

# **Comparative Study on International Best Practices on Gender and Inclusive Policies in Political Parties**

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

ARP – Alliance for the Republic Party

CPP – Convention People’s Party

EU – European Union

IDEA – Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

KU – Konservativ Ungdom

NDC – National Democratic Congress

NPP – New Patriotic Party

ODM – Orange Democratic Movement

PPP – Progressive People’s Party

PWD – Persons With Disability

RBK – Restore and Build Kenya Party

TNA – The National Alliance Party

UN – United Nations

VU – Venstre Ungdom

WDM – Wiper Democratic Movement

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## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

In multiparty democracies, political parties are generally the vehicles to political participation as they largely set the rules for the political contest, recruit candidates to contest for political office, reduce the myriad of development issues into simple programs that ought to be understood by majority of the citizenry and provide civic and political education. When they capture political power, they set the governance agenda by designing the government's program and negotiate who participates directly in the government. Due to their considerable power, political parties also determine both directly and indirectly who gets to participate, in what form, at what level and for how long. It is therefore no surprise that political parties are considered gatekeepers of democracy.

The critical roles played by political parties make them one of the institutions of governance in any democracy. However, it appears that political parties have been reduced to election machines. Following from this, political parties do not pay as much attention to their critical roles of providing civic and political opportunities for all citizens to participate in decision making within the country. Rather, in the bid to capture political power, political parties seem to have reduced the utility of their roles to the short term. Consequently, political parties in Ghana have not dared to interrogate the status quo that tacitly marginalizes certain categories of persons in the Ghanaian society.

As a result, even though some efforts have been made to enhance the participation of groups that have traditionally been marginalized on the basis of sex, age and disabilities, the success achieved has been nominal. Using a case study approach, the study interrogates the measures put in place by five political parties namely the Convention People's Party (CPP), the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the New Patriotic Party (NPP), the People's National Convention (PNC) and the Progressive People's Party (PPP). Using information obtained from interviews

conducted with the representatives of the political parties<sup>1</sup>, the study employs the qualitative hypothesis generating method to formulate hypotheses to provide explanations for the marginalization and identify ways to empower the various groups to enhance their participation in political parties.

The study notes that political parties in Ghana have demonstrated a willingness to enhance the political participation of marginalized groups through incorporating parity provisions in party constitutions, manifestoes and on campaign platforms. Although efforts have been made to address some of the strategic needs of marginalized groups, little attention has been paid to the practical needs of these groups. It is also identified that even though the measures provided for the groups under discussion are useful first steps, there are no policies and implementation strategies to optimize the opportunities they provide. Again, the study reveals measures for inclusion and participation have not been developed as strategies for capturing political power. As a result, most of the efforts made by political parties have not been comprehensive and in some instances, have become sources of tension within the parties.

The study concludes that the success of efforts to guarantee inclusion and participation at the political party level is dependent on a concerted effort by all political parties in Ghana. It submits that to enhance the inclusion and participation of the above-mentioned groups in political parties in Ghana, it is imperative for the political parties to develop policies to that effect; demand through a concerted effort, the development and implementation of system-wide policies and measures for mainstreaming measures of inclusion and participation at all levels of national programs, plans and activities and to develop targeted measures to address the structural challenges posed by entrenched patriarchal ideologies. A key part of the study was to assess the issue of political participation in the contexts of parties in Denmark, Kenya and Senegal. The three countries provided a pool of diverse and relevant experiences from which political parties in Ghana may draw useful lessons to

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<sup>1</sup> Interviews were conducted with representatives of the Convention People's Party (CPP), the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the New Patriotic Party (NPP), the People's National Convention (PNC) and the Progressive People's Party (PPP). The names of the interviewees is attached as Annex A.

promote inclusion and participation by women, the youth and Persons With Disability.

## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction and Background

Since the return of constitutional democracy in Ghana, significant efforts have been made towards promoting political inclusion. In particular, significant efforts have been made to promote the active participation of women, the youth and persons with disabilities.<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly, this has yielded some results and there has been a progressive increase in the number of females appointed to political positions in the country. The appointment of females to the office of the Chief justice, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Justice and Attorney General's Department, Education, Women, Children and Social Protection, Transport and Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts shines the spotlight on women. In 2013, a visually impaired man was appointed as Minister for Chieftaincy and Traditional Affairs. Although the lack of data on the participation of marginalized groups makes it difficult to draw definite conclusions, anecdotal evidence suggests that since the 2008 elections, there has been a quantitative increase in the political participation of youth and persons with disabilities. The increased visibility notwithstanding, gender parity has not been achieved. Women form a mere 10.9% of the 275-seat legislature and only 24% of the Executive. There are currently no readily available statistics on the number of Persons with Disability (PWD) and the youth in the legislature.

Although there are no discriminatory legal provisions on political participation in Ghana, there are also no explicit provisions for the promotion of the political participation of marginalized groups. Following from this, very little efforts have been made to recognise and address the challenges inherent in the mechanisms for effective participation in the political processes at the various levels. Usually, the most common explanation offered by the public press on the low political participation of marginalized groups has been sociological constraints and a lack of interest by the groups. Yet, in democracies where political parties play a pivotal role in the identification, grooming and selection of candidates, any effort at understanding the

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<sup>2</sup> It is important to state that compared to the efforts at promoting women's political participation, efforts at promoting the participation of youth and Persons with Disability is relatively new; having gathered momentum before the 2008 elections.



abysmal performance of certain groups must necessarily begin from the political party.

Indeed, progressive attempts have been made by political parties in Ghana to promote the participation of marginalized groups. It is however worthy of note that most of the attention has been focused on women's political participation. Almost all of the political parties selected for the study have explicit gender provisions in their manifestoes and provided a rebate on the filing fees for women aspirants in the 2008 and 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary elections. However, no such provisions were made for PWD and the youth.

It is noted that in Ghana, the efforts to enhance the participation of marginalized groups have been exogenously led by civil society organisations and focused on the participation of marginalised groups in district and national level elections and the appointment of marginalised groups into politically appointed national offices. Generally, political parties have only marginally been involved in these processes.

Yet, political parties are the platforms that control access to substantive political participation. In their work on Women's political representation, Paxton and Kunovich (2003) assert that political parties and the electoral systems in place define and explain the low levels of women's political participation since political parties are the fulcrum of all political activity and they determine the processes of inclusion and participation both at the party and national levels.<sup>3</sup> They are responsible for the recruitment and selection of candidates both for internal and national level decision-making positions. Following from this, political parties are considered as gatekeepers as they determine who gets in and at what levels they are allowed to operate. According to Norris and Lovenduski (1993), political parties "structure electoral choice; they determine the selection of Parliamentary candidates, members of the government and Prime Minister (where relevant); and they provide a legislative programme and discipline to get it passed in Parliament".<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Paxton, P., & Kunovich, S. (2003). Women's Political Representation: The importance of Ideology. *Social Forces*, 82(1), 87-113.

<sup>4</sup> Norris, P., & Lovenduski, J. (1993). Gender and Party Politics in Britain. *Gender and Party Politics*, 35-59.

Even though the manifestoes of all the political parties selected for the study devoted some attention to women’s political participation, the Convention People’s Party (CPP) relatively has a better critical mass of women at the strategic level. It is interesting to note that even when women form part of the strategic level membership of the political parties, they hold lower level decision-making positions. Table 1 below provides data on the number of women in strategic positions in the parties in the study.

<b>Name of Party</b>	<b>Number of National Executives</b>	<b>Number of Female Executives</b>	<b>% of Female Executives</b>
CPP	9	3	33%
NDC	22	4	18%
NPP	12	1	8%
PNC	8	2	25%
PPP	12	2	16%

Information obtained from open sources

Thus, it would appear that the provisions of the manifestoes were mere rhetoric; a marketing strategy designed to attract female votes for the party rather than to integrate gender considerations into the parties and effectively promote women’s political participation. All over the world, the journey from aspirant to candidate and eventually to an elected official is dictated and largely determined by political parties. In Ghana, the outcome of even the non-partisan district assembly elections is in reality determined by political party affiliation. Political parties in Ghana are therefore powerful tools for political inclusion.

In recognition of their pivotal role in the political participation of women, the Beijing platform of Action requested political parties to remove internal direct and indirect barriers that discriminate against women’s political participation; develop initiatives for the promotion of women’s full participation in internal decision making structures and incorporate gender into the political agenda in a manner that allows for the full participation of women in the leadership positions on an equal footing with men.<sup>5</sup> The

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<sup>5</sup> Beijing Declaration. (1995, September). Platform for Action. In *Fourth World Conference on Women* (Vol. 15).

recommendations of Beijing were reiterated in 2012 by the United Nations General Assembly that made a strong recommendation to political parties “to remove all barriers that directly or indirectly discriminate against the participation of women, to develop their capacity to analyse issues from a gender perspective, and to adopt policies to promote the ability of women to participate fully at all levels of decision making within those political parties”.<sup>6</sup>

Twenty years after Beijing, the situation of women in political parties in Ghana has not necessarily improved. Although some efforts have been made to promote women’s political participation, there has been very little integration of gender in the internal party structures. Following from this, a number of marginalized groups have been left on the fringes of political parties. Interestingly, political parties in some countries with similar socio-cultural and economic dynamics and in some cases, more deeply entrenched patriarchal ideologies are succeeding in promoting the participation of marginalized groups. For example, parties in Rwanda have contributed significantly to ensuring that today; there are more women than men in Rwanda’s national parliament.

Given that there is some demonstrable evidence that political parties in Ghana are keen to promote effective inclusion, this study seeks to examine the underlying challenges to the effective inclusion of gender in political party structures, policies, processes and programs. It adopts the more expansive concept of gender that covers other marginalized groups, in particular youth and persons with disability and seeks to unearth the causes to the low participation of these groups in the strategic decision making structures of political parties in Ghana.

### **Structure of the Report**

The Report is divided into three chapters. This chapter covers the background, introduction to the study, a review of the literature on the participation of women, the youth and PWDs in the three mentioned countries and the methodology employed. Chapter Two presents the findings and observations of the study and Chapter Three presents the conclusions and recommendations for consideration.

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<sup>6</sup> UN Resolution of the General Assembly 66/130 on Women and Political Participation, 2012

## **Purpose, Scope and Methodology**

A number of studies have been undertaken to better understand the dynamics of participation in politics by women, youth and Persons with Disability. However, most of these studies have focused on the participation of these groups at the national level. Yet, political parties serve as the fulcrum of all political activities. The purpose of the report is therefore to examine the extent to which political parties in Ghana have measures in place to enhance the political participation of the groups above-mentioned. The study aims at achieving two things: first to look backwards and identify the measures employed in enhancing the participation of the marginalized groups identified and the second is to look forward towards establishing effective structures for better enhancing the participation of the groups.

The study employs participatory and descriptive methods to ensure that as many realities as exist in terms of the experiences of the identified groups in the study that are relevant are captured and analysed to arrive at some reliable conclusions. It employs three main research methods - a literature of works on the political participation of women in the three countries; content analysis of internal documents of the political parties as well as key informant interviews – to interrogate the subject of gender and participation in political parties. Using a case study approach the study interrogates why political parties marginalize the groups that form the focus of the study. It then employs the qualitative hypothesis generating method to formulate hypotheses to provide explanations for the marginalization. The objective of this approach is to establish a cause and effect relationship to explain the reason(s) for the low participation of the identified groups in political parties in Ghana. This, it is expected, would provide a basis for the development of targeted interventions to cure the problem.

