UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

EXPLORING WOMEN'S LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION IN GRASS

ROOTS POLITICS IN THE AKAN CONSTITUENCY, VOLTA REGION

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DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

I, NANA FRIMPONG AKROMAH declare that this thesis with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work and has not been submitted, either in part or whole for another degree elsewhere.

Signature………………………. Date…………………………….

SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of thesis as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

 Supervisor's Name: Dr. Lucy Effeh Attom

Signature………………………… Date………………………………

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to all my family members for their support. I would like to dedicate this to my wonderful and lovely wife, Kathleen Frimpong.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank God for His greatness and his mercies bestowed upon me to have gone this far. His steadfast love is new every morning in my life. I would like to express my deepest appreciation to a number of people who have supported me throughout my study. I would like to thank my dynamic supervisor Dr. Lucy Effeh Attom for her help, support, guidance and patience.

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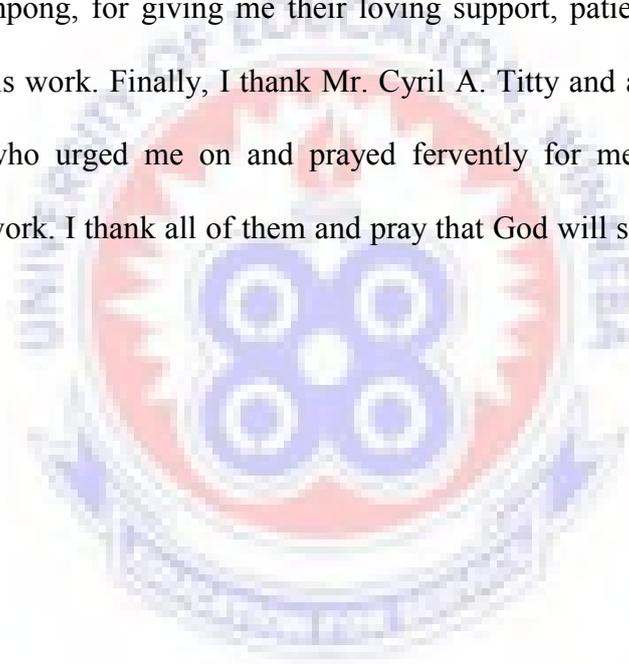
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A G E	Advocate for Gender Equality
AI	Amnesty International
AU	African Unions
AWLA	African Women Lawyers Association
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CHRAJ	Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice
CPP	Convention People's Party
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
FAWE	Federation of African Women Entrepreneurs
FIDA	International Federation of Women Lawyers
GFW	Ghana Federation of Women
ILGS	Local Government Studies
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monitory Fund
MOWAC	Ministry of Women And Children Affairs
NCGW	National Council of Ghana Women
NCWD	National Council on Women and Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PNDC	Provisional National Defense Council
SIDA,	Swedish International Development Corporation Agency
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Plan

ABSTRACT

This study explored women's level of participation in grass roots politics in the Akan constituency of the Volta Region of Ghana. A concurrent triangulation mixed method research design was employed using the Liberal Feminist theory as the theoretical focus of the study. A sample size of two hundred (200) respondents, comprising women aged 18 years and above were purposively sampled from the Akan constituency for the study. The study employed interviews and questionnaires to gather data. The quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics (frequency, percentage, mean and standard deviation) and inferential statistics (ANOVA). The qualitative data on the other hand was thematically analyzed. The findings revealed that poor participation of women existed at the grass root politics in the Akan constituency. It was further revealed that the respondents were mostly motivated by intrinsic factors when they were willing to participate in grass root politics. The challenges that were bedeviling the women were lack of financial support, low level of education, inferiority complex, among others. It was also revealed that there were very few support mechanisms which sought to promote their participation. Such mechanisms were quota system by political parties, community support and political education by government. Findings based on the hypothesis also revealed that age and educational level were not differentiators when it came to level of participation in grass root politics. Among others, the study concluded that the women exclusion from political activities is observed as the result of multiple socio-cultural, individual, and institutional factors. Therefore, the study recommended among others that women's participation in grass root politics should be encouraged to make governance more democratic and adult education should be encouraged among the womenfolk.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background to the Study

In the pre-colonial era, women played important roles in top decision making levels in African societies. Some were princesses, chiefs, land owners, occasional warriors, farmers and traders who were very influential in their societies. Baah-Ennumh, Owusu and Kokor (2005), indicates that African women have played important roles in top decision-making processes in their traditional areas before colonialism. Examples of some important African women leaders were the Ethiopian empress Menetewab (1720-1770), Mnkabayi the first Shaka princess in 1780, and Yaa Asantawa, the queenmother of Ejisu who mobilized men to fight the British in 1900 in the Gold Coast (current Ghana).

During the decades of colonial rule however, African women in many parts of the continent were increasingly characterized as limited in their economic activities, mobility, political interests and associations, and, indeed, character and mental capacity as colonial regulations circumscribed their movement and opportunities. According to Jean, Susan and Nakanyike (2002), a civilized African wife knew about tables and chairs, doilies and crockery, curtains and bedspreads, books and polite conversation; In order to be successful in the ―modern‖ sector of any colonial urban area, an African man needed a wife to keep his home and children up to the ―civilized‖ i.e. Western standard of housekeeping and childrearing.

However, there is no dispute about the fact that, women's growing visibility, acceptance and participation in African governance during the post-colonial period was very remarkable. That is why Ghana is noted as one of the first African countries to introduce a quota system for women in 1960. In that year, ―the CPP passed a law

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allowing for the nomination and election of ten women to the National Assembly"
(Tamale, 1999: 23). Upon the attainment of self-government in 1957, the party
rewarded the hard work, resilience and general contribution by women to the
independence struggle.

> ―an assessment of the CPP government's policies towards women has
> noted that it consciously encouraged the participation of women in
> politics and public life with the result that a few women held high
> political offices as members of parliament, deputy ministers and
> district commissioners, and that these were not acts of tokenism, but a
> recognition of their abilities" (Tsikata cited in Allah-Mensah,
> 2005:14).

There has been expansion of global women's movements, which has put
pressure on governments to accept and accommodate women's participation in
democratic governance. Some of these organizations range from the United Nations
and the World Bank to donor Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and
foundations like Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF) Canadian
International Development Agency (CIDA), International Federation of Women
Lawyers (FIDA), and the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA),
which often make recipients' commitment to gender transformation and women's
empowerment a prerequisite for funding. They also involve the global, continental
and regional events and movements that have pressured governments to accommodate
women's participation in governance and policy-making.

According to Karam (2010), the Beijing Platform for Action for instance, set a
target for women representation in all decision-making positions at all levels and it
included a detailed set of recommendations to all sectors of the global communities to
enhance women's political participation and decision-making. The conference further

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called for at least 30 percent representation of women in the processes of decision making.

The World Bank indicated in 1994 that _women's contribution to socio-economic development of any society is immense'. In spite of these contributions, a wide range of law and regulatory practices seem to limit women more than men. These include the chance of obtaining much-needed credit, productive inputs, education, training, information and medical care to perform their economic roles (Gyimah & Thompson, 2008).

In Ghana, women face similar experiences in their quest to enter into the political arena just as their counterparts elsewhere in the world. For example WiLDAF findings in 2008 indicate that there is no discriminatory law against women in politics, but there are traditional and religious practices which hinder women's abilities to lead successful campaigns alongside male counterparts for political positions. One such cultural limitation is the monetization of political elections since women rarely have the same personal economic advantages that men enjoy. Another hindrance according to the finding is the traditional belief that women are politically inferior. For instance, the report stated that in Nabdam in the Northern Region, voters are informed by male candidates for District Assembly elections that if they cast their votes for a female candidate they will face the wrath of the gods. In other cases, as stated in the report, husbands discourage wives from seeking political positions. Additionally, though politicians do not admit it, vote buying is a common practice, and men often have enough funds to buy their political seats. In some communities women cannot run against male in-laws and so are forced through peer pressure to drop their campaigns. The report concluded that District Assembly elections are supposed to be non-partisan, yet in reality the party in power ensures that the majority

of the assembly seats are won by fellow party-members. Often, these parties also wish the seats to remain in the hands of their male candidates.

Corroborating these findings, the Ghana Statistical Services (2005), in their Population Data Analysis stated, male-dominance is a key aspect of the Ghanaian social system and the woman's role and status are recognizably inferior to those of the man in almost all aspects of social, political and economic life. The analysis report revealed that custom, law and even religion have been used to rationalize and perpetuate these differential roles to the extent that women themselves seem to have accepted and internalized them (Ghana Statistical Service, 2005)

It should be noted, however, that all these findings notwithstanding, efforts have been made by the various governments to encourage women to participate in politics. Women participation has seen significant improvement over the previous dispensations in Ghana. At the political level, there is no dispute about the fact that, the number of women is seeing a steady growth from the local government level in particular especially in the number of contestants and actual elected women (Allah-Mensah, 2005). This, however, is insignificant as compared to the number of men holding various positions at the local, regional and national levels. At the political party level, the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the New Patriotic Party (NPP), the People's National Convention (PNC), the Convention People's Party (CPP) except for the Great Consolidated People's Party (GCPP), made claims in their manifestoes to their commitment to gender issues in general and women's concerns in particular, it is not very evident even in their party leadership structure and in their own internal organization (Allah-Mensah, 2005). As a result of these challenges some political parties in Ghana waived their filling fees for women to be able to participate in the 2012 general elections. The CPP and PNC even appointed women as their

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running-mates to their presidential candidates. Despite all these, the women could not get elected.

The situation is more serious at the grassroots level where unit committees, District and Metropolitan assemblies form the basis for the decentralization process. Men still dominate as assemblymen and government appointees to the disadvantage of women. For example national statistics from the Electoral Commission indicate that, in the 2002 district level elections, out of 7,700 assembly members of 110 district assemblies, only five percent were women. The number rose to 10 per cent in 2006 and a little above 14 per cent in 2014. The other side of the situation is that most of the men who win elections at the grassroots level get a lot of experience which expose them to politics at the national level. For example Dr. Papa Kwasi Nduom, the flag bearer of the Progressive Peoples Party (PPP), Hon. Afenyo Markins of Effutu Constituency, his Excellency John Dramani Mahama, the former president of the Republic of Ghana and many others started their political careers from the grassroots level as assemblymen. There is sufficiently reasonable evidence supporting the assertion that women have potentials, which can be tapped to meaningfully enhance social, economic and political development of nations (Allah- Mensah, 2005). When both men and women are accorded with equal representation in development processes, political participation and decision-making processes, the Ghanaian society can function better because both sexes can address issues that concern their development better. This is necessary because the demand for equality is a requirement to fulfill the goals of democracy. There is a Ghanaian saying in Akan that: *"wonsa wo aduane mu a yendi engya wo"* which means ―one cannot be left out when his or her hands are in the food". When women are represented adequately at all decision-making processes they will contribute to decisions that will benefit them, and

also contribute their quota to national development and humanity. It is therefore possible that when more women participate in grassroots political activities such as voting, contesting for positions, campaigning and applying for political appointments, male dominance in Ghanaian politics will be minimized. These circumstances have triggered an inquiry into how women participate in politics and the factors that militate against their efforts in local politics, assuming some decision-making positions and to contribute their quota towards national development.

1.2   Statement of the Problem

The final results of the 2010 population and housing census in Ghana indicated that females constituted 51.2 % of Ghana's population (Ghana Statistical Service Report, 2010). This means that women constitute more than half of Ghana's population and have contributed to the economic development process of the country yet they continue to be alienated in positions of leadership (Kabaji, 1997). Unfortunately, Sossou (2011) found that women's participation in politics, both at the local and the national level, is low.

It is however worth noting that, a range of steps have been taken by the country to increase women political participation at all levels by creating ministerial portfolios and mainstreaming gender issues all in a bid to change the perception about women and also give the needed support to issues that hinder the development of women. A study by The Gender Studies and Human Rights Documentation Centre, in partnership with Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF), the International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA Ghana), and The Hunger Project Ghana, between April 2010 and March 2013, indicates that Ghana has often been promoted as an exemplary country when it comes to implementing and consolidating democracy, but it's rate of women's participation both in policy making and

government representation is shockingly low. Despite all these efforts, it appears women still face some challenges in participating in politics especially at the grass roots levels. With this in mind the study sought to answer the question, what is the situation like in constituencies that are far off from the supposed well-endowed constituencies? It is against this setting that this study sought to answer the question, what is the participation level of women in grass roots politics in the Akan constituency. Evidence emanating from the constituency reveal that no woman in the Akan Constituency has contested or been elected to serve as a parliamentarian since the inception of the fourth republic. In the same vein, no woman has been appointed as District Chief Executive Officer or a Presiding Member. Finally, unlike many other constituencies a limited number of women have been elected to serve as assembly members within the same period.

1.3   Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to provide empirical evidence on women's level of participation in grass roots politics in the Akan constituency of the Volta Region. This study therefore create awareness on the participation level of women in grassroots politics, the factors motivating them to participate in grassroots politics, the challenges they face and the support systems available to empower them participate effectively in grassroots politics.

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1.4   Objectives of the Study

The study sought to:

i.   assess the extent to which women in the Akan constituency participate in grass roots politics;

ii.   examine the factors that motivate women in the Akan constituency to participate in grassroots politics;

iii.   identify the challenges the women face in participating in grassroots politics

iv.   examine the support systems available to empower women to participate in grassroots politics.

1.5   Research Questions

The following research questions guided the study:

1.   Do the women in the Akan constituency participate in grass roots politics?

2.   What are the factors that are motivating women in the Akan constituency to participate in grassroots politics?

3.   What challenges do women face in participating in grass roots politics in the Akan constituency?

4.   What support systems are available to empower women to participate in grassroots politics in the Akan constituency?

1.6   Hypothesis

H_O = Participation of the women in the Akan Constituency in grass root politics will not differ significantly according to some of their demographic characteristics (age and educational level).

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1.7   Significance of the Study

It is hoped that the findings would bring to bear women's level of participation in politics at the grass root level in the Akan constituency. There are a number of publications related to Ghanaian women's participation in grass roots politics but this study focus on their level of participation in the Ghanaian political administration. This study attempts to add to existing knowledge on the participation level of women in grass roots politics and the decision making processes. It would also be useful to students, policy makers, non-governmental organizations that seek literature and other learning materials on the related research problem. It will also serves as a guide for research processes in grass roots politics. In addition, it could serve as reference material for incoming female politicians to map out strategies that would help them overcome most of the challenges confronting them as politicians in the Akan constituency. Educational institutions and development partners would find the findings useful and can whip up their activities aimed at enhancing, and empowering women to contribute their quota to local and national development.

1.8   Delimitation of the study

There are 26 constituencies in the Volta Region. Out of these, the researcher delimited the study to only the Akan constituency which is located in the northern part of the region. The research was conducted at Kajebi and Papase in the constituency and the study was limited to only women who are eighteen years and above. Content wise, the study was delimited to the level of participation in grass root politics, factors motivating the women to participate in grass root politics, challenges women face in participating in politics and mechanism instituted to promote women's participation in grass root politics.

1.9   Definition of Terms

Non-Governmental Organization (NGO): They are voluntary organizations whose activities are focused on issues concerning deprived people in society that government finds difficulties to help.

Democracy: The free and equal right of every person to participate in a system of government, often practised by electing representatives of the people by the majority of the people.

Eligible Women: Women who are eighteen (18) years and can participate in politics

Empowerment: To make women more assertive, emancipation, confidence-building

Grass roots: The ordinary people or members of the society

Impediments: things that hinder women's progress in politics

Parliament: Legislative body of the state

Violence: the use of physical and psychological force to cause injury, damage or death.

Parliamentarians: a Member of Parliament

Participants: Women who took part in the research

Participation: to be actively involved in an activity

Politicians: people who actively engage in politics

Politics: The activities associated with governing, with obtaining legislative or executive power, or with forming and running organizations connected with government.

Political Participation: For this research political participation refers to engagement in political activities and action. It is the involvement of women in political affairs of the country ranging from taking active part in all political activities such as civic education, demonstrations, attending rallies and political conferences, voter

registration, party campaigns, party elections, national campaigns, national elections, to their active involvement in the legislative debates.

Underrepresentation: A disproportionately small number of women representatives in politics.

1.10 Organisation of the Study

The study was presented in five chapters. Chapter one comprises the background of the study, statement of the problem, the purpose and objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study and delimitations of the study.

Chapter two focuses on the literature review taking into account the research objectives. Literature is reviewed on the theoretical framework, the concepts of politics and political participation, Ghanaian constitution and women's political participation, decentralization and local government, a tool for women's grassroots politics, efforts being made by women or women's groups in advancing the course of women to promote grass roots political participation, impediments/constraints faced by women in grassroots politics and enhancing participation of women in grassroots politics.

Chapter Three describes the methodology applied in the study. Specifically, it explained the research design, the population, the sample and sampling procedure, the instruments used in data collection, their validity and reliability, and the methods used in analyzing the data. Chapter Four presents the findings of the study by using simple quantitative analysis involving frequencies and percentages that show the relative magnitudes of various responses obtained from the administration of the questionnaires. The chapter also shows other findings obtained through interviews and observations by the researcher. Chapter Five presents the summary of the findings, conclusions as well as recommendations and suggestions for further studies.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0   Introduction

Women representation and participation in politics is undoubtedly one of the issues of concern to different researchers in recent times. This research work is thus an addition to other studies in that area of study and it seeks to focus on the level of participation of women in politics at the grassroots level which has been recognized as a gap in other literature. This chapter reviews related literature in the area and discussions are done under sub-themes such as Feminization Theories, Theoretical framework, the concepts of politics and political participation, Ghanaian Constitution, international instruments and women's political participation, decentralization and local government, a tool for women's grassroots politics, efforts being made by women groups in promoting women's grass roots political participation, constraints faced by women in grassroots politics and enhancing women participation in grassroots politics.

2.1   Theoretical Review

Theories are reconstructions of the facts, and the criterion of a good theory is an understanding of the meaning and intentions rather than deductive explanation (Myers, 2008). In social science, meanings are what constitute facts, for data consist of documents, intentional behaviour (action), social rules, culture, etc., and these are inseparable from their meanings for agents. The hermeneutic circle – the 'logic' of interpretation is irreducibly circular: parts cannot be understood without the whole, data and concepts cannot be understood without theory and context (Myers, 2008)

The theoretical review which was adopted to underpin the research is the liberal feminist theory because it reveals the nature of inequality, gender politics, power relations and sexuality and how women empowerment can propel them from lower level of society to the top. Popular liberal feminists such as Betty Friedan, Hillary Clinton, Gloria Steinem, Rebecca Walker, Naomi Wolf, Martha Nussbaum and Eleanor Roosevelt believe that equality in pay, job opportunities, political structure, social security and education for women needs to be guaranteed for all women for them to reach their full potential. Liberal feminists in general believe that female subordination is rooted in a set of customary and legal constraints that block women's entrance to and success in the so-called public world and they work hard to emphasize the equality of men and women through political and legal reform (Tony, 1989)

This theory was relevant in this study, because a cursory look indicate that most women do not actively take part in politics because they are impeded by socio cultural factors at the grass root level. These are the challenges liberal feminist attempt to tackle by creating and supporting acts of legislation that remove the barriers that prevent women from having equal opportunities with men in society. Liberal feminists believe that individuals should be free to develop their own talents and pursue their own interests irrespective of their gender, cultural or religious background.

Liberal feminists believe that both sexes should have equal rights under the law and that until conditions of equality exist, no one can easily assess the natural differences between women and men. What is natural to the two sexes can only be found out by allowing both men and women develop and use their faculties freely.

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Critics of liberal feminism on the other hand argue that it disregards the significance of the traditional role of women and there is an overemphasis of the emotional above the rational. They also assets that liberal feminism focuses on the individual, and in doing so, discredit the importance of the community. Other critics such as black feminists and postcolonial feminists assert that mainstream liberal feminism reflects only the values of middle-class white women and has largely ignored women of different races, cultures or classes.

Juxtaposing these views, there is the need to acknowledge that in the western part of the world, institutions function effectively, poverty is on the low side, there is high level of education and the rights of women is highly upheld; therefore women have equal opportunities to compete with men in almost all spheres of life. That is why women such as Margaret Thatcher, Angela Dorothea Merkel and in recent times, Theresa May, Hillary Clinton, among others have spearheaded various political activities in their countries. On the contrary in the African and the Ghanaian context there is high level of poverty, low level of education, existence of deep rooted traditional and cultural practices and corruption which are all impediment that prevent women from equally competing with men for political positions. For instance Yobo, in her book *Women's Place in the Ghana Government*, points out that women's participation in political processes is either limited or facilitated by social and cultural circumstances, economic situations and the political context or systems. The factors that are commonly identified as barriers to women's participation include: limited support for women aspirants to carry out campaigns; cultural norms that have little or no regard for women who go into politics; the lack of confidence amongst women; politicization of gender issues.

