



University of Bergen

Department of Administration and Organization Theory.

TOPIC:

**THE CHALLENGES OF WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE:
THE CASE OF ACCRA AND TAMALE METROPOLITAN ASSEMBLIES.**

MPHIL. THESIS

PRESENTED BY

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THIS THESIS WAS WRITTEN IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR MPHIL IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION DEGREE. NEITHER THE INSTITUTION, NOR THE ADVISOR IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE THEORIES AND METHODS USED, OR THE RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS DRAWN, THROUGH THE APPROVAL OF THE THESIS.

Abstract

The woman in Ghana hews the wood, carries the water, satisfies the man, produces and takes care of the child to continue the family tree and manages all house chores. All these are justifications that she can be put in a position of trust and responsibility since society treasures the valuable services she provides. Embarrassingly, she is absent when it comes to the area of representing her locality or community to make decisions in the local council. Is she only good in family management and not that of the larger community where the man she serves has an almost automatic and comfortable position? There is no denying the fact that democracy is appreciated all over the world because of the opportunity it provides for the participation of various interest groups in the management of societal affairs. It is reasonable to argue, therefore, that participation in decision making will be severely hindered when a good number of females are not elected or appointed into the local assemblies.

Indeed, there is truly a large constituency of women out there who are largely unrepresented and, therefore, have no idea how governance is conducted even around them. This is unfair especially in jurisdictions where women are clearly in the majority. It's impermissible that some assemblies in Ghana have over a decade recorded only a single elected female member against too many males. As a result, this study seeks to explore the issue of women representation in Ghana through a comparison of two assemblies using qualitative data and statistics of female councilors from 1994 to 2006 in order to assess the factors that may be accountable for their small numbers as compared to their male counterparts.

Various theories bordering on recruitment like the 'individual supply and demand theory', Prewitt's Chinese box puzzle and Norris' assessment of individual and institutional factors influencing recruitments would be employed. Variables including ambition, motivation, individual financial resources, gender, education, quotas, membership in organizations and family status or background that have the potential of impacting on recruitment of councilors will be assessed. How these variables mentioned above will specifically affect both male and female recruitments into assemblies of the two metropolitan areas located in opposite parts of the country (Ghana) would be explored. The two metropolitan areas within which the assemblies are situated have significant socio-economic and cultural differences and it would be interesting to see the extent to which these differences play out in the election and appointments of both male and female councilors into the local councils or assemblies.

Dedication

I wish to dedicate this work to all members of my family especially my mother (Naama), father, late sister (Azimi), my brother (Shaibu) and my younger sister (Alima) for their extraordinary support for me throughout my education. I also wish to dedicate this work to Raliatu, Mariama and Baba (uncle) for their prayers and goodwill.

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ACRONYMS

A. M. A.	Accra Metropolitan Assembly
T. M. A.	Tamale Metropolitan Assembly
P. N. D. C.	Provisional National Defense Council
M. M. D. A. s	Metropolitan Municipal District Assemblies
N. D. C.	National Democratic Congress
N. P. P.	New Patriotic Party
R. C. C.	Regional Co-ordinating Council
D. A.	District Assembly
M. A.	Metropolitan Assembly
N. A. L. A. G.	National Association of Local Authorities
G. H. C.	Ghana Cedis
U. S.	United States
G. L. S. S.	Ghana Living Standard Survey
U. C.	Unit Committees
M. P. A.	Master of Public Administration
G. A.	Greater Accra
N. R.	Northern Region
E. C.	Electoral Commission
N. P. H. C.	National Population and Housing Census
B. B. C.	British Broadcasting Corporation
N. L. C.	National Liberation Council
C. P. P.	Convention People Party
P. P.	Progress Party
N. R. C.	National Redemption Council
P. N. P.	Peoples' National Party
U. G. C. C.	United Gold Coast Convention
G. W. L.	Ghana Women's League
N. F. G. C. W.	National Federation of Gold Coast Women

N. L. M.	National Liberation Movement
S. M. C.	Supreme Military Council
D. C. E.	District Chief Executive
D. S.	District Secretary
D. W. M.	31 st December Women's Movement
H. I. P. C.	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
D. A. C. F.	District Assembly Common Fund
M. L. G. R. D.	Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development
M. O. W. A. C.	Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs
L. I.s	Legislative Instruments
S. M. D. C.s	Sub-Metropolitan District Councils
A. F. R. C.	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
N. A.	Native Authority
G. S. S.	Ghana Statistical Service
P. M.	Presiding Member
F. I. D. A.	International Federation of Women Lawyers
C. D.	Chief Director
P. R. O.	Public Relations Officer
N. G. O.s	Non-governmental Organisations
G. N. A. T.	Ghana National Association of Teachers
G. J. A.	Ghana Journalist Association
M. Y. W. O	Maeneleo Ya Wanawake Organisation
N. D. P. C.	National Development Planning Commission

LIST OF FIGURES

PAGE

Figure 1: Norris' Institutional and Individual Recruitment Processes	12
Figure 2: Prewitt's Chinese Box Puzzle	15
Figure 3: Individual Supply and Demand Theory	19
Figure 4: Diagram on Dependent and Independent Variables	28

Figure 5: Administrative Structure of Local Governance in Ghana	40
Figure 6: Local Government Structure	41
Figure 7: Map Showing Tamale and Accra	59
Figure 8: Chart on Elected Females from both Assemblies	84

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: List of Targeted Interviewees	62
Table 2: Members of Accra Metropolitan Assembly	80
Table 3: Members of Tamale Metropolitan Assembly	81
Table 4: Male and Female Committee Members	82
Table 5: Level of Motivation	93
Table 6: Influence of Social Status	96
Table 7: Influence of Education	97
Table 8: Influence of Financial Resources	99
Table 9: Level of Education of Members in Accra	104
Table 10: Level of Education of Members in Tamale	105
Table 11: Membership in Organisations	108
Table 12: Impact of Membership in Organisations	108
Table 13: Institution of Quotas	111
Table 14: Religious Beliefs and Confinement to Domestic Responsibility	113
Table 15: Influence of Gender	115
Table 16: Ranking of Variables	118
Table 17: Impact of socio-economic variables	122

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY.....	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Statement of the Research Problem	2
1.3 Research Objectives and Questions	4
1.4 Significance of the Study	5
1.5 Scope or Organization of the Work	7
1.6 Conclusion	7
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ...	8
2.0 Introduction	8
2.1 Recruitment Models/Theories	8
2.1.1 Norris’s Institutional and Individual Framework:	9
2.1.2 Prewitt’s Demonstration of Recruitment by Use of the Chinese Box Puzzle:.....	13
2.1.3 The ‘Individual Supply and Demand’ Recruitment Model	16
2.2 The Dependent Variable	21
2.3 The Independent Variables	22
2.3.1 Social Variables.....	22
2.3.2 Economic Variables	23
2.3.3 Political/Institutional Variables.....	25
2.3.4 Cultural Variables.....	26
2.4 Conclusion	28
CHAPTER THREE: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN GHANA	29
3.0 Introduction	29
3.1 History of Local Governance in Ghana	29
3.1.1 Local Governance in the Pre and Immediate Post-Independence Era (1952-1969)..	31
3.1.2 The Progress Party Era under Busia	32
3.1.3 The PNDC Era under Flt. Lieutenant J.J. Rawlings.....	33
3.1.4 The National Democratic Congress Era (NDC)	35
3.1.5 The New Patriotic Party Era (NPP)	36

3.2 Structure of Ghana’s Local Government System	38
3.2.1 The Regional Co-Ordinating Council	42
3.2.2 Functions of the Regional Co-Ordinating Council	42
3.2.3 The Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies	43
3.2.4 Functions of the District Assembly	43
3.2.5 The Urban Councils	44
3.2.6 Zonal Councils	45
3.2.7 Town/Area Councils	45
3.2.8 Unit Committees	45
3.3 Who Is Eligible.....	46
3.3.1 Nominations	46
3.3.2 Campaigns	47
3.4 Relationship between Elected and Appointed Members and the Electorate	47
3.4.1 Accountability	47
3.5 Profile of the Two Assemblies	48
3.6 Profile of the Greater Accra Metropolitan Assembly (A.M.A.)	49
3.6.1 History	49
3.6.2 Indigenous People of Accra	50
3.6.3 Population	51
3.6.4 Geography	51
3.7 Profile of the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly (T.M.A.)	52
3.7.1 History	52
3.7.2 Population	52
3.7.3 Location	53
3.7.4 Vision and Mission of the Assembly	53
3.8 Conclusion	54
CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	55
4.0 Introduction	55
4.1 Methodology	55
4.2 Why I Chose the Tamale and Accra Metropolitan Assemblies	56

4.3 Sources of Data	60
4.3.1 Discussion of the Sources of Data	60
4.3.2 Interviews	60
4.3.3 Why the Selected Interviewees	62
4.3.4 Sampling of Interviewees	63
4.3.5 Documents	64
4.3.6 Archival Records	65
4.3.7 Direct Observation	65
4.4 Positive Experiences of the Data Collection	67
4.5 Challenges of the Data Collection	68
4.6 What Was Expected.....	70
4.7 What Was Unusual	71
4.8 Ethical Issues	74
4.8.1 Interpretation/Analysis	75
4.8.2 Validity and Reliability	75
4.8.3 Construct Validity	75
4.8.4 Internal Validity	76
4.8.5 External Validity	76
4.8.6 Reliability	77
4.9 Conclusion	78
CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION	79
5.0 Introduction	79
5.1 The Accra Metropolitan Assembly (A. M. A.)	79
5.2 The Tamale Metropolitan Assembly (T. M. A.)	80
5.3 Comparison of the Membership of the Two Assemblies	83
5.4 Some General Views of Officials on Women.	85
5.4.1 Views of Gender Desk Officers in the Two Assemblies	85
5.4.2 Views of the Regional and Local Government Ministers	86
5.4.3 Views of Presiding Members.....	89
5.5. Summary of Views by Officials.....	90
5.6 Analysis and Implications of Data on Theory	91
5.6.1 Resources and Motivation	91
5.6.2 Social Factors	93
5.6.3 Impact of Social Status/Family Background on Recruitments.	94
5.6.4 Elected Members	94

5.6.5 Appointed and Defeated Assembly Members	95
5.6.6 Economic Factors	97
5.6.7 Role of Financial Resources on Elections	98
5.6.8 Relationship between the Appointees and Financial Resources	100
5.6.9 Relationship between the Appointees and Education	102
5.7. Political Variables (Membership in Organisations and the Institution of Quotas).....	106
5.7.1 Views of Interviewees on Membership in Organisations	106
5.7.2 Discussion of Quotas	109
5.7.3 Views of Interviewees on the Institution of Quotas	109
5.7.4 Cultural Factors	111
5.7.5 Views on Gender	114
5.7.6 Ranking Some Independent Variables In Relation To the Theory	116
5.7.7 Impact of Differences in Socio-Economic and Cultural Factors Between Accra and the Tamale Metropolitan Assemblies	119
5.8 Conclusion	123
CHAPTER SIX: OVERVIEW OF METHODS, FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	124
6.0 Introduction	124
6.1 Implications of Findings on Objectives and Research Questions	124
6.2 Overview of Methods, Major Findings, Factors and Theory.....	126
6.2.1 Methods	126
6.2.2 Findings	127
6.2.3 Factors.....	127
6.2.4 Theory.....	128
6.3 Emerging Issues and Importance of Findings to Existing and Future Studies	130
6.4 General Recommendations on How to Improve Women Participation in Local Governance	132
6.4.1 Political Recommendations	133
6.4.2 Economic Recommendations	134
6.4.3 Social Recommendations	135
6.5 Conclusion	136

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION:

This chapter covers the background, statement of the research problem, statement of objectives and research questions, significance of the study and organization or scope of the work. The background is on women representation in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (A. M. A.) and the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly (T. M. A.) respectively. The research problem looks into the issue of lower female numbers in these two assemblies relative to their male counterparts. The objectives and research questions make an attempt to raise questions of lower numbers of females in the assemblies and why; as well as the differences in participation between females of the two areas and why? The relevance of this study in relationship with other studies (for example, Amanfo and Crook & Manor), theories (recruitment theories by Prewitt and Leduc et' al)) and possibly an opportunity for further understanding of the local government processes in Ghana with a view to enriching studies in the field would be explored. The organization of the work is done in six chapters covering the problem under study, literature review and theories, methodology, data analysis and finally, conclusion and recommendations.

1.1 BACKGROUND:

Ghana, like other developing countries, has been engaged in efforts to develop participatory governance at the local level for a long time. Pike et' al suggest that '... much of experimentation with these new forms of participatory government appears to be taking place at the local level, where questions about the quality of development seem pressing' (Pike et' al, 2006:150). Even though decentralization started before independence, the Provisional National Defence Council (P.N.D.C.) Law 207 established Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs) in Ghana all of which now add up to about one hundred and seventy (170). In fact, the New Patriotic Party (N.P.P.) Government undertook a re-demarcation exercise that resulted in sixty (60) new assemblies which were added to the already one hundred and ten (110) to make up the one hundred and seventy (170) assemblies Ghana presently has (N.P.P. manifesto, 2008:2). Seventy (70) per cent of the membership of the assemblies is elective whilst the remaining thirty (30) per cent is through appointment by the President of Ghana. Ghana's four-tier local government structure includes the Regional, Metropolitan, Sub-Metropolitan and Town/Area Councils. Assemblies are metropolitan if

they have a population of over 250,000, municipal if they are 95000 or over and district if they are 75000 and above.

Participation occurs at both the national and sub-national levels as the constitution of Ghana requires (Ofei-Aboagye cited in Agyeman-Duah, 2008:234-243). If for nothing at all, the citizen's participation in local governance processes provides them with the opportunity to contribute their quota to national and local development initiatives in addition to the space it provides them to adapt policies to suit their local needs, aspirations and expectations (ibid). However, the problems relating to how people get into the assemblies are equally real and more compelling. If the intention behind effective local governance is increased participation and involvement of the people in matters affecting their lives then, all dominant sections of the society must meaningfully get involved in the process of representation. Why is it that both elected and appointed women are less than a third in the assemblies? Indeed, to boost female numbers, suggestions have been made by civil society through the print and electronic media that at least half of the thirty (30) per cent of government appointees to the assemblies should be women as a way of reducing the disparity (between males and females) which would be highlighted in the research problem below.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

From the background, it can be said that there is under-representation of females in the assemblies in Ghana in general. However, I have chosen to deal with two assemblies in detail. As a result of the victory of the New Patriotic Party (N.P.P.) in the 2000 elections which had changed the balance of power in Ghana nationwide, 'FM radio phone-in opportunities' and 'tremendous advocacy and capacity building effort particularly to promote women's participation', 'women's candidature in 2002 rose to 965 as compared to 547 and 384 in 1998 and 1994 respectively. Women's election as assembly members also increased to 341 (7.4 % of elected assembly members) as compared to 188 (5%) and 124 (2.9%) in 1998 and 1994 respectively' (Ofei-Aboagye cited in Agyeman-Duah, 2008:245). Nonetheless, women participation in politics is still 'both a problem and a puzzle'. A problem because of their low participation and a puzzle because of the factors involved (Darcy et' al, 1987:3). This is particularly worrisome especially when one observes that in 2006 there was a reduction in the number of both appointed and elected female members from eleven (11) to six (6) in the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly. But why is it that even only the elected female members in

Accra (12) are more than both elected and appointed women in the assembly in Tamale? Indeed, both elected and appointed female members in Tamale are six (6) whilst Accra has twenty three (23) female members in the assembly. Yet, women in Accra are also only about twenty two (22%) per cent in the one hundred and four (104) member Accra Metropolitan Assembly whilst the remaining seventy eight (78%) per cent are males. Comparatively, females are about eight (8%) per cent of the seventy eight (78) member Tamale assembly with the remaining ninety two (92%) per cent being male. So, why is there an overwhelming dominance by males in both assemblies? Secondly, why are female members in Tamale only about a third of their counterparts in Accra?

Crook & Manor (1998:267) made an assertion that the election of members into the local area assemblies disproportionately favour the wealthy and better educated at the expense of 'the poor and the unschooled' in Ghana. Note though, that in Ghana, women of the south have better socio-economic conditions than their counterparts in the north which may have different implications in their attempt to get elected into the local assemblies (ibid). However, the situation in the south, though better, may not also be satisfactory especially if politics is supposed to be ahead of society where norms are expected to apply more progressively to women participants as well as others of the larger society (Hyden, 2006:177). Kelber (1994: 17), argues: 'It is self-evident that if economic and social status of women is to be raised and prevailing inequities overcome, women's access to and inclusion in the policy – and decision-making bodies and institutions that shape our societies must be broadened and strengthened'. But in order to enhance participation at all levels, Ghana's decentralized structure covers regional, metropolitan/municipal/district, sub-metropolitan council, town/area/zonal/urban councils and unit committees where citizens are delegated with authority to make decisions. This may be similar to Dahl's view that responsibility is sometimes given to people with 'discretionary authority over decisions of extraordinary importance' to be made for their localities (Dahl cited in Pike et' al, 2006:148). It is the comprehensive nature of the 1988 local government reform which made it more acceptable than earlier policy and reform initiatives. Appointed or elected members of the assemblies make decisions on development and issues affecting women and children in the localities. But the situation where males dominate the assemblies and female councilors in Accra are three times more than their counterparts in Tamale may be worth studying as the objectives and research questions of the study would highlight.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

This work has four (4) major objectives and poses a research question under each of the objectives outlined. The objectives are:

1. To find out the extent to which women are successful in local government elections in Ghana. It will be noted that the male dominates women in all aspects of national political life. Considering the male dominance at the national level, one would think that the local level would be a place to balance the inequity especially as Darcy et' al (1987:8-9) justify the suitability of women for local level positions on the basis of time, privacy and concern for the poor. Surprisingly, women's participation in politics at the local level may even be worse than that of the national level considering the small number of women involved in local government elections. *Question:* So, why do fewer women than men contest in local government assembly elections?
2. To examine the number of females appointed to the various assemblies since thirty (30) per cent of the assembly's membership is via appointment. Females over the years have struggled to get at least fifty (50) per cent of the appointed members to make up for the huge imbalance among the elected members. But this has not been possible as various governments have consistently appointed more males than females. *Question:* So, why have fewer females been appointed to the assemblies than their male counterparts?
3. To find out differences in terms of numbers of the female members/councilors in Accra and their counterparts in Tamale. This is important especially when viewed against the backdrop that there are twenty three (23) female members in the assembly in Accra and only six (6) in the Tamale assembly respectively. 'In the north, women participated hardly at all in any of the activities.... In the south, women did participate in meetings (particularly the Unit Committees) but rarely engaged in contacting activities' (Crook & Manor 1998:267). *Question:* How does female participation (appointed and elected female councilors) in the Accra and the Tamale metropolitan assemblies compare with each other?
4. To find out what factors may be inhibiting or facilitating female's election or appointment into their respective assemblies taking into consideration the differences in socio-economic and politico-cultural factors prevalent in the north

and the south of Ghana respectively. *Question*: How do socio-economic and politico-cultural factors contribute to the election or appointment of either more females or few females into local government assemblies?

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Over the years, there have been a number of efforts and programmes to enhance women's participation in local politics especially in the developing world. Ghana has not been an exception owing to the numerous advocacy and capacity building activities that have been tailored towards improving females' participation. But as a matter of fact, we need to first know what the true conditions of women in local areas or the sub-national levels are before any meaningful interventions could be made. In the words of Hyden, '...most women in Africa still live and work in conditions under which they are treated as mere instruments of production and social reproduction. Their status and rights are in many respects even more marginalized than women elsewhere in the world who, even if they are subordinated to patriarchy, suffer it largely within the confines of household' (Hyden, 2006:182). This may not be the entire predicament facing women. Since we cannot know without finding out, I believe a study of this nature may explore other issues about women representation, offer some clues and shed more light on the subject matter.

Besides, there has been an overconcentration on women as a whole without regard to the special problems that are peculiar to women from different parts of the country. We may not get a truer picture about the issue of women participation if we put all of them in one 'big pot' and treat them as though their circumstances were exactly the same. Perhaps, we could appreciate the different situations of women in Ghana by an assessment of George Orwell's popular statement about all animals being equal even though some are more equal than others. That is why this work will be looking into the issue of women participation in both the Northern and Southern parts of Ghana with a view to finding differences through comparisons and the reasons underlying the differences regarding the number of women in the assemblies. In terms of contributions to other studies, this work may add some positive contributions to Amanfo's study which compared two assemblies in only the Southern part of Ghana (Amanfo, 2003:8). This study looks at both the Southern and the Northern parts of the country as did Crook and Manor (Crook & Manor, 1998:276).

Similarly, both Amanfo (Amanfo, 2003:17) and Kyohairwe have used Prewitt's Chinese Box Puzzle and Norris' institutional and individual frameworks as the theoretical basis of their works. Admittedly, they have analyzed these theories and their implications on their work and have made their own assumptions and conclusions on those theories contributing to the subject matter. I intend to add the 'individual supply and demand' theory or model to the two theories already used by Amanfo and Kyohairwe. Presumably, this may help enrich the discourse on participation and representation as well as the interplay between electoral theories or institutional variables and individual or personal qualities that could potentially facilitate or have implications on candidacies of both males and females.

Better still, the rudiments and fundamentals of local politics in general are learnt from the grassroots which may serve as a nursing ground for the development of national politicians. Therefore, if we genuinely want to see more women in politics, then the local level will be a more fertile ground and appropriate starting point. More importantly, the study has a potential of simultaneously assessing the feasibility and progress of decentralization processes and women's attitude towards local governance in Ghana. Women without doubt form a significant proportion of the population in the hinterland and if proper meaning is to be given to the adage of 'power is exercised by the people organized from the grassroots' then, women should equally play a frontline role which will be more reflective of their numerical strength (Crook & Manor, 1998:223).

Also of importance to me is how the system of quota is used. Is it a mechanism to make sure that minorities and vulnerable members are appointed to the Assembly? If it is so, this may only be true to some extent since quotas could also be introduced with an ulterior motive as manifested in some communist states where 'communist practices of female quota selection to political office serves as an argument against introducing formal rules for female selection and representation' (Matland & Montgomery, 2003:94). Ghana is no exception because the then government agreed in 2002 that half of the assembly's appointees should be women. However, by the end of 2002, data from the National Association of Local Authorities (NALAG) showed that only ten (10%) per cent of Assemblies had met this requirement (Ofei-Aboagye cited in Agyeman-Duah:246).

Above all, I wish to establish through this research work that the search for solutions to the problem of low women participation in politics should be done with a greater deal of respect

to the varying environments or contexts of women. This is because, the facilitating or inhibiting factors may be different and therefore the measures to be used in dealing with the problems cannot be the same. It may seem logical to suppose that interventions have not created the desired or satisfactory effect because they are conceived and applied to the problems in a universal manner without regard to very unique dichotomies and peculiarities of the different areas of the country.

1.5 SCOPE OR ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK

The organization of the work is done in five chapters with chapter one covering the background of the study, statement of the research problem, objectives and research questions, significance and scope of the study. Chapter two covers a discussion of the independent variables, hypothesis and the theoretical framework. The third chapter includes a historical overview of local governance in Ghana, structure and composition of assemblies in Accra and Tamale. The fourth chapter is on the methodology of the study covering sources of data, experiences of data collection, ethical issues, validity and reliability of the study. Chapter five deals with the interpretation and analysis of the data, implications of data on the objectives and research questions, hypothesis and theory. The final chapter includes an overview of methods, findings/conclusions, emerging issues, importance of findings to existing studies and recommendations for future studies.

1.6 CONCLUSION

This first chapter highlighted the background of the study, the research problem, objectives, research questions, significance of the study and organization of the work. The background touched on local governance in general after which an effort was made to showcase the problem of female under-representation in the local assemblies in Ghana where female councilors have been overwhelmed by their male colleagues who are in the majority. The research questions and objectives raised issues about the situation and why it was the case. The chapter also looked at the relevance of the study and its organization or scope which is structured into six chapters. However, the next chapter is the second chapter which will discuss independent variables, propose hypotheses and outline the theoretical framework.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND DISCUSSION OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

2.0 INTRODUCTION:

In this chapter, Norris and Prewitt's recruitment theories has been discussed alongside Leduc et' al 'individual supply and demand theory' also based on recruitment as part of the general and individual attempts to study how recruitment processes affect candidates (both appointed and elected ones). Also, there is a discussion of the dependent and independent variables and statement of corresponding hypothesis to the independent variables. There seems to be a lot of literature on the problem of women's participation in politics in general and in local governance in particular. This chapter basically uses some of the literature on participation and local governance to discuss the independent variables. Works of Crook and Manor, Cheema & Rondinelli, Hyden, Darcy et'al, Matland and Montgomery, Ofei-Aboagye, Pike et' al among others have been employed.

2.1 RECRUITMENT MODELS/THEORIES

There are different theories bordering on recruitment of people, aspirants, candidates, officials and politicians as part of efforts to understand how individuals eventually get elected or appointed into various positions. Some of them include Norris's institutional and individual recruitment processes; Prewitt's explanation of recruitment processes using the Chinese Box Puzzle framework and Leduc et' al 'individual supply and demand' model which I hope to extensively employ for the purposes of this work. However, I wish to use the first two frameworks or models as an introduction to the theoretical analysis which may serve a dual purpose of background and also deepen our understanding about views on recruitment especially since aspects of the individual supply and demand model may fit into them.

But just as there are many theories on recruitments, there are also different viewpoints on participation which is partly the reason why recruitments are done. According to Crook and Manor 'participation is defined as citizens' active engagement with public institutions, an activity which falls into three well-defined modes: voting, election campaigning, and contacting or pressuring either individually or through group activity, including non-violent protests' (Crook & Manor, 1998:7). Similarly, 'the concept of participation centres attention

upon the ability of individuals to take part in the democratic process. At one level this may be through voting in elections, and thus influencing government and therefore the exercise of power. *At another level participation includes involvement as elected decision-makers and through being elected to take part in the democratic process of representing the local community'* (Bochel C. & Bochel H., 2000:9). Additionally, political participation can include involvement in pressure groups, political parties, voting, campaigning on behalf of particular candidates and standing for election (ibid). But the focus of this study is on the numbers of those who get recruited (elected or appointed) eventually into the assemblies as councillors in the two areas being studied. Since appointments or election into the assemblies are a form of recruitment, it is necessary for a discussion of some recruitment models to be done in order to broaden our understanding of the recruitment processes. A discussion of Norris's recruitment model is below.

2.1.1 Norris's Institutional and Individual Framework

Norris has a three-structured design from which the second and bottom phases/levels draw from the first (top) level. In other words, it is a pyramid turned upside down to show the relationships and interconnectedness between the three phases. Admittedly, we cannot effectively discuss processes of recruitment like selection, election, appointment and nomination without situating them within the *legal, electoral and party systems*. Incidentally, the first upper phase is basically made up of the political system which comprises three elements or aspects: thus, the legal system; the electoral system; and the party system (Leduc et' al, 1996:196). The first three elements would undoubtedly determine who gets elected, how and when as well as whether there will be *quotas* for perceived vulnerable groups or not. Incidentally in this study, quotas are one of the independent variables (political) that determines to a reasonable extent; who gets elected or appointed into the assembly. Mostly, quotas are employed to address inequities or imbalances and are therefore usually put in place to help minorities and the marginalized (Dahlerup, 2005, cited in Kyohairwe, 2009:133-136).

It is a known fact that there cannot be any game without rules to govern those who play it. This makes the *legal system* very essential to the recruitment process. But within the rules, various countries have different *electoral/political systems* which determine whether they use the Presidential or Westminster models to get their leadership. It could be simple majority, fifty plus one or two thirds of votes in some political jurisdictions. The political party

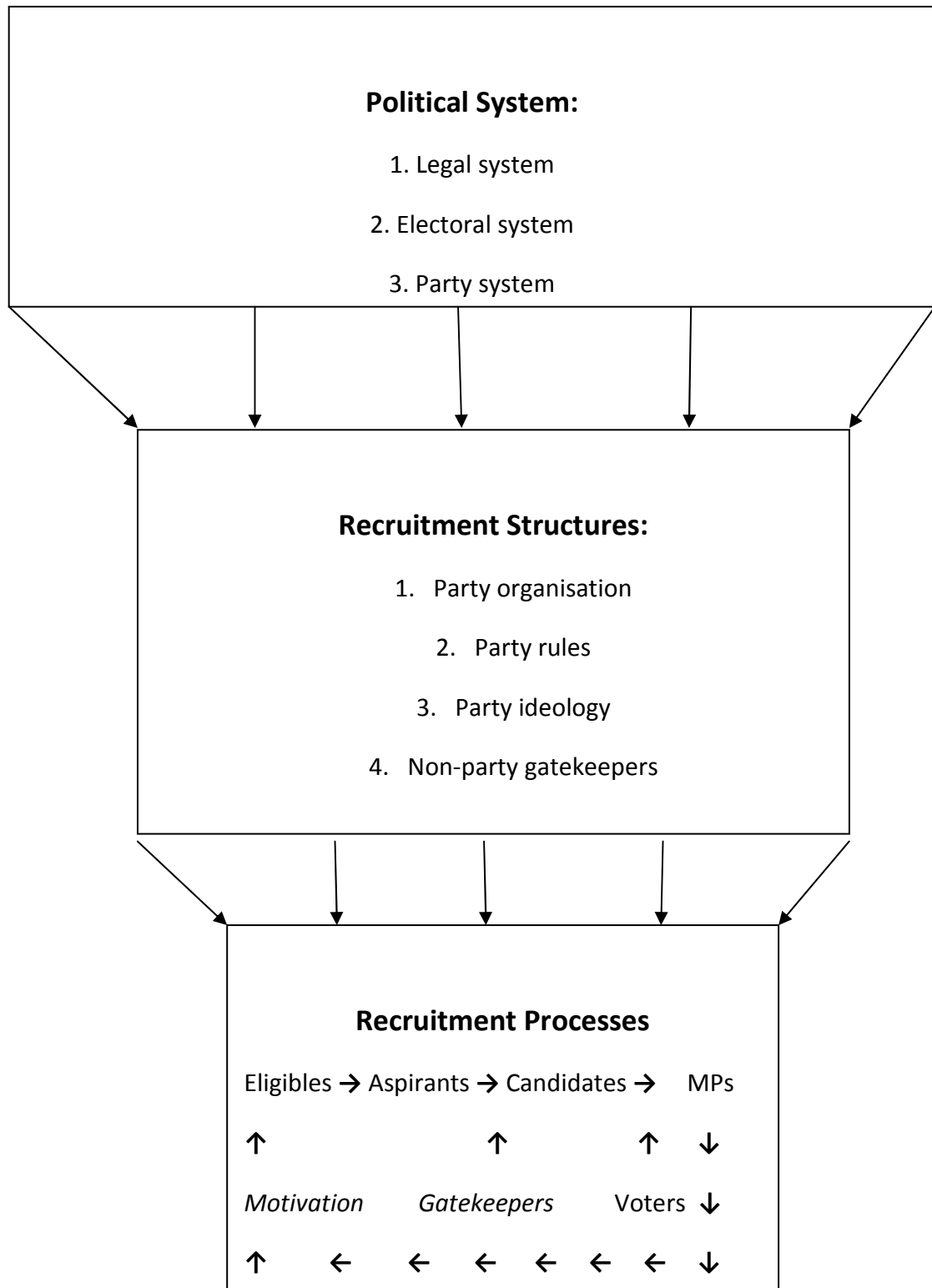
ideologies could be based on mass/catch-all, nationalist, elitist or sectarian arrangements/principles as a vanguard to mobilize members. However, *political party laws* in Ghana do not allow political party formation on the basis of religion, region, ethnicity or any such sectarian groupings as a party is by law supposed to be national in character. Interestingly, the *legal system* also defines the relationship between individuals and their *membership in organizations* which is also another independent variable (political) of the study. It is argued that membership in organizations could serve as a training ground for would-be councilors since it offers members the platform to acquire some relevant leadership skills as well as make them popular to other members and beneficiaries of the activities of their associations. Prewitt (1970:12) refers to members in organizations as apprentices on ‘apprenticeships’ for positions of responsibility.

Beneath the upper phase lies the *recruitment structure* level also comprising party organization, rules, ideology and non-party gatekeepers (Leduc et’ al, 1996:196). In fact, these aspects could be explained as covering both internal and external party mechanisms influencing most facets of recruitment in one way or the other. Further underlining the second phase is the *recruitment processes* level comprising equally most important elements of voters, gatekeepers, motivation, eligibles, aspirants, candidates and eventually Members of Parliament (ibid). Aspirants, voters and gatekeepers are key stakeholders for elected members or appointees of the President respectively. But voters and gatekeepers are important in the theory because they have their desires, values and what they look out for in the aspirants and potential councilors. They may look out for candidates with *high education, adequate financial resources, popular family or political backgrounds, certain genders or even religious/cultural beliefs* among others. Indeed, another set of independent variables of the study assesses the economic (financial resources), social (education and family status) and cultural (religious beliefs and confinement to domestic responsibilities) factors voters and gatekeepers consider. For instance, it is argued mostly that educated, rich and influential males are usually preferred in most places for recruitments into positions of decision-making (Crook & Manor, 1998:281 and Bochel & Bochel, 2000:40). But Prewitt presumably includes *motivation* in the theory because even if aspirants meet some of the requirements seen by the gatekeepers, voters and appointing authorities to be important, the aspirants would need to feel motivated in order to agree to be recruited to serve the people (op. cit).

