



A GENDER ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL APPOINTMENTS IN GHANA SINCE INDEPENDENCE



INSTITUTE OF LOCAL
GOVERNMENT STUDIES

**FRIEDRICH
EBERT** 
STIFTUNG

INSTITUTE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT
STUDIES (ILGS)
AND
FRIEDRICH-ERBERT-STIFTUNG

**A GENDER ANALYSIS
OF POLITICAL
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SINCE INDEPENDENCE**

REPORT 2018

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ACRONYMS

CA	- Consultative Assembly
CEO	- Chief Executive Officer
CEDAW	- Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
DCE	- District Chief Executive
ECOSOC	- Economic and Social Council
GAF	- Ghana Armed Forces
GoG	- Government of Ghana
GSS	- Ghana Statistical Service
IDI	- In-depth Interview
ILGS	- Institute of Local Government Studies
IPU	- Inter Parliamentary Union
JHS	- Junior High School
MDA	- Ministries, Department and Agencies
MDGs	- Millennium Development Goals
MMDCE	- Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executive
NCCE	- National Commission for Civic Education
NDC	- National Democratic Congress
NDPC	- National Development Planning Commission
NGO	- Non-Governmental Organization
NPP	- New Patriotic Party
PRAAD	- Public Records and Archive Administration Department
SDG	- Sustainable Development Goals
SHS	- Senior High School
SPSS	- Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UN	- United Nations
UNDP	- United Nations Development Programme
VocS	- Vocational School

FOREWORD

Reflections on Gender are vital in development programmes and strategies for societies and individuals to realize inclusive growth and development. Women and men have distinct but complementary roles and tasks in homes, communities and in nation building. Ideally, they contribute equally to nation building, when more control is skewed towards men the benefit is never realized in full.

One of the key strategies of FES and ILGS is to work to promote gender equality and female representation in politics. Thus, in order to assess the benefit of democracy and inclusive governance, it is important to examine the gender equality situation to determine how all citizens are playing their roles and responsibilities, their access and control over resources and their relative condition and position in public life so as to inform policy, planning and implementation for inclusive growth.

This report is not only highlighting the progress, gaps and opportunities in the gender equalization process, but also highlights the achievement and challenges of female appointees in their quest to contribute their quota in a male dominated political arena. It is therefore hoped that the recommendations of the report will guide government and all other stakeholders to work towards providing the nurturing and rewarding environments for gender equality and advancement.

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empowerment. Last but not the least, we would like to express our gratitude to the Ghanaian men and women, community and assembly members, public servants, past and present political appointees and academicians who contributed their time and energy and shared their stories to make this study possible.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

One way of assessing the impact of efforts by Governments in Ghana to mainstream gender and enhance women's participation in politics is to examine the opportunities and positions offered women to serve in various capacities at the national/regional and district levels. The key objective of this research therefore was to examine the gender dimensions of political appointments since Ghana attained independence. Specifically, the study sought to: examine the number of female and male appointees of governments from 1960-2017; identify the factors that motivated appointees to take up political positions; establish the various areas/sectors of appointments; identify the corresponding gender and regional balance in the appointments; and examine the achievements and challenges of women appointees. The study, which adopted both qualitative and quantitative methods, was conducted in four regions of Ghana, namely: Greater Accra, Ashanti, Western and Northern Regions. The selection of the four regions was based on their cosmopolitan nature, representativeness and relatively large population sizes. In all, 200 respondents were selected randomly for the survey while 19 participants were purposefully selected for the in-depth Interviews. Political appointees were selected and interviewed regarding their experiences, whereas non-appointees were selected and interviewed regarding their personal views. The quantitative and qualitative data were analysed descriptively and thematically respectively.

Findings of the study showed that since independence in 1957, Ghana has made several efforts to increase the participation of women in governance. The findings also established that the criteria

for appointment to political positions were the same for males and females, with the level of education being the main criterion for appointment. The study found that both men and women appointees were selected based on their educational background and expertise. In this case, expertise included having some political organizational skills that contribute to the progress of the political party. However, there were perceptions that some sectors have been feminised and are therefore continually occupied by women appointees.

Regarding achievements, the study showed that when given the opportunity women execute their jobs excellently relative to their male counterparts. However, majority (91.5%) of respondents were of the view that women face numerous challenges in their political career while 8.5% disagreed. Negative traditional beliefs and perceptions, negative media reportage and opinions from the public were identified as some of the reasons for the challenges women have in politics. Women also face issues combining their public life roles with their gender roles as wives and caregivers.

The study concludes that Ghana is lagging in the appointment of women into political positions. Considering the multiple roles that women play in the home and communities, they must be major stakeholders who contribute positively to development. Indeed, appointing women in governance especially at the local level can promote and unify communities.

The study recommends, among other things, that there should be massive education by the National Commission for Civic Education and other state institutions to sensitize citizens, on the importance of women's participation in nation building. A code of ethics should be adopted by political parties to implement affirmative action within the political parties to ensure equal representation. In addition, the media, political parties and civil society organizations should highlight

the achievements of women in politics to encourage more women to get involved. This way, successful female politicians would be seen as role models that would inspire other women. Political activism among young men and women should be encouraged at the grassroots level to enable them contest for the leadership of community-based organizations and town development committees thereby preparing them to take more challenging political appointments.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Contemporary democratic values are underpinned by the concept that political influence has its footing in the sovereign will of the people. This means every democratic process must promote the participation and involvement of all citizens, both women and men. Women's under-representation in politics has been recognised since the middle of the last century, a concern that has since attracted worldwide attention. This is partly because of the diverse visible or invisible roles women play in political processes and the benefits that accrue to all when women attain higher measures of socio-economic well-being. Countries such as Argentina, Sweden and Rwanda have made significant progress in women's representation and participation in politics (Paxton et al 2007).

Political participation and representation of women have witnessed collective progress due to alliances of women from all over the

world fighting for equal political rights of women at all levels of the decision-making processes (Ford, 2002). The Copenhagen conference of (1980), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), the Beijing+5 and 10 conferences all identified and recognized the inequality between men and women in the sharing of power and in decision-making. Thus, a 30% target was set for representation of women at all levels to enhance women's participation and representation in politics and decision-making positions (United Nations, 1995). These platforms focused on bridging the gender equality gap through empowerment of women, promoting anti-discriminatory legislations, women's representation and leadership in decision-making, and gender justice in order to ensure a more balanced reflection of the composition of society, while strengthening democracy and ensuring that, women's interests and perspectives are included in government policies (UNDP, 2016).

The implementation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) projected Africa as making progress in women's representation. Rwanda for example, topped the league of women's representation in Parliament worldwide, with 63.8%, showing a sweeping upward change from between 10 and 15% in the period before 1994 (New Times Rwanda, 2013). The momentum to increase women's participation in political and leadership processes is currently receiving universal support through the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). SDG 5, for instance, seeks to ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership, and at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life.

Despite the growing awareness, the process of promoting women's participation and representation has been very slow (Paxton et al 2007), and significant gaps between men's and women's opportunities remain a major challenge to social and economic transformation (UNDP, 2016). In Sub-Saharan Africa, women face issues of oppression in terms of political exclusion. This is due to low education, family resistance, male control over female political

spaces (patriarchy) and inadequate resource mobilization (Tagoe & Abakah, 2015; Jongwiliwan & Thompson, 2013). These barriers prevent women from competing with men for resources and to actively partake in politics. Studies have shown that in Zambia, there are gender differences in communal political activities (Coffe & Bolzendahl, 2011; Ndlovu & Mutale et al., 2013). Men are more likely to register, vote and occupy political offices compared to women who are often marginalized and only provide supportive roles to men in the political scene and other activities. This pattern in Zambia mirrors much of what pertains in most African countries, including Ghana.

Even though females represent about 51% of Ghana's population, women's representation and participation in politics have not seen any significant change since independence. Indeed, the Global Gender Gap Report (2017) ranked Ghana 112 out of 144 countries for the gender index on political empowerment (IPU & UNDP, 2016). Twenty-five years after the restoration of multi-party democracy in 1992, the country still records insignificant representation of women in local and national politics and also in high-level decision-making processes, despite Ghana's involvement in major conventions (Platform for Action, CEDAW, etc.) towards ending discrimination against women. The trajectory of the representation of women in Ghana's parliament (Table 1.1) has revealed that few of them have been voted as parliamentarians, hence the need for measures to be taken to consciously increase the number and participation of women in politics.

Table 1.1: Trends of Parliamentary contestants and those elected from 1960 to 2016 in Ghana.

Year	CONTESTANTS					ELECTED				
	Female	%	Male	%	Total	Female	%	Male	%	Total
2016	137	11	1,121	89	1258	35	12	240	88	275
2012	133	9	1,332	91	1,465	29	10	246	90	275
2008	103	10.7	856	89.3	959	20	8.7	210	91.3	230

2004	104	10.9	849	89.1	953	25	10.9	205	89.1	230
2000	102	9.3	986	90.7	1088	18	9	182	91	200
1996	59	7.6	721	92.4	780	19	9	181	91	200
1992	23	2.9	418	94.8	441	10	5	190	95	200
1979	23	2.9	781	97.1	804	6	4.3	134	95.7	140
1969	7	1.5	472	98.5	479	1	0.7	139	99.3	140
1965	Figure not Known		N/A		N/A	19	18.3	85	81.7	104
1960	52		N/A		N/A	10	10	94	90	104

Source: Tsikata, (2009); Parliament of Ghana, (2017).

The UN's Women Agenda 2030 sets benchmarks to measure the level of progress in bridging the gender gap in women's representation in public offices in the country. These include having a female President or Vice President, holding 60 per cent of ministerial positions, 50 per cent of Vice Chancellor and Professorial positions in the universities, and 60 per cent of Chief Executive Positions in state organizations (Ghana Government, 2016).

1.2 Objectives of the Research

The research aimed at investigating the gender dimensions of political appointments since Ghana's independence to date.

The specific objectives are to:

- Examine the number of female and male appointees under each of the respective governments to date.
- Establish the various areas/sectors of appointments and the corresponding gender and regional balance in the appointments.
- Determine the extent to which appointees are motivated to take up political positions.
- Examine the challenges and achievements of women appointees.

1.3 Significance of the Research

The research is significant for various reasons. Gender inequalities remain significant across sectors and women continue to be disadvantaged relative to men across an array of connections related to health, employment, political participation and education. Thus, the study is meant to contribute to the discourse on gender equality and inform Ghana's attempt to achieve SDG 5 (Gender equality and empowerment of women and girls) in order to bridge the inequality gap in politics and decision-making. Additionally, the findings and recommendations of the study are intended for enriching inputs into the conceptualization and design of policy frameworks. The findings from the research could also be relevant to the identification of challenges that are inherent in the political appointment and election of women. This, it is hoped would generate ideas and the initiation of new strategies to improve women's participation in governance. It is hoped the findings of the study would provide information on topical issues, which will constitute an agenda for stakeholder discussion platforms.

1.4 Methodology and Scope of Study

This section discusses the methods and techniques used for the study, including study area, research design, sample and sampling technique, data collection method and analysis.

1.4.1 Study Area

The study was conducted in four regions of Ghana: Greater Accra, Ashanti, Western and Northern regions. These regions were chosen to ensure a geographical representation of the entire country from the northern (Northern Region) through the middle belt (Ashanti Region) to the southern part (Accra and Western Region) or coastal Ghana. Greater Accra hosts Accra, the capital of Ghana and is geographically the smallest of the ten administrative regions in Ghana. The political administration is made up of 16 administrative districts,

2 metropolitan assemblies, 7 municipal and 7 district assemblies. The economic activities include financial and commercial sectors, fishing, service and food processing (GSS, 2013).

