 2001; Uphoff 2004). A noteworthy conclusion is that, through self-help efforts, civil society organizations build social capital capacity, and create channels for citizens to understand, participate and influence public policy processes. In Ghana, the civil society movement has been effective in its impacts on human rights and social policy formulation in recent years (Anyidoho 2009; Darkwah, et al. 2006). These efforts are seen as complementary to the

official efforts of the state to ensure equality in the representation of all groups (Darkwah, et al. 2006; Hyden 1997).

In discussing the suitability of CSOs as an alternative to existing approaches for increasing women's substantive representation in the public policy process such as quotas and electoral system reforms, the question of whether CSOs have any effects at all in the democratization process is paramount. It is in light of this that this study seeks to find out the kinds of opportunities the new wave of democratization dubbed the "third wave" by Samuel Huntington (1992) has generated for organizational forms that operate independently and outside of the formal political system. In light of the recent Arab Spring, the study also identifies and evaluates the complementary role of the civil society movement to the public policymaking process. Finally, the study seeks to discover that in the short run, society can adopt, recognize, and support CSOs to become a viable means for addressing gender imbalance in policymaking while efforts are made to increase the descriptive representation of women in Ghana, in the long run.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

This study uses the case study methodology to apply a revision of the *multiple streams* (MS) framework to explain the activities, strategies and resources employed by the women's movement, their coalition of civil society groups that contributed to the passage of Ghana's Domestic Violence Law in 2007. Findings from this study were used to make policy recommendations for civil society organizations (CSOs) to be recognized and supported as an alternative strategy to bring about substantive representation of women in Ghana. Another objective of the study is to use the findings to contribute to the broader theory on the critical role of civil society organizations in the representation of women's interest and perspectives in democratic developments.

Applying Kingdon's framework outside its original environment of advanced democracies requires a qualitative approach to answer the research question of whether a comprehensive view of the activities of CSOs is necessary for increasing women's substantive representation. The approach is also meant to create a common lens through which the different accounts of the activities, strategies and outcomes of the gender-based civil society organization in Ghana can be understood comprehensively. The use of the framework is also to generate conclusions about the theoretical significance of this study. This chapter describes and evaluates the methodology of this study, case study, in a qualitative, mixed-method format. This involves undertaking key informant interviews as a validity check on the information gleaned from archival documents and journal reports.

The section also explains the type of data, sources, and the data collection methods, as well as the validity concerns that are relevant to this research. The chapter ends with a review of the analytical plan and a discussion of the study's limitations.

3.1 Data Sources and Data Collection Method

This study uses secondary data compiled from archival documents, reports, journal articles, and literature that descriptively characterize the activities, strategies, resources, and outcomes of the CSO movement in Ghana that culminated in the passage of the Domestic Violence Law, in 2007. Yin (2003) contends that, analysis of archival information and reports offer important historical perspective on developments in a system. Despite the possibility of biases and inaccurate reporting of events, archival information sources may provide useful timelines, vivid description of outcomes and decisions, and could serve as the basis for designing instruments in search of additional information through interviews and surveys (Chaiklin 2000; Yin 2003).

Information from different sources was analyzed with the *multiple streams* framework to explain how the three streams (problems, policy, and politics) were coupled in Ghana's Domestic Violence Law in 2007. The aim is to investigate institutional support provided by national governments for the development of civil society groups because of the potential that they have in bringing needed attention to issues of equality, empowerment and women's substantive representation in the policy process. Key informant interviews were conducted with individuals and representatives of some civil

society organizations and gender-based groups, as well as researchers who are familiar with the activities of the women's movement in particular and CSOs generally.

In this study, data (literature and information) from the various sources about gender-based CSOs in Ghana are used to identify the context of the three streams - *problem, policy and politics* – and the key factors and assumptions on which the streams hold. The *problem* streams were explored by looking for indicators, focusing events, feedback and images with which the Domestic Violence Coalition (DVC) was able to focus the national attention, as well as those of policy decision-makers. The study explored the *policy* stream by highlighting activities, participation and the nature of support systems with which civil society groups such as the DVC were able to gain access, build capacity to bring attention to the issue of women's representation in public policymaking processes. For the *politics* stream, the study focuses on the national events and political activities that have connotations for public opinion development in favor of the positions of the DVC.

3.2 Case Study Method

The study analyzes, in a case study, the activities, strategies, and outcomes, of the gender-based CSOs that resulted in the passage of Ghana's Domestic Violence Law, in 2007. In addition to making a case for CSOs to be recognized and supported to provide more avenues for representing the perspectives of women, the purpose is also to evaluate the applicability of *multiple streams* framework in different policy settings - representation of women, as well as in an emerging democratic society. Information

about the women's movement as a civil society organization and its impact on the democratization processes in Ghana has been captured and reported by different researchers from communications, sociology, economics, anthropology and political science. The availability of these different sources of information is important for this study because they allow for the activities, strategies, resources and outcomes of the CSOs and the Domestic Violence Coalition to be analyzed holistically with the aid of the MS framework. The importance of the framework to this study, according to Zahariadis' (1998), is that it "assumes a certain big picture and inductively attempts to discover the ways collective choice would make sense if individuals or groups behaved in certain ways within specific structural and historic parameters" (p.440).

It is not uncommon for scholars who engage in policy analysis research to undertake statistical analysis of datasets on behavior surveys that provide information about the behavior and attitudes of respondents toward political developments. In his study of the political culture in Botswana, Parson (1977) surveyed 1,060 households in rural Botswana to get information about: 1) the knowledge of the actors in, and the processes and activities, of the political system; 2) the participation in voting; and 3) the evaluation of the services and policies of the government. It is important to recognize that survey research as a methodology has limitations in its applicability. The degree to which citizens are knowledgeable about the political system is a key determinant of their political behavior. However, the same cannot be a good indicator of their real behavior in actuality because of the gap between peoples' beliefs and actions, as a result of environmental influences or rational self interest behavior.

Compared to a survey, a case study or qualitative research allows researchers to portray a detailed picture of the object of study by becoming involved in the genuine experiences of the participants (Creswell 1998). Qualitative research methods such as a case study enable researchers to bring comprehensive understanding of phenomena to society by offering answers for both the whys and how of situations. Qualitative research allows scholars to gather comprehensive and detailed information from multiple sources to understand events that survey data may not be able to explain. The availability of detailed but fragmented information about the activities and the evolutions in CSO and the women's movement in Ghana over the years therefore, makes the case study method ideal for this study. Case studies allow for an in-depth analysis of a single issue from multiple perspectives in what Chaiklin (2000) refers to as "triangulating the data." A case study, according to Robson (1993), is "a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence" (p.5).

Michael Patton (2002) contends that a holistic approach to research as permitted by the case study method allows researchers to understand the political and social implications of events or programs in order to pay the necessary attention to nuances, context and idiosyncrasies. The study looks at evolutions in the organization of the broad civil society organization and women's movement in particular in relation to Ghana's efforts towards democratization. The activities, strategies, resources, and outcomes, of the gender-based CSOs in Ghana, and their coalitions, the Domestic Violence Coalition (DVC), that culminated in the passage of the Domestic Violence Law in 2007 constitutes

the “case.” Information about the processes, activities, strategies and results of CSOs, especially those that resulted in the domestic violence law has been reported in journal articles by researchers and documented in reports prepared by think tanks and advocacy groups. Access to these sources of information was obtained through literature search, published reports, and official requests for information from media houses and advocacy groups in Ghana. Thus, using the case study method, this study explores how society can recognize and support civil society organizations especially the gender-based groups as important players that provide substantive representation for women in the policy process in Ghana.

This research endeavor, though a single-case study, relies on archival documents, reports, journal articles, and key informant interviews with individuals and representatives of agencies who are familiar with the issues involved, to present a comprehensive picture of how CSOs are impacting Ghana’s democratization process. The use of multiple sources of information as permitted by the case study method through data triangulation, guarantees that variations in views, beliefs, institution, and events are fully recognized and described in ways that improve understanding holistically. The case study method, according to Carol Weiss (1998), provides opportunities for researchers to organize data in ways that keep the focus on the *totality* by considering interrelationships among people, institutions, events, and beliefs.

3.2.1 Case Study Selection

The decision to focus on gender-based civil society groups in Ghana, for this study was informed by the depth of information available on the development and struggles of CSOs to bring attention to representation of women as an important advocacy issue. The unique characteristics of the gender-based CSOs in Ghana such as their avowed advocacy to ensure women's substantive representation and strategies with which they embark on their organization to take advantage of opportunities offered by Ghana's return to democratic governance in the early 1990s make the CSOs a critical case to study. Additionally, the strategies, activities, and outcomes of CSOs and their coalitions as contained in various research reports, and documents provide a readily available data source for applying John Kingdon's *multiple streams* framework to aid an understanding of the civil society movement from a holistic point of view.

3.2.2 Selecting Key Informants for Interview

Key informant interview involve a researcher "attempting to capture some segment of an elusive reality which would be true to the world of the observed as seen by a particular perspective of the observer" (Vidich, Bensman and Stein 1964: p.ix as quoted in Bridger, 1988: p.16). Key informant interviews involve the identifying different individuals who are knowledgeable about the topic of interest and asking them questions about their experiences working on issues related to the topic (Sherry 1999). The method allows for people with more than average knowledge to be interviewed (consulted) to provide structure for understanding how a system like the CSOs in Ghana works.

The key informant approach to case study information gathering is a quick and a less expensive approach in terms of the construction and administration of questions. Additionally, the contacts made through the information gathering process also provide an insider's perspective and legitimacy to the study. Notwithstanding the above, information obtained is more likely to be subjective, and suffer biases from respondents' features such as their age, education, income and social class. The number of informants contacted is usually too small to generalize findings to the total population. However, the method works well in combination with other methods of assessment (Carter and Beaulieu 1992). Hence, this study uses a mixed method approach by combining archival data, documents and journal reports with key informant interviews to minimize the shortcomings and difficulties associated with each data source.

The key informants who participated in this study were selected through nonprobability *purposive* sampling processes. These included a combination of expert and snowball sampling methods. Purposive sampling is where a researcher with a purpose and predefined groups in mind goes out and selects a sample for the study from those groups because they possess certain specific qualities that researchers deem relevant to their studies. Purposive sampling makes it easier for researchers to reach their targeted sample much faster, especially in situations where the issue of proportionality is not of significant importance as in a mixed-method mode of qualitative studies like the current endeavor.

In this study, the expert sampling process, for instance, allowed for the views and concerns of persons, who have specific expertise in the area of civil society organization

and gender rights advocacy in Ghana, to be identified and contacted for their views. Having identified and made the initial contacts with the expert participants, they were asked also to nominate, through a snowball sampling, individuals and groups who have been part of the various women's rights efforts, such as the Domestic Violence Coalition (DVC) and the Women's Manifesto Coalition (WMC). Key informants were selected based on their official position in their organization or agency and their work responsibilities. Thus, the key informant interview participants consisted of lawyers, human rights advocates, development practitioners, and program managers. Participants also included social science and civil society researchers in academia who are affiliated with various umbrella groups championing women's rights and gender equality in Ghana.

In all, forty-six (46) individuals and representatives from eighteen (18) gender-based advocacy groups which belonged to the umbrella agency Network for Women's Rights in Ghana (NETRIGHT), and other similar networks and coalitions, were identified and contacted but only thirty-one (31) actually participated in the key informant interviews representing a response rate of 67.4 percent. Table 3.1 shows the number of respondents from each of the 18 gender-based groups that participated in the study. The interviews were conducted through three recording methods: on telephone (using digital voice-recorders), by electronic mailing (email), and also taking written notes. Stake (1995) argues that case study researchers need to use written notes even where interviews are audiotaped to reduce the time spent in transcribing the recordings. It also serves as a validity check on the accuracy of recorded transcripts. Respondents were thus not provided with transcripts.

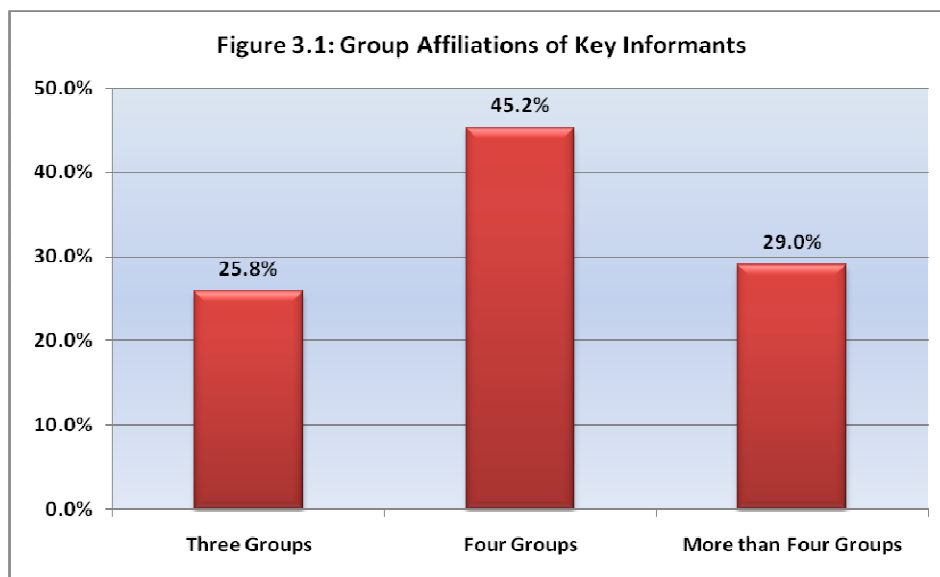
Table 3.1: List of women's CSOs whose members participated in the key informant interviews

Civil Society Organizations	Number of Participants
ABANTU for Development	2
Ark Foundation	2
Domestic Violence Coalition (DVC)	2
Federation of Women Entrepreneurs (FAWE)	1
FIDA Ghana	2
Gender Rights and Documentation Center (GRDC)	1
Ghana Anti-corruption Coalition (GAC)	1
Gender Research and Advocacy Project (GRAP)	3
Ghana (GVSSN)	2
Integrated Social Development Center (ISODEC)	1
Network of Women's rights in Ghana (NETRIGHT)	3
Third World Network (TWN)	2
West African Civil Society Institute (WACSI)	2
Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF)	1
Women Initiative for Self Empowerment (WISE)	2
Women in Local Governance Fund (WLGf)	1
Women's Manifesto Coalition (WMC)	1
Women, Media and Change (WOMEC)	2
TOTAL	31

Source: Author (Based on key informant interviews)

Interview arrangements were made after all potential participants were identified in the processes described above, and the semi-structured interview protocol (Appendix A), and letters of consent to introduce the research were sent to interview participants after they were approved by Clemson University Institutional Review Board. Each of the fifteen (15) telephone interviews lasted on an average time of about 21 (between 14 and 29) minutes, and were completed over a 50-day period during the months of March and

April, 2011. Each of the 31 participants indicated that they belonged to at least three gender-based advocacy organizations. As shown in Figure 4.1, a quarter (25.8 percent) of the respondents belonged to three umbrella organizations, about half (45.2 percent) belonged to four groups, while close to a third (29 percent) said they were members of at least four network groups.



Source: Author (Based on key informant interviews)

Information obtained from the key informant interviews corroborates, legitimizes, and served as a validity check on the archival data that constitute the main source of data for analyzing the activities, strategies, and attempts by gender-based CSOs to enhance the representation of women in Ghana's democratic process. The open-ended questions allowed the respondents space to elaborate on the key issues in the questions such those that asked about the goals of the advocacy groups and gender-based CSOs in Ghana. The goal was to learn about the issues that affect women and their engagement in public

policy in Ghana and for which, the groups work to bring attention. Additionally, the questions also focused on whether civil society groups had any effects on the democratic process in the area of women's substantive representation in Ghana. Furthermore, the interviews helped to obtain information about obstacles faced, relationships and support systems that are available to the gender-based CSOs in their effort to improve the representation of women's perspectives in public policy in Ghana.

3.2.3 Reliability and Validity

Validity in research generally concerns the extent to which a report or information is accurate or truthful, and in qualitative research, validity issues surround the extent to which a study's findings are adjudged to have been interpreted accurately. The two forms of validity are internal which relates to how research findings reflect on the events taking place in reality, and external which connotes the establishment of the basis for generalizing a study's findings. All forms of research (quantitative and qualitative) generate both internal and external validity, but the way quantitative researchers address validity concerns are different from how qualitative researchers deal with the effects. Since this study is a qualitative research endeavor, it is important to explain how validity and reliability concerns were addressed.

Qualitative researchers refute any claims about validity and reliability in quantitative research that seem to focus mainly on only the "truth" or "falsity" of an observation by arguing for different standards for evaluating the quality of studies. The four alternative criteria suggested by Guba and Lincoln for evaluating reliability and

validity of qualitative research enjoy support among researchers. These are credibility instead of internal validity, transferability for external validity, and reliability and objectivity in quantitative research are replaced by dependability and confirmability in qualitative research (Guba and Lincoln 1994).

The foregoing shows that issues of reliability and validity in qualitative research constitute important ingredients in determining the acceptability of these studies and their findings. This study took notice, and instituted measures to overcome human limitations and any possibility of bias that could be associated with the information gathering, interpretation and analysis processes. The goal was to increase the credibility and confidence in the findings, and make it generalizable. The interview responses were verified against other information sources such as archival documents. This was meant to do away with any biased elements in the responses (Heinrich 2005). Furthermore, data triangulation, which is the process of using more than one source of information, as suggested by Merriam (1998), was invoked to do away with any form of data distortion to enhance the credibility and dependability of the study's findings. In addition to data triangulation, member checks, which is the process where the researcher cross-checks the content and interpretations of information from its sources, was also incorporated into the research design for purposes of increasing the credibility of the conclusions of this study. Thus, the archival documents from research information, journal articles, and newspaper reports were useful in verifying information such the nature of support systems available to gender-based CSOs in Ghana such as media institutions and traditional authorities as were listed by most of the interview respondents.

Meanwhile, questions about the generalizability or transferability (Guba and Lincoln 1994) in qualitative research are very much perceived in terms of whether the findings and conclusions of a study could be applied to other similar situations and yield similar results. The focus of this study is how gender-based civil society organizations through their activities, resources and strategies are able to represent women in public policymaking in Ghana. In most developing countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (Uganda, Rwanda, Botswana, and Malawi), and South Asia (like Bangladesh, and Nepal), democratic developments have begun to replace decades of instability, and civil society groups continue to play vital intermediary role in the representation of minority groups. Additionally, in these societies (with the exception of Rwanda), women continue to have “token” representation in national and local legislatures. Even where they have the numbers, there are other barriers, such as loyalty to party ideology over constituent interests. These common characteristics shared by most of the developing world, tends to create opportunities for the findings and conclusions from this study to be applicable also in similar situations, and thus be used as a template to undertake similar studies in those environments (Yin 2003).

3.3 Analytical Framework

This section discusses the theory that was revised and applied in this study; John Kingdon’s *multiple streams* framework, and places it in the context as a tool for analyzing public policy-making in a developing democracy, specifically, the agenda-setting stage which is the focus of this study. The objective is to set the background and a

frame for comprehensively analyzing the different reportage of the activities, strategies, and outcomes of the gender-based CSOs in Ghana that culminated in the passage of the Domestic Violence law in 2007. The findings are used to support the key argument of this study that civil society organizations, especially the women's movement, ought to be given expanded roles to offer substantive representation for women, enhance the views, interests and perspectives of women in the public policy-making processes.

Theories provide the frame and direction for research, and translate logical statements and propositions that explain relationships between objects (Berg 2007). Additionally, theories and models grounded in frameworks are a useful approach for explaining the policymaking process because, among other things, frameworks allow researchers and analysts to identify and describe the key variables and the general relationships they portend (Schlager and Blomquist 1996). As an agenda-setting theory, the usefulness of the *multiple streams* framework may be brought to light when its strengths and weaknesses are analyzed in a developing democratic environment where institutions of government and public decision-making, such as civil society, are still evolving.

Civil society organizations, as in Ghana's women's movement, contend that their primary aim is to work to influence or change public policy in ways that advance the interests, perspectives and concerns of their members and segments of the population on whose behalf they advocate. In the purview of this study, the women's movement in Ghana has always been active since colonial days. However, these groups and their coalitions have been propelled in their efforts, to a significant extent, by Ghana's return

to democratic governance in 1992, which has created a stronger platform and an enhanced role in the national development and agenda formulation processes.

3.3.1 Public Policy Frameworks

The policy-making process, according to Anderson's 'stages heuristic' involves different phases (problem identification, agenda setting, policy formulation, decision making, policy implementation and evaluation) (Anderson 1984). Analyses of these stages usually involve the use of policy frameworks or theories and such analyses are intended to aid appreciation and understanding of how policy change occurs. Agenda-setting is usually the first stage of the process and involves the identification of problems and concerns that need to be addressed, as well as the processes involved in getting officials to focus attention on particular issues and not others.

Meanwhile, Kingdon (1995) describes an 'Agenda' as a list of issues, or problems to which governmental officials, and people outside of government (but closely associated with those officials), are paying serious attention to in a polity at any point in time. Not all issues or problems receive some attention; and so based on the origin of the attention, there could be a political agenda, a public agenda, and a media agenda. The agenda-setting process is thus an on-going competition among issue proponents who are interested in attracting the attention of policy elites, media and communication professionals, and the public (Dearing and Rogers 1996).

In Ghana, the public policy process is such that the executive branch introduces bills for the legislature to pass into legislation which then becomes a law with the

president's assent. However, in recent years, the media, civil society groups, and public opinion have played significant roles in promoting onto the governmental agenda, particular issues that require immediate attention of officials. For instance, in the 2000 general elections, the combined effect of the women's movement and the media was enough to push the two leading political parties to make women's rights and gender equality important issues in their campaign manifestoes. The result was the creation of a cabinet level position with portfolio for women and children's affairs, the Ministry of Women and Children (MOWAC), by the new administration that came into office in 2001.

Furthermore, the CSOs organized to focus attention on the serial killings of about 30 women in Accra in the year 2000. Assisted by a plural media, the coalition of civil society groups framed violence against women and children in the Ghanaian society as a pressing political agenda item that needed governmental action. Thus, the agenda-setting process in Ghana may be considered as a fusion of all three agenda forms (political, public and media agendas), and fits into Meyer and Cloete's definition. They contend that agenda-setting involves a deliberate process of planning and acting to define, prioritize policy issues, mobilize support, and lobby decision-makers to take necessary action about a problem (Meyer and Cloete 2000). Defined this way, agenda-setting appeals to the pluralist conception that social action organizations, including the formal and informal coalitions of like-minded citizens, determine how agenda-setting takes place in society (Howlett and Ramesh 1995; Reynolds 2002).

