

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN GHANA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC: THE ROLE OF
WOMEN'S WINGS OF POLITICAL PARTIES**

BY

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DECLARATION

This thesis is entirely the work of Adams Yusif except where otherwise acknowledged. The work is original and has not been previously submitted either in whole or in part for a degree at this university or any other institution of higher learning. It was conducted under the strict supervision of Prof. R. E. Van Gyampo as the principal supervisor and Bossman E. Asare (PhD) as associate supervisor.

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ABSTRACT

Globally, there has been a huge outcry on the need to enhance women political participation because women have been marginalized for far too long. In this regard, gender inequality in all sphere of our society has received international attention and acceptance. For many years, women and other feminists' groups have fought hard to create room for equal participation of both men and women in the political arena. Their effort has come with a marginal improvement of women's participation due to entrenched patriarchal nature of the political arena. Samuel Huntington's "third wave" of democratization in the early 1990s has seen a new political opening in Africa and elsewhere in the world. In Ghana, this re-birth of democracy has led to the demise of authoritarian rule where women's political activities have been re-hatched and enhanced. Ghana's Fourth Republic has provided a fertile political space for women political participation. In response to this, political parties have restructured their parties to create women's wings. This study sets out with the objective of finding out what role these women's wings of the political parties play. The study was conducted in the Greater Accra Region and Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA). It is a qualitative study and used in-depth interview to collect data from 24 respondents comprising constituency, regional and national women organizers of NPP and NDC. Purposive sampling technique was used to sample respondents. Purposive sampling was chosen because information can only be gotten from these specific group of people whiles Qualitative Content Analysis was used to analyze the data collected from respondents. The study found that the main mandate of the women's wings of the political parties is to organize women at the grassroots and to canvass women votes for their parties. They serve as campaign tools for the parties. The women's wings also use their platform to advance women's interests and their welfare. Their activities range from economic, social and political. It

was also discovered that the women' wings serve as an avenue for political participation and recruitment, a platform to influence gender policies and advance the course of women. The main challenges the women's wings face are inadequate allocation of funds and male dominance in the parties' affairs. Others include total neglect of the women's wings, especially when the party is out of power as the activities of women's wings usually become dormant. Additionally, jealousy, backbiting, and hatred among the women themselves were also identified. The findings of this study will be of great interest to political parties particularly women's wings. As a limitation, the findings of this study may not be applicable to other regions and districts in Ghana because of economic, social, cultural, religious and demographic differences.

DEDICATION

To my late mother, Ramatu Yakubu (Old Lady Kitiwaa). May Your Soul Rest in Perfect Peace.

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TABLE OF CONTENT

DECLARATION	i
ABSTRACT.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENT.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENT.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES.....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	x
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Background	1
1.1 Statement of the problem	5
1.2. Research Objectives	9
1.3 Research Questions	9
1.4 Hypothesis.....	9
1.5 Rationale of the study.....	9
1.6 Organization of the Study	10
CHAPTER TWO	12
LITERATURE REVIEW	12
2.0 Introduction	12
2.1 Women and Political Participation in the World - UK in Focus.....	12
2.2.0 Women and Political Participation in Africa	18
2.2.1 Women’s Political Participation and Representation in Africa: A Case of Rwanda....	26
2.3 Women and Political Participation in West Africa	34
2.4 Women and Political Participation in Ghana	36
2.4 Trend Analysis of Women Participation.....	43
2.4.1 Women and Political Participation in the 4 th Republic (from 1992 to date)	43
2.4.4 Women and political parties in the 4 th Republic	49
CHAPTER THREE	54

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	54
3.0 Introduction	54
3.1 The Concept of Participation.....	54
3.2 Factors Influencing Participation	57
3.3 Determinants of Participation.....	60
3.3.1 Arnstein’s Ladder of Citizen Participation	61
3.3.2 Hollnsteiner’s Model of Participation	63
3.4 Measurement of Participation	66
3.5 Criticisms of the theory	70
3.6 Usefulness of the theory.....	71
CHAPTER FOUR.....	74
METHODOLOGY	74
4.0 Introduction	74
4.1 Research Strategy/Design	74
4.1.1 Qualitative Research Method	75
4.1.2 Strengths and Weaknesses.....	77
4.2. Data Collection.....	77
4.2.1 Sources of Data.....	77
4.2.2 Sampling Design.....	78
4.2.3 Population and Sample Size	79
4.2.4 Research Instruments.....	80
4.2.5 Justification for In-depth Interview	82
4.2.6 Steps Involved in Conducting In-depth Interview.....	83
4.3 Framework of Data Analysis and Interpretation	84
4.4 Ethical Consideration	87
4.5 Field Work.....	88
4.6 Limitation of the Study	89
4.7 Summary of Methodology	90
4.8 Conclusion.....	94
CHAPTER FIVE	95
DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS	95

5.0 Introduction	95
5.1 Population.....	95
5.2 Organization and Coding of Ideas.....	97
5.3 Discussions of Categorized Themes and Findings.....	100
5.3.1 Meaning of Women’s Wings.....	100
5.3.2 Historical Formation.....	100
5.3.3 Activities of Women’s Wings of Political Parties.....	104
5.3.4 Using the Women’s Wings as Avenue for Political Participation and Representation	106
5.3.5 Influencing Decisions and Participation.....	108
5.3.6 Women’s Wings as Avenues for Political Recruitment	109
5.3.7 Women wings and women empowerment.....	110
5.3.8 Challenges Facing the Women’s Wings of the Parties.....	112
5.4 Summary	116
5.4. Conclusion.....	119
CHAPTER SIX.....	120
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	120
6.0 Introduction	120
6.1 Summary of Major Findings	121
6.1.1 Research Question 1: <i>How Did Women’s Wings Come About?</i>	121
6.1.2 Research Question 2: <i>What is the Mandate/Role of Women’s Wings of Political Parties in Ghana?</i>	122
6.1.3 Research Question 3: <i>What are the Activities and Challenges of Women’s Wings of Political Parties?</i>	123
6.1.4 Research Question 4: <i>How Do Women’s Wings Influence Women’s Political Participation?</i>	125
6.2 Conclusion.....	126
6.3 Recommendations	126
6.3.1 Recommendation for further study.....	128
BIBLIOGRAPHY	129
APPENDIX ONE.....	140

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Gender Parliamentary Representation Since the Beginning of the 4 th Republic.....	46
Table 2: Number of Women who Contested Parliamentary Elections from the Beginning of the 4 th Republic (from 1992 to 2016)	47
Table 3: Regional Gender Distribution of Parliamentary Candidates for 2012 General Elections	48
Table 4: Regional Gender Distribution of Parliamentary Candidates for 2016 General Elections	49
Table 5: Political Party Representation of Female from the Beginning of the 4 th Republic (1992-2016)	50
Table 6: Regional Representation of Female MPs in the 6 th and 7 th Parliament in the 4 th Republic	51
Table 7: Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation	62
Table 8: Hollnsteiner's Model of Participation	64
Table 9: Table Depicting Respondents	96
Table 10: Distribution of Respondents According to Parties	97
Table 11: A Sample of Organized Data Table.....	98

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Teorell's Theory of Participation	59
Figure 2: Steps Involved in Conducting In-depth Interview	83
Figure 3: A Map of Accra Metropolitan Assembly	91

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACAPS	Assessment Capabilities Project
AMA	Accra Metropolitan Assembly
ANC	African National Congress
ANCWL	African National Congress Women's League
EC	Electoral Commission
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West Africa States
EDPRS	Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy
CEDAW	Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CPP	Convention People's Party
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DVC	Domestic Violence Coalition
31DWM	31 st December Women's Movement
FRWP	Forum for Rwandan Women Parliamentarians
GNU	Government of National Unity
LEAP	Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty

NCGW	National Council of Ghanaian Women
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NEC	National Executive Committee
NFGCW	National Federation of Gold Coast Women
NPP	New Patriotic Party
NRM	National Resistant Movement
NWLG	National Women Lobby Group
PAN	National Action Party, Mexico
PNDC	Provisional National Defense Council
QCA	Qualitative Content Analysis
RPR	Rwandan Patriotic Front
SADC	South African Development Community
SK	Sisters' Keepers
SLWM	Sierra Leone Women's Movement
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Plan
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

W/A	West Africa
WIN	Women in Nigeria
WLL	Women Labour League
WMC	Women's Manifesto Coalition

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background

Across the world, there has been a loud cry for gender equality in our societies. It is believed that women have been subjected to male supremacy for far too long (Agbalajobi, 2010). Traditionally, they have also been relegated to the background of all structures of the state that determine political legislation (Ndlovu & Mutale, 2013)

Despite these obstacles, women have been able to advocate for gender equality in all spheres of life. In fact, the first women liberation movement with the main aim of fighting for the equality of human rights date as far back as 1848 in North America. The struggle continued for ages until the early 1920s when women won their first right to vote (Gallagher, 1972). This landmark victory set the tone for women agitations to champion and advocate for political equality in America. Indisputably, in spite of all the advocacies and international laws, women are still linger behind and are not given the rights to participate in politics just like their male counterparts (Anigwe, 2014). Stressing on this, McDonagh (2002) notes that with all the advocacy of democracy by America, very few women are seen elected into national office even with its vibrant feminist organizations. Schafer (2015) also notes that though women have been seen breaking all barriers to climb up to the highest political offices in the U.S, they are nowhere close to achieving gender equality.

In Africa, the situation was worse due to the patriarchal nature of the society and colonial Victorian values (Parpart, 1986). In South Africa in 1912, politics and governance were considered as a prerogative of only the white men and disenfranchisement cast on all women,

both white and black (Ginwala, 1990). Again, the colonial administrators enacted both legal and cultural apparatus which traditionally undermined and marginalized women's bases of power both economically and politically (O'Barr & Firmin-Seller 1995; cited in Allah-Mensah, 2005). History has it that colonization has taken a heavy toll on the governing system of Africans. According to Opong (2012), colonialism in Africa has brought tremendous changes to the role of women due to the implementation of colonial policies. Besides, African tradition, culture, and other practices also played a significant role in entrenching gender inequality in all spheres of the society (Anigwe, 2014)

Fortunately, the cry for equal political participation and representation between men and women received global attention and yielded some results. It paved way for some political parties including Labour Party in Australia, Mexico's National Action Party (PAN), the ANC of South Africa, Sweden's Social Democratic Party, just to mention a few, to establish women's wings (internet source). South Africa's ANC enjoyed male dominance until 1943 when the women were given opportunity and equal rights to participate in political discussions while in 1948 ANC women's wing, called African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL), got official recognition (Ginwala, 1991, cited in Cowell-Meyers & Patrick, 2017). In West Africa, the CPP Women's League which was later transformed into the National Council for Ghana Women (NCGW), the Women in Nigeria (WIN), and the Sierra Leone Women's Movement (SLWM) all played major significant roles in the struggle for independence in their respective countries. However, their activities and presence lost touch due to persistent coups (Ampofo, 2008). The budding nature that characterized the activities of women in early post-independence Ghana was later vanquished and what Prah (2004) referred to as "illusion of vision".

Recently, Africa has witnessed a fast escalation of women's political participation and representation in what Huntington (1991) termed "third wave" of democratization. In essence, democracy has occasioned this new trend of women's political participation. Political participation is "those activities of citizens that attempt to influence the structure of government, the selection of government authorities or the policies of government" (Conway 2000:3 also Conway et al., 2005:2). In a democratic state, all citizens must be able to actively participate in political activities such as rallies, voting during elections and running public office (ibid). But according to Conway et al. (2005) despite women's increase in political involvement, they are much less likely than men to hold elected offices.

Women participation in the decision-making process has increasingly been placed in the global arena (Matland, 2004). Besides, increasing democratic consolidation in Africa has further propelled women in their political representation and participation. Contributing to this debate, Ballington (2008) noted that spanning gender equity and the full participation of women in every decision making are major creeds of democracy. Additionally, Agbalajobi, (2010) states that the advancement of democracy and its corresponding prosperity will be ruined if a large chunk of our population continues to remain helpless to political, economic, legal and social downgrading. Again, women outnumber men in the world's population with a percentage of 52 and hold the highest voter number in any elections in any country, yet they are the least in governance and elected offices (Ogunsanya, 2006). "Most nations today extend voting rights to women, but women's election to national office, other major components of full political citizenship, varies widely"(McDonagh, 2002:536). Across the globe, research continuously shows that women still remain on the peripheries of the political sphere (Ogbogu, 2012)

All these phenomena about political inequality and marginalization of women can be attributed to democracy and tradition (Krook, 2007). Democracy, as developed from the Greek City-States was noted to be characterized by political discrimination where women were disregarded and subjugated in all political realm. “Greece, the cradle of democratic experiment, democracy was rigorously exclusive: the male was a citizen born of Athenian parent” (Tremblay, 2007:533). Again, women and other non-city-state citizens were not allowed to take part in the decision-making process. This epitome of democracy and other traditional beliefs and norms laid the foundation for gender inequality in our society (Bari, 2005). Some of the failures of democracy are women under-representation and political inequality in the world (Blomgren, 2010b). In the same vein, ancient political thinkers and philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, J.J. Rousseau, Thomas Hobbes, John Lock, and Hegel excluded women from the political realm with justifications for their exclusion (Paxton & Kunovich, 2003; Bari, 2005)

In spite of all the negatives and other stumbling blocks, a lot has been achieved in the advancement of gender equity and women empowerment in the various recorded policies in Africa and the world. In essence, the new wave of political trend in Africa has paved way for opportunities for women to take up political leadership positions. Extensive works (Kira Sanbonmatsu, 2006; Damilola Taiye Agbalajobi, 2010; Beatrix Allah-Mensah, 2005; Anigwe, 2014) on increasing women’s political participation and representation have been carried out in Africa, and Ghana is no exception. Evidence worthy of citing include Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, former Liberian president, Joyce Banda of Malawi and a host of others across Africa. More so, in recognition, Malawi, South Africa, Senegal, Mozambique, Uganda, and Angola all have been ranked for their levels of women’s representation in parliament and other elective offices. Even

though Ghana and other African countries have performed poorly, however, statistics show that there is an improvement (Ocran, 2014)

Furthermore, the new trend of democratic consolidation in Africa has witnessed an upsurge in improvement in women's political participation and representation. In response to this trend, women's wings have sprung up in almost all the political parties in recognition of this massive political participation. In Ghana, almost all the political parties have established women's wing. The two major political parties (the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP)) that have alternated power have strongly embedded within their party structures women's wings/sections. The aim of this study is to find out the role of these women's wings. What are their bases for establishing these wings? Do they play a role? These and other questions are what this study intends finding answers to. This research will consider, among others, a brief historical overview of women political participation and the growth of women's wings in political parties, their activities, and factors that impede women's wings activities.

1.1 Statement of the problem

This research investigates the role of women's wings of political parties in Ghana's Fourth Republic. These women's wings find favour in almost all the political parties, especially the dominant ones (NPP and NDC). What role do they play? Indeed, no work has been done in this budding phenomenon in Ghana. Put differently, there has been a lot of work done on women's political participation and representation; however, what is left unexplored is the role women's wings of political parties play that make these organizations continue to promote their establishment.

Complementarily, several works literature can be cited on women political participation and representation in Ghana, and across the globe. Some of which are Ocran (2014); Musah and Gariba (2013); Shiraz (2015); Ogbogu (2012); Kassa (2015); Agbalajobi (2010); Kasomo (2012); Kivoi (2014). These authors have enumerated the challenges hampering women's political participation in Africa and the factors that encourage women's political participation and representation in Africa with Ghana inclusive. Even though the study environment or settings differ, they cited concurrent factors.

Other authors also wrote on historical developments of women's movements and the struggles to emancipate themselves from political fringes. Opong (2012) in her thesis "Rewriting Women into Ghanaian History 1950-1966" stressed extensively on how women in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial (pre-independence and post-independence) Ghana efforts are inadequately documented. She devoted a little sub-section on the women's wing and how Nkrumah later tried to silence their growing influence. And subsequently how consistent coups stifled women's activities. Prah (2004) also in her article "Chasing Illusions and Realizing Vision" traces the women's movements historically and how both civilian and military regimes co-opted women movements and paid lip services to them. Prah pointed out how Rawlings' military regime brutalized women and the "First Lady Syndrome" and how the 31st December Women Movement became a white elephant and failed to champion women's course. In sum, Prah (2004) "traced the path of gender politics and women's political participation in Ghana".

Furthermore, Allah-Mensah (2005) assessing women political participation and their public life, posits that CPP and Nkrumah encouraged women political participation and introduced the quota system to allow women some leverage to participate in politics. According to Allah-Mensah, Nkrumah appointed women as deputy ministers and district commissioners. This was in

recognition of the role women played during the independence struggle. Allah-Mensah, in her study, concludes that “if political parties’ manifestoes do not address” the concerns of women, it will be unwise to suggest that they will be “championing the course of women in Ghana”. In the same vein, Caul (1999) argues that the characteristics of a political party influence its proportion of women in parliament. Caul finds that factors such as organizational structure, ideology, women’s activities and gender-related candidate rules influence a party’s proportion of women representation in parliament. She posits that, new parties with leftist’s ideology and under-representation of members, field in more women in parliament than others.

On the other hand, Arriola & Johnson (2014) stressed on how women’s ability to be appointed as ministers is hampered by the ethnic-based patron-clientelist system in Africa. They posit that African leaders build consensus majority by co-opting the ‘big men’ who can champion their agenda through their ethnic constituencies. They further stressed that African women are “less likely to be appointed as cabinet ministers where the incumbents” recruit ethnic wealthy people from coalition ethnic group.

Moreover, Parpart (1986) in her article “Women and the State in Africa” describes how pre-colonial African women organized themselves and how Victorian colonial values further entrenched patriarchal societal values to press down women in their society. She argues that irrespective of such patriarchal and Victorian values, African women were able to wean themselves from such dastardly values and norms.

Also, Tripp (2001) argues that the women’s movements claiming autonomy from the society gave them the impetus to be able to organize themselves well, elect their own leaders and pursue their own course. Tsikata (2009) traces affirmative action in Ghana since independence and

stated how in certain sectors like education success has been chalked even though there are imbalances in regional bases. Tsikata questions why affirmative action is not achieving success in Ghanaian politics. She cited prospective cases in other African countries and international best practices and prospects of affirmative action as a whole.

Finally, in their part, Cowell-Meyers & Patrick (2017) examined the conditions under which women's wings are likely to exist in political parties, and the repercussions they have on the parties' organization, party's quota system and women representation within the party. The study settings were Latin America, Asia, Africa and their Middle East North Africa. In Africa, the study was based on Morocco and South Africa.

In all, in the above literature, it can be pointed out that a lot of studies have been conducted on women's movements and political activities in pre-independence and post-independence, Africa and across the globe. If political parties now find it prudent to establish women's wings, then, what role do these women's wings play? The onus of this study, however, is to delve deep into the roles of women's wings of political parties in Ghana's Fourth Republic.

In Ghana's Fourth Republic, it is exceedingly becoming clear that it is becoming a de facto two-party state. That is, the two dominant parties (NPP and NDC) had successfully won elections alternately and have embedded in their parties' structures and organization women's wing/section. These two dominant parties command the largest followers in the country. Observations point out that leading up to every general election, pockets of women's groups are formed in support of these parties. Some include Loyal Ladies and Invisible Women for NPP and Doves of NDC/JM and Zongo Ladies for Mahama (NDC). Do these women's sections contribute to their electoral successes? Do they play a role?

1.2. Research Objectives

The principal goal of this study is to find out the role of women's wings of political parties in Ghana. Specifically, this study will seek to;

- i. Trace the evolution of women's wings of political parties in Ghana.
- ii. Find out the role played by women's wings of political parties in Ghana.
- iii. Examine the activities and challenges facing women's wings of political parties in Ghana.
- iv. Examine how women's wings influence political participation of women in Ghana.

1.3 Research Questions

- i. How did women's wings come about?
- ii. What is the mandate/role of women's wings of political parties in Ghana?
- iii. What are the activities and challenges of women's wings of political parties?
- iv. How do women's wings influence the political participation of women?

1.4 Hypothesis

The role of women's wings of political parties in promoting women's participation is undermined by the very challenges that disempower women in society.

1.5 Rationale of the study

Women's wings in political parties have become an indispensable phenomenon in Ghana's political system. Conversely, all political parties have taken a keen interest in establishing

women's wings in Ghana. This study, therefore, is designed to examine and find out why political parties take interest in establishing women's wings. In other words, what role do women's wings play in political parties? The research will give recommendations to political parties and other stakeholders in the democratic dispensation in Ghana.

1.6 Organization of the Study

The study is organized into six chapters. These are:

Chapter One: Introduction, Research Problem and Statement. This basically comprises of the introduction, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, hypothesis, rationale, organization of the study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review. It contains reviews of related works of scholars organized in thematic areas which include:

- Women and Political Participation in the World - UK in Focus
- Women and political participation in Africa.
- Women's Political Participation and Representation in Africa: A Case of Rwanda
- Women and political participation in West Africa.
- Women and political participation in Ghana.
- Trend analysis of women political participation and representation from the beginning of the Fourth Republic until date.

Chapter Three: Conceptual Framework. This section of the study deals with the theoretical underpinning of the study. It also discusses extensively the theory of participation, measurement and criticisms

Chapter Four: Methodology and Research Instruments. This chapter fundamentally comprises of research design, sources of data and data collection modes, and method of data analysis. The research design adopted is qualitative.

Chapter Five: Data analysis, Research Findings and Discussions. This deals with how data is analyzed, enumerating the major research findings and discussions.

chapter Six: Summary of Findings, Conclusion and Recommendations. This last chapter basically deals with the summary of the research findings and conclusion. It also contains useful recommendations made to all stakeholders on the role of women's wings/sections of political parties.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This section of the research comprised of all relevant and related written works of various scholars. The section perused the emergence of women's movements and their political participation from pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times. It is divided into four sections. The first section looks at women and political participation in the world – UK in focus. The second section looks at the women and political participation in Africa while a subsection examined Rwanda's case. The third section examined women and political participation in West Africa while the last section focused on women and politics in Ghana.

2.1 Women and Political Participation in the World - UK in Focus

Caul (1999) posits that political parties are the main stakeholders and create space to include or not include women in parliament. She states that the rising tides of women movements and political participation have forced political parties to increase women in parliament across the world. Her findings showed that certain features of political parties influence their interests in fielding women candidates. These features are local level of women nomination, level of institutionalization (organizational structure of the party), ideology, gender related rules, and presence of women activists. Caul notes that engaging women at the internal party offices and making gender friendly policies are fertile grounds to increase women MPs. She asserts further that activities of women activists in the party mount pressure on the party executives to implement quota system. She maintains that political parties “are voting seeking organizations” that can be pressurized to promote minority and socially under-represented groups. She further

states that party with centralized system responds to rules and policy changes to enhance women's representation. However, Caul notes that a party with decentralized system has individuals manipulating the system to their favour, hence marginalizing women. She postulates that as gatekeepers, political parties can redirect their efforts to increase the under-represented minority groups in parliament.