Western Region is located in the south-western part of Ghana and has Sekondi-Takoradi as its administrative regional capital town. The region shares international boundary with Cote d'voire on the West, and an internal boundary with part of Ashanti and Brong Ahafo Regions in the North and Central Region in the East. Agriculture is the major economic activity of the region and it is the highest producer of cocoa in the country. Politically, it has 17 administrative districts; 1 metropolitan, 2 municipal and 14 districts (GSS, 2013).

Ashanti Region has Kumasi as its main regional capital town. It has about 30 administrative districts administered by a Chief Executive officer representing the Central government. This is made up of 1 metropolitan, 7 Municipals and 22 districts. The social administration of the Asante nation is through a traditional system of chieftaincy and elders. In terms of economic activity, agriculture is the main economic activity, followed by wholesale and retail trade (GSS, 2013).

Northern region is located at the North in Ghana and it is the largest among all the regions in Ghana covering an area of 70, 384 square kilometres. The region's capital is Tamale with a political administration made up of 26 districts. Agriculture, hunting and forestry are the main economic activities in the region. The agriculture activity is supported by hot and dry climate, with rainy season (GSS, 2013).

1.4.2 Study Design

The study uses a cross sectional data analysis and employs a mixed methods approach: qualitative and quantitative. The quantitative data helped to understand the numerical representation of both appointees and non-appointees, their activities, political motivation and performance that allows for generalization while the qualitative method allowed for in-depth understanding of subjective views such

as values and perceptions on gender political appointment in Ghana. Lastly, triangulation was also employed to better understand political appointments as well as both women and men's participation in politics in Ghana.

1.4.3 Sampling Technique

Purposive sampling technique was used to select the four regions. These regions were chosen because their locations represent the entire country according to the north, middle belt and southern Ghana. Also, they are cosmopolitan - large cities where the population is composed of people from various cultural backgrounds. Again, the segmentation of the population's socio-economic activities reflects the inequality of the entire country. In addition, these regions have produced many political appointees over the years and have the potential for promoting female politicians.

A metropolitan, municipal and district assembly were selected in each region. Simple random technique was applied in selecting a metropolitan, municipal and district assembly, from each region. In Greater Accra Region, Accra Metropolitan Assembly (Accra), Amasaman Municipal Assembly (Amasaman) and Shai Osudoku District Assembly (Dodowa) were selected. Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (Kumasi), Ejisu-Juaben Municipal Assembly (Ejisu-Juaben) and Atwima Nwabiagya District (Nkawie) were selected in Ashanti Region. In Northern Region, Tamale Metropolitan Assembly (Tamale), Sagnerigu Municipal Assembly (Sagnerigu) and Tolon District Assembly (Tolon) were selected. Lastly, Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Assembly (Sekondi-Takoradi), Tarkwa-Nsuaem Municipal (Tarkwa-Nsuaem) and Shama District (Shama) were selected in Western Region.

In selecting the participants and respondents for the study, purposive and simple random sampling methods were applied in the municipalities, metropolitans and districts. For the quantitative study, a simple random technique was used to select respondents (political appointees and non-appointees) for the survey. This sampling method

allows for equal opportunity of elements being given the chance to be selected for the study. It was used to eliminate biases and ensure equal chance of everyone in the population being selected for the study (Babbie, 2013).

For the qualitative study, purposive sampling method was used to select participants, based on their knowledge and life experiences regarding political appointments in Ghana. In-depth interviews (IDIs) were conducted using an interview guide with relevant themes and questions.

1.4.4 Sample Size

The sample size for the study is 219 (200 respondents for the survey and 19 participants) for the In-depth Interviews. The respondents comprised past and present political appointees, including ministers, public officers, chief executives, key informants in academia and other administrative appointees. These people were selected because they are legislators, policy makers, and law enforcers who are actively involved in politics. In all, 50 participants were selected from each region randomly; twenty from each metropolitan Assembly (Western and Ashanti, 5 appointees and 15 non-appointees; Greater Accra, 7 appointees and 13 non-appointees; and Northern region, 7 appointees and 13 non-appointees) 15 from each municipal Assembly (5 appointees and 10 non-appointees for Ashanti, Western and Greater Accra region, while 6 appointees and 9 non-appointees were selected from Northern region) and district assemblies (5 appointees and 10 non-appointees from each region). For the survey, about 65 appointees and 135 non-appointees comprising 95 women and 105 men were selected for the study while 10 males and 9 females were interviewed for the qualitative study. The interviewees were made up of 2 former female ministers, 1 female deputy regional minister, 3 female and 1 male appointed assembly members; 3 male board members 3 male academicians, 2 male former Chief Executives, 1 male District Coordinating Director, 1 female Assistant Director and, 1 female Officer and 1 male director of an NGO. The following table gives detailed distribution of respondents and participants.

Table 1. 2

Region	Administrative areas	Capital town	Appointees	Non-Appointees	Total
Greater Accra	Accra Metropolitan Assembly	Accra	7	13	20
	Amasaman Municipal Assembly	Amasaman	5	10	15
	Shai Osudoku District	Dodowa	5	10	15
Ashanti	Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly	Kumasi	5	15	20
	Ejisu-Juaben Municipal Assembly	Ejisu-Juaben	5	10	15
	Atwima Nwabiagya District	Nkawie	5	10	15
Western	Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Assembly	Sekondi-Takoradi	5	15	20
	Tarkwa-Nsuaem Municipal	Tarkwa-Nsuaem	5	10	15
	Shama District	Shama	5	10	15
Northern	Tamale Metropolitan Assembly	Tamale	7	13	20
	Sagnerigu Municipal Assembly	Sagnerigu	6	9	15
	Tolon District Assembly	Tolon	5	10	15
Total			65	135	200

Participants for In-depth Interviews			
	Appointees	Non-Appointees	Total
Accra	12	3	15
Tamale	1	3	4
Grand Total	13	6	19

1.4.5 Data Collection

Primary and secondary sources of data were used for the study. The primary source of data was in-depth interview, questionnaire and observation. The questionnaire consisted of both closed and open-ended questions for the survey and interview guide for the in-depth interviews. Data were collected by research assistants who were engaged and trained for the assignment. The secondary sources of data were obtained from Parliament, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

and Regional Integration, and Ministry of Information's Library. In addition, a comprehensive desk review was done on the subject matter to substantiate gender dynamics of appointment since independence.

1.5 Data Analysis

Data from the Indepth Interviews were transcribed and thematic analysis carried out. Quantitative data were entered and analysed with Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Frequencies, percentages, tables and charts were used to describe the proportion of the variables. The first stage of the analyses was the description of the trend analysis of ministers, ambassadors and chief executive officers in Ghana from independence (1957 to 2017). The second stage presents the quantitative and qualitative analysis of respondents on political appointments in Ghana based on themes.

1.6 Definition of Concepts

Gender: Gender is the recognition of socially and culturally shared symbols regarding males and females in a given society. It is the responsibilities, roles, and opportunities ascribed to people based on their sex.

Gender Analysis: Gender analysis aims at understanding the processes for assessing and promoting acceptance about the differences in the lives of men and women, the varied impressions that policies make on their lives, and their participation in political, social and economic life. The analysis is focused at portraying the clear image of the situation regarding political appointments. Stating on one side, the factors that limit access and enduring presence of women in power structures and decision-making positions, and on the other hand, the empowerment factors in terms of achievements and progress in the areas of politics.

Politics: Politics is defined as planning and organizing common projects, setting rules and standards that define the relationships of people to one another and the allocation of resources among diverse human needs and purposes (C. Anderson 2005). Thus, politics embraces other areas of social life such as gender, race and class as it involves activities, actions and policies that enable people to exercise authority or influence government.

Political appointment: is the engagement of persons by the president or any person elected to serve in executive, administrative and legislative positions in government.

1.7 Organization of Chapters

The report is organized into six main chapters. These are:

Chapter 1: Background of Study including Study Objectives,
Significance and Methodology

Chapter 2: Review of Progress in Gender and Politics

Chapter 3: Frameworks for Mainstreaming Gender in Appointments

Chapter 4: Trend Analysis of Political Appointments since
Independence

Chapter 5: Analysis of Qualitative and Quantitative Data

Chapter 6: Summary of Findings, Conclusion and Recommendations

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF PROGRESS IN GENDER AND POLITICS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews trends in gender equality in political participation and appointments as an essential aspect of modern democratic governance. It also explores the progress in bridging the gender inequality gaps in politics and the challenges that women encounter in the attempt to exercise and access their rights.

2.2 Global Perspectives and Trends in Gender and Politics

Globally, participation of men and women in politics varies within and across countries, and generally tends to show unequal representation. Equal participation of men and women is essential for development, democracy and good governance (Galston, 2001). Evidence available shows that women have been under-represented since the middle of the last century (Paxton et al., 2007; Duverger, 1955; Lovenduski&

Hills, 1981; Scholzman, 1994). Participation of women in politics is very important for good governance, hence Ballington (2008:5) noted that “the attainment of gender equality and the full participation of women in decision-making are key indicators of democracy. The involvement of women in all aspects of political life produces more equitable societies and delivers a stronger and more representative democracy”.

At the turn of the twentieth century, women across the world had to contest the established beliefs that national politics was the domain of men. Women gained immense access to political rights at the end of World War II when these rights were legally sanctioned in many countries without much restraint. This was replicated in many developing countries where women now vote alongside men in elections and sometimes in greater proportions except in Saudi Arabia (Ford, 2002).

Studies have shown that over 60% of countries globally have at least 10% of women in their national legislature (Dube, 2013; Paxton et al, 2007). As a way of ensuring gender quotas, Argentina became the first country in the world in 1990 to adopt a national electoral law resulting in 17% increase in women’s representation in the Chamber of Deputies (Dahlerup&Friedenvall, 2005). In 2005, Scandinavia led the global chart of women in parliaments across regions with 38.2%, while the Middle East was last with 8.1% (Paxton et al, 2007; Kittilson 2006). By 2011, Rwanda was ranked highest in terms of women’s representation in parliament with a proportion of 56.30%, followed by Andorra with 53.30% and Sweden with 45 per cent (Dube, 2013). The Inter Parliamentary Union (2013) indicated that 31.6% of parliamentary seats in Algeria were held by women. In addition, several women in Africa have risen to high political positions in their countries.

Unfortunately, while the above shows that some progress has been made in women's participation in politics and their election to parliaments, evidence shows that only a couple of women have attained the highest office of President of their countries. Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka in 1960, Joyce Hilda Banda of Malawi in 2012, Dr. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf of Liberia in 2006 and Ameenah Gurib-Fakium of Mauritius in 2015 (Paxton & Hughes, 2007; UNDP,2016).

There have also been remarkable achievements in women's representation at the local political level. Women constitute almost 60% of local government positions in Lesotho and Seychelles, 43% of the members of local councils or municipal assemblies in Namibia and over one-third of the members of local government seats in Mauritania, Mozambique, Uganda, Mozambique and United Republic of Tanzania. Also, in Sierra Leone, the level rose from 10 per cent in 2012 to 16% in 2013, (IPU and UNDP, 2016). Despite the impressive trends in women's participation in politics in Sub-Saharan Africa, the visibility of women in political participation still remains a problem in the region; an indication that some gaps still exist and need to be addressed (Ndlovu & Mutale et al., 2013).

2.3 Political Leadership: The Ghanaian Context

Men and women have immensely contributed to the success of governance in Ghana. Given that women constitute a greater proportion of the population in Ghana, they are under-represented politically (Musa & Gariba, 2013). Comparatively, men have dominated in terms of leadership over the years (Allah-Mensah, 2003). This is because the patriarchal nature of the Ghanaian society favours men over women.

