

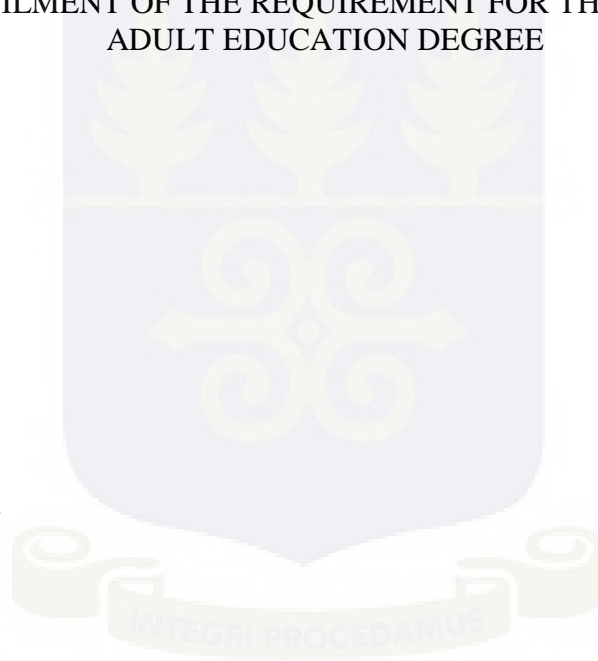
NON-FORMALE DUCATION AND DISTRICT ASSEMBLY WOMEN'S
PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN NORTHERN SECTOR OF
GHANA

BY

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PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF PHD
ADULT EDUCATION DEGREE

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DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis is my own original work, which I have produced after a series of research. I hasten to add that this has not been presented anywhere for the award of any degree. Where other people's views are used or presented, full acknowledgement has been made. I am therefore solely responsible for any errors of commissions and or omissions that may occur.

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DEDICATION

This work is humbly dedicated to my dear wife Habiba Abu and my lovely daughter, Yinmah Namoog and her brother Yinzor Moses Namoog and their grandmother, Mrs. Philomena Akolia for their patience, understanding and prayers during this academic journey.

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ABSTRACT

Since the United Nations Declaration of the Decade for Women in 1975 following the global outcry of poor and low participation of women in decision making and in politics in the 1980s, the Government of Ghana with its institutions and international donor agencies and organisations started increasing their focus on empowering women by providing Non-Formal Education (NFE) programmes. This was to raise the women's consciousness and to build their capacities and skills. The value assumption was that, if women understood their conditions, knew their rights and learnt new skills, they would be empowered to actively participate in decision making and public governance in Ghana. It was against this background that the study was designed to find out the extent to which these NFE programmes have contributed to the participation of the 2010 cohort of Assembly women in local governance in Northern sector of Ghana.

To achieve this, the study employed the cross-sectional survey design and with the aid of questionnaire the primary data was gathered from all the 276 assembly women respondents of the Upper East, Upper West and BrongAhafo regions) selected out of the four regions of the Northern sector of Ghana using the simple random sampling technique. The reliability of the data collection instrument using Cronbach Alpha Coefficient was 0.79.

With the aid of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), the data was analyzed using both descriptive and inferential statistics. The major findings of the study were that, the NFE programmes irrespective of the form by which the women acquired the skills and knowledge was positively and significantly related and associated with the women's participation in local governance as Assembly members. The influence of the abilities they acquired from the NFE programmes on their participation was also significantly enhanced by the women's self-interest to participate in the Assembly, Social recognition of the humanitarian, meritorious and professional services of the women and their families and their social, economic and political standing in the respective communities as well as the women's geo-social setting's positive perception of their social image - being married, elderly and or well educated formally. The study outcome also showed a significant positive relationship between the influence of the NFE programmes and the women's abilities to campaign effectively and mobilise funds for their assembly elections activities. This notwithstanding, the influence of the abilities acquired from the NFE programmes by the women on their participation in the Assembly's business was hampered by negative influence of partisan politics, male dominance in the assembly, poor and irregular attendance and lack of individual competences in English and in some technical issues of the Assembly.

The recommendations offered for adult education institutions and the Assemblies include the need to organise programmes alongside the women empowerment ones to conscientise the custodians of the oppressing socio-cultural and religious beliefs and practices to enhance the influence of NFE interventions on women's participation in local level governance as well as the Assemblies instituting NFE departments tasked to regularly educate, train and update the women on the changing dynamics and technical issues of the Assembly business to enhance their competences and active participation.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Problem

The overall development of a country depends upon the maximum utilization of her human resources, both men and women. Since more than half of the world's population as it were is said to be made up of women, it stands to reason that their contribution to the socio-economic and political development of society is also more than half compared to their men counterparts. This is obvious in terms of their numerical strength, productive and reproductive roles among others (Ballington, 2005; Barry, 2005). This notwithstanding, when it comes to their representation and participation in local politics and in public governance and especially in leadership, where decisions and policies are made concerning the allocation and use of resources generated by both - men and women, women are found to be poorly represented and for that matter in participation (Barry, 2005). Buttressing this assertion, Barry (2005) further argues that even though women constitute more than half the world's population, they form only about 15% of the world's leadership. Hence denying women the opportunity to take decisions on matters that even directly concern their lives.

Similarly, in Ghana, women comprise over 51% of the total population (Population and Housing Census of Ghana, 2010). but their status is generally much lower than that of their men counterparts in many varied respects and spheres of life. Women for instance, are also identified in Ghana largely to be associated with domestic life while politics is viewed as a preserve or male-dominated public activity and typically as masculine (Ofei-Aboagye, 1996: 2000). Unfortunately, the participation of women and their impact in public life and governance is also found to be challenged by a plethora of evidence of discrimination against women in many African countries including Ghana. Most of these discriminations originated

from historically rooted cultural beliefs, structural arrangements and policies that favour the domination of men over women (Ofei-Aboagye, 2000; Adoo-Adeku, 2012). When it comes to the traditional system of governance in Africa including Ghana, even where women have participated in the political process or do exercise political powers through the traditional framework, it is usually and often done in the quite or in dealing with women affairs, or by indirectly influencing the opinions of male authorities (Bortei-Doku, 1990). Similarly, colonial and post-colonial rule of Ghana had excluded women from most of the important political and administrative positions of the state. For example, the first Ghanaian parliament after independence was without an *elected* woman member until the appointing authority later considered and appointed a few women as a token of an engendered parliament. Again, the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC), the highest decision-making body from 1981 to 1992 had on average membership of six men with only one woman even though it underwent many reshuffles (Buadu, 1999). It was also observed that the committee of Secretaries just like a cabinet had no woman member on the 16-member body in 1990. Even when women were considered in 1980 and 1995, it was only one woman as compared to an average membership of sixteen (Buadu, 1999).

These assertions and observations also found strong expression and support in the conclusion of the Commonwealth Secretariat (1989) report on the negative impact of the macroeconomic policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank on women's lives in developing countries in the 1980s. The Secretariat's report identified the economic crisis of the 1980s to be due to the male biased policy measures taken without regard to gender issues and parity. As a consequence, the economic and social disruption that occurred halted and reversed the progress in health, nutrition, education and incomes that

women had enjoyed in the developing countries before the inception of the male biased economic policies. This was because in designing the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) the International financial institutions - the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) failed to acknowledge, recognize and consider women or sexual division of labour in programming. (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2007). The observed unengendered programmes' consequences were redeployment of civil servants and the subsequent movement of more and more women into the informal sector coupled with children on the streets as coping mechanism to supplement the household income (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2007). These clearly are ample testimonies of how crucial it is for the call for NFE programmes to empower women socially, economically and politically with consciousness raising and capacity building education and training interventions for engendered development.

This clearly also strongly makes a case and lends support for the strategic empowering interventions such as the NFE programmes that became the enterprise and preoccupation of the government of Ghana and its agencies and institutions since the United Nations declaration of the "Decade for Women in 1975". With the advancement of time coupled with the developmental challenges of globalization, it became evident globally that without empowering women personally, economically and politically to participate actively in the development process of their economies, national development cannot be fully and sustainably achieved (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2007).

This thinking particularly became topical in many international women fora in the 1980s. As a consequence, it was generally acknowledged and popularly accepted globally among development thinkers and planners following the 1975 United Nation Declaration of the

Decade for Women as well as by the Fourth World Conference for Women in 1995 in Beijing that, if development is not engendered then it would be endangered (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) – Human Development Report, 1997).

Since the declaration of the UN decade for women, developing countries' governments, particularly the government of Ghana and its international donor agencies and women organisations started increasing their attention, actions and focus on women's empowerment and participation issues in terms of the organization and provision of consciousness raising education and capacity building and skills training non-formal education (NFE) programmes. The underlying and value assumption of these education and training programmes organised were that, if women understood their conditions, knew their rights and learned skills that they were traditionally denied, they would be empowered appropriately to participate actively and effectively in the process of development, politics and in public governance (Medel-Anonuevo, 1995; Ofei-Aboagye, 2000).

In view of this, the call for public education and for that matter the concept of non-formal education (NFE) as a strategy to empower the adult population and particularly women became more crucial, prominent and necessary. It was also given further impetus following the general high state of failures of the economy and that of the World Bank and United Nations sponsored projects and programmes in Africa including Ghana in the 1990s. Blamed largely on lack of engendered development policies and participatory development paradigms in programming development, there was therefore the call to re-think development away from the non-engendered and non-participatory development paradigms (Rogers, 1986; Kabeer, 2003; Commonwealth Secretariat, 2007).

This observation once again makes a strong case for development thinkers to call for strategies for the promotion of equal representation of men and women or gender parity in policy decisions and in planning and programming development at all levels of public governance and processes of development.

In view of the above discussions, the call for gender parity policies or increase representation of women in all spheres of public life and governance is therefore seen not only as a demand for simple justice or democracy as it were, but also as a necessary condition for sustainable and balanced development of economies. For it is clear that without the active participation of women and the incorporation of their issues at all levels of decision-making, the goals of equality, sustainable development and peace cannot be achieved (FWCW, 1995; Ofei-Aboagye, 2000; Commonwealth Secretariat, 2007).

Women participation therefore in public life and in public governance has also become particularly crucial because gender equality is a fundamental right, a common value of the United Nations (UN), and above all a necessary condition for achieving the objective of sustainable growth, employment and social cohesion (European Communities, 2008).

Again persistently and consistently, the assessment of the status of the African women have also continued to affirm that, there can be no successful African development policy and or genuine economic development without the pursuance of a strategy to enhance the participation and involvement of women in critical decision making discourses of development (USAID, 2004).

As an apparent response to the above calls for action to engender policy, governance and development, many national and international fora held that as much as possible all

categories of people, including women of the population should be encouraged and motivated to be involved in the developmental processes of their countries. Hence the call for gender responsive policies and programmes to facilitate the empowerment of women in all countries was highlighted in the 1975 United Nations' First International Women Conference in Mexico City. Since then, there have been several other successful conferences that were organized to address similar women's concerns, particularly the challenges and obstacles to women's participation as well as the strategies to advance their empowerment and development. Some of these conferences included the First World Conference on Women in 1975 in Mexico City, the Second World Conference on Women in 1980 in Copenhagen, the Third World Conference on Women in 1985 in Nairobi, and the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 in Beijing, other words known as the Beijing Platform for Action (1995). As a follow up, the Beijing Plus 5 in 2000 and Beijing Plus 10 in 2005 were held as a review and consolidation. Other conferences held on Education for All (Jomtien, 1990), on Human Rights (Vienna, 1993), on Population (Cairo, 1994) and on Social Development (Copenhagen, 1995) before the Fourth World Conference on Women (FWCW) in 1995 in Beijing made similar repeated calls for public education to empower, motivate and promote gender parity polices and equal participation of women and men at all levels of development and in public governance.

What was common with all these attempts and conferences among others were the offering of strategic objectives and actions and the call on all governments, international organizations, communities and individuals to take special measures to address critical women's concerns especially gender inequality and discriminations worldwide. Central and common to all these conferences was the call for the adoption of public education and

training for raising awareness and consciousness as well as train women in skills traditionally denied them as strategic measures to equip them with the requisite new knowledge, new attitudes and outlook as well as new skills (Carolyn Medel-Anonuevo, 1995; Youngman, 2005).

To also address the consequences of the unengendered and non-participatory development paradigms on the affected economies of most developing economies including Ghana in the 1970s, multi-party democratic governance was also recommended. This was one of the far reaching measures and policy options proposed to curtail the rising spate of illiteracy, poverty, unemployment and military takeovers or coups occasioned by the unengendered lop-sided development policies and the adoption of ill-fit maladjusted formal education system (Coombs, 1995; Rogers, 1996; Amedzro, 2000). These attempts were geared towards addressing the economic development malaise largely blamed on the pursuance of non-engendered and non-participatory development paradigms that failed to address gender parity or equality in programming and planning development (Kabeer, 2003; Commonwealth Secretariat, 2007).

These moves were believed to have the capacity to engender policy and development because they offer a rare opportunity to all sections of the population including women to be represented at all levels of planning and programming development at the local level. Thus, giving meaning and legitimacy to true representation and participation to the beneficiaries of development (Local Government Information Digest, 1999; Ofei-Aboagye, 2000).

The response to these calls saw the steady increase of the establishment and emergence of women organisations and movements, government commissions and institutions and

international donor agencies, institutions and organizations undertaking activities and organizing NFE programmes that focused on raising women awareness and consciousness as well as training and building women's capacities in skills including those traditionally denied them by society (Medel-Anonuevo, 1995). These and other similar interventions in Ghana have all informed policy and programmes that advocated for adequate participation and active involvement of women at all levels of decision making. The United Nation Conferences and their calls for public education for the adult population, the Declarations of the 1975 as International Year for Women, the 1976-1985 as Decade for Women as well as the UN Charter advocating for a minimum of 33% of women appointment at all levels of power and authority are ample evidences of how advocacy, public education and training (non-formal education (NFE) were seen, relied upon and used to empower women, effect gender parity policies and programmes as well as shaped affirmative policy interventions in Ghana (Deku, 2005; Allah-Mensah, 2005).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In order to empower and motivate women in Ghana to develop interest and capacities to participate actively in politics, decision making positions and in public governace, the government of Ghana through its institutions and international donor agencies and organizations used NFE programmes such as organized short courses, training workshops, conferences, seminars, advocacy, public education programmes among others to actualize that avowed set objective. Some of the NFE providing institutions used included National Council on Women and Development (NCWD), Federation of Ghanaian Women (FEGAWO), 31st December Women's Movement (DWM), National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), Institute of Local Government Studies (ILGS), the then Ministry of

Women and Children Affairs, and the Non-Formal Education Division (NFED) of Ministry of Education. Some of the international agencies and NGOs included the World Bank, the United Nations, the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA), ActionAid Ghana and World Vision International to mention but a few. As it were, they focused on the mobilisation and organisation drive of women, awareness and consciousness raising education, capacity building training on leadership, mobilisation and organisation skills, lobbying and negotiation techniques and on income generation skills. Some of the activities included making some funds available to the women contestants directly at their various levels of political activism coupled with education on how the challenges they were likely to encounter as women contestants could be handled or surmounted (Allah-Mensah, 2005). The assumption as it were was that, if Ghanaian women understood their conditions, knew their rights and learned new and productive skills, they would be appropriately empowered to participate actively and effectively in politics and public governance ().

With regards to the influence of these NFE activities of the government, international donor agencies and women organizations on the active participation of women in politics in Ghana, Allah-Mensah (2005) remarked that, there was sufficient empirical evidence to support the assessment that it was positive. She held that many of the women who had the interest, contested and even won the district assembly level elections of 1988 and subsequently in the 1992 general elections as parliamentarians were all beneficiaries of the programmes, particularly those linked and politically connected to the 31st December Women Movement (DWM). It also attributed the National Democratic Congress (NDC) party's hold of majority women parliamentarians in the 1992 parliament to its links with and influence of the 31st December Women's Movement (Allah-Mensah, 2005).

Again logically and at best it could also be inferred from available data on women's participation in parliament and at the district Assembly levels over the years to establish the influence of the policies and programmes on the level of the Ghanaian women's participation in national and local level governance. The exclusive influence of the NFE activities and interventions on the women's participation still needs to be sought at the various levels - parliament or at the district assembly level.

For instance, a glance at the available data on women's representation in Ghana's parliament from 1969 to 2012 show a remarkable increase, both nominally and in percentage terms. The percentage of female members of parliament (MPs) rose from 0.7% (1 out of 140 members) in 1969 to 10.9 % (30 out of 275 members) in the 2012 parliament (ILGS Desk Research, August 2012; Electoral Commission of Ghana, Annual Report, 2013).

Again, a cursory look at the available data on the trend of women's participation in local government elections in Ghana over the years, especially between 1994 and 2010, also suggest strongly that, there have been a steady and remarkable improvement in the number of women participating as contestants and elected assembly women to the various District, Municipal and Metropolitan Assemblies in Ghana (ILGS Desk Research, August, 2012).

Countrywide women contestants of the assembly elections rose significantly from 1994 to 2010 by over 433% (from 326 to 1,376 contestants respectively). Equally, the participation of women in local governance as elected assembly members between 1994 and 2010 has also increased remarkably to over 337% (from 122 to 412 elected assembly women) (ILGS Desk Research, 2012). In relation to that of their male counterparts especially those elected, it has also correspondently increased over the period from 2.9% to 7.4%, signifying an increase of

over 255%. Similarly, the participation of women as government appointees nationally has also witnessed a remarkable increase from 671 in 1998 to 1,231 appointees in 2002 ().

The data available on the study area (Table 1.1 and Table 1.2), that is, the northern sector of Ghana (the Upper East, Upper West, Northern and Brong Ahafo regions) also show similar steady increasing trends in women's participation as contestants, elected and appointed assembly members.

Table 1.1: Increasing trend of Ghanaian women's participation as contestants in assembly elections in Northern sector of Ghana (1994-2010)

REGION	1994	2010
Upper East	16	70
Upper West	1	48
Northern Region	26	145
Brong Ahafo	40	149

Source: ILGS Desk Research, August, 2012.

The data available on regional distribution of women's participation as contestants in the district assembly elections over the period 1994 to 2010 also saw a remarkable increase in numbers as shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.2 also shows clearly similar increasing trends in terms of elected and appointed women assembly members between 1998 and 2010.

Table 1.2 Steady increasing trend of Ghanaian women's participation as Elected and Appointed Assembly members in Northern sector of Ghana (1998-2010)

REGION	ELECTED		APPOINTED	
	1998	2010	1998	2010
Upper East	8	24	36	49
Upper West	5	14	28	57
Northern	8	19	68	75
Brong Ahafo	35	49	87	92

Source: ILGS Desk Research, August, 2012.

Clearly, the participation of women both nominally and in percentage terms have increased remarkably in parliament and in local governance (at the District Assembly level) over the years, but the question is how and to what extent is that associated with organised NFE activities and interventions of government and/or international donor agencies and organisations that the women had over the years? The motivation for this study therefore is to find out from the beneficiary Assembly women in Northern sector of Ghana, how organised NFE programmes of organisations and agencies operating in and around Northern Ghana have contributed to enhance their participation in local level governance as Assembly members and on their active involvement in the assembly's business.

In view of the above, the central question to be addressed by the study is "To what extent have organised Non-Formal Education programmes of organisations and agencies operating in and around Northern Ghana enhanced the 2010 cohort of Assembly women's participation in local level governance as assembly members and in the assembly's business in Northern sector of Ghana?"

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to develop a concise participatory framework for empowering and promoting women's political activism and participation in local level governance in Northern sector of Ghana in particular by assessing the contribution and sufficiency of the use of NFE guided by the philosophy of Freire's concept of conscientisation as strategic pathways to empowering and promoting women's participation in local governance as Assembly members in Northern sector of Ghana.

1.4. Main Objective of the Study

The main objective of the study was to determine the extent to which organised NFE programmes of organisations and agencies operating in and around Northern Ghana have influenced the participation of the 2010 cohort of female Assembly members in local governance in Northern sector of Ghana by enhancing their abilities to contest the assembly elections, campaign effectively, mobilise funds for the assembly elections activities and participate actively in the assembly's business as women members.

1.4.1. Specific Objectives of the Study

To realize the main objective of the study, the following specific objectives were pursued. They included:

1. To identify the relevant forms of non-formal education that contributed significantly towards the participation of the women in local level governance as Assembly members.
2. To find out the knowledge and skills the assembly women acquired from the NFE programmes that enhanced their personal, interpersonal and political abilities to participate in local governance.
3. To assess the extent to which the NFE programmes have enhanced the Assembly women's participation in local governance in terms of their abilities to:
 - i. contest the assembly elections,
 - ii. campaign effectively during the assembly elections,
 - iii. mobilize funds for their assembly elections activities,
 - iv. participate actively in policy decisions in the assembly

4. To assess the level of participation of the assembly women in the Assembly's business that was enabled by the NFE programmes they had.
5. To find out the factors that affect the influence of the NFE programmes on the women's participation in local governance in terms of:
 - i. the factors that enhanced the influence of the NFE programmes on the women's participation as Assembly members.
 - ii. the factors that limited the influence of the NFE programmes on the women's participation in the assembly's business in the Assembly.

1.5. Research Questions

For the study to be focused and to achieve its set objectives, the following questions were formulated and answered.

1. What forms of non-formal education (NFE) adopted significantly influenced the women's participation in local governance as Assembly members?
2. What are the personal, interpersonal and political empowerment knowledge and skills acquired from the NFE programmes by the women that enhanced their participation in local governance?
3. To what extent have the non-formal education programmes the Assembly women had contributed to their participation in local governance in terms of the abilities to:
 - contest the assembly elections,
 - campaign effectively during the assembly elections,
 - mobilise funds for their assembly elections activities and

- participate actively in policy decisions in the assembly as women members?
- 4. What is the women's level of participation in the assembly that was attributed to the abilities they acquired from the NFE programmes?
- 5. What are the factors that enhanced the influence of the abilities the women acquired from the NFE programmes on their participation in local level governance as Assembly members?
- 6. What are the factors that limited the influence of the abilities (knowledge and skills) the women acquired from the NFE programmes on their active participation in the assembly's business in the assembly?

1.6. Significance of the Study

The outcome of the study is anticipated to produce empirical evidence for adult education practitioners and institutions including the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development and its Assemblies with regards the relevance and adequacy of NFE and the Freire's concept of Conscientisation as strategic tools and framework for empowering and promoting women's participation in democratic processes and governance - local and public governance, particularly in Northern sector of Ghana. This could lead to effective planning management of factually informed and responsive adult education empowering programmes for women in Northern Ghana.

It is also the expectation of the study that the findings on the factors that enhanced and/or limited the influence of the NFE programmes on the effective participation of the assembly women will afford adult education institutions, NGOs as well as the assemblies empirical evidence for informed planning management of their education programmes for effective

promotion of women's participation in local governance as assembly members. Similarly, it will afford the study to recommend remedial measures, actions and policies for both adult education institutions and Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development or the assemblies to promote effective participation of women in the assemblies. This will as well make a case for the adult education institutions to review, revise and update their NFE programmes, empowerment frameworks as well as institute complementary interventions in their strive to enhance and promote women's participation in local governance towards the achievement of the Ghana Sustainable Development Goal.

1.7. Scope and Delimitation of the Study

The study is limited to only three political regions of the Upper East, the Upper West and the Brong Ahafo regions of Ghana and to 276 women assembly members' respondents of the 2010 cohort of assembly members. The findings however, may not completely reflect what pertains in and applicable to all the other regions of Ghana including Northern region to some extent because of the apparent regional or geo-socio-cultural and religious disparities. As it were, generalization of the findings of the study for all women in all the Northern Ghana may be marginalized to the extent of the differences and peculiarities of spatial and socio-cultural and religious practices and belief systems of the people.

The reliability of the outcome of the study is also very much a function of how frank and candid the responses of the respondents were to the research questions posed. The study of all the assembly women in all the assemblies (total enumeration) has however had the propensity to minimize or marginalize the negative effect on the general outcome.

1.8 Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is organized into six chapters as follows. The Chapter One provides the introduction or the background to the research problem of the study, the statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, the objectives as well as the research questions which the study addressed. It also presents the significance of the study and the scope and the delimitation of the study.

Chapter Two deals with the review of related pertinent literature to the problem of the study especially Freire's concept of conscientisation that was used to guide and direct analyses and discussions of the study results, as well as the concept of non- formal education, empowerment, women empowerment, participation, decentralization, local government and the concept of district assembly in Ghana to give insight and in-depth understanding to the study problem. This chapter also reviewed some quantitative and qualitative studies on the effect of NFE programmes on women's empowerment and participation in decision making in public life and in public governance to guide the study.

The chapter Three presents the research methodology which covers information on the research design, the population of the study and sampled population, the sampling techniques and sample size, the data collection instruments and their pre-testing, data collection as well as on the methods of data analysis of the study. The Chapter Four also presents and analyses the primary data gathered from the field on the forms of NFE adopted and the skills and knowledge acquired from them as well as the responses to the extent to which they related to the participation of the assembly women in local level governance as assembly members. The chapter also presents and analyses responses on factors enhancing and limiting the

influence of the NFE programmes on the women's participation as assembly members in local level governance and in the assembly's businesses in the assembly respectively. The Chapter Five discusses the findings of the study while the last chapter, the chapter six deals with the summary of the study, the conclusion and the recommendations for institutional and knowledge development as well as areas for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter reviews the Paulo Freire's concept of conscientisation and the concept of Non-formal education (NFE) as the frameworks adopted to guide the study. It also reviewed the meaning and concept of empowerment and that of women's empowerment vis-à-vis the constructs and indicators of women empowerment components as well as the concept of participation, and the factors limiting women's participation in politics and in public governance including their participation in local governance as assembly members in Ghana. Empirical studies of the effect of NFE programmes on the participation of women in public life were also reviewed to give an insight to the study and to help construct a research framework for women's empowerment and participation in positions of decision making. Similarly, the concept of decentralisation, local government and that of the district assembly and its structure were reviewed for informed discussions.

2.1. Conceptual Framework

This part of the study discusses the Paulo Freire's concept of conscientisation and the concept of non-formal education to form the basis of the study.

2.1.1. Concept of Conscientisation

The concept of conscientisation was one of the important contributions of Freire to education development. He believed that education has the potential to liberate, empower and enable people to participate in discussions as well as taking decisions in matters that concern and affect their lives. Hence consciousness education has the tendency to create critical

awareness and consciousness among people especially the voiceless majority and the oppressed in society (Freire, 2000).

To this end consciousness raising education is one that Freire saw to be that process of educating adults on issues relating to the awakening of their critical consciousness about their social reality and possibilities of actions to address the associated challenges (Freire, 2000). Emphasizing this, Freire reiterates further that empowering and liberating education should be founded on the notion of conscientisation and dialogue. For it is believed that the nature of people's response to a situation they face will very much depends on their critical understanding of the root causes and possibilities of actions to their solutions (Nyirenda, 1994). By implication, and also stretching the argument further once the women of northern Ghana are educated by the NFE programmers that they had to perceive and understand the causes of their situation of subordination and discriminations and made to recognize and identify the possibilities of actions to take, they would have been empowered enough and ready to respond appropriately to enhance their participation in local governance as assembly members.

It is therefore clear that, in line with the philosophy of Freire one can assess the influence of the NFE programmes based on the extent the women's participation in the assemblies as assembly members was caused by acquired enhanced critical consciousness, understanding and perception of the challenges they face as well as the possibilities of actions to take as women in their effort to participate in local level governance. In view of this, the concept of conscientisation comes handy as an appropriate framework to guide the study in assessing the effect of the NFE interventions on the assembly women's participation.

This thinking is in consonance with Freire's philosophy of pre-axis and also finds strong expression in Nyirenda's (1996) intimation that Freire's concept of conscientisation and dialogue also have the potential to offer the oppressed and the socially excluded the opportunity and means to replace their passive perception of their reality with one of critical response and actions that correspond to the very nature of their situations. Throwing more light on the potential functionality of Freire's philosophy of conscientisation, Taylor(1993) and Sanders(1968) were unanimous that conscientisation which is a process plays a significant and crucial role in developing the critical consciousness of people to transform their social reality, virtue of the fact that it is able to change the people's mentality in terms of accurate and realistic awareness of their society and their capacity to analyse their own situations critically and find appropriate actions to them. Again it is credited with the advantage of enabling people to organise themselves to take action to change their social reality and the status quo owing to the realization of changed attitude, perceptions and beliefs that comes with it which hitherto subordinate and marginalize them (Taylor, 1993). This affords them to become active individuals ready and willing to reject, question and challenge the status quo and to take actions congruent to the very nature of the corresponding social reality for better (Nyirenda, 1996).

Nyierenda,1996) in assessing the relevance of Freire's concept of conscientisation opined that, it has very important implications for mass participation in rapid social transformation through the restructuring of society through its value assumptions of equality of all people, their right to knowledge and culture, and their right to criticize their situation and act upon it. This observation of Nyirenda is seen to be in line with that of Freire. He therefore saw

conscientisation to be a product of awareness creation and consciousness raising education that lead people to organizing themselves to take action so as to change their social realities.

Implicit in the value assumptions and philosophy of the process of conscientisation is the concept of change which Freire believed could be realized with regular and continues consciousness raising education as well as giving information that inspires and empowers people to take critical actions to transform and change the structures that oppress and subordinate them (Freire,2000). These expectations and feat were what Freire referred to as the purpose of purposeful education or educational system; for he maintains that the ultimate purpose of education should be to promote mankind to a noble and elevated destiny.

In his justification for consciousness raising education or non-formal education, Freire lamented that the traditional formal education or schooling has only so far achieved largely the division of humanity into the “oppressed” and the “oppressor”. This is so because all forms of education are political and for that matter no form of education is neutral. This means education could either be used to make participants/beneficiaries accept the status-quo (domestication) or used to empower them to analyze issues critically to liberate themselves (liberation) (Freire, 2000; Amedzro, 2000). A critical observation generally of the curricula of the traditional system of formal education most often than not does not seek to educate people to develop critical minds capable of questioning and challenging the status quo. Hence the poverty of ensuring the needed critical consciousness and liberation of the people because of its remoteness of its curricular to reality or what pertains in real life (Freire, 2000). As a consequence, Freire believed that critical awareness and consciousness–raising can be realized more with consciousness raising education the purpose of which is liberation and empowerment than with formal education system (Amedzro, 2000).

With regards to how the people will be empowered to be liberated, Freire also intimated that to contain or break the culture of silence among the oppressed and subordinated, there is the need for liberation education that creates critical awareness and raises critical consciousness as well as inspires people to take informed actions. To him these actions should not be mere coping activities but that of revolutionary processes which would lead to radical transformation of the individual from what he termed semi-intransitive consciousness stage through that of the naïve-transitive consciousness to the most highly desired level, the critical-transitive consciousness stage (Freire, 2000). For this to occur, liberation education is needed to empower the voiceless and the powerless to gradually gain power to question and challenge the status quo and to participate in the processes that concern their lives (Nyirenda,1996).

To this end, the call for a revolutionary process by Freire was therefore not the call for arm struggle but merely a call on all educators to use education as a strategic tool to infiltrate the system to liberate the oppressed. This is because to Freire, individuals in the semi-intransitive consciousness stage usually lack the ability to investigate and argue and are easily convinced by authority or the elite class to accept the status quo. As it were, their interest is mainly on biological needs (welfare) and as such always happy when those needs are satisfied. Paradoxically popular silence of these category of people is taken to mean democracy while advocacy for popular participation or the challenge of the status quo (the existing unfavorable social, economic and political order) is considered as subversive (Freire, 2000). To get over these constraints, approaches such as consciousness raising education as well as dialogue were recommended by Freire to move them gradually to the critical consciousness stage through the naïve transitive consciousness stage. As they begin to take part in

education, dialogue and interact with others and the rest of the world it is believed they would start to discover themselves and eventually assume responsible roles in the society (Freire, 2000). Hence the call for consciousness raising education such as NFE programmes known to be credited with these very attributes.