It can be said that some of the most essential stages leading to the election of members in a political system are mentioned by Norris. These are basically, the rules of the game, electoral system as in either simple majority or representative system, party organization and management, party and non-party gate keepers, eligible's, aspirants and motivation. Indeed, party and non-party gatekeepers and motivation feature prominently in Prewitt's Chinese box puzzle and the individual supply and demand recruitment models. But Norris's framework can be argued to be specifically tailored towards the election of Parliamentarians and also relatively more institutional. This is because she specifically mentions in the third stage that all the steps and processes will lead to the election of Parliamentarians without word of other positions even though it is fair to say that nothing stops us from relating or applying her framework to other elective positions or even appointments. Notwithstanding her mention of aspirants, eligibles, candidates, gatekeepers and voters in the third stage, it could still be observed that there has not been enough explanations on the individual level and how he or she could carry through the processes and achieve what is at stake (a position). But on the other hand, it is equally plausible to contend that she provided a comprehensive framework that seeks to highlight both institutional/systemic and individual/human factors that play out during appointments, nominations, elections and selections. Norris's diagram is below.

FIGURE 1:

NORRIS'S INSTITUTIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL RECRUITMENT PROCESSES



Source: Adopted from Norris (1996)

2.1.2 Prewitt's Demonstration of Recruitment Processes by use of the Chinese Box Puzzle

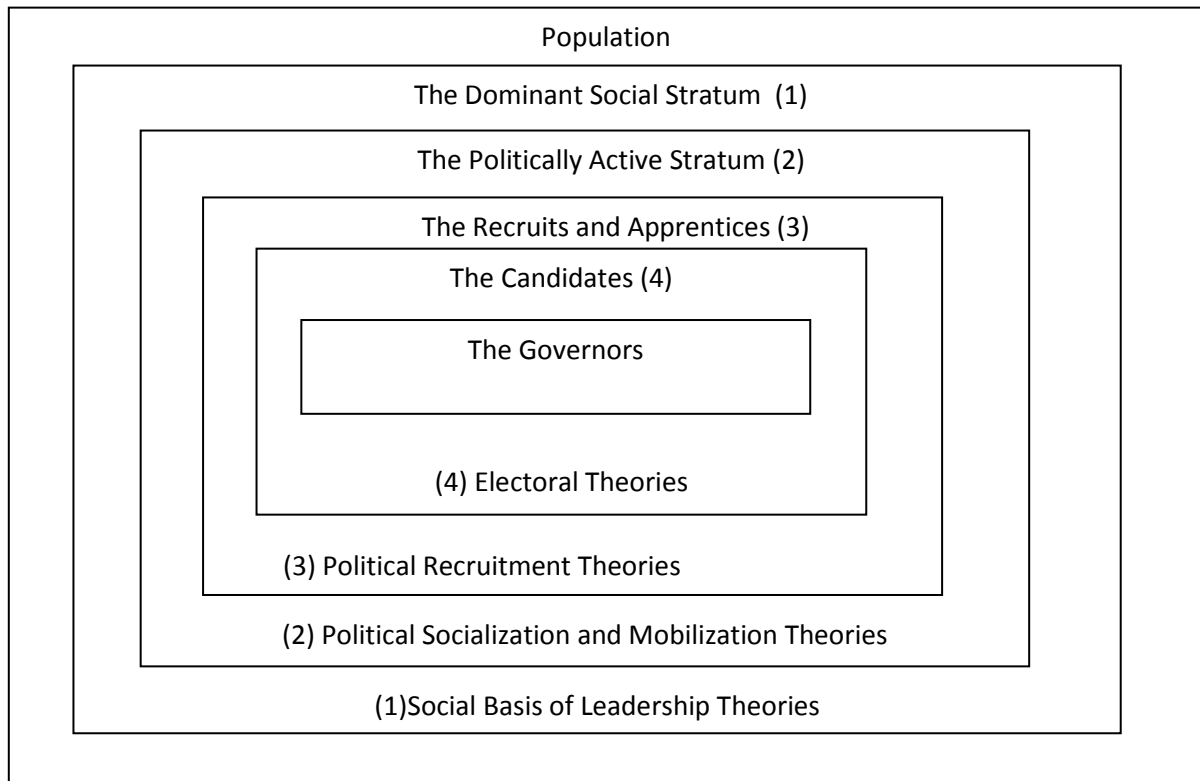
'In political life, some men lead and other men follow. There can be no organized community life without hierarchy and no hierarchy without ranking' (Prewitt, 1970:1). Prewitt has a six-step tabular representation of the levels or processes through which recruitments are done using what is popularly called the Chinese box puzzle. He starts with the *population* comprising of a number of people in society who have met eligibility requirements and perhaps those who have not. Stratification along the lines of colour, ethnicity, religion, gender, economic and professional interests among others highlight *social basis of leadership theories* (ibid, 8-9). Various *religious and ethnic beliefs* or even *customary practices* form part of the social basis for recruitment of aspirants into positions. Indeed, religious beliefs and practices including who qualifies to be recruited or not, assignment of roles by gender and level of support extended by gatekeepers in religious organizations or dominant ethnic groups to aspirants may play out at this stage. In other words, the independent variables on culture are important and may find expression within this stage.

Secondly, 'stratification analysis suggests the probability that the political life-chances of those with high social status will be considerably better than those with average or low prestige' (ibid). Prewitt calls these groups the *dominant social stratum* and suggests that those with *resources (financial and human) and skills* or experience from their *membership in organisations* may have an advantage because of their higher social base manifested in their *personal or family backgrounds*. In other words, 'these citizens are abnormally active in public affairs. They run the political parties; serve on local commissions; dominate community activities; know the ins and outs of the political game; are called upon, or nominate themselves, for numerous public tasks; and are more likely than most citizens to select themselves or to be selected for public office' (ibid, 9-10). However, it has to be pointed out very clearly that some of the groupings (religious, regional and ethnic) are by law not supposed to be political organisations but may continue as social groupings in the case of Ghana. Nonetheless, the fact remains that those who participate in organizations (both political and non-political), possess adequate financial resources and have high educational and social backgrounds are more likely to be recruited successfully at the expense of those who are not.

Furthermore, some persons in the population may have been engaged in a number of political party organization and mobilization activities either for a long time or joining as a result of recommendations and persuasions by others. Decisions to participate in political party activities could be based on one's *self-motivated* interests or recommendations and persuasions by gatekeepers, friends, family members, mates, neighbors and admirers. These people could be group leaders, political party heads, financiers or even organizers occupying Prewitt's next level referred to as the *politically active stratum* which also emphasizes political *socialization and mobilization theories* (ibid). Those people who have eventually been given positions to manage either through their own efforts (*motivation*), family, parties or groups (*gatekeepers*) and they have accepted to do so are placed under the *recruits and apprentices* category in line with *political recruitment theories* (ibid, 11-13). In any competition or election, there will be winners and losers referred to as *candidates* at the beginning which also illustrates *electoral theories*. *Governors* are the ones who have successfully passed through all the stages. Remember Norris decided to call them *Parliamentarians* instead of *Governors* as Prewitt will call them. To my mind, this is a reflection of diversity and choice the proponents have employed in their models. Prewitt's Chinese box puzzle is below.

FIGURE 2:

PREWITT'S CHINESE BOX PUZZLE



Source: Prewitt (1970:8)

As has been pointed out before, participation cannot be discussed comprehensively without recruitment theory. However, recruitment can be done in several ways depending on the system a particular country operates. It could be done through selection, self-selection, nomination, voting and appointment. In Ghana for instance, thirty (30%) per cent of the membership in the Assembly is recruited through appointment by the President of the Republic whilst the remaining seventy (70%) per cent is recruited through elections or voting. According to Leduc et' al (2002:114), a voting system is a candidate selection method where number of votes determines the candidate as opposed to the appointment system. They add that 'in an appointment system, candidacy is determined without using such a voting procedure. In a pure voting system, all candidates are selected through a voting procedure, and no other 'selectorate' can change the composition of the list' (ibid). 'Elections determine who will occupy and who vacate the chairs of government. ... an election identifies the few' (Prewitt, 1970:13). There is self-selection where aspirants put themselves out for competition and there is self-elimination for those who think they have no chances in political

competitions as some ‘ghetto inhabitants’ will normally think about their prospects in recruitments (ibid).

Like other jurisdictions, the ‘...legal system specifies the criteria of eligibility for candidates in all democracies and regulates the detailed recruitment process in a few’ (Leduc et’ al, 1996: 195). The legal requirements in Ghana relate to age, nationality, criminal history, tax worthiness among others. Since in theory the district assembly elections are non-partisan, the characteristics of ‘central patronage’ and ‘local patronage’ where various political competing groups rally for some specific candidates may not play out openly (ibid, 203). Similarly, ‘central bureaucratic’ measures where party regulations empower leadership to decide on candidates may be overtly non-existent (ibid). Even party ‘local bureaucratic’ principles may not openly apply in the beginning except those of the Independent National Electoral Commission which are spelt out clearly by the constitution. However, Leduc et’ al argue rather interestingly that ‘Following the Weberian notion, in highly institutionalized systems the application process is defined by internal party rules that are detailed, explicit, standardized, implemented by party officials, and authorized in party documents’ (ibid). But this is related to political party nominations which are highly politicized and contrary to the non-politicized district assembly elections, at least in theory. I think this may be more applicable to nominations, appointments and elections in political parties. As a result, I will rather dwell on the ‘*individual supply and demand model*’.

2.1.3 The ‘Individual Supply and Demand’ Recruitment Model

The ‘individual supply and demand’ model contains variables that could be relevant to recruitment of councilors at the local level. This model on the one hand, focuses more on personal or individual characteristics that could facilitate an aspirant’s appointment or election into a responsible public position. On the other hand, it stresses how other people, players, gatekeepers and individuals of high repute can influence the election or appointment of a person into office either through persuasions, recommendations, voting, campaigning and other support measures as noted earlier by Prewitt. The supply aspect of the model deals with interested persons of the public who wish to vie or contest to get elected or appointed into the assembly. These interested persons could be called the *politically active members* of the society whom Prewitt classifies under the *politically active stratum*.

It is refreshing to note that the ‘individual supply and demand’ theory can, at least, be applicable to recruitments of people at the local level (Leduc et’ al, 1996:208). The supply side of the model covers aspirant’s personal attributes like: *motivation, level of education, financial resources, membership in organizations, likeability or acceptability and family or individual background and status*. Some of these factors may be very influential to recruitment of candidates into local assemblies in Ghana. Aspirants with these personal attributes stand a better chance to be recruited at the expense of those who do not possess these attributes. For instance, if aspirants or candidates have the requisite resources and motivation, they could pick up nomination forms and decide to contest without any hindrance at all from anybody as has also been highlighted by both Prewitt and Norris in their frameworks. This could otherwise be called self-selection which is done by aspirants themselves (individual supply) and not selection committees or agencies (demand). Selection committees usually play a major role in the recommendation and eventual choice of persons to certain crucial positions. That is why the demand aspect may not be of direct influence to local level elections at the aspirant or candidate selection level since there are no legal restrictions on candidates’ attempts to participate in local government elections. To the extent that this is true, the responsibility therefore rests on aspirants especially women to be confident enough and decide to contest in the first place.

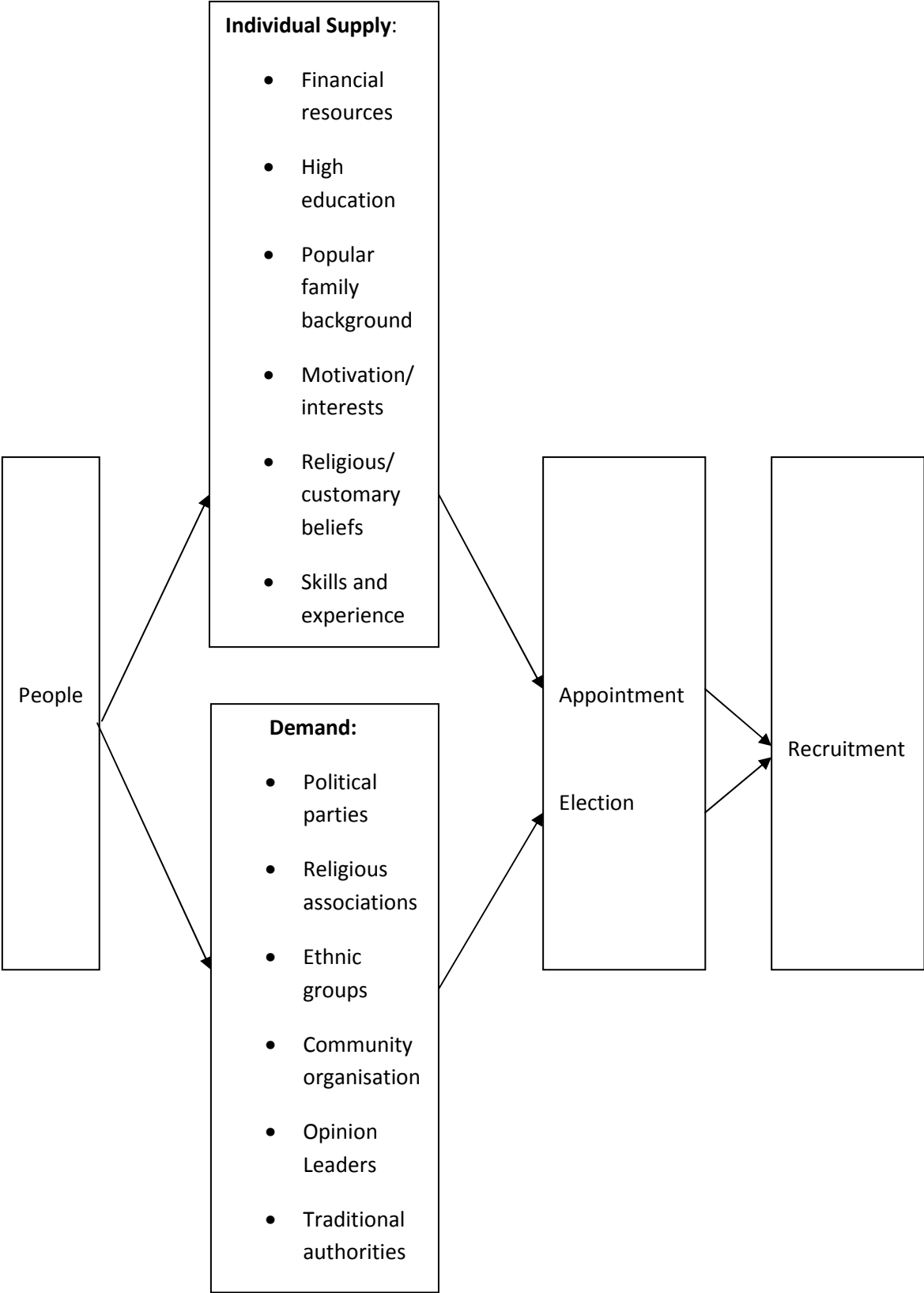
But there is the other important side (demand aspect) which may lie outside the domain of the aspirant even though I concede that the gatekeepers could be influenced by the personal attributes of aspirants (ibid). Some of the gatekeepers on the demand side include *members of political parties, religious organizations, community associations, opinion leaders, traditional or local authorities and other influential persons*. However, it is important to note that one aspect of the theory could influence the other and vice versa. For instance, it is very likely that aspirants who have positive personal attributes on the supply side like high education, popular family backgrounds, adequate financial resources, religious, cultural or ethnic similarity with gatekeepers and active membership in some organizations could stand a better chance of influencing gatekeepers to support them. On the other side too, gatekeepers also seek to promote aspirants or candidates who in their opinion are hardworking and have good and admirable personal attributes especially those who are members of their organizations. Even in some cases where the aspirants are not members of their organizations, gatekeepers try to convince them to join in and get full support for their bids. This makes *membership in*

organizations a very important political independent variable likely to have a huge impact on recruitments. It appears as if to say that the left washes the right and the vice versa.

Also, it is important to state that even though the opportunity to contest is open to everybody, it is not a blank 'cheque' since there are some legal regulations concerning who qualifies to contest or not. But admittedly, the requirements are quite basic and not so difficult for aspirants to meet. This is perhaps the reason why many candidates (males) offer themselves to be elected into the local assemblies in Ghana. Quite interestingly also, it appears to me that the expectations, support and criticisms by gatekeepers and the electorate as a whole also serve as a reasonable check on the number of aspirants or candidates coming forward to contest for public office. If the gatekeepers and the electorate have admiration for a person, then it becomes an incentive to come forward and contest for a public position. But if they do not like a person, it will be the opposite. An adapted (modified) diagram of the 'Individual Supply and Demand' model is below (ibid).

FIGURE 3:

THE 'INDIVIDUAL SUPPLY AND DEMAND' RECRUITMENT MODEL



Source: Adapted from Leduc, Niemi & Norris (1996: 208-210)

Similarly, Offei-Aboagye argues that ‘the resources for participation include motivation, information, skills, finances and influence (ibid, 237). But also, even if we assume that the demand side might not have any direct connection to electoral competition at the sub-national level, it gives us the opportunity to test whether interests groups and influential persons implicitly or explicitly encourage and sponsor aspirants or not. This model in my opinion is better placed to test personal decisions to contest and how any covert or overt activities of gatekeepers might play out. Moreover, the demand aspect may also be applied better in dealing with the thirty (30) per cent appointees of the President to the assembly even though Prewitt identifies ambition as very essential and key in any form of recruitment regardless of whether it is appointive or elective (Prewitt, 1970:7-9). However, it is equally important to note that Prewitt has acknowledged in his discussion of the dominant social stratum that the possession of resources either in human or material forms provide a lot of advantages to aspirants. As a result, ambition though important, cannot necessarily lead to desired results without the corresponding resources and perhaps the critical role of gatekeepers. This emphasizes the interconnectedness and importance of socio-economic and cultural factors in elections and appointments on the one hand and the role of gatekeepers on the other.

The issue of motivation highlighted by Norris’s framework could be based on resources resulting in ambition which is necessary for the individual to decide to supply him/herself for appointment or election. It has to be emphasized that merely putting yourself forward as a candidate after feeling convinced about the individual supply facilitating factors is just one phase of the process and may not be sufficient for a victory without the support of gatekeepers on the demand side. But equally crucial and important is the electoral system, the existence of which or otherwise, can make a huge difference. In Ghana for instance, between 1957 and 1977 all local government members were appointed apart from those who were chiefs to be either included automatically or left out depending on the policy of the existing regime of the time. Throughout this period, women were extremely marginalized until the November 17, 1978 elections which saw a number of women being elected into the local assemblies to represent their communities. But the attempt to relate recruitment processes to a theoretical framework is just one way of trying to contextualize and provide more meaning to the issues involved in various forms of recruitments. Better still, I think a further discussion of the dependent and independent variables will shed more light on the theories, variables and the subject matter being studied.

2.2 THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE

The dependent variable of this study is about women's involvement in local governance both as contestants to be elected or appointees of the President into the assemblies. Even though local governance had seen a major boost through a law in the late 1980s, local government elections started in 1994 after the coming into force of the 1992 constitution of Ghana (Crook and Manor, 1998:4). Of course, we cannot lose sight of the fact that a local government election was held in 1988, albeit under a military regime. Since then, there have been four local government elections through which members/councilors are elected into the assemblies. In this regard, my attention will be focused on how women have participated to get elected or appointed into local assemblies since 1994 in two metropolitan areas (one each from the south and north of Ghana). Generally, women's participation in these local government elections has been lower than other elective positions. Few women in Ghana and other neighboring countries like Cote d'Ivoire have the courage to stand for elections by going ahead with nomination processes and subsequently contesting with their male counterparts for positions of the assembly (ibid, 276). Consequently, fewer women are elected. There are also several cases where even single female candidates have lost to their male colleagues. The story is not much different in other countries within the sub-region as Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire might even be better (ibid). Representation above a third or up to half by women, though not the best would have been appreciable in Ghana. This is because female representation is far below a third presently (ibid).

But Whilst Gooloba-Mutebi (cited in Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007:192) 'argues that participation often makes unrealistic and intolerable demands on the time and lives of already overworked people trying to construct and maintain livelihoods in difficult circumstances', Bochel C. & Bochel H. (2000:70) also refer to the burden of combining two responsibilities as part of the major 'difficulties of balancing employment and council work'. However, Darcy et' al (1987:20) have given reasons justifying and showing a natural relationship between local governance and women. 'First, until recently, local government at the village or commune level was considered to be part of the private rather than the public sphere. In exercising the right at the local level a woman was exercising a private right, not a public one' (ibid, 8). Their second reason relates to traditional activities and functions local governments pursue in the form of taking care of the poor and the handling of communal property like land. Indeed, they rightly argue that it has been widened to include welfare of citizens, health care, sanitation and education which relates to women's traditional roles and concerns (ibid,

9). Better still, women have little time because of their household responsibilities. Therefore, since activities of local governments were conducted close to homes involving part-time commitments, it was easier for women to participate and still maintain their household responsibilities (ibid). But what are the reasons or independent variables likely to explain who gets elected or appointed into the local council? The independent or explanatory variables are explained below.

2.3 THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Women recruitments in local politics may be influenced by factors like ambition, motivation, finances, culture, religion, quotas, education, membership in organizations, skills and competence among others (Bochel & Bochel 2000:37). ‘A man’s occupation, wealth, and education affect whether he becomes a member of the politically active stratum and whether he is likely to hold political office. Social strata overlap political strata. Officeholders are more likely to be selected from groups located towards the upper end of the status hierarchy than from groups socially or economically disadvantaged’ (Prewitt, 1970:25). Some of these factors have been noted by Prewitt and Norris as crucial and influential in dealing with the subject matter. Therefore, the independent variables will explain how these potential social, economic, cultural and political conditions relate to the dependent variable of women’s participation in local politics as they seek election or appointment into their various assemblies.

2.3.1 Social Variables

Social conditions and factors relating to education, family name, marital status, age, gender, skills and competence are important factors that could help aspirants seeking to be elected or appointed into local assemblies. Crook and Manor assert that in some parts of West Africa, there is a certain relationship between the success of local government and the quality of education of the participants. They argued that ‘Elected representatives on the Assemblies still tended to come disproportionately from the male, educated and professional strata of society...’ in what Crook and Manor described as the ‘...preference of Ghanaian rural voters for educated representatives...’ (Crook & Manor, 1998:273-281). ‘Ghana and Cote d’Ivoire are typical of this in that the success of the new local governments is frequently discussed in

terms of whether it has attracted ‘high quality’ candidates to be elected councilors or village committee members’ (ibid).

Logically, if a community has more skilled, competent and educated women, a lot of them could be elected or appointed into the assembly as councilors (Prewitt, 1970:25). Matland & Montgomery (2003:306) also argue that ‘Education is another factor that shapes women’s ability to run for office and party leadership’s decision to nominate them’ which may be at the expense of those who are not educated. However, the proportion of adults who have been to school in the Northern Region is twenty eight (28%) per cent whilst that of Accra is about eighty nine (89%) per cent (GLSS, 2000:12). Also, family status has equally proven to be helpful in Ghana. For instance, Nkrumah’s (Ghana’s first President) daughter, Samia riding on the huge figure/popularity of her father, returned to Ghana in 2007 and got elected to represent her constituency just as other family members of prominent politicians have been elected or appointed to occupy some positions. In fact, mention has to be made of the fact that even Nkrumah himself had two masters and two PhD. Degrees. Ghana’s sitting Vice President also comes from a family with a popular political tradition and his choice by his party’s Presidential candidate then, and now President, prompted the other major party to choose someone whose family had a popular political tradition even though he was a technocrat and not a politician until his selection. It is clear that some of these social factors appeal to the electorate and gatekeepers and may influence the election or appointment of people into positions.

Hypothesis: good education and popular family status could help female candidates to be elected or appointed to serve as councilors in the local assembly.

2.3.2 Economic Variables

Hyden states that ‘the majority of economies are both small and fragile, and there is evidence that the region south of the Sahara is being increasingly left behind in the global economy’ (Hyden, 2006:16). He continues that ‘as many as 40 percent of the population live on less than one U. S. dollar a day. Africa’s share of the poorest people in the world increased from 25 to 30 percent during the 1990s’ (ibid). ‘...Only Latin America has a more unequal distribution of income than Africa’ (ibid). This leads to a situation where African women ‘desperately attempt to fit innumerable obligations into their schedule’ in terms of trying to

'earn an income, deal with the budget, savings' among others (ibid, 164). In Northern Ghana, eight out of every ten people are poor with the majority of them being women as Ghana's rural population is 56.2% (2000 Population and Housing Census). Also, only about eleven (11%) per cent of families in the Northern Region have reliable household wages as compared to about forty (40%) per cent in Greater Accra (GLSS, 2000:12). Contest in elections at either the national or local level involves a lot of financial undertakings which many women cannot afford.

But how available is income in some parts of Ghana, let alone talking of a fair distribution. One of my case study areas falls in the Northern Region which is also one of the poorest regions in Ghana. The point has been made earlier that women suffer more poverty than any group. So, how will this situation play out in their political participation in a municipality considered very poor? Certainly, it may not be as good as those of their counterparts in Accra. Plummer argues that 'in many cases, particularly where governments are pursuing decentralization policies, the responsibility for addressing urban poverty lies with local government and accordingly it is the municipal levels of administration that are handed the responsibility for implementing policies advocating the participation of poor communities' (Plummer, 2000:1). Similarly, Mill recognizes the need for economic independence for women in order for them to participate in all levels of governance from '...the top to bottom' (Mill, 1869 cited in Darcy et' al).

Crook & Manor try to compare Asia and Africa where the former has '...a long history of experimentation with affirmative action to incorporate the poor and the excluded into politics, and there is a political discourse on poverty and related issues. The success of democratic local government is therefore often measured by the extent to which local elite dominance has been challenged or mitigated by participation of the poor, lower castes or women; one report noted that the 'danger' of decentralization was that power might fall into the hands of wrong people' (Crook & Manor, 1998:281). In contrast to Africa, '...there is a general cultural expectation that ... the 'successful sons and daughters' who have left to work in good jobs in the urban areas – have a duty to participate and help with the development of their home towns or districts' (ibid).

Indeed, to be able to organize people to talk to them and share whatever vision you have with them in order to get their mandate will involve money to pay for services like the use of

public address system, furniture, venues (if it is in a building), media for publicity, organizers and most times, refreshments called 'item 13' in Ghana. But more financially exhausting is that these services will not just be one time activities but may have to be regularly organized during the campaign season by the candidate if he/she wants to win. How will women who do not have enough financial resources be able to fund all these activities if they want to contest and win elections? Better still, one may need posters about oneself and what one stands for or intends to do to be distributed around the electoral area to reach out to the electorate in addition to paying for services of a campaign team. Also, some people use their own financial resources to undertake development projects for the community in order for the people to recommend them for appointment or election into the assembly. No matter how we look at the issue, there is definitely some cost to be borne by the candidates. Norris and Lovenduski (1995) 'also discuss the costs of political involvement and recognize that time as well money and support are important resources for candidates to have' (Bochel & Bochel, 2000:39). So, what happens if the person does not have adequate financial resources? They may obviously not contest. 'The financial costs act as a block on many women who have little money and few alternatives for child-care' (ibid).

Hypothesis: women with little financial resources are less likely to be elected or appointed into their local assemblies as councilors.

2.3.3 Political/Institutional Variables

Membership in N.G.O.s, political parties and Trade Unions may help women to gain requisite experiences and organizational skills to enable them get elected or appointed into their assemblies (Offei-Aboagye, 2008:237). Mill contends that women just like their male counterparts should have the opportunity to participate and hold positions in either governmental or non-governmental organizations from the bottom to top (Mill, 1869 cited in Darcy et' al). Also, the situation where some political elites will inhibit the candidacies of hardworking and popular women in some states and as a result make voters unwilling or even reluctant to support women candidacies should be discouraged (Darcy et' al, 1987:48). However, some governments may sometimes even co-opt hardworking women from some organizations to offer them roles to play in the local assemblies as happened to the 31st December Women's Movement in Ghana and some other women like Gifty Afienya Dadzie, Joyce Aryee and Ama Benyiwa-Doe for Council of State, Mines and Minister of state respectively (Goertz and Hassim cited in Hyden, 2006:179). I agree however that their

membership in organizations might not necessarily make them politically active in a holistic sense. Similarly, there have been calls in Ghana for the government to institute and allocate specific quotas in order to appoint more women to the assemblies as is done in Rwanda and Uganda (ibid). Though it may be a way of boosting women numbers in the assemblies, Reynolds' thinks that it will affect their independence as they may be beholden to the authorities who have appointed them (ibid, 178).

But some have also argued that the use of female quotas may help some states to shy away from taking formal steps to address challenges hindering women's participation (Matland & Montgomery, 2003:94). Kelber states that even in Norway, some males criticized quotas as undemocratic which have a potential '...for favoring the unqualified over the qualified, and for creating conflicts among men and women. In response, the advocates of quotas assert that they are necessary to give women a fair chance, that women are qualified although their qualifications are under-rated by men, and that the tension they may sometimes cause will eventually dissipate' (Kelber, 1994:81). Indeed, tension has really dissipated in one aspect as the Norway Minister for Trade introduced a 40% quota for females in the 'Board Room' which saw the replacement of about 700 males with females in various boards of businesses in Norway (BBC T.V. Interview, aired Sept. 12 and 13th, 2009). But Ghana still does not have a comprehensive quota system for females at the local level after the 2002 initiative failed.

Hypothesis: membership in organizations and the institution of quotas may enhance the chances of women getting appointed or elected into local assemblies.

2.3.4 Cultural Variables

The level of interaction of the people with political processes and structures prevalent in a community may largely be influenced by their culture. Different cultures and different religions view the roles of individuals differently as most communities in the Northern part of Ghana for instance restrict decision making and address of public gatherings to only men whilst confining women to domestic responsibilities (Hoftsede, 1991:80-83). 'While men traditionally could devote their full time and energies to politics, women are required to split their efforts between domestic and public activities' (ibid). Duverger also cites hostility (preference for males) and the male conspiracy (domination of males in political parties) as problems in some cultures confronting women's participation (Darcy et' al, 1987: 48). For instance, Christianity is predominant in the south with a dominant matrilineal form of

hereditary where women's political importance is manifested in the 'enstooling' or installation of some women as 'Queen Mothers' (Crook and Manor, 1998:276). Christians are about eighty two (82%) per cent of the population in Greater Accra whilst Muslims are ten (10%) per cent (GLSS, 2000:10).

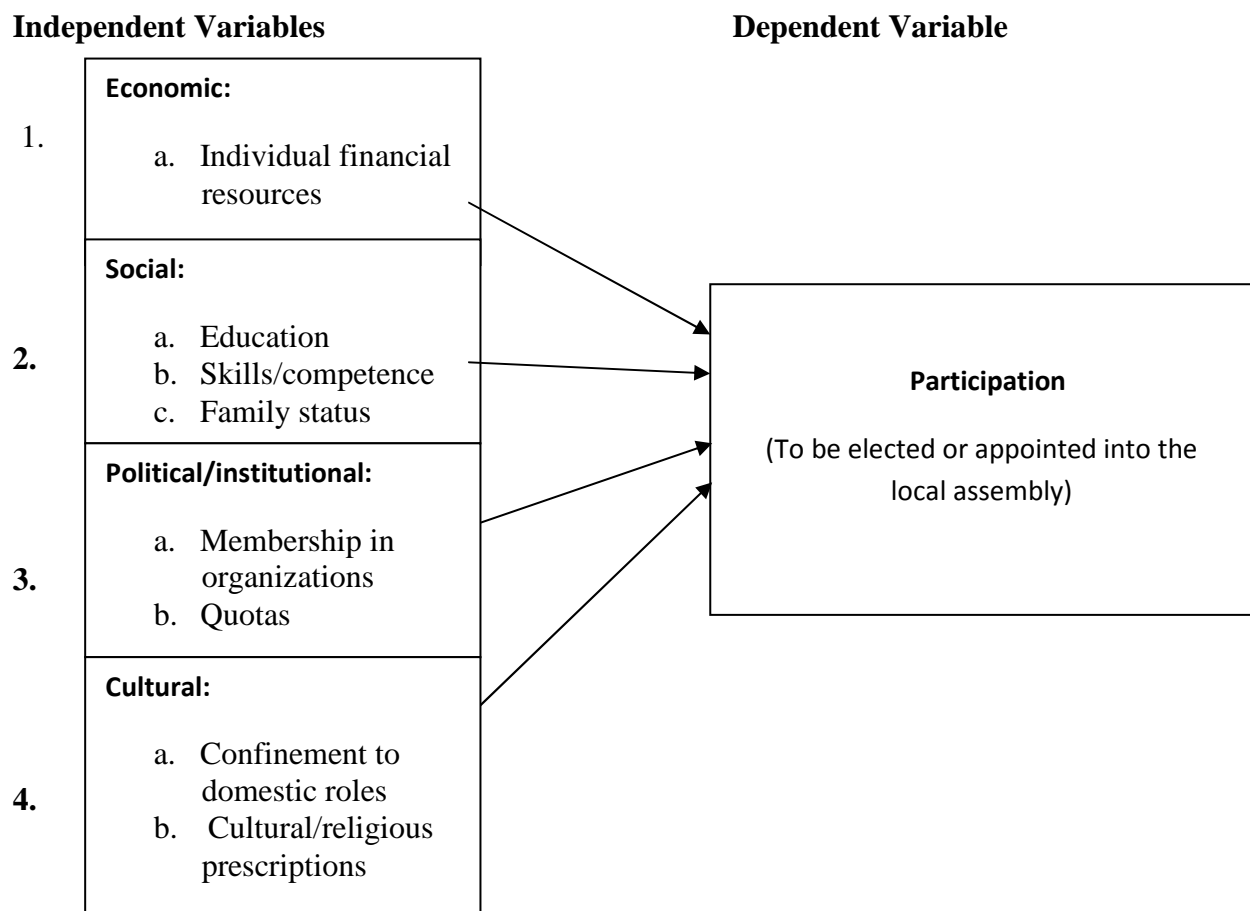
Contrary to the South, the Northern Region is predominantly Muslim with other religious persuasions also present like the case of the south (ibid). Christians are about nineteen (19%) per cent of the population in the Northern Region whilst Muslims are fifty eight (58%) per cent (ibid). Line of succession in the family is effectively through the male child and a lot of leadership roles are assigned according to gender. Interestingly, masculine cultures and orientations usually tend to influence the election of more males into local government positions (Bochel C. & Bochel H. 2000:117). Even though the restriction of the woman to the home is not only peculiar to the north but the whole country, we can assume that the situation is more intensive in the north than the south which is credited with a relatively open and cosmopolitan culture. Hyden's view on this is simple but instructive since he contends that women's participation would be enhanced in a situation where both 'national culture and religion' are progressive and not somewhat hostile to women (Hyden, 2006:178).

