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Master's Degree in International Affairs

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“Angles of Approaching Gender Equality: Top-Down vs. Bottom-Up”

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Abstract:

The international community has attempted to integrate and implement norms into their domestic structure for many decades. They have incorporated the norm of gender equality through many different measures, however failed to identify a successful approach to implementing this type of norm effectively. This paper will explore how these international norms are spread and analyze two separate approaches to integrating gender equality: top-down and bottom-up. It will assess these approaches through a case-study analysis of India and Ghana. This will provide an in-depth explanation of each approach and it will analyze how they have, respectively, impacted the country's education and employment sectors. Therefore this paper will not only depict how norms are spread but prove that a top-down approach, as seen in Ghana, is more successful in the implementation of those norms.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Hilary Rodham Clinton said, “if half the world’s population remains vulnerable to economic, political, legal and social marginalization, our hope of advancing democracy and prosperity will remain in serious jeopardy.”¹ The struggle of gender equality exists because the difference in gender is often seen as “power over” or authority over another individual’s rights, decisions, resources; inherently preventing another individual from their fundamental human rights.²

Human rights norms such as gender equality are often defined as what states, parties, members, “ought to do”, they are seen to be “standards of behaviors” agreed upon and set forth by the international community. There becomes a need to meet this obligation by translating and implementing these ideas within the domestic regime.³

The international community came together to create and implement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to ensure individual rights; CEDAW then served to codify these rights explicitly for women. Through such declarations, conventions, treaties, etc. the support for gender equality at the international level is evident. However this support also serves as a driving force of pressure upon member states to thoroughly integrate and implement the same standards into their domestic policy. Despite international codification, domestic internalization of the norm of gender equality remains unaddressed.

Therefore, by analyzing how international norms are spread we will be able to deduce what prevents them from effectively integrating in the future. Similarly by analyzing two

¹ Reilly, Anita. "Adolescent Girls' Experiences of Violence in School in Sierra Leone and the Challenges to Sustainable Change." *Gender & Development* 22.1 (2014): 13-29. Web. <<http://plan-international.org/files/global/publications/campaigns/biaag-full-report-2014-english.pdf>>.

² Kishor, Sunita, and Kamla Gupta. "GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN INDIA." *National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3) India 2005-06* (2009): n. pag. Aug. 2009. Web. 1 Aug. 2015. <<http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/od57/od57.pdf>>.

³ Florini, Ann. "The Evolution of International Norms." *The International Studies Association* (1996): 363-89. JSTOR. Web. 10 July 2015. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2600716>>.

separate countries located in different and culturally distinct regions in the world we will be able to see under what conditions norms are effectively integrated. I argue that in order to integrate the norm of gender equity it is important to analyze the process it is undergoing, whether it is a top-down approach or a bottom-up approach. For the purpose of this paper, the top-down approach will be considered state active initiatives responding to international pressure, such as but not limited to the UN, bilateral/multilateral relations with other nations, IGOs, NGOs, TANS and integrating a principle into their legislation to appease the outside pressure. The bottom-up approach will reflect the idea that the state is incorporating principles into legislation because of a domestic push from civil society, IGOs, NGOs, TANS, etc. It is necessary to evaluate whether legislation and initiatives are more successful when the state acts as the driving force due to international pressure or when civil society that is supported by international initiatives.

Similarly drawing from Robert Putnam's theory regarding the two-level game theory, which interprets international negotiations from an intra-national level, domestic level and from the international level which is the actual negotiation process with other states. The state itself must appease both sides in order for the negotiations to reach a conclusive result. Two sides of an international negotiation are depicted within the one negotiator. The negotiator represents international cooperation and diplomacy while he confronts his foreign counterparts, however he simultaneously represents the interest of his domestic government.⁴

The dilemma, which often exists for most, is the need to satisfy both sides of the pressure that is being applied to the single individual. Therefore agreement must please both the international and domestic levels. The obstacle in achieving this is the constraints and restrictions

⁴ Putnam, Robert D. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-level Games." *International Organization* Int. Org. 42.03 (1988): 427. Web. 1 Aug. 2015. <<http://www.ou.edu/uschina/texts/Putnam88Diplomacy.pdf>>.

that exist on both sides, all of which must be accounted for in the final product.⁵ What I will be analyzing here is that two sided pressure and which is more successful at resulting in norm internalization.

This project will examine how gender equality has placed domestic government under a two-level type pressure, international pressure and domestic pressure, to alter cultural and traditional practices which hinder the inclusion of women as equal into society. It will interpret which type leads to greater progress and more effective internalization which will be assessed through education and labor rates.

Moreover, by evaluating how international norms regarding gender equality are reshaping domestic policy in the societies of India and Ghana we will be able to see which approach is more successful. This study will first explain the norm of gender equality that is found at the international level and assess the contributing literature on norms. International relations scholars have interpreted the norm integration and internalization processes in many different manners.

Based on this information, I argue that, when compared, the case studies will reveal that a top-down approach is more effective when incorporating gender equality at the domestic level. The state serving as the driving force partnering with similar organizations that civil society would have in the bottom-up approach, is ultimately more successful at reaching its end goals. Therefore I will assess both India which represents the bottom-up approach and Ghana which represents the top-down approach. Both processes will be examined in similar ways; assessing changes made to the domestic legal framework after ratifying international covenants, exploring work done to increase women in educational and employment schemes through IGO and NGO

⁵ Putnam, Robert D. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-level Games." *International Organization* Int. Org. 42.03 (1988): 427. Web. 1 Aug. 2015. <<http://www.ou.edu/uschina/texts/Putnam88Diplomacy.pdf>>.

partnership. This will reveal that despite similar goals, partnerships, initiatives, etc. the top-down approach is more effective in its work.

Once the case-study sections provide a firm understanding of what has been done to implement gender equality, I will provide information on recent assessments of education and employment rates in the nation. This will also depict regional patterns of education and employment. Finally I will interpret these findings against what many scholars have already contributed to the subject of norms. This critical analysis of India and Ghana will then reveal that the top-down approach is indeed more successful at norm internalization.

This discussion of norm integration and internalization is necessary not only to better accept the norm of gender equality but it can be applied to the many human rights principles that national governments continue to overlook. Analyzing the more effective route to norm internalization will assist in becoming a prescriptive concept for future internalization of various other norms.

Chapter 2: Background

Gender Equality:

Human rights entitles “inherent dignity and of equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.”⁶ One of the most critical challenges the international community is confronted with, is gender equality. This widespread pandemic is hindering multiple facets of the global community and is a root cause in preventing a number of initiatives that have been launched to ameliorate other ongoing conflicts, such as but not limited to; development, conflict resolution, global economic issues, etc. Not only is it necessary to focus efforts on this violation of human rights because it is preventing progress in other areas from taking place but most importantly the unequal treatment of both sexes is a grave human rights violation.

This is crucial security and development challenge that needs immediate and urgent attention. There are approximately 7 billion people on this earth today; of which approximately 3,523,843,881 are women.⁷ It is difficult to tangibly convey the concept that although nearly half the world is female, inequality is such a prominent and detrimental issue because rights for women are still such a rare commodity.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was adopted on December 10, 1948 by the United Nations General Assembly in Paris, France. It entitled “inherent dignity and of equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom,

⁶ "What Are Human Rights." United Nations Human Rights. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. Web. 10 July 2015. <<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Pages/WhatareHumanRights.aspx>>.

⁷ "Human Development Reports." Human Development Indicators. United Nations Development Programme. Web. 05 Apr. 2015. <<http://hdr.undp.org/en/data/map>>.

justice and peace in the world," to everyone.⁸ This document included and protected women as well, therefore any gender-based discrimination is a strict violation of this declaration.

Then on December 18, 1979, the international community demanded the specific codification of the rights of the other half of the human race. The United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women which would be monitored by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women.⁹

The convention officially came into existence as a ratified treaty on September 3, 1981. Although women's rights are encompassed within human rights, the convention's aim was to become an "agenda for action" to provide nations with guidelines in establishing equality amongst both genders within their own countries, in order to uphold this universally accepted treaty agreement.¹⁰ It outlines three objectives that state parties must focus their reform toward in order to begin their roadmap to equality: civil rights, human reproduction, and cultural factors. It provides methods to obtain each objective.¹¹

As the Convention strategically notes, the change must begin within state laws. This treaty binds its state parties to "condemn" discrimination, by incorporating equality as a basic principle within national constitutions/legislation and ban any form of gender discrimination: "CEDAW provides a complete definition of sex-based discrimination – described as any distinction, exclusion, or restriction on the basis of sex, which intentionally or unintentionally

⁸ "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, UDHR, Declaration of Human Rights, Human Rights Declaration, Human Rights Charter, The UN and Human Rights." UN News Center. United Nations, n.d. Web. 05 Apr. 2015. <<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>>.

⁹ "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women." United Nations. UN Women, n.d. Web. 15 Apr. 2015. <<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw.htm>>.

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Ibid

nullifies or impairs the recognition, enjoyment and exercise of women's social, cultural, political and economic rights."¹² Within the same article, it also discusses the protection of those established principles. The convention serves to ensure that the incorporated language will enable that governing body to promote the principles of the treaty. Through the treaty, international parties are held accountable for ensuring that women have equality recognized before the law. In regards to altering societal and cultural perceptions, the state must work to counter the concepts of inferiority, superiority, traditionally stereotyped roles for men and women that confine both genders from achieving the same levels in society.¹³

Article 10 of CEDAW depicts the right to equal access for education, including educational establishments, curriculum, standard of schools, opportunities of scholarships, examinations, etc.¹⁴ Article 11 details employment rights which must include equal employment opportunities, benefits and conditions of service, equal treatment, remuneration, retirement, unemployment, sickness, paid leave, etc.¹⁵ This equal access inherently allots for economic empowerment and independence for women.

¹² "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women." United Nations. UN Women, Web. 15 Apr. 2015. <<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw.htm>>.

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Ibid

Norms:

Robert Axelrod defines norms as “standard behaviors” and those who violate these standards are often subjected to punishment.¹⁶ Ann Florini depicts the importance between identifying norms as standards as opposed to behavioral regularities. She interprets that norms are “about behavior,” they themselves are not directly about ideas. She discusses the concept that norms assist regimes identify these standards of behavior, as rights and obligations. “Norms arise because they are needed to bring about cooperation in a mixed-motive setting...” she brings up the very important question of what mechanism exists that causes this need to be met. However Florini also highlights that a crucial aspect of this remains unanswered. Through assessing norms under different theoretical approaches including neorealism and neoliberalism, she finds norms are viewed to be addressed by exogenous factors that are not within the theory dimensions itself.¹⁷

This interpretation leaves a gap to be answered by an alternative theoretical approach. A key constructivist, Alexander Wendt, is credited for his work regarding norms. He attempts to bridge this gap, where low importance is usually given to norms within international relations theory. Wendt, like many other constructivists, claims that norms are essential in shaping the states end goals as well as state preferences (including powerful states).¹⁸ Similarly he identifies norms that stem from interaction as “rules and behavioral regularities which are external to the actors and which resist change because of the transaction costs of creating new ones.”¹⁹

Furthermore Wendt discusses cooperation in the confines of constructivism where he views the

¹⁶ Florini, Ann. "The Evolution of International Norms." *The International Studies Association* (1996): 363-89. JSTOR. Web. 10 July 2015. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2600716>>.

