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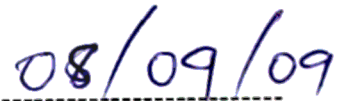
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ABDUL RAHIM MOHAMMED

Student



Signature



Date

Certified by:

MRS. THERESA Y. BAAH-ENNUMH

Supervisor



Signature

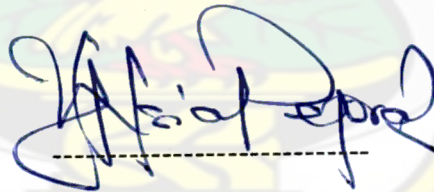


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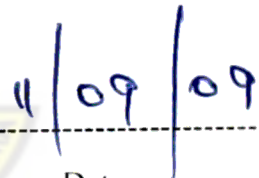
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DEDICATION

To my mum, Madam Fatimatu Shaban and to all my caring aunts, with love

KNUST



ABSTRACT

"Good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development" according to Kofi A. Annan, the former UN Secretary General (UNDP, 2002 pp.3). Good governance could only be achieved when the component of participation is effectively upheld along with other tenets. Involvement of women in the local government institutions has been viewed as inevitable for ensuring responsive and equitable development of the local communities. Decades after the integration of women in local governance however, it is envisaged that the emphasis is moved towards marking efficiency and relevance rather than mere numbers of female representation. In that regards, the study was initiated to assess the contributions of the assembly women in the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) under the local government system of Ghana, in promoting the welfare of the local people.

In 2006, women represented only about 9 per cent of the 86 - member Assembly of the KMA. Yet, specific achievements and gains could be attributed to their participation. These included the facilitating roles played to ensure regular clearance of heaped refuse dumps; provision of new public toilet facilities; improved street lighting system for better night security; making of small loans accessible to some women's groups among other things. It was observed however that certain projects were carried out like the rehabilitation of town roads and construction of drains which did not really reflect expectations of the local people.

The study established that, low educational achievement; low competence and leadership skills; low self-esteem; lack of allocations for assembly members; among others constrain the performance of assembly women in the Metropolis. Existence of these challenges contributed to render the assembly women less efficient in their performance as local representatives. Calling for remedial actions therefore, the study proposed specific actions on three major areas of intervention, namely, capacity building and empowerment of assembly women; mass education and re-sensitization of the communities on local governance and women's involvement issues; and institutional and legal reforms. In its final submission, the study identified the need for gradation of the present advocacy strategies to include projection of specific women's achievements and outputs. Against that background, the study recommended the adoption of an *'integrated - performance - based approach'* to gender advocacy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost gratitude belongs to ALLAH, unto whom I declare a lifelong praise and appreciations. To that I say, 'All praise is due to ALLAH'. Achievement, it is said rides on hard work and commitment. The ultimate success of this whole exercise would not however have materialized, had I not received enormous, invaluable support from many a people. I wish I could mention all your names, but for want of space permit me to say a big thank you to all.

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And to my entire family members, I amply acknowledge all your efforts and assistance, and the particular moral support and encouragement you never got tired of offering me throughout my educational life. You are indeed a blessing and I am simply proud of you.

Finally, while I share every glory and honour earned by this work with all, I take singular responsibility for any act of omission or commission in the presentation.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AFL	Africa Leadership Forum
AU	African Union
AW	Assembly women
AWAM	Association of Women Assembly Members
BECE	Basic Education Certificate Examination
CEDEP	Centre for the Development of People
CETAA	Canadian Education and Training Awards Africa
CPP	Convention People's Party
DA	District Assembly
DAWN	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
DFID	Department for International Development
DMCD	Deputy Metropolitan Coordinating Director
EC	Electoral Commission
EGM	Extraordinary General Meeting
FIDA	Federation of International Women Lawyers
GAD	Gender and Development
GII	Ghana Integrity Initiative
ILGS	Institute of Local Government Studies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IULA	International Union of Local Authorities
ISODEC	Integrated Social Development Centre
KMA	Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly
KNUST	Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology
KVIP	Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pit
MASLOC	Micro and Small Loan Scheme
MCD	Metropolitan Coordinating Director
MCE	Metropolitan Chief Executive
MMDA	Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies
MOWAC	Ministry of Women and Children
MP	Member of Parliament

MSLC	Middle School Leaving Certificate
NALAG	National Association of Local Authorities of Ghana
NCCE	National Commission for Civic Education
NCGW	National Council for Ghana Women
NCWD	National Council for Women and Development
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NETRIGHT	Network of Women's Rights in Ghana
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NPP	New Patriotic Party
NRCD	National Redemption Council Decree
NYEP	National Youth Employment Programme
PA	Peoples Assembly
PM	Presiding Member
PNDC	Provincial National Defence Council
PRI	Panchayati raj
RCC	Regional Coordinating Council
SSS	Senior Secondary School
SPRING	Spatial Planning for Regions in Growing Economies
UCC	University of Cape Coast
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNESCAP	United Nations Social and Economic Commission for Asia and Pacific
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIFEM	United Nations Fund for Women
WILDAF	Women in Law and Development in Africa
WIDE	Women in Development Europe
WID	Grassroots Organization Women in Development
WID	Women in Development
WAD	Women and Development
WC	Water Closet

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CHAPTER ONE: OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Participation of the citizenry, particularly, women in governance is seen as an important theme on the platform of policy and development. The United Nations (UN), during the Women's Conference in Beijing, observed that:

"Women's empowerment and their full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society, including participation in the decision-making process and access to power, are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development and peace" (UN, 2007 Pp. 2).

Whilst women are deemed to contribute a lot in both social and economic development (especially in the fields of agriculture and commerce) little can be said of the benefits they derive from development. It was observed that this functional imbalance owe its source to the relatively low rate at which women engage in the state machinery for decision making in the distribution of national wealth and resources. In a democratic society, democracy cannot be said to be entrenched without rendering decision making participatory, justly and fairly representative.

According to UN (2005), participation of women in formal political structures and processes, where decisions regarding the use of societal resources generated by both men and women are made, remains insignificant. For instance, representation of women in both legislatures and local governments around the world presently stands at about 15 percent respectively. To correct this structural flaw therefore, women's involvement in politics and governance became the centerpiece of development discourse since 1960s as a key strategy for tackling gender imbalances and distortions in development.

In Ghana, the situation is not any better. Less than eleven (11) per cent of women participate respectively in both local government and legislature. Strategically, the introduction of Local Government System Act, 1993 (Act 462), under the 1988 Decentralization Policy were among other reasons to enable greater involvement of women in the local level governance systems. But, that aspect is yet to materialize as women are grossly under-represented even in the local government. Studies have attributed this anomaly to unfavourable social and political discourses;

political structures and institutions; and the socio-cultural and functional constraints as major stumbling blocks to achieving progressive and effective gender mainstreaming (UN 2005).

As a result, various local and international organizations continue to drum home under different advocacy strategies for increased participation of women in decision making. On one hand, while assessing progress based on numbers, little has been said about the qualitative implications of women's engagements in governance on the other. It should be noted however that, contributions of women in governance to the socio-economic enhancement of the local people has been critically questioned. There are still lingering doubts in the minds of many a people regarding the efficiency of women who engage in governance as representatives. The skepticisms seem even heightened when there is absolute lack of performance tracking and database to showcase the contributions such women have made, especially, in response to the developmental needs and concerns of the local communities. This research derived its inspiration from this lag to assess the outputs that representative assembly women make in the local government and how it related to or addressed local developmental needs of the grassroots communities.

1.2 Problem Statement

A study of DFID (2007) has shown that gender equity in development could be reached when there is gender parity in the participation in governance structures. This led to the increasing recognition that economic development and political participation or governance are inseparable and therefore requires institutional transformations to create an enabling environment to prosecute the economic and political empowerment of women (UNDP, 2005). Meanwhile, there has been indication that involvement of women in governance should help address peculiar female concerns and general issues pertaining to welfare of the local people. Viewed as an important tool for development, UNESCAP (2008) described governance as the process of taking and implementing decisions.

As a member of the international community, Ghana is expected to be prospective towards increasing the number of its women in political governance to meet certain targets like the African Union's (AU) gender parity target of 50% in governance by 2015. According to DFID (2007), the

current rates of participation which can best be described as *snail pace*, would not allow for the realization of the various set targets until 2068. Thus, the basis for further argument, advocacy or radical affirmative action for increased women's participation and representation in governance has been suggested. It involves projection of relevant empirical evidence and data on the performance and best practices drawn from the previous participation of women in governance. This will redirect the attention of gender equity in governance from quantitative to qualitative assessment. In contemporary times, endeavours towards achieving equality and fair representation for women agree with the suggestion noting that:

"It is now essential to look beyond the question of numbers to enhancing the quality and effectiveness of women politicians" (Karam, 1998 pp. 6).

A substantive question that has emerged across board is what impact or different things women could bring beside what men in governance or politics do, much so, when women are conservatively believed to already have a lot on their hands to content with. It is observed that, 'women's presence in formal politics and governance will not bring any qualitative change by putting social issues on the national agenda, especially, when women in the upper echelons of politics are often likely to become an elite group among women and develop their own vested interests instead of those they represent' (Karam, 1998). The veracity of this observation cannot be established in the face of virtual lack of data on the success stories or otherwise of women in governance. In order to do so, existing information on the performance of some women assembly members, councilors, administrators and members of Parliament (MPs) needs to be uncovered and shared by practitioners and researchers. It has been established that, from the outset of their inclusion in governance and development, women have made landmark contributions both tangible and intangible that have led to the improvement of people's wellbeing.

Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) is one of the local government institutions established under the Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462) of Ghana's decentralization policy. Women have participated in the local governance processes of the Assembly as representatives of the people at their localities since 1994. It is worth noting that, there has been scanty information about the achievements of the previous assembly women that serve as a measure of their ability to perform or otherwise. To bridge the information gap, there is the need therefore to examine the contribution

of women to local development through their engagements in the formal government system at the local level. This is an important yardstick for attaining targets set for greater inclusion of women in all national affairs.

1.3 Research Questions

This investigation therefore sought answers to the following questions:

1. What is the level of women's participation in local governance and development structures?
2. How effective have women been in the contributions towards the development of the localities through their involvement in local governance?
3. What are the factors that impede women's effective participation in local level governance?
4. What corrective measures need to be taken to help reshape public thought and understanding and to make institutional and legal reforms for increased female political involvement?

1.4 Goal and Objectives

1.4.1 Goal

The general goal of the study was to help reshape thought by showcasing performances of female representatives so as to chart new strategies for increased women's integration in governance systems.

1.4.2 Objectives

In order to attain the above goal, the following specific objectives were pursued:

1. Find out the level of women's participation in governance structures at the local level
2. Determine the relevance of women's participation in governance and local development
3. Assess the level of influence that women representatives in local governance have on local development policy decisions
4. Assess the individual and institutional capacities of women in local governance
5. Identify the constraints to their efficiency and effectiveness in local governance

6. And to make recommendations to further encourage higher female participation in governance

1.5 Justification of the Study

It is evident that Ghana still records unequal representation and participation of women in local decision making bodies, even decades after the country's commitment to both national and international convention and programmes for gender mainstreaming. As much as it is imperative to adopt measures to up-scale the overall numerical strength of women in governance system, the effectiveness and efficiency of women representatives cannot be glossed over. Offei-Aboagye (2000), in that allusion underscored the essence of stepping beyond mere numbers of women in governance to counting their qualitative implications. Besides, as a national policy strategy in promoting participatory governance, it is important that after almost two decades of systematic female involvement in local government system, a process is initiated to assess and collate results from the contributions of assembly women to local development.

In the first place, the study would serve as an important source of scientific facts that provide inventory of the specific performance and achievements of the assembly women engaged in political decision making processes at the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly. Secondly, it would facilitate assessment of particular strengths and weaknesses of women who participate in political governance as well as test the efficacy of the decentralization policy and strategies or institutions put in place to promote gender mainstreaming in the country. Thirdly, it will also serve as a communicative instrument to government, feminist movements and other concerned bodies towards linking advocacy and action for rapid gender equality.

1.6 Research Scope

In view of certain inescapable research constraints such as limited time and funds, the study adopted specific definition of scope in terms of concepts, actors and players, period and spatial coverage that is deemed convenient to the exercise.

1.6.1 Concepts

The study was conducted on a broad framework of concepts bordering around participation, governance, decentralization, and local development regarding women. Whilst confining participation and governance within the spectrum of political processes, development assumed a generic but localized connotation given by some conventional definitions. The general application of these terms was contextualized under Ghana's Decentralization Law of 1988, PNDC Law 207 and Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462). Adoption of these terms as well as any other concepts that were reflected in this study have been appropriately defined and used as specific to the study scenario or used conventionally. The conceptual definition also constituted part of the analytical framework that was employed.

1.6.2 Principal Actors

Although the central theme for the research was on assembly women's political performance, other focal issues of governance and local development were relevant areas for collective reference points involving several other key players. In this case, key players included in the discussion were local politicians (that is, assembly members – women and men, former elected assembly men in the present female represented electoral areas, and the Presiding Member), selected officials, specific women support agencies and some selected residents within the study district.

1.6.3 Period

The electoral period that was assessed or studied spanned from 2006 - 2008. The period was chosen because of the apparent practical difficulty in obtaining accurate archival information about the general activities of the past members of the Assembly in general. It was also because most of the members who served during this period were available and easily accessible for interview.

1.6.4 Study Area

Giving the nature of the research, both theoretical and practical perspectives were considered. Importantly, selection of the study area took into account some manifest characteristics in relation to the practicalities of the research problem. In view of that, Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) in the Ashanti Region (see Appendix 4a) was chosen as the study area.

Factors that occasioned this choice are that, first, KMA is the only metropolitan area out of six and among the nine Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies in Ghana at the time where a female served as the Metropolitan Chief Executive (MCE) or Mayor. Secondly, there are ten (10) Sub-metropolitan areas (refer to Appendix 4b) in the Assembly, and that offers expansive and variegated contexts for such performance assessment of assembly women, in particular. Thirdly, KMA is an urban center with wide ranging complexities – socially, economically, institutionally and politically. Conducting such a study in the area would help establish basic facts about the effectiveness and efficiency or otherwise of salient structures relating to women's participation in governance and development. For example, support systems including women support institutions, mobilization drive of assembly women and their levels of influence on the Metropolitan decisions for development. With the current trends of rapid urbanization in Ghana, knowledge from this spatial unit could serve as a platform for similar studies and basis for near generalization in other metropolitan or municipal and the urban districts.

1.7 Research Limitations

In the conduct of the study, the following constraints were encountered:

- **Time Limit**

The timeline used to carry out this research was found to be too short and thus did not permit planned interviews with some official and other ex-officio members, mainly the Members of Parliament and the former Metropolitan Chief Executive (MCE) of the Assembly. This also implied that the number of voter respondents needed to be trimmed down as they were spread in six different electoral areas.

- **Period of the Study**

The time of the research coincided with the national political season for the 2008 General Elections. This halted the entire business of the Assembly and therefore did not allow the researcher to participate and observe any proceedings of the Assembly. Besides, most of the assembly members were very elusive and therefore resulted in the total dislocation of the research timetable.

1.8 Structure of the Report

The thesis report is categorized into five chapters. The first chapter introduces the general background stating among others the research problem, objectives, the scope and the relevance of the study. Second chapter is theoretical and provides both the conceptual framework and results of the desk study on the topic. It also forms the basis for general analysis and discussions. Concepts, terms and their definitions used under several contexts were given by this chapter.

Third chapter gives the methodological framework that wheeled the whole research process. Fourth chapter presents a brief profile of the study area – KMA, covering issues like spatial, demographic, socio-cultural and governance system. The chapter also contains the entire field data results and the ensuing discussions. Chapter five climaxed the entire report by outlining specific findings and their implications derived from the discussions and analysis of the field results. It also presented some specific policy recommendations and intervention, and a direction for further research. The general issues were finally summed up in a snapshot with a conclusion.



CHAPTER TWO: PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE:

CONCEPTS AND IMPLICATIONS

2.1 Introduction

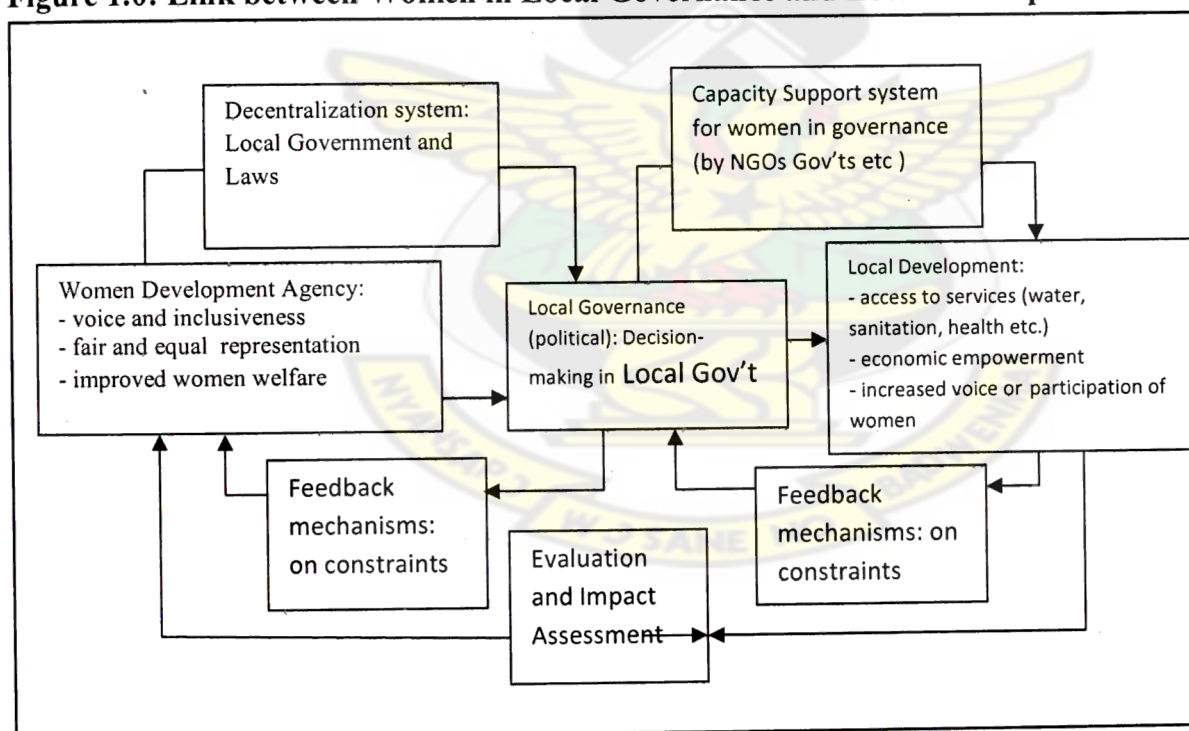
Definitions of concepts and terms hardly carry universal meanings since their applications are contextual and variable. This chapter concentrates on providing conceptual understanding of key concepts used and their operational limits. Participation of women in governance is widely a prominent issue and has attracted a gamut of write-ups. However, monitoring the qualitative implications of their involvement has not attracted much research by concerned bodies and individuals. A review of some of these literary works from varying sources is featured in this chapter. Broad issues highlighted include (a) the theoretical framework and concepts (b) decentralization and women's participation in local governance (c) and evaluation of women in governance.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

A study by UNDP (2002) has shown that decentralization could result in development only on few cases. This has compelled opinions to discount any direct relationship between decentralization and local development. In spite of that, decentralization is envisaged as a process to facilitate and to create grounds fertile to achieve improvement in the general well-being of the people. Under the present democratic dispensation, good governance is related to improved standards of living of people. Since the dawn of the need to entrench good governance, the concept has not been divorced from development. This has been widely espoused by development think tanks both in the field and in academia. The conviction is that good governance and human development are bedfellows and inseparable (UNDP, 2002). Any efforts to promote the tenets and principles of good governance are therefore deemed as enhancing human development goals. Accountability, transparency, participation, consensus-building and rule of law are among the cardinal principles of good governance that the introduction of decentralization and local government system seek to attain (Ayres, 1997; UNDP, 2005).

