

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

**FACTORS WHICH PREDISPOSE VOTERS TO VOTE FOR WOMEN
PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES: A CASE STUDY AT
MANHYIA SOUTH CONSTITUENCY IN GHANA**



RITA ASANTEWAAH

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UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

FACTORS WHICH PREDISPOSE VOTERS TO VOTE FOR WOMEN
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MANHYIA SOUTH CONSTITUENCY IN GHANA



A THESIS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION, FACULTY
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(SOCIAL STUDIES) DEGREE

MARCH, 2018

DECLARATION

Student's Declaration

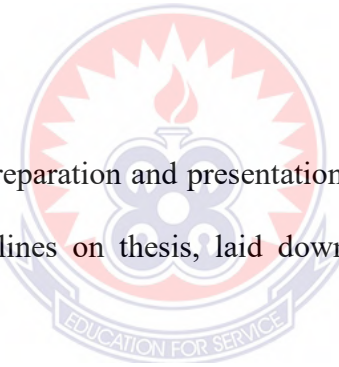
I, **Rita Asantewaah**, hereby declare that except reference to other people's work which has been duly cited, this project is my own original research and that no part of it has been presented elsewhere.

Signature:.....

Date:.....

Supervisor's Declaration

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



Supervisor's Name: Dr. Lawrence Odumah

Signature:

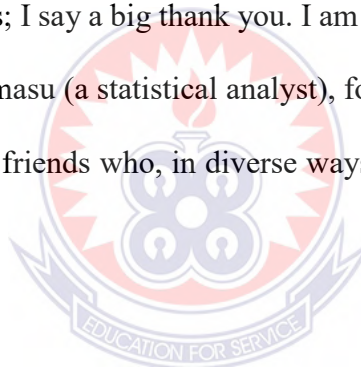
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To Him who loved me dearly, and gave His life for me, that I might, through His death on the cross by the renewal of mind, walk in newness of life, even JESUS CHRIST, be glory, honour, dominion and power from everlasting unto everlasting (Ayimasu, 2017).

Special thanks go to my supervisor, Dr. Lawrence Odumah, for his insightful and critical examination of this thesis at all levels of development. I appreciate his effort in directing me to the achievement of this feat.

I would not have accomplished this work without the support of my mother, Christiana Opoku, and all my siblings; I say a big thank you. I am particularly indebted to my brother in the Lord, Anthony Ayimasu (a statistical analyst), for his help during the course of this study. Finally, I thank my friends who, in diverse ways, contributed to the success of this great work.



DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my Daddy, Pastor Peter Annor Yankyera of the Deeper Life Bible Church, Afrancho Group, Kumasi North.



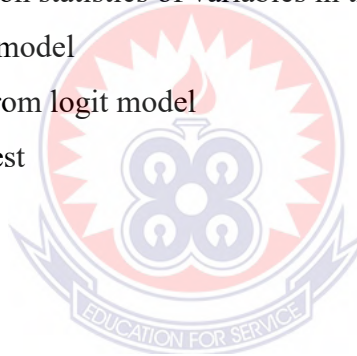
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Content	Page
DECLARATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
DEDICATION	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES/PLATES	viii
ABSTRACT	ix
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Background of the Study	1
1.1 Statement of the Problem	4
1.2 Purpose of the Study	6
1.3 Research Questions	6
1.4 Significance of the Study	6
1.5 Scope of the Study	7
1.6 Organization of the study	8
CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	9
2.0 Introduction	9
2.1 The Concept of Female Political Participation	9
2.2 Political Participation of Women: A Historical Perspective	10
2.3 International and National Legal Framework for Gender Equality	13
2.4 Ghana's Female Parliamentarians in World Context	16
2.5 Women and Political Participation in Ghana	19
2.6 The Prevailing Situation of Political Parties and Women in Politics in Ghana	25
2.7 Challenges to Female Participation in Politics	37
2.8 Need for Women's Political Participation	42
2.9 Theories of Women's Political Involvements	48

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	63
3.0 Introduction	63
3.1 Research Approach and Design	63
3.2 Population and Sampling Procedures	64
3.3 Instrumentation	65
3.4 Data Collection	66
3.5 Data Organization	66
3.6 Ethical Issues	67
3.7 Data Analysis	68
3.8 Operational Definition of Variables	71
CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	75
4.0 Introduction	75
4.1 Demographic Characteristics of Voters in the Manhyia Constituency	75
4.2 Factors that Predispose Electorates to Vote for Women Contestants in Parliamentary Elections in Manhyia Constituency	77
4.3 The link Between Demographic Characteristics of the Electorates and Predisposition to Vote for Women Contestants	83
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	93
5.0 Introduction	93
5.1 Summary	93
5.2 Conclusions	96
5.3 Recommendations	97
5.4 Limitations	98
5.4 Suggestions for Further Research	98
REFERENCES	99
APPENDIX	106

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
2.1	Ghana's female parliamentary participation compared	18
2.2	Trend in terms of numbers and percentages in women participation in parliamentary elections	21
2.3.	Regional distribution of female parliamentarians in the 7 th Parliament of Ghana	22
2.4	Female Parliamentary representations by Political Parties in 2016 election	24
3.1	Descriptions and expected signs of variable	70
4.1	Demographic characteristics of voters in the Manhyia constituency	76
4.2	Factors that predispose electorates to vote for women contestants in parliamentary elections in Manhyia constituency	78
4.3	Summary description statistics of variables in the empirical model	84
4.4	Results from logit model	85
4.5	Summary results from logit model	86
4.6	Multicollinearity test	92



LIST OF FIGURES/PLATES

Figure	Page
2.1. Global ranking of countries based on female parliamentarians	17



ABSTRACT

On gender basis, there is great skewness towards men in the Ghanaian Parliament, such that majority of seats (246) are occupied by men whilst only 29 seats are occupied by women. This research therefore aimed at investigating the factors that the predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary affairs in Ghana, using Manhyia Constituency as a case study. Case study research based on empirical research method was adopted to investigate this contemporary phenomenon within its real – life context. Using the 2010 population census data, 400 eligible voters were selected at random by way of secret ballot based on Yamane (1967) sample size determination formulae. Data were accessed by means of structured questionnaire. Pre-coded response types were grouped into two; demographic and socio – economic factors of the eligible voters. The research instrument was pre-tested at Dicheonso and Manhyia with 33 respondents to ascertain its validity and effectiveness. Data were collected between January 2017 and March 2017. The data collection was conducted at Dicheonso, Afia Kobi, Manhyia, K.O, Odumase and CPC. Data were coded, entered into the SPSS (version 20) statistical software and cleaned, before commencing data analysis using STATA (version 13). A mathematical model was established for the theoretical model as $Q_{if} = f(DF, SE)$; where Q_{if} = predisposition of voters to vote for women, DF = demographic factors and SE = socio-economic factors. The results of the study showed that 82% of respondent were willing to vote for a female candidate in the parliamentary elections. It was further revealed that at $p < 0.01$, income level and marital status showed a positive relationship with the tendency to vote for female candidate contesting for parliamentary election. It was concluded that education, marital status, employment status and Income are the main factors that affect the predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary election, and that married eligible voters with high educational level and income status are more likely to vote for a female candidate contesting for parliamentary elections. It is recommended that all stakeholders interested in female parliamentary representations should be at the forefront of endeavouring to make the Ghanaian society an elite society where majority of citizens are well educated and of good financial standing.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

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. This awareness has led to efforts by governments complemented by civil society organizations (CSOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), multilateral institutions and individuals at the micro and macro levels to actualize these potentials (Allah – Mensah, 2005). While such efforts by recognized groups and entities have, in some cases, yielded positive results, there is still much to be done to ensure that women in fact, contribute their part to the political, social and economic enhancement of their nations and communities (Allah – Mensah, 2005).

Elections have become increasingly important in deepening democracy across the world (Tsikata, 1989). According to Brenya, Akuamoah and Cudjoe (2015), an election is a process by which the electorate choose their representatives and the elected (chosen leaders) are accountable to the electorate (the people). The democratization process in Africa is inextricably interwoven with elections (Oquaye, 2012). Elections help the electorates to understand the concept of political participation and the protection of all the rights enshrined in the constitution. We elect representatives to govern us because we cannot all rule at the same time. In Ghana for instance, every four years, the electorate go to the polls to choose who will represent them in both presidential and parliamentary fronts.

There is ample evidence to substantiate the indispensable role women played in the prelude to independence and immediately after (Allah – Mensah, 2005). The role of women was evident in the support given to the main political party of the time, the Convention People’s Party (CPP). It is on record that women traders were keen supporters of the CPP government, and they also offered financial assistance and supportive services to the party. The women’s section of the party was largely responsible for the development of women and organization of the youth league (Allah – Mensah, 2005). The party leadership therefore took this initiative and effort seriously and institutionalized it by making constitutional provisions for a women’s league at branch and ward levels as the main organizing framework for women in the party. It was therefore not surprising that the party gave credit to the women for the internal solidarity, cohesion and success of the CPP (Allah – Mensah, 2005).

According to Allah – Mensah (2005), The Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) during 1982-1992 established a proto-type of Nkrumah’s co-optation strategy of women participation in politics with the formation of the 31st December Women’s Movement (DWM). Whilst members of the movement vouch for its political neutrality and disconnection from the ruling PNDC government, it was evidently clear that this disconnected image was only a shallow presentation. The 31st December Women Movement engaged in a number of economic activities and mobilization efforts that gave some women some respite from economic challenges by creating the enabling environment for them to engage in certain economic activities however minimal. Gari processing machines, day care centers among others were provided to some women groups to enhance their economic status.

Nonetheless, there is ample evidence supporting the fact that many of the women who had some political experience to contest and even win the district level elections held in 1988 and subsequently in the 1992 general elections were all politically connected to the movement. It was therefore not surprising that majority of the women parliamentarians were National Democratic Congress (NDC) members with strong links to the 31st DWM. In other words, the 31st DWM created some political opportunity for women's participation in politics at the local and national level (Allah – Mensah, 2005).

However, it is widely acknowledged that a gender gap exist in our politics. Political power seems to be vested in men than women. Inglehart and Norris (2002) assert that, the traditional participation of women in politics is gradually fading. The factors responsible for this trend are purported to be female employment and cultural differences amongst others (Iverson & Rosenbluth, 2008; Ross, 2008). In sub-Saharan Africa of which Ghana is part, women are marginalized in all spheres of live. For instance, women are placed at disadvantage from the perspective of African culture. Our culture is such that women always must be submissive. There is even an adage that goes that, “a woman is seen but not head”. Even in the home, a woman's place is often said to be in the kitchen. Some roles have been assigned to women like cooking, sweeping, ~~ete~~ whilst their male counterparts are not mandated to perform such roles. Moreover, the three dominated religious affiliations in Ghana such as Christianity, Islam and Traditional religions lend credence to women being submissive to men. These emphasize the gender disparity from different dimensions.

A cursory look at the parliamentary organ of the Ghanaian Government from the gender perspective indicates that an overwhelming majority of seats are occupied by men. Out of the 275 seats of the parliament of Ghana, only 29 are occupied by women.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Globally, women make up a little over half of the human population in most countries. They play key roles in the socialization processes in their societies especially as mothers (Brenya, Akuamoah & Cudjoe, 2015). Through their dual roles of production and reproduction, they make significant contributions to development. Promoting women in political life requires attention to facilitate links and dialogue between women inside and outside political structures in order to build accountability, especially in periods of legislative change (Baden, 1999). It has been observed that the presence of significant numbers of women in parliament can help improve the quality of debate and policy making. Since 1992, Ghanaian women have shown consistent enthusiasm to contribute to the democratic process in different ways and at different levels. Although the challenge is enormous, there is consistent progress being made. In 1992, Ghana had her first experiment with multi-party politics once again after more than a decade of military governance under the PNDC government. From the presidential candidacy perspective, no woman contested even at the party level, until 2012 and 2016.

The available statistics are indicative that in terms of real figures, women's numbers in the legislature has not increased in any significant way although the number of women contestants has witnessed a steady increase since 1960 to date (Baden, 1999; Ghanaweb.com, 2016; Taylor, 2016).

The prevailing trend suggests women continue to face challenges towards their political integration, and that there is still a long way to go in achieving a good participation of women in the decision making process at all levels of governance. Several factors have been found to contribute to this abysmal trend in figures, and according to Iverson & Rosenbluth (2008), the factors responsible for this retrogression in women's involvement in political positions may include female employment and cultural differences. Nevertheless, these researchers focused on general factors and did not throw more light on specific factors like age of voters, voter's level of education, level of income, employment status of eligible voters and gender, that influences voters' choice in elections. It is therefore worthwhile to investigate into the gender disparity focusing on the politics. One of the pragmatic moves to addressing the gender equity issue is to identify the specific demographic and socio – economic factors, as well as the interaction of these factors, which may be responsible for the abysmal performance of women in parliamentary elections. The current study addresses the gender gap by exploring the factors that predisposes voters to vote for women into parliament. It further identifies circumstances that prevail against women's election into the parliament of Ghana, using the Manhyia Constituency as a case study. The researcher used the Manhyia Constituency which is an affluent constituency to identify the perception of the affluent societies on female parliamentarians. It is viewed that, the affluent are expected to surmount socio-cultural and religious challenges that militate against the predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to identify the factors that predisposes voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections in Manhyia. The specific objectives were to:

1. identify the demographic characteristics of voters in the Manhyia constituency.
2. investigate the factors that predispose voters to vote for women contestants in parliamentary elections.
3. establish the link between demographic characteristics of the electorates and predisposition to vote for women contestants in parliamentary elections.

1.3 Research Questions

To be able to achieve the objectives of this study, the following research questions were asked to aid in finding answers to the research problem.

1. What are the demographic characteristics of voters in Manhyia constituency?
2. What are the factors that predispose voters to vote for women contestants in parliamentary elections in the constituency?
3. Is there a link between demographic characteristics of the electorates and predisposition to vote for women contestants in parliamentary elections?

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study is very significant and timely. In fact, there have been outcry for information on the position of women in key positions in Ghana in a more compact form. There are a number of publications related to Ghanaian women's role in various sectors of the political economy, which could serve as a basis for discussion and policy focus. Yet,

there is always the need to update, challenge and refocus issues to reflect prevailing trends. It is also important that such key political activities like general elections are used as basis for changing certain problematic scenarios like the very weak representation of women in politics and public offices.

The study would provide vital information on the predisposition of voters to vote for women, as well as female participation in general elections and may highlight areas that may result in future detailed studies because of potential inequalities in democratic elections as far as gender is concerned. The findings would be of tremendous value to political parties, Electoral Commission and help contribute to existing knowledge on the predisposition of voters to vote for women in election.

The study on the predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections would help to ascertain the demographic and socio economic characteristics of eligible voters in the Manhyia constituency. The findings would help policy makers to know the target group as far as female participation in parliamentary elections are concerned. It would also serve as a case study for educational institutions that need information on practical behaviours of voters and would again benefit Manhyia constituency and the Ashanti regional electoral office.

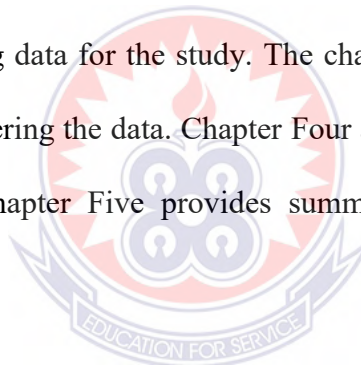
1.5 Scope of Study

There are numerous constituencies in Ashanti Region such as Asokwa Metropolitan Assembly, Adansi – North District etc., but this study has been confined to Manhyia South Constituency. Additionally, there are several factors which affect both males and females during parliamentary elections but this study has been confined to factors which

affect females. According to 2010 Population Census total eligible voters in Manhyia South Constituency amount to 94,524. In all, a sample size of 400 voters was used to represent eligible voters at the study area. The time frame for data collection was from February, 2017 to March 2017.