Liberal feminist theory is relevant in this study because, the researcher believes that individuals should be free to develop their own talents and pursue their own interests irrespective of their gender, cultural or religious background. It should be noted that, women as part of the human race need to realize the highest level of development as individuals and group but that can only be achieved if the views of liberal feminists are taken into consideration because liberal feminists do not seek to reorganize society but they do seek to expand the rights and opportunities of women to the same level enjoyed by their male counterparts.

2.2   Feminization Theories

Theories and concepts are very essential in every research activity because they strengthen and bring to bear the foundation on which the research is based. Feminism was propounded in 1792 by Mary Wollstonecrafts in her first feminists' document, _Vindication of the Rights of Women', to highlight the issues of gender differences, advocate equality for women, and campaign for women's rights and interests in society. Since then, there has been divergent views and perceptions on the exact definition for this theory because Wollstonecrafts was not specific on how the campaign for women's rights and interests in society should be done. This brought about different feminist movements such as the first feminists wave (nineteenth and early twentieth centuries), the second feminists wave in the 1960s and 70s, and the third wave which extends from the 1990s to the present. These movements have different ideologies. In 1983 however, Alison Jaggar published *Feminist Politics and Human Nature* and she defined four theories related to feminism thus, marxism, radical feminism, socialist feminism, and liberal feminism (Jaggar, 1983).

Advocate of radical feminism such as Mary Daly believes that sexism is so deeply rooted in society that the only cure is to eliminate the concept of gender

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completely. It is the extreme form of feminism because they suggest that, there should be a technology that will allow babies to be grown outside the woman's body, to promote more equality between men and women to allow women to avoid maternity leave which they argue, is one reason women are not quickly promoted as men. They believe that society must be changed at its core in order to dissolve patriarchy because the sex-gender system has created oppression of women. Radical Feminist mission is to overthrow this system by any means such as raging war against men, patriarchy, and the gender systems that confines them to rigid social rules. They form groups that exclude men completely. (Jaggar, 1994).

Socialist feminists such as Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxember on the other hand, believe that women are being oppressed based on class and gender structure. To them the ideologies of capitalism and patriarchy must be changed so that men and women can see each other equal in all spheres of life. To achieve this, the Socialist feminists call for an end to capitalism through a socialist reformation of our economy. They argue that capitalism strengthens the sexist status quo because men are the ones who currently have the power and money and are willing to share this money and power with their fellow men which leaves women with fewer opportunities and resources. The focus of the Socialist feminists however, is on equality in economics and politics. (Sara, 1997).

According to Sara, liberal feminists also believe that women have the same mental capacity as men and that all people are created equal by God and deserve equal rights. Proponents of liberal feminism include Rebecca Walker, Naomi Wolf, Martha Nussbaum and Eleanor Roosevelt. They believe that oppression exists because of the way in which men and women are socialized, which supports patriarchy and keeps men in powerful positions. They create and support acts of

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legislation that remove the barriers preventing women from having equal opportunities with men by respecting the tenets of democracy.

Feminization theories are accustomed to many researchers who have analyzed the roles and lives of women in different disciplines. The theory has been found applicable to feminist politics in anthropology and sociology, psychoanalysis, economics, women and gender studies, feminist literary criticism, and philosophy especially continental philosophy (Griseida, 2006).

2.3   The Concepts of Politics and Political Participation

Various scholars have different perspectives on what politics is and as such have defined it differently. The Cambridge dictionary define politics as the activities of the government, members of law making organizations, or people who try to influence the way a country is governed. Dahl as cited in Bluwey (2011, p. 11) defines politics as ―any stable pattern of human relationships that involves power and influence‖. To him politics exists wherever there is ―persistent pattern of relationships and involves, to a significant extent, power, rule or authority‖. Corroborating this view, Easton (1990) explains that the word ―politics‖ is derived from polis, which literally mean city-state and so everything concerning the state is politics. This means that politics is about policy and it encompasses the various processes through which government responds to pressures from various societies and how benefits, rewards and penalties are allocated. This implies political activity is concerned with making decisions about what concerns the state and how resources or values are to be distributed in order not to disadvantage others.

Crick (2000: 21) defined politics as ―an activity by which differing interests within a given unit of rule are conciliated by giving them a share in power in proportion to their importance to the welfare and survival of the whole community‖.

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Crick argues that discrimination does not encourage people with different interests to enjoy their basic fundamental human right and that politics should under no circumstance be compromised with segregation. Accepting that conflict cannot be extricated from society, social groups and interests must be conciliated when they possess power. Bluwey (2011) supports the views of Easton and Crick by stating that politics is all about resource allocation, who gets what, when and how.

The common element in this and several other definitions of politics and political activity is that they all agree with Aristotle that every society has ruled and rulers who see to it that resources within the society are shared appropriately. Therefore, power and authority or rule, are present in every organised society and that it cannot be restricted to the various forms of interaction that take place only between the government of a state and the mass of the people within it. Political relations, however, exist in the church and the mosque, in business organisations, in civic clubs and professional associations, on school campuses and, indeed, in every human organisation where there is a relationship of order, rule and obedience (Bluwey, 2011).

Bluwey (2011) further observed that the decisions and rules made by public officials affect the life of every citizen. Similarly, members of civic organisations, religious groups, labour and student unions and various private organisations are bound by the rules and regulations made by their officials. People engage in various forms of activity at the appropriate levels to ensure that those decisions and rules satisfy their needs. These activities, according to Bluwey, regardless of where they are undertaken, are politics and they all have certain basic features in common. They take place within an organized grouping of individuals, these activities are designed to pursue objectives and to obtain for the participants certain benefits or resources and

those engaging in such activities try to attain their goals by employing tactics and deploying assets which are expected to maximize their influence and power potential.

Politics is an activity of the people within a geographical area. It is imperative to note that the issue of participation in such an important activity as politics cannot be overlooked. Participation makes politics meaningful to society and without it the main objective of politics which is establishment of power, allocation and distribution of public goods is a mirage and the society will be in a state of confusion.

Participation is a very important ingredient in social, economic and political determination and apportionment of shares of every individual and society as a whole because no society can develop if its people do not get involved in activities that bring that expected transformation. Nelson and Wright (2000) observe that there is a difference between participation as a means and participation as an end. As a means, participation is used to accomplish the aims of a project more efficiently, effectively or cheaply; and as an end, it has to do with a community setting up a process to control its own development. In spite of the diversity, it implies power relations between members of a community on one hand and between them and the state and its institutions on the other hand. Thus, participation goes beyond compensatory limits if there is power shifts between people and policy-makers and resource holding institutions.

Richardson cited in Allah-Mensah (2003) noted that political participation involves partaking in the formulation, passage and implementation of public policies with more emphasis on representative democracy. Participation in politics refers to those voluntary activities by which members of society share in the selection of rulers either directly or indirectly. These activities include enrollment in a political party, discussion, debating, canvassing for votes, registering as voters, voting, seeking

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information, lobbying for position and interacting with the leadership of the country (Yartey, 2012). Women are a major social group that must be critically examined in any attempt to understand politics in Ghana. Women constitute about 51% of Ghana's population which means that they constitute the majority of the total population, produce about 70% of the agricultural output, and take primary responsibility for household chores (National Council on Women and Development (NCWD), 1994).

It is therefore incumbent on women to participate effectively in activities such as enrollment in a political party, discussing political issues, debating, canvassing for votes, registering as voters, voting, seeking information, lobbying for position and interacting with the leadership at the polling stations, unit committee, area council, the district which is the grassroots as well as the national level.

2.4 Ghanaian Constitution, International Instruments and Women's Political Participation

Women are very important and should not be treated or referred to as second class citizens. Instruments such as the Committee on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 2006), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Beijing Platform for Action, the Commonwealth Plan of Action for Gender Equality and African Women's Protocol exist to uphold women's human rights and also ensure women's participation in politics and public life. To demonstrate commitment to the issue of gender, Ghana has ratified all these declarations and has also made provisions in her constitution to eliminate all forms of discriminations against women and also encourage them to participate in politics.

Framers of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, following the examples of leading democracies in the world and also reflecting on the poor records of some of Ghana's past governments, deemed it as a matter of need to include a bill

of rights in the constitution (Cobbinah, 2005). A thorough assessment of the constitution reveals that the 1992 constitution is one of the most gender sensitive constitutions in the world. The constitution expressly guarantees equal rights and responsibilities under the law, which is evident in many sections of the document. For instance, under the National Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy, the following are articles that are gender sensitive:

> Article 35(5) The state shall actively promote the integration of the peoples of Ghana and prohibit discrimination and prejudice on the ground of place of origin, circumstances of birth, ethnic origin, gender or religion, creed or other beliefs.

> Article 35(6b) The state shall take appropriate measures to achieve reasonable regional and gender balance in the recruitment and appointment of public officers

> Article 36(6) The state shall afford equality of economic opportunity to all citizens; and, in particular, the state shall take all necessary steps so as to ensure full integration of women into the mainstream of the economic development of Ghana.

These articles are only a sample of the feminist provisions included in the constitution and therefore provides a solid foundation for Ghanaian women and civil society organizations to challenge all forms of gender discrimination and oppression. Other positive measures taken by the government of Ghana to enhance the status of women include the creation of a separate Ministry for Women and Children (now gender children and social protection) and Affirmative Action Policy of 1998 which provides for 40 percent quota of women's representation on all government and public boards, commissions, councils, committees and official bodies including cabinet and the council of state. Following these actions, women's political participation has increased. For instance, the first parliament of the Fourth Republic

(1992) had only sixteen women out of the 200 seats contested. This number increased to nineteen (19) in the second and third parliaments of the Fourth Republic in 1996 and the year 2000 respectively. Their representation shot up again to twenty –five (25) during the fourth parliament in 2004 of the same Republic when 230 were contested. Out of 275 seats, the number increased to thirty (30) after the 2012 general elections and currently out of the 275 seats, there are thirty five women elected as parliamentarians. Women's public participation in Ghana has also seen a lot of improvement. Currently the chief justice, the head of National Commission for Civic Education, the government statistician and the head of the Electoral Commission are women.

2.5   Decentralization and Local Government, Tools for Women's Grassroots Politics

Decentralization is the transfer or delegation of legal and political authority to plan, make decisions and manage public functions, from the central government and its agencies to field organisations of those agencies, subordinate units of government, semi-autonomous public corporations, area wide or regional development authorities, autonomous local governments, or non-governmental organisations (Rondinelli, 1981). Ahwoi (2010) also noted that decentralization involves the assignment of responsibilities and authority to lower levels of administration. Such bureaucratic authority, because it is being assigned within a hitherto centralized governance system, involves the transfer of responsibilities from the central authorities to the field organisations.

According to the theory of democratic decentralization pioneered by Pateman (1973), decentralization of authority to local governments provides greater access to the neglected segments of the population, and therefore helps to promote their

participation in local level activities. Corroborating these views, Asibuo (1991) indicates that several advantages have been claimed for transferring decision making authority and management responsibilities from central governments to lower levels of administration in developing countries. Some of the potential benefits of decentralization in Asibuo's view are that it is a means of overcoming the severe limitations of centrally controlled national planning by delegating greater authority for development planning and management to officials who are working in the field, closer to the problems. Decentralization is a means of cutting through the enormous amount of highly structured procedures characteristic of central planning and management in developing countries that results in part from over concentration of power, authority and resources at the centre of government in the national capital. Decentralization also facilitates increased knowledge of local problems and needs because of closer contact between government officials and the local population. Especially where a national policy closely affects the lives of a large number of people, the execution will have direct contact and knowledge of the demands of those affected.

Asibuo explained further that, where the national capital is crowded with people and lack of office space has become a serious problem, decentralization will allow government officials to be moved to points where physical congestion is not so serious. Furthermore, where responsible officials are located close to their offices, travel cost, time and other expenses could be greatly reduced.

Decentralization facilitates greater political and administrative penetration of central govern policies into remote areas where central government plans are often unknown or ignored by the rural people or are undermined by local elites. Decentralization can increase political stability and national unity by giving groups in

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different sections of the country the ability to participate more directly in decision making, thereby increasing their ―stake‖ in maintaining the political system.

A decentralized structure is needed to institutionalized participation of citizens in development planning and management. Such a decentralized government structure can facilitate the exchange of information about local needs and channel political demands from the local community to national ministries.

By creating alternative means of decision –making, decentralization can offset the influence or control over development activities by entrenched local elites who are often unsympathetic to national development policies and programmers and insensitive to the needs of the power groups in rural communities.

Asibuo (1992) posits that the assertions and hypothesis underlying these alleged advantages have not all been imperically verified; and indeed, many of the benefits of decentralization are cited by advocates as potential rather than actual results of decentralization policies.

The current policy of decentralization, as enshrined in the Local Government Act of 1988 (PNDC Law 207) has paved way for local government in Ghana. Chapter 20 of the Fourth Republican Constitution of Ghana, Act. 240 clause (1) indicates that ―Ghana shall have a system of local government and administration which shall, as afar as practicable, be decentralized. ―The clause (2d) and (2e) also stated that ―The system of decentralized local government shall have the following features:

(2d) as far as practicable, persons in the service of local government shall be subject to the effective control of local authorities;

(2e) to ensure the accountability of local government authorities, people in particular local government areas shall, as far as practicable, be afforded the opportunity to participate effectively in their governance."

These provisions in Ghana's decentralization documents gives hope to the masses at the grassroots level (majority of whom are women) to have power to contribute to decisions made in government.

2.6 Efforts by Groups in Advancing Women's Grass Roots Political Participation

Ghana's policies regarding political participation are open to both men and women who have the appropriate qualifications to participate at all levels. In addition there is no constitutional impediment in the way of women contesting for or being appointed to any position under the 1992 Constitution of Ghana. Apart from government efforts and provisions in the constitution to advance women participation in grassroots politics, there has been frequent collaboration between women groups, scholars and women organizations and networks in Ghana to bring tremendous improvement in promoting women's participation in grassroots politics. This is evident in works produced and commissioned by various organizations like Non-governmental organizations (NGO's), civil society organizations as well as researchers and academicians. Prominent among them are projects undertaken by United Nations, World Bank and foundations like SIDA, DANIDA and Ford. In addition The Gender Studies and Human Rights Documentation Centre, in partnership with Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF), the International

Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA Ghana), and The Hunger Project Ghana, have undertaken various projects in order to ascertain the level of women's participation and representation in both local and national government structures. For instance, the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation, Accra, has also sponsored various research projects undertaken by individuals and groups to bring to bare the status of women in Ghana politics. In addition, the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs led by the minister pushed for the affirmative action policy to be implemented. Women institutions such as MOWAC and NCWD have been in the practice of educating and developing women and also to create ways for them to get into politics. Notable groups and institutions include the National Council on Women and Development (NCWD), ABANTU for Development, African Women Lawyers Association (AWLA), International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA International), and the Federation of African Women Entrepreneurs (FAWE). Other groups include the Institute of Local Government Studies (ILGS), The Christian Council of Ghana and other development and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Despite these efforts, women participation in politics is still low. For example, in the 1998 district assembly elections, only 196 (4%) women were elected out of the 4820 elected candidates.in the 2002 elections, out of 4583 elected candidates only 341 were women (The Women's manifesto for Ghana,2004).

2.7   Constraints Faced by Women in Grassroots Politics

A casual observation of the world's political stage shows that the participation of women remains insignificant in formal political structures and processes, where decisions regarding the use of societal resources generated by both men and women are made (Barry, 2005). Again, a review, conducted by Zeleke (2005) of selected

African countries' legislative representation shows that women have had less representation in African parliaments.

Women face a lot of challenges in their efforts to enhance their political participation. Although women form more than 51% of the world's population (Allah-Mensah, 2001) they face multifaceted challenges within prevailing cultural, social and economic systems. The Women of Africa Leadership Development Programme (2008), for Kenya, Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire identified decision-making, women's role, education, young parenthood, self-confidence, personal finances, competition instead of cooperation, decision-making and media attention, connection, migration, employment and corruption, as the main barriers for the inclusion, advancement and continuation of women_s participation in democratic processes. The reports revealed that in all three countries women were expected, first and foremost, to be responsible for the family and managing the home. They were challenged by the need to balance triple roles: home, community and work. In Liberia, a woman is considered to be the mother of all. This makes them responsible not only for themselves, their family, and their extended family, but also for neighbours and community members.

Between April 2010 and March 2013, the Gender Studies and Human Rights Documentation Centre, in partnership with Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF), the International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA Ghana), and the Hunger Project Ghana, undertook a project, in order to increase women's participation and representation in both local and national government structures. The reports postulates that there is no discriminatory law against women in politics, but there are overt and covert practices which hinder women's abilities to lead successful campaigns alongside male counterparts for political positions. One such cultural

limitation is the monetization of political elections since women rarely have the same personal economic advantages that men do.

District Assembly elections according to the reports, are supposed to be non-partisan, yet in reality the party in power ensures that the majority of the assembly seats are won by fellow party-members. Often, these parties also wish the seats to remain in the hands of their male candidates because the males are incumbents and losing them may weaken the party's campaign structure during general elections. Men are also considered to campaign better than women. Another factor negatively affecting women's political participation as indicated in the report is the media. The media plays a crucial role in shaping voter opinion and it often stereotypes women as capable only of their traditional gendered roles. The consequence is that women remain excluded from the political decision-making processes as leaders, legislators, ministers and chief executives. Women's needs are therefore not adequately incorporated into policy formulation.

Women interviewed across the country by WiLDAF in 2008 also highlighted the exclusion of their concerns in discussions about district plans and budgets. The main causes that were identified as resulting in women's low political participation were de facto discrimination against women, that is, despite neutral laws men have a considerable advantage when seeking political election because of traditional beliefs, practices and monetization of elections.

Also, unequal playing field created by political parties to the disadvantage of women through the discouragement of women by political parties from contesting against _known and long serving' members of parliament (Testified by Irene Naa Torshie Addo of Tema West who contested against Mr. Adu, a veteran MP), prevents the public from appreciating women's human rights and contribution to development;

Additionally, Government processes like the Ghana Poverty Reduction Paper (GPRS 1, 2003 – 2006) and other government processes were criticized for non-inclusiveness when it comes to women, and thus ultimately leading to little focus on women's empowerment and gender equality.

Mould-Iddirisu (2010) observed that electioneering processes involves a lot of money, material and human resources but women's access to and control of productive resources such as land and capital are minimal. In her view, Ghanaian women constitute the majority of the poorest of the poor and are therefore unable to raise funds to contest and win political elections. Baah (2009) also posited that the low status of women is often supported by societal structures such as religion, marriage and cultural norms. He stresses that in most cultures in Ghana, women are often considered as inferior to men, and because of that women are not made to talk in public or invited when decisions are being taken even when such decisions concern them.

Early marriage in most African countries including Ghana has also become a huge factor preventing women from achieving their goals in life. It is estimated that the average age of marriage for girls is 15years in Niger, 17years in Nigeria and 18years in Ghana (International Labour Organisation (ILO), 2000). The culture of discrimination places reference on boys to girls because girls are said to end up being married (Dottridge, 2004). Due to this more boys especially in the Northern Regions of Ghana are sent to school than girls. It is however, worth noting that women participation in politics can be enhanced when these barriers are removed.

2.8 **Enhancing Women Participation in Grassroots Politics**

Since 1988, the performance of women in politics at the local level has recorded some steady but slow progress of not only the number of women contestants but also those who actually win. It should be noted however, that these numbers though not at appreciable levels, offers some modicum of hope to women's political participation at the local level. For example, the participation level also cast a shadow of what is to take place at the national level as more women get in and gain required and necessary experience (Allah- Mensah, 2005).

Women have actively contributed their time and resources within the family, community and society at large, but their representation in decision making processes are invisible. This is partially because policies that are in place to ensure that inequalities between women and men are taken into account in promoting participation in policy decisions are ignored. Enhancing participation of women in grassroots politics will go a long way to increase the percentage of women in grassroots politics. Therefore, discussing such an issue is important in the sense that the presence of significant number of women in politics can help improve the quality of debate and policy making both at the grassroots and local levels.