One other motive of decentralization moreover is to address the representative imbalances between the sexes in all stages of development process. Local governance is therefore identified as the route through which people at the grassroots (predominantly women) can be mainstreamed into formal government system and in decision making structures of the state (Offei-Aboagye, 2000; UNDP, 2005). Participation of women in local governance has been noted as one of the strategies of eliminating male patriarchy in decision making. However, efforts toward female participation have not been devoid of barriers of socio-cultural stereotypes and political prejudices about the ability of women. That is because many are convinced that 'men make better leaders than women' (Shjvedova, 2005). However, if there is any attempt to disprove such a conviction as unfounded for the political advancement of women, or to project that women have a lot of relevance in governance due to their transformative leadership ability (Offei-Aboagye, 2000), then it is necessary to establish the connection that women in local governance could generate development at the local levels. This framework has been shown in the *Figure 1.0*

Figure 1.0: Link between Women in Local Governance and Local Development



Source: Author's construct, June 2009.

The framework seeks to explain how women when efficiently engaged in local governance could generate development in their localities. It explains a scenario that, women's participation in

governance could be stimulated through decentralization policy. However, participation of women in governance could impact positively on local development if the capacity of women is built (by NGOs for women empowerment, women organizations, government among other concerned bodies) whilst issues and progresses arising from their involvement are regularly communicated through right feedback mechanisms to appropriate quarters (like women advocacy groups and organizations such as the UN) for revised advocacy (see Figure 1.0). The local development issues referred to are defined to cover access to services like education, health, water and sanitation; economic empowerment through access to loans, friendly business environment; increased participation of women and minority in local governance; and reduced vulnerability from negative cultural practices (UNDP, 2000; 2002). Thus, Bari in UN (2005) states that; for local development to materialize as a collective social responsibility, women should be granted voice and fair representation in local decision bodies (e.g. local government) through decentralization and specific legal regimes like quota system and affirmative action.

2.3 Conceptual Definitions

2.3.1 Governance

Governance has in recent times been used widely. However, it remains elusive in its conceptualization thereby giving way for various definitions. Like many other concepts, governance does not permit itself to a universal definition. In one context, it is seen as 'the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It also comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences' (UNDP, 1997).

UNDP (2002) characterizes governance as multi-faceted bothering on social, political and economic; institutional; and geographical dimensions. It adduces two related insights to the concept. First, governance is recognized as the mechanisms and processes that allow citizens and groups to get involved in social, economic and political affairs, by which they could express their interests, mediate their differences and exercise their legal rights and obligations. In another view, it connotes the system of values, policies and institutions which a society uses as instruments to

manage its economic, political and social affairs through interactions within and among the state, civil society and private sector. In that allusion, governance is deemed both as system and process that bothers on social, political and economic dimensions through which collective decisions are taken and implemented within an organization or among different stakeholders.

UNESCAP (2001, 2008), on the other hand considers governance as a management process for attaining a sustainable change in an organization or a spatial administration such as the district, city or country. In other words, it is the process of making and implementing (or not implementing) decisions. The process, it stresses should be based on community participation, transparency, accountability and the rule of the law in order to achieve and promote 'good governance'. In the present development thinking, good governance is seen as the critical strategy for achieving improved wellbeing of the people. It is evident from the above viewpoints that governance is crucial in promoting participatory development through collective decision making, mutual understanding, empowerment and ownership.

2.3.2 Participation

Participation is a process that is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as the capacity to part-take constructively in taking decision and executing it. It is a necessary instrument that puts communities and individuals or stakeholders together in determining the content and direction of development agenda. According to UNDP (2002), participation should bring on board all the stakeholders from individual to local businesses, communities and neighbourhood groups in the process of local planning, decision-making and implementation. In his conception, participation involves making all people (men and women) to have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their interests. Work summarily identifies two forms of participation namely direct and indirect participation. Notwithstanding, the view concurs with the opinion of World Bank (1994), in which participation is acknowledged as:

“Process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them” (pp. 15).

2.3.4 Development

Development is an elusive concept that defies absolute definition. In one opinion, it is described as 'a process of enlarging people's choices'; of enhancing 'participatory democratic processes' and the 'ability of people to have a say in the decisions that shape their lives'; of providing human beings with the opportunity to develop their fullest potential'; of enabling the poor, women, and 'free independent peasants' to organize themselves and work together' (UNDP, Human development Report, 1996). From this view, it can be said that development concerns the process of ensuring people's economic, social and political well-being.

The definition is holistic and attaches humanistic view. The importance it creates is that it makes man the centre-piece of development where people including the vulnerable (women and the poor) are empowered, and enabled for the respect of their dignity to share the decision making power and the means of production. Above all, it recognizes potential creative capacities and abilities of individuals, groups and communities in the development of their localities. However, the Human Development Report (1996) describes development as one that not only generates economic growth but also distributes the benefits equitably, regenerates the environment rather than destroys it, and empowers people rather than marginalizes them. This is also in line with the belief of putting man at the centre of development as the world leaders in Cocoyoc (1974) put it; we develop human beings and not structures. In that regard, it simply defines human development as "*pro-people, pro-jobs, and pro-nature*". Such a comprehensive conception of 'development' is quite relevant in reference to the goals envisaged with the emergence of the concepts of Local Government System and decentralization vis- a- vis the participation of women and the improvement of local well-being.

- 2.3.4.1 Local Development

Local development may best be understood when the term 'local' has been explained. Local has been applied differently with both national and international references. On the international level it connotes three different levels: locality, community and group (sub-community) (Uphoff, 1986 cited in Korkor, 2001). In Ghana, Korkor identifies 'local' level as the District (group of communities), Area Council, and Urban, Town, Zonal and Unit Committees as that defined under

the Ghana's New Local Government System. These hierarchies (or localities) he points out are the domain for political-spatial development efforts generated through effective decision making, social mobilization and political guidance and co-ordination. In that regards, local development has been described simply as development by and for the people living in a particular locality (Kokor, 2001).

- 2.3.4.2 Governance and Development

Governance analysts have been explicit in drawing the connection between governance and development. If governance indeed can be subsumed as a process of taking and implementing decisions or not, then it could be viewed as a vehicle for development. Korkor (2001) looks at this nexus from two dimensional approaches: governance of development and governance for development. Governance of development refers to how the structures of governance instituted by Government are employed as agents in the actual task of managing development at the local levels. This approach focuses on the structures like the district assemblies and observes the procedures and strategies the assemblies use to plan, organize, effect and direct development within the decentralized framework. On the other hand, governance for development he puts 'focuses on the political and institutional pre-conditions for development'. This talks about the 'regime factors', which constitutes a set of arrangements or 'governance infrastructure' that, underlie and reinforce the work of government and their bureaucracy. In other words, governance should serve as an infrastructure that provides enabling environment for both internal and external partners to execute activities that cause development for the local communities.

Other writers however caution that not all forms of governance are conducive for development. Thus particular reference is made to good governance, especially whiles 'bad governance is being increasingly regarded as one of the root cause of all evils within our societies' (UNDP, 2008). On that score, Robertson Work in UNDP (2002) argues that good governance and human development are indivisible. Good governance, among other things, upholds the spirit of participation, transparency and accountability. It is also seeks to ensure equity and promotes rule of law. Good governance in essence of development ensures political, social and economic priorities based on a broad consensus in society. Based on this conviction, the former Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi A. Annan, is quoted as saying:

"Good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development" (UNDP, 2002, pp. 3).

There is no doubt then that governance has direct implications for development. It is argued under such conditions that in order to ensure the benefits of development is shared by all, no section of the society should be left out in the process of manufacturing development of which governance is key. This recognition led to the call for equitable representation in governance between men and women.

2.4 Participation of Women in Governance

Women play a pivotal role within local and family financial networks and in decisions. Incidence studies establish that, women play greater roles in the economic development of their societies, though, mostly they are found in informal sectors. Ironically, women constitute majority of the world's poor, they are most vulnerable to disease, and are the least educated. For instance, education wise, more than half of the world's out of school children are girls. Women also account for almost two-third of the estimated 780 million world's illiterate people. A myriad of studies have drawn a deep link between women's general development and level of their political participation. Meanwhile, as of middle of 2006, women parliamentarians only accounted for about 17 per cent, representing almost one out of six. Gender parity in legislative governance, for instance, is estimated could be achieved with the current trends by 2068 (DFID, 2007). Currently, women approximately, constitute more than 50 per cent of the world's population but only hold less than 20 per cent of the global political power and occupy merely small proportion of decision making bodies in the society (Glover, 2008).

Bodies of public decision making, described by Shjvedova (2005), are male-dominated and constitute an alienating environment to women. She explains that, existence of this male-dominated model of public decisions results in either rejecting politics altogether by women or rejecting that male-style politics. Men by virtue of their numbers dominate the political arena; formulate the rules of the political game; and define the standards for evaluation. That is because

arrangement of politics seems to conform to male norms, values and lifestyles. This has based the political model on the idea of "winners and losers", competition and confrontation, rather than on mutual respect, collaboration and consensus building. This trend somehow negatively affects the psyche of most women when entering into politics, hence, their small numbers.

At the 1995 Beijing conference on women, 50 per cent target was set for women's breakthrough efforts in legislative governance. Africa Union (AU) similarly has set the same target to be attained by 2015 (Glover, 2008). The International Union of Local Authorities (IULA) anticipates to achieve women's representation rate in local governments at a minimum target of 40 per cent, and not more than 60 per cent for either gender. Disaggregated data collated world over nonetheless indicate that, women's political participation at the local level is generally beyond national trends in most Western countries, where 'women's participation in community politics it is believed has long been identified as an extension of their traditional involvement in household management'(UNDP, 2000). In Europe, among the European Union in 1997, one out of five local elected representatives was a female, but the situation varies from one country to another. In Sweden, for instance, 40 per cent of Local Assemblies seats were held by women, as compared to less than 4 per cent in Greece. Available data for Latin America between 1992 and 1995 shows an average rate for women of 7.5 per cent for mayors and 3.8 per cent for municipal councilors.

In the case of North America, USA figures from 1990 portray an average figure of 17 per cent for women mayors and 23 per cent for women in local councils, whilst in Canada, 18 per cent of council members are women. For the Caribbean, Trinidad and Tobago follows the pattern of higher female representation at the local level in comparison with the national: 21 per cent in local councils and 14 per cent at the mayoral positions. In Africa, women's membership in local councils and assemblies is estimated at probably less than 5 per cent.

The situation in Ghana is not any different from most other countries. In similar fashion, recent projections show that women form over 51 per cent of the national population, yet in 2004, women in Ghana's Parliament represented merely 10.9 per cent. After the 2008 general elections, this figure dropped to just 8.7 per cent. In other government portfolios, the number of women remains low. For instance between 2004 to 2008, there were no female Regional Minister, but 3 for Deputy

Regional Ministers; 6 women Chief Directors of ministries out of 35; 3 women Council of State members out of 25; and 4 women ambassadors and high commissioners out of 48. Though, it is worthy to note currently that the following positions: Chief Justice, Vice Chancellor of the University of Cape Coast (UCC) and Speaker of Parliament constitutes the highest women's occupations in the country (Department of Women, Kumasi - Ashanti, 2008). Within the local government system, out of 138 District Chief Executives only 12 were women as at 2004. In view of the trend, Offei-Aboagye (ibid) asserts that, notwithstanding the good intentions that decentralization have for women "the initial participation of women in local government was low and has remained so". The overall rate of women's involvement in local government as representatives as at 2006 is less than 15 per cent (UN-CEDAW Report, 2008). UN notes that, in 2002 district levels elections in Ghana, little over 7 per cent of those who won are women (Abantu – ROWA, 2006).

2.4.1 Historical overview of Women's Participation in Governance – Global View

Historically, it began with the call to the acknowledgement and respect for the rights of all persons – male or female, young or adult. Equality and respect for personal dignity is in this case classified as among the fundamental human rights for all – male and female alike as stipulated by 1948 Human Rights Charter of the United Nations. The affirmation of this was contained in the preamble which proclaimed "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women". In 1979, UN resolutions established the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women – CEDAW to ensure that the right to equality and its procedural implementation to protect women from any kind of discrimination is monitored.

The 1960s however marked the real aperture to the international feminist activities when the adverse impact of some development policies on women became apparent; which according to the empirical work of Esther Boserup (1970) cited in Saunders (2002) was more detrimental on the status of the Third World Women. Search for women's liberty therefore took a different approach; this time using conferences and declarations. These were heralded by the International women's year conference held in Mexico City in 1975; the 1975-1985 UN decade for women; Copenhagen conference in 1980; Nairobi Conference in 1990; and the Beijing Conference on women which

reaffirmed the UN call on “action for equality, development and peace” (UN, 2007). Themes for these UN forums revolved around one major theme; that is greater participation of women in all national, economic, social and political affairs or simply in community and national development processes (Baah-Ennumh, 2002).

Besides, organizational approach was also employed in the advocacy. These include UN agencies and other organizations. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM) are among the UN agencies used to engender women’s political integration and empowerment. Other organizations and interest groups which made equally significant impact for women include third world women’s research and advocacy group termed – Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF), Federation of International Women Lawyers (FIDA) and Africa Leadership Forum (AFL). Others are Women in Development Europe (WIDE) and Grassroots Organization Operating Together in Sisterhood. These organizations took a lot of inspiration from the emergent women theories of development such as Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD) which were propounded around 1970s and 80s. This resulted in the divergence of focus and opinions regarding their approaches (Saunders, 2002 Ed).

2.4.2 History of Women Advocacy in Ghana

Advocacy for women political inclusion in Ghana has been largely influenced by the trends in the international arena; that seek to promote participatory development, empowerment and progress of women. Besides, the democratization of the political system in the period around the 1950s played seminal role in nursing the thought of the few women elites of the time to be part of the administrative process in the country. During this time, females’ participation in governance was an essence of competence and interest rather than the principles of rights and equality as it is being touted today. Women mainly realized they owe it a duty as nationals to be part of the political process that wrestled for the country’s liberation and political independence. It was established that, the appointment of women like Mrs Sussana Alhassan, the first woman minister, and Mrs Margaret Markwei in 1960 by the CPP – government (Baah-Ennumh, 2002), followed by the election and appointment of a score of women into the National Assembly marked the beginning of women’s involvement in the formal system of governance in the country.

Later developments in this direction were the outcome of the various conferences and conventions pertaining to the universal respect for the principles of the rights to equality and participation for both males and females in all aspects of development. However, in solidarity to the 1975 UN's women's conference in Mexico City, National Council for Women and Development (NCWD) was established by the National Redemption Council Decree (NRCD 322) as national machinery to support and sustain women's political activity. Another milestone was under the Government of the Provincial National Defence Council (PNDC), during which a powerful NGO called the 31st December Women's Movement was formed to provide economic empowerment to women as a stepping stone (Baah-Ennumh, 2002).

Advancement of women's political course in the country is thus a recent phenomenon, traceable after the return to current Constitutional rule in 1992 and the introduction of decentralization and local government systems. This political dispensation created the atmosphere of equality and motivation for both sexes and women in particular, to aspire into elective public offices. Presently, there are better organized feminist groups and programmes that are championing the course of women, rather in a subtle note and seeking larger female participation and representation in state governance. Notable ones are Women's Caucus in Parliament, women's blueprint dubbed – The Women's Manifesto, and women's ministry – the Ministry of Women and Children (MOWAC), first inaugurated in 2001 by the NPP government. But some of these organizations/programmes fall short of the vigour and vitality as to bring any sustained improvement to the Ghanaian feminist agenda. That is because, some of them seem unsustainable without specific legal support and guarantee.

2.5 Decentralization and Women's Involvement in Local Governance

2.5.1 Decentralization

Decentralization like other modern political and economic concepts has attracted a wide range of views and perspectives, thus defying a universal definition. Such variations in opinions have reflected into the way and manner its theory has been applied in practice over the years since its emergence. Today, more than 80 percent of the developing and transition countries of Eastern and

Central Europe and the former Soviet Union, are experimenting decentralization, with widely different political orientations and economic bases (Ayres, 1997).

Conceptually, decentralization system represents one of the key administrative strategies of diffusing decision making rights to local communities from centre with the express hope of making development participatory, inclusive and responsive in order to promote transparency, and accountability between “duty-bearers” and “claim-holders” associated with the local government system. Thus, decentralization leads to the establishment of different levels of government leading to the release of power and responsibility by the centre to local government, communities, organization or group. UN, 1962 (cited in Rondinelli and Cheema, 1983) for instance defines decentralization as the transfer of authority on a geographic basis whether by deconcentration of administrative authority to field units of the same department or level of government or by political devolution of authority to local government bodies. Rondinelli and Cheema (1983) however expanded the scope of this definition, when they viewed decentralization as the transfer of planning, decision making, or administrative authority from the local central government to its field organization, local administrative units, semi autonomous organization, local government or non-governmental organizations. H. Akuoko-Frimpong described decentralization as a “dual hierarchy model” with several levels of field administration and local government under each model. The hierarchies can be implemented disparately as decentralized field administration and local government institutions, or otherwise as a political system in a “fused or single hierarchy model” as in the case of Ghana (SPRING Research Series 10, 1996).

Adding to the view, (UNDP, 2002) attributes the transfer of responsibility for planning, management and resource generation and allocation by central government to the local governments to the principle of subsidiarity. The rationale is to ensure that there is local ownership of development. Ayres (1997) on the other hand contends that decentralization will not be successful by simply releasing power from center to the field. According to her, decentralization is not achievable by a single act of government delegation or decision to reform. However, as a process, decentralization requires sustained efforts in order to make changes in nearly all aspects of governance; from the development of local competence to the central government’s acceptance of

a local community's right to retain a portion of its financial resources, to the development of a culture of honesty and answerability among politicians.