Notwithstanding the above, women in the pre-colonial era, through diverse modes, helped the cause of war. They contributed in the

battlefield by acting as nurses, treating injured soldiers as well as passing water and ammunition to the soldiers. They also participated in various wars as leaders of the army, as shown in the cases of Queen Adisa of Nanumba, Dokua of Akyem and Yaa Asantewaa of Asante, who are well known in the history of their people (NCCE, 2011). The post-independent Ghana witnessed long spells of military rule with interludes of civilian governments. Military rule in Ghana occurred during the following periods 1966-1969; 1972-1979; 1981-1992. Since 1992, Ghana has successfully undertaken democratic elections and has had five presidents. All military and civilian regimes to date were led by males. However, from 2008 Ghana had women contesting for presidential or vice-presidential positions, but none of them won (Gyimah-Boadu, 2008; Dartey-Baah, 2015).

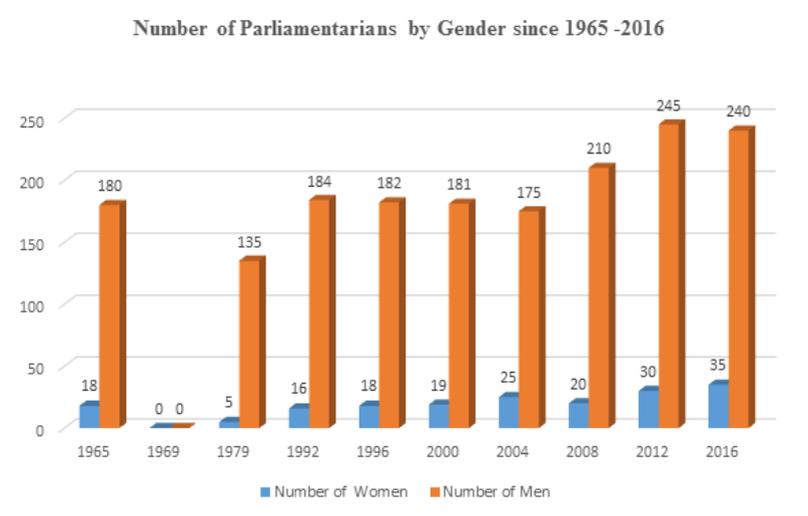
2.4 Gender and Political Appointments in Independent Ghana

Since 1957 Ghana has been making efforts to increase the participation of women in governance. This is due to the awareness of the importance of women as key contributors to labour, productivity and family sustenance. In response to the issue of male dominance in the parliament, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah introduced the Representation of People's Amendment Bill which made it possible for women to participate in politics (Oquaye, 2004). In 1979, out of a 140-member parliament, only five were women and since 1992 women representation in Ghana has remained at less than 12% (Ghana web, 2017).

The trajectory of the involvement of men and women in politics shows that women were less involved in leadership until the end of the military era in Ghana (Allah-Mensah, 2003; Dartey-Baah, 2015). However, women played supportive roles despite the fact that they were not front liners manning the affairs of the country (Gyimah-Boadi, 2008). For instance, evidence has shown that women financially

supported the Convention People's Party's when Dr. Kwame Nkrumah contested for the presidency (Tsikata, 1989). Also, there has been a significant improvement in women in leadership since 1992 through the efforts of various bodies which include NGOs, civil society groups and others (Musa & Gariba, 2013). The representation of women in parliament in the Fourth Republic has progressed, albeit very slowly (see Figure 2.1 below) from fifteen in 1992 to thirty-five, out of two hundred and seventy-five members in the 2016 elections.

Figure. 2.1: Parliamentarians by Gender since 1965 -2016



Source: Compilation from parliament of Ghana website: www.parliament.gh, (2017), Ghana Year Book, (1965) and (1971).

Gender disparities in the representations presented above have raised concern with reference to women's representation in parliament. This adversely affects the way in which women contribute in terms of political leadership in Ghana. Pathways to Women Empowerment (2009 cited in Hamah 2015), reported that the low representation of women in politics is as a result of demographic, educational and

economic factors as well as entrenched socio-cultural factors coupled with character assassinations and violence against women, among others.

2.4.1 Criteria for Political Appointment

Clause 1 and 2 of Article 70 of the 1992 constitution gives the president the authority to appoint heads of statutory institutions such as the Chairman and other members of Public Service Commission, the Lands Commission, governing bodies of public corporations, National Council for Higher Education, Auditor-General, the District Assembly Common Fund Administrator, the Human Rights and Administrative Justice and the deputies, Chairman and Deputies of the Electoral Commission as well as other office holders (GoG, 1992).

In addition, the right of the president to appoint also extends to the appointment of all ministers of state and their deputies with parliament's approval. Most of these appointees are from members of parliament. Also, the presidential appointments include the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Ghana, the Speaker of Parliament, the Majority Leader and minister in charge of government business in parliament. More so, at the local government level, the president appoints all Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives, and some members of the assemblies constituting 30 per cent of the general assembly at the local level. This arrangement affords the president a good opportunity to ensure gender parity in appointments as a sign of commitment to gender equality in politics.

2.5 Political Motivation, Vision and Passion- the Woman's Story

The upswing of women's participation in politics globally, especially in Africa became possible through opportunities to educate women and men. Some intensive efforts of local and international civil society organisations, gender affirmative action provisions, multiparty

democracy and pressure from women's organisations all facilitated the improvement in women's participation in decision-making (Kamau, 2010). There is enough evidence to substantiate the truth that women have played very significant roles in the socio-economic and political transformation of this country. The first republic government in Ghana, led by the CPP witnessed instrumental roles played by women who offered both financial and other forms of support in political processes. Of importance was the women's wing of the party which was very instrumental in mobilising the women and the youth. Manu, cited in Allah Mensah, (2003) records that women were efficient organisers and could rally people around for events at the shortest notice.

Even though the military regimes were not keen on addressing gender issues in politics, there were few women who were active, notably, under the PNDC government. The 31st December Women's Movement under the PNDC government, even though not all-embracing, mobilised women by creating the enabling environment for women to engage in economic activities and marginally opened up the political space for women (Allah-Mensah, 2003).

As part of the events leading to multi-party democracy in Ghana, the 31st December Women's Movement organised regional rallies to collect views and raise issues on human rights, women's rights and accountability, freedom of speech, representation and the need to remove language barriers (all obstacles hindering women) for popular participation in government. The activities of the Movement motivated some women (mostly supporters of the PNDC government) to contest for the 1992 general elections and 1998 district elections. The contribution of women to development cannot be over-emphasised, hence towards the 2000 general elections, women galvanised support towards securing membership of parliament and district assemblies, public/private sectors and in corporate transition

to reflect their composition (51 %) of the total population in the country. Women activists also reacted to the worrying segregation of women in the development agenda by bringing the “Women’s Manifesto” that highlighted a wide range of issues affecting women’s inclusion in politics. Regardless of the many challenges women face, there has been visible increase in the percentage of women’s membership in district elections since the inception of the district assemblies in 1988 (Abantu, 2004). Also, in a study on women in politics in Ghana, Allah-Mensah (2003) affirmed that women in politics performed generally well.

2.6 Enhancing Participation of Women in Politics

One of the key outcomes of the Beijing conference of 1995 was the call for equal representation of men and women in politics (Fourth World Conference on Women 1995). In addition to the contributions made by the various conferences, affirmative action policies serve as mechanisms to include women in politics. Dahlerup (2005) argues that the best way to ensure equal political representation is through affirmative action. He further asserted that if the problem of ensuring equal representation is not by lack of resources but lack of acknowledgement of resources and experiences that women bring on board, then educating women to ensure equal representation is a wrong choice. Rather, women should be recognised and acknowledged as active participants in the political process.

Several strategies have been adopted in Ghana to ensure equal political representation including the ratification of the convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Also, the 1992 constitution (Article 17) prohibits discrimination on the basis of gender. Indeed section (2) of the provision states that nobody should be discriminated against on grounds of gender, one’s colour, and ethnic origin, and creed, social or economic status. To this

end, men and women are considered major stakeholders in national development.

2.7 Challenges and Opportunities for Women

Over the years, women have faced many constraints regarding their participation in decision-making in both political and public spheres. Among these are gender discrimination, traditional prejudices and perceptions, and low levels of literacy all of which determined the extent to which women participated in decision-making processes.

In Kenya, women make up about 52 per cent voters at polling stations countrywide (similar to many other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa), nevertheless, their participation has been minimal at the public policy and decision-making levels (Kamau, 2010). Pathways to Women Empowerment (2009) as cited in Hamah (2015) reported that the low representation of women in politics is because of demographic, education and economic factors, as well as entrenched socio-cultural factors coupled with character assassination and violence among others. To reiterate this notion, Kabira and Nzioki (1995) posit that sex stereotypes are among the deep-rooted obstacles to the elimination of discrimination and are responsible for the vilification of the roles or potential of women leaders in society.

In Ghana, women who want to venture into male dominated spaces face numerous challenges. A study by Tagoe and Abakah (2015) identified the unwillingness of women to participate in political and public life due to some socio-cultural norms that govern how men and women should conduct themselves. Additionally, the multiple roles women perform were also identified as major prohibitions to women's participation in political life. Women are burdened with these roles such that they hardly have any time left to compete for political offices on level ground with their male counterparts. The

patriarchal nature of many political institutions also poses a challenge to women who desire to participate in politics. Men who exercise power and authority over women dominate many political institutions in Ghana. As a result, very limited space is created for women to attain the highest decision-making positions in these organisations.

To address the challenges that hinder women's participation in politics, past and present governments including all the major political parties in Ghana especially the NDC and NPP have made conscious efforts by introducing affirmative action policies in order to afford women the opportunity to participate in politics. Affirmative action can therefore be seen as temporary measures adopted by governments, public and private institutions such as political parties and other establishments to address a history of systemic discrimination and exclusion of particular social groups (Tsikata, 2009). The NDC in 2008 promised 40% of women representation in all government and political position upon assumption of power and the NPP prior to the 2016 Election proposed to disallow males from contesting sitting female members of parliament in some 16 constituencies. However, both proposals did not materialise as the NDC could not achieve the 40% appointment and the NPP's proposal was met with opposition by some party supporters (www.citifmonline.com).

In accordance with the UN recommendations, Ghana agreed to adopt the 30% reservation for women in decision-making bodies. Quotas have also been initiated as a way of propelling women into political and leadership positions. A good example being the 50% quota for women interested in becoming assembly members in 1998, the then government set the foundation for women's participation in political and public spheres by establishing a 40% quota for women's representation; on all government boards, committees, commissions, cabinet and council of state, among others; this is yet to materialize (Shiraz, 2015).

2.8 Conclusion

It is worth noting that women and men have different interests and concerns which can be best represented by the specific groups, in other words, women's concerns cannot be adequately represented by men and vice versa. It is estimated that when women are involved in leadership and in politics, women's priorities, interests, rights and needs are rarely ignored (UNDP, 2016). It is therefore important that power and authority from government flow to include the presence of more women, since their inclusion makes governance principles, development priorities and administrative systems comprehensive and complete.

CHAPTER 3

FRAMEWORKS FOR MAINSTREAMING GENDER IN APPOINTMENTS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents various frameworks, tools, policies, constitutional arrangements and measures that have been propagated to achieve gender equality in political appointments in Ghana, and how they serve as guides to the research. Often the discourse on gender equality is centred on what equality is and is not. However, there is a global trend of inequality between men and women, where for instance, political participation of women and their representation in decision-making structures lag behind those of men. Men and women have differences in economic opportunities, with over representation of women among the poor. Thus, achieving equality between men and women requires significant transformation at many levels, including changes in relationship, behaviour, legal frameworks and institutions.