The study draws useful lessons from three countries – Kenya, Senegal and Denmark where considerable success has been achieved with regards to the inclusion of gender in political parties. The choice of countries has not been arbitrarily made. Rather, the Client's selection is based on a number of considerations. The three countries present very interesting and worthwhile cases when it comes to the issue of building an all-inclusive political participation system. As such, they do provide Ghana with rich perspectives on broadening political participation. On the face of it, Kenya and Senegal are African countries and developing countries just like Ghana with some

similar socio-cultural, economic and political characteristics, thereby making it possible for Ghana to identify with them in many ways. On the other hand, Denmark presents a case of a country that has practiced democracy for a much longer period - even before countries like Ghana, Senegal and Kenya gained independence or practiced any form of Westphalian state democracy. Given Denmark's relatively high racial and religious homogeneity, their attempts to yet still mainstream equality ought to inspire democracies with populations of a very heterogeneous makeup such as that of Ghana.

The methodology chosen for the study is not without limitations. Ideally, a study of this nature should have included in-depth interviews of various stakeholders and a general perception survey of a cross section of the members of the various political parties. However, the limitation of time and resources means that it is highly unlikely that a broad range of stakeholders, especially in the three countries listed would be interviewed. It is also impossible to conduct a perception survey and conduct interviews at the various levels of the political party establishments. The limitations however cannot significantly affect the results as the use of Key Informant interviews and the researchers' extensive knowledge of and understanding of the gender landscape in Ghana is brought to bear to mitigate the limitations.

A second limitation of the methodology is the fact that although the study covers three distinct groups – women, the youth and persons with disability; available information is mainly limited to women's political participation. Although some limited information exists on the political participation of youth, there is very scant information on the participation of persons with disability. To a large extent, the available research data does not always disaggregate political actors into variables such as the youth and the disabled. This may be due to the discomfort with labels such as 'disabled'. For example, a European Union research that sought to document the number of disabled members of parliaments in EU-member states more often than not, elicited answers that suggested such discomfort.<sup>7</sup> Denmark for instance indicated that no such records existed in their polity. Also, there is the difficulty with having a universal definition for 'youth'. Often times, gender has been the variable in such

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<sup>7</sup> National MPs with a disability Indicators on political participation of persons with disabilities 2014

analysis. This limitation could not be addressed fully because the lack of disaggregated data at the party level meant that the key informants were unable to provide accurate figures on the number of youth and persons with disability.

### **Promoting the Participation of Marginalized Groups in Political Parties: A review of the situation in Denmark, Senegal and Kenya**

The tables below, which are based on data from the Inter-Parliamentary Union, provide insightful evidence that buttress the essence of the chosen countries for this comparative study. Table 1 and Table 2 present the level of women participation as parliamentarians in Senegal, Denmark, Kenya and Ghana. Table 1 presents 2015 data while Table 2 presents 2005 data. The essence of presenting the two datasets is to contextually show the level of comparative progress of Senegal, Kenya and Denmark with regards to women's representation in parliament in relation to Ghana.

Table 1

<b>Country</b>	<b>Total No. of MPs</b>	<b>No. of Women MPs</b>	<b>Women MPs in Percentages</b>	<b>Global Rank</b>
<b>Senegal</b>	150	64	42.7%	6
<b>Denmark</b>	179	67	37.4%	17
<b>Kenya</b>	*418	87	20.8%	71
<b>Ghana</b>	275	30	10.9%	111

The data in Table 1 are current as at 01/11/15 and ranks 190 countries<sup>8</sup>

Kenya's Parliamentary seats as indicated on the table result from the addition of the seats in the lower and upper houses.

Table 2

<b>Country</b>	<b>Total No. of MPs</b>	<b>No. of Women MPs</b>	<b>Women MPs in Percentages</b>	<b>Global Rank</b>
<b>Senegal</b>	120	23	19.2%	55
<b>Denmark</b>	179	66	36.9%	5
<b>Kenya</b>	224	16	7.1%	113
<b>Ghana</b>	230	25	10.9%	89

The data in Table 2 are current as at 01/11/05 and ranks 187 countries<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union. *Women in National Parliaments*. <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>

<sup>9</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union. *Women in National Parliaments*. <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/classif311005.htm>

It can be inferred from Table 1 that Ghana has the lowest representation of women in parliament compared to the three other countries. More unremarkably, Ghana is ranked outside the top 100 in the world. Impressively, Senegal is in the global top six. When Table 2 is brought into the analysis, more interesting trends are observable. For example, Kenya a decade ago performed poorer than Ghana and was actually outside the top 100. Ghana was part of the top 100. Also, it can be seen that after a decade, Senegal has jumped close to 50 places upwards. However, as a generally poor global performance can have negative implications for country rankings, it is important to also consider the percentages.

Percentage-wise, all the countries over the ten-year period have seen their percentage of women MPs rise apart from Ghana which interestingly maintained the same percentage. Denmark's ten-year performance shows to an extent that its polity has for long provided fertile grounds for women's political participation and also shows that such laudable performance can be maintained in the medium to long term. The fact that despite the 0.5% increases in the case of Denmark, the country in terms of the global rankings moved from 5<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> could reasonably suggest that there is a general rise in global performance. This trend makes Ghana's stagnating performance the more unimpressive. The succeeding subsections will discuss Denmark, Senegal and Kenya and some contributing factors to the relatively wide political participation they have each achieved and seek to build on.

### Denmark

Traditionally, the Nordic countries have been world leaders when it comes to promoting human rights and equality and Denmark is no different. Denmark is a constitutional monarchy and a long-standing democracy. The Head of State of Denmark is its King or Queen. For the purposes of this study, it is important to touch on the evolution of the discourse within Denmark on who can be the head of state and the centrality of gender to this discourse. First of all, The Succession to the Throne Act of Denmark instructs that the Head of State should be a descendant of King Christian X and Queen Alexandrine.<sup>10</sup> This immediately excludes everybody else not a member of the Royal House from holding the highest political office of the land. Executive power is vested in the throne. However, as the Head of State shares

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<sup>10</sup> Succession to the Throne Act, Article 1

legislative powers with the Folketing (legislature) the effect of the Royal House's right to rule is considerably abated. Moreover, like the British Monarchy, the position is highly ceremonial as it is the Prime Minister who is in charge of actual governance.<sup>11</sup>

In a country where women were allowed to vote in 1915 upon the overhaul of the 1849 Danish Constitution, many years after men had begun voting, it is hardly surprising that it took the Act of Succession in 1953 to allow female members of the Royal House to also serve as the Head of State. Notwithstanding, the Act still prioritized the male child over the female.<sup>12</sup> It was only in 2006 that the Danish Parliament passed an amendment to the Act which instructs that irrespective of gender, the first child of the King or Queen (Head of State) shall be the heir. Due to the focus of this paper, it is also important to note that the Danish Constitution provides that the minimum age for ascending to the throne is 18 years.<sup>13</sup> This suggests that Denmark theoretically and practically is ready to allow its highest political office, to be held by an 18 year old.

This significantly points to a situation in which being youth is no barrier at least theoretically/constitutionally to holding a high political office and taking decisions for the state. On the back of this, it is not strange that the Danish Constitution also provides that the voting age is 18 years and that anybody who can vote can also be a member of the Folketing (legislature).<sup>14</sup> This is not the case in some countries as often the minimum age for holding a seat in Parliament is higher than the voting age.<sup>15</sup> In Section 86 of the Danish Constitution, 18 years similarly is the minimum age for holding an office at the local government level. The Danish constitution thus comfortably makes room for youth participation at the high end of national and local politics. On this score, it is not surprising that almost all Danish parties have strong youth wings. These youth wings do not just serve as an umbrella for organizing the

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<sup>11</sup>[http://www.thedanishparliament.dk/Publications/My\\_Constitutional\\_Act\\_with\\_explanations.aspx?page=all](http://www.thedanishparliament.dk/Publications/My_Constitutional_Act_with_explanations.aspx?page=all)

<sup>12</sup> Succession to the Throne Act Article 2

<sup>13</sup> Constitution of Denmark, Section 7

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. Section 30

<sup>15</sup> In Denmark, the voting age was 23 in 1953 and was reduced to 18 years after a referendum in 1979. [http://www.thedanishparliament.dk/Publications/My\\_Constitutional\\_Act\\_with\\_explanations.aspx?page=all](http://www.thedanishparliament.dk/Publications/My_Constitutional_Act_with_explanations.aspx?page=all)



youth, but clearly are also preoccupied with affecting the policies of their parent parties and the positions they take on national issues.

On the question of women's participation, as has been shown earlier Denmark has performed creditably well. The Danish constitution does not make any noticeable effort to mainstream women's participation in politics. This is not necessarily due to neglect but likely due to the subtle or even loud belief within Denmark that mainstreaming women's participation in public life is not really a challenge as it naturally and rightfully has to be the case. This is vindicated by the fact that despite the lack of constitutional provisions mainstreaming women's participation in politics, Denmark records impressive women representation in their parliament. The success has been attributed to the strong advocacy pressure that has been created and sustained over the years by women groups within political parties and also the general body of women movements.<sup>16</sup> For many years, such women groups particularly those within the political parties organized and demanded that their parties increased the number of women they fielded as candidates in elections which in turn would increase the chances of women actually gaining parliamentary seats.<sup>17</sup>

Eventually, the pressure paid off and in the 1970s and 1980s, the political parties responded by introducing quota systems. However, it was the parties on the political left and the social democratic parties that bought into the idea. The Socialist People's Party became the first in 1977 to make use of internal quotas. In the early 1980s, the Social Democratic Party and the Left Socialists followed suit. Although it was later abolished in 1996, the Social Democratic Party in 1988 declared that;

"each sex has the right to a representation of at least 40 per cent of the Social Democratic candidates for local and regional elections. If there are not a sufficient number of candidates from each sex, this right will not fully come into effect".<sup>18</sup>

It must be said that this declaration did not apply to national parliamentary elections but only to local and county council elections. Notwithstanding, it signalled an improvement. The move by the Social Democratic Party also applied to the party's

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<sup>16</sup> <http://archive.idea.int/women/parl/ch4c.htm>

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> <http://archive.idea.int/women/parl/ch4c.htm>

internal committees and bodies. In that context, the declaration was likely to meet some opposition from the men. To get around this, the party ingenuously increased the number of people on the committees just so the men would not feel threatened and thereby keeping the women's numbers increased. However, it must be said that unlike other Nordic/Scandinavian countries, the use of quotas has not really been popular in Denmark. In 1996, the use of quotas within political parties was abandoned. The fact that notwithstanding, an impressive number of women get to be in the Danish parliament is an indication of an innate commitment on the part of political parties to voluntarily promote women's participation. This is especially in the light of the fact that election into the Danish parliament utilizes the proportional representation system and as such, political parties must place more women in the top hierarchy of their party lists before every election. Thus if there is a high number of women in parliament then it really is an evidence of the commitment of the political parties to gender equality.

One other effort by political parties in Denmark that must be highlighted is their promotion of wider political participation in democracies particularly in developing countries. For example, the Liberal Party of Denmark has rolled out a programme in Kenya and collaborates with civil society and political parties to help involve the youth more in the decision making levels of party politics. Such efforts are important as they place some subtle pressure on parties in Denmark to keep being shining examples of youth participation in politics.

On the youth front, almost all political parties in Denmark have youth wings. Generally, these wings are very strong. Some of these youth wings even have histories that predate their mother political parties. On the whole, it can be seen that the political youth wings in Denmark have very strong roots in political ideology and also do enjoy a great degree of autonomy. Internally, a lot of efforts have been made to ensure the effective participation of the youth in Danish politics. Below, some of the efforts by political parties in Denmark to ensure the political involvement of Danish youth are discussed.

These efforts by the political parties are supported at the national level by the Danish Youth Council that has as one of its key mandates the promotion of an active engagement by young people in Danish democracy. To this extent, the Danish Youth Council provides support to organizations that also promote the youth's participation in politics. Such support could be in a number of forms, which include financial support, training programmes, technical advice and the organizing of debates among others.