2.5.2 Decentralization and Women's Participation in local Governance – the nexus

Decentralization is viewed as a fulcrum that facilitates among other goals, local participation in development, and creates consensual support for development initiatives as a recipe to promoting national unity and political stability (Maro 1990, cited in Brohman, 1996). It is also agreed that decentralization builds a sense of community and permits more meaningful participation in self-government. Conyers (1986) cited in Brohman, 1996) similarly explains that, decentralization has taken on positive connotations that could be linked with the objectives of popular participation, local democracy, appropriate development, coordination and integration, and debureaucratization.

Though decentralization measures, in her observations places much emphasis on participation of local communities and grassroots organizations in decision-making; appropriate measures need to be incorporated to empower the majority in the localities. Else, decentralization initiatives may simply lead to transfer of power from one elite group to another without any resultant benefits to the poor and the marginalized in society (Brohman, 1996). For decentralization to principally promote popular participation, it is dependent mostly on what form decentralization that is being practiced. UNDP (2002) argues that, political decentralization necessitates universal participation and ensures accountability and transparency by not just allowing local people to vote but to stand for elections as well.

Brohman (1996) however, contends that decentralization process though may result in an increased local participation; it has to be reinforced with related issues of empowerment, which is most often regarded as secondary. It is argued that no actual decentralization can be realized by institutional reform which does not empower under-represented and disadvantaged groups such as women. Work in this regard believes that, decentralized governance becomes most effective when the principles of good governance: participation; inclusiveness; consensus building; rule of law just mention but few that effectively appreciate equality of women to men, are applied at the local level. In his candid conviction, decentralized governance if carefully planned, effectively implemented and appropriately managed, can have the cumulative effect that lead to enhanced

human development with significant improvement in the welfare of people at the local level. By this means, he identifies a strong connectivity between decentralization and local development that addresses poverty, gender inequality, environmental concerns, education, access to technology and improvement in healthcare.

On the contrary, while UNDP (2002) observes facilitation of women's participation in governance via decentralization within the ambit of the general principles of good governance, Joy (2003) views differently. He thinks that, decentralization could result in participation, especially for women when grafted with the principle of human rights. In fact, what Joy really stresses on is the human – right based approach to decentralization. The approach is elaborated on the values expressed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) that espouse the principles of indivisibility and interdependence of rights, of equality and non-discrimination, self-determination, inclusive participation, subsidiarity, consensual decision-making, transparency with accountability, and the rule of law. Though Joy opposes Work on the basis of approach, they both agree that based on the principles of subsidiarity, participation and inclusion, consensus building, transparency, accountability and the rule of law decentralized governance becomes receptive and motivational to women in local government.

Generally, it is assumed that by bringing decision-making about the provision of public goods and services closer to all citizens, decentralization in consequent will allow women and poor people to voice themselves more clearly, facilitates communication and information flows between local policy-makers and their constituents, and fosters improved accountability (UNDP, 2000). However, Ofei-Aboagye (2000) argues that decentralization could result in the participation of women if certain provisions such as non-partisanship of the local government system, freedom to use the local language for the business of the assembly and discretion in creating additional sub-committees are included.

Apart from this predominant belief about decentralization and its enabling effects on grass roots participation, decentralization it is observed does not necessarily generate popular participation and local democracy as Slater (1989 cited in Brohman, 1996) contends. Decentralization, he points however could bring about local participation only when its implementation is linked to alternative

discourses like the case of many recent International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank advocacies programmes, which combine ideas of popular participation, collective empowerment and democratic socialism. In essence, implementation of decentralization and local government system has long been viewed as a strategy for increased female participation and broadened representation in local governance.

2.5.3 Local Government System in Ghana

The need to diffuse governance and development to the door steps of every Ghanaian was among the key reasons for the introduction of Local Government system in Ghana. Since independence, various governments attempted to implement the Local government system through decentralization concept but without significant success. The country currently is under the sway of the latest form of local government system established through the 1988 national decentralization policy by the government of Provincial National Defence Council (PNDC Law 207). It is objected that the decision to decentralize by the past regimes from 1960s was purely for political expediency. That is because, decentralization policies since 1960s have been interpreted variously to serve the purposes of each of the regimes. However, it is a fact well-espoused that the gap which hitherto existed between the central government and grassroots would be wiped away through effective channels of communication between the central government and local communities under decentralization. Besides, the policy was vouchsafed for the promotion of national unity and political stability through greater participation of the local people in the planning and management of their development (SPRING Research Series 10, 1996).

In that regard, the Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462), was passed to form the statutory requirement for the formation and operation of bi-government systems at national and local levels. Under the Act, Central Government is to transfer specific authorities and functions to the district assemblies as the official government structure at the local levels. As Arnan (2000, cited by Baah-Ennumh, 2002) states, 'the district assemblies are pillars upon which peoples power will be erected'. Section 10 (3) of the Act 462, stipulates and assigns functions of the district assemblies as deliberative, legislative and executive. The structure of the Local Government system has been defined by the 1996 New Local Government System Law. The structure is composed of a

Regional Coordinating Council (RCC), and a four – tier Metropolitan, and three – tier Municipal and District Assemblies (see figure 1.1).

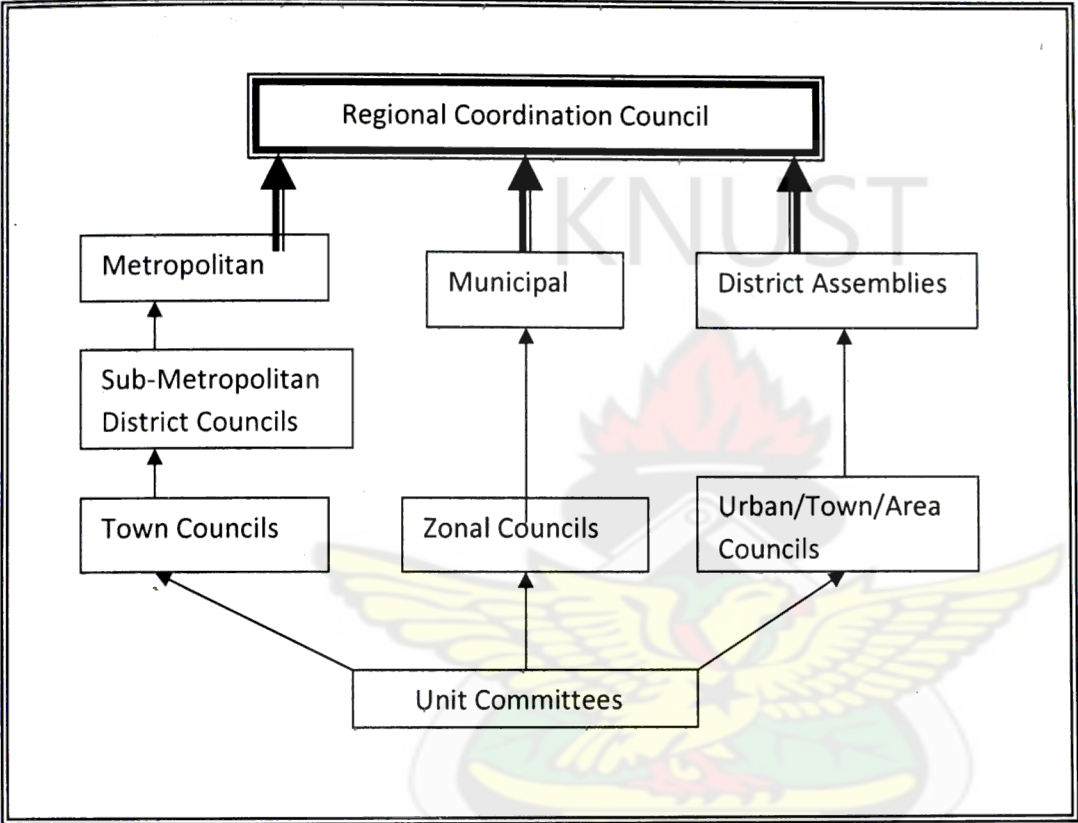
Under the system, the Regional Coordinating Council is supposed to perform administrative roles as a liaison between the local government bodies (Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies) and the central Government through sector ministry. RCC by this is responsible for coordinating the development efforts on behalf of the central government, providing political guidance for the district assemblies (Kokor, 2001). Section 4 (a)-(b) of the Local Government Act 1993, Act 462 defines a Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies with a minimum geographical populations of two- hundred and fifty thousand, ninety-five thousand and seventy-five thousand respectively. A metropolitan in addition must be economically viable; geographically contiguous; and should consist of properly delineated sub-metropolitan councils established by law. Each sub-metropolitan council is further required to have Town councils for areas with population not exceeding fifty thousand (Republic of Ghana, 1996).

A Municipality besides should also have a geographical area made up of a single compact settlement and Zonal Councils established accordingly based on the Electoral Commission's criteria of commonality of interest, population of three thousand, and recognizable streets to serve as boundaries. Districts on the other hand are required to compose of Urban, Town or Area Councils. Town or Urban councils are established for settlements with population between five and fifteen thousand, whiles Area Council exist for a number of adjoining settlements or villages put together but whose collective population is not more than five thousand. At the base of all these sub-structures of the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs) are the Unit Committees where governance and development are brought in closer contact with the people. A Unit in Ghanaian context refers to a settlement or a group of settlements whose population ranges between five-hundred and one-thousand for a rural; and about five-thousand for urban, and where people interact together based on kinship, ethnic, political, social and economic ties.

It was assumed that, implementation of decentralization in Ghana could help entrench good governance by promoting the principles of accountability and transparency in government.

Especially, when popular participation of the grassroots in the planning and management of local development seems highly encouraged under the new local government system. The system clearly is devoid of discrimination in terms of participation by both sexes.

Figure: 1.1: The New Local Government Structure



Source: Republic of Ghana (1996).

2.6 Issues of Women’s Performance in Governance

Karam (1998) expresses that when the issues of ‘change’ and ‘impact’ are raised pertaining to female involvement in decision making, very often the reference is limited to change within ‘women's issues’ (e.g. childcare or other issues which affect women in their roles as mothers and wives). Change or impact, she intimates, should be looked at in the broader context of ‘women’s perspectives’ of policy and legislation relating to a wide variety of social, political and economic issues. If policy decisions and laws are, however, to be made for the benefit of all members of the society, then the extent to which the decision-making body is able to take into account the experiences of a broad spectrum of that society as possible is important. The broadness of

inclusion in the decision making process will therefore constitute the gauge for the degree to which societal decisions would be appropriate and meet the needs of the entire society rather than those of a particular group or groups. Observed shortfalls in the participation of females in development (DFID, 2007; Offei-Aboagye, 2000) necessitated the need for greater involvement of women in decision making processes. A substantive question that emerges across board, however, is what changes or different things women could bring away from what men in governance or politics do, much so, when women are conservatively believed to already have a lot at hand to content with. It is argued that (Karam, 1998), women of their gender alone, will not put gender issues on the development agenda. According to the view, women's presence in formal politics will not bring any qualitative change by putting social issues on the national agenda, especially, when women in the upper echelons of politics are often likely to become an elite group among women and develop their own vested interests instead of those they represent.

It is suggested that the performance of women MPs is largely affected by two factors: first, the role of political parties in society; and second, the pressure from constituents to address local issues. Abu-Zayd argues that, it is impossible to discuss the influence of women MPs in the legislative assembly in isolation from their role within political parties. A discussion of political parties in turn, cannot be had without referring to the efficacy of political parties in parliament. The influence of women is derived from the efficacy of the political institutions that represent them (Abu-Zayd, 1997). Relatively, the performance of women councilors and assembly members is dependent on women themselves and in similar vein their levels of influence by their own personal levels of efficiency. However, UNDP (2000) attributes women's efficiency to the existence of favourable environment. For instance, it notes that women usually do not have equal access with men to the means for participation, such as the enabling skills acquired through education and training or controlling the means of production or access to the information media, including the new communications technologies.

The importance of numbers cannot be discounted, though. In contemporary times however, endeavours towards achieving equality and fair representation had agreed noting that:

"It is now essential to look beyond the question of numbers to enhancing the quality and effectiveness of women politicians" (Karam, 1998 pp. 6).

In order to do so, existing information on the output of some women assembly members, councilors, administrators and MPs needs to be uncovered and shared by practitioners and researchers, Karam (1998) argues. Through out their inclusion in the state and local governance and in development, women have made landmark contributions both tangible and intangible that have led to the improvement of wellbeing of people. Generally, the significance of women's participation in politics and other governance procedures both at local and national platforms has been multi-dimensional and enormous. Analysis of some of these contributions and outputs could be captured below. Women's participation covers various issues, including political, economic and social services.

2.6.1 Relevance of Women's Participation in Governance

Women's participation in governance has a lot of effects that bother on various issues, including political, economic and social services. Experiential studies indicate that the main area of concern for women councilors and MPs is economic issues, and then followed by services (Abu-Zayd, 1997). Economic discussions have mostly been predominated by the issues of poverty, lack of access to productive resources like land and capital, among others. It has been proven that involvement of women in decision bodies have yielded a lot of pro-economic decisions and actions both at micro and macro levels in the society.

In South Africa, example has shown that women's engagement in state and local governance can accrue immeasurable benefits to women themselves and to the wider society. A classical case (*see case study 1.2*) from the South African governance system suggests that, rigorous gender policies have been implemented through the instrumental efforts of women parliamentarians together with civil society representatives. The outcome did not only reflect in changing the country's electoral college system, resulting in the sustained rise in female participation in national decision making bodies but, also translated into wide ranging improvements in the general welfare of the people (UNDP, 2000). These were achieved on the heels of the collective vision and effectiveness of the females at various levels of governance in the statecraft. The outcomes are evidenced by the case study below.

There are further claims that opine that women bring into politics a specifically feminine approach which is closer to the reality of everyday life. Contrastingly, while women appear less concerned with the apparatus of power unlike the men, they seem more interested in carrying out practical and positive reforms. Often, it is argued that women's engagement in governance and politics is not for the pleasure of power and prestige attached to the role, but to enable them achieve some concrete reforms. An observation by Shjvedova (2005) confirms that women and men have a different relationship to power: women see political power as a means to an end whereas men see the acquisition of political power as an end in itself.

It might be contentious to express that women in governance brings greater diversity and experience to the decision-making process. However, Lima Hamaje-Benejeh in (UNDP, 2000) in her estimation confirms the widening of the horizon of the political leadership to several other key issues previously unaccounted due to women's political participation in local government structures. Devaki Jain, an Indian feminist, remarks about India's 1994 Panchayati raj (PRI) "revolution": "Some of the ways in which women, through PRI, are changing governance are evident in the issues they choose to tackle: water, alcohol abuse, education, health, and domestic violence. Women also express different values. Women value proximity, whether it be to a drinking water source, a fuel source, a crèche, a health centre, a court of justice or an office of administration" (UNDP, 2000).

According to DFID (2007), women involved in governance machineries play a critical role not just in promoting human rights and fighting poverty but in peace-building. Empirical evidence gathered from a research in Central Africa shows that peace agreements, post-conflict reconstruction, and governance do better when women are involved. The research establishes that women adopt a more inclusive approach toward security, and address social and economic issues which would otherwise be ignored. In Uganda, it is recognized that women's peace movement used political manoeuvres to successfully reduce violence through networking for sharing of common experiences among different regions, offering of training in conflict resolution and trauma counseling within families and in community disputes. In Rwanda, the collaborative work between Women in Parliament and other NGOs in the communes resulted in an important political landmark leading to the establishment of Women's Committees by the Ministry of Gender. These

committees subsequently became the model for the development and introduction of the local government system by the government (Baldwin and Newbury, 1999).

It is undisputable that, increasing the number of elected women could lead to better and more representative decision-making process. It is popularly held that the concerns of a broader range of people may receive more serious treatment where there are higher numbers of women in political offices. Rwandan women parliamentarians constitute 49 per cent of the legislature. Records prove that women parliamentarians had successfully worked for increased government spending on health, education and special support for children with disabilities (DFID, 2007). An instance where participation of women in governance has amply manifested in several outputs of significance has been noted further (UNDP, 2000). A recent World Bank study drew a close correlation between women's representation in parliaments and a decrease in the incidence of corruption.

In Bhopal, India, through the efforts of its women rulers a compulsory education for girls was introduced throughout their kingdom. This led to Bhopal having universal education for girls to this date. Similarly, India is counted among the few countries in which women parliamentarians have succeeded in securing a target of 30 per cent budgetary allocation for women development during budgetary hearings - an achievement that parallels the South African Women's Budget Initiative (UNDP, 2000). Likewise in Uganda, the Women's Caucus in Parliament succeeded in increasing the government's budget allocations for nutrition as well as for childhood development projects. Further, in the Philippines, committed women parliamentarians succeeded in introducing the principle of targeted budget allocations for women which yielded an initial rate of 5 per cent. In 1998, their efforts also led to the adoption of a bill on rape. Again in Uganda, women ushered the issue of women's equity into the overall land reform bill. Kenyan women have repeatedly striven, inside and outside Parliament, to persuade the government to give women title to land and to establish bank accounts in their own name without the approval of their fathers or husbands. In Jamaica, women parliamentarians have helped set up a number of special funds that directly or indirectly benefit women.

Additionally, Ugandan Women's Caucus succeeded in achieving targeted reforms by ensuring that the country's 1994 Constitution prohibits laws, traditions, and customs that undermine the dignity and well-being of women. The Caucus then lobbied for the establishment of an Equal Opportunities Commission to guarantee the Constitutional provisions for gender equality. Finally, in concert with other groups, these women enlarged the political scope of affirmative action in Uganda: women are now guaranteed 14 per cent of the Parliamentary seats and a third of the seats in local government (UNDP, 2000).

2.7 Review of Case Studies

In the review below, ample evidence is presented on classical contributions women make when engaged in local and state systems of governance.

Case Study 1.0

The Case Study here describes how the Women's Parliamentary Caucus in Rwanda played pivotal roles in promoting local welfare through restoration of peace and unity in the aftermath of the devastating genocide in 1994.

The Case Study:

After the 1994 genocide, a transitional parliament was put in place in which women represented a small proportion: 17 out of 74, or 23%. These women formed a caucus, prompted largely by the need of women parliamentarians to work together across party lines. This caucus promoted unity and reconciliation by serving as a model of women working together irrespective of their diverse background - a very important gesture in the post-genocide reality of the country. The caucus ushered in a new spirit of cooperation, guided by higher principles of common good, and served as an example of unity in action. The forum also became a model of how Rwandans in leadership positions can transcend their differences and promote general good.