1.6 Organisation of the Study

The study was categorised into five chapters. Chapter One looks at the introduction, presents the background information to the research topic, the statement of the research concern and highlights the significance of the study. Chapter Two takes into account the review of relevant theoretical and empirical literature. Chapter Three also discusses the methods used in gathering data for the study. The chapter also provides justification for the approach used in gathering the data. Chapter Four analyses and discusses the findings of the study. Finally, Chapter Five provides summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews theoretical literature on models, theories and situations explaining the gender gap in terms of politics, as well as background information and empirical literature on female participation and the predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections.

2.1 The Concept of Female Political Participation

Participation is a development approach, which recognizes the need to involve disadvantage sections of the population in the formulation and implementation of policies concerning their wellbeing (Kassa, 2015). The term often emphasizes the inclusion of marginalized segments of the populace in society, and the means by which these could be integrated into the mainstream societal and political trajectory. Such approach entails the removal of barriers to the involvement of the people of interest. When the term participation is used in politics, it often runs through gender, religion and cultural settings of the society, where certain people are marginalized based on their inclination. According to Endale (2012), the participation of females in all arrears of endeavour has become a major issue in the development discourse of the world. Kassa (2015) indicated that political participation is the conscious active involvement and engagement by individuals in the political process that affect their lives. Ahmed (2013) further clarified that active engagement in the political discourses entails many areas of the political life,

such as voting, competing, campaigning, forming a political party or joining one. These must result in the exertion of influence in the decision making process through public debate, dialogue, implementation, capacity building, organization, the exercise of political authority at different levels of society.

Therefore, Shojaei *et al.* (2010) explained that political participation is a prerequisite for proper and equitable political development by improving women's political participation. In the view of FWCW (1995) and Endale (2012), socioeconomic development, equality, development and peace cannot be fully achieved without the active involvements of women and the incorporation of their perspectives into the decision making processes at all levels of the political discourse. Shojaei *et al.* (2010) reported that since women constitute more than half the world's population, their active participation in politics and governance could help advance the political development and improvement the quality of the lives of women. Therefore, without the active participation of women, and the incorporation of women's perspective at all levels of decision making, the goals of achieving increased women political participation cannot be achieved. The concept upon which this study is built is the Theory of Rational Choice.

2.2 Political Participation of Women: A Historical Perspective

According to Kassa (2015), human history from its most remote antiquity is littered with the exclusion of women from politics and/or governance. History records the birth of democracy (the peoples' rule) in the 5th Century BC at Athens in the Greek Empire, yet old practice of women exclusion from political participation and decision making was imported from the old system into the democratic rule. In line with this, Ahmed (2013)

revealed that women had no voting right, citizenship right and could not participate in the democratic process in Athens. Similar trend was observed in the democratisation of Europe, where women had no say in politics until early 1920s, and women political rights were ignored in the first wave of democratization (1828–1926) of Europe (Hague & Harrop, 2004).

History records that the rights of women have been suppressed since ages by their male counterparts (Allah-Mensah, 2005). Although, WANEP (2016) reported that the female population of the world is more than 51% against less than 49% for men, such a large pool of resources has remained dormant for ages, and humanity has lost a great deal to this untapped energy. Although several attempts have been engineered by civil societies for the liberation of women rights, many cultures have remained resistant to this wave of change and continue to be resilient. Although, fundamental human rights, binding on all member nations of the UN, imply that all humans, irrespective of race, age, gender or social group, must be treated equally and given equal opportunity, this theory has not been fully translated into real-life experiences. Allah-Mensah (2005) believed that civilizations have been robbed of what the woman can do given the political mandate. In contemporary economies, however, the trend seems to be appreciating, in that the percentage of female participation in political discourse and nation building is seen as a key index to a country's international standing and reputation. In line with this, Kassa (2015) indicated that women's political participation has been recognized internationally as an important measure of the status of women in any particular country. Therefore, women's participation in politics and decision-making has recently gained momentum across the entire world.

It has been realized that women have equal potentials and sometimes better suited for political decision making. However, despite all these notions, women still remain under represented in many political settings due to factors ranging from cultural, religious, economic to social implications. According to Kassa (2015), political participation allow women to address their basic problems and needs in their community and ensures the openness, real fight against rent-seeking, accountability, political commitment, political leadership, and political responsiveness of the existing national, regional, districts, and local levels. Whilst democratic dispensation allows for equal participation, women still face significant socio-cultural obstacles to their emancipation.

According to Nelson Mandela, the South African Human Rights Hero and Freedom fighter, Freedom cannot be achieved unless the women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression. All of us take this on board that the objective of reconstruction and development programme will not have been realized unless we see in visible practical terms that the condition of women in our country has radically changed for better and that they have been empowered to intervene in all aspects of life equal with any other member of the society (Tefera, 2010). The pillar of democracy is equal participation for all (Tsikata, 1989). The participation of women in political decision making positions was recognized as a political right after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948 by the UNO. Articles 2 and 21 of the UDHR emphasize equal enjoyment of political rights without discrimination on the basis of one's sex or any other ground. Whilst many countries tout their democratic credentials, failure to realize equal participation for all and a balanced gender distribution throughout the political terrain throws dirt on any "so-called" democratic credentials. The situation is worse in some

countries where politics is the reserve of only men because male dominance is pronounced by their culture.

WANEP (2016) believes that humanity has deceived itself because although women constitute more than 51% of the world's population and contribute significantly to its socio-economic development, their contribution is often unacknowledged and remain grossly undervalued. WANEP's report in 2016 suggested that political participation is not only related to the 'Right to Vote', but also relates to participation in decision making processes, political activism, and political consciousness. This is where many have missed the mark. To grant women the right to vote cannot be equated with equality in the political process. The political process and domain is wider than voting, and impact is normally great at the legislature where legal frameworks are instituted. It must be well established that no one is destitute of wisdom, and the women if allowed to fully participate in the entire political process, society will benefit positively. Thus, WANEP (2006) indicated that despite the absence of discriminatory laws against women's participation in politics, there are overt and covert practices which hinder women's abilities to lead successful campaigns alongside male counterparts for political positions.

2.3 International and National Legal Framework for Gender Equality

According to WANEP (2016), the declaration of the decade of women in 1975, gave the United Nations a new impetus for women empowerment. This led to the establishment of March 8 as a day to reflect on and celebrate women's socio-economic, cultural and political achievements. In 1981, The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the most comprehensive treaty on women's

human rights, was proposed and established. This international treaty has been ratified by 165 countries. Norris and Inglehart (2000) indicated that the CEDAW of 1981 called for equality between men and women, abolishing of discrimination on all cultural, social, economic, civil and political platforms. The convention is binding on all signatories to ensure equal opportunities in the right to vote and eligibility to be voted for (election). According to Norris and Inglehart (2000), the Beijing Platform of Action also added the needed impetus to women right by focusing on the full recognition of women's rights and fundamental freedoms, and demands for progress towards gender equality in education and health care, in work and the family, and in the public sphere.

These conventions, together with the African Charter on Human and People Rights, Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Ghana Constitution offered roadmaps for ensuring gender equity in all discourse including politics. Today, there is a number of advocacy and legal institutions that have been tasked to ensure the rights of women are not violated in Ghana. All this is within the legal framework of women empowerment. Some of these institutions include the Domestic Violence and Victims Support Unit (DOVVSU), Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) and the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD). More importantly is the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana which clearly guarantees gender parity and seeks to safeguard this position at all costs.

The numerous interventions for women empowerment and participation in the political process notwithstanding, women still lag in the political decision –making in Ghana and the world at large. For instance, WANEP (2006) reported, while celebrating the 8th

March 2016 International Women's Day, that the theme for that year's IWD, "Pledge for Parity, was particularly relevant as it once again calls attention to women's political advancement and progress in leadership and decision-making processes. WANEP indicated that the particular relevance of the theme is borne out of the fact that despite the numerous interventions to address that challenge of gender disparity, women still lag behind in decision-making and politics. This position had been previously emphasised in 2011 by the UN General Assembly; that "women in every part of the world continue to be largely marginalized from the political sphere, often as a result of discriminatory laws, practices, attitudes and gender stereotypes, low levels of education, lack of access to health care and the disproportionate effect of poverty on women." (United Nations, 2018). This was against the backdrop that the Beijing Conference pledged gender parity by the year 2030.

With the current trend in gender disparity worldwide, this goal seems very far of. The attempt to empower women has severally encountered obstacles such as culture, religion and politics that have for long embodied the alpha-male or male-dominance notion into society. The Commission on the Status of Women (2006) reported of serious and persistent obstacles that militate against the advancement of women and their participation in terms of representation at the decision-making levels of national socio-political life. Therefore, the World Economic Forum hypothesised that, at the current rate of progress, the present gender gap will not be closed until somewhere 2133 (weforum.org, 2015).

2.4 Ghana's Female Parliamentarians in World Context

The research findings of Sow (2016) as reported by the Brookings Institution, indicated that the Sub-Saharan African nations had achieved significant breakthrough in female participation in legislation worldwide, such that the percentage of female parliamentarians rose from 9.8% in 1995 to a significant 23.2% in 2016, second to the Nordic countries which had a female representation of 41.1%. Europe (excluding the Nordic countries) and the Americas were almost on the same scale with Africa, recording 24.3% and 27.7% respectively. Rwanda has the highest female parliamentarians in Africa and the world, with a 63.8% female representation (Plate 2.1). Records as at September 2016, revealed that about 24 countries in Africa had better female parliamentary representations than the United State of America which had 20% female legislative representation in their 114th US Congress. Sow (2016) argued that six (6) African Countries are among the topmost 15 countries in the world with highest female parliamentary participation; Rwanda (63.8%), Seychelles (43.8%), Senegal (42.7%), South Africa (41.7%), Namibia (41.3%) and Mozambique (39.6%).

The proportion of women in legislatures in Africa differs wildly, with Rwanda, the Seychelles, Senegal, and South Africa in the top 10 in the world, and the Comoros and the economic powerhouse of Nigeria near the very bottom. At the same time, many countries are beating out developed ones. In fact, 24 African countries rank ahead of the United States, and 42 rank ahead of Japan. While progress in Africa has stalled since 2010, 2016 will still see a number of women in African politics.

Global Ranking	Country	% Women	Global Ranking	Country	% Women
1	Rwanda	63.8%	83	Togo	17.6%
4	Seychelles	43.8%	87	Morocco	17.0%
6	Senegal	42.7%	88	Malawi	16.7%
8	South Africa	41.9%	91	Libya	16.0%
11	Namibia	41.3%	95	Chad	14.9%
13	Mozambique	39.6%	97	Gabon	14.2%
15	Ethiopia	38.8%	98	Somalia	13.8%
19	Angola	36.8%	99	Guinea-Bissau	13.7%
22	Burundi	36.4%	101	Burkina Faso	13.3%
24	Tanzania	36.0%	101	Niger	13.3%
25	Uganda	35.0%	105	Djibouti	12.7%
29	Algeria	31.6%	105	Zambia	12.7%
30	Zimbabwe	31.5%	107	Sierra Leone	12.4%
32	Tunisia	31.3%	110	Mauritius	11.6%
33	Cameroon	31.1%	113	Liberia	11.0%
36	Sudan	30.5%	114	Ghana	10.9%
46	South Sudan	26.5%	119	Botswana	9.5%
51	Mauritania	25.2%	120	The Gambia	9.4%
52	Lesotho	25.0%	121	Côte d'Ivoire	9.2%
56	Equatorial Guinea	24.0%	122	DRC	8.9%
63	Eritrea	22.0%	123	Mali	8.8%
64	Guinea	21.9%	127	Congo, Rep.	7.4%
67	Cabo Verde	20.8%	128	Benin	7.2%
70	Madagascar	20.5%	130	Swaziland	6.2%
75	Kenya	19.7%	133	Nigeria	5.6%
80	São Tomé & Príncipe	18.2%	138	Comoros	3.0%

■ African countries
■ Non-African countries

Source: This data was compiled by the Inter-Parliamentary Union on the basis of information provided by National Parliaments by September 1, 2015.

Note: The visual gives a comparison among select African and non-African countries while table shows the variation among African countries.

Plate 2.1: Global ranking of countries based on female parliamentarians

Source: Sow (2016) in The Brookings Institution webpage.

From Table 2.1, Ghana's boast of equity democratic credentials is dented by giant female representations presented by Taylor (2016) in other African countries like 63.8% of Rwanda and 42.7% of Senegal. In fact, Sow (2016) provided evidence of Ghana's ranking based on female parliamentarians to be 42nd out of 52 countries ranked in Africa; and 114 in the world. But today, Ghana ranks 150 out of 185 countries worldwide (Ghanaweb.com, 2016), indicating a drop in ranking, poor performance and not good for equitable female parliamentary representation.

Table 2.1: Ghana's female parliamentary participation compared

Country	Percentage of female parliamentarians*
Ghana	12.72%
Rwanda	63.80%
Senegal	42.70%
South Africa	41.80%

Source: Author's field construct; * Taylor (2016)

According to Ghanaweb.com (2016), Ghana is currently ranked 150 out of 185 in the Inter-Parliamentary Union ranking on women representation in parliament across the whole world. The country boasts of significant democratic credentials on the African continent and even in the world, especially regarding transfer of power from one party to another. Since the inception of the Fourth Republic in 1992, significant gains have also been made in women empowerment in the political decision making of Ghana, not only by the guaranteeing of women voter right, but more importantly in their representation in the legislature. However, Ghanaweb.com (2016) provided evidence of very low participation of women in Ghanaian politics, and believes the country should have

surmounted all challenges to this privilege of women by now. Taylor (2016) reported that in 2012 parliamentary elections, only 29 women were elected into parliament, out of 133 women who contested 102 parliamentary seats. Again, out of the 275 parliamentary slots available in 2016 general parliamentary elections, women who represent more than 51% of the general population of Ghana won only 35 parliamentary seats, representing 12.7% respectively (Fact Check Ghana, 2016; Taylor, 2016).

2.5 Women and Political Participation in Ghana

Promoting women in political life requires attention to facilitate links and dialogue between women inside and outside political structures in order to build accountability, especially in periods of legislative change (Baden, 1999). It has been observed that the presence of significant numbers of women in parliament can help improve the quality of debate and policymaking. Since 1992, Ghanaian women have shown consistent enthusiasm to contribute to the democratic process in different ways and at different levels. Although the challenge is enormous, there is consistent progress being made. In 1992, Ghana had her first experiment with multi-party politics once again after more than a decade of military governance under the PNDC government. From the presidential candidacy perspective, no women contested even at the party level. The available statistics are indicative that in terms of real figures, women's numbers in the legislature has not increased in any significant way although the number of women contestants have witnessed a steady increase.

There is no gainsaying the fact that since 1992, the number of women contestants has increased steadily. This is a proof of women's willingness and preparedness to participate in the political process. Between 1996 and 2000, whilst the number of interested women increased by almost 100%, there was only an insignificant number in the increase in the number of elected women to parliament. Though it may be true that numbers in themselves do not necessarily mean corresponding increase in the level of debate, there is equally no guarantee that men are necessarily the best representatives of women issues and concerns. On moral grounds and for the sanctity and meaning of democracy to come alive, women have a duty to represent not only their own but to contribute their unique quota to the democratic development and efforts at consolidation. Besides, one major channel that has the potential to increase the role of women in politics is political parties.

2.5.1 Ghanaian female parliamentarians in national and regional context

The available statistics are indicative that in terms of real figures, women's numbers in the legislature has not increased in any significant way although the number of women contestants have witnessed a steady increase since 1960 to date from Table 2.2. These figures indicate that there is still a long way to go in achieving a good participation of women in the decision making process at all levels of governance. It is therefore worthwhile to investigate into the gender disparity focusing on the politics.