The installation of women in the south as community leaders or 'Queen Mothers' gives them the opportunity to demonstrate to the people what they can do and therefore it may not be so difficult for women to contest elections as the status quo is accommodative of them in leadership positions already. This may not be the case of the north which is extremely patriarchal with only fewer female traditional leaders. So, it is no wonder for Crook & Manor to argue that in the '...category of participation (as in others) there were also important differences between the more developed, commercialized Christian area of Southern Ghana and the remoter, poorer and more Islamicised north. In the north, women participated hardly at all in any of the activities and even the men who participated were generally more educated' (Crook & Manor, 1998:276).

Hypothesis: cultural beliefs/practices may either hinder or facilitate the election or appointment of females into assemblies.

A diagram of the dependent and independent variables is below.

**FIGURE 4:
DIAGRAM OF DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES**



2.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, some relevant theories concerning recruitments have been discussed including the individual supply and demand theory to highlight both structural or institutional and individual factors perceived to be having an impact on recruitments. Factors thought to be relevant which may have an impact on female participation otherwise referred to as independent variables have been discussed and supported with literature on female participation in local governance especially by Crook & Manor, Hyden, Darcy et' al among others with the aim of highlighting other perspectives to enhance more understanding on the topic. A number of hypotheses have also been suggested following from the discussion of the independent variables.

CHAPTER THREE:

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN GHANA

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the historical evolution of local governance in Ghana from colonial times to Ghana's independence in 1957, the era of Convention People's Party (CPP), the National Liberation Council (NLC), the Busia Progress Party (PP), the National Redemption Council (NRC), the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), the People's National Party (PNP), the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). The profile and structure of the two assemblies covering demographical features, geography, history of the assemblies, people and occupation have equally been highlighted to enhance understanding of the people and the kind of local governance system being operated in Ghana.

3.1 HISTORY OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN GHANA

It has been widely acknowledged that the most ambitious reforms to local governance in Ghana occurred in the 1980's by the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC). Nonetheless, it is equally important to note that local government practices started long before colonialism by the native chiefs of the then Gold Coast known as Ghana today. The Chiefs had elders in all communities who collected taxes and ensured that there was harmony and peace in those communities. That is why the early colonial administrators decided to govern the colonies through the use of the indirect rule system where the chiefs served as a medium between the people and the colonial administrators. It probably would have been very difficult for the colonial administrators to operate smoothly without this age-long local structure that ensured a good chemistry between the chiefs and their subjects. In other words, local governance took different forms or shapes at different periods of Ghana's history notably, the period before Ghana's independence in 1957 and the immediate post-independence era; the Busia Progress Party era, the Acheampong National Liberation Council era; the Limann Peoples National Party era; The Rawlings P/NDC era; and the Kufuor New Patriotic Party era.

It is important to note that Ghana's first president Dr. Kwame Nkrumah took over the governance and political authority of the nation effectively only from 1960 after the state had been given a republican status. The transfer of power was conducted in a piecemeal form with even ministerial positions shared among Ghanaians and their British colleagues sent down by the Queen of Britain. Therefore, Dr. Nkrumah was involved from 1951 with limited powers only assuming full powers from 1960 to February 1966 when he was removed through a coup. Indeed, there is little wonder why Nkrumah never got along with the District Commissioners who were the focal points or conduits of local government appointed by the colonial administrators. It is contended that Nkrumah never rested until he had the opportunity to replace them in 1957 after independence describing them as influences and symbolism of evil colonial infiltration and the chiefs as serving no purpose than being stumbling blocks to him and Convention Peoples Party influence. However, it is proper to put Nkrumah in his rightful context as a Pan-Africanist who said he would not rest until every African soil was free from imperialist influence describing their castles and forts as relics of imperialism and refusing to live in them as Prime Minister and subsequently as President. In the nutshell, Nkrumah had political influence for over a decade.

After his overthrow, the National Liberation Council stayed in power for about three years and returned the country to constitutional rule. When elections were conducted in 1969, the Progress Party led by Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia won the elections and eventually formed the government. However, the Progress Party government could not stay in government beyond three years since it was overthrown by another military regime. So, since both the National Liberation Council and the Progress Party governments did not stay in government for long it may not have been possible for them to have evolved a very comprehensive local government policy for the country. The Acheampong National Redemption Council stayed in power for six years changing its name and leadership in the last two years. The PNDC stayed in power for a very long time (eleven years of unconstitutional rule and eight years of constitutional rule) after it metamorphosed into a political party in 1992 and constitutional rule was restored. Perhaps, part of the reason behind its relative success in promulgating a comprehensive local government act could be attributed to its longevity in power.

3.1.1 Local Governance in the Pre and Immediate Post-Independence Era (1952-1969)

‘... prior to the formal beginning of British colonial rule in 1874, certain important developments had already been initiated including the establishment of the Accra Municipal Council in 1848; the passage of the Municipal Ordinance in 1859 to establish municipalities in the coastal towns of the country’ (Ofei-Aboagye cited in Agyeman-Duah, 2008:238). Even though there existed a form of local government system during the time of the colonial administrators, there was a certain desire to bridge the gap between authorities and the people. Consequently, some recommendations of the 1948 Watson Commission and 1949 Coussey Committee were implemented with Regional and District Commissioners put in place and charged with some power to make bye-laws and to levy taxes on the people. Ghana’s first President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was made Leader of Government Business in 1951 and subsequently the Prime Minister in 1952 by the Colonial administration with the Queen of England being the Head of State. The first Local Government election organised in 1952 was political and parties were supposed to choose candidates to contest in the elections. The United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), the first party from which Nkrumah broke off to form the Convention People’s Party decided not to participate for suspicion of rigging which resulted in the CPP winning majority of the seats.

The Prime Minister introduced the 1961 Local Government Act which administratively demarcated the country into city, municipal, urban and local councils with 104 districts, 139 local councils, 3 city councils, a municipal council and 8 regional authorities. He facilitated women representation in parliament through the 1959 and 1960 Acts respectively where about 10 women had seats in the National Assembly (Amanfo, 2003:28). Nkrumah incorporated more women into his party’s organisational structures at the national level as he appointed four women in the persons of Madam Sophia Doku, Hanna Cudjoe, Mrs. Leticia Quaye and Madam Ama Nkrumah as propaganda secretaries for the Convention People’s Party (Manuh, 1991:110-115). However, it appeared as if he almost ignored women at the local level even though they were exceedingly instrumental to his victory at the national level.

Indeed, it can be said without any fear of controversy that he did very little at the local level to boost women numbers in those structures even though he acknowledged and contended that women had been phenomenal in the independence struggles partnering their male counterparts in every step to attain independence and deliver the country from colonial rule

(Obeng, 115-117). Some women's groups which were allowed to operate included the Ghana Women's League and the National Federation of Gold Coast Women. By 1966, there were about one hundred and thirty five (135) local government structures. Nkrumah's government was toppled in the February 1966 military takeover by National Liberation Council junta which set up the Mills-Oddoi and Siriboe Commissions of 1967 and 1968 respectively. The results of these commissions were recommendations leading to the incorporation of chiefs who Nkrumah had earlier eliminated because he thought they were divisive forces (Owusu, 1975: 180-182). The NLC stayed from 1966 till 1969 where elections were organised and the Progress Party led by Dr. K. A. Busia won the 1969 elections.

3.1.2 The Progress Party Era under Busia

The Progress party led by Busia won the 1969 elections and took over power from the NLC military junta. Unlike the Nkrumah regime which had a four-tier structure, the Progress Party's local government structure was three-tier comprising of the regional, district and local councils vested with various developmental responsibilities in line with the dictates of the 1971 Local Government Act 359 which was introduced in the latter stages of the Busia administration. Also of significant difference with the Nkrumah administration was the issue of enormous recognition given to chiefs within the local government framework under the Busia regime as a balancing mechanism to the low prestige they enjoyed under the Convention People's Party regime. Of course, the reason is that the Progress Party emerged from the National Liberation Movement formed by a Chief Linguist of Asantehene which opposed Nkrumah prior to independence and beyond resulting in his disregard for chiefs. The Victory of the Progress Party in 1969 therefore was a perfect opportunity for the chiefs to occupy their rightful places and not seen as instruments of division.

In fact, this constitutional regime did not also last to serve its full four year term because it was truncated by the National Redemption Council (NRC) led by Lieutenant Colonel Ignatius K. Acheampong on January 13, 1972 in reaction to a rising cost of living following from a devaluation of the Ghanaian currency. Naturally, the unconstitutional nature of this administration made it possible to abandon elections at both national and local levels for some time as the regime was absolutely resentful to politics. It only involved chiefs in the local government structure for the strategic reason of galvanising more support. Indeed, there is no record of reasonable women inclusion at all levels of this regime and other military regimes

apart from the Provisional National Defence Council as noted by Allah-Mensah (2005:16). As a matter of fact, local government members or councillors from 1957 to 1978 were usually appointed by the governments, either military or civilian.

‘In 1974, the Single Hierarchy Model to merge central and local government functions at the local level was initiated. The country was re-drawn into sixty-five (65) district councils. The mid-70s to the early 1980s witnessed a managerial form of local government with a de-emphasis on the political roles of local government. The focus was on regional development with regional planning and implementation as the main strategy. However, these arrangements were limited by lack of sectoral co-ordination, the inability to penetrate to the district level, the lack of sufficient human capacity, and the deteriorating macro-economic and social environments (Ofei-Aboagye cited in Agyeman-Duah:239). So, in the very latter stages of the National Redemption Council which was transformed into Supreme Military Council 1 and subsequently 11 in a palace coup, local level elections were held on November 17, 1978 for the first time since independence in 1957 which saw the election of a number of women into various local councils. This is so because the very first local government election which was conducted on party political lines in 1952 was done at a time when the colonial administrators were still in charge of running the affairs of state.

This military administration was toppled on 4th June 1979 by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) led by Flt. Lieutenant J.J. Rawlings for the alleged massive corruption by military officers and very harsh living conditions. This junta ruled for about three months and elections were organised to pave way for constitutional rule again. Dr. Hilla Limann led the Peoples National Party (PNP) to victory and power was handed over to him. However, he did not stay for long as the military ruler who handed over power to him a couple of months came back to topple the constitutional government. As a result, there is not much to discuss under Limann since his government was short-lived.

3.1.3 The PNDC Era under Flt. Lieutenant J.J. Rawlings

J. J. Rawlings came back with yet another coup on December 31, 1981 under the name the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC). By far, it has widely been acknowledged that the PNDC introduced the most ambitious and yet comprehensive local government structure in Ghana. But that structure which is presently still being used in Ghana did not come

immediately the regime took over power as it focused more on devolution. The regime replaced various members with their sympathisers whilst still maintaining the procedure of two-thirds and a third for appointees and chiefs respectively. Since the 1983 reforms were largely unimplemented except for the replacement of District Chief Executives with District Secretaries, there were yet another set of reforms in 1988 because of nepotism, ineptitude, inefficiency of local government units, inadequate transfer of resources, chieftaincy disputes, maladministration and inability to generate enough resources from the local level (Ayee, 2003:52).

PNDC Law 207 was promulgated in 1988 which legally specifies and provides the structure and components of the local government system. 'The Law made the assembly the highest decision-making body at the local level with responsibilities for legislation, execution, rating and planning. Legislative instruments established one hundred and ten assemblies – three (3) metropolitan, four municipal and one hundred and three (103) district governments. After four years of implementation, the 1992 constitution gave the system requisite backing in Chapter 20' of the Constitution of Ghana (Ofei-Aboagye cited in Agyeman-Duah:234).

However, the district assembly was not and is still not the last unit in the decentralization structure as there are other lower units beneath the district level to provide more avenues and opportunities for different groups and levels of people in the society. There are Metropolitan Chief Executives for the Metropolitan Assemblies, Municipal Chief Executives for the Municipal Assemblies and District Chief Executives for the District Assemblies. These Chief Executives are appointed by the President and approved by two-thirds of the membership of the assembly. They cannot be accepted into office if they fail to secure two-thirds approval from the assembly members. Also, every assembly has to elect from among its membership a Presiding Member to preside over meetings and regulate proceedings of the assembly. The tenure of the Presiding Member is two years as chair person of the assembly. Thirty per cent of the membership of the assembly is provided through appointments made by the President of the Republic of Ghana whilst the remaining seventy per cent are elected directly by the electorate in the various electoral areas. The rationale behind the thirty per cent appointments is to provide various Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies with members who have requisite technical know-how or expertise to bring them to bear on the activities and development of the assemblies.

The district or local government elections are supposed to be non-partisan and members are elected on a four year term against the backdrop of the New Patriotic Party's intention to 'promote a national debate on carrying out political-party based elections at the district level' to strengthen 'political parties at the district levels and nurture grassroots democracy' (NPP Manifesto, 2008:18). The thirty per cent (30%) appointees are legally not allowed to be in office for more than two consecutive terms. All the Metropolitan, Municipal and District assemblies are required to meet about three to four times in a year in what is called General Assembly meetings even though they can convene emergency meetings if the need arises. Besides this, various committees: technical or otherwise hold series of meetings and provide briefings to the Executive Committee or even as may be necessary, the General Assembly. Also, the elected assembly members have an obligation to convene meetings to brief the electorate from their various electoral areas on decisions and activities of the assembly as well as take suggestions of their constituents back to the assembly for redress.

In fact, there was a local government election in 1988 the year the reforms took place even though this election occurred at a time of unconstitutional rule. At least, we can suggest that the PNDC was not opposed to women or females taking up positions in the governance of the nation as the 31ST December Women's Movement was formed by wife of the then President Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings as far back as May 15, 1982. This movement was rightly or wrongly regarded as the women's political wing of the PNDC even though it engaged itself in lots of development activities at the local level of the political strata. It trained a lot of women in different trades and skills and also provided equipment to some of them to practice their various trades. They were also sensitized about the need to participate in both national and local politics and most women took advantage of it to launch their political careers in their communities and at the national level.

3.1.4 The National Democratic Congress (NDC)

As a result of pressure from donor agencies, international development partners and domestic political pressure from various groups and movements like the People's Movement for Freedom and Justice, a referendum was held in the early 90s and Ghanaians voted massively for a return to civilian rule. Consequently, a constituent assembly was formed to work on modalities to return Ghana to constitutional rule. As a matter of fact, the 1992 constitution

was promulgated and approved by then Chairman Rawlings which saw Ghana returning to multi-party democracy thus paving the way for the 1992 Presidential and Parliamentary elections which were won by the National Democratic Congress (NDC), a party formed from the PNDC. Two years thereafter, the first local government election under constitutional rule was held and both males and females contested and got the opportunity to represent their people. Indeed, the 1994 local government election was an improvement over the 1988 election because it was held at a time that constitutional rule had been restored and backed by the 1992 constitution of the republic. The new constitution gave backing to the PNDC local government arrangement and structure which evolved in 1988 as covered in the PNDC Law 207 and therefore nothing substantially new was added.

3.1.5 The New Patriotic Party Era (NPP)

The NDC still under Jerry Rawlings won a second term in the 1996 presidential and parliamentary elections and lost the 2000 presidential and parliamentary elections to the New Patriotic Party (NPP) which also had two terms in office with power reversing back to the NDC in the 2008 elections. When the New Patriotic Party took over power from the year 2000, they maintained the local government system or structure and ‘in 2003, twenty-eight new assemblies were created out of existing authorities to facilitate political, social and economic management (Ofei-Aboagye cited in Agyeman-Duah, 2008:244).’ Indeed, between 2000 and 2008 the period in which the NPP was in power and for that matter governance of the nation, a total number of ‘Sixty (60) more Districts have been created to accelerate the process whilst bigger budgetary support, including Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) allocations for the Districts, has broadened the developmental capacity of the Assemblies. The District Assemblies Common Fund has been increased from 5.0 to 7.5% of total national revenue.... Legal backing has been given to the Institute of Local Government Studies as key capacity building institution, responsible for generating the requisite personnel to man local government’ (NPP Manifesto, 2008:2).

In terms of gender sensitivity, the NPP prides itself as the first political party in Ghana’s governance history to have established the ‘Women and Children’s Ministry to address issues of gender parity and empowerment’; appointment of a Minister for ‘Girl-Child Education to address in a more focussed way the elimination of disparities in education between the sexes’; ‘the introduction of micro-credit financing that has helped to improve the economic position

of women' with about GHc 11.3 million disbursed to 168,800 women since the year 2002 nationwide; and 'the appointment, for the first time, of women to head key public service institutions such as the judiciary, and Immigration Service' (ibid, 14). Also, 'the passage of the Domestic Violence Act and Human Traffic Act to protect the vulnerable members of our society including women and children from abuse' and 'the provision of free maternity health care to all pregnant women' (ibid).

Further still, the NPP indicated that its National Action Plan on Decentralization was the expansion of the number of districts with the ultimate objective of making all the two hundred and thirty (230) constituencies district assemblies as well (ibid, 17). There was a further promise by the NPP to increase the District Assembly Common Fund from seven and a half (7.5%) per cent to ten (10%) per cent. Let's take note that it was their government that increased District Assembly Common Fund from five (5%) per cent to seven and a half (7.5%) per cent already (ibid). As expected, the then major opposition party, the NDC and now the ruling party after the 2008 elections had this to say about the NPPs local government policies: 'Unfortunately, the two re-demarcation exercises undertaken by the NPP Government in 2003 and 2007/2008 do not appear to have followed any accepted principles of re-demarcation of district boundaries. The representation ratio designed to be achieved was not made known and neither has the ultimate number of districts sought to be created been made known. Some of the re-demarcations fly in the face of the demarcation principles laid down in Local Government Act, 1993, Act 462, and the resultant sub-district structures have not been properly re-aligned between the old and new districts' (NDC Manifesto, 2008:29).

The NDC further suggests that 'Three amendment Legislative Instruments (LI's) passed by Parliament in 2004 designed to change the composition, structure and functions of the SMDCs have proved so confusing that 4 years after their passage, it has not been possible to implement them. At the same time, LI's for Tamale, Cape Coast and Tema Metropolitan Assemblies have been passed that give those Assemblies a composition, structure and functions different from those of the previous three Metropolitan Assemblies of Accra, Kumasi and Shama-Ahanta East' (ibid, 30). Better still, the NDC alleges that 'the original intention behind the decision to reserve 30 per cent of the membership of the District Assemblies for appointment by the President 'in consultation with chiefs and other interests groups in the district' has been abused and misused by the NPP Government in such a way

that it ought to be revisited. It has now become an avenue for rewarding political party cronies and dishing out political largesse such that political party executives now dominate the appointments to the Assemblies, regardless of their competence and ability to make productive contributions' (ibid).

However, over a year down the line in power, the changes the NDC intends to make to this situation are yet to be seen. They went forward to reiterate what according to them was a 'bizarre phenomenon that emerged after the 2006 district level elections when appointed members who were suspected of being against the President's nominees for the position of District Chief Executive (DCE) were dismissed in the morning of the voting for the approval of the nominees in order to pave way for the confirmation of these nominees (ibid). In all of these, one thing is clear, that the 1988 reforms have come to stay and only minor modifications can be done to them other than a holistic change as was the case in the past anytime there was a change in government. The continuity of this present system since 1988 regardless of changes in regimes proves its resilience even though a lot of aspects about it could be improved. The NDC argues that the 'NPP Government made a commitment to have DCEs elected in its 2000 Manifesto when it was in opposition. That they have found it 'wise' not to change the constitutional procedure for the appointment of DCEs for the nearly eight years that they have been in power means clearly that the present system has merit. The NDC Government will stick to the constitutional provision while taking steps to deal with the identified weaknesses and abuses associated with it' (ibid, 31). 'Incorporating in the envisaged Broadcasting Law a provision for local FM stations to devote some air time to district and community-specific issues, including the possibility of live broadcast of District Assembly members and their electorates' is what the NDC intends to do (ibid).

3.2 STRUCTURE OF GHANA'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM

It is important to note that since the local government structure of Ghana is in several tiers/phases/levels, co-ordination will be a key facilitating measure in the whole structure to ensure its practicality and effectiveness in terms of implementation. The presidency, cabinet and civil service are at the centre and connected to the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies through the ten (10) Regional Co-ordinating Councils popularly called the 'RCCs' located in the ten (10) administrative regions of Ghana. Beneath the level of the Metropolitan Assemblies are the Sub-Metropolitan District Councils as well as the Town

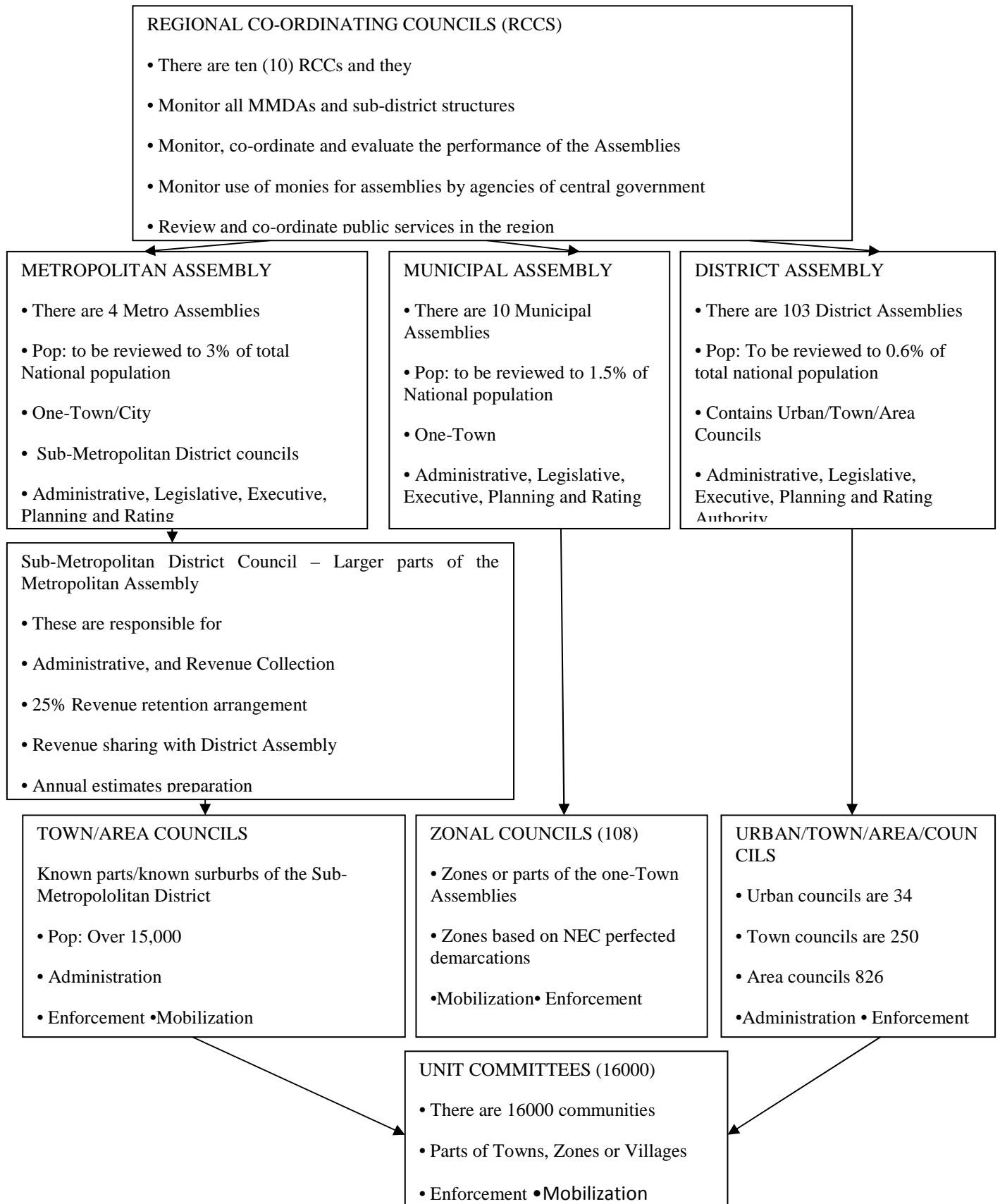
Councils. Under the Municipal and District Assemblies are the Zonal Councils and Urban/Town/Area Councils respectively. The very lowest level to the bottom is the Unit Committees which represent the last stage in the structure. It is generally called a four-tier system, even though that depends on the way you look at it. Below is the structure for administrative local government of Ghana.

FIGURE 5:**THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN GHANA**

Level of Government	Political Authority	Role and Linkages	Management Institution
National	Presidency, Cabinet, Ministerial institutions and Public Sector Commissions (e.g. National Development Planning Commission NDPC)	National sector policy formulation, programming and budgeting, standards setting and monitoring; sectoral evaluation of national projects	Civil service operations including the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD)
Region	Regional Co-ordinating Council	Harmonization, coordination and monitoring of national level policies and local level policies as well as development intervention	Local Government Service operating in Departments of RCC
District	Metropolitan, Municipal, District Assembly	Local level policy formulation within context of implementation of national sectoral policies; rating, local level planning, budgeting and implementation	Local Government Service operating in Departments of DA
Town	Urban, Zonal, Town/Area Councils	Day-to-day administration and management services	Local Government Service
Unit	Unit Committee	Mobilization for participation in implementation and enforcement	Secretary (LI 1589.29i)

Source: Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development. Decentralization in Ghana Implementation Status and Proposed Future Directions, Accra: 2002. (Offei-Aboagye cited in Agyeman-Duah: 242).

FIGURE 6: THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE



Source: Adopted from Offei-Aboagye

3.2.1 The Regional Co-ordinating Council

The membership of the regional co-ordinating councils vary from region to region owing to the differences in population, number of district assemblies, size of region among other factors even though Amanfo suggests that it is between seventeen (17) and forty five (45) members (Amanfo, 2003:35). Regions with very dense populations like the Ashanti and Greater Accra regions have a lot of Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies as well as constituencies created for Members of Parliament. Others, though huge by land mass or geography, as is the case of most of the regions in the Northern sector have fewer Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies, parliamentary constituencies and even sometimes, deputy Regional Ministers. When a region has a bigger population density, it will definitely have more members on the regional co-ordinating council since its membership is made of the Regional Minister who serves as chairman of the council as legally required, the deputy Regional Minister (ex-officio member), a career civil servant in the person of the Regional Administrative Officer (appointed), all Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives, all Presiding Members and finally, all Members of Parliament who are ex-officio members (1992 Constitution of Ghana: 141-142). On the part of the Ex-Officio members, though they are entitled to participate in all deliberations they do not have the right to vote on matters that have to be voted for by the members because of controversies or lack of consensus. Even though Regional Co-ordinating Councils are basically administrative bodies and not necessarily concerned or pre-occupied with policy making, it is clear that there may not be enough women on these councils if a lot of females are not made Members of Parliament, Ministers, deputies, Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives as well as Presiding Members since membership to these regional councils is automatic.

3.2.2 Functions of the Regional Co-ordinating Council

Section 113 of the PNDC Law 207 establishes the Regional Co-ordinating Councils and prescribes the following functions for them.

1. Co-ordination and review of various public services in the region.
2. Supervision and monitoring of all Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies as well as their corresponding sub-structures.
3. Monitoring, supervision, co-ordination and evaluation of the activities and performance of all Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies within the region.

4. Supervising and monitoring the expenditure of all financial resources allocated to all Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies from central government agencies.
5. Planning for all Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies and any such functions as may be assigned to it by government.

3.2.3 The Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies

District Assemblies in Ghana come in the forms of Metropolitan, Municipal and Districts. When the assembly's population is about two hundred and fifty thousand (250,000) or more, it is called a Metropolitan Assembly. On the other hand, if the assembly's population is ninety five thousand (95,000) or more, it is called a Municipal Assembly. Furthermore, if the assembly's population is below ninety five thousand (95,000), then it is a District Assembly (75000 and above). There are about six (6) Metropolitan Assemblies and it is suggested by Oftei-Aboagye that their population will be reviewed to about three per cent (3%) of total national population. Metropolitan Assemblies are based on a one-Town/City arrangement with Sub-Metropolitan District Councils being under or part of the main structure. Their functions include administrative, legislative, executive, planning and rating among others (Oftei-Aboagye cited in Agyeman-Duah:243) even though as many as eighty seven (87) functions have been assigned to District Assemblies by PNDC Law 207 (Ghana, 1988:2).

There are equally about ten (10) Municipal Assemblies with their population to be reviewed one and a half (1.5%) per cent of national population based on a one-Town arrangement with functions also ranging from administrative, legislative, executive, planning and rating among others (ibid). There are about a hundred and three District Assemblies (103) whose population is to be reviewed to 0.6 % of national population containing Urban/Town/Area Councils with administrative, legislative, executive, planning and rating functions among others (ibid). However, there have been some changes regarding the distribution of assemblies falling under various Metropolitan, Municipal and District levels since the number of assemblies were increased from one hundred and ten (110) to over one hundred and seventy (170) in total.

3.2.4 Functions of the District Assembly

As a matter of fact, the PNDC Law 207 of 1988 has been harmonised into Chapter 20 of the 1992 Republican Constitution of Ghana. The general functions of the District Assemblies

include administrative, legislative, executive, planning and rating among others making up the eighty-seven (87) functions as stated above (ibid). However, section 6(3) of the 1988 Local Government Law states that the Assemblies shall;

1. Take responsibility in terms of the total development of assemblies including the preparation and forwarding of assembly budgets and assembly plans for central government approval.
2. See to it that public tribunals and other courts are available to the people to facilitate the administration and promotion of justice in the jurisdiction of the assembly
3. Ensure the comprehensive development of infrastructure and all other related public works and services for the assembly.
4. Take steps towards the effective mobilization and use of available resources including financial, human among others.
5. Ensure administrative and political guidance by providing the requisite direction and supervision of all other administrative authorities in the assembly.
6. Harmonize, co-ordinate and integrate plans, projects and programmes within various approved development plans and streamline them with those executed by NGOs, public corporations, ministries and other departments.
7. 'The formulation and execution of plans, programmes and strategies for effective mobilization of the resources necessary for the overall development of the district' (1992 Constitution of Ghana, 139).
8. 'The levying and collection of taxes, rates, duties and fees' (ibid).

3.2.5 The Urban Councils

Urban councils are supposed to assist in the execution of some assembly responsibilities and programmes serving above the Town/Area and Zonal councils. These councils are usually peculiar with District Assemblies and formed for populations of above 15000. There are about thirty four (34) of these councils and all thirty four (34) of them were created in district capitals with the exclusion of eight (8) (Amanfo, 2003:41). Eight (8) elected members from respective assemblies, a number of Unit Committee representatives not exceeding twelve (12) and not more than ten (10) ordinary members in urban areas form a council (ibid).

3.2.6 Zonal Councils

Zonal Councils are associated with Metropolitan Assemblies that have about 95000 residents. There may have been more than four (4) Municipal Assemblies now in view of the addition of sixty new assemblies by the New Patriotic Party administration. However, there were about one hundred and eight (108) of these Zonal Councils based on the four (4) Municipal Assemblies. Constitutionally, the Electoral Commission sets out criteria for the establishment of these councils taking into consideration the population (usually about 3000), common interests, streets, land marks among others (Amanfo, 2003:42). Not more than five (5) people resident in the area, about ten (10) representatives of the unit committees and five (5) elected members from the respective assembly are drawn to form the membership of the council which is supposed to have between fifteen (15) and twenty five (25) members (ibid).

3.2.7 Town/Area Councils

The Town and Area Councils have a similar composition as the Zonal Councils having not more than five (5) people resident in the area, about ten (10) representatives of the unit committees and five (5) elected members from the respective assembly are drawn to form the membership of the council which is supposed to have between fifteen (15) and twenty (20) members. It is important to note that Metropolitan and District Assemblies are the ones that accommodate Town/Area councils which are created for population of between 5000 and 15000 for the Town Councils and not less than 5000 for the Area Councils respectively (ibid). As the names will imply, Town councils are bigger in terms of population and other features whilst the Area councils are usually identifiable with rural populations.