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹ Wendt, Alexander. "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization Int. Org.* 46.02 (1992): 391. Web. <<https://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Wendt.Anarch.pdf>>.

expectations of behavior as what affects, as well as changes, identities and interests.²⁰ He depicts this practice as somewhat unintentional as such that even if the process of restructuring interests was not initially intended it may occur simply because of a shared commitment to certain social norms that have already been agreed upon or understood. Wendt believes that this often results in positive interdependence.

Gender equality is a norm that is evidently agreed upon by the international community through various social interactions, in the form of treaties and covenants, i.e. UDHR, CEDAW, etc. According to Wendt and others that follow the constructivist tradition it is apparent that the codification of this norm serves as a mode of cooperation that is able to alter certain identities and interests of states. For example, states change certain domestic practices and policies in order to demonstrate their commitment to this international standard.

Nicholas Onuf describes that all rules perform regulatory function, therefore all rules, “serve to connect agents to an ever-changing world, the structure of which is constantly being remade as those same rules simultaneously perform their constitutive function.”²¹ Through this interpretation it is possible to view gender equality as a norm which is attempting to become a guideline for state actors. Therefore, by adhering to these “guidelines” states allow themselves to consistently take part in this “ever-changing world.”

Furthermore Judith Goldstein, Miles Khaler, Robert Keohane and Anne-Marie Slaughter interpret international institutions as “enduring sets of rules, norms, and decision-making

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Onuf, Nicholas. "Rule and Rules in International Relations." Erik Castrén Institute of International Law and Human Rights (2014): 1-23. 24 Apr. 2014. Web.
<http://www.helsinki.fi/eci/Events/Nicholas%20Onuf_Rule%20and%20Rules%20%204-2-14.pdf>.

procedures that shape the expectations, interests and behavior of actors.”²² They make a compelling argument for the concept that the type of international institutions accounts for the amount and types of rules, along with dictating the power they yield. Therefore, the more institutionalized the institution, the greater the institutional rules govern more of the behavior of important actors. The authors like many other scholars differ in explaining the legalization of these norms and where that lies on the hard/soft law spectrum.

Moreover, a scholar, Thomas Franck offers his theory of legal legitimacy, the “compliance pull” of legal norms through what he identifies as four elements that can assist in measuring this, determinacy, symbolic validation, coherence and adherence.²³ Franck suggests that rules that retain these aspects have a stronger pull for compliance and those that meet less of these aspects and will thereby have a weaker pull. Although he cautions that legitimacy isn’t purely defined by this, he explains that compliance *pull* should be assessed instead of just compliance.²⁴ Determinacy signifies the comprehension of the text and transparency of the language to translate its message successfully at all levels. Symbolic validation “occurs when a signal is used as a cue to elicit compliance with a command.”²⁵ Ritual serves as a form of symbolic validation and refers to “enunciated reasons or cues for eliciting compliance with the commands of persons or institutions.”²⁶ Finally, pedigree refers to recognition and serves to pull on historical origins such as cultural or anthropological traditions.²⁷

²² Goldstein, Judith, Miles Kahler, Robert O. Keohane, and Anne-Marie Slaughter. "Introduction: Legalization and World Politics." *International Organization* 54.3 (2000): 385-99. Web.

<<http://www.princeton.edu/~slaughtr/Articles/IOIntro.pdf>>.

²³ Franck, Thomas M. "Legitimacy in the International System." *American Journal of International Law*, n.d. Web. 10 July 2015. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2203510>>.

²⁴ Goldstein, Judith, Miles Kahler, Robert O. Keohane, and Anne-Marie Slaughter. "Introduction: Legalization and World Politics." *International Organization* 54.3 (2000): 385-99. Web.

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Ibid

²⁷ Ibid

Applying the liberal perspective to norms, it is seen that many scholars of this tradition feel that international norms are ultimately more enforceable if they are incorporated into the domestic legal system which includes judicial acceptance.²⁸

Robert Keohane, from the neoliberal tradition, identifies regulatory norms as key concepts that “prescribe appropriate behavior.”²⁹ He echoes previously discussed concerns yet explicitly details norms at the international level. He draws upon Hedley Bull’s contribution of the international society which is “when a group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common values, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions.”³⁰ Furthermore Keohane identifies that at the transnational relations level/transnational civil society, norms can be created through the actions of non-governmental actors. However he also reflects upon the weaknesses of norms at both the international and transnational level because of what he refers to as “strategic interactions” including limitations such as legitimacy, funding, coercion, resources, organizational arrangements, etc.³¹

Concepts put forth by Finnemore and Sikkink address this gap that exists in many theories of international relations; others fail to account for the process through which norms rise and develop. Finnemore and Sikkink depict the life cycle of a norm, beginning with norm emergence when “norm entrepreneurs arise with a conviction that something must be changed.”³² These norm entrepreneurs then utilize preexisting organizations and/or norms to

²⁸ Goldstein, Judith, Miles Kahler, Robert O. Keohane, and Anne-Marie Slaughter. "Introduction: Legalization and World Politics." *International Organization* 54.3 (2000): 385-99. Web.

²⁹ Keohane, Robert O. *Social Norms and Agency in World Politics*. Web. 05 April, 2015 <<http://www.international.ucla.edu/media/files/SocialNorms1.0.pdf>>.

³⁰ Ibid

³¹ Ibid

³² Finnemore, Martha, and Sikkink, Karthryn. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 52.4, *International Organization at Fifty: Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics* (1998): 887-917. JSTOR. Web. 15 Apr. 2015.

build their case, UN declarations, treaties, conventions, etc. aspects that will essentially legitimize their cause and influence a wider audience.³³

If multiple states adopt the norm it often causes a “tipping point” to occur which leads to stage two, the norm cascade. During the norm cascade, “states adopt norms in response to international pressure--even if there is no domestic coalition pressing for adoption of the norm. They do this to enhance domestic legitimacy, conformity, and esteem needs.”³⁴ This allows the state to meet some of the demands made by domestic entrepreneurs and organizations actively seeking change. All the while conforming allows the state to save face within the international community because naming and shaming has become a common practice for norms. Finally, the third stage of the norm life cycle is norm internalization. The internalization of norms occurs when the norm becomes integrated within society to the point that it no longer seems deviant from conformed behavior.³⁵

These three components are crucial to explaining cycle that gender equality has undergone, but more importantly for comparing both India and Ghana’s processes. Furthermore both Finnemore and Sikkink detail a number of ways norms gain legitimacy, such as, prominence, when powerful states abide by certain norms others often follow suit; intrinsic qualities, and adjacency, if the current norm is similar to an existing already adopted norm it is seen to be easier to gain support for this “new” norm because it components or similarities were once adopted.

³³ Finnemore, Martha, and Sikkink, Karthryn. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 52.4, *International Organization at Fifty: Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics* (1998): 887-917. JSTOR. Web. 15 Apr. 2015.

³⁴ Ibid

³⁵ Ibid

Utilizing these ideas, it will be possible to compare both countries against one another to see how gender equality has gained legitimacy, prominence, intrinsic qualities, adjacency, and world time. This will provide support in determining which method (bottom-up vs. top-down) is better suitable for the internalization of a norm.

Thomas Risse-Kappen, Stephen Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink contribute the concept of an additional tool which can be used to interpret how norms spread; the spiral model of human rights change. This model has 5 phases: repression, denial, tactical concessions, prescriptive status and rule-consistent behavior. The phases identify how the norm naturally progresses from the states human rights violation to adapting their norms according to the international standard mold.³⁶

Along with this model, the authors feel that the socialization process is essential for the international community to promote norms. The three phases of socialization are pertinent to the interpretation of norms; process of adaptation and strategic bargaining; processes of moral consciousness-raising, shaming, argumentation, dialogue, and persuasion; the processes of institutionalization and habituation.³⁷ The first type of socialization often leads to the disingenuous adaptation of norms in order to meet some other domestic interest; therefore the state may adapt the norm without actually supporting it. The second type of socialization is imperative because it not only serves to educate the state regarding the norm and why it is morally correct, or what ought to be, but it also incorporates the naming and shaming process. This often encourages states to adapt and abide by certain principles simply to save face. Finally the third aspect of socialization of norms refers to successfully incorporating them within the

³⁶ Risse-Kappen, Thomas; Ropp, Stephen; and Sikkink, Kathryn. *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1999.

³⁷Ibid

legal framework of the domestic legislation as well as enforcing and implementing these norms. However, “habitualization” brings forth the difficulties in complete integration of norms which are often met with cultural and traditional resistance, therefore making this final aspect difficult to successfully reach.

This can be applied to both India and Ghana because both countries adopted and altered their national legislation in order to “fit international standards” which can be interpreted as their dedication to the norm as well as an attempt to raise their status within the international community.³⁸ This literature is necessary for not only understanding the background of bringing upon normative change but details the natural process to do so.

Furthermore another key concept Sikkink portrays is diffusion of norms. This entails norm cascades within international politics.³⁹ This type of diffusion that is being referred to is essentially a norm that spreads rapidly in a specific region. It is adopted by many different countries very quickly and usually unrelated to domestic pressures and more so linked to the fact that other surrounding or influential countries are adopting that specific policy. Sikkink utilizes the principle of democracy because a number of countries quickly adapted this norm. This was not caused by civil rallies or popular domestic demand, it was done more so to keep up with fellow colleagues (states). “Diffusion occurs when actions and choices in one country are “systematically conditioned by prior policy choices” made elsewhere in the world.”⁴⁰ Some even refer to it as a “virus” model of diffusion. This is when one state “catches” a policy, the same way a person catches a cold and then the infection spreads to its neighboring partners. Similarly

³⁸ Risse-Kappen, Thomas; Ropp, Stephen; and Sikkink, Kathryn. *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1999.

³⁹ Ibid

⁴⁰ Simmons, Beth, Dobbin, Frank, and Garrett, Geoff. "The International Diffusion of Liberalism." *International Organization* 60, no. 4 (2006).

this type of diffusion is even more prevalent when the adjacency principle is present. If a country has already accepted a similar norm then it will be that much easier to accept the new norm/virus.

The literature thus far has discussed theories that are applied to norms in order to assess their behavior, however it is equally necessary to examine norm patterns in practice.