Naturally, there have been responses and efforts made to promote the cause of women and bridge the gap in representation imbalance, notable among which are the advocacies by women advocates (1998), the African Union Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in 2004, the agenda of the Commonwealth Women Parliament (CWP) and many others.

In addition political parties have a key role to play to encourage women to be active in politics. Allah-Mensah (2001) suggested that women's wings in the parties should be explored to bring gender issues on board when she stated that:

‖Nonetheless, their existence should be exploited to enhance the ideals of equal representation and push up the political party's policy agenda on the genuine concerns confronting women in general but especially those who have political ambitions. The ‖wings" should be used as conduits to ‖fly" key gender and women's issues to the high ranks of the party for holistic and comprehensive attention and action. This is one means by which the existence of these substructures can effectively be utilized for the mutual benefit of the party and women on one hand and the nation and democracy on the other" (p.131).

Corroborating this view, the Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentarians Association (CPA) in November 2011 also identified political parties as an important tool and major stakeholders for the promotion and enhancement of women's participation in all aspects of politics. This conference which was held in Accra enjoined political parties to make their constitutions gender-sensitive and clearly spell out in their constitutions the nature and form of support that should be extended to women in the parties.

In addition, the conference also demanded that provisions must be made in the constitutions of the political parties that encourage more women to aspire for higher executive positions in the parties. Political parties are also to capacitate women financially and materially when women offer themselves to contest for positions. The women's wings should be developed and structured in a manner that would enable them aspire to and occupy higher positions in the political party structure (Allah-Mensah, 2005).

The need to promote and enhance women's participation and representation in politics through Affirmative Action measures such as quota systems by means of constitutional guarantees and reforms in electoral laws were also proposed in the 2011 conference by the CPA. This to them, will make national constitutions, electoral

codes and legal frameworks on elections reflect Affirmative Action measures with a focus on gender mainstreaming within the structures and processes of political parties. It is therefore worth noting that political parties play a major role in promoting women's participation in the political process of nations.

2.9   Summary

In the literature it became clear that women's passive women's participation in grassroots politics reflects the secondary place to which they are assigned by customs and attitudes within the society. For women to come out of their shelves there should be affirmative action through the ideals of liberal feminism. This will encourage women to rely on the state and political rights to gain equality by seeing the state as the protector of individual rights. In pursuance of this, the government and other stakeholders would appreciate their efforts and motivate them to make their level of participation in politics more visible than it is now.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the general methodology used for the study. The chapter elaborates on the research approach and design, population, sample size, that is, the actual group who were included in the study and from whom data was collected. It also describes the research instrument, as well as testing for reliability and validity. It again explains the procedure for data analysis.

3.1 Research Approach

In this study the philosophical framework adopted by the researcher is the pragmatist philosophy. The pragmatic paradigm in its simplest terms implies that, the overall approach to research is that of mixing data collection procedures and analysis within the research process (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). Pragmatism is seen as ‒debunking concepts such as ‗truth' and ‗reality' and focuses instead on ‗what works' as the truth regarding the research questions under investigation" (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003, p. 713). The philosophical theory of pragmatism is likewise seen as a means of bridging the gap between the empirical singular scientific approach to research and the newer ‒freewheeling" inquiry of qualitative research theories (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003, p. 52).

In order to explain the research problem into detail and based on the philosophical approach, the study adopted the mixed methods approach. According to Creswell (2013), mixed methods research is an approach to inquiry involving collecting both quantitative and qualitative data, integrating the two forms of data, and using distinct designs that may involve philosophical assumptions and theoretical frameworks. To him the core assumption of this form of inquiry is that the

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combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches provides a more complete understanding of a research problem than either approach alone. Corroborating this view, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) postulate that mixed methods research can be viewed as an approach which draws upon the strengths and perspectives of each method, recognizing the existence and importance of the physical, natural world as well as the importance of reality and influence of human experience. Mixed methods research therefore, is all about adopting a research strategy which employs more than one type of research method.

The advantage of the mixed methods approach is that both approaches (quantitative and qualitative) have strengths and weaknesses, and that the weakness of one can be remedied or compensated for by the strengths of the other (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). Another advantage is that the mixed-methods approach can answer a broader and more complete range of research questions (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Furthermore, applying the mixed methods approach can improve insights into and understanding of the data, which might be missed when using a single approach. Mixed methods can be applied to increase the generalisability of the results of a study (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). It requires that the researcher is familiar with the collection and analysing both quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007).

3.2   Research Design

According to Durrheim (2006), a research design is a strategic framework or action that serves as a bridge between questions and the execution and implementation of the research. Amoani (2012) also postulates that it is an arrangement of conditions for collecting and analyzing data which will be relevant to the researcher in the most economical manner. Corroborating these views Kumar

(1996) states that research design is a plan, structure or strategy adopted to help the researcher gather relevant information in order to answer the research questions. It typically includes how data is to be collected, what instruments will be employed, how the instruments will be used and the intended means for analyzing the data collected. It is a work plan with details on how the research will be conducted.

In order to explore and describe an aspect of grass root politics (the level of participation of women in grass root politics), it was important to combine qualitative and quantitative methodologies for data collection and analysis in the study. In this study, the concurrent triangulation mixed method research design was employed. The design, uses numerical and verbal data in order to gather reliable and valid results. The design was used to explore and explain factors determining the participation level of grass root politics and the differences that may exist in participations based on some demographic characteristics. According to Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann and Hanson (2003), a mixed method design involves the collection or analysis of both quantitative and or qualitative data in a single study in which the data are collected concurrently or sequentially, are given a priority, and involve the integration of the data at one or more stages in the process of research.

Elliot (2005) opines that the fundamental principle of mixed method research is that the combinations of quantitative and qualitative approaches provide a better understanding of the problem than either approach can achieve alone. Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) argued that the mixed method research design provides strength to the weakness of quantitative and qualitative research design. Thus, the design is able to offset the weakness of both quantitative and qualitative research design used separately in a study. They further argued that the mixed method provide researchers the opportunity to draw on a wide range of tools of data collection in order to

comprehensively study and understand a problem. In addition, mixed method research also helps answer questions that cannot be answered by a single approach. It also encourages collaboration of researchers across the two fields of inquiry. Morse (1991) came out with two main types of mixed method research and they are: simultaneous and sequential (Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003). Subsequently, other researchers including Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) and Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) have also enumerated types of this design to include: sequential explanatory, sequential transformative, concurrent transformative, concurrent embedded and concurrent triangulation design.

This design however has its own challenges which are associated with it. For example, Plano Clark (2005) cautioned that the design requires having certain skills, time, and resources for extensive data collection and analysis. Plano Clark is of the view that the most challenging perhaps, is educating and convincing others of the need to employ a mixed methods design so that a researcher's mixed methods study will be accepted by the scholarly community. When measuring and exploring the nature of factors participation of women in grass root politics, a mixed method concurrent triangulation design is perhaps one's best choice. In the case of concurrent triangulation, the quantitative data collection and qualitative data collection are concurrent, happening during one phase of the research study. Ideally, Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) opined that priority would be equal between the two methods, but in practical application, the priority may be given to either the quantitative or the qualitative approach. This design usually integrates the results of the two methods during the interpretation phase. This interpretation either may note the convergence of the findings as a way to strengthen the knowledge claims of the study or must explain any lack of convergence that may result. The method was selected as the design

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because the researcher uses two different methods in an attempt to confirm, cross-validate, or corroborate findings within a single study (Greene, Caracelli & Graham 1989; Morgan, 1998; Steckler, McLeroy, Goodman, Bird, & McCormick, 1992). Greene, Caracelli and Graham (as cited in Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007) stated that a triangulation mixed methods design works best when the ―status of the different methods—that is, their relative weight and influence—is equal and when the quantitative and qualitative study components are implemented independently and simultaneously" (p. 259). The principle aim of this approach is ―to obtain different but complementary data on the same topic" (Morse, 1991, p. 122) and is used when seeking to develop qualitative results and quantitative data. This is true of the current study. The researcher wanted to explore factors determining the participation of women in grass root politics, factors motivating them, challenges they face and the support system that were available to them. This traditional mixed methods design is advantageous because it is familiar to most researchers and can result in well-validated and substantiated findings. In addition, the concurrent data collection results in a shorter data collection time period as compared with that of the sequential designs. This design also has a number of limitations. It requires great effort and expertise to adequately study a phenomenon with two separate methods. It can also be difficult to compare the results of two analyses using data of different forms. In addition, it may be unclear to a researcher how to resolve discrepancies that arise in the results. Potential threats to this triangulation mixed methods design include both threats to data collection and threats to data analysis. Potential threats were minimized by using the same sample for both the qualitative and the first quantitative dataset of the study.

3.4   Population

Punch (2005) opines that population is the subject of interest to the research, and about whom the researcher is trying to say something. The targeted population for the study comprised all women between the ages of eighteen and sixty years in the Akan Constituency. The age bracket was chosen because constitutionally one is deemed an adult when he/she turns18 years. The age sealing, 60 years, was chosen because it is assumed that after this age, one is likely to lose interest in social issues. Due to the size of the constituency, the research focused on the accessible population which covered an approximated number of 21,000 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010) women who are between the ages of eighteen and fifty years and have been in Papase and Kadjebi in the Akan constituency for more than four years and have been involved in some political activities.

3.5   Sample Size

Sample, according to Field (2009), is a smaller (but hopefully representative) collection of units from a population used to determine truths about that population. Because of this, sample sizes of two hundred (200) respondents were selected for the study. All two hundred respondents were women from the Akan Constituency.

3.6   Sampling Procedure

A carefully targeted sample that is strategically located needs to be selected because they can shed light on the issues under discussion (Gerson & Horowitz, 2009). The sample size for the study was two hundred respondents. The purposive and convenience sampling procedures were adopted to select the respondents. Akan Constituency was purposively selected because no woman has contested or been elected to serve as a parliamentarian since the inception of the fourth republic. In the

same vein, no woman has been appointed as District Chief Executive Officer or a Presiding Member. Similarly, unlike many other constituencies, a limited number of women have been elected to serve as assembly members within the same period. In 2012 for example, out of the 53 members of the assembly, only nine were women. Currently, the number has further reduced to eight. Purposive sampling technique was used to identify the women and the researcher adopted personal judgment to select them.

Stratified sampling technique was used to map out the township for data gathering. Adults in the Akan Constituency were stratified into neighborhood areas that varied in socioeconomic status (SES) (high/low income) and transport related walkability (high/low walkable). Data on Akan Constituency SES was obtained from Ghana Statistical Service of the Ministry of Finance (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014), while that of neighborhood walkability classification was based on the criteria from the transportation literature (Owen, Humpel, Leslie, Bauman & Sallis, 2005). According to Owen et al., (2005), high-walkable neighborhoods are characterized by a high residential density, high concentration of nonresidential land uses (retail shops, local markets and places of worship) and streets with short block length with many alternative routes to destinations. Low walkable neighborhoods are characterized by low residential density (predominantly separate, single family homes), few non-residential land uses, and streets with longer block length with fewer alternative routes to destinations. Neighborhoods fitting these general criteria were identified based on local knowledge of the residents, with the goal of ensuring variability of environments.

In this study, the participants from the Akan Constituency were directly purposively selected from the two strata in their homes in the identified

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neighborhoods. The following eligibility criteria as outlined by Oyeyemi, Sallis, Deforche, Oyeyemi, De Bourdeaudhuij, and Van Dyck, (2013) and Oyeyemi, Adegoke, Oyeyemi, Deforche, De Bourdeaudhuij, and Sallis (2016) were taking into consideration in selecting the respondents for the study: (1) living within the identified neighborhood categories in the last six months, (2) being an adult (18 + years), (3) groups living in establishments such as health-care facilities, dormitories, military school barracks and (4) being able and willing to complete a written survey in English language, which is the official language in Ghana.

3.7   Research Instruments

The quality of data collected determines the capacity for effective analysis (Lampard & Pole, 2002). Thus it is important to select tools that properly explore the problem and help to explain and describe the issues. Two instruments were employed for the data collection and these were a structured questionnaire and a semi-structured interview guide. Gerson and Horowitz (2002) observes that interviews investigate how personal biographies interact with social structures and institutions. This makes description of events very simple and in the process the researcher gets the first hand information which gives a rich analyzed data.

These tools helped the researcher to engage respondents in written and verbal interactions and probed to find out views on their expectations. The instruments finally, helped in identifying the level of participation of women in grassroots politics and the researcher used the three main languages spoken in the constituency (Ewe, Twi and English) to gather the data.

3.7.1 Interview Schedule

An interview schedule (semi-structured) was designed for nine respondents as one of the data collection tools to explore into details the true picture regarding the participation level of women in grassroots politics in the Akan constituency. The interview was face-to-face on one-on-one basis. According to Fraenkel and Wallen (2009), face to face interview is advantageous in data collection for the fact that it places fewer burdens on the reading and writing skills of the respondents when the need arises. The interview guide had five sections: Section A elicited information on respondent's demographic characteristics, Section B sought information on women's level of participation in grassroots politics. Section C dealt with factors motivating women to participate in grassroots politics , Section D was on challenges confronting women in politics, and the last Section E had questions on mechanisms that can promote and inspire women to avail themselves for grass root political participation. Interview sessions, were recorded with a tape to ensure accurate transcription.

3.7.2 Questionnaire

A questionnaire is a written instrument that contains a series of questions or statements called items that attempt to collect information on a particular topic (Agyedu, Donkor, & Obeng, 2013). A questionnaire could be answered by the person from whom information is sought or through an interpreter. Questionnaire usage in collecting large data is efficient because: (i) large quantity of data can be collected in a relatively short period of time and (ii) data can be collected from participants in distant places and in the absence of the researcher (Thomas, 2003). The disadvantage of using questionnaires as outlined by Agyedu, Donkor and Obeng (2013), are as follows: (i) the opportunity to build rapport with the respondents is limited and (ii)

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probing for more details or explanations of responses is not possible. Steps were, however, taken to minimize the identified limitation of the questionnaire.

There are many ways of classifying questionnaire items. However, the two broad categories are: i) Open-ended or semi-structured questionnaire, this type requires the respondents to construct or write a response, from a word to several paragraphs. ii) Closed-ended or structured questionnaire requires the respondent to make a choice by ticking, checking or circling the one they wish. The structured questionnaire may be in the form of dichotomous response items (yes or no), multiple choice items (0-5, 6-10, 11- and above), rating scale items (strongly disagree, disagree, etc.), among others (Agyedu, Donkor & Obeng, 2013).

In this study, the researcher employed the structured questionnaire to collect numeric data on how women in the Akan constituency participate in grass roots politics, the factors motivating them to participate and the challenges they face in participating in grass root politics. The respondents were limited to a list of options from which they were to choose one to answer each item.

Specifically, the study used Grass Root Politics Participation Index (GRPPI) as the quantitative data collection instrument. The questionnaire contained 46 closed-ended items. The GRPPI is divided into five main sections. The first section of the instrument asked the respondents to provide demographic information that include: age, academic qualification, occupation, marital status, number of children they have and their religious affiliation. The second section of the GRPPI questionnaire consisted of 15 Likert-type items. The Likert-type items were anchored on a scale from 1 to 4 (1 = *strongly disagree* and 4 = *strongly agree*) which addressed the level of participation of the women. The third section comprised 10 Likert-type items. This section was also anchored on a scale from 1 to 4 (1 = *strongly disagree* and 4 =

strongly agree) which addressed the factors motivating the women to participate in grass root politics. The fourth part was made up of 13 items, measured on a four point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* and 4 = *strongly agree*) and the section sought to explore the challenges the women were facing as a result of participating in grass root politics. Finally, the fifth section, explored the support systems that were at the disposal of the women to promote their participation in grass root politics. This section was also anchored on a scale from 1 to 4 (1 = *strongly disagree* and 4 = *strongly agree*).

3.10   Pilot Study

Pilot-testing the instruments enabled the researcher to modify items that were difficult to understand, reduce ambiguities and incorporate new categories of responses that were identified as relevant to the study (Awanta & Asiedu-Addo, 2008). After the questionnaire has being revised in light of experts' and colleagues' suggestions, the Grass Root Politics Participation Index (GRPPI) was pilot-tested in a nearby selected constituency in the Volta Region of Ghana (Biakoya Constituency). The researcher chose the constituency because it was deemed to have exhibited the similar characteristics as the constituency of interest to the researcher. After explaining the purpose and significance of the study, twenty residents from Biakoya Constituency who participated in pilot testing were asked to reply to the questionnaire in a week. Later, each participant was interviewed and they were asked the following questions:

1. How long did it take for you to respond to the questionnaire?

2. What kind of problems did you have while answering the questions/items?

3. Are there any questions that you recommend to be changed? What are your suggestions?

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4. What other parts and questions should be included in the questionnaire?

5. Are there any overlapping parts or questions in the questionnaire?

After this process, the questionnaire was redesigned considering the respondents' opinions, problems and suggestions. In the new questionnaire, some of the questions/items were deleted and the terminology used in some of the statements was changed in order to make it comprehensible for the main study in Akan Constituency.

3.11 Validity of the Instruments

Validity of a research instrument is determined by how well it measures the concept(s) it is intended to measure (Awanta & Asiedu-Addo, 2008; Ruland, Bakken, & Roislien, 2007). According to Anastasia (1988) as quoted in Onivehu and Amoah (2002), validity is the degree to which a test or an instrument measures what it purposes to measure. Trochim (2006) postulates that the validity of a research is not in the instrument per se but in the intermediate process and the methodological proposals which are the foundations for the conclusion of the study. Thus, a study can be valid if the findings truly represent the phenomena it sets out to measure. The validity therefore may come from the use of the appropriate data collection tools that suits the research design selected plus the ability and the skill of the researcher in combining these factors. In order to establish the validity of the research instruments, the following validity test carried out were face and content validity.

3.11.1 Face validity

After developing the research instruments, some graduate students from the University of Education, Winneba and few lecturers in the university were requested to carefully and systematically scrutinize and assess the instrument for its relevance

and face validity. The feedback from the graduate students and lecturers were factored into the final preparation of the instrument. Issues such as length of the items and general format of the questionnaire were some of the concern pointed out to the researcher during the pilot stage.

3.11.2 Content validity

Content validity of an instrument focuses on the extent to which the content of the instrument corresponds to the concepts it is design to measure (Agyedu, Donkor & Obeng, 2013). They opine that, the usual process of establishing content validity is to examine the objectives of the instrument and compare to its content. Cooper and Schindler (2008) suggested two ways of determining content validity. Firstly, the designer may determine it through a careful definition of the topic of concern, the items to be scaled and the scale to be used. Secondly, an expert may judge how well the instrument meets the standard. Based on this knowledge, suggestions of my supervisor and other lecturers who are experts in Political Science, were sought to check the content validity of the instruments.

3.12   Reliability of the Instruments

The term reliability concerns the degree to which an experiment, test, or any measuring procedure yields the same results on repeated trials (Ruland, Bakken, & Roislien, 2007). Punch (2005) define reliability of a measure to tell us how much error variance is in the scores. Joppe (2000) in his view explained reliability as the extent to which results from research findings are consistent over time and are accurate representations of the total population under study if the results of a study were replicated under similar conditions. To be more specific, reliability in qualitative research could pass for the dependability of the result of the study (Golafshani, 2003). This is the researcher's ability and skill in the research process to produce trustworthy

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results. A reliability analysis using Cronbach's Alpha statistics was performed to determine the internal consistency of the items on Grass Root Politics (GRP) questionnaire instrument. Reliability of the questionnaire was determined through the use of the Statistical Product for Service Solutions (SPSS) version 20. The reliability measurements for each section of the piloted instrument were calculated. For Women grass root participation α = 0.746, Motivating Factors had α = 0.784, the Challenges sub-scale has α = 0.746 and that of Support systems α = 0.873. According to Creswell (2007), Cronbach's Alpha reliability coefficient values of 0.70 and above are considered reliable.

3.13   Triangulation

The issue of validity and reliability in this study was further addressed using triangulation. Triangulation involves the use of multiple sources of information to enhance the rigour of the research. To validate the instrument; face validity and content validity were used. This process enabled the researcher to identify the ambiguities, unrealistic and, wrong questions before the main interview. The supervisor for this research and colleague graduate students also peer reviewed the instrument to assess the extent to which it could gather information required for the study. Tape recorder was also used to record all that ensued in order to ensure that the data would be correctly transcribed.