Kingdon (1995) offers a more descriptive definition of agenda-setting by describing the stage as a purging process that allows official decision-makers to focus attention on a few sets of issues out of the many that confronts society at any given point in time. The usefulness of Kingdon's agenda-setting theory is in its position on models that perceive the policy process to be the outcome of a rational problem-solving activity, as well as models that suggest the existence of a link between problems and policy solutions put forth by decision-makers (Tiernan and Burke 2002). Kingdon's definition also is vitally essential because it affords governments and official decision makers the space to prioritize among the myriad policy-related issues compared with the ever-dwindling limited resources available to address those problems (Ndlovu 2008). Kingdon's (1995) model states that concerns may be raised about a policy because of changes in its indicators such as statistical record, availability of new and useful knowledge to officials about a policy, and changes in the political process such as changes in government which creates avenues for the introduction of different perspectives on issues.

Researchers and policy analysts have employed different theories, models to explain and aid understanding of a policy change process or agenda-setting in the policy process in western democracies where institutions of government are formal and well-defined. The following are among the theories or frameworks that offer useful explanations on how policy change comes about: The Punctuated Equilibrium Theory (PET) relies on periods of stability and change to explain agenda setting; The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) focuses on the importance of competition and relationships

among policy players; and the Multiple Streams (MS) Framework is seen as an evolutionary theory because it addresses the shortcomings in the ACF and the PET as models for understanding agenda setting and policymaking (Kingdon 1995; Sabatier 2007; Schlager and Blomquist 1996).

Analysts have also applied the same frameworks and theories of the policy process, albeit in revised forms as this study proposes to do, to analyze policy-making processes in new and emerging democracies in Africa, mostly with limited success for various reasons (Anangwe 1997). Some of the factors for variable success rates include differences in levels of political development and the existence of weak formal or traditional institutions arising from long periods of military interference in government in many developing countries including Ghana (Egglely 2010). Furthermore, in most of the developing world, the formal institutions of government exist only in name without any real powers to ensure accountability and transparency in governance.

There are instances where governments have sought to manipulate or control these institutions, such as the judiciary by appointing judges who are sympathetic to the policies of the ruling government. For instance, in Ghana, the constitution permits the president to appoint up to 30 percent of ministers from the parliament. The result has been a fusion of the three branches of government (executive, legislature, and judiciary), and hence defeating any independence, and the exercise of oversight functions that these formal institutions of government are meant to perform.⁹

⁹ In the current administration in Ghana, there is a Deputy Attorney General who is also a member of parliament, and hence is a member of all three branches of government. This situation is common in the developing world.

Meanwhile, the opportunities and avenues that Ghana's new constitution appropriates for civil society participation also generate different variables that have not been accounted for by the frameworks and theories in use for characterizing the processes of policy-making, especially in emerging democracies like Ghana and Rwanda. The applications of the existing frameworks in advanced democracies mostly focus on formal or traditional institutions of government and their activities. However, in developing democracies, new institutions such as civil society and other interest groups are rather active and play key oversight responsibilities over formal institutions in their performance, ensuring accountability and rule of law (Gyimah-Boadi 2004; Looby 2010). This study therefore proceeds by evaluating Kingdon's multiple streams framework as the framework for this study because of the potential to offer a single lens for understanding the evolving policy process in the developing democracies like Ghana.

3.3.2 Multiple Streams (MS) Framework

John Kingdon's *multiple streams* (MS) framework which says that policy decisions flow from a *coupling* of problems, policies, and politics, is based on the logic behind Cohen, March and Olsen's (1972) garbage can model in their "organized anarchies" theory. Kingdon (1995) adopted, modified and used the garbage can model to explain how issues become part of the governmental agenda-setting and how policy alternatives are produced (Ness 2008). The garbage can model contends that policies do not always result from the rational actions of policy actors, because the actors hardly evaluate all possible alternative solutions or thoroughly compare these alternatives as a

result of issues such as information asymmetry. The basic concept of the garbage can model is that, the policymaking process operates like garbage cans with a mixture of problems and potential solutions continuously floating in the cans and seeking the attention of *policy entrepreneurs*. Furthermore, Zahariadis (1998, 1999, and 2003), based on his international case studies, also argues that the policy process is ambiguous and multifaceted.

Kingdon (1984) identifies three distinct, but complementary, streams of processes that flow independently of each other and which he finds to be useful in establishing or *framing* the policy window in the policy process. The *problem* stream is where evidence about various problems, as well as their possible solutions, is identified and defined. The *policy* stream is made up of possible solutions and alternative propositions to the policy problems. The *politics* stream also consists of decision-makers, other actors and inhibiting factors in the public policy environment.

Kingdon's discussions of the three streams have significance for identifying, demarcating and analyzing the role of gender-based CSOs in Ghana's democratization and development processes. However, some adjustments are needed to make the framework applicable as a tool for policy analysis in emerging societies. For instance, not all the variables identified and discussed by Kingdon are applicable to the Ghanaian situation. Similarly, the framework also fails to incorporate some other variables, such as coalitions and networks that were instrumental and need to be accounted for in order to portray a holistic view of the role that civil society plays in Ghana's democratization process, especially in representing the interests, views and perspectives of women.

The three streams are each driven by different forces and tend to flow linearly and independently of each other, but none of the three can single-handedly decide the overall outcome of the policymaking process. At some critical points, policy entrepreneurs or actors are able to bring the streams together in what Kingdon calls “coupling” when a “policy window” opens either in the *politics* stream or in the *problem* stream which creates opportunities for policy proposals and alternatives to be specified. Kingdon contends that a *coupling* of the streams can be sustainable only when an issue is linked to all three streams: an identified problem is matched with a possible solution in a politically favorable environment. The distinction between the streams is noteworthy because it offers an understanding of how the dynamic characteristics of each stream contribute to the agenda-setting process (Kingdon 1995).

Additionally, Kingdon postulates that opening of the policy window can hardly be predicted, and they are highly volatile to changes in the political stream. It becomes very difficult in many ways to predict when a policy window will be opened at any given time, and for how long it will remain open at any given situation. However, there need not be a coupling or a meeting of the three streams before a policy can be adopted because “partial coupling” – a coupling between two streams – can be sufficient to bring a policy proposal or its alternative to the attention of policy decision-makers.

Besides, partial coupling exist because the opening of the policy window, when it happens, tends to last only for a brief period, and thus requires *policy entrepreneurs* to be able to take advantage of such unpredictable event (Baumgartner and Jones 1993; Kingdon 1995). It is important to note that, in developing democracies like Ghana, it is

possible to predict the opening of a policy window. For instance, a majority of the emerging democracies in Africa including Ghana adopted or revised their national constitutions and governing mandate. Ghana's new constitution guarantees, among other things, freedom of association and media plurality which have combined to be useful resources for civil society and interest group participation in public policy-making. These resources have been employed appropriately to keep issues of public concern, such as the serial killings of women that occurred in Accra just before the 2000 general elections, in the public domain longer than expected to generate the necessary official attention and action.

Furthermore, Kingdon (1984) describes *policy entrepreneurs* as individuals who invest their time, energy and resources to ensure that an idea or proposal become part of the agenda items which will receive attention and political support from the governing elites. Policy entrepreneurs are able to couple a particular problem with plausible solutions, while working to focus the attention of political actors on those issues. Kingdon identifies three qualities that are essential for the success of policy entrepreneurs to include (1) expertise or authority that serve as a source of influence and ability to speak for others, (2) political connections or negotiating skills, and (3) persistence.

Ness (2008) maintains that the expertise of policy entrepreneurs are mostly useful in the *policy* stream where policy actors usually work to first "soften up" and prepare the system for policy change which then make it possible for entrepreneurs to launch their solution and issues at the right time. One important adjustment that this study makes to the framework relates to the role of policy entrepreneurs. That is, the ability to network,

build coalitions and use these networks and coalitions to connect with official policy actors in government to affect a policy change, is an extension of this study makes to the arguments put forth by Kingdon and Ness about the role of policy entrepreneurs. It is worthwhile to note that among the major constraint to policy-making in African countries is the lack of requisite information as a result of poor distinction between political and administrative roles in the policy process (Anangwe 1997).

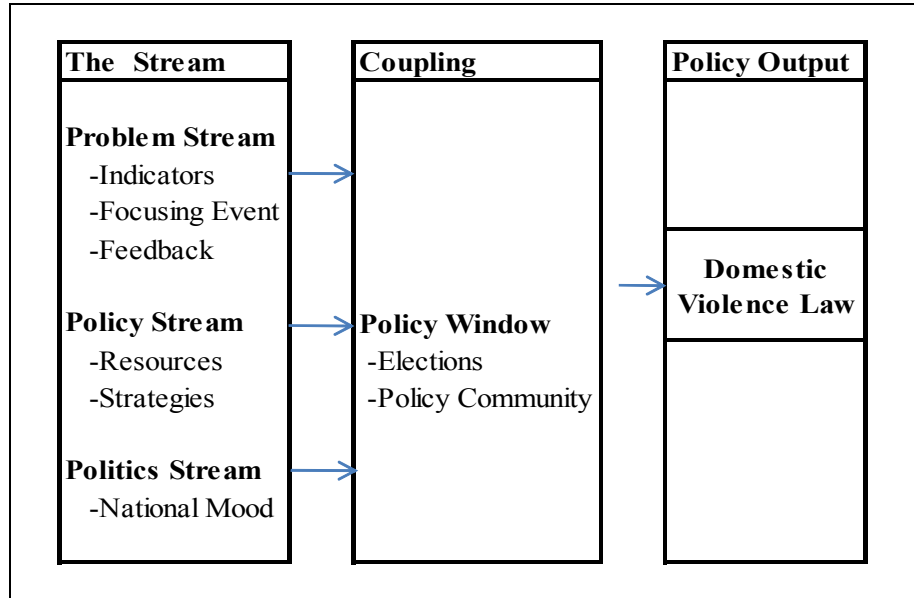
In addition, policy-making in most of the developing democracies in Africa tends to have limited space and input from African research institutions and think tanks. The incessant marginalization of research institutions in policy-making in emerging democracies means the process benefits minimally from policy entrepreneur inputs. In view of these challenges, policy actors and entrepreneurs in emerging democracies resort to building coalitions, networks and alliances with all possible contacts in the policymaking process, and using these links to their advantage.

The MS framework's approach to analyzing the agenda-setting phase of policymaking is fundamentally different from the traditional models such as the advocacy coalition or the punctuated equilibrium theories. The traditional policymaking process, the Stage Heuristic, is broken down into six sequential phases: problem identification, agenda-setting, proposal formulation, adoption, implementation, and evaluation of implemented policies and impact (Anderson 1984; Porter 1995). Criticisms of the traditional linear model include the argument that it is excessively rational, unrealistic, and not dynamic because policymaking in the real world takes place in an unsystematic, chaotic, and politically charged environment (Kingdon 1984; Porter 1995). The multiple

streams framework, however, suggests that the policymaking process is fluid, nonlinear and focuses on the flow and timing of the policy action as a way to understand the complexities of the policy process.

Meanwhile, Stover and Johnston (1999) argues that the policy process in much of the emerging democracies in Africa (including Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia), mostly are a revision of the traditional linear framework, yet they tend to exhibit key features of the stages model. In essence, to analyze policy-making in the developing world would require an adaptation of the theoretical basis to reflect the local approaches in use. To this end, this study has adopted, revised, and applied Kingdon's original framework. Thus, as indicated by Figure 3.2, this study applied a revised version of Kingdon's model as the frame for the analysis presented in the next chapter of this study.

Figure 3.2: A modified diagram of John Kingdon's framework



Source: Adapted from Zahariadis (2003)

Variables from Kingdon's model that are also relevant to this study include the following: For the problem stream, indicators, focusing events and feedback. Also for the policy streams, the variables of significance were resources available to the women's movement in Ghana and the strategies they employed to advocate for policy change. For the politics stream, the variables consisted of national mood and public opinion that reflects on Ghana's sociocultural context. In addition, this study contends that the opening of a policy window depends on a combination of two important factors: the efforts of policy actors and policy entrepreneurs on the one hand, and the outcomes of elections on the other.

The usefulness of Kingdon's multiple streams framework is found in its ability to explain why some issues, problems and concerns become prominent agenda items at

given times while others fade out. Additionally, the framework make it possible for policies to be broken down into simple, but plain, convenient, comprehensive, and generalized items such as problems, policies and politics to which policy actors can bring some needed attention. Thus, applying the revised framework to evaluate the activities, strategies and outcomes of the civil society movement especially in emerging democracies like Ghana where public policy mostly emanates or originates from the executive branch as this study proposes to do, will be an important accomplishment for the framework. But, Kingdon's model is silent on the role of networks and coalitions which are vital ingredients in social movement, interest group and civil society participation in public policy in Ghana and other emerging democracies. This explains why revisions of Kingdon's framework is necessary in this study to make the framework a relevant tool for policy analysis in emerging democracies where coalitions and networks play important part in the advocacy efforts of civil society groups.

3.4 Limitations of the Study

This study is not without limitations, and this section describes the study's limitations as well as how such limitations are addressed. First of all, the focus of this study is a developing country, Ghana, where access to some officials and important information is fraught with a lot of difficulties and frustrations. The cumbersome processes required before gaining access to government officials, such as scheduling meetings and interviews was beyond the resource and time delimitations for this study. The resource and time constraints under which such an academic endeavor was carried

meant that not all possible respondents could be reached for their views. However, the detailed review of archival documents and other relevant information carried out in this study was helpful in generating conclusions that support the key arguments that gender-based CSOs provide avenues for the views of women to be part of public discourse even when women still have token representation in the parliament of Ghana.

Additionally, qualitative studies are mostly inductive in nature, and, are primarily based on detailed understandings of specific events as opposed to making generalizations. This study uses qualitative methods to offer a comprehensive understanding of how gender-based CSOs have enhanced the representation of women in public policy, especially at the national level in Ghana. The study, therefore, generates very useful conclusions about the role of gender-based CSOs in the passage of Ghana's Domestic violence Law in 2007. These conclusions may not be sufficient for making generalizations or evaluating the entire agenda-setting process in Ghana. However, the findings from the study could be used to create templates for undertaking further research to understand the role and contributions of CSOs in similar emerging democracies.

Furthermore, using the case study approach for this study meant its findings fall victim to the 'acceptance problems' associated with qualitative research generally for the inability to subject findings to statistical generalizations, which is possible under quantitative research (Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Yin 2003). It is worthwhile to note that qualitative research also permits some analytical generalizations to be made when those generalizations pertain to a study's guiding theories. For instance, this study use Kingdon's *multiple streams* framework as a guide to offer a comprehensive explanation

of how the activities of the gender-based CSOs affected the agenda setting process and resulted in the creation of Ghana's domestic violence law. In this sense, some generalizations about the role of CSOs in the agenda-setting process, especially as they relate to the representation of women, may be permitted even under qualitative research.

Finally, one of the objectives of this study is to contribute to the theory on the role of civil society organizations, mainly in the agenda-setting process of emerging democracies, where opportunities for participation in public policy-making are highly skewed. A major limitation is whether the findings have any implications for CSOs beyond the agenda setting process into policy adoption, implementation, and evaluation. In any case, the findings of this study may be useful in supporting arguments for expanded opportunities for CSOs to offer substantive representation to women and other minority groups. In spite of the limitations, this study is a worthwhile academic endeavor, because it allowed for John Kingdon's policy analysis theory, to be revised and applied to a topic, the role of civil society, and in an environment (developing democracy) that is outside of the framework's traditional home in advanced Western societies. Such exposure has also been necessary because it generates questions about the framework's universal suitability as a tool for policy analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

In this chapter, the study applies a revision of John Kingdon's multiple streams framework to critically analyze the activities, strategies, and events of CSOs that culminated in the passage of the Domestic Violence (DV) Law in Ghana, in 2007. The main argument of this study is that, societies ought to recognize and support gender-base CSOs because of their potential for increasing the representation, perspectives and views of women in public policy-making. This position is more important, especially in societies like Ghana where the proportion of women in the legislature has never gone past 20 percent in any of the nine parliaments since attaining independence in 1957, even though women make up about half of the population. In these circumstances, civil society groups have been successful in bringing women's views and concerns into public policymaking. The argument of the study is relevant also in societies where formal institutions have not been effective in ensuring accountability from elected and other public officials.

The main research question for this study (*why is it necessary to have a comprehensive view of the role of gender-based CSOs in Ghana's democratization process?*) and the other specific questions stated in Chapter 1 are answered by analyzing various archival accounts and key informant interview responses about the activities, resources and strategies of gender-based CSOs in Ghana's democratic process. Table 4.1 shows a select list of publications reports and articles that have been prepared about the

process, activities and issues involved in the reform of domestic violence law in Ghana in 2007. These groups are a part of the policy community that engage in problem identification and seek possible solutions to address defined problems.

Table 4.1: List of selected archival data sources used for this study¹⁰

Advocacy for a Domestic Violence Act Using CEDAW
16 days of Activism Against Gender Violence: The Crusade Continues
Gender Discourses and Representational Practices in Gold Coast newspapers
House Clears Hurdle, Domestic Violence Bill Passed at Last
Narrative Report on CORDAID on the National Advocacy Project (NAP)
Rape Within marriage: How Does it Feel Like?
The Dimensions and Consequences of Violence Against Women in Ghana
The Passage of Domestic Violence Legislation in Ghana
Collective Activism: Domestic Violence Bill becoming Law in Ghana
Political Context Study - Ghana: Human Rights Power, and Civic Action Research project
Breaking the Silence and Challenging the Myths of Violence Against Women and Children in Ghana
Chasing Illusions and Realizing Visions: Reflections on Ghana's Feminist Experience

Source: Author

The chapter offers detailed discussions of the explanatory factors and how each of the three streams (problems, policy, and politics) played a role in the agenda-setting process of the DV Law, as well as how their coupling occurred to bring about a policy change in Ghana in 2007. The chapter also discusses in detail how the problems emerged and how possible solutions evolved. The chapter ends with an evaluation of the multiple streams framework as a suitable policy analysis and research tool generally and in

¹⁰ These articles and reports have been fully referenced in the bibliography section at the end of this dissertation.

developing democracies where institutions are poorly developed. In the following section, the study presents an overview of the DV law by highlighting key sections and provisions of the law, as well as how it is meant to impact women's rights and empowerment in Ghana.

4.1 Overview of Ghana's Domestic Violence (DV) Law

Ghana's Domestic Violence (DV) Act, 2007, (Act 732) which was signed into law on May 3rd, 2007 by President John Agyekum Kufuor, added Ghana's name to the growing list of countries that are taking steps to deal with the menace of violence against women and children in Africa.¹¹ Ghana's law, according to Ampofo (2008), provides a comprehensive legal framework with which to address violence against women and children in the home in Ghanaian society. Important provisions of the DV law include its definition of the acts that constitute domestic violence; these consists of all the acts covered by the Criminal Code 1960 (Act 29), as well as threats and actual physical, economic, psychological, verbal, emotional and sexual abuse, harassment and intimidation.

The law defines domestic relationship to include family relationships, and relationships akin to family relationships that may involve cohabitation, whether as romantic partners, cotenant, or in parental relationships. The law also describes how incidence of domestic violence should be dealt with; the nature of protection for victims,

¹¹ African countries with DV legislations include the following: Namibia (2000), Zimbabwe (2001), Mauritius (2003), Morocco (2004), South Africa (2004), Kenya (2006), Malawi (2006), Ghana (2007), Botswana (2008), Uganda (2009). There are many others, such as Senegal, Ethiopia, and Rwanda that have ratified the various international (CEDAW) and continental (Maputo Protocol) women's rights protection instruments.

the forms of punishment for perpetrators, and how to ensure that Ghana adheres to the various international human rights protocols and conventions. The law has provisions for dealing with the incidence of domestic violence that include police protection orders, psychological and rehabilitative services for victims and perpetrators, and also stipulates when to resort to alternative dispute settlement and avenues to ensure conciliation between victims and perpetrators.

The DV law specifically prohibits and criminalizes domestic violence of all forms, and stipulates that a single act may amount to domestic violence much the same ways as a pattern of behaviors, some of which when viewed in isolation may appear to be minor or trivial. The law enforcement agency, Ghana Police Service, is specifically mentioned in the law to assist victims or witnesses who report incidence of domestic violence. The police are to apprehend, prepare and bring prosecution against perpetrators in court, as well as make determination as to the extent of protection that victims and witnesses deserve. The Police Service works with the court system and the Department of Social Welfare to protect victims and witnesses, and where necessary, recommend and supervise alternative dispute resolution to reconcile victims and perpetrators.

Additionally, Ghana's law also called for the establishment of a Victims of Domestic Violence Support Fund (VDVSF), which is managed by a Victims of Domestic Violence Management Board established by the law. The VDVSF receives funding mainly from government subventions with the approval of Parliament and also from the Ministry of Finance, as well as from other voluntary sources, individuals, and private organizations. The fund is meant to support the basic material needs of victims of

domestic violence, tracking and following reports of incidence of abuse, rescuing, rehabilitating and integrating victims of domestic violence as described by the law. The fund is also meant to support the construction of temporary shelter, training and skills needs of victims. The Board is composed of the Minister of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC), representatives from the Attorney-General's Department, Ministries of Education, Health, Department of Social Welfare, and two representatives of civil society organizations. The law ends with an interpretation of the words and expressions in the Act that improves the practicality and functionality of the law.

Meanwhile, the DV law failed to explicitly abolish Section 42 (g) of the Criminal Code 1960 (Act 29) that permits the use of force in marriage, a condition which various national human rights institutions and civil rights groups have argued perpetuates sexual abuse in marriages. However, the DV law specifically states that the use of force in the home is never permissible even with consent. Manuh (2007) states that gender advocates have praised the passage of the law as an important first step in the process to tackle gender-based violence in the Ghanaian society. This study therefore focuses on using the efforts that went into the passage of the law, especially those that were exhibited by gender-based civil society groups in Ghana, to make inferences about the role that CSOs play in democratization in emerging societies.

4.2 Multiple Streams Analysis

John Kingdon adopted, modified and applied the idea behind Cohen, March and Olsen's (1972) organized anarchies garbage can theory to explain how issues become

part of the governmental agenda-setting and how policy alternatives are produced (Ness 2008). Kingdon (1984) identifies three distinct, but complementary, streams of processes that flow independently of each other and which he finds to be useful in establishing or *framing* the policy window in the policy process. The *problem* stream is where evidence about various problems, as well as their possible solutions is identified and defined. The *policy* stream is made up of possible solutions and alternative propositions to the policy problems. The *politics* stream also consists of decision-makers, other actors and inhibiting factors in the public policy environment.