#### **CASE STUDIES OF STRATEGIES EMPLOYED BY POLITICAL PARTIES TO ENHANCE INTERNAL PARTICIPATION IN DENMARK**

##### **The Liberal Party and Youth Participation**

*The youth wing of the Liberal Party (Venstre) called the Venstres Ungdom (VU) also provides an interesting case. The Liberal Party Youth is autonomous. The decisions of the mother party are not binding on the VU and vice versa. This independence is actually backed by the party's law. Along similar lines with regards to control, the national body of the VU does not own or control the local VU branches. The VU plays a major role in the campaigns of the mother party; couching campaign messages and canvassing for votes. Periodically, VU organizes seminars and political debates to inform, educate and train its members. Significantly, to promote the involvement of the youth in the running of the Danish polity, VU has an arrangement that connects VU members to members from the mother party that form part of the national executive's cabinet. To do this, VU forms committees that mirror the departments (or ministries) that are headed by Venstre members. The sector-specific VU committees meet regularly with the Venstre cabinet ministers and interact on key developments within the particular sector and exchange ideas on how to improve the sector. Aside this, VU also has a Course Committee which runs training programmes for its members aimed at imparting skills in areas such as public speaking, fund-raising, debating and recruitment among others.*

(For more on this, see <https://vu.dk/om/udvalg/kursus-udvalget/>)

## **The Conservative People's Party (Konservativ) and Youth Participation**

*For starters, there is the case of the youth wing of the Conservative People's Party called the Young Conservatives or Konservativ Ungdom (KU). The KU is one of the youth wings in Denmark whose existence pre-date that of their mother party. To promote youth participation and self-development, KU has put in place a number of interesting avenues for the youth. These include serving on committees. The committees include the campaign committee, local committee and website committee. The campaign committee for instance, engages in recruiting members for the party, helping frame campaign messages and canvassing for votes during elections. The website committee works on KU's website and maintains its membership database while the local committee sees to the running of the KU office and its maintenance. KU also has in place a training programme for developing the skills and capacities; political and otherwise of its members both the new ones and those who have some experience. The training programme has 4 levels and it is facilitated by other young people who have themselves been through the course and also wield an impressive scope of organizational knowledge.*

*The essence of the programme is to help young members of the party to be in a better position to help the party and also acquire skills that can improve their output at the work place. The training provides an introduction to the party and what it stands for as well as to Danish politics. Issues like negotiation techniques, union operation, meeting management and project management are emphasized. Beyond the 4 training levels, KU members can also access periodic skills workshops which also provide training on solicitations and media training among others. These self-development avenues within the KU serve the purposes of grooming young members to participate effectively in local and national politics including running for political offices and also promoting networking among the youth. The latter provides an invaluable resource that will go to support the political careers of these young people both in the medium and long terms.*

(For more on this, see:

<http://konservativungdom.dk/organisatorisk/uddannelsesudvalget/von-rosen-kursus>)

## Kenya

The pursuit of wider participation at the decision-making levels of politics in Kenya has been approached with constitutional reengineering. However, unlike Senegal (which is discussed below), Kenya's 2010 Constitution does not only make room for women participation but also the participation of the youth and the disabled explicitly. Due to the relevance of the provisions that seek to entrench wider political participation constitutional to the object of the study, certain provisions are quoted extensively below:

**Article 27:** (3) Women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres. (6) To give full effect to the realisation of the rights guaranteed under this Article, the State shall take legislative and other measures, including affirmative action programmes and policies designed to redress any disadvantage suffered by individuals or groups because of past discrimination. (8) In addition to the measures contemplated in clause (6), the State shall take legislative and other measures to implement the principle that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender.

**Article 54 (2):** The State shall ensure the progressive implementation of the principle that at least five percent of the members of the public in elective and appointive bodies are persons with disabilities.

**Article 56:** The State shall put in place affirmative action programmes designed to ensure that minorities and marginalised groups— (a) participate and are represented in governance and other spheres of life;

**Article 81:** (b) not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender; (c) fair representation of persons with disabilities;

**Article 90:** 2(b) except in the case of the seats provided for under Article 98:

(1) (b) each party list comprises the appropriate number of qualified candidates and alternates between male and female candidates in the priority in which they are listed; and (c) except in the case of county assembly seats, each party list reflects the regional and ethnic diversity of the people of Kenya.

**Article 91:** (e) respect the right of all persons to participate in the political process, including minorities and marginalised groups; (f) respect and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms, and gender equality and equity;

**Article 97:** (1) The National Assembly consists of— (b) forty-seven women, each elected by the registered voters of the counties, each county constituting a single member constituency; (c) twelve members nominated by parliamentary political parties according to their proportion of members of the

National Assembly in accordance with Article 90, to represent special interests including the youth, persons with disabilities and workers;

**Article 98:** (1) The Senate consists of— (b) sixteen women members who shall be nominated by political parties according to their proportion of members of the Senate elected under clause (a) in accordance with article 90; (c) two members, being one man and one woman, representing the youth; (d) two members, being one man and one woman, representing persons with disabilities;

**Article 100:** Parliament shall enact legislation to promote the representation in Parliament of—

(a) women; (b) persons with disabilities; (c) youth; (d) ethnic and other minorities; and (e) marginalised communities.

**Article 197:** (1) Not more than two-thirds of the members of any county assembly or county executive committee shall be of the same gender.

From these constitutional provisions, it can be seen that Kenya has left no room to chance when it comes to ensuring that the corridors of power and decision making have an equitable representation of women, youth and the disabled. The provisions are made more interesting by the fact that, the nature of numerical representation by often un-represented groups is not left to guesswork. For example, per Article 81, the composition of members of elective bodies shall be such that at the minimum, there is 1 woman to every 2 men. Likewise, Article 47 reserves 47 seats for women and 12 seats for the youth, persons with disabilities and other special interests in the National Assembly. At the Senate level, Article 98 makes similar specific provisions. Article 197 provides also that at the local level, such widespread political participation must be ensured.

The pervasive political inclusion that is being sought by the Kenyan Constitution means that its focus is not only on women as is the case in Senegal but it also explicitly ropes in the youth, the disabled, ethnic minorities and labour among others. Certainly, this is the ideal. It must be noted that these political participation provisions in the Kenyan Constitution are further entrenched in Kenya's Political Party Act (2011). Interestingly, the Political Parties Act goes to the extent in its Article 3 (2) to instruct that once a person is 18 years old, he/she can contest for elective positions within the political parties they are members of, *ceteris paribus*. This again shows how national laws force the hands of political parties in Kenya.

Notwithstanding the increase in the number of women, youth and PWDs in the legislative body of Kenya post-the 2010 constitution, research has pointed to a

number of factors that still stand in the way of broadening political participation in Kenya. In other words, the constitutionally mandated quotas and the actualization of the quotas by the political parties in elections have not been enough. With regards to women candidates, an audit of the 2013 elections in Kenya by the UNDP revealed such inhibiting factors as including cultural beliefs and stereotypes, weaker financial muscles, physical and verbal intimidation as well as palpable falsehood engendered by weak civic education. In relation to the point on falsehood, research revealed that the affirmative action or positive discrimination efforts were themselves been used rather as tools to block the desired goal. It has been said that some candidates usually males went about in their campaigns telling the voting public that apart from places where seats had been reserved for women, women were not supposed to contest anywhere else.

The impact of weaker financial capacities of women candidates in Kenya has been studied by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA). IDEA concludes that the candidate-nomination process in Kenya is quite expensive. In effect, candidates are supposed to spend money to vie for candidacy within their parties first of all. It is said that in a party's stronghold for instance, getting the nod becomes more expensive. Also, if it is not a party's stronghold, gaining financial support becomes more difficult. Thus the studies cited both conclude that despite the national quotas and the efforts by political parties to uphold such quotas, broadening participation in politics intra-party and inter-party for the marginalized in essence requires more. For example, political parties can provide security for such disadvantaged candidates in places where there is a likelihood of attacks or physical violence. If a candidate is bound to face cultural stereotypes, it must be the concern of the party to find ways to deal with that challenge among others. If voters are likely to misinterpret quota systems, political parties must move in to educate the electorate among others.

## CASE STUDIES OF STRATEGIES EMPLOYED BY POLITICAL PARTIES TO ENHANCE INTERNAL PARTICIPATION IN KENYA

### **The Orange Democratic Movement's Constitution and broader Political Participation**

*The Orange Democratic Movement's (ODM) 2012 party constitution goes to an appreciable extent to rope in members of marginalized groups to broaden political participation internally. As expected, this outlook of the ODM Constitution is inspired if not obliged by the pro-gender nature of Kenya's 2010 Constitution. It must however be said that the pro-gender quota provisions in the national legislative framework focus generally on national/inter-party political participation. In the light of this, the pro-gender provisions in ODM's constitution with regards internal party portfolios are 'voluntarily' imposed. The document begins by committing in Article 4.15 to the pursuit of "full participation of women, youth, minorities, the disabled and any other disadvantaged groups in the management of public affairs and national development through affirmative action and mainstreaming their participation in Party activities and structures at all level" and in Article 4.16 to the promotion of gender equality and equity within the party. To follow up on such a commitment, a number of explicit pro-gender provisions are made in the ODM's constitution.*

*For example, Article 12 instructs that the ODM "shall implement a programme of affirmative action, including the provision of a quota of not less than one third (1/3) in all organs, appointments, committees, nominations to enable such effective participation". Another effort that is enshrined in the ODM's constitution and has been actualized is the formation and operation of women wings and youth wings; called the Orange Women Democrats and Orange Youth Democrats respectively. These wings are organized at all levels of the party from the Unit to the National level. The national leaders of these groups i.e. the Secretary for Women Affairs and the Secretary for Youth Affairs form part of the National Executive Council of the ODM. Although there is no dedicated PWD wing mandated by the ODM constitution, there is a Secretary for Persons with Disabilities who is also a member of the National Executive Council.*

*The latter is mandated by the ODM Constitution to promote and advocate for the rights of PWDs within the Party and also to provide advice to the ODM on all issues relating to disability and public policy. This mandate is progressive especially for promoting the interests and participation of PWDs within the party. This however cannot be said of the constitutional mandates of the Youth and Women wings which do not in certain and clear times position these sub-bodies as instruments for promoting the interests and rights of women and the youth within the ODM. Their mandates look more like campaign and votes-canvassing outposts and nothing more. Overall, the ODM constitution provides for including women, the youth and PWDs in all the arenas of decision making within the party. However, it is interesting to note that membership within the ODM is vertically segregated into Ordinary, Life, Group and Corporate membership based on the amount of dues being paid to the party. If in any way, such a segregation in practice leads to differentials in how much say one can have in the party then indeed the segregation can impede the full participation of the less financially-endowed who are normally the youth, women and PWDs. For example, in the nomination rules of the party, under section 22, ordinary members can only vie for county assembly seats as only life members can access the parliamentary and presidential candidature.*



### **Kenyan Political Parties and Participation by PWDs <sup>1</sup>**

*Political parties in Kenya have responded in similar and varying ways to the 2010 Kenyan Constitution which mandates political participation by PWDs. For starters, all the major Kenyan political parties post-2010 amended their party constitutions and nomination rules to suit the letter and spirit of the national constitution. Below are some of the internal efforts and regulations by parties in Kenya to promote PWD participation.*

*Although all parties have women and youth wings, it is only the National Rainbow Coalition that has a full wing dedicated to PWDs.*

*In terms of PWD representation on national executive committees, FORD-Kenya has both the Secretary and Deputy Secretary for PWDs as national party officials. Wiper Democratic Movement (WDM) also has a slot for a Secretary for PWDs on the national executive committee. Generally, Kenyan parties at the lower ranks (Unit, Branch etc.) have allocations for PWDs on the committees. With specific reference to party nomination boards and internal electoral bodies, Restore and Build Kenya (RBK) has a PWD representative from sub-branch to the national level. FORD-Kenya has a representation for PWDs at the national level.*

*Regarding nomination or filing fees, The National Alliance (TNA) explicitly in its nomination rules provides for a 50% waiver for PWDs as well as women and the youth. The PNU set nomination fees for the National Assembly and Senate at Ksh 100,000 and 200,000 respectively but reduced that to Ksh 50,000 and Ksh 100,000 for special groups.<sup>1</sup> Positively, National Rainbow Coalition -Kenya provides explicitly in its constitution that it shall use part of funds in its coffers to support the youth, women and PWDs that compete in elections.*

*Concerning the provision of voting assistance, TNA and WDM explicitly provide that PWDs can be aided to cast their votes during party elections by people of their own choice. With respect to nomination to the party lists for special seats, TNA and RBK make explicit provisions in their nomination rules for an allocation to PWDs.*

(For more on this, see: Mute, Lawrence. (2013). "That Near Yet So Far: An Examination of the extent to which Political and Electoral Participation by Persons with Disabilities is being realized for the 2013 General Elections".)