Table 2.2 Trend in terms of numbers and percentages in women participation in parliamentary elections

Year	1960	1965	1969	1979	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
Parliamentary Seats	104	104	140	140	200	200	200	230	230	275	275
Women	10	19	1	5	16	18	19	25	16	29	35
%	9.6	18.3	0.7	3.6	8	9	9.5	10.9	7	10.5	12.7

Source: Adapted from Different Sources

The number of women who contested in the 2016 parliamentary election was 137, out of a total of 1158 parliamentary candidates nationwide. The number of women who contested in 2016 was marginally higher than the number of women who contested in 2012 by 4 candidates. This trend is not good for equal democratic participation. Regional distribution of the current female members of parliament is presented in Table 2.2. From Table 2.3, it can be deduced that as one moves from the coastal belt of Ghana towards the northern part of Ghana, female participation and involvement in parliamentary affairs decreases significantly. It is critical to even identify that the three northern regions of Ghana have only 2 females in parliament. The case of Ashanti Region is not encouraging, considering that the region has the highest number of parliamentarians in Ghana (17.1%), only 8.5% of its parliamentarians are women, representing 11.4% of the entire female parliamentarians elected into the legislature in 2016 general elections (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Regional distribution of female parliamentarians in the 7th Parliament of Ghana

Region	*Total Number of Parliamentarians	% on National basis	**No. of Female Parliamentarians	Regional %	National % per only female parliamentarians
Greater Accra	34	12.4	10	29.4	28.6
Central	23	8.4	6	26.1	17.1
Eastern	33	12	5	15.2	14.3
Volta	26	9.5	5	19.2	14.3
Ashanti	47	17.1	4	8.5	11.4
Western	26	9.5	2	7.7	5.7
Brong Ahafo	29	10.5	1	3.4	2.9
Northern	31	11.3	1	3.2	2.9
Upper East	15	5.5	1	6.7	2.9
Upper West	11	4	0	0	0
Total	275	100	35	12.7	100

Source: Author's field construct; *Ghanaweb.com (2017); **Taylor (2016)

2.5.2 Female parliamentarians and contestants in Ghana's political party's context

In the 2016 general elections, a total of 136 females contested for parliamentary seats in the various constituencies, 29 from NPP and 40 from NDC, but only 35 of them won and are currently present in parliament (Table 2.4). All the 35 who won belong to two parties (Ghanaweb.com, 2017); NPP led with 23 seats representing 79.3% of the party's female parliamentary contestants, whilst NDC had 12 seats representing 30.0% of the party's parliamentary contestants. From the total parliamentary seats won by NPP, 13.6% were females whilst NDC recorded 11.3% of their parliamentarians as females. Currently, among the female parliamentarians in the Ghanaian parliament, NPP has 65.7% representation and NDC has 34.3% representation; all the other parties have no representation in parliament. Consequently, Fact Check Ghana (2016) and Taylor (2016) indicated that total female representation in the Ghanaian parliament is 12.72%. The trend is worrying and inadequate for a country that boast of great strides on the political

terrain. It implies that the females are significantly underrepresented in the Ghanaian parliament.

The trend that prevails at the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assembly (MMDA) levels is even worse than the national data. Fact Check Ghana (2016) indicated that female representation at the local MMDAs level stood at 10.5% in 2012 and 7.0% in 2010. Previous data in 2006 stood at 10.1%. Thus, there is a decline in female representation in the Ghanaian political terrain. Even political appointments mimic similar trend. Fact Check Ghana (2016) and Taylor (2016) reported that out of the 18 cabinet ministers then, only 6 were females and out of the 216 District Chief Executives (DCEs) only 18 were females, representing 8.3%. The data presented so far reveals or seems to indicate a deep seated challenge prevailing against female participation in parliamentary affairs in particular and politics in general in Ghana.

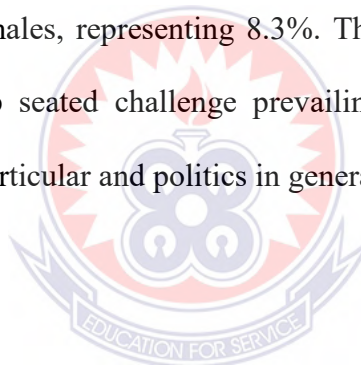


Table 2.4: Female Parliamentary representations by Political Parties in 2016 election

Political Party	Number of Parliamentarians	Number of		% of females per Party's parliamentarians	% of female parliamentarians	
		Female contestants	Female Parliamentarians		per Party's female contestants	% per total female parliamentarians
New Patriotic Party (NPP)	169	29	23	13.6	79.3	65.7
National Democratic Congress (NDC)	106	40	12	11.3	30	34.3
Convention People's Party (CPP)	0	28	0	0	0	0
Progressive People's Party (PPP)	0	17	0	0	0	0
People's National Congress (PNC)	0	9	0	0	0	0
National Democratic Party (NDP)	0	6	0	0	0	0
All People's Congress (APC)	0	2	0	0	0	0
United People's Party (UPP)	0	1	0	0	0	0
Independent Candidate	0	4	0	0	0	0
Total	275	136	35	24.9	109.3	100

Source: Author's field construct; data from Ghanaweb.com (2017)

2.6 The Prevailing Situation of Political Parties and Women in Politics in Ghana

For the avoidance of being accused of being gender insensitive and for not encouraging women into the political party fold, almost all political parties have women wings as part of their structural organization. The creation of women's wings of political parties is based on certain reasons. Chigudu and Tchigwa (1995) noted among other things that, they are created as a way of legitimizing the existence of political parties and serve as the party's leadership acknowledgement of the need to secure electoral victories by capturing women's votes. In addition, some political parties perceive the creation of women's wings as part of the call for women's empowerment and therefore make them appear gender sensitive enough in the eyes of the general public. However, Allah-Mensah (2005) argued that, the creation of women's wings of political parties does not necessarily make the later gender sensitive and gender-friendly.

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 (Allah-Mensah, 2005).

2.6.1 Involvement of women in the National Democratic Congress (NDC)

The seventy-six (76) page 2000 Manifesto of the NDC dedicated about five (5) paragraphs to affirmative action 2. It made reference to the NDC government's adoption of the programme of Affirmative Action for women, which inter alia, makes commitment to forty (40) percent women's representation in executive positions and at all governmental levels. A women's desk was also established at the presidency. There were also statements in the manifesto, which made reference to the party's commitment to implementing the Beijing Plan of Action, the African Plan for Action and the National Affirmative Action Policy, including the proposal for a forty (40) percent representation of women at conferences and congresses of the party and in government and public service. In the next four years, according to the party, it will continue to implement policies aimed at mainstreaming women into national affairs. In addition, the party was to promote increased female access to educational, health, nutrition, employment and other socio – economic infrastructure and services and improve the institutional capacities of key women-oriented organizations.

The manifesto further stated that, the party as government would intensify public education against negative socio – cultural practices that discriminate against women and enact legislation to safeguard the dignity of women and create conditions to enable their advancement. Moreover, the party affirmed its belief in women's rights as natural rights and would work to ensure that “men and women stand side by side as equal partners in progress” (National Democratic Congress 2000 Manifesto, Ghana: Spreading the Benefit of Development). Perhaps, it may not be fair to judge the party on what it intended to do if it won power in the 2000 elections. Nonetheless, political parties have ways of

influencing policies in favour of certain constituencies like that of women and especially within the party hierarchy. The level and nature of women's involvement in internal party organization, could give an indication to the commitment of a political party to its commitment in a manifesto. The content of the manifesto on women issues did not seem to reflect in the party's leadership structure.

This is not to say that the NDC party did not have any affirmative action programmes. Indeed, the election of the national and representatives at other levels saw women contestants, though mainly for positions like treasurer, vice and secretaries, a phenomenon which is widespread in organizational formation in Ghana, from educational institutions (formal) to home town clubs (informal). But even that, the women have not had the manifesto commitment reflected in their positions and roles in the party structure. One regional women's organizer attributed this to a colonial legacy which had persisted and transmitted into contemporary times. The Greater Accra Regional Women's Organizer, in the presence of the first deputy Women's Organizer who doubles as the deputy women's organizer for Ayawaso East, stated that, at the time of conducting the interviews, three (3) women were actually contesting for the primaries in the region and one had already lost the election. For the primaries, she noted that, there is no party support for anybody irrespective of gender. Though some form of assistance is given, they are mainly in the form of providing party paraphernalia and nothing beyond. This put a lot of restriction financially on women who would like to contest. The financial problem was the most challenging for the women aspirants.

Besides the financial problems, other disturbing issues relate to intolerance by some men, who simply did not understand or fathom the reasons why women would want to

compete with them for parliamentary slots. Such men still believe in the separation of public from the private spheres; for such men, women should confine themselves, their interests and activities to the later. It is therefore not surprising that they (women) receive very little support from the men who sometimes call them names when they endeavour to state their (women's) position or views on an issue of national or party significance and interest. All of these have strings to the erroneously negative perception some men have about women in politics as being promiscuous. Some women also have these perceptions because to such women, due to the challenging and competitive nature of rising to the top of the party hierarchy, achieving such feat is not possible without being promiscuous. The solution to these and other problems experienced by women in politics is in education which will serve as a clearing channel of this persistent colonial mentality and secondly as a development tool for women to equip themselves for political positions. Interestingly, there is a recommendation for a concerted effort by all women devoid or less of partisan politics since the later is, in fact, divisive rather than cohesive of women's ranks. Exhibiting a very positive sense of boldness, the regional women's organizer noted that women can make it and so should not be deterred by any actions or inactions or omissions and commission by any man and with all respect fight for equality. Her expressed optimism in the future of women was on a brighter note and an encouragement for more women to put their hands to the wheel and not turn back.

2.6.2 Involvement of women in the New Patriotic Party (NPP)

In the forty-seven (47) page 2000 manifesto of the NPP party, there were four paragraphs dedicated to "opportunities for women". It begins with acknowledgement of the contribution of women to the family and the economy, to the extent that trading and

agriculture would never have been what they are without the dominant inputs of women. Nonetheless, according to the manifesto, the voice of women is not sufficiently heard in government and the legislature. The NPP fully welcomes the new international agenda of empowerment of women, and an NPP government will move beyond merely talking about it to ensuring that it is effected in Ghana (Agenda for Positive Change, Manifesto 2000 of the New Patriotic Party).

Furthermore, the manifesto stated that, an NPP government would repeal laws, which interfere with the attainment of full equitable treatment of women and will enact laws, which will ensure the attainment of equal rights for women and the reinforcement of their empowerment. The manifesto also promised to strengthen women's groups; especially the National Council on Women and Development (NCWD), to ensure that the Ghanaian woman's voice is heard at the highest levels. Moreover, women will be encouraged to be part of the policy-making process, through sensitization on their civic responsibilities.

It also promised that, women's participation in the economic, political and social life of the nation would be properly acknowledged and enhanced. Under the party's industry-revival programme, female-owned and female headed enterprises would have greater access to credit on favoured terms. Such a programme would also support female entrepreneurial activities and initiatives and assist women venturing into business or self-employment. In a final statement, the manifesto mentioned that in order to ensure implementation of the policies on women affairs, an NPP government would establish a Women's Ministry with the Minister being a cabinet member. Perhaps, the most visible adherence to these statements is the establishment of the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Affairs (MOGCSA) with the NCWD as a department of the Ministry.

According to the National Vice Chairperson of the Party, the creation of MOGCSA was one of the major successes of government to its bid to protect the interests and rights of women. She noted that “the creation of MOGCSA is a holistic national response to the varying challenges of empowering women and children, ensuring and protecting their rights and advocating for changing traditional and cultural practices and attitudes which, denies them equality (Ghanaian Times, 17th April, 2004: pp 10).

At the party level, the encounters of women are not too different from that of the NDC. The bulk of the women executives are within the women’s wing and at lower ranks at the national level. For instance, in an eighteen (18) - member national executive body only two (2) (11%) are women. These are the 2nd National Vice Chairperson and the National Women’s Organizer. With the nineteen (19)-member support staff, five (5) (26%) are women. Support from male colleagues have been quite mixed. Whilst some of the men give different forms of support to encourage and enhance the performance of the women, and in addition, acknowledging the difficulties and multiple challenges, others, like their counterparts in the NDC, are subtly antagonistic towards women who express their views and appear to have their own independent stance on issues and concerns of the party and the nation.

The reasons are neither too farfetched nor too different from the common knowledge that women who are in politics have ‘transcended’ their boundaries and ‘strayed’ into unchartered territories. In other words they have crisscrossed the ‘traditionally allocated’ space to them as a gender as far as political economy issues are concerned. Another challenge the NPP women executives and all those women in the party aspiring to higher

political offices encounter beside the above is financial constraints (Agenda for Positive Change, Manifesto 2000 of the New Patriotic Party).

This is very crucial because of the economic status of many women in Ghana and the fact that poverty in Ghana is most widespread among women than men. For women interested in contesting parliamentary slots on the party's ticket for the 2004 elections, this is an even greater challenge because aspiring parliamentary candidates interested in seats already held by NPP Members of Parliament (MPs) are expected to pay eleven million (11,000,000) cedis for nomination forms and contesting fee. One million of the amount is for the form with the remaining being the contesting fee. The reason given by the party's General Secretary was that "the seats are safe and also because the party needed funds for its electioneering campaigns" (Ghanaian Times, April 17, 2004: 10).

This is a clear contradiction of the party's manifesto, which states "the NPP government will repeal laws which interfered with the attainment of full equitable treatment of women and the reinforcement of their empowerment" (NPP Manifesto, 2000). Meanwhile, some gender advocates and activists argue that parties should consider giving 'safe seats' to women parliamentary candidates as a measure towards increasing the number of women in parliament. Expatiating on these, an administrator of the NPP noted that, the implementation of the party's affirmative action is easier with appointive positions than with elective ones because the latter is competitive and quite difficult to influence in any way without sounding undemocratic. This is, in spite of, the fact that women are highly encouraged to contest. Nonetheless, he was quick to add that the selection of candidates is very strategic and dependent on a number of factors including the strength of the party and its opponent's choice of candidate for a particular

constituency. Put differently, the party is directed more by strategic steps than what may controversially be described as gender gimmicks' by most political parties.

2.6.3 Involvement of women in the People's National Convention (PNC)

The People's National Convention (PNC) had a rather modest six (6)-page manifesto consisting of four (4) to ten (10) line 29 paragraphs. Each of these paragraphs is devoted to key aspects of the economy like science and technology, labour relations, economic policy and women. According to the PNC, a PNC led government would uphold UN and all other conventions on women, and create ministry for women to increase the awareness of the critical and vital role females' play. It would also help to assinate the role of females in the nation, that is cabinet, ministry, national day for women, as well as support and encourage the formation on academic institution campuses, a system for integrating women in national development (PNC Manifesto: Economic Prosperity Now, January 2000). It must be admitted that some of the things captured in the PNC manifesto is not too clear, yet the party can be considered to have an agenda for women especially as portrayed in its women's wings. Beyond that, the PNC states that pregnant women and mothers on maternity leave would receive free medical care and 20% salary allowances respectively when voted into power in the forthcoming 2004 elections.

In addition, with their firm support for the Domestic Violence Bill, a PNC led government, would ensure that the rights of women and children were safeguarded, using education as the channel. In addition, it would work with stakeholders to develop a women's manifesto that would be the mobilization machinery for making gender issues cross-cutting in Ghana's political processes. Furthermore, the Ministry of Women and

Children's Affairs (MOGCSA) would be restructured to be more responsive to the peculiar needs of women and children and not merely as a loan-disbursing outfit. These were all part of the new manifesto of the party, which was, according to party officials, at its final stages (The Chronicle, April 16, 2004, The Ghanaian Times, April 17th 2004: 10). At the party level, the Acting National Women's Organizer stated that more women are showing interest in politics and the party's position is to encourage more women and even reserve certain positions and encourage more women to acquire knowledge and some experience by attending seminars and workshops that would enhance their capacities.