Discussions of Kingdon's streams have significance for identifying, demarcating and analyzing the events, activities, and strategies of the gender-based CSOs that resulted in Ghana's Domestic Violence Law of 2007. The three streams are discussed below with a revision of Kingdon's framework as a guide to identify the variables and factors that were relevant in the Ghana situation as have been reported and documented variously by researchers from different backgrounds. The analysis of these documentations with the key informant interviews that were conducted for this study is intended to offer a holistic view of the role that gender-based CSOs play in democratic development and whether such activities help empower women to be active participants in the public policy process, especially in the developing world.

4.2.1 Problem Stream

The problem stream of the framework focuses on issues, concerns and situations with which policy makers (inside and outside of government) recognize, identify and

define a situation or event as a problem, and for which possible actions are sought as solutions, and alternatives. Kingdon (1995) contends that, “people recognize problems, generate solutions for policy changes, and engage in such political activities as election campaigns and pressure group lobbying” (p.87). According to Porter (1995), a social condition becomes a problem only when the people recognize and identify it as such and see it as something that their government can help to address.

Different policy fields have different policy proponents who organize information, build networks, and gather resources to define issues and use their definition of the problem to sway the framing of policy debates to satisfy the interests and agenda of their patrons. Important questions to ask, therefore, include the following: What issues or concerns need to be addressed? Whose definition of a problem should be adopted in the framing of policy debate? Why do some concerns or issues gain the active attention of policy makers, and others do not?

These questions become necessary because of the difficulty involved in clearly defining problems in the policy process due to the size of actors (citizens, interest groups, and media) involved in the process (Burgess, 2002). To the extent that different individuals’ appreciation of a problem can vary according to their ideology and worldview, the ability to identify and define a problem will also be dependent on an individual’s awareness of the policy field. It is possible also for clearly-defined problems to fade away from the purview of governmental decision-makers because people can get used to hitherto unpleasant condition, or when only a temporary attention is paid to a situation.

Additionally, not all problems emanate or can be framed in the *problem* stream, and that accounts for why the other streams, policy and political, are equally important. Based on a revision of Kingdon's framework, the content analysis of archival documents supported by key informant interview responses about Ghana's DV law revealed that the following three factors were vital in the framing of domestic violence as a problem in Ghanaian society by the gender-based CSOs: (1) indicators, such as statistics on the prevalence rates of violence against women and children; (2) focusing events or crisis, such as the creation of an enabling environment for the attention of governmental decision-makers to focus on the dangers of domestic violence in society; and (3) feedback from the implementation of existing programs and legislations such as Section 42 (g) of the Criminal Code (Act29) of 1960.

4.2.1.1 Indicators

Ghana's 4th Republican Constitution which was adopted in 1992 has been the longest running attempt at democracy in the 54 years that the nation has been independent from British colonial rule. The new constitution has also brought with it renewed impetus for CSOs, especially gender rights and empowerment advocates in Ghana to organize and bring attention to women's issues and concerns in domestic and national development (Gyimah-Boadi 2004). Since the inception of the 4th Republican Constitution in 1992, various groups have become emboldened to serve as avenues for increasing women's representation and women's issues in the Ghanaian society. Shown in Table 4.2 are some of the CSOs whose members participated in the key informant

interviews and what they listed as the issue areas or objectives of their organizations. Notable groups include The Ark Foundation which deals with promoting respect for and protection of the human rights of women and children; Network of Women’s Rights in Ghana (NETRIGHT) which seeks economic justice and land rights reforms for women; and WILDAF – Ghana, an organization that promotes women’s access to justice and women’s participation in democracy.

Table 4.2: List of Organizations and Issue Areas

Organization	Issue Area
NETRIGHT	Bias against women; Gender budgeting; Economic Justice
Ark Foundation	Promote respect, protection for human rights; Victim services
WILDAF	Women's access to justice; participation in democratic governance
FIDA	Legal advocacy for women and children
FAWE	Networking of Community Based Organizations, CSOs, NGOs
WOMECE	Promoting gender rights
GAC	Support evolution of strong governance institutions
WLGF	Financial support for women contesting in elections
GVSSN	Advocate for victims of domestic violence; Children's rights
GRDC	Undertakes gender-rights research
ABANTU	Women and governance, climate change, peace building
DVC	Domestic violence, women's rights advocacy
WMC	Women's rights in Ghana; Gender equality in society

Source: Author (Based on key informant interviews)

In addition, gender-based groups have been able to take advantage of the media plurality, for instance, to bring their agenda to the attention of the general public (Gadzekpo, 2001, 2008). Key agenda issues of the women’s movement include: highlighting the limited presence of women in places of decision-making (Allah-Mensah

2005; Coker-Appiah 2008); framing the incidence of domestic violence and abuse as a problem, and calling for policy change and legislation reforms to protect women's rights generally in Ghana (Allah-Mensah 2005; Coker-Appiah 2008; Manuh 2007; NETRIGHT 2004; Ofei-Aboagye 2000; Prah 2004; Sam 2009).

According to Ampofo (2008), attempts by the Women's Movement in calling for measures to deal with violence and abuse against women and children in the Ghanaian society gathered momentum around 1997 after a nationwide study by the Gender and Human Rights Documentation Center in Accra (Gender Center). The seminal study that highlighted the incidence, and patterns of gender violence in Ghana, was in response to the 1995 Fourth Conference on Women in Beijing, China. The conference enjoined nations to adopt the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) set by the UN, which among other things, seeks to deal with abuse, violence and discrimination against women, promote gender equality, and women's empowerment by 2015 (Adomako Ampofo 2008; Coker Appiah and Cusack 1999; Gyimah-Boadi 2004). The conference also called for the creation of legislative frameworks to deal with the threat of violence against women in society.

Thus, as far as indicators were concerned, three key events were instrumental and enabled the women's movement in framing domestic violence as a problem in the Ghanaian society: the expanded opportunities for participation guaranteed by Ghana's 1992 Constitution; the Fourth International Women's Conference in Beijing; and findings from the 1998 study by the Gender Center (Gyimah-Boadi 2004; NETRIGHT 2004). According to the Gender Center study, one in three of the women and children who

participated in the study had been victims of physical, psychological, or emotional abuse, one in three had been harassed sexually, with one in four having been threatened with physical violence (Ampofo 2008; Quarm 2009). The study also reported that more than 90 percent of the violence against women and children, according to participants in the study, were perpetrated by men and in most cases, men who were close relatives of the victims. Similarly, the Domestic Violence Victims Support Unit (DOVVSU, formerly WAJU) of the police service also reported that, between 1999 and 2003, incidence of threat increased from 21 to 461 (2095.2 percent), non-maintenance cases rose from 523 to 3024 (478.2 percent), and reported cases of defilement from 154 to 509 (230.5 percent) (Ampofo, 2008).

In addition to the statistics compiled by DOVVSU and the Gender Center, the women's movement in Ghana also highlighted the challenges women face in their day-to-day living (Adomako Ampofo 2008; NETRIGHT 2004). Armed with the initial report from the Gender Center, the International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA Ghana) was able to rally various women's groups and gender rights advocacy organizations to come together to form the National Domestic Violence Coalition (DV Coalition). The DV Coalition served as an umbrella organization and a unified front for all women's groups and gender rights advocacy organizations in Ghana.

The formation of the DV Coalition allowed for collaborations, partnerships, information collection and dissemination among the gender rights advocacy organizations. For instance, the Ark Foundation, a legal and human rights NGO and coalition-member agencies made available to the other coalition members a

commissioned report by the Foundation that concluded that women and children in Ghanaian society were still being subjected to various forms of abuse and violence (CIVICUS 1997; NETRIGHT 2004). The Ark Foundation report listed major concerns, such as limited services for rural dwellers; poor documentation of cases; poor tracking of victims and survivors; inadequacy of logistics and low remuneration for providers, especially police officers. Other concerns according to the Ark Foundation report included corruption among both the police and the judiciary; and victims and survivors' own financial challenges that make it difficult to pursue cases (Ampofo 2008; Ark Foundation 2004; CIVICUS 1997).

Apart from the baseline studies by the Ark Foundation and the Gender Center, other academics and social development experts also engaged in independent and sponsored research that focused or highlighted issues of violence against women and the limited presence of women in public arenas (Adomako Ampofo, Awotwi and Dwamena-Aboagye 2005; Aidoo 1985; Ampofo 2008; Dwamena-Aboagye 2004). Some of the research activities also focused on the inadequate representation of women in places where decisions that affect women and the general public are made (Allah-Mensah 2005; Darkwah, Amponsah and Gyampoh 2006; Gyimah-Boadi 1997; Manuh 2007; Ofei-Aboagye 2000; Prah 2004). It became obvious from the activities of the women's movement that violence against women, including domestic abuse and harassment, was a problem in the Ghanaian society and thus became emboldened to seek ways to meet the goals of their respective organizations.

4.2.1.2 Focusing Events

The combined effect of the 1995 Beijing Conference and Ghana's return to democratic rule in 1992, have permitted freedoms of speech, association and organization for all groups including gender-based civil society groups (Adu-Gyamrah 2007; Ark Foundation 2007; NETRIGHT 2004). Ghana's new (4th Republican) constitution has specific provisions to guarantee freedoms of association and human rights (See Appendix B). These conditions have made it possible for the women's movement to engage in massive organization to, among other things, highlight the inadequacy of women in places where critical decisions are made that affect their livelihoods (Allah-Mensah, 2005).

The Women's Movement in Ghana also organized information that compared the proportion of women in the national populations and the proportion of women in various decision-making environments such as the House of Parliament since independence and the most recent general election in 2008 (Abdulai 2009; Darkwah, Amponsah and Gyampoh 2006). Table 4.3 below shows how the numbers compare between the nine parliaments and the proportion of women in the national population over the period from 1960 to 2009. The purpose for organizing this piece of information by the women's movement was to draw the attention of the public and officials to the disparities in women's representation and participation in public policy, and the impact of that situation on developing legislation on issues that mostly affect women and children, such as domestic violence, basic human and property ownership rights in Ghanaian society.

Table 4.3: Women in Parliament by Year and by Proportion in Population

Year	1960	1965	1969	1979	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008
Seats	104	104	140	140	200	200	200	230	230
Women	10	19	1	5	16	18	19	25	20
% of Total	9.6%	18.2%	0.7%	3.5%	8.0%	9.0%	9.5%	10.9%	8.7%
% Women in	49.5%	49.5%	49.5%	49.5%	49.4%	49.4%	49.4%	49.3%	49.3%

Source: 1. Ghana Statistical Service “Seats in Parliament Held by Women,”

<http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/SPHW.html>

2. Ghana Legislative Assembly/Parliamentary Debates “Women’s Representation in the Ghana Legislature, 1954 – 2004.”

3. Ghana Democracy and Political Participation, A review by AfriMAP and the Open Society Initiative for West Africa and the Institute for Democratic Governance; p.89.

Since attaining independence from British colonial rule in 1957, Ghana has had nine national parliamentary elections. Even though, women consistently make up almost half of the total population, women had hardly constituted 20 percent of the legislature at any time in Ghana’s fifty years as a sovereign nation. From the table above, one finds that women were 18.2 percent of the Parliament in 1965 because it was the only time in the history of Ghana that the government used reserved seats system to increase women’s representation. Allah-Mensah (2005) contends that participation, especially in politics is synonymous to the existence of opportunities and avenues for citizens and citizen groups to express their views and concerns on issues in the public policy process. The women’s movement and advocacy groups have been able to relate the disparities in representation, especially of women in public policy processes to the lack of support for women’s issues

or concerns such as domestic violence, discrimination, and various human rights violations (Abdulai 2009; Darkwah, et al 2006). There also are social policy issues such as extreme poverty, maternal health, equal educational opportunities, gender equality and empowerment in public debates in Ghanaian society for many decades (Allah-Mensah 2005; Jonah 2007; Ofei-Aboagye 2000; Tsikata 2001).

The coalition of women's groups employed their newfound support from the Constitution and combined that with press freedom and media plurality to engage political parties to focus some attention on issues and challenges that militate against women's effort to be empowered and become active participants in decision-making in Ghana. Before the 2004 general election, the coalition of women's rights advocacy organizations worked together under the leadership of ABANTU for Development, a gender-rights civil society organization to prepare a document, the National Women's Manifesto (Ark Foundation 2007; NETRIGHT 2004). The document highlighted what the women's groups wanted from government in respect of economic, social, and institutional opportunities for empowering and making women enjoy their rights as equal citizens in Ghana.¹² The women's manifesto added momentum to the efforts that were already in place to reform legislation on domestic violence and also increased the pressure on the government to act in earnest to create avenues for women to be empowered to become active participants in the policy process.

¹² *The Women's Manifesto for Ghana*, published by the Coalition on the Women's Manifesto for Ghana in 2004 and hosted by ABANTU for Development, Accessed on December 2, 2010. Online at <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/Ghana/02983.pdf>

In addition, the women's movement also highlighted the various international human rights Conventions and Treaties to which Ghana has been a signatory since independence in an effort to promote democratic developments and widespread participation from all groups (Ampofo 2008; Anyidoho 2009; Sam 2003, 2009). These conventions enjoin national governments to create legislative frameworks and institute programs for respecting, promoting and protecting the fundamental human rights of all citizens (Abdulai 2009; Adomako Ampofo 2008). Some of these international documents include the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), International Convention on Civic and Political Rights (ICCPR), Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) and the Declaration Against all Forms of Violence Against Women (DEVAW) (See Appendix C).

The women's movement argued that various Ghanaian administrations (military and civilians over the years) have been forthright when it comes to ratifying and adopting these international Treaties and Conventions. However, Ampofo (2008) contends that the same cannot be said about translating these international Conventions into national human rights documents. The groups complained, therefore that, the lack of functional local reciprocating human rights legislation or their implementation has contributed to the limited attention that was paid to the prevalence of violence against women and children in Ghanaian society (Manuh 2007; NETRIGHT 2004).

Meanwhile, specific events that played a part in energizing interest and support for reforms in domestic violence legislation in Ghana have been chronicled in research

documents, reports and journal articles, and were confirmed also by several of the key informants. These include initial work by the Ghana chapter of the International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA Ghana), and the Leadership & Advocacy for Women in Africa (LAWA), to call for legislative reforms on domestic violence and abuse perpetrated against women and children in Ghana in the mid 1990s. The preparatory consultations also engendered research and sponsored studies about the state of women in Ghana. Armed with findings from the studies and baseline research by the Gender Center and the Ark Foundation, FIDA Ghana held consultations with the women's caucus in parliament to set the process in motion for legislation to be created that will deal with domestic violence in Ghana. However, Ampofo (2008) states that the encounters between FIDA and the women's caucus revealed the difficulties likely to arise from initiating the legislation as a private member's Bill in Parliament.

Kingdon (1995) posits that focusing events consist of situations, conditions or issues that have reached crisis proportions to which some attention is devoted in the media and forms the basis for public discussions. Whenever a focusing event generates such attention, it becomes an issue for both governmental and nongovernmental actors to monitor those events and activities that surround those events. In this sense, the string of serial killings that resulted in the murder of about 31 women within the capital city, Accra, prior to the December 2000 general elections in Ghana, became pivotal in the creation of coalitions among the women's movement to work together to sensitize the public about the dangers of violence against women in Ghana. The coalition, *Sisters Keepers*, engaged in demonstrations, media campaigns, protest marches and petitions to

register their displeasure about the bizarre murders and also about the bigger issue of violence against women in the Ghanaian society.¹³ Thus, women's rights advocates became emboldened in their agitations for legislation to curb violence against women and used the serial killings as a focusing event in the draft bill motion that was presented to the Attorney General's Department for review towards the enactment of domestic violence legislation (Dovlo 2005).

From the foregoing discussions, the women's movement in Ghana can be said to have employed focusing events as prescribed by Kingdon's MS framework to raise awareness of problems that have implications for public policy formulation. The women's movement used their activities to call for political parties to make women's issues to become integral part of their campaign manifestoes in the past four elections. The coalitions have also been working with and through the media to highlight gender imbalance and its implications for national development; the lack of equality in the empowerment of women in Ghanaian society generally has been accepted as a problem.

4.2.1.3 Feedback from Existing Programs

Furthermore, through feedback from the implementation of existing programs, a problem might be observed that will require the attention of actors. Kingdon (1995) argues that whenever feedback from existing programs suggests that those programs are not producing the planned results could constitute an issue for the attention of officials.

¹³ "Accra Women Demonstrate Against Serial Killings," *Ghanaweb General News*, December 22, 2000 (Accra, Ghana), Accessed on March 31, 2011.
Online at <http://ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage//NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=12810#>

Feedback from existing programs is usually brought to the attention of government officials through the routine work of administrative staff and evaluation of programs by monitoring agencies, as well as public complaints by corporate institutions, citizens, and civil society. This is exactly what happened when the coalition of women's civil society groups argued that, in terms of responding to the international human rights laws and treaties, Ghana as a country has been signatory to several of these documents (see Appendix C). Meanwhile, the women's movement evaluated Ghana's human rights legislative responses to the various international frameworks and concluded that there was a disparity between what Ghana has accepted to do and what was actually done to protect the rights of citizens especially women and children (Ampofo 2008; Ark Foundation 2007; Mama 2000; NETRIGHT 2004).

Furthermore, the women's movement and their coalitions focused also on how the existing legal framework for dealing with violence against women and children, such as Section 42(g) of Ghana's Criminal Code (Act 29) of 1960, failed to bring perpetrators to justice. Section 42(g) of the Criminal Code permits the use of force in marriage on the basis of supposed consent given upon marriage (Archampong 2010; Manuh 2007; Pappoe and Ardayfio-Schandorf 1998). The existence of this provision in the Code had been interpreted as the basis for the subordination of women to men in marriage in the Ghanaian society.

The law also sought to remove any rights that women had even in abusive marriages where physical or sexual abuse of women were considered a man's authority over his wife and could not be handled beyond the home because everything that

occurred between a man and his wife was considered ‘private’ (Ark Foundation 2007; Manuh 2007; NETRIGHT 2004). Similarly, Ampofo (2008) reports that in 2003, a Supreme Court judge, Justice Brobbey, affirmed arguments by the women’s movement that the adjudication of domestic violence cases in Ghana was fraught with socio-cultural and institutional challenges that made it difficult for women to receive the justice they needed. Institutionally, the operating procedures where judges were asked to strike out a case if a prosecutor did not show up in court and does not give any tangible reason, was itself a difficult hurdle that, in most cases, prevented women who have been abused from pursuing justice.

In addition, the socio-cultural underpinnings, such as the predominance of male judges and prosecutors in the judicial system in Ghana, militated against women’s quest for justice. For instance, a Ghanaian judge was reported to have said that “it is un-Ghanaian for a man to be sentenced to imprisonment for slapping or pushing his wife” (Ghanaian Chronicle 2004)¹⁴. The women’s groups used information from the Gender Center Study and data from the DOVVSU (WAJU) unit of the Police Service about the prevalence and endemic nature of violence against women in the Ghanaian society in spite of the existence of the law.

The groups argued that the Criminal Code was incompetent because it failed to protect women and children who were abused, and that a more responsive legislation was needed to deal with domestic violence in the Ghanaian society. The women’s movement highlighted negative effects from the operation of the Criminal Code and also from the

¹⁴ *Lessons from Ghana: The Challenges of a Legal Response to Domestic Violence in Africa*. Accessed on December 2, 2010, Online at www.peacewomen.org/news/GHANA/Nov04/Violence.html.

evaluation of Ghana's national response to the various international human rights laws. The groups were able to capture and focused the attention of many officials and governmental decision-makers on the need for reforms in the existing laws that were meant to protect the human rights of women and children as equal citizens of Ghana. Hence, the proposal for the creation of a domestic violence legislation submitted by the coalition of women's groups was not supposed to be met with difficult opposition from the public and officials based on the feedback from existing laws like the Criminal code of 1960 that failed to protect women and children from abuse and violence.

In sum, based on Kingdon's framework, framing domestic violence as a problem in Ghana commenced with the new constitution that permitted associational life. Having received legitimacy and support from the international community through the conference in Beijing in 1995, and coupled with failure of existing laws to offer equal protection for all citizens, the women's movement succeeded in framing violence against women as a problem that needed to be addressed. Critical events that helped the cause of the women's movement was their ability to organize and rally the nation to accept the serial killings that took place in year 2000 as violence against women and which also meant that something needed to be done to protect women and children in society.

4.2.2 The Policy Stream in the DV Law

The natural progression for dealing with any identified problem is to look for solutions. Kingdon (1995) describes the *policy* stream as the stage where policy proposals and alternatives are considered in the form of "policy primeval soup" because ideas and

strategies with potential to become solutions for identified problems compete to win the acceptance of the specialized policy community. The model is premised on the understanding that policy solutions and alternatives are, in fact, not new ideas. Solutions and their alternatives are usually thought out in advance, available and “floating” relentlessly searching for issues and problems to which they could be attached as solutions. By courtesy of specialized policy communities (mid-level government officials and administrators, policy advocates and academics) who inhabit the policy space, many ideas that may be considered to be policy recommendations and alternative solutions float in the policy primeval soup.

According to the key informant, several ideas were initially generated by the women’s groups based on the baseline studies conducted by the Gender Center and the Ark Foundation. The startling picture of domestic violence that was painted by the results of these studies, the database from the Women and Juvenile Unit (WAJU) of the Police Service, was used by the women’s movement to frame domestic violence as a problem. Initial ideas that emerged from the studies about the dangers of violence in Ghanaian society included consultations with the women’s caucus in parliament for a possible bill introduction on the issue (Ampofo 2008; Ark Foundation 2007; Gyau 2003; Manuh 2007; NETRIGHT 2004).

Other ideas included the need for further studies that will help decision-makers and the general public to understand and appreciate the women’s movement and their concerns about violence in society (Allah-Mensah 2005; Gyau 2003). Additional ideas consisted of organizing campaigns and public education, hearings, and speeches to put

pressure on officials for policy change on how to deal with violence against women and children in Ghana (Coker Appiah and Cusack 1999; Manuh 2007; Prah 2004). In line with Kingdon's proposal, these steps by the women's movement made information available and enhanced knowledge about the harmful effects of domestic violence among the policy community (advocates and governmental officials), resurrected the need for policy change. But the groups evaluated their options against the existing institutional sociocultural and political constraints that they needed to overcome if their efforts were to yield its intended objective of reforming the existing domestic violence laws.