### **Senegal**

Senegal's constitution comes across as a very philosophical one. Like the Danish constitution, the constitution does not make it its business to provide explicitly for

promoting the rights of the minority or a marginalized group. Notwithstanding, the Senegalese constitution in no uncertain terms provides for the equality of all humans. It even indicates commitment to the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of violence Against Women (CEDAW). Senegal's recent highly impressive performance in terms of women's participation at the decision-making levels of their democracy mainly has resulted from a single powerful legislation. This is the Law on Parity (Law 2010-11) that was passed in May 2010. The law boldly instructs that nominations for all elected positions should have an equal number of males and females as much as possible. A version of the law was passed earlier in 2007 but was declared invalid by the Constitutional Court on the basis that it infringed on the Article 7 provision of the Senegalese constitution.<sup>19</sup> The said Article 7 provides that men and women are to be equal before the law and no one in Senegal shall suffer a constraint or enjoy a privilege because of his/her birth, person/status or family.<sup>20</sup> However, a law on parity was passed again in 2010 provides that;

“All lists of candidates shall be alternately composed of persons of both sexes, and when the total number is odd; parity shall apply up to the last even number. All lists of candidates shall comply with this provision or shall be rejected”.<sup>21</sup>

This constitutional amendment is backed by a 2012 amendment of the electoral law, L.145.<sup>22</sup> The import of these legal provisions has meant that political parties have no other option than to submit a list of candidates that achieves total gender balance. The sanction for not observing this provision is that the party will not be registered or will be deregistered. As such, political parties in Senegal do not necessarily have quotas voluntarily imposed but are obliged by national laws to observe such. Such a constitutional obligation immediately shot the women representation in parliament up from 22% after the 2007 elections to 44% after the 2012 elections. On the issue of youth participation, Article 28 and Article 60 of the Senegalese constitution, provides interesting instructions. Per article 28, the minimum age of the President must be 35 years while Article 60 states that the minimum age for a senator must be 40 years. When juxtaposed with the earlier discussed case in Denmark, it can be seen that

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<sup>19</sup> <http://sahelresearch.africa.ufl.edu/tsep/themesissues/gender-quotas-and-representation/senegal/>

<sup>20</sup> Article 7 of the Senegalese Constitution

<sup>21</sup> <http://sahelresearch.africa.ufl.edu/tsep/themesissues/gender-quotas-and-representation/senegal/>

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.quotaproject.org/uid/countryview.cfm?CountryCode=SN>

unlike in Denmark, the highest political offices in Senegal are statutorily designed not to be held by the youth. This deals some blow to the quest for youth participation at the decision making levels of Senegalese politics. Significantly, the national law of Senegal does not provide any positive discrimination for the youth and PWDs in terms of holding public office or participating in the public political space.

Regarding women, despite the quota system, there have been challenges that still militate against full participation by women in Senegalese politics.<sup>23</sup> These mainly are:

1. Some conservatives have seen affirmative action as a challenge by women against men and this has been deemed as being against the socio-cultural ethos of Senegalese society.
2. The argument has been made that the need for parties to bring up women or face disqualification, has led to several instances in which women of less ability and capacity have ended up in the legislature of Senegal.

In the light of these, it is required that political parties in Senegal respond to these issues in order to safeguard the quota system. The lesson to be learned from Senegal's experience is that prior to the introduction of affirmative action in highly patriarchal societies such as Senegal, it is important for political parties to educate their members and the general citizenry, undertake civic education generally and also ensure that women are educated and trained to hold public offices.

Additionally, research shows that political parties in Senegal have hardly aligned their internal regulations to be quota-friendly. For example, IDEA in a study of four political parties in Senegal noted that although they all had women wings and had a representative of the women wings on the national executive committees, none of the parties had constitutions that emphasized gender equality or gender quotas for that matter.<sup>24</sup> This in a way suggests that the political parties regarded the externally-imposed gender quota during civic elections only because they were obliged by law to

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<sup>23</sup> <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2012/nov/15/senegal-gender-parity-law-mps-women> <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2012/aug/16/senegal-headway-gender-equality>

<sup>24</sup> International IDEA. Political Parties in Africa through a Gender Lens. (2013).

do so. In other words, the parties have not really internalized the value of gender equality. This places the efforts of inclusion and participation on a slippery slope.

### **CASE STUDIES OF STRATEGIES EMPLOYED BY POLITICAL PARTIES TO ENHANCE INTERNAL PARTICIPATION IN SENEGAL**

#### **Alliance for the Republic Party's (ARP) constitution and Participation**

*Like many other parties, the ARP's constitution provides for a women's wing (National Movement of Republican Women) and a youth wing (National Movement of Young Republicans). Interestingly, the ARP constitution also provides for a pupils and students wing. Positively, the latter does provide an opportunity for 'catching people young' and grooming them to partake more effectively in mainstream politics and civic life. In Article 15 of the party's statutes, the party's leader is tasked to appoint two deputies, one of whom must necessarily be a woman. Beyond that, the sub-national committees in the party are mandated to have a representative each both for youth and women affairs. Aside that, the major decision-making organs of the party at the national level like Congress, which is the supreme body and can amend the statutes of the party, the National Council which sets party policy and the Political Bureau do not necessarily have given quotas allotted to women, the youth or PWDs. An assessment of the ARP legal framework suggests that imposing national gender quotas do not necessarily translate into an intra-party domestication of the policy. It is thus not surprising that PWDs for instance are not mentioned in the legal instruments of the APR and women and the youth have to contend with the traditional single slot allocated each to women and the youth on party committees. In such a case, the increased representation of women in Senegal's legislature may only be plastering over cracks.*

### **LESSONS FROM DENMARK, KENYA AND SENEGAL**

The three case studies present very useful lessons for equality, inclusion and political participation generally. Since Ghana has similar socio-cultural and economic characteristics as Kenya and Senegal, political parties in Ghana can learn a lot from the experiences of the two countries. Although all of the lessons are useful, a key issue that is worthy of particular attention is the fact that the success of efforts by the political parties in mainstreaming interests of marginalized groups is very dependent on the overall national environment. Nationally mandated legal provisions for equality, inclusion and participation provide a level playing field for the various political parties to engage the issues of inclusion and participation without fear of losing out. The most salient lessons from the three cases studied are presented in the tracks below:

Denmark	Kenya	Senegal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political parties accept gender balance by not sidelining women when it comes to placing candidates on the top hierarchy of the party list.</li> <li>• Political parties in Denmark employed voluntary quotas to provide a platform for groups that were hitherto marginalized to get a platform from which to participate. However, these quotas were set aside when the general public internalized the need for equality.</li> <li>• Politicians of the party in government frequently interact with some of the marginalized groups to exchange ideas.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The quota laws in Kenya would never have come into existence without a broad-based support of it by political parties. If you look at it carefully, in a patriarchal society, it will always take male-dominated political parties to pass affirmative action laws at least at the initial stages. Looking at Kenya, such a feat is possible.</li> <li>• The ODM Constitution integrates gender into several aspects of the party's activities.</li> <li>• Expensive candidate-nomination processes hurt the ability of marginalized groups to participate.</li> <li>• Despite its useful lessons, the differences in membership as established in the ODM constitution should not be advised as it can hinder wider participation by encouraging elitism.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The success of nationally established affirmative action interventions such as quotas is dependent on acceptance and internalization by the political parties that is demonstrated among other things, through alignment of relevant internal legal structures with the national provisions.</li> <li>• Affirmative action must be backed by targeted interventions that develop the capacity of beneficiaries to deliver.</li> <li>• Political parties in heavily patriarchal societies must provide concerted and sustained civic education to educate and sensitize party members and the general citizenry to be patient with the beneficiaries of affirmative action as they learn to navigate the complexities of politics.</li> </ul>

## CHAPTER TWO

### **Political Parties in Ghana and Political Participation**

This chapter examines the extent to which political parties in Ghana have put in place measures for the promotion and participation of marginalized groups – women, youth and PWDs. The information obtained from the Key informant interviews conducted with the representatives of the political parties in the Inter- Party Platform (IPAP) is used to explain why certain groups are marginalized in political parties in Ghana.

#### **General Observations**

1. The study observes that socio-cultural, educational and financial challenges negatively affect the ability of women, youth and persons with disability to participate effectively in decision making generally. These challenges, which are mirrored at the level of the political parties, hinder the quest for broader political participation.
2. Although Ghana is party to several legal instruments that oblige the institution of measures aimed at attaining parity, the non-implementation of such obligations at the national level makes it difficult to ensure implementation at the level of political parties.
3. Following from these challenges the groups mentioned find it comparatively more difficult to generate the needed resources through sponsorship and access to credit facilities.
4. There is consensus among the political parties in the study population that the groups above-mentioned are confronted with peculiar challenges in their efforts to participate in decision making generally.
5. Almost all the political parties have put measures in place to ensure that the challenges confronted by marginalized groups are mitigated and ultimately eliminated.
6. All the political parties have designated internal platforms for women and youth. There are however no platforms for Persons with Disability in any of the political parties.

7. The study observes that efforts of inclusion and participation in political parties are largely superficial and almost a ploy to be politically correct rather than to address the substantive issues that hinder the effective promotion of diversity.
8. It is noted that even though there are a number of measures and interventions in place to promote the participation of marginalized groups, these measures are not formulated in policies. This, it is observed, has sometimes led to inconsistencies in the promotion of the participation of marginalized groups within the parties.
9. The study notes that one of the reasons for the absence of internal policies on the study population is the lack of capacity by the political parties.
10. There is agreement that the marginalized groups mentioned in the study are confronted with a myriad of challenges that range from socio-cultural to economic. Some of the challenges reinforce others, thereby creating a cycle of vulnerabilities. Efforts to break the cycle of non-participation and passive participation must therefore be concerted, comprehensive and consistent.
11. There is a mix and stir approach to enhancing the participation of marginalized groups in most of the political parties as efforts are not effectively integrated and mainstreamed into the general processes of the various parties. Following from this, most of the activities, programs and processes to enhance the participation of the various groups mentioned are dealt with in silos.
12. Most of the political parties do not have disaggregated data on the various groups. This makes it difficult to develop targeted interventions to address empirically identified needs of the various groups.
13. Political party ideology and age-hierarchy hinder the participation of youth in political parties. It is noted that although this challenge affects all members of the study population, youth, females and PWDs are disproportionately affected negatively.