Freire however observed that, many people in practice tend to remain at the naïve consciousness stage short of attaining critical consciousness when the education they receive becomes irregular and inadequate. Guijit and Shah (1988 cited in Adoo-Adeku, 2012) also acknowledged that it takes time for people and groups to decide what they want to see change, and how and when to act. In view of this, there is therefore the call for regular, continuous and adequate use of liberation education and dialogue instead of the once-off short education programme such as that of the formal schooling system if the education programme is to gradually open the individual's consciousness and expand the horizon to attain critical consciousness for social, economic and political transformation. With consistent and regular education with dialogue, Freire (2000) conceptualized that participants will emerge from the semi-intransitive consciousness stage through the naïve transitive consciousness to attain the critical transitive consciousness where the participants reject passive positions and challenge the dissatisfied existing social, economic and political arrangements and subordination and then take action to participate and assume responsible roles in decision-making (Nyerere, 1994; Freire, 2000).

From the above discussions, it can be inferred that the Ghanaian woman who is said to be struggling, socially excluded or discriminated against and marginalized by outmoded traditions and customs, retrograde taboos and unfavorable policies, economic and political arrangements could be empowered and liberated by continuous and regular awareness and

consciousness raising education programmes such as NFE interventions. This would be feasible when their aim and focus are to move their beneficiaries from being mere naïve and passive individuals responding to and accepting the status quo, to becoming more critical and active individuals taking up the responsibility to change their situation and the world view of their society that tend to oppress, subordinate and discriminate against them. In other words, for a NFE programme to be considered as a strategic tool for empowering women, it should of necessity be in consonance with Freire's tenets of liberation education that is expected to raise awareness and awaken critical consciousness of the people about their social reality through dialogue and discussions. This is very much in line with the thinking of Knowles, in that Freire also believed that adults have rich experiences as their resources to share, as such consciousness raising and empowerment education interventions by implication should include dialogue to involve the adult participants in identifying their own problems, in analyzing the issues, and in taking decisions and actions to change their situations (Amedzro, 2000; Morna, 2008). This is evidenced in what Freire called the problem-posing approach of empowering education, where the programme providers or educators and the participants are engaged in dialogue and discussions to improve the skills, knowledge and attitude of participants and their communities at large. This in practice calls for training and education programmes with content corresponding to issues relating to the women's existential needs and challenges. In this case if women are effectively empowered, they can participate meaningfully in local governance as assembly members.

Overall and by implication, Freire's concept of conscientisation suggests that with the oppressed and marginalized such as the women of northern Ghana, formal schooling system

may be necessary but not sufficient to empower, liberate or free them from their social and political subordination and marginalization. Hence the call for critical consciousness raising education and for that matter non-formal education that has the potential to prepare the marginalized women for an intelligent and meaningful participation in decision making in public governance and in politics. This is because it is recognized to have the potential and power to help widen the horizon of the women's world view of their social reality, awakens their critical consciousness to begin to question and challenge the status quo and the undue socio-cultural pressures and superstition as well as build their skills capacity to participate effectively in positions of decision making like the district assemblies and its related businesses.

To achieve this, Freire advised that the education process must not only raise consciousness but must also motivate the people to change their situation by taking corresponding critical and informed actions. It was therefore in pursuance of this expectation that Freire conceptualized the importance of praxis, a combination and function of serious and critical reflection of the people of their social and context reality and identifying possibilities of actions that correspond to the very nature of their situation for a change. To Freire, it is only when the participants are made or conscientised enough to experience the dissatisfaction of their being or their lives that they would then begin to question the root causes of their subordination marginalization and powerlessness and to take corresponding actions to address them (Freire, 2000).

This as it were would be adopted as the framework by the study to help assess the extent to which the non-formal education (NFE) programmes that the women received have enhanced

their participation in local governance as assembly members. In conclusion, the discussion on the philosophy of Freire's concept of conscientisation tends to suggest that man's limited and incompleteness of knowledge of his abilities and potential to liberate himself out of social, economic and political bondage necessitates and makes consciousness raising education pertinent and potent for the raising of accurate realistic awareness and awakening of critical consciousness about his context reality and possibilities of actions to change the situation in which he was submerged.

Another cardinal and important contribution of reviewing Freire's concept of conscientisation to the study is the notion of the functional significance of the power of dialogue and discussion inherent with true consciousness raising education programmes. So for a non-formal education intervention to raise critical consciousness of the beneficiaries and clienteles it should be able to create the opportunity for people to come together or in conferences, seminars and workshops, listen and critically reflect, and then take actions to improve upon their situations and to participate meaningfully and intelligently in public governance, politics and in the development processes and discourses of their society (Nyerere, 1976 cited in Amedzro, 2000).

It is therefore clear from the discussions above of the Freire's concept of conscientisation that the problem of the marginalized segment of the population of the world, particularly that of developing countries like Ghana especially gender inequality is structural and cannot be resolved without a serious change in the social processes and structures. Hence the call for education that has the power to raise awareness and awaken the critical consciousness of the people to their social context realities to enable them change and transform their societies. Until then, the effects of discrimination on women are unlikely to disappear.

2.2. Review of Related Literature

This section reviewed related studies on the concepts of non-formal education (NFE), empowerment and women empowerment, participation, typology of participation and barriers to women's participation in politics and in public governance as well as the concept of decentralization, local government and that of the district assemblies including the roles of assembly members in Ghana. It also reviewed empirical studies on the effects of NFE programmes on women's participation in public life so as to give an in-depth understanding and insight to the operationalisation of the research topic and problem statement.

2.2.1. Concept of Non-Formal Education (NFE)

Coombs extensively used and popularized the term non-formal education in his writings in the early 1970s especially in his book "The World Education Crisis: A System's Analysis", (1968). He defined non-formal education (NFE) simply as a handy generic label covering any organized, systematic educational activity, carried on outside the framework of the formal system, to provide selected types of learning to particular sub-groups in the population, adults as well as children (Coombs, 1985). Coombs further explained that NFE could be referred to all those educational activities and programmes called severally and differently as adult education, on-the-job training (refresher courses or training workshops) and accelerated training that plays a complementary education role when organized outside the formal school system for identified target groups to solve an immediate problem. NFE is also considered as a major means by which many well educated people including highly trained specialists such as physicians, scientists, engineers as well as top government and business managers alike could continue their education in all spheres to keep abreast with the rapidly advancing frontiers of knowledge in their respective fields of work (Amedzro, 2000).

Similarly, Bown (1979) also writing on NFE defined it to include all education activities organized outside the formal school system. He was however quick to add that, some out-of-school education were formalistic because they duplicate the school system in terms of the organization, methodology and approach, though under the domain of NFE. To this end he cited the organization of classes for adults wishing to pass the West African School Certificate examination which is in many forms like formal school yet not, as a case in point. This thus makes the case or underscores the versatility of application attributes and the utilitarian values of NFE as held by Combs (1995) and Rogers (1996) as an education system.

Other writers like Simkins (1977) and Evans (1981) mentioned by Amedzro (2000) also conceptualized non-formal education as a non-school education because they see it as an out of school education.

Coombs in explaining the role of NFE as an empowerment tool refuted the misconception that, it was meant solely for developing countries, since the most highly industrialized nations also do use non formal education programmes and activities to familiarize their people, workers and consumers to new technologies, services and products. It is particularly Known to have been used to familiarize farmers, factory workers, bank workers, health workers and medical officers and many others including introducing consumers to new technological services and products. Again NFE was also recognized as a major strategic means by which many well-educated people continue to advance their professional careers and to stay abreast with changes of the world of work (Rogers, 1996; Amedzro, 2000).

As it were, non-formal education is therefore considered as a strategic education tool that can be used by individuals and groups to keep abreast with the rapidly advancing frontiers of knowledge and learning needs in all fields of endeavour in both the developing and industrialized world (Coombs, 1985; Rogers,1996).Equally Nyerere (1976) and Freire (1979) cited in Amedzro (2000) also defined and equated non-formal education to liberation or empowerment education that has the power and potential to liberate individuals by raising accurate realistic awareness and awakening their critical consciousness about their social and context realities or conditions that subordinate them as well as the possibilities of actions they can take to address their situations - oppression, poor living conditions, poverty and ignorance. It is contended that by raising awareness and critical consciousness of the people, the NFE programmes would have been assisting the people reflect more and more seriously on their conditions to become more responsible citizens. As informed and empowered people they can then participate in the social, economic and political issues of their communities and society without being marginalized or manipulated (Amedzro, 2000).

To this end and by extension, the NFE apparently appears to be the most appropriate strategic tool for empowering women as a marginalized segment of the population since it has the power to arouse critical awareness and consciousness of the women about the conditions that subordinate them as well as the possibilities of actions to take to salvage themselves. By extension and implication, the value assumption of the roles of NFE as empowering and liberating education for the marginalized in society has been central in almost all the above definitions and explanations of the concept of NFE.

In view of the above it can be concluded that the common and shared elements that stood up aptly in all the various authors's definitions including Coombs, (1985), Fordham (1980),

Rogers (1996), Nyerere (1976) , Freire (1979) Bown (1979) and Amedzro (2000) are that non-formal education is flexible in time and space and includes all educational programmes or activities organized outside the formal school system for identified target groups, be it children, out of school youth or adults to solve immediate problems through selected programmes. These selected organized programmes and activities are directed towards people to help develop their skills, attitudes or behavior as well as increase their knowledge to enable them find out things for themselves and make informed decisions for their lives. These programmes were also known to come in the form of adult education such as in public education, training workshops, conferences, seminars and on the job training among others.

2.2.2. Rationale for Non - Formal Education

In order to understand fully and appreciate the concept of non-formal education, there is the need to know what it is, the rationale and philosophy behind its emergence as complementary, supplementary, replacement and or empowerment as well as liberation education by looking at the pioneering works of Coombs, Paulo Freire, Nyerere, Illich, Reimer Fordham, Bown and Rogers.

Radical changes in development thinking in the 1970s necessitated radical changes in educational thought. These changes were prompted by the need to address and alleviate poverty and gross socio-economic inequalities as well as facilitate increase participation, productivity and employment (Coombs, 1995). Central to these changes was the re-definition of education itself. It was therefore noted that up to the 1970s, education had been popularly equated with schooling. By implication and extension, one`s education was measured by the years of classroom exposure one had and by the type of certificates and level of education and credentials acquired. To this end, Coombs (1985) posit that education was then deemed

to have occurred if and only if it was accomplished in a school or per formal education, acquired once and for all, during one's school age years. And as it were, anyone who lacked this schooling was seen *as* ignorant and uneducated (Coombs, 1985).

Following the economic and political instability of developing countries in particular in the 1970s, it became evident that the formal school system or education was too narrow and artificial to address or meet the realities of life. This observation was also shared by Deschoolers like Illich (1971) and Reimer (1972) who opined that, the formal school systems was incapable of producing people who are productive and relevant to their societies as change agents since most of the learning offered is remote and do not correspond to what pertains in reality. It was therefore described as an improper education by the deschoolers for providing only opportunities for a complete mis-education.

To that effect they made a case for non-formal education as an alternative or replacement to the school system so as to meet individuals, communities as well as the wider developmental issues of society. In the same vein, the Faure Commission Report (1972), on the assessment of the education systems in the 1970s, also remarked strongly that the existing formal education systems everywhere were growing increasingly obsolete and maladjusted in terms of the changing learning needs of their societies. To this end, the commission suggested forcefully that, if the formal education systems were to remain relevant and useful to make a real dent, it must undergo major reforms and changes on a continuing and regular basis in step of the changing educational needs of society (Coombs, 1985). These conclusions were informed largely by the fact that in their thinking the grave problems faced by developing countries were due to their ill-fitting imported educational models (Coombs, 1985).

As a consequence of some of these arguments among others, non-formal education then gained wider and popular acceptance as an education system that equates education broadly to learning regardless of where, how or at what age the learning occurs. This position corroborated with that of Coombs (1985) and Rogers (1996) that education is a lifelong process, spanning all of the years from early infancy to life`s end and not a one off short event as the scholars believed. In view of these recognized inherent limitations of the formal education system in terms of viewing the importance of education as a lifetime process, there was the call and need to pay more attention to other modes of education aside the formal education or schooling.

This however seems to be in sharp contrast with that of the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) (2005) which contented that, the lack of or denial of women formal education and for that matter illiteracy is a fundamental violation of the women`s human rights. Similarly, Malik et al (2010) and Paulucci (1976)) cited in Badu-Nyarko and Zumakpeh (2014) also underscores the importance of formal education by noting that the power to make informed decisions that positively affect individuals largely a function of access to information which invariably depends or is predicated on the formal education one has (Badu-Nyarko and Zumakpeh, 2014). As it were, it seems a blend of the formal system with the other system as suggested is appropriate when one considers the arguments advanced for and against so far. This currently seems to be what pertains and the norm. The emphasis however seems to be problematic and thus may call for more discussions and reforms.

Growing interest in these other modes have opened new horizons for educational research and action for a much broader and more direct role for education in national development (Rogers, 1996; Amedzro, 2000). The new interest in non-formal education therefore arose in

the 1970s prompted also by the then newly proclaimed strategies calling for a stronger, more integrated, and a more community-based approach to rural development and to meeting the basic and changing learning needs of the poor and the vulnerable. It then became obvious that, if a real dent was to be made in those basic needs, then people of all ages and walks of life would have to learn many new things. For instance, those engaged in delivering various technical services and assistance would all need and require special and continuing training. The consumers of such services as well would also have to learn the new ways and how best to use them. And to meet these objectives, a wide variety of non-formal education activities would be required to serve the out-of school youth and adults (Rogers, 1996). This thinking has also found strong expression in Badu-Nyarko and Zumankpeh (2014), when citing Knowles (1980) to explain the power and importance of NFE as an empowering education. They asserted that the roles and importance of NFE was not only to provide knowledge and skills to beneficiaries but also on how that would or have impacted on their attitudes, outlook, behaviours and performances.

2.2.3. Related Roles of Non-Formal Education as an Education System

As the concept of non-formal education gained popularity and prominence, many schools of thought emerged to discuss the concept and its roles in relation to that of the formal school system of education. It was severally and differently related to the formal system. Various proponents of the non-formal education concept saw it either as replacement education, supplementary education or complementary education to formal school education system. Yet others also equated it to liberation and or empowerment education (Rogers, 1996; Amedzro, 2000).

The Deschoolers like Illich (1971) and Reimer (1972) who were critical of the formal school system saw it as unfit and incapable of producing productive people and so must be replaced by non-formal education as an alternative. A total replacement of the formal school system was therefore sought and advocated for based on the argument that it was notoriously noted to be producing docile products or people who tend not to be fit and good as change agents and thus unproductive in a highly ever changing social system (Amedzro, 2000). These however seems to be in sharp contrast with that of the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) (2005) assertion that, illiteracy and or lack of formal education is a violation of women's fundamental human rights. Similar disapproval of the deschoolers stance is also evident in the observation of Malik et al (2010) and Paulucci et al (1976) cited in Badu-Narko and Zumakpeh (2014) that, the power or ability to make informed decisions that affect people and their wellbeings positively was very much depended on one's access to information which invariably was a function of one's level of literacy or formal education (Badu-Nyarko and Zumakpeh, 2013). Equally Rogers (1996) also refuted the deschoolers' position of replacing formal education with NFE by arguing that the non- formal education alone cannot be regarded as a genuine and perfect alternative education system especially when it comes to the education of children or young people. He however acknowledged that, the non- formal education is a positive approach to teaching and learning to cope with the ever changing learning needs of the world of work.

Again Rogers also noted that in practice non-formal education as it were has begun to influence the formal education in many institutions in terms of the learning and teaching methods. It is observed that many schools and colleges have developed patterns of teaching that tend to display characteristics of non-formal education methodologies such as problem -

posing, participatory learning where the learner now controls the aims, content and processes (Rogers, 1996). These counter notions to the deschoolers conception of replacement seems to suggest that both the formal school and the NFE systems should co-exist and ran concurrently or side by side for a holistic realization of the many and varied societal goals and objectives associated with the rapidly growing and changing learning needs of society.

Other education thinkers especially those oriented and tilted towards planning education including Fordham (1980) and Rogers (1996) also saw role of the non-formal education to be largely supplementary to the formal school system. They regarded it as a tool that is capable of retraining people who had earlier on benefited from some formal school education and training to be in step with the changing learning needs of their jobs and the world of work. Thus, suggesting that the NFE was also considered as an effective means of providing the needed new and additional skills and competence training to beneficiaries of formal education as well as continuing education and training opportunities to people to address their immediate problems or to keep them abreast with the ever changing frontiers of knowledge. This assertion is also lent support by Amedzro (2000) in recounting how non-formal education programmes were resorted to in Ghana as a supplementary education and training system to retrain and resettle redeployed workers under the Ghana's Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) that saw many people lose their jobs. This assumed the form of training and education workshops, seminars, conferences and refresher or short courses to conscientise, re-orient and retrain the redeployed in many and varied skills and trades. These included training in technical, vocational and income generation skills such as in electrical, carpentry, welding, masonry, animal rearing, fish farming dressmaking as well as shea butter, groundnut oil and gari processing to mention a few (Amedzro, 2000).

According to Rogers (1996), the inherent flexibility of NFE makes it to be seen as more an appropriate tool that can be used to respond quickly to new learning needs as they arise with the changing times. NFE was believed and expected to do this through part time and of short duration courses or programmes that are focused on more limited, specific and practical types of knowledge and skills training and education for immediate solution of problems the beneficiary encounters (Amedzro, 2000).

On the other hand, Coombs (1985) among others argued that non-formal education could be used as a complementary education to the formal school system. especially where those components of education which are crucial and necessary to make education holistic are left out or given inadequate attention by the formal school's curriculum. The extra curriculum activities such as agriculture, civic education on human rights and responsibilities, women rights and gender empowerment education, community education, sporting, drama and cultural studies and the like could be easily catered for by using the non-formal education mode or programmes as a complement to make the formal education system more complete and holistic (Amedzro, 2000).

The proponents of another school of thought including Nyerere (1976) and Freire (1974) identified non-formal education as liberation or empowerment education. They believed that the main purpose of education is to promote mankind to a noble and elevated destiny. To achieve that purpose of education, non- formal education programmes should be used to arouse the awareness of people about their oppression, poor living conditions, poverty and ignorance geared towards helping them to develop and become conscious of themselves, their environment and more responsible citizens. Thus making them difficult to drive but easy to lead as empowered and liberated people (Freire, 1974; Nyerere, 1976). On the other

hand, the formal school system and its curriculum were criticized to be distant or remote to the community life, full of high sounding phrases and rote learning but lacked the capacity of developing critical consciousness of the learner (Freire, 1974). They concluded that non-formal education can be used to create awareness and critical thinking, and as informed and empowered people, they can now analyze political issues better, assert their rights and participate effectively in the social, economic and political discourses of their communities without being marginalized.

2.3. Definition and Meaning of the Concept of Empowerment

The term empowerment covers a vast landscape of meanings, interpretations, definitions and disciplines ranging from psychology and philosophy to the highly commercialized self-help industry and motivational sciences (Wilkison, 1998). It is also seen as a socio-political concept widely applied in many and varied spheres such as in education, management, labour unions, health care and the like. In fact, Kabeer (1999) observed that there is no consensus on the meaning of the term empowerment; as such it is often used in a way that robs it off, of any particular meaning and sometimes presents it just as a substitute for integration or participation in a process whose parameters most often than not have already been set. Similar observation made by Karl (1995) noted that empowerment is a word widely used more than defined.

The term was however considered and used widely in the sphere of women's movements in the mid-1970s in relation to the issues of women's marginalization and empowerment (Stromquist, 1995). Anonuevo and Bocheynek in giving reasons why the term empowerment has become more relevant and visible in the discourses and programmes of women held that, it was because women are seen and considered generally as one of the marginalized groups

in society (Anonuevo and Bocheynek, 1995). The term was also given prominence extensively at International Conferences such as the World Population Conference in Cairo in 1994 and the United Nations Conference on Women in 1995, in discussion issues relating to gender equity and women and development. Following this, many feminist activists and other writers have run expert commentaries on the definition and meaning of the term empowerment.

Wilkison (1994) also observed that the term empowerment could be taken to mean increasing the spiritual, political, social, educational, gender or economic strength of individuals, groups or communities. In the context of policy making, the World Bank noted that, empowerment could be defined as the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor or disadvantaged people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control and hold accountable the institutions that affect their lives (World Bank, 2002). This definition corroborates with that of Bunch and Frost (2000) which states that empowerment is a process that aims at creating the conditions for self-determination of a particular people or group. This is because it has the power to invoke the potential for change as well as mobilize people to action. Stretching the explanation further, Ofei-Aboagye (1996) noted that empowering an individual or a group simply means enhancing their capacities and abilities to act or change a situation. For it to be meaningful and useful to the person or people to be empowered, it is only prudent the process of empowerment should be with their consent. As it were, the process of empowerment should involve the people intended to benefit from it and the programme should be one that addresses the causes of the powerlessness of the people (Freire, 2000).

In explaining the term empowerment, Guitierrez (1990) and Glen Maye, (1998) were unanimous in defining it as a process of increasing the personal, interpersonal or political

power of individuals to enable them take action to improve their situations. Parpart et al (2002) also writing on the term empowerment as a process also regards it as both a means and an end. They opined that at the individuals' level, the process of empowerment often involves building of capacities of the individuals through education and skills training in order to empower them to act or fight for a better life.

According to Partpart et al (2007) empowerment should be understood as a process that encompasses increasing individual consciences or personal, interpersonal and political consciousness and power. They also opined that, it is only when the personal power is enhanced that people can then engage in the process of the other levels of empowerment such as the interpersonal and political empowerment. By implication, increase in the assembly women's personal consciousness and power though the NFE and capacity building training should lead to their interpersonal and political empowerment in terms of enhanced participation in local and public governance. Similarly, Rowlands (1997) in describing the term empowerment also noted that it is a process by which people, organizations or groups that are powerless;

- ✓ become aware of the power dynamics at work in their life context
- ✓ develop the skills and capacities for gaining some reasonable control over their lives
- ✓ exercise this control without infringing upon the rights of others and
- ✓ support the empowerment of others in their communities.

On the part of Glen Maye (1998) empowerment is the development of the mind such as the sense of power, efficacy, and competence as well as the modification of structural conditions in order to re-allocate power. As to what empowerment does to the individual or group as a process, Fung (1994) explained that empowerment takes one from alienation, isolation or low

self-esteem, sense of powerlessness, fatalism and negative valuation to a sense of personal power and control, critical consciousness, attaining skills to foster change as well as assuming personal responsibility to work towards social change.

What is common in all of the above definitions and explanations is the recognition that the concept of empowerment is not only a process but also a multi-level process and one of enhancing personal, interpersonal and political power. This thus suggests that in the empowerment process personal, interpersonal as well as political power could be enhanced. In view of the conclusion from the review of the definition and meaning of the concept of empowerment, the study in line with this will assess the empowerment of the assembly women by the NFE programmes to participate in local governance in terms of the knowledge and skills acquired under their personal, interpersonal and political consciousness and empowerment.

2.4. Concept and Components of Women Empowerment

There are many and varied definitions specific to women's empowerment. Most of these definitions are in many ways complementary to the general definition of empowerment.

In a paper presented on the topic "empowerment of women" Heymann-Adu (1997) defined empowerment as a process of enhancing women's capacity to make the best of their own lives. Adding further clarity to Heymann-Adu's definition, Ofei-Aboagye (1996) saw women empowerment as a process whereby women become able to organize themselves, to increase their own self-reliance and their independent rights to make choices and to control resources so as to enable them challenge to eliminate their own subordination. Similarly, Lazo (1999) focusing her definition on the goals of women empowerment sees women's empowerment as

a process that enables women to gain relative strength as a result of having choices and bargaining power.

With regards to the outcome and benefits associated with empowering women Lazo (1999) intimated further that it could be in reduction of invisibility as they would then begin to demand attention from those concerned, especially decision and policy makers, to generate the appropriate positive responses as well as eliminate exploitation to enable them have access and make use of the social services and resources. Infact, she sees the ultimate object of women's empowerment to be improvement of women's socio-economic status. Equally Esplen et al, (2006) also remarked that women's empowerment brings to women who have been denied power the capacity to gain power, particularly the ability to make strategic life choices. For women in Ghana and for that matter the women of northern Ghana, this could be seen in their capacity, confidence and ability to question and challenge to get changed the inhibiting existing socio-cultural and economic arrangements that subordinate, marginalize and discriminate against them. Women empowering NFE should therefore enable them to freely choose to go to school or choose freely a livelihood, or gain the freedom to participate in decision making at the family and community levels as well as the power and freedom to choose to participate in or stand for elections for political leadership at local and national levels without fear or intimidation from their men counterparts and societies.

Another gender scholar, Glen Maye (1998) just like Partpart er al (2002) in stretching the definition and explanation further also considered empowerment for women to be a process of the development of women's personal, interpersonal and cultural changing thoughts and actions that together bring about real increase in the personal and political power of women. This definition implies that the assessment of women's empowerment should not only be

limited to the extent of increasing the personal power but should be extended beyond to include power at the interpersonal and political levels as well.

This definition however has practical implication for the study. This thus implicitly demands that the study looks for not only the knowledge and skills acquired from the NFE that enhanced the personal power or empowerment of the women assembly members but also that of their interpersonal and political power or empowerment. With regards what they entail and what knowledge and skills specific should be considered and assessed under each of the three components of women empowerment, Miley (1999) saw the personal empowerment as the ability or what the woman needs to control personal destiny while the interpersonal power is that ability the woman needs to influence the way that others think, act or believe. She also saw political power to be that ability women need to organize and mobilize people and resources in order to change systems, redistribute resources, expand opportunity, structures and create social change.

On the part of Boehm and Boehm (2003) the results of women empowering process include the feelings of self-respect and self-esteem, a sense of power, control and autonomy as well as reallocation of resources with greater personal and collective access to them. As to how a woman can be empowered, Longwe (1997) also using the traditional welfare approach to empowerment noted that a woman can be empowered if she has access to literacy, education, productive skills and capital which will then pave the way for her to get over the causes of her powerlessness. This view however, was criticized by the proponents of Gender and Development (GAD) approach as limited in scope as it concerns more with enabling women to advance within the existing situation or society, rather than through structural transformation.

In a simple but self-explanatory manner Karl (1995) also pointed out that women empowerment includes women gaining control or participating in decision making. In view of this she defined empowerment simply as “adding to women`s power”. This power she considered to mean;

- having control, or gaining further control,
- having a say and being listened to,
- being able to influence social choices and decisions affecting the whole society and
- finally, being recognized and respected as equal citizens and human beings with a contribution to make.

In similar passion and fashion, in focusing also on both the definition and goals of empowerment Batliwa (1997) pointed out forcefully that women empowerment is a process and a result of the process whereby the powerless or less powerful members of a society including women, gain greater access and control over material and knowledge resources, challenge the ideologies of discrimination and subordination and transform the institutions and structures through which unequal access and control over resources is sustained and perpetuated. Lending further credence to Batliwa`s assertion, Parpart et al (2002) contended that the goals of women empowerment are realized only when women start to challenge and transform the ideology and the practice of women`s subordination and to transform the structures and institutions that discriminate against them such as the family, caste, class, ethnicity and the social, economic and political structures and institutions. In their view other areas of the transformation should include religion, the educational systems, the media, the law and top down development paradigms or models.

This and other views so far expressed on the definition and meaning of empowerment of women are congruent with that of other scholars like Young (1993) and Griffen (1987) that women's empowerment is a continuum of several interrelated and mutually reinforcing efforts and activities such as awareness, capacity building and skills development leading to greater participation, decision making, greater control of power in society and transformation action to bridge the gap between women and men.

Implicit in all the definitions and assertions of women's empowerment is also Paulo Freire's philosophy of conscientisation which involves consciousness raising or 'coming-to-awareness' leading to changes in thinking, ideology, beliefs, self-confidence, self-competence and the definition of reality (Freire, 1979). Bunch and Frost (2000) also agreed that empowerment of women is related to the Paulo Frere's concept of conscientisation or what is generally referred to as consciousness raising. This involves changes in thinking, ideology, beliefs, self-image and the definition of reality. Their understanding and believe is that the gender gap is not always material but a belief gap. That is the gap between believing that women cannot take action and that they can take action; the belief between politics is for men and the belief that women and men can take part in politics; and or the acceptance of women as second class citizens and the belief that women are equal citizens and partners to men. They also stressed that for women to be empowered they need to be made to believe that the social system of male dominance can be changed and that their own actions can change the world. So consciousness raising education for women as held by Freire, as it were therefore empowering women to refuse to accept the status quo but instead resolve to change it (Bunch and Frost, 2000).

With regards to the strategies that could be employed to facilitate the empowerment of women, be it individuals or groups in Ghana, Ofei-Aboagye (1996; 2000) opined that it was crucial to first and foremost have a national policy action or action that create the right environment particularly for women to take their rightful place in the development process. In term of the national policy action areas outlined, they include interventions such as

- advocacy to change attitudes and behaviours,
- capacity building that would focus on the individual as part of the empowerment process.
- various forms of training and educational programmes on skills building, consciousness-raising, increased access to resources and networking to enhance their opportunities and conditions and
- Legislation on how to secure and protect the rights of women.

In view of the various authors' definitions and explanations above on the concept and components of women empowerment, it can be vividly concluded that women empowerment is a process of increasing women's personal, interpersonal and political consciousness and power with the aim of engendering development through engendered participation in decision making processes at all levels in politics, social, economics and or in public governance.

2.5. Empowerment Process

On the part of Heymann-Adu, (1997) the process of women empowerment occurs at the individual, interpersonal and institutional levels where the woman develops a sense of personal power, an ability to affect others and an ability to work with others to change social institutions. She further identified four factors that are considered crucial for moving individual women from apathy and despair to action as empowered women. First among

them is increasing the woman's self-efficiency that is increasing the woman's own ability to produce and to regulate events in her own life.

The second involves the development of their group consciousness. This comprises the creation of awareness of how political and existing structures affect individuals and groups experiences through empowering education. The third focuses on reducing self-blame. This is tied closely to consciousness raising. This leads one to believe that power is not a scarce commodity but can be attained or generated in the process of empowerment. The fourth is the assumption of personal for change. This could either be enhanced by teaching women skills or increasing their abilities to mobilize resources and advocacy. To achieve this, there is the need for empowering education. These stated social, economic and political levels of power or empowerment tend to corroborate what Glen Maye (1998) and Parpart et al (2002) saw as the intrinsic components of women empowerment. That she deemed to be the things that give life and meaning to the idea of women empowerment (Heymann-Adu, 1997).

2.6 Education for Woman Empowerment

Education for empowerment according to Freire (2000) is the one that has the power and potential to raise awareness and awakens the critical consciousness of people to their context or social realities. In fact, women empowerment education is one that should or concretely allows women to learn to better their lives and that of others or society. Longwe (1997) argued that empowering education would make women to learn to think and work collectively with others, instead of working as individuals to compete against others; to question the social and political environment, not merely as an organization to be understood, but also as unsatisfactory environment to be changed.

Stretching the argument further Longwe (1997) asserted that for women empowering education to be able to empower women appropriately and effectively, it must be designed with the attribute and the objective of making women to recognize that gender policies do not command political consensus but attract covert opposition; to be able to question whether public institutions are working in public interest; to develop strategies to work in areas of political conflict and confrontation as well as device strategies to counter covert bureaucratic resistance to gender oriented policies.

It is however argued that though empowering education plays the role in transformation of structures, the cognitive process of education which takes place primarily at the individual level is also important. The importance of this is seen in the self-confidence or increased self-esteem acquired for action. This should be accorded needed attention and thought especially in relation to structural transformation. It is also crucial because the goal of transformation is applicable to the society as well as the individuals (Stromquist, 2002). Moser (1997) also writing on the main concerns of empowering education stated that if the goal of empowering is the transformation of individuals, relationships, institutions and structures, then the educational system should concern itself with three (3) major areas of women empowerment and education - access to education, the content of education and the pedagogy of education.