Thus, from the policy stream of Kingdon's framework, this study identified resources and strategies as the two vital variables with which the gender-based CSOs in Ghana were able to bring up an alternative solution for dealing with violence against women. These two variables are explained in terms of the archival information and supported with responses from the key informant interviews.

4.2.2.1 Resources

Among the resources that played a part in the creation of domestic violence legislation in Ghana in 2007 were institutional resources made up of the new constitution and the opportunities it offered for civil society participation in Ghana's democratic process. Article 21(1) of Ghana's 4th Republican Constitution states that:

(1) All persons shall have the right to - (a) freedom of speech and expression, which shall include freedom of the press and other media; (b) freedom of thought, conscience and belief, which shall include academic freedom; (c) freedom to practice any religion and to manifest such practice; (d) freedom of assembly including freedom to take part in processions and demonstrations; (e) freedom of association, which shall include freedom to form or join trade unions or other

associations, national or international, for the protection of their interest; (f) information, subject to such qualifications and laws as are necessary in a democratic society; (g) freedom of movement which means the right to move freely in Ghana, the right to leave and to enter Ghana and immunity from expulsion from Ghana (The Republic of Ghana, 1992 Constitution).

Until the passage of the new constitution, women's organizations were dormant as a result of years of military and unfriendly governments that had limited opportunities for women (Adu-Gyamerah 2007; Gyimah-Boadi 2004; Prah 2004). The new document has paved the way for women and women's groups to organize and be part of Ghana's democratic process. Gyau (2003) contends that the women's groups relied on the freedoms of association, speeches, expression, and of the press and media guaranteed by the constitution to engage in massive organization, data collection and dissemination, and public education to sensitize and reorient the public's attention to the lack of a functional human rights law that protects all citizens equally (Adu-Gyamerah 2007).

In addition to the opportunities for organizing, initial impetus for the fight for domestic violence legislation reforms in Ghana was also provided by the creation of the Women and Juvenile Unit (WAJU) within the Police Service by the Government of Ghana in 1998 (the name was changed to Domestic Violence Victims Support Unit, DOVVSU in 2003 (Manuh 2007; NETRIGHT 2004). The creation of WAJU was to make it possible for the law enforcement agents to respond equitably to reports of abuse, and to deal with reports of widespread incidence of violence and abuse perpetrated against women and children.¹⁵ Activities of WAJU also served as a database for keeping

¹⁵ http://www.ghanapolice.info/dvvsu/establishment_dovvsu.htm

and reporting statistics on the endemic and the extent of violence against women and children in Ghana.

Furthermore, the women's movement relied on studies and reports that were prepared by the Gender Center, the Ark Foundation, the Law Research Commission, and other academic reports and international agencies that highlighted the state of domestic violence in Ghana. For instance, the Gender Center report on violence that came out in 1999 was a nationwide study to document the prevalence rates and create awareness about domestic violence in the country. Publication of these reports also energized the media and the press to begin to devote attention to reporting about violence against women more frequently than used to be the case. For instance, between February and March 1999, two national newspapers, *The Ghanaian Times* and *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, reported the killing of four women by their husbands on suspicion of infidelity (Ampofo 2008).

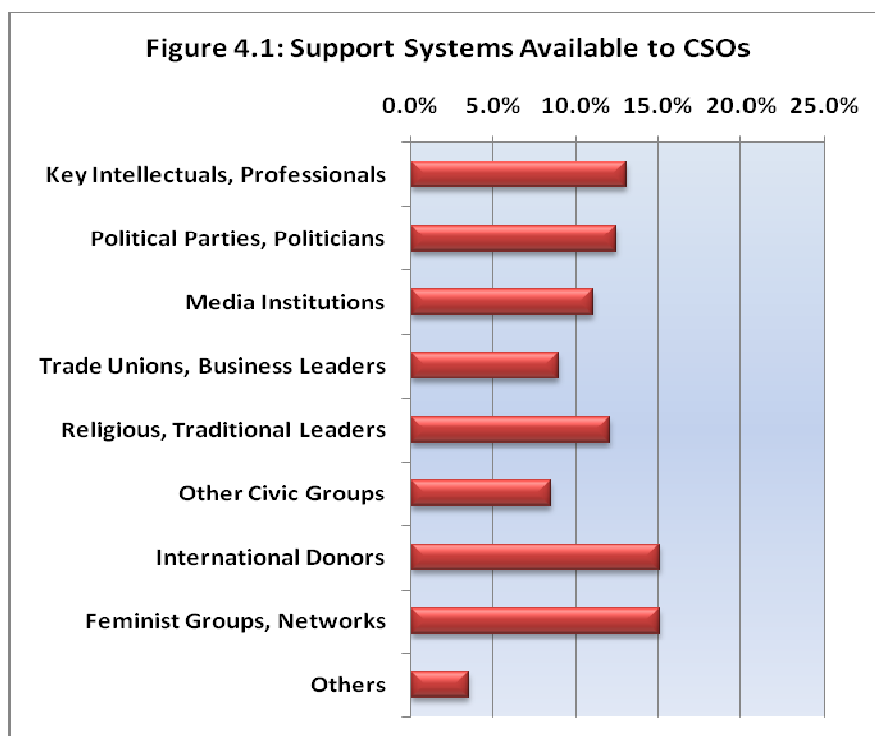
Moreover, the women's movement derived support for their organizing abilities to call for policy change on domestic violence also from the various international human rights Treaties and Conventions that Ghana as a country has signed or ratified. These include CEDAW, ICCPR, CRC, ACHPR, and DEVAW. The women's movement and gender-based advocacy coalitions in Ghana relied on rights-based feminist provision that are upheld and supported by the various international documents to build constituencies and frame the problem of violence against women in society (NETRIGHT 2004; Pappoe and Ardayfio-Schandorf 1998). The decision to adopt and incorporate provisions from the international human rights documents into the framing process derives from the

general acceptability, and how Ghana's human rights laws, especially those on violence and abuse of women's rights, were at variance with the provisions espoused by these international documents (Abdulai 2009).

It should be stated that one of the greatest resources that played a significant part in the process that culminated in Ghana's domestic violence law was the human resource, mainly the leadership of the various women's groups. In addition to the Ark Foundation, the Gender and Human Rights Documentation Center, there were groups such as Women in Leadership and Development in Ghana (WILDAF), International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA Ghana) that came together to work for human rights policy change in Ghana. The leadership of these groups included professional women, lawyers, academics, and social development experts who wanted to use their life experiences, knowledge and professional abilities to bring reforms in one of the most important areas of society, violence against women and children in Ghana

According to the key informants, the top three sources of support that was available to the efforts of the women's movement, as indicated in Figure 4.1, included key intellectuals and professionals, international donors, and international feminist networks. It is not surprising that the key informants identified international donors and feminist networks as among the groups they received substantial support. It is difficult for these groups to charge membership fees, and since there are only a few local charitable organizations, the international support in terms of technical and financial resources played (and continue to play) critical part in the efforts to reform domestic violence laws in Ghana. One interview participant had this to say about international donors:

“...they are the traditional donors because unfortunately, philanthropy in our part of the world is not very well developed.”



Source: Author (compiled from key informant interviews)

The general consensus among interview participants was that the financial support from international donors enabled key intellectuals to focus their research on highlight gender inequality, violence against women and children. The support also enabled members of various coalition groups to participate in international conferences to learn about capacity building and issue advocacy skills. These skills became useful resources in the public education and nationwide consultations the groups engaged in to change public opinion about violence in society.

Other forms of international and donor support that according to key informants enabled individuals and groups, such as the Ark Foundation, NETRIGHT, and the Gender and Human Rights Documentation Center to undertake baseline studies, data analyses and reporting about the state of violence against women and children in Ghana. For instance, a representative of ABANTU stated in the interview that a German international development agency, Friedrich Egbert Stiftung (FES) provided funding for the printing and binding of the Women's Manifesto for Ghana in 2004. The Women's Manifesto catalogued rights issues and equality measures that the women's movement and their coalitions were calling on the state and government to address in order to allow women and children to live freely as equal citizens of Ghana.

Furthermore, the leaders employed their familiarity and understanding of the policy process, ability to work together in network and coalitions were huge assets to the movement. For instance, the head of the Ark Foundation, Ms. Angela Dwamena-Aboagye and Nana Asantewa Afadzinu who became the first coordinator of the National Domestic Violence Coalition, and Dr. Rose Mensah-Kutin of ABANTU for Development all employed their knowledge of people in government and in civil society generally became instrumental to the efforts of the women's movement in Ghana.

The movement also benefited from the support of prominent academics such as Professor Takyiwaa Manuh, Dr. Dzodzi Tsikata, Dr. Audrey Gadzekpo, Professor Akosua Adomako Ampofo, Dr. Mansah Prah, and many others affiliated with the various gender advocacy platforms, as well as the West Africa hub of the *Pathways of Women's Empowerment*. The professional and research backgrounds of these individuals that range

from Sociology and Gender Studies, Anthropology and African Studies, Political Science, and Communications Studies, as well as their personal commitments to advancing the cause of women were instrumental resources the groups relied on to specify alternative legislation to deal with violence against women in Ghanaian society.

4.2.2.2 Strategies

Policy advocates are expected to determine the viability of implementation and spell out strategies for making an idea generally acceptable to the policy community and the general public. In essence, the solution or alternatives specified by the policy community must reflect the values of the advocates for that particular policy choice since those ideas adjudged to be unfeasible by advocates and community of policy actors will not at all be considered. Kingdon (1995) identifies the conditions for creating significant pressure for policy change to include research findings by academics and professionals, sustained discussions, hearings, speeches and bill introductions in the legislative process and also in the media. Thus, the nature of the communication processes and channels or mediums are equally important in agenda-setting and alternative specification.

In spite of the human and institutional resources that were available to the groups which have been discussed above, they still had challenges with access to financial and other material resources. However the groups were able to turn what should have been a major hindrance into a huge opportunity for the movement in their call for policy change on the most important issue about women's empowerment and participation in Ghana's democratic development (Adu-Gyamrah 2007; Manuh 2007). The limited resources

necessitated the formation of a coalition, the National Domestic Violence Coalition (DVC). According to Adu-Gyamereh (2007), the coalition benefited from the expertise of different individuals who were members of the various gender rights advocacy organizations in the country such as the Ark Foundation, ABANTU for Development, and Women's Initiative for Self Empowerment (WISE). Other groups included Network for Women's Rights in Ghana (NETRIGHT), Gender Violence Survivor Support Network (GVSSN), Federation of Africa Women Entrepreneurs (FAWE), Ghana Association for Women's Welfare (GAWW), FIDA Ghana, Africa Women Lawyers Association (AWLA), WILDAF and many others.

The formation of the coalition made it possible for the women's movement to extend its mandate to gender advocacy groups both at the national and rural areas, reach out to other civil society organizations, and were an effective tool for communicating the objectives of the movement to a much larger audience (Adu-Gyamereh 2007; Gyimah-Boadi 2004; Quarm 2009). Individual coalition members and groups worked effortlessly and persistently to ensure policy change on violence against women and children. Specific strategies employed by the coalition include a nationwide consultation that took place between September and December 2003 to mobilize support among the general public and those in government for the bill to become law. Ampofo (2008) states that the nationwide consultation program raised the public's awareness about domestic violence as a problem in the Ghanaian society, and also held to expand support for the bill that was proposed by the coalition. The nationwide consultation benefited from the participation of about 2,270 individuals across the country and created further opportunities for

national level organizations to network with local agencies in the regions. By the time the consultations were over in December 2003, the proposed bill had received the endorsement of key public officials such as the Upper West Regional Minister (Ampofo 2008; Gadzekpo 2001; Prah 2007; Quarm 2009; Sam 2009).

The nationwide consultation exercise also helped to identify concerns and challenges that the bill was likely to face from the general public, from men, as well as administrative and institutional concerns. There was the general perception among the public, especially men and elderly that the proposed bill was only intended to deal with rape in marriage, instead of the larger issue of violence and abuse in society that constituted the focus of the bill. These fears were informed by Ghana's social-cultural environment that perpetuates the dominance of men over women and adults over children. As result, most men and the elderly saw the draft domestic violence bill as a threat to the position of men in society (Adu-Gyamerah 2007; Manuh 2007).

There were people who even interpreted the law as an attempt for women to want to be equal to men (Manuh et al. 2007; Pappoe and Ardayfio-Schandorf 1998). Others also argued that the draft bill when passed into law will have detrimental effects for society and that the bill was not good for family and gender relations in Ghana (Ampofo 2008). The Domestic Violence Coalition therefore engaged in nationwide consultation and sensitization campaign to train and educate the general public about the problems of violence against women and children and the need for government to have a law in place that will protect victims of all forms of abuse in society (Ark Foundation 2007).

The three-month long nationwide consultations involved coalition members targeting public officials, influential people such as the Chief Justice, the Attorney General, the Minister for Women and Children's Affairs, and the Chief of Staff to the President (Ampofo 2008; Manuh 2007; Prah 2004). Others who were targeted included regional and local level officials, chiefs and traditional leaders, press and media houses and journalists, religious groups, the National Chief Imam, students in the tertiary institutions, Trades Unions, professional associations, and the general public. The DV Coalition organized public seminars, forums, workshops, and participated in every regional, local or national program that presented opportunities for the group to make their case to the public.

Other venues that were used for the public education campaigns according to Manuh (2007) included lorry stations and markets. As part of the sensitization, the coalition groups engaged in demonstrations to further increase awareness among the general public, as well as target other government officials who were not yet on board (Gyau 2003; Prah 2007; Sam 2009). The demonstrations were mostly organized to highlight recent incidence of violence such as the serial killings of women that took place in the capital city, Accra, between 1999 and 2000 that resulted in about 30 women losing their lives.

The groups thought the government response was woefully inadequate and less forceful in dealing with the situation to protect women, and reminded the government of its responsibilities under the various international human rights treaties and conventions Ghana has ratified. The Coalition members used the demonstrations to show their support

for women, highlighted the extent of government inaction, and most importantly, focused the attention of the general public on the importance of having reforms in the laws that dealt with violence and abuse of all forms in the Ghanaian society. The Coalition also used vigils, and candle light processions and marches across the country to show solidarity with all women and increase the pressure on officials to act on the draft domestic violence bill.

The DV Coalition groups and members also engaged in lobbying of members of parliament and held strategic meetings to gain their support for the bill. There were instances where, as reported by key informant interview participants, some members of parliament and other key officials in the then ruling government participated in the workshops as facilitators and helped to explain the bill to the general public. The need to lobby members of parliament became necessary after initial consultations with the women's caucus of the House first revealed that, the bill as it had been drafted by FIDA Ghana in 1999, a private member's bill, was going to face difficult challenges. Second, not all members were on board and that some needed to be convinced about the broader benefits of the bill to society.

Kingdon (1995) argues that interest groups and government officials are engaged in a constant lobbying give-and-take whereby both groups lobby and are lobbied at any point in time. In addition to the members of the Gender and Children's Committee of Parliament, the coalition members also lobbied other members such as the leaders of the various parties in the House. And in spite of the limited proportion of women in the

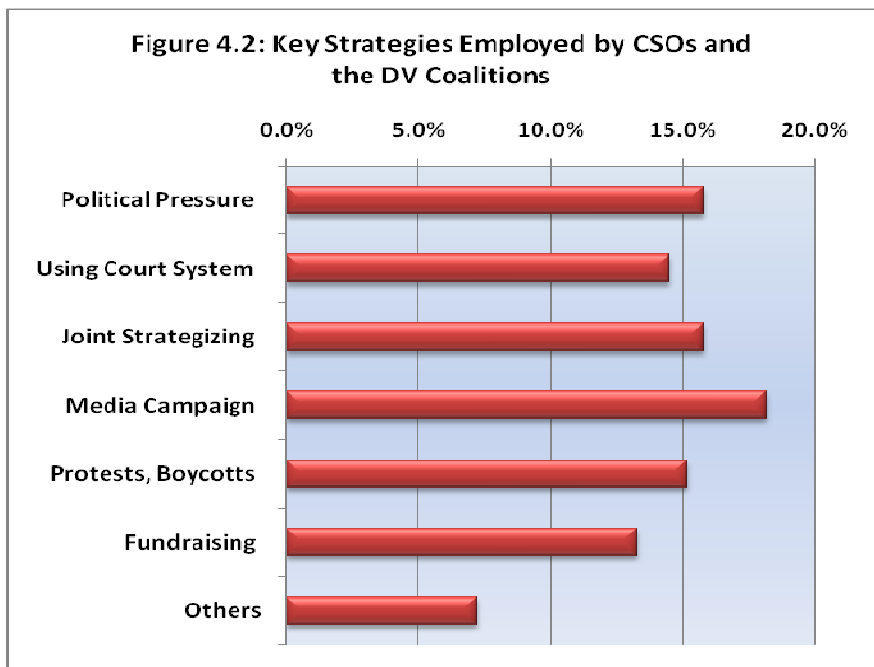
House (30 out of 230 in 2005), the lobbying and other strategies helped to bring the draft domestic violence bill for consideration in the House.

Another strategy that the DV coalition employed was media campaign. The media campaign strategy involved participation in television programs such as “Mmaa Nkomo” and “Adult Education” and other public information and education programs that are also transmitted in the six major local languages of Akan, Ga, Nzema, Dagbani, Hausa, and Ewe (Gadzekpo 2001; Manuh 2007; Sam 2009). Additionally, the bill was translated into some of the local languages listed above and different flyers were prepared, some of which questioned and portrayed various forms of violence and abuse and how they affect the self esteem of victims and society generally. Adu-Gyamerah (2007) states that specific catchy phrases and captions that were used in the media and pictorial campaigns included “Faces of Violence,” where the groups and campaign participants organized pictures and images of women and children who have been victims of abuse. The coalition also prepared newspaper articles, engaged in radio and TV panel discussions, and made a documentary on violence and abuse, projecting “voices” and “faces” of real victims of abuse, as part of the media campaign (Gadzekpo 2001).

Other strategies included lobbying for the support of a very important demographic group, men. Because the bill had a lot to do with spotlighting the public and private relationship between men and women in society, it was important for the coalition members to try and get Ghanaian men to understand their role in the effort to remove all forms of abuse and violence from society. For example, to commemorate Fathers Day On June 19, 2004, the coalition organized a *Walkathon* to recognize and appreciate men as

fathers and brothers in society while also using the avenue to highlight the need for the new legislation in Ghana. The Walkathon has been considered as one of the most effective tools that were employed by the coalition to gain the support of Ghanaian men for the bill (Adu-Gyamereh 2007; Ampofo 2008; Manuh 2007).

According to the key informants, as shown in Figure 4.3, media campaign (18.2 percent), political pressure (15.8 percent) and joint strategizing (15.8 percent) were some of the most effective strategies the groups employed to bring the attention of officials and the general public onto their agenda of reforming domestic violence legislation in Ghana. The top three strategies (media campaign, political pressure, and joint strategizing) identified by the key informants can be described as complementary strategies. First, the opportunities under the new constitution for media and press freedom have helped to expand the scope of media houses to be abreast with the pace of national development. Media houses are now competing to remain relevant by reporting about events from all corners of the country. The media thus found the issues the women's movement were highlighting to be important and thus became critical platform for the women's movement in their efforts.



Source: Author (Compiled from key informant interviews)

Second, the gender-based groups and their coalitions took advantage of the media plurality to engage the public and political parties to incorporate women’s concerns in their governing mandates and manifestoes as was manifest in the NPPs creation of a Ministry for Women and Children’s Affairs when they came into government in 2001. However, it was the joint strategizing idea through which coalitions and network groups such as NETRIGHT, Domestic Violence Coalition (DVC) and the Women’s Manifesto Coalition (WMC) that made a lot of difference in their efforts. The coalitions became the rallying points, provided credibility for the umbrella group and their grassroots agencies spread across the nation, and were used to attract donor support, organize training and seminars to build the capacity of members and policy actors about their goals.

It should be recalled that the strategies that enabled the DV coalition to frame the problem of domestic violence, mobilize support among the actors, the general public and also from governmental actors include communication, consultations and information dissemination. Effective and strategic planning and meetings cemented the commitment among the coalition members to work with the system to help society understand and appreciate the dangers of not having any legal protections for vulnerable groups in society.

4.2.3 Political Stream

The *political* stream of the framework describes upheavals and changes in the policy subsystem that results from what Kingdon calls “institutional windows.” It is just not enough for favorable conditions in the problem and policy streams alone to bring about policy change. Kingdon (1984) thus incorporates into the MS framework “institutional windows” such as elections, breakdowns in policy monopoly or periodic rotations in governing bodies to show that changes in the political stream has the power to bring into convergence the problem and the policy stream. The *political* stream thus accounts for many of the influences that are external to an identified problem and its specified policy proposal.

Kingdon identifies the following as essential components of the politics stream: national mood, political culture, organized political interests, public opinion, electoral turnover and interest group activity. The outcomes of political activities such as elections and changes in government and administration, public protests, campaigns by advocacy

and opposition groups have been influential in determining policy choices. Additionally, political stream indicators like the national mood and public opinion can cause an issue to be included or excluded from the list of possible agenda items for discussion. In the case of Ghana's DV law, national mood and public opinion, was considered to be an important variable that characterizes the political stream of the process that resulted in the domestic violence policy change.

4.2.3.1 National Mood and Public Opinion

The pulse of the nation or national mood played an important role in the processes that resulted in the passage of the law. In its early stages, the bill faced stiff opposition from the general public including some prominent women in parliament and in society. The initial resistance among the majority of the general public for the bill flows from the difficulty on the part of the purveyors of the bill, the women's movement, to properly frame the problem of violence and abuse against women in the Ghanaian society. Of particular significance was the issue of defining rape, especially between married couples which was a key part of the initial draft of the bill (Ampofo 2008; Dwamena-Aboagye 2004; Manuh 2007a).

The bill defined spousal rape as a non-consensual sexual assault in which the perpetrator is the victim's spouse. But according to Ghana's customary laws, which is based on Section 42(g) of the Criminal Code, 1960 (Act 29), a man has every right to have sex with his wife once they are married. Women in marriage were considered to have relinquished their rights against being forced to have sex with their husbands, and

the men felt threatened by the proposal to repeal and even incriminate men for forcing their wives to have sex with them. A parliamentarian who initially opposed the bill based on its intent on repealing and criminalizing marital rape, argued that; “why should parliament pass a bill which will allow our wives to trample upon us and deny us conjugal rights? Why should parliament pass the Domestic Violence Bill (DVB) when guinea worm is endemic in Ghana, and there is a clear and present danger posed by the possible arrival of the H5NI virus?”