14. PWDs are the most marginalized among the three groups in the study. None of the study participants had disability-friendly constitutions and only one political party had ever translated its Manifesto into Braille for visually impaired people literate in that language. Most of the political parties do not have disability friendly infrastructural facilities such as ramps and elevators in their offices.
15. All the political parties employ the majoritarian system of voting for selecting people into elective positions. Given for instance, the socio-cultural stereotypes, this means that in most instances, marginalized groups may not be elected into decision-making systems.
16. Although significant efforts are being made by the political parties to address the challenges confronting the identified groups in the study, there is a need for nationally driven systemic interventions. The introduction of mandatory national quotas for the identified groups could be a useful measure for encouraging more marginalized groups into decision making structures within the political parties; enhance the visibility of the various groups and guarantee effective inclusion of all.
17. The effort to encourage participation has been focused on adults. While this is understandable because they are the ones who can actively participate in politics, it risks perpetuating the challenges of non-participation because of the lack of efforts to encourage young people (who will become adults) to develop an interest in politics.

### **Specific Observations**

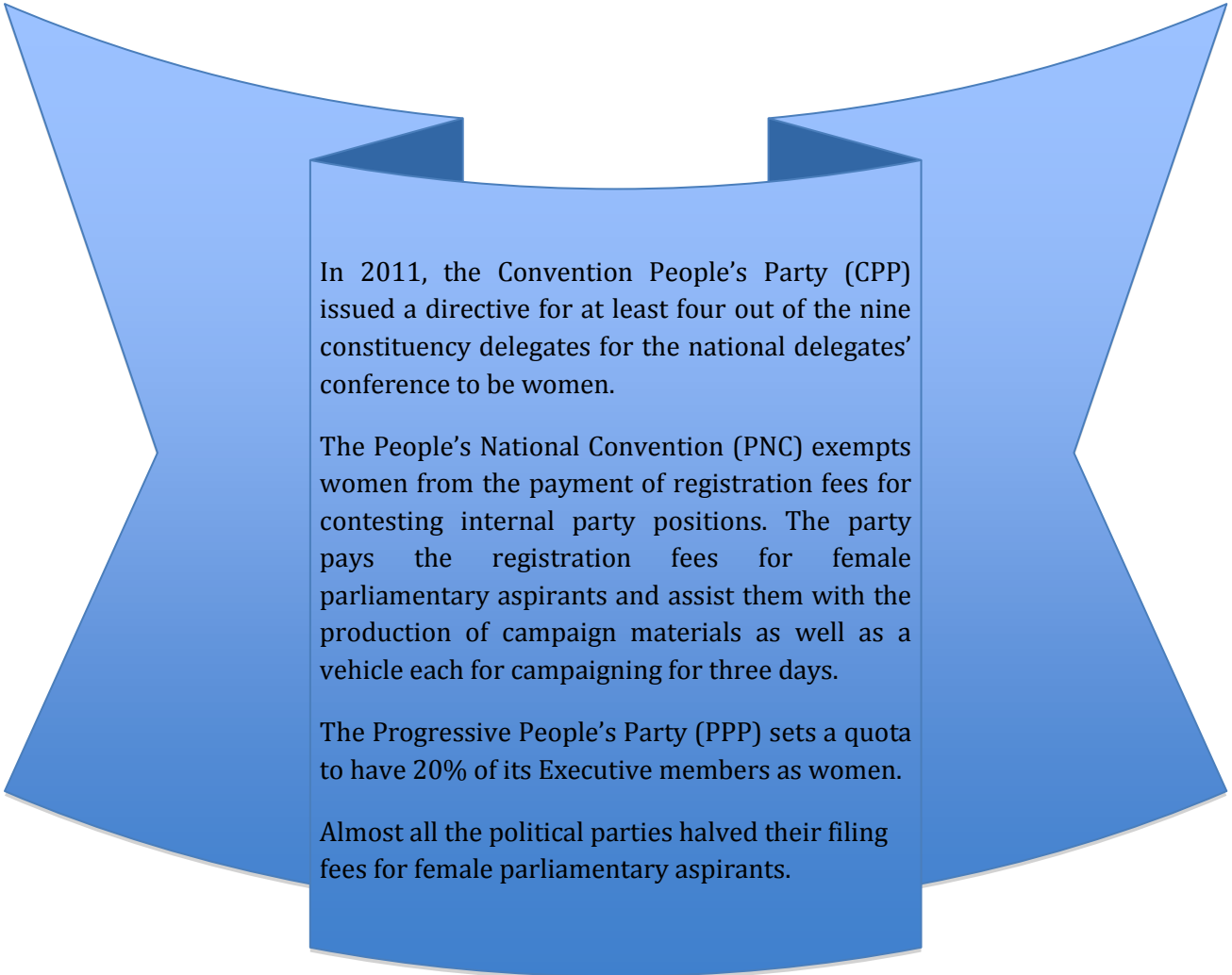
This segment of the study provides an analysis of the measures in place within the political parties for the promotion of marginalized groups within the party structures.

#### **On Women**

In Ghana, socio-cultural perceptions, negative stereotypes, low levels of education, limited control over resources and the nature of politics tend to hinder the ability of most women to effectively participate in politics. Notwithstanding these challenges, some progress has been achieved in relation to women's participation in political parties. Currently a number of women participate directly in the decision-making processes of almost all the political parties in the study as first, second and third vice



chairpersons, constituency chairpersons and youth organizers.<sup>25</sup> Almost all the political parties have put measures in place for the promotion of women's political participation.



In 2011, the Convention People's Party (CPP) issued a directive for at least four out of the nine constituency delegates for the national delegates' conference to be women.

The People's National Convention (PNC) exempts women from the payment of registration fees for contesting internal party positions. The party pays the registration fees for female parliamentary aspirants and assist them with the production of campaign materials as well as a vehicle each for campaigning for three days.

The Progressive People's Party (PPP) sets a quota to have 20% of its Executive members as women.

Almost all the political parties halved their filing fees for female parliamentary aspirants.

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<sup>25</sup> Find attached an appendix with details on women's participation in political parties at the National Executive Committee level in Ghana.

Although the interventions have yielded some positive results, the progress has been slow. A common concern expressed by almost all the key informants related to the unavailability of women to take advantage of the measures put in place by the parties.

**OBSERVATION 1:** The study observes that although significant efforts have been made to promote women's political participation, most of the efforts are externally oriented and geared towards winning national level elections rather than substantively enhancing women's participation within the political parties. For instance, although all the political parties usually provide discounts to female parliamentary aspirants, this is not the case for contesting internal party positions.

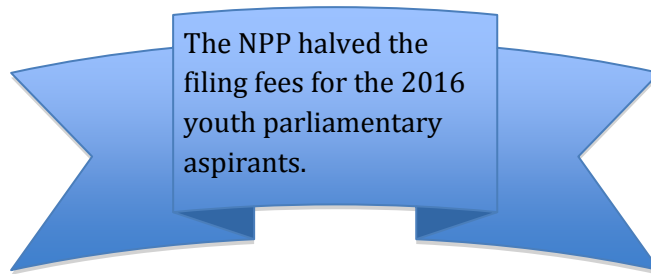
**OBSERVATION 2:** There are very little structures and strategies for enhancing the participation of women internally at the political party level. Notwithstanding the expressed desire to enhance women's political participation in Ghana, none of the parties has a structured and comprehensive strategy to enhance participation internally. Even though the constitutions of some political parties explicitly provide for parity, they are not always implemented because of the absence of implementation plans and strategies.

**OBSERVATION 3:** Even though the political parties have programs to develop the capacity of women within the parties, the contents of the programs focus on building capacities to address strategic gender needs. Yet, because of the multiple roles played by women, they are also constrained by practical gender needs for which knowledge and skills must be developed.

**OBSERVATION 4:** It is also noted that the efforts being made to encourage women's political participation are rather superficial as they fail to address the structural challenges confronting women. The challenges of participation in national level elections are mirrored at the political party level. There is agreement that the politics of denigrations in Ghana is a disincentive to political participation and contributes significantly to the unwillingness of women to participate in political decision-making. Even though insults, name-calling and character assassination tend to be magnified in national level contests, they are not absent in internal political party elections either.

### On Youth

Like women, young people in Ghana face peculiar challenges in political parties. In Ghana, there are age-related challenges as wisdom, responsibility, efficiency and effectiveness are associated with age. In addition, most young people do not have the financial resources, socio-political clout and influence needed to engage effectively in political contests generally.



**OBSERVATION 1:** In the political parties, the concept of youth appears to have become synonymous with males. With the exception of one female regional youth organizer in one political party, almost all of the youth organizers in all of the political parties are male.

**OBSERVATION 2:** All the political parties have established youth wings. However, most of the youth wings do not have the autonomy to design their own programs independent of the main agenda of the political parties.

**OBSERVATION 3:** Although the youth wings develop programs to enhance the capacity of youth in the political parties, they are often unable to effectively implement them because of resource constraints. However, some civil society organisations provide political education for the youth in the various political parties.

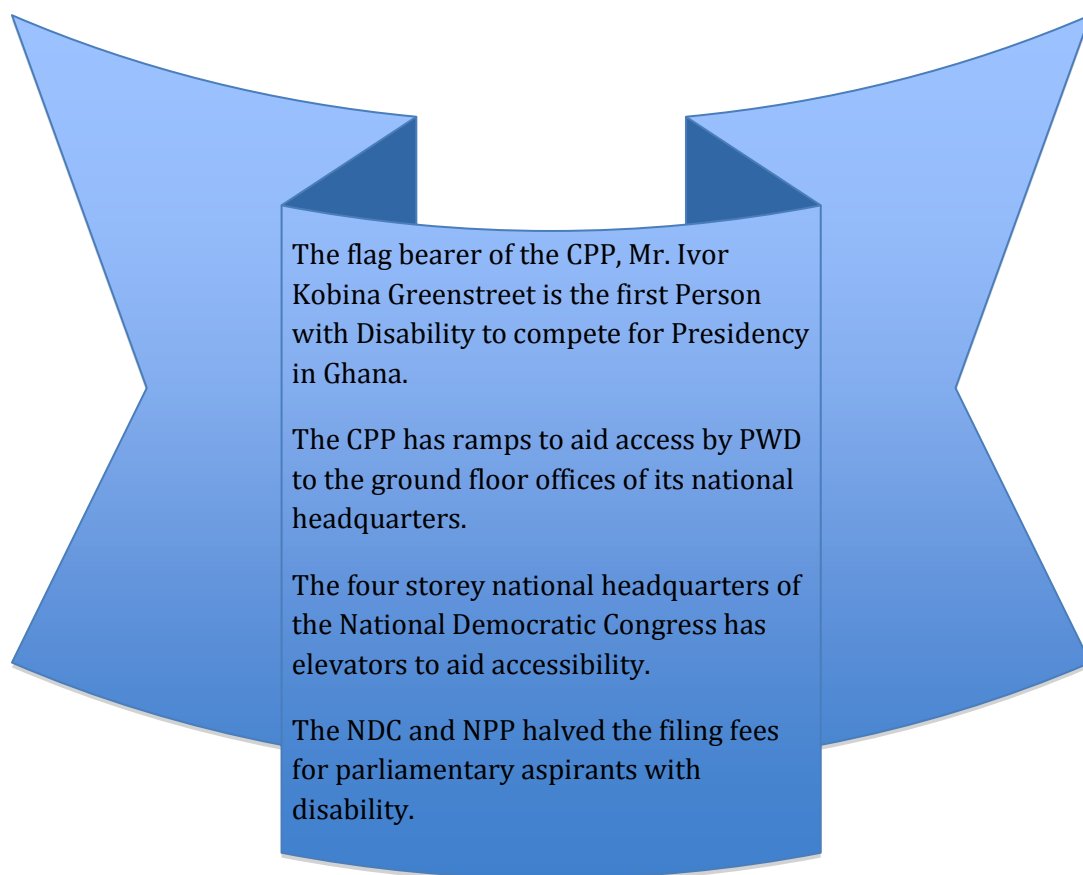
**OBSERVATION 4:** Generally the political parties do not have formalized platforms for sustained civic, political and ideological education for the youth.

**OBSERVATION 5:** Even though almost all the political parties have some members of the youth in the various party structures, the representation does not necessarily translate into effective participation.