2.7 Access to education

Traditionally many women have been denied access to schooling, literacy and other educational opportunities and as a result of this denial, a gender gap has been created in the area of education, either in school enrollment rate, literacy or adult education participation (Moser, 1997; Adoo-Adeku, 2012). This situation has largely been attributed to a host of

social, cultural, economic, biological and historical factors that have conspired to discriminate against women and to effectively deny them of one of the basic human rights-education. Buttressing this further, Moser (1997) stated that, out of the world's adult population of non-literates, two thirds were women.

As it were, the path to empowerment will therefore be initiated when women recognize that their lack of access to education is their human right violation, barrier to their growth and over all wellbeing and take action to address it. The education needed therefore should be one that questions the discrimination against women as issues of advocacy (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2007).

2.8 Content of Education

Schooling for subordination is the term Longwe (1997) used to describe the process of learning whereby women are taught to accept the naturalness of male domination. Hence feminists have focused their efforts on looking at educational materials and curricula to assess to what extent they contain messages that further reinforce gender stereotype and offer women limited possibilities. Alarmed by the large number of women non-literates, many countries have embarked on literacy campaigns and programmes that are primarily meant for women. Patel (1996) remarked that, the analysis of literacy primer used in adult education in India and Africa for example show the dominant portrayal of domestic and reproductive work of women, while men were presented to be involved in productive work. This means that even though the women were taught to read and write, the materials were also reinforcing the traditional gender division of labour and as a consequence perpetuate such a stereotype.

As it were, by making women invisible in the productive sphere the materials in a way are seeking or contributing to the non-recognition and non-valuation of most women's productive activities or contribution to this sphere. In view of the above, women themselves will have to be involved in the planning management, design and development of the curricula and the teaching and learning materials.

2.9 Pedagogy of Women Empowerment Education

Empowering education need to liberate and involve women themselves in the transformation process. Schools teach girls to accept authority and not to question. Women are thought just to learn better the traditional roles predefined by society for them. Transformation education is needed and this depends on the learning environment and the process by which women learn. It is true that women need education to be able to participate in society but the nature of this education has not been sufficiently questioned. The educational systems in most developing countries are relics of their colonial past, and irrelevant to the needs of most people especially women (Coombs, 1995; Amedzro, 2000).

It is also held that the pedagogy of the education should empower women to question the authoritarian relations of teachers and students, recognize the traditional knowledge of people, promote assertiveness among participants and encourage multiple ways of knowing. This however noted should not prioritize the group above the individual or the rational over the effective (Coombs, 1991; Haskova, 2002). Dighe (1995) also remarked that, if education is to have any value for women, it must be a means of making them aware of the oppressive structures that keep them to positions of the oppressed. She observed that most educational systems in Africa do not provide a climate for such thinking skills to develop.

She argued further that, when women are relatively powerless and have little control over what is happening in their lives and their environment, education for literacy alone may have little meaning for the women. Stretching her lamentation further, Digbe opined that what such women need is a critical thinking and critical understanding of the societal forces that results in women bearing many children, working endless hours without respite, being beaten and raped, putting up with alcoholic husbands and going hungry. Women failed to question and to challenge the status quo because the education system has failed to address gender issues effectively and fully. It is therefore observed that, the existing educational systems in many African countries have not provided women with the tools to understand and analyze the true nature of social, political and economic system that govern their lives and oppress them.

As it were, if women are to be agents of change in societies, the education offered them must be a tool that awakens their critical consciousness to their social and context realities and possibility of action to take to empower and liberate themselves. This however, cannot be brought about by learning the three Rs alone or being drilled in nutrition and family planning (Dighe, 1995).

2.10 Profile of the Empowered Woman

Anita Dighe (1995) in a paper presented on women literacy and empowerment noted that while it is difficult to define empowerment, it is easy for one to understand its meaning when one sees the manifestation of what it implies. Stretching the assertion further she explained that an empowered individual or woman is one who experiences a sense of self - confidence and self - worth, a woman who critically analyses her social and political environment, and also able to exercise control over decisions that affect her life. In addition, the empowered

woman is totally aware that organization means strength and as such seeks to strengthen her organizational, management and leadership skills.

Similarly another woman advocate and author, Aksombool (1995) in outlining what should guide the content selection of a women's empowering education and training programme came out with the attributes or the profile of an empowered woman to include mainly being convinced of her equality with men, knows the laws and legal processes to use to protect her own and that of other women, being to question her double responsibility and seeks help from others to have enough time to participate in the social and political life of her community, being aware of her tremendous potential to contribute to the progress and development of her society or country as well as being confident of her worth, open-minded and appreciate others.

Other equally important attributes of an empowered woman recognized were her being able to question the family and social practices that negatively affect her and takes action to challenge the unjust ones, has the freedom of movement and expression equally as men, being aware of her rights as a citizen and protects them actively as well as looks for options and makes informed decisions and dares to be different and creative (Annonuevo-Medel, 1995). In view of the above, it is clear that a few women in Ghana possess these desirable qualities particularly those of northern Ghana. Such women also remain a small minority in Ghana (Adoo-Adeku, 2012). These established desirable qualities of an empowered woman could serve as a useful framework for designing and assessing the effectiveness of women's empowering programmes.

2.11. Definition and Meaning of the Concept of Participation

Development is increasingly aiming at participation, that is not agencies doing development but working with people towards development, at planning and executing their own development. As such development is now more about empowering and enhancing the capacities of the people to enable them participate or get involved meaningfully in the processes of development and also as a way of promoting social and economic justice (Rogers, 1996). It is therefore generally and popularly recognized among development thinkers that, the quality of the people's participation in decisions and processes affecting their lives and development also reflects directly the level of the people's empowerment. And like empowerment, participation is both an end and a means to an end. As women and men achieve a more meaningful form of participation in some of the decisions affecting them, so their capacity to take control over other areas of their lives also expands (Deboboh and Suzanne, 2005).

Lending support to the assertion, Parpart et al (2000). however, noted that even though empowerment and participation in theory may be different, in practice popular participation in development processes and work may be seen as empowering the marginalized and the disadvantaged in society, who hitherto were excluded. This is so because in the process, the women and men are likely to also become more able to determine the nature and extent of their participation in many spheres of life and endeavours in their respective communities and societies. Participation is therefore seen as one of the most widely used words or lexicon in development. The term participation therefore requires careful assessment and use, since they have as many meanings as there are users (Narayan, 1993; World Bank, 1998).

The Longman dictionary defined participation as the act of taking part or having a share in an activity or event. According to the World Bank (1998) participation is a rich concept that means different things to different people in different settings. This is because to some it is a matter of principle, for others a practice and for others still an end in itself. Rogers (1996) writing on the meaning of participation noted that essentially participation must carry with it some notion of sharing, and joining-in. In his view, participation means people sharing in decision making, in running their own affairs, in planning, executing as well as evaluation of affairs after a programme. As it were, he concluded that, the concept of participation implies various levels of sharing in a programme or in an event. The concept of participation is also termed self-mobilization when people participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They may contact external institutions for resources and technical advice but retain control over how resources are used. This type of participation however, as Rogers noted, may lack the potentiality and capacity to challenge the status quo or existing distribution of wealth and power (Rogers, 1996).

Similarly, Rahman (1983) contended that participation is a process whose cause should not be determined from outside. He believed that it must be generated by rhythm of collective action and reflection of the people. For when the people take it upon themselves, the process becomes the peoples own as opposed to people being mobilized or directed by outside forces, agents or authority (Rahman, 1983). However, Rogers (1996) contended that irrespective of the nature of the participation, participation as a process is seen or realized at the end when the people have fully taken control of their own development and no longer need interventions.

Interestingly, the type of participation being sought by the study was vividly captured in the views of the UN Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD). Participation was viewed as a process which involves organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in a given social situation on the part of groups and movements hitherto excluded from such control (Pearse and Strefel, 1979). This is congruent with that of the study because the subjects of the study, the assembly women have been marginalized, discriminated against and excluded in decision making processes by social, cultural, economic and political constraints.

Interestingly the majority of the views expressed on participation are in line with Paulo Freire's (2000) assertion that, an attempt to liberate the oppressed without their reflective participation in the act of liberation is to treat them literally as objects which must be saved from a burning building. This type of participation he contended can only transform the people into masses to be manipulated.

As to how to achieve genuine participation Freire (2000) suggested that the first step should be a process in which the people themselves become more aware of their own situation of the socio-economic reality around them, of their real problem, the causes of their problems and what measures they themselves can take to begin changing their situations. This process of consciousness creation or conscientisation constitutes a process of self-transformation through which people grow and mature as human beings. In his view participation is a continuous educative process of progressive conscientisation (Freire, 2000).

What is important in the study of all above is the view that, meaningful participation of the people in development should be concerned with direct access to the resources necessary for

development and some active involvement and influence in the decisions affecting these resources. Meaningful participation of the people implies the ability to positively influence the course of events. This means the people should be involved in and be in control of decisions and issues concerning their lives. *In conclusion, participation as adopted or used by this study is when people are meaningfully involved in solving their own problems, improving their social order and in making decisions that affect them.*

2.12 Typology of Participation

Bagnall (1987) and Rogers (1996) in their studies on participation also reported that the concept is of utmost Importance to adult educators especially to community workers or those with commitment to social and national development. They observed that to such practitioners' participation is expressed in questions like; whether or not appropriate persons are present in the programme, the extent to which those persons are actively involved in the intended programme or activity and the extent to which those persons are in control of the development processes. Based on this, they also classified participation into three major forms (typology). Thus being present, being involved and being in control.

2.12.1 Participation as Being Present or in Attendance

Richard observed that participation in adult education and in development programmes are often measured by presence. Such studies are usually concerned with the factors, which influence this form of participation and often involved with sophisticated research procedures. Major regional and local organizational studies of participation are invariably concerned with the presence of people or categories of people in a programme. As to why participation as presence is mostly adopted by development agencies or adult educators. Bagnall suggests that it may be because of its important political impact of numbers in

programmes and influence when it comes to soliciting for funding or other forms of support. It should however be realized that being present in a programme does not assume involvement or control. In other words, one can be present in a programme without being involved in any way, and without having control over the programme.

2.12.2 Participation as Being Involved

Richard backed by Rogers is unanimous on the definition of participation as involvement. They see it as the extent to which a person is involved with, or is in interaction with, important components or processes in the developmental programme. This may be either an individual, that is, when a member or a participant is actively considering some ideas or attitude, or is practicing a skill, or it may be social as some form of interaction with fellow participants or with programme facilitators. This follows that participation as involvement assumes participation as control. Participation as involvement is the most desirable for all adult education programmes and development programmes. It therefore follows that programmes should focus strongly on its assessment. Unfortunately, available information shows that participation as involvement has been little researched and rarely assessed in evaluations of programmes (Burkey 1989; Rogers (1996). Bagnall saw the reasons attributing to this situation as due to the complexity and the attendant difficulties associated with its measurement.

2.12.3 Participation as Being in Control

According to Bagnall participation as control identifies the extent to which individuals or groups have control over the development programme and over its various components - its content, goals, implementation, outcome and over its various processes (Bagnall, 1989). Participation as control over a programme may take place without one necessarily being

present in the programme. The staffs who take policy decisions at the head offices that affect education or development programmes are usually exercising considerable control over those programmes even though not in attendance or being present in them.

Rogers again observed that in practice most adult education programmes usually and generally aim for high degree of learner involvement than they do aim for high learner control. However, programmes such as community development, participatory research and participatory evaluation aim for high degree of participant control. But like involvement, control is complex and difficult to assess (Rogers, 1996). Accordingly, it is little researched in adult education and is even less frequently measured appropriately in programme evaluations (Rogers, 1992; Bagnall, 1989). To overcome the difficulties in assessing participation, Bagnall also remarked that, there is the need for planners to correctly identify the appropriate type of participation in the formulation of programmes for it is only then that the programmes can be developed to meet their aims and also evaluated appropriately.

The evidence however is that, most programmes are frequently designed and managed to achieve only high levels of presence and evaluated only in terms of the extent to which this form of participation has been attained. It is also recognized that most participation researches were focused entirely on presence or absence and on the factors which affect it, to the neglect of measuring the degree of involvement or control as most programmes aimed (Bagnall, 1989; Rogers, 1996). In view of this Richard called for a major shift from the research and evaluation, which emphasizes on the study and evaluation of presence and the factors which influence it to one of appropriate forms of involvement and control. From the above discussions on the typology of participation, it is practicable and more empowering if the involvement of participants at all the stages of programmes should be encouraged.

2.13. Women and Governance in Ghana

Ghanaian women are effectively under the control or authority of men - fathers, husbands or other male members of their kin groups (Baden et al, 1994; Adoo-Adeku, 2012). The degree and extent of this assertion may differ from region to region due to regional disparities. As a result of Ghana's ethnic, cultural and ecological diversity, it is extremely difficult to generalize about gender relations and their influence on women's access to resources, decision-making and status without recourse to these obvious disparities. These regional disparities and distortions have further been widened by experience of historical and biased regional development policies (Baden et al, 1994). As it were, the northern regions of Ghana are disadvantaged also by the combined effects of harsh agro-climatic conditions, outmoded and retrograde traditional practices and policies, patriarchal family structures as well as women's lack of influence in decision making (Baden et al, 1994; Adoo-Adeku, 2014).

Among the patrilineal groups, especially that of the Northern, Upper East, and Upper West regions, after marriage, the influence of the natal family is more limited as she then comes under the strict and direct customary control of the husband and his family (UNECA, 1984 cited in Baden et al, 1994). Consequently, the combined effect of these factors is that, most women's participation in decision-making within the household and beyond in northern Ghana is constrained by these influences (Baden et al, 1994). However, in matrilineal groups, especially with the Akans, the maternal uncles and the matrilineage generally retains considerable influence over the woman even after her marriage (Abu, 1983 in Baden et al, 1994; Adoo-Adeku, 2012).

The existing traditional political structures also discriminate and discourage women's political participation in Ghana to a large extent. This is because the traditional systems of

political authority were and remain largely male-dominated. Even where women do participate in a political process through the traditional framework, it is often done or seen in a parallel structure that deals with women's affairs or just influencing indirectly the opinions or authorities of men (Baden et al, 1994).

Women's political participation in the traditional system is therefore largely confined to women with status, especially women related to chiefs. This is true of southern Ghana, where the 'Queen Mother' known as the 'Ohene' among the Akan and the 'Manye' among the Ga are mostly senior female members of the royal lineage. That is, the mothers or sisters of the 'Ohene' or the Chief. These Queen mothers are said to have substantial political powers such as judicial and executive functions, which include advising the chief, settling domestic disputes and overseeing feminine affairs (Bortei-Doku, 1990 in Baden et al, 1994).

Akan Queen Mothers are also instrumental in the selection and installation of a new chief. The Queen mother most often than not also occupies the Asantehene's or the king of the Ashanti stool and exercise administrative authority during war times (Callaway, 1976 in Baden et al, 1994). However, while male traditional political authority is public affair, the authority of the Queen Mothers is often conducted in private. Despite all these important functions performed by the Queen mothers, they were excluded from the Council of Elders that makes the major decisions. It was only recently that Queen Mothers were accorded official status and recognition in the Regional House of Chiefs, which is the only approved channel for chieftaincy affairs in Ghana (Bortei-Doku, 1990 in Baden et al, 1994).

On the other hand, the traditional system in Northern Ghana had no defined political functions for women, except for a few cases of queen mothers among the Gonja, who are

said to have the same status as male chiefs. These female chiefs too only lead and represent women, collect monies from women as well as advise their male counterparts (UNECA, 1984 cited in Baden et al, 1994). Women's participation in public decision making therefore appears to be particularly constrained in northern communities of Ghana (UNECA, 1984; Bortei-Doku, 1990). For example in enskinning a chief in the north (Ghana), the opinion and choice of the first wife of the paramount chief is key with regards to who becomes the chief, yet this is done in a quite devoid of public notice and attention (Author's personal or self-expressed experience and knowledge). This thus far shows how the social, cultural and traditional structures and arrangement have conspired and helped in marginalizing and discriminating against women in Ghana particularly that of northern Ghana.

Similarly, in formal modern politics, women have also suffered from under-representation at all levels. Before independence in 1957 and before the introduction of the universal adult suffrage, voting had been limited by property qualifications (UNECA, 1984, in Baden et al, 1994). Access to public office theoretically was opened to all persons over twenty-one years but, with some degree of English language proficiency. This thus effectively marginalized and discriminated against women in Ghana who again had less or no formal education and hence were more likely to be illiterate in the English language. Again, deposits required for electoral candidates created a further barrier to the participation of the majority of women, except those who had considerable independent resources, or the sponsorship of a political organization. This notwithstanding, the entire first, second and third republics however saw some women holding political positions at national and local levels.

It is on record that under the First Republic special provisions and concessions were made for the election of women candidates to the National Assembly and for that matter, guaranteeing

women a certain number of seats (United Nation Economic Commission for Africa, UNECA, 1984 cited in Baden et al, 1994). Even though women participation in parliament has been growing steadily in the post-independence democratic governments, they have been highly under-represented as depicted in the Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Gender representation in Ghana’s parliament from 1960 - 2012

Year	Male MPs	Female MPs	Total	Female MPs % of Total
1960	94	10	104	9.6
1965	85	19	104	18.3
1969	139	2	140	0.7
1979	135	5	140	3.6
1992	189	16	200	8.0
1996	182	18	200	9.0
2000	181	19	200	9.5
2004	205	25	230	10.9
2008	210	20	230	8.7
2012	245	30	275	10.5

Source: ILGS Desk Research, August 2012; Electoral Commission of Ghana, Annual Report, 2013)

Data in Table 2.1 suggest a steady improvement in the participation of women in politics or governance especially in parliament over the years. The women’s participation as

parliamentarians vis-à-vis their male members have increased from 0.7 % (2 women members) in the 1979 parliament to 10.5% (30 women members) in the 2012 parliament. Since independence women have accounted for less than 20% of members of parliament in Ghana, even though they consistently constitute over 51% of the population of Ghana. Under-representation at the local level is just as pronounced as at the national levels. According to UNECA, (1984) report, few women were found in the city, district or town councils set up under the local government legislation. It emphasized further that no women chairpersons were found, and that only a few councils had more than two females out of the 18 membership, and that even in many cases, there were no women councilors at all. Village and Town Development Committees as well also had low levels of female participation.

The 31st December Revolution also ushered in a period of mass political mobilization in the form of Defense Committees in work places and communities, with a multiplicity of roles including organizing communal labour. However, women were not substantially involved in these organizations at local level. Women were virtually absent in the Regional Co-ordinating Committees where as in the National Coordinating Committees only two women were members of the 16-member committee. It is also reported that the cadre training programmes organized by the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) during this period failed to recognize and involve women (UNECA, 1984; Buadu, 2005)).

At the district, municipal and metropolitan levels the low and under representation was also equally loudly pronounced. Having been created and practiced for about three decades now women are still under represented in the Assemblies in Ghana. It is on record that women constituted only 6.6% (460) of the total number of 6,907 assembly members of the 1988/1989 group or cohort of assembly members in the Ghanaian assemblies. Even with that,

the majority were government appointees and not by popular elections. The data and information available also show that the trend of under representation of women in the assemblies has not changed remarkably over the years, though it has been improving steadily. The participation of elected assembly women grew from 4.1 % (197 women out of 4,811 elected assembly members nationwide) in 1998 assemblies to 7.4% (412 women out of 6093 elected assembly members) in the 2010 assemblies as compared to 92.6% (5,681) elected male members (ILGS Desk Research, 2012).

Correspondently, the number of women assembly members appointed also soared up from 671 appointees in 1998 to 1,231 women appointees in 2002 nationwide. This thus clearly shows that the number and presence of women and for that matter the participation of women in local governance in Ghana is gradually and steadily increasing even though in percentage terms it still lags seriously behind that of their male counterparts who are just about 49% of the population. This trend as it were, has the tendency to compromise the interest and rights of women when it comes to decision making and resource allocation and distribution (Ofei-Aboagye, 2000).

When it comes to participation as District Chief Executives (DCEs), the political heads of the districts, the situation is no different. Of the 110 District Secretaries appointed in 1998, only eight or 7.2% were women. Similarly, out of the 110 DCEs appointed in 2000 by the New Patriotic Party (NPP), led government, only five percent (5%) were women. The situation further down the local government ladder does not only show that women are under-represented at the sub –committee levels, but also that there is a dearth of vital information as to what really the situation is. In terms of regional distribution of women in the assembly, available data on the 2010 cohort of elected assembly members revealed that the Upper East,

Upper West, Northern, Volta, Brong Ahafo, Ashanti and Western Regions, for example, constituted only 7.3, 5.0, 2.8, 11.2, 6.9 and 5.5 percent respectively of the total number of all elected members (ILGS, Desk Research, 2012).

2.13.1 Women Organizations in Retrospect

During the latter stages of the nationalist movement and in the early years of independence various women's organizations were formed. The Ghana Federation of Women and the All African Women's League were formed in 1960, and were later merged to form the National Council of Ghana Women (NCGW), which subsequently became the women's wing of the ruling Convention People's Party (CPP). With branches established in all the regions of Ghana, they facilitated the effective mobilization of women. As a result of this, the NCGW lost its autonomy and its leaders became part of the CPP Central Committees (Tsikata, 1989).

It is also said that the pre- and post-independence mobilization of women in Ghana was centered mainly on meeting more of the needs of urban women than their rural counterparts in the sense that the major activities were on establishing day care centres in a few big towns and organizing party rallies (Buadu, 2005). It could however be credited and praised for consistently putting pressure on the government to resolve the growing problem of parallel and diametrically opposed traditional and ordinance marriage systems that tend to marginalize and disadvantage women in many ways including their abilities to freely participate in politics and in public governance (Baden et al, 1994). Equally the appointment of some women as ministers, members of parliament, district commissioners and councilors as well as the removal of overt discriminatory employment practices and the promulgation of laws in the interests of women under the CPP government may have been influenced and hastened by the women organization (Baden et al, 1994).

The National Council on Women and Development (NCWD) that was also established by the NLC government in 1975 in compliance with the call on governments by the United Nations General Assembly to focus on issues and actions on the situation of women in the country (Buadu, 2005; Allah-Mensah, 2005). As a government justification, it was charged with the responsibility of advising government on all matters relating to women. It was in addition given the responsibility to devise strategies and programmes to integrate women into development processes and in public governance. The council collaborated with other government agencies in conducting its seminars and training workshops. The major activities of the NCWD included income generation activities to empower women in the regions, disseminating labour saving technologies for rural women as well as counseling. It also commissioned several studies on the socio-economic situation of women in Ghana. However, frequent changes of its leadership (executive secretaries) by Government disabled it in many ways in carrying out its mandate effectively. In 1986 for instance, the entire council was dissolved by the government and replaced largely by prominent members of the 31st December Women's Movement (Manuh, 1993; Buadu, 2005).

On the other hand, Tsikata (1989) argues that the active involvement of a few women in the political movements like the June 4th Movement and the New Democratic Movement was also instrumental in creating the necessary momentum for mobilizing women for effective political activism and participation in Ghana (Baden et al, 1994). As a consequence, three prominent women's organizations emerged during the period. They included the Federation of Ghanaian Women (FEGAWO) formed in 1982, the 31st December Women's Movement (DWM), initiated in 1983, and the All Women's Association of Ghana (AWAG) established in 1984.

All the three organizations were focused on the business of improving the overall situation of women as well as on facilitating women's active participation in political processes (Adoo-Deku,2012). Their major areas of activity centered on political education, literacy campaigns, economic ventures, social services and other women educational programmes.

The FEGAWO main objectives and mandate included the duty to

- ✓ struggle for equal rights and opportunities for women in economic, social and political matters.
- ✓ struggle against the structures, laws, norms and practices which oppress women
- ✓ and to encourage women to participate actively in the political processes of the period especially in the work of the Defense Committees set up by the new military regime (PNDC).

Following the establishment of the FEGAWO was the 31st December Women's Movement which was initiated in the 1983. Cardinal among its objectives was to raise women consciousness about national affairs and political issues with the aim of encouraging women to participate actively in politics as a matter of right. In addition to this, other objectives to be carried out by the DWM were to involve women in the then ongoing revolutionary process, in decision- making processes and to seek reforms in the laws that will positively affect women as well as encourage them to engage in other economic activities other than buying and selling.

The DWM also pursued general programmes aimed at improving and empowering women's social and economic status in the area of health, literacy, education and capacity building training especially in income generating activities.

The All Women Association of Ghana (AWAG) was also formed in 1984 after the merger talks between FEGAWO and DWM fell through. Its main objectives or core business were to act as an umbrella organization capable of accommodating the varying aspiration of existing women organizations all in the interest of the Ghanaian woman.

Other vibrant and important women organizations that made very crucial and critical contributions to the forward march and empowerment of women included the Ghana branch of International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA). It has been an active organization which has been fighting towards the improvement of women's rights in Ghana since 1985. It does this through legal literacy programmes and projects. The objects of these programmes are to create women awareness of their rights and responsibilities and possible legal systems and actions available to take for redress. It is on record that it has so far chalked some successes for women in the area of handling over 2000 cases bordering child maintenance, estate, marital related issues and creating awareness since 1985 (NCWD, 1994).

Abantum for Development is another vibrant women's non-governmental organization established in 1991. It has a consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and a vision of a World where empowered women together with men will address gender inequalities and promote transformational leadership for a just society. Its main area of concern is governance climate change and peace building geared towards enhancing and advancing the course of women. It does this using many and varied programmes and projects including engaging in advocacy programmes aimed at reviewing policies from a gender perspective. For instance, the mobilization of women groups into vibrant coalitions has culminated into the development of the Women's Manifesto Ghana 2004, now an important document championing the course of voiceless Ghanaian women on

issues of social justice and equality. From the discussions so far, it can be concluded that, these and other women's groups, associations and organizations formed in Ghana fulfilled diverse socio-economic, political as well as welfare support needs on equality and governance for women but much still need to be done in terms of participation in decision making in politics, governance, and in public life.

2.13.2 Barriers to Women Participation in Decision Making and Politics

A review of a paper presented by Ofei-Aboagye (2000) revealed that, women's participation in local politics is constrained by socio-cultural, economic and political barriers and this is also supported by Adoo-Adeku (2014). Socially it is recognized that the gender role ideology creates a hierarchal status structure on which the female sex is generally valued less than the male sex. This situation tends to be exacerbated by the associated lack of time at the disposal of the women to attend to domestic and reproductive responsibilities, income generation activities and political work. Others were lack of money to finance campaigns and possibly influence the electorate or voters as it were. This is because; politics is fast becoming a financial intensive commercial venture that requires the poor women to have enough money to enable them to participate competitively in politics. The extent of the women political participation in Ghana is also limited because most of the women lack access to and ownership of productive resources.

In addition, the widely held perception that politics is a dirty game and thus not a place for decent women very much helped to discourage and keep many a woman away from participating in politics. As a consequence, spouses (husbands) and families tend to be reluctant in giving their blessings and the desired support to their wives going into politics.

Similarly, women have also not been voted for, for the wrong perception and beliefs that politics is masculine, and only best for men, hence a preserve for men.

The inabilities and incapacities of the women themselves were also identified to be held responsible for their limited participation in local level politics. According to Ofei-Aboagye, women presence is yet to be felt inside the assemblies, even though their numbers have been improved with government appointees. This she attributed to a number of factors including the assembly women's lack of self-confidence, lack of capacities to communicate effectively and comprehend in English issues and business of the assembly as well as dearth of knowledge in assembly procedures. Male chauvinism or male dominance and intimidation (patriarchy) of women by men in the assemblies especially male oppressive presiding members have been cited for shouting at assertive women members, or completely ignoring and preventing women to speak in the assemblies because they are women and must keep quiet and listen to men.

These observations of Ofei-Aboagye are similar to what Haskova (2002) saw as the combined effect of Institutional, systemic and individual barriers that limit women's influence in decision-making structures in most walks of life including politics. She observed further that inequality in the perception of motherhood and fatherhood and the respective roles of woman and man in the family coupled with work conditions in politics, which include unsocial work hours and business trips disadvantaged the woman and for that matter tend to serve as a barrier to women's political participation. Like Ofei- Aboagye, Haskova (2002), also saw discrimination against women in politics by men as a barrier. She believed that women do not enter politics because they perceive it to be dominantly masculine coupled with the existence of men's solidarity, networks and interest groups that conspire to restrict

and constraint women's effective participation in politics in particular and public life in general. In view of this she opined that, for women to remain relevant and visible in politics they need to learn masculine methods of doing things or take advantage of feminine style of doing things in the masculine world and environment.

A research conducted by African Gender Institute in Africa on barriers to women participation in local level governance at the assemblies in 2001 also revealed that, persistent structural and situational inequalities still conspire to limit the numerical strength and women's participation in local level governance in Africa. Other factors identified to have limited the women effective and active participation were their lack of knowledge about the issues dealt with by the assemblies. This was found to be exacerbated by the inability to organize regular and proper training and refresher workshops on the procedurals and issues of the assembly and local governance for newly elected and appointed members.

Another barrier to women effective and active participation in local level governance observed by the study had to do with men holding on to the widely held wrong stereotype notions that, politics is a man's game while women belong to the private realm and good for home management and as support partners. The study also established that these barriers vary according to the women's age (Ohene-Konadu, 2010). This observation also lent support to Irving et al (1995) view that society holds a negative image and perception about young people as actual or potential problems and as such they are problematic and full of instability; hence, the reluctance for society to entrust any leadership or decision making responsibility to a young person. Equally women or young women suffer the same fate of society's perception (negative) of women's inability to lead or role society (Irving et al

(1995). In the same vein, the social structures, practices and beliefs have also conspired to deny women of Ghana social capital since they are hardly chiefs or head of communities, tribes or kinship groups that could have at least clothed them with the opportunity and advantage of constituency base. In view of the above discussions, the factors limiting women's participation in politics and in public governance appear to be associated more with institutional (socio-, economic and political), systemic and individual factors or challenges.

2.14. Concept of Decentralization, Local Government and District Assembly in Ghana

2.14.1 Decentralization

The concept decentralization most often than not, is taken to involve the transfer of resources and responsibilities to agents of the central government located outside the headquarters. It is also considered sometimes as the devolution of specific powers, functions and resources by the central government to sub-national level government units (Ayee 1981). As it were, decentralization can therefore simply be defined as the transfer of varying amounts of authority, functions, resources and structures from a central level to lower sub-units.

The use of the term 'Decentralization' dates back to the 1950s when it was used to refer to a wide range of institutional reform programmes. Since independence, Ghana has gone through a number of efforts to decentralize political and administrative authority from the centre to the local level (Ofei-Aboagye, 2000).

In the past, several attempts had been made by successive governments of Ghana to decentralize political and administrative authority through the Local Government Systems, but such attempts either ended on the shelves as policies or at best accorded half-hearted attention. The use of local authorities in Ghana in governance started with the colonial

authorities that used traditional rulers to help rule the Gold Coast under the indirect rule system, as a mechanism for local government. In 1859, municipalities were set up in the coastal towns under the Municipal Councils Ordinance; which was later passed in 1953.

This was followed by enactment of the Local Government Act, 1961 (Act 54). Under these legislations, local units were set up and vested with authority specifically for local matters but operated alongside central government agencies that also existed at the local level. The failure of these policies by successive governments was attributed to the lack of courage and commitment by governments to implement recommendations of the commissions and committees for fear of top civil servants losing or parting with power and its accompanying rights and privileges to the districts coupled with lack of logistics, qualified manpower and the like (Ayee, 1981). This notwithstanding, a serious attempt at decentralization was made in 1971 to address the weaknesses in the local administrative system and its ineffectiveness with the coming into being of the local administration Act (1971), Act 359. However, the implementation was also interrupted by the 1972 coup of the National Redemption Council (NRC).