The uniting factor was the shared desire to promote peace within Rwanda and outside its borders. In its advocacy role, the women parliamentarians' caucus made important contributions which impacted strongly on women's role in post-genocide reconstruction. For

instance, their advocacy ensured that a law was passed punishing sexual assaults and rapes committed during the genocide as crimes against humanity. Women parliamentarians were responsible for the adoption of a law on inheritance succession which for the first time in the country's history grants equal rights for men, women, boys and girls to inherit property. Women parliamentarians played a critical role in ensuring the new constitution adopted on 4th June 2003 was highly gender responsive (Mba, 2005, Pp.s. 11 - 12).

Case Study 1.1

In the review below, it was noted that women's political participation could stimulate efforts to engender local development. This case study looks at the soft and hard benefits that women at various political strata and decision making bodies in South Africa has accrued by helping shape policy decisions for the benefits of women and society at large. Myakayaka-Manzini (2005) noted that the participation of women in governance has come to redirect attention of government policy and parliamentary legislation to begin the delivery of critical resources and services to the poorest South Africans. The effects of these changes in direction resulted in the wide range of achievements by the female representatives. Some of those outcomes include the following:

- ❖ *The building of 260 clinics, focusing on the most disadvantaged rural areas, and the upgrading of 2,358 clinics;*
- ❖ *Tax law reforms, removing discrimination against women in income tax;*
- ❖ *The renovation of 1,497 schools and the building of 4,308 classrooms;*
- ❖ *The feeding of 5.5 million children in school feeding schemes;*
- ❖ *The immunization of 63.3 per cent of all babies before the age of one, and an additional 10 per cent by the age of two;*
- ❖ *The introduction of free medical care for children under the age of six and for pregnant mothers;*
- ❖ *The approval of programmes to provide basic services of water and sanitation to millions of people;*
- ❖ *The provision of housing subsidies to millions of the people and the building of close to one million houses;*

- ❖ *The provision of municipal infrastructure including water, electricity, sanitation, solid waste removal, roads, storm drains and community facilities to benefit 3.5 million people;*
- ❖ *Installation of electricity in 313,179 households, connecting 1.5 million people;*
- ❖ *Programmes to provide electricity to 25,900 rural schools and about 2,000 rural clinics (Myakayaka-Manzini, 2005, pp. 29).*

The case explains that, women in parliament played a major role in impacting on the work of government departments, particularly on projects that affect them (women) such as housing, water, justice, local government, trade and industry. Gender focal points or desks were set up in various departments that linked up with the Office on the Status of Women. Government departments also issued central policy documents and undertook a wide range of initiatives that re-prioritized their work, to meet the needs of the entire population, and particularly those of women. The following briefly outlines how various departments complied with the agendas adapted to the needs of women and the entire society:

The Health Department has undertaken to create a system of primary health care that will be readily accessible to women and children anywhere. Welfare has initiated special pilot projects to address people at risk, especially single mothers.

Water and Forestry have initiated community forestry programmes, to achieve re-forestation in a sustainable way that benefits the rural communities not only environmentally, but financially as well. The Department of Trade and Industry also took concrete action to address gender equality by setting out policy and by implementing programmes that increase women's access to small business and financing opportunities. The Department of Justice has introduced, through the influence of women's groups, several laws and policy documents to deal with issues such as marriage, divorce, domestic violence, rape and inheritance. It has also come up with programmes and campaigns to advance women's access to justice and to ensure that the legal system responds to women in an appropriate and affordable manner. Women would not have been able to achieve these results and advance their interests if, from the outset, they had not organized themselves into women's groups within their parties and on a multi-party level. Mention must be made of the fact that,

these impacts materialized also from the commitment and actions of women outside parliament. They are able to continue to advance their cause due to their links with and participation in women's organizations and NGOs in civil society (Myakayaka-Manzini, 2005, pp. 13).

The case study 1.1 establishes that, the relevance of women's involvement in governance to local development cannot be overemphasized. Through their participation women's needs and concerns are addressed through efforts that would instigate specific institutional and legal reforms. However, this could be possible when women in governance positions organized themselves above partisan, parochial interests and act with a unified voice.

2.7.1 Performance Evaluation and Influence of Women on Policy Decisions

Discussions of evaluating impacts of women's political participation, particularly, those with vested representation has always tended to use a set of criteria that involves (i) the number of women; (ii) participation in policy discussions; (iii) number of motions tabled by women; (iv) dimensions of issues raised e.g. whether they have bearings with politics, economics or socio-culture etc and whether they concern only women or the broader society; and (v) capacity of women participants in governance e.g. education and competence level. As the study seeks to appraise contributions of women in governance, it is acknowledged that, women politicians and decision makers themselves feel the expectations of many to advance the gender agenda with visible outcomes while in office. UNDP (2000) maintains that they do not necessarily do so because they usually cannot since in most cases, 'their numbers have not yet reached the necessary critical mass'. The argument seem to be supported by an assertion attributed to Abantu – ROWA (2006) that, in order to expect meaningful outputs through women's engagement in governance, a threshold of 30 per cent must be attained.

2.7.2 Women's Performance

Case Study 1.2

This case study seeks to evaluate the level of influence that women decision makers wield so as to help redirect focus of policy discussions on issues that are of maximum importance to all in the

society. The results come from the analysis of the data collected from the information section of the People's Assembly (PA) in Egypt regarding the performance of each woman MP during three parliamentary terms purposively chosen to represent three mechanisms by which women can enter parliament, excluding the system of appointing women MPs. The results indicate that:

During 1976-1979 (the second People's Assembly, PA): Six women held parliamentary seats; no system of reserving seats for women. Within 1984-1987 (the fourth PA): 30 seats were reserved for women; six women won their seats. While from 1987-1990 (the fifth PA): 18 women held seats in parliament according to the party-list system.

Performance Appraisal:

Analysis of the activities of women MPs during these terms reveals among others the following key issues: During the second PA, women MPs (who numbered six) raised eight issues, whereas during the fourth PA (when there were 36 women), they raised only five issues. During the second PA, the number of economic issues raised was 20; this only increased to 58 in the fourth PA, despite the fact that women's membership increased six-fold. Similarly, women raised 22 issues relating to social services in the second PA, which increased to only 46 in the fourth PA, despite the increase in membership from six to 36. The assessment highlights that, there is no correlation between the number of women MPs and the number of issues they raise. This is explained by the fact that, the number of social issues raised actually decreased from 32 in the second PA to 18 in the fourth PA.

It is in this vein it was concluded that, the issue of women's representation is not only a quantitative one but qualitative as well. The basis of women's performance in governance however, depends on whether the women selected are capable of presenting the issues and problems of society and acting as representatives in an informed and efficient manner (Abu-Zayd, 1997, pp. 8).

2.7.3 Reasons for Women's Low Performance in Governance

Factors that inhibit efficiency of women in governance are invariably similar to those conspiring against their participation. Though, they vary from country to country. However, the oft-adduced reasons for women's political underperformance include social and cultural prejudices, patriarchal

social systems, financial dependence of women, lack of training opportunities for women, family and child-care responsibilities, the high cost of seeking and holding office as well as the corruption tendencies in politics (UN, 2005).

The generally low capacity of women has been counted as one of the critical issues. Women's low capacity can be traced to high illiteracy, low competence, lack of leadership skills as well as low self-confidence (Offei-Aboagye, 2000). World Bank's 2007 report for instance identifies high illiteracy rates among females, which it is believed greatly gives rise to women's low capacity. UNDP (2000) also maintains that women in most cases do not have equal access with men to the means for participation, such as the enabling skills acquired through education and training or controlling the means of production or access to the information media, including the new communications technologies like the internet. These altogether affect the confidence of women to take part in the local governance.

Offei-Aboagye further notes that, elected women themselves do worry about their inability to undertake development activities to justify their inclusion in the local government. She catalogues among other factors limited capacity to communicate in English; lack of understanding of assembly procedures as among the constraints; intimidation of women members as they are being shouted at during assembly proceedings or being ignored by presiding members when they (women members) intend to make interventions; serving of short notices for meetings; as well as transportation costs incurred during assembly work have also been indicated as constraints for them. Women members employed in the formal sector also identify difficulties in combining assembly responsibilities with their jobs such as getting time off to attend to assembly and community business. But, may be part of the difficulty of making women's presence felt at the district assembly level is the general paucity of women in government administration - both as politically appointed heads of districts (mayors) and as administrators and civil servants (Offei-Aboagye, *ibid*).

The processes through which women go into governance also affect their ability to perform effectively. For example, the performance of women Members of Parliament (MPs) who are elected, Abu-Zayd explains, differs from the performance of those who gained their seats as per reservation system or a party-list system. This was indicated by the low level of legislative and

censoring tools used in the fourth and fifth PAs, where women were allocated seats according to the systems of seat reservation and party lists, respectively. Between them, they presented one interpolation during the two PAs and no bills. However, in the second PA, they presented seven interpolations and 10 bills. This is proven by the observation that, the electoral process itself over time makes the individual acquire an insight of how to behave in public affairs. The process besides provides information about their constituency and the problems and issues that concern them. Thus Amal Sabbagh (cited in Abu-Zayd, 1997) identifies lack of education and information or data for women as the factors for their poor performance. The importance of education and information are seen as tools for women's political efficiency, because it is believed that:

"a woman leader who is informed and can analyse situations critically has the potential for change" DCLG (2008, Pp. 8).

2.8 Improving women's Performance in Governance

In view of the above reasons for women's poor performance, UNDP (2000) suggested a development of training strategies for women in the following broad areas as means of equipping them for political positions at all levels. The strategic areas identified include, advocacy in gender awareness in politics; capacity-building through networking; negotiation skills; management; constituency-building; budget analysis; gender mainstreaming skills; use of mass media; political and voter education; mass mobilization and long-term strategies for engaging younger generations. Amal Sabbagh (ibid), on the other hand argues that, to overcome the problem of information gap, women in governance should take advantage of developing links with women's organizations, or with local community leaders, men or women within the communities they serve. Other factors expressed include the need to learn and share experiences with other women who are in similar positions around the world as well as the need to form constant links (and lobbying) with colleagues, particularly male colleagues, in parliament (Abu-Zayd, 1997). This brings to attention the contributions of various institutions on enhancing performance of women in governance positions.

2.8.1 Institution and Institutional Support for Women in Governance

Relevance of institutional support systems cannot be overemphasized in enhancing the quantity and quality of women in decision making. It has been noticed during the last decade that, women's parliamentary representation in long-standing democracies has increased. One of the critical reasons for this rise is the impact of women's organizations both inside and outside political parties and other organizations interested in gender mainstreaming such as the non-governmental organizations, government and international bodies like the United Nations (UN) and Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (Shjvedova, 2005).

- Women's Organizations

Women's organizations tend to know the unfavourable conditions that affect women's efforts to enter in to governance positions and subsequently make them effective. One way to address this situation is through formation of women's organizations who try to work with political and government institutions to secure electoral changes to facilitate women's nomination, election and performance. This strategy is found not only to result in increasing women's representation within legislative bodies but enhance their performance (Shjvedova, 2005).

- Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

Activities of both local and international NGOs have been immeasurable. Their activities are not only limited to improving numbers of women in governance alone but to improve their output as governance representatives. Common means of assisting women by the NGOs has been in the form of capacity building processes through training, education of women and sensitization of communities, as well as extension of financial assistance for women political candidates. Such organizations include, Ark Foundation, NETRIGHT and Centre for the Development of People (CEDEP) (Women's Department, Kumasi-Ashanti, 2008).

- International Organizations

The United Nation, UN and through its specialized subsidiary programmes and establishments have been playing hegemonic and variant roles to re-enact women as equal partners with fair and representative stake holdings in all affairs of the state parties. In pursuit of this goal, international women's decade was declared by UN between 1975 1985, amidst international women's conferences in Mexico City, and Nairobi followed by the famous 1995 Beijing Conference in

China. CEDAW and UNIFEM were in addition established to champion global welfare issues of women (Saunders, Ed, 2002).

2.9 Summary and Lessons Learnt

A search through the various literary works regarding participation and outputs that women in governance positions make revealed an array of important observation worth noting. These are outlined in the following:

- The level at which women participate nationally and globally in decision making and governance at all levels of the statecraft (e.g. Parliament and Local Government) still fall far below the parity line due to socio-cultural and political factors even though there were some marginal improvements.
- Decentralization if appropriately implemented could enhance participation of women in national governance through local structures.
- There is no particular relationship between the number of women in governance and their performance or impact on local development through their influence on policy directions.
- The important and effective means of enhancing women's performance in governance is based on a matrix of factors such as improved capacity through education and training; access to local and current information or data; competence and confidence levels; networking among others.
- Women in governance are selfless, less concerned with political power and seek to tackle a wide range of socio-economic issues in policy deliberations.
- When women with higher capacity levels engage in governance, remarkable transformation and achievements are chalked politically, socially and gender wise for the benefits of a broader society, especially, the vulnerable like children, women and the disabled.
- Though women in some countries have been tremendous through their involvement in politics and national governance, little database exist to showcase their real performance. This continues to fuel the rampant suspicion of the quality of their sustained and expanded involvement in governance.
- Though women forms at least half of every country's population, besides Rwanda which records 49 per cent women in legislature, no single country has achieved gender participation parity either in the parliament or local government.

- In Ghana, data on the impacts of women in local government and legislature is hardly available, and that the rate of women in governance e.g. parliament has been declining rather than improving.



CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

No research is executed without employing a set of tools and techniques to serve as means to achieving stated goal and objectives. This chapter highlights the main tools or research methods adopted in carrying out the study. It also presents the general framework within which the research will be undertaken.

3.2 Research Design

The research was executed within the frameworks of both an explanatory research approach and a case study. An explanatory research because the study sought to assess the effects or implications of women's participation in local governance to local development. Between the period 2006 and 2008, some assembly women served in the KMA as both appointed and elected representatives. KMA in this respect was chosen as the special case for this study in view of the presence of female assembly members between the period of 2006 and 2008.

3.3 Sampling

Both the probability and non-probability sampling techniques were employed preferentially to select the samples. Samples for the study came from different sampling frames. The first sample frame constituted the local policymakers and politicians defined as Metropolitan Assembly members. This frame provided a sample size of 20 (17%) respondents (see table 2), representing ten (10) male and female members each using both purposive and random sampling techniques.

Purposive sampling method was used to select ten (10) assembly women. They comprised of six (6) elected members from six (6) different electoral areas (see table 1) and four (4) government appointees all of whom served during the period of 2006-2008. The appointed members did not represent any particular electoral areas, however, all the 10 members were mainly from six (6) sub-Metropolitan Areas, namely, Bantam and Subin 1 member each, Suame, Nhyiaeso and Manhyia 2 members each, and Oforikrom 3 members. Electoral Areas and Sub-metros of the selected voters

are shown in *Appendix 1*. Six (6) immediate predecessors of the assembly women were purposively selected as well.

- Ten (10) assembly Men were also selected to equate the sampled number of assembly women, through systematic and simple random sampling methods. The systematic Kth No. Was determined through the formulae:

$$K = N / n: \quad \text{Where: } N=76 \text{ (total number of assembly men)} \\ n=10 \text{ (sample size required)}$$

Therefore, $K=7.6$ or 8; so every eighth assemblyman was chosen after the first has been randomly picked from a list of assembly members obtained from the Assembly's administration office. The ten (10) assembly Men selected included seven (7) elected members and three (3) former government appointees from all the ten (10) sub-Metropolitan Areas except Suame (see Appendix 2). In determining the sample size of the individual voters, multiple sampling methods were adopted. These included purposive sampling technique to select specific polling stations in which the assembly women were residents; stratified sampling for adopting the voter population of the 6 sampled areas as sample frames (see table 1); and simple random sampling in picking the elements (voters). The total voter population from the six (6) polling stations was 3647 voters and constituted the broad sample frame for the selection of the total voter respondents of 97 at 90% confidence level as mathematically represented below. Three (3) more voters were added for contingency to make the total expected voter-sample hundred (100) as indicated in table 2.

Determination of Sample Size (Voters):

$$n = N/1 + N (\alpha)^2 \\ 3647/1 + 3647 (0.1)^2 \\ 3647/37.47 = 97.33$$

Where: n is the sample size, N is sample Frame
and α is the confidence intervals

Table 1: Voter Sample Sizes for the Selected Electoral Areas

Electoral Area	Polling Station	2008 - Voter Population	Sample Size (n)
AYEDUASE	T/B Emina Apost. Church Preperatory School	326	9
ANLO FANTENEWTOWN	Nyame Na Nye Stores	536	14
AYIGYA AKETEGO	Temp. Booth near Medonist Hotel	395	11
MANHYIA	Traditional Council Prim.	724	19
ABREPO JUNCTION	Bantama Methodist JSS	861	23
TARKWA MAAKRO	Old Bethel Church	805	21
TOTAL		3647	97

Source: Field Survey, EC 2008 Data, Kumasi, June 2009.

Voters from the female represented electoral areas were targeted mainly because the focus of the study was to assess specific contributions assembly women in the Metropolis make in helping to address the developmental problems of their electoral areas as agents of local development. It therefore implied that people who are directly affected by the actions and inactions of the assembly women as representatives in the Local Government were selected to enable true assessment of their performances, and whether they (the performances) respond to their local issues.

As an urban area, people in the various localities of the Metropolis face a number of development challenges in their daily lives. These include, poor sanitation and sanitary facilities like toilet and drains; insecurity at night; lack of economic boost such as loan for local traders, frequent interruption of pipe-borne water and electricity; poor town roads among others. These outlined issues emerged as among the key expectations of the people which were in turn adopted as the benchmarks for assessing the performance female members make on local development.

Table 2: Sample Sizes of the Respondents

Type of Respondent	Respondents (Planned)	No. Interviewed	% of Actual Respondents
Assembly Members	20	20	16
Former Assembly men from AW electoral areas	6	6	5
Individual voters	100	96	77
Deputy Metropolitan Coordinating Director	1	1	1
Presiding Member (PM)	1	1	1
Total	128	124	100

Source: Field Survey, June 2009.

Other respondents purposively selected and interviewed from the Metropolitan Assembly were the Presiding Member (PM), who was an elected male assembly member and the Deputy Metropolitan Coordinating Director (DMCD). The DMCD was selected because she is a woman and the secretary to the Assembly during deliberations. Even though, 97 voters were sampled for scrutiny, 100 voter questionnaires were distributed. However, 96 of the number issued were retrieved as at the time of analyzing the data.

3.4 Data Collection

Both quantitative and qualitative data were generated mainly through field survey (as primary source) and desk study (as secondary source).

3.4.1 Field survey and Primary Data

Primary data was gathered from first hand sources from the various respondents indicated earlier (refer to table 2). The principal tools used in eliciting the data were structured interview using questionnaires and personal observation.

3.4.2 Secondary Data and Literature Review

Secondary data were collected from wide-ranging sources through desk-studies from scholarly writings of both published and unpublished, and other documentary archives such as the Metropolitan Medium-Term Development Plans, local government laws and the KMA - Assembly Members' Diary. Other sources were newspaper reports and internet materials and articles.