**OBSERVATION 6:** Youth political participation is not integrated and mainstreamed into the general policies and activities of the political parties.

### **On Persons With Disability (PWD)**

Article 59 of the Persons with Disability Act, 2006 recognizes that persons with a physical, mental or sensory impairment which gives rise to physical, cultural or social barriers limits the major life activities of such persons. For such persons to be able to function normally in society, they need certain specific interventions. For instance, persons with mobility disability require mobility assistance to be mobile; persons with hearing impairments may require hearing aids to be able to effectively participate in decision-making and persons with visual impairments may require certain aids to be able to participate effectively.



**OBSERVATION 1:** None of the political parties have discriminatory provisions against PWDs. However, none of the political parties also have specific provisions to enhance the participation of PWDs.

**OBSERVATION 2:** Generally, the political parties have limited their appreciation of ‘disability’ to physical disability. The political parties that have had PWDs occupy high offices within their internal Party structures have some disability friendly infrastructure.

**OBSERVATION 3:** There are no strategies for enhancing the participation of PWDs in the various political parties. It is noted that most of the PWD in the political parties are more active at the local levels of the political parties. It is however noteworthy that a PWD group has joined a political party en bloc.

**OBSERVATION 4:** None of the political parties have disaggregated data on PWDs and none of the political parties have quotas for PWDs.

### **Why are the above-mentioned groups marginalised in Political Parties?**

The responses provided by the study participants provided useful insights into why women, youth and persons with disabilities tend to be excluded from actively participating in politics in Ghana. There was a general acknowledgement that females, young people and persons with disability are generally subordinated to adult males. This subordination is facilitated and sustained by a number of factors including patriarchal ideology, the perpetuation of negative stereotypes and perceptions fuelled by illiteracy or the lack of high-level formal education, lack of viable jobs and low economic power. This is further reinforced by the fact that the ideologies of the political parties are not attuned to the structural disparities inherent in the general environment within which political contests take place in Ghana. Consequently, there are no mechanisms for effective inclusion of all marginalised groups.

The explanations offered suggests the existence of a cause and effect relationship between the general environment within which political participation takes place and the cause of exclusion. It further reveals that if certain interventions were put in place, it would be possible to change the current situation of women, the youth and PWDs. Some of the interventions, the study notes, include the integration of measures for inclusion at all levels of national policies, emplacing measures to promote visibility

and counter negative stereotypes and structured and systemic efforts to enhance the capacity of marginalised groups to be more effective in politics. Simply put, changing the current situation demands an alteration of the existing status quo through effective integration of targeted measures for inclusion, parity and equality.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Conclusions

Abraham Lincoln defines democracy as “government of the people, by the people, and for the people”. It is worthwhile attempting to unravel the elements of Lincoln’s definition in a practical manner. If government of the people means that the government has been chosen from amongst the people and that it enjoys legitimacy, what should be the exact makeup of a government before it can truly stand as a government of the people? A true government of the people is one that is properly representative of the members of the polity in all its segregations. It can be assumed that such a government is more likely to be “for the people”. This is why it is important that democracy is not reduced to the conducting of elections. Although the conducting of elections means the participation of the polity, it largely only assures the “by the people” part of democracy as conceived by Lincoln.

From this study, it can be noted that political parties in both Kenya and Senegal are forced by laws entrenched in their national constitutions to pursue a more inclusive approach in electing or appointing members to various decision making levels internally and for presenting candidates for external elections. As such, the major force pushing the wider inclusion in the two countries is not necessarily driven by the practices of the political parties. It must be said however that it was the representatives from the political parties that passed such quota bills into laws. It thus is worthy to investigate the processes that got political parties in these countries to accept such provisions. This study also researched some of the practical approaches that political parties in these countries utilize in satisfying the constitutional mandate as well as the challenges they face in doing so.

For Denmark, it seems to be in the upper echelons of broader participation as the practice comes across as having been engrained and accepted within the political ecosystem and the broader society. As such, the political parties do not necessarily need obliging legislations to pursue the goal of a wider political participation. Indeed these three countries provide a lot of lessons for Ghana’s political parties to learn from. Senegal shows us how to immediately improve on women’s participation. Kenya shows us how to make political participation broader beyond women’s participation. The emphasis on the disabled in the Kenyan Constitution is particularly inspiring. Denmark shows us how to pursue wider political participation without mandating laws but through a wider socio-cultural acceptance of the fact that it is

fair and only in the interest of national progress that all sections of society are represented in political decision-making.

In Ghana, some strides have generally been attained in enhancing political participation. Although socio-cultural, educational and financial challenges remain formidable challenges against the participation of marginalized groups, there have been some positive changes. The study notes that a major challenge confronting the political participation of marginalized groups is the environment within which the political contest takes place. In Ghana, the politics of invectives tend to reinforce negative stereotypes and perceptions and thereby discourage those who are located at the lower rung of the social ladder. Efforts made by various groups have pushed the issue of marginalisation in politics into the limelight. However, given that most of the efforts were carried out by women's rights organisations interested in pushing the agenda for women's political participation, there is more visibility on issues relating to women's political participation than the participation of the other marginalised groups. The study identifies that the challenges to the participation of PWDs has received the least consideration from political parties.

It is interesting to note that although the political party is the basic unit of political activity, very little attention has been paid to their roles in enhancing the participation of marginalized groups in politics. Political parties wield considerable influence whether they are in or out of government as they determine the electoral rules and set the agenda of government once in power.

The study observes that efforts to encourage the participation of marginalised groups have mainly been a strategy for canvassing for votes. As a result, there are very few coherent and structured systems in place within the political parties to encourage, attract and groom members of the various marginalised groups to participate in politics internally. Notwithstanding, the various political parties have put in place a number of measures and interventions to encourage the participation of the marginalized groups mentioned. Even though most of the measures are ad hoc and not situated in clearly articulated policies, the efforts made by the various parties demonstrate a willingness to enhance the participation of the various marginalised groups in politics both internally within the parties and generally, on the national and unit levels.



## Recommendations

1. The recommendations presented herein are informed by the lessons learned from the three countries studied as well as the challenges identified in the efforts by political parties to promote political participation internally. These recommendations are therefore limited to interventions that the political parties can undertake to enhance the political participation of the groups mentioned herein.
2. There is a need to situate the efforts to encourage political participation within political parties in the larger context of inclusion, participation and equality at the national level because when equality is pursued in a society-wide manner and the population internalizes the notion, it would generally eliminate the need for special policies for certain groups within the society. In heavily patriarchal societies, entrenching gender quotas for wider participation at the national level are critical for advancing inclusive participation.
3. It is important to acknowledge that the marginalization of certain groups in society has left them significantly disadvantaged in many ways. The lack of formal education or higher education means leads to unemployment or under employment which influences the economic opportunities available to such persons and their financial wherewithal. Added to these, due to the socio-cultural stereotypes and negative perceptions associated with such persons, it becomes even more difficult for them to obtain sponsorships. Without a doubt, members of such groups are unable to compete on an equal footing with others. To break the cycle of marginalization, it is imperative to introduce time-bound quotas that are benchmarked against certain indicators. This is to ensure objective criteria to measure the effectiveness of such interventions so that they are removed when parity is attained. Political parties in Ghana must therefore push for the implementation of national policies and plans aimed at empowering marginalized groups generally such as the Persons With Disability Law and the Youth Policy.
4. The success of efforts to guarantee inclusion and participation is dependent on a number of things that include a belief by the majority that inclusion and participation of all groups would be beneficial to all; political will, dedication and commitment to introduce interventions and strategies and ensure that they are implemented and a willingness to be patient to allow the interventions to yield results. Political parties in Ghana must integrate strategies of inclusion and participation of all groups into their policies, programs and activities. It must be borne in mind that although women's marginalization is perhaps the most publicized, they are not the only

marginalized groups. It is therefore important for quotas to cater for all marginalized groups in society.

5. Almost all the political parties involved in the study have some affirmative action measures in place. These measures are however not backed by any policies. It is therefore imperative for the political parties to set the various measures and interventions for participation and inclusion in distinct policies, backed with appropriate implementation plans and strategies. Beyond assuring representation, efforts must be made to meet the practical needs of marginalized persons. For instance, there should be measures in place to ensure that PWDs can easily access party documents and facilities as well as receive mobility, auditory and expression assistance in dignity. All the political parties should also develop implementation strategies, benchmarks and measures for monitoring and evaluating their measures of positive discrimination.
6. Until Ghanaians internalize the notion of equality and inclusion to the point where it is taken for granted, the various collective groupings in political parties will remain. It is therefore necessary for political parties in Ghana to either consider the development of party policies that demand the mainstreaming of issues affecting PWDs into party programs; the creation of similar group platforms such as the youth and women's wings for PWDs or both.
7. The mandate given to the women, youth and PWD wings within political parties should not be restricted to campaigns and recruitments but must explicitly stress on the roles of advancing the rights of the members within the party as well as the independent development of positions on policy on governance issues. The various groups should also expand the scope of their activities to include formal platforms for training and skills development for their members.
8. Since charity begins at home, political parties should extend the courtesies accorded to marginalized groups during national competitive elections to internal party elections so that for instance, filing fees are waived or reduced for marginalized groups.
9. In order to encourage interest in political participation generally, the political parties should provide information on civic rights and responsibilities, inclusion and participation in accessible ways to the general public. In addition, political parties should have active and informative websites that can enable interested people to read more about the party and be able to register with the party online.
10. Anecdotal evidence suggests that more people are interested in politics when it is issue-based and driven by ideology. Political parties in Ghana should therefore project their ideologies and

ensure that the marginalized groups are able to understand the *raison d'être* of the political parties to which they belong. This provides a basis for engagement and forms part of the knowledge base needed to climb the political ladder internally.

11. It is imperative for the various group wings of the political parties to be given some degree of independence especially in relation to the development of policy issues. Ultimately, political parties in Ghana may need to consider granting some measure of autonomy to the various groups. Platforms should be established for accomplished politicians to interact and exchange ideas with those with little experience generally and also assist those in marginalized groups through mentoring, coaching and hand-holding.
12. Finally, it is important to bear in mind that the quest for equality, inclusion and participation is an effort set on a knife's edge. One of the chief complaints against Parity laws has been the supposed sub-par quality of beneficiaries of affirmative action and quota systems. Following from this, it is imperative for political parties to ensure that they do not set up persons within these categories to fail lest it feeds into a conspiracy theory. As such, parties must intend to involve, convince or attract very capable persons and develop targeted interventions to develop their capacities to deliver.

## APPENDIX 1

### MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES OF THE MAIN POLITICAL PARTIES IN GHANA

Below are lists of the National Party (Elected) Executives of the five parties in this study. Afterwards, the lists are analysed in the context of the representation of women. As disaggregated data was not readily available, making similar analysis of youth and PWD representation proved difficult.