Although, only one woman had shown interest at the time of the data collection for the position of the MP, she was hopeful that the number of women who would file for these positions would be more than five (the number for 2000). Some hope was also expressed that after the congress of May 28, 2004, the number of women within the party hierarchy would increase. At the time of data collection, out of the thirteen (13) positions within the party hierarchy, there is only one woman, which is a paltry 7.7%. This was not going to change because of the composition of the declared candidates. For the positions of the Chairmanship, the General Secretary, Treasurer, National Youth Organizer, National Organizer and Women's Organizer, it was only the latter, which was being contested by two women, leaving all the other positions to male contestants (Daily Graphic, April 26, 2004). However, getting more women into positions in the party and in politics generally require some financial strength which is one of the problems encountered by most women political aspirants. The other problems include the balance between married life

and political career. For the PNC, there was no strong expression of male colleagues not being supportive (Daily Graphic, April 26, 2004).

2.6.4 Involvement of women in the Great Consolidated People's Party (GCPP)

The GCPP did not have a known manifesto in the last general elections and claim that the party is on course working on a new manifesto. Interestingly, according to the National Women's Organizer (NWO), the highest decision making body of the party, the Board of Trustees, is chaired by a woman. Though the party has not yet selected parliamentary candidates, it intends to offer 30% of slots to women out of the 230 parliamentary seats the party intends fielding candidates for. The NWO, advancing the party's popular stance or perhaps slogan, 'domestication', interestingly stated that the slogan is attractive to women and accounts for more women joining the ranks of the party. According to her, women joining the party find the 'domestication' jargon appealing to them because they believe they can rely on themselves, which they have done all this while to produce to fend for themselves and their families. For her, this coincides with the party's affirmative action position or plans to the effect that the party would pay monthly allowances to all single mothers.

On his part, the General Secretary of the GCPP surmised that since politics is a career, there is the need for training especially at the grassroots level because politics is about performance. This would be enhanced if there were structures to address the challenges women encounter. For the GCPP, the challenges many women political aspirants encounter are mainly financial because of the huge financial demands of politics in Ghana. In addition, the party notes that most husbands would not allow their wives (as

part of the general traditional trappings) into what they consider to be ‘dirty’ politics. Furthermore, the checkered democratic history of Ghana, cumulatively, do not make politics an interesting option for women, some of whom are still skeptical about the future of democracy in Ghana. One means of addressing these challenges is through public education on the need to get more women into politics and public positions and the benefits of a consolidated democracy.

2.6.5 Involvement of women in the Convention People’s Party (CPP)

The CPP is credited with creating opportunities for women to participate in politics. This has however not grown with the years of democracy since Ghana embraced Samuel Huntington’s “third wave” democracy ³. In other words there has not been any significant improvement in the gender composition of party positions within the party since 1992. Nonetheless, from the National Women’s Deputy Organizer, there is some light at the end of the tunnel because of unfolding events. For instance, a woman contested and won the position of the First Vice Chairmanship and more women continue to exhibit keen interest in parliamentary positions and other hitherto male reserved positions’ like the vice chairmanship. In addition, although it is very rare for a woman to contest for key positions at the regional level and win, this entrenched position changed when in Brong Ahafo, the position of regional secretary was won by a woman.

The National Women’s Deputy Organizer stated that politically women are often used as tools to achieve targeted aims since it appears easier for women to engage in that. The CPP’s institutional mechanism has a committee, which is charged with the responsibility of visiting tertiary institutions to sensitize and educate young women on the need to get

involved in politics and impact the process positively. The inauguration of the University of Ghana, Legon branch of Tertiary Chapter of the CPP (TESCHART), did not however bear witness to the effectiveness of the committee's work since there was only one woman among them (Ghanaian Times, April 17, 2004: pp 10).

The above implies that, the relatively well-organized and consolidated political parties have a major responsibility to ensure that gender issues in general and women's concerns in particular both within and without the party are seen and worked at as an equally important component of the party system and structure. We argue here that political parties, which do not have a comprehensive gender or affirmative action policy with focused attention on women matters and concerns, may not be considered as democratic institutions. This is premised on the fact made clear by Nelson and Chowdhury (1994) that women's participation in politics creates a congenial atmosphere needed to humanize gender relations in politics and that democracy without (reasonable number of) women is not democracy.

Extending the argument, Karam opines that the challenge goes beyond ensuring the election of large numbers of women into the legislature. The significance of ensuring large numbers of women is not just to increase the percentage but also to ensure that they will correspond to an increase in the force they bring to bear on parliamentary decision-making especially on policies that affect women and children, in order to eliminate discriminatory policies at all levels (Karam, 1998).

2.7 Challenges to Female Participation in Politics

Kassa (2015) identified four (4) major factors that militate against female political participation, when he studied the political terrain of Ethiopia. The challenges are socio-cultural, family structure and orientation, economic factors and religious factors.

2.7.1 Socio-cultural factors

The greatest and number one challenge to the predisposition of voters to vote for women, as well as female participation in politics is tradition. Certain dominant perception have pervaded certain societies since time immemorial. These dominant ideas normally emphasise the alpha-male role and subordinates women to the men. Such systems describe women, primarily, as mothers, homekeepers and housewives. For instance, Kassa (2015) opined that the patriarchal value system favours sexually segregated roles, and 'traditional cultural values' militate against the advancement, progress and participation of women in any political process. All cultures of the world have their ideologies rooted in the perception of 'a woman's place'. Shvedova (2002) clarified that in such settings, certain collective image of women in traditional and apolitical roles dominates.

Eagly, *et al.* (1992) offered a pictorial view of this situation when they compared autocratic behaviours of men and women, and society's acceptance and judgment of both. It was revealed that most people evaluate autocratic behaviour by women more negatively than the same behaviour by men. These cultural ideas continue to prevail in almost all societies today. According to Paxton *et al.* (2007), these alpha-male dominant cultural ideas about women can affect women at all levels of representation throughout

the political process, from an individual woman's decision to enter politics, through party selection of candidates, to the decisions made by voters on election day. Many people still think that women are to be led and not to lead (MoWA, 2006). It is interesting to note that even in countries where female employment and education data are at par with those of males, significant cultural barriers still confront women on the political terrain (Paxton *et al.*, 2007).

2.7.2 Family structure and orientation

Family structure and orientation is influenced by two major projectiles, especially in Africa. These are gender roles-patriarchy, and family work and time constraints. The patriarchal hierarchy exists within the family. According to Kate (1970), the family is the main institution of patriarchy, which is an important concept in explaining gender inequality. Kassa (2015) explained that patriarchy is literally rendered "the rule of the father". Thus, men are to rule and women are to be ruled. The patrilineal system of family inheritance is the most dominant form in Africa, with very few exceptions where the matrilineal structure is practiced (Kassa, 2015). The socialization of children to expect and accept different roles in life has created a social mechanism for the development of values that engender the several forms of discrimination against the female sex (Kassa, 2015). Damilola (2010) believes that the males have used the patriarchal system as a weapon for female subordination and subjugation in virtually all fields of life, and Aswath (2014) revealed that this is prevalent in all societies worldwide.

Family roles, dictated by family niche have resulted in uneven distribution of family responsibilities and time to the disadvantage of the females. Litman (2009) reported that anyone deeply involved in childcare, whether male or female, would face tough time constraints navigating between family responsibilities and a political position; because the work is rarely equally shared, women are more disadvantaged. Thus, women spend more time in the home and childcare, and in Africa, more in the kitchen, than the males. These inequalities impact negatively on women, regarding their involvement in the political discourse and contribution to governance.

2.7.3 Economic factors

The cultural description of women in society has placed women behind in all economic privileges. Since traditionally women have been described to be homekeepers and mothers, they are left with little time for any available economic venture. In fact, the African setting is even more challenging as women with economic advantages are perceived to be contrary to the norm, hence arrogant. It is a general axiom in Africa that the place of women is the kitchen. According to Kassa (2015), women have suffered serious historical discrimination and these abuses have placed women in a very disadvantaged position economically. It must be emphasized that political participation is economically inter-twined. In that, without financial wherewithal, it is virtually impossible for anyone to successfully engage in political activities in the present world, and especially Africa.

Shvedova (2002) and Kassa (2015) emphasized that socio-economic status of women in society has a direct influence on their participation in political institutions and elected

bodies. The socio-cultural niche carved for women in many societies make them dependent on their husbands, fathers and/or brothers, either fully or partially. This position was revealed by Shojaei *et al.* (2010) to be true. Shvedova (2002) further explained that this situation poses serious threats to women, given the rising cost of running an effective political campaign, especially in developing economies. Therefore, Tovar (2007) theorized that the ease for accessibility to financial resources is a key in expanding women's presence in the political realm.

2.7.4 Religious factors

Religion has played vital roles in shaping human history. Religious traditions hold sway over many societies worldwide, and determine to a large extent the predisposition of voters to vote for women. Since religion is dogmatic in approach, members of a particular religious sect do not have the freedom to question authorities concerning matters of religious traditions. According to Paxton *et al.* (2007), the inferiority of women to men is inherent in all the dominant religions all over the world. Thus, Ahmed (1992) and Meyer *et al.* (1998) provided evidence of the fact that orthodox Christianity, Catholicism and Islamism strictly interpret their laws to constrain women and place them below men in their hierarchy. Kassa (2015) revealed that these major religions of the world are differentially conservative or patriarchal in their views about the place of women, both in the church hierarchy and in society.

However, Protestantism promotes a non-hierarchical structure and practices that are open to women leadership and more readily accepts women as religious leaders. In line with

this, Paxton *et al.* (2007) boldly emphasized that religion has long been used to exclude women from aspects of social, political, or religious life around the world

Realistically, giant challenges confront women on the political front. Kassa (2015) believed that although women's political representation has improved over the years, negative social perceptions about the leadership ability of women, their low socio-economic status, low educational and skills levels and lack of strong role models all contribute to the predisposition of voters to vote for women, hence women's low participation in political decision-making positions. The burden of household chores and inequitable access to higher education also limit women's ability to enjoy the opportunities and benefits of citizenship as men on an equal footing in the political sphere. Shvedova (2002) argued that men dominate the political arena and has by several measures made politics the preserve of men; men formulate the rules of the political game; and men define the standards for evaluation. The existence of this male dominated model results in women either rejecting politics altogether or rejecting male-style politics (Kassa, 2015).

Some believe that women could have internally resisted these brainwashing by resisting to accept these impositions. In line with this, Douglas (2014) reported that women could also be seen to be their own enemies in their political involvement, integration, advancement and empowerment, because they have readily internalized these long held anachronistic assumptions and perceptions that politics is a dirty game and demands strength unmatched by that possessed by women, thus a preserve game of men (Douglas, 2014). Therefore, Miranda (2005) identified that all these factors, individually and severally has contributed to distaste for political office among women.

2.8 Need for Women's Political Participation

Many theories and arguments have been advanced by researchers in the field of women political participation for the enhancement of women's involvement in politics. Basic among them are the theories advanced from the perspective inclusion, equity and equal representation. It follows that history bears testimony to the fact that the few women who were able to break through the male-dominant hierarchical hegemony of the political terrain performed creditably better than several males who occupied the same political office (Kassa, 2015). Many researchers agree that the argument for equal representation of women in politics should be advanced from these projectiles such as equity/justice, natural proportion and democracy.

Equity demands that women, who account for more than 51% of world population (WANEP, 2016), should have equivalent representation on any political terrain. It is fairness for the larger population to take the largest proportion (Kassa, 2015). Unfortunately, the minority rules the majority, and it has been so since ages. This contradicts natural justice.

Nature presents natural justice in its representation of man and woman, with no intermediate sex, as representing single entities. By natural proportion, whatever man has, the woman also has. For instance, two eyes for both male and female, two hands for both male and female, two legs for both male and female, etc. By this natural proportion, the ratio of man to woman is 1:1. Thus, nothing puts man above woman. Thus, societies must learn from nature and de-stigmatize the involvement of women in politics.

Democracy is based on the promulgation and realization of equal rights of males and females. EGM (2005) asserted that the equal representation of women and men enhances the democratization of governance in both transitional and consolidated democracies. Thus, any society that boasts of practicing democracy must realize and actualize equal representation of both sexes at all level of political discourse without discrimination based on gender.

According to Kassa (2015), one of the most powerful reasons for equal inclusion of women in politics is the arguments expounded from differential experience of individuals. The social environment moulds human behaviour and experiences, which are internalised based on individual's intrinsic characteristics. Therefore, women's experiences are different from men's just as everyone's experience differs from others. This means that people do politics differently, and women also do politics differently from men. Hence, women need to be represented in discussions that result in policy-making and implementation.

Other minor but equally important reasons for the need of women in politics and for their equal representation include the critical mass argument which emphasizes that women are able to achieve solidarity of purpose to represent women's interests when they achieve certain levels (critical mass) of representation. Kassa (2015) stated that the symbolic argument is built on the fact that every female politician acts a role model for all women. Thus females in politics bring some characteristics in leadership style peculiar to the female personality that must be harnessed for the common good of society. This argument goes in tandem with the interest argument which stipulates that interests of men and women are different and even conflicting and therefore women are needed in

representative institutions to articulate the interests of women (Kassa, 2015). These arguments prove that women need equal representation in every sphere of human endeavour, so that humanity does not lose the good and rich qualities, characters and experiences of women.

2.8.1 Importance of women's political participation

Various benefits are derived when females are actively engaged in politics. Political participation of women will:

- a. yield considerable and significant impacts on the lives of the people in any operational political and public setting (Panday, 2008).
- b. allow women to be able to address basic problems and needs from their peculiar perspectives for the benefit of society.
- c. ensure efficient, effective, equitable and maximum utilization of human, financial, material and information resources by all human beings (Kassa, 2015).
- d. promote peace and democratic development.
- e. establish the integrity of democracy, democratic process, and equality as well as a safeguard and guarantee political and civil rights as stipulated by the UN, and other international, regional and national bodies.
- f. promote and affirm legitimacy to government and establish democracy in its real and practical manner. Haque (2003) said that validity and trustworthiness of democracy can be in question if females, who are 50% of the population, stay marginalized or segregated from the political and public institutions in the society.

- g. avoid questions that are often raised about the legitimacy of the democratic process and decision making authorities.
- h. ensures accountability, transparency, political leadership, real fight against corruption (anti-graft), political commitment, and political responsiveness to the people (Melesse & Ojulu, 2014).
- i. facilitate more changes and pave the way for more spaces to women.

2.8.2 Theories on women's representation

According to Tefera (2010) and Kassa (2015), it is a general assumption that women have certain common interests, and this assumption has become the hypothesis upon which research into women representation in parliaments have been theorised. Two broad spectrums of such theory was reported by Tefera (2010). They are;

- a. **Descriptive Representation Theory** –This theory denotes representation on the basis of common characteristics and shared experience such as gender, class ethnicity, and religious sect (Tefera, 2010). The theory operates on the principle of equal distribution of parliamentary seats between all the categories in a particular class, such as the males and females for gender class, without recourse to capabilities. Wangnerud (2009) reported that the theory of Descriptive representation of women uses no rational except that men and women must be equally represented, and views this position as an indicator of political inclusion in society. Sometimes, political points could be the only rational behind the use of this theory. Most political parties in Ghana has been campaigning with this theory for years. However, some argue that women representation should not be merely

upon the premise of just equality, rather credibility and aptness. Whilst this theories seeks for equal women representation in parliament on numerical basis, the greatest challenge is the ability of any woman to perform assigned task. Thus, should we overlook credulity and ability merely on the basis of numerical equality?

- b. Substantive Representation Theory– According to Wangnerud (2009), a core idea in this area of theorizing is that there are certain interests and concerns that arise from women’s experiences and that these will be inadequately addressed in a politics that is dominated by men. The idea is that women will solve their problems better. Thus, Substantive representation deals with women’s interests, gender equality and the rationale behind women representation. In line with this, Phillips (2007) indicated that societies will not achieve equality between women and men by simply disregarding gender-related differences. Hence, representation must be substantive and credible and indispensably necessary. The theory argues that women representation must not be based on just numerical equality, rather, credibility and aptness. In a continent where women development have been hampered over the ages, this theory seems to be the major obstacle before proponents of gender balance in parliamentary affairs, and Ghana is no exception. In Ghana, the debate has been on for years, whether parliamentary representation should be merely based on gender equality or capability; whether descriptive or substantive, and political parties have dwelled on this to score various political points.