Transnational Advocacy Networks are essential to the implementation of norms, Sikkink was one of the first to bring forth their relevance. She provided insight into how transnational advocacy networks function. Looking at why they emerge is crucial because transnational networks can be used as an influential component to why gender equality is such a prominent social issue in India despite the lack of strong support from the government.⁴¹

Similarly, she discussed how transnational women's networks grew because it advocated for them as an important aspect of human rights.⁴² This is another example of adjacency principle that when applied to norms, human rights literature already contains gender equality. This information will be demonstrated by both case studies arguing that both countries have already accepted the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, therefore seeking gender equality as an internalized norm is an extension of what is already widely-accepted. Moreover the example of female genital mutilation that is discussed by Sikkink is an example of how TANS successfully lead to change. Both constitutions of India and Ghana reflect the notion that no cultural practice should continue if it violates the legislation on human rights standards. On a much larger scale, it can be translated to encompass human rights as a whole. Both countries national legislation dictates that every individual is equal before the law and entitled to equal

⁴¹ Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1998. Print.

⁴² *Ibid*

rights, therefore gender equality is encompassed within the same norm that was previously adapted and integrated into society.

The academic literature offers diverse information, however it is essential to analyze norms in practice from applied perspectives. Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) and Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) play a major role in the international community including but not limited to norm spreading and norm internalization. At times these organizations are also able to serve as norm entrepreneurs themselves. “IGOs often spearhead the creation and maintenance of international rules and principles.”⁴³ They are able to determine the expectations that states should be obligated to meet. Charters of IGOs contain norms, rules, and decision-making processes. They are able to limit the need to “cheat” or manipulate the game by increasing the concern for reputation, the concept behind the idea of naming and shaming.⁴⁴ Moreover, IGOs are extremely instrumental because they can “constrain” states in their endeavors through their own mechanisms. The largest example that depicts this is the UN, which is often able to force states to participate in certain norms in order to “benefit from their membership.”⁴⁵

Keeping within this tradition, UN Women is an example of an IGO which focuses its efforts on improving gender equality. They believe this norm must be enforced because “all human development and human rights issues have gender dimensions. UN Women focuses on priority areas that are fundamental to women’s equality and that can unlock progress across the

⁴³ "IGOs and NGOs." Northwestern University. Northwestern University Library, n.d. Web. 05 June 2015. <<http://www.library.northwestern.edu/libraries-collections/evanston-campus/government-information/international-documents/figos-and-ngos>>.

⁴⁴ Ibid

⁴⁵ Ibid

board.”⁴⁶ Though it is evident that the inclusion of women into decision-making, economic endeavors, education, etc. will lead to productivity and undeniable progress, gender inequalities still exist worldwide.⁴⁷ This international organization highlights why this norm is of such great importance and should be understood and interpreted to better internalize in the future because its results are limitless.

The norm of gender equality affects the international community as a whole and it is hindering many countries from advancement and economic prosperity. This organization comprehends the necessity of the internalization of this norm throughout the international community that is why it identifies one of its provisions as “providing them (girls/women) with a powerful voice at the global, regional and local levels.”⁴⁸ Therefore the agenda of this IGO is to pursue the internalization of this norm.

NGOs in the past few decades have gained a stronger influence over the international community and thus are able to affect change on many different levels. This movement was seen to gain momentum in the 1970s, when networks and coalitions were formed which by the 1990s these organizations were able to mobilize the public and eventually influence the realm of international relations.⁴⁹ Scholars often interpret the end of the Cold War and the spread of democracy the cause of the international community to be more susceptible to NGO activity.⁵⁰ This allowed for human rights organizations to transform the international platform allowing these organizations to advance their agenda of norms through different means of influence.

⁴⁶ "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women." United Nations. UN Women, n.d. Web. 15 Apr. 2015. <<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw.htm>>.

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ Ibid

⁴⁹ "IGOs and NGOs." Northwestern University. Northwestern University Library, n.d. Web. 05 June 2015. <<http://www.library.northwestern.edu/libraries-collections/evanston-campus/government-information/international-documents/figos-and-ngos>>.

⁵⁰ Ibid

Given the opportunity, many of these organizations are able to partner with governments and their ministries or special offices to spearhead campaigns and implement initiatives in order to integrate norms. Similarly these organizations also partner with civil society in order to mobilize grassroots initiatives that want to integrate the particular norm within society through applying pressure for legitimacy.⁵¹

A main attribution of NGOs is that because they are independent organizations, they are able to advocate on behalf of their norms, human rights, or specific interests. Therefore voice and impact often allows for the spread of these norms. However this independence also works as a limitation at times, securing funding, especially continuous funding is a difficult goal to achieve for these organizations. NGOs often work on “cross-purposes” and different projects in a number of areas. Therefore because there are so many different initiatives and partners when it comes to implementing initiatives, success becomes difficult to assess.⁵²

International NGOs such as Plan International have adopted campaigns that support the education of girls as a right. This organization like many others is infuriated that “globally, 1 in 5 girls around the world is denied an education by the daily realities of poverty, violence and discrimination. Not only is this unjust, it’s also a huge waste of potential with serious global consequences.”⁵³ Due to the widespread and devastating effects of inequality, NGOs such as Plan International assist many areas through different initiatives which work to improve accessibility to schools and education for young girls as well as skills that they will be able to use

⁵¹ Mingst, Karen A., and Ivan M. Arreguín-Toft. "Intergovernmental Organizations, Nongovernmental Organizations, and International Law." *Chapter 7: Web*. 01 Aug. 2015. <<http://www.wwnorton.com/college/polisci/essentials-of-international-relations5/ch/07/summary.aspx>>.

⁵² Ibid

⁵³ "Why Girls? : Because I Am a Girl : Plan International." Because I Am a Girl : Plan International. Plan International, Web. 07 July 2015. <<http://plan-international.org/girls/why-girls.php?lang=en>>.

to improve their futures.⁵⁴ Plan aims to reach their goals through policy change. “This means helping to bring about quantifiable improvements in policy makers, service providers and government support for gender equality and girls’ rights.”⁵⁵ By actively supporting these initiatives at both levels and applying both types of pressure upon and with the state, they are able to hope for norm internalization, at the very least contribute to the ongoing process.

Furthermore, Plan like other NGOs, identifies “barriers” that act as a blockade from girls and women realizing their true potential in society, these barriers are often seen as families, communities as well as formal state institutions.⁵⁶ Similarly the organization analyzes the formal government and “the political frameworks that govern the relationship between citizen and state, and the reality of how these frameworks actually operate in the daily lives of girls and women.”⁵⁷ In their annual report Plan included the quote, “we’ve built an international architecture of laws and norms to protect women’s rights, but in many ways it remains a bare scaffold without the bricks and mortar needed to make those laws effective in people’s lives and turn our rhetoric into reality.”⁵⁸ This is why many NGOs act as norm entrepreneurs or assist norm entrepreneurs because these organizations understand the necessity of norm internalization not only by the local society but governments that can enforce legislation that will protect these rights through codification within national legislation.

Care International also serves as an NGO that works to advocate for gender equality. Dr. Robert Glasser, the Secretary General of Care International, states, “at CARE we work together

⁵⁴ "Why Girls? : Because I Am a Girl : Plan International." Because I Am a Girl : Plan International. Plan International, n.d. Web. 07 July 2015. <<http://plan-international.org/girls/why-girls.php?lang=en>>.

⁵⁵ Ibid

⁵⁶ 2014 Plan Report "Why Girls? : Because I Am a Girl : Plan International." Because I Am a Girl : Plan International. Plan International, Web. 07 July 2015. <<http://plan-international.org/girls/why-girls.php?lang=en>>.

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ Ibid

with women, men- including community and religious leaders – and governments to empower women to have a voice and status in society.”⁵⁹ Their main goal is to provide a transformative change for women’s human rights. The organization diligently works to “promote women and girls empowerment, and engages with men and boys to transform unequal power relations and address gender inequality.” In order to combat this discrimination, this organization like many others, works with different levels of partners in order to continue their agenda. Therefore as previously described with Plan International, the purpose of the NGO is to serve the norm they are attempting to implement and integrate. This process can be achieved through different partners varying based on the country itself and where the pressure is originating as is further explained in both case studies.

The literature and organizational application of norms offers a wide-ranging interpretation of the process of spreading and internalizing norms. However what this insight fails to do is interpret the manner by which norms are better implemented and integrated. It is essential to determine whether norms incorporated through the top-down approach or bottom-up approach is more effective at internalization. The literature, though extremely thorough, misses the influence international norms have on the domestic level which become the ultimate basis of whether a norm will successfully be integrated. Therefore I will utilize this paper to analyze how international norms regarding gender equality are reshaping domestic policy.

⁵⁹ Mias, Celine. "Shifting Social Norms to Achieve Gender Equality | CARE International." Shifting Social Norms to Achieve Gender Equality | CARE International. Care International. Web. 05 June 2015. <http://www.care-international.org/news/press-releases/advocacy/shifting-social-norms-to-achieve-gender-equality.aspx>.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Given the claims made by many of these authors including Sikkink, Finnemore, Wendt, Franck, etc. it is evident that their theories regarding how norms are internalized can be taken and applied to various human rights norms. That being the case I am going use this paper to analyze the norm of gender equality, not only to assess the norm against the literature that has been discussed regarding the norm itself, but to provide evidentiary support to the claim that a when a top-down approach to norms is taken, it will lead to greater norm internalization when compared to the bottom-up approach.

I am going to prove that the top-down approach to gender equality leads to better internalization studying and analyzing India and Ghana. Both case studies exemplify what these authors have claimed to be true about norm behavior as well as provide insight into the two different approaches regarding norms.

The case study done on India takes into account for its bottom-up approach and the case study done on Ghana will demonstrate the top-down approach respectively. I will begin by analyzing the domestic legislation that already exists for both countries. I will also look upon international treaties that the nation has signed upon, exploring any reservations that may have been included in these ratification processes. This will provide a foundation and ability to assess where each government stands regarding gender equality. This will also expose the areas where these policies still suffer.

Then I will move onto assessing relevant IGOs and NGOs that have partnered with civil society in the India and the government in Ghana. In both cases these organizations are actively pursuing their own agenda of spreading gender equality, however different partnerships demonstrate the strength of their support.

As I have already indicated, I will be working with two variables to demonstrate the progress made; education and labor. Therefore once I have assessed the support provided by organizations for civilian and government movements respectively; I will analyze educational progress. This will be done by comparing the total number of the population which will then be broken into male and female. Then assess the adult literacy rate and analyze the divide of male and female, and see how wide this gap is. Similarly I will incorporate studies done on different school levels to reveal the disproportions that exist the higher the level of education is reached, the lower enrollment of girls, and the wider this gender divide.

I will then critique labor/employment progress in a similar regard. I will look at averages of those who are employed, and of those I am going to assess how the greater proportion of those employed are male. Similarly I will also utilize these facts and figures to display that though women may have employment it exists more in the informal sector and they are paid less than their male counterparts. Though, government and similar higher level positions remain male oriented despite both nations attempting affirmative action schemes.

The IGO and NGO examples, coupled with the descriptive statistical analysis will successfully demonstrate that though both countries do indeed have a gender gap when it comes to both educational opportunities as well as employment opportunities. That being said, it will be evident that India's gap is greater. Furthermore, Ghana's top-down approach reveals that the states willingness to adopt and integrate this norm is more successful at meeting their objective instead of when it stems from, though admirable, pressure from civil society.