#### NPP

Position	Office Holder
National Chairman	Paul Afoko (suspended)
First Vice Chair	Freddie Blay
Second Vice Chair	Sammy Crabbe
Third Vice Chair	Fredua F. Antoh
General Secretary	Kwabena Agyapong (suspended)
National Women's Organiser	Otiko Afisa Djaba
National Nasara Coordinator	Alhaji Kamal Deen Abdulai
National Organizer	John Boadu
National Youth Organiser	Sammy Awuku
National Treasurer	Kwabena Abankwah-Yeboah

#### PPP

Position	Office Holder
National Chairman	Nii-Allotey Brew-Hammond
1st National Vice-Chairman	William Dowokpor
2nd Vice Chairperson	<b>Belinda Bulley</b>
3rd National Vice-Chairman	Ben Saliah
National Secretary	Murtala Mohammed
National Treasurer	Mr. Felix Ograh
Director of Operations	Nana Ofori Owusu
Director of Policy	Kofi Asamoah-Siaw
Director of Communication	Paw Kow Ackon
Director of Research	Andrew Deroy
Youth Coordinator	Divine Nkrumah
Women Coordinator	<b>Vivian Tetteh</b>

#### PNC

Position	Office Holder
Chairman	Bernard Mornaah
Vice Chairman	Henry Haruna <b>Hajia Ali Musah</b>
National Organiser	Desmond Ywimasi Nto
General Secretary	Atik Mohammed
National Treasurer	Akane Adams

National Women's Organiser	<b>Janet Nabla</b>
National Youth Organiser	Issahaku Awudulai

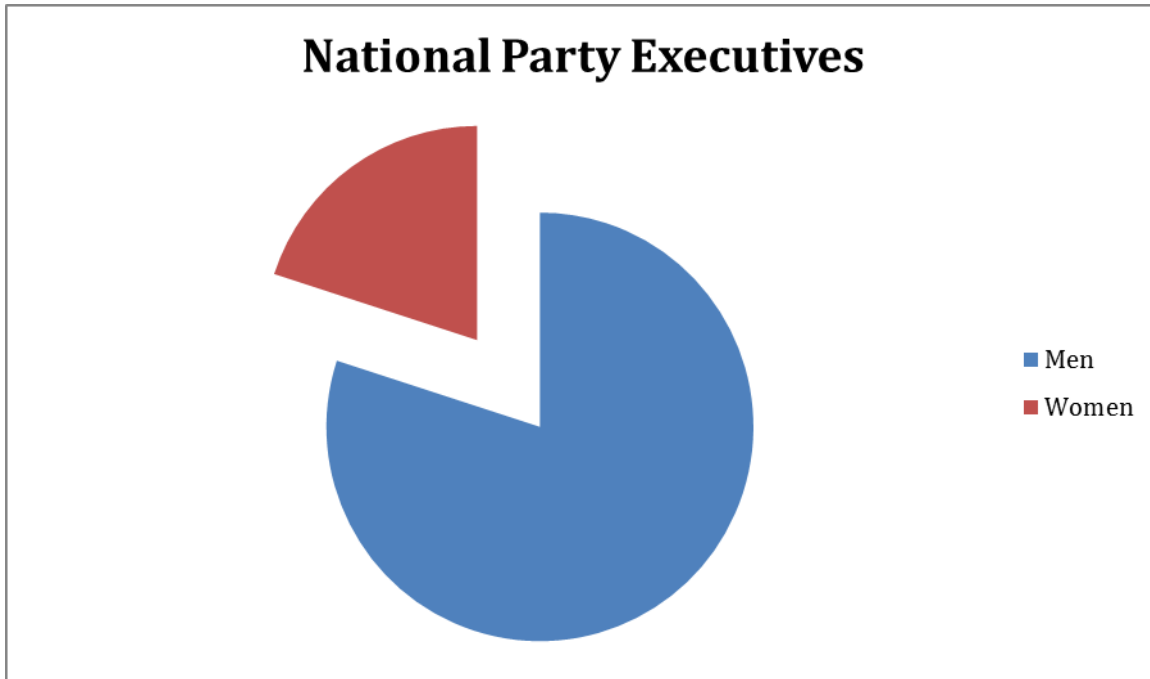
CPP

<b>Position</b>	<b>Office Holder</b>
National Chairman	Professor Edmund Delle
General Secretary	Nii Armah Akomfrah
The National Organiser	Emmanuel Kwao Ogbojor
First Vice Chair	<b>Hajia Hamdatu</b>
Second Vice Chair	<b>Susan Adu Amankwaa</b>
Third Vice Chair	Alhaji Amidu Tijani
National Treasurer	Mr Samuel Gordon Etroo
National Youth Organizer	Enersto Yeboah
The Women Organizer	<b>Isha Sule Futa</b>

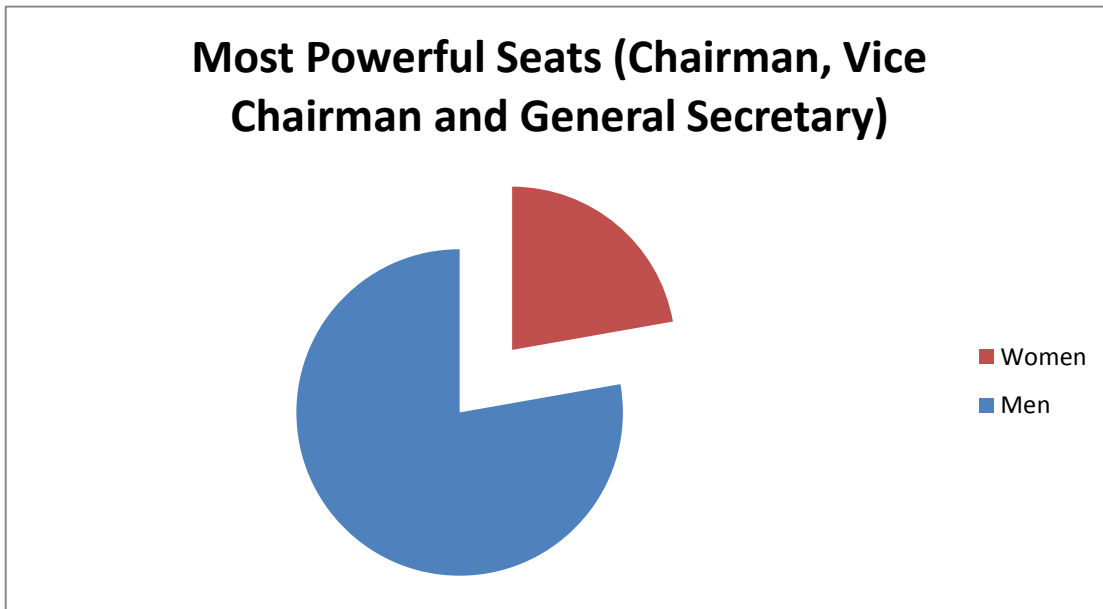
NDC

<b>Position</b>	<b>Office Holder</b>
National Chairman	Kofi Portuphy
National Vice Chairpersons	Samuel Ofosu Ampofo Betty Mould Iddrisu Harry Zakour; Anita Desooso Lee Ocran Alhaji Sinare
General Secretary	Johnson Asiedu Nketia
Deputy General Secretary	Koku Anyidoho George Lawson
National Organizer	Kofi Adams
Deputy National Organizer	Mahdi Joshua Akamba
National Women's Organizer	Hajia Mahama
National Youth Organizer	Sidii Abubakar Musah
National Communications Officer	Solomon Nkansah
Deputy National Communications Office	Kweku Boahen Fred Agbenyo
National Treasurer	Alhaji Abdulai
Deputy National Treasurer	<b>Vida Addae</b>
National Executive Members	Daniel Amartey Mensah Victoria Kuma Mintah Alhaji Sulemana Babalanmie Abu

**ANALYSIS:**

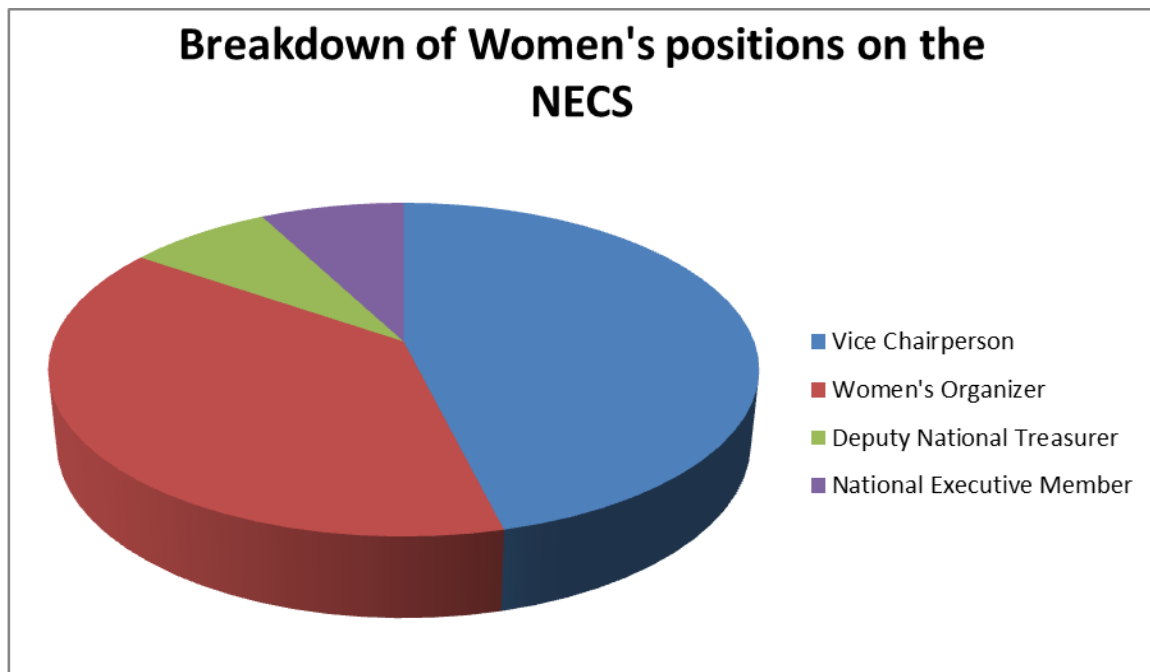


N/B: Out of the 65 elective national executive positions listed above, only 13 seats are held by women. That is about 20%.



N/B: The most powerful seats on the national executive committees are usually the Chairmanship, Vice Chairperson position and the General Secretary position. The 5 parties in this study in total have 27 seats

for these portfolios. Out of the 27, 6 are held by women (22%). No woman is a General Secretary or Party Chairperson in the 5 parties. All 6 are party Vice Chairpersons.



N/B: Out of the 13 seats women have in total on the NECs of the 5 parties, 6 are Vice Chairpersons, 5 are Women Organizers, 1 is designated as a National Executive Member and 1 is a Deputy National Treasurer.

## APPENDIX 2

### Terms of Reference for Consultants

#### Comparative Study on International Best Practices on Gender Policies in Political Parties

#### I. BACKGROUND AND PROJECT INFORMATION

Ghana, in the past two decades has made significant strides in deepening its democratic governance by the holding of six successful elections from 1992 to 2012<sup>26</sup>, with two peaceful transfers of power from one political party to another. The country has systematically rolled out a relatively resilient decentralization process since 1988 and in recent years developed national peace architecture to mainstream peace building in its democratic governance structures and process. However, like every country, Ghana faces its own unique challenges: *enhancement of representation and participation*, conflict of roles between and among the arms of government and governance institutions; *low representation of women, youth and other marginalized groups in governance*; existence of critical conflict drivers such as chieftaincy, land and natural resources, ethnic, religious and socio-cultural disputes; lack of harmonization and coordination of the peace mechanism; and perceptions of corruption in the public sector are some of the challenges facing democratic governance in Ghana. Despite, the democratic stride in Ghana since 1992, there are increasing discontent and lack of trust between the political parties on the one hand and the political parties and the Electoral Commission on other hand with regard to the *credibility of election results*.

A culmination of the challenges highlighted above has led to mistrust between the political parties and the electorates as well. In 2012, an Afro Barometer report indicated that barely 50% of Ghanaians trusted political parties “somewhat” or “a lot”. This points to the imperative for political parties in Ghana to reinvent themselves through programmes that educate the electorates but also, that, which strengthens their internal systems and processes to broaden participation and ensure inclusive and broad-based participation. Upon the same premise, improved political governance was therefore identified in the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF, 2012-16) for Ghana as one of 11 vital outcomes needed to increase and sustain the country’s development. These 11 outcomes have recently been revised into four thematic areas with Transparent and Accountable Governance being one of the themes

The Joint Party Support and Strengthening (J-PASS) project was designed as a response to the gaps in political governance and seeks to build on previous UNDP initiatives to promote increased public confidence and participation in elections, promote trust in political parties and in election results, as well as enhance the participation of women and youth in decision making processes in political party democracy. J-PASS recognizes that internal democracy; gender equality and acceptance of election results are important to improving public and political party confidence especially in the forthcoming 2016 elections. JPASS Project is situated under the ambit of the UNDP Democratic Governance

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<sup>26</sup> 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008 and 2012



Programme and designed to support five leading political parties in Ghana; CPP, NDC, NPP, PNC, PPP participating as equals.