Consequently, the Local Administration (Amendment) Decree 1974, (NRCD 258) established sixty-five (65) District Councils to take responsibility of governance at the local level. The results were however said to be disappointing because there was no legitimate political authority at the district level to oversee the council structures (Ofei-Aboagye, 2000). Then came the most important step at local government reforms in Ghana undertaken by the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) in 1988 with the promulgation of the Local Government Law, 1988 (PNDCL 207). This law established one hundred and ten (110)

Districts/Municipal/Metropolitan assemblies; hence the rebirth of the local government system in Ghana.

Again in 1993, parliament enacted a new law, the Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462) to replace the PNDCL 207, even though largely the same in character. The act (Act 462) also retained the 110 (Metropolitan (3), Municipal (4) and District (103) Assemblies that were set up by PNDCL 207. These have since increased in numbers over the years to 216 (Metropolitan (6), Municipal (49), District (161)) Assemblies. According to Ofei-Aboagye (2000), local governance can be seen to be the active involvement of the local population within the territorial boundaries of a local government aimed at ensuring improved quality of services and leadership at the local level. It also connotes greater participation of civil society in decision-making processes as well as in consensus-building and civic awareness.

With the conduction of the first District Assembly non-partisan elections in 1988, the long cherished dream of seeking the object of grass-root participation became a reality. The driving force and aspirations behind this feat were among others;

- to provide more responsive, equitable and participatory development
- to bring government and decision -making nearer to the people as well as
- serve as political training grounds of the grassroots at the local level (Ofei – Aboagye, 2000).

2.14.2. Assembly System in Ghana

The assembly system of local governance created in 1988 with the passage of PNDCL 207 and consolidated by the conduction of the first district assembly elections brought into existence local authorities known as the metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies.

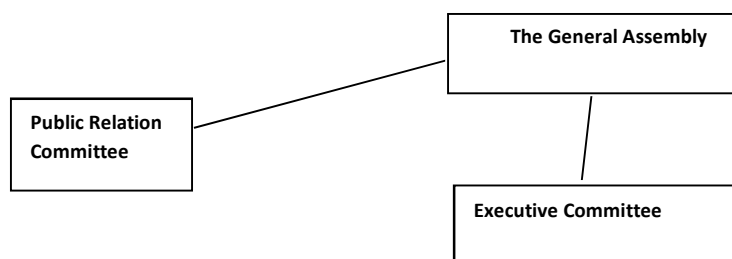
These assemblies are the pivot of administrative and developmental decision-making authorities at the local level clothed with legislative, executive as well as budgeting, planning and rating authority. The Local Government Act of 1993 in article 10 (1) also makes it clear that;

“...District Assembly shall exercise political and administrative authority in the district, provide guidance, give direction to, and supervise the other administrative authorities in the district”.

Cardinal among others, the assemblies are to mobilize resources, develop local infrastructure and to promote the development of local productive activities with the help of some central government institutions.

2.14.3. Structure of an Assembly

The district assembly is the policy making body for a district within the framework of national policy. The structure of a District Assembly consists of the General Assembly, the Executive Committee and Sub-committees as well as the Coordinating Directorate and the decentralized departments of the District Assembly. Figure 2.1 depicts the structure of a typical District Assembly in Ghana. As the highest decision-making body of the district, it is constitutionally mandated to perform deliberative, legislative and executive functions under the leadership of the Presiding Member.



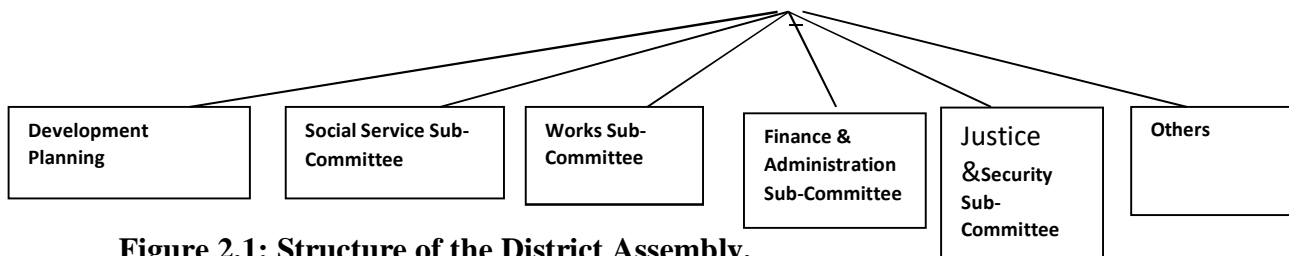


Figure 2.1: Structure of the District Assembly.

Source: Author's own construct

Furthermore, in the performance of its functions, the district Assembly (DA) works through the Executive Committee and its subsidiary committees of development planning, social services, works, finance and administration, justice and security and other committees in the local government environment e.g. District Security Committee (DISEC), Programme Management Committee, District Education Oversight Committee (DEOC), District Implementation Committee (DIC) of School Feeding etc. Others include the coordinating directorate which serves as the administrative and technical unit of the district assembly. The structure of the district assemblies also covers decentralized departments that perform the technical functions and provide technical expertise for development at the local level (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2010).

2.14.4. Composition of an Assembly

The composition of an assembly includes a District Chief Executive or Mayor, nominated by the president of Ghana and endorsed by two-thirds of the assembly members, one elected member from each of the electoral areas in the district, the member (s) of parliament from the district (non-voting rights), and other persons (30% of total membership of the elected members) who are appointed by the president in consultation with traditional leaders and other interest groups. The number of appointed persons cannot exceed 30% of the total membership of the assembly. According to the Local Government Act, Act 462 of 1993, 70%

of the assembly members shall be elected while 30% appointed by the president (local Government Act, 1993; Fredrich Ebert Stiftung, 2010).

2.14.5 Powers and Functions of District Assemblies

District Assemblies possess enormous authority under the current local government dispensation and are also charged to perform a number of functions that include the overall sedimentation of the district. The Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462), PNDCL 207 and the National Development Planning (System) Law, 1994 (Act 480) are all guiding documents that stipulate the Powers and functions of the District Assemblies. The Legislative Instrument that established each District Assembly also specifies the detailed functions that the District Assembly should perform. In all, eighty-four (84) functions have been specified in the Legislative Instruments, but there is usually more for Metropolitan and Municipal Assemblies. Nevertheless, among others the following are common with all assemblies (Bandie, 2007);

The district assembly largely:

- ✓ exercises political and administrative authority in the district
- ✓ is responsible for the overall development of the district and as such responsible for the formulation and preparation of the district development plans and budget
- ✓ responsible for effective mobilization and utilization of human, physical and financial resources for economic and social development including the provision of basic infrastructure, municipal works and services
- ✓ for development, improvement and management of human settlements as well as the maintenance of security and public safety, and

- ✓ Levying and collection of taxes, rates, duties and fees.

There are however evidence or indications all over the country that the assemblies are responding to the developmental needs of their localities. Noticeable areas of their interventions are in the

- ✓ Provision of infrastructure and social amenities such as schools, health centres, markets, lorry parks, boreholes etc).
- ✓ Revival of self-help spirit in community members
- ✓ Provision of materials to support community initiated projects,
- ✓ Support to community in times of disaster and
- ✓ Soliciting views of communities on development issues (ILGS, 2011)

2.14.6 The Role of the Assembly Member

The Assembly members are the people's representatives in the assembly or at the local level and are therefore the force to reckon with when it comes to matters concerning local level development. As it were, the assembly members stated roles among others include to educate the electorate on government policies and on the assembly's projects, providing the assembly with adequate information about their respective communities for informed policy formulations and development planning, as well as lobbying the assembly on behalf of the community and people for development projects and programmes. Generally, assembly members are mandated to do the following.

- To supervise the staff of district assembly performing duties in the member's area of authority
- To assist in revenue collection of the assembly
- To organize communal and voluntary work

- To Educate the people on their rights, privileges, obligation and responsibilities
- To provide focal point for discussion of local matters and make recommendations to the assembly
- To monitor the implementation of self-help and development projects
- To assist in enumerating and keeping records of all ratable persons and prosperities and as well as
- Make proposals to the assembly regarding levying and collection of rates for projects and programmes (ILS, 2011).

The expectation however is that; these functions of the assembly members will be undertaken with the involvement of the people in the locality. On the contrary, for over three decades now, the promotion and encouragement of active participation of the local people remains the bane of the decentralization process in Ghana.

2.15. Empirical Studies on the effects of Non Formal Education Programmes

This aspect of the study takes a look back at empirical evidence of some quantitative and qualitative studies that have been established with regards to NFE and its relationship or effect on the empowerment and participation of women in public life and engagement. There are many and varied quantitative and qualitative studies on non- formal education (NFE) that show positive relationships, correlations or effect on empowering women as the pathway to participating in decision making, public life and in public governance. A few of these are reviewed by the researcher to give further insight and in-depth understanding to the research problem of the study.

A study conducted using questionnaire by Simeon- Fayomi (2009) after a training workshop on “The Promotion of Enterprise Culture” for all the 306 female undergraduate students who

were enrolled for Entrepreneurship Development programme of the Obafemi Awolowo University in Nigeria showed that, the number of female students who expressed interest in self-employment increased from 9% to 37% after the workshop. Based on the findings, the study concluded that the education workshop had re-oriented the female undergraduate students positively towards self-employment as a viable option.

Similarly survey studies conducted in Ghana by Badu-Nyarko and Zumapkeh (2014) on the effects of NFE on the socio- economic development of women in Nadowli District in the Upper West region also established that the women were empowered significantly to realize increase in their participation in decision making at the family and community levels, increased knowledge in trade practices including savings, literacy, taking better care of their children, managing their household better and beginning to put premium to the education of their children believing that will reduce poverty. The study also observed enhancement in the women's confidence that led to increased dialogue between the women and their husbands. They therefore concluded that the NFE programmes have had positive impact on the women's life including their enhanced acceptance and participation in decision making at the family and community level.

A review of three (3) qualitative studies undertaken by Clark and Gakuru (1982), Schuler and Hashemi (1994), Schuler, Hashemi and Riley (1996) as well as Burchfield (1996) cited in Moulton (1997) all concluded that there was a positive and significant relationship between the non-formal education programmes that the women had and the women's empowerment and participation in public life and engagements.

A review of a study undertaken in Kenya by Clark and Gakuru (1982) in a rural village on 130 women, revealed that, the outcome confirms their research hypothesis which states "*that*

a non-formal education programme designed to increase women's feelings of competence, develop skills through collaborative activity, and relate appropriate health, nutrition, and other development concerns would yield positive results" It was also observed that there was more significant changes in the women's level of participation in community activities and in the participating women's confidence in their own abilities as compared to the non-participating women. Based on the evidence gathered from the study findings, Clark and Gakuru concluded that membership in the group and participation in the non-formal education programmes affected the women's behavior positively.

Another qualitative and correlation study that gave evidence on the effects of non - formal education programme on women's empowerment was undertaken by Schuler and Hashemi (1994) and Schuler, Hashemi and Riley (1996) in Bagladesh (Moulton, 1997). This was designed to test a hypothesis which states that, *"that women who participate in one of two non-formal education programmes in Bangladesh became empowered and used contraceptives more than non-members"*. The correlational study which was to find out the effects of rural credit programme and its educational programmes on women's empowerment and contraceptive use, established that there was a positive relationship between participation in the Rural Credit's NFE programmes and contraceptive use.

The study revealed that participation in the credit organization and its NFE programmes empowered the women by strengthening their economic roles and status in their families and communities, acquiring new outlook and knowledge and gaining of social freedom and legitimate reasons to use contraceptives (Moulton, 1997).

Equally a quantitative study was conducted by Burchfield (1996) on 400 women in Nepal who completed a non-formal education programme in literacy training for at least a year and on another group of 100 women who never participated in such programmes before to ascertain the effect of participation in the non-formal education literacy training programme on women's level of empowerment.

The findings of the study show that, statistically, a significant difference exists between the before-and-after responses of women who participated in the programme and those who did not. The study findings revealed that participation in the programme had increased

- ✓ respect for women's opinions by family and community members
- ✓ women's confidence in stating opinions
- ✓ participation in discussions about politics and about men's drinking and beating their wives' participation in credit or loan programmes and
- ✓ Checking on their children's attendance and progress in school.

In view of the evidence gathered, Burchfield (1996) concluded that, participation in the non-formal education programmes for the six months or the nine months had significant positive effects on the women participant's empowerment in some ways but not all. In general however, the survey outcome established that, of all the empowerment indicators tested, three-fourths (75%) of them revealed significant differences between women who had participated in the non-formal education literacy programmes and those who had not.

Aside the quantitative studies, the qualitative studies reviewed also showed significant and positive effect of non-formal education programmes on women's empowerment and participation in decision making and in public life and governance.

Egbezor and Okanezi (2008) who conducted a survey study to assess the extent to which Non-Formal Education was a tool to human resource development in Nigeria showed that, the NFE programmes have enabled graduate's participants to secure employment with the skills and the certificates of participation acquired, in private and in the public sectors as well as. using such skills and knowledge acquired for self- employment. Based on their findings they then concluded that NFE empowers and provides life planning education to its beneficiaries including women (Egbezor and Okanezi, 2008).

Others reviewed include qualitative studies undertaken by Archer and Cottingham (1996), Kindervatter (1997) Holcombe, Murakami and Samnang (1996) and Smith, Shrestha and Comings (1995); Comings, Smith and Shrestha (1994) and cited by Moulton (1997).

An evaluation research undertaken by Archer and Cottingham (1996) in three countries such as Bangladesh, El Salvador and Uganda on a literacy training method called REFLECT, introduced by the British ActionAid, revealed that in all the three countries there were positive effects of the programme in empowering women in the areas of self-realization of the individuals, their participation in their communities and in .collective action, resource management activities, gender roles, health and children's education. Even though the impact varies from one country to another, the results in each case was significant and impressive. For example, it was realized that in terms of children's education in Uganda, children's enrollment increased in government schools by 22 percent and in other schools by 4 percent.

Another qualitative study by Kindervatter (1997) on the impact of Indonesia's Directorate of Community Education programme on family planning behaviours revealed a positive change or effect on the participants. Radio broadcasts and listening groups were used as the teaching

medium. The study findings revealed that some particular learners of the project went beyond expectations to assuming responsibility for the programme. And when engaged all participants actively in programme planning and script writing, they learned not just the content of the programme material but also skills of self-reliance. such as identifying one's needs, analyzing, problem-solving, seeking resources, working together, and interacting with authorities. Kindervatter therefore concluded that the participants became empowered and more active in community leadership roles and village development activities through participation in the non-formal education programme.

A qualitative research carried out by Smith, Shrestha, and Comings (1995) and Comings, Smith and Shrestha (1994) on a women's literacy and health education project (Health Education and Adult Literacy) in Nepal concluded that it impacted positively on the women's health-related behaviours and on other areas of empowerment (Moulton, 1997). the study on the impact of the Health Education and Adult Literacy Programme that was used to teach literacy and health care skills to village volunteers and mothers revealed that, all the respondents interviewed, that is, the staff at all levels of the rural health care system, village volunteers and the district public health officials revealed that, mothers from the project villages came more often on their own accord for oral-rehydration solution without being persuaded by volunteers for the immunization. In addition, the women were also found to have been empowered in the area of being more direct in expressing their opinions, more proactive in asking for advice and materials, and less shy about conferring with outside health staff. Thus suggesting an increase in confidence and willingness to look for, access information and assistance (Moulton, 1997).

The study observed that the acquisition of the literacy skills has enhanced their self-esteem as well as offer important peer-support mechanism for village women. As empowered women they started to take on crucial leadership roles in their respective villages (Smith, Shretha, and Comings, 1995).

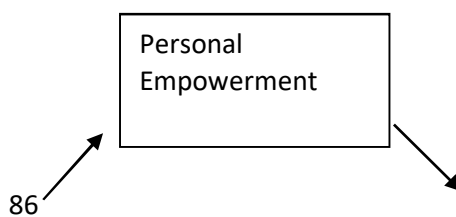
A survey conducted following a series of Health Education workshops in Cambodia on on personal hygiene, sanitation and malaria by Holcombe, Murakami and Samnang (1996) by interviewing health officials and women and men of the target audience about the impact of the programmes on their health practices showed that, there were more substantial changes in participants' health practices, while that of the non-participants members - the control group, produced fewer changes. This was also particularly evidenced by the information gathered from the reports of the health officials in the target areas of the NFE programme. That it showed improvements in health knowledge and practices reduced cases of malaria fever, diarrhea, increased use of oral rehydration salts and immunization among the villagers as portrayed per the statistics and reports of the public health officials of Cambodia (Moulton, 1997).

It is therefore obvious from the empirical evidences gathered from the studies and the concept of NFE that, NFE could be used as a strategic empowering tool for enhancing women's personal, interpersonal and political empowerment and participation in decision making, public life and in public governance.

2.16. Conclusion

The literature reviewed so far on the Freire's concept of conscientisation as a framework, the concept on non-formal education and its potential effects, women empowerment and participation suggest a strong link between the potential of non-formal education to empower women and their abilities to participate in public life and public governance.

Based on this, a framework for analyses as depicted in figure 2.2 has been designed to guide the study to assess the extent to which the participation of women assembly members in local governance has been enhanced by non-formal education (NFE).



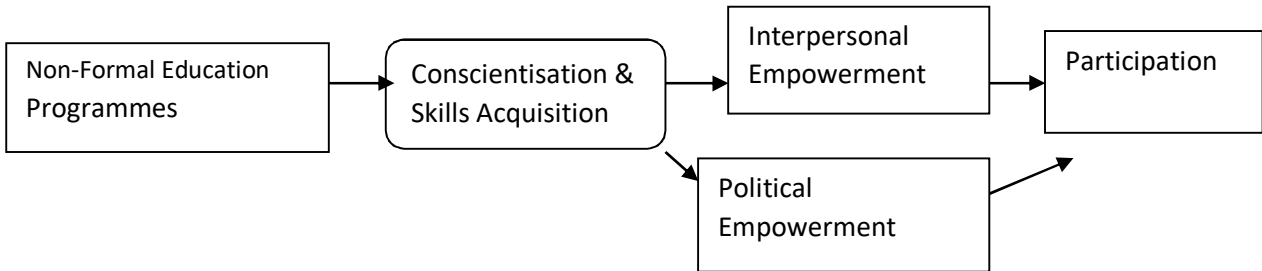


Figure 2.2: Schematic link: Non-Formal Education, Empowerment and Participation of Women in decision making and in public governance.

Source: Author's construct

2.17. Framework for Analysis

The theoretical framework for this analysis is as follows.

- Women's experience of Non-Formal Education programmes leads to raising awareness and awakening of critical consciousness about their social and context reality and acquisition of skills that empowers them.
- The consciousness raising and skills acquisition of women will lead to the enhancement of their personal, interpersonal and political consciousness and power (empowerment) - components of women empowerment.
- As empowered and informed women, they tend to critically analyze their situation, question and challenge the status quo and take action individually or collectively in groups to participate in decisions and discussions that affect them and others in their communities. Hence leading to effective and active participation of women in public life and in politics. This schematic link between NFE and women's empowerment and participation is presented in figure 2.2

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides information on the research design, the population and sampled population of the study, the sampling techniques employed and the sample size, the data collection methods, the pilot study (pretesting) of the data collection instruments, data collection and the data analysis methods of the study.

3.1. Research Design

The research design adopted for the study was the field survey particularly the cross-sectional survey (descriptive) because of its inherent advantages and suitability for the study. It was considered suitable and appropriate for this study because it afforded the researcher the opportunity to capture data from the large and broad spectrum of assembly women of different backgrounds and settings at one point at a time, as well as the opinions and impressions of their experiences about the contributions of the NFE programmes they had on their participation in local governance. Its added advantage for this study is its suitability of addressing the central questions of interest of the study - how and to what extent (Kraemer and Pinsoneaul, 1993).

It equally afforded the researcher the chance to make analysis using descriptive and inferential statistics and to further make generalization from the data collected from elected and appointed women assembly members of three sampled regions of the study area about the population (Fowler, 1998; Borg, 1993 cited in Badu-Nyarko, 2011).

3.2. Population of the Study

The population of the study was the 2010 cohort of women assembly members (both elected and appointed) of northern sector of Ghana defined by the study to include the Upper East, the Upper West, the Northern and the Brong Ahafo regions of Ghana (the Guinea-Savana Ecological Zone of Ghana). This constitutes a total of 379 assembly women - 106 elected and 273 appointed assembly women.

3.3. Sampled Population of the Study

The sampled population of the study was the 2010 cohort of elected and appointed Assembly women in the three (3) selected regions - the Upper East the Upper West and the Brong Ahafo regions, sampled out of the four regions comprising the northern sector of Ghana as defined by the study.

3.4. Sampling Technique

The study employed only one probability sampling technique - the simple random sampling technique, to select three (3) regions out of the four (4) regions that comprise the northern sector of Ghana to form the sampled study area. This was necessitated by limited time and financial resources at the disposal of the researcher to go round all the four regions. The names of these four regions forming the northern sector of Ghana, the study area - the Upper East, the Upper West, the Northern and the Brong Ahafo Regions, were written on four(4) pieces of paper, folded and put into an empty tin container and mixed up vigorously. Three (3) regions - the Upper East, the Upper West and the Brong Ahafo regions, were then picked randomly (lottery method) to form the study sampled population. The simple random sampling technique was considered more appropriate because it is the most efficient, easiest

and basic probability sampling technique to apply and conceptualise when it comes to eliminating personal bias and subjectivity in selecting subjects for a study particularly from a homogeneous population or sample frame like regions of Northern sector of Ghana (Ololube and Egbezor, 2012). Additionally, it also gives all the individual regions equal opportunity or chance of being selected from the population of the study (Patton,1990; Badu-Nyarko, 2011; Attindanbila, 2013).

3.5. Sample Size

This was a total enumeration of the 2010 cohort of assembly women in all the three regions of the study area or the sampled population - Upper East, Upper West and Brong-Ahafo regions. Thus forming a sample size of 285 assembly women, comprising 87 elected and 198 government appointed assembly women of the three sampled regions.

A total enumeration was considered because the number was not too large and thus did not need to be sampled, coupled with the desire of the study to make informed, valid and sound generalization of the sampled three regions results of the research about the population - assembly women of northern sector of Ghana. As it were, the desire of the researcher to use the sampled population to paint a representative picture of the population of the study was also largely the motivation and driving force behind the consideration of all the assembly women (total enumeration) for the study (Ary et al. 2006). Table 3.1 shows the breakdown of the sample size and its distribution.

Table 3.1: Regional Distribution of the study sample Size -Elected and Appointed Assembly Women

Region	Government Appointed Assemblywomen	Elected Assembly Women	Total
Upper East	49	24	73
Upper West	57	14	71
Brong Ahafo	92	49	141
Total	198	87	285

Source: ILGS Desk Research, 2012; Electoral Commission of Ghana Report, 2010).

However, a total of 276 of the assembly women who responded (completed instruments) were used for the data analysis. This constituted a response rate of 96.8%. This was made up of 86 elected and 190 government appointed assembly women.

3.6. Data Collection Instrument

The main instrument employed for the study was questionnaire designed by the researcher. It formed the basis for gathering the primary data for the study.

The questionnaire was particularly appropriate and important to this study because it afforded the researcher the opportunity of making use of two of its several options of approaches of collecting primary data, the drop-and-collect later and structured interview, to gather the primary data from the literate and non-literate assembly women respondents respectively.

, with the same set of questions for consistency (Saunders, Lewis & Thonhills, 1997; Koul, 2001).

The use of the questionnaire also provided the study the best way of obtaining information for its wide range of research questions from its respondents of different geo-socio cultural and political backgrounds and settings for easy and meaningful analysis (Macmillan, 2004).

The data collection instrument, the Questionnaire was structured into four (4) sections. Section A, sought information on the socio-demographic and personal characteristics of the assembly women respondents such as on membership status (elected or appointed member), age, educational background, marital status, occupational status and on their family political backgrounds so as to help establish the profile or the calibre of the Assembly women respondents of the study. These were sought with close ended questions.

Section B, looked at the assembly women's participation experience of NFE programmes, the areas the NFE and training programmes covered, the institutions and organizations that provided them with the NFE programmes and the form(s) the NFE took (conferences, workshops, seminars, public/civic education, advocacy and refresher courses). These came in the form of both open-ended and close-ended questions.

The section C, also sought information on the types of skills and knowledge acquired from the NFE programmes that empowered them (personal, inter-personal and political consciousness and empowerment), as well as the women's opinions on the influence of the acquired NFE skills and knowledge on their abilities to participate in the various processes of local governance and political activism (abilities to contest, to campaign effectively, to mobilize funds and to participate in policy decisions in the assembly) using close-ended questions. Opinions were also sought on factors that enhanced the influence of the acquired

NFE abilities on the women's participation as assembly members using an open ended question.

Section D, of the data collection instrument also sought information on the assembly women's participation at the sub-committee levels as members and leaders (chairpersons) with close-ended questions, as well as assessing their respective opinions on their level (typology) of participation in the assembly's business using a three-point scale measure such as being present/attendance (1), being involved (2) and being in control (3). It also sought the assembly women respondents's opinions on the factors that limited the influence of their acquired NFE abilities on their active participation in the assembly's business as women members using an open ended question to gather as much as possible many and varied individual expressions of experiences to establish the extent of influence of the acquired NFE abilities on their effective participation in the assembly.

3.7. Pre-testing for Validity and Reliability of the Data Collection Instrument

A pilot study was undertaken on purposively selected twenty (20) women assembly members outside the sampled study area from the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly of Northern region, to enable the researcher determine the consistency (reliability) and the extent to which the instrument (questionnaire) measure what it intended to measure (validity) in relation to the set research objectives of the study. The basis for selecting the assembly women for the pre-test from the Tamale Metropolis was because of its proximity to the study area and the believe that it has respondents with common characteristics - similar experiences of education, geo-socio-cultural, economic and political conditions and practices. It was also a district of the region that was not selected for the study. The outcome of the pre-test gave legitimacy and direction to the study by identifying and helping the researcher to modify

items which were ambiguous, unrealistic, misunderstood or not understood for consistency. The pilot study also led to the changing or putting together (merge) the items *self-esteem and self-respect* to stand as the same and one option so as to make for simplicity, consistency and to eliminate the difficulty associated with interpreting or presenting this in the local languages of the study area particularly through interpreters or structured interviews. The modified instrument after the pre-test were largely congruent and consistent with the research questions and objectives of the study. The evaluation of the reliability of the instrument through pre-test post test procedures using the Cronbach Alpha Coefficient produced a reliability coefficient of $r= 0.79$.

The instrument (questionnaire) was also validated by subjecting it to expert critical examination, assessment and corrections, especially by two (2) of my supervisors, other senior faculty members of the Department of Adult Education and Human Resource Studies of the University of Ghana, Legon, as well as to peer reviews -other PhD students in and outside University of Ghana, Legon.

3.8. Data Collection

The study made use of both secondary and primary data. The secondary data were sought from books, journals, research papers and reports as well as from internet sources. Data on Assembly Members were also particularly sought from the Desk Research Reports of the Institute of Local Government Studies (ILGS) and that of the Electoral Commission of Ghana.

The primary data for the study were gathered from the assembly women from the field using questionnaire. This was administered to the assembly women by the presiding members of

the respective assemblies of the study area, the researcher and three research assistants (one for each region).

The drop-and-collect later approach was used by the Presiding Members to collect the primary data from the literate assembly women. Here the respective Presiding Members distributed the instruments (questionnaire schedules) to those assembly women who could read and write comprehensively in English to be answered and collected in a later date agreed upon.

The drop- and- collect later approach of administering the questionnaires was appropriate and suitable because it is known to be associated with high response rate, fast, cheap and reliable than postal survey. It is also associated with less interviewer bias since personal appearance and influence of an interviewer is eliminated. In fact, it is stated that the cost per questionnaire is lower as compared to personal interview or postal survey. The response rate is usually higher and faster because of the psychology that the delivery agent or the research assistant will be returning soon to collect the completed questionnaire (Brown, 1987).

On the other hand, the researcher and the three (3) research assistants aided by the Presiding Members identified and interviewed (structured interviews approach) the non-literate and semi-literate assembly women on the questionnaire. The questions on the questionnaire were interpreted or read to the hearing of the respondents in the respective local language that they best understood and the corresponding responses written appropriately to the questions posed and admist tape recordings with permission sought. There were no difficulties in the process because the research assistants just like the researcher himself were adult educators and field workers as well as natives of the respective study areas with the requisite experience and

knowledge of conducting such interviews. Hence needed very little orientation or training. The number of those respondents interviewed was also relatively small as compared to those administered via the drop-and –collect later, that is 7.7% (22 out of 285 respondents) of the sample size of the study. They were thirteen (13) from the Brong Ahafo region, seven (7) from the Upper East region and two (2) from the Upper West region. The respective local languages used mostly for the interpretation by the researcher and the research assistants were Twi in Brong Ahafo region, Talen, Gurenne, Kusal and Nabit in the Upper East region and Dagaare and Sisali in the Upper West region.

The use of the Presiding Members was appropriate, effective and useful to the study because they served as the first line of contact to the assembly women. They also knew the women assembly members and had easy access to them (access to their mobile contact numbers and addresses) as such assisted the research assistants to identify and locate the non-literate and semi-literate assembly women respondents for the structured interviews at their various respective workplaces, communities and homes at their convenience.

The data collection process started in earnest after permission was sought through first personal contacts, phone calls and discussions followed by written request (letters) for authorization and assistance to both the Regional Coordinating Directors and the Presiding Members of the respective Regional Coordinating Councils (RCC) and the Assemblies of the study area. Equally the three (3) Research Assistants engaged for the respective study regions were also contacted by the researcher to discuss and explain the modalities and clarify technical issues as well as what was expected of them as interpreters of the questionnaire that was to be used for the structured interviews. They were also to liaise or contact the Presiding Members to collect the completed instruments administered for the researcher.

It took four weeks (22nd November to 29th December, 2014) to retrieve the 276 valid responded and completed instruments for the analysis. This was however not without challenges. The outstanding ones included: 1. The financial difficulties associated with funding research assistants to conduct the interviews and to collect the completed instruments from the Presiding Members. 2. The difficulty of meeting the financial demands of some respondents for entertainment/refreshment – an apparent convention created by the very practices of some NGOs in the study regions. 3. The study also encountered delays in retrieving the completed questionnaires owing largely to busy schedules of some Presiding Members especially that of the lawyers and businessmen.

3.9. Data Analysis Methods

With the aid of computer packages such as the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), Excel and Word, the primary data gathered from the field were coded, inputted and analyzed using descriptive statistics such as mean scores and standard deviations with the aid of percentages and frequency tables, cross tabulations and a chart as well as inferential statistics such as the Pearson's Product Moment Coefficient of Correlation and Coefficient of Determination.

The analysis of the data took two (2) main forms based on the type of questions asked – open-ended or close-ended questions. The data gathered by all the close-ended questions were quantitatively analyzed with the aid of the SPSS, while that of the open-ended questions were analyzed using both quantitative and qualitative methods.

Data on the influence and on the extent to which the NFE programmes influenced the participation of the assembly women in local level governance as assembly members and in

terms of their abilities to contest, to campaign effectively, to mobilise funds, and to participate actively in policy decisions in the assembly, as well as the significance of the contributions of the respective forms of NFE adopted towards their participation as assembly women were analyzed using the Pearson Product Correlation Coefficient and Coefficient of Determination. The three point Likert type measure scale was also used to weight responses on the women's level of participation in the assembly's business that was enabled by their acquired abilities from the NFE programmes.