Chapter 4: Case-Study Introduction

India and Ghana are both rapidly developing as emerging economies that are seen to be key global players in their own respective right. They have enjoyed positive bilateral relations with each other since India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru and Ghana's first President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah laid this fruitful foundation.

Indo-Ghanaian relations have been enhanced through trade relations as well as increased south-south cooperation. India has been assisting development in Ghana through projects including Lines of Credit and grants, which has, thus far, amounted to \$230 million to the Government of Ghana.⁶⁰ Ghana has been a major contributor to the human resource development in India through initiatives such as Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC), through which approximately 60 Ghanaian students partook in ICER's Africa Scholarship Scheme which has allowed them to study in India.⁶¹

According to the United Nations Development Programme, Ghana was ranked 138 and India was ranked 135 on the Human Development Index in 2014.⁶² The Human Development Index (HDI) is a statistic based on "life expectancy, education and per capita income indicators, which is used to rank countries into four tiers of human development."⁶³ Though the two countries lie on two vastly different continents and emerge from different cultural traditions, it is fairly interesting to see that both are at the cusp of development and how human rights plays a role in this process. Therefore this paper will analyze how internalizing the norm of gender equity has taken a different approach in both countries which are undergoing a similar transition.

⁶⁰ Gupta, Prakash. "India-Ghana Bilateral Brief: Political Relations." High Commission of India. Web. 10 July 2015. <http://www.indiahc-ghana.com/pages.php?id=65>.

⁶¹ "Human Development Reports." Human Development Indicators. United Nations Development Programme, Web. 05 Apr. 2015. <<http://hdr.undp.org/en/data/map>>.

⁶² Ibid

⁶³ Ibid

Furthermore, the issue of duty bearers arises. These conventions on this specific norm of gender equality have been in existence for decades, yet this issue still remains relevant. It is necessary to acknowledge where the ineffectiveness stems from. It is equally as necessary to analyze who these duty bearers are: beginning with the state because that is who signed onto these conventions for the purpose of implementation. This trickles down to the federal government and the policies they have put in place, IGOs/NGOs that are working/advocating for the end of violence and discrimination against women (organizations such as UNWOMEN, Plan International), finally to civil society who is integrated through the various forms of introducing transition.

To reiterate a key fact and a key player in the fight to end gender-based violence, governments must restructure the policies they have to meet the demands of the conventions they have signed and (in many cases) ratified. For example, it is necessary to allocate adequate funding to improve institutions that empower women, or using national legislation to enforce and protect women against violence. If such legislation already exists, it is necessary to implement it, and follow through to civil society and ensure the police force works in conjunction with these ideals. Finally by analyzing two countries who are comparable in development, it will be possible to deduce which state has the more adaptable approach in internalizing gender equality.

Chapter 5: Case-Study on India:

Background of India:

These conventions along with other treaties and declarations have all served as components of the justice cascade the international community has been undergoing. Education and employment standards must be met according to the provisions set above by each country who is a party to conventions and other forms of codification they have signed and ratified. The norm of gender equality is being spread through these various mechanisms.

The Republic of India gained independence in 1947. Under its first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, the first constitution of the republic was approved in 1949. Then in 1991, the country instilled a series of economic reforms coupled with its enthusiastic young population, led it to become one of the most influential emerging economies and powers.⁶⁴ The constitution calls for “equality before the law.”⁶⁵ Article 18 within the Fundamental Rights section prohibits “discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment.”⁶⁶ Although the inclusion of certain rights regarding freedom of speech is not detailed, the constitution does explicitly state, “protection of life and personal liberty, right to education, prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour.”⁶⁷ These clearly stated “Fundamental Rights” guarantee equality within the nation and details gender equality. Furthermore it echoes and reinforces the various principles found within international gender norms and legislation.

Despite this statement entrapped within the constitution, the women’s movement in India has been fighting a daunting uphill battle since the 1980s, when finally India signed onto

⁶⁴ "The World Factbook." *Central Intelligence Agency*. Central Intelligence Agency, n.d. Web. 01 Aug. 2015. <<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/in.html>>.

⁶⁵ "The Constitution of India." Ministry of India. India.gov. Web. 17 July 2015. <<http://lawmin.nic.in/olwing/coi/coi-english/coi-indexenglish.htm>>.

⁶⁶ Ibid

⁶⁷ Ibid

CEDAW on July 30, 1980. However the nation only ratified it on July 9, 1993 with reservations. India declared reservation to Article 16 which discusses marriage and family relations. This clause depicts the equality of men and women within the union and their right to choose their spouse and freedom to enter into the marriage, etc. India also declared reservation to the second part of Article 16, a section that prevents betrothals and child marriages from having a legal standing.⁶⁸ Though India declared its support for this clause in theory, the state could not do so in reality because it wasn't seen as practically manageable for such a diverse territory with different religious, cultural practices, and levels of literacy.⁶⁹

Moreover, India (like many other states) also posed Article 29 (1) as a reservation because it deals with dispute of states being submitted to arbitration or ICJ. This weakens the integrity of the convention because when states are in violation of these standards that, they themselves have consented to legally be bound to, yet cannot be brought before the ICJ or submitted for arbitration. This reflects poorly upon the states willingness to uphold the treaty they have signed onto. Most importantly it takes away the enforcement mechanism of the convention to ensure that states will make domestic changes in order to abide by the standards set forth.

Despite these reservations, India consented to be legally bound to this convention and implement its standards within its domestic regulations in 1993. In effort to meet some of these explicit requirements India has taken the following measures: In 2001 amendments were made to divorce, succession and marriage laws. "Landmark" judgements were passed in the late 1990s

⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹ Jonge, Alice De. *The Glass Ceiling in Chinese and Indian Boardrooms: Women Directors in Listed Firms in China and India*. N.p.: Elsevier, 2015. Print.

and early 2000s condemning sexual harassment at the workplace, maintenance rights of women, divorce, guardianship, etc.⁷⁰

Furthermore in 2001 the government also adopted the National Policy for the Empowerment of Women in order to “bring about gender justice and make de jure equality de facto equality.”⁷¹ This plan aimed to bring empowerment to women, reform to decision making, economic and social reforms, etc. In 2005 national legislation included a Domestic Violence Act recognizing marital abuse.⁷²

The 73rd and 74th amendments made to the Constitution reflect the ability of women to partake in politics even at the local Panchayat levels. In 1976 a report from the Committee on the Status of Women in India led to an increase of about 33.3% of elected women at the local/Panchayat level in 1988. Then in 2008 it was seen that local village councils had almost 50% women representatives, this includes Bihar, Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh.⁷³ Though positive strides have been made, women still only hold approximately 12% of parliamentary seats in India. It is difficult to make a lasting change without an equal opportunity at decision-making.⁷⁴

It is seen that despite some existing reforms, geographical location, education, social status still play a large role in determining empowerment.⁷⁵ The gaps that exist in policy between national, state and local (panchayat) makes it difficult to proactive gender equality

⁷⁰ Vacca, Virginia. "INDIA." *Oriente Moderno* Anno 11.Nr. 2 (1931): 99-108. Web. 17 July. 2015. <<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/Review/responses/INDIA-English.pdf>>.

⁷¹ Ibid

⁷² Upadhyay, Reecha. "Women's Empowerment in India An Analytical Overview." *The Asia Foundation*: 1-14. *Asia Foundation*. Web. 17 July 2015. <<https://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/womensempowermentindiabriefs.pdf>>.

⁷³ Catalyst. Quick Take: Women in the Labour Force in India. New York: Catalyst, 2014.

⁷⁴ <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>

⁷⁵ Upadhyay, Reecha. "Women's Empowerment in India An Analytical Overview." *The Asia Foundation*: 1-14. *Asia Foundation*. Web. 17 July 2015. <<https://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/womensempowermentindiabriefs.pdf>>.

policies to translate and trickle down to the society level. Similarly the existence of a patriarchal structure in India is undeniable.

Education:

Shockingly despite the states shortcomings, civil society to rose up and demanded this norm. Finnemore and Sikkink's article, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change" states that norm emergence is seen when "norm entrepreneurs arise with a conviction that something must be changed. These norms use existing organizations and norms as a platform from which to proselytize (e.g. UN declarations), framing their issue to reach a broader audience."⁷⁶

These norm entrepreneurs that Finnemore and Sikkink describe are people just like Shakir Parvez Shaikh, a 15 year old student who spoke out against how female classmates were treated differently.⁷⁷ The specific case detailed the teen taking notice of the difference between himself and his female classmates. Where the male students realized that they had more time for education and leisure activities yet the girl students were significantly more subjected housework duties. Pushpa Ben Basra is an exemplary depiction of this movement for norm entrepreneurs, she is a leading member of the women-led self-help group, Vasudhara Dairy Cooperatives.⁷⁸ Similarly the most noted civilian effort were the riots after the Delhi gang rape in 2012. Thousands of men and women took the nations streets by storm protesting this injustice and demanding that assault on women must stop and they must be treated equally, in major cities including Delhi, Calcutta, Bangalore and Mumbai.⁷⁹ These struggles are of individuals who

⁷⁶ Finnemore, Martha, and Sikkink, Karthryn. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 52.4, *International Organization at Fifty: Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics* (1998): 887-917. JSTOR. Web. 15 Apr. 2015.

⁷⁷ Bhalla, Nita. "Slum Kids Confront Sexism as India Grapples with Abuse of Women." Thomson Reuters Foundation, 22 Mar. 2015. Web. 17 July 2015. <<http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/03/23/us-india-gender-education-idUSKBN0MJ00H20150323>>.

⁷⁸ Ahmad, Idhries. "In India, Women-led Self-help Groups Empower Women and Improve Health." *UNICEF*. 16 July 2012. Web. 01 Aug. 2015.

⁷⁹ BiswasIndia, Soutik. "Protests in India after Delhi Gang-rape Victim Dies." *BBC News*. N.p., 29 Dec. 2012. Web. 01 Aug. 2015.

believe that gender inequality is wrong and it must be changed. They are calling for a shift in cultural and traditional practices that currently preserve male dominance.

In support of domestic civil society efforts Transnational Advocacy Networks, or activists without borders work through international campaigns. This supports and influences the vast public, governments and international organizations. Domestic NGOs are able to make use of this type of network to increase their voice in order to place pressure on the national government for change of policy. As previously discussed by Keck and Sikkink, this is referred to as a “boomerang pattern” and is used in order to overcome obstacles often put forth by the national government.

Organizations such as Plan International’s work in India through their Plan India initiative. Since 1979 this organization has been assisting children obtain means to basic education and protection from abuse and exploitation.⁸⁰ Plan India understands that economic conditions often force and increase the possibilities of child marriage and household duties for girls which takes away from education, discouraging potential futures. This initiative works to combat these practices through safer environments and opportunities at education. Organizations such as Plan enable norm entrepreneurs that believe in gender equality that are striving for better and equal opportunities for girls gain support from these initiatives. This allows the principles that norm entrepreneurs are advocating for to be sustained.