3.5 Analytical Framework

The nature of the issues involved in the study necessitated the use of a pure qualitative tool. In that wise content analysis was adopted for the entire analysis of the issues arising from the field. In addition to the content analysis, a comparative analysis and triangulation process were also used in doing the analysis.

- Content Analysis

A content analysis was used as the main approach to analyze the issues because most of the data collected were qualitative. Content analysis involved two levels of analysis namely, primary and secondary levels of analysis. Primary analysis was basically a descriptive account of the data. This involved the processing (that is data classification and summarization) and presentation (in tables and charts). Secondary analysis on the other hand adopted a more graphic, discursive, implied and inferential processes that tried to attribute meaning to the responses.

- Comparative Analysis

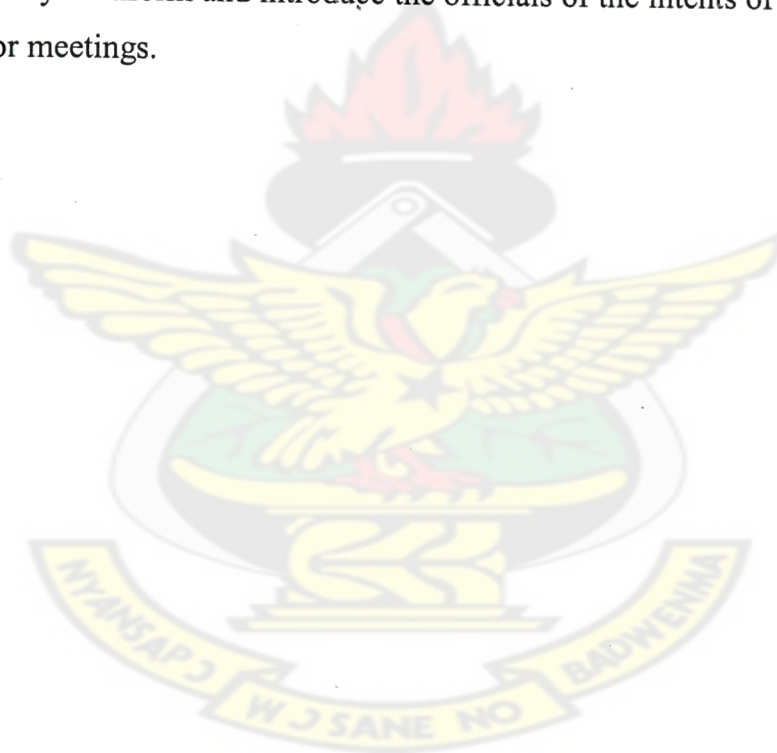
A comparative analysis entails the assessment and evaluation of the relationship between two or more variables. The study employed this process due to the nature and the direction of the study as it sought to measure or ascertain what relevance the participation of women in local governance has in responding to the local development issues of the local people. Four different variables were used in this regard, namely, the actual output (in terms of development project, tangible or intangible) of the assembly women; the actual output of the immediate past assembly men for the six (6) female represented electoral areas; the actual output of ten (10) selected assembly men; and the sampled expectations of the sampled voters from the female represented electoral areas. The evaluation compared all the other three variables to first variable stated above.

- **Data Triangulation**

Triangulation was used to cross-validate some of the responses, especially, those related to the performance of the assembly members and also in monitoring the level of participation of the assembly women in the deliberation of the Assembly. The tool was used particularly for this variable due to the inability to indirectly participate and observe any of the Assembly's sittings.

3.6 Preliminary Visit

The study was heralded with a pre-survey reconnaissance visit to the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) and the Ashanti Regional Women's Department of the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC). This was to obtain a prior insight of the general representation of women in the Kumasi Metropolis and brief view of how they fare in their performance. It was also to accord the opportunity to inform and introduce the officials of the intents of the study as well as book appointments for meetings.



CHAPTER FOUR: RELEVANCE OF ASSEMBLY WOMEN ON LOCAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE KUMASI METROPOLIS

4.1 Introduction

Covered in this chapter is the baseline information of the study district. It also presents the broad spectrum of matters arising that were uncovered and generated through observation and assessment of the current situation regarding performance of women in local governance.

4.2 Background of the Study Area

4.2.1 Location and Size

Kumasi is the Capital city of the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) in the Ashanti Region, a predominant Akan society. The Metropolis is located in the transitional forest zone, about 270km north of Accra the national capital and occupies an area of about 254 square kilometres. It is between latitude 6.35° – 6.40° and longitude 1.30° – 1.35° , with an elevation ranging between 250 – 300 metres above sea level. Appendixes I shows the location of KMA in the administrative map of Ghana (KMA Medium Term Development Plan, 2006).

4.2.2 Demography and Social Issues

The Metropolis is the second most populous city after Accra, in the country. During the 2000 Population Census, it recorded a figure of 1,170,270. It has since been projected to have a population of 1,625,180 in 2006 based on a growth rate of 5.4% p.a. According to the 2000 population census, the age structure of the population in the Metropolis is skewed towards the youth. Likewise, the sex distribution indicates that, there are slightly more males (50.2%) than females (49.8%) in the Metropolis, unlike the national situation (Ghana Statistical Service, 2006). The population is heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity with Ashantis, the major group living together with other minor tribes like Fantis, Ewes and other Northern tribes among others from across the country. In terms of religion, Christianity pre-dominates other persuasions like Islamic and African Traditional Religions. It is estimated that 48%, 46% and 6% of the Metropolis are urban, peri-urban and rural respectively, confirming the fast rate of urbanization. As a predominantly urban area, the problem of wastes and waste management has been a major issue of

concern to both the residents and the Metropolitan Authority. The city authorities have therefore been groping for solutions to contain the waste management problems.

4.2.3 Governance and Status of Women

The Metropolis experiences two forms of governance system, namely traditional system and formal government system. Based on the matrilineal system of inheritance in the Akan culture and Ashanti for that matter, women tend to enjoy a high profile position and a significant socio-political influence in the Traditional Authority set up. The status of women is so important that, the King of the Ashanti Kingdom whose royal seat is based in Kumasi is chosen by a woman, who is the Queen mother. Besides sitting in the King's court, queen mothers, it was said used to rule in absence of the king. Thus women's' participation in governance and leadership is not new in this socio-cultural setting, and their performance had been exemplary. Like the legendary Yaa Asantewaa, who led a troop of about 50000 men in a fight to guard the sovereignty of the Ashanti kingdom in the 1900.

KMA as the head of the formal governance system in the Metropolis was established under the Local Government Act 462, 1993 and Local Government Legislative Instrument LI 1614, 1989 established the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) to manage the city. The KMA was empowered by the law with legislative responsibilities to make policies, including the rules and byelaws, which give legal effect to its decisions. Both the Local Government Act 462 (1993) and legislative instrument LI (1614) gave authority to KMA to become a Planning Authority as well as to mobilize resources from the metropolis to undertake development projects. The Assembly is currently made up of ten (10) sub-metropolitan district assemblies, named as Manhyia, Asokwa, Tafo, Bantama, Subin and Nhyiaeso. The rest are Asawase, Kwadaso, Suame and Oforikrom (*refer to Appendix 4b*). The Assembly is comprised of eighty-six (86) assembly members; sixty (60) elected and twenty-six (26) representing 30% government appointees and a Metropolitan Chief Executive (MCE) also chosen by the President. Women constitutes only ten (10) or about 9% members of the Assembly. As part of its governance procedure, the Assembly conducts her business through sub-committees as required by law. As a result, KMA has seven (7) functional sub-committees namely, Development Planning, Revenue Mobilization, Works, Finance and Administration, Social Services, Environmental Management and Justice and Security (Public

Complaints). There is also an Executive Committee which plays a linking role between KMA and the sub-committees.

4.3 Current Situation and Issues

4.3.1 Sex Distribution

The sex structure of the entire respondents constituted 74 (63%) males and 44 (37%) females. Also, persons surveyed among the voters represented 63 (66%) males and 33 (34%) females (see table (3) for the distributions of the respondents). The sex proportions of the electorates highlight the broader picture of the gender situations in the local government system to some extent within the Metropolis.

Table 3: Categories and Sex Distribution of the Respondents

Categories of Respondents (Sample frame)	No. of Respondents	Percentage	Sex			
			Male	%	Female	%
Community Members(voters)	96	81	63	66	33	34
Assembly Members (A.M)	20	17	10	50	10	50
Deputy Metropolitan Coordinating Director	1	1	-	-	1	100
Presiding Member	1	1	1	100	-	-
Total	118	100	74	63	44	37

Source: Field Survey, June 2009.

4.3.2 Age Distribution

The age distribution of the respondents indicates that, a greater proportion 49 (51%) of the selected voters fall within the age limits of 20 and 30 years, and 32 (33.3%) between 31 and 40 years, while the rest forming 15 (about 16%) are above 40 years old (see table 4). This gives the indication that a significant proportion of the residents in the female represented electoral areas could be dominated by people at or below the age of 40 years, which is described in Ghana as the youthful age group.

On the other hand, the age structure of the sampled assembly members shows that, 4 (40%) each of both the assembly men and women falls between the ages of 31 and 40 years, while the remaining 6 (60%) each represents assembly members above 40 years.

Table 4: Age Structure of the Respondents

Age Cohorts	Assembly Men	%	Assembly Women	%	Voters	%	Others i.e. PM& DMCD	%
20 – 30	-	-		-	49	51.0	-	-
31 – 40	4	40	4	40	32	33.3	-	-
41 – 50	2	20	5	50	7	7.3	1	50
51 – 60	3	30	1	10	5	5.2	1	50
61 +	1	10	-	-	3	3.1	-	-
Total	10	100	10	100	96	100.00	2	100

Source: Field Survey, June 2009.

With such an age structure for the assembly women, it could be explained that women in view of their multiple roles as UN (2005) described in the literature, prefer to enter into politics (or local governance) at relative older age (usually after 40 years) when they tend to have less family roles to play. Often by that age 40, women might have finished giving birth to their desired number of children, and could conveniently make time for their political engagements. This makes representation in the local government among the female represented electoral areas in the Metropolis a bit skewed to women mostly above 40 years, even though, the population of youth (i.e. 40 years and below) seemed to predominate.

4.3.4 Educational Background of Respondents

Educational statuses of the respondents ranged from the level of no education to tertiary. Those however with some educational background start with the graduates of the Middle School Leaving Certificate (MSLC) or Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) to university degree.

Among the voters, 35% had basic education, 41% were Senior Secondary School graduates, while about 25% had either obtained a university degree or are yet to obtain (see table 5).

Table 5: Educational Background of the Respondents

Level of Education	Assembly Men	%	Assembly Women	%	Voters	%	Others i.e. PM& DMCD	%
No Educ.	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-
Basic	-	-	-	-	34	35	-	-
Secondary	6	60	8	80	39	41	-	-
Post Sec.	3	30	2	20	13	14	1	50
Tertiary	1	10	-	-	8	8	1	50
Total	10	100	10	100	96	100.00	2	100

Source: Field Survey, June 2009.

It can be said from the above that majority of the assembly members (both male and female members (60% and 80% respectively), refer to table 5) had secondary education while only few people (10%) with tertiary education participate in local governance. This probably stems from the notion many hold about involvement in local government system as people's representatives. Some among higher educated persons harbour the thought that assembly membership is meant for the illiterates, semi-literates or those with low educational background, as one of the voter - respondents, who is a university student indicated:

"Position of the assembly membership is too low for a university graduate".

But, for a tier of government in charge of legislative, executive and deliberative functions at the local level, it would be required that persons of some critical levels of education like post-secondary and university possibly would show interest to contest for representation in order to make local governance more meaningful to local development due to their level of reasoning and perspectives. The fear however is that, greater participation of relatively high educated persons in local government might turn it into an institution for the elites, and that could erode the very

purpose of getting the local people involved in taking and implementing local development policies.

The general educational background of the assembly women may not appear that encouraging though, it is actually a departure from the old trend of the previous assembly constituted in 2002 where out of twelve (12) assembly women, five (5) were middle school graduates. To some extent, this development tends to confirm the observation by Offei-Aboagye (2000) in the literature in relative terms that there is a generally low educational level among women who participate in local governance in Ghana. Though, the current levels in KMA constitute an improvement over the previous levels in 2002, the situation still depicts low educational standings of the assembly women.

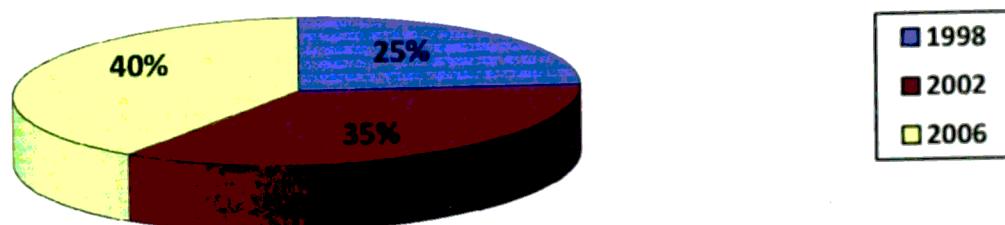
4.3.5 Residence and Electoral Status of Voter-Respondents

All the respondents (that is the sampled voters) from the six female represented electoral areas responded that they were registered voters. Among them, eighty (80) respondents representing 83.3% indicated that they are both residents and voters in those electoral areas. Seven (7) respondents constituting 7.3% are residents in those areas but vote elsewhere. However, eight (8) respondents made up of 8.3% said they are neither residents nor voters in those electoral areas, whereas a single person (1.0%) votes but does not live in any of the electoral areas.

4.3.6 Participation in Local Electoral Process

In the figure 1.2 is presented the rate of participation of the respondents (electorates) in the past three local electoral exercises.

Figure 1.2: Involvement of Voters in the Past Three Local Elections



Source: Field Survey, June 2009.

Out of the total responses of one-hundred and ninety-six (196) recorded from 94 voter-respondents, 25% had participated in the 1998 district assembly local elections, while 35% and 40% took part in that of the 2002 and 2006 respectively. The results show that, each voter-respondent took part in at least two of the past three local level elections, except two (2) of the respondents who acknowledged they never participated in any of the exercises. The above picture however suggests a significant improvement of the voter participation from 25% in 1998 to 40% in 2006.

4.4 Level of Education and its Implications

Assembly women require high level of education to boost their capacity and competence levels in order to enhance their levels of confidence. It is not strange that most of the voters perceived assembly women as incompetent and ineffective due to low educational backgrounds as given by the statistics (table 5) above. It is relevant to note that, this perception is not at variance with the World Bank's position in the literature, which attributed women's low performance/capacity to low education and high illiteracy.

4.5 Rate of Women Representation in Local Governance

Table 6: Expected and Actual Female Representation Levels

Type of Representation	Proposed Rates	% of Responses	Representation Level	Average Representation Level
*Expected 1	Three-quarter (or 75%)	25	64.5 or 65	
*Expected 2	Half (or 50%)	40	43	
*Expected 3	One-quarter (or 25%)	35	21.5 or 22	Expected: 43
Actual (2002)	-		12	
Actual (2006)	-		10	Actual: 11

Source: Field Survey, June 2009. Note: *Expected Data are field data from sampled voters.

It could be observed from the table (6) that, 25% of the sampled voters felt that women should be given majority stake (75%) in the Assembly. Whilst 40% of the voters preferred equal representation (50% each) for both sexes, the other 35% of the voters felt women should have the least representation rate (25%). Explaining their choices, those who preferred or expected both 75% and 50% rates for assembly women provided similar reasons. These are: to promote equity and gender equality in governance; to enable women present their perspectives and interests in decisions for public policy; to promote good governance; to give leadership opportunity for women; and also it is their belief that women are selfless in leadership and therefore could perform equally better or more.

In line with these reasons, it was deduced that most of the voter-respondents to a large extent recognized female participation in governance as an important strategy of making development equitable between sexes. It further implies acceptance of the voters that, a representative participation of women in governance would help combat vulnerability and under development among the female sex, as well as help redirect public policies. On the other hand, 35% of the voters who suggested least female representation (25% (see table 6) argued differently. They viewed that: women cannot make any difference, however, just need to take part to assist men; interests and issues of women only need to reflect in decisions; women assume self-importance or become disrespectful in leadership; and women lack courage and assertiveness for leadership positions. Based on these reasons, they felt that women should have least stake in governance.

Available data suggest that Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) has 86 assembly members excluding the Metropolitan Chief Executive (MCE). Assuming that women should comprise 25% (the least rate as some suggested above) of the number, they would have constituted around 21 members. Contrary to this, women constituted merely 12 and 10 members (about 12% and 9% respectively) for 2002 and 2006 assembly sessions respectively. On their part, the Assembly members denounced female under-representation and viewed the present number as woeful. This confirms Offei-Aboagye's (2000) characterization in her work as the "general paucity" of women representation in local government. The prospects of attaining gender parity targets of 50% women in governance by 2015 variously set during the 1995 Beijing Conference, and by African Union (AU) as well as the 40% by International Union of Local Authorities (IULA) remains questionable

and doubtful to reality giving the gloomy picture of the present circumstances based on which Shjvedova (2005) in her literary work described, public decisions bodies as male-dominated and alienating environment to women.

The relatively low number of women, notwithstanding, could have negative ramifications on the very performance of women in local governance essentially because, it will not permit female members to present and champion their interests and perspectives through in-house voting. Subscribing to this opinion, the literature according to UNDP (2000) and Abantu-ROWA (2006), state that women can make visible outputs only when their number has reached 'necessary critical mass'. By this statement, both writers vividly correlated the number of women in local governance vis a vis their performance and efficiency; consonant with the opinion expressed by the assembly members. In spite of the above views, some male assembly members were however pessimistic of their female colleagues and indicated that female members are less vocal, which they blamed on women's relative low level of confidence and poor understanding of the District Assembly system.

4.6 Issues on Participation of Women in Local Government

- Voting for women

A total of 74 voter-respondents representing 77% expressed readiness to vote for female candidates, whereas the other 22, making 23% disclosed that they would not. It is clear that most people prefer women as Assembly representatives based on what may be described as their natural characteristics cited by a section of the respondents. Existence of these feminine (or natural) characters listed as honesty, trustworthiness, openness, kindness and selflessness is what UNDP (2000) collectively described in the literature as those that enable women to introduce feminine approach into politics and governance.

- Encouraging Women into Local Governance

Majority of the electorates forming 72% viewed that more women should be encouraged into the local government as representatives, but the other 28% objected. The former group contended that, firstly, women can perform better than men based on their relative higher understanding and skills in handling social problems. Secondly, it will empower women to fight vulnerability among them and children so as to promote equitable development. Besides, it will grant women the opportunity

to gain leadership experience in governance. But the latter opined that women basically lack initiative, courage and self confidence and therefore could hardly make any difference. Moreover, women become proud and complacent when they attain leadership positions.