One of the important indicative outputs for the J-PASS project is promoting gender equality and women's participation in political parties. UNDP-J-PASS project is therefore seeking the service of a consultant to conduct a study on international best practices on gender equality policies in political parties.

## **2. OBJECTIVE**

The overall objective of the assignment is to compare gender policies within political parties in different countries as a guide to developing internal gender policies for the five political parties under J-PASS project. This study is therefore a comparative study on internal political party policies on gender and women political participation and leadership. The study should equally highlight the existence of youth policies as part of the comparative study.

The study outcome will therefore form the background for designing and developing gender focused policies for the five political parties under the J-PASS project.

## **3. SCOPE OF WORK**

### **The assessment will include:**

- i. The provision of an overview of any existing gender policies in any of the political parties in Ghana.
- ii. A critical review of existing international good practices of internal political party gender policies covering between three (3) to five (5) countries across continents. African good practices should however be given priority.
- iii. Highlighting the strengths and weakness of each of the identified international good practice and provide recommendation on how each could work and support the development of gender policies among political party in Ghana.
- iv. Providing clear strategic direction on how each of the internal good practices identified could be implemented in Ghana.

## **4. TASKS TO BE PERFORMED BY CONSULTANT/INSTITUTION**

- i. Conduct meetings with UNDP – J-PASS team to clarify objectives and expectations, receive inputs and to ensure timely delivery of the study report;
- ii. Design the study methodology and collect appropriate data that would provide credible sample of gender policies;
- iii. Review relevant international policies on gender equality in political parties;
- iv. Consultations to review of any existing gender policies in any of the political parties in Ghana
- v. Submit interim draft report for comment by J-PASS team before finalisation; and
- vi. Submit final draft report of the study containing findings and recommendations for the validation of the Inter-Party Platform (IPaP) in a meeting to be convened by the J-PASS team.
- vii. Final Submission of 2 hard copies and one soft copy of final study report with comments and inputs of the IPaP incorporated

## 5. OUTPUTS AND DELIVERABLES

<b>Deliverables/ Outputs</b>	<b>Estimated Duration to Complete Study</b>	<b>Target Due Dates</b>	<b>Review and Approvals Required</b> <i>(Indicate designation of person who will review output and confirm acceptance)</i>
<p>Inception report with the following details:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A desk review of available data and existing initiatives</li> <li>• List the selected countries of focus for review and approval by UNDP-J-PASS Project Manager</li> <li>• Methodology for the conduct of the study</li> <li>• Detailed work plan with design, timeline and date for delivery</li> <li>• Tentative Table of content</li> </ul>	10 days	Nov 13	UNDP – J-PASS Project Manager and Project Officer
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An Interim study report to be reviewed by UNDP</li> </ul>	10 days	Nov 27	UNDP – J-PASS Project Manager and Project Officer
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A final draft study report to be presented for the validation of IPaP members with final recommendations on policy direction and strategies</li> </ul>	10 days	Dec 18	UNDP – J-PASS Project Manager and Project Officer
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Submission of 2 hard copies and one soft copy of final study report with comments and inputs of the IPaP incorporated.</li> </ul>	5 days	TBC	UNDP – J-PASS Project Manager and Project Officer

## 6. INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

The selected consultant will work under the overall guidance of UNDP's Head of Governance and under the direct supervision of UNDP's J-PASS Project Manager. The J-PASS Project Officer will support the Project Manager in this supervisory role.

This is a local consultancy and the consultant will be responsible for producing all final deliverables. Any support to be provided in finding out sources of data and in making contacts with the relevant interlocutors (where necessary) whether administrative or technical shall be the responsibility of the consultant. The consultant has overall responsibility for the management of the processes leading to the production of the deliverables of this consultancy.

UNDP will do a letter introducing the consultant as responsible for carrying out a comparative study on International Best Practices on Gender Policies in Political Parties

### **Qualification and Experience**

- The Consultant should possess at least a Master's Degree in Political Science, International Development, Gender Studies, Law and other related Social Sciences
- A PhD and evidence on documents research in this areas will be an added advantage
- The Consultants must have expertise in comparative political and social research as well as strong analytical background.
- The consultant must have a minimum of 5 years' experience carrying out similar studies
- The consultant must be well grounded in internal political party dynamics and communication, gender policies and sensitivities as well as show a good understanding of Ghana's political system.
- Ideally, the consultants should possess good research, interviewing, writing and communicating skills.
- The Consultants should be well versed in research and documentation and must be very familiar with the political and electoral landscape of Ghana and other countries within and outside the continent.

## 7. DURATION

The entire consultancy will be conducted over a period of 30 working Days from 19 October to 27 November 2015

## 8. TIMELINE AND SCHEDULE OF PAYMENTS

The payment arrangement will be on lump sum basis with the following schedule for each deliverable:

- 20% upon submission of inception report by 23 October 2015
- 40% upon submission of the Interim report by 6 Nov 2015
- 40% upon submission of the final study report and presentation to IPaP

## 9. Evaluation Criteria

Candidates will be evaluated in two stages: technical evaluation and financial evaluation using the weighted scoring method.

#	CRITERIA	Weight	Points
<b>Technical</b>		<b>70%</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Qualification of consultant</b>  Academic qualification – a University degree (Masters) in Social Sciences or Humanities.  PhD and Research background is an added advantage	20 %	20
<b>2</b>	<b>Professional experience of consultant</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• At least five years of relevant professional experience in research</li><li>• Research and documentation experience with proven track record of publication.</li><li>• Previous research on political, parties, democracy, elections and governance research</li><li>• Publication in academic and/or recognised practitioner platform is an added advantage</li></ul>	30 %	30
<b>3</b>	<b>Other competencies</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Demonstrated ability to research and present research outcome, findings and recommendation</li><li>• Experience in data collection and analysis</li><li>• Writing skills coupled with strong communication skills</li><li>• Distinctive experience and understanding of the internal party gender policies and strategies</li><li>• Good knowledge of international development systems</li></ul>	20 %	20
<b>Financial</b>		<b>30%</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>100%</b>	<b>100</b>

## **APPENDIX 3**

### **INTERVIEW GUIDE**

#### **INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR COMPARATIVE STUDY ON INTERNATIONAL BEST PRACTICES ON GENDER POLICIES IN POLITICAL PARTIES**

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has commissioned a study on international best practices on gender policies in political parties. The study examines the underlying challenges to the effective inclusion of gender in political party structures, policies, processes and programs. It adopts the more expansive concept of gender that covers other marginalized groups, in particular youth and persons with disability and seeks to unearth the causes to the low participation of these groups in the strategic decision making structures of political parties in Ghana. This questionnaire is part of the data collection process for the study. Based on the scoping of UNDP, the following political parties are the study audience:

Convention People's Party, National Democratic Congress (NDC), New Patriotic Party (NPP), People's National Convention (PNC) and the Progressive People's Party (PPP). The interview should last for approximately 60 minutes. We thank you most sincerely agreeing to be part of this study.

#### **PROFILE OF THE POLITICAL PARTY**

1. What is the ideology of the Party?
2. What is the population of the Party?
3. What is the population of the following groups: Men; Women; Youth; Persons with Disability
4. Do the various wings have work plans (If so, get a copy)
5. Do these wings have specific budgets? If yes, how is the budget determined and controlled?
6. How is the Party's Manifesto developed?
7. How are campaign messages developed?
8. Are the following represented in the development of the manifesto and campaign messages – Women, youth, PWD?
9. If so, how are they represented?
10. Are there rules/procedures for the selection of candidates for national level elections?
11. What system does the party use in the selection of people into its internal decision making structures (Majority/proportional representation/both)?

#### **MECHANISMS AND STRATEGIES TO ENCOURAGE THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN, YOUTH AND PWD IN THE POLITICAL PARTY**

1. What mechanisms and strategies exist in the party to encourage the participation of women, youth and PWD?

2. Does the political party receive a subsidy from the State through the National Electoral Commission?
3. What are the guidelines for the subsidy received from the state?
4. Are there any requirements for some of the funds obtained to be utilized on the capacity development of women/youth /PWD?
5. Does the party have capacity development activities for candidates? (Get a copy of such capacity development programs)
6. If yes, is there a requirement for gender parity in such activities?
7. Does the party provide training opportunities for its membership?
8. If yes, what are some of the topics included in such trainings?
9. Has the party ever had training for candidates for marginalized groups?
10. If yes, what was the gender composition of the trainees?
11. Does the political party have a program of mentoring for its candidates? How is gender reflected in the mentoring process?
12. Does the party have voluntary quotas?
13. Is the promotion of the rights of marginalized groups part of the electoral strategy of the party?

### **TECHNICAL EXPERTISE**

1. Is gender mainstreaming an important strategy for the political party?
2. Do you feel the party is able to undertake gender mainstreaming? Please provide reasons for the answer.
3. Does the party offer opportunities to enhance your knowledge on issues relating to mainstreaming the gender, youth and PWD needs into decision making?

### **IMPLEMENTATION**

1. How many parliamentary aspirants does the party have for the 2016 Parliamentary elections?
2. How many of the aspirants are female, youth and PWD? (We must note that some may be Female, Youth and PWD so we must have a proper breakdown).
3. What measures did the party put in place to encourage the various groups to contest for the parliamentary candidature?
4. How many of these groups are in the safe seats of the party?

### **PERCEPTION**

1. Do you believe that there are gender related challenges with participation in political parties Ghana?

2. Do you believe that there are age-hierarchy related challenges with participation in political parties Ghana?
3. Do you believe that Persons with disability have particular challenges with participation in political parties Ghana?
4. Please describe at least 3 gender related challenges to participation in your political party.
5. Please describe at least 3 age-hierarchy related challenges to participation in your political party.
6. Please describe at least 3 disability related challenges to participation in your political party.
7. What do you consider as challenges to mainstreaming gender into your political party.
8. What do you consider as strengths in mainstreaming gender into your political party?
9. What do you consider as opportunities for mainstreaming gender into your political party?
10. How can gender be mainstreamed into political parties in Ghana?
11. Do you think that nationally mandated quotas for marginalized groups would help in promoting the participation of the groups mentioned in this study?
12. Do you think that voluntary quotas for marginalized groups would help in promoting the participation of the groups mentioned in this study?

## ANNEX A

### POLITICAL PARTY REPRESENTATIVES INTERVIEWED FOR THE STUDY

NAME	ORGANIZATION	POSITION
Kadri Abdul Rauf	Convention People's Party	Former, National Youth Organizer
Nii Armah Akomfrah	Convention People's Party	General Secretary
Yaw Asante Tano	Convention People's Party	Deputy General Secretary In charge of Administration
Haruna Hamdatu Ibrahim	Convention People's Party	1 <sup>st</sup> National Vice Chairperson
Dr. William Ahadzie	National Democratic Congress	Director of Research
Nana Ama Dokua	New Patriotic Party	Parliamentary candidate
Mr. Emmanuel Wilson	People's National Convention	Former National Organizer
Hajia Hajara M. Ali	People's National Convention	3 <sup>rd</sup> Vice Chairperson
Mrs. Eva Lokko	People's Progressive Party	Executive Director/ National Committee member
Dr. William Ahadzi	National Democratic Congress	Director of Research