2.8.3 Factors predisposing electorates to vote in elections

Hajnal and Lewis (2003) indicated that electoral institutions are perceived as the primary determinants of voter participation at the local level. They mentioned two institutions in particular—the city manager form of government and nonpartisan elections— as causing the dramatic reduction in voter turnout. In the first case, the weakening of powers of the mayor and shifting more power to the unelected city manager reduces the direct influence of the local electorate and therefore decreases the incentive to vote. In the instance of nonpartisan elections, the theory is that mobilization efforts on the behalf of parties decline which directly affects voter turnout. This is because without the help of political parties, potential candidates are unable to mobilise in most cases adequate resources both materialistic and human for campaign. As such without any knowledge of the candidate or involvement in the pre-election activities the motivation to vote is lost.

Another factor is voter registration procedures. Voter registration procedures often cause eligible voters to loss interest in elections. A clear example from Ghana’s 2016 elections was when voters who had previously registered with the National Health Insurance Card were taken out of the voters’ register and asked to re-register. Even for those who want to register can easily lose interest since the special registration centres are usually limited, overcrowded with long queues and inadequately equipped. This suggests that the voter registration rules can contribute to the depressed voter turnout rates.

Hajnal and Lewis (2003) also identify economic inequality as a contributing factor to the loss of the sense of community and hence civic responsibility or duties. Apart from income, Harder and Krosnick (2008) also adds the level of education of electorates as

another demographic factor. From their perspective, citizens with more formal education are likely to vote and each additional year of education is associated with higher turnout. Education will most likely convey skills that enhance a person's aptitude to understand the political process. Education can also motivate individuals to vote by instilling civic duty and responsibility, stimulating their interest in the political process, or placing them in social settings in which voting is seen as normative activity . Other demographic factors identified by Harder and Krosnick (2008) include gender, occupation, ethnicity, residency and mobility.

Very importantly, Agaigbe (2015) asserted that the policy packages of candidates or parties affect the electorate's decision to vote. From her view, electorates will willing vote if policy packages are in line with their interests and the parties and leaders are those they prefer. This mean in a multi-party system, there ought to be at least one party offering the type of aspirants and policies the voters prefer, otherwise no benefit will come from the voting and abstaining will be a rational option. Indeed, when there is no policy package or leader that appeals to the citizens, they simply just stay away from the polls.

2.9 Theories of Women's Political Involvements

2.9.1 Theories of gender

2.9.1.1 The traditional gender gap

The theory states that traditionally, religiously and from cultural background, men are expected to cater for the home with the support of women. The perceived traditional roles of men and women have not changed in relation to daily practice. As a result of this,

the working environment for women is still unfriendly at both working and societal levels due to gender stereotypes and patriarchal structures. Historically, women are favoured and identified with Right wing parties more so than males in Western Democracies, specifically in the U.S. and Western Europe (Durverger, 1955; Lipset, 1960; Butler & Stokes, 1974; Inglehart, 1977; Norris & Inglehart, 2000, 2012; Dalton, 2008). Similarly, Verba, Nie, and Kim (1978) found that men were more politically active than women in the pre-1970s and that these gender differences persisted even after controlling for education, institutional affiliations, and psychological involvement in politics. Previous explanations and analyses for the phenomenon of the traditional gender gap focused on structural sex differences.

The traditional gender gap, however, began to lose salience and relevance around the post – communist and developing societies with Norris and Inglehart (2000) obtaining similar results in regard to partisanship and ideology (Norris, 2002; Norris & Evans, 1999) in 1980s as gender differences in party choice began to change whereby gender no longer directly indicated partisan or ideological affiliation (Dalton, 2008; Norris & Inglehart, 2000). In the early to the mid-1990s, the traditional gender gap in electoral turn-out had become insignificant in most advanced industrial societies, however the gap continued to persist in both post – communist and developing societies with Norris and Inglehart (2000) obtaining similar results in regard to partisanship and ideology (Norris, 2002; Norris & Evans, 1999).

2.9.1.2 The theory of gender dealignment

Gender dealignment, which began in the early 1980s throughout many Western Democracies, can be defined as the point at which sex differences between men and women in regard to party choice and ideology became minimal to non-existent (Norris & Inglehart, 2000). The tendency of women to lean Right in regard to partisanship began to waver at this time in Great Britain (Hayes & McAllister, 1997), the Netherlands (Mayer & Smith, 1995), and New Zealand (Vowles, 1993), disrupting the traditional social – party linkages in these post – industrial democracies. The rise of feminism and feminist issues changed the political orientation of some younger women, as parties of the left developed a compassionate stance on “women’s issues” (Conover, 1988). Shortly thereafter voting differences between males and females narrowed, and then reversed with women increasingly supporting parties of the left (Dalton, 2008).

The United States however experienced only a brief period of dealignment and quickly shifted to realignment or a change in the bases of party support due to new cultural issues defining ideology in the 1980s (Norris & Inglehart, 2000; Schaffer & Clagget, 1995). The existing literature is somewhat divided on the presence of dealignment, attributing the change in ideological stances of women to government performance, party policy, or leadership images rather than changes in cultural and structural changes around the 1980s in advanced industrial democracies (Norris & Inglehart, 2000). Some scholars found that during the time of alleged “dealignment” that the majority of women in established democracies leaned Left (Norris, 1988), Right (Jelen, Thomas & Wilcox, 1994), or were actually no different than their male counterparts (Mayer and Smith, 1995). Though the presence of dealignment is often debated, there is much scholarly consensus that a gender

realignment did occur throughout the advanced industrial democracies or societies, with its origin as the source of inquiry and debate.

2.9.1.3 Theory of gender realignment or modern gender gap

Realignment here is defined similarly to how these authors and others describe “partisan realignment”, which is “enduring and stable changes in the mass coalitional basis of party politics” (Norris & Evans, 1999). One example of such an electoral change is that of the African American realignment to the Democratic Party during and after the civil rights era (Black & Black, 1987). The realignment or the resulting gender gap is stable, consistent, and politically significant according to Gallup Poll data on “The Gender Gap in Voting” (Norris & Inglehart 2000). Unfortunately, some available empirical evidence suggests that gender does not sufficiently explain voting patterns. From their study on the “frozen cleavages”, Lipset and Rokkan (1967) assert that gender is secondary in importance and impact when compared to cleavages like social class, religion, and region, but then later decide that sex differences stand out as an influential factor in party politics. Also, in the U.S. presidential elections in 2004, the gender gap was perceived to be modest in comparison to other influences on voter choice (Dalton, 2008). However, Norris (1999) points out that significant voting differences do begin to emerge on the bases of gender when combined with life status measures like employment status and occupation type.

Norris and Inglehart (2000) identified two major schools of thought on the potential mechanism causing realignment or the modern gender gap with females supporting parties of the Left more than men. The first is the one adopted by Norris and Inglehart,

which claims that structural and cultural trends in advanced industrial and modernized societies, like secularization and the transformation of sex roles, affect the political identity of the electorate and therefore causes female Leftist realignment. The second rejects the notion that all modern societies are facing realignment, but that factors specific to the U.S. like the lack of strong class cleavages, prevalence of two-party competition, and the salience of “women’s issues” like abortion are causing the realignment in the region solely.

Another theory of gender realignment focuses on the change in the likelihood of political or voting participation between the sexes rather than partisanship or ideology. Traditional gender differences in voting participation faded during the 1980’s and in some cases reversed in many advanced industrial countries (Christy, 1987; Norris, 2002). In U.S. presidential elections since 1980, the proportion of eligible female adults who voted exceeded the proportion of eligible males who voted, and the same phenomenon is noted in non – presidential midterm elections since 1986 (Norris, 2002). According to Norrande (2003), in supporting the U.S. centric view uses CBS and NY Times exit poll data and finds that women are slightly more partisan and identify with the Democratic Party than men. Since women are participating politically more often than males and are identifying increasingly with the Left ideologically and in regard to party preference, a mass realignment could be changing the behaviour in the electorate on a large scale across nations.

Another controversial argument about the origin of the gender gap is based on biology and genetics rather than social constructs. Gilligan (1982) supported the psychological perspective that women and men approach this differently, with women’s psychology

focused on an ethic of care and with men's psychology focused on an ethic of justice. Hatemi, Medland and Eaves (2009) built upon this idea and studied twins to examine the political preferences between men and women based on biological conditions and genetic influence. Alford, Funk and Hibbing (2005) who performed a similar study on twins to understand political preferences provided "strong" evidence for this argument as did Hatemi, Medland, and Eaves. However, the authors ultimately outlined the inability of separating genetic influences from the environment as a pitfall of the study, which shows that methods need to be perfected in order to further examine such a theory.

Lastly, another argument about the source of the gender gap examines the importance of the women's movement and feminism in affecting the vote choice of men and women. In both the U.S. and Western Europe, the women's movement occurred in the latter half of the 20th Century and made a substantial impact on the political participation levels of women (Dalton, 2008). Conover (1988), takes a U.S. centric viewpoint, and also identifies the gap as a result of "the growth of feminist identity" and driven by the women's movement of gender equality, not post materialist values of self-expression and freedom as asserted by Norris and Inglehart (2000, 2012). Similarly, Carroll (1987, 1988) provides evidence for mobilization and autonomy theories which shows that women want and seek economic independence and tend to support "female" policy issues (Huddy & Carey, 2009).

2.9.2 Models of voting behaviour

2.9.2.1 Theoretical models of voting behaviour

The scientific study of voting behaviour is marked by three major research schools: the sociological model, often identified as School of Columbia, with the main reference in Applied Bureau of Social Research of Columbia University, whose work begins with the publication of the book *The People's Choice* (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944) and focuses on the influences of social factors. The psychosocial model, also identified as School of Michigan, which has its major reference in the work of Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes (1960). The *American Voter* and assumes that party identification is the main factor behind the behaviour of voters; and rational choice theory, also referred to as a model of economic voting, or even as School of Rochester, whose landmark work is the work of Anthony Downs (1957). *An Economic Theory of Democracy* and that puts emphasis on variables such as rationality, choice, uncertainty and information.

2.9.2.2 Sociological model of voting behaviour

The theoretical assumptions of the sociological model of voting behaviour are defined in three essential works: *The People's Choice* (Lazarsfeld, Berelson & Gaudet, 1944), *Voting* (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954) and *Personal Influence* (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955). The research conducted by Lazarsfeld *et al.* (1944) at Ohio State (Erie County), using questionnaire as a technique of investigation for the first time in the study of a U.S. presidential election one which opposed Franklin Roosevelt to Wendell Willkie in 1940 cuts away from the type methodological approach that hitherto characterized the study of voting behaviour. The study, whose report was published under the title *The*

People's Choice (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944), begins by characterizing the supporters of the two main political parties in the U.S. using a panel of 600 subjects who were interviewed seven times over the seven months of campaign, to then identify the voters who changed their position during the campaign period, comparing three groups: those who decided their vote before beginning the campaign, those whose decision was taken during the party convention and those that decided their vote only at an advanced stage of the campaign.

The central hypothesis of Lazarsfeld *et al.* (1944) was that the act of voting is an individual act, affected mainly by the personality of the voter and his exposure to the media. The results, however, contradict the main thesis, suggesting that the effect of the media in electoral decision was minimal and that the decisive influence was the social groups to which they belonged.

2.9.2.3 Psychosocial model of voting behaviour

The psychosocial model has its origin in studies conducted by the Survey Research Centre at the University of Michigan during the 1948 U.S. presidential elections, its results analyzed by Campbell and Kahn (1952) in *The People Elect a President*; the elections of 1952's report was presented by Campbell, Gurin and Miller (1954) in *The Voter Decides*; and elections in 1956, where results, combined with those obtained in previous investigations, have led to the book *The American Voter*, written by Campbell, Converse Miller and Stokes (1960). These works mark the beginning of a long series of studies conducted by the Survey Research Centre and more recently by the Center of Political Studies at the University of Michigan, which extend to the present day, although

currently falling under American National Electoral Studies (ANES), investigations that involve a greater variety of institutions, maintaining, however, the initial theoretical basis. The questionnaires and databases of these investigations are references in most election studies conducted in the United States of America.

2.9.2.4 Democratic practice and theory

From the theoretical point of view the most relevant contribution to democratic practice and theory is the conceptualization of electoral behaviour in a sociological model that attempts to reconcile the assumptions of the democratic organization of society and the electoral behaviour of the subjects, which is considered to be in apparent contradiction with these assumptions. The authors identify the political features of voters that we would expect to find in a democratic system interest, discussion and motivation, knowledge, principles and rationale to conclude that, in reality, according to data from their investigations, most subjects have no interest or motivation on matters of political nature. It is a curious quality of voting behaviour that the large numbers of people motivation is weak if not almost absent. According to Lazarsfeld (1944), voters have a limited and poor knowledge of political affairs that is the voter is supposed to know what the issues are, what their story is, what the relevant facts are, what alternatives are proposed, what the party stands for, and as such many voters vote not for principle in the usual sense but “for” a group to which they are attached and do not support their electoral decisions on reason: “In short, it appears that a sense of fitness is more striking feature of political preference than reason and calculation.

Against this backdrop in which voters do not seem to satisfy the conditions necessary in a democratic regime, the authors argue that democracies have not collapsed and, instead, have become stronger because the logic of a democracy works in an aggregate and not individual level. If all voters had a high degree of interest and political motivation that would also be reflected in greater division among voters in a climate of greater political cleavage and antagonism that could endanger the system itself. Rather than require individuals who are highly interested and motivated by political, democracy needs that society is composed of heterogeneous groups to ensure the plurality of ideas and political proposals (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954).

The sociological model has, however, limitations in explaining the variations that occur in voting due economic factors specific to each election. Social factors may explain the long-term stability of voting behaviour, but do not explain the variations that occur in the behaviour of voters in different elections, just as they do not explain why individuals who belong to certain social groups vote according to what one would expect of individuals belonging to different social groups. Although there are attempts to overcome these difficulties within the sociological approach, for example investigations that argue that the study of voting behaviour should not be done from the voter's perspective but valuing contextual factors as the political programmes of parties, the role of media, the countries' economic structure and the context in which the relationship between voters and parties becomes stronger. These limitations have led to the Michigan psychosocial model that attempts to overcome them using the concept of partisanship, with which it seeks to link the influence of sociological and historical long-term factors, identified in the

sociological model, and the social and political short-term factors that characterize each election. Other theories include:

- a. Strategic vote model - the decision to vote in an election is supported by an irrational belief about the effectiveness of such action.
- b. Theory of rational choice - This is an attempt to explain electoral behaviour taking as its starting point the work done within the political economy by Kenneth Arrow (1951, 1986) that relate economic parameters resources, goods and technology with a political outcome or choice. The theoretical background for an economic explanation of voting behaviour has been submitted by Anthony Downs (1957) work on “An Economic Theory of Democracy.” The operation of the model is based on three fundamental premises:
 - i. all decisions those that are made by voters and political parties are rational, i.e., guided by self-interest and enforced in accordance with the principle of maximization of action’s utility;
 - ii. the democratic political system implies a level of consistency that supports predictions about the consequences of decisions made by voters and political parties are responsible and trustworthy, which makes it possible to make predictions about the consequences that result from different choices,
 - iii. the democratic system assumes despite the consistency stated in the previous point a level of uncertainty, sufficiently important to allow different options.