3.2 Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming is a strategy adopted to facilitate the realization of the global agenda for gender equality. It is an internationally accepted strategy used to achieve gender equality in all spheres of society and has been widely adopted by many governments in both developed and developing countries including Ghana. Gender mainstreaming is therefore accepted as an essential part of any policy formulation process to bridge gender inequality gaps. The United Nation's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC, 1997) defines gender mainstreaming as:

“The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality”

The gender mainstreaming process involves the inclusion of gender differences in all stages of planning; and reflecting on the different effects which programmes and policies will have on all so as to take appropriate action for the benefit of all. Some of the envisaged actions are legal reforms to close gender gaps and correct years of absence, neglect or discrimination. Gender mainstreaming is therefore a more comprehensive approach towards changing the way of thinking and taking action to address the underlying causes of gender inequalities. As important as mainstreaming is for obtaining human rights and social justice for women and men, it progressively acknowledges the effective shifts in social and economic goals as a result of incorporating gender perspectives in different areas of development.

It also underscores the need for changes in strategies, actions and goals to ensure that both men and women can influence, participate in and benefit from the development processes. This could lead to transformation in organisations in terms of procedures, structures and cultures, thereby creating enabling environments which are favourable for the promotion of gender equality.

3.2.1 The Constitution of Ghana

Article 35, section (4) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana clearly stipulates, and advocates for the respect of fundamental human rights, freedoms and the dignity of persons among all Ghanaians. Section (5) also promotes the integration of the people of Ghana and prohibits discrimination and prejudice on the grounds of place of origin, circumstances of birth, ethnic origin, gender or religion, creed or other beliefs. Clause (a) of this section also promotes the fostering of a spirit of loyalty to Ghana that overrides sectional, ethnic and other loyalties; whilst clause (b) commands for the achievement of reasonable regional and gender balance in recruitment and appointment to public offices (GOG, 1992).

Article 35 (5d) also mandates the state to make democracy a reality by decentralising the administrative and financial machinery of government to the local levels thus affording all possible opportunities to the people to participate in decision making at every level in national life and in government. This creates opportunity for citizens' participation in decision-making in local governance (GoG, 1992). Consequently, the Constitution affords all citizens including men and women the opportunity to contribute to the development of this country in any public and private spheres both at the national and local levels.

As part of efforts at seeking effective and efficient participation of all citizens from the age of 18 years in inclusive development, gender

sensitive planning, implementation and monitoring are promoted at the local level in order to enhance governments' commitment towards eliminating discrimination against women in accordance with international treaties. Accordingly, gender considerations, for example, are included in the Medium-Term Policy Frameworks and the District Planning Guidelines prepared by the NDPC (GoG, 2015).

3.2.2. Ghana National Gender Policy (2015)

In response to the provisions of the Constitution and in an attempt to end all forms of discrimination against women, a National Gender Policy was formulated. The main objective of this policy is to mainstream gender equality and women's empowerment concerns into the national development process in order to improve the social, legal, civic, political, economic and cultural conditions of the people of Ghana; particularly, women and men, boys and girls in an appreciable manner and as required by national and international frameworks (GoG, 2015). To achieve this objective, the Ghana gender policy has five pillars which are enshrined in its broad policy objectives. These are: a) women empowerment and livelihood, b) women's rights and access to justice, c) women's leadership and accountable governance, d) economic opportunities for women and e) gender roles and relations. To effectively mainstream gender in Ghana's development, these pillars are designed to address various challenges and barriers to gender equality. Of specific interest is the leadership and accountable governance pillar which pays special attention to enhancing participation of women in governance and decision making at all levels. Gender equality would be elusive without economic opportunities for women, which is the fourth pillar. The fifth and final pillar is aimed at examining gender roles and relations, with attention paid to transforming inequitable gender relations in order to improve women's status relative to that of men (GoG, 2015).

The Gender Policy aims at stimulating leadership development networks for women across the regions, as well as endorsing social-accountability systems at all tiers of government; mostly at the MMDA levels and across all citizen representation arrangements (GoG, 2015). This includes the promotion of political leadership and mentoring for women at least from the tertiary levels of education and the participation of Queenmothers in the Traditional Councils and Houses of Chiefs. In political governance, women and men are appointed to take up positions as ministers, deputy ministers and chief executive officers. These three frameworks serve as basis for the appointment of women and men into political and public leadership positions.

CHAPTER 4

TREND ANALYSIS OF GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENTS SINCE INDEPENDENCE

4.1 Introduction

This section traces the appointments of political officers (Speakers of Parliament, Sectoral and Regional Ministers as well as Metropolitan Municipal and District Chief Executives (MMDCEs) from 1957 to 2016.

4.2 Speakers of Parliament and Chief Justices

Since Independence in 1957, Ghana has witnessed four republican rules. These transitions were interspersed with military rules as follows: First Republic - 1960 to 1969; Second Republic - 1969 to 1979; Third Republic - 1979 to 1981; Fourth Republic-1993 to date. The republican rule facilitated the appointment of twelve Speakers of Parliament. Out of twelve appointed speakers and throughout the 25 years of constitutional rule in Ghana, only one is a woman, and was appointed in 2009 under the Fourth Republic (Field work 2017).

4.3 Appointment of Ministers

One of the executive powers of the President of Ghana under a constitutional rule is the right to select statesmen and women to steer the affairs of various ministries, department and agencies. Ministerial appointees were/are either parliamentarians or non-parliamentarians nominated by the president for appointment.

As shown in Figure 4.1, the first president of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, from 1957 to 1960, appointed 20 males (100%) as sectorial ministers, no female was appointed. In his second tenure (1960-1966), Nkrumah appointed 40 ministers comprising 38 males (95%) and 2 females (5%). Lieutenant General Joseph Ankrah, the first military head of state following a coup d'état (1966-1969), appointed 10 males (90.9%) and 1 female (9.1%). One female was appointed between 1966 and 1969 during this regime. (Year Book, 1965, 1969)

In the Second Republic (1969 -1979), there were one civilian and two military governments. Dr. Kofi Busia during his tenure (1969-1972) as Prime Minister of the republic appointed 28 ministers, all male. Between 1972 and 1978, two military heads of states, Gen. I. K. Acheampong and Lt. Gen. Fred W.K. Akuffo, took over power and between them appointed 48 males as ministers, without any female. (Year Book, 1977, 1979, Parliament of Ghana, 2017).

During the third Republic of Ghana (1979-1992), Dr. Hilla Liman, a civilian president, governed Ghana from 1979 to 1981 while Flt Lt. Jerry John Rawlings assumed power as a military leader from 1981 to 1992. It was during this period that the 31st December Women's Movement was founded as well as other movements that championed women's affairs. Evidence from the trend analysis shows that for the period 1979 to 1981, 33 males (97.06%) and 1 female (2.94%)

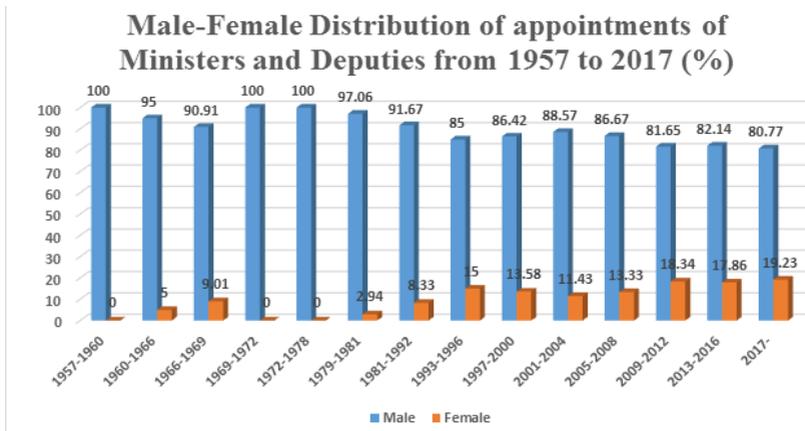
were appointed as ministers. In addition, 66 males (91.67%) and 6 females (8.33%) were appointed as ministers for the period 1981 to 1992. In the Third Republic, Ghana addressed the lack of women's political participation by appointing more women into governance. Figures show that women constitute 8.33% appointees, an increase from 2.94% recorded between 1979 and 1981. (Year Book, 1981, PRAAD, Parliament of Ghana, 2017).

Ghana's fourth Republic extended from 1992 to the present. Ft. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings (1993-2000) appointed 85% males and 15% females during his first tenure (1993-1996) and 86.42% males and 13.58% females during his second term (1997-2000). This implies that there was an increase in the percentage of women from 8.3% in 1981-1992 to 15% in 1993-1996. This however reduced to 13.58% in 1997-2000. During President John Agyekum Kufuor's administration (2001-2008), 88.57% males and 11.43% females were appointed as ministers. Based on the empirical evidence presented, there was a decrease in the percentage of women appointees compared to the previous administration (www.ghanaweb.com; Parliament of Ghana, 2017).

According to the trend analysis, President John Evans Atta Mills (2009-2012), appointed 81.65% males and 18.35% females to various ministerial positions. This indicates an increase from the previous government. In 2013 to 2016, President John Mahama appointed 82.14% males and 17.86% females as ministers. The percentage of women appointees decreased to 17.86% from 18.35% by the previous government. Figures from the trend analysis show that in 2017, under President Akufo Addo, 80.77% males and 19.24% females were appointed, an increase in the number of females from the previous administration. The statistics revealed that there is an increase in the appointment of women, but disproportionate in ratio. (Mol, 2017; Parliament of Ghana, 2017; www.ghanaweb.com 2017).

Military regimes had lower proportions of women appointees compared to civilian governments. In addition, evidence indicates that the Fourth Republic had the highest proportion of women appointees compared to the other republics. In the First Republic, 19.05% of women were appointed whilst in the Second Republic only male candidates were appointed, 2.94% of women were appointed in the first regime of the Third Republic. This increased to 8.33% in 1981 (in the third Republic), and 15% in 1993 and 19.23% in 2017 (in the fourth Republic).

Figure. 4.1: Male-Female Percentage Distribution of Appointment of Ministers and Deputies (1957-2017)



Sources: Ministry of Information (MOI), PRAAD, Parliament House, www.ghanaweb.com (2017), Ghana Year Book, 1962, 1977&1969 (Daily Graphic Publications).

4.4 Appointment of Ambassadors

Since independence, Ghana has been appointing citizens as its representatives to other countries. This is to ensure strong ties and to help in building and strengthening relationships between countries. Ambassadorial appointments are categorized in career and political

appointments. Career appointees are personnel of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who have risen through the ranks in their career pursuit while political appointees are appointed by a sitting president. For the purpose of this study, the focus is limited to ambassadors who are/were politically appointed. Available records show that from independence, Ghana has politically appointed about 319 males (87.64%) and 45 females (12.36%) as Ambassadors and or High Commissioners. This implies that majority of politically appointed ambassadors over time are males (MoFA & RI, 2017).

4.5 Appointment of District Chief Executives

Prior to the full decentralization of the governance system in Ghana, the first president in the First Republic, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, appointed District Commissioners to oversee development processes at the local level. Out of 153 commissioners, 151 (99%) were males and 2 (1%) were females (Ghana Year Book, 1962). Ghana's Decentralization system was fully operationalized in 1988 and out of the 110 District Secretaries appointed then, only eight were females. In 1998 out of the 110 District Chief Executives, 98 (86.8%) were males and 12 (13.2%) were females; in 2002, 135 (93%) males and 9 (7%) females formed the number of appointed and confirmed District Chief Executives; but none of the Metropolitan and Municipal Assemblies had a woman Chief Executive (Ofei-Aboagye,2000). By the end of 2008, appointed and confirmed Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives were made up of 11.2% females and 88.8% males. From 2008-2012, 95% of the appointed and confirmed District Chief Executives were males while females formed 5%. In 2013, appointed Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives were made up of 88% males and 12% females, whereas in 2017, appointed and confirmed Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives were made up of 83% males and 17% females, slightly improving the gender gaps in the appointment of heads of local government authorities (Ghana web, November 2017; ILGS, 2012,).