However, Lawless and Fox (2012) note that the “fundamental reason for women's under-representation is that they do not run for office”. After assessing the gender gap in political ambition in United States, Lawless and Fox state that women are still responsible for the majority of childcare and household tasks. They stress further that despite women's substantial movement into high-level positions in the professional arena, women and men continue to conform to traditional gender roles at home. According to their longitudinal study (2001-2011), little has been changed over the decade. They reiterated that women who choose to become top-level professionals are more likely than men to de-emphasize traditional family structures and role while those who are married and who do not have children tend to show traditional gender role orientation. They note that women are less likely than men to receive the suggestion to run for office from anyone. They stress that irrespective of feminist organizations' advocacy to help more women to take up elective offices the gap between women and men is still wide as men still have more suggestions from political leaders and non-political leaders to advise them to enter into politics. They recount further that women react more negatively than men to many aspects of modern campaigns such as fund raising, voter contacts, talking to press, negative campaigns and attitudes that affect their lives. They state that “women have significantly more negative feelings than men toward the various aspects of campaigns that they must reconcile when considering running for office”. They rendition that female candidates are less competitive,

less confident and more risk averse than their male counterpart to run for elective positions. They state that men have huge character traits in taking risks and having confidence than women do. They argue that men's character traits are traditionally endorsed while the women have been eschewed. They stress that women are more likely than men to think they are less qualified to run for political office than men think. They note that almost sixty percent of men put their self-assessment as "very qualified" and stands a chance of winning while women remain the least and put their self-assessment as "not qualified". They conclude that the "gender gap in political ambition is driven by women's low level of political recruitment and lower self-assessment of political qualification". Sanbonmatsu (2003) in agreement notes that women competition with men in elective offices, the women must work extremely hard than their men candidates to prove their capability. She maintains that women seek to add higher form of qualification before running for elective office while the men do not. She notes further that women's groups (women's wings) in political parties help the parties to recruit potential political candidates as these groups create awareness and educate women on the need to get involved and run for public offices and to support women to run. She stresses that Democrat in United States believe that encouraging women's movement paves way for women to win elective offices for the party. Sanbonmatsu reiterates that the Democrats believe that women serve as source of appeal to women voters and are less partisan. She notes that Republican executives contend that gender does not affect voting behaviour hence they look for a winning candidate but stressed that "women do well even though they are small in number". She concludes that both United States Democrats and Republicans are of opinion that women make good winning materials than men. They state that it is hard for a man to campaign against a woman therefore women are the preferred choice if one party appoints a woman.

Commenting on ideology, Sacchet (2005) agrees with Caul (1999) and argues that political parties tend to “promote gender-related policies and incorporate a gender perspective” based on ideology, degree of institutionalization, existing party political structures and activities of gender activists.

Ruhl (2004) notes that from 1906 women who had interest in joining the UK Labour Party formed a group called Women Labour League (WLL). The League finally declared its intention and made it known to the party in 1915 but the party executives refused their inclusion in 1917. However, the League finally got integrated into the Labour Party in 1918 and granted franchise. The League was subsequently rebranded as women’s section of the Labour Party. Ruhl asserts that some women were given positions at local level while others in the NEC. He notes that the party’s constitution was reformed in 1918 to give women full recognition and equal participatory rights as men. Ruhl adds that one troubling trend was the non-elective positions of women. This worrying trend implied that the women “had to find their place and to construct their political identity within structures that strongly favour men”. He further asserts that women Labour Party in UK mounted strong defense on women’s rights in male dominated society and party. Some of these women were Dr. Marison Philips, Dorothy Jewson and Margaret Grace Bondfield (first cabinet minister) exerted strong influence to get Labour Party’s constitution changed several times in order to incorporate women’s political equality in the 1920s.

Short (1996) states that since 1987 the UK Labour Party laments on the need to win power and to increase women’s representation in public offices. However, the challenge was whether such change will increase women’s representation in the House of Commons or “lead to women’s voting” for the party. Short states that even though Labour Party has introduced a lot of welfare policies that favour women, it enjoyed little support of their votes. He further posits that if the

number of women that voted for the Labour Party matched with the men then it would have held to power from 1945 to 1979 and if the same number had swung to Labour Party just as men did, it would have won the election in 1992.

Norris (2001) agrees with Short (1996) and notes that many factors contributed in altering UK's political landscape. These factors were change in general roles at workspace and the society, socioeconomic shift of the working class, economic expansion, role of professional women, and trade union movement. Norris further states that 1997 election in UK was a massive breakthrough for women and a master piece of Labour Party policy change. Norris notes that Labour Party policy alteration was due to pressing factors such as "300 Group", Fwacett Society, trade union movement in Scotland, internal coalition groups such as women's organizations, Tribune and women officers. She argues that what pre-informed the Labour Party poliicy reform was the gender gap created within the public space. She asserts that Labour Party's dent to increase their votes by "targeting women" through policy reforms to institute Minister for Women or "selecting more women candidates"

Keen et al (2018) state that Labour Party's records on women MPs surpasses the rest of the political parties in UK due to its women friendly policies. They stressed that since 1918 to 2017, 489 women have been elected as MPs. Out of this number 283 representing 58% comes from Labour Party and 140 representing 29% comes from Conservative Party. They state further that 2017 general election has witnessed the highest record ever with 32% increase in women MPs since 1918. 208 women MPs were elected in 2017 up from 191 in 2015. With the 208 elected women MPs, Labour Party 45%, Conservative 21% while Scottish National Party (SNP) 34%. They state that globally UK has 30% of women in the House of Commons which leaves it at 49th

in the ranking list. Kelly (2018) also notes that out of 650 seats in the House of Commons 209 are women representing 32%, the highest ever.

In their comment, Devlin et al. (2010) note that UK Conservative Party selected women into a highly risky seats which do not favour their chances of winning in 2005 general elections. However, they found that Labour Party policies rather favoured women in winnable seats than the Conservative Party. Lovenduski & Norris (2004) note that Britain's 1997 general election witnessed a high percentage of women's MPs rising from 9.2% to 18.2% in the House of Commons. They state that the Labour Party secured one quarter of the women MPs. They posit that if increased in number of women MPs will lead to descriptive representation or qualitative change, "depends on the existence of underlying differences in the values and attitudes of groups concerned". They therefore stressed that the autonomy of women and issues that affect them are very important, however, they are not enough conditions "for women to act 'for women'". They argue further that if women win and become majority in Westminster, Britain's parliamentary politics will remain the same. They opined that irrespective of the public political awareness on gender issues the "political culture and substantive policy agenda remain unchanged". Lovenduski and Norris further state that qualitative change will lead to a direct proportional quantitative change if and only if women politicians expressively vary from the men in terms of shift in policy direction and debates on critical issues that affect women. They concluded that increased in number of women in Westminster will not necessarily bring about a fundamental change in its primary culture.

2.2.0 Women and Political Participation in Africa

Staudt (1984) looked at how public-private dichotomy entrenched and perpetuated the colonial administration in Africa. She finds that the contemporary politics has since delved into similar trend which manifested in education, government programmes, law and policy decisions in Africa. She asserts that women in Africa stay aloof oblivious of political activities since the society had privatized their inclusion in social and public life. Parpart (1986) agrees with Staudt (1984) and describes how pre-colonial African women organized themselves and how Victorian colonial values further entrenched patriarchal societal values to press down women in their society. She argues that irrespective of such patriarchal and Victorian values, African women were able to wean themselves from the shackles. Despite the patriarchal nature of African society, coupled with colonial administration endorsement, women still played vital role in the colonial and post-colonial (independent Africa), she notes.

Reaffirming this and tracing the historical contributions and participation of women in politics in the era of precolonial and colonial periods in Africa, Tripp (2017) states that women played equal role in all political spheres as men in Africa. She asserts that women governed kingdoms, led military quests, established cities and founded states. Tripp notes again that, women's political engagement in the Huntington's "third wave" of democratization in Africa in the 1990s has rekindled women's political liberalization. This has led to the formation of independent organizations in the new political space in Africa. According to Tripp, post-conflict states in Africa have seen women majoritarian legislative council and increase in women's participation. She maintains that the increase is as a result of the major international political player – UN.

United Nations' treaties such as Women's Decade (1975-1985, Beijing Platform of Action (1995), quota system just to mention a few and pressure from domestic women's coalition groups and CSOs.

In the same vein, Huntington's "Third Wave of Democratization" has resulted in opening a new chapter in political participation to include socially disadvantaged groups such as women. Supporting this, Tripp (2001) reveals that the political openings in the early 1980s and 1990s have brought a tremendous rise in women's political participation and representation in Africa. Tripp recounts the various strides women made in governments – from presidents and speaker of parliaments before the 1990s. She enumerated some of the factors that accounted for the increased in women's political inclusion. Some of which were multi-party system, revolt against military rule and rise in autonomous women organizations. Tripp further recounts how women movements across Africa used demonstrations and other forms of protests to run down governments. She states that soon after the political space was opened, recognized women's organizations began serious negotiations and lobbies for "greater political role of women, pressed for legislative and constitutional changes and conducted civil education activities" (p. 143). According to Tripp, the women also seized the opportunity of the new political opening to form political parties of their own when other main stream political parties refuted their inclusion. Margret Dongo of Zimbabwe formed Zimbabwe Union Democrats in 1999; Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika of Zambia formed National Party etc. Tripp asserts that, the early 1990s political opening changed the trend of women's movements in Africa, "making it possible for the formation of new non-partisan organizations and emboldening women to run for public office" (p. 146). She maintains that in the early 1990s women made "unprecedented political progress in Africa", despite the daunting difficulties they faced. She adds that women "following self-

governing methods of associations and “rejecting party-led women’s leagues, independent women’s associations and female politicians challenged the politics of clientelism, patronage and corruption” (p. 154).

Opong (2012) agrees that women in Sub-Sahara Africa took advantage of the “third wave” of democratization in Africa to press home their demands and to make their voices heard. She maintains that the women in Central African Republic, in the lead up to the general elections in 2003, mounted pressure on the political parties until they were included in the National Transition Council with similar things happening in Kenya in 2002, Guinea in 2003 and Namibia in 2003. However, she disagrees on the assertion of women’s political participation in the precolonial era in Africa and argues that the women’s movements in the pre-colonial era were apolitical. She notes further that, such movements/organizations were formed based on social and economic lines which later transformed into political movements.

On the other hand, Adams (2006) disagrees with scholars who accused and vilify the colonial administration as anti-women. She asserts that although some of the colonial policies were limiting and constricting African women’s political life, however, the women were able to reject certain “policies and ideologies” and assimilate others that prepared them to participate fully in their political life in post-colonial epoch in Africa. She maintains that colonial legacies such as salaried employment, traveling abroad, education, local and international activism and other public life activities opened up new opportunities and possibilities for women’s political participation in post-colonial times.

Commenting on the new political space in the 1990s and women mobilization in Africa, Tripp (2001c) recounts how 1990s created a new political space that served as a springboard for

women to increase their participation in both national and local government levels. She reiterates that even though women were greeted with daunting challenges and their minimal strides, one thing was clear “new female forces and voices began to be seen and heard”. Tripp recalls how the new political space led to formation of autonomous associations of women and their subsequent formation of their own political parties. She states further that the existing parties co-opted women’s movement groups into their women’s wings which marginalized and stifled their concerns. Tripp maintains that the growth of women’s associations in Africa was in opposition to the challenges the women’s wings that existed faced and to set feminists agenda that will promote and address the needs of women. She recounts how Rawlings and PNDC’s 31DWM impeded the growth of many women’s movements in Ghana and how influential ANC of South Africa, Zambia’ National Women’s Lobby Group (NWLG) have been in drafting their national constitutions. Tripp maintains that by forming independent organizations and discrediting women’s wings linked to political parties will help challenge political ideologies like clientelism, patronage and corruption.

In the same vein, Tripp (2001a) dwelt on the relationship between the state and the society in Africa. She used Uganda as a study case and found out that Museveni’s National Resistant Movement (NRM) – ‘No Party’ system gave favour to women’s political participation. She examines the various instances by which state co-opt women using strategies such as reserved seats policies and governments’ appointment of women into high positions in various countries in Africa. Tripp notes that strong autonomy of women’s movements limits state co-optation hence give women a certain leverage to operate and champion their course. She maintains further that Uganda’s autonomous women’s movement is a test case in Africa. Where strong and

independent women's organization are free from the NRM of the national government and influence and encourage women mobilization in the country.

Pankhurst (2003) agrees with Tripp (2001a) and states that prior to independence in most African states, women, even though helped in independence liberation struggles, however, they were confined to domestic activities and child birth after achieving the goal of attaining independence. The paper asserts that all along, women were found among political actors in Africa. But sadly, their political engagement has "changed along with the changing nature of politics". The paper argues further that pre-colonial African women had a "greater variety of women political engagement than common now" (p. 6). Pankhurst compared Uganda and partly praised the NRM as a good initiative for enhancing women's empowerment in politics.

However, Goetz (2002) disagrees with Parkhurst (2003) and Tripp (2001a). The paper assesses the "No Party" system instituted by Museveni in Uganda and its impact on "women's political effectiveness" and how women in parliament are able to effectively advance gender equality in the legislature. The paper argues that lack of political parties' affirmative action does not give women the needed qualities and experience. Goetz maintains that the national affirmative action (NRM) of Museveni only permits him to appoint some sections of women who are loyal to his government. Goetz reiterates that the reserve seats for women do not offer bright opportunity for all women. With this assertion, Pankhurst (2003) concurs with Goetz (2002). She critiqued that Museveni's NRM has encouraged patronage and created clientelist system since government gives appointments to whom he wants whiles the reserved seats discourage political parties to effect any gender role or affirmative ideology. Pankhurst reiterates that such policies discourage the formation of women's movements/organizations.

On women's political empowerment and participation, many scholars have enumerated factors such as increase in educational opportunities, democratic practice, quota system, strong local activists, international agreements and conventions help increase and enhance women's political participation and representation. However, some scholars have contrary views on these. Duflo (2012) writes that economic development and women empowerment are not mutually exclusive. The paper stressed that economic development if well executed brings relief to all manner of people including women in Africa. Development, on the other hand, bridges inequality in African society. Duflo states that only economic development and/or only women empowerment is/are not enough. He therefore postulates that the nexus between these two must be merged and that the best is continuous policy process and action on both development and empowerment arguments in Africa.

On education, Longwe (2000) strongly disapproves or refutes the widely held view that increased woman's education leads to a corresponding increase in women political empowerment or participation and representation. The study cited various instances in Africa where women have high percentage at the universities, yet have abysmally low numbers in parliament, similar in Europe. She therefore argues that, a decrease in women education, where such educated ones have advantage over others rather lead them to have high percentage in parliament. She also refutes the assertion that low self-confidence is a misleading factor to women's low political empowerment. She notes that in almost all African states, women account for higher percentage in market, agriculture and household heads. She argues that such tremendous strides potentially spill over to political empowerment. However, Longwe admits that domestic subordination of women is brought from the early socialization of boys and girls. She maintains that, gender discrimination in early stages of boys and girls is the genesis of

gender disparity in the political arena. She further admits that at the local committee and party meetings, men control almost all positions which give them the upper hand qualification in candidates' selections in the parties and "state election to the local government and parliament" (p. 26). She states that women are locked up in the position of what the party creates as women's wings. Longwe notes that empowering women means giving them control over resources. In other words, giving them power. It is when women gain power that they are able to control resources. She adds that women empowerment at the national level implies "women controlling resources through their presence in government and having the opportunities to allocate those resources" (p. 30) for equal benefits. Longwe therefore warns that increasing women's education and leadership training are not feasible strategies to empowering women.

On democracy, Fallon et al. (2012) debunk the assertion that democracy has done very little in women's political representation. They find that the level of democracy account for women's representation. They, however, assert that countries that had early democratic transitions have seen women gain high representation, except former Soviet bloc. They argue that the benefits of democracy are not immediately felt. They point out factors such as quota implementation system, democratic legacy or consolidation, and long standing electoral experiences all create a path for women's political representation. They further stress that women's political knowledge fosters their battle for political inclusion and representation.

In agreement with the stated factors above, Viterna & Fallon (2008) focus their study on the argument that democratization does not work in the interest of women. They developed four paradigms for which such analysis can be based. They reiterate that "strong women mobilizations are central for creating state-level analysis" (p. 685). They argue that strong women's movements that exist before new democracies are established get favours from feminist

ideology and support hence political inclusion in new political systems. They use their framework to disprove the view that international support, leftist ideology and gender activism are the main criteria for which women can gain favour in political decision-making and participation. Their comparative study reveals that Argentina and South Africa had strong women's movements prior to the transitions into democracy and aligning themselves to feminist activities gave them appropriate stands to negotiate and lobby for political inclusion. However, according to them, Ghana and El Savado, by contrast, had a different moment. They state that prior to transition in Ghana, there was no strong women's movements and even if existed were dormant or in suspended animation and this also prevailed in El Savado. According to them El Savado and Ghana's test cases show that women's movements and feminist ideologies strongly gained momentum several years after their transition to democracy. These, however, which left women struggling very had to achieve gender equality in politics and in all public decision-making. They maintain that international conventions and political parties help re-shape women's movements in new democracies – "political parties are a necessary vehicle for carrying women's demands to the state" (p. 685).

On women's strong movements or activism couple with negotiations with political parties for women's political inclusion, Goetz & Hassim (2003) carried out a comparative study on Uganda and South Africa. They draw the conclusion that women's advancement in politics and representation in Africa are due to long struggle of women's movements and subsequent opening of the political space forced political parties to enter into negotiations with them and to put institutional policy frameworks to advance women's course in all levels of decision-making in Africa. They state, however, that in Uganda there was no vibrant women's struggle or movements for the women to force their way into the political space. But the government policy

created a “new political space for women as a means of accommodation and control of women’s political energies” (p. 26). This initiative has received serious criticisms by various scholars that such space created in Uganda stifled women’s efforts to form independent organizations and created patronage and clientelist system. Goetz and Hassim maintain that “political pluralism and conventional democracy” are not the only strong modes of advancing interests of women in politics. They contend further that, aside multi-party system coupled with strong women’s associations, strengthening civil society groups and institutional reformations can equally help advance women in all decision-making processes or effectively let women’s voice be heard in politics and representation.

2.2.1 Women’s Political Participation and Representation in Africa: A Case of Rwanda

Hansen (2017) notes that the great achievement of Rwanda in women’s political participation and representation is commendable. She, however, states that traditional norms and culture are still deeply rooted in the Rwandan society. She stresses that the patriarchal nature of the Rwandan society is hampering government efforts to totally abolish gender inequality in the society. She notes further that due to the authoritarian nature of the government some people see it as undemocratic as a section of the population that does not support government policies try hard to undermine its hard-driven gender policies. Hansen emphasizes that 64% achievement rate of women which puts Rwanda at world ranking list has deep scars within the traditional society. She notes that rape, domestic violence and other crimes against women have increased drastically in post-genocide Rwanda. Hansen concludes that for the last two decades Rwanda’s politics has gained commendation due to multiplicity of gender friendly policies, laws, strategies and other programmes towards achieving gender equality in the local and nation levels. However, these measures have been marred by unresolved traditional norms and culture. She

reiterates that women's achievement in political life has not necessarily "induced a significant change in traditional gender perception" in Rwanda. This implies that their political enlightenment has not helped change the traditional stereotype and gender role in the society. Hansen further notes that the patriarchal society is refusing to accept women's political power as men still rule the households. She states that "regardless of increased gender equality in political arena, traditional power balance between gender continue to prevail in the households" and women are still slapped with "inferior role at the grass-root level". She posits that for Rwanda to achieve its gender equality agenda at all levels requires a total end to authoritarian rule.

Hogg (2009) notes that Rwandan's case for increased in women's political participation and representation is backed by many factors including Women MPs' solidarity. He states that the women MPs put politics aside and foster unity towards the course of all women in Rwanda. The Forum for Rwandan Women Parliamentarians (FRWP) formed in 1990s was a caucus of women PMs. This body worked with CSOs in early 1990s to synthesize women and get them recruited into political positions. Hogg cites that Rwandan's constitutional reforms after 2003 had also promoted the upsurge of women's political representation. He further stresses that the new constitutional reform has guaranteed gender political equality. In contrast, Hogg argues that women in Rwanda played vital role in promoting the genocide activities in 1994 between the Hutus and Tutsis. He notes that the Hutus accused the Tutsi's women as "temptress". Hogg agrees with Hansen (2017) and posits that Rwandan's GNU practices a disguised form of democracy and stresses that the RPF led by Paul Kagame is embarking on policies that promote "dictatorial regime intent on the exclusion of political dissent and the consolidation of power". He notes that Rwanda's democratization agenda has strongly promoted women's political inclusion and achieving parliamentary world ranking, however, it has created a "systematic

exclusion of ethno-political dissent”. Hogg argues further that RPF’s inherent integration of women and increasing their representation through reforms and gender friendly policies, it is however, clear that the regime is falsely freezing “women’s intersectional identities”. He reiterates that Kagame’s bid to increase women political representation is a way of cementing his rule because it “assumes that women’s representation will be ‘malleable’ enough to destabilize the authoritarian status quo”. Hogg opines that “flying high the banner of gender equality and call for ethnic tolerance and political freedom” are shrouded by a culture of silence. Hogg concludes that if women’s political representation and gender equality are to be properly achieved under the single party system, then women must be given the space to challenge some of the oppressive policies of the government and opening of the political space for all actors.

Powley (2003) agrees with other scholars and states that throughout Rwandan’s transition years, Rwanda has developed innovative ways to enable women’s political participation and representation in all structures of leadership levels, both at the grass-root and national levels. That is CSOs, women MPs and government worked together to create a cross-sectional policies and initiatives in order to rebuild Rwanda. She notes that the population of women and girls in Rwanda’s post-genocide in 1994 stood at 70% while 2.3% were suspects of the genocide. Powley maintains that certain factors informed the newly formed government of GNU of RPF decision-making and to prevent future violence. These were that the genocide occurred as a result of authoritarian and centralized system created by the previous government therefore democratization and decentralization were adopted, the realization of the importance of creating space to accommodate all-inclusive gender decision-making, massive contribution of Ugandan women in government and post-apartheid South African transition success. According to Powley, one outstanding factor that increased women’s political presentation in Rwanda was the

constitutional reform in 2003 which prescribed a minimum of 30% women in all decision-making positions. That is 30% seats for women in the Chamber of Deputies. She reiterates that women in Rwanda have been the pacesetters of post-genocide reconciliation and recovery agenda and women in top government positions developed various strategies to work in bipartisan manner, non-ethnic lines and strengthen ties with CSOs. She concludes that the huge challenges facing the government include poverty, illiteracy, insecurity, injustice, wide spread HIV/AIDS, scars of genocide, government involvement in regional conflicts, unchecked human rights abuse cases, and censorship of opposing political parties and personnel. She posits that for Rwanda to consolidate her democratic gains, the government must have the ability to liberalize the political space to accommodate various actors, ethnic groups and opposition political parties. She rendition further that irrespective of these challenges, Rwanda has significantly changed the “public sphere regarding women” globally.