On the part of the prominent women politicians who resisted the bill such as the Honorable Gladys Asmah, the first Minister for Women and Children’s Affairs, her arguments also centered on the view that some sections of the draft bill were a violation of the Ghanaian “culture.” Honorable Gladys Asmah is quoted as having argued that “what happens when a woman comes out publicly to say she has been raped by her husband or that she has been forced to bed by her husband, she runs to the police, the man is arrested, charged, convicted and sentenced? The question is, Can this woman return to her matrimonial home when her husband is in prison or heavily fined? (Gyau, 2007).” The women’s movement and coalitions were taken aback by some of these initial events and responses to the bill. However, those events and responses provided opportunities for refining the bill.

Meanwhile, public opinion began to shift in favor of the proposed policy change by the women’s movement by two important events; when the information about the serial killings of women was communicated to the public and the findings from the baseline study of domestic violence in Ghana by the Gender Rights and Documentation

Center. The Gender Center report found that one in three women who participated in the study had been abused, and that was affirmed by data compiled by the Domestic Violence Victim Support Unit (DOVVSU) between 1999 and 2002 that found that one in three women had suffered physical abuse from an intimate partner.

The DOVVSU data further confirmed that between 1999 and 2003, reported cases of defilement increased from 154 to 509 and threatening behavior rose from 21 to 461, with increasing levels of indecent assault and rape. Armed with this information, the women's movement engaged in a nationwide consultation and sensitization campaign to educate and create awareness about the dangers of domestic violence in society. With the media also constantly talking about issues of violence and reports of serial killings that took place in the capital city and other places in the run up to the 2000 general elections, the national mood gradually turned in favor of the policy change that the women's movement had proposed for domestic violence legislation in Ghana.

Additionally, the election of a new government in 2000 that created, for the first time, a cabinet level portfolio for women and children's affairs, also kept women's concerns in the public domain and hence, provided impetus for the proposed DV policy change. Thus apart from the strategies employed by the women's movement and coalitions, such as media campaigns, demonstrations, nationwide consultations, sensitization, and public workshops and education, having official actors taking initiatives that put a focus on women's issues was vitally essential for the bill. However, these events alone were not enough to convert the bill into law. Other factors, such as actors and their characteristics and the windows of opportunity were instrumental in

combination with the public opinion, outcomes of the two elections in 2000 and 2004, and other factors already discussed to push the agenda for policy change on domestic violence to become law in 2007.

4.2.4 Policy Window

Kingdon contends that the three independent streams at some point become fused together. This happens only when windows of opportunity open. The opening of the policy window can hardly be predicted, and they are highly linked to changes in the political stream such as elections and change of government or national mood and public opinion changes. It becomes very difficult in many ways to predict when a policy window will be opened at any given time, and for how long it will remain open at any given situation.

In the DV law, the serial killing of women that took place in the run up to the general elections in 2000 provided real cases to support the coalition's sensitization campaign that was underway to educate and win support for the proposed bill (Archampong, 2010). Similarly, Adu-Gyamerah (2007) and also Manuh (2007) have argued that the change in government after the 2000 election also meant changes in administration, the creation of a Women's Ministry that became a significant addition to the resources that were marshaled to support the bill. However, it is role of actors in government and outside of government whose determination and commitment to getting a policy change on violence against women and children, according to various accounts, as well as the key informants, that made a difference.

4.2.4.1 Policy Community and Actors

The three streams of problems, policy and political are each driven by different forces and tend to flow independently of each other, but none of the three can single-handedly decide the overall outcome of the policymaking process. For instance, the findings from the Gender Center studies or the human rights provisions in Ghana's new constitution by themselves are not enough to bring about a policy change. At some critical points, *policy entrepreneurs* or actors are able to bring the streams together in what Kingdon calls "coupling" when a "policy window" opens either in the *politics* stream or in the *problem* stream which creates opportunities for policy proposals and alternatives to be specified.

Kingdon (1984) describes *policy entrepreneurs* as individuals who invest their time, energy and resources to ensure that an idea or proposal become part of the agenda items which will receive attention and political support from the governing elites. In the case of the DV law, the policy actors and entrepreneurs include the Women's Movement and the conveners of the various gender rights umbrella organizations like NETRIGHT, WILDAF, ABANTU, the Ark Foundation, FIDA Ghana, and others that came together to form the National Domestic Violence Coalition in 2003. Many emerging democracies are often portrayed as corrupt and lacking leadership. Additionally, the Honorable Nana Akufo-Addo in his capacity as the then Attorney General, also becomes a policy entrepreneur for the role that he played to help prepare and move the proposed or draft bill onto the governmental agenda platform.

Kingdon identifies three qualities that are essential for the success of policy entrepreneurs to include (1) expertise or authority that serve as a source of influence and ability to speak for others, (2) political connections or negotiating skills, and (3) persistence. The individual leaders and key players of these groups were mainly professional women, lawyers, academics, and social development experts, who were familiar with international human rights requirements, and feminist agenda. These individuals were familiar also with the policy process, as well as had connections with governmental officials. The leaders of the women's groups also relied on the networks they had with people in government as well as those outside of government to push the agenda for policy change on domestic violence legislation.

Ness (2008) maintains that the expertise of policy entrepreneurs are mostly useful in the *policy* stream where policy actors usually work to first “soften up” and prepare the system for policy change which then make it possible for entrepreneurs to launch their solution and issues at the right time. The position by Ness was seen in the initial consultations that the coalition had with the women's caucus in parliament to evaluate the feasibility for introducing the draft bill as a private members bill. That consultation enabled the group to understand the challenges they were likely to come up with the draft bill as it was at the time, what they needed to do to make it work, who they needed to get in touch with, which parliamentary committees had jurisdiction on gender issues.

The consultations enabled the coalition members to be able to frame domestic violence in a way that won the support of all members of the House. In a parliament where only 11 percent of the members were women, the women's caucus worked with the

DV Coalition and relevant departments, agencies and institutions in government to refine the bill so that in the end, all 230 parliamentarians supported the bill during its final vote. Key government agencies that helped the process include the Attorney General's Department, Parliamentary Select Committee on Gender, Women and Children's Affairs, and the Law Reform Commission.

Kingdon contends that a coupling can be sustainable only when an issue is linked to all three streams: an identified problem is matched with a possible solution in a politically favorable environment. The distinction between the streams is noteworthy because it offers an understanding of how the dynamic characteristics of each stream contribute to the agenda-setting process (Kingdon 1995). For a solution to be "selected out," it does not depend on the qualities of the solution per se, but on the persuasiveness and the ability of a *policy entrepreneur* to adopt and make a case for the technical feasibility, value acceptability of the particular solution or policy proposal and its anticipated future constraints.

What matters most in the policy stream is that policy advocates carefully evaluate proposed solutions and alternatives to remove any ambiguities. The purpose of the nationwide consultations and sensitization workshop that followed the release of the Gender Center study which highlighted damaging revelations about domestic violence in Ghana, was to help the coalition members to bring match the findings with peoples' actual experiences. The workshops were done to also conscientize the public to accept the solution that was proposed by the women's movement, policy change on domestic

violence legislation in the country in ways that will protect and empower women in the Ghanaian society.

4.2.4.2 Elections and Changes in Administration

Meanwhile, policy choices are eventually determined by elected decision-makers usually as part of political calculations. However, Henstra (2010) contend that despite the urgency of a problem, officials would only include an issue on the agenda where they believe such a proposal can be politically acceptable to the general public. Additionally, a country's political environment is a key determinant of whether civil society organizations will be successful with their activities (Darkwah, et. al. 2006). Kingdon argues that the dynamics of the political stream makes it the most influential of the three streams in the consideration of policy decisions among possible alternatives.

Since the initial idea for reforming legislation on domestic violence gathered momentum around 1998 and its passage into law in 2007, there were two national elections in 2000 and 2004. The outcomes of these elections were important for the process that resulted in the law. Various activities and events took place over the close to ten-year period that the women's movement and their coalitions worked hard for policy change in Ghana. The first in the series of these events was the lobbying of the women's caucus in parliament and well as the relevant committees in the House to try and get the bill introduced as a private members' bill. When the group realized that was going to be difficult, there was then the need for a revision of strategy, and that was made possible by the serial killings of women in Accra that preceded the 2000 general elections and served

as practical cases of how dangerous violence against women was in society. Those events (serial killings) provided impetus for coalition development and the first real attempt at working together resulted in the formation of what became known as *Sisters Keepers*.

The coalition, Sisters Keepers, engaged in demonstrations, candle light vigils and marches to the seat of government with a petition that blamed the state for not providing adequate security for women. Throughout the campaigning process for the 2000, the coalition registered their displeasure with how the government of the day responded to violence against women, especially those cases that took place immediately prior to the general elections. The campaigning and demonstrations organized by the women's movement had the following results; in early 2001, the new administration that came into office as a result of the elections, immediately appointed a new Inspector General of Police (IGP) and was charged to look at ways for increasing or improving internal security, especially for women.

Additionally, the Honorable Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo who was appointed to head the Attorney General's (AG's) Department by the new administration in 2001 prepared the first draft of the domestic violence bill for public comment. Having been through its first public comment or hearing process in parliament, the draft bill became a Government Bill. This was after the AG's Department had received and studied a draft bill submitted by the women's movement and another report from the Law Reform Commission (LRC) all at a time when the Gender Center Study had produced some startling revelations about the state of violence in Ghanaian society. The new administration also created a cabinet level portfolio for women and children's issues, the

Ministry for Women and children's Affairs (MOWAC) with the Honorable Gladys Asmah as the first Minister.

Meanwhile, after the first two years of the new administration, the momentum around the domestic violence bill seemed to be dying down and needed a new shot of energy. The opportunities for the women's movement to keep the pressure on the government still abound because they were preparing for re-election in 2004 and needed issues on which to build their campaigns. The women's movement took advantage of opportunities for fresh election every four years and prepared the women's manifesto and formed a coalition, the Women's Manifesto Coalition (WMC), to present their positions on policies, especially those that affected the welfare of women and children to the various political parties. The women's manifesto is a document that highlights the challenges that confronts women in Ghana and makes demands on governments to find ways to respond effectively to those concerns and challenges

Thus, it is fair to state that the outcomes of the general elections in 2000 and 2004 offered important milestones for the women's movement in Ghana. First, the 2000 elections brought in a new administration that instituted some measures that were necessary for increasing the avenues for the movement to participate in the policy process. These included the creation of MOWAC, and the AG's willingness to work with the women's movement to bring the draft domestic violence bill for public comment. Second, the 2004 election that retained the Kufuor-led administration in office allowed both the domestic violence and women's manifesto coalitions to continue with the

working relations they have developed with administration officials to push for policy change that eventually occurred during Kufuor's second term.

4.2.5 Window of Opportunity and Coupling in DV Law

The draft DV bill was seen as a highly necessary and required law in the Ghanaian society. This was after the Gender Center study and other baseline studies established that one in three women in Ghana have been physically or sexually abused all because of debasing customary laws practices that did not respect or protect the rights of women, and which also operated outside the purview of the available criminal laws. In spite of the noted shortcomings of Section 42(g) of the Criminal Code, 1960 (Act 29), the socio-cultural and paternalistic tendencies in the Ghanaian society made it difficult for policy change to occur, even in the midst of compelling evidence in support of widespread violence against women and children in society. One can argue that the three streams (problem, policy and politics) had not come together yet. Ghana's return to democratic governance in the early 1990s brought with it opportunities for civil society participation, the women's movement took advantage of that first window to organize and build support for policy change whenever the environment became conducive for the other streams to be joined.

Despite the joining of the other streams that seemed to have happened with the change in administration in 2001, the public opinion or national mood that supported the arguments for policy change, there was still the need for policy entrepreneurs in government and outside of government to work to bring all the factors together that

resulted in the passage of the DV law. As far as the DV law is concerned, activities that are considered to be windows of opportunity include Ghana's return to democratic rule, adoption of new constitution that guarantees, among others, fundamental human rights and freedoms. Other factors were the revival and strengthening of the women's movement as an active civil society organization, press freedom and media proliferation, the desire to work together in coalitions and build networks among the gender-rights advocacy groups. Meanwhile, key informants also argued that the creation of WAJU (DOVVSU) within the Ghana Police Service helped by collecting information on the incidence and forms of abuse and violence, as well as the characteristics of the perpetrators and victims of violence in Ghana.

Additionally, changes in government that resulted from the general elections in 2000 and the subsequent retention of the Kufuor-led administration that was seen as open to women's participation as evidenced by the creation of a Women's Ministry in 2001, a key campaign promise of the NPP to elevate or improve the status of women. It needs to be stated that material resource limitation was among the many challenges and constraints that militated against the efforts by the women's movement to bring about policy change on domestic violence in Ghana. In view of that, the groups utilized the available windows of opportunity to achieve their objectives such as relying on their networks and connections with people in government such as the Honorable Nana Akufo-Addo, the then Attorney General under the Kufuor administration and the women's caucus in parliament. These events and factors were significantly important policy

windows in the processes that resulted in the domestic violence policy change in Ghana in 2007.

It is important to note that key informant respondents identified key actors in government whose efforts and support for the policy change to include the Honorable Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, the then Attorney General and Minister of Justice; the Honorable Gladys Asmah, the first Minister for MOWAC; and the Honorable Hajia Alima Mahama, the Minister who replaced Gladys Asmah at the MOWAC. They also identified the leadership of the parliamentary select committee on gender and members on that committee, as well as the women's caucus in parliament whose courage and support helped to refine the draft bill and its acceptance into the governmental agenda.

4.3 Findings

This study applied a revision of Kingdon's multiple streams framework to evaluate the different accounts about the activities, resources, strategies and challenges of gender-rights advocacy groups in Ghana's Domestic Violence Law of 2007. The study attempted to highlight the need for CSOs, especially gender-based groups to be recognized and supported as an alternative where there are no quotas and electoral system reforms for increasing the substantive representation of women in public policy-making in Ghana. Major findings of the study are discussed in relation to the research questions:

- Why is it necessary to have a comprehensive view of the efforts by (gender-based) CSOs to enhance the representation of women's views in public policy process in Ghana?
- How are gender-based CSOs organized, and what challenges do they face?
- What strategies and resources these groups employ in their advocacy?

- How have their achievements impacted Ghana's democratic development at the national level?

The role played by the women's movement in representing women's perspectives in Ghana's democratization process, particularly the processes that resulted in the DV law have been captured and reported extensively by researchers. But these reports are characterized by fragmentary analyses based on the practical importance and backgrounds of the researchers such as communications, sociology, economics, anthropology and political science. A holistic approach to reporting how gender-based CSOs have attempted to represent women in Ghana is necessary. According to the key informants who were interviewed, the desire to represent women has encouraged various gender-rights advocacy groups to develop working coalitions with other advocacy groups to address the challenges faced by women in the Ghanaian society.

The groups employ similar strategies in their efforts to empower women to actively participate in the policy process. For instance, respondents unequivocally listed media campaigns, political pressure, and joint strategizing, as some of the key strategies they employed to bring issues of concern to the attention of the public and governmental decision-makers. Furthermore, the CSOs rely on the same international and local sources for technical and financial support, and are also confronted with common challenges in their efforts to enhance opportunities for women in the democratization process. They all identified the voluntary and free services their advocacy efforts received from professionals such as women lawyers, professors and researchers, as well as international feminist movements.

Based on the earlier analysis, the different reports and accounts of the activities of the women's movement revealed that several indicators and focusing events were relied on by the groups to frame DV as a problem in Ghana. There are reports that describe in concrete detail the importance of the two general elections in 2000 and 2004, which brought John Kufuor and the NPP into government and also retained that administration in office to make it easier for the women's groups and their coalitions to work with familiar faces in the administration. The role played by the women's movement in the 2004 elections, such as the preparation of the Women's Manifesto and the retention of Kufuor's administration ensured familiarity in terms of personnel and with the process, and that eventually was very significant in converting the bill into law in 2007. For instance, on realizing that the then Minister for Women's Affairs, the Honorable Gladys Asmah was derailing the groups' efforts to effect policy change on domestic violence, the women's movement and their coalition mounted a successful campaign and petitioned the administration. The result of that effort was the appointment of a gender expert and a lawyer, the Honorable Hajia Alima Mahama as the new Minister for Women and Children's Affairs, and under whose tenure the bill became law in 2007.

It is important to recognize that these events could not have been separate incidents, but rather were linked and necessary conditions that created the needed environment for the policy change on domestic violence in Ghana. It therefore becomes essential to contend that a comprehensive analysis of the attributes of gender-based CSOs makes it possible to identify and use any other information that a fragmentary report may not have captured. A comprehensive analysis also makes it possible to establish

connections and trace relationships among various events in support of expanded opportunities for CSOs to represent women, especially in societies like Ghana where no quota laws or electoral reforms have been instituted at the national level.

The answer to the second research question (how are gender-based CSOs organized and what challenges these groups face), focused on the goals, and types of issues the groups deal , such as helping to effect policy changes. There is no doubt that the women's movement in Ghana played an influential role in calling for the establishment of the Women and Juvenile Unit (WAJU, now Domestic Violence Victim Support Unit-DOVVSU) within the Police Service in the mid 1990s. The creation of the Unit was an important step in the journey to reforming Ghana's domestic violence laws in 2007 because the Unit provided statistics and other information about the prevalence rate of abuse, as well as the characteristics of victims and perpetrators.

The women's movement combined information from DOVVSU with findings from studies by the Gender Center and the Ark Foundation to frame domestic violence as a problem in the Ghanaian society. These groups also used the available information to educate the public and called for support for policy change from government officials. Establishing a link between the creation of DOVVSU and other sponsored baseline studies by the Ark Foundation and the Gender Center is very important because that link clarifies the argument in Kingdon's framework about the role of indicators in the framing of a problem, such as domestic violence.

Specific goals of the women's movement, according to the key informant interview participants, included economic justice and economic governance for women,

land reforms, increased space for women's political participation. Some of the groups focus on highlighting human rights abuses, violence against women and children, providing direct services to victims of child abuse and gender-based violence, issues of health and maternal care, and also working to achieve all the Millennium Development Goals, especially those that focus on women and children's rights in society. In Ghana, the coalition of women's groups through their umbrella organizations like NETRIGHT, WILDAF, FIDA Ghana, ISODEC, WACSI and others have consistently worked to promote formal and informal education through capacity building and culture of tolerance among the citizens. Organizing around issues of concern to sections of the population, such as women and children, essentially constitute another major preoccupation of most of these groups and for which they have effective on many fronts. For instance, as part of the struggles to get the domestic violence bill passed into law, the women's movement achieved another important milestone in their advocacy for enhanced opportunities for women in Ghana.

In 2002, John Kufuor and the NPP administration started working on one of their campaign promises to reform the nation's health delivery system by replacing the 'cash-and-carry' system with a National Health Insurance System. The women's movement requested for maternal care reforms to be incorporated in the proposed health care reform laws. The proposals of the women's movement were given serious consideration and eventually became part of the Ghana's National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), Act 650 of 2003. In view of the efforts by the gender-rights groups, pregnant women in Ghana now enjoy free maternal health care under the NHIS. This achievement is part of

the broad agenda of the women's movement, their umbrella and network groups to ensure women's substantive representation - women's issues and concerns are incorporated into national development agenda.

In addition to focusing on women's issues, the women's movement has been instrumental in other areas of governance. Generally, the goals of the women's movement in Ghana, like their counterparts in the rest of Africa, include focusing on broad social and human-centered objectives and issues, and these include challenging development practices that exploit women; and calling for more access to resources for poor rural women. Other objectives of the women's movement center on promoting efforts for enhanced democratic opportunities for women through the development of institutions by calling for authoritarian systems to give way to open democratic governments. From the key informant interviews, a representative from ABANTU had this to say about the focus of that organization:

“ABANTU employs three thematic areas (women and governance, women and climate change, and women and peace building) in their work to develop the capacity of women to participate in decision-making to influence policies from a gender justice perspective and address inequalities, social injustices in social relation in Ghana.” Key Informant Interview, March/April, 2011.

Similarly, there are coalition member groups such as the Ghana Anti-corruption Coalition and WILDAF that incorporate anticorruption programs into their broad objectives. According to the key informant respondents, these groups educate, create awareness among their members and the general public about the negative effects of corruption, and empower grassroots organizations and citizens to demand responsiveness,

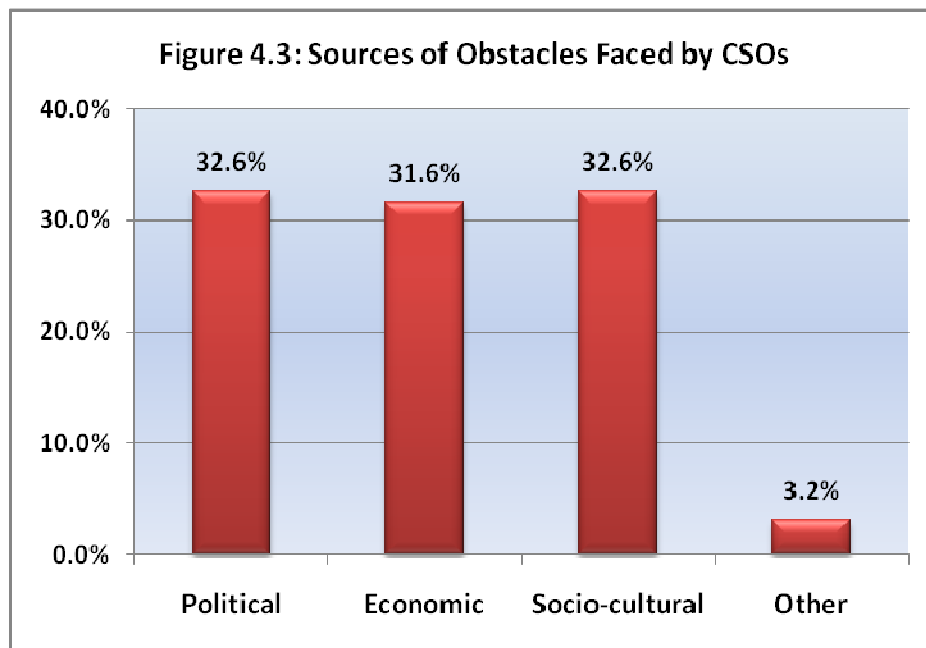
accountability, and transparency from people and institutions in Ghana. These functions of the women's movement have made it possible for the general society benefit from the expertise of professionals and development practitioners who engage in research and public education campaign efforts by the women's movement and their coalitions. Additionally, performing these functions have ensured that gender-based CSOs now have the credibility for attracting outside support (financial and technical) to develop capacity, and build institutions to improve Ghana's democratization processes.