Similarly CARE India has been combating gender inequality for decades. They focus on women because they feel that educating girls and women will allow for “whole families and communities to overcome poverty.” Similarly in the aftermath of major uprisings, CARE India has

⁸⁰ "How We Work." Ngo Working for Children, Education NGO in India. Plan India, Web. 17 July 2015. <<https://www.planindia.org/how-we-work>>.

launched campaigns such as “Awaz Uthao” online and on the ground.⁸¹ These campaigns serve to empower these local efforts to utilize their education for momentum for their fight to change how this norm is integrated.

IGOs such as UNICEF have partnered with these local self-help groups within smaller communities in an effort to empower and educate many of these women in rural villages.⁸² These self-help groups are a transformative effort that allows many women to work together to combat gender divide gap that exists in education. Through such local work, women are able to obtain some basic level of education which can later be essential.

This being said, the population of India is about 1,236,344,631, of which 48.5% of that total population is female. As a study states, the gender gap begins from birth because for every 100 girls there are 112 boys born.⁸³ Of this population almost half is considered to be under the age of 25 making the median age in India 27.⁸⁴ Though half the population is considered to be so young at the standard age of entering the workforce, it is seen that less than half the population in their twenties have completed high school or equivalent education.⁸⁵

According to a study done by the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India from 2005 to 2006 discusses the disparity between the education of men and women. The chart below reveals the percentage of literate women and men between the ages of 15-49. There is a common trend that can be seen, not only do literacy rates start to decline as the age increases, but more importantly (for our purpose here) the gap between literacy amongst women and men

⁸¹ "Statement from CARE India on the Recent Verdict on the Delhi Rape Incident." NGO in India. Care India, 14 Sept. 2013. Web. 17 July 2015. <<http://www.careindia.org/statement-care-india-recent-verdict-delhi-rape-incident>>.

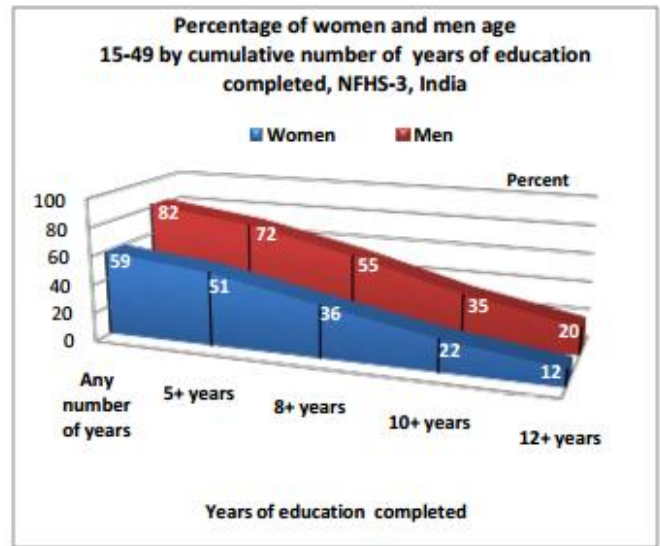
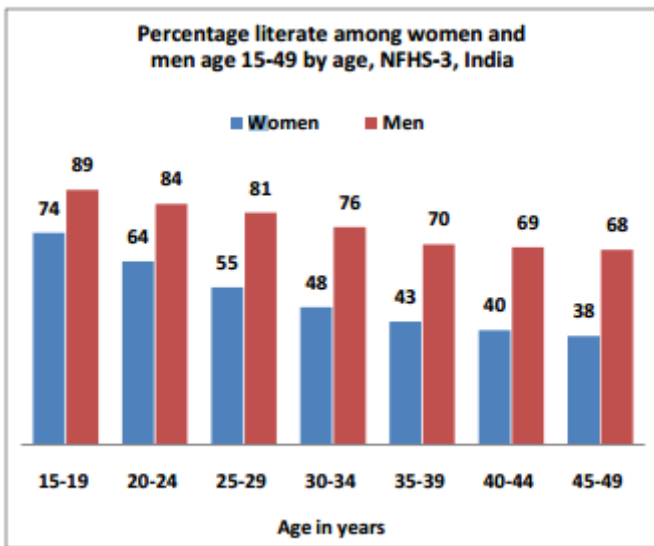
⁸² Ahmad, Idhries. "In India, Women-led Self-help Groups Empower Women and Improve Health." *UNICEF*. 16 July 2012. Web. 01 Aug. 2015.

⁸³ CIA, "India," CIA World Factbook (2014).

⁸⁴ Ibid

⁸⁵ Center for Strategic & International Studies, *Global Aging and the Future Emerging Markets*. 2011.

substantially widens.⁸⁶ This gap, as demonstrated by “Percentage literate among women and men age 15-49 by age, NFHS-3, India” reveals that the greatest discrepancy remains within the older generation that was assessed, 45-49. This conveys the progress that has indeed been made, yet a large discrepancy still remains especially in the 20-24 years of age range. Similarly the “Percentage of women and men age 15-29 by cumulative number of years of education completed, NFHS-3, India” reinforces the same trend.



The adult literacy rate in India is about 63% which has increased a great deal since 1991 when the literacy rate was 48%. Despite this increase, India maintains a comparatively low literacy rate when looking at the other emerging Asian economies.⁸⁷

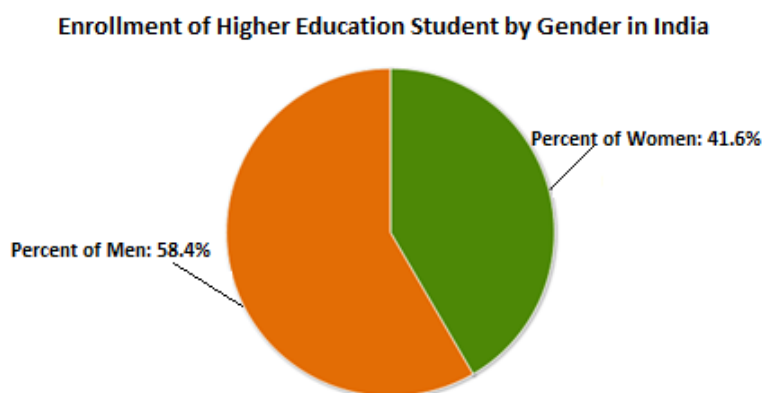
Further delving into those statistics, 77% of men over the age of 15 were literate but only 55% of women were literate, similarly it is possible to disseminate that 55% further, because of

⁸⁶ "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in India." Ministry of Health and Family Welfare. Government of India, 2006. Web. 19 July 2015. <http://www.unicef.org/health/india_65352.html>.

⁸⁷ "10 Facts: Literacy Rates in India - The Globalist." *The Globalist*. 11 Dec. 2014. Web. 01 Aug. 2015. <<http://www.theglobalist.com/10-facts-literacy-rates-in-india/>>.

those 80% of urban women were literate and only 59% of rural women were. In all cases there are more educated men than women, despite the number of initiatives and norm internalizing mechanisms that have been discussed. This feeds into the international communities large divide where women are considered to be two-thirds of the illiterate adults.⁸⁸ Of this statistic, over one-third of those illiterate women are Indian which is around 187 million. In order to gain some perspective regarding this number India has 286 million, China 54 million, Pakistan 52 million, Bangladesh 44 million, Nigeria 41 million, Ethiopia 27 million, Egypt 15 million, Brazil 13 million, Indonesia 12 million and the Democratic Republic of the Congo 12 million.⁸⁹

Moreover, the number of women obtaining a higher education has indeed increased, however this percentage has yet to reach 50%. The chart below depicts the 58.4% of men that are enrolled in higher education, however the enrollment of women is still roughly only 41.6%.



Furthermore, the number of women in some of the most competitive educational undergraduate degree programs remain low as well. In 2011-2012 the percentage of women in these programs was 29% in Engineering/Technology, 37% Computer Science, 32% Management

⁸⁸ Ibid

⁸⁹ Ibid

and 32% in Law.⁹⁰ A grave discrepancy, especially in the field of higher education remains between men and women in India that must be addressed if the norm of gender equality is going to be successfully integrated within this society.

⁹⁰ Catalyst. Quick Take: Women in the Labour Force in India. New York: Catalyst, 2014.

Employment:

India is the birthplace of microfinance which was in the 1970s referred to as micro-credit, Muhammad Yunus stitched together concepts that led the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh which lend small loans to extremely poor borrowers.⁹¹ Similarly many NGOs also strive to support women's economic independence through microfinance programs. These serve as a means to reduce the strain of poverty and stimulate economic development. NGOs such as Activists for Social Alternatives (ASA) empower many lower socio-economic women in the rural areas. ASA has been in Tamil Nadu since 1986 assisting these women with credit and savings options which in turn allows them to sustain and grow their agricultural production as well as any entrepreneurial ventures they may be seeking.⁹²

The NGO, Indian Women and Child Welfare Trust (IWCWT) assists Self Help Groups utilize micro finance to become "economic agents of change."⁹³ This organization like many others believes that economic self-reliance will directly contribute to confronting gender inequalities.⁹⁴ This allows women to become more self-sufficient, gain a deeper understanding of the financial system, and maintain economic independence. They become responsible for the sustenance of their own as well as their families livelihoods. Furthermore this type of economic independence enables norm entrepreneurs the ability to affect a greater change within the cultural traditional practices of families and households solely dependent on the male.

⁹¹ Parker, James. "Empowering Women Through Microfinance in India." *The Diplomat*. 13 Mar. 2013. Web. 19 July. 2015. <<http://thediplomat.com/2013/03/empowering-women-through-microfinance-in-india/>>.

⁹² Hishigsuren, Gaamaa. "Activists for Social Alternatives, India: Case Study on Dalit Women (Promising Practices S..." *Seep Network*. N.p., 2012. Web. 01 Aug. 2015. <<http://www.seepnetwork.org/activists-for-social-alternatives-india--case-study-on-dalit-women--promising-practices-series---resources-504.php>>.

⁹³ "Indian Women and Child Welfare Trust." *Indian Women and Child Welfare Trust*. Web. 19 July. 2015. <<http://www.iwcwtministry.org/Self-Help-Group.html>>.

⁹⁴ Ibid

IGOs believe in economic independence which is spread through their various country programmes. An example of this is UN Women which believes that “when more women work, economies grow.”⁹⁵ Through UN Women’s Fund for Gender Equality they were able to assist the Dalit women through the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee, therefore from 2009 to 2011 participation grew from 2,800 to 14,000.⁹⁶ This was possible because IGOs are able to assist norm entrepreneurs at the grassroots level have a stronger voice. These wins symbolize the direct results of norm entrepreneurs demanding change, organizations with the capacity to scale up their allowing the norm to grow in support.

These organizations are providing support and building up these norm entrepreneurs who are in search of internalizing gender equality. This outside support is necessary for these individuals or small groups in order to scale-up their efforts and place greater and value pressure upon the government to implement and enforce these changes that they have told the international community they are in favor of.