3.2.8 Unit Committees

The Unit Committee is the last tier of the local government structure placed fourth to the bottom. This actually forms the base of decentralization and is more connected with everyday lives of the people. Such essential activities and services like communal labour, revenue mobilization, sanitation, education, health and others are executed by the Unit Committees which are established in rural populations of about 5000 and between 5000 and 15000 for urban areas respectively. In terms of the general membership of these Unit Committees, five (5) members resident in the community and other ten (10) elected members form the

membership of the Unit Committee (Amanfo, 2003:43). In other words, the membership of the Unit Committees should not exceed fifteen (15) members.

3.3 WHO IS ELIGIBLE?

Subject to the 1992 Constitution, ‘the qualifications for membership of a District Assembly, the procedures of a District Assembly and other local government units lower than a District Assembly that may be created shall be provided by law’ (Amanfo, 2003:140). As noted before, all citizens or inhabitants are allowed to participate or contest in local government elections when they satisfy the criteria laid down in section 16 of the PNDC Law 207. The person or persons must be:

1. Ghanaian citizen and not below the age of eighteen (18) years.
2. Permanent member of the respective district he or she seeks to be part of or represent.
3. Must be sane or of sound mind
4. Paid all his or her liabilities relating to rates and taxes

3.3.1 Nominations

1. Any person qualified to vote can be voted for as well. So logically, all qualified voters in the area can be nominated.
2. At least a nomination form picked by a candidate has to be endorsed by 25 people resident in the area.
3. Some two small-sized passport photographs should be submitted to officials of the electoral commission.
4. Organizations including political parties cannot nominate, support or oppose candidates. ‘A political party shall not endorse, sponsor, offer a platform to or in any way campaign for or against a candidate seeking election to a District Assembly or any lower government unit’ (ibid).
5. A lot of information including the use of pictures is provided for the electorate to acquaint themselves with the candidates and electoral processes.
6. Unlike other positions, filing fees/monies are not supposed to be paid to the Electoral Commission before a candidate’s nomination is successful.
7. Aspirants are not discriminated against on the basis of ethnicity, creed, religion, profession, status etc (Amanfo, 2003:45-46).

3.3.2 Campaigns

By the legal regulations, the Electoral Commission is supposed to organise platforms for all aspirants without discrimination in order to afford them the opportunity to campaign and share or sell their vision to the electorate. The reason behind this arrangement is to provide equal platform for the aspirants seeking to represent their electoral areas. However, the platforms organised by the Electoral Commission may not be enough and therefore aspirants themselves would have to organise their own platforms and campaigns to interact with the electorate. Though these elections are non-partisan, it is very difficult to tell whether parties do not go underground to support their preferred candidates to win and boost their numbers in the various assemblies. Indeed, the temptation for political parties to do this subtle or covert activity which flies in the face of the law is very high owing to the level of heated partisan debates over government policies and approval of government appointees at the local level.

3.4 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ELECTED AND APPOINTED MEMBERS AND THE ELECTORATE

3.4.1 Accountability

Since the electorate are the ones who elect about seventy (70%) per cent of the members to the various assemblies, they have the right to redraw or revoke their elected representatives at any point in time if the confidence they reposed or imposed on members is lost as stipulated in page one hundred and forty (140) of the Ghanaian Constitution . This could occur when a member conducts him or herself in a way that is inconsistent and not in keeping with the rules and regulations of the office he or she is occupying. Also, when a member without justifiable reasons consistently abdicates responsibility in relationship to the duties he or she has been assigned, he or she can be removed. More so, it's worthy of note that members are voted for on the basis of certain programmes, ideas and policies which when abandoned also provides a justification for the electorate to ask for the stepping aside of the member as stipulated in section 19 (1) of the Law.

However, this opportunity is not a 'done deal' or a blank cheque as dissatisfied members would have to go through a lot of processes to set a member aside. When a determined electorate follows through the various stages of the recall, the end result will be a bye-election for other qualified and interested members to participate and get elected. But even before they get to the bye-election stage, the District Electoral Commission and Commissioner for that

matter, has to satisfy him or herself that the reason(s) for the protest contained in a petition are proven beyond reasonable doubt as provided by the constitution. Subsequent to this, will be the holding of a referendum for the electorate to decide whether or not such a member should continue in office or be removed. The results of the referendum will be the final determinant on the fate of any such member. In fact, unlike the amendment or repeal of entrenched clauses in the Ghanaian constitution which requires two-thirds decision or verdict in a referendum, sixty (60%) per cent of votes in favour of a recall will then make the position of the said member untenable even if there is a low forty (40%) per cent voter turnout in the referendum.

Similarly, even though the thirty (30%) per cent appointees are appointed by the President, three-fourth majority members of the assembly can make recommendations to the government to recall an appointed member engaging in actions incompatible with his or her office; taking for granted the policy ideas and developmental programmes for which he or she was brought in; and finally, a total neglect of his/her duties and responsibilities. But it has to be noted that it is not only three-fourth majority members of the assembly that can make recommendations to government to effect a recall of a member. Any individual within the electoral area can equally recommend to government to recall a member if he or she has enough justifications for such an action to be carried out. Of course, when an appointed member is successfully recalled, a replacement has to be made by government in the shortest possible time (ibid, 39).

3.5 PROFILE OF THE TWO ASSEMBLIES

As part of an attempt to understand local participation or governance in the two (2) Metropolitan Assemblies, it is paramount that I profile these assemblies in terms of their historical evolution, physical or geographical features, resources, culture, economic activities, social conditions, demographic features and other relevant characteristics. As a matter of fact, there are some differences between these two Metropolitan Assemblies even though both have populations above 250,000 each. The Greater Accra Metropolitan Assembly (A.M.A.) is in the Southern part of Ghana whilst the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly (T.M.A.) is in the Northern part of the country.

3.6 PROFILE OF THE GREATER ACCRA METROPOLITAN ASSEMBLY (A.M.A.)

3.6.1 History

‘The first attempt to set up a town council dates back to 1859 under an Ordinance, which was repealed in January 1861. In 1898, however, the Accra Town Council was formally established under the Town Council Ordinance of 1894’ (A.M.A. Medium Term Development Plan, 2006-2009:55). In fact, the very first meeting of the Council was held on February 14, 1894 as ‘a new constitution came into being after the Accra Town Council had existed for 46 years with an elected membership of seven – five appointed by the Government and two by the Ga Native Authority’ in 1944 (ibid). As the population of Accra increased, it became necessary for a review of the membership which went up from fourteen (14) to thirty one (31) resulting in the formation of Accra Municipal Council with 27 representatives from the Wards and four from the Traditional Authority respectively (ibid).

‘After Ghana attained Independence, an amendment to the 1953 constitution removed traditional representation completely. The Council thus became a wholly representative institution. The Accra City Council was the first of the 58 District Councils to be integrated under the New Local Government System to promote efficiency in the administrative machinery of the Council and to meet the ever-pressing demand for amenities and essential services by the ratepayers. Six Area Councils were created under the new system. They are Ablekuma, Ashiedu Keteke, Kpeshie, Okaikwei, Ayawaso, Osu-Klottey, which are semi-autonomous’ (ibid). However, there are about thirteen (13) Sub Metros presently in Accra Okaikoi North, Okaikoi South, Ashiedu Keteke, Ayawaso Central, Ayawaso East, Ayawaso West, La, Nungua, Teshie, Osu Klotey, Ablekuma North and Ablekuma South and Ablekuma Central Sub Metros.

‘On the 29th June 1961, Accra was declared a City and the Council thus became the Accra City Council. A further development took place in March 1963 with the establishment of the Accra-Tema Development Corporation with responsibility for certain functions that were formerly carried out by the Council. The Accra City Council was dissolved in August 1964; the Greater Accra area was created and a Special Commission was appointed. The Special Commission was made administratively responsible for the Accra-Tema City Council. Also

in the same year, the Executive Chairman of the Accra-Tema City Council was appointed' (ibid, 56).

'Accra has been Ghana's capital since 1877 and is today one of the most populated and fast growing Metropolis of Africa with a population of about 1,695,136 million people and an annual growth rate of 3.36%. The capital was transferred from Cape Coast one hundred and twenty-five years ago. Accra is derived from the Akan "nkran" meaning "an army of ants". It is apparent that the name "nkran" or "nkranfo" is attributed to the thousands of anthills, which dotted the Accra plains. Ghana's first President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, declared Accra a city – the first city of Ghana, in 1961. Accra is not only the seat of Government but also the capital of the Greater Accra Region. Its outlets and inlets cover sea, air and land including rail and motorways. Thus, links to the outside world and the other parts of the country were created. In 1661 the Danes built the second, Christianborg Castle at Osu, about three kilometres from the centre of Accra. For several years, the Christianborg Castle was the official residence of the Governors of the Gold Coast. After Independence, however, it was renovated in a manner befitting the seat of the Ghana Government, and renamed THE CASTLE' (ibid). But the 'Flagstaff House' which Nkrumah occupied as President has been re-constructed with millions of dollars to serve as the seat of government now.

3.6.2 Indigenous People of Accra

'Some historians believe that the people of Lante Dsan-We were first to settle in Accra. Another school of thought has it that the first settlers of Accra were probably the Guans or the Obutus from Western Ghana. However, it is traditionally believed that the ancestors of the present inhabitants of James Town (Ngleshie) were believed to have migrated from Nigeria, probably in the beginning of the 15th century. The Ga Mashie people – meaning indigenous Gas followed them. These people first settled in Accra Central – James Town. They were later followed by other settlements at Nungua, La, Osu (Christianborg), Teshie and Tema. The settlements of Ewes in some parts of Ga Mashie and Osu is manifested by the similarity in customs or indigenous names, and especially the traditional Homowo feast which is also celebrated at Anehor in the Republic of Togo' (ibid, 57). The major occupations of these indigenous people are farming and fishing with women in the fishing communities engaged in trading of the fish produce in what is generally referred to as 'fish mongering'. In fact, the men are called fishermen and the women called fish mongers. The indigenous language

spoken in Accra is 'Ga'. However, 'Twi' has gradually become the most widely spoken language in Accra because of the presence of a huge 'Akan' population.

3.6.3 Population

Accra is one of the most populous cities in Ghana because as seat of the national capital, people from almost all parts of the country continuously move to settle there. It is contended that migration alone contributes to about thirty five (35%) of population increase in Accra. With 'an estimated 2006 mid-year Population of about 1,915,983 million people as projected from 2000 National Population and Housing Census by the Ghana Statistical Service, Accra, Ghana's capital since 1877, is today one of the most populated and fast growing Metropolis of Africa with an annual growth rate of 4.3% (ibid, 50). This is against the backdrop that it had a total population of 1,658,937 in 2000. 'The gross population density for Accra Metropolitan Area was 10.03 person per hectare compared to 6.23 per ha. in 1970. The highest densities in the country were recorded in the Accra Metropolis with an overall average of 69.3-person per/ha' (ibid, 51). About fifty one (51%) percent of Accra's population is female with the remaining forty nine (49%) being male and this is somewhat reflective of the national population distribution in terms of gender.

3.6.4 Geography

'The Southern boundary of the Metropolis of Accra is the Gulf of Guinea from Gbegbegese to the Mukwe Lagoon near Regional Maritime Academy. The boundary continues along the Maritime Road to join the Accra-Tema road to Nungua Police Station Barrier. It turns right to the Ashiaman road till the Railway overhead Bridge on the Motorway and continues to Mile Post 91/2. The total land area of the Assembly is 200 sq. km' (ibid, 29). 'The AMA consists of Precambrian Dahomeyan Schists, Granodiorites, Granites Gneiss and Amphibolites to late Precambrian Togo Series comprising mainly Quartzite, Phillites, Phylitones and Quartz Breccias. Other formations found are the Palaeozoic Accraian Sediments - Sandstone, Shales and Interbedded Sandstone-Shale with Gypsum Lenses' (ibid).

'The coastline of Accra comprises a series of resistant rock outcrops and platforms and sandy beaches near the mouth of the lagoons. The coastline is exposed and because of the close proximity of the continental shelf, a strong coastal and wind action, it is subject to severe erosion. The lagoon systems are relatively small and flushing has been impeded by siltation

or the construction of embankments, which have restricted tidal flow. The largest of the lagoons are Sakumo (Densu delta), and the Korle (Central Accra)' (ibid, 31). The Accra Metropolitan Assembly lies in the Savannah zone with two rainy seasons. On the average, Accra records an annual rainfall of about 730mm, which falls during the two rainy seasons with the first beginning in May and ending in mid-July. The second season begins in mid-August and ends in October as well. The rains usually fall in intensive short storms and give rise to flooding in areas where drainage channels are obstructed (ibid, 32). 'There is very little variation in temperature throughout the year. The mean monthly temperature ranges from 24.7°C in August (the coolest) to 28°C in March (the hottest) with annual average of 26.8°C. As the area is close to the equator, the daylight hours are practically uniform during the year. Relative humidity is generally high varying from 65% in the mid-afternoon to 95% at night (ibid).

3.7 PROFILE OF THE TAMALE METROPOLITAN ASSEMBLY (T.M.A.)

3.7.1 History

The indigenous people of Tamale are the Dagombas who are part of the bigger Mole-Dagbani group. However, there are other ethnic groups in the metropolitan area even though the Dagombas are in the majority and more predominant and homogeneous in the surrounding rural communities and towns. The Languages spoken are Dagbani, Hausa, Gonja and Twi (Salifu, 2002:5). The people of Tamale basically grow all kinds of food crops including maize, millet, sorghum, yam, groundnuts and beans as the main occupation in the peri-urban and rural areas is farming (ibid). Farming here is not done on a large scale but on a subsistence basis for family consumption. But some farmers grow cotton and Yam on a large scale. They also rear animals including goats, sheep, and cattle among others. It is also worthy of note that some small-scale industries are springing up especially in the Tamale Metropolitan area where majority of the people are engaged in commercial activities (ibid).

3.7.2 Population

The Tamale Metropolitan area is the smallest in terms of its land mass as compared to the other eighteen (18) districts in the region. Even though its land area is about 922 km covering about 1.3% of the region, it has the largest population in the region. The Ghana 2000 Population and Housing Census puts its population then at about 300,931 (ibid). The

population distribution is such that those from the ages of 0-14 are 119,756, 15-49 are 144,002 and 50-80 and beyond are 30123. The males are about 146, 979 and females are 146,902. The growth rate of the population is around 3.5% in the Tamale Metropolitan area.

3.7.3 Location

Tamale is bounded by four different districts in the Northern Region. They include the East and West Mamprusi districts to the south; Savelugu/Nanton district to the north; Yendi district to the east; and Tolon/Kumbungu district to the west. The city is situated about 175km east of longitude 1°C and latitude 90°C north with an estimated land surface area of about 1011sqkm. It could be said that Tamale is a nodal city serving as a major convergence zone or point as well as the commercial capital of the three Northern Regions because of its location, population and level of infrastructural development. Most of the famous schools in the north are situated in Tamale.

Unlike other regions and Metropolitan areas, the Tamale metropolis experiences about six (6) months of rain in one rainy season starting from April/May to October peaking in June-August. In fact, it rains in August almost on daily basis and these rains are generally influenced by the south-West winds. The annual mean rainfall of the area is 1.100mm even though there is usually about 95 days experience of intense rainfall. Since there is only one rainy season for the north, the other months without rain are referred to as the dry season also starting from November to March. The month of March is usually so hot that one can experience a sunbath or even sun burns which are largely influenced by the dry North Easterly winds referred to as 'harmattan'. The 'harmattan' which brings about cold winds starts from November and intensifies around December and January up till the latter days of February where hot conditions gradually set in. It has to be noted that the early morning and late evening cold winds are usually interspersed with very sunny afternoons.

3.7.4 Vision and Mission of the Assembly

The Tamale Metropolitan Assembly has as its mission: 'A clean and environmentally friendly metropolis, which attracts the right expertise and investment into vital economic sectors that create high level of employment opportunities. A metropolis where children , women and men have high quality of life, equal opportunities, access to quality and sustained health services,

education, economic resources; and above all participate in decision making' (ibid, 4). Tamale until recently was indeed one of the cleanest cities in the country. However, population explosion has made sanitation management very difficult resulting in heaps and piles of garbage now dotted around the city even though it is still better than that of Accra. The sanitation situation in Accra is so serious that the Metropolitan Chief Executive decried the practice where about thirty five (35%) per cent of assembly's finances is deducted for sanitation management which is still a serious problem for the national capital. The vision of the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly is: 'To enhance the quality of life of the people of the municipality by facilitating the maintenance of Law and Order and mobilizing the physical and financial resources to provide quality socio-economic services especially in education, health, agriculture and Water and Sanitation in collaboration with other development partners and in conformity with broad national policies' (ibid). As a matter of fact, the factors highlighted in the assembly's vision are serious challenges facing the assembly as it aspires to make life better for the people of Tamale and its surrounding communities.

3.8 CONCLUSION

Chapter three looked at the historical and political evolution of local governance in Ghana from the colonial period through to the various constitutional and unconstitutional regimes till present. This was done to let us appreciate that the local government system which is seen as one of the best in the sub-region had its own historical antecedents, strengths and challenges as it evolved. Similarly, the present local government structure starting from the Ministries through the Regional Coordinating Councils, Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies to the Unit Committees has been outlined in this chapter. Some few issues of accountability like eligibility requirements, nominations, recall and revocation of mandate have been discussed. However, efforts made through contacts to the Electoral Commission of Ghana for list of recalls that occurred since 1994 have proved futile as at yet. Additionally, the structure and profiles of the two metropolitan assemblies under study including their history, geography, population, occupation, indigenous people and other socio-economic characteristics have been highlighted.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This methodology chapter includes a justification behind the choice of the two assemblies, sources of data, usual and unusual aspects of the data collection, positive experiences and challenges of the data collection, breakdown of the interviewees and officials, sampling, ethical issues, interpretation/analysis of data as well as validity and reliability of the study. The work used four major sources of evidence. Sampling was both purposive and random because of my desire to interview some public officials in addition to both male and female councilors and unsuccessful candidates. The interview guide or questionnaire was structured even though there were a lot of follow-up questions. Elected councilors from the two assemblies answered the same set of questions just as appointed councilors also answered the same set of questions. Unsuccessful candidates answered their own set of questions as well. Different set of questions were posed to Gender Desk Officers, Presiding Members and Ministers of State. However, the objectives behind some of the questions that the various categories of respondents answered were similar.

4.1 METHODOLOGY

The attempt to explain or find out how women fare in local government elections as candidates or as appointees to represent their localities in the assemblies cannot be done successfully without the adoption of a research approach that can facilitate the study. However, there exists more than one approach to doing research. As a result, this research work could have been pursued through the use of either the qualitative or quantitative approaches. Quantitative approaches ‘assign numbers to qualitative observations’ (Schwartz and Jacobs, 1979:4). ‘In this sense, they produce data by counting and measuring things’ (ibid). Qualitative approaches, ‘on the other hand, report observations in the natural language at large and seldom make counts or assign numbers to these observations’ (ibid). But these two major approaches are not without shortfalls leading to some scholars deciding to adopt the mixed approach which combines aspects of the two general approaches. This study specifically employs and uses the qualitative method in order to provide an extensive explanation on the subject matter even though it is also argued that some quantitative instruments may better facilitate replication (King et’ al, 1994:5). Moreover, some statistics have also been used to explain some aspects of the study to support the human perceptions,

behavior, feelings and attitudes in greater depth. Sica (2006:5) suggests that researchers could get some advantages by combining qualitative methods and statistical analysis sometimes. Broadly however, my choice is largely conditioned on the nature of the study and the extent to which I may exercise control over events of the study (Yin, 2003:1).

The study uses a case study method which Yin defines as ‘an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident’ (ibid, 13). In fact, this study is drawing extensively from qualitative data to be used for the work with some statistics on local government election results. More importantly, the qualitative method is used because the study is exploratory in nature as it attempts to find out how many women eventually make it into both the Accra and Tamale Metropolitan Assemblies as government appointees and elected members. In addition, the work tries as much as possible to look at the factors influencing female’s participation in local governance in a broad and in-depth manner as is usually done in qualitative studies. Unlike the quantitative approach which mostly takes a lot of variables and does less detailed analysis, this study focuses on few variables with a view to investigating them in a detailed manner. Admittedly also, I am not too familiar with quantitative analysis and would therefore require a lot of assistance if I had to use the quantitative approach to undertake this comparative study of the Tamale and Accra Metropolitan Assemblies with reasonable success.

4.2 WHY THE TAMALE AND ACCRA METROPOLITAN ASSEMBLIES?

The two assemblies have been chosen because of their socio-economic and cultural similarities on the one hand and dissimilarities on the other. In other words, the assemblies are significantly different in a number of respects even though they share some structural similarities and some common problems. Indeed, cases with a good number of very similar characteristics and variables could enhance qualitative comparative work as differences in only one independent variable could be the basis for conclusions to be drawn (Ragin 1987, cited in Sica, 2006:59). As a matter of fact, both assemblies are metropolitan in nature meaning that their populations are over two hundred and fifty thousand (250,000) each and are therefore on the same local government institutional level. Institutionally, assemblies in Ghana have been structured along three levels with the biggest being the metropolitan assemblies which are closely followed by municipal assemblies and then district assemblies

respectively. Additionally, both cities are very big and home to almost all ethnicities and groups of people making them cosmopolitan in nature. For example, Accra has been overwhelmed by other ethnicities from other parts of the country who are now more than the indigenous people (the Ga-Adangbme people) of Accra. Similarly, even though the indigenous Dagomba ethnic group is still in the majority, there is a very significant presence of other ethnicities in Tamale from all over the country as well. So, it will not be out of place to state that both metropolises are relatively multicultural. More so, the two assemblies have some common problems in the areas of sanitation management, housing, security and crime, unemployment and perhaps erratic or irregular utility services including water and electricity. Lastly, both places can be said to be accessible through a reasonably good network of roads and airports which could facilitate transportation for research purposes in both the Northern and Southern parts of Ghana.

However, it is important to re-establish the fact that the choice of the two assemblies was driven by not only the commonalities but the apparent differences in socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the two places. Qualitative comparative studies could also be conducted successfully on different cases in order to test or observe how the independent variables will influence the case or the dependent variable (ibid). The Accra Metropolitan Assembly is located in Ghana's national capital in the Greater Accra Region whilst the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly is located in the Northern Regional capital town of Tamale. Even though both assemblies are metropolitan in nature (above 250,000 in population), Accra's population of 1,658,937 is much bigger than that of Tamale which is 300,931 (2000, Ghana Population and Housing Census). Also, out of one hundred and four (104) appointed and elected councilors in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly, females are thirty three (33). However, both elected and appointed female councilors are only six (6) out of a total seventy eight (78) members of the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly. Similarly, whilst all the thirteen (13) sub-committees in Accra have female membership with even three (3) committees being chaired by women, no female in Tamale chairs any of the seven (7) sub-committees even though only three (3) of the committees have female membership or representation.

The two regions within which the assemblies are located are geographically far apart from each other. Whilst the south is largely seen to have a more agriculturally '... supportive climate and vegetation, the north is characterized with low soil fertility and harsh climate,

with its attendant short planting season and periodic drought' (Dickson and Benneh 1988 & White 2006 in Buabeng 2010:79). Indeed, there are more economic and business opportunities available in Accra resulting in many jobs than in Tamale. Consequently, only eleven (11%) per cent of families in the Northern Region have reliable household wages as compared to about forty (40%) per cent in Greater Accra (GLSS, 2000:12). On the social front, the proportion of adults who have been to school in the Northern Region is twenty eight (28%) per cent whilst that of Accra is about eighty nine (89%) per cent (ibid). In fact, Accra is generally better placed when it comes to some infrastructural facilities and social services regarding healthcare and education than Tamale. But what differences are prevalent among women in terms of representation? This is what Crook and Manor discovered: 'In the north, women participated hardly at all in any of the activities and even the men who participated were generally more educated. In the south, women did participate in meetings (particularly the Unit Committees) but rarely engaged in contacting activities' (Crook & Manor, 1998: 276).

I am also curious to assess the impact of culture on local governance between these two areas. It appears Accra represents a liberal and more open culture than Tamale which is somewhat conservative. For example, I witnessed an incident in Tamale in 2002 where a lady who had just come from Accra and alighted from a State Transport Company bus was severely harassed, embarrassed and hooted at because of her perceived indecent dressing which exposed some parts of her body. She was utterly dismayed and could not even understand what was happening until some other ladies came to her rescue to cover her body and immediately put her in a taxi which drove away. The lady started her trip from Accra and travelled through major towns and cities without any problems until she got to Tamale in the north where the unpleasant incident happened. This incident perhaps demonstrates one of the cultural differences between the Northern and Southern parts of Ghana. In the Greater Accra Region, Christians are about eighty two (82%) per cent of the population whilst Muslims are ten (10%) per cent (ibid 10). But in the Northern Region, Christians are about nineteen (19%) per cent of the population whilst Muslims are fifty eight (58%) per cent and there is a significant number of African Traditional Religion practitioners (ibid). Also, patriarchy is widely practiced in the north and it will be interesting to see how that plays out on the image, roles and resources of females as well as their recruitments into the assemblies. The two assemblies have therefore been selected because of the significant differences between them.

A map below showing how Accra bordered by the 'Gulf of Guinea' or the Atlantic Ocean is farther apart from Tamale in the north which further extends to boundaries of some countries like Togo and Burkina Faso.



A map with a line showing Accra and Tamale

4.3 SOURCES OF DATA

The quality of a research may be influenced by the types and sources of evidence used. Various sources and types of evidence abound and could be used for the work. I have used both primary and secondary data focusing on four sources of evidence and one of the principles of data collection (multiple source of evidence) mentioned by Yin (2003). The four sources includes: interviews, direct observation, documents and archival records. I have taken into consideration factors relating to my interest, the research question, accessibility, safety and security in order to arrive at these four sources. Also, the four sources used in the study have complemented one another to produce quality data for the work. Moreover, these sources satisfy the condition of multiple sources as espoused by Yin in his explanation of the three principles which could be used to facilitate a case study with a view to improving its quality substantially (ibid, 83).

4.3.1 Discussion of the Sources of Data

4.3.2 Interviews

Though interviews are most often used in surveys, it should not be surprising that interviews have been used in this work because they represent a valuable and rich source of information in doing a case study. The interviews have been done in an open, lively but focused manner with the intention of acquiring relevant information to enrich the findings of the study. Yin (2003:90) admonishes that a lot of information could be derived from interviews that are conducted in an open and focused way. Deliberate and purposive sampling techniques have also been employed to identify some interviewees because of the nature of the study. Apart from a few interviewees (officials), majority of the respondents have been picked by the use of random sampling through a process where corresponding numbers were picked randomly to match with the list or names of members provided by the administrators in a numerical ascending order. Also, some of the interviewees included officials from the Ministry of Local Government, Electoral Commission, Regional Co-ordinating Councils and the two Metropolitan Assemblies. The others were the Metropolitan Chief Executives, Coordinating Directors, Presiding Officers of the two Metropolitan Assemblies, both male and female assembly members (appointed and elected) as well as defeated candidates. In fact, more of the interviewees have come from the elected and appointed members of the assemblies as well as those who have been defeated at the polls in their attempt to represent their people in the assemblies.

I acquired a wealth of information from all these people which sheds more light on the intricacies surrounding women's participation in the local government structures within the assemblies. Case studies mostly revolve around human issues and therefore, it was expedient to solicit people's views about pressing issues from their own perspectives (ibid, 92). Yin calls the interviewees informants and argues that their information should be used to corroborate aspects of the study especially when the questions posed to them are non-leading and naively put across (ibid, 90).

I acknowledge that getting quick access to these people who are more or less the resource persons was not easy and even added to this was the question of how to deal with their biases, prejudices and distortions. However, members of the new National Democratic Congress (N.D.C.) government especially the Ministers of State, were anxious to discuss the issues relating to local governance since their party, the N.D.C. is credited with Ghana's most ambitious and far-reaching decentralization policy with its introduction in the late 1980s. No wonder that most of their members have become experts on local governance who are now being consulted by other neighbouring countries on matters relating to decentralization. Even for political reasons, they have been more than willing to provide more explanations to a policy which at the beginning was criticized as being ambitious and yet has now turned out to be the most significant local government reform in Ghana (Ofei-Aboagye cited in Agyeman-Duah, 2008: 234-243).

Interestingly, a leading private newspaper in Ghana, 'The Statesman' criticized the new government that only 11 per cent of appointments went to women which is short of the new government's own party manifesto promise of forty (40) per cent appointments to women. The International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) has also accused the government of going against its own promises in a letter addressed to the President and titled, 'Mr President, Where Are the Women?' (<http://news.myjoyonline.com/politics/200905/29981.asp>). Members of the government at various levels were therefore interested to speak to these matters as a way of providing responses to critical questions raised by the opposition and other interests groups. In fact, the President of the Republic had already responded to petitions and addressed the BBC twice on the role of women in his government.

TABLE 1: TARGETTED INTERVIEWEES

Interviewees	Number
Regional/Local Government Ministers and Metropolitan Chief Executes	6
Gender and Presiding Officers	4
Elected Members	12 (6 males and 6 females)
Appointed Members	12 (6 males and 6 females)
Defeated Candidates	6 (3 males and 6 females)

4.3.3 Why the Selected Interviewees

I interviewed the Minister for Local Government, Northern and Greater Accra Regional Ministers, the Metropolitan Chief Executives, Presiding Officers (of the two metropolitan assemblies) as well as male and female assembly members (appointed and elected). I also interviewed the defeated candidates in the election and the Gender Desk Officers in the assemblies.

The Regional Ministers for Greater Accra and the Northern Region were interviewed because they are the political heads or administrators of the regions within which the assemblies are located. The Local Government Minister and the deputy are responsible for matters of local governance and decentralization. Metropolitan Chief Executives are basically appointees of the president who administer the assemblies and incidentally out of 164 nominations made so far in this category, only 13 are females. (<http://news.myjoyonline.com/politics/200905/29981.asp>). Presiding Officers are members of the assemblies elected by their own colleagues to preside over or chair assembly meetings and they seem to know more about the subject matter of local governance. Thirty per cent of membership of every assembly is appointed by the President whilst the remaining seventy per cent is elected. The appointees are supposed to be technocrats and experts even though most observers suggest that party loyalists are appointed into such positions because of political considerations and pressure other than on the basis of competence.

Those participants who contested the elections and lost too were interviewed because they have been through the electoral process and could explain in detail some of the challenges that made them to lose the elections to their colleagues who are now in the assemblies. Because issues of gender are considered crucial, every assembly has a gender desk manned by officials (mostly women) responsible for gender related matters. They were included in the interviews because they are well versed with information about how women participate in local government elections and other related assembly activities. They equally study the number of women (both elected and appointed) to see what policies and interventions could be employed to increase women numbers to make their participation more meaningful. Incidentally, when I went to Tamale, I met the gender caucus in a meeting deliberating on how to improve the prospects of women in the assembly. I interviewed all these categories of respondents in addition to the defeated candidates in order to acquire more information on the subject matter.

4.3.4 Sampling of Interviewees

It is important to state that not all interviewees/informants were selected through random sampling. This is because some of the interviewees were deliberately chosen to provide some specific information for use of the study. Berg (2007:44) suggests that in some purposive samples, researchers use their expertise or knowledge to include some subjects or interviewees in the sampled population. In fact, almost all the officials were purposively identified and included in the interviews as a result of the positions they held. Most of these positions offered some unique opportunities to the officials responsible for managing them. For instance, the Ministers of state, Metropolitan Chief Executives, Presiding Members, Gender Officers and some personnel of the Electoral Commission were chosen because of the various roles they play in the Ghana Local Government Structure and the information and experience they have gained. However, I had to employ random sampling technique to get elected and appointed members in the two metropolitan assemblies. From each assembly, I picked twelve (12) members comprising of six (6) appointed members and six (6) elected members who had to include both males and females. Indeed, the sampling was done through picking of numbers that corresponded to names of members in a list. It turned out well in Accra with both female and male elected and appointed members included.

However, I had to deliberately pick the only two female elected representatives in the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly because the random sampling left them out after three (3) sample draws. I had to do the same with the appointed females since their number was also only four

(4) and needed to be included in the interview. So, I decided to separate the four (4) appointees and then sampled three of them to add to the other sampled males. I got my twelve (12) appointees and elected members each from the assemblies eventually. I did not just simply choose interviewees on my own because I thought that using the random sampling method could produce some patterns and characteristics that I may not have envisaged or anticipated possibly leading to interesting findings. For instance, at the end of the sample draws both highly educated and lowly educated members, members with different religious persuasions, members with different financial standings, social standings and experiences were drawn together. That of gender was somewhat deliberate especially in Tamale in order to include both males and females.

4.3.5 Documents

Documents come in several forms like articles, newspapers, administrative materials, letters and minutes of meetings covering a variety of issues. The concern has been raised that some documents are produced for particular purposes and may be irrelevant to the pursuit of a case study. Even though it is advisable to consult as much documentation as possible, I was extremely selective to have a well-focused research. Therefore, I largely relied on the Ghanaian constitution, minutes of assembly meetings, bye-laws of the two assemblies, various party manifestoes, progress reports and articles from the Ministries, Departments, Agencies and Assemblies.