Powley (2004) recalls the events that pre-dates the Rwandan genocide in 1994. She notes that the social tensions between 1980 and early 1990s made women to witness various serious threats such as rape, repression and rising extremism. Powley states that Hutu extremist promised to annihilate Tutsi women and restrict the role of women in Rwanda. She states that these were drummed home through their propaganda “Hutu Ten Commandments” which sought to label Tutsi women as “temptress” and deceitful human beings. She states that the genocides took the lives of 800, 000 people within a period of 100 days.

Burnet (2008) agrees with Powley (2003) and states that the realities of post-genocide Rwanda have presented women with a great new political life and “social perception of gender roles”. She notes that women have attained high in political authority and being agents of change in public space. She posits that the policies of RPF on nationalism are in synch with gender

equality. Burnet notes that Paul Kagame's top-down gender policies have helped transform women and "collective cultural imagination" of women. She, however, stresses that increased in women's political participation in Rwanda is a paradoxical representation. She reiterates that though there is a sharp increase in women's political participation and representation their ability to influence policies has totally declined. Kantengwa (2010) agrees with scholars like Powley (2003) and stresses that after the demise of genocide in Rwanda, women were called upon to physically and socially help rebuild the country, returning and reincorporating refugees, reconciliation and social redress programmes were instituted. She notes that women were again charged to feed over 120, 000 accused genocide prisoners. She states that other factors which helped women in their political careers were the formation of Women's Council which was charged to bridge the village level and national level, the Youth Council to mobilize the youth population for national development, women's groups charged to form one association dubbed "Pro-Fummes Twese Hamwe" which won a UNESCO award for peace and tolerance, Unity Club made up of past and present ministers' wives and women ministers charged to promote unity and reconciliation and formation of a non-partisan lobby group. Others were Rwandan Women Leaders Caucus formed to advocate and organize women for leadership and mainstreaming gender issues in all national policies. On the contrary, Kantengwa disagrees with scholars like Powley (2003), Powley (2004) and Hogg (2009) on the assertion that Kagame is practicing authoritative government which virtually undermines democracy. She argues that women in Rwanda have really given political favour which is well acknowledged and admired globally and that Rwanda has done something that advanced countries are still struggling to and come to terms with on women.

Elgie & Devlin (2008) argue that Rwandan women after genocide in 1994 concentrated on grass-root politics than national in terms of political culture. They state that policy influence on gender has been well established long before parliamentary politics in Rwanda before 1994. According to them the huge presence of women in political space does not imply that they can influence policies to their benefits. They posit that “policy act is the area most resistant to gender effects” across the globe which women are unable to effect any significant change. They conclude that increased in number of women MPs “may not be influential as compared to government comment to develop legislation that promote women’s rights”.

Burnet (2011) agrees with other scholars like Elgie & Devlin (2009) and notes that the tremendous achievement of Rwanda under Kagame’s government has gained international recognition in the area of women’s political participation and representation. Burnet argues that the government’s radical policies in a bid to transform the nation and integrate women into the political sphere have been prejudiced. She finds that the policy to increase women participation and representation has resulted in angering men over inheritance rights and increased marital instability and divorce. Burnet notes that Rwanda’s local government officials at the village level believe that their participation and representation is just a symbolic gesture of keeping the RPF’s government in power. She notes that the women local officials are not been paid well as they experience unstable marriage as compared to autonomous women in urban areas who enjoy huge salaries and stable marriages. She notes further that the government policy on gender has brought “negative consequences such as marital discord, rising divorce rate and increased workload on women” among the women in the countryside. The study further reiterates that the massive presence of women in government is symbolic in that such women are found in the Lower House while very few in executive. This implies that influencing decisions and policies is highly

insignificant since the executive does so and worst still most women in the Lower House or MPs are card bearing members of RPF and do not actually have a serious positive influence on policies that favour women. Burnet concludes that descriptive representation of women yields a good result in a more democratic state but is a symbolic in undemocratic and authoritarian state. Burnets re-echoes that gender sensitivity policies under authoritarian regimes may lead to a transformation.

Commenting on policy influence, Turamwishimiye (2017) disagrees with Burnet (2011) and Devlin & Elgie (2008) and notes that post-genocide Rwandan women have achieved and influenced a lot of policies to the common goal of all women irrespective of political and ethnic divide. According to her these follow on the back drop that the government's initiatives and policies have helped promote all-inclusive society and championed women's ideals in all sectors. She opines that policies such as National Gender policy adopted in 2004 and revised in 2010 has its objective "to promote gender equality and equity in the country through clearly defined process for mainstreaming gender needs and concerns across all sectors for development". The second policy is vision 2020 which aims at promoting all socially and economically inclusive society for all social groups. The third policy is the Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS) with the goal of accelerating progress and bridging the gap between the poor and middle income status for all persons, increase GDP growth to 11.5% and reduce poverty to less than 30% of the population. The fourth policy is the National Decentralization. The goal of this policy is "to promote and ensure participatory, democratic, all-inclusive, accountable governance and effective citizen centered quality service delivery in Rwanda". The fifth policy is Girls' Education which aims at progressively end gender inequalities in education and training and management. This is to improve girls' education up to

higher educational level. The sixth policy is on National Development which aims at “realizing as much as possible fully productive and freely chosen employment through economic growth in accordance with the dignity and respect of fundamental human rights”. The paper notes that the results of policies such as constitutional mandate for 30% women’s representation now stands at 64% MPs, 50% of judges, 40% of cabinet ministers, 32.2% ambassadors, 50% provincial governors and 43.6% District Council members. She stresses further that 40% Rwandan women have at least one saving account. However, she recognized some of the challenges facing the system some of which are that women still constitute a higher percentage in the poverty cycle, patriarchal cultural norms, low level of skilled women, higher illiteracy rate of women.

Gatsinzi (2018) agrees with Turamwishimiye (2017) and notes that extension of women’s participation and presentation in cells and districts (at the grass-roots) makes Rwanda’s women feel proud. He notes that high number of women in public sphere has given hope to young girls in Rwanda to aspire to that height. He posits that it is only women who understand problems of women and therefore stand a great chance of changing and influencing policies for the common goal of all women. The study states that women are less corrupt and can better translate their caring and motherly instincts into public affairs to sustain growth and development of community. However, Burnet (2011) like other scholars disagree strongly with this assessment and argues that high presence of women in high positions does not necessarily translate into generation ideas that favour women. Gatsinzi (2018) further stressed that “the role of women in political system as motivators and leaders is always influential to the growth of women organizations and groups at the grass-roots”. He argues that public perception of women in Rwanda is mixed. He states that whiles some prefer to vote for women political candidates, others prefer suitable candidates not of gender bias. The study reveals that women at the grass-

root consider their activities as apolitical and a way of dealing with issues of common concern and interests. The study notes that women achieving great height in political space in Rwanda has been a motivating factor to young girls, as their presence has been increased in all levels of education, reduction in early marriages and enhanced their networks. Gatsinzi concludes that Rwanda's success story is due to quota implementation, women's involvement in national liberation struggle, women's movements and constitutional democratic tenants' spillover. She reiterated that even though Rwanda has been eulogized globally for bridging the gap between women in men in elective public space, such achievement is only present in the urban while the grass-root implementation has been a daunting task.

2.3 Women and Political Participation in West Africa

Apparently, the conditions of women as pertain in Africa in the pre-colonial, colonial and post independent period are not different in West Africa. Undoubtedly, women in West Africa experienced even worst conditions due to the foreign religion – Islam.

Obamamoye (2016) writes that women in West Africa (W/A) have over the years experienced various forms of political representations in government. Like other scholars, Obamamoye recounts that women in W/A played a significant role in the era of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial administration. He acknowledges the detrimental effects of colonial administration on women in W/A. He notes, however, that women's marginalization took full view with demise of the colonial administration. He maintains that W/A is "currently facing recalcitrant, thorny and awkward stance to global campaign for gender equality in national political representation" (p. 1). He asserts that with exception of Senegal, women's political representation in the Sub-Region has being abysmally low contrary to member states that make up South African

Development Community (SADC). He postulates that colonial administration further created a robust environment that endorsed patriarchal society in W/A states and to prepare “men as the capable hands with unique quality to take the mantle of national leadership, while women only played complementary roles mostly at domestic level” (p. 4). Obamamoye maintains that, the massive contributions of women in West Africa towards independent struggles in Ghana triggered the first affirmative action in Africa in 1959. He asserts that women were totally alienated from the political spheres due to persistent military rules in West Africa in the 1960s to 1970s. However, Obamamoye further states that, women’s political actions resurrected in terms of mobilization in the 1980s but were sharply “co-opted and cocoon by the ruling political elites” through the wives of the heads of states (p. 5). He maintains that out of 16 member states, 15 members have not exceeded 14% in terms of women representation in parliament, while SADC’s 30% legislative instrument mandate member states to adopt. Obamamoye further maintains that the pervasive under-representation of women in parliament in WA has become an undebated phenomenon in the 21st century “when the notion of gender equality has become acceptable standard in the international system” (p. 6). He reiterates that the main cause of women’s political marginalization in W/A is socio-cultural. He therefore contends that the increase in women’s representation in parliament in W/A can be assisted and influenced by the major political role of ECOWAS “within the confines of playing the normative actor or norms entrepreneur” (p. 6)

Geiger (2000) agrees with Obamamoye (2016) and chronicles that women in West and Central Africa experienced similar political transformation. Geiger, however, notes that women in West and Central-Central Africa were slapped with slave trade and Islamic ideological subordination. Geiger states that as a result of these, the women experienced both economic and political

deterioration in the 19th and 20th centuries. He maintains that, subsequent elimination of women in certain traditional norms paved way for their free will to choose marriage partners, but due to lack of empowerment in both economic and political power, the women's lives are still tied to patriarchy.

In a sharp contrast, Adams (2006) disagrees with the above scholars and states that the colonial administration cannot be written off as having done anything helpful to women in W/A. She notes that the administration empowered the women in its introduction of formal education, helped eliminate obnoxious cultural practices, study abroad scholarships, salaried employment system, encouraged certain activism that helped prepare the women to participate in politics after the demise of the colonial administration.

On their part, Omenma et al.(2016) disagree with the scholars putting the blame of low levels of women's political representation on socio-cultural and religious factors in this 21st century. They contend that attributing such factors to tradition implies discrediting all the works of gender activists and international conventions and agreements. They therefore maintain that it is rather the nature of party politicking and its organization are threats to women's representation.

2.4 Women and Political Participation in Ghana

Prah (2004) traces the women's movements historically and how both civilian and military regimes co-opted women movements and paid lip services to them. She notes that women in pre-historical colonial time played a very significant role based on the typical historical circumstances and social organization of the society. Prah further asserts that the forceful planting of Victorian values in addition to colonial traditional order, dichotomized gender and placed men as leaders of households and confined women and left them with little space to

operate. She reiterated that this superimposition of values on women made them to bond themselves with the early political parties that were born and agitated for self-government. Prah states that Rawlings' military regime brutalized women and constricted their organizational growth through the "First Lady Syndrome". She states that 31st December Women Movement became a white elephant and failed to champion women's course. Ampofo & Darkwa (2005) reaffirm that effect of 31DWM was unclear on the lives of women in the rural areas.

Madsen (2014) agrees with Prah (2004) and states how Rawlings and his People's National Defence Council (PNDC) regime treated women and how 31st December Women Movement (31DWM) was used to manipulate and silence other women's organizations. However, Madsen notes that 31DWM was very influential and helped to empower women in many endeavors but it was saddled with many criticisms such as defending the regime's interest to the detriment of women, monopolizing all platforms slated for women's organization and establishing a "culture of silence". She states that the domination of 31DWM over all other women's organization impeded the growth and activities of women in that era. On the contrary, Madsen described events from 2000 onwards as good era for the growth and reactivation of women's movements due to the regime change. With this, organizations such as Sister's Keepers, Women's Manifesto Coalition and Domestic Violence Coalition were formed. She reiterated that Sister's Keepers was formed as a result of massive killings of women prior to the 2000 general elections. This phenomenon of mysterious deaths of women made them to describe Rawlings' government as being insensitive to women. However, Kuffour and NPP made a political capital out of it which subsequently led to the establishment of Women and Children Ministry after winning power. Madsen notes that the leading members of various women's movements were not pleased with the establishment of ministry (Women and Children Ministry) because its establishment did not

incorporate their views. According to Madsen, the women activists and movement groups maintain that their fear was that the ministry would be limited to women's affairs and compensation to women. She notes further that the women were very mindful of state co-optation and for the government to tie children to women in one ministry and linking the responsibility of children to "motherhood" are clear indications that it lacks the understanding of gender issues.

Allah-Mensah (2007; cited in Madsen, 2014; Allah-Mensah, 2005) disagrees with scholars who branded 31DWM as a failed movement in terms of advancing women's interests. She states that 31DWM was not all that evil to women as it did well to open and create political opportunities for women's political participation in both national and district levels. She notes that majority of women who won district assembly election in 1988 and women parliamentarians in 1992 elections on the tickets of NDC were members of 31DWM. Tsikata (2009) also acknowledges this assertion and maintains that although women's organizations during the PNDC era suffered serious challenges in the country, they reaped certain benefits and gained some experiences. Allah-Mensah (2005: 14) also maintains that "though there was very high level of politicization in the formation and subsequent co-optation of the women's groups, it was nevertheless a good beginning as a rallying point". Oquaye (1995) also agrees and states that 31DWM assisted members in economic activities and "strengthened their managerial and other skills through various programmes"

On mobilization and contributions of women towards independence struggles, Allah-Mensah (2005) in assessing women political participation and their public life, notes that Nkrumah encouraged women's political participation and introduced the quota system to give women opportunity to participate in politics. According to Allah-Mensah, Nkrumah appointed women

as deputy ministers and district commissioners. This was in recognition of the role women played during the independence struggle. Allah-Mensah, in her study concludes that “if political parties’ manifestoes do not address” the concerns of women, it will be unwise to suggest that they will be “championing the course of women in Ghana”.

Apusigah et al. (2011) agree with Allah-Mensah (2005) and state that women’s organizations such as National Federation of Gold Coast Women (NFGCW) formed in 1953, market women and church groups all worked hard with CPP and Nkrumah for the success of independence attainment. They note that all women organizations were merged to form National Council of Ghana Women (NCGW) in early 1960s and co-opted as women’s wing of CPP. Opong (2012) also agrees and stressed extensively on how women in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Ghana efforts are inadequately documented. She notes that women played a major role during the liberation struggles in the Gold Coast. She rendition that it was due to women’s effort in forging and supporting Nkrumah that led the passage of legislative instrument for affirmative action in 1959. Opong reiterates further that it such affirmative action that subsequently led the ten women to be elected to legislative council whiles others were given other positions. Opong, however, laments that successive coups stifled women’s activities in Ghana.

In contrast, scholars such as Allah-Mensah (2005); Prah (2004); Tsikata (2009), document that even though Nkrumah and CPP recognized women’s contributions that paved way for the first affirmative action to be instituted in 1959, the manner in which women’s organizations were brought together and co-opted as women’s wing of the CPP was injurious to the growth of women activism. They state that Nkrumah did so for the fear of political competition. They assert further that state control of such organizations led to their collapse after the 1966 coup that ousted Nkrumah and CPP government.

On women empowerment, Ampofo & Darkwah (2006), state that women empowerment mostly requires systematic transformation of most institutions in Ghana especially the male dominated ones. They maintained that institutions that have remained culturally static do not help empower women. They conclude that for women to really empower themselves, they must fight the “patriarchal structures and cultures that push for a change” (p. 3). They note that the state is an agent of protection of women, however, perpetuates crime and violence against women. They further assert that Ghana and West Africa must define their own concept of women’s gender empowerment, needs and avoid western theoretical ideology.

Abdul-fatawu (2014) agrees with Ampofo & Darkwah (2006) in his analyses of the effects of empowerment of women through the lenses of socio-economic and political angles. His study revealed that low political and economic empowerment bedeviled women in the Tamale central district. He asserts further that women are traditionally confined to private spheres. In other words, they are confined to domestic and biological roles. Again, the study found out that, inability to access loans, lack of funds for campaigns and family supports, aversion of competition, poor road networks, cultural beliefs, and low self-esteem are challenges mitigating against the women’s participation in public politics.

On challenges facing women’s political participation, Bawa and Sanyare (2013) analyzed factors affecting women’s political participation and argue that involvement of women in politics and public life has declined steadily, contrary to what other scholars say it has increased rather. They also found socio-cultural factors as posing serious challenges to women’s political participation. On her part, Odame (2010) agrees with Bawa and Sanyare (2013) when he examined women’s political participation in local governance and found out that women equally can be good political figures with effective and efficient management skills. However, their bid to enter into

the political space is hampered by their political misconception, socio-cultural factors, fear of political violence and dented image, gender discrimination, low educational level, lack of commitment of political parties and financial muscles. Musah & Gariba (2013) also agree with other scholars when they made a critical analysis of Ghana's parliament from 1992 to 2008 and women's representation and participation in discussions in the House. They found out that male domineering nature of Ghana's parliament is a worrying trend that affect women legislators. They state that various committees in parliament are headed by men while some committees have no women representation at all. These, according to them, affect the contributions of women during debates on the floor of the House. Allah-Mensah (2005) disagrees with these findings and notes that even though men dominate the parliament in Ghana, there has been good cordial relationship between the men and women in all matters relating to doing business of the House. She maintains that although the women are less they are fairly represented in various committees and do not feel highly discriminated.

Also, Shiraz (2015) admits and found out that religious factors such as patriarchal nature of Qur'anic interpretation and its subsequent practice of Islamic life are the major barriers to women's political participation in the Northern Region. Other factors he cited include socio-cultural, inferiority complex of women, domestic and biological, low level of education, and lack of family support. He maintains that for popular participation in politics, economics, political and social empowerment must be focused. He notes that the level of one's political participation is determined by religious and socio-cultural settings of a particular group of people.

In a sharp contrast Boateng & Kosi (2015) disagree with other scholars when analyzed the participation of women in district assembly elections and their subsequent representation in local governance system. They note that women in local government from 1994 to 2010 the

percentage of women in the District Assembly has increased tremendously. They postulate that the major obstacles to supply of women into the local government are low women empowerment such as skill training, economic and education, whiles for the demand, is mainly the society. They therefore stress that the society creates a conducive atmosphere to foster the desire of women to participate in politics, as well as political parties, NGOs and government agencies engineer proper legislations for gender equity in all public life, they noted.

Tsikata (2009) disagrees with all the above scholars and states that political parties in multi-party system are responsible for the low level of women's political representation in Ghana. She asserts that they are responsible for low levels of women who contest elections and win. She notes that political parties find fortunes in regional and ethnic representation of their political parties as compared to general women representation. Tsikata also notes that the electoral processes of political parties are huge barriers to women's political successes. She further maintains that inability of women contestants to win elections is a yardstick on other women not to venture in elections. Tsikata stressed that this worrying trend increase the continue discrimination of women. Allah-Mensah (2005) agrees with Tsikata (2009) and states that political parties are the woes of women's low level of political representation in Ghana. She notes that political parties have "unique opportunity to change the current situations of women's weak composition and contribution than any realism toward addressing" their concerns. This was reaffirmed by Agomor (2016). He posits that what pertains in the political parties currently makes it extremely difficult for women to contest and win elections. He asserts further that violence that characterized party politics further put a hindrance to women's political participation and representation.

From the above discussions, the missing link in the “new political space” is the functions of women’s wings. Why do political parties establish women wings? What functions do they play? Are they avenues for women to bid for political recruitments and inclusion? This is the gap in the literature which this study seeks to fill, contribute and add to knowledge.

More of the works reviewed have discussed the formation of women’s movements with little on the role of women’s wings of the political parties. Yet, the drive for women empowerment and participation in Ghana cannot ignore such a huge move towards inclusion and participation of women in public life. Marginalizing women in the political sphere can be cancerous to their empowerment and the development of the country as a whole.

2.4 Trend Analysis of Women Participation

This subsection of the literature analysis women’s political participation in the Fourth Republic of Ghana. It looks at political parties’ representation of women in parliament and regional representation.

2.4.1 Women and Political Participation in the 4th Republic (from 1992 to date)

Samuel Huntington’s “third wave” of democratization in the early 1990s has brought new political atmosphere in Africa. This early 1990s democratization in Africa came about as a result of the demise of military rule or authoritarian one-party rule. In Ghana, it was achieved based on internal and external pressures that mounted on Rawlings and his PNDC to return the country to democratic rule. To actually usher the country into democratic state, started from the setting up of committees at various levels to collate and draft the constitution. In setting up those committees, Allah-Mensah (2005) recounts that compositions of such committees set the pace for gender imbalance. She stressed that out of nine-member committee of experts appointed,

only two were women. She further reiterated that such action could not give way for women's interests to be incorporated into the final constitutional framework. Tsikata (2009) also notes that if smaller number of women take part in societal decision-making process, the final decision is less likely to achieve gender equality. In essence, it was unfair for them to consult only members of 31st December Women Movement as their activities were tilted towards a section of Ghanaian women and the ruling party (Allah-Mensah, 2005).

With the new political opening and its democratic euphoria, it implies that all prerequisite credentials of democracy must be followed. These include equal participation of all citizens; rule of law; adherence to rights and freedoms. Indeed, the return of the country to democratic rule opened the way for increasing number of women to engage more in political participation and elective offices. The 1992 and 1996 elections, even though were characterized by irregularities, majority of women who contested and won parliamentary elections were 31DWM members (Allah-Mensah (2005). In affirming this, Prah (2004:36) notes that though antagonistic actions characterized the handling and treatment of women in PNDC and NDC era, however, some positive fortunes were achieved in favour of women. These were the enactment of Intestate Succession Law; Registration of Customary Marriage and Divorce and ratification of UN's Convention of the Elimination on All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and Beijing Platform of Action (Madsen, 2014).

The 2000 general election was contested keenly between NPP and NDC as the run-off saw John Agyekum Kuffour and NPP wrestling power from NDC led by the vice president, John Evan Fiifi Atta Mills. In the lead up to elections, a lot of gender sensitive issues such as the mysterious killings of women came up. John Agyekum Kuffour and NPP took these onto their campaign thrills and promised to end such killings should all women rally and vote for the party to come to

power (Madsen, 2014). Indeed, all Ghanaians had a sigh of relief of a new birth when NPP came out victorious. Prah (2004) attests that the optimism that characterized the euphoria of the new government in office in 2001 was very high. She notes also that it marked the end of nineteen years of Rawlings' tenure of office which the 1992 constitution bars him after completing his two constitutional terms (1992 – 2000). It was a mark of Ghana's democratic transition and consolidation as democracy was on a high agenda (Prah, 2004).