Women in the employment sector still face extreme discrimination. From 2009-2010 women only made up 26.1% of rural workers and 13.8% of urban workers.⁹⁷ It is shocking that despite these measures that have been implemented the number of women that were “economically active” have been decreasing since 2004-2005 where the percentage dropped from 37% to 29% in 2009-2010.⁹⁸ This is leaving India ranked 11th from the bottom of the scale of 131 countries for female labor force participation. It is seen that even when women are

⁹⁵ "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women." United Nations. UN Women, n.d. Web. 15 Apr. 2015. <<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cdaw.htm>>.

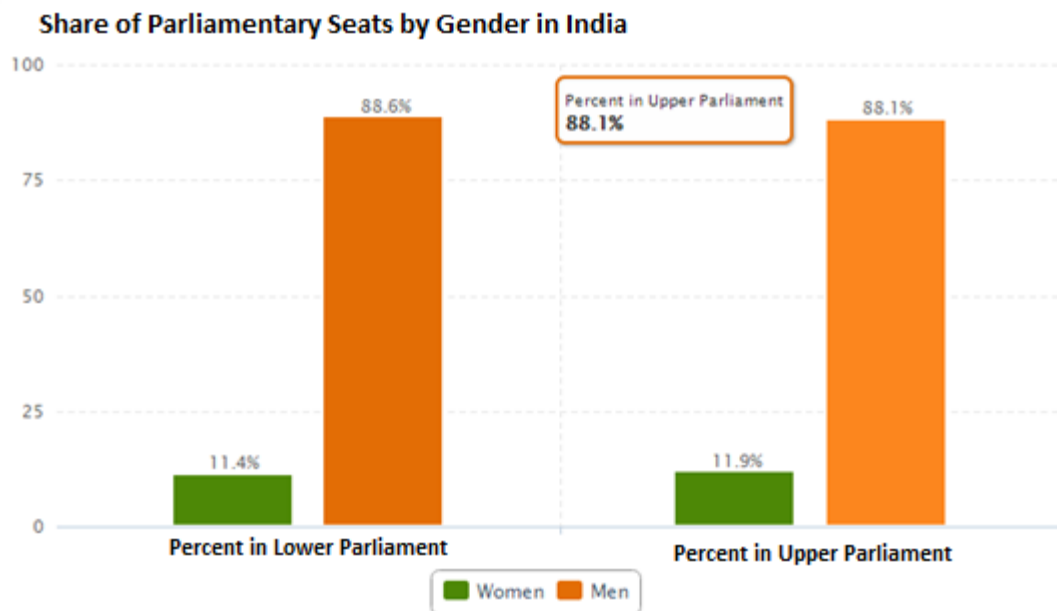
⁹⁶ Ibid

⁹⁷ Ibid

⁹⁸ "India: Why Is Women's Labour Force Participation Dropping?" *International Labour Organization*. N.p., 13 Feb. 2013. Web. 01 Aug. 2015. <http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/comment-analysis/WCMS_204762/lang-en/index.htm>.

employed, they only earn 62% of a male salary for equal work.⁹⁹ This devastating gap between the two salaries for similar work is so drastic, women are missing 38% of their pay.

Furthermore women make up only 3% of legislative, management and senior official positions.¹⁰⁰ As the chart below demonstrates, only 11.4% of women are represented in lower parliament and 11.9% of women are represented in upper parliament. Women in government positions are outrageously low, so much so that India was ranked 116 out of 189 countries for percentage of women in Parliament in June 2014.¹⁰¹



In 2010, women held about 5.3% of board directorships of BSE (Bombay Stock Exchange)-100 companies.¹⁰² Though 22.6% of women are within the business field only 14% have senior management roles. Furthermore out of 323 executive directorship positions on the

⁹⁹ Catalyst. Quick Take: Women in the Labour Force in India. New York: Catalyst, 2014.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid

¹⁰¹ Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in National Parliaments," (June 2014).

¹⁰² Community Business Standard Chartered Bank: Women on Corporate Boards in India 2010.

Bombay Stock Exchange 100 only 8 are held by women, that is 2.5%. Granted these are some of the extremely high level, high paid positions in India, however it is unfortunate to see such unequal representation. Furthermore 54% of BSE 100 companies have no female board directors.¹⁰³ The Gender Diversity Benchmark in 2011 concluded that India had the lowest national female labor force.

¹⁰³ Aparna Banerji, Shalini Mahtani, Dr Ruth Sealy, and Professor Susan Vinnicombe, Standard Chartered Bank: Women on Corporate Boards in India (2010).

Chapter 6: Case-Study on Ghana:

Background of Ghana

The Republic of Ghana was the first sub-Saharan country to gain its independence in 1957 and later evolved to a constitutional democracy. It is seen as one of the fastest developing countries on the continent and has the 9th largest economy in Africa. It is revered in comparison to its neighbors, for its adaptation of human rights principles into legislation. Article 5 of the Ghanaian constitution states “every person in Ghana, whatever his race, place of origin, political opinion, colour, religion, creed or gender shall be entitled to the fundamental human rights and freedoms...”¹⁰⁴ Chapter 5 of the constitution goes onto listing the rights and freedoms it protects which includes but not limited to “right to life, protection of personal liberty, fair trial, human dignity, protection from slavery and forced labour, equality from freedom and discrimination...property rights of spouses...economic rights (which include equal work for equal pay without distinction of any kind)...educational rights, cultural rights (so long as they conform to the provisions of the constitution and do not dehumanize or are injurious to the physical or mental well-being of persons) women’s rights, etc...”¹⁰⁵ Therefore it explicitly guarantees gender equality by enumerating these rights.

Moreover, the constitution explicitly identifies discrimination “For the purposes of this article, ‘discriminate’ means to give different treatment to different persons attributable only or mainly to their respective descriptions by race, place of origin, political opinions, colour, gender, occupation, religion or creed, whereby persons of one description are subjected to disabilities or restrictions to which persons of another description are not made subject or are granted privileges

¹⁰⁴ "Constitution of the Republic of Ghana." Constitution of the Republic of Ghana. Judicial. Ghana. Web. 20 July 2015. <<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/republic/constitution.php>>.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid

or advantages which are not granted to persons of another description.”¹⁰⁶ Given these examples found within Ghanaian national legislation, their commitment to international norms promoting human rights is evident.

Furthermore Ghana ratified CEDAW on February 2, 1986 to display their determination to combat gender inequality. Similarly, Ghana created the Cabinet-level Ministry of Women and Children’s Affairs (MOAC) in 2001 in order to alleviate marginalization of women as well as empower them to a “higher national level.”¹⁰⁷ This organization will serve to create policies that incorporate gender mainstreaming across all sectors to enable gender quality and empowerment. Furthermore the organization will synchronize the National Council on Women and Development (NCWD) and the National Commission on Children (GNCC).

A key initiative within this program is that it is a means to advocate against traditional practices and attitudes that deny gender equality. The ministry is in charge of advocacy within the cabinet, parliament, policymakers, chiefs and traditional and religious authorities for the purpose of adopting gender sensitive policies. This is done through new legislation that protects women and sensitizing queen mothers “to support and monitor Women Human Rights compliance at the community level.”¹⁰⁸ MOWACs cooperation with Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) assists in translating gender into MDA policy frameworks as well.¹⁰⁹

The government also established the Women in Local Governance Fund for Women’s Participation in Local Government Elections. The primary purpose of this fund was to increase

¹⁰⁶ "Constitution of the Republic of Ghana." Constitution of the Republic of Ghana. Judicial. Ghana. Web. 20 July 2015. <<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/republic/constitution.php>>.

¹⁰⁷ "The Circle of Empowerment: Twenty-five Years of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women." CEDAW 46.06 (2009): UN Women. Web. 20 July 2015.

¹⁰⁸ "The Circle of Empowerment: Twenty-five Years of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women." CEDAW 46.06 (2009): UN Women. Web. 20 July 2015.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

female participation in district level elections. The state also established the Girl Child Education Directorate in Ministry of Education, Women in Agriculture Development, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Maternal and Public Health Units of Ghana Health Service, Gender Desk Officers in all 138 District Assemblies and Gender Focal Persons in the MDAs.¹¹⁰ Furthermore the state has worked to amend the Criminal Code Act of 1998 which criminalizes traditional practices of widowhood rites, ritual servitude and FGM.

The Children's Act now includes focus on the girl child. On December 5, 2005 the Human Trafficking Act was passed which reflects the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children.¹¹¹ This act serves as domestic legislation that mirrors the enforcement of international norms. Moreover, the Affirmative Action Policy of 1998, National Gender and Children's Policy of 2004 and Early Child Care and Development Policy all are gender initiatives that work to protect and empower women. As well as in June 2007, Ghana ratified the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹¹ Sertich, Manda, and Marijn Heemskerk. "Ghana's Human Trafficking Act: Successes and Shortcomings in Six Years of Implementation." Human Rights Brief. N.p., n.d. Web. 19 July 2015.
<<http://digitalcommons.wcl.american.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1779&context=hrbrief>>.

¹¹² Ibid

Education:

The Ghanaian government has worked with a number of NGOs as well as IGOs to integrate and implement national gender affirming and empowering policies within the society. Plan International in Ghana was established in 1992 and have been providing effective methods for the girl child to receive an education. This organizations scholarship scheme has allowed for 3,500 students to attend secondary, vocational or tertiary education.

When conducting interviews in the village of Kobina Ansa in Ghana, it was evident that the school headmistress, Ms. Alberta Hope, felt this organization (Plan) served as a means for many girls to receive a higher education than their families could afford or initially even support.¹¹³ Ms. Hope detailed the cultural pressures that still exist completely intact of wanting to domesticate girls instead of encouraging an education. She portrayed that these NGOs were able to help these young girls overcome this pressure and seek a brighter future which would empower them to become self-sufficient.

Care Ghana also seeks to bring attention to the fact that “women produce half of the world’s food, put in two-thirds of the world’s working hours, yet make only 10% of the world’s income.”¹¹⁴ Similar to their projects involving girls in India, Care Ghana stresses the same core principle values of assisting women receive an education will later act as a method of alleviating poverty because they view that girls and women “bear the brunt of poverty.”¹¹⁵ They view that the girl child is the “last to eat and first to be kept home from school” when financial sustenance

¹¹³ Interview with Alberta Hope in Kobina Ansa, Ghana, on July 18, 2014 by Manali Basu, Rebecca Girma, Nichole Acevedo

¹¹⁴ "Women's Empowerment." Care.org. CARE, n.d. Web. 20 July 2015. <<http://www.care.org/work/womens-empowerment>>.

¹¹⁵ "Why Girls?" Women's Empowerment. Care.org. CARE, Web. 20 July 2015. <<http://www.care.org/work/womens-empowerment>>.

becomes an issue.¹¹⁶ This is because of traditional values that dictate men necessity for survival because they are more suitable for employment and then can later provide for the family. They believe that the girl child will eventually end up pregnant and raising children therefore incapable of providing for the family. It is this cultural mentality that these organizations are striving to reupholster. Therefore this educational initiative along coupled with government subsidized initiatives have enabled many more girls to receive education.