- c. Consistency theory – The rationality of the political system derives from the fact that voters, political parties and government have always several interconnected options available to choose from, ordered from most to least favourable. The order of preference is transitive so that if the subject prefers A to B and B to C then also prefers A to C (Downs, 1957).
- d. Theory of uncertainty – According to Downs (1957) the diversity of societies and social conflicts introduce levels of uncertainty that lead both to the emergence of ideologies and ambiguity in relation to social groups that may be more useful for the electoral victory, and consequently, the differentiation of the proposals submitted by political parties. The dynamism of democratic societies also highlights the uncertainty about the electoral effects that can be obtained with proposals that appeal to some social groups but displease others.
- e. Theory of Political homogeneity of social groups - The main finding of Lazarsfeld *et al.* (1944) was that the majority of voters voted according to their original political predisposition. Of the 600 subjects who were included, only 54 changed their position throughout the process. The association between electoral behaviour and the social groups to which they belonged was so strong that it was possible to explain the electoral choices using only the three factors that defined the Index of Political Predisposition used in research: socio-economic status, religion and area of residence.
- f. Partisanship – The central concept of this model of voting behaviour is partisanship, which is designed as a psychological affinity, stable and lasting

relationship with a political party that does not necessarily translate into a concrete link, namely registration, or consistently voting and systematically militancy with this party. The notion of partisanship, introduced in the study of voting behaviour by Campbell *et al.* (1960), was influenced by the concept of reference group (Hyman & Singer, 1968) and has similarities with the idea of anticipatory socialization introduced by Merton and Kitt (1950) to define the situations in which individuals choose a reference group to which they do not belong and begin to act according to what they perceive as the rules of that group. According to these authors, partisanship is acquired through a socialization process, influenced by the values and attitudes of family, colleagues and peers, a process that Miller and Shanks (1996) considered similar to that which leads subjects to identify with a religion. According to Green, Palmquist, and Schickler (2002), partisanship is a genuine form of social identification in which citizens have an enduring sense of what sorts of people belong to various parties and whether they identify with these social groups. Campbell *et al.* (1960) described partisanship as a perceptual filter through which the voters appreciate that which is favourable to the orientation of his party and ignore or devalue that which is unfavourable.

- g. Spatial representation theory – Downs (1957) represents the relative positioning of political parties and voters using a spatial analogy built on the work of Harold Hotelling (1929) and Smithies (1941) that consists in representing the political preferences of voters on a linear scale numbered from left to right, from zero to

one hundred. Voters and political parties have a certain place on the scale according to their political position.

- h. Funnel of Causality Model – The explanatory model of relations between the variables involved in the definition of electoral behaviour is called a funnel of causality. This metaphor represents the chain of events that contributes to the vote of the subjects, distinguishing distal factors socio-economic and historical factors, values and attitudes and membership groups and proximal factors like issues, candidates, election campaign, political and economic situation, the government action, influence of friends. The model focuses its attention on the relationship of partisanship, candidates and issues and less on social factors and communication systems (Niemi & Weisberg, 2001).
- i. Proximal and Distal Factors – According to Campbell *et al.* (1960) changes in party identification are rare and occur as reactions to events of great impact. If changes in social factors can produce long-term changes in partisanship, the short-term factors are seen as just being able to change the electoral choice of subjects in a given election, without affecting their partisanship (Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1960, Green & Palmquist, 1990). The relationship between partisanship and short-term factors is manifested through attitudes toward policy proposals, candidates and group benefits (Harrop & Miller, 1987). However, while partisanship influences the perception of situational variables, it is also possible that the proposals, the speech, or the candidates are so totally against the expectations, values or interests of voters, that this situation is unlikely to be shaped by this perceptual filter and bring the subject to not vote or even vote for

another party. However, the way this model conceives the relationship between psychosocial factors and partisanship is challenged by researchers who believe that the Michigan model overestimates the role of long-term partisan loyalties (Dalton, Flanagan, & Beck, 1984; Dalton, 2000, Fiorina 1981; Franklin, Mackie & Valen, 1992; Kiewiet, 1983; Wattenberg, 1994).



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at the research design, sampling procedures and instrumentation. It further reveals how research instruments were pre-tested, before data collection was conducted. Further, the chapter indicates how data from the survey were handled after field assessment, involving data organization, coding, cleaning and analysis. Data analysis included both qualitative analysis and quantitative analysis, involving theoretical and empirical models underlying the study.

3.1 Research Approach and Design

A case study approach was used for the study, where respondents were selected randomly from the population so that each had equal chance of being selected for the study. This was done by way of secret ballot from the list of eligible voters. This represents an empirical research that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real – life context and includes a method comprehensive with the logic of planning, gathering and data analysis with boundaries between phenomenon and context which are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin, 1984).

According to Zaidah (2007) in most cases, a case study method selects a small geographical area or a very limited number of individuals as the subjects of study and explores and investigates contemporary real – life phenomenon through detailed

contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions and their relationships. A case study approach was used because of the phenomenon being studied.

Case study method is responsible for intensive study of a unit. It is the investigation and exploration of an event thoroughly and deeply. It gives detailed information and in – depth study of a person, individuals or phenomenon, especially, the case with subjects that cannot be physically or ethically recreated or learned in any way.

Secondly, case studies are the best ways to simulate new research. A case study can be completed and if the findings are valuable they can lead to new and advanced research in the field because great deal of research is done that may have not been possible without case studies.

3.2 Population and Sampling Procedures

The target population of interest for the study was eligible voters in the Manhyia South constituency with specific emphasis on resident voters of Manhyia South. Participation was by random sampling by way of secret ballot from the list of eligible voters. The study used 2010 population census data. The total number of eligible voters was 94,524. The number of male voters amounted to 43,755 whilst the number of female voters above 18 years plus amounted to 50,769. The study used Yamane (1967) method to determine the sample size.

This formula is given as

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N(e^2)}$$

Where n is the sample size, N is the population size, and e is the level of precision.

$$n = \frac{94,524}{1 + 94,524(0.05^2)}$$

$$n = 398.31$$

The study rounded off the 398.31 to 400 sample size, including both males and females, to cover a wider range of eligible voters.

3.3 Instrumentation

Formulated research questions and objectives fundamentally informed the development of research items in addition to reference made to several instruments and scales used in other studies. In addition, a comprehensive review of theories and empirical studies that were relevant to the research questions were done in order to identify models that had bearing on the predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections.

Data for the study was obtained through the use of a structured questionnaire to gather information related to the subject matter. According to Kumekpor (2002), questionnaires provide rich information because it is useful and appropriate with all categories of populations, especially, low-level education and rural populations. It is also believed to provide greater sense of security because the collection of data is by face-to-face interaction with respondents (Etuaful, 2016).

The response types of the questionnaire items (variables) were mostly pre-coded. The response types were grouped into two; demographic and socio – economic factors of the eligible voters.

3.3.1 Pre – test of research instrument

I conducted a pre-test with the instrument constructed to ascertain its validity and effectiveness before the actual collection of data. The pre-test was conducted at Dichemso and Manhyia with 33 respondents. The principal aim of the pre-test was to aid in resolving any ambiguity and irrelevant items in the research questions.

At the end of the pre-testing of the research instrument, questions such as marital status and employment status were included to examine its effect on the predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary election.

3.4 Data Collection

Data were collected between the months of January, 2017 to March, 2017 after a pre-test of the research instrument had been conducted. Respondents were selected at random. The data collection was conducted in Dichemso, Afia Kobi, Manhyia, K.O, Odumase and CPC. Two research assistants were recruited and trained to collect data for this study. Specifically, training was centered on the subject matter (predisposition of voters to vote for women) understanding and how to interpret the questionnaire to the respondents in cases where the respondent could neither read nor write.

3.5 Data Organization

To make meaning out of the data collected from the survey, the following data management processes were engaged in.

3.5.1 Data coding

The main aim of this procedure is to simplify the data entry and analysis process. It mainly involved the conversion of words into numbers a process known as coding. The first step in the procedure was to provide a coding system. The system was then used to convert the responses in the questionnaire into numbers. For instance, responses demanding Yes or No was coded 1 and 2 respectively. Thus, the aggregate of 1 represents the total number of respondents who responded 'Yes' to the questionnaire. Coding for this study was straight forward since the close ended type of questions which were mutually exclusive was used.

3.5.2 Data entry and cleaning

Once the coding stage had been done the subsequent data management procedure was to enter the coded responses into the Statistical Product and Service Solution (SPSS) and for analysis.

It was of importance that the researcher checked systematically for errors or mistakes after data had been inputted into the SPSS programme. Since data processing errors are inevitable, double entry technique was used to improve consistency in the data entry process which resulted in no missing values in the data.

3.6 Ethical Issues

Ethical consideration possibly is the most crucial assumption when it comes to conducting a primary research. In order to have access to the respondents, introductory letter and ID card were shown to the respondents and consent forms were filled by the

respondents. The researcher introduced herself as a postgraduate student from UEW, Department of Social Studies and vividly explained the relevance of the study to the respondents and assured them that it was purely academic.

Respondents were informed that their honest opinions were welcome and confidentiality maintained where they would not be quoted without their permission. This helped to create confidence between the researcher and the respondent.

3.7 Data Analysis

After the data had been entered and cleaned using the SPSS (version 20), the data were analyzed using STATA version 13.

3.7.1 Qualitative analysis

Qualitative data analysis involved the univariate level of statistical analysis. The univariate analysis involved running descriptive statistics (usually, frequency, percentages, maximum and minimum value and means) on the background characteristics of eligible voters (respondents) in the survey.

3.7.2 Quantitative analysis

This section covers specification of theoretical model which explains the theories behind the link between the independent variables and the dependent variable. Quantitative approaches provide a deeper analysis and allows for a richer and a comprehensive understanding of how individuals make meaning of their circumstances or interpret phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Merriam, 1998). According to Etuaful (2016)

quantitative study is generally based on causal implication and the use of standardized measures to produce qualified information that can be statistically analysed.

3.7.2.1 Theoretical model

Given the individual data on demographic and socio-economic factors, the study run the factors affecting the predisposition of voters to vote for women by estimating the following econometric model. A mathematical representation was modelled as;

$$Q_{ij} = f(DF, SE) .$$

Where Q_{ij} = predisposition of voters to vote for women, DF = demographic factors and SE = socio-economic factors,

3.7.2.3 Empirical model

Logit regression model was used to determine the factors that affect the predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary election.

Let Q_i (binary variable) represents the observed response of each eligible voter (*ith* observation).

Therefore, $Q_i = 1$ for female parliamentary candidate and $Q_i = 0$ for no female parliamentary candidate.

The equation to be estimated in the mathematical term is given as:

$$y_i = \ln \frac{p}{1-p} = \beta_0 + \sum_{i=1}^6 \beta_i x_i + \varepsilon_i$$

Where y_i = Qualitative dependent variable: 1 if opted for female parliamentary candidate;
0 if otherwise.

x_1 = Age

x_2 = Gender dummy variable ($x_2 = 1$ if female, $x_2 = 0$ if otherwise)

x_3 = Education dummy variable ($x_3 = 1$ if completed basic education, $x_3 = 0$ if otherwise)

x_4 = Income

x_5 = Employment status dummy variable ($x_5 = 1$ if employed, $x_5 = 0$ if otherwise)

x_6 = Marital status dummy variable ($x_6 = 1$ if married, $x_6 = 0$ if otherwise)

ε_i = Stochastic term

Table 3.1: Descriptions and expected signs of variable

Variables	Description of Variables	Expected sign
Age	Categorical	Unknown
Gender	Dummy (1= female; 0 = male)	Negative (-)
Education	Dummy (1 = if educated; 0 = No education)	Positive (+)
Basic	Dummy (1=completed JHS; 0= if otherwise)	Positive (+)
Secondary	Dummy (1=completed SHS; 0= if otherwise)	Positive (+)
Tertiary	Dummy (1=completed Tertiary; 0= if otherwise)	Positive (+)
Income	Continuous (GH¢)	Unknown
Employment status	Dummy (1 = if employed; 0 = if otherwise)	Unknown
Marital status	Dummy (1 = if married; 0 = if otherwise)	Unknown

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2017

3.8 Operational Definition of Variables

The study was based on the Theory of Political homogeneity of Social Groups propounded by Lazarsfeld *et al.* (1944). This theory asserts that predisposition influences voting patterns. Lazarsfeld *et al.* (1944) explained that the association between electoral behaviour and the social groups to which they belong is normally positively correlated so that it was possible to explain electoral choices using only the three factors that define the Index of Political Predisposition: socio-economic status, religion and area of residence.

Thus, in this study, variables (demographic and socio-economic) of the individual were entered as independent variables. At the individual level, age, gender, income, employment status, marital status and education were included. The dummy was entered to examine the gender differentials in the predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary election.

Gender (female) is expected to have a negative relationship with predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary election. From religious, cultural and family background, men are expected to cater for the home with the support of women (Etuaful, 2016). The perceived traditional roles of men and women have not changed in relation to daily practice. The working environment for women is still unfriendly at both working and societal levels due to gender stereotypes and patriarchal structures. Women leaders and professionals are still faced with traditional roles and also have to meet work/professional expectations. Neither their husbands nor their male relatives have given way to the changes conduct in by the era of gender equality promotion. As a result,

women are heavily over burdened with domestic responsibilities, and much of their time is consumed doing home based responsibilities than public oriented responsibilities.

This also implies that men's psychological orientation to hold and solve domestic responsibilities and activities is sought to be very significantly low. Therefore domestic activities and the general management of the house serve as a barrier facing those women who wish to take a more active role in the political and public decision making. Women exclude themselves from participating in politics because of the oppressive culture which made them to be convinced that politics and leadership is for men (Author's field survey, 2018). The gender (females) dummy is expected to have a higher tendency to vote for a male candidate (control group) than a female candidate.

Eligible voters with education have more tendency to vote for a person irrespective of gender than those without any education. This is because educated voters appreciate the role education plays in democracy and political activities. The implication is that, people with formal education on the average have more knowledge about politics and importance of gender equality in economic development of a country and are more likely to vote for female candidate just to balance the gender inequalities in political arena to promote economic growth. On the other hand, people with no education are less likely to vote for a female parliamentary candidate because on the average they have the perception that females were born to manage the house and deal with domestic issue at the household level. Therefore will not vote for a female candidate even if the female candidate have the requisite knowledge and skills than her male counterpart.

The relation between marital status and the predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections is unknown. Empirically, studies have revealed a mixed relationship between the dependent variable (predisposition of voters to vote for women) and marital status. Generally married people are more burdened with home management and other family issues than their counterpart and therefore do not have enough time to mingle themselves more in political campaign and identifying political figures so easily and they believe strongly in voting for their political parties irrespective of the candidate being a male or female. The study therefore expects either positive or negative relationship between marital status and predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections.

The study expects Age to have a positive relationship with the predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections. As an individual advances in age, he or she votes based on policies and not gender while the younger age votes based on friendship and the candidate who is prepared to give out money irrespective of the candidate's policies and agenda he or she is bringing on board. According to the theory of Human Capital Model, as an individual advances in age, the rate of depreciation in the health stock of the individual increases creating room for high tendency for the person to increase his or her utilization in healthcare than the younger age. The implication is that based on this theory the age group between 40 – 60 years votes for policies that will enhance and improve their health life irrespective of the candidate being a female or male. Therefore the study expects age to predict positively about the tendency to vote for a female contesting in parliamentary elections.

Employment status has a mixed relationship with the predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary election (Author's field survey, 2018). People engaged in meaningful job are expected to have less incentive to engage in political campaign or vote for a candidate base on gender than those without any meaningful job. This is because the employed is occupied by work and in most cases has less leisure time for political talks and will therefore vote for a person if and only if the candidate has the requisite skills, knowledge and policies that will help him or her secure his or her job. On the other hand, the unemployed have more time at their disposal to listen and join campaign programmes which will give them information on policies that will help them secure better jobs or will vote for a candidate who will create favourable economic environment that will boost employment opportunities for them to be engage in meaning work irrespective of the candidate being a male or female. Therefore employment status which is a dummy variable is expected to predict positively or negatively about the tendency to vote for a female contesting in parliamentary elections.