3.14   Data Collection Procedure

According to Creswell (2002), respecting the site where the research takes place and gaining permission before entering a site is very paramount in research. An introductory letter was obtained from the Department of Social Studies, University of Education, Winneba, stating the aims and purpose of the study and the need for the

participants to give their consent and co-operation. The letter was submitted to the District Chief Executive Officer (DCE) in the Kadjebi District in order to gain access to the respondents and other document that would facilitate the study. The DCE subsequently gave a permission letter to the researcher in order to have access to the participants. A copy of the permission letter was shown as evidence of being allowed to carry out the research work in the district in order to have access to the adult participants.

To ensure that the right respondents were selected for the study, only one adult (18 + years) per household was eligible to participate in the study. This was done to ensure that responses were not affected by views of other persons other than that of the respondents (reliability). The respondents were asked to complete the questionnaire instrument within 45 – 60minutes under the guidance of the researcher. The questionnaires were collected from the respondents after completion and subsequently used for further data analysis. In all, one hundred and eighty (180) duly completed and returned the questionnaire for analysis and this represents 90% of a total of two hundred (200) administered questionnaires for data collection. Hence, 180 questionnaires were used in the data analysis.

3.15   Data Analysis

In mixed method research, the analysis of data involves the analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). Each data set was analyzed using the appropriate method of analysis; quantitative data was analyzed quantitatively using frequency, mean, standard deviation and qualitative data qualitatively through thematic procedure. Creswell and Clark (2007) postulated that although there are similarities in the data analysis process, that is, data preparation, data exploration, data analysis, representation and data validation, in mixed method

research, the analysis is dependent on the design of the study. The study adopted the mixed method approach so the data was analyzed using both qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitative data is analyzed systematically and logically (Neuman, 2007). According to Neuman, qualitative data analysis has become more specific although there is no widely accepted approach, and it is analyzed using explanations that are less abstract theory but grounded in concrete details. He explained further that this data usually gives rich detailed explanations, sensitive to context and capable of showing the complex processes of social life. This study employed a concurrent triangulation mixed method research design for data analysis.

The responses from the questionnaire items were coded (Strongly Disagree = 1, Disagree = 2 Agree = 3, Strongly Agree = 4) and analyzed through the use of the Statistical Product for Service Solutions (SPSS version 20). The SPSS software was chosen for the data analysis because it is reasonably user friendly and does most of the data analysis one needs as far as quantitative analysis is concerned. SPSS is also by far the most common statistical data analysis used in educational research (Muijs, 2004). The data entries were done by the researcher in order to check the accuracy of the data. Descriptive statistics (frequencies, percentages, means and standard deviations) was employed on each research question. Inferential statistics (ANOVA) was also employed on the hypothesis.

The data was analyzed in written text. It carefully examined empirical information to reach a conclusion. The study was a descriptive type so, quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis were used to describe and interpret the data mainly from the interview guide and questionnaire. The data from the questionnaire was quantified using frequencies and percentages. The responses of the open-ended questions were grouped according to themes in relation to common ideas expressed

and a general pattern was sorted out of them. Also Hypothesis was drawn to find out if the demographic variables of women in the Akan constituency will influence their level of participation in grassroots politics or not..

3.16   Evidence of Research Ethics

Before administering the instruments, verbal consent was sought from each of the respondents with a letter from the department of Social Studies, University of Education, Winneba. This letter which contained information about the researcher and the purpose of gathering the data ensured a smooth and cordial interaction with the respondents. The respondent's privacy was duly respected and they were assured of confidentiality of any information that they did not want in the public domain. Arrangements were made with the respondents as to what time and dates were appropriate and convenient for them to be interviewed. In all, the interviews and the recordings were done personally by the researcher.

3.17   Summary

Chapter three dealt with the methods adopted in the execution of the research work. The sampling technique used to select the women for the study was the purposive and convenience sampling techniques. The research instruments included interviews and sets of questionnaire. Since the research was on women, the necessary ethics were adopted to protect their interest and rights.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.0   Introduction

This chapter presents the findings and discussion of the study. The findings were obtained by employing research instrument such as questionnaire and interview guide. Statistical Product for Service Solution (SPSS) was the statistical software packaged used in analyzing the quantitative data (data from questionnaire). Statistical analyses include descriptive statistics (frequency, percentage, mean and standard deviation scores) and inferential statistics such as One-Way ANOVA. On the other hand, the qualitative data was analyzed manually (data from interview). Thematic analysis was the analytical tool used to examine the qualitative data. The chapter is structured under three major sections. They include: presentation of demographic characteristics of respondents (Section A), results on research questions and hypothesis (Section B) and discussions of the findings (Section B). The research questions that guided the study include: Do women participation in grass roots level politics in the Akan constituency? What factors are motivating women to participate in grassroots politics in the Akan constituency? What challenges do women face in participating in grass roots politics in the Akan constituency? What support systems are available to empower women to participate in grassroots politics in the Akan constituency? The hypothesis is _Do women in the Akan Constituency participation's in grass root politics differ according to some of their demographic characteristics (age and educational level)'? In all, one hundred and eighty (180) duly completed and returned the questionnaire for analysis and this represents 90% of a total of two hundred (200) administered questionnaires for data collection. Hence, 180 questionnaires were used in the data analysis.

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4.1 Presentation of Findings on Demographic Characteristics

The demographic characteristics of respondents which were explored are: age; educational level; occupation; marital status; number of children; religious affiliation and the political description of the respondents are analyzed in the sections that follow.

4.1.1 Age distribution of respondents

The age characteristics of the respondents in this study have been analyzed and results presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Age distribution of the respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage (%)
18 – 20	21	11.7
21 – 30	45	25.0
31 – 40	57	31.7
41 – 50	38	21.1
51 – 60	19	10.6
Total	180	100.0

Source: Field Data, Questionnaire (May, 2016)

Results as presented in Table 4.1 reveals that out of the 180 respondents who participated in the study, 21 (11.7%) were within the 18 – 20 age group. The 21 – 30 group was 45 representing 25.0%, the 31 – 40 age group constituted 57 (31.7%), the 41 – 50 age group also was 38 representing 21.1% and 51 – 60 year group was made up of 19 (10.6%). The results as presented on the age distribution of the respondents indicates that the respondents were largely within the youthful age group.

4.1.2 Distribution of educational level of respondents

The level of education of the respondents has been analyzed and the results displayed in Figure 4.1;
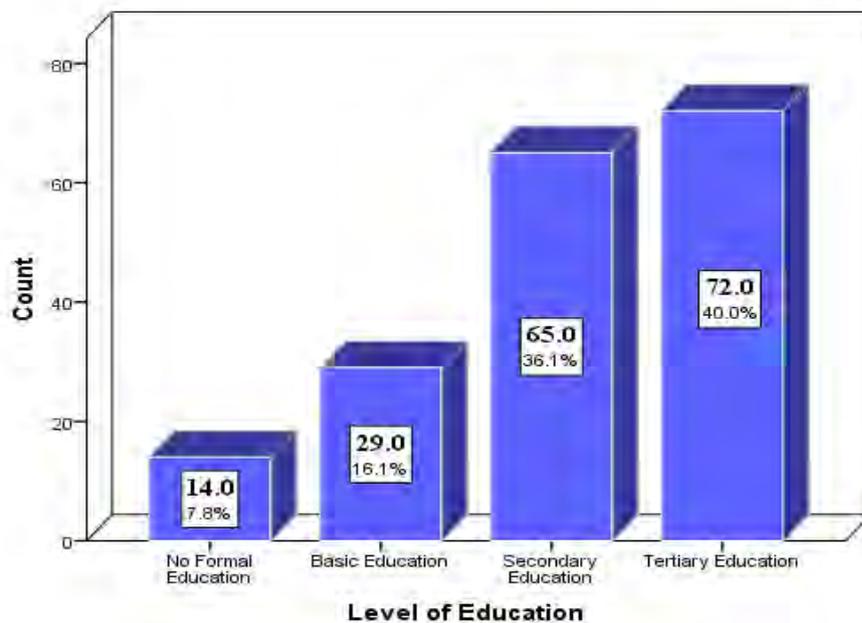
Figure 4.1: Distribution of educational level of respondents

When it came to the women's educational level, those who had no formal education constituted 14.0 (7.8%), those who had completed basic education only also formed 16.1% (n = 29), those who had completed second cycle only also formed 65 (36.1%), and finally, those who had gone through tertiary education were also 72 (40%). This indicates that, most of the women who took part in the study were higher education certificate holders.

4.1.3 Distribution of occupation of the respondents

The occupation of the respondents was obtained and the findings have been analyzed and the results presented in Figure 4.2.
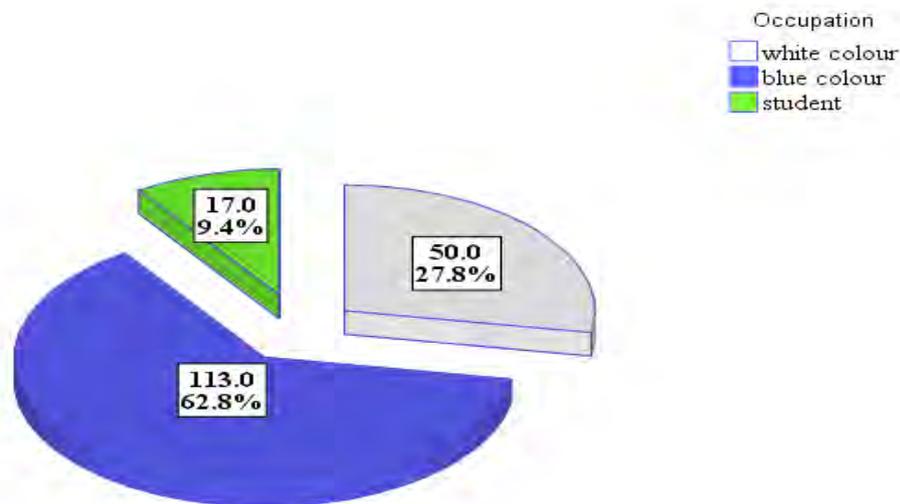
Figure 4.2: Distribution of respondents' occupation

The occupations of the sample were segmented into two main streams: white and blue collar jobs. According to Schröer, Haupt and Pieper (2014), a white-collar worker is a person who performs professional, managerial or administrative work. They further asserted that white-collar work is performed in an office, cubicle, or other administrative setting. On the other, a blue-collar worker is a working class person who performs agricultural or manual labour. Blue-collar work may involve skilled or unskilled manufacturing, mining, sanitation, and many other types of physical work (Forrest, 2012). Regarding the participants' occupation, majority of the women ($n = 113$, 62.8%) indicated that they were blue collar job workers, while some revealed that they were white collar job workers (50 representing 27.8%) and finally 9.4% ($n = 17$) indicated that they were students. The results on the occupational distribution of the women participants indicates that majority of them were workers.

4.1.4   Distribution of marital status of respondents

The marital status of the respondents has been analyzed and the results displayed in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Marital Status of the respondents

Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Single/Unmarried	78	43.3
Married	56	31.1
Divorced	24	13.3
Widow	22	12.2
Total	180	100.0

Source: Field data – Questionnaire (2017)

Research findings as presented in Table 4.2 indicates that 78 (43.3%) out of the total sampled respondents were single while 56 (43.0%) were married, 24 (13.3%) indicated that they were divorced and finally 12.2% ($n = 22$) revealed that they were widows. The result indicates that most of the respondents were not married and therefore it may imply that family burden and pressure which might result in increased stress might be minimal. Besides, they will get adequate time to be involved in politics if they wish to do so.

4.1.5 Distribution of the number of children by respondents

The number of children by each respondent has been analyzed and the results displayed in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Number of Children of the respondents

Number of Children	Frequency	Percentage (%)
None	48	26.7
1	32	17.8
2	34	18.9
3	30	16.7
4	22	12.2
5	7	3.9
6	3	1.7
7 and above	4	2.2
Total	180	100.0

Source: Field Data, Questionnaire (May, 2016)

A close examination of Table 4.3 reveals that 48 (26.7%) indicated that they did not have children as at the time of the study, about 17.8% ($n = 32$) of the respondents indicated that they have a child each, 34 (18.9%) of them indicated that they have two children each, those who indicated that they had three children each were 30 (16.7%), those who also indicated that they had four children each were 22 (12.2%). Furthermore, 7 (3.9%) indicated that they had five children while 3 (1.7%) revealed that they had six children each and 4 (2.2%) indicated that they had seven children and above.

4.1.6 Distribution of respondents by Religious Affiliation

The religious affiliation of the women participants was also explored. The findings from questionnaire have been analyzed and the results displayed in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Religious Affiliation of the respondents

Religion	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Traditionalist	28	15.6
Muslim	53	29.4
Christian	96	53.3
Others	3	1.7
Total	180	100.0

Source: Field Data, Questionnaire (May, 2016)

When it comes to the religious affiliation of the women participants, those who indicated that they were Traditionalist formed 15.6% ($n = 28$) of the total sampled respondents (180). Those who revealed they were Muslims were 53 (29.4%), those who indicated that they were Christians were 96 (53.3%) and finally those who revealed that their religious affiliation was not among these three basic religious affiliations were three representing 1.7%. This indicates most of the women belong to one of the basic religious groups or the other.

4.1.7 Distribution of respondents by Political interest

Political interest of the respondents has been analyzed and the results displayed in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Political interest of the respondents

Political interest	Frequency	Percentage (%)
I am interested in politics	79	43.9
I am not interested in politics	101	56.1
Total	180	100.0

Source: Field Data, Questionnaire (May, 2016)

Table 4.5 presents the frequency and percentage response to the demographic item: Please tick the option that best describe you. From the table, it is observed that majority of the women respondents ($n = 101$, 56.1%) indicated that they were not interested in politics in general while the remaining 79 (43.9%) revealed that they were interested in politics in general.

4.2 Research Question 1: Do the women in the Akan constituency participate in grass roots politics?

The purpose of this question was to explore the extent to which women in the Akan Constituency participate in grass root politics. Participants were asked to rate some suggested indicators on their participation and other women's participation in grass root politics in the constituency. Table 4.6 (see overleaf) reveals information about women's participation in grass roots politics in the Akan Constituency.

Table 4.6: Level of participation of women in grass root politics

N.	Statement	SD (%)	D (%)	A (%)	SA (%)	*M(SD)*
1	I listen regularly to political talk shows on various media platforms	19(10.6)	62(34.4)	72(40.0)	27(15.0)	**2.6(0.7)**
2	I vote regularly on political issues in my community	35(19.4)	82(45.6)	45(25.0)	18(10.0)	**2.3(0.9)**
3	I like to talk about local politics as they are being undertaken in my constituency	42(23.3)	85(47.2)	34(18.9)	19(10.6)	**2.2(0.9)**
4	I attend town hall or community meetings on political issues in my constituency	57(31.7)	87(48.3)	25(13.9)	11(6.1)	**1.9(0.8)**
5	I have attended a political rally or campaign in my community before	63(35.0)	67(37.2)	33(18.3)	17(9.4)	**2.0(1.0)**
6	I have contacted an assembly man, DCE, MP, or a political authority about an issue that was of importance to me and my community before	56(31.1)	75(41.7)	31(17.2)	18(10.0)	**2.1(0.9)**
7	I am a member of a political group or party in my community	57(31.7)	81(45.0)	22(12.2)	20(11.1)	**2.0(0.9)**
8	I am an active member in a political group or party in my community.	61(33.9)	82(45.6)	24(13.3)	13(7.2)	**1.9(0.9)**
9	I have a leadership role in a political party in my community	76(42.2)	80(44.4)	18(10.0)	6(3.3)	**1.7(0.8)**
10	I volunteer for political campaigns or rallies in my community	73(40.6)	77(42.8)	19(10.6)	11(6.1)	**1.8(0.9)**
11	I have led a rally and given a political speech in my community before	76(42.2)	80(44.4)	15(8.3)	9(5.0)	**1.8(0.8)**
12	My job facilies my active involvement in grass root politics in my constituency	69(38.3)	89(49.4)	11(6.1)	11(6.1)	**1.8(0.8)**
13	I have contested for a political position in my community before	85(47.2)	74(41.1)	11(6.1)	10(5.6)	**1.7(0.8)**
14	I currently hold a political position in my community	84(46.7)	76(42.2)	13(7.2)	7(3.9)	**1.7(0.8)**
15	I take active part in all political activities such as civic education, promoting women participation among other in my constituency	50(27.8)	64(35.6)	46(25.6)	20(11.1)	**2.2(1.0)**

Source: Field Data, Questionnaire (May, 2016) Key: N = Serial Number, SD = Strongly Disagree, D = Disagree, A = Agree, SA = Strongly Agree (%) = Percentage, M = Mean, and SD = Std. Deviation

According to the Table 4.6, the mean scores obtained for most of the statements reveal that majority of the women who took part in the study did not actively participate in grass root politics in the constituency. Table 4.6 reveals that a little more than one-half of the respondents, thus 99 representing 50.5%, indicated that they listened regularly to political talk shows on various media platforms in the constituency. This item's mean score was (M) 2.6, with a standard deviation of (SD) 0.7. As indicated by item 1 on Table 4.6. The mean score item recorded for the first indicator shows that the participants' involvement in listening to political programs through various media platform was a bit high.

It is however imperative to note that the rest of the items recorded low mean scores (between 2.3 and 1.7) and this was as a result the low frequencies recorded by the various items. This indicates that majority of the respondents' participation in the indicator grass root political activities were low. For example, 117 respondents (65%) of the women who took part in the study indicated that they do not vote regularly on political issues in their community. Most of them disagreed/strongly disagreed to the statement. The item's mean value recorded was low ($M = 2.3$, $SD = 0.9$). Again from Table 4.6, a significant number of the respondents (127 participants representing 70.5%) revealed that they do not like talking about local politics as they are being conducted in their constituency. The mean value for this statement was, $M = 2.2$, and $SD = 0.9$.

Furthermore, more than three-fourth of the participants (80% disagreeing/strongly disagreeing) indicated that they do not attend town hall or community meetings on political issues in their constituency. The mean was 1.9 and the standard deviation was 0.8. Additionally, majority of the respondents indicated that they have not attended any political rally or campaign in the community before

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(72.2% disagreeing/strongly disagreeing). Similarly, item number 6 on the table also attracted a mean value of 2.1 which indicates that majority of the respondents (131 representing 72.8%) either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that they have either contacted an assembly man, DCE, MP, or a political authority about an issue that was of importance to them and their community.

Results in the Table 4.6 further indicate that 141 representing 76.7% of the women who participated in the study opined that they were not members of any political group or party in their community while 143 representing 79.5% indicated that they were not active members of any political group or party in the constituency. Subsequently, 86.6% representing 156 of the participants revealed that they do not have any leadership role in any political party in the constituency. ‗Volunteering for political campaigns or rallies in my community‗ was item number 10 and it attracted 150 signifying 83.4% of the women indicating their level of disagreement. An over whelming majority of the participants, thus 156 representing 86.6%, stated that they had not led a rally and given a political speech in their consistency before. The participant were also asked to indicate whether or not they had a job which facilitated their involvement in grass root politics in their constituency and 159 representing 88.3% of them, asserted that they did not have a job which facilitated their active involvement in grass root politics.

The participants were also asked to indicate whether they had contested for a political position in their constituency before and 159 signifying 88.3% disagreed/ strongly disagreed with the statement indicating that they had not contested for any leadership position before in the constituency. ‗I currently hold a political position in my community‗ was a follow up question to the item which sought to find out whether the participants need contested for political position previously and far more

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than three-quarters of the respondents, that is 160 representing 88.9%, indicated that they were not holding any political position in their constituency as at the time of the research study. Finally, when the participants were asked whether they take active part in political activities such as civic education, promoting women participation among other in the constituency, they answered in the negative. Thus 114 of the respondents representing 63.4% indicated that they disagree with the statement. Initial inferences drawn from the quantitative data and results presented in relation to research question one indicate that the participants level of participation in grass root politics in the Akan constituency is low and not encouraging. In order to confirm or refute this stands, an interview guide was administered to the respondents. Results from the interview section are presented as follows.

4.2.1 Qualitative results on level of participation in grass root politics

This section sought to find out, through qualitative approach (interview), the participant's interest and participation in grass root politics and whether they belonged to any political association. It also explored the political activities of respondents and how they sought information on politics. Interview items 2 to 10 were used to gather data to address research questions one (1). It has been argued that participation by women in politics is not only a means to the realization of broad agenda of good governance but also emphasizes the view that without their involvement, progress in other areas of development is likely to be halted. Women's exclusion from active politics deprives government of half of its citizen's talents and contributions (Allah Mensa, 2005). It is therefore important that more women participate actively in grassroots politics in the constituency so that they contribute in all the decisions that are taken which may also affect them. When their participation

level is high, it will help them in many aspects of their lives including gain experience for national politics where their exposure into political issues will be great.