The use of the constitution and party manifestoes helped me to examine the political dimensions of women participation in local governance and the extent to which directives, dictates and interventions emanating from these two documents are implemented. This was absolutely necessary because constitutions and party manifestoes say one thing and yet, what goes on in actual practice could arguably be another. Besides, major political parties in Ghana seek to attract the huge female vote by explicitly stating in their manifestoes what they have done in terms of affirmative action in the past when they were in power and what they hope to do when they get the people's mandate again. The bye-laws were examined to find out the extent to which any specific laws have been made to facilitate 'affirmative action' and equal participation between males and females and even further between advantaged and disadvantaged women.

Comprehensive reports on bridging gender gaps were also consulted and some assembly minutes were assessed primarily to get a fair understanding of the kind of issues women who eventually make it to the assemblies prioritize. For instance, whether women ‘...attempt to influence the bureaucracy to support services for women’ (Curthoys, 1988:86) or they are just fighting to be elected into positions for no reason (Kjersti, 1987:11). So it is important to reiterate that the documents were consulted for purposes of getting specific information crucial to the study. Aside these reasons, Yin (2003:87) broadly highlights the relevance of documentation for the purposes of verification (titles and names), corroboration of information and the making of inferences.

4.3.6 Archival Records

Archival records include computer files and records, service records, organizational records, maps and charts, list of names, survey data among others. For the purposes of this research, the list of names were essential and for that matter used to identify the female names in the assemblies through data from the first election in 1994 to the very last one 2006. Also, I tried to get information on the profile of the assemblies through organizational and service records. For instance, the Accra Metropolitan Assembly had a CD containing its profile, activities and some other relevant information. The religious, marital, professional and educational backgrounds of the current women assembly members were also sought. Naturally, the assemblies are expected to have a profile of the representatives of the assembly in their files or data. But this was very difficult to obtain especially in the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly which had not developed a computerized database storage system to keep its information as a back up to the files which were getting destroyed gradually.

4.3.7 Direct Observation

The desire for additional information was partly attained by carrying out a direct observation of what is being studied. The assemblies meet at least not less than four times in a year and could call emergency meetings to address urgent issues as and when necessary. Various committees and sub-committees of the assemblies meet more frequently to carry out assignments in good time to be able to provide briefings during general assembly sessions. I observed sittings of the Accra and Tamale Metropolitan Assemblies as well as their Executive Committee Meetings. Because the number of female members in the assembly in Accra is comparatively large, it appeared they were effective in their contributions to debate in both the assembly and committee meetings. They spoke with conviction and passion to put their

views across without being silenced by their male counterparts. This was invariably the same at proceedings of the Executive Committee. Contrary to what happened at the meetings in Accra, the few females in Tamale were relatively less active than their counterparts in Accra. In fact, to explain the severity of the differences, the only female member who attended the Executive Committee Meeting in Tamale did not make any contribution at all to the debates on activities of various sub-committees and the assembly at large. Could it be that she had no interests in the issues that were being discussed?

However, since she was the only woman in attendance for that meeting, I could not have the opportunity of comparing her to other women and drawing any valid conclusion thereafter. I wish to state, though arguably, that if many female members were made to chair assembly sub-committees and Executive Committees for that matter, female members in Tamale may have spoken at length as did their counterparts in Accra. Other observations pertaining to both assemblies were that members came in late for meetings, had their own meetings within the meeting (talking in twos and threes), bending their heads under their tables to receive phone calls, walked out and back frequently and sometimes the debates almost went personal. I also observed that some of the members for both assemblies could not speak and write good English with some members in Tamale actually addressing their colleagues in the assembly using the local language as medium of interaction. The personal observation provided me with the opportunity to understand some of the issues involved in local politics even better and how women perceived those issues. My participation in the gender caucus meetings for the two assemblies acquainted me with what they were doing to enhance women's participation, contribution and role towards the assemblies. Direct observation was used here because participant observation which is largely used by anthropologists was not an option for me since I am not an appointed or elected member of any of the two assemblies, or even better still, an anthropologist.

But notwithstanding the four sources of evidence used, I observed to see whether physical features or artifacts may add some useful information to the study. On the surface, physical artifacts may appear to be less important as a source of evidence to doing case studies. But on the contrary, physical artifacts could be very significant in case studies as the nature of the environment and its attributes may be able to help in the confirmation of some findings or otherwise. In respect of this study specifically, attention was paid to the physical structure of

the assemblies and the cultural artifacts prevalent in the areas. The physical structure that housed offices of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly occupied a very large land space and was very modern compared with the structure of the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly. In fact, the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly shared a building with the Municipal Education Service resulting in inadequacy of space. Indeed, I found out that both assembly and executive committee meetings were mostly held in the conference hall of another agency opposite the assembly. Even though that could be seen as co-orporation between the assembly and its agencies, it also raised questions about the adequacy of the assembly's facilities especially when compared with the Accra Metropolitan Assembly which held its meetings in its own well furnished conference rooms.

In the nutshell, I believe the use of these multiple sources of evidence provided some more information to the study which could significantly make the findings more dependable and reliable. The reliance on a single source of evidence especially for case studies is not desirable because of the need for triangulation sometimes since different sources have their relative charms and blemishes. Yin (ibid, 98) observes: 'The use of multiple sources of evidence in case studies allows an investigator to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal and behavioral issues. However, the most important advantage presented by using multiple sources of evidence is the development of converging lines of inquiry, a process of triangulation...' So, all the sources of evidence are complimentary and the data emerging from these sources will help in the analysis and findings of the work.

4.4 POSITIVE EXPERIENCES OF THE DATA COLLECTION

Though there were difficulties or challenges during the data collection, there were a lot of other positive aspects of the data collection process. I was marveled at the concern and passion with which some of the members responded to the questions or interviews. They took the interviews very personal and found time to explain the issues they knew very well to me. For those who could not read and write properly, they made me to read and explain the interview questions several times in order for them to understand and offer their responses and opinions. Also, some of them prayed for me and praised the work I was doing as a way of making their views and circumstances known to a wider public. At the Executive Committee Meeting in Tamale, their members insisted I take the lunch that was provided for them even though I was not a member of the committee.

More so, some of the members to some extent lobbied their somewhat unwilling colleagues to fill in the interview guide or accept to be interviewed. In fact, one female member of the Tamale assembly who had to embark on an urgent trip filled in the interview guide and called me to go for it at her home. She was kind enough to show me the direction to her home on phone and even called back later to tell me she had called her daughter to find out whether I was able to make it to her home for it and the daughter said 'yes'. She was exceedingly nice and helpful in the process which gave me some renewed energy to carry through the process. I must also concede that the data collection process offered me the opportunity to get to know some important government officials like Ministers of State, Members of Parliament, Metropolitan Chief Executives, Presiding Members, Chief Directors, Public Relation Officers among others.

4.5 CHALLENGES OF THE DATA COLLECTION

Even though the data collection process went on well for the most part, there were equally some compelling challenges. Because I underestimated the difficulties to be encountered in trying to talk to high government functionaries or political appointees before leaving for the data collection, I included a whole lot of such functionaries on my interview list. Firstly, there were formalities to undergo to be able to get into the offices of these high government functionaries in order to have an interview with them. But the formalities were even less frustrating than the persistent absence of most of these officials from their offices attending to issues or programmes within and outside their communities. As a result, the few days that they would have been present in their offices to work will be used largely to clear assignments that have piled up for them or be engaged in departmental meetings after meetings for longer hours for a number of days.

For instance, it took me about three days to be able to talk to the Northern Regional Minister because of his busy schedules. For the first two days, I waited to speak to him from morning to evening but was unsuccessful. I was even the only person he granted audience the third day because he had met me in his office around 9:00 pm in the evening of the second day and promised to talk to me the following day early morning before leaving to address a function. The situation was not different in Accra but even worse in some cases as I never got to speak to the Deputy Minister for Local Government and the Metropolitan Chief Executive because

of their persistent absence. Part of the problem was because the study is a comparative one and data had to be collected from two regions that are far apart from each other which naturally made it impossible for me to stay in one region for a longer time or throughout. The fact that I had to write down the views of some high government officials who are all educated also demonstrates how busy they were. Because they could have taken the interview guides to fill in their responses without having to let me write for them. In fact, I had to resort to the usage of abbreviations or short hand in order to capture their responses. The gender officer of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly was another person that it took me a long time to find and talk to since she was also always busy and not regular in office as she had to move out for meetings and programmes.

Another difficult part had to do with the members of the assembly who were made up of seventy (70%) per cent of elected members and thirty (30%) per cent government appointees. Since I did random sampling to pick six (6) appointees and six (6) elected members each from the assemblies, the possibility of either picking those who could read and write or those who could not read and write was imminent. After the sampling, I got a mix of those who could read and write and those who could not. In fact, I did not know these people since I picked the total lists from the administrator for the sampling from which I eventually got the interviewees. After this, I had to wait for an assembly meeting to get names of the sampled members mentioned for me to start familiarizing with them. There was a meeting and I managed to get to know these interviewees who surprisingly thought that there was perhaps a very special financial package for them initially. I could see from their reaction after I told them all what it was about that some of them were not inspired but rather somewhat disappointed.

But even more problematic was the fact that three (3) members out of the sampled few had been absent from the meeting. I either had to quickly conduct another sampling exercise and hope that absentees would not be part of the list again or rely on some of the members to take me to the residencies of the three members absent. I chose the latter which was very difficult and time consuming as I tried to appeal to other members to take me to the homes of their colleagues. After this, it became extremely difficult to get those who had volunteered to help me locate the other three (3) colleagues since they claimed they were busy. Even all the members I had seen found it difficult to schedule their time for us to meet much more those I

was yet to be sent to see. For those who were around, just a small fraction of them granted interviews to me because of their packed assembly programmes for the day. I made countless telephone calls and visits to some of these members and my experience was not that pleasant. Most of them gave me time to come to their homes and yet they were not around at the time of the visit. Others had not yet filled in the interview guide at the time I was at their homes and would not mind telling you to give them some more time. Indeed, a good number of the interviewees only remembered that they had something to do with you only when they saw me around regardless of promises they had made to me earlier.

4.6 WHAT WAS EXPECTED

A number of things in my opinion were normal or usual on the ground as I went for the data collection. Firstly, there were more members especially women members for that matter in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly than the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly. Of course, Accra is the capital city of Ghana and the most populous which therefore means that it will naturally have more electoral areas and members than Tamale. The difference in terms of number of members between the two assemblies is twenty six (26) because Accra has one hundred and forty (140) members whilst Tamale has seventy eight (78). Also, the physical infrastructure housing the personnel and officers of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly is bigger and well equipped with more modern facilities than the facilities of Tamale Metropolitan Assembly. More revenues are collected from the many markets, stores, businesses and other properties in Accra even though it comes with more responsibilities in the form of enormous expenditures in sanitation management, security and others. More so, things were better organized in Accra with more activity in and around the assembly than Tamale in general. As expected, the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs and other Non-governmental Organizations organized a series of programmes jointly and separately to improve upon the skills and capacities of female contestants.

4.7 WHAT WAS UNUSUAL

Even though I had anticipated the way some things could be, there were other things that I had no exact idea about and therefore could not imagine how they would be. I made some observations that were unusual according to my mind because I did not know about those things before. In the first instance, some of the interviewees felt I was going to benefit financially from the data collection exercise or had been given enormous financial resources to carry out the exercise. Therefore, some of them behaved in a way that suggested that they

would not turn down any financial or material overtures that I may have offered to them. One of the respondents in Accra told me jokingly that he could not do this for free whilst his colleague said he had heard I gave money to the members who earlier had audience with me.

Also, I was surprised to find out that the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs after recognizing the serious challenge of inadequate financial resources on the part of women could only give each female candidate/contestant GHC 20 (\$14). This in my opinion and in the opinion of other members was highly inadequate and could not meaningfully help them to do better. However, the good thing for some of the women candidates was that they were able to obtain some financial assistance from some Non-governmental Organizations. Also unusual was the fact that there was a reduction in the number of female representatives in the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly from eleven (11) in the immediate past assembly to six (6) in the present assembly. There was a difference in the number of sub-committees established by the two assemblies.

I observed that the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly had only seven (7) sub-committees whilst that of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly had about thirteen (13) sub-committees. But even more surprising was how women were included or distributed among the various sub-committees. I realized that women were represented in all thirteen (13) committees of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly whilst only three (3) committees included females in the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly. There was nothing like the women and children's sub-committee to handle matters relating to the welfare of women and children for the assembly at Tamale. Added to this was that there was no single female chair person in Tamale at the level of the sub-committees even though about three (3) of their counterparts in Accra had been privileged to be chair person's of about three (3) sub-committees. It was also observed that Tamale had only two (2) elected women in the assembly presently out of fifty four (54) elected members.

The Northern Regional Minister mentioned that contrary to the principles underlying the appointment of thirty (30) per cent membership of the assembly, some Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives will recommend people they could control rather than members with expertise and specialized skills to make up for deficiencies of elected members. Similarly, the Local Government Minister made a point that one of Ghana's powerful Kings pushed about five of his favorites through for appointment regardless of

gender considerations in one of the metropolitan assemblies. Responses from both Presiding Members on the question of whether female candidates have been presiding members in the past were mixed. *'Women have not been contesting for the position of the Presiding Member'* was the answer provided by the Presiding Member of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly and corroborated by the Gender Desk Officer who said females showed no interest in contesting for the position of the Presiding Member. But his counterpart in Tamale attributed the reason to male chauvinism and the reality of their inadequate numbers in the assembly which was coincidentally confirmed by the Tamale Gender Desk Officer who suggested that *'The men are not gender sensitive and they have exceedingly negative perceptions about women and leadership'*. This coincidence was very thrilling and surprising for me especially as no reason was provided to explain why female members in the assembly in Accra have never shown interests in becoming Presiding Members of the assembly.

Much as both assemblies had some very educated members including even a Professor, there existed also an appreciable number of illiterates and semi illiterates who found it somewhat difficult to read and write. Questions had to be read for them and on some few occasions further explanations done to help them understand the demands of some particular questions. Indeed, some of the assembly members in Tamale spoke or addressed the assembly in the local dialect which they were very proficient in and much more comfortable to use. Also, by some coincidence or whatever, the two Executive Committee Members from the two assemblies that I spoke to were divorcees with the one in Tamale lamenting over her status which she said sometimes impacts on her morale and personality negatively because of some comments people may make about her. Lastly, because of the small female numbers in the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly, past assembly women were invited for a caucus meeting that was organized to discuss the issues facing the women.

BREAKDOWN OF SUCCESSFUL INTERVIEWEES

ELECTED AND APPOINTED MEMBERS	NUMBER
Accra: Elected and appointed members	12 (6 each) members
Tamale: Elected and appointed members	12 (6 each) members
Accra: Unsuccessful candidates (lost)	3 candidates
Tamale: Unsuccessful candidates (lost)	3 candidates
Sub-total (member's column)	30 members

OFFICIALS	NUMBER
Accra: Regional Minister	1
Tamale: Regional Minister	1
Local Government Minister	1
Accra: Presiding Officer	1
Tamale: Presiding Officer	1
Accra: Gender Desk Officer	1
Tamale: Gender Desk Officer	1
Tamale: Metropolitan Chief Executive	1
Sub-total	8
Sum-total (Official's column)	30+8 = 38

It is important to note that the target was to interview thirty (30) elected and appointed local representatives of the people as well as ten (10) public officials from various Ministries, Departments and Agencies. I am pleased to say that I was able to interview as many as thirty (30) elected and appointed representatives even though it was not without difficulties.

However, the objective of speaking to ten (10) public officials was not fully achieved because all efforts on my part to speak to the Accra Metropolitan Assembly Chief Executive and the Deputy Local Government Minister proved futile. Yet, I take respite in the fact that I was able to speak to eight (8) other officials that included the Local Government Minister, Regional Ministers, Presiding Members, Gender Desk Officers as well as both elected and appointed local government representatives.

4.8 ETHICAL ISSUES

Ethical matters or considerations are very important for every research adventure or study. Therefore, respondents and interviewees were assured of confidentiality as their consent was appropriately sought in respect of all information that they provided. To assure them further, recording devices were not used in order to give informants/interviewees the confidence to speak to the issues without any fears and suspicions. In fact, Ghanaian public officials are exceedingly skeptical with audio recording devices because some Ghanaian journalists have the habit of recording public officials sometimes without their knowledge only to replay their voices in the electronic media to create problems for them. For instance, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) Chairman lost his position as the then ruling party Chairman because he had been secretly recorded in one of his addresses to core party members in a close-door meeting where he discussed party financing, kickbacks and the alleged tight involvement of the Presidency in his party's financial management. This scandal somewhat changed the way some Ghanaian officials view recording devices. Some officials will not even respond to your greetings when they see you with such a device as you could possibly pass or sell information to the media for money even if you are not a journalist.

But interviewees were informed that the work is purely for academic purposes and not for other reasons either than that. All documents used and sites visited have also been properly acknowledged and documented to avoid issues of plagiarism. When the need arose for some pictures to be taken during the direct observation of assembly and committee meetings and also in interviews, permission was duly sought from appropriate authorities before that was done. Also, I registered with National Archives to satisfy the Ghanaian requirement for use of some national data. This is because National Archives is officially responsible for keeping information and documents of the country and people wishing to get some information have to officially register with them before access will be granted to them to use the facility.

4.8.1 Interpretation/Analysis

The analysis and interpretations will be done on the basis of the views elicited from the interviews, records of both successful and unsuccessful women who have contested in local government elections since 1994 as well as data on socio-economic and politico-cultural conditions of the areas within which the two assemblies are cited. Also whether firstly, there are significant differences in numbers of female assembly members in Accra and Tamale and secondly, whether any differences observed will largely be as a result of differences in socio-economic and political conditions will be established. The way and manner both elected and appointed members are recruited into the assembly and the extent to which the recruitment processes are related to the 'individual supply and demand theory' will be assessed. In other words, the influence and interrelationship of gatekeepers or groups on the demand side and personal qualities of candidates like education, skills, motivation, financial resources and family status on the supply side, will be investigated relative to how recruitments of elected and appointed members to local assemblies in Ghana are done. Additionally, the extent to which recruitment theories relate to the objectives, research questions, independent variables and hypothesis will be established.

4.8.2 Validity and Reliability

4.8.3 Construct Validity:

Validity is very crucial for every research as it may serve as a defense shield to the research and for that matter, the integrity of the researcher by logical extension. 'Establishing correct operational measures for the concepts being studied' is crucial for construct validity (ibid, 34). My operational definition and interest in participation will specifically relate to how many women become assembly members either through appointments or elections. One way of achieving construct validity according to Yin, is to use 'multiple sources of evidence, in a manner encouraging convergent lines of inquiry' among others (ibid, 36). Moreover, 'A basic contention of multi-strategy approach is that the use of many sources and techniques of data collection as possible and appropriate for the research problem in question will have a greater potential yield as far as the production of theoretical ideas and concepts is concerned' (Layder, 2005: 68). Incidentally, as discussed in my methodology above, I intend to use about four sources of evidence to achieve this. Also, since the interviewees will be informed about the purpose of the work (academic) and that recording devices will not be used, I presume respondents will be sincere in their responses to further enhance construct validity.

4.8.4 Internal Validity

As far as internal validity is concerned, the extent to which possible socio-economic and politico-cultural differences amongst individual assembly members and also of the two assemblies under study can be strong enough for a causal relationship to be established between those factors and women's participation will be comprehensively analyzed. To enhance validity even further, all other possible spurious variables will be carefully examined to ascertain their true impact, if any causal relationships will have to be drawn so that the hidden impacts of these variables do not affect the validity of the findings. Yin (2003:36) has rightly highlighted his concern about the propensity of researchers to draw hasty causal relationships between dependent and independent variables without carefully examining the possibility and potential of spurious variables actually influencing the situation or the dependent variable.

4.8.5 External Validity

The fact that I am dealing with two cases drawn from the two major divides (north and south) of the country can enhance external validity to a reasonable extent. Assuming it was merely a single case in one region; the difficulty would have arisen over the possibility to make any generalizations beyond the said area. For instance, the findings of Amanfo in her study of the Tema and Accra Assemblies will be limited to the Greater Accra Region alone which is only one out of the ten (10) regions in Ghana. But admittedly, though I could take some bit of comfort to generalize because I will be looking at two areas, the two cases may still not produce enough grounds for a total generalization which is representative of the country as a whole. Griffin et al. (1991) and Sica (2006:15) suggest that generalizing beyond selected cases (local explanations) with 'fewer than relevant universe of cases' could lead to misleading generalizations sometimes. In relation to the point made above, Yin relates statistical generalization to surveys and analytical generalization to case studies when he says, 'Survey research relies on statistical generalization, whereas case studies rely on analytical generalization. In analytical generalization, the investigator is striving to generalize a particular set of results to some broader theory' (ibid, 37). I clearly intend to do an analytical generalization using the information gathered to explain the recruitment theory.

4.8.6 Reliability

There is no doubt that the reliability of this research is of uttermost significance and could even be more important than the findings. The possibility of another researcher in the future

obtaining similar findings could slightly be controversial as it depends more on the type of issues, time, purpose, the environment, changes and processes used. I must state that the processes and stages followed in this work will be documented properly so that future student researchers may attempt to go into a similar area of research with fewer difficulties. However, whether later researchers will eventually arrive at the same or similar findings will be another argument. This is so because, problems like the change of interviewee's opinions on issues, changes in the environment since this research, the time lap between the two researches, new legislation or amendment of the local government law 207 among a litany of other factors may significantly impact on the sameness or otherwise of a later research conducted by others. But in a much broader sense, it could be argued, though controversially, that this situation highlights the major difference between the social and physical sciences over the age long debate about replication in research.

Even though I agree with Przeworski and Teune (1992:26) who say '... that human and social behavior can be explained in terms of general laws established by observation' it is argued that: 'social scientists who – for whatever philosophical or methodological reasons... view human behavior as simply reactive and consequently susceptible to the same explanatory logic as 'clocklike' natural phenomena are trying to fashion a science based on empirically falsified presuppositions' (Gabriel Almond, 1992:26). However, my intention is not to provide a 'clocklike' explanation to social phenomena which in my opinion is fluid and not static. Consequently, reliability or replication cannot be understood exactly the same way by both the physical and social sciences. But in spite of the different perspectives of the two sciences, Yin (2003:38) maintains that the documentation of procedures is paramount to future investigations and this has been taken seriously in this work.

4.9 CONCLUSION

I hope that data on the independent variables has been sufficient enough to explain the dependent variable. Also, I expect that the data collected will explain the extent of convergence or otherwise with the recruitment theories employed. The use of multiple sources of evidence along with other measures will help enrich the findings and conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the data that was collected in the two metropolitan assemblies highlighting the dependent variable under study. There is mention of the numbers of males and females as appointees and elected members as well as sub-committee representations. Results of local government elections since 1994 till present have been shown through the use of bar charts. A table containing summaries of elected males and females in both metropolitan areas from 1994 to 2006 is also presented. General responses from interviewed officials, a table of interviewed officials and assembly members, analysis of data, its implications and conclusion are part of this chapter. More specifically, tabular representations of views on motivation, individual financial resources, family status/background, membership in organizations, religious and cultural beliefs, gender, level of education and institution of quotas have been done.

5.1 THE ACCRA METROPOLITAN ASSEMBLY (A. M. A.)

The Accra Metropolitan Assembly (A. M. A.) has a total membership of one hundred and four (104) members with sixty eight (68) being elected members and thirty six (36) being government appointees respectively. There are about sixty (60) electoral areas which fall under eight sub-metropolitan councils. The sub-metropolitan councils are Ashiedu Keteke, La, Osu Klottey, Abossey Okai, Ablekuma North, Ablekuma South, Ayawaso East, West and Central, and Okaikoi North and South. Out of the sixty eight (68) elected members, twelve (12) representing eighteen (18%) per cent are female and the remaining fifty six (56) representing eighty two (82%) per cent being male. In relation to the thirty six (36) government appointees, eleven (11) representing thirty one (31%) per cent are female and the remaining twenty five (25) representing sixty nine (69%) per cent being male. In sum, both elected and appointed females are twenty three (23) representing about twenty two (22%) per cent whilst the males are seventy eight (78%) per cent of the one hundred and four (104) member assembly. A table below shows the representation of both males and females in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly.

Table 2: Appointed and Elected Members in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly

Gender	Appointed	Elected	Total
Female	11(31%)	12(18%)	23(22%)
Male	25(69%)	56(82%)	81(78%)
Total	36(100%)	68(100%)	104(100%)

On committees, Act 462 provides for five statutory sub-committees as well as the establishment of other sub-committees to address unique concerns of particular assemblies. The statutory sub-committees are social services, finance and administration, works, development planning, and justice and security’ (Ofei-Aboagye cited in Agyeman-Duah, 2008:248). But there are thirteen (13) working committees established for the proper handling of the assembly’s activities. They are security and justice, revenue mobilization, food and agric, youth and sports, finance and administration, education, social services, works, development planning, women and children, health, environment and disaster sub-committees. Female assembly members are included in all the thirteen (13) committees. Three (3) of the thirteen (13) committees have females as chair persons which represents about twenty three (23%) per cent. The women and children’s committee which is chaired by a female has a total of thirteen (13) females. Some committees like food and agric, education, development and environment have as many as six (6) female members sitting on each of the committees. In all, females chair three (3) sub-committees in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly. It has also been found out that there are more male than female members on the executive committee.

5.2 THE TAMALE METROPOLITAN ASSEMBLY (T. M. A.)

The Tamale Metropolitan Assembly has a total membership of seventy eight (78) with fifty four (54) members being elected and twenty four (24) members being appointees of the government. Interestingly, of the fifty four (54) elected members only two (2) representing about four (4%) per cent are females with the remaining ninety six (96%) per cent being males. Of the twenty four (24) government appointees, only four (4) are females representing about seventeen (17%) per cent whilst the rest of the twenty (20) representing eighty three

(83%) per cent are males. In total, the number of both elected and appointed females in the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly is six (6) representing about eight (8%) per cent of the total membership of the assembly. Comparatively, even though the number of elected females in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly is not the best, it is eighteen (18) per cent which is far better than the four (4) per cent achieved in the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly. The executive committee of the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly is made up of 28 members including only two (2) women representing about eight (8%) per cent even though two (2) females out of a total of six (6) females in the assembly represents thirty three (33%) per cent. The remaining ninety two (92) per cent of membership in the executive committee is made up of males. Below is a table of councilors in the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly.

Table 3: Appointed and Elected Members in the Tamale

Gender	Appointed	Elected	Total
Female	4(17%)	2(4%)	6(8%)
Male	20(83%)	52(96%)	72(92%)
Total	24(100%)	54(100%)	78(100%)

One of the two executive committee female members that I spoke to in Tamale was coincidentally a divorcee just like her colleague that I earlier interviewed in Accra who was also a divorcee. The Tamale Metropolitan Assembly has seven (7) sub-committees including development, education, finance and administration, works, revenue mobilization, social service and environmental sub-committees. It is important to note that the thirteen (13) sub-committees in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly include that of women and children’s sub-committee and others which are not found in the sub-committees of the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly. Surprisingly, none of the seven sub-committees in the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly had a female as chair person. In fact, I discovered from my interaction with the officer in charge of gender, Madam Adishetu that a female member of the assembly by name Hajia Hajara Telly chaired the revenue mobilization sub-committee in the immediate past assembly and did exceedingly well. According to the Gender Desk Officer, she was very successful and her success reflected in the increased revenues mobilized by the committee and

the assembly for that matter. She therefore argued that, more females should endeavour to chair committees in order to improve upon the services of the assemblies and also bring on board issues that are affecting women. This is because, ‘The individuals who chair committees can be both influential and powerful. They have an important role in agenda setting and liaising with the chief officers of the council (Elcock 1994 cited in Bochel & Bochel 2000:67).

Out of the seven (7) sub-committees, females are only represented in three (3) sub-committees in the assembly with the highest number of women being only two (2) in the finance and administration sub-committee. In contrast to the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly, the Accra Metropolitan Assembly has females in all the thirteen (13) sub-committees with even some sub-committees alone recording up to thirteen (13) female members with three (3) females being chair persons. It should also be emphasized that the Accra Metropolitan Assembly did not only have the women and children’s sub-committee in the first place, but secondly allowed more women into that particular sub-committee. Incidentally, the Tamale Gender Desk Officer and members of the female caucus held a meeting to deliberate on the problems confronting women and how to find concrete ways to improve upon the political and electoral fortunes of women in the region. Increased numbers of women in the assemblies would ensure equity and provide females with the platform to strongly put their grievances and interests on the assembly’s agenda as well as contribute their quota to development of their localities. Below is a table on chairpersons of assembly committees in both areas.

Table 4: total number of males and females chairing committees

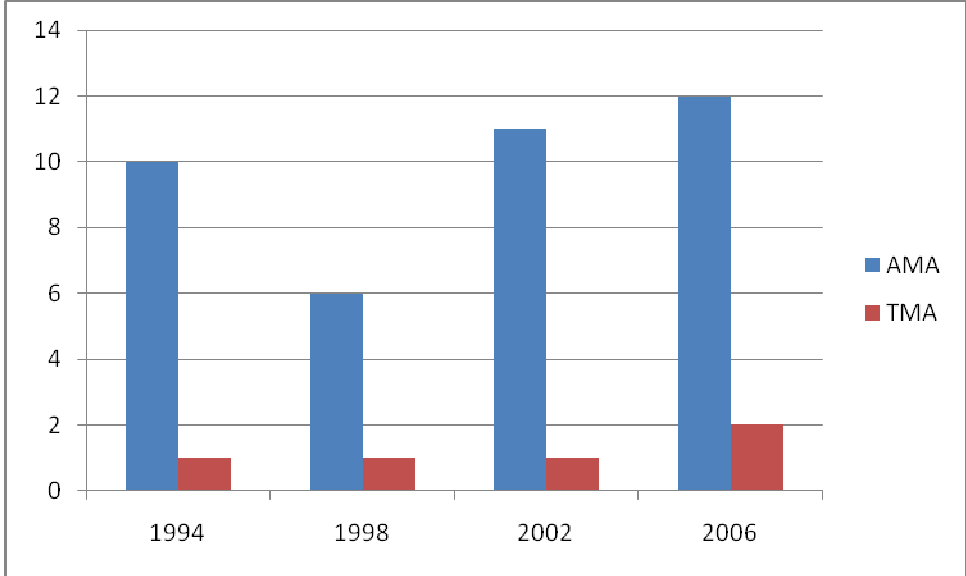
	TMA	AMA	Total
Males	7	10	17(85%)
Females	0	3	3(15%)
Total	7	13	20(100%)

5.3 COMPARISON OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE TWO ASSEMBLIES

Of a total number of sixty (60) government appointees in both assemblies, only fifteen (15) representing twenty five (25%) per cent were females. The remaining forty five (45) representing about seventy five (75%) per cent were males. That of the elected members was not anything different as only fourteen (14) females got elected out of a total of one hundred and fourteen (114) elected members of the two assemblies. The number of females elected represented about twelve (12%) per cent whilst that of the males was eighty eight (88%). Also, it is clear from the tables above that female representation in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly is far better than the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly even though female numbers in both assemblies are altogether unimpressive when compared to males who are in the majority.

Similarly, the number of elected females has been moving up and down slightly since the promulgation of the new constitution in 1992. Whilst the number of elected females in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly has been between six (6) and twelve (12) from 1994 to 2006, that of the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly has been between one (1) and two (2) around the same period. This will be made clear in the charts below. But it is significant to note that a state of emergency was imposed in the Tamale Metropolitan area in 2002 after a conflict resulted in several deaths. This made the holding of local government elections in the area for that year (2002) impossible. Consequently, elected members from 1998 continued as members until elections were held on 11th August, 2005. In 2006 the following year, general local government elections were held across the country but elected members in Tamale invoked article 246 of the constitution which states that local government elections shall be held once every four years. The court upheld their argument and they remained in office without holding fresh elections. Results of female elected members since 1994 to 2006 have been captured in the chart below.

**FIGURE 7:
RESULTS OF ELECTED FEMALES OF BOTH ASSEMBLIES FROM 1994-2006 IN
A BAR CHART**



**AMA = ACCRA METROPOLITAN ASSEMBLY
TMA= TAMALE METROPOLITAN ASSEMBLY**

Out of sixty eight (68) elected members of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly in 2004, as many as fifty eight (58) elected members representing eighty five (85%) per cent were males with the remaining ten (10) representing fifteen (15%) per cent being females. One (1) female was elected into the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly in 1994. This represented only about two (2%) per cent of the total elected members in Tamale. The rest of the fifty three (53) elected members were males which represented about ninety eight (98%) per cent as shown in one of the diagrams above.

The year 1998 saw the reduction of elected female members from ten (10) to six (6) representing a six (6%) percentage drop as compared to the 1994 elections. In effect, the males added more men to their side or fold which increased their percentage from eighty five (85%) per cent in 1994 to ninety one (91%) per cent in 1998. The results of the 1998 election were the same as those of the 1994 election in the Tamale Metropolitan area where only one (1) female member was elected with the rest being males again.

The females in the Accra Metropolitan area increased their numbers from six (6) in the previous election to eleven (11) in 2002. However, the males still had as much as eighty four (84%) per cent of the total membership of the assembly with the remaining sixteen (16%) per cent going to the females. As stated earlier, members from the 1998 assembly continued in office as a result of the state of emergency imposed on the Tamale Metropolitan area. So, the figures for Tamale remained unchanged.