It should be noted that, women constitute a significant proportion of the world's population and therefore represent a key stakeholder in development. Encouraging women in this context becomes a useful tool to entrenching democratic dispensation to permit better and more representative decision making as stated by DFID (2007) in the literature, and for the formulation of well-informed local policies. That explains why over half of the voter-respondents interviewed believed that at least half of the local assembly should constitute female assembly members. It is also true that increased women's participation can instill sanity into the local government administration by upholding the principles of openness, transparency and accountability as well as help check petty corruption as established by World Bank in the literature. Moreover, involvement of more women could generate improved leadership style in local government by injecting the spirit of sacrifice and selflessness, honesty and trust, affability and sympathy; as some respondents perceived to be possessed by women, so as to make local governance the pivot for local mobilization and development.

4.7 Barriers to Women's Participation in Local Governance

Just as the literature identified as among the possible factors, there are perceived reasons why upon all the advocacy actions by feminist groups, governments and other organizations gender equity in government and politics still remains a mirage. The following factors were collated from the respondents and discussed in order of importance.

- Low capacity and competence

Responses from the data presented earlier suggested that people bear the notion that women are incompetent and less effective in leadership. Reflections into past experience have informed the perception that women are both ineffective and inefficient due to their generally low competence and low educational levels. The crux of the matter however is that, most women, due to a complex web of financial dependence, familial responsibilities and cultural prejudices tend to be denied access to education and training opportunities as posited by UNESCAP (2008). These altogether as

Offei-Aboagye (2000) believed in her study; have contributed to make women suffer from high illiteracy, low competence, poor leadership skills and low self-confidence levels; accounting for their gross inefficiency and ineffectiveness in leadership positions.

- Lack of boldness and Courage

Some claim that women are deficient of the temerity and courage it requires to effectively participate in governance processes, which Shjvedova (2005) characterized in her writings as male-dominated, unfriendly and confrontational. Some women members as a matter of fact become dumb in the house during assembly deliberations as confirmed by the Deputy Metropolitan Coordinating Director, succumbing to what in the literature, Offei-Aboagye (2000), described as intimidation from the male members. Substantiating this, one assembly woman was captured as saying that:

"At times when you (that is an assembly woman) rise to make a statement or contribute to a discussion, men will shout on you to shut down..."

- A Sense of Pride and Disrespect

A cross-section of the respondents concluded that any leadership position is a source of pride and disrespect for women, as the data submitted earlier puts it; women become prideful and complacent when they attain leadership positions. Perhaps, leadership position itself may not be accused as that which imbibes the feeling self-importance and pride in some women leaders. It is imperative however to note that, assuming a leadership role comes with its own set of demeanor which if not properly understood or appreciated may be confused for disrespect or feeling of self-aggrandisement. A leader needs to be assertive, communicative, and defensive of decisions and actions taken. It is expressed that due to under-representation and unfriendly nature of political environment, especially for women, they (women) have to be even more assertive, confident and defensive. Sadly, some women have been daunted by such unpopular comments and have not been their true selves in leadership positions.

- Socio-cultural Prejudices

Some cross-section of the respondents believed that women cannot make any difference in the local government. That is typical of the way most social set up have psyched people to believe that women cannot do anything better, especially, where there are men around to do that. Some

cultures see women as a second fiddle and should tow the line of men. This factor precisely confirms what the literature described as the social cultural prejudices. These prejudices are fomented by both traditions and religion. In the Ghanaian society, kitchen is still regarded by some as the ultimate preserve for women no matter her level of education and competence. Women, according to most cultures have fickle or little mind and should therefore depend on the decisions made by men. Thus for a woman to become a leader is simply unc customary based on certain cultural convictions about the gender relations. It is equally uneasy to divorce some religious stands from such prejudices. Islamic religious perspective emerged during the survey in which one of the respondents is quoted as saying that:

“as a Muslim, I will never vote for female candidate because Islam does not subscribe to a woman becoming a leader over men, because Islam does not encourage women to become leaders”.

But much as this belief could be true in Islam, it is not as blanket as supposed by the above quotation. It became evident as well that, many people are apprehensive of the ability of female members due to personal prejudices against women. For instance, one voter-respondent voiced that:

“ as for me I don't believe in women and do not think they can really do anything different from what men have been doing, even though, they say we are equal, but...”.

In relation to this factor, some further maintained that having many women is immaterial to solving local problems. However, it is only relevant to have few women to represent and present the interests and perspectives of women when making local policies. The forgone factors were found as the major reasons that collectively contribute to the negative perceptions impeding the participation of female in governance structures.

4.8 Decentralization and Participation of Women in Local Governance

Evidence gathered from the field suggests that there is some degree of deviation from the expectations of decentralization and local government system in the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) with respect to participation. Recollecting from the literature expositions, it was

apparent of the conclusive stance taken by the various viewpoints pertaining to the concept of decentralization and grass root participation. Writers such as, Maro (1996) and Conyers (1986) cited in Brohman (1996) maintained that decentralization stimulates popular participation of the grassroots communities where women visibly predominate. Twenty years down the line after the implementation of the present decentralization policy and local government system, one of the oldest district assemblies like KMA could only boast of a total of about 9 per cent female representation as at 2006. Even though the local government system of 1993 was depicted as being gender sensitive and catalytic for rapidly increasing female involvement, much is yet to be witnessed at KMA. The picture however presents a paradoxical situation, which whilst invalidating the claims of the aforementioned writers, it tends to validate the views of Brohman (1996), and Slater (1989) cited in Brohman (1996) as well as Joy (2003). Their respective opinions concluded that decentralization could effectively generate more female participation when combined with the issues of institutional reforms, empowerment and human rights.

The observations made from the above analysis in essence do not imply the disutility of the decentralization system and its effects on increasing female participation. However, it seeks to suggest the need for re-engineering of current policies and advocacy strategies. What then comes to mind is whether gender equality should be treated as women's human right issue that need to be addressed through direct governmental intervention such as the affirmative action and quota system as had been the case in Uganda, Kenya, South Africa and other African countries which today have higher female presentation in governance systems. This seems to suggest a new direction for present advocacy strategies that would endeavour to adopt a more integrative approach by varying the present ways with efficiency and performance.

4.9 Local Expectations

With respect to the local government principle, development at the grassroots is supposed to be generated and facilitated by the local government authorities in the districts. In view of that, people in the local communities see their elected representatives at the district assemblies as those through whom their concerns will be heard and addressed by the government. The study therefore surveyed the selected voters to find out what their expectations were or in other words issues they wanted

the assembly women to help address in their localities. As a result, nine (9) key issues came up as the expectations of the people (refer to table 7).

Table 7: List and Frequency of Expectations of the Local People

EXPECTATIONS	No. of Responses	% of Responses	Rank
1. Mobilize the communities and women, especially, for community development projects and empowerment (e.g. clean –up exercises, communal labour and women’s welfare groupings).	4	4.2	VII
2. Create employment opportunity through access to loan and provide market facilities.	5	5.2	VI
3. Foster social cohesion and unity between the communities through intra and inter community programmes e.g. through games and sports.	3	3.1	VIII
4. Improve access to social service infrastructure (e.g. potable water facilities, electricity, educational institutions and health facilities like community clinics).	5	5.2	VI
5. Strengthen good governance principles (by promoting honesty, transparency and accountability in the local government administration).	11	11.5	III
6. Provision of street lightings and improved night security.	14	14.6	II
7. Good sanitation (availability of sanitary facilities e.g. Places of convenience, and rapid refuse collection).	39	40.6	I
8. Serve as role models and encourage education for girls through sensitization.	7	7.3	V

9. Educate and encourage women to promote female participation.	8	8.3	IV
Total	96	100.0	

Source: Field Survey, June 2009.

Issues on maintaining good sanitation attracted the highest response (40.6%), followed by provision of street lighting and improved night security (14.6%), and strengthening of good governance principles (11.5%) while mobilization of communities and fostering of social cohesion recorded the least responses of 4.2% and 3.1% respectively. Sanitation as a priority problem among the communities is occasioned by the fact that, Kumasi as an urban city is fraught with waste management problem. In recognition of that, issue of waste has been placed high on the agenda of the KMA's current development policy (KMA-MTDP, 2006).

4.10 Relevance of Women's Participation in Local Governance

4.10.1 Exposure to Local Governance

It was observed that, all the female members were in the Assembly for the first time except some two elected members, who had once been government appointees. On the other hand, half of the ten (10) sampled male members were either in their second or third consecutive terms in office. That might partially explain why men seemed to be a little more efficient and effective in the Assembly (as assessed below) than the women. It appears that men are having the leverage due to the length of their involvement in the local government. This has without doubt enabled the assembly men to accumulate a vast amount of practical experience in the local government system.

4.10.2 Participation in Deliberation and Influence on Decision

Ability to make visible outputs or effects emanates from the abstraction of thoughts and the ability to articulate them. In measuring the performance of female members the study tried to assess their level of involvement in discussions of the House as one of the yardsticks for their efficiency. Using the views mirrored from the male assembly members, participation of female members in the business of the House could only be described as average. In that regard, they are able to contribute but minimally to deliberations, whilst tabling motions on rare occasions sometimes

bringing on board female perspective of issues. This observation was equally noted by the Deputy Metropolitan Coordinating Director, who has been a secretary to the House of assembly members during proceedings. Engaging in in-House discussions is quite crucial to the form of performance women could put up to drum home the developmental concerns of their electoral areas. Ideas may be very relevant but if not expressed or communicated they become weak and useless. In the literature, World Bank (1994) identified participation as a crucial tool for stakeholder's influence and control of development decision. Through active participation, women would be able to justify their inclusion in governance, which according to UNESCAP (2008) involves taking and implementing decisions as referenced in the literature. In view of the low quantity of women in governance, women need to be very active and articulate when participating in discussions. By that, women could stand by their views as well as table motions for deliberation to eventually influence policy decisions. Boxes 1 and 2 show the issues and motions respectively, women contributed and presented during 2006/08 session of Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly.

Box 1: Contributions of Assembly Women in Discussions

During the electoral period from 2006 to early part of 2009, women made contributions on three (3) key issues deliberated on in the House. The issues bothered on:

- Decongestion of the city
- Taxi identification and embossment and
- Revenue mobilization

The contribution about decongestion of the city first endorsed the exercise, outlining how it will help address security issues as well as beautification in the city of Kumasi. It also questioned what use the revenue to be generated thereof will be put to. (3 assembly women corroborated to this issue). About the taxi identification programme, the contributors indicated that embossment on taxis will not only help identify and check miscreant drivers or to improve vehicular safety rules usually violated by some taxi drivers, but will in addition generate huge revenue for the Assembly for its local development. (4 assembly women corroborated to this issue). Relating to the revenue generation it was proposed that REVSOL, the then proposed revenue contractor to the Assembly should be contracted on a determinate basis rather than outright, indeterminate

basis; and should be paid on commission instead of flat rate. The contribution explained that such measures would put checks and balances on the performance of the contractor. (2 members contributed). These contributions were integrated into the final decisions of the Assembly on the issues all of which have been implemented.

The implication of this case is that, if out of over fifty (50) issues and motions considered by the Assembly during the period under review, the contributions of the female members could centre around only three issues irrespective of how many of them contributed, then their contributions and participation could generally be described as low.

Source: KMA Minutes/Assembly Diaries, June 2009.

Box 2: Motions Raised by Assembly women for House Consideration

Ability to raise issues or 'table motions' for deliberation in the House is as well related to the influences that female members can make on the Assembly's policy decisions. This case study looks at such motions mooted out by women for consideration during the period 2006/2008.

It was revealed that a total of four (4) general issues and four (4) women-related issues were raised by female members. The general issues raised covered:

- timing of the Assembly meetings,
- general security issues in the Metropolis,
- revenue mobilization; and
- refuse management in the Metropolis.

Five female-related issues raised were on:

- maternal mortality and female health (breast cancer);
- funding for local female politicians;
- female participation in deliberation and in the executive committee; and
- accessibility of loan for women in the Metropolis.

It came to light that, these issues and motions out of the total of over fifty (50) in the period were raised by six (6) female members: three elected and three appointed members. With this highlight it is difficult to correlate the number of female members and the number of motions tabled. On the other hand, it may be concluded that, the basis of women's performance is actually dependent on not only the quantity but the ability to present issues and problems reflective of local situations for informed development decisions and policies. Critical assessment of the motions above however indicated that only three issues viz, general security, refuse management and accessibility to small loan facility for women in the Metropolis really concerned the local issues of the people. Funding for female politicians is seen as a strategic issue for political ambition. Other issues raised do not necessarily concern most of the expectations of the local communities.

In this respect, the number of motions/issues mooted out by the female members could be viewed as average since eight (8) out of over fifty (50) issues were raised by the assembly women. In relative terms, about thirty-five (35) of those issues/motions were initiated for discussions by the male members. Over seven (7) other issues considered were suggestions from other sources including the offices of the Metropolitan Chief Executive (MCE) and Metropolitan Coordinating Director (MCD).

Source: KMA Minutes/Assembly Diaries, June 2009.

4.10.3 Evaluating Performance of Assembly women at KMA

- Performance of Appointed Assembly women (2006-2008)

Amongst the female appointed members very little output was observed from their participation. The only visible outcomes recorded from that angle were attributed to a single appointee who was a resident in one of the male represented electoral areas (i. e. Anloga). Through her facilitation, the Assembly secured a loan to the tune of about ten thousand Ghana Cedis (Gh C10, 000.00, formerly C100, 000,000.00) to finance a bridge construction project in her resident electoral area. She also enabled a group of twenty-five (25) women engaged in gari processing at Anloga to obtain small loan facility from the Assembly. She further facilitated a donation of two gari processors by the former Minister of Women and Children Affairs (MOWAC), Hajia Alima Mahama (refer to exhibits below).

• Comparison between the Outputs of Assembly women and Former Assembly Men

Information about the specific development activities carried out by assembly women within the period 2006 to 2008 and their immediate predecessor assembly men (between 2003 to 2006) were obtained from the assembly members (i.e. present and former) and were further triangulated with the responses collated from the voter-respondents, Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) and finally through personal observation and inspection of some of the projects. Presented in table 8 are the projects undertaken by the six elected assembly women in their 'constituencies'.

Table 8: A Comparative Study of the Local Development Projects

Development Activities Implemented By Elected Assembly women At KMA Between 2006 to 2008	Development Activities Implemented By Elected Assembly Men At KMA Between 2003 to 2006
<p>MANHYIA</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construction of KVIP around St. Annes Primary School near Ashtown • Provision of over 50 street lights along Manhyia-Krofoform street, Manhyia-Dichemso street, CPC-Ashtown avenues and on other minor streets • Regular clearance of refuse dumps at Manhyia • Renovation of town roads at CPC-Ashtown road, around Wa Station area, and Hospital-Alabar avenue • Facilitated employment of 11 youths under the National Youth Employment Programme (NYEP) • Accessed small loan for 25 women at Manhyia 	<p>MANHYIA</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of 40 school desks to Manhyia Methodist Basic School at Manhyia • Provision of 2-unit urinal facilities for Manhyia Methodist basic School and M/A Basic School at Manhyia • Clearance of Manhyia refuse dump • Construction of drains at Bethel street and Near Wa Station • Regular emptying of the Wa Station public toilet (KVIP)

<p>AYEDUASE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of a toilet facility (WC) Near T/B Emina area • Renovation (spot improvement) of town roads at Ayeduase New Area, Kotei and Apeadu • Created employment for 16 youths through 'space-to-space' mobile phone business • Youth mobilization at Ayeduase Town through soccer • Provision of about 20 street lights within Ayeduase, Kotei and Newsite • Regular collection of refuse in Ayeduase township • Extension of electricity to Ayeduase New Area 	<p>AYEDUASE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regular emptying of Ayeduase Old public toilet • Renovation of Ayeduase M/A Primary School • Repair and provision of about 30 street poles and lights within Ayeduase and its environs • Construction of drains at around Sal Army area • Construction of a new school block for Kokobin R/C Primary School
<p>TARKWA MAAKRO</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rehabilitation (spot improvement) of town roads at Tarkwa and Tarkwa Newsite road • Provision of street lights at Maakro, Tarkwa and Anyimanyi • Improved refuse collection at Maakro • Provision of electricity cables at Tarkwa New site • Construction of drains at Tarkwa New site and Anyimanyi • Facilitated employment 8 youths under the National Youth Employment Programme (NYEP) 	<p>TARKWA MAAKRO</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extension of electricity to Tarkwa New site • Provision of a toilet facility (KVIP) at Maakro • Renovation (spot improvement) of two bypass roads at Maakro • Construction of a borehole to Anyimanyi community

<p>ABREPO JUNCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Renovation (spot improvement) of town road near Philip Community School • Provision and repair of about 40 street lights along the Abrepo Junction - Bohyen street • Improvement of local security by organizing a number of security operations to flush out criminal gang bases at Abrepo Junction and some areas in Bantama • Construction of a water closet (WC) toilet facility at Abrepo Junction • Organized three clean-up exercises at Bantama Last Street area, Abrepo Junction and around Bantama L/A Block B area • Formed night-watch committees for Abrepo Junction and Suame Old Zongo 	<p>ABREPO JUNCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiation of a bridge construction project Suame Old Zongo and Abrepo Junction Extension • Maintenance of street at Abrepo Junction Extension Area • Provision 5 electricity Poles to the Abrepo Junction Extension Area • Provision of about 30 street lights for within Abrepo Junction
<p>AYIGYA AKETEGO</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regular clearance of refuse sites at Aketego town • Provision of over 15 street lights in and around Aketego area • Accessed small loan for some 40 women within Aketego town • Rehabilitation (spot improvement) of town roads at K-Prempeh Street, Aketego town and City of Kumasi • Construction of a KVIP toilet facility • Organized health education for women • Organized a football match to mobilize the 	<p>AYIGYA AKETEGO</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Replacement of old electric cables for Aketego Area • Repair of spoiled streets lights at Ghana National Academy and City of Kumasi • Initiated town roads rehabilitation (spot improvement) project within Aketego Township • Clearing of refuse site at City of Kumasi

youth and promote unity in the area <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Created employment for 7 youths through 'space-to-space' business • Formed a night-watch committee 	
ANLO FANTE NEWTOWN (FNT) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of about 30 street lights (at Anlo FNT, Neza, Anloga and Sobolo) • Construction of toilet facility (at Anlo FNT) • Rehabilitation of local road network (at Aduana, Sobolo, Blackshirt, St. Paul's Church area, and Amankwatia and Kwei (both on-going) • Provision of drainage systems (at Aduana, Sobolo, Blackshirt, St. Paul's Church area, and Amankwatia and Kwei (both on-going) • Initiated a bridge construction at Fante Newtown near the refuse dump 	ANLO FANTENEWTOWN <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construction of drains along Nyame Na Aye street and at Fante Newtown • Maintenance of town roads at Sobolo, Apostolic Church Area through regular filling of potholes on the roads • Provision of new electricity cables for Fante Newtown township • Clearing of refuse dump at Amakom • Improved sanitation of public toilets (at Sobolo and Anlo FNT)

Source: KMA-Metro Engineer's Office, MDPO, Department of Urban Roads, Kumasi, June 2009

In assessing the performance of the assembly women within the Metropolis, a comparative analysis was conducted between the projects embarked upon by the assembly women in their electoral areas against the achievements of their predecessors. Coincidentally, the immediate past assembly members for the six female represented electoral areas were all held by men in the last Assembly between 2003 and 2006. The trend therefore provided a good basis for comparison as outlined above.