On assumption of office, the new NPP government created a new ministry – Ministry of Women and Children Affairs which led to the demise of National Council of Women and Development (Prah, 2004). It was a sign of fulfilling the campaign promise and to fight for the course of women. In the meantime, there was a quick end to all the mysterious killings that were been perpetrated on women. Besides, the coming of the new administration saw the demise of heavily controlled government 31st December Women Movement. This gave way for new women organizations to be formed. However, what these women associations were wary of was the co-option that occurred in the previous regimes (Madsen, 2014).

In contrast to what all the euphoria which was much waited for as “positive change” of the new NPP administration, not enough can be recorded, especially on women's front, as women continue to “chase illusions” and as “yet to realize its vision” (Prah, 2004:39). John Kuffour's regime also took the trajectory of his predecessors, however, what was different in his regime was the vibrant civil society organizations. Madsen (2014) reiterated that in the heat up to the 2004 general elections, a number of associations were formed such as Sister's Keepers; ABANTU for Development which led to the formation of Women's Manifesto; and Domestic Violence Coalition, all mounted pressure on the government to press home women's course. Equally, success can be recorded on women representation and participation in decision-making

process in this Ghana's 4th Republic as compared to the previous epoch. The table below shows how women are faring in parliamentary representation since 1992 to date.

Table 1: Gender Parliamentary Representation Since the Beginning of the 4th Republic

Years	Male	Male %	Female	Female %	Total
1992	184	92	16	8	200
1996	182	91	18	9	200
2000	181	90.5	18	9	200
2004	204	88.7	25	10.9	230
2008	210	91.3	20	8.7	230
2012	245	89.1	30	10.9	275
2016	240	87.3	35	12.7	275

Sources: Tsikata (2009); Allah-Mensah (2005); Ocran (2014); IPU (2016/7); GSS (2014); Hamah (2015)

Table 3

The statistical table above shows the gradual and progressive nature of women participation and representation since the inception of the 4th Republic (from 1992 to date). It depicts the snail pace at which women are progressing in getting represented. From 1992 to 2000, the percentage kept increasing marginally with 2004 witnessing plus 7, representing 1.9% increase. However, there was a staggering turn of events in 2008 elections. Whiles in 2004 general elections the number of women PMs increased from 18 in 2000 to 25, representing 9% to 10.9% respectively, 2008 elections saw a sharp drop in number from 25 down to 20 (from 10.9% to 8.7%). What factors might have actually led to this? Were the women that refused to contest or the political atmosphere characterized by male dominance reared its ugly head again? Comparatively, the figures show that the situation has not been the same from the first Republic

era till date even though 2012 and 2016 elections have recorded high numbers. The legislative House has been male dominated.

In the other related statistical data, the number of women candidates who contest and the number that finally get elected is mind-boggling. The table below shows the marginal differences.

Table 2: Number of Women who Contested Parliamentary Elections from the Beginning of the 4th Republic (from 1992 to 2016)

Years	No of contestants	No. elected as MPs	Percentage elected
1992	26	16	61.5
1996	59	18	30.5
2000	93	18	19.4
2004	104	25	24.0
2008	103	20	19.4
2012	133	30	22.6
2016	129	35	27.1

Sources: Tsikata (2009); Allah-Mensah (2005); Ocran (2014); IPU (2016/7); GSS (2014); Hamah (2015)

In the table above, it is obvious that since 1992 there has been a consistent increase in women contestants in the parliamentary elections. However, the analysis shows that there is a negative correlation between the number of contestants and the number elected to become MPs. In 1992, out of total of 26 women contestants, 16 were elected representing 61.5%. Interestingly, in spite of the huge increased in women contestants in 1996, there was only two additions, making it 18 representing 30.5%, while in 2000, the number shot up to 93 contestants, but the elected number remained the same 18 (19.4%). Again, in 2004 and 2008 show another contrasting trend. Women contestants dropped by a margin. That is from 104 in 2004 to 103 in 2008. In the same vein, the

number elected dropped from 25 to 20 in 2008 with a corresponding percentage of 24.0% to 19.4% respectively. This implies that five female MPs lost their seats to their male counter parts. On the contrary, 2012 and 2016 elections had shown a reverse trend. As the number of contestants decreased from 133 in 2012 to 129 in 2016, the number elected increased from 30 to 35 representing 22.6% and 27.1% respectively. This also shows that five male MPs lost their seats to their female counter parts.

Table 3: Regional Gender Distribution of Parliamentary Candidates for 2012 General Elections

Regions	Male	Male %	Female	Female %	Total
Accra	168	83.3	34	16.8	202
Ashanti	202	88.6	26	11.4	228
Eastern	140	92.1	12	7.9	152
U.E	57	90.5	6	9.5	63
U.W	55	91.7	5	8.3	60
Northern	148	95.5	7	4.5	155
Western	99	89.2	12	10.8	111
Central	92	89	15	14.0	107
Volta	115	92	10	8.0	125
B/A	123	95.3	6	4.7	129

Sources: Ocran (2014); EC (2012)

Table 4: Regional Gender Distribution of Parliamentary Candidates for 2016 General Elections

Year	Male	Male %	Female	Female %	Total
G. Accra	116	78.9	31	21.1	147
Ashanti	188	91.3	28	13.6	206
Eastern	94	86.2	15	13.8	109
U.E	61	91.0	6	9	67
U.W	51	94.4	3	5.6	54
Northern	121	93.1	9	6.9	130
Western	101	92.7	8	7.3	109
Volta	76	82.6	16	17.4	92
Central	109	92.4	9	7.6	118
B/A	116	91.3	11	8.7	127

Sources: Ocran (2014); EC (2016)

In the above statistical tables, Upper East and Upper West have shown to be the regions with the least women contestants. More so, Upper West has seen an abysmally poor performance of women contestants with only 3 representing 5.6% out of 54 total contestants in 2016 elections and recording 5 contestants out of 60 in 2012 elections, whiles Upper East maintained its scores in both years. Meanwhile, Brong Ahafo has gained increase in women contestants. It almost doubled the figure in 2012 (from 6 in 2012 to 11 in 2016). Comparatively, women perform poorly in contesting elections in all the regions, however, the three Northern and Volta regions are worst of in all. They show the traditional dominance of male in those regions.

2.4.4 Women and political parties in the 4th Republic

In almost all representative democratic states, political parties serve as the channel through which citizens participate in politics and get into elective offices even though there are other

means of participation (Norris, 2005). Besides, Shank (1993) notes that political parties are profoundly mistrusted, yet accepted. Mainwaring also asserts that despite citizens' unhappiness with parties in many states, they continue to serve as the leading agents in democracy where citizens can easily get represented and gain positions and elected offices (Mainwaring 1999; in Allah- Mensah, 2005).

Since the commencement of Ghana's Fourth Republic women have been trying very hard to get represented but with little success. Statistics show that women have rekindled their interests in politics as they shown interest in contesting elections since 1992 (GNA, 2017). Traditionally, women access into the elective position (parliament) has always been the mandate of the two dominant parties (NPP and NDC) even though the smaller parties come in but with little or no successes (iknowpolitics, 2017). The table below shows political parties' representation of women in parliament.

Table 5: Political Parties' Representation of Female from the Beginning of the 4th Republic (1992-2016)

Years	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
NPP/NCP	3	4	9	20	14	16	23
NDC	11	10	9	5	5	13	12
OTHERS	2	4	0	0	1	1	0
TOTAL	16	18	18	25	20	30	35

Sources: Adopted from different sources

From the table above, the first two elections that took place in 1992 and 1996 have seen NDC took a commanding lead in getting more women elected as MPs on its ticket. However, in 2000 elections, the 18 women elected MPS, 9 were NPP whiles 9 were NDC. Interestingly, in the

subsequent general elections from 2004 to 2016, NPP has gotten the largest women representation in parliament as compared to NDC. That is, in 2004 it had 20 women but 2008 came down to 14, while 2012 and 2016 general elections it went to 16 and 23 respectively. On the other hand, from 2000 to 2008 parliamentary elections, the number of women who won on NDC ticket fell below ten. Again, even in opposition, NPP still have more women representation in parliament. On the contrary, the 2008 parliamentary elections saw one new entrant, CPP. Samia Yaba Nkrumah won on the ticket of CPP in Jomoro constituency. There were two independent women MPs in 1992, while in 1996 it was increased to four and subsequently one in 2012. The table below shows the 2012 and 2016 regional distribution of female MPs on party bases.

Table 6: Regional Representation of Female MPs in the 6th and 7th Parliament in the 4th Republic

2012					2016			
REGIONS	NPP	NDC	OTHERS	TOTAL	NPP	NDC	OTHERS	TOTAL
ACCRA	6	2	0	8	6	4	0	10
ASHANTI	4	0	0	4	4	0	0	4
EASTERN	3	0	0	3	4	1	0	5
U.E	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
U.W	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
VOLTA	0	4	0	4	0	5	0	5
NORTHERN	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1
CENTRAL	0	1	0	1	5	1	0	6
WESTERN	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	2
B.A	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1

Sources: Frimpong (2014); pulse.com.gh

In the above table, it is only Greater Accra region that has the highest women representation with NPP leading on ticket. The rest of the regions have insignificant number of women representation. In spite of the three Northern regions been the strong holds of NDC, women perform very poorly in those regions in terms of contestation and representation in parliamentary. Volta region has seen an increased in women representation since 2004 with 5 as compared to the previous years. In 2012, there were 4 women MPs from the Volta region, while in 2016 the number increased to 5. Unfortunately, Upper West region has no woman representation in the 7th parliament. The question therefore is, are the women not taken interest in contesting or the political parties that are not fielding them? Or they do not meet their qualification? Furthermore, for a total of 1,158 contestants that stood for parliamentary elections only 137 were women (pulse.com.gh). And out of this, NPP presented 29 while NDC 40. The rest of the smaller parties in all presented 68. That is, CPP filed 28, APC 2, PPP 17, NDP 6, UPP 1 and 4 were independent candidates (ibid). Statistical evidence show that NDC did not nominate a single woman as candidate in regions such as Northern, Upper East and Western, however, only one woman in Upper West. In a similar manner, NPP filed no woman in three regions such as Upper East, Volta and Upper West and only one in North in the 2016 parliamentary election. With the smaller parties showing interests in filing women, such candidates are unlikely to win their seats under this two de facto party system in Ghana (iknowpolitics, 2017).

In spite of the increased in women representation from 30 in 2012 to 35 in 2016 which represent 10.9% and 12.7% respectively, the performance is still generally low. This, in effect, represents the highest percentage (12.7%) since independence. Comparatively, even though this achievement has been recorded, Ghana still fall far below the almost 20 countries in Africa with

more than 20% women in parliament (iknowpolitics, 2017). Few of these countries are Rwanda has 61.3%; Senegal with 42.7%, while South Africa has 42.0% (IPU, 2016). This Ghana's snail pace of women representation has compelled one gender activist, Adwoa Bame, to state that if women are to increase their representation in parliament to 5 in every eight years, then how long are they going to spend to achieve the 50% of the 275? (pulse.com.gh).

The above trend analysis hinges on the general women political participation and representation from the beginning of the Fourth Republic until date. The analysis is stressed on political parties' representation of women. However, perusing this analysis, the gap created is the role of women's wings of political parties. The various political parties have reformed their constitutions to include women's wings in their response to the new political opening created in this Fourth Republic. Why do these political parties establish women's wings? What role do these women's wings play? This is the gap created in this analysis which this study seeks to fill.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

The concept which underpins this study is the concept of Participation. This chapter explains in details the concept of Participation. It looks at some models of participation and indices of participation. It examines the factors influencing participation; concept and determinants of participation; Arnstein's Ladder of Citizens Participation; Hollnsteiner's Model of Participation; criticisms and usefulness of the theory of participation.

3.1 The Concept of Participation

Participation is defined as those activities that private citizens engage in which aim at influencing the government, its choice of personnel or choices made by government personnel (Verba & Nie, 1972; in Teorell, 2006). Gyampo (2013: 25-26) also defined participation as “the deliberate involvement of citizens and the exercise of their influence at all level of decision making to shape as well as determine its outcome”. The concept postulates that if an individual or a group of individuals are able to or take part in various activities in a state, then their chances of influencing decisions are high. Participation can also be defined as conscious efforts by citizens to influence government decisions through certain actions.

Participation comes in two levels. That is, “pseudo” and “genuine”. The “pseudo” participation is when decisions are made by authorities in government. The authorities subsequently get citizens informed about the decisions and seek for their opinions. However, citizens' inputs and opinions are manipulated, while in the “genuine” participation, the citizens are actively involved, and are

also part of decision-makers and implementers (Wang, 2001; cited in Gyampo, 2013:20). This implies that in “pseudo” participation citizens cannot influence any decision even though they are seen actively taking part in all decision-making processes while in genuine participation, citizens can use their participation to influence decisions at all levels.

Participation according to Teorell (2006:789) is an “instrumental act through which citizens attempt to make the political system respond to their will”.

Just as other scholars, Teorell (2006) used three models of democracy to explain the theory of participation. These include; Responsive Model of democracy; the Participatory Model of democracy; and Deliberative Model of democracy. In the responsive model of participation, the citizens attempt to influence people who matter and have a say in government. In essence, the responsive participatory model advocates for system responsiveness in which individuals’ interests are aggregated and protection of equal interests at the individual micro level. The resulting effect of this model is the universal and equal safeguarding of interests. In this regard, the concept posits that voting is a weak channel through which citizens can communicate their interests to the political system. In this instance, citizens are faced with a lot of policy options from political parties, some of which meet their interest while others look very distant. Sometimes institutional constraints prevent them from forming political parties that strongly champion their interest and preferences (ibid). In this call, citizens resort to demonstrations and other behavioural activities to express their displeasure and anger to officials concerned with the bid to influencing them and the system to respond to their desires, interests or needs (Teorell, 2006). However, the danger associated with this model of participation is that the protested citizens’ views may not be representative enough, hence constitute a great distortion. It is against this backdrop that Teorell (2006: 793) conceptualizes that “successful influencing attempts are

necessary but not sufficient condition of democratic responsiveness”. Secondly, the Participatory Model in the same vein yearns for self-government. In this model, participation is the “act of taking part in person in the decision-making process” (Sartori, 1987: 133; in Teorell, 2006: 790). It is in this regard that political participation paves way for the citizen to fully experience him or herself as well as to experience the humanity of other persons (Gyampo, 2013). This model of participation gives credence to the fact that citizens must participate physically in all matters relating to decisions that affect them. This is in tandem with ancient Athenian city-state political participation – direct democracy. Citizens are involved in all matters that determine political decisions in the democratic state. This suggests that “citizens are more involved in solving community problems even if this takes place within a larger framework of a representative democracy” (Teorell, 2006:790). According to Krouse (2008:45) the Principle of Affected Interest posits that any person “who is affected by the decisions of the government has a prima facie right to equal participation in those decisions”. However, with the increased in population size coupled with the intricacies of running modern state affairs, the Athenian direct democracy loses its importance (Gyampo, 2013). For the participatory democrats (those who advocate for direct decision) participation is individual citizens making inputs in government system themselves with turn over effect as “self-development” (Teorell, 2006: 791). This model further posits that, if individual citizens directly take part in the decision-making process it gives them instant results. That is, feedback (input-output result). And this output, in essence, is the policy outcome that goes to develop the citizen. The third model, according to Teorell, is a deliberative democracy - political discussion. This model argues that the more citizens take part in discussing affairs that concern themselves, the more it helps them to strengthen their democratic judgment. This deliberative model is more concerned with the “legitimacy of the democracy itself”. It

stresses that discussions lead to “more informed public opinion” (Teorell, 2006:795). The theory suggests that in discussing and debating on political issues disagreements and tension arise. However, with optimum debates on such issues lead to compromise and understanding which subsequently strengthens the democracy. A critique of this assertion is that the issues that receive debate and attention may not be in universal interest of the public. Besides, some scholars also argued that whether legitimize or not, democracy has worsened the plight of the socially disadvantaged population in the society.

3.2 Factors Influencing Participation

In the three models of participation, what are the prime movers that make citizens participate in political activities, be it influencing attempt, political discussion, and direct decision-making? Teorell, in his answer, cited two main causes. These are resources and incentives. According to Teorell (2006), resources comprises of physical, human and social. The physical resources come in the form of materials such as income, wealth, and all other factors that make an individual satisfy with life. If these resources are readily available and enough, encourage citizens to fully take interest and participate in political activities. Additionally, human capital also plays a vital role and deals with capabilities. They come in the form of education, skills, and knowledge. As an individual gains political knowledge, it facilitates his/her political participation. Education and knowledge help the citizens to understand economic and political problems (Gyampo, 2013). On the other hand, social capital goes with the social network of the people. That is, the relationship that exists between the individuals influence their ability to participate in politics. This basically implies that getting access to social networks “increases an individual’s likelihood of been recruited to the political participation” (Teorell, 2006: 800)

On the other hand, incentives as causes of political participation are general and selective. This concept has to do with the Rational Choice Theory. The theory states that where there are alternatives individual citizens have choices to select to meet their interests. The rational individuals pursue the goals of their interests based on what is available to him/her. If individuals see within the choices, certain policies that meet their expectations, they serve as incentives for them to muster the effort to participate in order to achieve that end. A rational individual will only participate if the benefits of participation are far more than the opportunity costs (Krouse, 2008). The argument is that individuals may not have the same interests as the Rational Theory posits (selective interests). And in order to achieve one's needs and preferences, one must actively participate to register his/her concerns. Put differently, the groups that seek to press home their needs and preferences through protests may not necessarily be a representation of the whole citizens, hence the need for micro-level individual participation. It is in this context that Teorell (2006:800) notes that if people were to participate in discussions and involved in the direct decision-making process for the pursuit of collective interests, then, "any single individual seen in isolation would be better off remaining inactive". Gyampo (2013:28) also stressed that if allowed, representatives may use the "latitude to pursue their own selfish interests". Teorell summarizes his theory of participation in the diagram below,

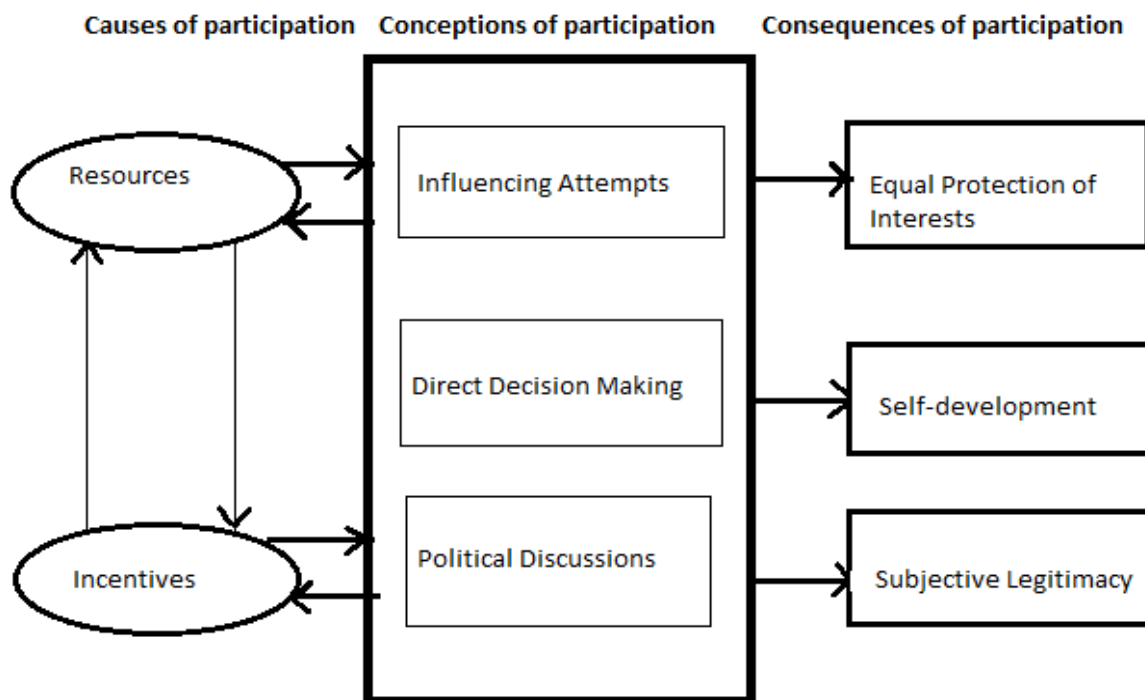


Figure 1: Teorell's Theory of Participation

Figure 1 shows the three models of political participation, which include influencing attempts, direct decision-making, and political participation. According to Teorell (2006) the influencing factors are resources and incentives. The arrows show the relationships that exist between them and the causes (resources and incentives) and effects (consequences). It explains that the ability of citizens to participate due to resources that they have is as a result of the incentives that await them. More so, the incentives serve as motivating factors for citizens to yearn for resources which indirectly urge them to participate. The resource acquisition and incentives available to citizen are likely to get lead him/her to either engage in responsive model of participation, direct decision-making or political discussion model. The deliberative or political discussion model

leads to subjective legitimacy because as individuals discuss and take part in decision-making process he/she then feels the ownership of government.

In the early stages of politics in Ghana, very few women were seen actively involved. However, Huntington's third wave of democratization has seen abysmal increase in women's political participation and representation. Their participation can be tied to Teorell's Theory (incentives and resources). Indeed, democracy will not make meaning and attain its core function if a large part of the population, such as women, are left out. According to Agbalajobi (2010), participation as the "sine qua non of democracy" gives opportunity to all to participate and does not leave out women. So, participation is a prerequisite and a very important dimension of representative democracies (Desposato & Norrander, 2009). Also, for political parties to establish women's wings is a great sign of women's participation.