As a follow up on the quantitative phase of the study, a number of the respondents were interviewed to gather qualitative data on the participation level of the participants in grass root level. The qualitative data, similar to the quantitative data, also revealed that majority of the women did not actively participate in grass root politics. The reasons attributed to participants' disinterest in politics include shyness, lack of education, poverty and male dominance in all aspects of Ghanaian politics. Answering questions on their interest in politics, most of the participants did not have interest in grass root politics due to various reasons. The following excerpts are some of the answers some of the participants gave to the items posed to them during the interview section which reflects the identified themes.

A 29 year old woman, Madam Akosua who is a teacher indicated that:

> *"Even though I vote, I don't like politics at all because I don't want people to insult me. These days young people do not have any respect for elderly. They say bad things about you because you want to be in politics. They don't care whether you have a husband and children. Some will even say women who are in politics sleep with men. If I don't do politics will I die? What pains me is that some can't even write their names. I don't even listen or watch any political programme on television or radio".* (1st September 2016)

Another woman, Agnes, a 31 year old who is unemployed also stated:

> *"I don't like politics because I don't want to lie. Look at them. If something is black they say it is red. They are becoming rich every day and look at us. We are poor. As for politics I will never never go into it because politicians are corrupt. If you don't have money you can't do politics. Even if you put in more money into it you will be tempted to recoup the money you invested in it before you think of others. Because of this, I don't even vote or do anything which talks about politics".* (6th September 2016)

The responses from the women show that politics of insults, perceived corruption and society's bad perception of women in politics make politics

unattractive to some of them. Some of the participants attributed their non-participation in politics to their low level of education. The following extracts are further reasons advanced by the respondents for their level of interest.

Frimpongmaa, a 51 year old farmer had this to say:

> *"Ei!!!! I did not go to school so what English am I going to speak? Even if I can speak small English, I will make mistakes and the people will tease me? Politics is for those who are educated. I am also a person who feels shy a lot and can't speak in public. I don't want to be above my husband because our Ghanaian culture states that men are the head of the family. If I go into politics, it will seem as if I am competing with my husband and society will talk".* (8th September 2016)

It is important to point out that not all the women who participated in the study lacked interest in grass root politics. For instance four of the participants who were interviewed indicated that they had interest in grass root politics. They adduced the following reasons for their interest in politics.

One participant, Afua aged 34 who is a women organizer in one of the political parties said:

> *"I like politics so much. Because I don't care what people will say about me. If you do something, people will talk about you, if you don't do something people will talk about you. I have decided to do politics regardless of what people will say. I am even the constituency women organizer for my party and I enjoy doing the work. 1 vote regularly in every election, I attend party meeting regularly, I organize the women of my party to campaign for the party and organize training programme on tie and dye, and even liquid soap preparations for them. I also listen regularly to political talk shows on various media platforms."* (12th September 2016)

Juliet a 30 year old government appointee also said:

> *"I like politics because it makes people famous and it makes me express my feelings about how women are being treated. It also gives me access to the big people in the constituency. I vote regularly, I meet the assembly member of my area regularly to discuss issues of concern of the community with him. I also attend political rallies and even call radio stations in Accra to contribute to political issues. Through politics the Member of Parliament has taken care of my daughter to*

the tertiary level so I think it is good to be in politics". (12th September 2016)

Other participants believe that regardless of what you do people will talk so they are in politics because they are bold. To them it gives them power, exposure and pleasure.

The participants were asked if they belong to any political association and occupy any position in that association. Six participants stated they were not interested in politics and declined. Four stated that they were active members of the women's wing of their parties and occupied various positions. Two were women organizers of two major political parties in the constituency and the other two were active members of their women's wings. According to them the political activities they normally participate in include attending political rallies, organizing meetings, teaching women how to vote properly and encouraging more women to participate in politics. The common political activity all the 10 women participate in was voting. All the ten women also stated that the radio and television were their major sources of information on politics. These responses from the interviews indicate that women participation in grass roots level politics in the Akan constituency is low because to vote and listen to political talk show are not enough to bring these women to the lime light when it comes to grass root politics and this needs to be addressed. These same results were arrived at during the quantitative analysis.

4.2.2 Discussion on women's level of participating in grass root politics

The findings in relation to research question one indicate that participation of most women in grass root politics in the Akan constituency were low. It was observed in the study that the only grass root political activity that most women took active part in was to listen to political talk shows regularly on various media platforms. As indicated by item 1 on Table 4.6. Whereas regular voting on political issues, attending

town hall meetings and political rallies, contacting a political authority, being an active member of a political party, taking up political leadership role, contesting for political position and taking active part in all political activities such as civic education, promoting women participation among other in the constituency were all found to have attracted low patronage in the Akan constituency by the women. Most of these findings on women in the Akan constituency are consistent with the results of similar studies conducted in various African countries and the world in general. For example, in the view of Barry (2005) a casual observation of the world's political stage shows that the participation of women remains insignificant in formal political structures and processes, where decisions regarding the use of societal resources generated by both men and women are made. In the authors' own words, ―presently, women's representation in law making house around the world are less than 15 percent" (Barry, 2005: 26). Again, a review, conducted by Zeleke (2005), of selected African countries' legislative representation shows that women have had less representation in African parliaments.

The assertion by Yartey (2012) that women in Ghana are yet to find their bearing in the decision making process of the nation was affirmed in this study. According to Abdul-Razak (2010), ―a 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" (p. 11). All these are justifications that the woman can be put in a position of trust and responsibility since society treasures the valuable services she provides. Unfortunately, most women are absent when it comes to the area of representing her locality or community to make decisions in the local council. Rhetorically, Abdul-Razak (2010) asked the question ―is she only good in family management and not that of the larger community where the man she serves has an

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almost automatic and comfortable position?" (p. 5). 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 is impermissible that some assemblies in Ghana have over a decade recorded only a single elected female member against too many males.

Allah-Mensah (2005) examines the participation and presence of women not only in politics specifically but also in public life in general due to their semeiotic relationship. This relationship will enable key stakeholders like political parties, government and its institutions and agencies and other civil society groups to know the reality on the ground and act appropriately to address the identified problems. Allah-Mensah concludes that, women in political and social lives are grossly under represented even if compared to the number of qualified women in the population. Furthermore, a significant number of those who are employed in the civil and public service occupy ―low grade level" positions only. The study therefore makes a strong case for the increase of the number of women in public life in general and in executive positions in particular as supported by the liberal feminist theory.

Additionally, Deku (2005) noted that women seem to be caught in a dependency triad where they are dependent on men in formal politics at the local, national and international levels which have become increasingly interrelated. They are ravaged by illiteracy, fertility and environmental crisis leading to poverty, diseases

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and malnutrition. It is more than three decades since the United Nations' Development Decade for women (1976 – 1985) was launched and more than a decade since the declaration of the Women's Year (1975) but the plight of women in the country seems to be materializing all the more. This reflects to some extent, the multifaceted transformation that is taking place along the various cultural, social, economic and political dimensions. The time has come when the concept that ‗every woman is inferior to any man' must change. Right from birth, the Ghanaian society instills the idea of male superiority and female inferiority in the mind of the child. Even women themselves have been brain washed to accept this situation and so mistake absolute male protection for privilege.

4.3   Research Question 2: What are the factors that are motivating women in the Akan constituency to participate in grassroots politics?

Evidence as adduced by research question one indicates that majority of the participant did not actively participate in grass root politics. In this wise, factors that are likely to motivate women in the Akan constituency to actively participate in grass root politics were explored and investigated as part of research question two (2). The factors were organized to include motivation – intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. The items on the questionnaire sought information on both extrinsic and intrinsic factors. Therefore the purpose of the second research question was to explore factors that were likely to motivate women in the Akan constituency to actively participate in grassroots politics. Descriptive statistical (frequency count, percentage, mean and standard deviation) was the analytical tool employed to analyze the quantitative data gathered on the research question. Considering the second research question, Table 4.7 reveals the participants' perception of the factors that were likely to motivate them to actively participate in grass root politics. An examination of the mean scores for

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each statement measuring the women's opinion about the factors that would motivate them to participate in grass root politics reveals that they mostly either disagreed or strongly disagreed to the statements. This may imply that most of the suggested items were not motivation enough to draw the women into active grass root politics. Quantitative results on the second research question are presented in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: Motivating factors promoting active participation of women in grass root politics

N	Statement	SD (%)	D (%)	A (%)	SA (%)	M(SD)
1	One of the primary reasons why I will actively participate in politics will be that it would help facilitate my networks among other people in leadership position.	36(20.0)	60(33.3)	64(35.6)	20(11.1)	**2.4(0.9)**
2	Seeing my fellow women actively participating in politics may encourage me to get involve in grass root politics in my community.	29(16.1)	83(46.1)	50(27.8)	18(10.0)	**2.3(0.9)**
3	Engaging in grass root politics may help me learn the basics of exercising my civic right of engaging in election processes.	24(13.3)	53(29.4)	70(38.9)	33(18.3)	**2.6(0.9)**
4	People who influence my behaviour think that I should participate in grass root politics in my constituency.	47(26.1)	57(31.7)	63(35.0)	13(7.2)	**2.2(0.9)**
5	I am motivated to participate in grass root politics because it is my civic right and responsibility	31(17.2)	63(35.0)	62(34.4)	24(13.3)	**2.4(0.9)**
6	I will actively participate in politics because I am likely to secure a job with a political organization in my community	49(27.2)	76(42.2)	38(21.1)	17(9.4)	**2.1(0.9)**
7	I am encouraged to participate in grass root politics because I will be provided with daily news update and current news events around the world	48(26.7)	60(33.3)	46(25.6)	26(14.4)	**2.3(1.0)**
8	I will like to be called an _honourable member' in my community one of these days that is why I am motivated in participating in grass root politics	37(20.6)	69(38.3)	46(25.6)	28(15.6)	**2.4(1.0)**
9	The recognition and prestige that comes with participating in local politics are the factors that drives me to actively take part in grass root politics	37(20.6)	92(51.1)	36(20.0)	15(8.3)	**2.2(0.8)**
10	I will actively participate in politics because I am likely to secure an apartment from a political organization in my community	47(26.1)	71(39.4)	44(24.4)	18(10.0)	**2.2(0.9)**

Source: Field Data, Questionnaire (May, 2016) Key: N = Serial Number, SD = Strongly Disagree, D = Disagree, A = Agree, SA = Strongly Agree (%) = Percentage, M = Mean, and SD = Std. Deviation

Quantitative evidence as presented in Table 4.7 indicates that, about 96 of the participants (53.3%) either disagreed or strongly disagreed that one of the primary motivation to actively participating in politics was that, it would help facilitate their

networks among other people in leadership position. While only 84 participants representing 46.7% either agreed or strongly agreed that they are motivated by the fact that the actively participation in politics may help them to facilitate their networks among other people in leadership position. The item's mean score was 2.4 with a standard deviation of 0.9. Similarly, 112 respondents signifying 62.2% of the women in the Akan constituency asserted that they disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that ‗sæing my fellow women actively participating in politics may encourage me to get involve in grass root politics in my community'. The second item recorded a mean score of $M = 2.3$ and standard deviation of $SD = 0.9$. The next item on the extrinsic factors which may serve as a motivation to the participants was ‗engaging in grass root politics may help me learn the basics of exercising my civic right of engaging in election processes. This item attracted 103 sampled women representing 57.2% in the Akan constituency agreeing or strongly agreeing to the statement, which meant that the statement was a motivator to the participants. Furthermore, majority of the women ($n = 104$, 57.8%) disagreed/strongly disagreed that people who influence their behavior do not think they should participate in grass root politics in the Akan constituency. However, the rest of the participants ($n = 46$, 42.2%) either agreed or strongly agreed that people who influence their behaviour think that they should participate in grass root politics in their constituency. Significantly, the item mean score for statement 4 was 2.2 and a standard deviation of 0.9. The item ‗I am motivated to participate in grass root politics because it is my civic right and responsibility' attracted 86 sampled women (52.2%) either disagreeing or strongly disagreeing while the remaining 64 representing 47.8% indicated their level of agreement (agreeing/strongly agreeing) with the item. This items' mean score was 2.4 with a standard deviation of 0.9.

Again, other factors motivating women to participate in grass root politics were considered. The mean score value recorded for each item on the questionnaire suggests that majority of the women were not motivated to actively participate in grass root politics. For example, it is evident from the table that, majority of the participants (thus 125 representing 69.4% of the sample) either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the item which suggested that they were going to be actively motivated to participate in grass root politics because they were likely to secure a job with a political organization in their community. As such the item's mean score value was 2.1 and a standard deviation of 0.9. Additionally, exactly 60% ($n = 108$) out of the 180 women who took part in the study asserted that they were not encouraged to participate in grass root politics because they will be provided with daily news update and current news events around the world. The mean score value for that factor was 2.3 ($SD = 1.0$). Similarly, most of the participants (58.9%) were of the view that being called an ‗honourable member' in their community was a reason why they were motivated in participating in grass root politics. Cumulatively in the same regard, 71.7% ($n = 129$) out of the 180 participants disagreed or strongly disagreed that they were motivated to actively participate in grass root politics by the recognition and prestige that comes with participating in local politics. Finally, the last but not the least item on the intrinsic motivation ‗I will actively participate in politics because I am likely to secure an apartment from a political organization in my community' saw 180 participants representing 65.5% either disagreeing or strongly disagreeing with it.

4.3.1   Qualitative Results on Factors Motivating the Women's Participation

Motivation can be defined in a variety of ways, depending on who you ask. If someone on the street is asked, according to Young (2000), you may get a response like ―it is what drives us" or ―it is what make us do the things we do" (p, 1). Motivation is the force within an individual that account for the level, direction and persistence of effort expended at work". It can be deduced that motivation affects how hard or bad a person works and how productive they are. Extrinsic motivation is something outside the person that energizes his or her behaviour. For women to participate effectively in politics the participants indicated that extrinsic motivation factors such as money support from society, fame, power and popularity cannot be overlooked. Jemima 21 and unemployed stated:

> *"I think that if women are appointed to occupy various positions in the district assembly it will be a motivating factor to others to participate in politics because these women will serve as role models in the community. Unfortunately this is not so because most of us don't participate in political activities that will make us popular to attract government support. When women are given appointments it will give us some inner satisfaction which will motivate us to participate in politics".* (18th September, 2016)

Another woman, Jamfua, aged 46 and a teacher said:

> *"I am very popular in this town and would have loved to be an assembly woman but I don't have money to print my posters and also pay the people who will help me to campaign. All I can do is to go for a loan which will be a waste if I don't win. To add to that there is nobody to assist me if I even ask for help".* (18th September, 2016)

Husbands who encourage their wives to participate in politics serve as an extrinsic motivating factor to other women. This also changes the perception of society about women who go into politics. Juliet made this observation:

"As for me I am lucky because my husband has been encouraging me to go into politics. On our meeting days he helps me to do the cooking before I go. I think this is so because he is also a politician. This has helped me so much in my work as the organizer. I use my husband as an example and this has change the behaviour of most men in this community. Before I became the organizer there used to be nasty incidents where men beat their wives for attending political rallies but this behaviour is changing." (19th September, 2016)

Intrinsic motivation is something within the person that energizes his or her behaviour. Some of these innate motivators are interest, curiosity and boldness. Without these attributes women cannot comfortably participate in politics. Dansoa 29, one of the four active women politicians had this to say:

"As for me I have interest in politics and so I don't worry about what people think or say. I am bold to compete with the men and also engage them on all political matters. As a result they call me iron woman. This is because I always fight for my rights and I don't want anybody to cheat me or any woman". (19th September, 2016)

Asked if politics is attractive to women in the constituency all the women said no because the men have taken over almost everything and the women who are in it are the bold ones who are ready to take any insult or humiliation from society. A 41 year old Adisa, lamented:

"I am a vibrant member of the ruling party but I am not appointed to any of the committees in the constituency. Even at the district level it is only two women against over thirty men who have been there as appointees all this while. How can this motivate other women to participate effectively in politic knowing that their efforts will not be recognized?" (20th September, 2016)

Frempomaa also noted:

"There are not enough platforms for political discourse in this constituency to promote political education among the female population. The political parties have no institutional structures which support female participation in grass root politics. Political parties do not also support women financially at the grassroots level to go into politics. In addition, the dominance of patriarchal structures at all levels of politics tends to make politics less attractive to women in the constituency. (8th September, 2016)

The views expressed by participants show that when women are appointed to various positions in the constituency and are supported both financially and morally by political parties, government and society, it will serve as motivation for them to participate in politics. On their part they identified boldness and interest as individual intrinsic motivating factors. This will then make politics attractive to women in the constituency.

4.3.2 Discussion on factors motivating the women's participation

Various people make use of different means, methods, and techniques to enable them engage effectively in various activities, which are supported by literature (Maslow, 1987; Grayson & Hodges, 2001). Therefore the various motivational techniques which women in the Akan constituency use to enhance their grass root political participations are discussed in relation to those expressed in relevant reviewed literature. The related literature revealed the two main motivational strategies people adopt to enable them participate or act in certain situation are internal (intrinsic) and external (extrinsic) motivation factors (Rudolph & Kleiner, 1989). Extrinsic motivation is related to ‗tangible' rewards such as salary and fringe benefits, security, promotion, contract of service, the work environment and conditions of work. Such tangible rewards are often determined at the organizational level and may be largely outside the control of individual. While intrinsic motivation, on the other hand, is related to ‗psychological' rewards such as the opportunity to use one's ability, a sense of challenge and achievement, receiving appreciation, positive recognition, and being treated in a caring and considerate manner (Grayson & Hodges, 2001). The psychological rewards are those that can usually be determined by the actions and behaviour of individual (Rudolph, & Kleiner, 1989). The human nature is being driven by both intrinsic and extrinsic desire. These desires help people

to either be successful or fail in their field of endeavours. Politics as a field ought to provide some form of motivation for people who pursue it. Unfortunately, female politicians in Ghana are not seen, though the motivation may be available. The only political position women are found occupying is women organizer position. This is because politics is assumed to be a male dominating terrain and women who show interest are faced with a lot of barriers which affects their political participation to aspire to be in higher positions. Leya (2010) referred to these barriers as socio-economic, cultural and structural. It is in view of this that the study attempted to find out why women in politics are not motivated enough to take up various positions in politics.

The research findings revealed that most of the women in the constituency who were to some extent taking part in the grass root politics were mainly motivated by intrinsic factors. These findings about the motivating factors are consistent with the views expressed by Mullins (2007). To Mullins, quality circles can rely too heavily on intrinsic motivation and the assumption that involvement and recognition are sufficient rewards in themselves. Mullins further asserted that, where the activity offers a high degree of intrinsic satisfaction or involves a variety of tasks, an element of problem-solving and the exercise of initiative, or where output is difficult to measure in quantitative terms, an informal, participative approach would seem to be more effective. It is more likely to lead to a higher level of team morale. In many cases this would apply to work of a scientific, technical or professional nature. In summary, it is worth noting that, Maslow's physiological need theory, justified the fact that women as part of the human race need to realize the highest level of development as individuals and group in order to achieve incremental development to satisfy their basic and societal needs with less constraints. The researcher is further of

the view that the assertion of liberal theory that women should be provided with the same rights that men already have should be adhered to by all.

4.4   Research Question 3: What challenges do women face in participating in grass roots politics in the Akan constituency?

The women who participated in grass root politics suggested that there were some causative factors serving as a barrier to them. Therefore, the purpose of the third research question was to explore the various challenges that women face in participating in grass roots politics in the Akan constituency. Some of the challenges as identified in literature (e.g. Zeleke, 2005) were adapted and presented to the respondents for them to rate the extent to which these barriers were hindering their active participation in grass root politics. Some of the challenges as identified include lack of political education, absence of enabling political environment, religious factors, attitude of women themselves, and socio-cultural attitude. Frequency count, percentages, mean and standard deviation were the descriptive statistical tools deployed to analyze the third research question. A cursory look at the mean score values in Table 4.8 will show that majority of the respondents indicated and alluded to that fact that most of the suggested challenges were really a barrier to their active participation in grass root politics in the Akan constituency. Table 4.8 displays quantitative results about the challenges and barriers women in the Akan constituency face as they make attempt to engage in active grass root politics.