- **Manhyia**

At the Manhyia electoral area, in terms of numbers, the assembly woman has executed six (6) activities as against five (5) undertaken by the former assembly man. In terms of issues, whilst the projects by the assembly man concentrated on two main issues (education and sanitation) the

assembly woman was a bit more elaborate. She covers economic or employment, security and town road systems in addition to sanitation. According to the responses collated from the sampled voters in the electoral area, majority (85%) viewed that the assembly woman tends to address their local issues more than the former member did. Besides, it was observed that most of the issues tackled by the assembly woman met the most expectations (see table 7) of the local people.

- Abrepo Junction

The assembly woman tackled three main concerns (security, sanitation and road network) out of the six (6) projects undertaken (see table 8). From the views of the voter-respondents in the area, security and sanitation especially, place of convenience were the major concerns of the local people. Many (about 78%) admitted that these issues were better taken care of under the tenure of the assembly woman. Though, they (voters) also admitted that the former member also did his best.

- Tarkwa Maakro

Six (6) development activities were carried out by the assembly woman tackling issues on economic, sanitation, security and road network. This performance according to majority (80%) of the voter-respondents is not adequately addressing the concerns of the people. That is because, the activities undertaken by the assembly woman is concentrated on one section of the electoral area. In contrast, the assembly man executed four (4) development activities. His outstanding performance in the view of some however was the construction of a borehole (see table 8), which is serving a great deal of people in the locality.

- Ayeduase

Seven (7) development activities were undertaken by the assembly woman. These covered educational infrastructure, sanitation, security, road network, economic/employment and electricity. About 70% of the respondents mostly the youth expressed high satisfaction about the performance of the assembly woman. This they observed was in contrast to the performance of the former assembly member in the area (refer to table 8). The other 30% however argued that there were no vast differences between the performances of both the present and past members.

- Ayigya Aketego

Sanitation, road network, employment, security and youth mobilization were addressed by the nine (9) projects executed by the assembly woman. Contrasting with the output of the former Assembly member, many (about 87%) of the respondents (voters) indicated that issues of security, sanitation are their main concerns and which are being attended to by the assembly woman. They described the female member as more swifter and proactive compared to the former member in attending to their local problems. It is observed that, some women's issues were also given attention and that reflected one of the expectations (refer to table 7) of the entire sampled voter-respondents.

- Anlo Fante Newtown

Basically, there is no much difference between the development projects undertaken by both the female member and the former male member since they both addressed almost the same issues (security, sanitation and road network (see table 8). In view of their performances, 70% of the voter-respondents in the area felt that, similar achievements were chalked by the former member.

The actual outcomes of the female members have been categorized into two, namely; general outcomes and women-based outcomes. The general outcomes encompass projects relating to health, water and sanitation, economic, education, security, transportation infrastructure and drainage systems. The women-related projects are basically those that benefit females within the Metropolis. The only example of such project that was successfully carried out is the Micro and Small Loan Scheme (MASLOC) loan for women. In all, four assembly women initiated to secure loan for their women's groups, but three of them succeeded including one government appointee. It should be emphasized that, the projects collated above (see table 8) were secured by the female members from the Metropolitan Assembly and executed in their respective electoral areas.

A closer observation of the activities executed by the female members portrays a concentration on street lighting; construction of public places of convenience; rehabilitation/renovation of town road systems; and management of refuse. Certainly, as an urban area like most other places in the country and in Africa, issues of night security along the streets in the localities; sanitation; and ease of vehicular movement within towns due to the need for easy accessibility in times of emergency or perhaps, due to the increasing private car ownership become the real local issues of concern, as proven by the major expectations of the people contained (in table 7). Social issues covering

sanitation management and security were the most addressed by the female members. This observation disagrees with the literature view that, women in governance concentrate more on economic issues (Abu-Zayd, 1997). On the other hand, it was noticed that rehabilitation of town roads and construction of drains and bridges did not feature among the people's expectations. As a result, it is deduced that, some of the projects implemented by assembly women reflected the priorities of the Assembly as a subsidiary government, or a donor organization and not particularly that of the communities. Similarly, most issues tackled by assembly women were also addressed by the former members. There were some basic differences like the provision of educational facilities by some men example at Ayeduase.

In line with the opinion of Karam (1998), outputs to be generated should be sensitive to women's concerns on one hand and social, economic and political issues on the other, else it will not be different from what men do. From the study, only three assembly women (for Manhyia and Ayigya Aketego) including one appointee tackled the women related concerns. These included health education, access to loan and training for gari processing women, which were not tackled by the former members. Practically, any development project that is executed ideally need to be problem-solving and particularly responsive to the true needs of the people, consonant with the local development concept.

- Comparison between Outputs of Assembly women and Local Expectations

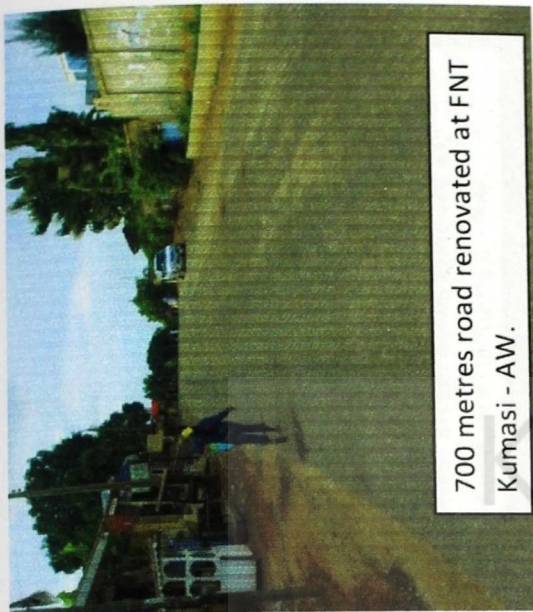
A critical study of the activities undertaken by assembly women and the expectations of the voter-respondents reveals that the first and second highest expectations: good sanitation, and improved night lighting and security (see table 7) have been met by all the six (6) elected assembly women. On the other hand, the next three top expectations (promoting ethics of good governance, serving as role models for girls and encouraging female participation in local governance) were not addressed by their performance. Some voters (about 55%) complained that their assembly members do not get communities informed of the decisions and policies of the KMA. It therefore suggests that, most of the voter-respondents would like to see an open leadership from the assembly members through constant interaction and communication with the communities. This opinion some indicated could be done through the community radio systems or information systems initiatives.

- **Conclusion**

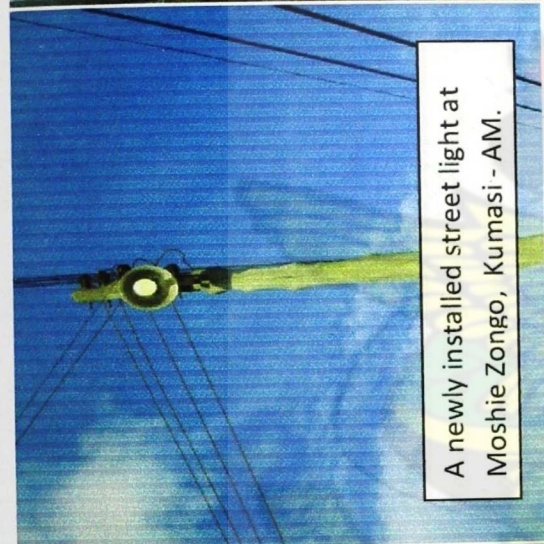
Based on the above evaluations of the general outputs of the assembly women at KMA within the period 2006-2008, the study concludes that: in view of their level of participation in deliberations and tabling of issues for consideration, the female members were average. In terms of the comparative study of their visible outputs as against their immediate predecessors who were males, the assembly women made greater impacts by their outputs. On the other hand, in evaluating their visible outputs against the expectations of the sampled voters, it is observed that their performance was above average in view of the fact that both the first and second highest expectations (refer to table 7) have been tackled.

Based on the comparative analysis considered above, it was revealed that majority (72%) of the voter-respondents were aware of and satisfied with the achievements of the assembly women and have thereby recommended their re-elections should they contest again in the upcoming district assembly elections in 2010. The recommendation for the retention of the assembly women has therefore gone to confirm the expression of interest by 77% (of the voter-respondents) stated earlier in this chapter to re-elect the assembly women, even though, the other 28% generally found the performance of the assembly women as average. Shown in the exhibits below are some of the development projects undertaken by some assembly members between the periods 2006 to 2008. Projects executed by female members are labeled 'AW' while those executed by male members are tagged 'AM'.

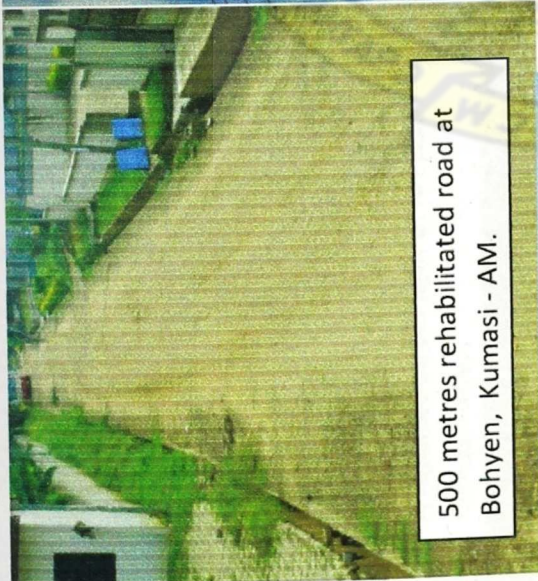
Exhibits: Portraits of some Executed Development Projects



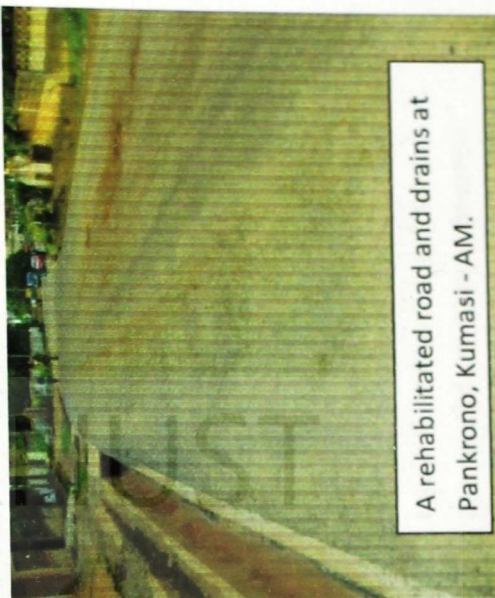
700 metres road renovated at FNT
Kumasi - AW.



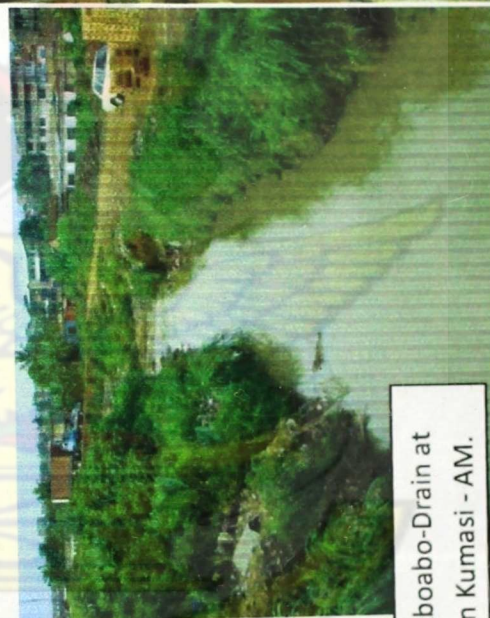
A newly installed street light at
Moshie Zongo, Kumasi - AM.



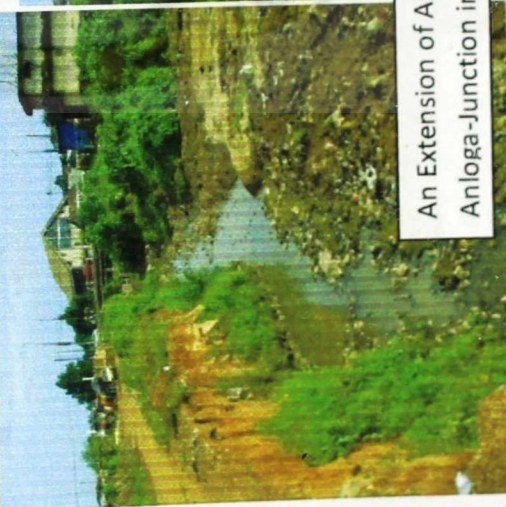
500 metres rehabilitated road at
Bohyen, Kumasi - AM.

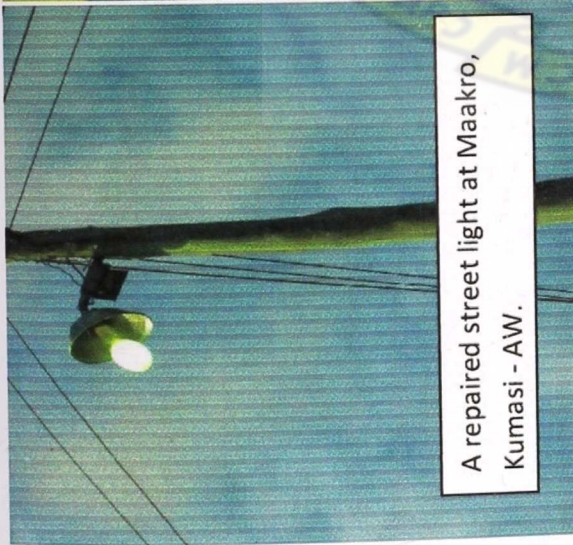


A rehabilitated road and drains at
Pankrono, Kumasi - AM.

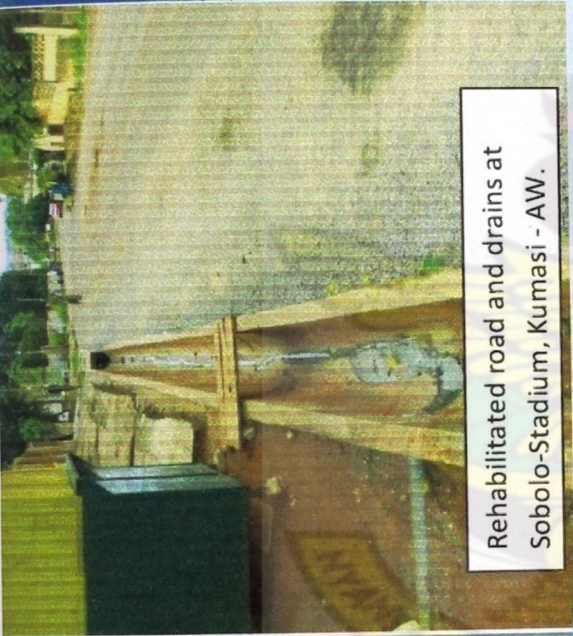


An Extension of Aboabo-Drain at
Anloga-Junction in Kumasi - AM.

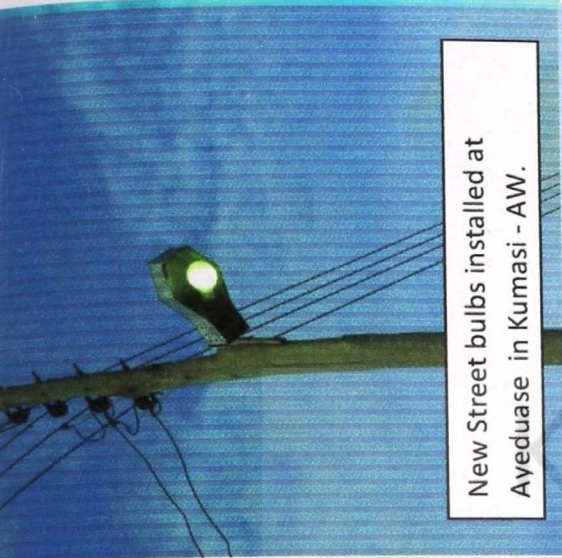




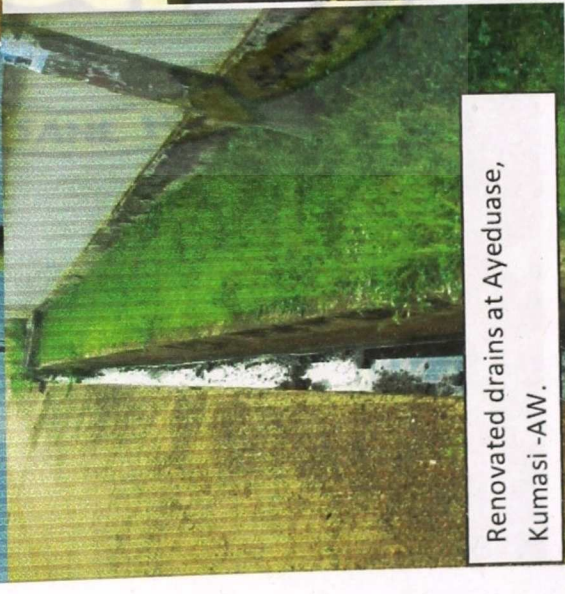
A repaired street light at Maakro,
Kumasi - AW.