4.6 Conclusion

The appointment of speakers of Parliament, Ministers, Ambassadors as well as Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives since independence revealed that majority of the appointees are males. Few women were appointed as ministers during the military regime. Empirical evidence shows that there has been an improvement in the appointment of women as ministers and MMDCEs over time. Currently, women make up 19.25% of ministerial appointments, the highest figure in the history of Ghana but negligible in fraction considering the number of seats available, whereas majority of the appointed ambassadors are males (Parliament of Ghana, 2017). In addition, at the local level 17% of current MMDCE's are females with 83% being males, showing an overall improvement in the proportion of women appointees, as compared to men. To conclude, though men dominate in politics as appointees in Ghana, there has been an improvement in the representation of women appointees, even though marginal.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the various findings obtained from the field. It is sub-headed into sections which include the social-demographic background, the appointment of women to political positions, performance of women appointees, sectors and regional balance of women representation, challenges of women in politics and motivation for engaging in politics.

5.2 Socio Demographic Characteristics

Table 5.1 shows the demographic characteristics of respondents for the survey. A total of 200 respondents were interviewed out of which, 105 (52.5 %) were males while 95 (47.5 %) were females. Respondents' ages ranged from 20-70. The highest proportion (43.5%) of the respondents was within the age group 31-40. Less than 3 out of 10 (23.5 %) were within the age group 20-30 years,

15.0% belonged to the age bracket 51-60, 12.5% were within the age groups 41-50 and 5.5% within the age groups 61-70 years.

Regarding educational background, majority of the respondents (83.0%) had tertiary education, followed by 12.0% with Secondary/vocational/ and Senior High School education while 5.0% had Junior High School/Middle level education. Regarding religious affiliation, majority (75.5%) of the respondents were Christians as compared to 24.5% who were Muslims. Furthermore, 51.5% of the respondents were Akan, 16.0% Dagomba, 9.0% Ewe, 7.0% Ga/Dangme, 4.5% Gonja, and 7.5% from other ethnic groups namely: Ahanta, Konkomba, Waala and Fulani. Majority, (62.5%) of the respondents was married, 33.5% were single and 4.0 were divorced/separated.

In terms of locality or region of residence, 25.0% of the respondents were from each of the four regions in Ghana: Greater Accra, Western, Northern and Ashanti regions. About sixty-seven per cent (67.5%) of the respondents were technocrats and public servants while 32.5% were government appointees. For the appointee respondents at the local level, about 47.5% were females while 52.5% were males.

Participants for the in-depth interviews (IDIs) were purposively selected based on their knowledge and lived experiences regarding political appointments in Ghana. In all 18 participants comprising of 10 males and 8 females were interviewed; Out of the 18, fourteen (14) had attained tertiary education while 4 attained secondary education.

Table 5.1: Percentage Distribution of Survey Respondents by their Socio-demographic Characteristics

ALL RESPONDENTS			GENDER			
Characteristic	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)	Male	Percentage	Female	Percentage
Sex						
Male	105	52.5	-	-	-	-
Females	95	47.5	-	-	-	-
Age						
20-30	47	23.5	18	24.7	24	31.2
31-40	87	43.5	35	47.9	28	36.4
41-50	25	12.5	7	9.6	11	14.3
51-60	30	15.5	10	13.7	10	13.0
61-70	11	5.5	3	4.1	4	5.2
Educational level						
JHS/MLSC	10	5.0	3	4.1	4	5.2
Secondary/Voc/SHS	24	12.0	9	12.3	9	11.7
Tertiary	166	83.0	61	83.6	64	83.1
Religious affiliation						
Christian	151	75.5	66	90.4	72	93.5
Muslims	49	24.5	7	9.6	5	6.5
Ethnicity						
Akan	103	51.5	50	68.5	51	66.2
Ga/Dangme	14	7.0	8	11.0	5	6.5
Ewe	18	9.0	6	9.2	11	14.3
Mamprusi	9	4.5	1	1.4	3	3.9
Gonja	9	4.5	3	4.1	1	1.3
Dagomba	32	16.0				
Other	15	7.5	5	6.8	6	7.8
Marital Status						
Single	67	33.5	23	31.5	35	45.5
Married	125	62.5	49	67.1	36	46.8

Separated/Separated/ Divorce	8	4.0	-	-	1	1.3
Government appointee						
Yes	65	32.5	23	31.5	24	31.2
No	135	67.5	50	68.5	53	68.8
Current Region of residence						
Greater Accra	50	25.0	21	28.8	29	37.7
Ashanti		50	25.0	19	26.0	31
Western	50	25.0				
Northern	50	25.0	33	45.2	17	22.1
Total	200	100	73	100	77	100

Source: Field Data, 2017

5.3 Appointment of Women to Political Positions

Despite the constitutional rights for everyone to partake in politics, there are unique factors that either inhibit women's participation in politics or inspire them to do so. In this study, respondents were asked to select at least one criterion for appointing women into various political offices from a list of factors given. These criteria included educational background, financial status, party membership, expertise, nepotism, ethnicity and others.

The results from the responses (Table 5.2) revealed that educational qualification (66.0%) was perceived as the main basis for appointing women into governance (political office) or offices. Party membership (63.5%), expertise (43.0%), financial status of women (17.5%), ethnicity (12.5%), nepotism (12.0%) and other (patriotism, consideration by leaders and gender) (4.0%) were also perceived as criteria for women's appointment into political offices. These findings denote that educational status of women is the main consideration for their appointment into political offices in Ghana. Based on gender segregation, most men expressed the view that education (56.1%), party membership (51.4%) and financial background (51.4%)

were the criteria used in appointing women. On the other hand, majority of the women were of the view that expertise (51.2%), nepotism (58.3%) and ethnicity (52.0%) were the main criteria for appointment of women into the various offices. This implies that majority of women and men believed that nepotism and education were the main reasons for appointment of women to political office.

Table 5.2: Percentage Distribution of Perception of Criteria for Appointment

Criteria for appointment	Frequency	Percentage
Education	132	66.0
Financial Status	35	17.5
Party membership	127	63.5
Expertise	86	43.0
Nepotism	24	12.0
Ethnicity	25	12.5
Other	8	4.0

Source: Field Data, 2017****Multiple responses

Responding to the criteria used in appointment as shown in Table 5.3 below, majority of the respondents (67.0%) perceived that they are the same for men and women while 33.0% were of the view that they are not the same. On gender differentials for those who responded "yes", about 56.0% of men and 44.0% of women expressed that the criteria are the same for men and women. Those who indicated that the criteria for appointment are the same cited the following reasons: all appointments are on the same level; appointments are based on educational background, competence, political ambition, gender equality, and no discrimination for both men and women. Educational background and competence were the most mentioned reasons why respondents think the criteria are the same. Education enhances the chance of one's appointment because it empowers them to understand problems as well as becoming panacea to these

problems, while competence is the skills, perspectives, and values that are needed to ensure successful delivery as a leader. However, competence in politics can be ambiguous since politicians have their own philosophy and competency. In their context it could mean adhering to that ideology and not necessarily having the skills to promote socio-economic and all-inclusive development. On the contrary, respondents who expressed that criterion for appointment is not the same explained that appointment always favour women because they are less corrupt compared to men.

Qualitative findings substantiated the quantitative findings where education, political affiliation, party loyalty, expertise and gender were identified as some of the factors that contribute to appointments into public offices. Many participants were of the opinion that the criteria for appointment are not the same for men and women. Criteria were viewed as favouring women and vice versa. A respondent noted that the standard for appointments is skewed in favour of women, commenting that:

“In my view, criteria are tilted in favour of women. From what I know and what I have been exposed to, if you look at some positions given to women, they were not as qualified as the men in terms of academic qualifications and experience. But the president gave these positions to women because he is making a conscious effort to appoint more women” (Male, Appointed Board Chairman).

However, women were viewed to be more disadvantaged due to the position they occupy in society as subordinates to men. This finding confirms cultural practices in relation to gender and the perception in politics, where women are culturally subservient to men. This often renders women invisible thereby relegating them to the background where it is difficult to participate in political activities and live a productive life (Tagoe & Abakah, 2015; Durojaye & Adebajo, 2014). In relation to improvement in achieving gender equality in political

appointments, about 56.5% of the respondents agreed that there has been an improvement, while 40.5% objected that there is no improvement in gender equality in Ghana.

The least proportion 3.0% had no opinion. In addition, gender disparity on gender equality revealed that about 51.3% of men and 48.7% of women expressed that there has been improvement. This implies that more men agreed to the fact that there has been improvement in gender equality in Ghana. From the qualitative data, it was also revealed that there has been improvement in achieving gender equality in political appointments, but the improvement is at a slow pace as expressed by some of the participants. A participant made the following contribution:

“The only significant initiative is the introduction of women’s organizer platform. Apart from that I do not see any initiative that is so significant to ensure parity in governance participation...” (Female, Former Deputy Minister).

In assessing whether there are factors hindering women from political appointment, 72.5% indicated that there are factors hindering women while 25% expressed that there are no factors. From those who responded “Yes”, about 53.8% males and 46.2% females believed that there are factors hindering women in their political appointments. Cultural factors, religious restrictions, marriage, child birth, low confidence, finances, gender discrimination, lack of self-confidence, undermining the qualities of women, religious bigotry, fear of competition, sexual harassment from men and insecurity were some of the most mentioned factors that hinder women’s political appointment.

A significant finding from the study was that about 92% of the respondents acknowledged the importance of women in top positions and policy making bodies, as that helps to promote good governance

and development. However, some respondents indicated that women in positions of power, especially appointees, are sometimes perceived to be rude and disrespectful as compared to their male counterparts resulting in few appointments into political offices.

The study findings show that fewer women are appointed into political office compared to men. This suggests that Ghana still has a long way to go in her quest to achieve gender equality in political appointments. These findings are consistent with the trend analysis which shows fewer women in positions of power as compared to men.

Table 5.3: Percentage Distribution of Perception of Knowledge of Criteria for Appointment

Characteristics	Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)
Is/are the criteria for appointment the same for men and women		
Yes	134	67.0
No	66	33.0
Has Ghana improved on other goals towards the achievement of gender equality in political appointment		
Yes	113	56.5
No	81	40.5
No response	6	3.0
Are there factors hindering women from political appointment		
Yes	145	72.5
No	50	25.0
No response	5	2.5
Is it important for women to serve in appointed, and policy making positions		
Yes	184	92.0
No	4	2.0
No response	12	6.0
Total	200	100

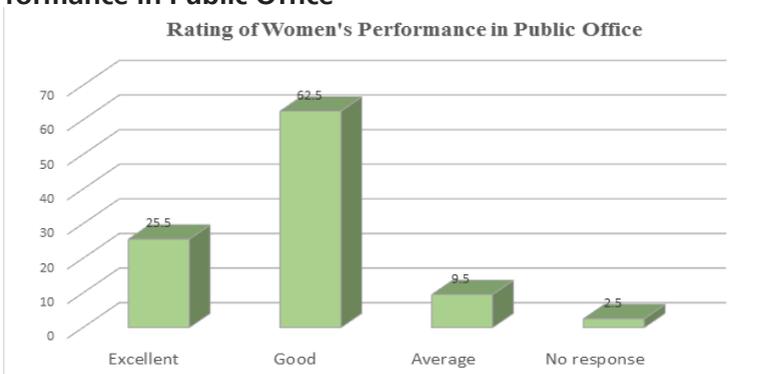
Source: Field Data, 2017

5.4 Performance of Women Appointees/Elected

Views on the performance of appointed and elected women in public office were sought from respondents. The results as shown in Figure 5.1 below revealed that most of the respondents (62.5%) rated the performance of women as good, followed by excellent (25.5%), average (9.5%) and no opinion (2.5%). None of the respondents rated the performance of women as poor or very poor. This implies that women perform very well in public offices. Similarly, from the qualitative findings, women appointees emerged as good performers and individuals who can deliver and step up to the task if given the opportunity. Women appointees were cited as capable in task execution just as equally as men and in some instances even better. A participant who is an academican summed it up as follows:

“...For me, I think women can achieve even more on their own without the support of men. They have the capacity to execute. However, within the African social context, men should accept that women are capable and can accomplish in their fields” (Male, Professor of Business and Political Analyst).