Finally, based on empirical evidence, there is a mixed relationship between Income and the predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections. Irrespective of income levels or brackets individuals will vote for a candidate irrespective of candidate being a male or female. Eligible voters are interested in policies and measures that will put money in their pocket and are not interested in whether the parliamentary candidate is a female or male. Therefore Income which is a continuous variable is expected to predict positively or negatively about the tendency to vote for a female contesting in parliamentary elections.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This study identified the factors that predispose voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections in Manhyia. This chapter describes the data on the sampled respondents and uses Logit regression results in discussing the factors that predisposes voters to vote for women in parliamentary election. Also, estimates from the logit regression are used for the analysis of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of eligible voters in Manhyia South Constituency. Data have been organised, presented and discussed under the following themes:

- i. Demographic characteristics of electorates/voters in the Manhyia constituency.
- ii. Factors that predispose electorates to vote for women contestants in parliamentary elections in Manhyia constituency.
- iii. The link between demographic characteristics of the electorates and their predisposition to vote for women contestants in parliamentary elections.

4.1 Demographic Characteristics of Voters in the Manhyia Constituency

The demographic data of the respondent voters or electorates cover the following attributes: gender, age, educational status, marital status, employment status, income level per month, and residency status in the constituency.

Table 4.1: Demographic characteristics of voters in the Manhyia constituency

		(n = 400)	
Variable	Variable category	F	%
1. Gender	Male	107	26.8
	Female	293	73.2
2. Age (yrs.)	18-40	256	64.0
	41-60	83	20.8
	61 and above	61	15.2
	No education	49	12.3
3. Educational status	Basic	65	16.3
	Secondary	167	41.8
	Tertiary	119	20.8
4. Marital status	Single	146	36.5
	Married	284	63.5
5. Employment status	Employed	284	71.0
	Unemployed	116	29.0
6. Income per month	Less than GH¢ 200.00	109	27.3
	GH¢ 200.00 – 500.00	172	43.0
	GH¢ 600.00 – 1,000.00	71	17.7
	More than GH¢ 1,000.00	48	12.0
7. Response on whether respondents are resident in the constituency	Yes	342	85.5
	No	58	14.5

Source: Field survey, 2017.

Key: F = Frequency; % = Percentage

Table 4.1 shows that out of the 400 voter respondents, 107 (26.8%) of them were males and the remaining 293 (73.2%) were females. The results indicated that there were more female than male voter respondents who took part in the study. In terms of the age distribution of the voter respondents, the majority (256) which represents 64% of the respondents were between 18 and 40 years of age. This was followed by 83 (20.8%) respondents who were within the ages of 41-60, and 61 (15.2%) respondents were 61 years of age and above. This result implies that age group is skewed towards the youth.

The distribution of the voter respondents by educational status is skewed towards respondents who had formal education (351 = 87.8%). This comprised those who had secondary education (167 = 41.8%). This was followed by those who had tertiary education (119 = 29.8%) and basic education (65 = 16.3%). The respondents who had no formal education constituted 49 representing 12.3%.

On marital status of the voter respondents; 284 (63.5%) of them were married, whereas 146 (36.5%) respondents were single, that is never married, divorced or separated and widowed. It is evident that majority (63.5%) of the voter respondents were married.

The majority (284) which represents 71% of the voter respondents were employed, whereas 116 (29%) of them were unemployed. On income levels of the voter respondents, 109 (27.3%) respondents earned less than GH¢ 200.00 as wage or salary income per month. Also, 172 (43.0%) respondents earned between GH¢ 200.00 and GH¢ 500.00 whilst, 71 (17.7%) of them earned between GH¢ 600.00 and GH¢ 1,000.00 as wage or salary income per month. The remaining 48 (12.0%) of the voter respondents earned more than GH¢ 1,000.00 per month. On whether respondents are resident in the constituency; the majority (342 = 85.5%) of the respondents answered in the affirmative, whereas 58 (14.5%) gave negative (no) response.

4.2 Factors that Predispose Electorates to Vote for Women Contestants in

Parliamentary Elections in Manhyia South Constituency

This theme discusses the determinants of voter predisposition to vote for women contestants in parliamentary elections in the Manhyia South Constituency. These determinants or factors are categorised into demographic, attitudinal factors and

structural factors. The demographic determinants include the age, educational status, income status, marital status, ethnicity, and religion of voter. The attitudinal factors include political interest, civic duty, political connectedness and social connectedness. Also, the structural factors include voter mobilization and voter registration. The data is presented as frequency count and percentage in tables.

Table 4.2: Factors that predispose electorates to vote for women contestants in parliamentary elections in Manhyia constituency

Factor	Strongly Agree F(%)	Agree F(%)	Not sure F(%)	Disagree F(%)	Strongly disagree F(%)
Age of voter	100(25)	135(34)	0(0)	105(26)	60(15)
Education status of voter	145(36)	110(28)	0(0)	45(11)	100(25)
Income of voter	190(48)	210(53)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)
Marital status of voter	63(16)	137(34)	35(9)	100(25)	65(16)
Ethnicity of voter	105(26)	135(34)	0(0)	70(18)	90(22)
Religion of voter	105(26)	185(46)	15(4)	90(23)	5(1)
Political interest	85(21)	201(50)	5(1)	100(25)	9(2)
Civic duty	115(29)	285(71)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)
Political connectedness	170(43)	125(31)	0(0)	105(26)	0(0)
Social connectedness	170(43)	125(31)	0(0)	105(26)	0(0)
Voter mobilization efforts	110(28)	155(39)	0(0)	90(22)	45(11)
Voter registration	95(24)	190(48)	0(0)	0(0)	115(29)

Source: Field survey, 2017.

Key: F = Frequency; % = Percentage

Note: The figures in parentheses are in percentage.

Table 4.2 presents data concerning the factors that predispose electorates to vote for women contestants in parliamentary elections in Manhyia constituency. The majority (59%) of the electorates cited age (maturity) as a factor influencing their decision to vote for women in parliamentary elections. However, 41% respondents disagreed with the statement. Similarly, 64% of the respondents affirmed that educational status of the voter was a predisposing factor to vote for women candidates. Thirty-six percent (36%) respondents held opposing views. All (100%) the respondents asserted that their income status was a predisposing factor to vote for women candidates in parliamentary elections. Fifty percent (50%) respondents agreed, 41% disclaimed this statement while 9% were undecided that their marital status influenced the decision to vote for women parliamentary contestants. Sixty percent (60%) respondents cited ethnic background as a factor that influenced their decision to vote for women parliamentary candidates. However, 40% respondents held contrary views. The majority (72%) respondents averred that their religious affiliation or status predisposed them to vote for women parliamentary candidates. However, 24% of the respondents held opposing views while 4% were undecided.

In addition, 71% of the respondents indicated that their political interest or interest in politics predisposed them to vote for women parliamentary candidates. However, 27% respondents disagreed with the statement while 1% was undecided. All (100%) the respondents mentioned civic duty as a factor that predisposed them to vote for women candidates in parliamentary elections. A large number (74%) of the respondents stated that political connectedness and/or affiliation influenced their decision to vote for women candidates in parliamentary elections. However, 26% respondents held incongruent

views. Similarly, 74% of the respondents held that social connectedness or affiliation influenced their decision to vote for women candidates in parliamentary elections. However, 26% of the respondents held opposing views.

Sixty-seven percent (67%) respondents agreed, while 33% disagreed with the statement that voter mobilization and campaign efforts by political parties and women parliamentary contestants influenced their decision to vote for women. Also, 71% respondents averred that voter registration influenced their decision to vote for women parliamentary contestants. However, 29% respondents held divergent views.

It could be concluded from the results in Table 4.2 that income status of voters (100%) and civic duty or responsibility (100%) were significant factors that predisposed electorates to vote for women contestants in parliamentary elections in Manhyia constituency. These were followed by political connectedness or affiliation (74%), social connectedness (74%), religious affiliation (72%), political interest or interest in politics (71%), efficient voter registration system, and voter mobilization (67%).

It also came to light that voter educational status (64%), ethnic background (60%), age (59%) and marital status (50%) of voters influenced their decision to vote for women contestants in parliamentary elections. It also emerged from the findings of the study that income status, ethnicity and religious affiliation of the voter influence voter predisposition to vote for women parliamentary candidates. The finding of this study that the age of voter influence his/her gender choice of parliamentary representative contradicts the views of Douglas (2014) who observed that the age of a voter in Kenya does not influence his/her gender choice of parliamentary representative. The finding of this study, however, validates the views of Kate (1970) and Damiola (2010) who revealed

that in more traditional societies, age correlate positively with the rational choice for women representatives.

It also unfolds from the findings of this study that economic (employment and income) status of the voter predispose him/her to vote women parliamentary candidates. This evidence concurs with the views of Budge *et al.* (1976) and *Arrows* (1986) who stated that the employed are more likely to be inclined to voting for female candidates holding all things constant. Other studies by Ahmed *et al.* (2012) indicated that financial status has underlying implication for voter participation and women representations in politics.

Several points can be made based on the data in Table 4.2. First, the data is positively skewed. Hence, there is a general positive sense that all the factors in the table are considered as important determinants of voter participation. On all indicators, half (50%) or more of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed, indicating that the factors that predispose electorates to vote for women parliamentary candidates are complex and probably interconnected to many social, demographic and political factors. However, the responses relating to the total number of those who either strongly agreed or agreed highlighted three major factors. These were: demographic, attitudinal and structural factors. The indication is that most of the participants were sure that these factors play an important role in voter dynamics and participation in parliamentary elections.

It is evident from the data in the Table 4.2 that the respondents generally favoured attitudinal factors such as civic duty, political connectedness, social connectedness and political interest. This was followed by structural factors which were voter mobilization and voter registration. Demographic factors such as educational status, ethnic

background, age and marital status of the voter were the least responses. This finding suggests that attitudinal factors account more for voter predisposition to vote for women parliamentary candidates than structural and demographic factors.

With regard to the attitudinal factors that mostly account for voter predisposition to vote for women parliamentary candidates, the most frequently chosen predictors (factors or determinants) were civic duty (100%). This was followed by political connectedness (74%) and social connectedness (74%). The least frequently chosen response was political interest (71%). This would suggest that issues such as civic duty, political affiliation, social affiliation or networks (social capital) and political interest play major role in voter participation in elections. This might explain why turnout in parliamentary elections in the constituency is always high.

As the results showed, attitudinal factors account more for voter participation in parliamentary elections than demographic and structural factors. These findings contradict arguments within the literature suggesting that a major cause of voter apathy is a general lack of agency where citizens doubt their ability to make a difference (Agaigbe, 2015; Harder & Krosnick, 2008; Hajnal & Lewis, 2003). Attitudinal factors should be highlighted because it seems their impact on parliamentary and presidential level elections is overtly visible. One explanation might be that political connectedness and social connectedness becomes more of an issue when it is a parliamentary and presidential election. One hypothesis that can be developed is that voter participation in parliamentary election is more during national elections because voters compete to ensure that their political and social interests find expression nationally. This accounts for

common knowledge in Ghana about how people crisscross the country during national elections to vote.

Concerning the structural factors, it is observed that voter registration mostly account for voter participation in parliamentary elections in the Manhyia constituency. This was followed by voter mobilisation through voter education and campaign activities. This finding suggests that voter registration and mobilisation efforts account more for voter participation. The finding that voter mobilization, especially through voter education and campaigning activities meant that the respondents were sure that voter mobilisation plays an important role in voter participation. The assumption would be that more education and voter mobilization produces more voter participation. Among the structural factors, voter registration account more for voter participation than other structural factors such voter mobilisation and voter education. This supports ideas that reforming voter registration necessary necessarily connects with the questions of voter participation as they play key roles in predisposing voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections. People vote in favour of a party (Lazarsfeld *et al.*, 1944).

4.3 The link Between Demographic Characteristics of the Electorates and Predisposition to Vote for Women Contestants

Table 4.3 describes the explanatory variables used in the estimation of the logit model. The choice of these variables such as educational status, income, age, ethnicity, religion, employment status, marital status and gender are based on literature (Brenya *et al.*, 2005) as they play key roles in predisposing voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections.

A summary of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the sampled respondents in the study area showed that, the actual mean estimates for the variables in the empirical model did not show much variation. The result revealed that approximately 82% out of the 400 sampled respondents predicted ‘yes’ meaning they will vote for a female candidate in the parliamentary elections irrespective of gender difference. The age structure of the sampled respondents ranged from 18 to 94 years with the mean age of 38 years which falls within the productive age.

Table 4.3 Summary description statistics of variables in the empirical model

Variables	Frequency	Percentage	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min. Value	Max. Value
Dependent var.			0.82	0.383	0	1
Yes for female	329	82.3				
No for female	71	17.8				
Age			1.51	0.746	1	3
18 – 40 years	256	64.0				
41 – 60 years	83	20.8				
61+ years	61	15.2				
Gender			0.74	0.438	0	1
Male	103	25.8				
Female	293	74.2				
Education			0.88	0.328	0	1
No education	49	12.3				
With Education	351	87.8				
<i>Basic</i>	65	16.3				
<i>Secondary</i>	167	41.8				
<i>Tertiary</i>	119	29.8				
Income (GH¢)			541	296.7	60	2500
Employ. Status			0.71	0.454	0	1
Employed	284	71.0				
Unemployed	116	29.0				
Marital status			0.64	0.482	0	1
Single	146	36.5				
Married	254	63.5				

Field survey, 2017

The minimum and the maximum monthly income of the sample population were GH¢60 and GH¢ 2,500 respectively with the average income of GH¢540. Majority (74%) of respondents in the sample population were females and the remaining 26% as males. Similarly 71% of the sampled respondents were employed while 29% were unemployed. On academic qualification, people with Junior High School (J.H.S) qualification accounted for 16.3%, Senior High school (S.H.S) accounted for 41.8% and tertiary level constituted 29.8% of the sample population while 12.3% of the sampled respondents were people without any formal education respectively. From the results, 63.5% of the sampled respondents were married with the remaining 36.5% as singles (widow/er, divorce or single).

4.3.1 Analysis of logit regression results

The regression results of the logit model is represented in Table 4.4.

$$y_i = \ln \frac{p}{1-p} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_1 + \beta_2 x_2 + \beta_3 x_3 + \beta_4 x_4 + \beta_5 x_5 + \beta_6 x_6 + \varepsilon_i$$

Table 4.4 Results from logit model

Variables	Coefficients	Std. Err.	t – statistic	p–value
Constant	-5.091441***	1.166027	-4.37	0.000
Demographic Factors				
<i>Age</i>				
18 – 40 years	0.112	0.676	0.11	0.930
41 – 60 years	0.063	0.712		0.869
<i>Gender [Female]</i>	0.130131	0.512088	0.25	0.799
<i>Marital status</i>	2.226094***	0.476788	4.67	0.000
Economic Variable				
<i>Monthly Income</i>	0.003485***	0.001039	3.35	0.001
<i>Employment stati</i>	2.741911***	0.489197	5.60	0.000
Education				
<i>Basic</i>	1.465827	0.966467	1.52	0.129
<i>Secondary</i>	1.685467**	0.844429	2.00	0.046
<i>Tertiary</i>	0.9152326	0.815856	1.12	0.262

The logit regression results (Table 4.4) using STATA version 13 software package shows that most of the coefficients are consistent with hypothesized relations and their test of significance (p - values) help to indicate their importance in explaining the likelihood of predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections among the sampled respondents.

Table 4.5 Summary results from logit model

Overall statistics	Goodness – of – fit Test	p–value
	Hosmer – Lemeshow chi squared = 8.81	(0.310)
	Likelihood Ratio chi squared (9) = 220.90	(0.0000)
	Log likelihood Test =	-76.5838
	Pseudo R ² =	0.591
	Correctly classified	82.0%
***significant at 1%; Number of Observation = 400	**significant at 5%;	*significant at 10%

Age (years) as a categorical variable has positive relationship with the likelihood of predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections. The positive signs (0.112) and (0.063) of the coefficient 18 – 40 years and 41 – 60 years respectively of ages means that an increase in age is more likely to vote for a female aspirant contesting in general parliamentary election among the sample population. Holding all other variables constant as an individual advances in age, he or she is more likely to vote for a female candidate if the policies outlined by the female candidate will benefit him or her as proposed by theory that people vote in favour of a party (Lazarsfeld *et al.*, 1944) if and only if his marginal benefit is greater than the cost of maintaining that party (individual)

in question. But the p-values (0.869) and (0.930) respectively indicate that, the coefficient of age is statistically insignificant in the empirical model at 5% significance level. The implication is that, age has no significant impact on predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections. Thus, the age of a voter does not influence his gender choice of parliamentary representative. Douglas (2014) discovered similar trend in Kenya. This a particular age group does not influence the choice to vote for a female parliamentary representative. Meanwhile Kate (1970) and Damiola (2010) revealed that in more traditional societies, age correlate positively with the rational choice for women representatives. Hence, the older the voter, the lower the chance of voting for women, while the younger generation tend to be resistive to older traditional notions. The non-correlation of age to voter predisposition to vote for females in this present study may be due to the affluent nature of the Manhyia South Constituency.