3.3 Determinants of Participation

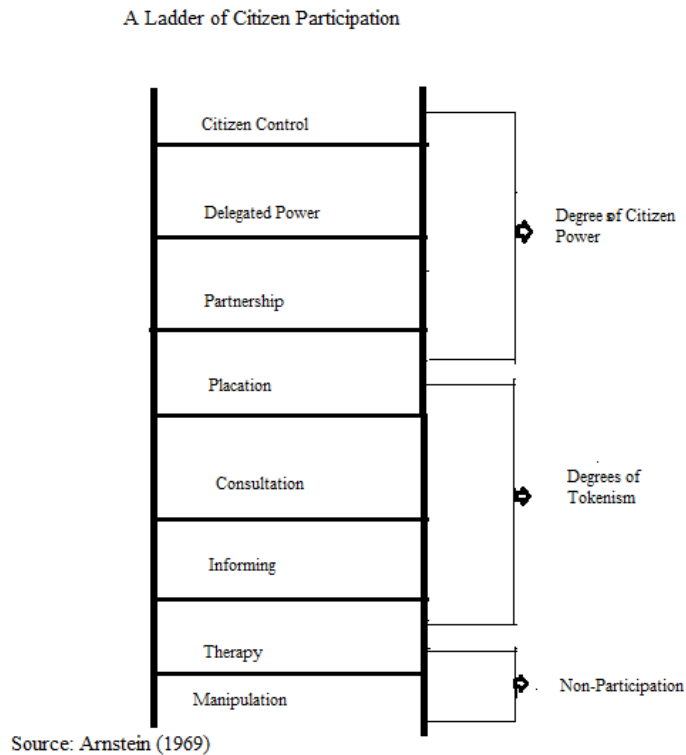
Bryant and White (1982; cited in Gyampo, 2013: 24-25) documented various factors that prevent people's participation in decision-making process. These factors include; 1) people avoid participation not indispensably due to lack of interest and tradition, however, there is a positive correlation between income, affordable risk and incentive of participation. That is, the less the income of the people, the less risk they take coupled with less incentives anticipated from participation. 2) people although support certain things and concerns, however, they usually do not collectively participate in actions to demand them. This is partly because they know that their benefits do not necessarily link to their contribution. 3) participation becomes binding if the jurisdiction to do so is a small community and needs everyone's contribution and participation. 4) participation takes place if it involves a small task with basic skills requirement. 5)

participation is effectively achieved if the people are equipped with the appropriate resources and given opportunity to initiate and own the project(s). 6) people participate in projects if they anticipate such participation will afford them a certain opportunity to secure high positions in order to be able to influence decision-making processes. That is, if participation is rewarding enough. However, they will avoid participation if positions promised are unmeritorious and will not give the chance to influence decision-making. The citizens therefore lose interest and resent their energy and resources. 7) finally, social environmental elements such as gender, age, place of residence, income, education, ethnicity, religion, mobility and occupation influence participation of people. In addition to these factors, Arnstein (1969) identified eight modes on her “Ladder of Citizen Participation”, while Hollnsteiner (1976) also had six modes of participation. The next subsections examine these modes in details.

3.3.1 Arnstein’s Ladder of Citizen Participation

Participation in modern liberal democracy is a confusing and complex phenomenon. In trying to defuse this complex phenomenon, Arnstein (1969) postulates that there is a clear dichotomy between citizens’ disguised participation and participation that has strong effect of influencing decisions that affect them. This explains that participation which does not benefit the citizens is useless and “frustrating process to the powerless” (Arnstein, 1969:216). This in effect allows power-holders to assume that all citizens are considered and to keep the status quo to their benefits. Arnstein (1969), in her bid to describe the hidden motives behind the concept of participation, identified eight (8) rungs. She puts them in ladder as shown below, in Table 7

Table 7: Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation



The first two rungs (Manipulation and Therapy) are described as non-participatory which portrays that citizens are seen participating; meanwhile the genuine aim is to conceal and prevent them from troubling and worrying the power-holders. It affords the power-holders to educate the participants in a way that will not expose them (citizens) to the real objectives. This mode of participation can best be described as illusive, disguising and misleading. Arnstein used adjectives such as “masked” and “masquerade” to describe these modes of participation.

Further still, the informing and consultation are categorized as Tokenism by Arnstein. At this level, participants are given the chance to hear from the power-holders and to voice out their

concerns. However, what is unclear is that citizens would not know either their voices or concerns are heard or incorporated into the final decision model. In this situation, the participants “lack the power to ensure that their views will be heeded by the power-holders” (Ahmadi et al, 2013: 315)

The height of Tokenism is placation (Arnstein, 1969) which allows participants to have advisory roles in “decision-making but highly controlled by the power-holders”(Ahmadi et al, 2013: 315). In this mode, citizens begin to exercise some level of influence and control of decision-making but in a piecemeal. This is due to minority of citizens in the decision-making arena. However, the elites still have the majority and can determine which decision is the best. Additionally, above the placation on the ladder, is partnership model. It describes how participants gain power in decision-making procedures and enter into partnership with power-holders through negotiations that will benefit them.

The apex of the ladder is described as Degrees of Citizen Power. This level comprises of Delegated Power and Citizen Control. At these levels, the participants achieve majority number in the procedural decision-making and take “full managerial power” (ibid: 315). The citizens gaining dominant roles in all levels of policy-making processes pave way for power-holders to seek compromise through negotiations. Besides, citizens can veto if differences cannot be resolved through negotiations (Arnstein, 1969).

3.3.2 Hollnsteiner’s Model of Participation

In another related concept of participation, Hollnsteiner (1976) identified six (6) models of participation. These are:

- Representation by “solid citizen” group.

- Appointment of local leaders into government bureaucratic structure.
- The community is allowed to select from alternative plans of action.
- Throughout the planning process, planners get the people consulted.
- People gain minority representation in decision-making board.
- People gain total control and win majority in all decision-making processes.

Table 8: Hollnsteiner's Model of Participation

Hollnsteiner's Model of Participation	
Identity of Participants	Locus of Power
1. "Solid Citizen" - educated local leaders	Planners and local elites
2. Appointment of local leaders in government bureaucratic structures	Planners and local elites
3. Through consultation community is allowed to select from alternative plans of action	Planners and people, but planners have power over people
4. Throughout the planning process planners consult the people	Planners and people, however, planners wield authority over people
5. People gain minority representation in decision-making board	Planners and people, however, planners due to majority have authority over people
6. People gain majority representation in decision-making board	people and planners, but due to people having majority have power over planners

sources: Hollnsteiner (1976) & Ahmadi et al (2013)

In the first mode, is the local leaders – the educated “solid citizen” group. These people represent their people in dealing with the government or NGO agents. They speak and plan for their people even though their people have not told them to (Hollnsteiner, 1976). They take part in all meetings as the citizens regard them as the “upper class leaders” (Ahmadi et al, 2013: 317). In

this mode, even though the people seem to be participating, they are very far from taking part in decision-making processes because the “solid citizen” group participation is “symbolic civic consciousness” (Hollnsteiner, 1976:12 & Ahmadi et al, 2013:317). Here, the function of the people and the educated local elites is to follow and serve as those who need assistance (ibid). The “solid citizen” group engages in voluntary work and is happy organizing and presiding over meetings.

In the second mode, the local leaders are “officially or un-officially” appointed into the government bureaucratic structures (Hollnsteiner, 1976:13) as representatives. They serve as messengers or “transmitters” and “audiences” to the political leaders (Hollnsteiner, 1976:13 & Ahmadi et al, 2013:317). The functions of these local representatives are remotely controlled by the outsiders hence they are far from affecting the decision-making process. They only carry orders from above.

The third mode has it that the people are presented with multiple policy choices where they have to select what they deem as better for themselves. Hollnsteiner described this mode as “ex post facto” because the people never had chance to take part and do not know the hidden details of the plans. What they do. is to choose from already thought plans without consulting the beneficiaries. In the fourth mode according to Hollnsteiner, is a significant breakthrough because there is consultation throughout the decision-making process. Here, the participants actually have a say through dialogue with the political leaders or decision-makers. Decision-making in this mode, a compromise is reached through deliberations (two -way dialogue). Again, in this mode, the participants can have their interests accommodated and fused into the final decision policy.

Fifth mode, on the other hand, is an advanced form of mode four. That is, in mode five, the people gain minority group in the decision-making panel. They vote on issues and take part in all deliberations. However, due to their minority, the power to make decision is still “token rather than total” (Hollnsteiner, 1976:15). This implies that the political elites can use their majority to bulldoze their way to influence decisions in their favour.

Finally, mode six is the triumphant victory of the people as they gain majority in the decision-making board and assume total control of the decision-making policy. The people make policies that will benefit themselves. According to Gyampo (2013) the first three of Hollnsteiner’s modes of participation constitute co-optation which allows the elites to dominate in all the decision-making process, while the last three modes constitute the actual participation because consultation and full participation can be observed. Also, the first three modes can be fine-tuned with what Zocher (2010: 54) termed as “tyranny of decision-making and control”.

3.4 Measurement of Participation

To measure participation, Gyampo (2013:26), identifies four key indices. These are;

- Representation in the process of decision-making.
- Making contribution to the decision-making process.
- Having ability or capacity to influence decision-making policy index.
- The degree of policies and programmes ownership.

Representative: The modern growth in size of population and society coupled with complexity of running government business render direct democracy under Athenian democracy practically impossible (Gyampo, 2013). What is possible in modern society, is citizens selecting representatives from a “large group which they belong” (Gyampo, 2013:26). This large group is

termed constituency in this modern democratic societies. This implies that those who are selected to represent others (constituents) must act to the best interest of the them (the constituents). However, the constituents must not be seen as consumers of the representatives, they must hold them accountable. This kind of representation is a key index to measure citizens' actual participation in policy decision-making (Gymapo, 2013). It is conceptualized that most representatives over-ride those they represent and deem them as inferior and ignorant. If representation is described as acting on others' behalf, then it implies that presentation becomes democratic and obvious if the ruled have their views and interests incorporated in the agenda of those who rule (ibid). Representation comes in the form of delegation, resemblance and mandate. Within a system, two or more of these modes can be seen as there is no unique explanation (Heywood, 2002). Representation denoting trusteeship implies that the individual chosen to act as a trustee has certain unique qualities. The trustee acting on others' behalf must channel all efforts towards enhancing the plight of those who entrusted the trusteeship on him or her. Some scholars assert that there is a section of the society who virtually cannot think and do not know what is good for themselves, hence must be ignored and dictated to. This implies that, representatives must act independently without consulting the them (constituents). However, other scholars argue vehemently that such assertion defies the quality of democracy. They state that if representatives take the people as ignorant illiterate and unproductive thinkers, then it beats the logic of giving them the chance to select representatives. Further, if the power of check and balances is not exercised between the representatives and represented, the later will act illusively to their benefits. Dovetail to this is delegation model. A delegate is a "person chosen to act for another on the basis of a clear cut guidance or instruction" (Gyampo, 2013: 28). In delegation, the person chosen is confined to what has been prescribed for him or her. The person

virtually is dictated to. This model of representation encourages popular participation as it gives opportunity for inclusiveness (Gyampo, 2013). However, it is a huge setback to decision-making process and does not breed leadership innovations since it limits the “scope of leadership and statesmanship” (ibid: 28).

The Mandate Model suggests that representatives are elected based on their doctrine and policies presented to the people. Representatives are judged based on their degree of achieving what is promised. The limitation of this model is lack of innovation and scope of activities. The Resemblance Model, on the other hand, states that the representatives must take the form of those they represent. In this model, only those who come from a particular group and share same identity, can make a meaningful representation (Gyampo, 2013).

In summary, representatives in exercising their duties must be innovative and blend the views of the represented with their own to the benefit of all. They must be responsible and accountable to the people. Also, they must be subject to removal if he or she failed to advance the course of the people. It is by default that citizens allow some people to take decisions on their behalf for a period and advance their interests. That is, until the coming of new elections. These elections mark the only mechanisms that citizens can use to “discipline policy makers to act on their interests”(Boix, 2007: 499)

Meaningful contribution: This second measurement of participation index is the “ability of citizens to meaningfully contribute to decision-making process” (Gyampo, 2013:31). In the bid to achieve and solve problems of the society, the citizens must be willing to offer good suggestions when called upon to do so during process of decision-making. It is only prudent that citizens must be willing to contribute, because it is during such deliberations that a compromise

can be reached on the goals and objectives that must be achieved and followed by the representatives (Gyampo, 2013).

Influence: In measuring participation, ability to make meaningful contribution and ability to influence are inter-locking indices. On one hand, citizens can be called upon to make contributions but such inputs are not taken into consideration. This, Hollnsteiner (1976) described as manipulation and symbolic participation whiles Gyampo (2013) termed it as co-optation. However, ability to influence is valid. According to Gyampo (2013:32) influence is defined as “ability to convince a decision-maker to take a certain decision”. This index of participation is not the disguised type. Here, the participants actually have their contributions or inputs fused into the final policy or decision. In effect, citizens are able to influence the decision-making process in a manner that satisfies their needs and interests (ibid). In this instance, the ability to influence is determined by experience, closeness to powerful leaders, lobbying etc. This index of participation is the nucleus of all the indices (ibid: 32).

Ownership: This fourth index of participation has to do with citizens taking and owning the whole policy programmes (Gyampo, 2013). This participation is linked to Hollnsteiner’s (1976) sixth model of participation and Arnstein’s (1969) eighth model- Citizen Control. This index connotes that citizens exercise absolute and exclusive control of all decision-making processes and final policy reached. In a nutshell, the level of individuals’ participation has a direct correlational influence that determines and shapes ownership of their goals and objectives in the form of exercising one’s capabilities which is considered as a vital index of empowerment (Samah & Aref, 2009)

3.5 Criticisms of the theory

Participation gained extensive usage in the political terrain in the later years of 1960s with its philosophical areas of application included political science and anthropology (Gyampo, 2012). Its implementation was made possible due to pressure from students and other various groups. In France, under De Gaulle; Britain, the Skeffington Report on planning and in America's anti-poverty programme, all made a call to participation (Pateman, 1970). However, the theory was heavily criticized due to its inability to address structural social change or "contradictions and conflicts" (Gyampo, 2013; Kingsbury & Scanzoni, 2009)

Uphoff (1985; cited in Oakley, 1991: 19) identified key critical issues confronting participation. These are clarity, realistic objective, investment, introduction, co-optation, expectation, and dependence. The theory was criticized on the ground that sometimes participation is not clear, because in group participation, few people may dominate obscuring the real number of participants. It on this note that Chambers (1994) argues that in group participation an individual may dominate and eclipse others. This consequently limits the number of beneficiaries to few local elites who may play active roles (Mubita et al, 2017).

Participation, again, essentially can indirectly conceal local and traditional relationship of power (Mosse, 2001) as it fails to reconcile with situations where local culture hinders participation by being oppressive to a section of the people (Mubita et al, 2017). This in effect will result in leadership power struggles as such unresolved conflicts may defeat the purpose of participation (ibid). Additionally, participation may lead to manipulation (Arnstein, 1969) and co-optation (Gyampo, 2013). This suggests that people may be seen participation but in a disguised manner. They cannot influence any decision-making process. They are dictated to (Arnstein, 1969). More

so, incorporating the local expertise may not be enough or effective as such skills may lack technicality (Mubita, et al, 2017). Mosse (2001; Neef, 2003) also stressed that participatory approaches have shown to be well-suited with top-down planning system. They stressed further that, the “local knowledge” purported to have taken care of does not really exert any influential change in the total outcome of the project under taken.

In other related criticism leveled against participation, Gyampo (2013) argues from structural-functionalist point of view that participation can lead to disruptive influence. That is, participation becomes a nuisance if leaders observe that such participation and influence threaten their leadership positions (Gyampo, 2013). Such leaders therefore look for ways and means to curtail participation (ibid).

Additionally, participation has the tendency to involve directly with a section of the masses. However, the potential difficulty is inability to apply it to “decisions affecting a large number of people” (Thomas, 2007: 209)

Finally, Cleaver (2001) and Mosse (2001; cited in Thomas, 2007:203) identified two main fundamental flaws of participation which are “the use of participation as method of external reasons to suit external agenda and submerging of or collusion with, different interests with the community”. These significantly imply that if participation becomes a top-down approach, leaders will make decisions to their own benefits. Besides, due to differences in interests, participation may not be able to meet entirely, the problems of the community.

3.6 Usefulness of the theory

The theory of participation may have received heavy and cogent criticisms from scholars. However, its usefulness cannot be allowed to pass under the carpet. Participation provides

opportunity for the local people to exhibit their strength of thinking and devise home-grown solutions to their problem (Mubita et al, 2017). This suggests that bearers of the problem know exactly how to solve it. So, if the people participate they will be able to find their own solutions to mitigate their problems since “he who feels it knows it more”. Again, participation paves way for inclusive categorization of local knowledge, skills and resources, effective design of projects and programmes for their own benefits (ibid: 244).

Additionally, participation has different meaning to different people in different areas (ibid: 241). Jaitili and Brow (1999; cited in Mubita et al, 2017), posit that if participation is to be “a mean to an end”, then it becomes paramount for local people to partake with all seriousness and dedication. This in effect, improves the empowerment level of the local people. Similarly, this subsequently results in empowering of the vulnerable (weak) and disadvantaged (local people) which will enable them to have a sense of ownership of the process of development and put them in the realm of affairs to “identify, determine and control their priorities for action” (Chambers, 1994: 954).

Furthermore, according to Oakley (1991), participation improves on “the goal of sustainability”. This in effect is a vital component of “ensuring long-term development” (Mubita et al, 2017:244). In the same vein, Oakley (1991) identified other usefulness of participation. These are participation is efficient in the areas of resource allocation and is cost-effective. According to Oakley, effectiveness of participation implies that as local people get incorporated and contribute their knowledge and skills, the project receives the needed attention, hence very effective. For self-reliance, Oakley states that the benefits of participation available to the people make them self-reliance. More so, since participation concerns with human development and raises the sense of control of issues that affect the people, which enhances their capability to plan and improve

their agenda in good-will. Additionally, “It helps break the mentality of the dependence which characterizes much developmental work and provides self-awareness and confidence and help them devise and examine problems and solutions” (Oakley, 1991: 18).

Furthermore, participation enhances interventions that inure to the benefit of the socially excluded or under privileged in society (Mubita et al, 2017). Arnstein (1969)’s ladder of participation has the highest rungs on the ladder which are described as beneficial to the local people, as they give power and ownership of development to the people. In the same vein, arguing from the structural functionalist point of view, Gyampo (2012) states that for every society to achieve balance and function creditably each individual in the larger societal structure, needs to perform his/her role irrespective of how relevant or irrelevant it may be. He stressed further that failure by individuals to perform such role will lead to the entire structure of the larger society collapsing. Each structure of an organization must perform its role to complement the entire function of the organization.

It is against these that, the role of women’s wings of political parties (NPP and NDC) needs to be explored to unravel how they work to ensure their sustainable aims and objectives of the party and to keep them winning all elections. The theory of participation explains how women participate in politics. It shows the rationale behind women’s political involvement.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

The purpose of this study is to probe into the role of women's wings in political parties. Accordingly, this section particularly focuses on systematic and detailed procedures such as research strategy/design, the method of data collection, instruments as well as data analysis.

4.1 Research Strategy/Design

Research design or approach is “a plan and procedure for research that spans the steps from a broad assumption to detailed methods of data collection, analysis and interpretation”(Creswell, 2014: 31). Yin (1994: 19) also defined research design as “a logical sequence that connects the empirical data of a study's initial research questions, ultimately, to its conclusion”. He stressed further that research design is an action plan for getting from here to there - where here, means the research questions while there implies answering the questions. Research design can also mean a systematic procedure of inquiry. Yin (1994) reiterates that the ultimate purpose of the research design is to provide evidence in order to answer initial research questions.

In essence, this study adopts a qualitative case study design in collecting and analyzing the data. A case study is a “scientific study that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 1994:13). Yin further stressed that in a case study multiple sources of evidence are required for a proper analysis. The relevance of case study are it provides intensive probing and analysis of a phenomenon under study; it provides anecdotal evidence; and examines the

variables and phenomena that have not received thorough and intensive investigation (Abomah, 2005). A quick check on Electoral Commission's website revealed that there are over twenty political parties including those on extinction in Ghana's Fourth Republic. However, only a few of them are in existence currently and participate in general elections. All these political parties have women's wings/sections. Since only two dominant parties (NPP and NDC) have alternated power, a case study of the women's wings of the two parties would be undertaken to unearth their role.

4.1.1 Qualitative Research Method

Qualitative research's historical underpinning emerged in the 1990s and "into the 21st century" (Creswell, 2014:42). It emanated from anthropology, sociology, humanities and, evaluation. Its main forms are; narrative research; grounded theory; phenomenological research; case study, and ethnography. The qualitative research method deals with the collection of information that is un-numerical. Qualitative data does not need statistical analysis (McLeod, 2008). Qualitative research is "an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning of individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" (Creswell, 2014:32). Qualitative case study methodology provides tools for the researcher to study the complex social phenomenon in its context (Baxter & Jack, 2008). In a qualitative research design, the procedures are characterized as emerging, inductive and shaped by the "researcher's experience in collecting and analyzing the data" (Creswell, 2007:19). Patton & Cochran (2002), also assert that qualitative research is characterized by its aim and related to the understanding of social phenomena and methods generated in words either than numbers for analysis of data.

The goal of qualitative research is to understand the social phenomenon and reality of groups, individuals, and cultures. It explains ‘why’ and ‘how’ a particular behavior or phenomenon operates in a given situation (McLeod, 2008). The “new political space” in Ghana, particularly from 2000 to date, almost all the political parties have taken a keen interest in creating women’s wings. This current phenomenon in the political space in Ghana makes it imperative to understand the key determinants that drive these political parties to establish these women’s wings/section despite the experience from the 31DWM. It is against this backdrop that, the researcher chose a qualitative method to investigate and explain and describe in details the role of these women’s wings/sections.

The two other research designs in addition to qualitative research type are quantitative research design and mixed method. A quantitative method of data collection deals with assembling of data put into numerical form. It involves categorizations and ranking order (McLeod, 2008). Quantitative research method uses statistical tools to analyze data. This method, again, uses questionnaires to generate data that require statistical tool(s) for analysis. According to Mack et al. (2005), the exact difference between qualitative and quantitative research method is flexibility. That is, qualitative research design is flexible especially as it uses open-ended questions, while in quantitative is not flexible, as respondents are presented with similar questions. Other differences are while quantitative is used to test for a hypothesis about a phenomenon, qualitative explains the phenomenon. Conversely, the mixed method is “the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches or language into a single study”(Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

4.1.2 Strengths and Weaknesses

Mack et al (2005) identified some strengths of qualitative research design as which are it provides complex contextual descriptions of how people's experience a given research phenomenon; it gives information about human perspectives of an issue as well as assists in identifying intangible factors such as societal norms, gender roles, socio-economic status of some social groups etc. Besides the strengths of the qualitative method of data collection, it has limitations which are a) due to the time involved and cost, it depends on a few data, b) also due to its subjectivity, the qualitative method of data collection has been criticized over reliability and validity. This means qualitative method lacks generalization.

4.2. Data Collection

A collection of data is done when the researcher has defined the research problem and chosen the appropriate research design for empirical analysis. Fundamentally, the collection of data in this study is grouped into primary and secondary.