It appears females from both metropolitan areas recorded their highest electoral gains since 1994. Twelve (12) females in the Accra Metropolitan area representing eighteen (18%) per cent were elected as two (2) females for the first time since 1994 were elected into the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly. The males in Tamale still recorded an overwhelming ninety six (96%) per cent exposing the gap between males and females in the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly. But largely, because of the gap between male and female representation observed in both assemblies, some local government staff, public officials, elected members and unsuccessful candidates were asked about their opinion on some of the reasons underlying differences between male and female representation in the assemblies.

5.4 SOME GENERAL VIEWS OF OFFICIALS ON RECRUITMENT OF WOMEN

5.4.1 Views of Gender Desk Officers in the Two Assemblies

The two (2) women responsible for matters relating to gender in the assemblies both contended that more women should be appointed and elected into the assemblies because they contribute to issues of development especially in relation to health of women, building the family, water and sanitation among others. They claimed that women have the skills and expertise to be appointed, elected and selected to the assemblies and its committees. The officers identified inadequate financial resources as a major hurdle to women's desire to participate effectively in local government elections. They explained that participating in local government elections and running successful campaigns to secure victory is a very financially intensive adventure which largely affected many females during recruitments because of their inadequate financial resources. Asked whether that was the only challenge facing female recruitments, Madam Adishetu of the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly added that *'lack of assertiveness, confidence coupled with low self-esteem, negative religious and cultural perceptions about women and intimidation from male contestants were other compelling problems for women in Tamale'*.

Regarding the question of whether women have made significant impact in terms of development, both officers answered that *women have been able to secure some physical developmental projects like public places of convenience, libraries and extension of electricity to their electoral areas or communities*. In recognition of the peculiar financial problems women aspirants face, the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (M. O. W. A. C.) supported all female aspirants across the country with GHC 20 each to support their campaigns. However, this was totally inadequate and could not make any significant impact for the female aspirants in the elections. Also, there were some capacity building programmes and leadership skills training done by M. O. W. A. C., Sent Foundation, Sontaba and Abantu for Development for the female aspirants specifically.

The Gender Desk Officers differed in their responses regarding why female members had not been made Presiding Members in any of the two assemblies being studied. *'The men are not gender sensitive and they have exceedingly negative perceptions about women in leadership'* said the officer in the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly. Her counterpart in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly on the other hand pointed out that unlike the position of committee chairpersons, women never showed interest in the contest to be Presiding Members of the assembly. On the issue of quotas, the Accra Gender Desk Officer indicated that *'the introduction of specific quotas for females would be an excellent policy initiative'*. According to her, this measure will definitely have a positive impact on the socio-economic development of women and children reaffirming the argument of societal effects or impact of quotas. On her part, Madam Adishetu, the Tamale Gender Desk Officer lamented seriously over the reduction in female numbers from eleven (11) in the previous assembly to six (6) in the present Tamale Metropolitan Assembly. In this connection, she suggested that their target was fifty (50%) per cent women quota advocacy for both appointed and elected members and added quickly that there could be a start with the appointed members which in her opinion was the easiest to implement. Also, there is of course no doubt that increased numbers of females through quotas could result in better decision-making in the assemblies.

5.4.2 Views of the Regional and Local Government Ministers

The two (2) regional ministers politically and administratively responsible for the regions in which the two (2) metropolitan assemblies are located were interviewed in addition to the local government minister who is responsible for all local government matters. The Regional

Ministers mentioned that local party executives pick and send proposed appointees to the regional level for further screening and scaling down of names on the basis of competence before they are sent to the President for his final decision in consultation with the Council of State. The Local Government Minister said that consultations are always extensively done with traditional rulers, various economic interests and community opinion leaders to get good persons to sit on the assemblies. He however, quickly added that various governments have abused the opportunity as they have sometimes appointed people who cannot read and write even though they may have other good qualities. He also hinted that the traditional rulers misinterpreted consultations with them to mean that their favorites should be accepted by government without recourse to their competencies. For instance, he mentioned that *'one powerful king in one of the regions in the south was able to get five of his desired people through into the assembly'*.

The criteria for selecting appointees are clearly spelt out in Local Government Act 462 of 1993 where knowledge/expertise about governance, consent of traditional authorities and interest groups are mostly important. But the Northern Regional Minister suggested that some Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives try as much as possible to recommend persons they can control to make it easier for them to be able to manipulate some actions of the assembly. Apart from being a citizen of Ghana, eighteen years and above, the appointees should have requisite skills on governance, native wisdom to help deal with various tribal and chieftaincy factions as well as understand the geo-political dynamics (boundaries and political tensions) of the area. All of these consultations facilitate participation and ensure development in harmony. They said financial resources play a little or no role in appointments since it is more or less a sacrificial but time consuming job. In fact, the Local Government Minister added categorically that some of the appointees see it as a disincentive for business as they will be legally prevented from participating in business opportunities undertaken by the assembly so long as they are members of the assembly.

Asked whether appointments have really been done on the basis of expertise as envisaged by the constitution, they answered (yes) even though they alluded to some bit of mediocrity in the past owing to political reasons. On the issue of how gender is considered when appointments are being done they concurred that all statutory appointments should have a minimum of one third (1/3) membership of females. The President of the republic even mentioned a forty (40) per cent female inclusion at various levels of the government as a

major election campaign promise. However, the Local Government Minister conceded *'that male chauvinism or aggression coupled with inadequate qualified and interested females have been serious challenges towards the realization of this objective'*. In addition, the ministers agreed that education was very important as it will enhance the quality of contributions of members even though it was very difficult admittedly to get well qualified individuals in the local areas to represent the people.

They said that family responsibilities of appointees do not matter much to the appointing authority since that is personal to the appointees. The most important thing was their interests or willingness to serve their people. Furthermore, they stated that religious and cultural backgrounds of appointees are significant and carefully considered with the objective of making sure that there is religious and cultural harmony through a certain balancing act/process that will leave all religious and ethnic groups satisfied without any feelings of being discriminated against. Moreover, ethnic and religious groups and organizations like churches help some of their members to get into the assemblies. The Local Government Minister stated emphatically that the *'appointment of unqualified but loyal party members to the assembly is in contravention with the constitution since local government appointments and elections are supposed to be non-partisan in principle'*. But the Regional Ministers made a contrary point that *'the presence of an appreciable number of party members in the assembly could be helpful in pushing government agenda, aspirations and policies through the assemblies without many challenges'*. This is because an assembly dominated by sympathizers of a party in opposition would have most of its decisions being criticized and opposed by the members.

On the question of whether parties finance the campaigns of their members in the local government elections, the Minister responsible for that sector said *some parties that are well resourced do that and may not be punished because there are no effective mechanisms to compel parties to render proper accounts on their funding activities*. The Regional Ministers reiterated that it was illegal for parties to support aspirants even as they admitted that the practice continues in a covert manner because it is against the law. In relation to the issue of whether the president uses the constitutional provision of thirty (30) per cent to appoint women into the assembly, they said that appointments are based on ability to deliver or perform. Moreover, even though the President wanted to appoint more women, a few

qualified ones made themselves available. Similarly, there was a projection of between sixty (60) to seventy (70) female appointments as Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives. But only thirteen (13) females have gained appointment into the assemblies as heads in the initial appointments or recruitments made.

5.4.3 Views of Presiding Members

The Presiding Member for Tamale Metropolitan Assembly responded in the affirmative on whether more females should be elected to the assembly. He justified his position or view on the basis of the fact that women are fifty one (51) per cent of the national population. He added that *'females provided a soothing intervention to calm down the tensed atmosphere during debates in the assembly'*. But he specifically favoured more appointments of females because in his opinion *'women are not so valued here, so it's difficult for them to stand on their own. So, they should be appointed to make up for the societal relegation'*. In a sharp contrast however, the Presiding Member of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly opposed the election and appointment of more females into the assembly because of *reasons like absenteeism during pregnancy and child birth as well as their frequent movement because of transfers of their husbands. Interestingly, both men identified marital problems as a major challenge facing women even though the Tamale Presiding Member added inadequate financial resources and the people's male chauvinistic perception of what empowerment will mean to equality, leadership or standing of males and females.*

Both officers were unanimous in their responses to acknowledge the impact women have made in the assemblies and mentioned specifically their contribution to policies on child abuse, HIV/AIDS and gender mainstreaming. But the Tamale officer stated that women had more skills than men in community initiatives and sensitization as they play more pivotal roles in HIV/AIDS campaigns. They mentioned support packages the assemblies offered in partnership with other organizations to improve female leadership skills through television and radio programmes as well as other public fora. They argued that advocacy for inclusion of more females has been done by the assemblies and other individuals, bodies and organizations. Also, that the females have been included in sub-committees of the assemblies even though only men have been contesting for the position of the Presiding Member in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly. Female representatives in Tamale have inadequate numbers to be able to galvanize support for the position of the Presiding Member in their seemingly male

chauvinistic region and assembly for that matter. Finally, they stressed that competence and effective contest should be encouraged rather than blanket quotas.

5.4.4 Summary of Views by Officials

The Gender Desk Officers, Regional and Local Government Ministers and the Presiding Member of the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly stated emphatically that there should be more women in the assemblies. However, the Presiding Member of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly objected to more female representation in the assemblies because in his opinion women have a lot of problems with childcare and its related issues and are usually unstable because they have to move with their husbands (especially public servants) who are transferred from one place to another. All the officials agreed that there should be quotas for females even though they added that qualified women should be brought into the assemblies through the quota provisions. They also supported the view that more women should endeavour to become members of other associations, organizations and clubs which they could use to acquire and build requisite leadership skills to amply prepare themselves for public responsibilities.

The Officials acknowledged the role financial resources play during elections and advised that women should be assisted and encouraged to engage in viable economic activities in order to be financially independent and capable to contest competitive elections. However, they expressed different opinions on whether the present under-representation of women was largely due to illiteracy or cultural practices. The Local Government Minister for instance said that there were few educated women capable of being appointed or elected into the assemblies and therefore suggested that more females should be supported to acquire education in order to better their chances of serving in the assemblies. But the Regional Ministers, Presiding Members and Gender Desk Officers argued that the under-representation of women and their confinement to the domestic arena were not necessarily due to illiteracy but cultural beliefs and practices which assigned domestic roles to women including educated females. The Tamale Gender Desk Officer and Presiding Member bemoaned the disregard of female's contribution or role in the public sphere especially in the Northern Region. According to these two officials, good education and popular family status may not help women recruitments much if cultural beliefs about the roles, functions and place of women in society were still negative. This is what the Gender Desk Officer had to say:

'Indeed, financial resources, good education, quotas and other measures are very important and influential factors for women recruitments. But my brother, of what use will be these important factors to me as a woman candidate if the general cultural belief of the people in my area about women is that we should not be in the public eye? So you see, that is part of the problem we face here'.

5.5 ANALYSIS AND IMPLICATIONS OF DATA ON THEORY

5.5.1 Resources and Motivation

The *'Individual Supply and Demand'* theory by Leduc et' al identifies factors that may influence recruitments of various officials or representatives into offices either as elected or appointed members (Leduc et' al, 1996:208). These factors have been categorized into two (2) aspects, namely: the individual supply factors and the demand factors. As the name implies, the individual supply factors serve some purposes of facilitation to persons seeking to be appointed or elected into office. *Resources* of different kinds and *motivation* have been cited by Norris & Lovenduski (1995) as the major factors that tend to be very influential at the individual supply level especially in determining 'who comes forward' (ibid). Motivation is very crucial to the extent that both Prewitt and Norris mention it as an underlying factor relative to recruitment. Motivation was also observed to be largely influential on the part of the elected local government officials in Ghana. The elected councillors were asked *why they contested the local government elections* and a follow up question of *whether they were motivated to contest*.

All twelve (12) elected assembly representatives of the Accra and Tamale Metropolitan Assemblies answered that they were personally motivated to contest the local assembly elections re-affirming the view of Norris and Prewitt about the role of motivation in the recruitment processes. The elected members again added that they were specifically motivated to represent the people in order to serve their interest at the assembly level. Moreover, 'local authorities can be seen as an important instrument of democratic self-government in that they enable participation by the ordinary citizen in the running of local community' (Parry et' al., 1992 cited in Bochel C. & Bochel H. 2000:4). Six (6) candidates who were unsuccessful in the elections answered that they were motivated to represent their various electoral areas to serve the electorate even though they lost the elections.

However, motivation was not a very effective or influential factor in relation to the twelve (12) government appointees I interviewed. This could be partly due to the fact that the appointees are basically recommended by the Metropolitan Chief Executives to the President for confirmation in what may be described as a very political process. Bochel C. & Bochel H. (2000:60) similarly contend that increasing politicisation of local governance made formal selection of members a norm rather than a rule because it is highly politicised. Apart from three (3) appointed members, the other remaining nine (9) government appointees indicated they were informed about their names being forwarded to the President for approval in order to pave way for them to serve in the assemblies. However, when asked how they felt about the appointment, they said they were excited to serve highlighting the fact that participation brings about motivation sometimes. These three other members who were motivated right at the beginning (motivation leading to participation) even before their appointment told me that they had played various party roles in their wards and constituencies. Indeed, two (2) of them who were females said they were local party organisers. *'I have always wanted to serve in my party and the assembly and thank God it has happened'*, remarked one of the females. These organisers may fall under what Prewitt calls 'Recruits and Apprentices' in his analysis of political recruitment theory by use of the Chinese Box Puzzle (Prewitt, 1970:7-9). He argued that persons who accept to take some positions either through recommendations by party, community and family members or personal motivation are the 'Recruits and Apprentices'.

Similarly, it was interesting to note that even though motivation was not an overwhelming influence on all the appointed members before their appointment, it rather played a key role to some of the recommending authorities (Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives). The Northern Regional Minister, S. S. Nayina suggested *that some Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives who recommended appointees were motivated by the extent to which they could exercise control or exert influence on the appointees and this motivated them into recommending seemingly subservient or submissive people they could influence*. The individual supply side of the theory did not deal with this tendency and its possible causes even though the demand side highlighted this in brief (Leduc et' al, 1996: 208). However, the reason for this motivation on the part of the Chief Executives may be both political and personal since Chief Executives would have to ensure that personal (financial gains from allocation of projects and contracts) and political decisions are approved by the assembly and duly executed. Note that the assemblies decide on major government expenditures under its jurisdiction and votes or distributes resources accordingly. Bochel C. &

Bochel H. specifically reiterate the importance of financial control in their elaboration of the individual or personal factors influencing local participation (ibid, 37). Levels of motivation or otherwise of members are captured in a diagram below.

Table 5: level of motivation based on interview of respondents

Members	Motivated	Not Motivated	Total
Elected Members	12 (100%)	0	12(100%)
Appointed Members	3 (25%)	9 (75%)	12(100%)
Unsuccessful candidates	6 (100%)	0	6(100%)
Total	21	9	30

Question: Were you motivated to get elected or appointed into the assembly?

5.5.2 Social Factors

In Ghana, mention is often made of terminologies like the ‘ruling class,’ political elite, ‘big people’, ‘big Whigs’, ‘top brass’, ‘knowledgeable people’ among others. Statements like these are a manifestation of society’s tacit acceptance of social status and educational backgrounds of people and their roles in society. Individuals from very popular political and social backgrounds are respected and seen as those fit to lead or represent their constituencies or localities from the national to the local levels (Bochel & Bochel, 2000:39). Examples have been given in the discussion of the independent variables where Nkrumah’s daughter, Samia Nkrumah and other persons have been mentioned to this effect. In the demand dimension of the individual supply and demand theory, the suggestion is made that gatekeepers or influential persons in the recruitment processes will identify and support candidates or appointees with good/popular educational and family backgrounds (Leduc et’ al, 1996:208-210). When this critical role and support is given to people from these backgrounds, their

election and appointment become obvious and almost inevitable (ibid). In this connection, a *hypothesis* suggested for instance that, good education as well as popular social/family status could lead to higher representation of women in the assemblies. But could this serve as an answer to the *research question* regarding why there are few women in the assemblies? Questions about social and family backgrounds which were asked included: *What is your level of education? What work do you do? How does your society see you? Do you have prominent people in your family? Are you and your family members famous? Did your family status play any role towards your election?*

5.5.3 Impact of Social Status/Family Background on Recruitments.

5.5.4 Elected Members

The only two (2) elected women in the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly, even though not very highly educated, said that they benefitted largely from social status. The ‘Agricultural Development Bank’ area representative who had vocational education and was a Matron in a high school said her husband was a very popular and respected figure in the electoral area. According to her, *‘the respect my husband wielded played a positive role towards my victory because the electorate extended the respect they had for my husband to me as well’*. As she went round the electoral area conducting her campaigns, she was assured of victory in the elections since both she and her husband were popular amongst the electorate. *‘My own popularity also stemmed from the role I am playing in a high school as head of the ‘student’s kitchen’*. The husband came from a very big traditional home and was also a learned religious leader.

The other elected female member of the assembly representing the ‘Sakasaka area’ also had vocational training as a Seamstress and was engaged in Batik ‘Tye and Dye’ making which brought her into contact with a lot of women and young people. This representative who was a member of the assembly’s education sub-committee said that her victory in the elections was as a result of her selfless service to the community’s Women Association which made her popular and endeared her to the electorate. Similarly, the two female representatives I interviewed from the assembly in Accra had education to the middle school level and polytechnic respectively. The one who had the polytechnic education was a secretary in an office whilst the other one said *‘I am a business woman even though I don’t have big education like the others in my very large community who contested against me’*.

The secretary represented the Korle-Bu electoral area where Ghana's biggest Teaching Hospital is located. Though single (unmarried), she said *'I got a lot of support from the female electorate who are in the majority especially the nurses from the hospital'*. She added that she comes from a family that had District Chief Executives, Doctors, Magistrates and Lecturers in their midst. According to her, she took a lot of inspiration and advice from her auntie who is a Lecturer and thus benefitted from the rich human resource and popularity of her family. The other female elected member said some of her family people too had been members of the assembly, District Chief Executives and others also played important roles in the church and the mosque. So, *'I was not new or unknown since I was coming from a popular family that was widely known throughout the electoral area because of services the family renders to the assembly, community and the local fishing industry the Ga-Adangbes are engaged in'*.

Of the four male elected members interviewed in Tamale, three of them had Teacher Training College and Polytechnic education with the fourth member being a farmer. All four male members indicated that their committed participation to community development activities made them popular and helped secure their victory in the local government elections. Their counterparts in Accra were educated and also had professions like Antiquarian, Teacher, Building Contractor and Graphic Designer. The Graphic Designer who was the only single (unmarried) man among his colleagues said *'I used my contacts and networks to provide the people with street lights, roofed two classroom blocks and got jobs for some of the electorate before the elections'*. He added that males are usually closer to the electorate than the females because of the roles they play in games and funerals. The other three indicated that their participation in community activities helped in the election. The Antiquarian mentioned that some of his family members had been Ministers of State, Members of Parliament, Assembly Members while some others played significant roles in both the mosque and the church. Popular family status did help a lot of the aspirants in their bid to be elected into the assemblies.

5.5.5 Appointed and Defeated Assembly Members

Six (6) of the aspirants/candidates who were unsuccessful in the local level elections said they did not benefit from big social or family backgrounds during the elections. It may be very possible that it contributed largely to their loss as they confessed that they did not come from among the big family and popular social backgrounds in the community. In other words, it

could be argued that family status is an influential factor and they lost because they did not have the benefit of that. Interestingly, all twelve (12) elected members and six (6) unsuccessful (defeated) candidates did not see level of education (high or low) as a very influential factor in the elections.

Much as it was clear that popular family status may have helped *elected* assembly members significantly, responses of *appointed* assembly members were quite contrary to this observation. This is because only three (3) out of the twelve appointed assembly members interviewed responded that they believed they may have benefitted from popular family or social status resulting in their appointment. But even then, they argued that it was complimentary to their personal qualities like education, experience, public life and general conduct in the society. The other nine (9) appointed assembly members categorically stated that their appointments were neither based on how big/small nor seemingly known/unknown status of their families. Find a diagram below on influence of social status based on interview of respondents.

Table 6: Influence of social status based on interview of respondents

Members	Benefitted from Social/Family Status		Total
	YES	NO	
Appointed Members	3 (25%)	9 (75%)	12(100%)
Elected Members	12 (100%)	0	12(100%)
Unsuccessful Members	0	6 (100%)	6(100%)
Total	15	15	30

Question: *Did you benefit from your social or family status in getting elected or appointed?*

Table 7: Influence of education

Members	Influence of education		Total
	YES	NO	
Appointed Members	12 (100%)	0	12 (100%)
Elected Members	0	12 (100%)	12 (100%)
Unsuccessful Members	0	6(100%)	6 (100%)
Total	12	18	30

Question: Was your level of education influential in your election or appointment?

5.6.6 ECONOMIC FACTORS

On the question of *financial resources* suggested as another important component with enormous influence under the individual supply aspect of the theory, it is important to state that resources come in various forms. For instance, resources could come in human and material forms as may be manifested in good education, adequate funds and popular family backgrounds or status. Admittedly, financial resources form part of the economic factors seen as independent variables that may influence participation or recruitment processes. In this connection, a *hypothesis* suggested for instance that, adequate individual financial resources could lead to higher representation of women in the assemblies. But could this be an answer to the *research question* about why there are few women in the assemblies? Questions like ‘*what role did financial resources play in the election*’ and ‘*did you have enough financial resources*’ were asked. Only eleven (11%) per cent of families in the Northern Region have reliable household wages as compared to about forty (40%) per cent in Greater Accra (GLSS, 2000:12). Schlozman et’ al (1994) found that even women in the United States ‘generally have fewer resources to facilitate participation in political activity’ (Bochel & Bochel 2000: 40). Prewitt (1970:25) also argues that in some ways ‘A man’s ...wealth... affect whether he becomes a member of the politically active stratum and whether he is likely to hold political office’.

5.5.7 Role of Financial Resources In Elections

All four elected women from the two assemblies who were interviewed clearly stated that they encountered some financial difficulties during the campaign period and had to resort to various means and ways to meet their financial obligations. Similarly, it seems the issue of the adequacy or otherwise of financial resources as noted by the individual supply aspect of the theory and emphasised by Bochel C. & Bochel H. was universal in the sense that both male and female elected members from Tamale and Accra pointed to it as a major factor during campaign periods (ibid). Some mentioned that they had to go in for loans or even borrow money from friends and families in order to conduct successful campaigns. However, the Graphic Designer said *'I had adequate financial resources which in my opinion helped me to do development projects including a school which helped secure my victory in the elections'*.

More significantly, the two Gender Desk Officers of both the Accra and Tamale Metropolitan Assemblies emphasised that inadequacy of financial resources is a major challenge for aspirants seeking to be elected into the assemblies. They contended that the severity of the financial problem prompted the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs to offer some financial support of GHC 20 (\$14) to all female aspirants across the length and breadth of the country even though the package was inadequate. Also, five (5) out of the six (6) unsuccessful candidates I interviewed told me their inability to generate adequate financial resources to finance their campaigns contributed to their loss. The common phrase was that *'I did not have enough money like the others had'*. The other one said even though he had adequate resources he lost because most of the electorate said he was not known to them. According to him, *'I was advised to participate more regularly in community activities in order to make myself known to the people if I wanted to win in the elections next time'*. It is clear as noted in the *hypothesis* that financial resources of contestants is very crucial during elections as many of the elected members confirmed the role it played towards their victory or loss. Note that in the table below which explains the role of financial resources further; all members (elected and appointed, unsuccessful candidates, government officials, presiding members and gender officers) were asked about the role financial resources play towards the appointments or election of councillors and not the vice versa. Therefore, all respondents including elected and appointed councillors offered their opinions on the role of financial resources towards the appointment and election of members.

Table 8: Influence of financial resources based on interview of respondents

Members	Impact of Individual Financial Resources on Appointed and Elected Members			
	Elected Members		Appointed Members	
	YES	NO	YES	NO
Elected Members	12 (100%)	0	0	12(100%)
Appointed Members	12(100%)	0	0	12(100%)
Unsuccessful Candidates	6 (100%)	0	0	6 (100%)
Government Officials	4 (100%)	0	0	4 (100%)
Presiding Members	2 (100%)	0	0	2 (100%)
Gender Desk Officers	2 (100%)	0	0	2 (100%)
Total	38			38

Question: *Did financial resources play a role for appointed and elected members?*

From the table above, it can be said from the responses of all the interviewees that there was a total confirmation of the role individual financial resources played towards the election of members into the assembly. However, the same respondents indicated in block again that individual financial resources play no role in the appointment of councillors. In other words, the responses involved two extremes: individual financial resources helped only elected councillors but not appointed councillors.

5.5.8 Relationship between the Appointees and Financial Resources

Ideally, individual financial resources or standing should not be a factor in the recommendation of persons to the assembly. However, there could be the temptation or likelihood of aspiring government appointees to provide financial favours to political party executives, traditional authorities and other gatekeepers to recommend them for appointment as noted by Prewitt, Norris and Leduc in their exposition of the relevance of gatekeepers to the recruitment processes. Relating this specifically to the twelve (12) government appointees interviewed from the two assemblies under study, it was found out that the role of financial considerations in appointments was very minimal as all appointed members categorically said it played no role. Alternatively, I tried to find out if it was easier for persons with adequate financial resources to be recommended and appointed to the assembly because they might have committed some of their resources towards the provision of projects for the community. The response was that it would be more helpful to aspirants seeking to be elected to the assembly rather than those to be appointed by the President. The argument was that the appointees did not have to go through any campaign processes where they may be required to tell the electorate what they have already done for the community and what they will do if given the mandate of the electorate.

As stated before, the elected members largely indicated that they were successful in the elections because of their participation in communal activities and commitment of resources to local community development projects as indicated by the Graphic Designer. As noted also in the preceding discussion, the Metropolitan Chief Executives who are the representatives of the President and for that matter the highest political authorities at the local levels would usually recommend people they can control or buy off with money to the President for approval into the assemblies contrary to the intentions that the thirty (30%) per cent appointments are meant to enrich the assembly's membership with technical expertise and experience. Naturally, it may be very difficult for these Chief Executives to control appointees who have adequate financial resources and independence since financial offers cannot be used to win them over easily. In fact, the Northern Regional Minister confirmed this as one of the challenges confronting local governance in Ghana.

Additionally, the Minister responsible for Local Government in Ghana added another dimension to the appointing processes where traditional authorities (local kings and chiefs)

are desirous of being the ones to recommend appointees rather than limiting themselves to only consultation as the constitution of Ghana prescribes for them to do. Even presently, a former Minister for Local Government is advocating that traditional authorities otherwise known as chiefs in Ghana should be given more powers beyond consultation to be able to appoint the thirty (30%) per cent representatives to assemblies in their respective localities. On his part, the Tamale Metropolitan Chief Executive stated categorically that person's with adequate financial resources especially building and road contractors, argued that appointment to the assemblies was a disincentive in the sense that it prevented appointed members from taking part in bidding processes for the execution of various construction works for the assemblies as long as they remained members of the assembly. This is particularly important taking into consideration the fact that the assembly is the largest spender and distributor of projects especially in the localities or areas with minimal economic and large-scale private sector activities like the north. This may be similar to many developed countries including Britain where 'Local government is big government' and 'its expenditure accounts for around one-tenth of the entire gross domestic product and it employs some three million people' (Kingdon, 1991:1).

Additionally, the allowances received by both elected members and government appointees of the assemblies are meagre and do not in any way compare with the profits and dividends that will accrue from executing projects for the assemblies. As a result, 'the wealthy ones don't want to get near it'. Still on financial resources and its likely role in appointing government representatives to the assemblies, the Greater Accra Regional Minister, the Northern Regional Minister, the Local Government Minister and Tamale Metropolitan Chief Executive clearly said that the possession of financial resources or otherwise was not a criterion under consideration for recommendations towards appointment. Moreover, Ghana's elected and appointed assembly members do not take salaries except allowances which they consider generally meagre. Most local government practitioners and academics have advocated for fixed salaries for both elected and appointed members as one of the ways to deepen local governance and participation towards it. So, it appears that the possession of financial resources may not necessarily have an influence in appointing members to the assembly as suggested by the *hypothesis* even though this is totally true for elected members.

5.5.9 Relationship between the Appointees and Education

If the rationale behind the thirty (30%) per cent appointments to the assemblies is really to bring expertise and experience relating to local governance at the disposal of the assemblies, then more educated people should be appointed to bring their experiences to bear on the assemblies' activities. From observations on the ground, it was realised that both educated and uneducated persons got the opportunity to be appointed into the assemblies. According to the Regional and Local Government Ministers as well as the Tamale Metropolitan Chief Executive, level of education of appointed assembly members was very crucial in the sense that assemblies with more educated people stood the greater chance to benefit immensely from the contributions, experiences, skills and expertise of the educated members during assembly sessions and committee meetings. However, the government officials acknowledged that it was difficult to get interested and highly educated people to the assemblies as most of the educated elite shy away from taking part in the activities of local government. The Local Government Minister added that *'the new Government even found it more difficult to get educated people especially women at the rural areas for appointments into the assembly'*. The proportion of adults who have been to school (at least primary level) in the Northern region is fifty seven (57%) and thirty five (35%) per cent respectively for males and females whilst that of Accra is ninety six (96%) and eighty seven (87%) per cent for males and females respectively (GLSS, 200:12). Interestingly, the six (6) government appointees of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly I interviewed all had some form of education with the minimum being high school education. In fact, even one of the six (6) appointees who was a Professor was also 'Minister of Gospel' and a Law Lecturer as well.

Similarly, the six (6) government appointees interviewed in Tamale had various levels of education ranging from junior high to the university level. Two of the appointees had university education, another two (2) had teacher training and technical education with the remaining two (2) having basic education. But it was apparently clear through my observation of the assembly sittings that those with higher education in the Tamale assembly contributed in almost the same way as their lowly educated and even uneducated colleagues. The only difference was that those with higher education were able to support their arguments with statistics especially those who represented various sectors like health and education. Members contributed to proceedings and discussions regardless of their levels of education and as a result appointments were made to include people who may not necessarily have high education. One of the members who is a fifty eight year old woman and a university

graduate, told me to observe for myself the interesting contributions coming from other women in a gender caucus meeting even though they had not been to school. According to her, education may be important, but it was not the only quality that determined quality of contributions during assembly or committee proceedings.

However, it is important to note that other considerations are used because these positions are political in nature. Because of this, various gatekeepers try to influence the appointment processes through recommendations and lobbying. For instance, party executives would prefer that their members are appointed into the assembly in order to give them some influence as traditional authorities and other pressure groups would want to do same. This specifically highlights the demand aspect of the 'individual supply and demand theory' which discusses the functions and roles gatekeepers or influential persons from political parties and society at large play during recruitment processes.

Table 9: level of education of members in Accra based on interview of respondents

MEMBERS	EDUCATION				TOTAL
	VERY HIGH	HIGH	LOW	VERY LOW	
Appointed	2 (33%)	3 (50%)	1 (17%)	0	6 (100%)
Elected		4(66%)	1 (17%)	1(17%)	6 (100%)
Unsuccessful Members	1 (33%)			2 (67%)	3 (100%)
Total	3	7	2	3	15

Question: is your level of education very high (university graduate and above), high (post secondary and polytechnic), low (high school) or very low (middle or primary school)?

In the categorizations done, it appeared that very few of the appointees interviewed were within the ‘very high’ educational background category in Accra. Surprisingly, among the six (6) elected members interviewed, not even one fell within the ‘very high’ (university graduate and above) category. Of course, this could be as a result of the random sampling method that I used to select interviewees as there were some members with very high educational backgrounds though they did not make it into the sampled list in Accra. As a matter of fact, majority of the members fell within the ‘high’ (Professional, Technical and Vocational) category with a few in the ‘low’ and ‘very low’ categories. The unsuccessful members on their part had one ‘very high’ and two (2) ‘very low’ levels in education in Accra which was exactly the same case in Tamale. The trend in Tamale also revealed few members in the ‘very

high', 'low' and 'very low' categories with many members falling within the 'high' level especially the elected members as has been shown in the table below.

Table 10: level of education of members in Tamale based on interview of respondents

MEMBERS	EDUCATION				TOTAL
	VERY HIGH	HIGH	LOW	VERY LOW	
Appointed	2 (33%)	1(17%)	2 (33%)	1(17%)	6 (100%)
Elected		5 (83%)		1(17%)	6 (100%)
Unsuccessful Members			1 (33%)	2 (67%)	3 (100%)
Total	2	6	3	4	15

Question: is your level of education very high (university graduate and above), high (post secondary and polytechnic), low (high school) or very low (middle or primary school)?

Even though the desire may be to get well educated government appointees into the assembly, realities on the ground do not make it possible. It is equally clear that for the elected members, high education may not necessarily lead to success in local government elections as the hypothesis suggested. As was the case in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly, there is no such elected member from the randomly sampled members in the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly who falls within the 'very high' education category as shown in the diagram above.