The responses to the open-ended questions such as on how the assembly women were empowered by the NFE programmes to participate in local governance as assembly members, factors that enhanced the influence of their acquired abilities from NFE on their participation in local governance as assembly members, as well as on the factors that limited the influence of the NFE programmes on their participation in the assembly's business were both quantitatively and qualitatively analyzed. Here the study employed the Cross-case Analysis (CCA) approach (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, in Badu-Nyarko, 2011) that brought together similar responses from different assembly women respondents to the same question posed under the same or common themes for easy classification, presentation and analysis. With that the responses were analysed using relative frequencies. Qualitatively they were also analysed by ways of using anecdotes or quoting the statements made verbatim to the questions posed amidst commentary, descriptions and narrations for easy discussions.

3.10. Ethical Issues in Data Collection

A letter of application was written to the Presiding Members through the respective Coordinating Directors as well as personal contacts seeking approval and assistance to

undertake data collection from their assembly women. The confidentiality of the information elicited from the women assembly members was assured by the introduction on the questionnaire. The researcher was also open and transparent to the subjects of the study by disclosing the objective of the research, that is, for thesis for the award of a PhD degree at the University of Ghana. It also ensures that references were only made to the respondents in terms of membership status (elected or government appointee) or socio-demographic characteristics when necessary but not to identify respondents by names.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

This chapter presents the summary and analysis of the primary data gathered from the field based on the research questions of the study. It generally presented and analysed data elicited on the opinions and experiences of the 2010 cohort of assembly women on how and the extent to which the skills and knowledge they acquired from NFE programmes influenced their participation in local governance as assembly members and in the assembly's business.

The first section, section A, of the chapter presented and analysed data on the relevant forms of non-formal education (organised short courses, workshops, seminars, conferences, advocacy, public/civic education programmes) that the women had, and their respective contributions and significance to their participation in local governance; the relevant areas to the women that was covered by the NFE programmes and the NFE providing institutions.

The section B, dealt with data on the knowledge and skills acquired from the NFE programmes that enhanced the assembly women's personal, interpersonal and political empowerment and abilities to participate in local governance as well as on how and the extent to which the NFE programmes enhanced the assembly women's abilities to contest the assembly elections, campaign effectively, mobilise funds and participate actively in policy decisions in the assembly and on the assessment of the women's level of participation in the assembly's business that was influenced by their enhanced abilities (skills and knowledge) acquired from the NFE programmes.

The last section, section C of the chapter also presented and analysed data on factors that enhanced the influence of the acquired abilities of the women from the NFE programmes on their participation in local governance as assembly members as well as on the factors that limited the influence of their acquired abilities (skills and knowledge) from the NFE programmes on their participation in the assembly's business.

4.1. SECTION A

Section A of the chapter, presents and analyses data on responses on the women's experiences of NFE, the relevant forms of NFE that the women experienced and the significance of the respective NFE forms' contributions to their participation in local governance, the relevant areas to the women that were covered by the NFE programmes as well as the bodies, agencies and institutions that provided the NFE that influenced the assembly women's participation in local governance as assembly members and in the assembly's business.

4.1.1. Assembly women's Experiences of NFE programmes

The study sought opinions on the assembly women's participation in NFE programmes (workshops, conferences, seminars, civic/public education and refresher courses) so as to establish their experiences, suitability as respondents and the extent of their participation in such programmes in order to make informed discussions on how NFE has influenced their participation in local governance as assembly members.

Responses elicited revealed that all the assembly women acknowledged and responded in the affirmative that they have once participated in non-formal education programme in one form or another. This implies that, all the assembly women respondents of the study were

beneficiaries of NFE programmes and for that matter are well positioned, suitable and capable of responding and providing useful responses to issues pertaining to the influence of NFE programmes on their participation in local governance as assembly members and in the assembly's business.

4.1.2. NFE Providing Institutions

Information elicited from the assembly women was to ascertain the calibre of the organisations, agencies and institutions that provided them with the NFE and training programmes to enable the study make informed discussions and conclusion.

The information gathered revealed that the organizations and agencies that provided the NFE and training programmes were many and varied and could be divided loosely into three (3) broad clusters such as (a) Women Associations, Organisation and Movements (b) Government Organisations and Agencies (c) International Donors, Agencies and NGOs as depicted in Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3.

A. Women Associations, Movements and Organisations

Table 4.1 shows the women associations, movements and organisations that provided the Non- Formal Education and training Programmes to the assembly women.

Table 4.1: Women institutions that provided NFE Programmes to the Assembly Women

Women Associations, Movement and Organisations	Responses	%
National Council For Women and Development (NCWD)	86	11.2
31 st December Women Movement (DWM)	236	30.7
ABANTU for Development	24	3.1
Regional Inter-Sectoral Gender Network (RESEGNET)	120	15.6
Widows and Orphans Movement	116	15.1
Christian Mothers Association	24	3.1
Collation of Women in Governance	41	5.3
Alliance For African Women Initiative	8	1.1
Centre for Sustainable Developmentn (CENSUDI)	69	9.0
Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA), Ghana	45	6.0
Total	769	100

Source: Field Survey, 2014. Multiple responses.

Table 4.1 shows that out of the ten (10) women organisations mentioned, over 30% of the respondents identified the 31st December Women Movement as the dominant organisation followed by Regional Inter-Sectorial Gender Network (15.6%), Widows and Orphans Movements (15.1%) and National Council for Women and Development (11.2%). The least of these identified by less than 3.5% of the responses were Christian Mothers Association, Alliance for African Women Initiative and ABANTU for Development.

B. Government Organisations and Agencies that provided the NFE Programmes

Table 4.2 shows the government organisations and agencies that provided the NFE programmes to the Assembly women.

Table 4.2: Government institutions that provided NFE programmes to the Assembly women

Government Organisations and Agencies	Responses	%
National Commission For Civic Education	186	19.2
Electoral Commission	144	14.8
Local Government and Rural Development	182	19.0
National Disaster Management Organisation	16	1.6
Anglican Diocesan Development and Relief Organisation (ADDRO)	77	8.0
National Association of Local Authorities of Ghana (NALAG)	51	9.3
Institute of Local Government Studies (ILGS)	88	9.1
Ministry of Women and Children	106	11.0
None Formal Education Division	223	13.0
Total	967	100

Source: Field Survey, 2014. Multiple responses.

The responses in Table 4.2 show clearly that the women had some forms of education and training from varied government institutions and agencies. It is evident from Table 4.2 that, the five most common providers of NFE programmes to them were the Non-Formal Education Division (NFED) of Ministry of Education, National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), Local Government and Rural Development and the National Electoral Commission of Ghana (NECG).

The least acknowledged among them were the National Association of Local Authorities of Ghana (NALAG) and National Disaster Management Organisation (NADMO).

C. International Donors, Agencies and NGOs that Provided the Women with NFE Programmes

Table 4.3 shows international Governmental and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and agencies that were identified by the assembly women to have provided them with NFE and training programmes.

Table 4.3: International Agencies and NGOs that provided NFE programmes to the Assembly women

International Donor Agencies and NGO'S	Responses	%
Business Advocacy and Challenge Fund (BUSAG)	105	6.7
Action Aid Ghana	276	17.7
Quality Improvement In Primary Schools.(QUIPS)	66	4.2
The Christian Council of Ghana/ Local Council For Churches	39	2.5
West African Network for Peace. (WANEP)	48	3.1
Ghana AIDS Commission	106	6.8
Ibis Ghana	198	12.6
World Vision International	178	11.4
Programme for Rural Integrated Development (PRIDE)	65	4.2
CARD-Ghana	21	1,3
Giants of the Future International	6	0.4
GTZ	6	0.4
World Bank	211	13.5
Plan Ghana International	109	7.0
Ghanaian Language and Literacy Bible Translation (GILBT)	30	2.0
United States Agency for International Development (USAID)	98	6.3
Total	1562	100

Source: Field Survey, 2014. Multiple responses

It is evident from Table 4.3, that sixteen (16) international governmental and non-governmental organisations and agencies were identified by the assembly women as those that provided them with the NFE and training programmes. It is also interesting to note that the four most prominent and popular international organisations that provided them with NFE programmes to be ActionAid Ghana, World Bank, IBIS Ghana and World Vision International. Others identified included Plan Ghana International, Ghana AIDs Commission,

BUSAG, USAID, Quality Insurance in Primary Schools and PRIDE. The least among them identified included CARD-Ghana, Giants of the Future International and GTZ.

With regards to the extent to which each of the three categories of the institutions have provided the assembly women with NFE programmes and training, the data in figure 1, show that international donors, agencies and organizations (47.4%) topped that of the government (29.3%) and the women movement and organizations (23.3%).

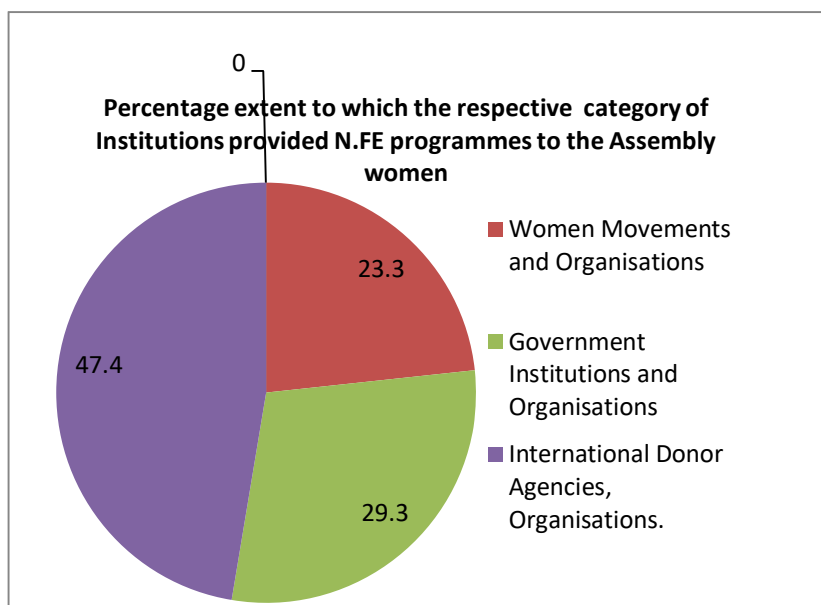


Figure 4.1: Percentage distribution of the NFE programmes provided by Institutions.

4.1.3. Forms of Non-Formal Education and Women’s Participation as Assembly members

The study further sought information from the assembly women to ascertain the forms or platforms by which they had their NFE and training and to determine the respective significance of their contributions towards the participation of the women as Assembly members. The data gathered to this effect is summarized in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Forms of NFE and participation as Assembly women

Forms of NFE	Membership Status				Total Responses f	
	Elected Responses		Appointed Responses			
	f	%	f	%	F	%
Workshop	86	31.1	190	68.8	276	100
Seminar	35	12.7	28	10.1	63	23
Conference	40	14.5	18	6.5	58	21
Refresher Course	32	11.6	14	5.1	46	17
Advocacy	86	31.1	126	45.6	212	77
Public / Civic Education	86	31.1	110	40	196	71

Source: Field Survey, 2014. N=276 across all cases.

Table 4.4 shows that, a dominant majority of over 70% of the assembly women were found to have received their non-formal education and training via platforms such as workshops (100%), advocacy (77.0%) and public /civic education (71%). Similarly, less than 25% also utilized seminars (22.0%), conferences (20.1%) and refresher courses (17.0%) for their education and training. It thus also suggests that all the women assembly members had experience of being educated and or trained by workshops (100%).

A correlation study of the relationship between the platforms of delivery of the NFE programmes and the participation of the women in local governance as Assrmbly members revealed that there was significant positive relationship between the participation of the assembly women and the respective NFE forms/platforms as shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Correlation on NFE Forms and the Assembly women's participation

Forms of NFE Programmes	N	R	r^2	$r^2\%$	Sig. @ 0.05
Workshop	276	1.000	1.00	100	-
Seminar	276	0.286	0.08	8	0.000
Conference	276	0.421	0.18	18	0.000
Refresher Course	276	0.371	0.14	14	0.000
Advocacy	276	0.370	0.14	14	0.000
Public / Civic Education	276	0.430	0.19	19	0.000

Source: Field Survey, 2014. $r^2\%$ =coefficient of determination: r^2 = Variance

The correlation analysis results at 0.05 level of significance in Table 4.5, revealed a positive and significant relationship between all the respective forms of the NFE programmes and the participation of the assembly women in local governance as assembly members. However, with the exception of that of workshop, the degree or strength of the correlations or relationships between the women's participation as assembly members and all the other forms of the NFE programmes are largely low or moderate ($.3 < r < .7$).

The respective computed coefficients of determination ($r^2\%$) also showed with the exception of workshops ($r^2\%=100\%$), the extent to which all the other respective NFE forms are associated to the participation of the women in local governance as Assembly members is less than 20%. Thus suggesting that with the exception of workshops, over 80% of the women's participation as assembly members is unexplained by all the other forms of NFE that they had. This also implies that, over 80% of the women's participation could be associated with workshops and other extraneous factors instead.

4.1.4. Relevant Areas to Women Empowerment Covered by the NFE Programmes

The study solicited the opinions of the assembly women on what they believed and considered as the relevant areas covered by the NFE programmes they had with regards to their participation as assembly members in order to make informed discussions in terms of their contributions. The information gathered from the field to that effect were summarized and presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Relevant areas to the women that were covered by the NFE programmes

Relevant Areas of the NFE Programmes to Assembly Women	<i>f</i>	%
Awareness creation on gender issues and factors marginalizing women participation in politics (socio-cultural, economic and political practices and arrangement).	276	100
Leadership styles, roles and conflict resolution and management	203	73
Income generation and business management skills for women empowerment and independence.	141	51.1
Time management techniques and strategies	148	68
Techniques and importance of women networking and working with other women and other groups for support.	154	56
Women rights and the legal support systems available for women.	198	72
Available support systems and the techniques of accessing, raising and mobilizing funds and support for women in politics and in development.	181	66
Women status and the traditional and cultural beliefs and practices in Ghana	270	98
Role of the assemblies and assembly member in community development.	205	75.2
Women rights on inheritance- the intestate succession law for women and their children	271	98.1
Community work and social mobilisation and organisation techniques and strategies	182	66
Techniques of effective communication and public speaking at political rallies and campaigns.	228	83
Benefits and misconceptions of family planning, contraceptives and the Girl child education.	276	100

Source: Field Survey, 2014. N=276 across all cases.

It is evident from Table 4.6 that all the 13 stated respective areas covered by the NFE programmes were acknowledged by over 51% of the assembly women as relevant to them and their participation as assembly members in local government. It is also observed that almost all those identified areas were largely focused on awareness and consciousness raising and skills and capacity building of the women - psychological, cognitive, economic and political empowerment.

Responses in Table 4.6 further showed that most of the assembly women (over 80%) saw particularly the education and training on awareness and consciousness raising on gender and

women issues and on factors such as the socio-cultural, economic and political practices and structures that marginalize women's participation in national and in community politics and public life, the benefits and misconceptions of family planning, contraceptives use, education of the girl child and the role of the Ghanaian woman in development and in politics. Similar ones indicated include women's rights on inheritance especially on the intestate succession law on women and their children as well as education and training on the techniques and strategies for effective communication and speaking in public, political rallies or on campaigns platforms. Some of the written statement responses of the assembly women that bear testimony to the above assertions are cited below. For example, issues relating to cultural practices and women rights were explained as follows:

- *“The education programmes for us the Moslems and men, by the NGOs on the benefits and misunderstanding of contraceptives and family planning as bad was particularly very useful and relevant to me”. (an elected assembly woman of no formal education).*
- *“The areas on why it is important for women to be assisted and encouraged to participate in politics and also in community development decision making and encouraging sending the girl child to school by ActionAid and NCCE to us the Moslem parents and the religious leaders was relevant to me”. (Moslem woman and an appointed member).*
- *“The programme's areas I saw as necessary and important to me were the workshop discussions on how to overcome the things, situations and practices, including the traditional and religious beliefs that prevent us the northern women, from also taking part in politics in our areas, and decisions in the family on matters affecting us”. (Appointed member and a civil/public servant).*

- *“The education programme by NCCE/Fredrick Ebert Foundation for religious leaders, women group leaders, political party executives and assembly members, on the importance and role of women in development and in community and national politics in Ghana, was also necessary and relevant for promoting of women's interest”. (Appointed member and a teacher).*
- *“The workshop organised for assembly members and community leaders by NCCE on women’s rights and the intestate succession law, on inheritance rights of women and their children to husband’s property, when he dies without writing a will, was very good and necessary to women like us in northern Ghana.” (An appointed member and business woman).*
- *“The programme on the techniques and strategies on how to communicate, speak and talk in public and during political rallies and campaigns effectively and confidently, were also relevant and helpful to women like me a lot.” (An elected assembly women and a teacher).*

Table 4.6 also suggests that about 72% to 75% of the assembly women opined that the NFE and training on the techniques and strategies of negotiating and lobbying for funds and support for women in politics, leadership styles and roles in conflict management and development, roles and functions of the assembly, the assembly member and updates on the assembly’s business working procedures, project management skills as well as the education on women’s rights and awareness raising relating to the available legal support systems for women were very useful and relevant to them. The following written statements of the respondents are cited below to lend support to the above assertions.

- *“The training programmes organised on techniques, on where to access information, material and financial assistance and support by CENSUDES (Centre for Sustainable Development) and ActionAid, Ghana, to assembly women and women’s groups was*

relevant because it also helped me in my campaign activities.” (An elected member and a business woman).

- *ActionAid Ghana and District Assembly collaborative capacity building training workshop on ways and means of lobbying and negotiating for support as women in politics, for women leaders and assembly women aspirants were very useful to my success in the assembly elections and as a chairperson of the Finance and Administration sub-committee.” (Elected member and civil/public servant).*
- *“The workshops for women groups, community leaders and assembly members on the role of leaders and leadership styles for peace, conflict management and development by West African Network for Peace (WANEP) and the assembly to me was very necessary for the management of our chieftaincy conflict in the district.” (Appointed member and a Nurse/Medical practitioner).*
- *“The refresher training programmes on the roles of the assembly and the assembly member as well as the procedures about the operations of the assembly was very useful and helpful to new members like us in the assembly.” (Elected member and a nurse/medical practitioner).*

Other NFE and training areas that were equally recognized and assessed as relevant by the assembly women related mainly to the techniques and strategies of time management, gaining other people’s support, how to work effectively with others and networking with other women and other groups (interpersonal consciousness), community and social mobilisation and organisation, income generation and business management skills as well as raising awareness on support systems available for women in politics. The above conclusions were drawn from the written responses of the assembly women from the field as stated below.

- *"The education on available support systems, institutions and organisations for women in politics was something very relevant to my winning the elections as an assembly woman." (Elected member and a teacher).*
- *"The workshop on techniques and strategies on social mobilisation and community organization for assembly women and aspiring assembly women contestants by ActionAid, Ghana were good and helpful to me." (Appointed member and a teacher).*
- *"A woman empowerment training workshop on the techniques strategies to enhance women's abilities to work effectively with women colleagues and women groups, and others collectively to overcome the cultural, social, economic and political barriers preventing women's participation in politics and in community issues was good and able to make me gain important support." (Elected member and a teacher).*

In view of the above analysis, it is clear that the NFE and training programmes covered teething and vexed socio-cultural, economic and political issues that tend to conspire and reinforce each other to marginalize women's participation in politics and in public life.

Based on the existing evidence in Table 4.6, one can therefore infer that the programmes were very relevant to the extent that they were more oriented and tailored towards empowering and enhancing the women's cognitive, psychological, economic, interpersonal and political outlook, consciousness and power.

SECTION B. Extent of Influence of NFE on the Women's Participation in Local Governance

4.2.1. Empowering Knowledge and Skills Acquired from the NFE Programmes

The purpose and role of NFE programmes is to provide skills and knowledge in line with the felt needs of identified individuals and or groups to function and to take advantage of their

environment and situations to bring about economic, socio- cultural and political beauty and convenience to themselves and to society as a whole (Coombs, 1985). In line with this, the study sought information on the opinions of the assembly women on the skills and knowledge acquired from the NFE programmes that enhanced their personal, interpersonal and political consciousness and power to participate in local governance as assembly members.

The opinions gathered on the respective constructs of personal, interpersonal and political dimensions of women empowerment as outlined by Parpart et al (2002) and Gutierrez (1998) is presented in Tables 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9 respectively.

4.2.1.1 Personal Empowerment Knowledge and Skills Acquired

The opinions of the assembly women were sought on their acquisition of what Gutierrez (1998) termed personal empowerment constructs or knowledge and skills needed to assess or to enhance the personal dimension of women empowerment. These include self-efficiency, self-awareness, self-confidence, self-esteem and respect among others. The personal empowerment constructs assessed are as presented in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: Personal empowerment knowledge and skills acquired by the women

Personal Empowerment Constructs (Skills and Knowledge Acquired)	<i>f</i>	%
Self-awareness of women's condition of subordination	276	100
New knowledge about women's rights	276	100
Development of feelings that women can improve their own conditions	276	100
Self-confidence	275	99.6
Self-esteem/ respect	190	68.8
Self-efficiency	178	64.5
Income generation (economic empowerment) skills.	174	63
Time management skills	128	46.4

Source: Field Survey, 2014. N=276 across all cases.

Table 4.7 shows that a good number (over 63%) of the assembly women have acknowledged acquiring some personal empowerment skills and knowledge from the NFE programmes for their participation in local governance. It is evident from the data in Table 4.7 that all the assembly women have acquired skills and new knowledge relating to self-awareness of women's conditions of subordination, women's rights, enhanced self-confidence as well as the development of the feelings that women can also improve their own conditions and situations.

Other similar personal empowerment skills and attributes realized by the assembly women beneficiaries were enhanced income generation skills, self-esteem and respect as well as in time management skills. It is therefore clear from the analysis in Table 4.7 that, a dominant majority of the assembly women have acquired some level of new knowledge and outlook as well as skills that enhanced their personal abilities as women to participate in local level governance and politics.

4.2.1.2. Interpersonal Empowerment Skills and Knowledge Acquired

The information gathered on the opinion of the assembly women's acquisition of what Gutierrez (1998) called the constructs of interpersonal empowerment of women or the skills and knowledge required to enhance interpersonal consciousness and power such as the abilities to ask for help or gain support from others, ability to work with others, ability to tackle and solve problems as well as ability to practice new skills acquired among others from the NFE programmes are presented in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8: Interpersonal empowerment knowledge and skills acquired by the women

Interpersonal Empowerment Constructs (Skills and Knowledge Acquired)	<i>f</i>	%
Ability to gain Peer support	104	37.7

Ability to gain Spousal support	145	52.5
Ability to gain Family support	167	60.5
Ability to gain Community support	203	73.6
Ability to Work with others effectively	191	69.2
Ability to tackle and solve Problems	138	50

Source: Field Survey, 2014. N=276 across all cases.

Table 4.8 shows clearly that a greater majority (over 50%) of the assembly women agreed that they acquired some interpersonal empowerment knowledge and skills relating to the abilities to gain spousal support, family support, community support, abilities to work effectively with others and to tackle and solve problems as women in politics. The least acknowledged abilities and skills acquired were however on gaining peer support (37%) of their colleague assembly women.

From the analysis above in Table 4.8, it can therefore be concluded that a significant percentage of the women assembly members (over 50%) have acquired different levels of capacities of interpersonal abilities from the NFE and training programmes for their enhanced participation in local governance as assembly members.

4.2.1.3 Political Empowerment Skills and Knowledge Acquired by Assembly Women

Responses gathered from the assembly women on their acquisition of skills and knowledge that enhanced their political abilities to participate in local governance included what Gutierrez (1998) called constructs of political empowerment or the skills and knowledge associated with the political dimension of women empowerment. They include knowledge and skills that enhanced their mobilization and organization abilities, ability to contribute and give back among others as presented in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9: Political empowerment knowledge and skills acquired by the women

Political Empowerment C.onstructs	<i>F</i>	%
Organisation and mobilisation skills	276	100
Development of abilities and feelings for social transformation/change	275	99.6
Political campaign techniques and skills	186	67.4
Development of Public speaking Skills and techniques	196	71
Development of Lobbying skills and abilities	186	67.4
Conflict management skills	139	50.4
Leadership skills	196	71
Legal literacy	86	31.1

Source: Field Survey, 2014. N=276 across all cases.

It is evident from Table 4.9 that, over 70% of the assembly women have acquired organisation and mobilization techniques and skills, developed the feelings for social transformation and change, some leadership abilities and techniques for public speaking from the NFE and training workshops and programmes. Other acquired new and enhancing political empowerment knowledge and abilities were lobbying techniques and abilities (67.4%), conflict management skills and techniques (50.4%) and the techniques and skills for political campaigns (67.4%). The least of these acquired was legal literacy and awareness (32.6%).

From the analysis in Tables 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9 one can conclude that, to a large extent the NFE programmes have enhanced a significant percentage of the assembly women's personal, interpersonal and political consciousness and power for their enhanced political participation and activism in local level governance.

4.2.2. Extent of Influence of the NFE Programmes and the Women's Participation in Local Governance

The role of NFE on the individual or group is not only the knowledge and skills acquired but also on how these knowledge and skills are translated to behavioral and attitudinal change as well as influence the performance of the beneficiaries (Knowles, 1980). In view of this, the study sought the opinions of the assembly women relating to the influence of the knowledge and skills that they have acquired from the NFE programmes on their participation in local governance as elected and appointed assembly members. This was to ascertain the extent of influence and to determine whether or not there was any significant relationship between skills and knowledge acquired from the NFE and their participation in local governance.

A study on the participation of the assembly women in local governance as assembly members and the influence of the NFE programmes revealed that over 97% of the women assembly members (elected (99%) and appointed (97.4%), assembly women) attributed their participation as assembly members to the influence of the skills and knowledge that they acquired from the NFE programmes. This therefore implies that the more women are given or exposed to empowering NFE and training interventions, the more likely such woman would be empowered and enabled to participate and engage in political activism and organisation and in local governance.

The outcome of the chi-square test analysis ($\chi^2 = 516.674$; $p=0.000 < 0.05$) also revealed that there exists a significant dependence between the skills and knowledge acquired by the assembly women from the NFE and training programmes and their participation in local governance as elected and appointed assembly members. This further confirms that the NFE

programmes the women had have significantly enhanced and influenced their participation as elected and appointed members in the assembly.

This also implies that as a woman participates more and more in NFE empowerment interventions like conferences, capacity building training workshops, refresher courses, seminars and the like, the more likely that woman will be empowered and enhanced with new skills and abilities to participate in local governance as an assembly woman.

4.2.3. Influence of NFE and the Women’s Abilities to Participate in Local Governance

The opinions of the assembly women were further sought on the influence of the NFE and training programmes on their abilities to contest the assembly elections, campaign effectively, mobilize funds and to participate in policy decisions in the assembly so as to determine the extent of the influence and the relationship that exist between the NFE programmes and their participation in local governance. The data gathered from the field is presented in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10: NFE on women’s abilities to participate in local governance

Areas of Participation Influenced by the NFE Programmes	Membership Status				Total	
	Elected		Appointed		<i>F</i>	%
	<i>F</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%		
contest assembly elections	86	31	185	67	271	97.6
mobilize funds	21	7.6	63	22.8	84	30.4
campaign effectively	86	31	166	60.1	252	90.7
Participate in policy decisions in the assembly	86	31	183	66.2	269	96.8

Source: Field Survey, 2014. N=276 across all cases.

Results in Table 4.10 showed that besides the abilities to mobilise funds (30.4%), over 90% of the assembly women have attributed their abilities to contest the assembly elections, to campaign effectively and to participate in policy decisions in the assembly to the influence of the knowledge and skills acquired from the NFE and training programmes they had.

This implies that, to a very large extent the NFE programmes and training workshops have had an appreciable influence on most (over 90%) of the assembly women's abilities to participate at the various levels of local governance processes. However, about 70% (69.6%) of them did not associate their abilities of mobilizing funds to support their political activism and organisation to the influence of the NFE programmes they had, but probably to other extraneous factors.

4.2.3.1 Correlation on NFE Programmes and Women's Ability to Participate in Local Governance

The computed correlation coefficients in Table 4.11 on the women's responses on the influence of the NFE programmes on their abilities to participate at the various levels of local governance (processes, activism and organization) was to establish the extent of influence of the NFE programmes on the respective abilities by determining the respective significance of their relationships, degree or strength of relationship and their coefficients of determination.

Table 4.11: NFE and Assembly women's abilities to participate in local governance

Local Governance Processes	N	r	r ²	r ² %	Sig @ 0.05
Ability to contest the assembly elections	276	0.091	0.008	0.8	0.130
Ability to mobilize funds	276	0.208	0.04	4	0.001
Ability to campaign effectively	276	0.918	0.84	84	0.000
Ability to participate in policy decisions in the assembly	276	0.109	0.01	1	0.072

Source: Field Survey, 2014. Significant at 0.05 levels (2 tailed).

The analysis in Table 4.11 shows that at 0.05 level of significance, the skills and knowledge acquired from the NFE programmes had positive relationship with the abilities of the assembly women to participate in all the four processes of local governance – the ability to contest the assembly elections, to mobilise funds to support their assembly elections

activities, to campaign effectively and to participate actively in policy decisions in the assembly.

However, the relationship between the influence of the NFE programmes and the women's abilities to mobilise funds ($r=0.208$; $p=0.001$) and to campaign effectively ($r=0.918$; $p=0.000$) were positive and significant, while that of the abilities to contest the assembly elections ($r=0.091$; $p=0.130$) and to participate in policy decisions in the assembly ($r=0.109$; $p=0.072$) were also positive but insignificant.

With regards the relative degree or strength of the relationships, it was only that of the abilities to campaign effectively ($r = 0.918$) that was strong ($r>0.7$). However, that of the abilities to contest the assembly elections, to mobilize funds to support their assembly election activities, and to participate in policy decisions were weak ($r<0.3$).

Similarly, the computed respective coefficients of determination ($r^2\%$) in Table 4.11 also showed that over 80% of the women's ability to campaign effectively ($r^2\%=84\%$) could be explained or associated with the influence of the skills and knowledge they acquired from the NFE programmes they had. However less than 5% of the other abilities - the abilities to contest the assembly elections ($r^2\%=0.8\%$), to mobilise funds to support their assembly election activities ($r^2\%=4\%$) and to participate in policy decisions in the assembly ($r^2\%=1.2\%$), was associated with the influence of the NFE programmes they had.

In other words, while 84% of the ability of the women to campaign effectively can be associated with their acquisition of skills and knowledge from the NFE programmes, over 95%, that is, 99.2% of the ability to contest the assembly elections, 96% of the ability to mobilise funds and 99% of the ability to participate in policy decisions in the assembly can

be attributed to or explained by extraneous or other factors other than that of the NFE programmes.

From the analysis above, it can be concluded that, even though the general influence of the NFE programmes on the women's abilities to participate in local governance was positive, the degree or strength of the respective relationships with the exception of that of the ability to campaign effectively were weak. This also means that while the ability to campaign effectively is strongly related to or is explained by the NFE programmes, a greater percentage of that of the abilities to contest, mobilize funds and to participate in policy decisions in the assembly is associated with other factors or unexplained by the NFE programmes.

4.2.4. How the NFE Programmes influenced the Women's Abilities to participate

Responses were sought from the assembly women on how the NFE programmes influenced their abilities to contest the assembly elections, to campaign effectively, to mobilize funds for their assembly election activities and to participate in policy decisions in the assembly so as to ascertain how the NFE programmes enhanced the women's participation at the respective levels of local governance. The various responses gathered on the respective processes are as shown below.