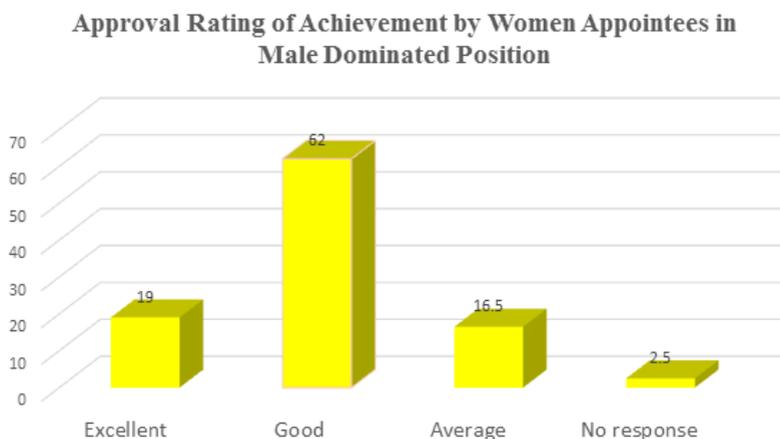
Figure 5.1: Percentage Distribution of Rating of Women’s Performance in Public Office



Source: Field Data, 2017

Also, on the achievement of women in a male dominated environment, about 62.0% of the respondents rated the achievement of women in a male dominated environment as good, 19.0% rated them as excellent, 16.5% rated them as average and 2.5% had no response as showed in Figure 5.2 below. These results show that women are performing well to ensure the growth of the economy.

Figure 5.2: Percentage distribution of Achievement by Women Appointees in Male Dominated Positions.



Source: Field Data, 2017

Some achievements of women pointed out by respondents include innovation at the various offices, strengthening of policies and programmes, less corruption, quality in delivery, good financial management, and result oriented. Notwithstanding these, some of the respondents identified that some appointed women do not perform well because of family issues and/or responsibilities. Qualitative findings validated the above as women's achievements were cited as improvement in quality of life and financial status of Ghanaians, improvement in the legal system and attainment of high offices. Some participants expressed the view that many achievements

by women are not tangible, and as such cannot be quantified. Women appointees were noted to be resourceful, hardworking and intelligent and could contribute to policy in ways that could lead to sustainable governance. A participant commented in this regard:

“Women work hard, they are less corrupt and so I think that it is a proven fact to the world that you get a lot more when you put women in top positions. Places where value for money is required” (Female, Former Minister/Board Member).

Another participant remarked as follows:

“When you have women taking leadership positions you can be sure you have peace and an empowered community, but women need to learn how to manage power to avoid misrepresentation” (Male, District Assembly Coordinating Director)

Findings from both the quantitative and qualitative analyses point to the fact that when women are given political positions, they perform generally well. The result on women’s ability to perform is congruent with other studies in Ghana. Allah Mensah (2003) indicated that women generally perform well when given the opportunity in politics. They are less corrupt and do their best to deliver when appointed.

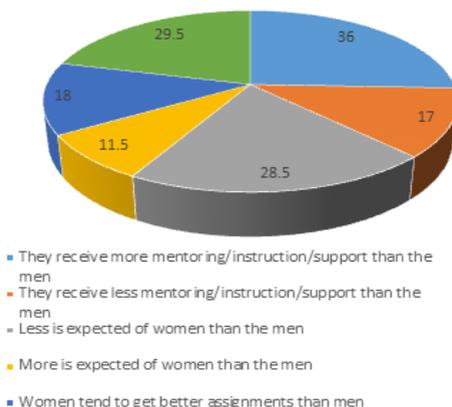
Respondents were asked to indicate if women have been treated differently in their pursuit of political careers. About 61.0% indicated that women have been treated differently while 39.0% disagreed. As shown in figure 5.3, for those who indicated that women have been treated differently, a higher proportion (36%) expressed that women receive more mentoring/instruction/support than the men. Other reasons enumerated were, less attention is paid to women (29.5%), less is expected of women than men (28.5%), women tend to get better assignments than men (18%), women receive less mentoring/instruction/support than men (17%) and more is expected of women

than men (11.5%). From the qualitative findings, it also emerged that less attention is paid to women. This was amplified by this technocrat from a Municipal Assembly as follows:

“It has been difficult to get a female chief Executive in this town, because you find all the custodians of our traditions, religious leaders concentrated here and our traditional values discriminate against women but very soon all such orientations will change.”

Figure 5.3: Percentage Distribution of Reasons for Different Treatment of Women Appointees

Reasons for different treatment of women appointees



Source: Field Data, 2017****Multiple responses

Deducing from the results, less attention has been paid to women in politics compared to men. In effect, they are often appointed or employed as supporting staff, but not front liners hence greater attention is given to men as compared to women. Discrimination and unequal treatment are fundamental regarding gender appointments in political careers and conduct at work. Studies have shown that women are less likely to be involved in politics than men due to discrimination (Burrell, 2004; Tsikata, 2009).

5.5 Sectorial and Regional Balance

Regarding sectors into which women are appointed, qualitative findings indicate two divergent views. Some of the participants were of the view that women are appointed into all sectors of governance. Even though there may be the tendency in people's sub-conscious minds to think that some sectors are specifically for men, women over the years have had the opportunity to occupy important positions. Women were reported to hold high positions in all sectors provided they are competent and have the expertise to do so. On the other hand, some of the participants articulated that some sectors have been feminized and as such are given to women appointees. Such sectors include Ministry of Gender, Foreign Affairs and Local Government among others. A participant who is a former deputy minister supported this notion by saying:

“We have effectively feminized some positions. By introducing structures such as women's organizer and women's wings, it rather serves as a disincentive to women because they feel they belong there and the men also think they should belong there. Looking at the political party structure certain positions are masculine which is why a lot of times women end up going for deputized positions”. (Female, Former Deputy Minister).

Findings further revealed that women are considered an important reservoir of labour and can contribute positively towards development in the country. To achieve this, the nation needs to harness the talents and experiences of women as well as utilizing the best of its human resource to achieve sustainable development.

It emerged from the study that gender and regional balance in appointments has not and may never be achieved. Despite the provision in chapter 6 of the constitution, which explicitly through the directive principle of state policies states that the government

should strive to ensure equity in regional, gender distribution of socio economic resources. An expert academicians in African politics commented:

“I don’t think there has ever been gender balance nor regional balance in appointments, what government does, although chapter 6 of the constitution: the directive principle of state policies states that the government should strive to ensure equity in regional, gender distribution of socio economic resources. It has not been achieved and I doubt if it ever will, what government can do is to try and make an effort to achieve that, but I doubt it’s going to be 50, 50”. (Male, Lecturer and Expert in African Politics).

Another participant indicated that:

“I think our politicians are more rhetorical than practical when it comes to issues of gender in political appointment; they must walk the talk” (Female, NGO Program Manager).

Qualitative findings on sectors, regional and gender balance show that in Ghana women are generally appointed into all sectors even though there is a tendency for them to be appointed into certain positions that are deemed feminine. Also, evidence from the present study has shown that Ghana is yet to achieve regional balance in appointments and representation.

5.6 Ability to Mobilize Funds and other Resources

Among the factors limiting political parties and government is the ability to mobilize resources for development. An overwhelming majority (84.0%) of the respondents indicated that women appointees have the ability to mobilize resources for their party or government. In assessing whether money and other resources/capacity contributes to the appointment of women, 59.5% agreed to the assertion,

29.0% disagreed while 11.5% were of no opinion. This implies that women with more resources such as finances (money) are sometimes appointed into governance. It also implies that their wealth could be used as bait to attract other people of the same status to invest or pool resources for the political party or government to use for the development of the country.

Respondents who agreed that money and other resources contribute to the appointment of women argued that without good financial standing, women would not be able to sustain themselves politically and contribute more to the development of the economy. Again, they make financial contributions to their parties and the government tends to derive more from their expertise because most women appointees help their communities with their own income. Those who disagreed with the statement that financial (money) and other resources contribute to the appointment of women explained that expertise, political affiliation and educational background of women influence their appointment and not their financial status. Overall, there was an overwhelming view (84.0%) from respondents that women appointees have the ability to mobilize resources for their party, confirming the unexplored value of women's ability as important contributors to their political parties. This is reflected in the related responses by 59.5% of respondents that women's resources and capacities are significant factors contributing to their appointments.

In the qualitative analyses, participants were of the view that women have skills that are not seen in men. These are negotiation and organizing skills which enables them to work effectively and execute their tasks. A participant had this to say:

"Women have good negotiation skills and are patriotic" (Male, District Coordinating Director).

5.7 Challenges of Women in Politics

Women in politics are often faced with challenges in their career which may impede their ability to be effective. Findings from the study indicated that appointed women are confronted with a myriad of challenges in their political career. Majority (86.0%) of the respondents stated that women face challenges in their career while 14.0% disagreed. A glance from the multiple response questions as shown in Figure 5.4 reveals that majority of appointed women felt they were discriminated against. This was followed by role conflict, political interference, poor financial status and other socio-cultural issues. There was a consensus among participants in the qualitative study that indeed women appointees face numerous challenges in their career. Findings indicated further some of these challenges. Regarding role conflict, a participant remarked as follows:

“...In their effort to juggle politics and family obligations, women appointees find it difficult to compete on level ground with men. Politics consumes a lot of time, and as such women are unable to make time to fulfil family obligations” (Female, Former Minister/ Board Member).

Commenting on political interference particularly from men, this Assembly Member noted thus:

“Hmmm...women in politics endure insults and slander from the media and other male politicians. They are treated harshly and sometimes men in the business do not think they (women) are capable” (Male, Assembly Member)

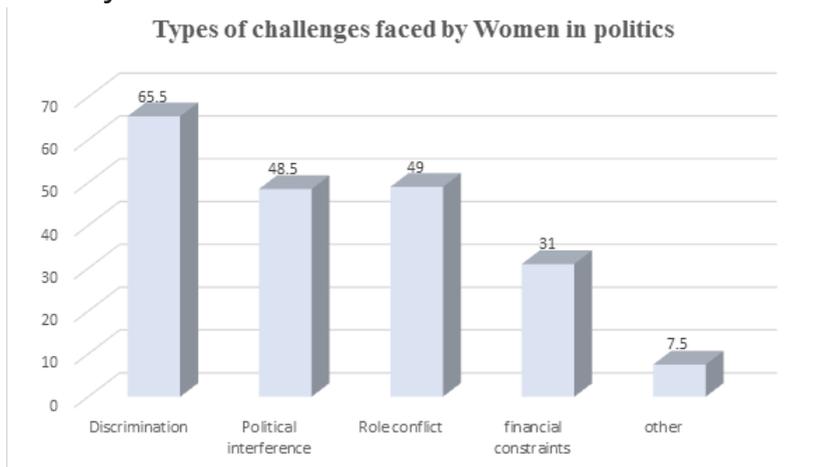
Shedding more light on lack of finances and how it impacts women’s participation in politics, a female participant had to say:

“Politics has been commercialized, making it capital intensive, and as such women lack finances to engage in elective politics due to their inability to mobilize resources amidst competition” (Female, Former Deputy Minister).

Regarding socio-cultural issues this participant summed it up as follows:

“Culturally, women are expected to behave in certain ways, and so those who exhibit a tough and resolute personality are seen as difficult. This is because women politicians are expected to be soft and indulgent and not to behave contrary. Sometimes that is also a factor when a woman is disciplined and has a positive attitude, she is tagged as hard by fellow women who have expectations of how a woman should behave in public spaces” (Female, Former Minister/ Board Member).