Meanwhile, specific challenges that militate against the activities and the attainment of goals by the women's movement include difficulty in accessing logistic and financial support locally. The groups depend on international and local donor support, as well as other charitable organizations to fund their programs. The prospect of democratic development seem to be a necessary prerequisite for attracting direct funding and working partnerships with international development agencies. This position was highlighted by a majority of the key informants and was covered extensively in the various reports and accounts that describe the women's movement and their activities in Ghana's democratization process. However, some autocratic and despotic governments have criticized such affiliations and collaborations between local civil society groups, international organizations, and CSOs. A major criticism is centered on the perception that such collaborative efforts constitute outside interference in the recipient country's domestic affairs. Nonetheless, Ghana's return to democratic governance in the early 1990s was hailed by local civil society groups and their international development

partners as renewed opportunities for increasing civil society participation in the development decision-making processes.

Other challenges include political and socio-cultural obstacles, perceived competition between CSOs and governments, as well as with community leaders who think that nonstate groups could out-compete them for donor support and public attention. Additionally, the long entrenched cultural norms and systems, patriarchal institutions, structures, and practices that have been part of the Ghanaian society over the years also tend to militate against the success of the movement. These systems and structure still do not support women's empowerment issues in any form or shape. Different opinions about women's rights and gender issues still persist in the Ghanaian society, and thus make it difficult for the advocacy efforts from the various gender-rights CSOs to generate the desired impacts on individuals and the national political development process.

On the whole, the key informants were almost equally divided among the top three challenges that militate against efforts of the women's movement to enhance women's substantive representation in Ghana, as shown in Figure 4.4. All top three challenges can be classified as structural because they result from the organization or functioning of groups with economic, political and social implications. The activities of the umbrella groups, their grassroots coalitions and networks border on changing certain aspects of the social, economic and even political dimension of society and so are bound to face challenges from same.



Source: Author (Compiled from key informant interview responses)

Meanwhile, quite a few of the respondents listed other sources of problems and challenges that confront the groups in their efforts. A significant observation was their concerns about the possibility of having an intergenerational problems and burnout among the leadership ranks. This institutional concern is what this study finds to be a critical challenge for sustaining the momentum currently enjoyed by the women’s movement, a point that was shared by the respondents as well. This is because the leadership of most of the groups in the various coalitions and umbrella organizations are highly skewed in favor of middle-aged professional women with minimal involvement and participation among the younger generation. There is therefore a need for effective and serious succession planning by the leadership of the groups and coalitions that are working to project women’s issues and perspectives onto the governmental agenda. They

need to also engage more people, young and old, men and women, in a discussion about where they are going, how they get there, both in the short-term, and also in the long-term, when the current crop of leaders are no longer around to lead the efforts.

The answers to the question about the strategies and resources employed by the women's movement in their advocacy also describes how CSOs have impacted on Ghana's democratic development, especially at the national level. Essential resources that these groups have relied on, and which was highlighted greatly in the literature, include specific provisions in the 1992 Constitution that permits freedom of association and fundamental human rights. The groups have taken advantage of those constitutional provisions to engage in massive reorganization like never before in the history of the nation to rally support for policy change on issues that affect women's basic human and property rights, and opportunities to participate at all levels of decision-making.

The result of these renewed avenues include the formation of various coalitions and networks such as the National Domestic Violence Coalition (DVC), the Women's Manifesto Coalition (WMC), Network for Women's Rights in Ghana (NETRIGHT), Ghana Research and Advocacy Program (GRAP), Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF), and many others. These networks and coalitions generally work together to push gender rights through the Women's Manifesto, Domestic Violence Law, engage in nationwide consultation, sensitization, and educate the general public about the dangers of violence against women and children in society.

According to the key informants, other resources include support from key intellectuals and professionals such as women lawyers, professors and social

development researchers who initiated, and rallied support for the need to change policies that affect women's opportunities and ability to participate in public policy-making. These professionals and intellectuals have also engaged in research and written reports about the state of the Ghanaian woman, the limited opportunities that were available to women under the existing Criminal Code to seek justice from abusive relationships. The activism of the key intellectuals and professionals have been instrumental in organizing, advocating, educating the public, while soliciting support for the need to create conducive environment for women to participate freely in Ghana's democratization process.

Specific activities by the movement have included organizing information about the incidence of violence in Ghanaian society. They also called for the creation of institutions such as DOVVSU within the Police Service to deal with victims and perpetrators of domestic violence in society, and taking steps to frame domestic violence as a problem and utilizing the necessary avenues to seek policy change. These avenues include media houses like television, newspapers and radio stations.

The importance of the media to civil society participation in the democratization process was manifest in how the coalition of women's groups employed the media to rally, educate and propagate information about their activities that brought attention to domestic violence in Ghanaian society. It could be stated that, a plural and unbiased media constitute a necessary ingredient, if one knows how to use it to support efforts to entrench democratic gains such as has been the case with the women's movement in Ghana over the years.

In addition to the support from media institutions, trade unions, traditional and religious leaders, the efforts by the women's movement for policy change also gained very much from international feminist groups and networks, as well as international donor agencies. For instance, efforts of the movement that resulted in the creation of the Women's Manifesto received support from the Friedrich Egbert Stiftung (FES), a German international development foundation. The interview participants also mentioned agencies such as the European Union, the Canadian Embassy in Ghana through Canadian Crossroads international, and other that have provided direct financial support, as well as sponsored studies to help society understand the state of the Ghanaian woman.

The international feminist groups on the other hand, provided technical assistance through conference participation, leadership training and workshops that helped to bring local agencies to be abreast with the times. These efforts took the form of providing relevant literature, guiding theories and strategies for lobbying to win support of government officials, as well as public opinion for women's agenda issues. Groups such as Pathways to Women's Empowerment, International IDEA, WILDAF and FIDA International easily come to mind because of the enormous opportunities they have availed to the women's movement in Ghana through their local affiliates.

The study therefore lists as important achievements of the women's movement in Ghana, the formation of civil society coalition on domestic violence (DVC). The Coalition provided nationwide public education and sensitization on domestic violence, and pressurized the state, through campaigning and advocacy to get a draft DV bill passed into law. Other impacts include the formation of a coalition to push for political

parties to adopt a jointly-prepared Women's Manifesto, a document that highlights issues of concern to women, such as rights protection, access to economic and social justice, opportunities for empowerment and equal participation in public policy-making.

There has been a spill-over effect, whereby the activities of the women's movement have been instrumental in leading anti-corruption efforts against public office holders in Ghana. The activities of the women's movement in highlighting violence against women and children in Ghana has resulted in the creation of institutions such as the DOVVSU within the Police Service to provide support for victims and deal with perpetrators. Additionally, the efforts of the groups in advocating for victims of abuse, women's rights, also focus on public education, training, and awareness, especially for women, on issues of governance. There also is increased acceptance of gender views, equality and women's empowerment among Ghanaians.

4.4 Evaluation of the MS Framework

The processes that resulted in Ghana's Domestic Violence law offer an excellent case for applying Kingdon's framework because of the vital questions that are generated about parts of the framework. For example, how does disintegration affect policy communities? How separate are the streams in unstable political environment? The essence of each of these questions is that, governments in majority of the countries in the developing world, including Ghana even after 18 years of democratic governance, could still be described as unstable. Besides, in most of the developing world, clear differentiations of policy subsystems are also mostly non-existent because formal

institutions are poorly developed as well. As a result, where policy communities are not well-connected or cannot work together, it may be difficult to apply Kingdon's framework to analyze the policy process in such systems. However, in the case of the DV law, the women's movement relied on institutions in government and outside of government such as the women's caucus in parliament, parliamentary committees, and agencies like the AG's department. The groups also employed the services of DOVVSU within the Police Service to frame the problem, and build public support for the draft bill. In this sense, a revision of Kingdon's framework was necessary to make it suitable to the Ghanaian situation.

Additionally, the women's movement in Ghana is made up several issue-based and umbrella groups. Thus, one can find network groups like Network for Women's Rights in Ghana (NETRIGHT), Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF), and Ghana Association for Women's Welfare (GAWW). Even though, there seem to be fragmentation and overlaps in the objectives, and responsibilities of most of these umbrella groups, as well as the individuals who are members.

However, the fragmented nature of the women's movement in Ghana can rather be seen as strength because of the opportunities that such fragmentation offered to individual groups and the movement generally in terms of support mobilization, and access to resources to engage in the policy process. The connectedness of the women's movement in Ghana, as well as the characteristics of the leaders of the groups, majority of whom are professionals such as lawyers, academics, social development and human rights advocates, has been seen as one of the essential assets to the movement's efforts.

Besides, the DV law as a case study allows Kingdon's framework in this study to be more than just a heuristic tool in the sense that the case permits both descriptions and prescriptions to be made about the variable and factors from the three streams. Such conclusions about the predictive abilities of Kingdon's model, therefore questions critics who argue that the model is random and depends on chance. For example, an understanding of the constituents of the political stream allows for predictions to be made about the chance of coupling taking place and how. Labadie (1984) has argued that in the absence of organized advocacy campaigns by pressure groups, politicians would have little thrust to prioritize women's empowerment and equality issues for competing agenda issues that drive their re-election bids. This position is true in the face of scarce resources. However, rational choice decision principles call for utmost attention to be paid to the issues that citizens consider essential and are which likely to generate popular support.

Kingdon's model talks about the primeval soup, the presence of many actors and ideas, but there is generally a limited description of the role of interest, networks and coalitions, and how they can impact policy-oriented learning (Bennett and Howlett 1992). The framework does not make any provision to characterize how elite women, their networks and interests have influenced agenda-setting processes in women's empowerment struggles in Ghana. Yet, in the Ghanaian situation described in this paper, these individuals who, due to the unfavorable political conditions at home in the 1970s and 80s had to live in exile but decided to study the political organizations abroad and civil society advocacy which eventually became beneficial with the opening of the "institutional window" of Ghana's return to democratic rule in 1992.

Furthermore, Kingdon's framework for studying policy change as agenda-setting in this research was only meant to explain, in historical terms, how the problem of domestic violence was framed and how and when resources were organized to change the policy for dealing with the impacts of domestic violence in Ghana. Thus the framework is good at framing past events as it was useful in describing the extent to which inputs from the various actors and streams affected the agenda-setting that reformed domestic violence legislation in Ghana. However, the framework is unable to specify which of the variables (e.g., indicators, focusing events) will be defining a problem. The framework also fails to predict the extent to which the variables could impact on the agenda-setting of domestic violence. It is only historical in focus and not a predictive theory.

The usefulness of John Kingdon's multiple streams framework is found in its ability to explain why some issues, problems and concerns become prominent agenda items at given times while others fade out. Additionally, the framework make it possible for policies to be broken down into simple, but plain, convenient, comprehensive, and generalized items such as problems, policies and politics to which policy actors can bring some needed attention. Thus, applying the framework to evaluate the activities, strategies and outcomes of the civil society movement especially in emerging democracies like Ghana where public policy mostly emanates or originates from the executive branch as this study proposes to do, will be an important accomplishment for the framework.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This study sought to offer a comprehensive outline, in a case study, the role played by gender-based civil society organizations (CSOs) in the agenda-setting of Ghana's Domestic Violence (DV) Law of 2007. The study applied a revision of John Kingdon's multiple streams framework to holistically analyze different accounts of the activities, resources, strategies, outcomes, and challenges of gender-based civil society groups that resulted in domestic violence legislation reform in Ghana. A comprehensive analysis, the study argues, is necessary to generate a common lens for understanding and appreciating the role of gender-based CSOs in increasing the views and interests of women in public policy and in politics generally.

The study, based on its findings, recommend that CSOs need to be recognized and supported to increase substantive representation for women in emerging democracies where women still have token representation or do not have the numbers to provide substantive representation for women in the public policy process. This position also applies to political systems where governance institutions are inadequately developed to ensure transparency and accountability, and where gender-based CSOs are contributing immensely towards capacity building among their grassroots organizations to improve democratization. The study generates implications for theory development especially in the application of Kingdon's framework as analysis tool in emerging democracies where institutions are still developing or evolving.

This final chapter presents key findings of the study, and discusses implications of these findings for theory development. The discussions also consider implications of the study for policymaking especially, on the expanded role of CSOs generally and gender-rights advocacy groups in particular in the democratization processes in emerging democracies. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how to carry forward beyond this initial investigation about the involvement of CSOs in democratization not only in Ghana but also in comparative terms.

5.1 Summary of Findings

Ghana's democratic development process, which commence with the introduction of a new (4th Republican) constitution in 1992, enjoy impressive reviews from democracy monitoring institutions such as the Freedom House and World Democracy Audit. This is partly due to the fact that Ghana finds herself in a continent where military and autocratic despots still dominate the political and power arenas, and where countries easily plunge into protracted civil and ethnic wars. A critical look at events in Ghana, however, reveals that even after about twenty years of competitive multiparty elections, formal democratic institutions are not well-developed or well-equipped to ensure accountable governance that addresses the concerns and interests of all citizens equally. Like the rest of emerging democracies, inequalities in representation especially for women still persist in Ghana.

Meanwhile, the comprehensive analysis done in this study showed that gender-based CSOs in Ghana have been successful in increasing the presence and interests of women in the policy process. The case has been made that in Ghanaian CSOs have been

effective in Ghana for two reasons: The first is the provisions in the constitution that permits fundamental human rights and freedom of association which paved the way for gender-based groups to emerge and engage in massive reorganization to advocate for the interests, concerns, and perspectives of women in Ghana. The second reason is that Ghana, like other democracies in the developing world, face challenges with institutional development and effectiveness. However, the analysis that was done in the previous chapter of this study revealed that where formal democratic efforts are permitted to create the necessary environment, gender-based CSOs can be instrumental players to expand, and strengthen institutions for democratic governance.

The comprehensive analysis of the various accounts of the role of gender-based CSOs in Ghana's domestic violence policy change revealed also that CSOs in Ghana relied on resources within and outside of the country, and engaged in strategic planning to affect governmental agenda-setting process. The resources that were relied on include general and specific constitutional provisions on human and property rights for all citizens, avenues for associational life and media plurality. Thus Ghana's return to democratic governance in 1992, coupled with the 1995 international women's conference in Beijing provided the much-needed impetus for women's organization in Ghana, to increase avenues available to women in the public policymaking process.

Additionally, the analysis also revealed that other incidents, focusing events, were critical to the success of the efforts by the gender-based CSOs to engender legislative reforms on domestic violence in Ghana. These events include the establishment of the WAJU (now DOVSSU); and findings from baseline studies that were commissioned by

the gender-rights advocacy groups and their coalitions with support from international donors and feminist groups. Other focusing events like the serial murders of over 30 women in the capital city, Accra prior to the general elections in 2000, emboldened the gender-based groups to call for policy change in Ghana.

The groups also relied on resources such as various media, a network of grassroots organizations spread across the nation, key intellectuals and professionals who committed their time, and research that highlight the dangers of violence against women and children in the Ghanaian society. Strategically, the women's movement in Ghana engaged in a nationwide consultation with findings from baseline studies by the Gender and Human Rights Documentation Center. The group, their coalitions and networks succeeded in employing Ghana's multiple media sources to sway the national mood generally to be in support of the draft bill to reform domestic violence laws in Ghana.

It should be stated that, the difficulty with relying on local sources of funding for programs meant that the CSOs in Ghana had to depend on international donors. These outside funding and technical support enabled CSOs in Ghana to engage in public education, capacity and leadership development to push for policy change on domestic violence. Meanwhile, the international alliances have also generated positive spill-over effects for the groups and Ghana's democratization process as well. The training, workshops and seminars that the women's movement organized for their members, the general public, and official policy actors helped to win support for their agenda item of changing the existing laws on domestic violence in Ghana. The CSOs have also become credible agents for attracting the much-needed donor support for social development.

The findings from this study about the role of CSOs in democratization affirm the position by Etzioni (1985), Sabatier (1999), and Birkland (2001), as well that political organizations and interests groups like the gender-based CSOs in Ghana, perform critical social and political functions. Groups involved in the women's movement in Ghana dominate the political and democratic development processes in a majority of emerging societies like Rwanda, Botswana, Uganda, Tanzania, and many other systems in Asia and South America. They provide opportunities for increasing issue representation for women and children outside the legislative assemblies by building consensus, and networking with other like-minded groups, mobilize resources, and make policy demands to governments and official policy actors. These groups also commit, and work in coalitions, and use their relationships with official policy actors to bring the change their desire for their constituents, and have thus become important ingredients to the democratic processes in much of the developing world. From the foregoing, the study generates implications both for theory development and also for policymaking.

5.2 Implications of the Study for Theory

This study was designed with three inferences or propositions about the relationship between democratic systems and civil society organizations. The first inference was that the democratization process that started in early 1990s in Ghana created opportunities for guaranteed freedoms and civil liberties, and allowed independent organizational forms to emerge and highlight under-representation of groups such as women in the public policy process. A major finding of this study that adds to the

existing literature on the role of CSOs, especially gender-rights groups in increasing women's issue representation and presence in politics in emerging democracies, is that civil society are an instrumental players in the development of democratic institutions.

The above position is more relevant where initial democratic openings, such as the adoption of the new constitution in 1992, is known to have paved the way, through guaranteed freedoms and fundamental human rights, for civil society groups to emerge and participate in public policy-making in Ghana. That is, where formal democratic efforts are marshaled into creating the necessary atmosphere, civil society organizations can take advantage of the opportunities to participate and strengthen institutions of governance as is happening with the women's movement in Ghana. Similar outcomes have also been recorded about the women's movements in other emerging democracies such the Pro-Femme, the umbrella organization for all women's groups in Rwanda that has become the channel for bringing women and women's views and perspectives into politics and public policy (Powley 2004; Schwartz 2005; Tripp 2003; UNDP 2002). Thus, the presence of strong, diverse, vibrant women's movements is a critical ingredient to democratization, especially in emerging systems where governance institutions are not adequately developed or equipped to check corruption and biases in issue representation.

The women's movement in Ghana is grassroots-oriented and thus transcends beyond the major cities with grassroots representation and presence at regional, district and community levels. Through the forces of collective action for equality in representation, and with the force of law, Ghana's 1992 Constitution, and the various international Convention and Treaties, the women succeeded in engaging and educating

the public to gain their support in framing violence and abuse against women as problems that needed to be addressed officially. In addition to the local network of grassroots women's groups across the country, the women movement in Ghana relied on support and contacts with international feminist groups to learn the ways for advocating for policy changes that improve women's situation in democratic environments.

Furthermore, differences in the physical and organizational locations of women have not been enough to prevent them from coming together to rally around common issues of concern to their livelihoods and experiences. This was the case with the formation of the Domestic Violence Coalition (DVC) in Ghana to fight policy change to the existing laws on domestic violence, by drawing on nationwide and international feminist networks for various forms of support. The positive interactive effects between local women's movements and their international counterparts generate many important benefits for CSO development, improves women's participation in national development discourse.

Gender-rights groups continue to act to empower women to be able to address not only their life challenges such as issues of domestic violence and gender discrimination, but also to be empowered to participate in the broad national development agenda (Dalton 2009; Staggenborg 1988). The nature of women's civil society organization in Ghana is such that, in the countryside and rural areas where women are the majority of the populations, poverty levels in these areas are mostly higher than in the urban areas. The women in these areas also know and understand their situation, and thus welcome

any opportunity to alleviate and address the many challenges they face in their daily living.

To solicit grassroots support, especially among women, the women's movement in Ghana instituted leadership and capacity development programs to equip women with skills to understand and participate in national development with donor support. The skills and capacity development programs have been critical channels reaching out to grassroots groups and building the necessary networks for empowerment, participation, as well as to win public support for the women's agenda in the policymaking process. The groups also relied on other avenues such as a plural media and the opportunities to organize information to persuade officials to accept the failure of the status quo laws in protecting women with the result that changed the existing legislation on dealing with victims and perpetrators of domestic violence in Ghana. Thus, specifically gender-based CSOs in Ghana, took advantage of the opening of opportunities in society to engage the state to further reform the system through the development of institutions that equally reflect the interests of all citizens.

Another important theoretical contribution from this study to civil society literature, especially in emerging democracies in Africa, is the role of international donors and international civil society groups such as feminist movements in the democratic developments in emerging democracies. Gyimah-Boadi (2004) argues that it will be difficult for CSOs in emerging democracies in Africa to survive and meaningfully influence policymaking without support from outside or international donors. Having positioned themselves as viable channels for strengthening institutions of governance

through initial organizing, and grassroots capacity development, the women's movement in Ghana gained access to international donor sources such as the European Union, Canadian Crossroads International, USAID and others. Besides the donor financial assistance, the women's groups also benefited from international feminist movements such as FIDA International, WILDAF, and Pathways to Women's Empowerment, International IDEA, and others.

The support from international civil society groups were in the form of technical assistance and training, opportunities for conference participation and access to extensive literature on how to build coalitions, engage in media campaigns, as well as equip members of the local affiliates with all the necessary skills needed to be effective advocates. Other kinds of support from outside donors and civil society organization came in the form of sponsored studies and reports that helped to highlight the challenges that women faced in Ghana's democratic process. In the end, the donor community played a significant role to ensure reforms in institutional arrangements in the activities and organizations of CSOs, with the result that garnered enhanced avenues for the women's movement to play active part in representing women in Ghana. This conclusion is consistent with the second inference for this study that the existence of civil society and gender-rights groups in emerging democracies increases avenues for more people, especially women, to participate in policymaking from outside the formal political power arenas.

The third and final inference for this study was that in the short run, society can adopt, recognize, and support CSOs to become a viable means for addressing gender

imbalance in policy-making while efforts are made to increase the descriptive representation of women in Ghana, in the long-run. The above inference or proposition manifests in the study's finding that the activities and efforts of gender-based CSOs were instrumental in the development of governance institutions in Ghana. The activities and strategies employed by the women's movement included the formation of coalition and networks, made contacts with the necessary official agencies, and engaged in a nationwide consultation and sensitization campaign.

The target audience for the nationwide consultation and sensitization campaign also included the women's caucus and other members of parliament such as those on the Gender Relations Committee. The working relations between the women's movement and the women's caucus in parliament, among other things, was intended to educate them about the need to bring the draft domestic violence bill into the House of Parliament as a private member's bill. Other groups that benefited from the training and technical support from the women's movement and their international affiliates included officials from the Ministry for Women and Children's Affairs, the Attorney General's Department and the Law Reform Commission. The training of public officials has been a unique development that allowed the draft DV bill to win the support of the entire House where women make up less than 10 percent. Thus, in addition to helping to develop institutions for accountability to further entrench democratic gains, gender-based CSOs also constitute important players in educating the public and government officials on desirable policy concerns that affect women as an important demographic group in the Ghanaian society.