5.6 POLITICAL VARIABLES (MEMBERSHIP IN ORGANISATIONS AND THE INSTITUTION OF QUOTAS)

Membership in different organisations could provide an opportunity for more women to acquire some necessary skills of networking which could be used to their electoral advantages. Most of the people in the networks created may be gatekeepers who can either make recommendations to political authorities during appointments of government appointees into the assemblies or even campaign vigorously for aspirants seeking to be elected members. Besides, persons who are engaged with organisations become more popular and need less marketing when they want to contest local government elections or get appointments into the assemblies. Specifically for the appointees, government functionaries usually put their ears to the ground as they look around for information on which persons do what in which organisations and how that impacts on the larger society. Prewitt (1970:12) talks of ‘running a Little League’ and even service on commissions, party structures and some nonpartisan organisations could be seen as ‘apprenticeships’ for leadership.

It is no wonder therefore that people who work well with either governmental or non-governmental organisations to deliver services to local communities and the nation at large easily either get appointments going in their favour or win elections often. Women like Gifty Afienya Dadzie even got appointments to serve in the Council of State because of the enormous experiences she gathered whilst working for the Ghana Journalist Association (GJA) and AGLO, an interdenominational female religious group. Similarly, other jurisdictions institute specific quotas for certain marginalised groups of people including women in order to facilitate their representation as is the case in Uganda and Rwanda. So it has been hypothesised that more women membership in organisations and the institution of quotas will lead to more women representation in local assemblies.

5.6.1 Views of Interviewees on Membership in Organisations

All six (6) elected members in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly indicated that they have been members of some governmental and non-governmental organisations in one way or the other. When asked about the importance or impact of membership in organisations towards their victory, they said it helped in publicity of their campaign programmes and messages in the sense that friends and other sympathisers or well-wishers in the organisations helped spread their campaign messages around in the electoral areas. One of the female elected

members said some of her colleagues in the organisations even contributed money towards her campaign. The story was not different from those of Tamale Metropolitan Assembly who mentioned some of the associations they were members of as the Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT), Farmers Association, Women Association and Islamic Women Association. The ‘Sakasa’ female elected member categorically said that *‘I won as a result of the role I played in the Women’s Association of my electoral area’* adding that she is still very much actively part of the activities of the association. However, the unsuccessful members said they still did not fully understand why they lost in spite of the fact that they belonged to a lot of organisations and even founded some organisations all by themselves.

Similarly, the six appointed members of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly stated that they even benefitted more from membership in organisation as the appointing authorities heard about the important roles they played especially in political parties and other organisations. In fact, the two female government appointees interviewed attempted to draw a relationship between service in the assembly to service to their political party where they held some positions in the immediate past and even presently. More specifically, they said they would defend government and for that matter the party position in the assembly without any hesitation. One of the male government appointees who is a lecturer and minister of religion, said *‘I have a big orphanage or home that takes care of a lot of children in terms of meeting their physiological and social needs including their education. I believe government might have heard about what I have been doing and appointed me to do more for the assembly’*.

Their counterparts in Tamale equally underscored the roles they play in organisations especially the political parties. Others worked with organisations in the health sector and I was witness to their extensive and useful contributions on matters relating to sanitation and hygiene in one of the assembly sessions I observed. Another female member who was a fifty six (56) year social worker said *‘I head a non-governmental organisation concerned with educating and taking care of disadvantaged children and I can confirm that membership and hard work in organisations actually contribute positively to appointments or election into the assembly’*. Though they may not have won the elections to go into the assemblies, the unsuccessful members also said that membership in organisations was a very helpful factor in the sense that it made it easier to reach out to more people through those organisations.

Table 11: Membership in organisations based on interview of respondents

	Membership in Some Form of Organisation		Total
	Yes	No	
Members			
Appointed Members	12(100%)	0	12 (100%)
Elected Members	12(100%)	0	12 (100%)
Unsuccessful Candidates	6(100%)	0	6 (100%)
Total	30	0	30

Question: Do you belong to any form of organisation?

Table 12: Impact of membership in organisations based on interview of respondents

	Impact of Membership in Organisation		Total
	Yes	No	
Members			
Appointed Members	12(100%)	0	12 (100%)
Elected Members	12(100%)	0	12 (100%)
Unsuccessful Candidates	6(100%)	0	6 (100%)
Total	30	0	30

Question: Did it help you in your election or appointment?

It appears there was an overwhelming response in the affirmative that membership in organisations could be helpful to both government appointees and elected members of the assemblies. In fact, almost every member interviewed indicated he or she belonged to more than one organisation of some form at either the community or electoral area level or even the regional or national levels. Since there was not even a single member who said he or she does not belong to one organisation or the other, it stands to reason that the *hypothesis* that more membership in organisations could help aspirants (appointed and elected members) to get into the assembly was confirmed. This is so because even those who lost the elections said it helped them to reach out to more people than they expected.

5.6.2 Discussion of Quotas

Quotas may come in several forms in different continents and countries. They are used as a means to support marginalised or disadvantaged groups with a view to ensuring fairer and equal representation among diverse groups. However, some two common types of quotas may come in the form of *reserved seats* and *candidate quotas* (Dahlerup, 2005, cited in Kyohairwe, 2009:134-135). As the name implies, reserved seats refer to a situation where some number of seats are identified and determined to be for a particular group of people mostly women and other disadvantaged groups (ibid). Similarly, candidate quotas refer to a process where some number of seats either in the legislature or local assembly is given to women or any other such group thought to be marginalised (ibid).

However, none of these two types of quotas or any other form of it is being used in Ghana as at present after efforts failed in 2002 for specific number of spaces to be provided for females. Perhaps, what may be similar to quotas is the constitutional requirement in Ghana that prescribes that at least one-third (1/3) of all public appointments should be offered to females. But this constitutional requirement is not being followed or implemented to the letter. Moreover, even if it had been implemented effectively, it would only be applicable to the thirty (30%) per cent appointments at the local level with no effect on the seventy (70%) per cent elective positions. Additionally, the two hundred and thirty (230) seats in the national assembly or the legislature are all competitively elective with no single slot or seat reserved for any supposed weaker/disadvantaged groups like the disabled or females. So, if 'quotas are an outcome of women's efforts to mobilise more women for political representation' as argued by Krook and emphasised by Kyohairwe, then we can say that Ghanaian women are missing a lot because of the absence of female quotas which their Ugandan, Rwandan and Tanzanian colleagues are enjoying (ibid, 135). The latter enjoys up to twenty (20%) per cent of national seats 'in proportion to the number of party seats' whilst the Rwandans have crossed the fifty (50%) per cent mark in female representation (ibid).

5.6.3 Views of Interviewees on the Institution of Quotas

The quest for instituting specific quotas for female representatives was almost overwhelming on the part of the membership of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly. Of the six (6) elected members interviewed over there, five (5) of them supported the idea of getting specific numbers for females as a way of boosting their representation in the assemblies. Surprisingly, the six (6) elected members in Tamale were split on their responses regarding use of quotas as

three (3) were for quotas with the other three against it because it was improper according to them. Also, only one of the government appointees in Accra voiced out his dislike to a quota system arguing that *'I personally do not like quotas because it will give the females an unfair advantage over we their male counterparts'*. Otherwise, his other five colleague government appointees fully emphasised the need for a quota mechanism for females in the assemblies. Interestingly, contrary to the split views of the six(6) elected members of Tamale over the use of quotas, their six (6) colleagues who were government appointees all supported the need for the institution of female quotas for the assemblies.

In addition, four (4) out of six (six) candidates who were unsuccessful in the local government elections favoured the institution of some form of quotas for females. In fact, one of the females remarked that *'I am very sure I would have been a member of the assembly now if the quota system had been in operation in Ghana by now'*. However, the Greater Accra Regional Minister said that as it stands now Ghana's appointment system was purely on competence and when women merited appointment then they would be appointed. But his colleague in the Northern Region said that some consideration would usually be given to females when they meet some of the criteria. The Local Government Minister and the Tamale Metropolitan Chief Executive both said that government was willing to appoint more females even though male chauvinism coupled with fewer numbers of qualified women were serious challenges hindering government's good intentions. Gender Desk Officers from both assemblies advocated for fifty (50%) per cent quotas for females which in my opinion is over ambitious taking into consideration government's failure to even get a thirty (30%) per cent female representation in assemblies across the country in the year 2002.

The Tamale Metropolitan Assembly's Presiding Member said *'my brother, I would totally support quotas for females only on condition that competent females would be brought on board to help move our local governance and policy making forward'*. For him, performance or delivery was more important than gender balance even though he would not kick against the institution of quotas. His colleague in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly rejected the idea of putting quotas on the membership because in his opinion it was not a proper thing to do. *'Effective contest and competition were the only ways for females to address the yawning gap as a quota would technically discriminate and disqualify some men'*, as argued by one member.

Table 13: On views about the institution of quotas in percentages

Members	Support for Quotas	Rejection of Quotas	Total
Appointed Members	11(92%)	1(8%)	12 (100%)
Elected Members	8(67%)	4(33%)	12 (100%)
Unsuccessful Candidates	4(67%)	2(33%)	6 (100%)
Government Officials	3(75%)	1(25%)	4 (100%)
Presiding Members	1(50%)	1(50%)	2 (100%)
Gender Desk Officers	2(100%)	0	2 (100%)
Total	29	9	38

Question: What is your opinion on the institution of quotas?’ (Will you support or reject quotas for females)

Naturally, all the females sampled and interviewed gave their unwavering commitment and support for introduction of quotas for females. It may be because it will be in their interest or to their advantage. However, some significant number of males also supported possible use of quotas for females as a way of increasing their numbers in the assemblies as suggested in the *hypothesis*. It is instructive also to note that the few males who rejected suggestions for introduction of a female quota system only did so because they felt it would give an unfair opportunity to the females at the expense of the males. But even those people who argued this way admitted or agreed that quotas would help boost female numbers in the assemblies regardless of whether it was fair or not. But like Dahl, a lot more people agreed that the institution of quotas alone will not be enough to get more females into the assemblies if other efforts by NGOs, political parties and other civil society organisations are not tailored in that direction (ibid, 137).

5.6.4 Cultural Factors

In Ghana like most parts of the African continent, the responsibility for carrying out domestic roles is squarely placed on the women. Women in both the Southern and Northern parts of Ghana carry out various house chores for the running and upkeep of the home. This according to many observers leaves women with little time to engage in other activities or ventures including running for public office (Darcy et’ al, 1987:47-49). In other words, the confinement of women to more domestic responsibilities negatively affects their disposition

and temperament for engagement in public activities at large. Bochel C. & Bochel H. (2000:117) also contend that a local area with a predominant male culture is a 'contributing factor in explaining women's under-representation in local councils'. 'I'd love to change the world, but I have to cook the tea!' 'is how Galloway and Robertson (1991) highlight this problem' (ibid, 39). In fact, *all the women interviewed saw females' confinement to domestic roles as a serious challenge to their participation in public life with some adding that they had to tread cautiously with their husbands and other family members to avoid some unpleasant exchanges and quarrels*. Some of the assemblymen acknowledged the difficulty women faced in performing their domestic roles and yet also argued that males too were the breadwinners of the home which was also a huge responsibility. However, three (3) of the males who were unsuccessful in the local government election said it was not a factor adding that the females were exaggerating its impact.

Also, even though Ghana is a multi-religious country, Christianity is more predominant in the Greater Accra Region just as Islam is more predominant in the Northern Region. Christians are about eighty two (82%) per cent of the population in Greater Accra whilst Muslims are ten (10%) per cent (GLSS, 2000:10). In the Northern Region however, Christians are about nineteen (19%) per cent of the population whilst Muslims are fifty eight (58%) per cent (ibid). So will the religious beliefs of candidates influence the electorate in either voting or not voting for them? Could there be a tendency for candidates belonging to the dominant religions in the electoral area to receive large voting support from the electorate owing to the similarity in religious beliefs? Note that when government is making the thirty per cent appointments, religious belief is one of the key factors for consideration. Indeed, some of the government appointees in both assemblies confirmed that in addition to whatever factors that may have facilitated their appointments; they were also brought in to ensure religious balance and harmony in the assemblies. As a result, Imams, pastors and adherents of African Traditional Religion were appointed as members of the assemblies to represent the three major religious beliefs or traditions in Ghana.

However, the elected members had different views about religion and its impact on their election. The two elected female members in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly said they benefitted from their religious beliefs in one way or the other. One of them put it this way, *'In fact, I got a lot of votes, financial resources and other logistical support from the members of my church and I was very grateful to them for that support because it helped me so much'*.

Another member who is a male said he also had similar support from his church and some of its members. The other remaining three (3) members said they believe their religious persuasions did not play a role even though they are religious people. In Tamale, only one member said he may have benefitted from his religious belief or persuasion saying that ‘*God is great and made my people to help me by voting for me because I am a good member and a brother to everybody*’. The other five elected members indicated that their religious beliefs neither hindered nor facilitated their election. Similarly, the six (6) unsuccessful candidates said religious beliefs did not play any significant role in the elections with one saying that if it did he would have been in the assembly by now claiming he was so religious and was known for that.

Table 14: On religious beliefs and confinement of women to domestic responsibilities

	Influence of Religious Beliefs		Confinement to Domestic Roles	
	YES	NO	YES	NO
Appointed Members	12(100%)	0	6(50%)	6(50%)
Elected Members	4(33%)	8(67%)	6(50%)	6(50%)
Unsuccessful Candidates	0	6(100%)	3(50%)	3(50%)
Government Officials	3(75%)	1(25%)	3(75%)	1(25%)
Presiding Members	0	2(100%)	2(100%)	0
Gender Desk Officers	0	2(100%)	2(100%)	0
Total	19(50%)	19(50%)	22(58%)	16(42%)
Grand total	38(100%)		38(100%)	

Questions: *Did your religious views influence your election or appointment? Was confinement to domestic roles a problem to your election or appointment?*

In fact, there have been mixed responses relating to the impact of religious beliefs because all the government appointees, four elected members and three (3) ministers of state said religious beliefs had some impact on the election and appointment of members as *hypothesised*. However, about eight (8) elected members, one (1) Minister of State, two (2) Gender Desk Officers and Presiding Members said religious beliefs played no role especially at the level of elections. What sought to have emerged clearly from the interactions was that the government appointees agreed with the hypothesis whilst the elected members rejected the hypothesis pointing to the fact that it may have been true largely for the government appointed members but not for elected members. In fact, Prewitt (1970:24) states that 'Religion as an entry criterion to public leadership positions is diminishing in significance' perhaps largely due to increasing secularization. But interestingly also, the government appointees, the elected members and the unsuccessful members were evenly split in their responses on whether female confinement to domestic roles affected their chances of becoming members of the assembly as noted by the *hypothesis*. However, three (3) Ministers of State, two (2) Gender Desk Officers and the two (2) Presiding Members stated that confinement of females to domestic roles across the country and more specifically in the Northern part, negatively affected women's chances of getting into the assembly. On the whole, majority of the interviewees supported the hypothesis even though there was some significant disagreement on the part of some of the interviewees.

5.6.5 Views on Gender

As far as gender was concerned, the six (6) elected members of the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly were evenly split. Three (3) of the members said it had an influence arguing on the statutory one third (1/3) minimum requirement for female inclusion on committees whilst the other three (3) contended that it played no role. The one third (1/3) minimum statutory argument was also alluded to in the Greater Accra Regional Minister's argument. But surprisingly, even one of the female members said it played no role as she said '*I consulted both males and females on my decision to contest the elections and eventually got support from both groups*'. Similarly, four (4) of the appointed members said that gender played a role in the appointments with two (2) members including a female out rightly saying it did not play a role. However, one (1) out of the four (4) members who thought gender played a role said he was not exactly sure what role it was except to say that he knew males including him had an advantage because of the conservative nature of the community from which they were

coming from. Indeed the Metropolitan Chief Executive also emphasised the conservative nature of the place and said it posed some challenges to females.

Four (4) of the six (6) elected members in Accra said it played a role in the elections. One of them argued that the electorate in her area had females being in the majority and wanted some gender balance in the assembly which influenced them to vote for her. The six (6) unsuccessful candidates had three (3) saying it had an influence and two (2) saying it did not have an influence at all. The remaining one (1) said he was unsure and as a result did not know. Four (4) of the government appointees in Accra indicated that gender played no role in their appointments with only two (2) saying it did play a role. As part of her reasons, one (1) of the women who said gender played a role argued that even *‘a home could not be made without a woman’*. She stated that *‘women made homes what they are and assemblies could not be constituted to function properly without women’*. Clearly, even though all females except two (2) indicated that gender was very influential in elections and appointments, the males were split as some of them said it had influence with others saying the opposite.

Table 15: On influence of gender based on interview of respondents

Members	Influence of Gender		
	YES	NO	NO IDEA
Elected Members	9(75%)	3 (25%)	0
Appointed Members	6 (50%)	6 (50%)	0
Unsuccessful Candidates	3 (50%)	2 (33%)	1 (17%)
Total	18	11	1

Question: Was gender influential in your election or appointment?

5.6.6 Ranking some Independent Variables in Relation to the Theory

A lot of independent variables ranging from social, economic, political and cultural dimensions were perceived to have an influence over who got elected or appointed into the

assembly as a councillor. Factors like level of education, individual financial resources, confinement to domestic roles, religious and cultural practices, institution of quotas, membership in organisations, family status/background, gender, participation in communal activities and popularity of the candidates or aspirants were hypothesised to have some degree of influence on elections and appointments. Indeed, various factors really had some influence and played roles in the election and appointment of councillors as shown in the various diagrams above. However, two of the variables had overwhelming hundred (100%) per cent positive responses from the interviewees. According to the respondents, membership in organisations (either social, religious, cultural or political) was seen to be a very influential factor which helped councillors to secure their appointment or election into the assemblies. This was so because their membership in the organisations made members or aspirants known to the electorate, gatekeepers and the appointing authorities. This highlights the demand aspect/side of the individual supply and demand theory. The demand side of the theory focuses on the various roles gatekeepers play to make the election or appointments of some people to some positions possible. Once the gatekeepers approve of a person, it may be very unlikely for the person not to go through an election or appointment successfully. I presume that may be the reason why the importance of membership in organisation got a total hundred (100%) per cent positive response. Prewitt (1970:12) similarly stresses the importance of participation in organisational activities to electoral victories and political leadership.

The second variable was individual financial resources which was however seen to have a total influence on elected members and not the appointed members or councillors. Individual financial resources relate to the supply part of the theory since the possession of resources is an individual attribute or feature. However, I am aware and not oblivious of the fact that the individual attributes at the supply side can influence gatekeepers on the demand side to support a person's candidature for an election or appointment. It also appears to me that when the individual supply attributes are available then gatekeepers and stakeholders in the demand side will definitely give their support. Put differently, the demand side will not respond appropriately when the supply side is not favourable and positive. In other words, the two sides of the theory are not necessarily mutually exclusive and therefore cannot operate in isolation or independent of each other.

In the final analysis, all the individual supply factors like good education, individual financial resources, popular family background, commitment to communal labour or activities among others as highlighted by the independent variables have a positive correlation with the demand side which is usually manifested in the support provided by gatekeepers. Also, some individual supply factors like membership in an organisation equally serve as a demand factor because of the presence of gatekeepers in organisations. So, both the individual supply and demand aspects of the theory have been confirmed as being influential to elections and appointments at the local government level in the selected assemblies in Ghana. The level of influence of the variables differ and have been ranked below in a tabular form as high, medium, low and no impact or effect.

TABLE 16: RANKING OF VARIABLES

Broad Factors	Variables	Member	High	Medium	Low	No Impact
Economic	Financial	Elected	✓			
	Resources	Appointed				✓
Social	Education	Elected		✓		
		Appointed		✓		
	Family Status	Elected		✓		
		Appointed		✓		
Political	Membership in Organisations	Elected	✓			
		Appointed	✓			
	Institution of Quotas	Elected		✓		
		Appointed	✓			
Cultural	Cultural Beliefs	Elected			✓	
		Appointed		✓		
	Gender	Elected	✓			
		Appointed				✓
	Confinement to Domestic Roles	Elected	✓			
		Appointed		✓		

Table of ranked variables

5.6.7 Impact of Differences in Socio-Economic and Cultural Factors Between Accra and Tamale Metropolitan Assemblies

It is commonly argued that there is a world of difference between Accra and Tamale and for that matter the Southern and Northern parts of Ghana in terms of cultural, social and economic features. More specifically, there are many more poor people in Tamale than there are in Accra; few educated people in Tamale as compared to Accra; and less socio-economic opportunities in Tamale than in Accra (GLSS, 2000:12-30). Additionally, women's rights are more respected and they are increasingly seen as equals in partnerships or marriages in Accra which is credited with an open and liberal culture than Tamale seen as largely conservative. As a result of these differences in socio-economic and cultural characteristics between the two places, it was thought that female participation and level of representation in local governance in Accra will be better because of the favourable socio-economic situation of women there. It was equally presumed that their counterparts in Tamale would be affected negatively by the less favourable socio-economic conditions in their area.

Indeed, a lot of survey data including the Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS) still point to the differences between the Northern and Southern parts where the two assemblies studied are located respectively. But what did the respondents shortlisted for the interviews have to say about these conditions? Moreover, what was found to be the relationship between the socio-economic conditions on the one hand and local governance and its participants on the other hand? What clearly emerged from the responses of the interviewees and a study of the profile of councilors was that the two assemblies both had a mixture of educated and uneducated councilors. Similarly, female councilors from both assemblies complained about the inadequacy of financial resources just like their male counterparts did. In effect, the fact that individuals in Accra are richer than those in Tamale did not result in adequate financial resources for members of Accra as they equally complained about inadequate financial resources. However, differences in resources between these two assemblies showed in the number and state of the facilities each assembly had.

For instance, the Accra Metropolitan Assembly had a very huge and modern building complex that had a number of offices for all staff and conference rooms for conferences of various forms hosted by the assembly. The Tamale Metropolitan Assembly on the other hand shared a building with the metropolitan education office with limited office spaces and conference rooms. In fact, General Assembly Meetings in Tamale are usually held in

conference rooms of other agencies in Tamale as I observed from my participation in one such meeting. But apart from religious beliefs, some other variables under culture like patriarchy and confinement of women to domestic roles constituted the real differences in responses of interviewees from the two assemblies. It emerged from the responses that patriarchy (line of succession/inheritance/lineage traced through the male child) and confinement of females to the domestic sphere were very much particular to Tamale and not Accra. The disturbing aspect of patriarchy which is practiced in the Northern part of Ghana (Tamale) was that, it further weakened the financial capacity of women in the region already considered as poor because important family resources or property like lands, cattle and houses were inherited by the male children at the expense of the females. This highlights Hyden's view that African women suffer more from patriarchy than any other group of women in the world (Hyden, 2006:182).

On confinement of women to the domestic realm, this is what the Tamale Metropolitan District Chief Executive had to say: 'Women here are not really recognized to play significant public roles when the men are there to do that. People down here see the female to be largely responsible for domestic affairs and not outside of it'. The Tamale Presiding Member also mentioned that the men do not recognize the efforts and capabilities of women much because the culture puts the women in a subordinate position in relation to the men. Darcy et' al similarly hold cultures that confine women to domestic issues as partly being responsible for female under-representation (Darcy et' al, 1987:48). As already stated above, respondents largely concluded that religion was of minimal influence for elected councilors even though the President considered the religious beliefs of those he appointed to ensure religious balance and harmony. Of course, Prewitt (1970:24) also described religion as having minimal effect as an entry criterion to public office generally.

In the nutshell, even though there are differences in socio-economic and cultural characteristics between the two selected assemblies, interviewee responses were similar on questions relating to the social and economic issues making those issues somewhat universal. On the other hand, responses to questions in relation to culture were different. It appeared that the cultural factors were largely responsible for the severe under-representation of women in Tamale. Even though females in Accra were also under-represented in relation to their males, they were better than the females in Tamale because they did not suffer the same cultural difficulties as their colleagues in Tamale. Logically therefore, even though women from both

assemblies suffered from under-representation because of socio-economic and cultural reasons, the gap between the females of both assemblies may have emanated from cultural diversities as their responses on culture differed significantly from the social and economic issues.

Similarly, it appears majority of the writers tend to strongly point to cultural variables as having a strong causal relationship with under-representation of females. Notably, Crook & Manor, Hyden, Darcy et' al and Amanfo have variously explained how cultural factors could stand on the way of women in some places as they try to participate in local politics. However, it is important to state that culture should not be seen as an isolated factor or variable because of its potential to influence other socio-economic and political variables. For example, a culture that practices patriarchy implies deliberately and systematically denying females of critical *material and financial resources* through inheritance. These resources could be helpful to women in *financing their campaigns* to win elections or funding their *education to enhance their social status*. So, the denial of resources to women through cultural practices should equally be seen as a socio-economic and political issue because of its interconnectedness and effect on the other factors. Indeed, Hyden argues that from the 1990s and beyond there has been a new understanding by development practitioners especially economists, that politics, development and culture are inter-related and should therefore not be treated entirely as separate and independent entities as was done by economists in the past (Hyden, 2006:163). Therefore, even though culture may have been a dominant factor, its effect can also be seen as manifesting in socio-economic and political dimensions.

As has been captured in the table below, responses on influence of variables on female representation in the two areas were very similar with only a few variations on the cultural elements or variables which included cultural beliefs, family status and gender. Apart from these three areas, responses on impact of factors like membership in organizations, institution of quotas, individual financial resources, education and motivation towards the election of female councilors were the same. The confirmation of these variables as important in the recruitment of local government members also does highlight the significance of the theories employed in the study which equally identified and recognized those factors as being crucial for recruitments. A table covering responses on impact of variables on female representation is below.

**TABLE 17: VIEWS ON INFLUENCE OF VARIABLES IN THE TWO ASSEMBLIES
ON RECRUITMENTS**

Broad Factors	Variables	Member	High	Medium	Low	No Impact
Economic	Financial	A.M.A.	✓			
	Resources	T.M.A.	✓			
Social	Education	A.M.A.	✓			
		T.M.A.	✓			
	Family Status	A.M.A.		✓		
		T.M.A.			✓	
	Motivation	A.M.A.	✓			
		T.M.A.	✓			
Political	Membership in Organisations	A.M.A.	✓			
		T.M.A.	✓			
	Institution of Quotas	A.M.A.	✓			
		T.M.A.	✓			
Cultural	Cultural Beliefs	A.M.A.			✓	
		T.M.A.	✓			
	Gender	A.M.A.			✓	
		T.M.A.	✓			
	Confinement to Domestic Roles	A.M.A.		✓		
		T.M.A.	✓			

Table on influence of variables

5.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter tried to describe the dependent variable of the study using statistics of local government results and other descriptive elements to profile the two assemblies. Afterwards, the independent variables were highlighted and responses/views of interviewees explained. Tables were drawn on each of the independent variables with views of the respondents captured in percentages. More specifically, the tables have been constructed as an attempt to make the interviewees responses on culture, financial resources, quotas, motivation, education, family status, gender and membership in organizations more explicit. Also, the variables have been ranked to give an idea about their impact.

CHAPTER SIX

OVERVIEW OF METHODS, FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 INTRODUCTION

The final chapter covers implications of findings on objectives, research questions and theories, overview of methods, conclusions, emerging issues, importance of findings to existing and future studies as well as general recommendations on how to improve women participation in local governance. It's worth mentioning that both primary and secondary data have been used in the work leading to some of the findings analyzed in the fifth chapter. Of course, the findings may have implications on existing studies and some prospects for future studies. Some interesting observations have been made in this study and could perhaps be useful recommendations towards present and future interventions at improving female representation in local governance.

6.1 IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS ON OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The first objective was to find out the extent to which women are successful in local government elections in Ghana. From the data gathered, it was observed that only fourteen (14) females got elected out of a total of one hundred and fourteen (114) elected members of the two assemblies. The number of females elected represented about twelve (12%) per cent whilst that of the males was eighty eight (88%) per cent. The obvious research question was why the huge gap? A lot of factors already explained and analysed in the fifth chapter were adduced to have been responsible. What was shocking however was the realization that only two (2) females were elected into the assembly in Tamale. The Presiding Member and Gender Desk Officer attributed the situation to extreme poverty, male chauvinism and the patriarchal nature of the area shown in its culture. Of course, it has to be mentioned that the Northern Region is one of the poorest regions in the country and the women in the region suffer more poverty than the males.

The second objective tried to examine the number of females appointed to the various assemblies since thirty (30%) per cent of the assembly's membership is via appointment. It was found out from the data collected that out of a total number of sixty (60) government appointees in both assemblies, only fifteen (15) representing twenty five (25%) per cent were females. The remaining forty five (45) representing about seventy five (75%) per cent were

males. In trying to find out why the situation was like that, the Ministers and the Metropolitan Chief Executives responded that there were not enough/many qualified women to appoint to the assemblies. Indeed, the President of the Republic of Ghana gave a similar answer in an interview with the BBC when he was asked why he could not fulfill the forty (40%) per cent appointment portfolios he promised for women in his manifesto before the 2008 elections.

Thirdly, the study was to find out differences in terms of numbers of the female members/councilors in Accra and their counterparts in Tamale. It was observed that there were twenty three (23) female members in the assembly in Accra and six (6) in the Tamale assembly respectively. There were twelve (12) elected females in Accra and two (2) in Tamale just as there were eleven (11) appointed females in Accra and four (4) in Tamale. Reasons for the gap ranged from financial resources, cultural and religious beliefs, intimidation and male chauvinism.

Lastly, the study tried to find out what factors may be inhibiting or facilitating female's election or appointment into their respective assemblies taking into consideration the differences in socio-economic and politico-cultural circumstances prevalent in the north and the south of Ghana. Indeed, various socio-economic and politico-cultural factors did play a role in influencing (negatively or positively) how various people in the selected assemblies participated in their recruitment processes. In particular, these factors accounted for the situation where there were many middle-class, middle-aged educated males than female councilors and also why the female numbers in Accra were better than Tamale. But of course the issue of under-representation of females is somewhat general as even 'councillors in the United Kingdom tend to be sociologically unrepresentative of the population, being disproportionately male, middle-class, middle-aged, and educated to college or university standard. This is not unusual. Offerdal (1994) notes that 'middle aged white males are over-represented on municipal councils in Norway. This trend of under-representation of women in local government can also be found in Japan' (Bochel & Bochel, 2000: 112-113).

6.2 OVERVIEW OF METHODS, MAJOR FINDINGS, FACTORS AND THEORY

6.2.1 Methods

The method used for the study was qualitative in nature and data was gathered through different series of structured interviews of a number of respondents numbering about thirty

eight (38). Even though the study resorted to a lot of interviewees to solicit information, the views of the elected and appointed councilors as well as unsuccessful candidates of the two assemblies have largely formed the basis of the analysis chapter. This is because they are the major players and stakeholders involved in the local governance processes in Ghana. Nonetheless, the views of other high ranking government and state officials have also been sought to allow for some measure of balance (between local government administrators and councilors/representatives) as well as provide the relevant technical explanations underlining Ghana's local government structure. Also, it is important to state that the work resorted to some use of statistical data covering election results from 1994 to 2006 even though the study relied heavily on qualitative data. The combination of all those data sources added some dimensions to the analysis and the findings for that matter.

Because of the nature of the study, a lot more proceeding and related questions were asked to respondents apart from the questions that were captured in the structured questionnaire. The aim was to get further information from interviewees to see what patterns could emerge to explain both structural and individual factors influencing the appointment and election of assembly representatives. As expected, additional information gained from further probing clarified some information and strengthened some viewpoints. Random sampling was employed to select the respondents from among the appointed and elected members of the two assemblies as well as the unsuccessful candidates. The rationale was to provide opportunity for unexpected pairings and corresponding views/variables that may not have been envisaged by the investigator to emerge. This was partly successful especially in Greater Accra where the random Sampling technique had been effectively employed. A problem was however experienced in Tamale where random sampling could not be successfully used because of the very small number of female representatives especially the elected members who were only two (2). After repeated random sample draws left out the female representatives, some females had to be deliberately included in the list of respondents.

6.2.2 Findings

Naturally, some of the findings of the study have somewhat been predictable even though the gap in levels of representation between males and females has been unimaginably wide. Surprisingly, the study found that since the inception of local government reforms and elections from 1988 till present, the Tamale Metropolitan assembly has over a period had a single elected female representative until recently where two (2) females have been elected.

But even the election of two (2) female representatives in Tamale which would otherwise have been an improvement from one (1) is still rather not good enough considering the fact that the total number of elected members alone in the Tamale assembly stands at fifty four (54). The story is not much different with appointed female representatives in the assembly who are only four (4) out of twenty four (24) members. This is particularly disappointing because there is a constitutional provision that enables the President of the republic to appoint thirty (30%) per cent of the membership of the assemblies. Arguments have been made by many groups including women advocates that the President should use the opportunity provided by the constitution to appoint more women to achieve some form of parity.

Though the male to female ratio in the Accra Metropolitan assembly may have been somewhat better than the Tamale Metropolitan assembly, it is equally not a desirable situation as only twelve (12) females representing eighteen (18%) per cent have been elected out of sixty eight (68) elected members. This means that the remaining fifty six (56) representing eighty two (82%) per cent went to males. Females in the same metropolitan assembly managed to get eleven (11) appointments into the assembly out of a total of thirty six (36) government appointees. That represented thirty one (31%) per cent for females as the remaining twenty five (25) representing sixty nine (69%) per cent went to their male counterparts. It was apparently clear that numbers of representatives varied significantly between males and females and also among females of the two assemblies. As expected, respondents offered opinions on the matter and gave different *reasons and factors* responsible for the situation.