Figure 5.4: Percentage Distribution of Types of Challenges faced by Women in Politics



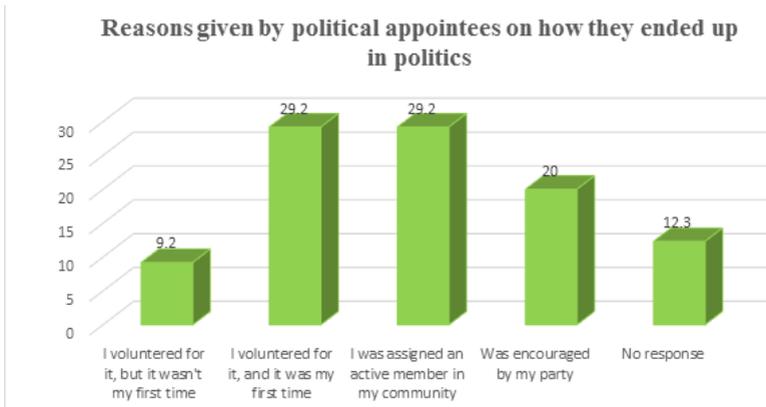
Source: Field Data, 2017****Multiple responses

Further responses revealed that the challenges women encounter in politics are unrelated to the fairness or unfairness of the system of appointment, rather findings show that the system is generally fair to both male and females. 43.0% indicated that these challenges could be tied to the unfairness of the system while 9.5% were undecided and did not respond to the statement. Respondents who disagreed with the statement explained that women do not avail themselves for appointments due to cultural and religious constraints, which have given men the chance to dominate in political appointments.

5.8 Reasons and Motivation for Appointment

Only appointees answered questions for this section (motivation for appointment) of the study. The results from the data analysis as indicated in Figure 5.5 show that 29.2% of respondents volunteered to participate in politics, and it was their first time. About 20.0% of respondents also indicated that they were encouraged by a political party, while 10.5% indicated that they volunteered, but it wasn't their first choice. The findings revealed that first time volunteerism and being an active member in a community are the main reasons why people become political appointees.

Figure 5.5: Percentage Distribution of Motivation for Political Participation



Source: Field Data, 2017.

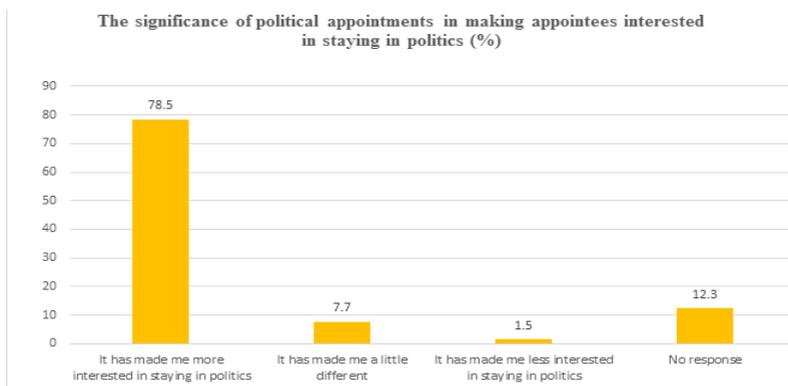
Again, in order of preference, respondents indicated that experiences, educational qualification, social standing in the party, political background and being a woman were some of the reasons why they were appointed. This implies that there is a high perception that most of them were appointed based on their educational qualification but not their political background. However, evidence from the qualitative findings showed that in appointing female politicians, factors such as marital status, beauty, morality and respectfulness are important. Not all participants shared this notion as some indicated that there are no such considerations. A participant remarked as follows:

...They look at morality when it comes to women, but they are not too keen about morality with men, beauty and marital status" (Male, PA to Honourable Minister).

Also, among the appointees, 84.6% were interested in serving in politics/governance while 4.6% were previously not interested but were appointed. About 10.8% were undecided. For those who were interested, 78.5% explained that serving as appointees had made

them interested in politics, 7.7% indicated that it had not made any significant change in their life while 1.5% stated that it had made them less interested in staying in politics. However, 12.3% were of no opinion. The result suggests that serving as an appointee increases individuals' interest in staying in politics. Once appointed, the interest develops, culminating into more passion and zeal for political participation.

Figure 5.6: Percentage Distribution of Political Appointee interested in Staying in Politics



Source: Field Data, 2017.

On motivation to participate in politics, the qualitative data showed that the motivation for participation is mixed. The nature of politics was identified as rough and as such acts as a deterrent to women. However, the findings indicated that some women are motivated to enter politics. Becoming role models, serving one's country and self-motivation (the need to make the world a better place) were cited as motivational factors by participants. Interestingly, money or financial gain did not emerge as a form of motivation for political participation.

The current government was commended for appointing women, especially younger ones but this was not seen as enough in encouraging women to participate in politics since the political

environment is not conducive for their participation. It was further noted that should the government appoint women, there is need to ensure that there are structures to support and maintain them to perform in order to serve as motivation and trend setters. This is shown in an excerpt from one of the interviews:

“So far it looks like governments appoint some of the women ‘by force’ because they think these women are capable of performing well. They keep telling women to avail themselves to be used politically. So this is the government’s way to encourage women to participate in politics” (Male, P.A to Minister).

Another participant noted as follows regarding motivation for political participation:

“...My motivation is to serve my Country and not financial gain...” (Female, Appointed Assembly Member).

However, it was also noted that women do not avail themselves for appointments. Participants elucidated that demographics show that there are more females than males in Ghana, and yet women are nowhere to be found where political participation is concerned. This, according to some participants is due to the fact that women have not positioned themselves well.

Qualitative and quantitative findings established that women are not motivated enough to participate in politics. However, once they begin participating in political activities, women become more interested to build a career in politics. Self-motivation culminating from the desire to serve one’s country propelled participants to be actively involved in politics. These findings are in line with the observations by Padmore (1955), of the Ghanaian woman as independent and playing an important role in the economic life of their country (Oquaye, 2004).

5.9 Gender Segregation of Government Appointees in the Study Areas

From Table 5.4 below, about 215 appointments were made, out of which 177 representing 82% were males and 38 representing 17.7% were females. The regional distribution shows that more males were appointed in Northern Region (87.2%) while more females (20.3%) were appointed in Greater Accra. Tolon District Assembly recorded the majority of male appointees in the Northern Region, whilst Accra Metropolitan Assembly recorded the highest percentage of female appointees in the Greater Accra Region. Surprisingly, two assemblies (Accra Metropolitan Assembly and Sagnerigu Municipal Assembly) had about 30% female appointees while 4 Assemblies (Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly, Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Assembly, Tarkwa Nsuem Municipal District, and Shai Osudoku District) had 20% female appointees. In general, most of the government appointees were males. This does not give a fair representation of gender at the various Assemblies in Ghana.

Greater Accra had the highest majority of female government appointees in the three districts. Accra Metropolitan recorded 30.6% female government appointees, 20.0% by Shai Osudoku District (Dodowa) and 18.2% by Ga West Municipal Assembly (Amasaman). In Ashanti Region, about 8 out of 10 government appointees were males. However, Ejisu Municipal Assembly appointed 95.2% males, followed by Atwima Nwabiagya District 82.4% males and Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly 80.0%. For female appointees, about 20% were appointed by Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly, 17.6% by Atwima Nwabiagya District and 4.8 by Ejisu Municipal Assembly. Shama District and Tarkwa Nsuem Municipal had the highest percentage of male and female government appointees respectively in Western Region. About 92% of males were appointed by Shama District while 23.1% females by Tarkwa Nsuem Municipal Assembly. Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Assembly appointed 78.3% males

and 21.7% females. In the Northern Region, the highest percentage of male appointments was in the Tolon District while Sagnerigu Municipal Assembly recorded the highest in female appointments. Tolon District Government appointees were made up of all male.

Sagnerigu Municipal Assembly appointed 3 females, representing 30%. Tamale Metropolitan Assembly appointed 88.9% males and 11.1% females. It is expected that the constitutional provision for presidents to appoint 30% of assembly members will facilitate the appointment of more women at the local level but this is yet to materialize.

Table 5.4: Percentage Gender Distribution of Government Appointees in Selected Regions and District in Ghana, 2017

District	Male	Percentage	Female	Percentage	Total
Northern Region					
Tamale Metropolitan Assembly	16	88.9	2	11.1	18
Sagnerigu Municipal Assembly	7	70.0	3	30.0	10
Tolon District	11	100.0	-		11
Sub Total for Region	34	87.2	5	12.8	39
Western Region					
Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Assembly	18	78.3	5	21.7	23
Tarkwa Nsuem Municipal District	10	76.9	3	23.1	13
Shama District	23	92.0	2	8.0	25
Sub Total for Region	51	83.6	10	16.4	61
Ashanti Region					
Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly	16	80.0	4	20.0	20
Ejisu Municipal Assembly	20	95.2	1	4.8	21
Atwima Nwabiagyan District	14	82.4	3	17.6	17
Sub Total for Region	50	86.2	8	13.8	58

Greater Accra					
Accra Metropolitan Assembly	25	69.4	11	30.6	36
Ga West Municipal Assembly	9	81.8	2	18.2	11
Shai Osudoku District	8	80.0	2	20.0	10
Sub Total for Region	42	73.7	15	26.3	57
GRAND TOTAL	177	82.3	38	17.7	215

Source: Field Data, 2017.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Summary of Findings

This study sought to examine the gender dimensions of appointing females and males under successive governments from independence to 2017, the criteria for appointment and to determine the extent to which women are motivated to take up political positions. It also investigated the factors determining the appointment of women in various sectors; to create a profile of the various women appointees; as well as examine challenges and achievements of women appointees.

Trends from 1957 to 2017, indicated that successive governments (Presidents) believe in the potential of women and considerable effort has been made to get men and women into the political space. However, there is still the need for political leaders to do more in the appointment of women to political positions and also encourage them to get involved in active politics. It is not clear whether the

socialization processes that presidents go through or undergo as men is what constrains them from speeding up the process of affirmative action to bring more women into the political spectrum. This is however not a hopeless situation as gradually the grounds are softening, and the number of female appointees has seen some increase in the last 5 years, especially in 2017 even though minimal in ratio.

It is evident that women have strived over the years to surmount the many challenges that confront them in their bid to participate in politics to contribute their quota toward socio-economic development. Various treaties signed by consecutive governments, and efforts from political parties, advocacy groups and civil society organizations as well as affirmative action towards the education of girls, have served as motivational factors that facilitate the appointment of more women into the political space.

Largely, the findings reveal that key among enabling factors for the appointment of women into politics, is their educational status. Also important is women's loyalty to their political party and their active participation in party activities.

The study concludes that given the necessary opportunities and support, women can compete on level ground with men as far as achievements are concerned. Evidentially, respondents were of the view that women who were given various positions in government performed and continue to perform remarkably well. It is worthy to note that with more women becoming educated, governments will soon have no excuse not to appoint more women because they are becoming highly qualified to occupy any given position in government.

In contrast to this positive observation, women appointees are

confronted with many challenges such as discrimination, role conflicts at home and stigmatization among others, in their attempt to move out of the domestic and private spheres to the public domain of political career. The study also revealed that women appointees are perceived to be arrogant and bossy when they demand accountability or are assertive.