Regarding Kingdon's multiple streams framework, this study showed that policymaking in emerging democracies mostly mimic what generally pertains in advanced democracies, except that in the developing world, institutions are inadequately developed for effective monitoring. However, the presence and role of civil society in increasing avenues for participation for women, developing governance institutions, as has been explained in this study, means that policy analysis need to incorporate a role for networks and coalitions which are strategies and mediums through which civil society actors affect the policy process. There was thus the need to refine and revise the original framework to be usable and applicable to emerging democratic environment. The opportunities that the framework offers for breaking down the policy process into simple, convenient, but generalized items of problems, policies, politics, and critical actors, based on specific policy field as was demonstrated in this study increases applicability of the framework in emerging democracies.

In general terms, this study therefore argues that the activities of gender-based CSOs generate implications for theories on social change and community development, and this is in view of the opportunities that CSOs in Ghana have created for power and authority redistribution (Burdge 2004). There is no doubt that the activities and outcomes of the women's movement in Ghana's democratization process generate inter-organizational cooperation, helping to develop the leadership capacity of their allied and grassroots network members. Thus, society generally benefit from the presence of vibrant CSOs beyond their main goal of promoting human rights and influencing social policy. In Ghana, the presence of vibrant CSOs has helped to build community and national

institutional structures that underpin and entrench the country's current democratic gains. These outcomes are important also for evaluating the social change and community development impacts of movements like CSOs.

5.3 Policy Implications

This study generates useful policy implications for (gender-based) civil society groups and democratic development in emerging democracies in Africa and the global South. First, the comprehensive approach to analyzing Ghana's Domestic Violence Law in a case study allows for an understanding and appreciation of the renewed role of CSOs in institutional building and democratic development in emerging democracies. Thus through collective actions the gender-rights groups and CSOs were able to work to increase the representation of women by way of the protections guaranteed by the new domestic violence legislation in Ghana. The foregoing presupposes that civil society generally, and gender-based groups in particular, have become necessary ingredients in the democratization process because of the opportunities they create for participation and representation, especially for women. It is therefore expected that, as democratization becomes entrenched in much of the emerging societies like Ghana, gender-based CSOs will continue to play critical role in the policy process, extend the peripheries different policy fields, and broaden avenues for women's political and social status. Participants in the key informant interviews for this study unequivocally suggested that the activities of the women's movement in Ghana has helped to improve the acceptance of gender rights, women's views, and projected women's issues in the wider public sphere in society.

In view of the role CSOs play in democratic development, this study argues that states and countries must create formal avenues and open more spaces to increase the opportunity frame for such groups to evolve. The case in point is the proposed NGO bill in Ghana, when it becomes a law will expand on the broadly defined freedoms of association rights under the 1992 Constitution and also clarify the limits and functions of such groups in national development. The essence of this study, in part, is to help clarify this position. And so doing, this research endeavor has offered a comprehensive picture of the activities, resources, strategies and outcomes, as well as the challenges of CSOs in their effort to enhance women's views and representation, even where women in legislature are only 'token' and Ghana does not have any quota laws to increase the proportion of women in the legislature.

Besides, it is possible to replicate this study in other emerging democracies in Africa and other countries in the global South. In a majority of these countries, international donors and foreign aid still constitute a hugely important source of support for efforts of both states and civil society organizations to entrench democratic developments. It is important to note that a necessary condition for accessing international donors support for democratic development is the availability of strong institutions needed to stabilize democracy, and this is the purview of CSOs because they tend to be grassroots-oriented. Thus expanding the opportunities and avenues for CSOs also has the potential to increase the size of international donor support that will be available to a country for democratic and national development.

Furthermore, a majority of the activities and outcomes of the CSOs and their coalition for policy change took place at the national level, where core CSOs and coalitions tend to benefit from their close proximity and contacts with national government officials and policy makers. It would be necessary for the groups to decentralize or replicate their efforts and strategies to the regional and district levels so that their affiliate local agencies could engage the appropriate officials in these areas for the specific policies that affect their livelihoods. Such a strategy also has the benefit of expanding the scope of CSOs in sustaining the advocacy efforts to develop institutions, ensure accountability, and build capacity for sustaining CSO activities in the democratic development process.

Meanwhile, the reliance on international donors and CSOs such as international feminist movements for financial and technical assistance to assist in developing the capacity of CSOs and also for program support has the potential to pave the way for donor interference. It is possible for the donors to use their local CSO affiliates to achieve their agenda in the emerging democracies. However, a majority of the CSOs that have been active in Ghana and other emerging democracies in Africa, such as the Pro-Femmes in Rwanda, have mainly been gender-rights advocacy groups that focus on women's rights protection and empower women to become active participants in public policy processes.

In addition, there does not seem to be any difference between women's rights issues in the home countries of the international donors and feminist groups on the one hand, and those of the African or developing democracies on the other. If anything,

examples of women's struggles for empowerment in the developed world constitute useful lessons and templates for events taking place in emerging democracies of Africa and the global South. There are thus many opportunities for emerging democracies and CSOs, especially the existence of sustained donor support and affiliations with international civil society movements that could be harnessed for capacity development and institution building to entrench democratic development in emerging societies.

5.4 Conclusion and Future Research

The purpose of this study, among other goals, was to attempt to make a case for civil society groups like the women's movement to be recognized and supported to offer substantive representation for women. This study argued that it was important to have a single lens that offers a comprehensive view of these groups, their activities, and strategies, in order to fully understand and appreciate their role in democratization as have been espoused in this study. This study therefore, applied a revision of Kingdon's multiple streams framework to offer a holistic view of the information available from the different sources about the gender-based CSOs that culminated in the passage of the Domestic Violence Law (DV Law).

The use of Kingdon's framework made it possible to show how domestic violence issues were framed, the actors and their characteristics, and how they employed policy windows to bring governmental attention to align with public opinion on the issue of domestic violence. The application of Kingdon's theory of agenda-setting in this research was only meant to explain, in historical terms, how the problem of domestic violence was

framed and how and when resources were organized to change the policy for dealing with the impact of domestic violence in Ghana. The usefulness of the framework therefore, is limited by its inability to make predictions about the future or how inputs from various players could influence the agenda-setting of domestic violence policy change. Thus future research that focuses on identifying which other theories would be relevant in building on Kingdon's framework to make predictions on how inputs from various actors and streams could impact on proposed policy changes would be very much desired.

Meanwhile, the study's findings are consistent with existing research in Western democracies that suggests that women and women's groups are better placed than men to represent women's interests, a position that strengthens the generalizability of this study to other emerging democracies in Africa and global South. For instance, many of the emerging democracies share similar characteristics such as; (1) women are still non-existent in avenues for policy-making; (2) where policy-making do exist, as in Rwanda and Uganda, proponents still have to face structural and institutional challenges to represent women; and (3) gender-based CSOs have become influential in enhancing the views, interests and perspectives of women in governmental agenda-setting.

This study therefore finds that gender-based CSOs ought to be recognized and supported, in the short-run, to provide substantive representation for women in the policy-making process. The basis for this conclusion is that, CSOs continue to have credibility for attracting international technical and financial assistance for strengthening institutions of governance and accountability, especially in emerging democracies where formal institutions are not very well- developed or nonexistent. Civil society organization

such as those involved in the women's movement in Ghana and other developing democracies in Africa make it possible for their expertise to be employed in attracting essential material and financial benefits to build institutional capacity for strengthening democracy and also support good governance.

In this regard, future research endeavors could focus on exploring avenues for increasing the size, quality, and variety of civil society organizations, and the implications that such a situation will have for the women's movement. The study also found that the leaders of the current women's movements are pessimistic about the future of the movements, even though their present organizations have been successful in representing and enhancing the views of women in politics and in policy-making in Ghana. It would be interesting to see what a further research might find by looking at the kind of leadership styles that prevail in the various umbrella groups within the women's movement, as well as the motivations of the current leaders in order to make recommendations on how to design a succession campaign to sustain the movement.

In conclusion, the purpose of this study, among other things, was to attempt to make a case for civil society groups like the women's movement to be recognized and supported to offer substantive representation for women. This study argued that it was important to have a single lens but integrative view of these groups, their activities, and strategies. It is important to note that civil society, especially gender-rights advocacy groups, continues to play significant roles in Ghana's democratic development.

Additionally, there is ample research on similar activities by women's movements in other emerging democracies in Africa such as the Pro-Femme in Rwanda,

and others in Uganda, Zambia, Namibia, Eritrea, and Kenya, where women's movements have been active in advocating for equality in land reforms for women. The potential therefore exist, for future efforts to comparatively investigate how civil society organizations are contributing to social change through participation in the policy process in other emerging democracies in Africa and the global south.

Other future endeavors could explore how the current wave of CSO involvement in the democratic process in Ghana compares with what is generally taking place in other emerging systems in Africa and what the prospects will be for such groups beyond advocating for increased issue representation for women. Such a study would be critical to further understand the role of CSOs beyond the current or first wave of impacts that has focused on increasing avenues for participation for women in politics and policymaking.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Key Informants Interview Protocol

1. Are you affiliated with any (women's) advocacy group or the women's movement in Ghana?
(Please list all groups you are affiliated with)
2. How long have these group(s) been operating in Ghana?
3. What specific types of issues does your group(s) deal with and what are the goals of your organization?
4. Does your organization work with other advocacy groups to address the issues that affect women?
5. What kinds of support systems are available to the women's movement in Ghana from the following sources? *(Please provide details for each of the following)*
 - i. Local allies:
 - (a) Key intellectuals and professionals
 - (b) Political parties and politicians
 - (c) Media institutions
 - (d) Trade unions and business leaders
 - (e) Religious and traditional leaders
 - (f) Other civic groups (specify)
 - ii. International sources:
 - (a) International donors
 - (b) Feminist groups and networks
 - (c) Others (specify)
6. What are some of the achievements and outcomes of your organization(s) and the women's movement generally?
7. How did those outcomes affect each of the following:
 - (a) Overall structure of Ghana's democratic process?
 - (b) Empowerment and/or engagement of women in Ghana?
8. What strategies does the women's movement employ to attain their goals?
(Please provide details for each of the following)
 - (a) Political pressure (petitioning government, legislators and other officials)
 - (b) Using the court system (filing law suits, defending cases where necessary)

- (c) Joint strategizing (coalition building and networking)
 - (d) Media campaigns (press conferences and releases, contacts with journalists)
 - (e) Protests, boycotts, seminars, and public forums (capacity building)
 - (f) Fundraising and grantsmanshps
 - (g) Other (specify)
9. What are some of the obstacles the women's movement face in Ghana?
(Please provide details for each of the following)
- (a) Political
 - (b) Economic
 - (c) Social and cultural
 - (d) Other (specify)
10. Do you have anything else you would like to say about the activities of the women's movement in Ghana since the beginning of the Fourth Republican constitution in 1992?
11. Please describe how your group(s) was involved in the Domestic Violence policy change?

Appendix B

Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms Under the 1992 Constitution of Ghana

Provisions	Article
Protection of the Right to Life	13
The Right to Personal Liberty	14
Respect for Human Dignity	15
Protection from Slavery and Forced Labor	16
Equality and Freedom from Discrimination	17
Protection of Privacy of Home and Other Property	18
The Right to a Fair trial	19
Protection from Deprivation of Property	20
General Fundamental Freedoms	21
Property Rights of Spouses	22
Economic Rights	24
Educational Rights	25
Cultural Rights	26
Women's Rights	27
Children's Rights	28
Rights of Persons with Disabilities	29
Rights of the Sick	30

Source: Republic of Ghana, 1992 Constitution

Appendix C

Appendix C: some major international human rights instruments and treaties

Name of Instrument	Date Adopted	Ratified by Ghana
International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of racial Discrimination (ICERD)	1965	1966
International Convention on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)	1966	2000
International Convention on Civic and Political Rights (ICCPR)	1966	2000
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)	1979	1986
African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR)	1981	1989
Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT)	1984	2000
Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)	1989	1990
International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and members of their Family (ICRMW)	1990	2000
Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC)	1998	1999
Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD)	2006	2007
International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (ICPPED)	2006	2007

Source: Nana Akua Anyidoho, "Review of Rights Discourse - Ghana," March 2009; p.10

REFERENCES

- Abdulai, A. G. (2009). "Political Context Study – Ghana," Human Rights, Power and Civic Action Research Project, University of Oslo, Leeds and Ghana.
- Adams, P. (2004). "Asia Strategy: Towards safe and just world". *New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID)*, Wellington, NZ. September 2004.
- Adomako Ampofo, A. (2008). "Final External Evaluation of the Nkyinkyim Anti-Violence Program, Ghana, Gender Studies and Human Rights Documentation Center, Ghana with Womankind Worldwide (July).
- Adomako Ampofo, A., Awotwi, E., & Dwamena-Aboagye, A. (2005). "How the Perpetrators of Violence Against Women and Children Escape – A Study of "Escapes" from the Time o the Violent Act, through a Formal Complaint, to Prosecution," In *Violence Against Women in Africa. Dakar: AAWORD: 43-56.*
- Adu-Gyamerah, E. (2007). "House Clears Hurdle, Domestic Violence Bill Passed at Last," *Daily Graphic*, Thursday February 22nd, 2007.
- Agyei, Juliette A. (2000). African Women: Championing their Own Development and Empowerment – Case Study, Ghana." *Women's Rights Law Report*, 117-120.
- Aidoo, A. A. (1985). "Women in the History and Culture of Ghana." *Research Review*, NS, 1:1.
- Ainuson, K., & Tandoh-Offin, P. (2009). "Interest Group Politics in Post Democratic Ghana." Paper Presented at the 2010 Southern Political Science Association Conference, January 7 – 10, 2010. Atlanta, GA.
- Allah-Mensah, B. (2005). *Women in Political and Public Life in Ghana*. Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Accra, Ghana.
- Allah-Mensah, B. (2001). "Political Parties, Gender and Representation: The Case of Ghana's Election 2000" in J.R.A. Aryee (Ed.). *Deepening Democracy in Ghana: Politics of the 2000 Elections*. Volume One, Freedom Publications: Accra, Ghana.
- Allah-Mensah, B. (1998). "Gender Dimensions of the 1996 Elections: It's Implications for Democratic Consolidation in Ghana." In J.R.A. Aryee (ed) *The 1996 General Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Ghana*, Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon: Accra.
- Ampofo A. A. (2008). "Collective Activism: The Domestic Violence Bill Becoming Law in Ghana." *African and Asian Studies*, 7, 395-421.

- Anangwe, A. (1997). "The Public Policy Process in Africa." Available at <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/CAFRAD/UNPAN01029.pdf>
- Anderson, J. (1984). *Public Policy-Making*. (3rd ed.). New York: Praeger
- Anyidoho, N.A. (2009) "Review of Rights Discourse – Ghana." *Human Rights, Power and Civic Action Research Project*, Universities of Oslo, Leeds, and Ghana.
- Archampong, E. (2010). "Marital Rape – A Woman's Equality Issue in Ghana." Faculty of Law, KNUST, Ghana. Available at www.maritalrapeequalityghana.pdf
- Ark Foundation (2007). "Narrative Report to CORDAID on the National Advocacy Project (NAP)." 20th June.
- Barber, K. L. (2000) *A Right to Representation: Proportional Election Systems for the Twenty-First Century*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.
- Bauer, G. (2008). "50/50 by 2020: Electoral Gender Quotas for Parliament in East and Southern Africa." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 10(3), 347 - 367.
- Baumgartner, F., & Jones, B. (1993). *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Beckwith, K., & Cowell-Meyers, K. (2007). "Sheer Numbers: Critical Representation Thresholds and Women's Political Representation." *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(3), 553-565.
- Bell, D. (1976). "The Coming of the Post-Industrial Society." *The Educational Forum*, 40(4), 574 - 579.
- Bennett, C., & Howlett, M. (1992). "The Lessons of Learning: Reconciling Theories of Policy Learning and Policy Change." *Policy Sciences*, 25, 275 - 294.
- Berg, Bruce L. (2007). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*, 6th Edition. Boston: Pearson.
- Birkland, T. A. (2001). *An Introduction to the Policy Process: Theories, Concepts, and Models of public Policy Making*. Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, Inc.,
- Bowman, Cynthia. (2003). "Symposium: Theories of Domestic Violence in the African Context." *American Journal of Gender, Social Policy and Law*, 11, 847.

- Bratton, M. (1989). "The Politics of Government – NGO Relations in Africa." in *World Development* (Oxford), 17(4), 589.
- Bratton, K., & Haynie, K. L. (1999). "Agenda Setting and Legislative Success in State Legislatures: The Effects of Gender and Race." *Journal of Politics*, 61, (Aug), 658 - 679.
- Bridger, Jeffrey C. (1988). "The Growth Machine: A Qualitative Assessment." Unpublished M.S Thesis, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA.
- Broughton, S., and D. Zetlin (1996). "Queensland ALP Women Parliamentarians: Women in Suits and Boys in Factions." *International Review of Women and Leadership*, 2(1), 47 - 61.
- Burdge, R. J. (2004). *The Concepts, Process and Methods of Social Impact Assessment: Rabel J. Burdge and Colleagues*. Middleton, WI: Social Ecology Press.
- Burgess, C. N. (2002). Multiple Streams and Policy Community Dynamics: The 1990 NEA independent Commission." Cultural Policy Program Occasional Paper Series, #23, Presented at the 28th Annual Social Theory, Politics and the Arts Conference (2002).
- Canon, D. T. (1999). *Race, Redistricting, and Representation*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Carroll, S. J. (2001). (Ed.) *The Impact of Women on Public Office*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis.
- Carter, K. A. & Beaulieu, J. L. (1992). "Conducting a Community Needs Assessment: Primary Data Collection Techniques." *Florida Cooperative Extension Service*, (June), CD-27.
- Celis, K. (2008). "Substantive Representation of Women (and improving it). What is And Should it be About?" Paper for the 2008 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Panel 31-18 'The Construction of Gendered Interests'.
- Celis, K. (2006). "Substantive Representation of Women and the Impact of Descriptive Representation. Case: Belgian Lower House 1900-1979." *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy*, 28 (2), 85 - 114.

- Celis, K., Childs, S., Kantola, J., & Krook, M. L. (2008). "Rethinking Women's Substantive Representation." *Representation, Journal of Representation*, 44(2), 99 - 110.
- CIVICUS (1997): "Legal Principles for Citizen Participation. Toward A Legal Framework for Civil Society Organizations," Washington, DC; *CIVICUS*.
- Chaiklin, H. (2000). "Doing Case Study Research." *American Journal of Dance and Therapy*, 22(1), 47 - 59.
- Chazan, N. (1983). *An Anatomy of Ghanaian Politics: Managing Political Recession, 1969-1982*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Childs, S. (2004). *Women Representing Women, New Labor's Women MPs*. London: Routledge.
- Childs, S., & Krook, M. L. (2006). "Should Feminists Give up on Critical Mass? A Contingent 'Yes'" *Politics and Gender*, 2(4), 522 - 530.
- Clarke, G. & Manuh, T. (1991). "Women Traders in Ghana and the Structural Adjustment Program." In C. Gladwin (ed.), *Structural Adjustment and African Women Farmers*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.
- Cohen, M.D., March, J.G. , & Olsen, J.G. (1972). "A Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 17(1),1 - 25.
- Coker-Appiah, D. (2008). "A Guide to Developing a Community Response to Violence Against Women in Ghana." A publication of Gender Studies and Human Rights Documentation Center.
- Coker Appiah, D., & Cusack, K. (1999). (eds.) *Breaking the Silence and Challenging the Myths of Violence against Women and Children in Ghana*. Accra: Gender Studies and Human Rights Documentation Center.
- Conway, M., Steuernagel, G. A., & Ahern, D. W. (1997) *Women and Political Participation: Cultural Change in the Political Arena*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Cowley, P., & Childs, S. (2003). "Too Spineless to Rebel? New Labor's Women MPs." *British Journal of Political Science*, 33(3), 345 - 365.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Dahlerup, D. (2006). (Ed.) *Women Quotas and Politics*. London – New York: Routledge.
- Dahlerup, D. (2002). “Using Quotas to Increase Women’s Political Representation.” In Azza Karam,(ed.). *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) Stockholm.
- Dahlerup, D. (1998). “Using Quotas to Increase Women’s Political Representation.” In Azza Karam,(ed.). *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*. (pp. 91-106) International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) Stockholm.
- Dahlerup, D. (1988). “From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics.” *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 11(4), 275 - 298.
- Dalton, C. A. (2009). “Critical Mass or Critical Acts? An Empirical Test of the Relationship between the Presence of Women in State Legislatures and their Policy Impact on Agenda Setting and Legislative Success in Fifty States, 1995 and 2005.” Unpublished Dissertation; Department of Public Administration, State University of New York, Albany.
- Darkwah, A., Amponsah, N., & Gyampoh, E. (2006). *Civil Society in a Changing Ghana: An Assessment of the Current State of Civil Society in Ghana*. Accra: GAPVOD and World Bank.
- Dearing, J.W., & Rogers, E. M. (1996). *Agenda Setting, Communication Concepts*. 6th Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE
- Denzin, N. K., and Y. S. Lincoln (2005). “Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research.” In Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, (eds.), *The Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 3rd edition (pp.1-32), Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dietz, M. G. (2003) “Current Controversies in Feminist Theory.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 6(1), 399 - 431.
- Dodson, D. L. (1998). “Representing Women’s Interests in the U.S. House of Representatives.” In Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox (eds.), *Women in Elective Office: Past, Present, and Future*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Dovlo, E. (2005). “Religion in the Public Sphere: Challenges and Opportunities in Ghanaian Lawmaking, 1989-2004.” *International Law and Religion Symposium, B.Y.U.L. Review*, 629 - 651.