4.2.1 Sources of Data

There were two sources of data used in this study; the primary and secondary. The primary data of this study was sourced from interviews conducted. The researcher used semi-structured face-to-face interviews to gather primary data. The semi-structured interview was good for qualitative research because of its use of open questions which paved way for respondents and the researcher to engage in in-depth discussions and understanding (McLeod, 2008). The use of the interview is not only underpinned by the strong conviction that allowed the researcher to accept the social reality of the women, however, to understand the topic under study. The researcher sourced the primary data from leaders of women' wings/sections of both NPP and NDC. The

researcher considered 24 of these leaders because they can provide the accurate information needed for in-depth analysis.

On the other hand, the secondary data was sourced from the internet, journals, reports, published thesis, working papers, conference proceedings, magazines, and newspaper reports. Additionally, the researcher sourced data from party official documents such as constitutions and manifestoes.

4.2.2 Sampling Design

Sampling is a “process in which a researcher selects a sample of participants for a study from a population of interest” (Leary, 2001:109). Probability sampling and non-probability sampling are the two main types of sampling methods. In effect, the researcher adopted the purposive sampling technique to select respondents (interviewees). Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling type. It involves the researcher selecting participants with specific qualities or expertise whose information can adequately address research questions (Marshall, 1996). Marshall further asserts that sometimes snowball sampling may occur as some subjects can recommend some useful and potential respondents. Purposive sampling is “selecting units (e.g. individuals, groups of individuals, and institutions) based on the specific purposes associated with answering research study’s questions (Teddlie, Charles & Yu, 2007:77). In purposive sampling, the researcher determines the participants who should be included in the research using his/her own discretion/judgment (Leary, 2001). Again, purposive sampling is deliberately selecting persons “due to the important information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well from other choices” (Maxwell, 2008:235). Similarly, Devers & Frankel (2000), also reiterated that in purposive sampling the researcher seeks to accomplish a goal by selecting respondents with rich information or unique experiences to provide insight to answer research questions.

4.2.2.1 Justification for Purposive Sampling

The researcher chose the purposive sampling method because is the perfect sampling type for qualitative research design as it helped “the researcher to understand the problem and research questions” (Creswell, 2014: 239). In the same vein, purposive sampling in this regard, afforded the researcher the opportunity to obtain the accurate data from the right source for easy description and analysis. Patton & Cochran (2002) added that qualitative research samples are usually purposive as subjects are selected due to the likelihood that they will provide useful data for the study. It is against these that the researcher adopted this sampling method in order to select respondents that can provide accurate information for purposes of understanding the phenomenon under study. However, a criticism leveled against this technique is that the researchers may “intentionally craft a sample to achieve the results they want” (Koerber, A. & Mcmichael, 2008:465). Additionally, purposive sampling is subjective by nature as the researcher is capable of selecting respondents that suit his/her motives.

4.2.3 Population and Sample Size

A population is “the total collection of all cases in which the researcher is interested and that he/she wishes to understand better” (Healey, 2012:17; Healey, 2010:24). The population considered in this study was members of both NPP and NDC, while the target population drawn from the population comprised of women’s organizers of parties.

A sample is a “carefully chosen subset of a population to make inferences about the population. Samples are cheaper to organize and suitable for accurate generalization” (Healey, 2012: 17). According to Creswell (2014), a qualitative research design is characterized by a small sample size. Similarly, Patton & Cochran (2002) assert that sample sizes in qualitative studies are

“typically small” as the researcher can continuously recruit respondents until the data reaches a saturation. In the same vein, Creswell (2014), added that the sample size is determined by the qualitative design eg ethnography or case study. However, he proposed 3 -10 sample size as enough for a phenomenological study eg case study. Furthermore, Marshall (1996: 523) reiterated that “an appropriate sample size is the one that adequately answers the research questions”. Charmaz (2006; cited in Creswell, 2014) also stated that the researcher only stops collecting data when the themes are fully utilized (saturated). That is when there is no need to gather more data. “In practice, the number of required subjects becomes obvious as the study progresses, as new categories, themes or explanations stop emerging from the data” Marshall. 1996:523). Wallace Foundation (2009) also proposed 10-15 qualitative research participants as enough.

With these assertions, the researcher used a sample size of 24. This is made up of 21 constituency women organizers, 2 regional women organizers each from NPP and NDC and the national women organizer of NDC. The researcher stopped at this sample size because he realized that the rest of the respondents were providing similar information which indicated clearly that a saturation point has been reached. However, by the time the research was being conducted, NPP was without a national women organizer.

4.2.4 Research Instruments

The main research instrument used in this study to gather primary data was the in-depth interview. This was done using a tape recorder and Samsung Galaxy J7 mobile phone. An interview is a very vital tool in qualitative research designs (Abomah, 2005). Mason (2002) pointed out that one of the most commonly used forms of research instrument in qualitative

research is interviews. According to Abomah (2005), an interview is posing questions to respondents for answers in a face-to-face situation or by phone. Patton and Cochran (2002:11) also assert that “interviews resemble everyday conversations, although they are focused on the researcher’s need for data”. They are different from everyday conversations because they are conducted in a rigorous manner that ensures reliability and validity (ibid)

Fundamentally, there are three main research interviews: unstructured, semi-structured and structured interviews. The unstructured interview does not have a well-structured step-by-step written down questions to be posed to respondents. In other words, there is “no predetermination of questions topic or wording”. A structured interview, besides, is the type which has a well-planned interview guide to be followed by the interviewer. The interviewer in this regard follows the written down questions for respondents to answers. Semi-structured interview, on the other hand, falls between the two. It has few question guide and gives room for the interviewer to follow up or probe further questions to the respondents for an in-depth understanding of the issue/phenomenon under study. Semi-structured interviews are conducted based on the topic guide which contains open-ended questions that define the appropriate areas to be explored (Patton & Cochran, 2002). More so, Mason (2002:62) also reiterated that the qualitative interview usually involves “in-depth, semi-structured, or loosely structured forms of interviewing”.

In this study, the researcher adopted an in-depth semi-structured interview type. According to Gill et al. (2008), semi-structured interviews are made up of many questions that assist in identifying the research areas to study. It gives leverage to the interviewer or interviewee to diverge for details. This helped the researcher to further use probing questions to elicit an understanding of the issue under investigation. The researcher chose interview because, the

researcher's ontological position suggests that the respondents' views, knowledge, understanding, experiences, and interpretation (Gill et al., 2008) are vital to the social reality in which the research questions are intended to discover (Mason, 2002). Again, a qualitative interview helped the researcher to provide a detail understanding of social topic better than questionnaires. Using a semi-structured interview is useful, however, developing the questions becomes time-consuming (Devers & Frankel, 2000).

4.2.5 Justification for In-depth Interview

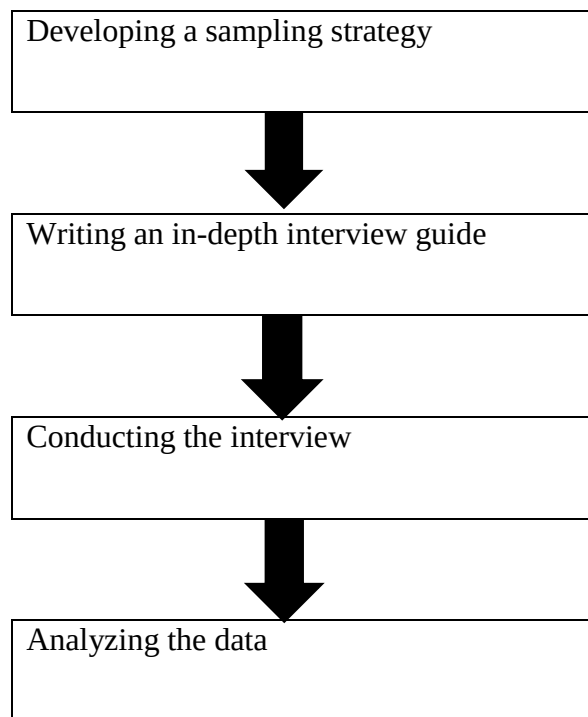
Gill et al. (2008), suggested that interviews are the most appropriate research tool where little is known about the research phenomenon or “where detailed insights are required from individual participants”. Boyce & Neale (2006) also explain that conducting in-depth interviews involves seeking intensive views of small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular social phenomenon. Therefore, the researcher adopted this research instrument in order to explore the experience, belief and motivation of respondents. Further, this research is conducted in the period where the parties were busy conducting internal elections to elect their executive members and therefore have very little time to spend. The researcher, due to this development had difficulty in sampling the respondents. The motivation behind the adoption of in-depth interview by the researcher is the appropriate time afforded by the participants at the comfort of their busy schedules and work. It is on this that Adhabi and Anozie (2017) assert that in general, time is major determinant to encounter in a face-to-face interview.

The primary merit of in-depth interviews is that they give detailed and comprehensive information not gotten from other research instruments and it is flexible and relax way of collecting data at the comfort of the respondents (Boyce & Neale, 2006). Again, it offers

opportunity for the interviewer (researcher) to interject where appropriate in order to understand the subject matter of the question under examination and gives the interviewer (researcher) the penchant to use his skills to explore important issues the respondents raise (Adhabi & Anozie, 2017). Another advantage of in-depth interview is its ability to gather enough data at very short period (Wallace Foundation, 2009). However, its main challenges are biases in data interpretation and it is time consuming – from interview time to transcription (Boyce & Neale, (2006). Adhabi & Anozie (2017) also posit that in-depth interviews are limited to one geographical area which pin respondents to provide instant responses.

4.2.6 Steps Involved in Conducting In-depth Interview

A flow chart of steps used in conducting the interview is shown in the figure below.



Source: Wallace Foundation (2009)

Figure 2: Steps Involved in Conducting In-depth Interview

According to Wallace Foundation (2009), the first step in conducting an in-depth interview is devising a research sampling strategy. As stated elsewhere in this study, the sample size chosen is 24. The recruitment is done by the researcher first visiting the party offices for the informal introduction of himself and the research topic. Subsequently, the researcher followed up with introductory letters from the department to formally seek the consents of the participants. Some agreed participants contacted the researcher by telephones. Appointment dates were then booked.

The second step, writing in-depth interview guide. The researcher, with the objectives of the study in mind, carefully designed an interview guide. The interview guide contains the thematic conversation areas the researcher wanted to focus attention on, with the research questions in mind. The third step is conducting the interview itself. The researcher at this juncture scheduled a convenient time and venue appropriate to participants. The researcher ensured a serene atmosphere for the interview. The researcher sought permission of respondents to record the conversation on audiotape and mobile phone. The researcher assured participants of strict adherence to all ethical considerations. Analyzing data as the last step has to do with transcription of the data. Here, the researcher employed the Qualitative Content Analysis tool to transcribe data into written text. This is explained in the subsequent section of this chapter.

4.3 Framework of Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data analysis is a “process of bringing order, structures, and meaning to the mass of collected data. Data analysis is a search for answers about relationships among categories” (ACAPS, 2013:3; Tiwari, 2013:125). Data analysis, according to Tiwari (2013), is a significant phase and soul of the research in any research work. Dey (1992:33) stated that qualitative data analysis is

“the process of describing phenomenon, classifying” and observing how the concepts are interconnected.

The researcher adopted Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) to analyze the primary data gathered from interviewing the respondents. Content Analysis, according to Hsieh and Shannon (2014: 1279) is “a research method for subjective interpretation of the content of the text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns”. They stated further that QCA has become one of the very many research methods used by researchers to analyze text data. Mayring (2000: 2) also reiterated that QCA is a method of empirical procedure measured by examining texts within framework of communication. According to Downe-Wambolt (1994; cited in Bengtsson, 2016) Content Analysis is a method of research that offers an orderly and unbiased means of making valid extrapolations from visual, verbal, or text so the researcher can quantify and describe a particular or a given phenomenon. Content Analysis has a purpose of organizing and eliciting meanings from collected data and to make a realistic judgement (Bengtsson, 2016). He reiterated further that, in QCA, data is represented in the form of words and themes.

Scholars agree that there are two main forms of Content Analysis. These are inductive and deductive content analysis. The inductive content analysis is used when there is limited knowledge or limited studies carried out on a phenomenon (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Bengtsson, (2016) stressed that the inductive research analyzes the texts in a manner that brings meaning and answers to the research questions while the deductive research is used to analyze and test for theories. This study is basically designed to investigate a social phenomenon of the role of women’s wings of political parties and used interviews to assemble data. It is therefore imperative for the researcher to use the inductive content analysis in order to transcribe verbal

conversations into written text. The QCA inductive method involves creating categories, open coding and abstraction (Elo & Kyngas, 2008). This afforded and motivated the researcher to create categories “to provide a means of describing the phenomenon, to increase knowledge and to generate the appropriate knowledge” (Cavanagh, 1997; cited in Elo & Kyngas, 2008: 111). In essence, it helped the researcher to make decisions with regards to interpretation and to determine how to classify the texts into categories (Dey, 1993; cited in Elo & Kyngas, 2008). Again, in the interview section, the researcher used in-depth interview to gather the data which therefore served as an urge to adopting QCA. To make meaning from the recorded voices of the respondents, the researcher needed to transform the audio into written texts in the context in which the respondents spoke. This in effect, made it possible for the researcher to make sound judgment and interpretation.

The other reason why the researcher chose QCA is that it allowed the researcher to make use of his own planned procedure of interpretation (Mayring, 2014). The main goal of the Content Analysis is to offer knowledge and thoughtful understanding of the phenomenon under investigation (Downe-Wambolt, 1992; cited in Hsieh & Shannon, 2014). Another advantage offered by Elo and Kyngas (2008) is that QCA gives enough space for the researcher to deal with huge texts data from different sources in order to have confirmatory evidence. However, the main disadvantage slapped on QCA by Elo & Kyngas (2008) is that its excessive interpretation on the part of the researcher poses a serious threat to successful content analysis.

Additionally, the researcher adopted a very good and meticulous transcription procedure in order to make meaning from interviews or data gathered from participants. According to Mayring (2014:45) transcription is a method of “transforming spoken language into text”. The researcher defined the aspect of the recorded interview vital and relevant to answering the research

questions. The researcher then listened to the recorded audio and periodically stops to summarize the main content into written text. In other words, the researcher avoided certain unimportant words such as; oh, yah, uh etc (Mayring, 2014).

4.4 Ethical Consideration

In academic research, ethics is “doing what is morally right in the conducting of research” (Robnett & Chop, 2013: 20). This implies that the researcher must have in-depth knowledge on the subject area, apply reasoning in all decision-making and must sound intellectually correct in reporting all findings (ibid).

Ethics as a philosophical branch talks about people’s conduct and as a guide to norms and or people’s behavioural standards and their relationships with one another (Kavacs, 1985; cited in Akaranga & Makau, 2016). According to Blumberg et al. (2005), there are two main philosophical theories that underpin ethics. These are teleological ethics which states that the end justifies the means. It implies that an unethical consideration can be used if only the research benefits are paramount than the cost, while deontological theory of ethics posits that however important, the unethical consideration is not justifiable to warrant its use. It holds the view that a researcher “cannot use deception to ensure validity and reliability of data” (Akaranga & Makau, 2016)

When conducting research that involves human beings, ethics plays an extremely important role (Robnett & Chop, 2013). Ethical norms improve research purposes such as reporting nothing but the truth, knowledge dissemination and to minimize errors (Akaranga & Makau, 2016). It is in this regard that it is of essence to appropriately observe ethical values at all levels of research processes (ibid). In observing certain ethical considerations, the researcher decided to meet

respondents at their own comfort places. For confidentiality, anonymity and privacy, researcher promised respondents never to reveal any data collected to any third (party) person and never to disclose their identities. The researcher in this study again, explained the research purpose and benefits to the respondents before conducting the interviews. The researcher has avoided the use of deception to lure respondents to take part by sampling voluntary respondents and informed them on the research purpose.

4.5 Field Work

In the preliminary investigation, the researcher paid a visit to the various parties' offices. These included national headquarters of both NPP and NDC, their regional offices, and some constituency offices. This is done to interact and establish rapport with officials and to familiarize himself with the location and easy access to the places. According to Devers and Frankel (2000) identifying research areas or sites (offices) and negotiating with individuals (respondents) make the researcher part of the research instrument in qualitative research. They assert further that it is accurate for the researcher to establish a good rapport with respondents and familiarize with the sites. "Developing and maintaining good relationships are important and effective sampling and for the credibility of the research" (p. 265). After achieving this purpose, the researcher later went for an introductory letter from the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana. The letter indicates the research topic and the purpose. Copies were later made available to the offices and individuals concerned. This was done to formally inform such offices and individuals and to seek permission to undertake the research.

The researcher then consulted individuals concerned and booked appointment dates for the interview to be conducted. This was done to make it convenient for the respondents and their

official work. In addition, interview guides were given to respondents to familiarize themselves with the interview questions for the appropriate response.

On the interview dates, the researcher established good rapport with respondents and ensured a conducive atmosphere for the interviews. The researcher then sought permission to record interview conversations on audio recording devices. The respondents were informed that strict adherence to research ethical considerations will be observed. In other words, anonymity and confidentiality are paramount as the research is solely for academic purpose.

Qualitative Content Analysis was used to transcribe the recorded audio interviews responses into texts format in order to answer research questions and to achieve the objective set. Later, recorded data were deleted from all storage devices used in the process.

4.6 Limitation of the Study

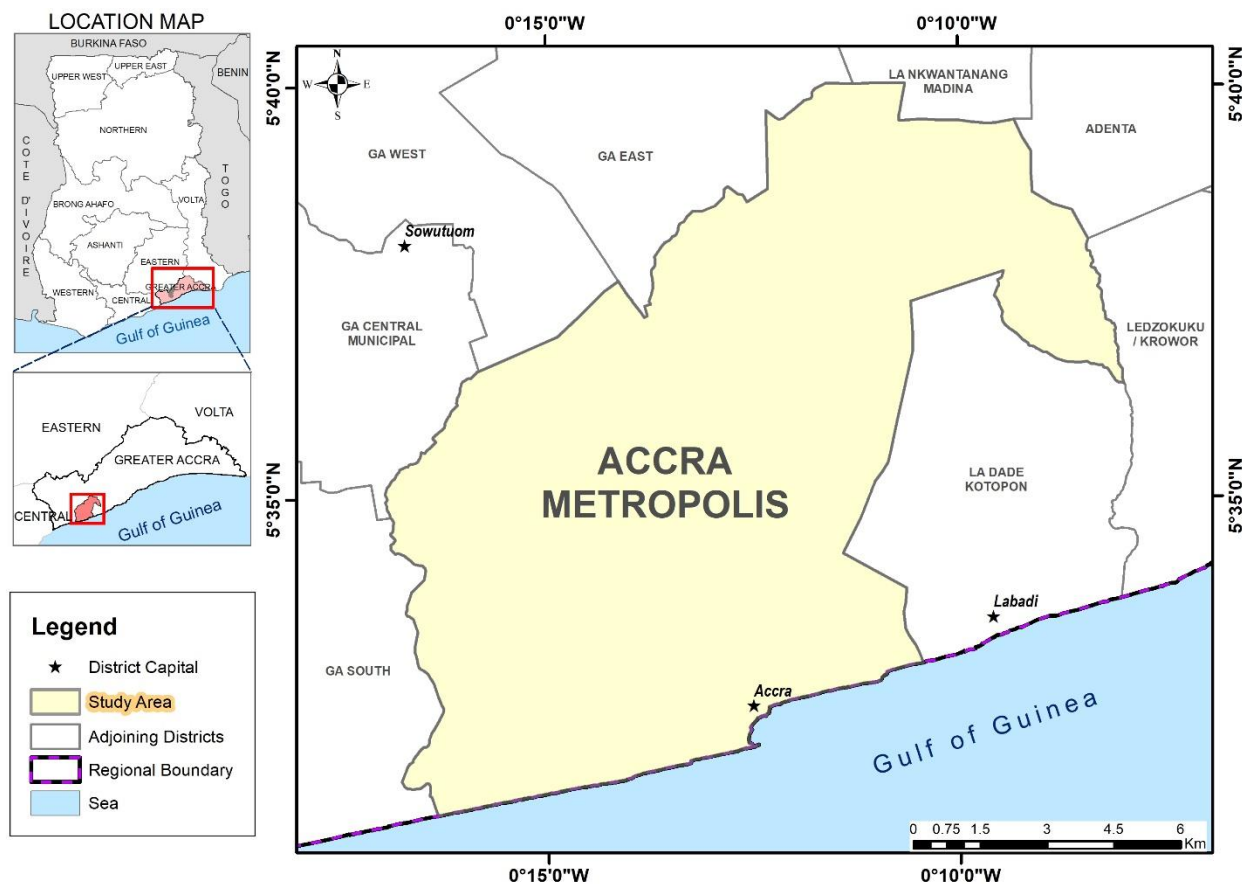
The major limitation of this study was time and getting respondents at scheduled dates. The researcher found it extremely difficult to get some respondents to interview because of internal party elections that were taking place across the country.

Additionally, respondents were very skeptical about my research and therefore, very economical in giving out information.

Another major challenge encountered in this study was the transcription of interviews into texts. This consumed a lot of time. The researcher has to listen to interview recordings and periodically pause to interpret. With all the challenges encountered, they could not affect the outcome of the research.

4.7 Summary of Methodology

Greater Accra region is bordered by three regions. These are; to the west lies Central region, to the East is the Volta region while to the North lies the Eastern region. And Accra is the regional capital within which the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) is found. AMA is also bordered by Ga east to the north, Ga west to the west while Tema Municipal lies east. The AMA is the administrative and political authority of the city of Accra. The mayor is the Metropolitan Chief Executive who is nominated by sitting president and gets approval by two-thirds majority of the general assembly members. The general assembly is made up of 102 members with two-thirds elected members and one-third government nominees. The map in Figure 3 below shows the Accra Metropolitan District.



Source: Department of Geography, University of Ghana

Figure 3: A Map of Accra Metropolitan Assembly

A check on the internet website of AMA revealed that there are 13 constituencies in the Accra Metropolis. The researcher used the internet because it was easy and convenient to sample information very quickly. These 13 constituencies implied that there are 26 women organizers. That is two (2) women constituency organizers, each from NDC and NPP. In addition, the Greater Accra regional NPP women organizer, the Greater Accra regional NDC women organizer, the national women organizer of NPP and national women organizer of NDC were selected. In all, a total of 30 respondents formed the sample frame and sample size. The

researcher selected the constituency women organizers because they can provide the information that will be the true reflection of the functions and role of the women's wings of political parties. The national women organizers were also selected because the researcher believed that they superintend the activities of the women's wings and can best give the account and the information the researcher needed, such as the history and reasons for the establishment of the wings of the parties. Again, the motivation behind the researcher selecting the regional women organizers was because they operate between the constituency women organizers and the national women organizers and are aware of the activities and challenges they face. Finally, the researcher selected the constituency women organizers because they actually deal and get in touch with the women and branch women organizers in their communities and can best reveal the real situation in terms of activities and challenges on the ground. In essence, the interviews were on how the women's wings came about, their mandate, activities, challenges they face, and how they influence participation of women.