To further support this gender empowerment strategy, international organizations such as the United Nations Girls' Education Initiative (UNGEI) was launched in 2000 in order to assist state governments reach their responsibilities of ensuring education and gender equality for all children.¹¹⁷ Though a formal program has not been launched in Ghana, partnerships for girls' education has existed since 1997 when the Girls Education Unit in the Ghana Education Service was established within the Ministry of Education. This was imperative in ensuring girls with material, financial support for education including but not limited to scholarships, food rations, and bicycles.¹¹⁸ UNICEF has also supported the Ministry of Education in developing educational strategies and implementation of those strategies. This work is directly correlated with the enrollment for kindergarten increasing from 500,000 students in 2004-2005 to 800,000 in 2005-2006. It was speculated that the rate increased by 67%, similarly primary enrollment rate increased from 59.1% to 68.8% and junior secondary level increased from 31.6% to 41.6%.

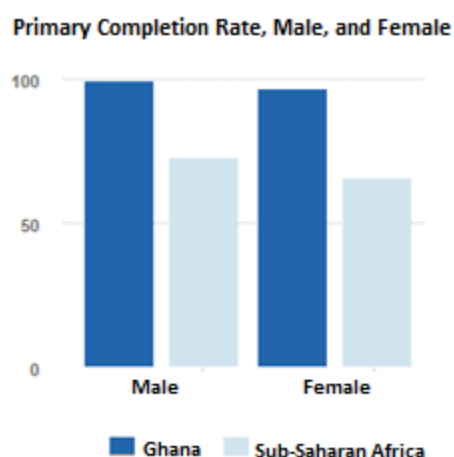
This being the case, Ghana has a population of 24,392,000. The nation has dedicated itself to gender equality for many decades. About 18.69% of the population is 15-24 years which

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ "United Nations Girls Education Initiative." UNGEI. Web. 20 July 2015. <http://www.ungei.org/whatisungei/index_211.html>.

¹¹⁸ Ghana Index "United Nations Girls Education Initiative." UNGEI. Web. 20 July 2015. <<http://www.ungei.org/infobycountry/ghana.html>>.

is seen as approximately 2,449,026 males and 2,472,756 female. Similarly the range of 25-54 years old is about 33.95% where 4,338,197 are male and 4,598,796 females.¹¹⁹ In both critical age groups there are slightly more females than males. The government spends about 8.1% of its GDP on education. Therefore of this population about 76.6% is literate, 82% of males and 71.4% of females are literate. As depicted below, Ghana when compared to other Sub-Saharan African countries is leading in literacy rates for both male and female.



According to a study conducted by UNICEF, youth from the ages of 15-24 88.3% of males are literate, youth female are 83.2% literate. Though a gap still exists the gap is close and can be bridged. Enrollment of pre-primary school is seen as 111.7% for male and 115.7% are female. Primary school net enrollment is seen as 83.9 and 84.8 for female students. Secondary education is seen as 48.1% for male and 44.4% female students.¹²⁰ Furthermore it is interesting to assess the ratio in different regions for example in 2010 it was seen that in the Western region 65,599 female students attended Junior High School compared to 74,748 male, in the Central

¹¹⁹ "Ghana." CIA World Factbook. Central Intelligence Agency. Web. 20 July 2015. <<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gh.html>>.

¹²⁰ "At a Glance Ghana." Statistics. UNICEF. Web. 20 July 2015. <http://www.unicef.org/infoby country/ghana_statistics.html>.

region 66,471 females attended and 74,671 males, when compared to the more urban setting of the Greater Accra region where 94,819 females attended and only 92,157 males.¹²¹ It's intriguing to see that though a disparity still exists it has been improving. In 2009 those numbers for the same regions respectively were (Western) 63,240 to 73,582. Central 65,486 to 74,501 and the Greater Accra region was 94,524 to 92,550.¹²² These trends for the most part reveal that not only have the number of students enrolled in Junior High School steadily increasing but the gap between females and male students is also inching towards closure.

¹²¹ "Enrolment in School Programmes." Statistical Services Ghana (2010): Statsghana.gov. Web. 21 July 2015. <http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/docfiles/enrolment_in_primary_school_by_region_and_sex_2007-2010.pdf>.

¹²² Ibid

Employment:

There are a number of NGOs which have worked to assist local women through economic independence. Of which Health Protection and Environmental Sanitation (HEPENS) strived to assist women in local communities where women are often seen to be unemployed leaving them vulnerable within society and unable to adequately provide for families.¹²³ HEPENS works to address these needs to allow women to become economically independent which will also address poverty levels within these communities. An example of one of their initiatives includes the Palm Oil Project which was created in January 2009 in a village near Cape Coast, Ghana. This project employs women to assist in the process of creating palm oil. Ghana is known for its palm oil production because palm fruit trees grow in abundance in central Ghana. This palm fruit can be roasted and then from there squeezed and processed to create palm oil which is a well demanded product.¹²⁴ Therefore through initiatives such as this local women can be employed to create this good leading to greater self-sufficiency and independence.

Congress of Women's Movement (CWM) is an NGO which is "committed to unlocking the potential of Ghanaian women to build and sustain their lives...aimed at assisting women to help themselves and achieve economic sufficiency..."¹²⁵ This organization like others works to assist unemployed women.¹²⁶ This initiative was created in hopes of moving forward with the goal that parliament would have affirmative action and thus result in 50% of women employed

¹²³ "Economic Empowerment For Women With The Palm Oil Project." Operation Groundswell. Web. 21 July 2015. <<http://operationgroundswell.com/og-headquarters/economic-empowerment-women-palm-oil-project/>>.

¹²⁴ Ibid

¹²⁵ "Empower Women to Contribute Effectively to National Development - NGO." Modern Ghana. Web. 21 July 2015. <<https://www.modernghana.com/news/420881/1/empower-women-to-contribute-effectively-to-national.html>>.

¹²⁶ Ibid

as parliamentarians. Initiatives such as these are attempting to work with the government to enact positive reform which will allow gender equality through economic empowerment strategies.

IGOs such as the World Bank and IMF assisted the government through their debt relief initiatives such as the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative, this enabled the government to fund the Women's Development Fund with funds from the HIPC savings.¹²⁷ This fund enables the empowerment of rural women through small scale farming. It provides microcredits for Agro Processing and Micro Enterprises and has so far disbursed more than \$10 million to over 177,000 women. Therefore the fund has provided aid to 708,000 families in the country. This is a testament of how empowering women and enabling economic independence will lead to the aid of families, communities, villages, etc.¹²⁸

UN Women supports the Ghanaian government through assisting their Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, Ministry of Finance of Economic Planning amongst other programs.¹²⁹ It supports these initiatives in order to better incorporate gender equality within these programs. They support the MOGSP in review of national gender policy and most significantly promoting an Affirmative Action Bill which will allow for future employment. They also support initiatives that enhance leadership skills of adolescent girls and young women, economic empowerment through work with women smallholder farmers to adopt Good Agricultural Practices (GAP), Women and Governance, etc.¹³⁰ All of these programs enable and lead to employment opportunities for women that later harnesses independence.

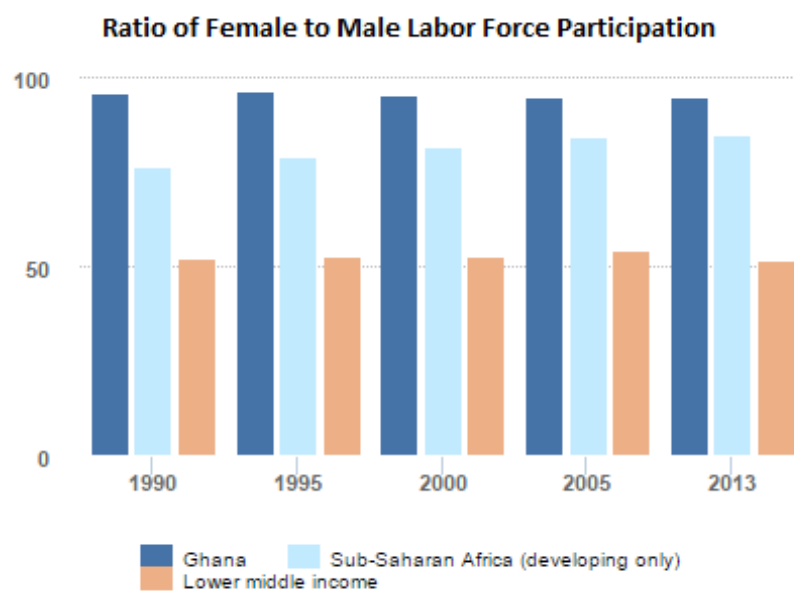
¹²⁷ "IMF and World Bank Support US\$3.5 Billion in Debt Service Relief for the Republic of Ghana." Press Release: IMF and World Bank Support US\$3.5 Billion in Debt Service Relief for the Republic of Ghana. International Monetary Fund, n.d. Web. 22 July 2015. <<https://www.imf.org/external/np/sec/pr/2004/pr04144.htm>>.

¹²⁸ "The Circle of Empowerment: Ghana: Twenty-five Years of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women." CEDAW 46.06 (2009): UN Women. Web. 24 July 2015

¹²⁹ "Ghana." UN Women West and Central Africa. UN Women. Web. 23 July 2015. <<http://www.unwomenwestandcentralafrica.com/ghana.html>>.

¹³⁰ "Ghana." UN Women West and Central Africa. UN Women. Web. 23 July 2015. <<http://www.unwomenwestandcentralafrica.com/ghana.html>>.

The labor force in Ghana is 11.25 million people, broken into different occupational categories it is seen as 44.7% agriculture, 14.4% industry and 40.9% in services.¹³¹ The unemployment rate is seen to be approximately 5.2%.¹³² However the population under the poverty line still remains at a drastic 24.2%.¹³³ In 2012 it was seen that roughly 67.2% of the adult female population was employed and 71.2% of the adult population was employed.



The chart above depicts the success that Ghana has been able to achieve when compared to other developing Sub-Saharan countries. The ratio gap of men and women in the workforce appears to be relatively low. However this chart takes into account the statistics that will be discussed throughout this section, it does not account for type of work which is crucial to depict when discussing the gender gap in employment.

¹³¹ CIA, "Ghana," CIA World Factbook (2014). <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gh.html>

¹³² Ibid

¹³³ Ibid

The government assessed employment for persons over the age of 15 in 2010 which revealed that out of 15,208,425 people, 5,005,534 males were employed and 5,237,942 females were employed. Moreover within the same study results revealed that 283,346 males were unemployed but 349,648 females were unemployed.¹³⁴ Though the employment gap is seen as relatively close, there are still a considerable amount of women that suffer from unemployment than men. Similarly when looking at the unemployment rate across three different regions such as the Western region where 29,140 males are unemployed and 30,971 females are unemployed, the Central region where 23,553 males are unemployed and 29,287 females are unemployed and the Greater Accra region where 76,248 males are unemployed and 86,358 females are unemployed.¹³⁵

As previously discussed, the gender gap appears to be narrowing, these numbers fail to reveal the tremendous gap in type of employment that still remains. For example, in 2004 out of the total 97 members of the Bar Association only 20 were female, out of the 4 High Commissioners and Ambassadors none were women. Similarly, it is seen that 28% of males are paid employees whereas only 9% of employed women are paid employees.