- Dwamena-Aboagye, A. (2004). "Rape Within Marriage: How Does it Feel Like?" *Sister Watch*, a Newsletter of the Ark Foundation (Ghana), 3(26).
- Eggley, E. (2010). "Policy Process in Africa: Theory and Practice." PDA Ghana in Response to a Research Request from Evidence-Based Policy in Development Network Africa. Available at <http://partnerplatform.org>
- Etzioni, A. (1985). "Special Interest Groups Versus Constituency Representation." *Research in Social Movement, Conflict and Change*, 8, 171 - 95.
- Felson, R.B., Messner, S. F., Hoskin, A.W., & Deane, G. (2002). "Reasons for Reporting and Not Reporting Domestic Violence to Police." *Criminology*, 40 (3), 617- 648.
- Franceschet, S., & Piscopo, J. M. (2008). "Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina." *Politics and Gender*, 4, 393 - 425.
- Gadzekpo, A. (2001). "Gender Discourses and Representational Practices in Gold Coast Newspapers." *Jenda: A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies*: 1(2).
- Ghaus-Pasha, A. (2004). "Role of Civil Society Organizations in Governance." 6th Global Forum on Reinventing Government Towards Participatory and Transparent Governance, 24-27 May 2005, Seoul, Republic of Korea.
- Gilligan, C. (1993). *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Grey, S. (2002) "Does Size matter? Critical Mass and New Zealand's Women MPs." *Parliamentary Affairs*, 55(1), 19 - 29.
- Grey, S. (2006). "Numbers and Beyond: The Relevance of Critical Mass in Gender Research." *Politics and Gender*, 2(4), 492 - 502.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). "Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research." In N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 105-117). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Gyau, O. I. (2003). "Sixteen Days of Activism against Gender Violence: The Crusade Continues," *Public Agenda*; (December 1).
- Gyimah-Boadi, E. (2004). "Civil Society and Democratic Development," in E. Gyimah-Boadi (eds.) *Democratic Reform in Africa: The Quality of Progress*, Lynne Rienner Publishers.

- Gyimah-Boadi, E. (1997). "Civil Society in Africa: The Good, the Bad, the Ugly," *CIVINET*, 1(1)(May).
- Harrison, H. (2004). "The State of Women in Public Life" in Quainoo Samuel Ebow (ed) *African Through Ghanaian Lenses*, Vestal International Press: Binghamton, New York.
- Heath, R. M., Schwindt-Bayer, L. A. & Taylor-Robinson, N. M. (2005). "Women on the Sidelines: Women's Representation on Committees in Latin American Legislatures." *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(2), 420 - 436.
- Heinrich, V. F. (2005). "Studying Civil Society Across the World: Exploring the Thorny Issues of Conceptualization and Measurement Models." *Journal of Civil Society*, 1(3), 211 - 228.
- Helmske, G., & Levitsky, S. (2004). "Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda." *Perspectives on Politics*, 2(4), 725 - 740.
- Henstra, Daniel. (2010). "From Co-operation to Coercion: The Design and Implementation of Intergovernmental Policy for Emergency Management in Ontario, 1990-2006." Paper Prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association (CPSA), Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec June 1-3, 2010.
- Hero, R. E., & Tolbert, C. J. (1995). "Latinos and Substantive Representation in the U.S. House of Representatives: Direct, Indirect, or Nonexistent?" *American Journal of Political Science*, 39, 640 - 652.
- Howlett, M., & Ramesh, M. (1995). *Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Htun, M., & Power, T. J. (2006). "Gender, Parties, and Support for Equal Rights in the Brazilian Congress." *Latin American politics and Society*, 48, 83 - 104.
- Huntington, S. P. (1991). *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Hyden, G. (1997). "Civil Society, Social Capital, and Development: Dissection of a Complex Discourse." *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 32(1), 3 - 30.
- IDEA (2006a). Global Database of Quotas for Women. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance and Stockholm University. Available at <http://www.quotaproject.org/index.cfm>

- IPU (1995). *Women in Parliament 1945-1995. A World Statistical Survey*, Series "Reports and Documents" No. 23, Inter-Parliament Union, Geneva
- IPU (2000). *Women in Politics 1945-2000. Information Kit*, Series "Reports and Documents" No. 37, Inter-Parliamentary Union, Geneva.
- Johnson, J. H., & Turnbull, W. (1995). "The Women's Conference: Where Aspirations and Realities Met." *Family Planning Perspectives*, 27(6), 254 - 258.
- Jonah, K. (2007). "Political Parties, Democracy and Development in Ghana." Unpublished Concept Paper Prepared for the Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG), Accra, Ghana.
- Jones, M. P. (1997). "Legislator Gender and Legislator Policy Priorities in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies and the U. S. House of Representatives." *Policy Studies Journal*, 25.
- Kanter, R. M. (1977). "Some Effects of proportions on Group Life." *American Journal of Sociology*, 82(5), 965 - 990.
- Kathlene, L. (1995). "Position Power Versus Gender Power: Who Holds the Floor?" In Georgina Duerst-Lahti and Rita Mae Kelly (eds.). *Gender, Power, Leadership and Governance*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp.167-194.
- Kathlene, L. (1994). "Power and Influence in State Legislative Policy-making: The Interaction of Gender and Position in Committee Hearing Debates." *American Political Science Review*, 88(3), 560 - 576.
- Kessey, C (1997a). *The Political Participation of Women South of the Sahara*. University of Bergen, Norway.
- Kessey, C. (1997). "Participatory Implementation: the Role of Women in the Implementation of Community-Initiative Projects (CIPs) Under the Program of Action to Mitigate Social Cost of Adjustment (PAMSCAD) in the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana." Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Political Science Department, University of Helsinki, Finland.
- Kingdon, J. W. (1984). *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*. Little Brown, Boston.
- Kingdon, J.W. (1995). *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policy*. 3rd ed. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

- Kittilson, M. C. (2006). *Challenging Parties, Changing Parliaments. Women and Electoral Office in Contemporary Western Europe*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Kittilson, M. C. (2001). *Challenging the Organization, Changing the Rules: Women, Parties, and Change in Western Europe, 1975-1997*, University of California, Irvine.
- Krook, M. L. (2006). "Reforming Representation: The Diffusion of Candidate Gender Quotas Worldwide." *Politics and Gender*, 2, 303 - 327.
- Kuenyehia, A. & Ofei-Aboagye, E.(1998). "Family Law in Ghana and Its Implications for Women," in A. Kuenyehia (ed.) *Women and Law in West Africa. Situational Analysis of Some Key Issues Affecting Women*, WALWA.
- Labadie, J. R. (1984). "Problems in Local Emergency Management." *Environmental Management*, 8(6) (November), 489 - 94.
- Lauth, Hans-Joachim (2000). "Informal Institutions and Democracy." *Democratization*, 7(4), 21 - 50.
- LeBlanc, R. M. (1999). *Bicycle Citizens: The Political World of the Japanese Housewife*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Locke, J. (1966). *The Second Treatise of Government* (3rd ed.). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Looby, J. (2010). "Policy-Making in Sub Saharan Africa: Domestic Autonomy versus External Influences?" Paper for the 2010 ECPR Conference. Available at <http://www.ecprnet.eu/databases/conferences/papers/634.pdf>
- Lovenduski, J. (2001). "Women and Politics: Minority Representation or Critical Mass?" *Parliamentary Affairs*, 54, 743 - 758.
- Lovenduski, J., & Norris, P (2003). "Westminster Women: The Politics of Presence." *Political Studies*, 51(1), 84 - 102.
- Lovenduski, J., & Norris, P. (1993). *Gender and Party Politics*. London: Sage.
- Maclachlan, P. L. (2002). *Consumer Politics in Postwar Japan: The Institutional Boundaries of Citizen Activism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Mama, A. (2000). "Transformation Thwarted: Gender-Based Violence in Africa's New Democracies," African Gender Institute Newsletter, University of Cape Town, 6 (May).
- Mansbridge, J. (2005). "Quota Problems: Combating the Dangers of Essentialism." *Politics and Gender*, 1(4), 622 - 638.
- Mansbridge, J. (1999). "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'yes'" *The Journal of Politics*, 61(3), 628 - 657.
- Manuh, T. (2007). "African Women and Domestic Violence," *Pathways of Women's Empowerment*.
- Manuh, T. (2007a). "The Passage of Domestic Violence Legislation in Ghana." See <http://www.research4development.info/PDF/Outputs/WomenEmp/GhanaDV.pdf>
- Manuh, T. (1993). "Women, the State and Society under the PNDC." In E. Gyimah-Boadi (ed). *Ghana under PNDC Rule*. Dakar; CODESRIA.
- Manuh, T. (1991). "Women and Their Organizations During the Convention Peoples' Party Period" in Kwame Arhin (ed.). *The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah, Papers of a Symposium Organized by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Sedco Publishing Ltd: Accra*.
- Matland, R. E., & Brown, D. D. (1992). "District Magnitude's Effect on Female Representation in the U.S. State Legislatures." *Legislative Quarterly*, 17(4), 469 - 492.
- Matland, R. E. (1998). "Women's Representation I National Legislatures: Developed and Developing Countries." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 23(1), 109 - 125.
- Mazur, A. G. (2001). (Ed.) *State Feminism, Women's Movements and Job Training: Making Democracies Work in the Global Economy*, New York – London: Routledge.
- McAllister, I., & Studlar, D. (1992). "Gender and Representation Among Legislative Candidates in Australia." *Comparative Political Studies*, 3, 388 - 411.
- Meintjes, S. (1995). "Gender, Citizenship and Democracy in Post Apartheid South Africa." Unpublished Paper Presented for the Institute for Advanced Social Research, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (April 24th, 1995).
- Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.

- Meyer, I. H., & Cloete, F. (2000). "Policy Dynamics: Change, Failure, and Success." In F. Cloete, and H. Wissink (eds.) *Improving Public Policy*, (p.97-113). Pretoria: Schaik Publishers.
- Mintrom, M. (1997). "Policy Entrepreneurs and the Diffusion of Innovation". *American Journal of Political Science*, 41,738 - 770.
- Monroe, K. R., & Chiu, W. F. (2010). "Gender Equality in the Academy: The Pipeline Problem." *P.S: Political Science and Politics*, 43, 303 - 308.
- Ndegwa, S. N. (1996). *The Two Faces of Civil Society – NGOs and Politics in Africa*, Kumarian Press, Inc.
- Ndlovu, L. A. (2008). "An Agenda Setting Analysis: The Application of Kingdon's Framework to the Road Accident Fund (RAF)." Unpublished M. A. Thesis, School of Social Sciences, University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa.
- Ness, E. C. (2008). *Merit Aid and the Politics of Education*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Netright (2004). "Ghana NGO Alternative Report for Beijing +10 final version," Accra: Netright, August.
- Newton, C. J. (2001). *Domestic Violence: An Overview*. American Medical Association.
- Ninsin, K. A. (1989). "State, Capital and labor Relations, 1961-1987." In E. Hansen and K. A. Ninsin (eds.), *The State, Development and Politics in Ghana*. pp. 15-42. Dakar: CODESRIA.
- Norris, P. (2006). "Gender and social capital." In Dario Castiglione, Jan van Deth and Guglielmo Wolleb (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Social Capital*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Norris, P. (1996). "Legislative Recruitment" in LeDuc, Lawrence, Richard G. Niemi and Pippa Norris (1996) *Comparing Democracies. Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*, SAGE Publications, Thousand Oakes, pp. 184-215.
- Norris, P. (1993). "Conclusions: Comparing Legislative Recruitment." In Joni Lovenduski and Pippa Norris (eds.). *Gender and Party Politics*. London: Sage.
- Norris, P. (1992) "Women's Under-representation in Congress: Is our Electoral System the Culprit?" With Wilma Rule. In Joseph Zimmerman and Wilma Rule (ed.). *United States Electoral Systems: Their Impact on Women and Minorities: Volume II*. New York: Greenwood Press. pp. 41-54.

- Norris, P. (1985). "Women's Legislative Participation in Western Europe." *West European Politics*, 8(4), 90 - 101.
- North, D. C. (1990). *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- O'Regan, V. (2000). *Gender matters: Feminist Policymakers' Influence in Industrialized Nations*. Westport – London: Praeger.
- Ofei-Aboagye, E. (2000). "Promoting Women's Participation in National Politics," Workshop Report, Electoral Commission and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- Opong, C. (1973). *Growing up in Dagbon*. Tema: Ghana Publishing Corporation
- Orvis, Stephen. (2001). "Civil Society in Africa or African Civil Society?" *African and Asian Studies*, 36 (1), 17 - 38.
- Pappoe, M. and E. Ardayfio-Schandorf (1998). *The Dimensions and Consequences of Violence against Women in Ghana*, National Council for Women and Development (NCWD).
- Parsons, T. (1977). *Social Systems and the Evolution of Action Theory*. New York: Free Press.
- Passeggi, T. (2002). "Title IX and Gender Equity in Intercollegiate Athletics: Is it Time for Change?" *Women and the Law*, (Spring), 1 - 53.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Paul, J. A. (2000). "NGOs and Global Policy-Making," Global Policy Forum.
- Pitkin, H.F., (1967). *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley – Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Phillips, A. (1995). *The Politics of Presence*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Pollack, M. A. (2005). "Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance?" *Annual Review of Political Science*, 8, 357 - 398.
- Porter, T. (1995). *Trust in numbers: The Pursuit of Objectivity in Science and Public Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Powley, E. (2004). *Strengthening Governance: The Role of Women in Rwanda's Transition*. Report from the Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI), United Nations.
- Prah, M. (2007). *Ghana's Feminist Movement: Aspirations, Challenges, Achievements*. IDEG, Ghana
- Prah, M. (2004). "Chasing Illusions and Realizing Visions: Reflections on Ghana's Feminist Experience." In Arnfred, S. et al (eds.) *Gender Activisms and Studies in Africa*. CODESRIA Gender Series 3 (27-40), Dakar, Senegal.
- Quarm, M. E. (2009). "Domestic Violence Law in Ghana: Analysis of the Actors and Strategies Involved in Setting the Public Policy Agenda." Unpublished MPA Thesis Submitted to the University of Bergen
- Reingold, B. (2000). *Representing Women: Sex, Gender and Legislative Behavior in Arizona and California*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Reverter-Banon, S. (2003). "Civil Society and Gender Equality: A Theoretical Approach." *Civil Society Working Papers*, No. 24. The London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Reynolds, A. (1999). "Women in the Legislature and Executives of the World: Knocking at the Highest Glass Ceiling." *World Politics*, 51(4), 547 - 572.
- Reynolds, A. and B. Reilly (1997). (Eds.) *The International IDEA Handbook of Electoral System Design*. Handbook Series, IDEA, Stockholm.
- Reynolds, H.T. (2002). *Pluralism*. Available at http://www.socialstudieshelp.com/APGOV_pluralism.html
- Robson, C. (1993). *Real World Research*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Rodriguez M.A., Bauer, H.M., McLoughlin, E. & Grumbach, K. (1999). "Screening and Intervention for Intimate Partner Abuse: Practices and Attitudes of Primary Care Physicians." *Journal of American Medical Association*, 28(2), 468 - 474.
- Rowland, J. (1997). *Questioning Empowerment: Working with Women in Honduras*. Oxfam: UK and Ireland.
- Rule, W. (1987). "Electoral Systems, Contextual Factors and Women's Opportunity for Election to Parliament in Twenty-three Democracies." *West Political Quarterly*, 40(3), 477 - 498.

- Ryan, K. E. (2004). "Serving the Public Interests in Educational Accountability." *American Journal of Evaluation*, 25(4), 443 - 460.
- Sabatier, P.A. (2007). "The Need for Better Theories." In P. A. Sabatier (Ed.). *Theories of the Policy Process* (2nd ed.). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Sabatier, P. A. (1999). *Theories of the Policy Process*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Saint-Germain, M. A. (1989). "Does their Difference Make a Difference? The Impact of Women on Public Policy in Arizona Legislature." *Social Science Quarterly*, 70, 956 - 968.
- Sam, B. (2009). "Advocacy for a Domestic Violence Act Using CEDAW." WILDAF, Ghana, Unpublished Paper.
- Sam B., and M. A. Insaadoo (2003). "A Quick Guide to Violence against Women and Property Rights of Spouses." WILDAF, Ghana, Unpublished Papers.
- Saunders, C. (2002). "Women and Constitution-Making." Center for Comparative Constitutional Studies, The University of Melbourne, A Paper Prepared for an International Conference on 'Women and Peace building and Constitution-Making,' Columbo, Sri Lanka, May 2-6, 2002.
- Schlager, E., and W. Blomquist (1996). "Emerging Political Theories of the Policy Process: Institutional Rational Choice, the Politics of Structural Choice, and Advocacy Coalitions." *Political Research Quarterly*, 49 (September), 651- 672.
- Schwartz, H. (2004). "Women's Representation in the Rwandan Parliament: An Analysis of variations in the Representation of Women's Interests caused by Gender Quota." Master's Thesis, Gothenburg university, Sweden
- Schwindt-Bayer, L., and W. Mishler (2005). "An Integrated Model of Women's Representation." *Journal of Politics*, 67(2), 407 - 428.
- Seligman, A. B. (1992). *The Idea of Civil Society*. Princeton University Press.
- Sherry, T. S. (1999). "Getting the Lay of the Land on Health: A Guide for Using Interviews to Gather Information (Key Informant Interviews)." *The Access Point*, (December), 1 - 17.
- Skjeie, H. (1998). *Agendas of Change: Gender Politics in Norway*. In A. Karam (ed.), *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*. Stockholm: IDEA.

- Sossou, M. A. (2003). *The Meaning of Gender Equality in Ghana: Women's Own Understanding and Interpretation of the Concept of Gender Equality*. Doctoral Dissertation Submitted to the graduate School of Social Work of the University of Denver.
- Snugg, N., Thompson, R., Thompson, D., Maiuro, R., & Rivara, F. (1999). "Domestic Violence and Primary Care: Attitudes, Practices, and Beliefs." *Archives of Family Medicine*, 8, 301 - 306.
- Staggenborg, S. (1988). "The Consequences of Professionalization and Formalization in the Pro-Choice Movement." *American Sociological Review*, 53, 585 - 606.
- Stake, R. E. (1995). *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Stover, J., & Johnston, A. (1999). "The Art of Policy Formulation: Experiences from Africa in Developing National HIV/AIDS Policies." *The POLICY Project*, Available at <http://www.policyproject.com/pubs/occasional/op-03.pdf>
- Studlar D. T., & McAllister, I. (2002). "Does a Critical Mass Exist? A Comparative Analysis of Women's Legislative Representation since 1950." *European Journal of Political Research*, 41, 224 - 244.
- Swers, M. L. (2002). *The Difference Women Make: The Policy Impact of Women in Congress*. Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Swers, M. L. (1998). "Are Women More Likely to Vote for Women's Issue Bills than their Male Colleagues?" *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 23(3), 435 - 448.
- Tandoh-Offin, P. (2011). "Quota Laws, Representation of Women and the Role of Civil Society Organizations." Paper Presented at the Annual Conference of the South Carolina Political Science Association, March 11th -12th, 2011.
- Tandoh-Offin, P. (2009). "Gender (Women) Roles Institutional Frameworks and Community Development: How Ghana Compares to Southeast Asian Countries (January 9, 2009)." Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1521055>
- Taylor-Robinson, M. M., & Heath, R. M. (2003). "Do Women Legislators Have Different Policy Priorities than their male Colleagues? A Critical Case Test." *Women and Politics*, 24(4), 77 - 100.
- Thomas, S. (1994). *How Women Legislate*. Oxford University Press, New York.

- Tiernan, A., and T. Burke (2002). *A Load of Old Garbage: Applying Garbage-Can Theory to Contemporary Housing Policy*. Melbourne: Swinburne University of Technology.
- Tinker, I. (2004). "Quotas for Women in Elected Legislatures: Do they Really Empower Women?" *Women's Studies International Forum*, 26(5-6), 531 - 546.
- Trembley, M. (1998). "Do Female MPs Substantively Represent Women? A Study of Legislative Behavior in Canada's 35th Parliament." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 31(3), 435 - 465.
- Tripp, A.M. (1994). "Gender, Political Participation and the Transformation of Associational Life in Uganda and Tanzania." in *African Studies Review*, 37(1), 107 - 131.
- Tripp, A. M. (1994b). "Gender, Civil Society and Political Participation in Africa." *Commissioned Paper*. A Study of USAID's Capacity for Rapid Response in Support of African Civil Society Development. January 7.
- Tripp, A. M. (1999). "Women & Politics in Uganda." Oxford: James Currey; Kampala: Fountain Publishers; Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999.
- Tripp, A. M. (2001) "Toward a Comparative Politics of Gender Research in which Women Matter." *Perspectives on Politics*, 8, 191-197.
- Tsikata, Y. M. (2001). "Owning Economic Reforms: A Comparative Study of Ghana and Tanzania," WIDER Discussion Paper No. 2001/53 United Nations University, World Institute for Development Economic Research.
- Tsikata, E. (1989). "Women's Political Organizations 1951-1987." In E. Hanson and K. Ninsin (eds.) *The State, Development and Politics in Ghana*. London: CODESRIA Book Series: London.
- UNDP (1997). Conference Report on "Gender Balance and Good Governance: African-European Dialogue on Women in Decision-Making," Helsinki, Finland, 25th-28th September, 1997.
- Uphoff, K.A. N. (2004). "Civil Society and the Public Sector Institutions: More than a Zero-Sum Relationship." *Public Administration and Development*, 24(4), 357 - 72.
- Verba, S., & Nie, N.H. (1972). *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality*. New York: Harper and Row.

- Vidich, A. J., Bensman, J., & Stein, M. (1964) (eds.). *Reflections on Community Studies*. New York: Wiley.
- Walsh, D. (2008). "No Presence without Power: Deliberation and Women's Representation in South Africa." Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association National Conference, Chicago, IL, April 3-6.
- Walzer, M. (2002). "Equality and Civil Society." In S. Chambers and W. Kymlicka (eds.) *Alternative Conceptions of Civil Society*. Princeton University Press.
- Wängnerud, L. (2009). "Women in Parliaments: Descriptive and Substantive Representation." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12, 51-69.
- Wängnerud, L. (2005). "Sweden: A Step-Wise Development." In Julie Ballington and Azza Karam (ed.). *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), 238-48.
- Wängnerud, L. (2000). "Testing the Politics of Presence: Women's Representation in the Swedish Riksdag." *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 23(1), 67 - 91.
- Weiss, C. H. (1998). *Evaluation Methods for Studying Programs and Policies* (2nd ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Wenneras, C., & Wold, A. (1997). "Nepotism and Sexism in Peer-Review." *Nature*, 387, 341- 343.
- Wide, J. (2002). "Women's Political Representation around the Globe." Paper Presented at the Commonwealth Conference on Educational Administration and Management (CCEAM), September 23-25, 2002 in Umea, Sweden.
- Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study Research: Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Yoon, M.Y. (2004). "Explaining Women's Legislative Representation in Sub-Saharan Africa." In *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 29 (3); p. 447-468.
- Zahariadis, N. (1998). "Comparing Three Lenses of Policy Choice." *Policy Studies Journal*, 26 (3), 434 - 448.
- Zahariadis, N. (1999). "Ambiguity, Time, and Multiple Streams." In P.A. Sabatier, (Ed.). *Theories of the Policy Process*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Zahariadis, N. (2003). *Ambiguity and Choice in Public Policy: Political Decision Making in Modern Democracies*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.