6.2.3 Factors

The fact that males are in a comfortable majority in the two assemblies is not in doubt as suggested by the data. Of a total number of sixty (60) government appointees in both assemblies, the males are forty five (45) representing about seventy five (75%) per cent with the females being only fifteen (15) representing twenty five (25%) per cent. Similarly, the data revealed that there have been more female appointed and elected members in Accra than in Tamale. It emerged clearly from the interviews that the males greatly benefitted from the lead roles they played in society in terms of organizing programmes like games, funerals and communal labour. The effect of this was that it popularized the male candidates and strengthened the already existing cultural belief that males were supposed to be playing lead roles in society whilst females were relegated to domestic matters (Amanfo's MPA Thesis,

2003: 116). The males equally benefitted from appointments to the assembly because they appeared to be very active in party organization and management which possibly made them popular to the gatekeepers (Leduc et' al, 1996: 195-208). Additionally, even though individual financial resources was a challenge to both males and females it emerged that females suffered more financial constraints than the males who also generally owned property in one way or the other and could use their property as collateral to access credit from financial institutions.

But these factors which ranged from inadequacy of financial resources to negative cultural and religious beliefs were even more compelling and severe in the Northern Region than Greater Accra (ibid). This seems to have been the reason why a relatively higher number of females were elected and appointed into the Accra Metropolitan Assembly whilst their counterparts in Tamale recorded very low numbers in the elections as well as appointments. Comparatively, it is common knowledge that prevailing socio-economic conditions in Accra are far better than those in Tamale where there is a lot of poverty and unemployment. The prevailing situation in the area affects the females very severely resulting in their movement in droves to Accra in search for jobs. This is just a clear manifestation of some of the odds women in the Northern Region face. With these problems, it is very difficult for females to compete effectively to get recruitments into the assembly. Conclusively therefore, there is little wonder why only few women were able to make it through into the assembly in Tamale.

6.2.4 Theory

The Individual Supply and Demand theory basically had two components. On the one hand, it comprised of the supply factors like the individual's level of education, financial resources, motivation, family status or background and participation in group activities among others. The other component was the demand aspect which also dealt with gatekeepers like political parties, religious organizations, community based organizations and traditional rulers or local authorities. In other words, it was more a contest relating to the impact or influence of personal characteristics and qualities on the one hand and group interests or preferences on the other. Accordingly, the interviews and analysis confirmed that all individual supply factors as identified by the theory played a very influential role towards recruitments. On the other hand, the demand variables did not play out openly as some of them remained at the level of perceptions without clear and specific cases provided by interviewees to prove their

assertions. However, even the individual supply factors had differing levels of impact for different candidates as shown in the tables in chapter five.

For instance, the role played by financial resources was quite different for both appointed and elected councilors and a similar observation was made of education too. Also, even though quotas were largely confirmed to be used for female recruitments, some few respondents voiced their disagreements to quotas. Religion and political parties did not have big influential roles according to interviewees. However, some argued that political parties played some hidden roles towards recruitments. Membership in organizations was seen to have helped in the development of requisite skills necessary for leadership. Finally, most traditional rulers or authorities did not have enough influence over recruitments leading to suggestions by some of them to be given the opportunity to select the few appointed members to the assemblies. If their demand is to be accepted, then there will necessarily have to be a constitutional amendment to sanction their action.

However, one of the weaknesses of the theory is that it did not very clearly explain the relationship between the two aspects of the theory (demand and supply). This is because a lot of candidates were successfully recruited into the assemblies through advantages they got from a combination of the two aspects of the theory. In other words, it was obvious that most candidates relied on the strength of their individual supply factors or characteristics which gave them demand and support of the gatekeepers. Perhaps, the individual supply factors were a little more influential on the part of the elected members because the elections are supposed to be non-partisan. The demand factors also covertly played out in the considerations of the appointed members into the councils or assemblies.

Another shortfall of the theory may be that it failed to specifically address challenges females face during recruitments and perhaps recommend ways towards improving female recruitments in a detailed manner. Even though it is good that the theory treated both males and females as candidates who are supposed to be equal, nonetheless, the power relationship between males and females in some places are asymmetrical or unbalanced because of cultural or religious prescriptions and specifications on roles, functions and duties laid down for both genders. As a result, it may not be enough to talk of the significance of individual supply factors and demand (influence of gatekeepers) towards recruitments without situating them within a context with its accompanying norms, values and other peculiarities. Notwithstanding these concerns though, I think that the theory on the whole really did have

influence on the recruitments of members or councilors into the Accra and Tamale Metropolitan Assemblies.

6.3 EMERGING ISSUES AND IMPORTANCE OF FINDINGS TO EXISTING AND FUTURE STUDIES

A number of interesting and mixed issues certainly emerged from the study and the analysis. It was observed for instance that a predominant masculine culture in both the Tamale and Accra metropolitan assemblies severely hampered the chances of some females to become councilors even though it helped the males significantly. Part of the reason was that when a female aspirant tried to do what was necessary to become a councilor she would be seen as trying to challenge the status quo. This was observed in both assemblies even though it was more pronounced in the north. It was surprising to discover that females in both assemblies had never made any attempt to vie for the Presiding Membership of the assemblies even though the position is open for contest by any member/councilor in the assembly. It almost appeared that this position was seen as a preserve for the males since the Presiding Member was supposed to be the head of the assembly. Could it be that the females transferred the norms and conventions from the 'home' where males are as a matter of cultural or societal requirement seen to be 'heads' providing leadership in almost all unions of males and females? Again, this was very serious in the north even though it was in the south too.

Crook & Manor in their comparative study of local governance in Asia and Africa contend rightly that very few women participated in local government elections in the Northern part of Ghana (Crook & Manor, 1998: 276). The reasons they argued were cultural, poverty and most importantly high levels of illiteracy among women. In line with the findings of the work, they said that educated males generally controlled and dominated the assemblies and this has found expression on contemporary development and governance literature (ibid). Matland & Montgomery (2003:306) add that no matter how female participation in local governance is viewed, education is central to women's chances since it has the potential to shape and boost female's ability to run for office and the decision of a party's leadership to appoint them.

But much broadly, it appears that a lot of the present findings and studies about local governance are emphasizing the individual factors rather than the institutional factors which are observed to be equally important. Though Amanfo acknowledges that institutional factors

and frameworks are important in facilitating women's candidature, she nonetheless observes that individual factors are more crucial in influencing female's representation in Ghana and therefore the influence of institutional factors should not be over exaggerated (MPA Thesis, 2003:116). On his part, Hyden emphasizes the significance of socio-economic, cultural and religious factors towards female's participation but argues that some institutional variables like the electoral system does not place undue barriers on the way of female candidates who want to be elected (Hyden, 2006:178). Of course, in the case of Ghana, it came out very clearly that the electoral system was fair to everybody and did not discriminate against participants on the basis of gender. However, I do admit that the absence of a non-discriminatory electoral system alone does not necessarily mean that everything will be fine for all contestants especially in places where there is an overbearing and domineering male culture (Bochel & Bochel, 2000:117). The overwhelming call for the institution of quotas by the respondents in Ghana presupposes that both institutional and individual factors are important and should be evenly considered.

Also, it is contended that hostility from males in any form against females especially those who desire to occupy positions affect female participation in much the same way as the burden of domestic responsibility squarely placed on the shoulders of women (Darcy et' al 1987:48). So there is little surprise that contemporary writings/literature especially those written by females try consciously to make the issue of females participation an issue of right which should be accompanied by more rights in terms of the total protection of the woman from all forms of abuses, hostility, discrimination and danger (ibid). There is some seeming departure from traditional research and writing about the need for more women participation because of the absence of it to more specific and ambitious demands for equity, equality, economic empowerment and fairness partly because the specific reasons responsible for female's under-representation are systematically being made known through various researches by the day (ibid). It appears to me that contemporary literature, research and studies (including findings from this study) will undoubtedly bring to the fore the limitations hampering female's participation in local governance. Additionally, in drawing from the findings of this study, some recommendations are made below on how to improve female's participation in local governance.

6.4 GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS ON HOW TO IMPROVE WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE

There is no doubt that female participation in local governance is on the low side in Ghana considering the data gathered and analyzed in the proceeding chapters above. It does not really matter whether the situation regarding women representation is a lot worse in the north (Tamale) or a little worse in the south (Accra). The bottom line is that it is not good enough when compared to the levels of male representation in both assemblies which is substantially on the higher side. If the mission of the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development is actually ‘to promote the establishment and development of a vibrant and well resourced decentralized system of local government for the people of Ghana to ensure good governance and balanced rural based development’, then more women ought to be present in the assemblies to help fashion out policies and undertake programmes to achieve the much talked about balanced development.

<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/republic/ministry.profile.php?ID=27>.

It may be naturally and scientifically complicated to ascertain the real value and impact of representatives on those represented because some form of representation may largely be done for symbolic purposes (Pitkin, 1967:90-93). But it is possible to go beyond making something present which is not present (ibid). Moreover, Bochel C. & Bochel H. (2000:67) contend that even ‘just by being in a position of power they are able to influence and impact upon policy’. To achieve a balance both in levels of representation and development, a lot of measures will have to be undertaken to help bring parity between males and females. Some recommendations formed on the basis of the information and data I collected and analysed are provided below. These recommendations relate to the socio-economic and politico-cultural variables which were used as the independent variables of the study. Alternatively, these factors can broadly be described as individual and institutional factors influencing the appointment and election of councillors in Ghana. Some of the suggestions are below.

6.4.1 Political Recommendations

Firstly and politically, I think the institution of specific and achievable *quotas* as an institutional measure should be put in place as a way of dealing with the inequality in representation between males and females. In spite of various critical views against quotas in general, they seem to be a major institutional approach to dealing with vulnerable and

minority groups including gender minorities especially in political arrangements and processes. Few of the major criticisms against quotas include the view that governments use them as a temporal excuse to escape from the responsibility to institute long lasting reforms to bring equity and equality among groups in addition to the fact that they are deemed largely to be undemocratic and unfair short-term approaches (Matland & Montgomery, 2003:94). Nonetheless, quotas have worked in the board rooms of businesses in Norway which saw the replacement of about 700 males with females following the introduction of a forty (40%) per cent quota and boosted the number of female councillors in Uganda and Tanzania (Kyohairwe, 2009:136). In fact, Rwanda has crossed the fifty (50%) per cent mark of female representation. Whatever our sentiments over quotas may have been, the fact remains that they do work and can work in Ghana. Therefore the efforts that started in 2002 on the institution of specific quotas for females in the local assemblies in Ghana should be revisited and continued. Moreover, some female political advocates during the data collection process expressed their deepest disappointment over the failure of assemblies to implement the 2002 quota agreement. They argued that the Speaker of Parliament and the Chief Justice in Ghana are females and have shown that women can do better when given the opportunity.

Secondly, allowing women more space to take *membership in organisations* or even supporting them to form their own organisations would provide the platform for women to gain and enrich their experiences which could be helpful to female participants. The experiences gained may help the women in terms of their organisational arrangements to enable them compete with the males more effectively and make significant gains and impact in local government elections. Apart from the members of the organisations supporting female aspirants during elections, some governments co-opt hardworking members and leaders of the organisations by appointing them into the assemblies as experienced in Ghana with members of the 31st December Women's Movement (DWM) and women of the Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organisation (MYWO) in Kenya (Hyden, 2006:179). But civil society should also be able to support these organizations to help strengthen and sustain them to remain viable in order that they become immune from governments outright suspension as suffered by the Baraza La Wanawake Wa Tanzania (ibid). As a matter of fact, all respondents interviewed during the data collection process explained that membership in organizations like political parties and other civil society organisations was a very useful training ground to both appointed and elected members.

6.4.2 Economic Recommendations

Even though participants in the local government elections in Ghana are not supposed to pay any monies before registration and participation, a lot of financial resources are needed for candidates to be able to run successful campaigns. This is where individual financial resources matter in the sense that those with financial resources will be able to do more to put their campaign messages across to the voters which has the potential of influencing how voters cast their ballot. So, if the number of women councillors in the local assemblies will be improved, women will need to be financially capable and empowered to support their own campaigns to make them win local level elections. More economic opportunities will have to be provided for women especially those in the Northern Region due to the severity of poverty prevalent there. Even though at independence in 1957, Ghana had a lot of reserves and resources than South Korea whose economy is now eighty times larger than Ghana, statistics on the level of poverty reduction has been unimpressive (Hyden, 2006:16). Poverty may be widespread across the country, but the Northern Region is one of the poorest regions in the country and women there suffer more poverty than their colleagues in other parts of Ghana. Similarly, Hyden states further that ‘the new thing since the 1990s has been the growing recognition that politics and development are not too separate and distinct activities. Development analysts, especially economists had always treated development as independent of politics’ (ibid, 9). However, politics influences economics and the vice versa. Moreover, Offei-Aboagye advocates for the material and political empowerment of people at the sub-national level. By material empowerment, she refers to the mitigation of social and economic challenges different from the political aspect which deals with the empowerment of people and groups to be more powerful, vocal and visible at the local level to strengthen democracy and decentralization (Offei-Aboagye cited in Agyeman Duah, 2008:237).

Indeed, in recognition of the enormous role financial resources play during local level elections, the Ministry of Women and Children’s Affairs (MOWAC) whose mandate is to formulate policies to promote gender mainstreaming provided financial assistance to all female candidates across the country. Though that intervention was a good one, the amount was highly inadequate and could not make the anticipated impact. My recommendation is that not only should the amount be increased, but also, there should be other conscious policy programmes and initiatives that will be tailored towards improving poverty levels among women in the country. This could come in the form of training by way of organising business

capacity building programmes so that women could form groups to be able to access loans to set up medium to large scale businesses.

6.4.3 Social Recommendations

It is important to acknowledge that councilors in the various assemblies can engage in deliberations using the predominant local language in the area. But even though proceedings can be done in local languages, the assemblies have almost always resorted to the use of English language which is the official language of Ghana. Even some local government practitioners contend that the assemblies are another sphere of elitism because of the large number of educated people in the assemblies. Of course, education cannot be argued to be bad in this sense because of the role it has played to developed and developing nations. The problem however has to do with the huge gap in levels of education between males and females.

Consequently, the suggestion being made here is that concrete efforts should be tailored towards sending more females to schools and retained since their numbers usually diminish as they go higher the educational ladder. For those women who may have already gone pass the stage of school going age, non-formal teaching or forms of education can be used to get them basic literacy, numeracy and communication skills which are necessary and could be used to facilitate females' competitiveness in election and subsequent performance of their duties inside the assemblies. For instance, the proportion of adults who have been to school in urban areas of the Northern Region is forty five (45%) percent (GLSS, 2000:12). It has been widely acknowledged that the election of councilors into local government assemblies disproportionately favours the professional and educated class who are largely male (Crook and Manor, 1998: 273). This is clearly so because the proportion of female educated adults in both metropolitan assemblies is very small as compared to their male counterparts (GLSS, 2000:12). Government interventions like the 'school feeding programme' and 'capitation grants' should be broadened to cover all basic schools to help more girls stay in school.

Closely related to the issue of education is the necessity for a more liberal and accommodating culture that recognises the need to accept women in all spheres of public life in the same way their male counterparts are entertained in public life. When this is done, the perception that females are only good and effective for domestic matters including the management of the kitchen will gradually be changed. Consequently male chauvinism and the

confinement of women to domestic functions which negatively affect the electoral chances of Ghanaian women significantly may change for the better so that women won't continue to be 'disproportionately responsible for finding and carrying huge bundles of firewood' (Mazrui, 1990:179). In spite of all the problems that females face in the political realm, there is something that they have to reach for within themselves and bring to the fore which might make a difference for them. But what is this? Prewitt (1970:19) says 'of many individual characteristics relevant to leadership selection patterns, the personal trait most central, is political ambition'. Therefore, women have to try to cultivate ambition even when all the impediments discussed above are remedied.

However, it is important to indicate that if a country operates under a democracy, the likelihood of using different recommendations to improve equity in representation may be higher. For instance, Bochel & Bochel (2000:9) argue that 'Non-democratic or undemocratic systems are generally seen as limiting participation or channelling it in particular ways'. In Ghana, female representation at the local level suffered under periods of political instability similar to Bangladesh where new regimes always discontinued local governance processes only to start something different (Crook & Manor, 1998:135).

6.5 CONCLUSION

This final chapter covered the linkage of the findings to the objectives, theories and research questions; an overview of methods, findings, conclusions, emerging issues, importance of findings to existing and future studies as well as general recommendations on how to improve women participation in local governance. The recommendations have largely been based on the literature reviewed and the data gathered from the two assemblies under study. It is important to state also that the recommendations may be significant for women participation in local governance elsewhere and especially Ghana which was the context because the situation of women in some African countries is not significantly or markedly different. Similarly, there is no stressing the point that the socio-economic and politico-cultural designs, arrangements and structures in most African states are similar.

From the analysis, the impact of both individual and institutional or systemic factors towards the enhancement of females' participation in local governance has been illustrated. The issues of individual financial resources, family status or background, education, exposure or membership in organizations among others stressed the self motivational and individual

supply elements of the theory. On the other hand, structural or institutional factors like the kind of electoral system, cultural and religious beliefs equally had some impact on the electoral fortunes of candidates. What was observed also was that the individual supply factors were linked to the demand aspect in the sense that the former influenced how the gatekeepers viewed a particular candidate which was crucial for his or her success. From the findings, there were more female recruits into the assembly in Accra than Tamale even though both assemblies recorded overwhelming male recruits with numbers far larger than the females. It is a fact that there are clear socio-economic and cultural differences between the two areas. However, cultural variables or factors were specifically responsible for the chronic under-representation of females in Tamale since respondents in both areas had similar responses and challenges on the socio-economic front. Similarly and more broadly, socio-economic and cultural factors were said to have played more to the advantage of males leading to their attainment of higher numbers of assembly/council seats in both areas than their female counterparts who had less favourable socio-economic and cultural conditions.

Finally, the method used for this study was largely qualitative in nature even though it was supported by some statistical data covering figures on number of elected male and female councilors over a period. I wish to state that it may have equally been more revealing if two municipal assemblies were added to the two metropolitan assemblies from which data was collected. Perhaps, other trends could emerge from such a combination. In addition, it could make generalization better. 'Qualitative comparative results will provide misleading generalizations when applied to fewer than the relevant universe of cases (Griffin et al. 1991) and for those researchers wanting to go beyond local explanations, the relevant data must be acquired' (Sica, 2006:15). Nonetheless, I think the data was enough to answer the research questions and meet the demands of the objectives. Above all, I believe a linkage of the findings to the objectives, theory and research questions has equally added to making the study more structured and focused.

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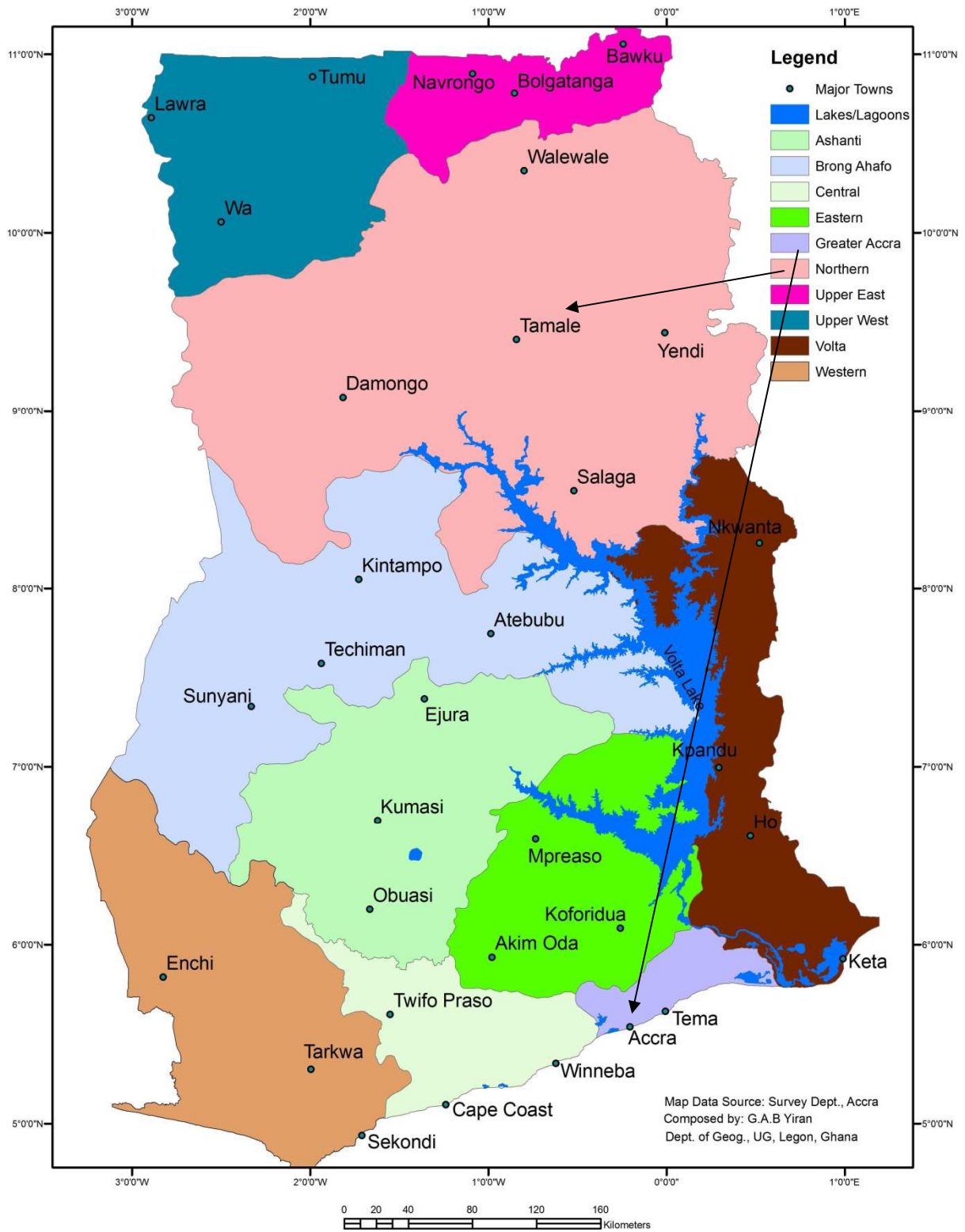
Accra Metropolitan Assembly Medium Term Development, 2006-2009

Manifesto for a Better Ghana, 2008

Moving Ghana Forward: Building a Modern Ghana, 2008

Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS) Report

APPENDIX 1



APPENDIX 2

The thirty per cent Government Appointees (12 Males and Females randomly selected)

1. Why were you appointed?
2. What qualities does the appointing authority look for?
3. In your opinion, what special qualities in particular made your appointment possible?
4. How did/do you feel about your appointment?
5. Who recommended you for appointment?
 - a. Community
 - b. Chiefs
 - c. Party
 - d. Nobody
 - e. Specify, if other.....
6. What is your level of education?
 - a. Primary
 - b. Junior high
 - c. Senior high
 - d. College/Technical
 - e. University
 - f. Has not been to school
7. To what extent did your gender play a role in your appointment?
8. Have you provided some developmental projects for your community using your own financial resources?
 - a. Yes b. No
9. Why the answer in (8) above?
10. If you answered yes to question (8), how did that help in your appointment?
11. Do you feel free to express your views on all matters in the assembly?
 - a. Yes b. No
12. Why the answer in (11) above?
13. Which of the following positions has any of your family members occupied before?
 - a. President
 - b. Speaker of Parliament
 - c. Member of Parliament

- d. Minister of State
- e. Metropolitan/Municipal/District Chief Executive
- f. Presiding Officer
- g. Assembly Member
- h. Other, specify.....
- i. None

14. If yes, how did that contribute to your appointment?

15. Which of the following positions has any of your family members occupied before?

- a. Pastor
- b. Elder
- c. Deacon
- d. Committee Head
- e. Choir Master
- f. Other, specify.....
- g. None

16. If yes, how did that contribute to your appointment?

17. Have any of your family members occupied any of these positions in the mosque?

- a. Imam/Leader
- b. Preacher
- c. Muazzin/Caller to prayer
- d. Committee Head
- e. Other, specify.....
- f. None

18. If yes, how did that contribute to your appointment?

19. Have any of your family members occupied the position of the traditional priest?

- a. Yes b. No

20. If yes, how did that contribute to your appointment?

21. Has any member of your family been a traditional ruler or chief of the community before?

- a. Yes b. No

22. If yes, how did that contribute to your appointment?

23. Have you participated in organizing any community activities?

- a. Yes b. No

24. If yes, how did that contribute to your appointment?

25. Did any groups support your appointment?
 - a. Yes b. No
26. Why the answer in (25) above?
27. Did any groups oppose your appointment?
 - a. Yes b. No
28. Why the answer in (27) above?
29. Do you think specific quotas for women should be introduced?
 - a. Yes b. No
30. Why?
31. Are there any reasons/factors that may disqualify other people from getting appointed into the assembly?
 - a. Yes b. No
32. If yes, what are they and how?
33. Which policy issues interest you the most in the assembly?
34. To what extent does your marital status impact on your functions?

APPENDIX 3

Defeated Candidates (6 Males and Females)

1. Why did you contest in the local assembly elections?
2. What qualities do the electorate look out for?
3. In your opinion, do you have those qualities?
 - a. Yes b. No
4. Why the answer in (3) above?
5. How do you feel about your loss?
6. What is your level of education?
 - a. Primary
 - b. Junior high
 - c. Senior high
 - d. College/Technical
 - e. University
 - f. Has not been to school
7. To what extent was level of education influential in the elections?
8. To what extent did gender play a major role in the election?
9. Did you have enough financial resources to support your election campaign?
 - a. Yes b. No
10. Why the answer in (9) above and how did that impact on your election campaign?
11. Would you feel free to express your views on all matters in the assembly if you were elected?
 - a. Yes b. No
12. Why the answer in (11) above?
13. Which of the following positions has any of your family members occupied before?
 - a. President
 - b. Speaker of Parliament
 - c. Member of Parliament
 - d. Minister of State
 - e. Metropolitan/Municipal/District Chief Executive

- f. Presiding Officer
- g. Assembly Member
- h. Other, specify.....
- i. None

14. If so, how did that impact on the election?

15. Which of the following positions has any of your family members occupied before?

- a. Pastor
- b. Elder
- c. Deacon
- d. Committee Head
- e. Choir Master
- f. Other, specify.....
- g. None

16. If yes, how did that impact on the election?

17. Have any of your family members occupied any of these positions in the mosque?

- a. Imam/Leader
- b. Preacher
- c. Muazzin/Caller to prayer
- d. Committee Head
- e. Other, specify.....
- f. None

18. If yes, how did that impact on the election?

19. Have any of your family members occupied the position of the traditional priest?

- a. Yes b. No

20. If yes, how did that impact on the election?

21. Has any member of your family been a traditional ruler or chief of the community before?

- a. Yes b. No

22. If yes, how did that impact on the election?

23. Have you participated in organizing any community activities before?

- a. Yes b. No

24. If yes, how did that impact on the election?

25. Do you think there are any beliefs that may have made the people not to vote for you?

- a. Yes b. No

26. If yes, what are they and how?
27. What major challenges did you face in standing for the election?
28. How did you overcome those challenges?
29. Did you get any support from groups/organizations including political parties?
 - a. Yes b. No
30. If yes, mention the groups/organizations.
31. Did any group(s) oppose your election?
 - a. Yes b. No
32. If yes, which groups and why?
33. Do you think the introduction of specific quotas for women will be helpful?
 - a. Yes b. No
34. Explain your answer in (33) above.
35. What made you to lose the election?
36. To what extent did your marital status impact on the elections?
37. Which policy issues interest you the most in the assembly?

APPENDIX 4

Elected Members (12 Males and Females randomly selected)

1. Why did you contest in the local assembly elections?
2. What qualities do the electorate look out for?
3. In your opinion, what special qualities in particular made your election victory successful?
4. How did/do you feel about your election?
5. Do you think there are enough elected women in your local assembly?
 - a. Yes b. No
6. Why?
7. What is your level of education?
 - a. Primary
 - b. Junior high
 - c. Senior high
 - d. College/Technical
 - e. University
 - f. Has not been to school
8. What do you think made the electorate to vote for you?
9. To what extent did your gender play a major role in the election?
10. Did you have enough financial resources to support your election campaign?
 - a. Yes b. No
11. Why the answer in (10) above and how did that impact on your election campaign?
12. Do you feel free to express your views on all matters in the assembly?
 - a. Yes b. No
13. Why the answer in (12) above?
14. Which of the following positions has any of your family members occupied before?
 - a. President
 - b. Speaker of Parliament
 - c. Member of Parliament
 - d. Minister of State
 - e. Metropolitan/Municipal/District Chief Executive
 - f. Presiding Officer

- g. Assembly Member
- h. Other, specify.....
- i. None

15. If yes, how did that contribute to your election?

16. Which of the following positions has any of your family members occupied before?

- a. Pastor
- b. Elder
- c. Deacon
- d. Committee Head
- e. Choir Master
- f. Other, specify.....
- g. None

17. If yes, how did that contribute to your election?

18. Have any of your family members occupied any of these positions in the mosque?

- a. Imam/Leader
- b. Preacher
- c. Muazzin/Caller to prayer
- d. Committee Head
- e. Other, specify.....
- f. None

19. If yes, how did that contribute to your election?

20. Have any of your family members occupied the position of the traditional priest?

- a. Yes b. No

21. If yes, how did that contribute to your election?

22. Has any member of your family been a traditional ruler or chief of the community before?

- a. Yes b. No

23. If yes, how did that contribute to your election?

24. Have you participated in organizing any community activities before?

- a. Yes b. No

25. If yes, how did that contribute to your election?

26. Did any groups support your election?

- a. Yes b. No

27. Why the answer in (26) above?

28. Did any groups oppose your election?
 - a. Yes b. No
29. Why the answer in (28) above?
30. Do you think specific quotas should be introduced for women?
 - a. Yes b. No
31. Why?
32. Are there any reasons/factors that may disqualify other people from getting elected into the assembly?
 - a. Yes b. No
33. If yes, what are they and how?
34. What major challenges did you face in standing for the election?
35. How did you overcome those challenges?
36. To what extent does your marital status impact on your functions?
37. Which policy issues interest you the most in the assembly?

APPENDIX 5

Gender Officers in the Assemblies (2)

1. Do you think more women should be elected to the Assemblies?
 - a. Yes b. No
2. Why?
3. Do you think more women should be appointed to the Assemblies?
 - a. Yes b. No
4. Why?
5. What challenges do women face in standing as candidates for local government elections?
6. Do you think women make an impact in the Assembly?
 - a. Yes b. No
7. If yes, give examples of cases, initiatives or policies they have made impact.
8. Is there any support package offered to women aspirants?
 - a. Yes b. No
9. If yes, what support package is offered to women aspirants and why?
10. Are there any groups advocating for more women to be appointed or elected into the assemblies?
 - a. Yes b. No
11. If yes, which groups are they and why?
12. Are female members included in other committees within the Assembly?
 - a. Yes b. No
13. If yes, which committees have the women been included as members and why?
14. Has the assembly elected a woman presiding officer before?
 - a. Yes b. No
15. Why the answer in (14) above?
16. What do you think about an introduction of specific quotas for women?

APPENDIX 6

Presiding Officers in the Assemblies (2)

1. Do you think more women should be elected to the Assemblies?
a. Yes b. No
2. Why?
3. Do you think more women should be appointed to the Assemblies?
a. Yes b. No
4. Why?
5. What challenges do women face in standing as candidates for local government elections?
6. Do you think women make an impact in the Assembly?
a. Yes b. No
7. If yes, give examples of cases, initiatives or policies they have made impact.
8. Is there any support package offered to women aspirants?
a. Yes b. No
9. If yes, what support package is offered to women aspirants and why?
10. Are there any groups advocating for more women to be appointed or elected into the assemblies?
a. Yes b. No
11. If yes, which groups are they and why?
12. Are female members included in other committees within the Assembly?
a. Yes b. No
13. If yes, which committees have the women been included as members and why?
14. Has the assembly elected a woman presiding officer before?
a. Yes b. No
15. Why the answer in (14) above?
16. What do you think about an introduction of specific quotas for women?

APPENDIX 7

Regional and Local Government Ministers as well as Metropolitan Chief Executives (6)

1. Who recommends people for appointment?
2. What are the main criteria in appointing members to the assembly?
3. What qualities do you consider as important in appointing members to the assembly?
4. To what extent are members' financial resources influential in their appointments?
5. Have appointments really been done to bring expertise to the assembly as envisaged by the policy?
 - a. Yes b. No
6. Why the answer above?
7. To what extent is gender considered during appointments?
8. To what extent is the education of appointees important to their appointment?
9. To what extent are family responsibilities taken into consideration when appointments are being made?
10. Are appointees cultural backgrounds considered important in appointments?
11. Are appointees religious backgrounds considered important in appointments?
12. Are groups consulted when appointments are being made?
 - a. Yes b. No
13. Why the answer?
14. Do you think groups support some people to stand as candidates for local level elections?
 - a. Yes b. No
15. If yes, which groups support candidates and why?
16. Do you think that having more party members in the assembly is helpful?
 - a. Yes b. No
17. Why the answer above?
18. Does your party support some of its members to stand as candidates in the election?
 - a. Yes b. No
19. Why?
20. Does the president use the constitutional provision of thirty per cent to appoint more women to achieve a gender balance?
 - a. Yes b. No
21. Why the answer in (20) above?