4.2.4.1 How the NFE Programmes Influenced the Women's Abilities to Contest

Multiple and varied ways were given by 97.6% of the assembly women regarding how the NFE programmes enhanced their abilities to contest in the assembly elections. From the testimonies given by the women, it is evident that to a large extent, the NFE programmes and

training workshops were acknowledged to have particularly enhanced and equipped them with skills and new knowledge that changed their outlook, attitudes and behaviors by increasing their level of self-awareness and self-realization about gender issues and women in politics in Ghana. Others included the gaining of self- confidence and self-respect, development of feelings and beliefs that women can and deserve to lead, can contest with men and win. They also indicated that the education and training programmes that they have participated in have led to the development of their interpersonal consciousness and abilities which enabled them to work with others, gain peers, husbands, family and community support to contest the assembly elections. It was also intimated that they acquired the confidence and interest that emboldened them to take risk and to challenge their male counterparts as contestants. Similarly, they also attributed their abilities to contest the assembly elections to their acquired techniques and informed knowledge in negotiation and lobbying strategies from the NFE programmes and capacity building training workshops they had. To 31.4% of them, they were influenced and motivated by the eagerness to put into practice their enhanced acquired skills and knowledge especially that of the techniques and strategies of mobilising and organising people and support as well as negotiating and lobbying skills for political support.

These conclusions were drawn from some of the following testimonies or statements made by the women.

- *“Through the participation in several education and training workshops I developed the feeling and interest that I can participate in taking decision for my people especially for women and children as an assembly member” (Elected and in middle- adulthood).*

- *“The NFE programmes did a lot for me to be able to contest the assembly elections because I learnt how to lobby to gain support to contest from the family especially my husband who is a Moslem, and does not particularly encourage that for a woman”.*
- *“The training enabled me improve my abilities to organise and mobilise people who supported me to contest. I think I even won because I was able to meet and confidently address the people effectively due to my skills in public speaking and communication techniques acquired from some of the several NGOs training workshops”.*
- *“The education and training workshops and conferences have influenced me to contest because they made me to know and realize that only women can solve their own problems by participating at all levels of decision making, politics and in public life”.*
- *“I decided to also contest only to see how my acquired skills and strategies I acquired from the workshops and NGOs programmes on mobilisation and organisation of people and negotiation and lobbying for support skills will work for me. It worked, I won”.*
- *“I think I was encouraged and in fact empowered by my participation in the workshops and conferences to contest because they enabled me to develop over time what it takes to contest election, that is the abilities to work effectively with others, ask and lobby people and people who matter in the community and in my life for support to contest. That alone was a big influence on me and why I contested and won easily”.*
- *“I contested because I knew my acquired skills in the techniques of lobbying, negotiations, public speaking and interpersonal relations will enable me get support from peers and the community...I lost the election but my interpersonal relations with the community leaders and chiefs, made them consider me as an appointed assembly member”.*

- *“I have gained self- confidence over the years through the participation in training workshops that enabled me to contest without fear of intimidation of male counterparts again. I also now know the roles that the assembly members play in development of their communities especially in promoting the interest of women and children which I have been looking for. With my acquired skills such as lobbying, public speaking and problem tackling skills, I got people to support me, so I win”.*

4.2.4.2. How the NFE Programmes influenced the Assembly Women’s Abilities to Campaign Effectively

With regards how the NFE programmes influenced their abilities to campaign effectively, most of the assembly women’s responses were almost similar and parallel to those that influenced them to contest. They indicated varied ways on how the NFE programmes had influenced them to campaign effectively. Sixty-eight percent (68%) of the women particularly claimed they were influenced by the acquisition of skills and abilities such as mobilisation and organisation skills, public speaking skills and techniques of addressing big gatherings and political rallies coupled with their acquired abilities to negotiate and to lobby people for campaign support.

Fifty-one percent (51%) of the assembly women’s responses also claimed that, to them the awareness creation and consciousness raising education and capacity building training workshops clothed them with self-confidence, interpersonal relations abilities which enabled them to hold up themselves in public without fear, lobby for support and to work with others to campaign effectively. Others also saw their acquired enhanced abilities to be critical and assertive coupled with their enhanced self-confidence and self-esteem to have encouraged and enabled them to question and challenge the status quo especially the male dominance on the campaign platforms.

To buttress the above assertions and conclusions, the written testimonies in response to the open ended question on how the NFE programmes enhanced their abilities to campaign effectively are given as follows.

- *“The programmes and workshops I had enabled me to acquire the skills and techniques of mobilizing and organising people and resources and on how to do effective communication on the political visits and rallies or political platforms”. (Elected member and chairperson of Social services sub-committee)*
- *“My campaign was effectively carried out because my participation in many training and education workshops, conferences, seminars both local and abroad really enhanced my abilities in the area of public speaking, negotiation and lobbying and political organisation strategies which I used for my campaign operations”.*
- *“I believe my campaign was successful because my interpersonal abilities acquired from both the training workshops and in my practice as a nurse enabled me to work well and effectively with other people and to get their commitment, resources, support and time to do the campaigns that made me win”.*
- *“The NFE programmes and the workshops I attended actually helped me not to fear crowd and speaking in public again, or in approaching big people. Because of this I could campaign openly without fear and could also contact or approach big men and even chiefs and community or opinion leaders for support in my campaign”.*
- *“Actually the exposure I had from participating in several gender empowerment training programmes, conferences and workshops have made me gain confidence in myself and the feeling and belief that I could do it even as a woman, so I continue to push my*

campaign forward ...and I eventually won to unseat my male counterpart, a three term winner”.

4.2.4.3 How the NFE Programmes Influenced the Women’s Abilities to Mobilize Funds

Responses of the assembly women on the influence of the NFE programmes on their abilities to mobilize funds for their campaign and other elections activities was minimal, even though about 30% of them claimed to have acquired some level of knowledge and skills to that effect. This assertion is supported by the written responses below:

- *“The training programmes were useful to me because they showed me how and where to access some support. In fact, I have had some limited support from ActionAid, Ghana and other women NGOs due to my new outlook on available support systems”. (Elected and widowed)*
- *“I acquired the techniques and strategies of fund raising from the training workshops and programmes but I could not use them to raise money or get help for anything for the campaign.....”*
- *“I have not been able to raise funds and support for my political activities or campaign despite all the experiences and skills I have acquired from several training workshops organized by NGOs. It is very hard here to do ...”*
- *“Not at all, the training programmes did not help me especially with skills to raise funds or get financial assistance ...it is a big problem and not easy for women here if you don’t belong to any of the big political parties in Ghana...”*
- *“The programmes tried doing something like that. But I could not raise funds anywhere for my district assembly elections activities. More needs to be done in this direction for the women here in the north.”*

From the above testimonies, it is very clear that even though the NFE programmes and training workshops have been acknowledged to have provided some levels of skills and new knowledge in terms of raising and mobilizing funds, the general influence is very minimal on the assembly women's abilities to mobilize funds to procure the needed information, human and material resources for their political activities. This implies that the NFE and training programmes did not adequately enable and address the women's fund raising and mobilisation needs.

4.2.4.4 How the NFE Programmes Influenced the Women's Abilities to Participate in Policy Decisions

Responses on the influence of the NFE programmes on the assembly women's participation in policy decisions in the assembly also showed positive influence of the many and varied ways by which they were empowered. From the written testimonies of the assembly women, it is clear that the education and training programmes they had enhanced their self-confidence, new outlook and attitudes that consequently increased their assertiveness and capacity to get favourable decisions made and to question and challenge unfavourable decisions and policies as women members.

They attributed these largely to the empowerment and emboldenment they derived from the capacity building training workshops and education programmes that enhanced their abilities to speak up confidently and contribute effectively to discussions in the assembly on many policy decision areas. This particular feat was also associated to their enhanced self-awareness and updated new knowledge on the assembly's business procedures and operations – meeting procedures, the role of assembly members in local governance, criteria and guidelines on

allocation of District Assembly Common Fund (DACF), resources and projects among others.

Their acquisition of new knowledge and the awakening of their critical consciousness and awareness of the existing conditions, systemic and institutional practices that limit their participation in politics and in decision making positions made them assertive and poised to overcome such barriers in the assembly. Equally they associated their active participation in policy decisions in the assembly to the abilities they acquired from the NFE and training workshops and seminars that enabled them to stand up and speak confidently as well as communicate effectively in the assembly during meetings and discussion sessions.

The above assertions were derived from the feelings expressed (anecdotes) by the assembly women in their written statement responses from the field. Some of these are as follows:

- *“My enhanced self-confidence and public speaking skills that I acquired from participating in several education and training workshops and conferences particularly made me bold to stand up without feeling shy or afraid, speaking up and contributing to discussions in the assembly without feeling bad as a woman”. (Chairperson of `Gender sub-committee and elected member)*
- *“The eye opening experiences I had from the workshops and conferences changed my way of thinking and seeing things, and that enabled me to challenge unfavourable decisions such as on allocation of projects and resources, and sometimes decisions that do not favour women and children at all”.*
- *“By attending many training workshops on gender and women empowerment, I have in fact developed the courage and confidence to be pushing and challenging some*

unfavorable decisions in the assembly as well as lobbying colleagues and the men counterparts to always get decisions in favor of my community, women and children”.

- *“I, for instance have been able to make informed and relevant contributions to the discussions in the assembly in areas such as on budget discussions, project and resource allocations to communities and their management decisions because of the refresher courses and workshops that equipped me with how the assembly should work and operates especially the principles guiding projects and resource allocations, the district assembly common fund, the role of assembly members as well as on meeting procedures in the assembly”.*
- *“I have indeed benefited and been empowered as a woman to participate seriously always in discussions and decisions in the assembly because of the training workshops I had on lobbying, the assembly’s work and the roles of the assembly member. That helped me to work effectively with my other women members and the male counterparts for support to always get favourable decisions made for my community and sometimes get unfavourable decisions changed or dropped because I use and know lobbying others is one of the roles of a good assembly member as a development agent”.*
- *Because of my good knowledge in techniques of time management acquired from participating in training workshops, I am able to attend regularly and to participate actively in the assembly’s business. That helped me to combine my work, private businesses and domestic responsibilities with that of the assembly favourably”.*
- *“I think the various training and education programmes on leadership and group dynamics, awareness of conditions limiting women’s participation in politics and gender*

issues in many ways have empowered me to be bold and courageous to take up leadership positions as a chairperson of the education sub-committee of the assembly”.

In view of the above assertions on how the NFE programmes generally influenced the assembly women’s abilities to participate in the various levels and processes of local governance, political activism and organisation, it can be concluded that with the exception of the abilities to mobilise funds that was found to be minimal (30%), most of the women (over 90%) acknowledged and confirmed they were enabled by the enhanced personal, interpersonal and political consciousness and abilities acquired from the NFE and training interventions.

SECTION C.

4.3 Factors that Affect the Influence of the NFE Programmes on the Women’s

Participation in Local Governance

This section addresses the objective five of the study that sought information on the factors that affect the influence of the NFE programmes on the women’s participation in local governance. It sought responses from the assembly women particularly on the factors that enhanced the influence of their acquired abilities (skills and knowledge) from the NFE programmes on their participation as assembly members as well as responses on the factors that limited the influence of the women’s acquired abilities (skills and knowledge) from the NFE programmes on their participation in the assembly’s business as women members. This was to enable the study make informed conclusions with regards the extent to which the NFE programmes influenced the women’s participation in local governance as a strategic women empowering tool.

4.3.1. Factors that Enhanced the NFE's Influence on the Women's Participation as Assembly Members

To draw a reliable conclusion on the extent to which the NFE programmes have influenced the women's participation in local governance as assembly members, the study sought information from the women to find out the factors that in their opinion have enhanced the influence of their acquired abilities (skills and knowledge) from the NFE programmes on their participation in local governance as assembly members.

Responses gathered showed that approximately 73% (202 out of 276) of the assembly women respondents agreed that indeed the influence of their acquired NFE abilities on their participation in local governance as assembly members was enhanced by other factors, while about a quarter (24.6% or 68 out of 276) disagreed. A few (2.2% or 6) of them however, were also undecided or did not respond.

This implies that even though the women were empowered by the NFE programmes, the majority (over 70%) of them saw the influence of their acquired abilities (skills and knowledge) from the NFE programmes on their participation in local governance as assembly members as being enhanced or aided by other factors.

4.3.2. Nature of the Factors that Enhanced the Influence of the NFE Programmes on the Women's participation in Local Governance

The study sought responses from the assembly women to ascertain what constitutes those factors they believed to have enhanced the influence of their skills and knowledge acquired from the NFE programmes (NFE abilities) on their participation in local governance as assembly members. This was to establish the nature of such factors to make for informed discussions on the extent NFE has influenced the women's participation as assembly

members. The information gathered from the various responses of the assembly women were varied. Some of the factors identified to have enhanced the influence of the women's skills and knowledge they acquired from the NFE programmes on their participation in local governance as assembly members included personal interest and passion to champion the course of their communities especially women and children and their voluntary spirit to serve their community and people. These statements below provided evidence of their views:

- *“...what enhanced my abilities to contest was my passion, interest and love for voluntary and community development work. In fact, I struggled with even all my experiences and skills but my love and conviction to work in the assembly pushed me on, and I won”. (Elected member and a teacher).*
- *“My personal motivation, desire and self-belief that I need to lead and serve the community especially the interest of the under served women in my community was what also helped,that even made me sell my few animals, one of my motor bikes and a plot of land with other properties that I had to help get myself into the assembly as an elected member, which I am indeed proud of.” (Graduate teacher and an elected member).*

Equally, the women respondents also mentioned factors such as their communities' recognition and appreciation of they and/or their families' meritorious and professional services, benevolent humanitarian services, being married women, advanced in age and experienced as well as their economic and social status and standing in society and in their respective communities to have enhanced the influence of their acquired NFE abilities on their participation in local governance as assembly members. Some of the written responses or statements that support these assertions include the following.

- *My popularity among my people owing to my contributions to community development, people and groups leaders as a social development worker of the district and for that matter my community for over twenty-one (21) years now helped tremendously my rich experiences, knowledge and skills gained from many training workshops and programmes to campaign effectively to win the seat from the former Honourable Assemblyman..... I can also even say my decision to contest was a popular request by the people in many ways”. (A public servant and a Moslem).*
- *“, I believe my acquired abilities were supported and influenced by my people and the community’s appreciation for servicing them or something like a payback for being there for them always in the community. This is because as a well known community pito brewer, seller and sometimes as a small money lender, as well as a headmistress, I am able to help my people in many ways. For example, I am able to give some farmers pito and sometimes monies to hire their labour when they don't have money immediately to do so, and to women too to do small buying and selling to help their families. I do also sometimes offer my people pito on credit to entertain their visitors especially friends and in-laws particularly during festivities and funeral occasions. Even children's school fees and hospital bills, I do help families and individuals sometimes to pay without demand for interest” (A married woman, a teacher and a christian).*
- *“My ability to win the election was seriously also with the support of my community and people because of the support and services I do offer to many of them, especially helping women to get loans for their social and economic activities in the village as a MASLOC officer of the district. The beneficiaries who include various women groups like the market women, women farmers group, food and chop bar operators as well as, individual*

male farmers, animal sellers, taxi drivers among others in and around my community, all supported my efforts in one way or the other to campaign and to win”. (A public servant and an elected member).

- *“I won because my campaign and lobbying experiences were also boosted and enabled by my people believing that I have done my best for them as a true daughter of the village and as a nurse of the village for a very long time now. This is because I am the oldest and longest serving native nurse in the community who is always called upon day or night to homes to treat, advise and sometimes facilitate to get serious cases referred to the regional hospital. I also sometimes use my car or my motor-bike to help transport the sick and women in labour to hospital, especially in the night. Sometimes, I even add money. My name is a household word and commonly called the Madam Doctor in the community, though I'm just a midwife, ...not many elderly people in the village will go to hospital without consulting me for advice”. (A Nurse in her late adulthood-56years plus).*
- *“It is my experience and influence as a 'mangazia' (the area women's organizer) and as a former executive member of my political party that made me very popular among the people and a favourite of the ruling party executives, party gurus and government functionaries of the district, that, I believe, also influenced to a large extent my abilities to lobby to be appointed as a government appointee”. (Public servant and a Moslem).*

Some of the women also believed that the influence of their acquired NFE abilities on their participation as assembly members in the assembly was enhanced by the support and advantage they derived from their association or link with some religious or faith organisations, politicians and families in good social, economic and political standing in society in their respective communities. Factors such as being associated with parents and or

husbands of royal families – a paramount chief or paramount seat of their communities, or political parties executives, party gurus or community opinion leaders were cited to have enhanced the influence of their acquired abilities from the NFE on their being elected or being appointed as assembly members. The following sampled written statements of the assembly women from the field lent credence to the above assertion. They include:

- *As a young lady in this community, what I believed really also helped largely for me to be accepted and elected was my marital status as a married woman coupled with being the daughter of the paramount chief and being well educated. My abilities alone couldn't have done it for me in this society because my people believe erroneously that women who are single are irresponsible women and the young ones have no experience and wisdom to represent them in decision making in serious matters” (Elected member in her early adulthood age).*
- *My experience in the community as an elderly and well educated woman educationist did enhance the influence of my acquired leadership abilities to work effectively with others to win their patronage among others to win as their preferred assembly member” (Teacher in her late adulthood).*
- *The influence of my family's social status, that is my uncle now being the paramount chief of the community coupled with the community's appreciation for my father's contribution in getting the village the only Community Senior High Secondary School could also be said to have helped me seriously to become the first female elected assembly member ever in my village.” (Nurse and an elected member).*
- *“I think what really also helped my efforts and abilities to contest, campaign and to even win the assembly elections were the support I had from my Moslem sisters and brothers*

especially the Moslem women groups and associations in the community as one of their longest serving Moslem women leaders of good standing in the community” (A teacher and an Elected member).

- *“For me, my campaign strategies and my election as an assembly member of my community were very much aided by the support and influence of my father as a party chairman of the ruling government and that of my marital uncles, who are the opinion leaders of the community and executive officers of the ruling political party” (A business woman and an elected member).*
- *“I think my my experiences, self-confidence and techniques of lobbying I acquired over the years through training programmes were very much enhanced by my husband’s position and influence as a chairman of the ruling political party, who is also liked so much by the chiefs and opinion leaders of my community.”*
- *“What I think also helped in enhancing my election most is the support and favour I had from the community because of their respect and appreciation for my husband’s humanitarian services, especially the emergency services and assistance he gives to pregnant women when sick or in labour, and individuals who are sick especially in the night as the only car owner and driver resident in the community and giving emergency transport services” (A business woman in middle adulthood age).*

4.3.3 NFE and the Women’s Level of Participation in the Assembly

4.3.3.1 Influence of the NFE on the Assembly women’s participation in leadership roles in the Assembly

The study sought responses from the assembly women on the influence of the NFE programmes they had on their level of participation in terms of leadership roles they play at

the sub-committee levels and in the assembly to enable the study determine and assess the influence of their abilities acquired from NFE programmes on their level of participation in the assembly's business as leaders in the assembly. Data gathered is presented in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12: NFE and the women's participation in leadership roles

Playing Leadership Roles in the Assembly	Membership Status				Total	
	Elected		Appointed		<i>f</i>	%
	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%		
Yes	15	17.4	9	4.7	24	8.7
No	71	82.5	181	95.2	252	91.3
Total	86	100	190	100	276	100.0

Source; Field Survey, 2014 N=276 across all cases

Results in Table 4.12, showed that there is poor or low participation of the assembly women in leadership positions or roles in the assembly. Approximately 9% of the assembly women were playing leadership roles in the assembly. The implication is that an overwhelming majority (about 91 %) of the assembly women are mere or ordinary members. Even though relatively more elected members (17.4% or 15 out of 86) were playing leadership roles in assembly than that of the appointed members (4.7% or 9 out of 190), in general the influence of the abilities acquired from the NFE on their participation in terms of playing leadership roles in the assembly is very low if not poor. To this extent it could be argued that the influence of the NFE and training are yet to be strongly felt seriously in this direction.

4.3.4. NFE and the women's participation as Leaders at the Sub-committees levels

Further information was sought on the leadership positions held by the assembly women at the respective sub committees to ascertain the level of influence their acquired abilities from NFE programmes they had, had on their participation as leaders, and for that matter their

influence on decisions at the various sub-committee levels in the assembly as women members. Data gathered from the assembly women is presented in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: NFE and the women’s participation as chairpersons of sub- committees

Sub-Committee Served as Chairperson by the Assembly Woman	Chairperson	
	(f)	(%)
Social Services	1	0.4
Finance and Administration	2	0.7
Gender, Children and Social Protection	18	6.5
Agricultural Committee	1	0.4
Education	2	0.7

Source: Field Survey, 2014.N=276 across all cases.

The information in Table 4.13 revealed that, there was no assembly woman as a head or chairperson in six (6) of the eleven (11) sub-committees found in the assemblies being served. There was also no woman presiding member among the assembly women. Those sub-committees with women assembly members as chairpersons include Social Services sub-committee (0.4% or 1), Finance and Administration Sub-committees (0.7% or 2), Gender, Children and Social Protection Sub-committees (6.5% or 18), Agriculture Sub-committee (0.4% or 1) and Education Sub-committees (0.7% or 2). This means only 24 (9%) out of the 276 assembly women were in leadership positions at the sub-committee levels in the assembly. This thus suggests that, the influence of the acquired abilities of the women from the NFE programmes they had on their participation in leadership positions and for that matter in decision making at the sub committee levels in the assembly is minimal or low.

4.3.5. Influence of NFE on the Women’s Levels of Participation in Policy Decisions in the Assembly

According to Bagnall (1985) and Rogers (1996) the participation of people in adult education and community development programmes could take place at three different levels such as

being present (in attendance), being involved or being in control. In line with this, the study sought the opinions of the assembly women to ascertain their levels of participation in the assembly's business that have been influenced by the NFE programmes that they had. This was to determine the extent to which the NFE programmes have influenced the women's participation in the various policy decision areas of the assembly. The data gathered on their levels of participation in the various policy decision areas in the assembly is presented in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14: Influence of NFE on Assembly women's levels of participation in the Assembly

Policy Decision Areas in the Assembly	Levels of Participation			Total	\bar{x}	Sd
	Being present (BP) 1	Being involved (BI) 2	Being in control (BC) 3			
	%	%	%	f		
Planning the Assembly' programmes and projects	32.6	44.2	7.2	232	1.69	0.62

Taking decisions on implementation of programmes and projects	18.5	61	8.3	241	1.88	0.54
Monitoring and evaluation of programmes and projects	12.3	50.4	15.9	217	2.04	1.33
Decisions on distribution and allocation of resources/projects and expenditures on programmes	35.9	39.1	8.0	229	1.66	0.65
Participation in budget preparation	31.2	44.2	8.0	230	1.28	1.83
Supervision of projects and programmes	10.9	58.0	8.0	212	1.96	1.46
General level of participation	-	-	-	-	1.75	-

Source: Field Survey, 2014. N=276 in all cases across.

\bar{x} = mean, sd= standard deviation. BP=1, BI=2 and BC=3

The results in Table 4.12 show that in almost all the policy decision areas of the assembly, the general level of participation (1.75) of the majority of the assembly women is more of being involved than being present and or being in control of the processes and programmes.

The computed means of the responses on the levels of participation in the various policy decision areas in the businesses of the assembly in Table 4.12 indicate that with the exception of the participation in budget preparation (1.28), all the other policy decision areas such as participation in planning programmes and projects (1.69), implementation of programmes and projects (1.88), supervision of projects and programmes (1.96), monitoring and evaluation of programmes and projects (2.04), discussions on the distribution and allocation of resources, projects and District Assembly Common Fund (DACF) (1.66) were found to be more of being involved than just being present or in attendance or in control of the programmes and their processes.

In view of the evidence, it can be concluded that to a large extent the NFE programmes that the women had have empowered them to generally be more involved in the policy decisions

of the assembly than merely being present or just in attendance. However, the least realized was being in control.

4.3.6. Factors Limiting the Influence of NFE on the Women's Participation in the Assembly

According to Ofei-Aboagye (2000) and Haskova (2002) the factors militating against women's participation in decision-making, politics and in public life are many and varied and come mostly as individual, institutional and systemic barriers. In view of this the opinions of the assembly women were sought to ascertain the factors that they perceived to have limited the influence of the skills and knowledge they acquired from the NFE programmes they had on their participation in the assembly's business. This was intended to enable the study make informed conclusions on the extent the NFE programmes influenced the women's participation in the assembly's business in the Assembly. The summary of their opinions elicited are presented in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15: Factors that limited the influence of the NFE on women's participation in the Assembly

Factors that limited the use of the women's acquired abilities (skills and knowledge) from NFE to influence policy decisions in the Assembly	<i>f</i>	%
Partisan politics in the Assembly limits women with minority opposition parties influence	249	91
Member's alignment to political parties weakens the women's front.	249	90.1
Poor attendance owing to the women's old age, opposition posed by employers or superiors, poor health, inability to combine assembly's work with family and private business	244	88.3

Male domination in the Assembly negate the women's influence since majority carries the vote rules.	216	78.2
No regular monthly allowances and/or means of transport for regular attendance to assembly's sessions.	198	72
Lack of peer support (fellow women members) for assertive and daring women in the assembly	136	49.2
Lack of competence in some technical areas of the assembly's business due to low or inadequate levels of education on the assembly's operations and businesses	118	43
Inadequate logistics to work limits ability to apply acquired skills and knowledge effectively	107	39
Lack of competences in the English language limits abilities to contribute effectively in policy discussions	72	26.1

Source: Field Survey, 2014. N=276 across all cases.

The results in Table 4.15 show that, over 70% of the assembly women identified the factors that limited the influence of the skills and knowledge they acquired from NFE programmes on their participation in the assembly's business as partisan politics and alignment of members to political parties in the assembly; the negative effect of male members dominance and solidarity in the assembly; poor and irregular attendance to assembly meetings and sessions either due to old age, poor health or opposition posed by their employers and heads of departments and organisations; irregular monthly seating allowances and lack of means of transport to facilitate regular attendance to assembly sessions for effective participation, as well as the difficulty or inability to effectively combine their assembly's work with their family and private business. Some of the written comments made on what factors limited the influence of their acquired NFE abilities on their participation in the assembly's business in the assembly are as indicated below.

- *“I think our acquired abilities from training workshops as women members to influence policy decisions and contribute effectively to discussions in the assembly are seriously weakened because we don't see ourselves as women assembly members but rather as*

party members first in the assembly. In fact, this alone has made all the skills and experiences we have to work in the assembly nonsense ... we do everything with suspicion and do not always have one voice and interest to support each other as women members in the assembly". (Elected member and a teacher).

- *"There is too much NPP and NDC politics in our assembly, so the skills and knowledge we have acquired from many training programmes do not help us work effectively in the assembly for the development we all want, as such the interest of women in the assembly is suffering because of no support for each other when it comes to decision making for our interest". (Appointed member and a widow).*
- *"I think what affects the influence or use of my acquired abilities to effectively participate in the assembly's business is my poor attendance owing to my ill health of late. I have not been well and for that reason not able to attend all the meetings to contribute my part" (Elected member and of late adulthood age).*
- *"Mostly for some of us participation in the assembly is limited since we have to always leave before the end of the long meetings because as an elderly person it is very difficult to cope with the long and several hours of sitting at one place. So some of us are not always able to be involved in all the deliberations of the assembly issues". (Elected and a late adulthood).*
- *"Another thing that limits our effective participation in the assembly is the large numbers of the assembly men as against the assembly women when it comes to decision taking. The men usually come together and use their numbers to push the women members to the background and thus make the influence of our skills and power ineffective in the assembly" (Elected member and business woman).*

- *“The attitude of my head of department does not allow me exercise my skills and knowledge of the assembly tasks in the assembly, as such it impacts negatively on my effective participation in the assembly. This is because she always makes me absent myself or go late most times by either giving me assignments with submission deadlines or organising a trip for me outside town during assembly sessions” (Appointed member and public servant).*
- *“The excess house work and private businesses and responsibilities for some time now, have been preventing me from attending the assembly’s sessions regularly and to participate in most of the assembly’s work”.*
- *“My participation is affected by my inability to regularly attend assembly sessions because it is difficult to get money always and there is also no motivation or regular monthly allowances to enable me always transport myself to the assembly and back”.*
- *“My effective participation in the assembly is limited because it is difficult to attend assembly meetings always or actually do the assembly’s work and leave one’s work because we have families to take care of but the assembly too does not even pay us regularly and even our small sitting allowances meant to help movement of members to and from the assembly are not also paid always”.*

Similarly, 43% of the assembly women claimed that lack of peer support in the assembly for being assertive, daring and critical of the processes and practices in the assembly were responsible for their limited and ineffective participation in the assembly. Some of the written statements made to that effect include the following:

- *“One of the issues that make some of us not to be very active in most of the assembly work is the discouragement or insults we receive for being bold in defending and challenging some things in the assembly”. (Elected and a Moslem)*
- *“The name calling and mockery by the members including our women members of assembly women who defend their interest openly, challenge or even debate the men, discourages and intimidates me and others to speak up and participate effectively for fear of being called names”.*

Also 49% of the assembly members attributed their ineffective participation to lack of women’s competences in most technical areas of the assembly’s operations due to inadequate education or knowledge of the assembly procedures and operations. The following comments corroborate the above conclusion.

- *“Actually in some of the technical areas of the assembly, such as in discussion of budgets and finance, some of us without such backgrounds find it difficult to make any meaningful contributions”.*
- *“Most of us have limited knowledge in most of the assembly work and because we don’t also have regular training to equip us, our contributions are also limited in the assembly”.*

Other factors also mentioned by less than 30% of the women members to be limiting the influence of their acquired abilities from the NFE programmes on their contributions and participation in the assembly were inadequate logistics to work with and low levels of their competence in the English language as a common medium of communicating and conducting the business of the assembly in the assemblies. Some of the written responses of these assembly women are as follows.

- *“I think for most of us, our acquired abilities from the training are not effective in the assembly’ work because we don’t have the resources to always facilitate our regular attendance since some of us don’t work and are not also paid regularly our sitting allowances to help transport us to the assembly meetings” (Elected and business/pety trader).*
- *“Many of us find it difficult to understand and contribute in the assembly because some of the businesses of the assembly are presented in technical language in English which makes it difficult to understand and contribute...as most of us educational level is low” (Elected and of Secondary Education background).*
- *“The assembly work is getting difficult for some of us because the speaking of English is too much in the assembly ...because most of the assembly members cannot speak the local language of the municipality well” (Appointed member and a business woman).*

From the above analysis, it is evident that the influence of the assembly women’s acquired abilities from the NFE programmes on their participation in the Assembly’s business was largely limited by political interferences in terms of partisan politics in the assembly, patriarchy or male dominance in the assembly, institutional inadequacies (lack of logistics and irregular payment of sitting allowances) interpersonal (lack of peer support) as well as personal factors such as old age, ill health, lack of requisite education and competences in most of the assembly’s businesses as well as the lack of appreciation of discussions of the assembly’s business in the English language.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH RESULTS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the main findings of the study which centre on the NFE programmes that the women had and the extent to which the abilities (knowledge and skills) acquired from the NFE programmes have influenced the women's participation in local governance as assembly members to participate in the processes of local governance such as to contest the assembly elections, campaign effectively, mobilise funds for the assembly elections activities and to participate actively in the assembly's business in the assembly - in policy decisions and as leaders in the sub-committees. It also discussed the findings on the factors that enhanced the influence of the abilities (skills and knowledge) the women acquired from the NFE programmes on their participation as assembly members as well as those factors that limited the influence of the women's acquired abilities from the NFE programmes on their participation in the assembly's business in the Assembly.

5.1 SECTION A: NFE Programmes and Participation as Assembly Women

5.1.1 The Women's Experiences with NFE Programmes

The study results showed that all the assembly women respondents have participated in NFE and training programmes in one form or another and therefore had the potential to evaluate and assess the influence of the NFE programmes that they had on their participation in local governance as assembly members and in the assembly's business in the Assembly. This suggests that the women have had the necessary exposure, experiences and relevant information to provide the required and informed responses on the contribution and influence of the NFE programmes (workshops, seminars, conferences, organised short courses, advocacy

and public/civic education programmes) that they had on their participation in local governance as assembly members.