Moreover the Ghanaian government has an Affirmative Action Policy that provides 30% of women in decision-making and executive positions at all levels of government, 50% female quota of the 30% government appointees to District Assemblies. However in 2006 it was seen that only 4% of women were employers compared to 6% of men who were seen to be employers.¹³⁶ More women are found in the informal sector, however even in this realm their

¹³⁴ "Economic Activity." Statistical Services Ghana (2010): Statsghana.gov. Web. 21 July 2015.
<http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/docfiles/enrolment_in_primary_school_by_region_and_sex_2007-2010.pdf>

¹³⁵ Ibid

¹³⁶ "Affirmative Action Policy: Gender Ministry." Business Ghana. 17 Nov. 2014. Web. 23 July 2015.
<<http://www.businessghana.com/portal/news/index.php?op=getNews&id=201725>>.

compensation for the same level of work is considerably lower than that of their male counterparts.

Chapter 7: Findings and Conclusions:

Analyzing India and Ghana in terms of gender equality has been able to provide insight into both systems. India a developing nation that has taken modest steps to reform the gender gap experienced within the nation was confronted with a bottom-up approach, where civil society partnered with different leveled organizations attempted to implement and demand greater reforms. Ghana illustrated a developing country where the state took the top-down approach in implementing this international norm. I was able to find both worked with different organizations with similar agendas of improving gender equality.

The intent of this paper was to see which approach, top-down or bottom-up was more successful in norm internalization. My hypothesis for this project was that the top-down approach to norms would be more successful in internalization. I was successfully able to demonstrate the two different approaches by assessing India which was a bottom-up approach and Ghana which was a top-down approach.

As Axelrod and Florini had assessed norms as standards of behavior, gender equality and the international covenants, were seen as the standards these countries were domestically attempting to apply. As Wendt had theorized, states often ratify and implement domestic changes in order to demonstrate their commitment to these international standards. Both India and Ghana have evidently displayed this through various forms of legislation and schemes that were discussed. Similarly the life cycle of gender equality was depicted by both countries, though in different methods.

As the literature suggests, India depicts the traditional norm entrepreneur as a number of civilian causes gained momentum. A norm cascade is depicted through Indian government attempted to pass domestic legislation that would implement key aspects of CEDAW including National Policy for the Empowerment of Women as well as the Committee on the Status of

Women India which assisted in female representation for decision-making. Furthermore reflecting Finnemore and Sikkink's ideals, these actions indeed met some of the domestic criteria the civilian movement with the assistance IGOs and NGOs was demanding. Similarly these actions also meet the ideals behind the type of socialization known as, processes of moral consciousness-raising, shaming, argumentation, dialogue and persuasion. These processes are often methods of enforcing human rights norms, and to some extent to pull compliance. Naming and shaming is a method the domestic society is using, especially with NGOs assisting campaigns to bring greater attention to the gender gap in India, in order to pressure the government to better implement and enforce gender equality initiatives. Moreover, the third aspect of socialization of norms refers to incorporating this norm within the legal framework. India has attempted and begun this process of domestic integration, however implementation and enforcement still need to be met. As the rates of education and more importantly employment and type of employment/compensation reflect, the integration of gender equality has only been minimally progressed within the domestic legal framework.

Ghana exhibited the top-down approach of implementing gender equality. This was conveyed through the government actively utilizing different key initiatives that were described such as Cabinet-level Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOAC) which advocated for equity and empowerment within what is seen as the national higher levels, the cabinet, parliament, policymakers, chiefs and traditional and religious authorities for the purpose of adopting gender sensitive policies. Similarly this was further illustrated through the states progress made partnered with IGOs and NGOs to implement education and labor policies that furthered gender equity principles. It is seen that though this state did not follow the pattern depicted by Sikkink's norm cycle because of an absence of norm entrepreneurs. The state instead

demonstrates how the state responded to international pressure by ratifying CEDAW and then working to effectively implement and integrate gender equality and empowerment throughout their domestic structure. Though Ghana has successfully integrated certain policies and has taken many measures that were discussed to implement gender equality, like India, the state has not achieved norm internalization which is reflected in the below analysis of just education and employment.

India evidently utilizes the bottom-up approach because the pressure for adopting the norm of gender equality is coming from the public and the organizations they are partnering with. As previously discussed NGOs and IGOs have their own agenda regarding the spreading of norms, therefore can be tools for either civil society as well as government initiatives varying based on the intent of either group. Therefore India's civil society was able to use these measures to meet their own agenda of demanding the government take greater measures to legitimize gender equality within the country. However, based on the results discussed below, India has a long road ahead until norm internalization can be achieved.

When comparing both countries through the data found in the case studies:

Though India has a larger population, this study assessed percentage of population where it is evident that Ghana has a higher adult literacy rate of 76.6% of their total population, whereas India has an adult literacy rate of 63%. There is a discrepancy there of about 13.6%. When these numbers were further analyzed India demonstrates that 77% of males are literate however only 55% of their females are literate. There is a gender divide of about 22%. Ghana not only has a higher literacy rate but 82% of their males and 71.4% of their females are educated. Though the country clearly has a divide as well, it is of 10.6%. This is significantly

less than India. Furthermore when analyzing the age group of 15-19 in India, it is seen that about 74% of women are literate and 89% of men are literate. For the Age group of 20-24 only 64% of women are literate but 84% of men are literate. When analyzing a relatively similar age group for Ghana from 15-24, 83.2% of females are literate, and 88.3% of men are literate. These statistics reveal that both countries have an undisputable gender gap in education which needs to be addressed. Similarly the literacy levels for both genders should be increased. However a major component this study reveals is that despite the respective gap, Ghana appears to be much closer to bridging this educational divide than India.

Likewise labor revealed similar outcomes. My case study on India revealed that in 2009-2010 only 29% of women were seen to be economically active. Similarly the case study done on Ghana revealed that in 2010 only 34.4% of women were employed. In India, women make only 3% of legislative, management and senior positions and 11.9% of women are in parliamentary positions. In Ghana, only about 20% of the bar association is considered to be female, similarly there is only a 30% affirmative action policy that allows women decision-making and executive positions in the government. Unlike the education and literacy statistics, the data on women in the labor force in both countries portray the grave gender disparities that still exist. In this regard, though Ghana still demonstrates higher employment for women than India, it is clear that the divide between both countries is not too far. Therefore both countries, regardless of which approach must take extreme measures to compensate for these devastating facts.

As the literature details the process of diffusion, when a norm spreads rapidly in a specific region, India and Ghana both seem to be examples of this norm cascade. At the international level, gender equality was given priority, therefore many countries including developing countries, took to adopting such measures within their country. This was initially

seen in both case studies as they attempted to change domestic legislation and spearhead initiatives to successfully integrate this norm. However previous work indicates, the top-down, state centric approach that was taken by Ghana was ultimately seen as more successful in both assessed areas of education and employment initiatives.

Though India's domestic civil society and partners pushed for greater integration and enforcement, it was unable to make a substantial difference, as reflected in the descriptive statistics. This replicates what Sikkink had depicted to be an essential part of diffusion: it is unrelated to domestic pressures and more so linked to surrounding or influential countries. If it is linked to surrounding or influential countries, essentially the international community, the state itself would be the main contributing actor in the implementation and enforcement of the norm. Therefore based on this concept, it can be inferred that when other, more influential countries such as the United States put greater emphasis on gender equality, other nations will follow suit (based upon this theory). Diffusion of this norm will then call for higher standards because a powerful nation is fully supporting this principle. Other nations, especially those rising to economic power, will attempt to integrate and increase their enforcement mechanisms.

Moreover, developed, influential countries such as the United States still do not have laws requiring and enforcing equal wage for equal labor. When aspects such as these are addressed in other nations, developing countries including India and Ghana will strengthen their laws.

Similarly the literature as well as both case-study findings, lead to the following prediction: a norm is more effectively integrated and implemented if the state itself is pursuing it. The state is able to utilize the same partner relationships norm entrepreneurs would have access to, however it has enforcement capabilities. A major component norm entrepreneur's lack, is an

enforcement mechanism which weakens the bottom-up approach. Therefore until norm entrepreneurs in India and other developing countries are able to locate an enforcement mechanism, it will be difficult for the bottom-up approach to achieve norm internalization.

The literature also discusses the three phases of socialization.¹³⁷ This constitutes the idea that both Ghana and India fall short within phase two; the process of moral consciousness-raising, shaming, argumentation, dialogue, and persuasion. For India, the state itself must first meet these standards of educating itself on the norm and agree with the norm and believe that is what they “ought to do.” Until this aspect of socialization of gender equality is met, it will be difficult for initiatives to successfully integrate this norm within society.

Though Ghana is seen to take the top-down approach, it is evident that it still falls extremely short of habitualization. Ghana must better implement these standards that it has incorporated within its legislation. The top-down approach reveals that the state has an enforcement mechanism which must be improved upon if Ghana wants complete internalization. Therefore when implementation and enforcement measures are increased, such as the Ghanaian government passing a larger affirmative action policy for higher positions (legislative positions), allowing for women to become an integral aspect of the decision-making process, then internalization will be more likely.

Moreover drawing upon Thomas Franck’s theory of the “compliance pull” it will be more difficult for developing countries such as India to comply with gender equality standards because pedigree refers to recognition which pulls on cultural traditions. Patriarchal societies are difficult to transform because it calls for the abandonment of many deep-seated traditions. Therefore it is difficult to predict how and when norm internalization for this country will be successful.

¹³⁷ Risse-Kappen, Thomas; Ropp, Stephen; and Sikkink, Kathryn. *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1999.

Although, as Finnemore and Sikkink detail, compliance can also be incentivized to change policy which can be considered an outside force that can take precedence over tradition.

Similarly, Axelrod defined norms as standards of behaviors that can be reprimanded. Therefore if the international community “punishes” a country for violating its commitment to CEDAW, implementation can be bettered. Based on these ideals, as well as the assessments seen within the case-study analysis, it is possible to derive that the method for India to better implement and enforce gender equality, must be done through pressure from the international level, which will serve as a driving force for the state to support initiatives: adopting the top-down approach.

This paper portrays the need for states to adopt a top-down approach when attempting to successfully integrate norms. It has shown that key strategic partners such as IGOs, NGOs, TANS, etc. are in pursuit of meeting their own agenda of norm spreading, and can be assets to any likeminded party. States retain greater influence and enforcement mechanisms which allows them to *effectively* implement initiatives that strengthen gender equality. Therefore it is necessary to apply top-down pressure within a domestic regime in order to achieve norm internalization.

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