After this stage of the research and as part of the preliminary investigation, the researcher paid a visit to various party offices. This was done to familiarize himself with the areas and to informally introduce himself and the research topic to the officials. The researcher did so to establish rapport with the party officials in order to be easily recognized when the researcher shows up in the next stage of the study.

Designing of an in-depth interview guide. An interview guide is a set of or a list of questions that guides an interviewer on what to ask during the interview session with participants. Fundamentally, the interview guide and interviews were on the role, activities, and challenges of the women's wings of the political parties. The researcher, with the objectives and the research questions of the study in mind carefully designed the interview guide. The researcher used an

interview guide because it helped the researcher to stay focused and able to guide the interview towards addressing the research questions and the objectives set.

The researcher then wrote to formally introduce himself and his purpose. The researcher then waited for responses from them. After the appropriate responses had been received and respondents identified, the researcher then negotiated for the appropriate schedule dates that were convenient for respondents for the interviews. The researcher negotiated for appropriate interview dates because the researcher did not want to create inconveniences that would hamper the busy work schedule of the respondents.

On the interview dates, the researcher used an audiotape recorder, a mobile phone, and a notepad. The audiotape or mobile phone helped the researcher record the conversations and notepad for notes taking. Again, since the researcher cannot write down all that would be said by interviewees, there was a need to record and capture all the details for in-depth analysis. However, before each interview commenced, the researcher sought the permission from the interviewees before activating the recording modes. The researcher again ensured a serene environment for the purposes of clarity, uninterrupted conversations and recordings. The researcher thanked and appreciated all respondents for their time and information.

Next stage, the researcher then transcribed all the voices on the audiotape and mobile phone into written text for the in-depth analysis. The analysis was done using qualitative content analysis. This method allowed the researcher to transform the audio data into written texts on his own understanding.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter of the research elaborates extensively the methodology used and the justifications. The chapter highlights the sources of the data; instruments used in collecting the data and how the data was analyzed. Again, the chapter explained well the framework of data analysis and interpretation. It also highlights the importance of ethical considerations as well as field work. Lastly, a discussion on the limitations of the study whiles the summary discussed the step-by-step procedure the researcher followed in conducting the research.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

5.0 Introduction

The preceding chapter discussed in detail the method used to collect data for the analytical purpose. It stated the systematic procedure through which the qualitative data was collected. This chapter analyses the qualitative data collected for the purpose of identifying concepts and themes which are the main outcomes. The main objective of this phase is to analyze and discuss the findings of the research. Below is the analysis.

5.1 Population

A total number of 30 respondents were contacted out of which 24 participated in the interview. The 24 respondents comprised of 11 NPP and 13 NDC. The reasons why the 6 respondents did not take part were that 1) all efforts to reach some respondents failed due to their busy schedule for internal electoral activities while others just refused to respond or take part. 2) after interviewing about twenty respondents, the rest were providing similar responses which indicated that a saturation point has been reached therefore the researcher decided to stop at the 24th respondent. Prior to the interview, the researcher contacted the respondents through the telephone. Arrangements were made and the interviews conducted at respondents' homes and at the party offices. The interview sections lasted from 15 minutes to 45 minutes since respondents were busy with party activities (internal party elections). The following tables depict the respondents interviewed and distribution according to parties.

Table 9: Table Depicting Respondents

S/N	Distribution of sample	Respondents	No. contacted	No. responded
1	Ablekuma North	Women organizer	2	2
2	Ablekuma south	Women organizer	2	2
3	Ablekuma central	Women organizer	2	1
4	Ablekuma west	Women organizer	2	1
5	Okaikwei south	Women organizer	2	1
6	Okaikwei north	Women	2	2
7	Okaikwei central	Women organizer	2	2
8	Ayawaso east	Women organizer	2	2
9	Ayawaso central	Women organizer	2	2
10	Ayawaso west wuogon	Women organizer	2	1
11	Ayawaso north	Women organizer	2	2
12	National	Women organizer	2	1
13	Regional	Women organizer	2	2
14	Korley Klorley	Woman organizer	2	1
15	Odododiodioo	Women organizer	2	2
TOTAL			30	24

Table 10: Distribution of Respondents According to Parties

Party	No. contacted	No. responded
NPP	15	11
NDC	15	13
TOTAL	30	24

5.2 Organization and Coding of Ideas

In organizing the data, the researcher read through each interview guide. This was followed by the researcher familiarizing himself with the data collected in order to fully understand the meaning. In effect, this is the most important and first step in the analysis of qualitative data. The researcher then developed categories out of the identified ideas and concepts and assigned codes to them. These codes are WO1, WO2, WO3, ... WO24. The WO stands for Women Organizer. The coding system was developed by bringing together all the recurring words and ideas made by respondents into themes. This coding system allowed the researcher to associate respondents' specific responses to the questions posed and the theme. The table below shows an example of how the coding was done.

Table 11: A Sample of Organized Data Table

Research question	Respondents/participants	Coding ideas/themes
Q1. What is the women's wing all about?	"The wing is special organization within the party. It is so special because women are more than men. We speak louder for people to listen. Putting that aside, even churches have women's wings/sections. During and after elections we sell the party out and make the party attractive to non-party members. We advocate that the party helps women a lot. In my zongo community, our opponents in NDC, they believe in paying for tickets and sending people to Mecca, so if we do the same, the people will now realize that now this party sends people to Mecca. We also give them loans and other financial services to start business. We contribute to the welfare of women members such as marriage ceremonies, business, health (visiting the sick at the hospitals) etc. sometimes we dress and go in group to marriage ceremonies and give donations and identify ourselves with the party we belong, all in a bid to draw their attention and interests to the party. As compared to previous years where the party was branded as Akan party, with these strategies adopted such as the skills training and empowering the young ones in the party have really made the party gained strength lately. Politics in Nima is different, they do not like strangers. I am an indigene of the area so they identify me as part of them. This makes them listen to you anytime you speak than an outsider. During my campaign as women organizer and seeing my posters all around, people who do not belong to NPP, especially NDC voted for me because they saw me as belonging to them and am their child. We are faced with a lot of challenges. Jealousy and back-biting have become the dominant ones among colleague women. Sometimes due to this people fail to attend meetings because according to them you do not deserve to be the constituency women organizer. Indeed, not because the person has contested you. We are now focusing on empowering the women. We have sent others to skills training, putting the aged under LEAP, and seeing to those with disability. Getting some loan facilities for the young ones to enter into business and trading, that is even why I am here. In terms of recruitment, it is open to all, irrespective of one coming from the wing or outside. Once you qualify, you contest or you get picked" (WO1)	• Meaning of women's wing • Activities • Challenges • Recruitment • Empowerment

	“the wing comprises of all women from 18 years and above and who believe in the ideas and doctrine of the party. Sometimes we liaise with other women organizations or movements who organize and advocate for women’s course. In these meetings all political parties’ women’s representatives are represented and we put away politics and focus on general interests of all women. We advise them on certain decisions and lay out our problems for redress. I have problems with fellow women and organizing them, jealousy and backbiting are common amongst us. Hatred with baseless allegations eg I formed a group of 125 women and immediately I won this position, I have started experiencing threats from my own fellow women. Lack funds, due to orphan nature of certain constituencies it is extremely difficult to win members due to entrenched and committed belief they members attached to the other party” (WO2) “The women’s wing is part of the entire party. It is a branch of the main party. We realized that men cannot rule without us. In those days, women were marginalized and pushed to serve the men and work in the kitchen. The kitchens were designated as offices for the women. Women were seen to only be serving the helper. But the party thought it wise that, during Nkrumah era, that is around the 1950s to early 1960s he brought ten women into parliament (politics) without them contesting elections from the constituencies they came from and those women performed creditably. Such women were strong and very admirable and served the interests of women and friends. So, with education today women can be found in almost all sectors and in the top hierarchies eg teachers, doctors, lawyers etc. However, no one represents them in parliament. women’s problems are not heard of. So due to the major role played by the first lady, nana Konadu, in the administration of Rawlings and the party thought it wise it was necessary to allow women into politics and to give them opportunities and to come out massively and to support the party. That is around 1982. As the women went into politics, a lot of things were changed due to representation. We engage in petty trading helping the girl child to go to school. Energizing the voice of the women in the public realm. And serving as role model for the young ones. The challenges we face are plenty. The major one has being with the men. When the men discover that a woman knows all, they would like to sit on you and hate you” (WO3)	• Meaning of women’s wing • Challenges • Activities • empowerment • meaning of women’s wing • historical formation • activities • challenges • women and democracy and politics • women empowerment
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5.3 Discussions of Categorized Themes and Findings

5.3.1 Meaning of Women's Wings

Many of the respondents had different understanding of what the women's wing is all about. One respondent put it as

"it is the union of the women in the party" (WO5)

Other respondents stressed that the women's wing is

"... a special organization within the party. It is so special because women are more than men. We speak louder for people to listen. Putting that aside, even churches have women's wings/sections" (WO1)

"The women wing is a structure within the party which basically is assembly of all women who are party faithful" (WO13)

United Nations Development Plan (2011: 18) rather, defined women's wings of political parties as "internal sections of that aim to strengthen women's representation and participation within the party and in the political process in general". This is in tandem with what was discovered in the study.

5.3.2 Historical Formation

The formation of women's wings in the parties can be traced from historical precedence of the enormous contributions and activities of women in both pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras. In addition, the high percentage of women population, advocacy for women in public life

and the need to discourage the age old marginalization of women in political representation informed the establishment of women's wings in the parties. WO6 asserted that:

“The women's wing is part of the entire party structure. It is a branch of the main party. We realized that men cannot rule without us. In those days, women were marginalized and pushed to serve the men and work in the kitchen. The kitchens were designated as offices for the women. Women were seen to only be serving the helper. But the party thought it wise that during Nkrumah era. That is, around the 1950s to the early 1960s. He brought ten women into parliament (main stream politics) without them contesting elections from the constituencies they came from and those women performed creditably well. This was in response to the major contributions of women to struggle of independence. Such women were strong and very admirable and served the interests of women and friends. So, with education today, women can be found in almost all sectors and in the top hierarchies eg teachers, doctors, lawyers etc. However, no one represents them in parliament. Women's problems are not heard of. So, due to the major role played by the first lady, Nana Konadu and 31st December Women Movement in the Rawlings' administration, the party thought it wise it was necessary to allow women into politics and to give them opportunities to come out massively and to support the party. As the women went into politics, a lot of things were changed due to their representation” (WO6)

WO21 noted that:

“The women's wing of the party started from Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) era. When the 31st December Women Movement was formed in 1982. It was realized by the leaders of PNDC that, women play a very vital role in grassroots politics and in decision-making process” (WO21)

Another respondent spelt out exactly how the various women's wings were formed and their jurisdiction of operation. The respondent explained that:

“In all the constituencies there are branch executives and every branch has a woman organizer. It is these branch women organizers that form the main women's wings with a constituency women organizer as the leader. This

constituency women organizers control and superintend all the activities that go on in the constituency through the branch organizers. For instance, Ayawaso North has three main sub-divisions called wards. These are Kwatsuru ward, Mamobi East ward and west ward. Each ward then has a number of branches headed by a woman called branch woman organizer. So in all, I have 89 branch women organizers which I control. This forms the women's wing of the party within the constituency. The constituency women organizers form the regional women's wings headed by the regional women organizers while the regional women organizers move to form the national women organizers headed by the national women organizer. In fact, the national women organizer superintends all our activities in the party. And not all women in the party belong to the women's wings. I deal directly with the branch women organizers in terms of solving their problems and if I could not, I then send them to the regional then onward to the national" (WO5)

"The women's wing of the party is made up of women leaders from all electoral areas in the country. Every electoral area elects a leader who leads and organizes the women. These leaders come up to form women's wing/section of the party at the constituency level headed by an elected constituency women organizer. And the various constituency women organizers in a region form the regional women's wing also headed by regional women organizer while the national women organizer becomes the head of them all and is the administrator of all activities of the structure as a whole" (WO20)

In terms of executing their agenda, the women's wings of the parties as a body are not independent.

They act on orders and directives from authority above them. A respondent stated that:

"We are not independent per se. The youth organizer and the women organizer are under the organizer and take orders from him. We take instructions and powers from the general organizer" (WO6)

Political parties form women's wings for main purposes of assembling and amassing women's votes. Verge & Keith (2014) note that the role of women's wings of political parties is to

promote intra-party debates on women's course, gender parity and mobilize women. The data analysed in this study confirmed this assertion as most respondents stated that is to mobilize the women and to ensure the welfare of the women. Confirming this assertion some respondents asserted that:

“... mobilize women constituency around the country. It is more of vote mobilization tool in order to bring women on board. This is because women are a significant constituency as far as political environment and political landscape is concern. It is fundamental tool for women's vote mobilization” **(WO7)**

“To raise the support base of the party and to encourage women to participate in politics” **(WO11)**

“To mobilize the women for the party and to serve as the mouth piece of the party for the women and to see to the wellbeing of women and groom them for the party” **(WO20)**

“To gather all women in order to see to their welfare and to see to the old folks who have been in the party for years and to forward their problems to the authority for redress. The wing helps us to identify women party members” **(WO14)**

It appears that political parties rely heavily on their research and observation in the political terrains before embarking on the necessary actions in response to the situation on the ground. In exposing the very core reason, a respondent posits that:

“Any time you organize a party and you do not have many women and the youth expressing interest, and the moment the youth and women start crying, then, you have a problem. If your party wants to win power, you will see both youth and women all contributing their small quotas for the party. Meaning there is better opportunity ahead. But where you start seeing women trying to ignore and reject your party then your party is doomed. Women have numbers and can easily convince people more than men” **(WO9)**

5.3.3 Activities of Women's Wings of Political Parties

The women's wings of the political parties undertake so many activities. Most of their activities range from vote mobilization to welfare system of the women in the community. Some respondents explained that:

“I have a lot of organizations which I have added to the work of the party and to help mobilize the women. As a strategy, I realized that if such is done it will lead to the growth and strengthen the party to victory” **(WO2)**

“We engage in house-to-house campaigns during general elections. We offer training assistance for the women to do some business activities. We send them to workshops on related women activities and women empowerment. We train them in literacy education. We realized that most of them cannot read or write and express willingness to read. I therefore put together some educated ones to help educate others mostly on evening sessions” **(WO13)**

“we undertake adult education for the women folks; engage in house-to-house campaigns creating awareness of the party to the women folks; offer financial assistance to members; welfare system to members and create computerized system data to keep records of all activities, and capacity building for all women in the constituency” **(R10)**

It appears that the women's wings use their platform to lobby for job placement and job opportunities. A respondent stated that:

“Again, sometimes within the political space, if a job opportunity crops up somewhere, where women are needed, we lobby for women to secure such jobs” **(WO4)**

The criticism levelled against Nkrumah and Convention People's Party despite being the pacesetter in recognizing women's efforts and incorporating them into government and the party structure was that, the wing was used for functions such as picnics, dance and other functions. Prah (2004), Allah-Mensah (2005) and Tsikata (2009) posit that, the women's wing of Convention People's Party during Nkrumah's era served for the purposes of functions such as

picnics and dance. The data analysed in this study supports these criticisms as women's wings of political parties in this Fourth Republic perform similar functions. One respondent affirmed this and asserted that:

“As part of our activities, the party hierarchy can call on us to organize the women for functions such as picnics, funerals, and wedding. You know, women offer better services in these areas so the party use us on such occasions”
(WO11)

Irrespective of their party affiliations and political misunderstanding of issues, the women's wings of the parties discuss and seek compromise when issues affecting women are to be considered for decision-making purposes. The data analysed in the study indicated that women in the wings of the political parties work to advance women's course and see to the general wellbeing of all women in the country. Some respondents have these to say:

“... we send them to programs that are pro-women movements such as ABANTU. In other words, we liaise with other women movement groups to discuss issues of women. During such meetings, we put politics aside and hold round table discussions with other women from across the political divide. With that, we put the woman first and deliberate on issues that affect women in general and their welfare” **(WO12)**

“Sometimes we liaise with other women organizations or movements who organize and advocate for women's course. In these meetings, all political parties' women's representatives are represented and we put away politics and focus on general interests of all women” **(WO20)**

All the women organizers recounted similar activities they perform, some include; engaging in house-to-house campaigns, payment of hospital bills, funeral donations, assisting members to get flexible loans to boost their businesses etc. Some respondents stated that:

“we assist women to acquire loans, pay school fees for their children and at times too, settle hospital bills. We encourage the women to support the party due its intentions and nice package it has for the women. Able to convince the women

who were not hopeful for the party rather have a return of their minds and now ready to help campaign for vision 2020. We engage in house-to-house campaigns. This house-to-house campaign strategy helped to defect other members to our party. During the 2016 elections I personally used by money to help party folks to reignite their loyalty for the party” (WO17)

“... we came to power, we worked extremely hard. We live in Zongo, and in Zongo they do not like NPP just as they do for NDC. So we started moving and going to house-to-house as a campaign strategy to tell the people the need to vote for the party. This has really helped us a lot” (WO2)

Women in women’s wings of the political parties use such avenues to educate and win fellow women’s interests in politics and the importance of entering into public activities. With this, Sanbonmatsu (2003) notes that women’s wings of political parties create awareness and educate women about the need to get involve and run public offices and to support women to run. This assertion was reaffirmed in this study analyses as one respondent states that:

“...women who contest positions get our support and strength. We create awareness, enlighten and educate women folks who vie for any post. Every woman who wants to contest any position receives our support and strength” (WO6)

5.3.4 Using the Women’s Wings as Avenue for Political Participation and Representation

Gyampo (2013) puts participation as a cautious inclusion of citizens for the purposes of influencing decision outcome, while those activities that private citizens engage in which aim at influencing the government, its choice of personnel or choices made by government personnel (Verba & Nie, 1972; in Teorell, 2006). The formation of women’s wings in the political parties has created platform on which women participate, make their voices to be heard and discuss issues that affect women in the political arena. This had made women’s wings of the political parties feel good and happy to be in such sections because they believe such avenues present a

very good opportunity for them to participate in the political space and to be recognised. Women's wings of political parties aim at strengthening women's participation and representation within the parties and general political process (UNDP, 2011). Longwe (2000) also notes that women are stuck in the wings created by political parties which makes the women feel inclusive in the political participation but wield little power in influencing the party. The data analysed in this study supports this contention as some respondents asserted that:

“...the women's wing is created in the parties to make the women to be recognized for them to know that they are also in politics. And I fully support the creation of such wings for women. The women's wings strive for the course of women. So, with the wings we mass up to support any aspiring woman who shows up in any elected position. We do so because we believe that when such a woman gets to the top hierarchy, our voices and the course of women could be heard and championed” **(W012)**

“... it should stay for the welfare of the women. The wings make us to believe that we are been recognized in the party. If research in Europe suggests that the women feel uncomfortable with the tag name women's wing, it is because their political participation is age old. But for us in Africa, we are happy with it and feel inclusive and get participated in the political environment” **(R13)**

These assertions are in a sharp contrast to what Verge & Keith (2014) found in their study. They note in their findings that women in leftist parties in Northern Europe are not happy to have the section named women's wings and were happy to remove the tagged name women's wings. The reasons were that only issues of women are referred to them and sideline their influence on the parties' main decisions.

5.3.5 Influencing Decisions and Participation

The leaders of the women's wings use their positions to influence party policies for the interests of women and also ensure enforcement of all affirmative policies taken by their party. This is the level Arnstein (1969) called Tokenism, where participants have the will to exercise decision control and influence in a piecemeal manner due their low numbers. The data analyzed in this study indicate that the women organizers at the regional and national levels do so. This confirms Lovenduski & Norris (2004) findings. They state that women in party executive office work on behalf of women and influence party policies in the interests of women. In affirming this, Davidson-schmich (2006) also state that since political parties gender policies lack state enforcement, they are bound to fail unless women in the party executive positions influence and ensure their enforcement. In reaffirming this, some respondents state these:

“We make decisions from the constituency level, communicate it to the regional level and finally to the women congress before getting to the general party congress for adoption. The national and regional women organizers ensure such decisions are fused into the party national policies” **(WO9)**

“with decision influence, we do. We are always represented at the party's hierarchy whenever the party is taking a decision and have a say in all matters relating to women. When it comes to gender issues, they refer them to us. We ensure issues of women are resolved at the top hierarchy and try to meet all expectations of women. We also put pressure on party top executives to implement all decisions taken on women (gender policies) to ensure their merit of participation and presentation” **(WO7)**

Some constituency women organizers on the other hand, contend that even though the women use the avenue for political participation, they hardly influence any decision in the party. One respondent has this to say:

“We cannot influence any decision-making. Sometimes certain decisions are taken and imposed on us. In my own constituency, at times programmes and activities are held without my knowledge. Once a programme was held here at the beach and I only heard and saw it on the television. Sometimes too, authorities impose some delegates on us without our knowledge and urge us to vote for them. These suggest to them that our inputs are not necessary” (WO14)

To influence participation of women, the women organizers use kind gestures to draw their fellow into political participation. Some respondents explained that:

“I have a lot of organizations which I have added to the work of the party. As a strategy, I realized that if such is done it will lead to the growth and strengthen the party to victory. I have women who are self- employees, and we have come together since all of us love one party, to determine how to pull resources to together to help the party and ourselves. With this strategy, I have been able to pull a lot of women folks to the party. For the past years, I have introduced a fun games and variety shows which indeed have attracted a lot to the party” (WO2)

“It is true that until today, most women still view politics as men affair. This standpoint makes it very difficult to invite them to participate in politics. However, the creation of women’s wing has made some of us to stand out and able defuse the minds of many who have such notion. We use this avenue to educate our fellow women the need to participate in politics. I tell them that, it is only when we take interest in participation that we can contest elections and get represented. And since I started with this kind of talks, I seen a lot more of the women coming forward and making enquiries” (WO21).