Table 4.8: Major challenges women face in participating in grass root politics

N	Statement	SD (%)	D (%)	A (%)	SA (%)	M(SD)
1	Lack of adequate education among the female population in my community is preventing them from actively participating in grass root politics.	29(16.1)	43(23.9)	52(28.9)	56(31.1)	**2.7(1.1)**
2	The political and civic educational gaps among the female population in my constituency are serving as a barrier for them to actively participating in grass root politics.	30(16.7)	54(30.0)	60(33.3)	36(20.0)	**2.6(1.0)**
3	There are not enough platforms for political discourse in my community to promote political education among the female population.	25(13.9)	34(18.9)	76(42.2)	45(25.0)	**2.8(1.0)**
4	The political parties have some institutional structures which do not support female participation in grass root politics in my community.	48(26.7)	64(35.6)	38(21.1)	30(16.7)	**2.2(1.0)**
5	The dominance of patriarchal structures at all levels of politics tends to work against the increased participation of women in grass root politics.	33(18.3)	77(42.8)	40(22.2)	30(16.7)	**2.4(1.0)**
6	Religious organizations in my community preach against women participating in political activities.	62(34.4)	67(37.2)	30(16.7)	21(11.7)	**2.1(1.0)**
7	Religious practices which expect women to submit to men and never question the views of their husbands, fathers or male relatives are some of the challenges which prevent women from participating in politics.	49(27.2)	52(28.9)	46(25.6)	33(18.3)	**2.4(1.1)**
8	Lack of assertiveness and self-confidence on the part of women in my community are the causes of the inactive participation in grass root politics.	32(17.8)	48(26.7)	62(34.4)	38(21.1)	**2.6(1.0)**
9	Most female in my constituency feel that their contributions and ideas are not taken seriously as compared to their male colleagues and therefore they do not see the need to participate in politics.	20(11.1)	19(10.6)	69(38.3)	72(40.0)	**3.1(1.0)**
10	Most husbands would not allow their wives to into what they consider to be _dirty' politics in my community.	18(10.0)	42(23.3)	64(35.6)	56(31.1)	**2.9(1.0)**
11	Formal work with domestic/family responsibilities are the causes of the inactive participation in grass root politics.	41(22.8)	45(25.0)	51(28.3)	43(23.9)	**2.5(1.1)**
12	My community frowns at women who actively participate in political activities because they see it as an activity solely for men.	38(21.1)	55(30.6)	44(24.4)	43(23.9)	**2.4(1.1)**
13	Family members in my community do not support women participation in grass root politics.	35(19.4)	65(36.1)	42(23.3)	38(21.1)	**2.4(1.0)**

Source: Field Data, Questionnaire (May, 2016) Key: N = Serial Number, SD = Strongly Disagree, D = Disagree, A = Agree, SA = Strongly Agree (%) = Percentage, M = Mean, and SD = Std. Deviation

Data as presented in Table 4.8 suggest that majority of the participants (60%, *n* = 108) agreed or strongly agreed with the first item which indicates that lack of adequate education among the female population in the Akan constituency was preventing them from actively participating in grass root politics. The first item

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recorded a mean score value of 2.7 ($SD = 1.1$). For item 2, under the proposed item on the challenges faced by the participants, 53.3% ($n = 96$) out of the 180 asserted that the political and civic educational gaps among the female population in the constituency were serving as a barrier for their lack of active participation in grass root politics. Furthermore, most of the respondents (67.2% $n = 121$, $M = 2.8$ and $SD = 1.0$) agreed (i.e. A or SA) that there were not enough platforms for political discourse in the Akan community to promote political education among the female population. The first three sets of items on the table revealed results on challenges faced by the participants with regards to political education in the Akan constituency.

The second major challenge which was presented to the participants for their responses was the absence of enabling political environment in the Akan constituency. The first item under this sub-scale, ‗the political parties have some institutional structures which do not support female participation in grass root politics in the community‘ recorded majority of the respondents (62.3%, $n = 112$, $M = 2.2$ and $SD = 1.0$) either disagreeing or strongly disagreeing with the statement. In the same vein, ‗the dominance of patriarchal structures at all levels of politics tends to work against the increased participation of women in grass root politics‘ saw majority of the respondents (61.1%) indicating their level of the disagreement (i.e. D or SD). The analysis shows that suggested items on absence of enabling political environment was not a barrier to the participants

The third barrier which was investigated was religious factors. Two set of items were couched expressing the idea of religious factor as a challenge to women‘s active participation in grass root politics. The mean score for each of the two items seems to suggest that religion was not much a barrier to women‘s active participation in grass root politics in the Akan constituency. For example majority of the women (n

= 129, 71.6%, *M* = 2.1 and *SD* = 1.0) either disagreed or strongly disagreed that religious organizations in the community preach against women participating in political activities in the Akan constituency. Again majority of the respondents felt that religious practices which expect women to submit to men and never question the motives of their husbands, fathers or male relatives were not some of the challenges which prevent women from participating in grass root politics in the Akan constituency (56.1% disagreeing/strongly disagreeing). This item scored a mean value of *M* = 2.4 and *SD* = 1.1

Some authorities such as, Zeleke (2005), have alluded to the fact that one of the main challenges women face in participating in grass root politics is they (the women) themselves (Attitude of Women Themselves). When asked to respond to whether lack of assertiveness and self-confidence on the part of women in the community were some of the causes of the inactive participation of women in grass root politics, majority of the women asserted that assertiveness and self-confidence on the part of women was really a challenge (*n* = 100, 55.5% agreeing/strongly agreeing). Furthermore, a substantial number of the participants (*n* = 141, 78.3%, *M* = 3.1 and *SD* = 1.0) indicated that most women in their constituency felt that their contributions and ideas were not taken seriously as compared to their male colleagues and therefore they do not feel the need to participate in politics.

How socio-cultural practices of the indigenes of Akan constituency affects women's active participation in grass root politics was the last but not the least barrier examined in the study. The quantitative data analysis reveals that most of the participants agreed (i.e. agreed or strongly agreed) that most husbands in the constituency would not allow their wives to go into what they consider to be _dirty' politics in the community (66.7%, *n* = 120 disagreeing/strongly disagreeing). The

analysis further shows that a large number of the participants (n = 94, 52.2%, M = 2.5 and SD = 1.1) alluded to the fact that formal work coupled with domestic/family responsibilities were some of the causes of the passive nature of women in grass root politics in the Akan constituency. However, one of the suggested socio-cultural practices which the women participants indicated was not a challenge in the constituency was that the community members did not frowns on women who actively participate in political activities because they saw it as an activity solely reserved for men (51.7%, n = 93 disagreeing/strongly disagreeing). Finally, when asked to indicate whether family members in the community did or did not support women participation in grass root politics, majority of them disagreed with the statement indicating that most family members in the community did support women participation in grass root politics (n = 100, 55.5%, M = 2.4 and SD = 1.1). The quantitative results turn to indicate that the women were faced with a lot of challenges with regards to participating in grass root politics. Most of these challenges are some of the reasons put forth by the participants as that which deter them from actively participating in grass root politics. Qualitative data with respect to the challenges women face in grass root politics are presented as follows.

4.4.1 Qualitative findings on challenges the women face in participating in politics

Many barriers and discriminatory practices against women hinder their ability to actively participate in all processes of decision making ventures that may affect them directly or indirectly. Women's participation in political processes is limited by social and cultural circumstances, economic situations and the political context or systems. The factors that are commonly identified as barriers to women's participation include religious beliefs, limited support for women aspirants to carry

out campaigns and cultural norms that have little or no regard for women who go into politics (Abantu, 2010). On religion, all the women stated that their religious denominations do not prevent them from participating in politics but admitted that cultural norms and perceptions of people in the society about women in politics discourage them. The following excerpts reveal some of the challenges the women face in the constituency.

One participant, Dansoa, a 34 year old, made this observation:

> ―*When I decided to go into politics I told my husband about it and he encouraged me, my pastor also encouraged me but when I told my friends, one said no because people in the community will talk so much and it will force my husband to break the marriage. True to their words people on seeing me in the campaign team started saying all sorts of things against me. Some said I wanted to lord over my husband because politicians do not respect".* (20th September, 2016)

Another participant, Asietu a 25 year old, also stated reasons why her husband did not want her to go into politics:

> *"My husband does not allow me to participate effectively in politics because he sees it as a dirty game. He said that some of the politicians will do anything to get power. They can even kill me for our children to become motherless so I should not put myself into this dirty game."* (20th September, 2016)

On gender, the four who were active in politics stated that their gender does not affect their participation in politics because they have already made up their mind regardless of what people would say or do. However, they admitted that formal work, domestic activities and family responsibilities sometimes make politics a bit difficult. Akosua aged 29, a married woman and a teacher stated:

> *"The work I do and my domestic works sometimes prevent me from participating in politics because some times on days of meeting and campaigning, I go to the work early in the morning and come home late to do all the housework and also cook for my husband and two children before going for political work. This makes me very tired".* (1st September, 2016)

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The participants indicated that challenges confronting them in politics in the constituency had to do with the bad perception of society about politics, husbands disallowing their wives from participation, formal work, domestic activities and family responsibilities.

4.4.2   Discussion on Challenges the Women Face in Participating in Grass Root Politics

Despite global campaign for gender equity, women's political participation and representation in the country has proved abortive to achieving the high women's representation in politics. Women around the world at every socio-political level find themselves under-represented in politics and far more removed from decision making levels. While the political playing field in each country has its own peculiar characteristics, one feature is common to all: it is uneven and not conducive to women's participation. Therefore some political parties and other stakeholders have made efforts to promote gender equality and equity and women's political participation through various socio-economic, ideological and psychological interventions such as creating the office of women organizers, among others. Too often, however, these interventions have had no reference to equality, equity or participation whatsoever with regards to grass root politics. Furthermore, even where parties make an effort to institutionalize party processes and policies in a transparent manner, in many cases these rules are not adhered to in practice, often to the detriment of women members. These and many more have resulted in the plenteous challenges facing most women in participating in grass root politics.

In relation to the current study it has been established that most women who participated in the study revealed that they were faced with a lot of social, ideological, political, education, absence of enabling political environment, religious factors,

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attitude of women themselves and socio-cultural attitude challenges which limited them in participating actively in grass root politics. These challenges women in grass root politics face are well rooted in literature. For example, literature on women and politics has identified various factors or barriers militating against women's participation in politics worldwide. However, research finds these three barriers very vital. This includes the socio-economic barriers, ideological and psychological barriers and political barriers (Sossou 2011, Mould-Iddrisu, 2010, Oni 2008, Kumari 2006, Inglehart & Noris, 2003). The socio-economic barriers as indicated in literature include: lack of adequate financial resources; illiteracy and limited access to education; and women's multiple burdens. The ideological and psychological barriers are also: gender ideology and cultural patterns; lack of confidence; perception of politics and role of the mass media. Finally the political barriers include: lack of party support; lack of cooperation with women's organizations; nature of the electoral systems; and lack of affirmative action legislation.

Women are often reluctant to start a political career for a variety of different reasons tied to real or imagined barriers to their success. Barriers such as direct or indirect gender-based discrimination in party procedures and practices, a lack of gender-sensitivity in candidate selection and outreach or an inequitable distribution of party resources among candidates are some of the complex challenges faced by women in political parties and, in particular, by female candidates in organizing and implementing electoral campaigns. However, the more women enter into politics, the more encouraging it will be for other women to take an interest in politics, become active voters, consider careers in politics, join a political party or stand as independent candidates. Seeing women in leadership positions can have positive effects on voters of both sexes, and can help shatter existing gender-based stereotypes about women's

political capacities. The findings and discussion calls for liberal feminist propagators to set up their fight and rely around the nation in finding workable solutions to the identified challenges

4.5 Research Question 4: What support systems are available to empower women in the Akan constituency to participate in grassroots politics?

The study results reveal that women in the Akan constituency face numerous challenges which demotivate them from actively participating in grass root politics. In this regard, research question four (4) sought to explore some of the political and social support systems that are available to empower women in the Akan constituency to participate actively in grass roots politics. The eighth (8) items which were anchored on a four point Likert-type scale were presented to the 180 sampled women in the Akan constituency. Their responses were subjected to quantitative analysis and descriptive statistics such as frequency counts, percentages, mean and standard deviation scores were used to make meaning out of the quantitative data. A cursory look at the mean score values in Table 4.9 shows that majority of the respondents indicated and alluded to the fact that most of the suggested support systems were not in place to aid the active participation of the women in grass root politics in the Akan constituency. Table 4.9 displays quantitative results about the support system that were available for women in the Akan constituency to help them engage in active grass root politics.

Table 4.9: Support System that are available to promote active participation of women in grass root politics

N	Statement	SD (%)	D (%)	A (%)	SA (%)	*M(SD)*
1	The political parties in my constituency have a quota system to support women who wish to actively participant in politics	26(14.4)	57(31.7)	64(35.6)	33(18.3)	2.6(1.0)
2	The political parties in my constituency have mentorship programmes to promote women's participation in political activities	24(13.3)	68(37.8)	64(35.6)	24(13.3)	2.4(0.9)
3	There exist women political organizations such as NGOs which seek to educate and promote women participation in political activities in my constituency	28(15.6)	64(35.6)	58(32.2)	30(16.7)	2.4(0.9)
4	Women organization in my constituency organizes workshops and training programmes for females to encourage them to participate in politics	31(17.2)	71(39.4)	52(28.9)	26(14.4)	2.4(0.9)
5	The views and vision of females in politics in my constituency are supported by the community authorities and the community at large.	26(14.4)	70(38.9)	58(32.2)	26(14.4)	2.5(0.9)
6	The various societal organizations in my constituency do not frown on women who participate politics	22(12.3)	51(28.5)	74(41.1)	32(17.9)	2.7(0.9)
7	Governmental bodies in my constituency provide financial support to women who participate in politics	43(23.9)	70(38.9)	44(24.4)	23(12.8)	2.3(1.0)
8	Governmental bodies educate women on the various opportunities available for women in politics	27(15.0)	59(32.8)	63(35.0)	31(17.2)	2.5(0.9)

Source: Field Data, Questionnaire (May, 2016) Key: N = Serial Number, SD = Strongly Disagree, D = Disagree, A = Agree, SA = Strongly Agree (%) = Percentage, M = Mean, and SD = Std. Deviation

Considering the fourth research question, Table 4.9 reveals the various support systems that are available to women in the Akan constituency. The support systems aim at promoting women active participation in grass root politics. An examination of the results reveal that, majority of the participants were of the view that the political parties in the constituency have a quota system to support women who wish to actively participant in grass root politics (53.9%, *n* = 97 agreeing/strongly agreeing). However, a similar number (*n* = 92, 51.1%, *M* = 2.4 and *SD* = 0.9) indicated their

disagreement (i.e. D or SD) with the suggestion that political parties in the constituency have mentorship programmes which aims at promoting women active participation in grass root political activities. In the same vein, majority ($n = 92$, 51.2%, $M = 2.5$ and $SD = 1.1$) indicated their various level of disagreement when asked whether there exist women political organizations such as NGOs which seek to educate and promote women participation in political activities in the constituency. Again, cumulatively 180 sampled women representing 56.6% in the Akan constituency revealed that women organization in the constituency did not organize workshops and training programmes for females to encourage them to participate in grass root politics. In addition, most of the sampled women disagreed (i.e. D or SD) that the views and vision of females in politics in the constituency were supported by the community authorities and the community at large (66.7%, $n = 120$ disagreeing/strongly disagreeing). On the other hand, most of the respondents ($n = 106$, 59%, $M = 2.7$ and $SD = 0.9$) were in agreement with the item which suggested that the various bodies in the constituency do not frown on women who participate in politics. Results in Table 4.9 shows that there are more women who disagreed (D) or strongly disagreed (SD) than those who agreed (A) or strongly agreed (SA) to the item which states that governmental bodies in the constituency provide financial support to women who participate in grass root politics (62.8%, $n = 113$ disagreeing/strongly disagreeing). However, the participants revealed that governmental bodies did educate women on the various opportunities available for women participating in grass root politics (52.2%, $n = 94$ agreeing/strongly agreeing)

4.5.1 **Qualitative Results on Support System Available to Empower the Women to Participate in Grass Root Politics**

Support systems are measures, programmes, groups of people or organizations intended to help other people who are less privileged to perform a task. Support system can be in the form of programmes, money or encouragement. This is needed to boost women participation in politics and can be offered by government, individuals and organisations who support women in politics. This theme sought to find out from the participants the ideal ways women could be supported to participate in grassroots politics and also how women can support themselves adequately to participate effectively in politics. One woman stated that empowering women will enable them have the courage and ability to participate effectively in politics. When asked to mention some forms of empowerment that are required, the first person mentioned education. Reiterating the need for empowerment of women through education, Adisa said:

> *"Society must pay more attention to the girl child education and allow girls to pursue programmes of their choice and explore their given talents in any field of their own. Secondly education should be made free for all children especially girls. When this is done, the future generation will see more women in politics than we have today because the society's perception that the place of women is the kitchen will be a thing of the past"* (24th September, 2016)

Dansoa the woman who is interested in contesting for assembly woman but does not have the means also stated:

> *"I think when women are given financial support by government and when the National Commission for Civic Education (N.C.C.E) educates the general public on the role of women in politics, the bad perception will be erased from the minds of those who say politics is a dirty game. The NCCE should also educate the public on the kind of choices that they make when voting. We the women can also join women wings in the political parties to learn and participate better in politics".* (25th September, 2016)

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When asked the role other bodies can play to support women, Akosua had this to say:

> *"The political parties in this constituency should have a quota system or mentorship programmes to support women who wish to actively participate in politics. There should also be in existence women political organizations such as NGOs which seek to educate and promote women participation in political activities through organization of workshops and training programmes for females. This constituency is big but we don't have any viable NGO that have the interest of women at heart. This is too bad. We also need to send our daughters to school so that most of them will go into politics. Our husbands should also be educated so that they will support us to participate in politics".* (25th September, 2016)

The responses indicated that financial support, education and motivation from government, NGOs, members of the society, husbands coupled with boldness on the part of the women to organize themselves into groups, will help bring more women on board. Through these they can fight for the rights of women in the constituency and help them deal with the challenges they face in politics.

4.5.2 Discussion on Support Systems Available to Empower Women to Participate in Grass Root Politics

To help women take active part in politics, actions are to be taken at the international, regional, national and local levels to address the situation. In responding to this on the International level, concerns were designated in the Nairobi Conference of 1985 and Beijing Conference of 1995. One of the strategies has been the adoption of ‗The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). In becoming parties to the convention, states committed themselves to adopt their legislation, customs and rights. Consequently, Ghana's response to some of these calls has been encouraging in recent times. It may be recalled that although women were active participants during the independence struggles, it is regrettable that during the first five to six decades after independence,

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the role of women in the politics of Ghana cannot be said to have been of any great significance.

Research question four thus provides an overview of arguments to promote women's political participation based on a number of support systems that are available locally, nationally and internationally. In the view of the researcher, these support systems may include universal human rights instruments that enshrine equal rights for women and men and promote gender equality (as proposed by the feminist theory), as well as the international standards and principles governing the functioning of democratic institutions. The related literature reveals that women's participation in politics can be enhanced through empowerment. Empowerment according to Rowland (1997) is concerned with the processes by which people become aware of their own interests and how those relate to the interests of others, in order to participate from a strong decision making position and actually influence such decisions. It therefore goes beyond participation in decision-making to include the processes that make people to perceive themselves as being able and entitled to make decisions. On a political front, women's empowerment involves gaining a voice, having mobility, establishing a public presence and gaining control over power structures or being a vital part of the power structure and power relations. Substantiating this further, it is stated that ―empowerment equals measures aimed at creating the conditions for wider representation of women in all important decision making processes and bodies like governmental bodies and decision-making positions in the public administration and by making full use of their talents and experience (UNDP, 2003, p. 22).

It was established that some support systems were available in the study are which seeks to empower women in their quest to participate in grass root politics. These support systems include supports from political parties, NGOs, government

agencies, the community and the women themselves. These findings are consistent with research findings of Henderson (2003) who noted that government should collaborate with key stakeholders to prepare a sub-program on women and gender advancement. The sub programme should serve as guideline to the government, Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs), civil society and donor communities in advancing gender and women's issues. Henderson, noted that government should review laws which are oppressive to women and enact new ones which would promote and protect women's human rights. It should carry legal literacy programmes, and mass campaigns to educate women on their rights. To her education was the key to liberation and socio-economic development. It should be noted that education is also the key to political participation, which is the channel to empowerment of women and governance. Most of these identified support systems are those that liberal feminist theorist ascribe to (Schumaker, Kiel & Heilke, 2000). This study therefore reflected on such issues, and emphasize that women and gender programmes are major, and should be an integral part of government agenda and not just sub-programmes.