Female as a dummy variable did not meet the expected sign in the empirical model. The positive sign (0.130) of the coefficient of female means that females are more likely to vote for a female parliamentary candidate more than males (control group), holding all other variables constant as a form of bridging the gap between the numbers of males as parliamentarians as compared to the females. The positive sign also indicate that females now understand gender equity and the positive correlation it has with economic growth and development. The p-value (0.799) indicates that the coefficient of female is statistically insignificant in the empirical model at 1% and 5% significance level. The implication is that, in this present study, gender has no significant impact on the predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections. Melesse and Ojulu (2014) discovered different trend in rural Ethiopia where voting traversed gender lines.

However, Lupia *et al.* (2000), in presenting the elements of reason revealed that the affluent do not consider gender when it comes to decision making. Therefore, the trend of this study could be due to the affluent nature of the constituency. In such instances, voters are more focused on policy presentation rather than identifying with sex groups.

Education as a dummy variable met the expected sign in the empirical model. The positive sign (2.0326) of the overall coefficient of education means that people with education irrespective of the respondent's level of education are more likely to vote for a female parliamentary candidate in a general election than people without formal education (control group), holding all other variables constant. The coefficient of the education dummies (basic and tertiary) are positive and insignificant at 5% significance level with the exception of secondary education which was significant at 5% significance level. The implication is that having access to education gives the individual more knowledge about policies and importance of gender equality in development. Thus, the p-value (0.031) of the overall coefficient of education indicates that, education is statistically significant in the model at 5% significance level. The implication is that, according to the statistical evidence at hand, having education has significant impact on the choice of females as parliamentary representative. Wright (1977) and Lupia *et al.* (2000), have previously indicated the importance of education to a sexless society. To realize equal opportunities and predispositions for both males and females, education is key. Consequently, the present study revealed the relevance of education to promoting women representation in parliamentary elections in particular, and politics as a whole.

Income (monthly) as a quantitative variable has a positive relationship with the predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections. The positive sign

(0.00349) of the coefficient of income indicates that people with higher income are more likely to vote for a female contesting in parliamentary election, holding all other variables constant. From theory and empirical evidence, there is a positive relationship between income and education. This is because people with education are more likely to be employed than their counterpart with no education. The p-value (0.001) indicates that the coefficient of income is statistically significant at 1% significance level. The implication is that, income has a significant positive impact on the probability of voting a female candidate in parliamentary elections. Ahmed *et al.* (2012) indicated that financial status has underlying implication for women representations in politics. The notion prevails among the poor that men are generally rich and should be voted into political office. However, among the rich (as revealed by this study), that notion does not count. Arrows (1986) in his write-up on “The Behavioural Foundations of Economic Theory” indicated that economic independence frees one mind to be able to make rational decisions devoid of traditional, religious and cultural bias. It was revealed from this study that as one’s income status increases, the greater the predisposition of the person to vote for women.

Employment status as a dummy variable has a positive sign as against unknown in the empirical model. The positive sign of the coefficient of employment status means that the employed are more likely to vote for a female candidate contesting in parliamentary election than the unemployed (control group), holding all other variables constant. The p-value (0.000) indicates that, the coefficient of employment status is statistically significant at 1% and 5% significance level. The implication is that at 1% significance level, an individual engage in meaning job is more likely to vote for a female candidate and as such employment status has a significant impact on the tendency for an individual

to vote for a female candidate contesting in parliamentary elections. Theories of economic independence and rational behavior asserts that the employed are more likely to be inclined to voting for female candidates holding all things constant (Budge *et al.*, 1976; Arrows, 1986). Blais (2000) in his “Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory” alludes that secured employment affects several aspects of an individual’s life, especially in the ability to take rational decisions. Such people as in affluent societies focus on merits and not just associations. It stands to reason that, the employed are more likely to vote for a female parliamentary contestant provided she presents desired policies and has capabilities to achieving them.

Marital status as a dummy variable has a positive sign as against unknown in the empirical model. The positive sign of the coefficient of marital status means that, married people are more likely to vote for a female candidate than singles (control group), holding all other variables constant. But the p-value (0.000) indicates that the coefficient of marital status is statistically significant in the empirical model at 1% and 5% significance level. The implication is that, marital status has a positive significant impact on the tendency for an individual to vote for a female candidate contesting in parliamentary elections.

Together, all the demographic and socio-economic variables have significant impact on the tendency for an individual to vote for a female candidate contesting in parliamentary elections because the Hosmer and Lemeshow test (8.81) has a p-value (0.310) which is statistically significant at $p > 5\%$ significance level.

The Likelihood ratio (LR) Test = 220.90 (p-value: 0.000) indicates that the model has a poor fit with the model containing only the constant indicating that the independent variables or the explanatory variables do have a significant effect in the determination of the dependent variable (predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections).

The overall Specification test statistics from the result indicates 82%, meaning a best fit model. The Pseudo $R^2 = 0.5905$ indicating a moderate strong relationship of approximately 60% between the dependent variable (predisposition of voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections) and the independent variables or about 60% of the total variation in voters predisposition to vote for women in parliamentary elections is explained by the variation in the explanatory variable.

4.3.2 Test of multicollinearity in the empirical model

There is no collinearity problem with the sample data. Table 4.5 gives the collinearity of each variable in the empirical model using SPSS version 20 software package. There is a negative weak correlation between education and age which takes the highest value of 0.321 with the least correlation between age and gender accounting for 0.007 from the Table 4.5.

The implication is that, there is no collinearity problem with the sample data of the study. In other words, multicollinearity has no role to play with the statistical evidence of the study.

Table 4.6 Multicollinearity Test

Parameter	Constant	Gender	Age(1)	Age(2)	Education	Income	Employment	Marital
Constant	1.000							
Gender	-.490	1.000						
Age(1)	-.335	-.015	1.000					
Age(2)	-.387	-.007	.735	1.000				
Education	-.207	.259	-.321	-.236	1.000			
Income	-.522	.037	.026	.058	-.170	1.000		
Employment	-.332	-.016	.046	.089	.218	.123	1.000	
Marital	-.396	.070	.065	.075	.092	.124	.055	1.000

Field survey, 2017



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the entire study, touching on the focus of the study, method of sampling and analysis and major findings. Thus, it provides a review of the major findings from the data analysis and discussion of results. It also includes the conclusion of the study after which policy recommendations are made.

5.1 Summary

The study focused on identifying the factors that predisposes voters to vote for women in parliamentary elections. It sought to find out the factors affecting voters' behavior when presented with female contestants in parliamentary elections. Hence, this research work aimed at identifying specific challenges that militate against women participation in parliamentary elections by investigating the circumstances that prevail against their election into the parliament of Ghana, using the Manhyia Constituency as a case study.

The target population of interest for the study was eligible voters in the Manhyia South constituency with specific emphasis on resident voters of Manhyia South. The study used 2010 population census data to tabulate the total eligible voters to be 94,524, comprising 43,755 males and 50,769 females. Based on the formula proposed by Yamane (1967) for sample size determination, a total of 400 eligible voters were randomly selected for the study.

The researcher conducted a primary research using the case study research design. Thus, the Manhyia Constituency in the Ashanti Region, which is seen as one of the most affluent constituencies in Ghana, was used for this case study, from which results may be extrapolated for the entire country. The empirical research method was adopted to investigate this contemporary phenomenon and included a method comprehensive with the logic of planning, gathering and data analysis. Completely randomized research sampling design was also used to select the respondents.

Structured questionnaire was used for data collection. This, formulated research questions consistent with the objectives of the study, fundamentally informed the development of research items in addition to references made to several instruments and scales. The response types of the questionnaire items (variables) were mostly pre-coded. The response types were grouped into two; demographic and socio – economic factors of the eligible voters. The research instrument was pre-tested at Dichemso and Manhyia with 33 respondents to ascertain its validity and effectiveness before the actual collection of data. Again, a comprehensive review of theories and empirical studies that were relevant to the research questions were done in order to identify models that had bearing on factors that predisposes voters to vote for women in parliamentary election.

Data were collected between the months of January, 2017 to March, 2017 after a pre-test of the research instrument had been conducted. Respondents were selected at random. The data collection was conducted in Dichemso, Afia Kobi, Manhyia, K.O, Odumase and CPC. After administering the questionnaires, the data were coded, entered into the SPSS (version 20) statistical software and cleaned, before commencing data analysis using STATA (version 13) for the write-up. Both qualitative and quantitative analysis were

conducted. Qualitative data analysis used univariate level statistical analysis involving descriptive statistics (usually, frequency, percentages, maximum and minimum value and means). Quantitatively, the logit model was used to explain the theories behind the link between the independent variables and the dependent variable. A mathematical model was established for the theoretical model as $Q_{ij} = f(DF, SE)$; where Q_{ij} = predisposition of voters to vote for women, DF = demographic factors and SE = socio-economic factors.

Consequently, the study revealed that;

- a. eighty-two percent (82%) of respondent were willing to vote for a female candidate in the parliamentary elections irrespective of gender difference.
- b. all the independent variables in the empirical model were statistically significant at 95% confidence level apart from age and gender which were not statistically significant at 95% confidence interval. The implication is that, marital status, educational level, income and employment status have significant effect on the likelihood of an individual to vote for a female candidate in parliamentary election according to statistical evidence of the study.
- c. all the independent variables have significant impact on the tendency to engage in moral hazard because the Likelihood ratio (LR) test statistic (220.90) has p-value (0.000) which is statistically significant at even 1% error rate ($p < 0.01$) and also the Hosmer - Lemeshow test statistic (8.81) has a p-value (0.310) which is not statistically significant at 5% error rate ($p < 0.05$).

- d. the employed are more likely to vote for a female candidate contesting for parliamentary election.
- e. at 99% confidence interval as individual gets married their preference for candidate contesting for parliamentary election favours female candidate. Thus, married individuals, irrespective of gender, showed a positive relationship with the tendency to vote for female candidate contesting for parliamentary election at 99% confidence level.
- f. income was statistically significant at 99% confidence level and showed a positive relationship with the tendency to vote for female candidate contesting for parliamentary election. The implication is that as individual's income increases, there is a greater percentage for these individuals to vote for a female candidate contesting for parliamentary elections.
- g. education showed a positive correlation with the tendency to vote for a female candidate contesting for parliamentary election at 95% confidence interval. The implication is that an increase in educational level reduces the tendency to vote for male candidate contesting for parliamentary election. The coefficient of the education dummy (secondary level) is also positive and significant at 5% error rate as well indicating that having access to secondary education increases the probability of voting for a female candidate contesting for parliamentary election.

5.2 Conclusions

The demographic characteristics affect voters' choice for female contestants. It can be concluded from the findings that, education, marital status, employment status and

Income are the main factors that affect the disposition of females to be voted for in parliamentary election in Manhyia South Constituency. Thus, the demographic description of the eligible voters, correlated positively with the possibility of female contestants to be elected into parliament. Most eligible voters are more likely to vote for a female candidate contesting for parliamentary elections. The study further reveals that the affluent are more likely to vote for female parliamentary representative. The set objectives in chapter one are fully achieved.

5.3 Recommendations

From the descriptive summary, 82% of eligible voters are willing to vote for a female contesting for parliamentary election. 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 for increased participation by women in politics and policy-making. Also, political parties should endeavour to be more pragmatic, committed and forthcoming on women's role in politics and public offices.

The study identifies education as a key indicator, since education showed a positive significant impact ability to vote for female parliamentary candidate. Government should make secondary education accessible to all to increase the awareness of the concept and knowledge about female politics and importance of gender equality in economic development of a country.

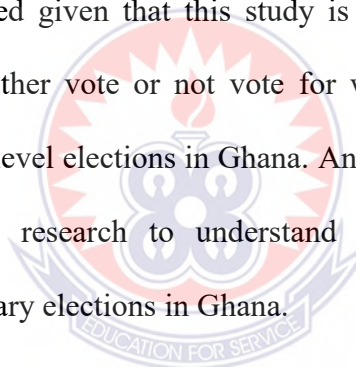
In a nutshell, women need to take advantage of any opportunity that offers itself for the achievement of the goal of increasing the numbers, presence and impact of women in politics and public office.

5.4 Limitations

The study concentrated only on Manhyia South constituency hence making a generalization for the entire country might not necessarily reflect the true picture. Secondly, some eligible voters were reluctant to answer the questionnaire during the data collection. However, the respondents were assured of their confidentiality. They were also briefed on the purpose of the research and that the results were to be used for research only. In this regard, they willingly provided the information.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

Further research is required given that this study is not exhaustive of the factors that influence electorates to either vote or not vote for women contestants in presidential, parliamentary and district level elections in Ghana. Analysis of voter statistics should also be a major concern for research to understand the dynamics involved in voter participation in parliamentary elections in Ghana.



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APPENDIX

SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE USED FOR THE STUDY

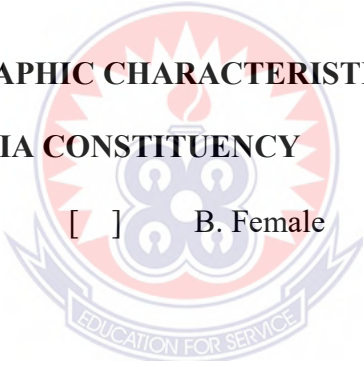
University of Education, Winneba

Department of Social Studies

This questionnaire is prepared to obtain data for research purposes. The research seeks to find answers to the predisposition of voters to vote for women *in the parliamentary race in the Manhyia North Constituency*. You are therefore encouraged to be as honest as possible with your responses. Please have the assured that your responses will strictly be kept as confidential and used for the intended purpose(s) only.

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF VOTERS IN THE

MANHYIA CONSTITUENCY

- 
1. Sex: A. Male B. Female
2. Age (in years):
- A. 18 to 30
- B. 31 to 40
- C. 41 to 50
- D. 51 and above
3. Educational level:
- A. Basic
- B. Senior High School
- C. Tertiary
- D. No Formal Education
- E. Others (Please specify).....
4. Marital status:
- A. Single
- B. Married

5. Employment status:
- A. Employed []
- B. Unemployed []
6. Income per month
- A. Less than GH¢ 200.00 []
- B. GH¢ 200.00 – 500.00 []
- C. GH¢ 600.00 – 1,000.00 []
- A. More than GH¢ 1,000.00 []
7. Are you a resident in the constituency?
- A. Yes [] B. No []

SECTION B: FACTORS THAT PREDISPOSE VOTERS TO VOTE FOR

WOMEN CONTESTANTS IN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Instruction: Please, state your agreement or disagreement with the items in the table by using the Likert scale below:

SA = Strongly Agree; A = Agree; NS= Not Sure; D = Disagree; SD = Strong Disagree

In your opinion, which of the following factors predispose and encourage voters to vote for women contestants in parliamentary elections in the Manhyia North constituency?

Item	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
8. Gender of voter					
9. Age of voter					
10. Level of education of voter					
11. Marital status of voter					
12. Employment status of voter					
13. Income status of voter					
14. Ethnicity of voter					
15. Religious affiliation of voter					
16. Political interest					

17. Civic duty					
18. Political connectedness					
19. Social connectedness					
20. Voter mobilization					
21. Voter registration					

Thank you