5.1.2 Relevant Forms of NFE to the Assembly women's participation

Different forms of education and learning techniques and methods are required and employed to achieve a desired learning outcome or task. According to Ampene cited in Bown (1979), different delivery techniques of learning activities are effective for different learning tasks. The survey results on the relevant forms of NFE and their contribution towards the participation of the assembly women in local governance showed that there were positive and significant relationships and by implication influences of the respective NFE forms (workshops, seminars, conferences, advocacy and public/civic education programmes) on the assembly women's participation in local governance as elected and appointed members. This also implies that the platforms employed were relevant in terms of the positive contributions they have made towards the Assembly women's participation in local governance as assembly members and in the assembly's business as well as in the processes of local governance. However, the results (Table 4.4) also showed clearly that the experiences and participation in the delivery platforms from which the women acquired their skills and knowledge varied - workshops (100%), advocacy (77%) public/civic education (71%), seminars (23%), conferences (21%) and refresher courses (17%). It is also evident that all the assembly women had experienced, benefited or received some kind of education and training via the workshop delivery platforms. Thus suggesting further that, the training workshops were more popular, prevalent, preferred or used by the NFE programmes providers. The prominence of workshops among all the assembly women could probably be because workshops are flexible, democratic or learner/participant centered. It may as well also be

because workshops also afforded organizers the luxury to combine many and different learning and teaching techniques and methods as and when desired and necessary to accomplish the complex task of empowering women. For instance, workshops are malleable to the use of lectures and debates when learners need information, to techniques like process demonstrations and role plays when learners want skills as well as group discussions and field work when the task is to apply the knowledge gained by participants (Bown, 1979).

On the otherhand, an outcome of a correlation analysis of the respective NFE platforms and the assembly women's participation revealed that even though there was a positive correlation or influence of all the platforms on the women's participation in local governance, the computed coefficient of determination shows that with the exception of that of workshops, over 80% of the explanation of their participation as assembly women was attributed to other extraneous factors. The use and prominence of workshop could also be attributed to its consistency and compliance with the principles of adult learning or its democratic posture. With this, the participants have the freedom to discuss among themselves and with the facilitator their experiences and learning needs, to share in planning the learning programme and to participate actively in the process (Knowles, cited in Badu-Nyarko, 2014). Its relative effectiveness as a delivery platform may also be because workshops do recognize more and apply the principle of self-directedness of the adult as well as see the adult participant as one who comes to the learning situation with wealth of experience which could be tapped to enrich the teaching and learning transaction (Knowles, 1995, cited in Badu Nyarko, 2014).

5.1.3 The Relevant Areas Covered by the NFE Programmes

The learning outcome of NFE programmes is knowledge, skills and attitudes (Rogers, 1996; Badu Nyarko, 2014). The survey findings on the relevant areas covered by the NFE programmes they had in terms of their contribution to their empowerment and participation in local governance were many and varied and centred largely and mostly on awareness and consciousness raising education and capacity building training that focused on enhancing the women beneficiaries' personal, economic, interpersonal and political consciousness and power among others.

Specifically, these education and training activities were centered around the raising awareness and consciousness of the assembly women on women and gender issues such as on the effect and influence of the existing conditions, the socio-cultural, economic and political practices and structures that tend to discriminate, oppress, subordinate and limit women's participation in decision-making in public life as well as in politics. Other areas were the education and training activities that addressed issues ranging from income generation and business management skills, time and stress management techniques, effective communication and public speaking techniques and skills, campaign strategies, leadership styles and skills, social and community mobilization and organization strategies and skills as well as lobbying for support and negotiation techniques and strategies to the need for family planning and girl-child education, the status of women within the existing traditional and cultural practices in Ghana and inter personal skills to work effectively with others.

It is therefore evident from the survey findings that the areas covered by the NFE programmes were heterogeneous and multi-dimensional and directed towards addressing the

varied women's existential needs and challenges such as their personal, social, economic and political constraints that conspire to subordinate and marginalize them in all spheres of life as women. The vast and varied nature of the areas of education covered means that NFE programmes are capable of being employed to cater for almost every existential need of its clientele. This assertion lent credence to the observation of Duke (1990) and Bhola (1994) cited in Badu-Nyarko and Zumapkeh (2014) that the flexibility and multifaceted nature of NFE programmes tend to allow every participant to find a place in its varied ambit and multi-dimensional programmes to address their respective felt needs.

The study findings on the nature and focus of the areas covered also are found to be consistent with what the purpose and role of non-formal education (NFE) as an empowerment education should be as viewed by Freire and Nyerere. According to Nyerere (1976) and Freire (1979) cited in Amedzro (2000), the purpose and use of non-formal education as a liberation and empowerment education is to create awareness and critical thinking among participants. And as informed and empowered people, they can then analyze issues including that of politics better, assert themselves and their rights and to participate effectively in the social, economic and political discourses of their communities.

5.1.4 Empowerment Skills and Knowledge Acquired from the NFE Programmes

The outcome of the study on the assembly women's acquisition of skills and knowledge reflects the philosophy of Freire's theory of conscientisation that, once one perceives and understands a challenge and recognizes the possibilities of response, one will act and the nature of that action will correspond to one's understanding and for that matter the solution (Nyirenda, 1995).

Interestingly, the information from the study established that the knowledge and skills acquired by the assembly women from the NFE programmes and training workshops organized by government institutions, international donor agencies as well as women organisations were generally focused on consciousness raising and skills training of the women. This was largely observed as enhanced personal, inter-personal and political consciousness and skills. Thus coinciding with what gender activists and authors called the components of women empowerment. These knowledge and skills acquired by the women as shown in Table 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9 seems to mostly agree with what Parpart et al (2002) and believed are the key skills and knowledge or constructs that constitute the components of the three (3) dimensions of empowerment for women - personal, inter-personal and political empowerment. It is believed that the success of a women empowerment intervention or programme is assessed on the extent to which it has succeeded in providing these key skills and knowledge that constitutes the three dimensions of empowerment for women -personal, inter-personal and political consciousness and skills (Parpart et al, 2002).

With regards to personal empowerment skills and knowledge acquired, all the assembly women submit that they have acquired self-awareness of women subordination, new knowledge about women's rights and development of feelings that women can improve their own conditions. In addition, an average of 60% of the women also indicated that the programme had increased their self-confidence, self- esteem, self- efficiency as well as their income generation and time management skills. This is crucial for the women of northern Ghana because awareness and consciousness raising of women is believed to have the ability to empower them identify and develop their own feelings, perceptions, needs and experiences in the process of their personal empowerment. As noted by Stromquist (2002) the awareness

of oneself as a victim of oppression and subordination is the first significant step towards the recognition and understanding of the challenges and situations and for that matter the enhancement of one's personal consciousness and power for liberation. This is also in consonance with Freire's (2000) assertion that one's critical understanding of a situation leads to critical actions taken to address the situation at hand.

The mix of the NFE programmes in the provision of both skills and consciousness raising education and training is found to be appropriate and suitable because the woman from northern Ghana is confronted and marginalized with antiquated socio-cultural practices, male chauvinism and economic constraints. This observation also finds support in Stromquist (2002) explanation that an empowerment strategy for women personal empowerment should necessarily combine and simultaneously run consciousness rising or emancipatory gender knowledge programmes with productive and management skills training since many women in Africa rely on their families and men financially. This therefore presupposes that even though consciousness raising programmes can empower women psychologically to believe they have their freedom and the capacities to control their own lives, it is not adequate for personal empowerment without facilitating plans to learn productive economic skills.

With regard to the extent to which the NFE programmes have equipped the assembly women with inter-personal empowerment abilities, the survey showed that a good number (over 58%) of the assembly women had acquired skills and knowledge that enabled them to work effectively with others, to tackle and solve problems as well as solicit and gain the support of their peers, husbands, families, communities and other relevant groups for their political activism and participation as assembly women. This is particularly crucial and essential especially for most women of Northern Ghana who lack the freedom of choice without the

dictates, direction or support of their husbands, families as well as the community to surge forward owing to the unfavourable socio-cultural and religious beliefs and practices, economic and political environment. This also tends to lend credence to Knowles (1980) and Rogers (1996) assertion that the most important role of NFE is to provide and equip its clientele with the necessary knowledge and skills to better their conditions and situations.

The study also supports that, the NFE programmes have enhanced the assembly women's political consciousness and power by building their capacities in terms of their organization and mobilization abilities and development of their feelings for social change, desires to participate in discussions and decision making of their communities. Others include acquisition of campaign skills and techniques, public speaking skills and techniques, lobbying abilities, conflict management and leadership skills as well as enhanced legal literacy and awareness.

In view of the above, the NFE programmes can be said to have enhanced to a significant extent what Stromquist (2003) calls the cognitive, psychological, economic and political components of women empowerment. These acquired abilities have significant implication for addressing the women empowerment needs especially for their effective participation in local level governance in Northern Ghana.

These relate to NFE programmes on raising of awareness and consciousness of the assembly women about the retrograde socio-cultural practices, religious beliefs, political and economic structures and conditions that oppress, marginalize and subordinate them (cognitive) as well as the development of their confidence, feelings and beliefs that women themselves can do or improve their own situations and conditions (psychological empowerment). The economic

empowerment component is also seen in the development of the women's capacities and abilities in income generation and in business management skills aimed at achieving their financial autonomy. The NFE programme focused on educating and training the women on the skills and techniques of organizing and mobilizing human, material and financial resources for political activism and development as well as the enhancement of the women's campaign abilities, public speaking and communication skills, lobbying and negotiation skills and techniques were all geared towards enhanced political empowerment for social change. With these and as informed and empowered women, they are poised and likely to a large extent, take their rightful places in public life and by extension to contest, campaign effectively, participate and influence decisions in local governance as assembly members.

5.1.5 Influence of the NFE Programmes on the Women's Participation

The role and importance of NFE programmes is not only the acquisition of skills and knowledge by the participants but also how that has impacted on their behavior and performance (Knowles, 1980, cited in Badu-Nyarko and Zumakpeh, 2014). As it were, the impact or influence, success or otherwise of the NFE programmes on the women's participation in local level governance can only be assessed by looking at the extent to which the skills and knowledge acquired have enabled them to engage in the processes of participation in local governance. The findings (Table 4.11) on the influence of the NFE programmes on the women's participation established that there was a positive influence or relationship between the NFE skills and knowledge acquired by the assembly women and their abilities to contest the assembly elections, to campaign effectively, to mobilize funds for their assembly elections activities and to participate actively in policy decisions in the assembly.

Over 90% of the assembly women indicated that they were influenced by the NFE programmes to contest the assembly elections, to campaign effectively and to participate actively in policy decision in the assembly with a quarter of them also claiming to have used what they have acquired to mobilize funds for their political activities and organization. This observation from the study tend to lend credence to the assertion of Coombs (1985), Nyerere (1976) and Freire (1979) cited by Amedzro (2000) that Non Formal Education when given, has the potential and power to liberate and empower the individual to become responsible, assertive and a critical thinker who begins to question and challenge the status quo as well as take informed actions to change his/her situation and that of society. This means the individual beneficiaries, the women having benefited from the NFE programmes became informed and critical, confident and assertive in the male biased environment. The empowered women as indicated in the survey outcome had acquired the necessary confidence to contest, to campaign effectively and to become assertive to change decisions that were unfavorable as well as get policies and decisions to their favour.

Secondly the correlation results of the study (Table 4.11) revealed that there was a positive and significant relationship between the women's acquisition of the NFE skills and knowledge and their abilities to campaign effectively and to mobilize funds for their assembly elections activities, while that of the abilities to contest the assembly elections and to participate actively in policy decisions in the assembly was found to be insignificant though positive. This therefore means that there was a differential influence of the NFE programmes on the assembly women's abilities to participate at the various levels of political activism and organization and at the various levels of local governance. This differential influence of the NFE programmes on the women's abilities could well be that some of the

programmes might have been designed, planned and focused on the expressed needs informed by needs assessment of the assembly women of Northern Ghana while the others might not.

It could also be that the influence of the NFE programmes on the women's ability to participate in some aspects of the local governance processes were negatively affected by the existing socio-cultural, economic and culture of the political parties of Northern Ghana. For instance, male chauvinism and general poverty levels of Northern Ghana could conspire to negatively affect women's acquired abilities to successfully raise or mobilize funds, to present themselves to contest the district assembly elections or to be assertive and bold enough to speak up to influence policy decisions in the assembly as a women, though they might have been educated, trained and equipped appropriately with the requisite skills and knowledge to do so. The preference of political parties to support male candidates could equally make nonsense of the influence of the women's acquired abilities from the NFE programmes on their participation in some aspects of local level governance.

It may also be that, the focus and emphases of most of the NFE programme were not very much on empowering the women to present themselves to contest the assembly's elections or to influence policy decisions in the assembly as much as was on to campaign effectively. This probably may explain why the influence of the NFE programmes on the assembly women's abilities to campaign effectively was relatively pronounced than that of the rest - to contest, to mobilize funds as well as to participate actively in policy decisions in the assembly. This thus further suggests that, though there have been a positive influence of the programmes on the women's participation in local governance processes, more needs to be done in terms of re-focusing and re-engineering the planning management of goals and

objectives of NFE and training programmes to achieve effective participation of women at the various levels of local governance.

5.1.6 NFE and Participation of the Women in the Assembly sub-committees

Ghana's local governance system is based on participation particularly grassroots participation like the assembly system. This explains why the unit committees and sub-committees are the integral part of the assembly or the local governance system in Ghana. Participation in local governance is therefore the process and means by which a person or a group of persons are involved in determining their needs, priorities and the strategies to meet them so as to improve their living (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2010).

The results from the study on the influence of the NFE programmes on the participation of the women as members and chairpersons at the sub-committees or presiding members of the assemblies suggest that the influence of their acquired abilities from the NFE programmes on their participation was generally very low if not poor and needs to be improved. They were however found to be serving in one sub-committee or the other. Interestingly over 10% of them were concentrating in only three (3) sub-committees such as the social services sub-committee, the gender, children and social protection sub-committee and in the works sub-committee. It is also curious to note that the majority (19.2%) of the assembly women were found participating in the Gender, Children and Social Protection sub-committees, thus reflecting what some of them stated to have informed and motivated them (personal interest and passion to champion the cause of women and children) participate in the District Assembly elections and as assembly members. The outcome of the study on the influence of the acquired abilities from NFE on their participation in leadership positions as chairpersons of the sub-committees could therefore be said to be very poor, since only 9% (24 out of 276)

of the assembly women were chairpersons and found chairing only five (5) out of the eleven (11) identified sub-committees of the assemblies. There was also no single woman as a Presiding Member (PM) of the assemblies. Interestingly also the majority (75% or 18) of the 24 women chairpersons of the sub-committees were found once again to be concentrated playing leadership roles as chairpersons in the gender, children and social protection sub-committees than in any other sub-committee. This emerging trend of the women's participation concentration as members and chairpersons of the Gender related sub-committees of the assembly tend to lend strong support and credence to the misbelief and misconception that gender means female or women (Institute of Local Governance Studies' Desk Research Report, 2014). To the extent that the women were only chairpersons for only five of the sub-committees, also implies that they were just mere members in most of the sub-committees of the assembly and for that matter exercising limited leadership roles as well as little influence on decisions that directly affect matters that concern women as compared to their men folks in the assembly. This observation of the study tends to support Amedzro's (2000) assertion that women's poor representation in leadership and in decision making positions tend to relegate them to the background or deny them the advantage and opportunity to even participate in decisions on issues and matters that directly concern them.

5.1.7 NFE and Level of the Women's Participation in Policy Decisions in the Assembly

The survey findings on the level of participation of the assembly women in policy decisions or discussions in the assembly that was enabled by their acquired abilities from the NFE programmes they had showed that, a dominant majority of them were highly being involved than either merely being present/in attendance or being in control in areas like projects and programmes planning and implementation, supervision, monitoring and evaluation and in

budget discussions. Others include discussions on the distribution and allocation of resources and projects as well as discussion on the allocation and use of the District Assembly Common Fund (DACF). Thus suggesting that in terms of the influence of the women's acquired abilities from the NFE programmes on their level of participation in policy decisions or in the Assembly's business in the assembly was appreciable and relatively high. Lending credence to this conclusion is Rogers (1996) assertion on typologies of participation. He contented that participation as being involved is the most desirable and important type that Adult Education or NFE programmes should focus strongly on when assessing participation in programmes because it concerns the extent to which a person is in interaction with important components and processes of the programme. To that extent, Rogers opined that participation as involvement assumes participation as control. He also concluded that participation as being involved connotes high degree of participants' involvement and thus is the most desirable, suitable and most sought for adult education and community development programmes. This is so because being present in a programme does not assume involvement or control since one can be present in a programme without being involved in any way and without being in control of the programme.

In view of this observation, it can be argued that the NFE programmes that the women had might have enhanced their level of participation as it were to get more interested and or empowered to get highly involved than being present or being in control.

It was not also surprising that the women's participation as being in control was found to be the least among the three participation typologies that the women associated themselves with in the assembly's business. This is because the policy decisions on processes and allocation and use of funds of most of the programmes at the assembly are tailor-made outside the

assembly either by donor funding agencies or central government at ministerial levels outside the control of the assembly members.

5.1.8 Factors that Enhanced the Influence of NFE on the Women's Participation

The study observed that the participation of the women as assembly members in the assemblies in northern Ghana was a function of the influence of the NFE programmes and that of the acquired NFE skills and knowledge aided by other factors such as the women's personal interest and passion community and development work (voluntary spirit of the women), community and social of the women and/or their families contributions (humanitarian, meritorious and professional services, as well as their social, economic and political standing in society) and positive social image of the women (married, experienced or advance in age or well educated). This assertion was indeed confirmed by over 70% (202 of 276) of the assembly women that, those factors did enhance the influence of their acquired skills and knowledge from the NFE programmes they had on their participation in local governance as assembly members.

Some of them attributed their participation as assembly members to the enhancement of the influence of their abilities acquired from the NFE programmes they had by their own passion and personal interest to serve and to champion the course of women and children in the communities. Others also saw the influence of their acquired abilities from the NFE programmes they had on their participation as assembly members to have been enhanced and enabled by the recognition and appreciation of their people and communities for their meritorious, humanitarian and professional services they offer to individuals or groups in their respective communities.

Clearly claims or factors such as one being a long standing serving native nurse, the rendering of professional services as a social development worker, a MASLOC credit officer assisting people especially women groups and individuals to access small loans, a traditional money lender cum ‘pito’(local drink) brewer and seller assisting people often with hospital and school fees as well as providing the “pito” on credit to enable some farmers and individuals observe social order (to farm, perform funerals, entertain friends, in-laws, visitors, etc) were all cited as factors that worked and enhanced their acquired NFE abilities to participate in local governance as assembly members.

Other similar factors identified were their own social and political standing such as those related to the women’s association with religious or faith organisations, royal families, political parties or people of influence and following. This particularly took the form of being a royal family member or the daughter of the paramount chief, a long serving and good standing leader of a Moslem women association in the community, former women organizer of a political party in the community, a leader of women fellowship in the community and as a former “mangazia” (women leader/organiser of a community). Obviously the goodwill and influence associated with these relationships were seen to have worked positively to enhance the women’s acquired abilities and efforts to win the assembly elections or be appointed as assembly members. Thus underscoring the extent to which such social and political alliance tend to work and help advance the individual women’s political patronage particularly in enhancing their capacities and opportunities to participate in local level governance in northern sector of Ghana.

Similarly, some of the assembly women also saw the influence of their acquired NFE abilities on their participation in local governance as assembly members to have been

enhanced and supported by their husbands and parents' social, economic and political standing in the communities. The influence of parents and/or husbands who were political party executives, chiefs, government functionaries and opinion leaders brought their popularity, influence and following they command to bear on the influence of their acquired skills and knowledge from the NFE interventions they had on their electoral fortunes and participation in the assembly as elected and government appointed assembly members.

One other interesting claim of a family influence on the enhancement of a woman's acquired NFE abilities to win the assembly election was a husband's long standing services to the community as the only resident driver that enlured to the community's appreciation, recognition and support of the wife's participation in the assembly as an elected assembly member of the community.

From the above observations, it is interesting but not surprising that, inspite of the acquired enhanced personal, interpersonal, economic and political abilities and empowerment of the women by the NFE interventions they had, it had to take other factors such as their personal interest and passion, the community and people recognition and appreciation of the women's humanitarian, meritorious and professional services to the communities, the influence of the social and political standing of the women and that of their families in society and to some extent the women's positive social image (married status, being elderly or well educated) to enhance the influence of their capacities and abilities acquired feom the various education and training workshops and programmes on their participation as assembly members.

This finding therefore suggests that for women in northern sector of Ghana in particular, the acquisition of skills and knowledge from the NFE programmes that they had were necessary

but not sufficient to participate in local governance as assembly members. This is not difficult to explain. This could be attributed to the unfavourable geo-socio-cultural and religious beliefs and practices of the people of Ghana particularly that of Northern Ghana, that always tend to conspire and help marginalize and discriminate against the woman (Ofei-Aboagye, 2000). It is that far, that negative social outlook and perception of women that do make those who are single or not married seen as irresponsible, while young women (youthful or not advanced in age) in particular seen as inexperienced and no requisite wisdom. As it were, they are often and erroneously perceived by the society as unsuitable and incapable of representing them in positions of trust in public life or in decision-making.

This also presents a compelling need for adult educators and adult education institutions who are into women empowerment to consider not only designing programmes that seek to equip women with skills and knowledge but also to design parallel programmes that educate the general public especially custodians of the socio-cultural and religious beliefs and practices to accept and see women as equal partners in development and with equal rights and capabilities.

What this also probably suggest is that, if one is contemplating of sponsoring a woman of high potential of electoral patronage and socially acceptable for an electoral position, one must also look beyond her acquired capacities and abilities to include her personal interest, possible level of the community's recognition and appreciation of her contribution to the social, economic and political lives and development of the community over the years. Equally, this must also be considered by women when considering putting themselves forward in Northern Ghana for electoral positions particularly as district assembly members.

5.1.9 Factors that Limited the Influence of the NFE on the Women's Active Participation in the Assembly

Interestingly, the outcome of the survey established that the influence of the women acquired abilities (skills and knowledge) from the NFE programmes they had on their participation in the assembly's business in the assembly was limited by what Ofei-Aboagye (2000) and Haskova (2002) saw to border around institutional, systemic and individual barriers constructed largely by the existing geo-socio-cultural practices and beliefs, economic and political arrangements of society or their respective communities.

For proper and effective functioning of the assemblies, the assembly members are expected to participate in the legislative, administrative, executive, rating as well as in the setting of engendered developmental agenda of their respective assemblies. This will also ensure the accountability of the authorities to make gender parity policies for good governance at the local level. In pursuance of this, Article 240 (2) (d) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, states that “to ensure accountability of local government authorities, people (women and men) in a particular local government area shall as far as practicable be afforded the opportunity to participate effectively in their governance”, Contrary to this provision, the survey outcome on the influence of skill and knowledge acquired from NFE on the women's participation in policy decisions in the assembly was found to be limited and constrained by factors that border largely on negative influence and interference of partisan politics in the assembly, male chauvinism or the negative effect of male over riding dominance in the assembly, inter-personal inabilities and incapacities of the assembly women to gain peer support in the assembly as well as institutional inadequacies such as lack of logistics and motivation to work due partly to irregular payment of their sitting allowances. Others are irregular attendance of members to assembly's sessions and meetings occasioned by personal factors

such as old age with ill health, lack of requisite education and competences to contribute to the discussions of most of the assembly's businesses as well as limited appreciation of the discussions of most of the assembly's business in the English language. Of these factors over 90% of the assembly women (see Tablet 4.15) attributed their ineffective participation in the assembly's business to negative impact of partisan politics in the assembly. The women were seen to be aligning themselves to partisan political interest at the expense of the general interest and good of their communities and to their persons as a disadvantaged group or segment of the population.

This also implies that the women were driven more by their parochial partisan political interest in the assembly than that of their peers or their communities on whose mandate they were in the assembly. This behaviour of the assembly women as it were, clearly is at variance with the fundamental principle of the non-partisan nature of the district assembly concept as provided by the Local Government Art, Act 462. Clearly their acquired enhanced personal, interpersonal and political abilities to participate effectively were made nonsense by their partisan attitudes and posture among others in the assembly.

This finding seems to also question the assembly women's level of awareness and knowledge on their roles as development agents and the concept of district assembly as non-partisan highest political decision making body - legislative, administrative and development body in the district. This also makes a case for organising some education and training programmes to provide members some level of knowledge and awareness on their roles and functions in the assembly and their obligations to their constituents and communities. This will help depreciate their penchant and motivation in doing and seeing things through their parochial partisan political lenses.

Viewing against these observations of the study, it is only prudent and wise to agree with that of Carolyn (1997) and Dighe (1995) that until women are empowered to understand and develop the feelings that it is only women that can better their own conditions and situations, their abilities to participate and influence will continue to be limited and ineffective in politics and in decision making positions in public life. This fear is given more impetus and made obvious because of the absence of peer support in the assembly to encourage the few women who are daring and assertive to challenge and question the status quo. Instead, the women joined their male members of like political persuasions to discourage and called them names. This as it were has the tendency to intimidate and cow down the few confident spirited ones to the detriment of the women folk.

Again, the survey also established that the influence of the abilities the women acquired from the NFE on their participation was limited by male chauvinism or what they commonly called the use of the male numerical strength in the assembly or dominance and solidarity. They claimed these were used to intimidate and suppress the influence of their enhanced abilities on policy decisions and assertiveness. This weakness is partly occasioned by the poverty of the numbers of women assembly members found in the assemblies as well as the negative effect of socialization of the Ghanaian male child. When it comes to the application of the principle of majority carries the vote in the assembly in taking decisions as a rule of democracy, the male members with the numbers dominate the business decisions of the assembly at the expense of the women minority. This thus means that a good majority of decisions in the assembly or even those that affect women directly are largely made by male members using their numerical advantage.

Also, this discrimination could find its roots in religious and traditional values and practices in Ghana. For instance, the negative influence of male dominance is a reflection of the old age traditional values of socialization of the male child in Ghana to see the female child as a home manager and themselves as leaders, decision makers as well as having the responsibility to control and protect their female counterparts. As a consequence, men feel that women's primary duty should be to listen to men talk and take decisions (Domakyaareh, 2001; Adoo-Adeku, 2012).

The assembly women also decried the poor and irregular attendance to assembly's sessions and meetings as one of the factors that limited the influence of their acquired abilities from the NFE programmes to actively participate in the assembly's business. Most of them associated their irregular attendance and participation in the assembly's businesses to their inability to cope with the long hours of sessions or sitting in the meetings to old age and or ill health associated with old age. This situation thus points to the fact that, the methods and programmes put in place did not consider the needs of adults especially those in the late adult hood ages (56 years and above). The complain of the ordeal of long hours of sitting at a meeting as a limiting factor to the influence of their acquired abilities from NFE interventions to participate actively in the assembly's business is a clear testimony of failure of applying the principles of adult education and developmental psychology in the assembly's business to contain the elderly women.

Other equally important factor identified by the women to have limited the influence of their acquired abilities from training workshops and education programmes on their effective participation in the assembly's business was the impediments or opposition posed by their work place superiors or their heads of departments on their attendance to the assembly

sessions and meetings. The study observed that some of the women's work place superiors or heads of departments sabotaged their attendance to the assembly's sessions and meetings. They were either given assignments or scheduled meetings, business and working trips that coincide with dates and time of that of their assembly sessions and meetings. This attitude suggests the superiors' disapproval of the women's dual roles as assembly members and staff. Probably this could be due to their superiors' total lack of knowledge or understanding of the rights and workings of assembly members as provided and guaranteed by the 1992 constitution of Ghana. This also makes a strong case for some kind of work place public education on the rights and relationship of the assembly member between work place and the assembly.

Similarly, irregular and poor attendance to the assembly's meetings occasioned by irregular payments of their sitting allowances, cost or lack of means of transport as well as their work load or inability to effectively combine the assembly's work with their family and private business was found to have limited the influence of their acquired abilities from training workshops and education programmes on their active participation in the assembly's business. Clearly irregular and poor attendance to assembly's meetings where the discussions and contributions of members are made to inform policy decisions means that some crucial policies and decisions were taken even those that directly affect them and their communities might have been made without their inputs.

5.1.10 Conclusion on the Discussion of Results

From the above discussions of the findings, it can be concluded that Freire's concept of conscientisation adopted as a framework and the use of NFE as a strategic tool for enhancing

the assembly women's participation in local governance as assembly members was found to be very necessary and relevant but not sufficient to explain the participation of the women in local governance as assembly members in Northern sector of Ghana in particular or in all geo-socio-cultural settings.

Viewing against the empirical evidence adduced so far by the thesis, the participation of the women in local governance as assembly members could be expressed as a function of the interplay of the NFE Influence and Enhanced NFE Influence by other factors such as the positive social perception of the women's social image, the women's personal/self-interest and passion to participate as assembly members and social recognition of the woman and their families. Hence the Women's Empowerment for Participation in local governance (WEP_{LG}) framework function is constructed as below:

$$\mathbf{WEP}_{LG} = \mathbf{f}(N_E + N_e(\mathbf{P}_I, \mathbf{SR}_{Ca + Ss}, \mathbf{P}_X)).$$

Where:

N_E is the influence of the NFE and training programmes on the women's participation in local governance as assembly members,

$P_i(N_E)$ is the enhancement of NFE influence by the personal/self-interest and passion of the women to participate on their participation as an assembly members,

$\mathbf{SR}_{Ca + Ss}(N_E)$ is the enhancement of NFE influence by social recognition of the women and their families on the women's participation as assembly members. This intend encompasses the enhancement of NFE influence by the community's appreciation for the humanitarian, professional and meritorious services of the women and their families ($\mathbf{SR}_{Ca}(N_E)$), and the

enhancement of the NFE influence by the women and their families' social, economic and political standing in their communities $SR_{Ss}(N_E)$ and.

$P_x(N_E)$ is the enhancement of NFE influence by the positive geo-social setting's perception of the women's social image (being married, elderly and experienced, formally well educated).

This revelation of the study clearly would have implication for adult education institutions, political parties and organisations (NGOs) that are into empowering, sponsoring and promoting women's participation in politics as well as for adult education practice and theory. This is because the evidence suggests that the women's participation in local governance as assembly members took more than the influence of the NFE empowerment interventions on awareness and consciousness raising and capacity building and skills training of the women to include other factors that enhanced the influence of these acquired abilities they had from the NFE programmes.

This also means that the philosophy behind Freire's concept of conscientisation is necessary but not sufficient as an empowering framework for women's participation in all geo-socio-cultural settings such as the women in Northern sector of Ghana. It is particularly so because the scope is limited to empowering the oppressed to the neglect of the oppressor or the custodians of the oppressing factors (socio-cultural and religious practices and beliefs). They also need to be educated or conscientised, in this case to understand and accept women just as men who do not need to be married, advanced in age or being elderly and experienced and formally well educated among others, to be accepted as their assembly members and as equal partners with equal rights and capacities.