4.6   Section C – Testing of the Study Hypotheses

H_O = Participation of the women in the Akan Constituency in grass root politics will not differ significantly according to some of their demographic characteristics (age and educational level)

In relation to the research hypothesis, one-way between-groups analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to investigate whether the differences among groups of women by demographic characteristics (age and educational level) was statistically significant when it came to participation in grass root politics in the Akan

Constituency. Thus, this section is subdivided considering each background characteristic.

4.6.1 Differences in Women's Participation by Age Level

Age level has been a proven factor differentiating respondents whether statistically significantly or not in most scientific study. Therefore, the study sought to investigate where the level of participation differences that exist among the various age groups of women in the Akan Constituency was statistically significant. Preliminary analysis was conducted to confirm the suitability of the data set and to ensure that there was no violation of the assumptions underlining One – Way ANOVA. The first assumption that was tested was the normality of the distribution. According to Gravetter and Wallnau (2000) normal is used to describe a symmetrical, bell-shape curve, which has the greatest frequency of scores in the middle, with smaller frequencies toward the extremes. The normality of a data set can be assessed to some extent by obtaining and observing the values of skewness and kurtosis of the distribution. From the data set, the distribution of the 15 items combined (Total Participation) was approximately normal with a mean score of 29.72 and a standard deviation of 8.139. The value of skewness and kurtosis of the distribution are also 0.762 and 0.378 respectively. The forgoing results shows that the distribution of the scores is approximately symmetrical and matches the Gaussian distribution.

Table 4.10: Approximate Normal Distribution of Total Participation Scores

Sample size	Mean	SD	Skewness	Std. Error of Skewness	Kurtosis	Std. Error of Kurtosis
180	29.72	8.139	0.762	0.181	0.378	0.360

Source: Field Data, Questionnaire (May, 2016)

These values of the distribution have contributed to the shape of the histogram as shown in Figure 4.3.
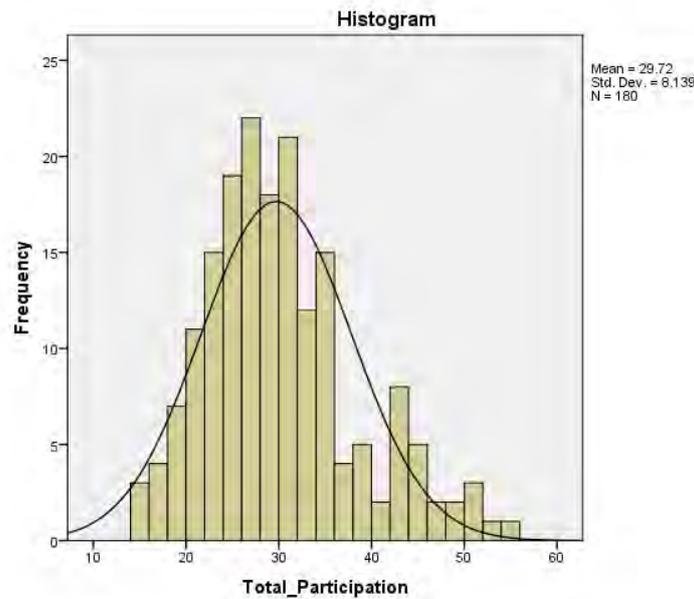
Figure 4.3: Histogram of data on Total Participation date set

The histogram in Figure 4.1 indicates that the data set is almost normally distributed. Another major preliminary analysis (assumption) that was performed on the data set was homogeneity of the variance. The analysis indicated that the assumption was not violated because Levene's test for equality of Variances was non-significant ($p = 0.402$) it can therefore be assumed that the variances are roughly equal and the assumption is tenable. Table 4.11 presents the results of the Levenes.

Table 4.11: Test of Homogeneity of Variances

Levene Statistic	df1	df2	sig.
1.014	4	145	0.402

Source: Field Data, Questionnaire (May, 2016)

Levene Test is the test used to examine the homogeneity of variances. One-Way ANOVA assumes that the variances of the groups are equal. Table 4.11 display the results of the Levene test of homogeneity of variances. The significance value 0.402 exceeds 0.05, which suggest that the variances for the various age groups of subject are equal; therefore the assumption is tenable and that we reject the null hypothesis that the variances are all equal. From the preceding analysis, it is seen that the test for homogeneity of the variance was not significant for Total_Participation data set, indicating that the homogeneity of variance assumption underlining the application of One-Way ANOVA was satisfied.

Analysis with respect to the descriptive statistics was further explored on the independent data set and results of same is presented in Table 4.12

Table 4.12: Descriptive Statistics of the Level of Participant of Women in Grass root Politics by Age

Age	Number	Mean (M)	Standard Deviation (SD)
18-20	21	31.86	9.7
21-30	45	29.96	7.6
31-40	57	28.30	7.4
41-50	38	29.45	8.2
51-60	19	31.63	9.3

Source: Field Data, Questionnaire (May, 2016)

Table 4.12 shows unequal mean ages among the various ages. For example, ages $18 - 20$ scored $M = 31.86$ and $SD = 9.7$; ages $21 - 30$ also scored $M = 29.96$ and $SD = 7.6$; ages $31 - 40$ attracted $M = 28.30$ and $SD = 7.4$; $41 - 50$ year range attracted

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M = 29.45 and *SD* = 8.2 and 51 – 60 year range attracted *M* = 31.63, *SD*= 9.3. The means scores and standard deviations even though they differ one cannot assume a significant difference unless the One-Way ANOVA table is examined. The means and standard deviation scores were useful in interpreting the direction of any effect that emerged from the analysis. The results of the analysis of the One-Way ANOVA are presented in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: One–Way ANOVA of the impact of age on the participation level of the women

	Sum of Squares	*Df*	**Mean Square**	*F*	*Sig*
Between Groups	285.88	4	71.471	1.081	0.367
Within Groups	11570.23	174	66.116		
Total	11856.11	179			

Source: Field Data, Questionnaire (May, 2016)

Table 4.13 illustrates results of the analysis of One-Way ANOVA. The One-Way ANOVA is partitioned into two components – Between Group and Within Groups. The Between Group represents variation of the group mean around the overall mean. Within Group represent variation of individual scores around their respective group mean. Sig. indicate the significant level of the *F*-test. The Sig value in Table 4.13 is 0.367. The sig value is greater than the set standard of 0.05 indicating that there is no significant group difference. The non-significant level indicates that none of the groups differ from each other. To establish this fact, we examine the table entitled Post hoc test. This Post Hoc comparison table is used to determine which group(s) differ or did not differ from others. The Post Hoc analysis for this study was conducted using the Tukey test. The result of the Post Hoc test is presented in Table 14.

Table 4.14: Post Hoc Comparison Table

(I) Age Group	(J) Age Group	Mean Difference (I-J)	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
18–21	21-30	1.902	0.995	-5.29	9.10
	31-40	3.559	0.740	-3.48	10.59
	41-50	2.410	0.979	-5.02	9.84
	51-60	0.226	1.000	-8.66	9.11
21–30	18-21	-1.902	0.995	-9.10	5.29
	31-40	1.657	0.955	-2.65	5.97
	41-50	0.508	1.000	-4.52	5.54
	51-60	-1.676	.998	-8.94	5.59
31–40	18-21	-3.559	0.740	-10.59	3.48
	21-30	-1.657	0.955	-5.97	2.65
	41-50	-1.149	0.999	-5.91	3.61
	51-60	-3.333	0.804	-10.45	3.78
41–50	18-21	-2.410	0.979	-9.84	5.02
	21-30	-0.508	1.000	-5.54	4.52
	31-40	1.149	0.999	-3.61	5.91
	51-60	-2.184	0.990	-9.68	5.31
51–60	18-21	-0.226	1.000	-9.11	8.66
	21-30	1.676	0.998	-5.59	8.94
	31-40	3.333	0.804	-3.78	10.45
	41-50	2.184	0.990	-5.31	9.68

Source: Field Data, Questionnaire (May, 2016)

Table 4.14 lists the pairwise comparisons of the group means for all the selected post-hoc procedure. Mean difference lists the difference between the sample mean. In this case, Tukey test procedure was used. The findings as presented in the table revealed that none of the paired ages statistically differed from each other. Figure 4.4 graphically represent the relationship that exist among the means scores of the department.

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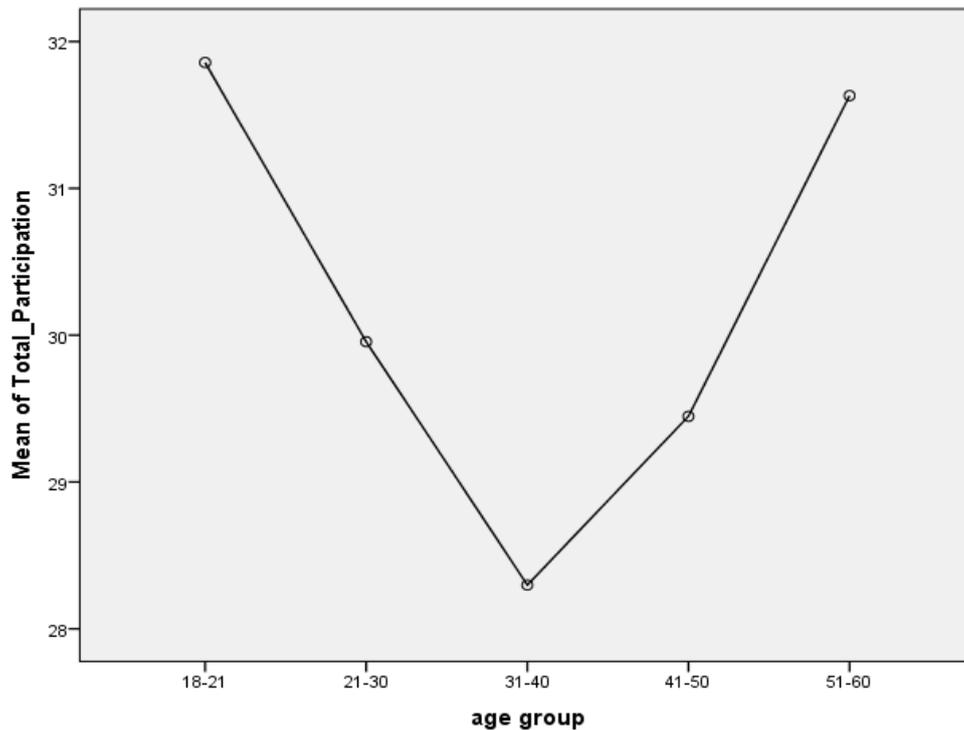
Figure 4.4: Diagram Representing the Relationship Between the Total Participation and the Age Group of the Participants.

Another item of importance which is considered when one is performing a One-way ANOVA test is the effect size which is known as the eta squared (η^2). The effect size statistics provide an indication of the magnitude of the differences among groups. There are a number of different effect size statistics. The one used here is the Eta squared. It is important to note that Eta squared range from 0-1.

This is calculated by using the formula below.

$$\eta^2 = \frac{\text{Sum of squares between} - \text{groups}}{\text{Total sum of squares}}$$

Therefore in our case, the sum of squares between-group and the total sum of squares can be found on our ANOVA table

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Table 4.15: One-Way ANOVA of the Impact of Age on the Participation Level of the Women

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Between Groups	285.88	4	71.471	1.081	0.367
Within Groups	11570.23	174	66.116		
Total	11856.11	179			

Source of data: Field Work/Questionnaire (May, 2016)

$$\eta^2 = \frac{285.88}{11856.11} = 0.024$$

The result of the calculation is 0.024. This according to Cohen (cited in Pallant, 2008) would be considered as a small effect size. The guidelines for interpreting this value according to Cohen are as follows:

0.01 = small effect,

0.06 = moderate effect,

0.14 = large effect.

For the current study, the findings did not show a statistically significant result, but actual difference in the mean scores of the groups was very small (31.86, 29.96, 28.30, 29.45 and 31.63). This is evident in the small effect size obtained. ($\eta^2 = 0.024$).

4.6.2   Differences in Women's participation by Education Level

Research findings as shown in section 4.6.1 revealed that assumptions underlying one-way between-groups analysis of variance were not violated and that this section proceeded with reporting on the results of the one-way between-groups analysis of variance on the differences that exist in women's participation by education level in the Akan Constituency. In this regard, description of the women according to their educational level is presented in Table 15.

Table 4.16: Descriptive Statistics of the Level of Participant of Women in Grass root Politics by Education

Education	Number	Mean (*M*)	Standard Deviation (*SD*)
No Formal Education	14	27.93	8.9
Basic Education	29	30.38	6.8
Secondary Education	65	29.29	8.4
Tertiary Education	72	30.19	8.4

Source: Field Data, Questionnaire (May, 2016)

The results as presented in Table 4.16 reveals that 14 participants who participated in the study do not have any formal education ($M = 27.93$, and $SD = 8.9$); twenty-nine (29) of them indicated that they have gone through the basic education system ($M = 30.38$, and $SD = 6.8$); furthermore, 65 of the women participants indicated that they had secondary education ($M = 29.29$, and $SD = 8.4$) and finally, out of the 180 women who participated in the study, 72 revealed that they have one form tertiary education or the other ($M = 30.19$, and $SD = 8.4$). Descriptive statistical result as presented in Table 4.15 with its accompanying reports indicate that there exist a difference in the participation levels of the women with respect to their education background characteristics.

Assumption of Homogeneity of variances of the dependent variable was assessed using the Levene statistics. Homogeneity of variance matrices was met as the Levene's statistics was not significant for educational level, $p = .37$ which is greater than 0.05. These non-significant results indicated that observed variance matrices of the dependent variable (Participation) was equal across the four educational level groups (no formal education, basic education, secondary education and tertiary education). Table 4.17 presents the results of the Levenes' test statistics.

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Table 4.17: Test of Homogeneity of Variances

Levene Statistic	df1	df2	sig.
0.860	3	173	0.463

Source: Field Data, Questionnaire (May, 2016)

The means scores and standard deviations differ but one cannot assume a significant difference unless the One-Way ANOVA table is examined. The means and standard deviation scores will be useful in interpreting the direction of any effect that will emerge from the analysis. Therefore results from the One-Way ANOVA is presented in Table 4.18

Table 4.18: One–Way ANOVA of the impact of education on the participation level of the women

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Between Groups	85.631	3	28.544	0.427	0.734
Within Groups	11770.480	176	66.878		
Total	11856.111	179			

Source: Field Data, Questionnaire (May, 2016)

Table 4.18 illustrates results of the analysis of One-Way ANOVA. The One-Way ANOVA is partitioned into two components – Between Group and Within Groups. The between Group represents variation of the group mean around the overall mean. Within Group represent variation of individual scores around their respective group mean. The result of the sig value indicates the significant level of the *F*-test. The Sig value for this test was 0.734 > 0.05 indicating that there is no significant differences between the groups.

The non-significant level indicates that none of the groups differs from the others. To establish this fact we examine the table entitled Post hoc test. This Post Hoc comparison table is used to determine which group(s) differ. The Post Hoc

analysis for this study was conducted using the Tukey test. The result of the Post Hoc

test is presented in the Table.

Table 4.19: Post Hoc Comparison Table

(I) Level of Education	(J) Level of Education	Mean Difference (I-J)	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
No Formal Education	Basic Education	-2.451	.926	-10.22	5.32
	Secondary Education	-1.364	.995	-8.95	6.22
	Tertiary Education	-2.266	.935	-9.82	5.29
Basic Education	No Formal Education	2.451	.926	-5.32	10.22
	Secondary Education	1.087	.984	-3.33	5.50
	Tertiary Education	.185	1.000	-4.15	4.52
Secondary Education	No Formal Education	1.364	.995	-6.22	8.95
	Basic Education	-1.087	.984	-5.50	3.33
	Tertiary Education	-.902	.989	-4.72	2.92
Tertiary Education	No Formal Education	2.266	.935	-5.29	9.82
	Basic Education	-.185	1.000	-4.52	4.15
	Secondary Education	.902	.989	-2.92	4.72

Source: Field Data, Questionnaire (May, 2016)

Table 4.19 lists the pairwise comparisons of the group means for all the

selected post-hoc procedure. Mean difference lists the difference between the sample

mean. In this case, Tukey test procedure was used. The findings as presented in the

table revealed that none of the paired ages statistically differed from each other.

Figure 4.5 graphically represent the relationship that exist among the means scores of

the department.
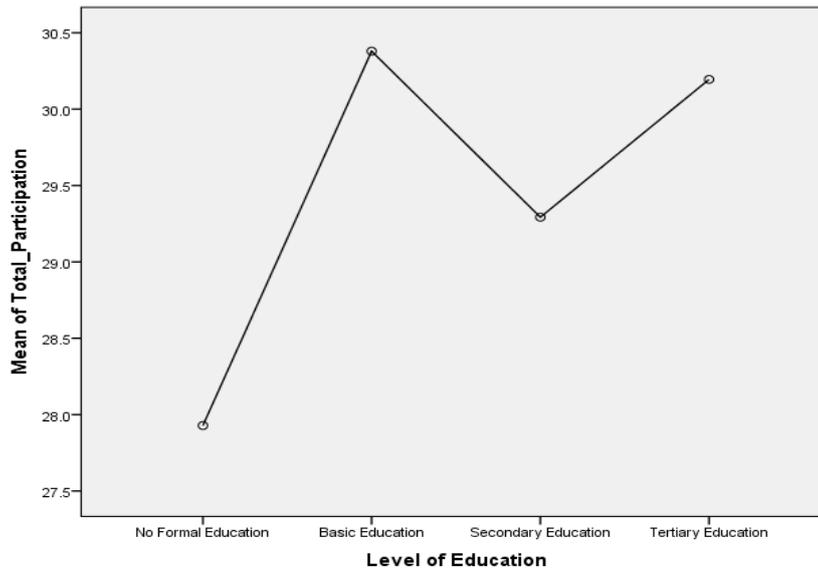
Figure 4.5: Diagram Representing the Relationship between the Participation and the Level of Education.

Another item of importance which is considered when one is performing a One-way ANOVA test is the effect size which is known as the eta squared. The effect size statistics provide an indication of the magnitude of the differences among groups. There are a number of different effect size statistics, the one used here is the Eta squared.

This is calculated by using the formula below.

$$\eta^2 = \frac{\text{Sum of squares between-groups}}{\text{Total sum of squares}}$$

Therefore in our case, the sum of squares between-group and the total sum of squares can be found on our ANOVA table

Table 4.20: One–Way ANOVA of the Impact of Education on the Participation Level of the Women

	Sum of Squares	*Df*	Mean Square	*F*	*Sig*
Between Groups	85.631	3	28.544	0.427	0.734
Within Groups	11770.480	176	66.878		
Total	11856.111	179			

Source of data: Field Work/Questionnaire (May, 2016)

$$\eta^2 = \frac{85.631}{11856.1} = 0.007$$

The result of the calculation is 0.007. This according to Cohen (cited in Pallant, 2008) would be considered as a small effect size. The guidelines for interpreting this value according to Cohen are as follows:

0.01 = small effect,

0.06 = moderate effect,

0.14 = large effect.

For the current study, the findings did not show a statistically significant result, but actual difference in the mean scores of the groups was very small (27.93, 30.38, 29.29 and 30.19). This is evident in the small effect size obtained. ($\eta^2 = 0.007$).