6.2 Conclusions

Women's presence in the power structure and decision-making process should be seen as very important in promoting inclusive development. Due to the different social, economic and reproductive roles that women and men play, they face different experiences in access to social and economic services. The provision of certain basic social amenities such as health, sanitation and water, impact on women more than men, and this is why their involvement in the decision-making process is very important to ensure better and more effective service provision. Therefore, it is imperative for both men and women to be involved in policy formulation and implementation at the highest possible level. Regrettably, the study concludes that Ghana is lagging in the appointment of women into high decision-making positions. Indeed, if politics is seen as a space for people to act and effect change, then women can transfer the ability to effect change (nurture and protect their families) within the domestic (private) space to the public political environment for socio-economic transformation. Women are vital resources for the nation and can contribute positively to sustainable development. Since women constitute over 50% of the population in Ghana, their equal representation and right of access to political position is imperative. Achieving good governance and equal representation of women and men in decision-making will provide a balance that aptly represents the composition of our society, thus promoting the interest and general good of all citizens.

6.3 Recommendations

Having identified the wide gender disparities in political appointments and several challenges facing women in politics, the following recommendations are given to address the issues raised:

- There is the need for gender equality in all spheres of Ghanaian society. This means there should be a conscious and deliberate effort at educating and sensitizing the population on the subject in order to bring women at par with men, especially in political activism and political appointments. This will generate the required support from men to women in politics, and greater appreciation and acceptance of the role of women in nation-building. In pursuit of this, Government must institutionalize a National Women's Day. Unlike mothers' day, this National Women's Day, will be used to highlight the roles, achievements and potentials of women in the Ghanaian society at various fora throughout the country.
- Political parties must reorganize their party structures to get more women involved at the constituency and national levels in order to move away from having few women who make history, to many women who are involved in making policies.
- Media houses/stations should highlight the achievements of women in politics and give them fair reportage.
- The NCCE must also provide platforms for women aspirants to present their campaign messages during district assembly and general elections.
- A code of ethics must be developed for political parties to reserve one position – either as the substantive officer or

deputy for each position. In other words, if a woman contests and does not win the position of a Chairman, the position of Vice Chairman should be automatically reserved for her.

- Political parties should promote gender planning and budgeting to enable them address peculiar needs of men and women in political activism.
- Civil society should also develop more innovative ways of empowering women to take up the challenge of political activism as well as encourage men and women to see themselves as playing complementary roles and not as competitors in politics.
- There should be a conscious effort in addressing religious and cultural barriers that inhibit women's participation in politics and decision-making. As custodians of Ghana's cultural heritage our traditional leaders must be sensitized and obliged to reform so they can lead that transformational agenda. The same applies to our religious and faith-based organizations where, again, the domination by men has become normal and the low value and consideration of women is always justified through application of belief systems and ordinances
- Political activism of women should be encouraged, starting at the community level – contesting for the leadership of community-based organizations and Town Development Committees; young men and women should also be encouraged to stand for District Assembly elections thereby preparing them to take more challenging political appointments.

The Affirmative Action Bill must be passed into law. This will go a long way to address the gender disparities in political leadership and appointments.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I Survey Questionnaire THE INSTITUTE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT STUDIES (ILGS) MADINA – ACCRA

The Institute of Local Government Studies (ILGS) in collaboration with Friedrich Ebert Stiftung is conducting a study to enable ILGS analyse political appointment since independence. The information obtained would contribute immensely to the research objectives and would be handled with utmost confidentiality.

SECTION 1: DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND		
No	Questions	Responses
Q1	Sex of Respondent	1. Male 2. Female
Q2	Age of Respondent	1. 20-30 2. 31-40 3. 41-50 4. 51-60 5. 61-70
Q3.	What is the highest level of education you have attained?	1. JHS/MLSC 2. Secondary/Voc/SHS 3. Tertiary
Q4	What is your Religious affiliation?	1. Christian 2. Islam 3. African/Traditional 4. Other 5. No religion
Q5	What is your ethnic group?	1. Akan 2. Ga/Dangme 3. Ewe 4. Mamprusi 5. Gonja 6. Other, specify.....

Q6	What is your current marital status?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Single 2. Married 3. Separated 4. Divorced 5. Widowed
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SECTION 2: HISTORY OF EMPLOYMENT		
No.	QUESTIONS	Responses
Q7	Are you a political/government appointee	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No
Q8	What work are you doing currently? (Write the name of the work in the next column)	
Q9	What is your position at your current work place? (Write the position in the next column)	
Q10	How many years have you worked? (Indicate the number of years and months)	
Q11	Which region are you currently working	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Greater Accra 2. Western Region 3. Ashanti Regions

SECTION 3: UNAVAILABILITY/AVAILABILITY/APPOINTMENT OF WOMEN FOR POLITICAL POSITIONS		
Q12	What do you think are the criteria use in appointing women into the various political offices? (Multiple responses: Please tick all which apply)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Educational background 2. Financial status 3. Party Membership 4. Expertise 5. Nepotism 6. Ethnocentric 7. Other specify.....
Q13	Is/are the criteria for appointment the same for men and women?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No

Q13a	If Yes, kindly explain the choice of your answer to the question (Q13) above	
Q13b	If No, kindly explain the choice of your answer to the question (Q13) above	
Q14	Has Ghana been able to improve in other goal(s) to achieve gender equality in political appointments?	1. Yes 2. No
Q14a	If Yes, explain the choice of your answer to the question (Q14) above	
Q14b	If No, explain the choice of your answer to the question (Q14) above	
Q15	Is/are there any difference(s) between women who are appointed into office and women elected?	1. Yes 2. No
Q15a	If Yes, explain the choice of your answer to the question (Q15) above	
Q15b	If No, explain the choice of your answer to the question (Q15) above	
Q16	Are there major factors that hinder women to make themselves available for political appointment	1. Yes 2. No ----- if No skip to Q19
Q17	If Yes, what are the major factor(s) hindering women to make themselves available for political positions or appointments?	1 2 3 4
Q18	Are the reasons (factors in Q16) beyond the control of women?	1. Yes 2. No
Q18a	If Yes, explain the choice of your answer to the question (18) above	
Q18b	If No, explain the choice of your answer to the question (18) above	
Q19	Is it important for women to serve in an appointed, and policy making positions?	1 Yes 2 No

SECTION 4: PERFORMANCE OF WOMEN APPOINTEE/ELECTED WHETHER UNDER-RELATED OR OVER-RELATED		
Q20	What would you say are/were some of the achievements of women during their term of office (s)?	1 2 3
Q21	Do you believe women have been treated differently in their political career	1. Yes 2. No
Q22	Explain: if you believe they have been treated differently, how have they been treated differently? (Multiple responses: Please tick all which apply)	1. They received more mentoring/ instruction/ support than the men. 2. They received less mentoring/instruction/support than the men. 3. Less is expected of women than the men. 4. More is expected of women than the men. 5. Women tend to get better assignments than men. 6. Others pay less attention to women/ignore women.
Q23	How would you rate women appointees in terms of achievement in a male dominated position	1. Excellent 2. Good 3. Average 4. Poor 5 Very Poor
Q24	From your own experience, how will you rate women's performances in public office?	1. Excellent 2. Good 3. Average 4. Poor 5 Very Poor
Q25	Kindly explain your answer in Q24	

SECTION 5: FINANCE AND OTHER RESOURCES		
Q26	Do women appointees have ability to mobilize resources for their party/government?	1. Yes 2. No
Q27	Do financial and other resources/capacities of women contribute to their appointment?	1. Yes 2. No
Q28	Please explain your answer in Q27	

SECTION 6: CHALLENGES OF WOMEN		
Q29	Do appointed women face challenges during their term of office	1. Yes 2. No
Q30	What would you say are/were the challenges women faced during their term of office?(Multiple responses: please tick as many)	1. Discrimination 2. Political Interference 3. Role conflicts 4. Financial Constraints 5. Other specify.....
Q31	Do you know how some of these challenges are handled? (Kindly explain your response)	
Q32	Having seen the state and nature of the system of appointment, will you say the system is fair in female appointments?	1. Yes 2. No
Q33	Explain your answer to the question (Q32) above	
Q34	What can be done to facilitate political appointments of more females?	

FOR POLITICAL APPOINTEES ONLY		
Q35	How did you end up in politics/ career field?	1. I volunteered for it, but it wasn't my first choice 2. I volunteered for it, and it was my first choice. 3. I was assigned an active member in my community 4. Was encouraged by my Party
Q36	What would you say are the reasons why you think you were appointed? (Please tick all which apply)	1. Social standing in the party 2. Political background 3. Educational qualifications 4. Your experience and capabilities 5. Your being a woman
Q37	Were you interested in serving in Politics/Government?	1. Yes 2. No
Q37a	If yes to Q37, why? (Please circle only the most important one)	1. Reward/Prestige 2. Thought it would be a promising career path 3. Wanted to prove that women are capable of being in politics 4. Other.....
Q37b	If no to Q37, why? (Please circle only the most important one)	1. I was not interested 2. Did not have membership of political party 3. Did not have right qualifications 4. Other.....

Q38	Has serving in this Position made you more or less interested in staying in the Politics?	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. It has made me more interested in staying in2. It has made little difference.3. It has made me less interested in staying in
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APPENDIX II

INTERVIEW GUIDE

GENDER ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL APPOINTMENT SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Good morning/afternoon/evening. My name is I am from the Institute of Local Government Studies, Madina. I am here to interact with some persons in the district and region regarding women appointment into offices in governance. The interview is part of ILGs institutional research work for the purposes of analysing political appointment since independent. This will enable the institute to design and offer appropriate capacity building support for the governance functionaries for inclusive and sustainable development. I shall be grateful if you could respond to the following questions. If at any point you don't understand any question, please let me know and I would be glad to clarify. You are assured that everything discussed here is confidential. No information provided will be passed on to a third party. If you wish to withdraw from this study, you may do so at any point during the discussion. Thanks for your cooperation.

Q1. Background information

Educational background

District and region of residence

History of employment

- Number of years worked
- Previous work and positions held
- Current work and position

Q2. How did governments perform over the years in giving men and women equal opportunities by way of political appointments?

Probe:

Looking at the past and present governments, would you say more women are appointed compared to men? What could be the reasons for this?

Do you think there has been any setback with high or low appointment of women into offices?

Q3. What criteria were used in the appointment/removal of women relative to men?

Probe: Appointment

What criteria are/were used in appointing men and women into the various sectors?

List some of the indicators for appointing women as well as men into offices, for instance education, finances, politics, culture (patriarchal, nepotism) and etc.

How are they similar or different for men and women?

Probe: Removal

Would you say governments revoke the appointment of women relative to men? If Yes ,What could be the reason?

Q4. In which sectors are/were women appointed over the years?

Probe:

Mention some of the sectors.

Were they appointed into more/less prestigious sectors?

Which sector (s) do women perform well?

What is the importance of women participating in governance at the various sectors?

Q5. Has there been gender and regional balance of appointments over the years?**Probe:**

Do you think there is a regional (im) balance of appointment of women into the various regional offices?

Could you please explain what initiative(s) (if any) were brought by past governments to ensure equal appointment of men and women into offices?

What do you think is the most deterrent to achieving gender equality?

What do you think Governments have done to ensure gender equality in political appointments?

How important is Gender Equality with respect to political appointments in Ghana?

Q6. Electing female politicians

Is/are there any criteria that are based on to vote for women?
If so, mention some of them

How are they similar or different in terms of women who are elected and appointed into office?

Q7. What would you say are the challenges and achievements of women appointees?

Probe: Challenges

Role conflict as wife and worker

Challenges from men, fellow women, political party (incumbent and opposition), financial constraints etc.

Are their views in decision making well represented?

What threats do you think women who have gone far in public offices face?

Probe: Achievement

Mention some of the achievements of women/?

In your opinion, do you think women can achieve more without the support of men?

Q8. Would you say men and women appointees are well motivated to take up political appointments? Do you think they are motivated differently?

Probe separately for men and women

Political Appointees only

So, what is your motivation? (Volunteering, interest, financial reward, role model, party orientation and other reasons etc.).