5.3.6 Women’s Wings as Avenues for Political Recruitment

Sanbonmatsu (2003) states that women’s wings of political parties help to recruit women political candidates. The data analysed in this study does not actually confirm this assertion. The wings do not necessarily serve as recruitment bases through which the women in the parties get

appointed into political positions. In actual fact, the women's wings do not comprise of all the women that support and play active role in the parties. However, members in the wings do throw their weight behind any potential woman who comes out to contest in any top hierarchy position. Some respondents posit that:

“The wing/section does not necessarily serve as a recruitment base of the party. With the wings, we mass up to support any aspiring woman who shows up in any elected position. We do so because we believe that when such a woman gets to the top hierarchy, our voices and course of women could be heard and championed” (WO12)

“The wing is not a recruitment base actually. However, if women contest, we support. A lot of women who contest positions get our support and strength. And every woman who wants to contest any position receives our support and strength. I remember in Volta region, a woman wanted to contest the regional chair person, she came and informed me and said “Hajiah I need your support”. We talk to the constituency members and party hierarchy to pave way” (WO6)

5.3.7 Women wings and women empowerment

The major indicator to women empowerment has been economic. Most scholars (Abdul-Fatawu, 2014; Musah & Gariba, 2013; Odame, 2010; Shiraz, 2015; Ampofo & Darkwah, 2006; Boateng & Kosi, 2015) all cited economic factors as ultimate way of empowering women. Other scholars such as Ampofo & Darkwah (2006) suggest that for the real empowerment of women must be borne by the women themselves. Evidence from the data analysed in this study points that the women organizers have identified such problems and are now fighting the canker in order to ameliorate the plight of their fellow women. The major part of their activities are economic and social help. As a way of empowering the women, some respondents asserted that:

“We teach the women soap and detergents making, beads making, tie-and-dye and other ways that can make a woman to be on her own. We invite experts to

train them in such skills. We also assist those with petty trading to get loan facilities to boost and make their business growth” **(WO12)**

“In terms of empowering the women, we provide them with funds to boost their business ventures. That is economic empowerment. We synthesize the women on the need to educate their wards and they themselves enrolling in adult education to enhance their status” **(WO11)**

Some respondents are of the view that empowering women take the form of both economic and social forms. So they provide social interventions in addition to the economic activities. One respondent explains that:

“We are now focusing on empowering the women. We have sent others to skills training, putting the aged on LEAP, and seeing to those with disability. Getting some loan facilities for the young ones to enter into business and trading” **(WO1)**

Contrary to economic and social models of women empowerment, institutional reformation and parties’ policy reformation also go a long way to empower women. In affirming this, these respondents assert that:

“...we women ourselves ought to empower ourselves. Women empowerment comes about as the society generally creates favourable condition like equal access to education. If the laws that discriminate against women when it comes to employment, if they are removed from the status and so on. If we create a genuine democratic society, then we women can become empowered and contribute to national development effort” **(WO23)**

“the political parties must change their constitutions to reserve safe seats for the women. Such practices can go a long way to empower us. If women are empowered politically, it reflects in their lives. We then have better standard of living and able to meet our basic necessities and contribute our quota to national development” **(WO15)**

5.3.8 Challenges Facing the Women's Wings of the Parties

From pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial era challenges that engulf women in the political space continue to linger in Ghana. Though the Fourth Republic has presented a new political space that encourage women to venture and compete with men in all spheres of public life, women still find it difficult to enter into the political arena through the wings created by the political parties. Mamadazimov & Kuvatova (2011) posit that political parties begin to compare numbers of women to men at the eve of elections to appeal to voters, however, active participation after election shifts to the direction and favour of men. The data analyses in this study revealed that the women in the wings are neglected after their hardworking to ensure their party win power, confirming what is stated in literature. This was reaffirmed by a respondent.

“... the women are not recognized with all the hard work that we engage in to bring the party to power. Anytime the party wings power, the woman is neglected and unrecognized any longer. They use us to gain power after which they fill the positions with only men, meanwhile women make up the numbers”
(WO12)

The age old perception of politics as men's affair and domination still find space in the political arena in this Fourth Republic of Ghana. Musah & Gariba (2013) note that a huge political setback of women is the dominance of men in all decision-making which negatively influence women's contribution. In agreement, Bari (2005) also assert that the dominant characteristics nature of political parties lead to a male perception on matters of general significance that dissatisfies women as their views are often ignored and not reflected in the politics of the parties they identify themselves with. The data analysed in this study has confirmed these claims. It was revealed that the men stampede on the women and often disrespect their contributions during meetings and discussions of certain issues. In affirming these some respondents re-echoed that:

“Many a times the men look down upon we the women. Sometimes during meetings, your suggestion could be good but they brush it off simply because you are a woman. They think because they are men they want to always dominate and superintend in all affairs and stampede on our interests” **(WO2)**

“The challenges we face are plenty. The major one has being with the men. When the men discover that a woman knows all, they would like to sit on you and hate you. They bring us together and pick one from us and plant enmity among us. Afterwards, they then peddle false information about you to other people who in tend picking grudges with you, especially your deputy. Example during elections, a man can bring another woman to contest you, not necessarily because you cannot perform but because he hates you and you sit on his interests. Women usually complain, especially during branch elections, the chairman has gone to bring another woman or my secretary has gone to bring another woman to contest me, knowing very well that such woman can perform and should go unopposed” **(WO6)**

“we have a lot of challenges. Especially working with the men poses a lot of challenges. With some people, at times if you are trying to move to the top hierarchy, you meet some men who try hard to block your way. During competitions with the men, they call you some names and try hard to label you. These make most of the women who cannot withstand such tags normally coil back and leaving such positions in the hands of the men. The men think that certain positions are a reserve for men only, so they get agitated and averse with women who have the potentials to contest them” **(WO12)**

The activities of the women’s wings usually come to a halt if the party is out of power. The party hierarchy leaves them to their fate until next election gets closer and do not receive pay as well. WO5 and WO14 recall that:

“The major challenge is neglect. No help comes from either region or national especially when out of power. Sometimes you only get help from some few people you know at the top hierarchy. We lack incentives for the women folks. Sometimes, members look up you to provide as a leader, meanwhile, the job is sacrificial. We do not get paid” **(WO5)**

“we suffer total neglect from top hierarchy after winning elections. I used my money for most of the items and activities to help the members of the wing and other women but after our victory, here am I. I have been left to my fate. They used us to get votes, afterwards we are left out until next election gets near”

(WO14)

Lawless & Fox (2012) note that women are still responsible for the majority of child care and house hold tasks; and despite their substantial movement to high-level positions in political arena, women and men continue to conform to traditional gender roles at home. Again, women battle with limited time due to their dual roles of combining activities of politics and home affairs (domestic chores). This was testified in the study analyses as all the respondents complained that they face serious setbacks such as the double role concept. Combining their party activities that require consistent move and attending emergency party meetings and biological and house work further compound their plight. Some respondents have these to say:

“The main challenge is time and family activities – domestic factors (double role). Sometimes you will be busy attending to party activities, children come with their needs. Again, sometimes your husband can hinder certain activities of yours and even prevent you from attending certain functions and meetings”

(WO2)

“...women in decision-making face a lot of challenges, because as a woman, you are perceived to be a mother. So, people expect you to take that motherly nature in your leadership role. Women have both productive and reproductive roles. Reproductive roles cater for the household things and productive ones are those that bring money to the house. But is difficult to see women as being mothers at the same time leaders, especially in politics. The woman who is in decision-making or political position has to put ten more efforts to survive. This is because the terrain is friendly for men not for most women” **(WO18)**

As part of their challenges, some women organizers and their members also suffer physical attacks. A respondent relates that:

“one of the most outstanding experience here is beating up of members. Example, a guy got the mother beaten severely until she got a fractured leg simply because she has come to join the party. Her business has now collapsed. Sometimes we get beaten and chased out especially if we venture to enter into opposition’s territory for campaign” **(WO14)**

In politics and struggle for elected offices, men have been in the spotlight as posing serious threats to women’s attempts to enter into the political arena. This trend has made feminists scholars to label politics as patriarchal in nature. However, this phenomenon is changing in this era of politics. From the data analyzed and as part of their challenges, new evidence emerged that women in politics are enemies of themselves. Hatred, jealousy and back-biting are found to be major challenges confronting the women organizers. Some complained that they face serious oppositions and antagonistic reactions from their own colleague women. Some respondents asserted that:

“We are faced with a lot of challenges. Jealousy and back-biting have become the dominant ones among colleague women. They normally feel discontent with your position. Sometimes due to this, others fail to attend meetings because according to them, you do not deserve to be the constituency women organizer. Indeed, not because the person has contested you. Sometimes the fact is that, she wants someone but during the contest the person was defeated. So the person becomes an opposition figure and staunch enemy and then pick hatred of you and fights you anytime. This normally leads to the derailment of your focus and activities” **(WO1)**

“I have problem with fellow women and organizing them, jealousy and back-biting are very common amongst us. Hatred with baseless allegations. Example, I formed a group of 125 women and immediately I won this position, I have started experiencing threats from my own fellow women” **(WO20)**

Women in leadership positions in politics serve as role models. Most young women look up to such women to nurse and nurture their political ambitions. However, this study revealed that the failure of women during election competitions make the young ones to lose interest and develop aversion to their political ambitions. This supports what Tsikata (2009) found. She states that the failure of women contestants in elections serves as a yardstick to women folks who were looking up to such women as role models. These future women aspirants then drop their political ambitions which then creates an avenue for continue domination of men in the political arena. In reaffirming this, a respondent noted that:

“Look at, those of us women in top political offices serve as role models to a lot of young women out there. If a woman contests an election and loses, then the rest of the women who look up to her begin to shut down their ambitions. They would then be thinking that the political arena is not prepared enough for them”
(WO6)

5.4 Summary

The nature of women participation in the political arena comes in the forms of representation, contributing, influencing and owning decisions made. Majority of the women said that they are now represented, contribute to the decisions and now own the programmes they made in the political space. The women stated that their participation and representation had provided them the opportunity to advance some basic concerns and course of women in general. They stressed further that through participation and representation, the women are able to contribute their quota to national development now.

In an attempt to participate in the political process through the women’s wings, the women face various challenges. The major ones are Inadequate resource allocation. This is one of the major challenges facing the women’s wings. Over eighty-five percent of the respondents complained of

lack of budgetary allocation to their offices. Additionally, backbiting, jealousy and hatred among the women pose serious challenges. A higher percentage of the women organizers complained that their fellow women are a problem to them. Others claimed that the women organizers are unfit for the post and pose threats to their organization and mobilization. Again, patriarchal nature of the parties' structures is another hindrance. The dominance of men in all party structures pose a serious barrier to the women. The men always use their numbers during decision processes while others also try hard to ignore their contributions. These strongly affect the women's ability to contribute and influence certain decisions within the party.

Other challenges are domestic and biological roles. Some of the women said they find it extremely difficult combining party activities and the household chores. Sometimes attending party meetings that keep them late at night raise suspicions of their husbands and lack of care for the children. Also, lack of job opportunities and inability to access flexible loan facilities. According to Teorell (2006) incentives serve as motivating factors for citizens to yearn for resources which indirectly urge them to participate. He is of the view that, the incentives that await people urge them to participate. About ninety percent of the women participate and buy into ideals of their party because they get promises of job opportunities and enhancement of their businesses. Now, the women complain of serious and difficulties in acquiring loans to boost their businesses and the job opportunities for their young ladies. The respondents lament that their ability to secure flexible loans and decent jobs promised for members bar them from getting aggrieved members to attend meetings and engage in certain party activities.

More so, other daunting challenges are the women's wings are being used as campaign and vote mobilizing tools, negligence and disconnect between the women's wings and the parties' hierarchy; lack of recognition of efforts; physical and verbal attacks. These challenges can be

linked to the first two rungs of Arnstein (1969)'s Ladder of Participation and Hollnsteiner (1976)'s first three models of participation. They explained that participation is illusive and disguise in this type of participation. The women in this regard, are participating in political activities for the sake of it. In other words, the political parties use the women's wings in certain instance just to get the women to feel as taking part. Using the women's wings as voting and campaign tool and subsequently neglecting them is indication that their participation is masqueraded.

In spite of the numerous challenges facing the women's wings, the various activities they undertake cannot be allowed to pass under the carpet. Some are campaigning and canvassing for votes. The women's wings, as part of their activities engage in door-to-door campaigns. They mobilize the women, especially the young ladies from the grassroot as well as selling the party ideology and manifesto messages to ordinary women. Furthermore, the women's wings engage in family life education and skills training such as soap and tie-and dye making. The elite women use the avenue to educate their fellows on how to plan their family well in terms of birth spacing and proper management of their homes. They train members on skills training such as soap and detergents making and bead making to equip them with self-employable ventures in other to make them less dependent on their husbands. Further, they engage in adult literacy education programmes to teach members with basic reading skills. Additionally, they organize women for functions such as funeral rites, picnics and certain entertainment activities. They also lobby for job opportunities for the wards of members, groom women for leadership and elective positions, and pay medical bills and school fees for some families.

In a whole, women's wings of the political parties have been the most appropriate avenue that have enhanced women participation in the political arena in Ghana's Fourth Republic.

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter presented data collected from in-depth interview conducted and the findings. They include detailed analyses of the raw data, experiences from the field and participants' responses put together. The one-on-one interviews led to identification of key concepts and coding of themes. Further, the analyses led to identification of major activities, challenges and the role of the women's wings of the political parties. It also revealed how the women organizers endeavour to empower the women in their constituencies.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

The new phenomenon in the political space of Ghana's Fourth Republic has been the establishment of women's wings by almost all the political parties. A common observation in the lead up to every general elections is that women's wings of these political parties act fervently to participate in active campaign activities and are seen as important agents for mobilizing electoral support base of parties among women. This study therefore set out to find the participation and role of women's wings in political party activities. The study set out the following specific objectives;

- i. To trace the evolution of women's wings of political parties in Ghana.
- ii. To find out the role play by women's wings of political parties in Ghana.
- iii. To examine the activities and challenges facing women's wings of political parties in Ghana.
- iv. To examine how do women's wings influence political participation of women in Ghana.

In order to achieve these objectives, the researcher posed four research questions. These are

- i. How did women's wings come about?
- ii. What is the mandate/role of women's wings of political parties in Ghana?
- iii. What are the activities and challenges of women's wings/sections of political parties?
- iv. How do women's wings influence the political participation of women?

In-depth interviews were used to address these questions. This chapter therefore presents the key findings and answers to the research questions. Furthermore, the chapter presents the conclusion of the study and recommendations for adoption of major stakeholders in the political arena.

6.1 Summary of Major Findings

The findings of this study are summarized under the following research questions posed

- v. How did women's wings come about?
- vi. What is the mandate/role of women's wings of political parties in Ghana?
- vii. What are the activities and challenges of women's wings of political parties?
- viii. How do women's wings influence the political participation of women?

6.1.1 Research Question 1: *How Did Women's Wings Come About?*

The study found out that the women's wings of the parties trace their historical roots from both pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial phenomenal performance of women in politics in Ghana. This actually confirms what is stated in the literature (Madsen, 2014; Tsikata, 2009; Allah-Mensah, 2005; Prah, 2004; Opong, 2012). They take precedence from early women organizations such as Women's League, Nation Federation of Gold Coast Women, National Council for Ghanaian Women, Federation of Gold Coast Women, Ghana Women's League etc from between 1951-1960s and also 31st December Women's Movement formed in 1982. Women wield over fifty percent of the entire population and therefore make up a very large and significant constituency. The political parties form these women's wings to be attractive to women and to win their votes and to further champion the course of women. The outcry that women have been marginalized too long in the political arena is what has informed the political parties and women themselves to facilitate the establishment of these women's wings. These

wings are not mandatory for all women who are the party's sympathizers. The wings are made up of women leaders chosen from each constituency. And each constituency is partitioned into wards and electoral areas. Each ward and/or electoral area is further divided into branches with each branch headed by a woman organizer. The women's wings therefore comprised of all branch women organizers, constituency women organizers, regional women organizers and national women organizer. The study further revealed that the women feel very happy such avenues have been created in the parties to encourage their participation.

6.1.2 Research Question 2: *What is the Mandate/Role of Women's Wings of Political Parties in Ghana?*

Women form the largest constituency in the political arena and therefore make a substantial difference in all electoral outcomes. The study showed that the main mandate of the women's wings is the mobilization of women around the party. More so, the parties establish women's wings to help them mobilize women constituency around the country. The women's wings are more of vote mobilization tool among women population. The parties realized that women are more influential in terms of convincing their fellow women and other groups of people. Another function of the women's wings is influencing gender policies in the interest of women. The study revealed that the women organizers think that for women's course to be championed, it must come from the women themselves. According to the data analysed, the women believe that the long marginalization of women in the political space is as a result of absence of women. Therefore the women's wings serve as a platform through which they can participate and influence party policies for the interest of women and see to the enforcement of such policies. The other mandate of these women's wings is seeking the welfare of women. From the data analyzed, it has been revealed that the women organizers use their power to economically strengthen their members and to sustain their commitment to the party's course.

6.1.3 Research Question 3: *What are the Activities and Challenges of Women's Wings of Political Parties?*

6.1.3.1 *Activities of Women's Wings of Political Parties*

- Campaign for the party during and after elections and mobilize and canvass votes from women.
- Engage women in skills training activities such as soap and detergents making, bead making, tie and dye, and other handy works that generate income. Listen to all concerns of women in all areas of life, especially economic models and facilitating flexible loan terms for them.
- Organize women for functions such as picnics, funerals, wedding and other functions the party deems tenable.
- Educate women on good family planning methods and care for their children. Advise women on how to keep and manage their homes and how to become supportive to their husbands and ways of becoming independent.
- Offer advice to all would-be aspirants and contestants of positions and give them training and directions. And energizing the voice of women in the public realm and advocating for all affirmative actions in the interest of women.
- Engage in school fees paying, settling hospital bills of some members, funeral donations, and sharing almost all life-saving items.

- Send members to workshops on women related activities such as ABANTU and other women movements and CSOs that empower women. Also, they offer literacy education programmes (adult education) to members.
- Lobby for job opportunities for women, their children and facilitate admissions procedures for members' wards to senior high schools.
- Groom women for leadership, elective positions as well as advocating for change in legislations that discriminate against women and help prevent all crimes against women examples rape cases and all sexually related misconducts towards women and facilitate redress.

6.1.3.2 Challenges Facing Women's Wings of Political Parties

- Inadequate resources such as funds, vehicles etc.
- Jealousy, hatred and back-biting from and among the women within the wings.
- Threats from men – patriarchal nature of party structure and positions. Men domination in decision-making procedures and looking down on women.
- Challenges of time and family activities (double role and domestic challenges) and commitment to politics.
- Lack of job opportunities for women folks and their children. The organizers face pressure from members for job opportunity after winning power.
- Neglect of party structures, bad relationship, and a disconnect between the party hierarchy and the constituents especially the women's wings.
- Lack of flexible loan facilities for members – challenges of meeting economic and business needs of women.

- Lack of recognition of efforts of women in the wings. They are only deemed important during campaigns for elections after which they are relegated to the fringes of politics.
- Physical attacks and beating of members especially during house-to-house campaigns in election periods.

6.1.4 Research Question 4: *How Do Women's Wings Influence Women's Political Participation?*

The main reason why political parties establish women's wings is to mobilize women and canvas women's votes. In view of this, the various women organizers have devised mechanisms to influence and win their fellow women into their party. The main influential factor has been economic. They plan attractive economic models such as flexible loan facilities as well as skills training programmes. The study revealed that some women organizers lure a lot of women to their party by disguising their economic and social activities. They approach their fellow women with humanitarian assistance and finally draw them to political participation. Other activities which are set out to influence women especially the young ladies include; dressing and brand names. During the lead up to every general election, the women's wings come out with certain group names such Loyal Ladies for Bawumia and Doves of Mahama and clothe them with styles of dresses that make them outstanding. A political party's women's wing will attract a lot of women followers based on how its women organizers package their activities targeting the teaming young ladies. In short, the cogent factor that influences the women participation is the incentives that they finally get. The study found that the more the women are slapped with failed promises, the more they withdraw their commitment to political participation.

6.2 Conclusion

Across the globe, there has been a loud outcry on women marginalization and relegation to the background in the political arena. This trend has triggered a lot of responses to affirmative actions to pave the way to meliorate and bridge the gap created by this century-old phenomenon in the political space. Ghana's Fourth Republic has created a new political environment which has resulted in women taking advantage to push their way into the political arena in terms of participation. This new trend has resulted in political parties creating space in their organizational structure to include women's wings. This is because evidence shows that women are a significant constituency as far as the political landscape is concerned and the women's wings are fundamental tools for vote mobilization. They are on the campaign platforms and selling messages of the parties at all times. They serve as a mouthpiece of the party as far as the issues of women are concerned. In terms of votes and policy formulation, women's wings leaders are almost in all the decision structures of the party and assist in various policy formulation and decision-making on affirmative actions. The high percentage that women wield in every electoral register suggest that they exert a huge influence in all electoral results. Therefore, it is imperative that political parties pay serious attention to their women's wings and resource them adequately.

6.3 Recommendations

The study has identified a number of barriers hampering the activities of the women's wings of the political parties. In the first place, the notable ones are inadequate allocation of resources such as funds, leaders not being paid, neglect, etc. It is therefore recommended that enough

resources are allocated to them looking at the activities they undertake to keep the party active at the grass root level.

Second, the parties must respect their organizational structures. The total neglect of the structures and women's wings result in mistrust and lose of interests in the party by the members. The parties should not only use the women's wings as votes mobilization tools and canvassing of women's votes. Rather, after winning power, they should keep in touch and maintain the relationship with members in order to hold their interest. One of the research findings showed that neglect and lose of touch with the women's wing of NDC led to its abysmal defeat in the 2016 general elections. Again, when out of power similar trend must be followed in order to keep members active and make the women's wings vibrant until next elections.

Third, the study found that the parties have put in place certain affirmative policies to ensure women compete fairly in elected positions. However, such policies must adequately be implemented at all levels of all the parties' structures. This is because there are still male domination and threats to women in their bid to compete with men.

Fourth, the women's wings and their leaders must liaise with other Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and other women movements in order to adequately fight for the course of all women and not only party faithful. They must also endeavor to minimize the patron-clientelist system which allows the parties to use them as vote seeking tools.

Fifth, the parties' top hierarchies must take interest in what goes on within the women's wings camps. They must use their conflict prevention and resolution mechanisms to identify and resolve all misunderstandings, hatred, back-biting and jealousy that are creeping within the women's wings' camps. These distract and derail the works of the leaders.

Six, during campaign periods, the parties should not leave the women's wings and their members to campaign alone in certain strongholds of the opposition parties. They must be accompanied by some male youth in order to avoid physical and verbal attacks on them.

6.3.1 Recommendation for further study

This study is the first of its kind in Ghana. This is budding social phenomenon which is gradually taking root in Ghana's political space and yet to receive scholarly attention. However, there is enough literature on women's political participation and representation. It is therefore recommended that this research is extended to regions across the country for a broader understanding of women's wings of political parties, their functions and how they influence electoral results.

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APPENDIX ONE

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PARTY RESPONDENTS

- Q1. what is women's wing of your party?
- Q2. what is its historical formation?
- Q3. what activities do you engage in?
- Q4. What does your section do to promote women's participation and representation?
- Q5. What other strategies is the party adopting to increase women representation
electoral offices?
- Q6. What challenges do you face as women's wing/section of the party?
- Q7. What recommendation(s) do you have?