5.3 Model for Women Political Participation and Activism.

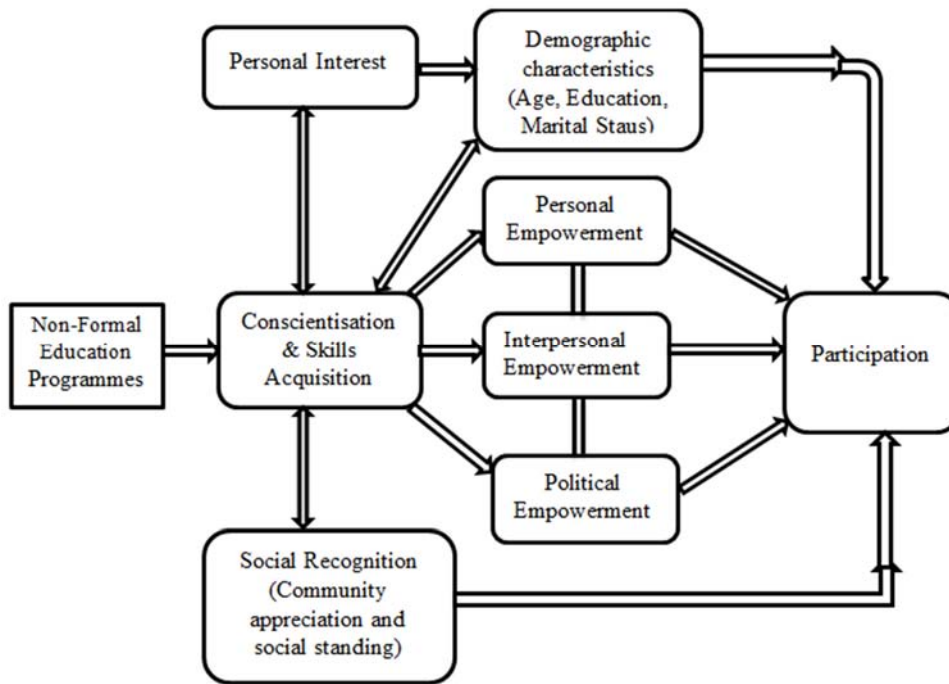


Figure 5.1: Model for Women Political Participation and Activism.

Source: Author's Construct from Field Study.

Based on the findings of the study, a Model for Women Empowerment and Participation in local level governance and political activism particularly for Northern sector of Ghana is developed as seen in figure 5.1. The model posits that, women could be empowered to participate in local governance as assembly members through the influence of the interventions and activities of NFE programmes and/or with enhanced NFE Influence by factors such as women's personal interest to participate, positive social perception of the women's image and social recognition of the women and their families (communities appreciation of their humanitarian, meritorious and professional services and/or their social, economic and political standing in the society). See brief explanation of the model below.

Non-Formal Education Interventions (NFE)

The NFE programmes and interventions in the form of organised short courses, training workshops, seminars, conferences, advocacy and public and civic education programmes focus on consciousness raising, skills and capacity building of the women has the power to enhance their personal (self-awareness, development of feelings of can do, assertiveness, self-confidence, self-efficiency, self-esteem and respect, economic autonomy etc), interpersonal (abilities to work effectively with others, ability to gain peer, family, spouse and community support, abilities to tackle and solve problems etc) and political (development of feelings for social transformation and change, mobilisation and organisation skills, lobbying and negotiation skills, effective communication and public speaking skills and techniques etc) consciousness and power. The net effect of the acquisition of these NFE knowledge and skills is the women's acquired enhanced abilities and capacities to contest the

assembly elections, to mobilise funds to campaign effectively to be elected, and to be able to participate actively in policy decisions in the assembly. Clearly to a significant extent the NFE programmes were found to be instrumental and necessary in empowering the women cognitively, psychologically, economically and politically to actively participate in local governance as assembly members, though found not absolute and sufficient in all social settings.

Social recognition of women and their families

Another imposing variable in the empowering to participation process of women that needs attention by practitioners is the influence of society's recognition of the women and/or their families that comes to enhance the influences of the women's acquired abilities from NFE interventions in their respective communities and constituencies. This comprises influences of their people and communities' appreciation for their humanitarian, meritorious and professional services (eg. assisting to settle or pay hospital bills and school fees, dedicated long standing professional services as health worker, teacher, the only resident driver, community money lender, pito (local drink) seller offering credit, welfare worker, micro-credit worker etc.) to them. This has the tendency to enhance the woman in question acquired abilities from NFE interventions and for that matter their electoral patronage to secure an elected membership status. That can also win the favours of the traditional authority and opinion leaders of their communities to advise government and her appointing authorities to consider the women in question as government appointees as it were. However, women with this advantage may participate in local governance as assembly members with or without the benefit of NFE programmes or interventions.

The second wing of this that may be considered to enhance the influence of the women's acquired skills and knowledge from the NFE interventions is the influence that emanates from the women and/or their families' social, economic and political standing in the community. This has the propensity to positively enhance the influence of their acquired capacities and abilities from the NFE interventions and for that matter their electoral advantage and patronage to participate in local level governance as elected or appointed women assembly members. This influence could come from a family member or parent being a former or current sector minister or government functionary, chief, Queen mother, opinion leader, political party executive, a royal to a traditional authority (paramount chief), an accomplished business woman or man among others. This probably could also empower the woman to directly procure an elected or an appointed membership in the assembly aside serving as a complement to the influences of NFE interventions.

Personal interest and passion of the woman to participate

A women's self/personal interest and passion to participate in the assembly as an assembly member to serve her community has the tendency and propensity to enhance the influence of her acquired abilities from the NFE interventions or programmes to participate in local level governance. This self-interest to serve her community could include the need to advocate and to influence decisions and byelaws to advance the course of development, their people, women folk and children in the community. This as it were, provides an additional impetus to the acquired abilities, chances and resolve of women with the benefit of the NFE empowerment interventions to campaign effectively to be elected or lobby to be appointed as assembly members.

Positive social setting's perception of the women's social Image

One other potent variable that should be considered by adult educators and NFE providers to enhance the influence and sufficiency of NFE interventions on women's participation in local level governance is the geo-social perception of the woman's image (positive social image – married, well educated formally and elderly and experienced). The model posits that the perception society holds of the image of women (positive or negative) has the potential to enhance or negate women's acquired abilities from NFE interventions to participate in local level governance as Assembly members. This means the effectiveness of the NFE interventions and/or any of its enhancing influential factors identified (self-interest and social recognition) also depends hugely on how acceptable, favourable or positive the perception of the geo-socio-cultural settings of the woman in question is on her socio-demographic or personal characteristics (age, marital status or level of formal education). As it were, a positive social perception of the image of a woman has the power and potential to solicit her community or society's acceptability and favour to enhance their chances and acquired abilities and capacities from NFE interventions to be elected or considered as appointed assembly member.

On the other hand, unfavourable or negative social perception or image that the society holds of a woman (single or not married, youthful or no experience and wisdom, illiterate or not well educated formally) could actually negate the impact or make nonsense the influence of the abilities that may be acquired from NFE interventions to participate in local level governance as an elected or an appointed assembly member of the community or that social setting. With this negative social perceived image, the woman in question is likely to be considered

socially unacceptable, incapable and unsuitable to represent her community in decision making in public life and governance.

In conclusion, positive indications of any or all these influential factors or variables of the model have the potential and power to contribute to enhancing the influence of NFE interventions on women's participation or the pathway to effective and active women's participation in local governance as assembly members in their communities. In fact, these variables could also serve as guide, policy variables or pointers to adult educators and NFE providing institutions for informed planning management of women empowerment adult education programmes as well as for consideration by bodies and institutions who are into sponsoring, facilitating and promoting women's participation in local level governance.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the study on the extent to which the participation of the 2010 cohort of women assembly members in local governance in Northern sector of Ghana was enhanced by NFE programmes that they had, draws conclusions and makes recommendations based on the findings of the research.

6.2 Summary of the Study

Since the United Nations' Declaration of the "Decade for Women" in 1975 and subsequently the Fourth World Conference of Women held in Beijing in 1995 following the general outcry of women's poor and low representation in leadership, decision making and in politics globally in the 1980s, developing countries particularly the government of Ghana through its institutions and or with international donor agencies and women organisations started to pay more attention to women's issues and NFE programmes. They focused on raising the women's consciousness and building their capacities and skills. The value assumption behind this was that, if women understood their conditions, knew their rights and learned productive skills, they would be empowered enough to participate actively and effectively in politics and in public governance. Having gone through these as a country for over three (3) decades now, it is only prudent to find out the extent to which the NFE programmes the women had have influenced their participation in politics particularly in local level governance. The main objective of the study was therefore to determine the extent to which NFE programmes of organisations and agencies operating in and around Northern Ghana have influenced the participation of the 2010 cohort of female Assembly members in local governance in Northern sector of Ghana (the Upper East, Upper West and the Brong Ahafo Regions) by enhancing their abilities to contest the assembly elections, campaign effectively, mobilise funds for the assembly elections and participate actively in the assembly's business in the Assembly. The main objective of the study was realized by pursuing the following specific objectives. These included;

1. To identify the relevant forms of non-formal education that contributed significantly towards the participation of the woembersmen in local level governance as assembly members.
2. To find out the knowledge and skills the assembly women acquired from the NFE programmes that enhanced their personal, interpersonal and political abilities to participate in local governance.
3. To determine the extent to which the NFE programmes have enhanced the Assembly women's participation in local governance in terms of their abilities to Contest the assembly elections, campaign effectively during the assembly elections, mobilize funds for their assembly elections activities and participate actively in policy decisions in the assembly as women members.
4. To assess the level of participation of the assembly women in the Assembly's business that was influenced by the NFE programmes.
5. To find out the factors that affected the influence of the NFE programmes on the women's participation in local governance in terms of:
the factors that enhanced the influence of the NFE programmes on the women's participation as Assembly members
The factors that limited the influence of the NFE programmes on the women's participation in the Assembly's business in the Assembly.

To achieve these research objectives a cross-sectional survey (descriptive and analytical) research design was employed. With the aid of questionnaire, the primary data were gathered from a sample of 276 assembly women representing 86 elected and 190 appointed assembly

women of the 2010 cohort of assembly women from the sampled study area - the Upper East, the Upper West and the Brong Ahafo regions of Ghana. These regions were randomly selected out of four regions comprising the study population which saw the Northern region left out. The data gathered was therefore analysed using both descriptive and inferential statistics with the aid of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 18. The ethical issues of confidentiality of information elicited were assured and the objective of the study was also disclosed per the preliminary information or introduction on the data collection instruments. Permission and approval from the respective Coordinating Directors and Presiding Members of the assemblies of the study areas were sought prior to the data collection exercise.

6.3. Summary of the Study Findings

The main objective of the research was pursued by specific objectives. The results from analyzing these specific objectives are as summarized under the following sub- headings.

6.3.1. NFE Forms that contributed significantly to the Assembly women's participation.

The objective one, of the research sought to identify the perceived relevant NFE forms or platforms that contributed significantly towards the women's participation in local governance as Assembly members. The study established that workshops, conferences, seminars, refresher courses, advocacy programmes, public and civic education programmes relevant forms of NFE that contributed significantly to the assembly women's participation in local level governance. The correlation analysis results at 0.05 level of significance confirmed that there was a significant positive relationship between all the respective forms of the NFE and the women's participation as assembly members. The degree or strength of

the relationships however between the women's participation as assembly members and workshops was also found to be strong ($r > 0.7$) while that of all the other NFE forms were largely moderate ($0.3 < r < 0.7$). To show the respective relevance of the NFE forms to the participation of the women in local governance, the study computed the coefficients of determination ($r^2\%$) of the respective NFE forms. This also associated less than 20% of the women's participation in local governance as assembly members to all the other NFE forms with the exception of that of workshops which was outstanding.

6.3.2. Empowerment knowledge and skills the women acquired from the NFE programmes

The objective two of the study sought to ascertain the respective knowledge and skills that the women acquired from the NFE programmes they had that enhanced their personal, interpersonal and political consciousness and abilities to participate in local governance as assembly women. The study found out that the assembly women had acquired varied knowledge and skills from the NFE and training programmes that enhanced their personal, inter-personal and political consciousness and power. The acquired personal empowerment skills and knowledge were seen in the form of the assembly women's self-awareness and consciousness about women's conditions of subordination, new outlook and knowledge of women's rights, time management skills and in the development of feelings that women can improve their own conditions. Other personal empowerment constructs realized included increased self-confidence, self-esteem and respect as well as management skills in income generation for economic independence and autonomy.

The women also acknowledged some level of improvement in their inter-personal consciousness and power such as enhanced abilities to work with others effectively, to tackle

and solve problems as well as abilities to gain peers, spousal, family and or community support for political activism and organisation and participation in local governance.

It was also established that the assembly women's political consciousness and power was enhanced by the NFE and training programmes through the acquisition of increased legal literacy and awareness, organisation and mobilisation skills and techniques, development of abilities and feelings for social change and transformation for better conditions and techniques and skills in public speaking and conflict management.

6.3.3 Extent of influence of the NFE programmes on the women's participation in local governance

The objective three of the study sought to assess the extent to which the acquired knowledge and skills of the women from the NFE programmes have influenced their participation in local governance in terms of enhanced abilities to contest the assembly elections, campaign effectively, mobilise funds and to participate actively in policy decisions in the assembly,

The study results (correlation analysis) established that, the relationship between the NFE programmes and the Assembly women's participation in local governance in terms of the respective abilities (abilities to contest the assembly elections, campaign effectively, mobilise funds and to participate actively in policy decisions in the assembly) was significant and positive but varied in relative degrees or strength of influences or relationships. The degree or strength of the relationship between the skills and knowledge acquired from the NFE programmes by the women and their ability to campaign effectively was found to be strong ($r > 0.7$) while that of the abilities to contest, to mobilize funds and to participate actively in policy decisions in the assembly were weak ($r < 0.3$) though positive and significant.

The computed respective coefficients of determination on the various abilities of the women to participate and the influence of the NFE programmes showed that over 80% (84%) of the women's abilities to campaign effectively was explained or associated with the influence of the NFE skills and knowledge they acquired. However, less than 5% of all the rest of the women's abilities, that is, the abilities to contest the assembly elections ($r^2 \% = 0.8\%$), to mobilize funds ($r^2 \% = 4\%$) for their political activism and organisation in local governance and the ability to participate actively in policy decisions in the assembly ($r^2 \% = 2\%$) were associated with the influence of the acquired abilities (skills and knowledge) from the NFE programmes. This thus also suggest that with the exception of that of the abilities to campaign effectively, over 95% of the women's abilities to contest, to mobilize funds and to participate actively in policy decisions in the assembly could be associated with the influence of extraneous or other factors other than that acquired from the non-formal education (NFE) programmes.

6.3.4 Influence of NFE on the women's level of participation in the assembly

The objective four of the study sought to assess the level of the women's participation in the assembly's business that was enabled by the abilities they acquired from the NFE programmes they had. The weighted means and standard deviation computed using a three-point scale measure of the women's responses on the influence of the NFE programmes they had on their level of participation in policy decisions and discussions in the assembly showed that they were more involved than being either merely in attendance / present or being in control of the assembly's business.

On participation in leadership positions for example, also showed that less than 10% (24 out of 276) of the women assembly members were chairpersons of the sub-committees of the assemblies. Thus suggesting that they were mostly mere members in majority of the sub-committees. Hence playing relatively very little leadership roles in the assembly and in decision making positions as compared to their male members.

6.3.5 Factors that enhanced the influence of the NFE programmes on the women's participation as Assembly members

The first part of the objective five of the study was set out to find out the factors that enhanced the influence of the NFE programmes on the women's participation as Assembly members. The study established that the influence of the NFE programmes on the women's participation in local governance as assembly members was enhanced by factors such as their personal interest and passion to champion the course of women and children in their respective assemblies, the influence of their society's positive perception of their social image (married, elderly and experienced as well as well educated formally), social recognition like the community's appreciation for the women and their families's humanitarian, meritorious and professional services as well as the social, economic and political standing of the women and their families in society and in their respective communities.

6.3.6 Factors that limited the influence of the NFE on the women's participation in the Assembly

The second part of the objective five of the study sought to find out the factors that limited the influence of the NFE programmes (abilities acquired from the NFE programmes) on the women's participation in the Assembly's business in the Assembly. The factors identified to

have limited the use or influence of the women's acquired skills and knowledge (abilities) from the NFE interventions on their active and effective participation in the assembly's businesses included the negative influence of partisan politics that results in women members aligning themselves to political parties in the assembly coupled with poor and irregular attendance occasioned by old age, poor health, excess workload, lack of means of transportation, opposition posed to the members attendance to the assembly's sessions and meetings by their appointing authorities (superiors) or employers. They were also found to be marginalized in the assembly by the negative effect of male members' dominance and solidarity especially against the women's influence in the assembly's business. Individual barriers such as lack of competence in English and in some of the technical issues of the assembly discussed were also found to limit their active participation in the business of the assembly.

6.4 Conclusion

Based on the findings of the objectives, the following conclusions are made as to the extent to which the participation of the 2010 cohort of assembly women in local governance in Northern sector of Ghana was enhanced by the NFE programmes that they had over the years.

The NFE programmes the women had over the years organised by government institutions, women organisations and international donor agencies and organisations in and around Northern Ghana indeed have enhanced to a significant extent the participation of the 2010 cohort of Assembly women in local governance in the Upper East, Upper West and the Brong Ahafo Regions of Ghana as Assembly members. This was realised through the acquisition of skills and knowledge from the NFE programmes that enhanced the women's

personal, interpersonal and political consciousness and power that enabled them contest the Assembly elections, campaign effectively, mobilise funds for the assembly elections activities and participate actively in policy decisions in the Assembly.

There is also a significant positive correlation or relationship between the influence of the NFE programmes, irrespective of the form (education and training workshops, conferences, seminars, advocacy, public and civic education programmes) by which the women acquired their education and training and their participation in local governance as Assembly members. This feat of the influence of the NFE programmes to a significant extent, was also enhanced by the women's personal interest to participate in the Assembly, social recognition of the women and their families (the communities' appreciation for the women and their families's humanitarian, meritorious and professional services and as well as their social, economic and political standing in their respective communities) as well as the positive geo-social setting's perception of the women's social image (married status, elderly and experienced and/or well educated formally).

The NFE programmes also positively enhanced the women's abilities to participate in the various levels and processes of local governance. though with varied significance. The study shows particularly a significant positive correlation or relationship between the influence of the NFE programmes and the abilities of the women to campaign effectively and to mobilise funds, while that of their abilities to contest the Assembly elections and to participate actively in policy decisions in the Assembly was not significant, though positive. Again, over 80% ($r^2=84\%$) of the women's abilities to campaign effectively was associated to the influence of the NFE programmes they had, while that of the women's abilities to contest, to mobilise funds and to participate actively in policy decisions in the assembly was less than

5% ($r^2 < 5\%$). This notwithstanding, is a positive indication that the NFE programmes had enhanced to a large extent the 2010 cohort of Assembly women's abilities to participate in local level governance processes and as Assembly members in Northern Ghana.

The influence of the NFE programmes on the assembly women's level of participation in the assembly's business was assessed generally as "being involved" that is actively engaged and participating in the decisions, operations and discussions of the assembly's business, though observed to have been hampered by the negative influence of their male members' dominance in the Assembly, negative influence of partisan politics, negative effect of their irregular attendance to assembly sessions and by their individual inadequacies such as lack of competence in English and in some technical issues among others.

This notwithstanding, the NFE programmes clearly empowered the women cognitively, psychologically, economically and politically which particularly enhanced their personal, interpersonal and political consciousness and abilities to participate in local level governance as Assembly members and in the Assembly's business.

This outcome clearly is a positive indication that NFE, if well packaged, managed and delivered with the consideration of the respective geo-socio-cultural practices and beliefs, economic and political factors of the women, has a great potential and power to enhance and promote females' participation in local governance as assembly members particularly in Northern sector of Ghana.

All in all, it can be concluded that to a significant extent the NFE programmes the women had were very relevant and necessary but not sufficient in the empowerment and enhancement of the 2010 cohort of Assembly women's participation in local level

governance in Northern sector of Ghana without the enhancement of the influence of the NFE by the woman's personal interest to participate, social recognition and positive geo-social setting's perception of the women's social image. This clearly has real implications for adult education practice and theory.

6.5 Contribution to Knowledge

One of the main contributions of this work to the body of knowledge is its implication for adult education practice and theory.

The framework for Women Empowerment and Political Participation, particularly as Assembly members in Northern Ghana as developed based on the empirical evidence of the study brings to the philosophy of Freire's Concept of Conscientisation and the scope of NFE as empowering strategic tool additional matrix of variables to be considered by adult educators in planning, designing and delivering more effective NFE programmes for more influence on women's participation in local level politics in Northern Ghana as Assembly members.

The practical implication of the study is that it has also somewhat added to the matrix of variables that adult educators, political parties and NGOs who are into promoting and sponsoring women's participation in local level politics should know and use as pointers and guide for selecting and sponsoring an acceptable and potential winnable woman candidate particularly in Northern Ghana.

The theoretical implication of this work is that Freire's concept of conscientisation is found to be necessary and relevant but not sufficient as a framework for the empowerment of

women's participation in local politics and governance in all social settings particularly as assembly members in the Northern sector of Ghana. This calls for modification or expansion of the scope beyond its default focus on empowering only the "oppressed" to the neglect of the "oppressors" to include educating and conscientising the "oppressors" - the custodians of the socio-cultural and religious beliefs and practices (e.g chiefs/traditional leaders, opinion leaders, religious leaders etc) that often undermine the influence of women empowerment education interventions like NFE programmes on their participation.

6.6 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, these recommendations are made for adult education and related institutions, for knowledge - and practice, as well as for further research.

6.6.1. For Institutions

To overcome the limitation of the socio-cultural and religious beliefs and practices on the influence of the NFE programmes on women's participation in politics in Northern Ghana, government and adult education institutions including international donor agencies and organisations should always organise NFE programmes alongside that of the women's empowering NFE programmes to educate and conscientise the custodians of the oppressive socio-cultural and religious beliefs and practices to accept women as equal partners with equal rights, and capable.

To overcome the women's poor attendance and participation of assembly women occasioned by opposition of their workplace superiors or employers, male chauvinism and partisan politics, the government should resource and task the NCCE, Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development and Institute of Local Government studies to embark on an all-time intensive and aggressive public education campaign and sensitization workshops for the general public particularly workplace education on the rights and importance of assembly members particularly women assembly members' active participation in the assembly sessions and businesses.

To enhance, consolidate and sustain the positive influences of NFE programmes on women's participation in politics, NFE for women empowerment should be viewed as a major development strategic policy and be made a responsibility of a specialized and autonomous agency or institution by government.

For enhanced competences of women assembly members for effective and active participation in the assembly's business, the government should legislate and facilitate all Assemblies to institute education and training departments within and resourced to regularly educate, train and update the women on the procedural and technical issues of the Assembly's business.

6.6.2. Development of Knowledge

To enhance the influence as well as the sufficiency of NFE programmes and the application of the philosophy of Freire's concept of conscientisation as a framework for empowering women in all social settings particularly in Northern Ghana to participate in local politics as Assembly members, it is recommended that in addition to the tenets of raising awareness and awakening critical consciousness and building skills of the "oppressed" (women), the influence of the geo- socio-cultural practices and beliefs dynamics and peculiarities of the area in question should be considered by adult educators and government in packaging and delivering NFE programmes in Northern Ghana.

6.6.3. For Further Research

The study further recommends these areas for further research.

- i. It is recommended that a study be conducted using same research objectives and questions of this study on a larger scale to cover all assemblies in Ghana on the extent NFE programmes have enhanced women's participation as assembly members.
- ii. A comparative study of the impact of NFE interventions of international agencies, government institutions and women organisations on women's participation in local governance as assembly members in northern Ghana.

- iii. A critical assessment of the impact of NFE programmes of NGOs operating in Northern sector of Ghana on women's participation in politics as assembly members (Parliamentary members).
- iv. Assessment of the factors militating against the impact of NFE programmes on the participation of women of Northern Ghana in local governance as assembly members.

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APPENDIX 1

**SCHOOL OF CONTINUING AND DISTANCE EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON**

Topic: Non-Formal Education and District Assembly Women’s Participation in Local Governance in Northern Sector of Ghana.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Tick the appropriate Data collection method used or applicable for the Assembly Women.:

Drop and pick Later [1]

Structured Interview with the questionnaire [2]

Introduction: The survey is intended to collect data or the opinions of the Assembly women members on the influence of non-formal education and training programmes that they have had on their participation in local governance as Assembly members. The study is purely academic, a PhD thesis, and participants are assured of confidentiality of the information given. Participants are volunteers and can withdraw as and when desired.

NOTE: Non- Formal Education here refers to education and training activities such as workshops, seminars, conferences, advocacy, public and civic education programmes.

Please, do respond to the questions as objectively as possible by ticking () or writing in the space provided.

Name of District/ Municipal/Metropolis

.....

Section A. Socio –Demographic Characteristics

1. Membership Status; a) Elected [1] b) Appointed [2]

2. Educational Background

- a) Formal Education [1]
- b) Primary Education [2]
- c) JHS/ Middle School Education [3]
- d) Secondary Education [4]
- e) Post-Secondary (Nurse, Teacher etc) [5]
- f) Tertiary (polytechnic, University) [6]

3. Age Range (years)

- a) 20-30 [1]
- b) 31-55 [2]
- c) 56 + [3]

4. Marital Status

- a) Married [1]
- b) Single [2]
- c) Divorced/Separated [3]
- d) Widowed [4]

5. Religious Background

- a) Christianity [1]
- b) Islam [2]
- c) African Tradition [3]
- d) Others specify..... [4]

6. Occupational Status

- a) Civil/Public service [1]
- b) Farming [2]
- c) Business, /Trading [3]
- d) Nursing/Medical Practitioner [4]
- e) Politician [5]

Others, specify.....

Section B. The Assembly Women’s Experience of the Non-Formal Education (NFE) Programmes

7. Have you ever participated in any Non-Formal Education and Training Programme on gender/women empowerment issues?

- a) Yes [1] b) No [2]

8. If Yes, to Question 7. Name the organizations, agencies and institutions that provided you with the NFE and training programme(s)?

- i.....
-
- ii.....
-
- iii.....
-
- iv.....
-

The Non-Formal Education Forms/Platforms (NFE) that enabled the women to participate in Local Governance as Assembly members.

Please indicate below the form (s) by which you acquired the NFE and training that enabled you to become an assembly member.

No	Form /Platform by which the woman acquired the NFE and training	Yes (1)	No (2)
9	Workshop		
10.	Seminar		
11.	Conference		
12.	Refresher Course		
13.	Advocacy		
14	Public/Civic Education		

15. Please, state the relevant areas to you that the NFE and training programmes you had covered in terms of your participation in local level governance as an assembly woman.

- i).....
- ii).....
- iii).....
- iv).....
- v).....

Section C. The Empowerment Skills and Knowledge the Women Acquired from the Non-Formal Education and Training Programmes

Please indicate in the Table below, the type of empowerment skills and knowledge you acquired from the Non-Formal Education and training programmes you had that enhanced your participation as a woman Assembly member.

No	EMPOWERMENT KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS ACQUIRED	Yes	No
A	PERSONAL EMPOWERMENT CONSTRUCTS	1	2
16	Self-Awareness of women's condition of subordination		
17	New knowledge about women's rights		
18	Development of feelings that women can improve their conditions		
19	Self-confidence		
20	Self-esteem/ respect		
21	Self-efficiency		
22	Income generation skills (economic empowerment)		
23	Time management		
B	INTERPERSONAL EMPOWERMENT CONSTRUCTS		
24	Ability to gain Peer support		
25	Ability to gain spousal support		
26	Ability to gain family support		
27	Ability to gain community support		
28	Ability to work with others effectively		
29	Ability to tackle and solve problems		
C	POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT CONSTRUCTS		
30	Organization and mobilization skills		
31	Development of abilities and feelings for social change		
32	Political campaign techniques and skills		
33	Development of public speaking skills and techniques		
34	Development of Lobbying skills and abilities		
35	Conflict management skills		
36	Leadership skills		
37	Development of the need for social change		
38	Legal literacy and awareness		

39. Do you think the skills and knowledge you have acquired from the NFE and training programmes have contributed to your participation in the Assembly as a woman Assembly member? Yes [1] b) No [2]

If Yes to Question 39, please indicate in the Table below, which area or areas that your acquired knowledge and skills from the NFE programmes enabled you to do.

No	Identified NFE Enabled Areas of participation	Yes	No
40	Abilities to contest the assembly elections	1	2
41	Abilities to mobilise funds for the assembly elections activities		
42	Abilities to campaign effectively		
43	Abilities to participate actively in policy decisions in the assembly		

44. In which ways do you think the skills and knowledge you acquired from the NFE programmes have influenced/enabled you to do the following?

(i) To contest the Assembly elections?

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(ii) To campaign effectively as a woman during the assembly elections?

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(iii) To mobilize funds for the assembly elections activities?

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.....

(iv) To participate actively in policy decisions in the Assembly?

.....

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.....

.....

.....

45. Do you think the influence of the NFE programmes (skills and knowledge acquired) on your participation in local level governance as an assembly member was also enhanced by other factors?

Yes [1] No [2]

46. If Yes to Question 45, please state in your opinion what constitute these factors that have enhanced the influence of your acquired abilities from the NFE programmes on your participation in local level governance as an assembly member?

- i).....
.....
.....
- ii).....
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.....
- iii).....
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.....

Section D. Influence of NFE Programmes on the Women’s Level of Participation in the Assembly’s Business

47. In which of the following Sub-Committees do you serve currently as a NFE empowered Assembly member?

- a) Social services [1]
- b) Development planning [2]
- c) Justice & security [3]
- d) Finance & administration [4]
- e) Works sub-committee [5]
- f) Gender, children & social protection [6]
- g) Executive committee [7]
- h) Agriculture committee [8]
- i) Health & Environment [9]
- j) Education [10]
- k) Water & Sanitation [11]

48. Are you playing any leadership role in the assembly as an empowered woman?

a) Yes [1] b) No [2]

49. If yes to Question 48, which of the following leadership positions/roles do you play in the Assembly as an empowered woman?

- a) Chairperson of a sub-committee [1]. Presiding Member (PM) of the assembly [2]

Please indicate in the Table below the sub-committee that you serve as a chairperson. Tick [√] to indicate the one applicable to you.

No	Sub-committee	Chairperson
50.	Social service sub-committee	Tick (√)
51	Development planning sub-committee	
52.	Justice & security sub-committee	
53.	Finance & administration sub-committee	
54.	Works sub-committee	
55	Gender, children & social protection sub-committee	
56.	Executive sub-committee	
57.	Agricultural sub-committee	
58.	Health & environment sub-committee	
59	Education sub-committee	
60.	Water & sanitation sub-committee	

Assessment of the Influence of NFE Programmes on the Women’s Levels of Participation in the Assembly’s Business.

Please indicate in the Table below your level of participation is in the respective assembly’s businesses that you think was enabled by your acquired abilities from the NFE programmes you had.

No	Policy Decision Areas in the Assembly	Levels of Participation		
		Being Present (in Attendance) (1)	Being involved (2)	Being in control (3)
61	Planning the Assembly programmes and projects			
62	Taking decisions to implement the programmes and projects			
63	Evaluation and monitoring of programmes and projects			
64	Decisions on distribution and allocation of resources/projects and expenditures on programmes			
65	Participation in budget preparation			
66	Supervision and monitoring of projects and programmes			

67. In your opinion, what do you think are the factors that limited the influence of your acquired abilities from the NFE programmes on your participation in the assembly's business in the Assembly as a woman member? State what these factors constitute.

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Thank you

APPENDIX 2

University of Ghana Learning Centre

University of Ghana

P.O. Box 63

Sunyani/Brong Ahafo. *Email: mnamoog2009@yahoo.com/0244 220988*

15th January, 2014.

Dear Sir/Madam,

PERMISSION TO COLLECT DATA FROM YOUR ASSEMBLY WOMEN

As discussed on the above subject, I write to officially ask of permission, approval as well as your assistance to commence the data collection with your Honourable Assembly Women for my PhD Thesis. The views of the assembly women are intended to assist the study assess the extent to which the NFE programmes such as workshops, seminars, conferences, advocacy and public education among others have contributed to their participation in the assembly as assembly members. The views and opinions elicited would be treated with the utmost confidentiality they deserve. The Assembly women respondents are volunteers and could withdraw from the research as and when desired.

I count very much on your good offices for a favourable and expedite response.

Thank you in advance.

Yours faithfully,

Moses Yinkorah Namoog.

Student ID: 10097267

Distribution

All The Presiding Members: Assmblies of the Upper East, Upper West and Brong Ahafo Regions,

All The Coordinating Directors: The Upper East, Upper West and Brong Ahafo Regions