4.7   Discussion on Hypothesis

When the background characteristics of women in Akan constituency are examined, their age and educational level were found not to be differentiating their participation in grass root politics. Specifically, the women within the 18 – 20 years age group had the highest mean rating (M = 31.86, SD = 9.7), followed by the 51 – 60 years age group (M = 31.63, SD = 9.3) and then 21 – 30 years age group (M = 29.96, SD = 7.6), 41 – 50 year age group (M = 29.45, SD = 8.2) and finally 31 – 40 year age group was rated last (M = 28.30, SD = 7.4). However these identified differences that existed among the various age groups were not statistically significant and therefore it

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can be concluded that most of the women who participated in the study revealed that their low participation in grass root politics was not hindered by their age range. Again, when the educational levels of the participants are examined against the grass root participation of the women, it can be noted that educational level was also not a differentiator of the respondents. In relation to the educational level of the respondents, women who were only basic education leavers recorded the highest participation level (M = 30.38, SD = 6.8), which was followed by respondents who were tertiary leavers (M = 30.19, SD = 8.4), secondary school education leavers' participation in grass root also attracted a mean rating of 29.29, and standard deviation of 8.4, and finally the participation of women who do not have any formal education attracted a mean rating of 27.93 and a standard deviation of 8.9. These identified differences that exist among the educational level of the participants were not statistically significant. These findings seem to be consistent with the related literature about the effect of certain background characteristics on women's participation in grass root politics (Wayne & Youngs, 2003; Mould-Iddrisu, 2010; Allah-Mensah, 2004; Ofei-Aboagye (2000). For example Ofei-Aboagye, (2000) in a similar study found that age and educational level and other background characteristics were not a differentiator when it came to participation of women in grass root politics in Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0   Summary

The purpose of this concurrent triangulation mixed method design was to explore and describe women's level of participation in grass roots politics in the Akan constituency of the Volta Region. There is sufficiently reasonable evidence supporting the assertion that women have potentials, which can be tapped to meaningfully enhance social, economic and political development of nations (Allah- Mensah, 2005). The study further explore factors that were motivating women to participate in grassroots politics in the Akan constituency; challenges women face in participating in grass roots politics and the various support systems that were available to empower women to participate in grassroots politics in the Akan constituency. The Liberal Feminist theory by Wollstonecrafts (1792) underpinned the theoretical framework of the study. The targeted population for the study was all women between the ages of eighteen and sixty years in the Volta region. One hundred and eighty (180) respondents duly completed and returned the questionnaire for analysis and this represents 90% of the total of two hundred (200) administered questionnaires. The instruments used in the study were, self-developed questionnaire and an interview guide.

The study was guided by the following research questions and hypothesis:

1. Do the women in the Akan constituency participate in grass roots politics?

2. What are the factors that are motivating women in the Akan constituency to participate in grassroots politics?

3. What challenges do women face in participating in grass roots politics in the Akan constituency?

4. What support systems are available to empower women in the Akan constituency to participate in grassroots politics?

H_O = Participation of the women in the Akan Constituency in grass root politics will not differ significantly according to some of their demographic characteristics (age and educational level)

The survey face of the concurrent triangulation sought to explore the various factors and variables under study. That is: women's level of participation in grass roots politics in the Akan constituency of the Volta Region; factors that were motivating women to participate in grassroots politics in the Akan constituency; challenges women face in participating in grass roots politics and the various support systems that were available to empower women to participate in actively in grassroots politics in the Akan constituency. Descriptive statistics (frequencies, percentages, means scores and standard deviations) and inferential statistics (One-Way ANOVA) were the quantitative analytical tools used in analyzing the quantitative data. Quantitative data was the grounding for this study. Using the data obtained in the quantitative phase, an in-depth interview was conducted to explore areas identified in the quantitative findings. Thematic analysis approach was employed to analyze the data from the in-depth interview.

5.1   **Summary of Key Findings**

5.1.1   Women's participating in grass root politics in the Akan Constituency

The findings based on women participation revealed that majority of the women who participated in the study did not actively participate in grass root politics in the Akan Constituency. The participants indicated strong level of disagreement to most of the items. For example they revealed that they hardly participate in activities such as: voting regularly on political issues in the community; attending town hall or community meetings on political issues in the constituency; contacting an assembly man, DCE, MP, or a political authority about an issue that was of importance to them and their community among others.

As a result of their lack of interest in grass root politics in the constituency, majority of them were of the view that they were not active members in any political party. They did not have any leadership role in any political party, they do not volunteer for any political party and have not contested for any political position. The participants noted that they did not actively take part in any political activities such as civic education, promoting women participation among others in the Akan constituency.

5.1.2   **Factors Motivating Women to Participate in Grass Root Politics in the Akan Constituency**

The findings also indicated that majority of the women were motivated both by internal (intrinsic) and some external (extrinsic) factors to participate in grass root politics in the Akan constituency. The intrinsic motivation took the form of, I think I have it within me to participate in grass root politics; exercising my civic right and women actively participating in politics encourages me to get involve; While the

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extrinsic motivation included I will like to be called an _honourable member'; recognition and prestige and securing a job with a political organization.

Majority of the respondents were mostly motivated intrinsically to participate in grass root politics. For example, majority of the participants indicated that engaging in grass root politics may help them learn the basics of exercising their civic right of engaging in electoral processes. Most of them also indicated that they were motivated to participate in grass root politics because it is their civic right and responsibility.

5.1.3 Challenges Women Face in Participating in Grass Root Politics in the Akan Constituency

A number of challenges were identified to have been militating against the effective participation of women in grass root politics. In the Akan constituency, these factors include lack of finance, low level of education, inferiority complex, family responsibilities, dominance of patriarchal structures, religious organizations preaching against women participating and political and civic educational gaps among the female population. Others included social, ideological, political, education, absence of enabling political environment and socio-cultural practices among others.

5.1.4 Support Systems Available to Empower Women to Participate in Grass Root Politics in the Akan Constituency

The study revealed that some systems were available to help promote women participation in grass root politics in the Akan Constituency. These support mechanisms were put in place by political parties, other political and non-political organizations, religious bodies, various authorities in the community, family and other social groups and the government. It was evident that some political parties had a quota system to support women who wish to actively participate in grass root politics. Females in politics in the constituency were supported by community authorities and

the community at large. Governmental bodies, such as National Commission on Civic Education and Electoral Commission, educated women on the various opportunities available for women in politics.

5.1.5   Differences in Participation by Women in Grass Root Politics in the Akan Constituency by their Background Characteristics

When the background characteristics of the participants were examined, the age and educational level were not found to be differentiating their level of participation in grass root politics. Even though there exist to some extent some differences, the merging was not statistically significant. For example, those who were within the age range of 18 – 20 did not differ significantly from those in the 21 – 30 years or 31 – 40 years or 41 – 50 years or 51 – 60 years. The same difference existed when the data was examined from all other angles in respect to the age demographic factor. In the same regard, when the educational level of the respondents was analyzed it was established that those with no formal education's participation did not differ significantly from basic education leavers participation neither did it differ from secondary school leavers participation and finally it did not differ from the tertiary school leavers' participation. The same difference existed when the data was examined from all other angles with respect to the educational level demographic factor of the participants.

5.2   Conclusions

Based on the findings of the study some conclusions have been drawn. The study concludes that poor participation of women in grass root politics exist in the Akan constituency. This poor participation were in the area of voting regularly on political issues in the community; attending town hall or community meetings on

political issues in the constituency; contacting an assembly man, DCE, MP, or a political authority about an issue that was of importance to them and their community among others.

Another conclusion can be drawn based on the findings of the study is that most women in the Akan Constituency were faced with a lot of challenges. Some of them include social, ideological, political, education, absence of enabling political environment, religious factors, attitude of women themselves and socio-cultural challenges. These identified challenges limited the women in participating actively in grass root politics. It can also be concluded that women in the Akan Constituency were mostly intrinsic motivated when they were willing to participate in grass root politics. The study further established that extrinsic motivation factors such as money support from society, fame, power and popularity cannot be overlooked in promoting women participation in grass root politics.

The study postulated that females in grass root politics in the constituency were supported by community authorities and the community at large. Governmental bodies, such as National Commission on Civic Education and Electoral Commission, educated women on the various opportunities available for women in politics. However, support systems such as financial support, workshops and training programmes, mentorship programmes, and quota system to support women among others were not available in the study area.

The study can among others conclude that demographic characteristics such as age and educational level of the participants were not a differentiator when it came to the participation of the women in grass root politics. The results of this study indicated that a connection existed between willingness to participate in grass root politics and supports systems leading to positive participation in grass root politics.

5.3   Recommendations

In light of the major findings of this research, the researcher would like to make a few recommendations, which could be considered by women aspiring to take their place in any facet of grass root politics in the Akan constituency and the Volta Region as a whole. These recommendations are also necessary for policy makers, government, opinion leaders, academicians, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and researchers. The following recommendations have been made:

a. It emerged from the study that women in the Akan constituency's participation in grass root politics was low, therefore it is recommended that women's participation in grass root politics be encouraged by political parties to increase because of the following reasons.

    i. According to research, both men and women believe that government is more democratic if it includes a substantial proportion of women. Therefore, grass root politics in the Akan constituency cannot be regarded as fully democratic if they exclude women from participating in political activities. Consequently, this fact should be reflected in all spheres of life, including in the grass root political sphere.

    ii. Democratic elections require that citizens can choose freely from among competing political parties and candidates. Some claim that it is unfair to intervene in the electoral marketplace through policies that restrict equal opportunities by favouring one group (for example, women) over another, or which limit electoral choice at the ballot box. Therefore, women in the Akan constituency must be encourage to take part in grass root politics to increase choices at the ballot box.

iii. Encouraging women in the Akan constituency to actively participate in grassroot politics has the potential of improving the image and reputation of political parties by enhancing political party platforms and policy agendas in the constituency and combat falling party membership in the Akan constituency.

b. There should be self-appreciation on the part of women in the Akan constituency, first as women before any comes from the government and other quarters. Women in the constituency should go beyond the numerous challenges hindering their effective participation and look into the future. Also there should be a departure from feminism to the feminine nature of the woman. Women cannot be equal to men. The researcher proposes equity and not equality in the constituency. Women can never be equal to men, because right from creation it was not so. The moment we try to alternate that then crisis begins. Men and women individually have their own strengths and weaknesses. All women should crave for is their place in the public space and not trying to match up with their male counterparts as promoted by feminists.

c. Participation in adult education should be encouraged among the womenfolk in the Akan constituency by the media, NCCE and the Electoral Commission. This has to do with the older women being taken through literacy programmes within the community where they will learn to read and write. The curriculum for the programmes should be designed in such a way that it will include a little bit of basic government so that as they learn to read and write, they will also understand the nature of the political system. Through this, they will be enlightened and become aware of their rights and responsibilities as citizens. They will also understand the need to participate

in decision making in both local and national levels. Education will help them understand themselves to be able to come out of some of the cultural practices which actually relegate them to second class citizens which are rooted in the dominant patriarchal system. They should be aware of the need to take part in higher decision-making processes. It is the only way that they would be able to address and solve the problems affecting them. In sum, education is one useful tool to destroy inferiority complex and give aspiring women the courage and confidence to compete with men.

d. There is a clear consensus in literature and among respondents in this study that the electoral quota system is an effective tool for addressing the low women's political participation and representation. Therefore, the legislator by a constitutional provision, should be reserved 30% of the seats in the Parliament House, District Assemblies, public and political offices for women.

e. Political parties in the constituency should reserve 30% of all elective positions for women. The Ghana Electoral Commission (GEC) should ensure that this policy is implemented. Any political party that flouts this rule should be disqualified. This to an extent will uphold the Affirmative Action in the country as not mere voluntary action, but explicit specifications and clear guidelines for modalities and implementations that enhance women empowerment.

f. Government and NGOs should establish daycare services, nursery and kindergarten schools in the Akan constituency and in all constituencies with affordable charges to reduce the multiple burdens on women who are saddled with lots of family responsibilities. These facilities will go in a long way to

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assist and free women for effective participation in the public space and other productive venues.

g. Again, the time has come for Ghanaians to see more women in politics as partners of development, helping to move the country forward. It is in the same vein that everybody in the Akan constituency is encouraged to put their hands on deck to encourage and promote the participation of women in higher decision making in the country. The task is enormous and daunting and it is through mutual cooperation between key actors, such as government, NGOs, community leaders and authorities that the problems associated with a holistic form of empowerment could be overcome.

h. It is further recommended that political parties in the constituency should endeavour to be more pragmatic, committed and forthcoming on women's role in politics and public offices. This is an important aspect of Ghana's evolving democracy, which fortunately is built on the principles of equality and respect for fundamental human rights. Since, the number of women in politics and their positions on the public bureaucratic hierarchy are not too encouraging, it is recommended that, political parties and all stakeholders who are interested in the consolidation of democracy in Ghana should be at the forefront of this drive to increased participation by women in politics and policy-making.

i. Lastly, political parties in the Akan constituency and government should put in place constitutional, structural and systemic changes that are women-friendly in the organizational set ups and operational mechanisms to give support to verbal, legal and documentary declarations.

5.4 Limitations of the Study

This study has some limitations that must be taken into consideration. First, this study was conducted in a single constituency and so, the findings may not be generalizable to other constituencies. Some other challenges encountered by the researcher included difficulty in getting some of the respondents to provide ready answers to the interview conducted and the difficulty in retrieving questionnaire from some of the respondents on the appointed date. For these reasons the researcher had to visit the selected respondents several times before finally meeting them to answer questions and also retrieve questionnaires for the study.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

The implications of the findings of this study call for further research in the area of women's participation in grass root politics. The following are recommended for further research:

1. It is suggested that a similar study be conducted in other districts in the Volta Region and other regions in Ghana. This would provide a basis for more generalization and conclusions to be arrived at about women's participation in grass root politics.

2. It is also suggested that a comparative study be conducted to investigate the various factors contributing to the poor participation of women in grass root politics. The study has to some extent established that there exist poor participation of women in grass root politics. It would therefore important to establish the various factors contributing to the poor participation of women in grass root politics.

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APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION

INTERVIEW GUIDE ON WOMENS LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION IN

GRASSROOTS POLITICS

Dear respondent, the interview is designed to explore women's participation level in grassroots politics in the Akan constituency, Volta Region. You are entreated to provide frank response to the interview direction. All information given will be treated with absolute confidentiality.

Personal Data.

1. Age Group

18-21	[ ]
21-30	[ ]
31-40	[ ]
41-50	[ ]
51-60	[ ]

2. Level of Education

No Formal Education	[ ]
Basic Education	[ ]
Secondary Education	[ ]
Tertiary Education	[ ]

3. Occupation…………………………………………………………….

4. Marital Status

Married	[ ]	Divorced	[ ]
Single/Unmarried	[ ]	Widow	[ ]

5. How many children do you have?

None   [ ]   1[ ]   2[ ]   3 [ ]   4[ ]   5[ ]   6[ ]   7 and above [ ]

WOMEN'S LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION IN GRASSROOTS POLITICS

6. Please tell me about your interest in politics …………………………….

7. Do you belong to any political association? ....

8. Do you occupy any position in that association? Please give reasons to your answer.   …………………………….………………………

9. What political activities do you normally participate in?...

10. How do you seek information on politics?   ………………………………………………

FACTORS MOTIVATING WOMEN TO PARTICIPATE IN GRASSROOTS POLITICS

11. What do you think are the primary motivators for women's participation in politics?

    ………………………………………………………………………………………….

12. Do you think women can actively participate in politics? Please give reasons to your answer.
    …………………………………………………………………………………….

13. In your opinion do you think politics is attractive to women in this constituency? Please give reasons to your answer……………………………………………………….………………………….

CHALLENGES CONFRONTING WOMEN IN POLITICS

14. A. Does your gender affect your ability to participate actively in politics?.........................

B. If your gender affects your participation in politics, please indicate how it affects you. ………………………….………………………………………………………

15. What is your view on the assertion that inadequate education prevents women from   participating in politics?
    ………………………….……………………………….………..

16. What is your view on the assertion that Religion prevents most women from actively participation in politics?
    ....

17. Some people believe that society play a major role in encouraging women to participate in politics. What is your view on this?
    …………………………………………………………………

SUPPORT SYSTEMS TO DEAL WITH THE CHALLENGES

18. What do you think is the ideal way women can be supported to participate in grassroots politics?
    …………………………………………………………………………………………

19. In your view how can women support themselves adequately to participate effectively in politics?
    …………………………………………………………………………………….

20. Any suggestion for women to participate in politics? ……………………………

APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL STUDIES

QUESTIONNAIRE ON WOMENS LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION IN

GRASSROOTS POLITICS

Dear respondent, this questionnaire is designed to explore women's participation level in grassroots politics in the Akan constituency, Volta Region. You are entreated to provide frank response to the interview items. You are kindly assured of confidentiality and the safety of the data you will provide. Thank You.

Personal Data.

1. Age Group

18-21	[ ]
21-30	[ ]
31-40	[ ]
41-50	[ ]
51-60	[ ]

2. Level of Education

No Formal Education   [ ]
Basic Education   [ ]
Secondary Education   [ ]
Tertiary Education   [ ]

3. Occupation………………………………………………………………….

4. Marital Status

| Married | [   ] | Divorced | [   ] |
| Single/Unmarried | [   ] | Widow | [   ] |

5. How many children do you have?

None   [ ]   1[ ]   2[ ]   3[ ]   4[ ]   5[ ] 6[ ]   7 and Above [ ]

6. What Is Your Religious Affiliation?

Traditionalist [   ]   Muslim [   ]   Christian [   ] Other   [   ]

7. Please Tick The Option That Best Describe You.

A. I am interested in politics   B. I am not interested in politics

Please read each of the following statements carefully and tell how strong you agree or disagree with each of them. Please tick [ ] in the appropriate boxes.

No	Statement	SD	D	A	SA
1	I listen regularly to political talk shows on various media platforms				
2	I vote regularly on political issues in my community				
3	I like to talk about local politics as they are being undertaken in my constituency				
4	I attend town hall or community meetings on political issues in my constituency				
5	I have attended a political rally or campaign in my community before				
6	I have contacted an assembly man, DCE, MP, or a political authority about an issue that was of importance to me and my community before				
7	I am a member of a political group or party in my community				
8	I am an active member in a political group or party in my community.				
9	I have a leadership role in a political party in my community				
10	I volunteer for political campaigns or rallies in my community				
11	I have led a rally and given a political speech in my community before				
12	My job facilities my active involvement in grass root politics in my constituency				
13	I have contested for a political position in my community before				
14	I currently hold a political position in my community				
15	I take active part in all political activities such as civic education, promoting women participation among other in my constituency				
No.	Statement	SD	D	A	SA
16	One of the primary reasons for actively participating in politics was that it would help facilitate my networks among other people in leadership position.				
17	Seeing my fellow women actively participating in politics encourages me to get involve in grass root politics in my community.				
18	Engaging in grass root politics helps me learn the basics of exercising my civic right of engaging in election process.				
No.	Statement	SD	D	A	SA
19	People who influence my behaviour think that I should participate in grass root politics in my constituency.				
20	I am motivated to participate in grass root politics because it is my civic right and responsibility				

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No.	Statement	SD	D	A	SA
21	I will actively participate in politics because I am likely to secure a job with a political organization in my community				
22	I am encouraged to participate in grass root politics because I will be provided with daily news update and current news events around the world				
23	I will like to be called an _honourable member' in my community one of these days that is why I am motivated in participating in grass root politics				
24	The recognition and prestige that comes with participating in local politics are the factors that drives me to actively take part in grass root politics				
25	I will actively participate in politics because I am likely to secure an apartment from a political organization in my community				
No.	Statement				
26	Lack of adequate education among the female population in my community is preventing them from actively participating in grass root politics.				
27	The political and civic educational gaps among the female population in my constituency is serving as a barrier for them to actively participating in grass root politics.				
28	There are not enough platforms for political discourse in my community to promote political education among the female population.				
29	The political parties have some institutional structures which do not support female participation in grass root politics in my community.				
30	The dominance of patriarchal structures at all levels of politics tends to work against the increased participation of women in grass root politics.				
31	Religious organizations in my community preach against women participating in political activities.				
32	Religious practices which expect women to submit to men and never question the motives of their husbands, fathers or male relatives are some of the challenges which prevent women from participating in politics.				
33	Lack of assertiveness and self-confidence on the part of women in my community are the causes of the inactive participation in grass root politics.				
No.	Statement	SD	D	A	SA
34	Most women in my constituency feel that their contributions and ideas are not taken seriously as compared to their men colleagues and therefore they do not feel the need to participate in politics.				
35	Most husbands would not allow their wives to into what they consider to be _dirty' politics in my community.				
36	Formal work with domestic/family responsibilities are the causes of the inactive participation in grass root politics.				
37	My community frowns on women who actively participate in political activities because they see it as an activity sole for men.				

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No	Statement	SD	D	A	SA
38	Family members in my community do not support women participation in grass root politics.				
39	The political parties in my constituency have a quota system to support women who wish to actively participant in politics				
40	The political parties in my constituency have mentorship programmes to promote women participation in political activities				
41	There exist women political organizations such as NGOs which seek to educate and promote women participation in political activities in my constituency				
42	Women organization in my constituency organizes workshops and training programmes for females to encourage them to participate in politics				
43	The views and vision of females in politics in my constituency are supported by the community authorities and the community at large.				
44	The various bodies in my constituency do not frown on women who participate politics				
45	Governmental bodies in my constituency provide financial support to women who participate in politics				
46	Governmental bodies educate women on the various opportunities available for women in politics				