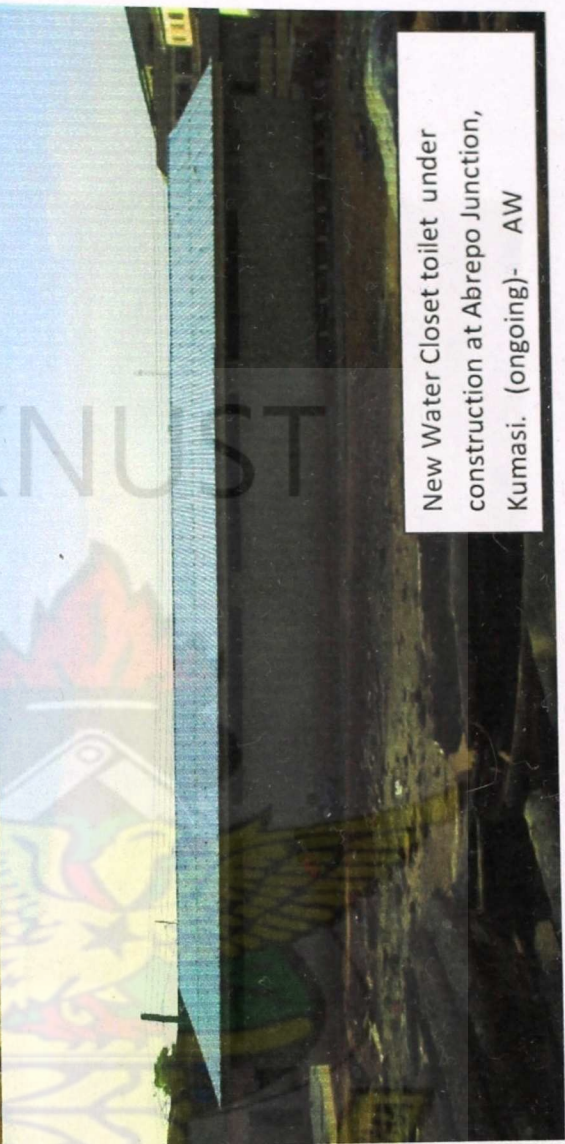
Rehabilitated road and drains at
Sobolo-Stadium, Kumasi - AW.



New Street bulbs installed at
Ayeduase in Kumasi - AW.



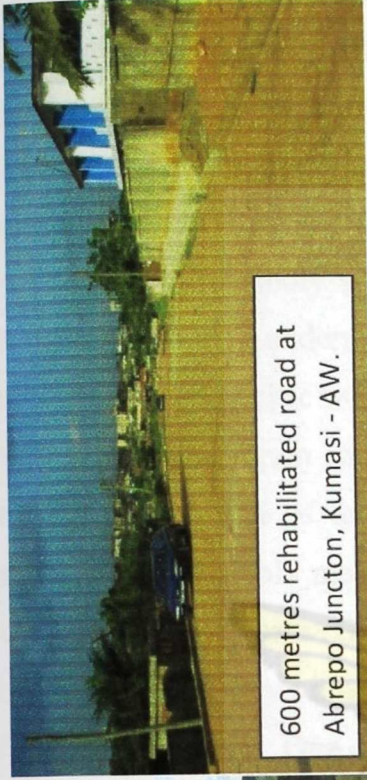
Renovated drains at Ayeduase,
Kumasi - AW.



New Water Closet toilet under
construction at Abrepo Junction,
Kumasi. (ongoing)- AW



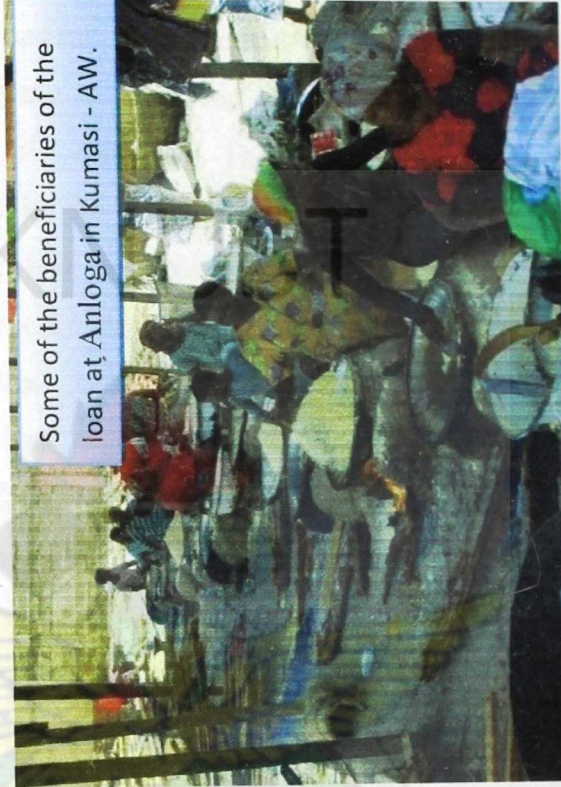
A 6 unit Primary block at Aboabo
No. 1, Kumasi - AM.



600 metres rehabilitated road at
Abrepo Junction, Kumasi - AW.



A gari processor donated by Hajia
Halima Mahama at Anloga, Kumasi - AW.



Some of the beneficiaries of the
loan at Anloga in Kumasi - AW.

- **Comparative Assessment of Male and Female Members**

Presented in table 9 is the comparative study of the development projects carried out by both assembly men and women in their respective electoral areas during the period 2006 to 2008. From the table, it could be found out that, a number of development activities were embarked upon by both the male and female members. Most of the projects implemented by both members had virtually addressed similar issues that bothered mainly on improved security, maintenance of sanitation and rehabilitation (or spot improvement) of town roads. The differences however are obvious comparing the projects marked with asterisk. As observed in the previous comparison between the performance of assembly women and their immediate predecessors, it may be noticed that female members tried to undertake certain activities such as accessing of small loan and training as means of tackling specific women's issues. Other differing projects were general in nature like helping some youths to gain employment and helping the Assembly to access loan for a bridge construction. About 60% of the varying projects by assembly women were women-centered, while that of the assembly men were general covering education, water among others with no particular focus on female-related concerns. This suggests that, when women involve in governance of KMA, they are able to give attention to some particular women's problems than assemblymen would do. One other important difference observed between the two groups (assemblymen and assemblywomen) is the process employed in acquiring the projects that they undertook.

Table 9: Comparative Summary of Executed Projects

Assembly women 2006/2008	Assembly Men 2006/2008
Provision of toilet facilities (e.g. Water closet, KVIP) at all the electoral areas except Tarkwa/Maakro electoral area	Provision of toilet facilities (e.g. 2 Water closets and 2 KVIPS provided at Nsiah/Asare, Bohyen, Anloga and Fante Newtown-FNT electoral areas)
Rehabilitation of town roads (spot improvement) at Ayigya Aketego, Abrepo Junction, Anlo FNT and Ayeduase electoral	Rehabilitation (spot improvement) of town roads at Bohyen, Pankrono, and Dichemso/Moshie Zongo, and FNT electoral areas

areas	
Formed community night watch committees at Ayigya Aketego and Abrepo Junction electoral areas	Formed community night watch committees at Dichemso/Moshie Zongo, Pankrono, Anloga and Aboabo No. 1 electoral areas
Provision of street lights at Abrepo Junction, Ayigya Akektego, Ayeduase, Tarkwa/Maakro, Anlo FNT and Manhyia	Provision street lights and electric poles at New Atonsu, Nsiah/Asare and street lights at Bohyen, Anloga and Aboabo No. 1 electoral areas
Construction of drainage systems at Abrepo Junction, Ayigya Akektego, Ayeduase, Tarkwa/Maakro, Anlo FNT and Manhyia	Construction of drainage facilities at New Atonsu, Bohyen, Aboabo No. 1, Anloga and Nsiah/Asare electoral areas
*Facilitated access to MASLOC loan to over 40 women at Ayigya Aketego and Ayeduase and Anlogas and Anloga electoral areas	*Provision of six unit primary block (storey), toilet and urinal, stores, office and a library (at Aboabo No 1 electoral area)
*Facilitated access to loan for a bridge project at Anloga	*Establishment of town council at Anloga
*Facilitated the donation of gari processing machine to gari processing women at Anloga	*Arranged a site for use as temporarily final refuse disposal site (or land fill site)
*Facilitated training programme for gari processing women at Anloga	*Won a World Bank project for the construction of Aboabo drains (at Aboabo No 1 electoral area)
*Created employment of about 31 youths through 'space -to-space' business and under the NYEP at Ayigya Aketego, Ayeduase and Tarkwa/Maakro	*Provision of hand dug well at Bohyen of Bohyen electoral area

Source: KMA-Metro Engineer's Office, MDPO, Department of Urban Roads, Kumasi, June 2009

- Project Acquisition

About 80% of the assembly women who gained and executed development projects in their electoral areas did so through what could perhaps be described as "affirmative action". This observation was affirmed by majority (70%) of their male colleagues (assembly men). Implying

that, most of the projects were obtained not necessarily out of their competence and efficiency as was identifiable among the men, but through 'consideration' and may be because there was a female MCE, some of their proposals for projects were supported. Also the projects achievements of the elected members were more pronounced than that of the female appointees. This was attributed to the fact that elected members had electoral areas or "constituencies" that they represented while the female appointees did not. Likewise, the appointed assembly members (men) like some of their colleagues female appointees, they only played auxiliary role to obtain some of the development projects to their resident electoral areas represented by other male members. Comparatively, this presents the only appointee female member at Anloga who was able to generate some projects to her area more impactful than the male appointees.

4.10.4 Competence and Mobilization Initiative

Level of competence and spirit of resource mobilization is another important yardstick for gauging performance of the assembly women. Respondents' assessment on these important leadership qualities generated community rating for the assembly women. Some 31 % voter-respondents described the community mobilization initiative and competence of their assembly women as low, while 56% and 13% evaluated their female representatives as average and high respectively. In cross-validated opinions, 80% of the assembly men also described their female colleagues as average in that regards. But this was discounted by the Metropolitan administration which views general capacity level of women as low.

For assembly women to be effective and efficient in their delivery, they need to inspire confidence by projecting high competence and drive for mobilization. Competence is usually measured by ones educational achievement, leadership capacity and hard work. Similarly, spirit of mobilization can be demonstrated through ability to organize people and generate other resources (like funds and materials) for local development; self initiative as well as the ability to do effective lobbying. Most people have been apprehensive of the performance of female members mainly due to their perceived low competence and mobilization efforts. This impression has been confirmed by the male colleagues in the Assembly. Besides, it could also be proven by the general educational levels attained by the assembly women as shown earlier on in this chapter.

Thus, it raises a suspicion of how the female members won those development projects for their electoral areas. Employing the evaluative spectacle of assembly men, it was discovered that about 80 per cent of the projects were secured either through an 'affirmative action'. By affirmative action, it implies the general consensus of assembly members to allocate some development projects to female members in order to inspire political confidence in them. These strategies contrasted with approaches the male counterparts proactively adopted. Recounting their experiences, some male members revealed that they sometimes won projects through pre-financing and self initiatives coupled with serious lobbying. Examples of such projects are the leveling of about 700m town roads at Bohyen and the World Bank project for the construction of 'ABOABO DRAINS' (see exhibits). For instance, the Bohyen assemblyperson disclosed his initiative:

"I use my own money and materials to construct this well (pointing to it) for the community. I also used the Assembly's excavator sent for maintenance under my supervision, after it was maintained to quickly level about 700m stretch of roads in my area".

Similarly, the male assembly member for Aboabo No. 1 electoral area narrated this about the 'ABOABO DRAINS' Project' as shown in the portraits (see exhibits):

"When we (referring to the assembly members) were told of the project, I went to the metro engineer and made further enquiries about it. So I decided to make a move to show some commitment in order to attract the attention of the consultants. I mobilized and organized for most portions of the drains to be dredged using my own money. The embankments were also cleared..."

This proactive decision and self-initiative yielded positively. After the feasibility studies were conducted on a number of similar unconstructed drains in the country, the Aboabo Drains was eventually chosen based on the initial commitment demonstrated by the assembly member. Work on the project is currently underway. Related to the assembly women however, out of the seven (7) who executed the above projects, only one member effectively explained that she used a lot of lobbying, and sometimes writing of proposals with follow ups to secure the projects. Though,

it was ascertained with regards to the provision of street lights that, due to the frequency of their occurrence, most of the assembly women sometimes use their personal resources to obtain the lights.

4.10.5 Assembly women in Sub-committees

According to the DA system, subcommittees are the channels through which related issues are first presented and deliberated upon for recommendation to the Metropolitan Assembly for debate and into the final policy plan or development policy of the Assembly. Thus, ability to champion issues within respective subcommittees by women in particular has a significant association to women's influence on final policy. Each female member according to the field results was a member in at least two different sub-committees of the seven (7) established by the Assembly. Convener is the most influential position a member can hold within a sub-committee. No female member was a convener in any of the sub-committees during the period. Besides, no woman has ever held the position of the Presiding Member (PM) before in the Metropolitan Assembly. Position of the PM is the final authority in the Assembly and holds a lot of sway on final decisions, just like the Conveners at the sub-committee levels. In short it implies that, female members by virtue of their low influential positions in the Metropolitan Assembly and at the sub-committee levels could hardly veto any policy decision to a certain direction. Because of this, their success in the House is highly dependent on the support of their male colleagues, which in turn tends to reinforce their subservient status in the Assembly.

4.11 Reasons for Low Performance

Presented in Box 3 is the mix of issues outlined as reasons for low performance of female members in local government.

Box 3: A Summary of Factors Contributing to Low Performance of Assembly women

- Poor cooperation and support from communities
- Lack of motivation and incentives
- Low educational achievement resulting in poor or low understanding of issues
- Low mobilization spirit, skill and initiative leading to low involvement of local people in development of issues
- Lack of confidence, patience and courage
- Incompetence and inexperience
- Social-cultural stereotype and poor recognition of the capacity of women
- Lack of funds to carry out minor development projects by the assembly members
- Low support and encouragement from families
- Intimidation and poor audience for female members in the house
- Lack of knowledge about the roles and function of assembly member
- Poor knowledge on assembly's procedure e.g. standing orders
- Difficulty in combining private business with assembly work
- Poor scheduling or programming activities by the assembly
- Inexistence of unit committees in some female represented electoral areas due to apathy by community members e.g. at Ayigya Aketego
- Poor time management and prioritization of programmes
- Low female representation

- Poor leadership capacity and lobbying skills
- Bribery and corruption among some members

Source: Field Survey, June 2009.

Box 4: A Summary of Factors Contributing to Low Performance of Assembly Men

- Limited time for Assembly work due to family and private works
- Poor motivation and incentives for members
- Lack of funds and materials for administrative work of members and for maintenance services in the electoral areas
- Poor working relationship with some members of the unit committees
- Poor cooperation and support from some opinion leaders e.g. tribal leaders

Source: Field Survey, June 2009.

From the above boxes it could be observed that both the male and female members are challenged by poor motivation, lack of funds and materials, limited time for Assembly work and poor cooperation from sections of the communities. Factors that contribute to the low performance of women in local governance are numerous. The over arching challenges from the combined views of the communities, assemblymen and assemblywomen themselves as given in Box 3 led to the statistics that: Out of the total of 131 responses, 35% bothered around poor leadership capacity; 25% concerned low educational levels; 16% mentioned lack of confidence and courage; 14% attributed it to poor motivation and incentives; whiles 10% cited lack of funding or allocation for members to undertake certain development activities.

- Lack of Leadership Skills

Ability to get things done depends on a number of qualities that need to be possessed by assembly women as local leaders. An assemblywoman and a leader is a pace setter, organizer, negotiator, communicator, facilitator and decision maker among others. Assemblywomen need to gather these qualities in order to function effectively as local leaders. Experience from the

field suggests that most female members lack several of these features. It could be attributed to a number of factors like lack of courage, low level of understanding, poor information base, low self-initiative and mobilization, and inadequate knowledge about their roles and functions. Besides, socio-cultural reasons may also give rise to this. Traditional societies had socialized female (sexes) to regard men as those fit for leadership. This made women reluctant to acquire leadership capacities to enable them become efficient if selected as leaders. Whilst this challenge has not been objected by the literary works of Offei- Aboagye (2000); causal factor according to UNDP (2000) are rather due to the institutional arrangements that render training, education, information and communication inaccessible to women which however is not the case at the study area.

- Low Level of Education

Educational level is relevant in determining the female members' general capacity, competence and ability to understand development issues in the various perspectives. The concept of having certain level of education is not part of the formal and ideological requirements of the local government law, however, it could be an important factor in ensuring efficiency among assembly women.

- Lack of Confidence and Courage

This factor has been linked to the problem of low educational achievement among assembly women. Courage overcomes shyness and timidity. Lack of courage could be a result of low confidence which may also be due to low educational achievement. It was observed in the interaction with the assembly women that, those who had levels of education above SSS level seemed to be quite confident in their interaction with others than those who had up to SSS level.

- Poor motivation and incentives

The concept of local mobilization and ownership of development led to the operationalization of the local government system beside the administrative functions as voluntary. Modern political environment however, does not encourage the practice of voluntarism, especially, as politics today is sharply characterized by *clientilism*. According to the study, there is a lot of disaffection about this orientation of voluntarism in the local government law. One female member lamented:

"The assembly work is a full-time and does not permit us to engage in our private businesses yet we get no financial reward, meanwhile, we have family and children to cater for...."

Another male member made similar comments indicating that:

"We (assembly members) are like the Parliamentarians at the local level but the government does not treat us like she does to the Parliamentarians".

As it is often said, 'garbage in garbage out'. Many believe that, inefficiency and its resultant under-performance by many of the members, particularly, women are practically due to low motivation. Members are required to go to the electoral communities to update themselves of the local situations and development problems as well as attend Assembly meetings. Members concerted that, the commuter fees and sitting allowances received are woefully inadequate. In the same vein, it has been described as a mockery what is given to the retired members as "ex-gratia" or end of service benefits. This state of affairs has been a source of great disincentives for a vast majority of members, cascading not only into poor performance but underarm dealings, bribery and corruption among some members.

- Lack of Funding or Allocation for Members

"As local politicians, they (assembly members) need financial allocations to fulfill their campaign promises". One voter-respondent observed.

Perceptions are rife that, women do not usually perform creditably because there is no development allocations, especially, as it is observed that female members are weak in lobbying for projects. This seems to concur with the notion most voter-respondents expressed which defined female members as honest, trustworthy and transparent. Women therefore tend to refrain from rigorous politicking to win projects which often lead to the breed of corruption and bribery. This view to some extent may buttress the correlation World Bank cited in the literature between increased female involvement in politics and reduction in corruption (UNDP, 2000). In spite of this challenge, women were able to execute some projects in their electoral areas. Will that dismiss suggestions of poor efficiency therefore? Presumably no, however, it was discovered that, most projects won by female members were a sort of an 'affirmative action' as pointed out

above. That was to credit female elected members with specific tangible outputs to justify their inclusion as Offfei-Aboagye (2000) puts it, as well as brighten their future political prospects.

4.12 Improving Performance of Assembly women in the Local Government

Exposure to the aforementioned challenges has eventually sabotaged the efforts of many assembly women in the past. This necessitated some organizations and government to fashion certain packages geared towards addressing the challenges to improve the overall performance of women in the assembly.

4.12.1 Supporting Institutions for Assemblywomen

The study revealed a number of institutions that one time or other extended some form of capacity building and other assistance to the female members. These are categorized below:

- **Governmental Institution**

National Association of Local Authorities of Ghana (NALAG) is an umbrella body for all the local authorities in the country. It has among its core functions the responsibility to help maintain high standard of local administration and service delivery by all the local government authorities. NALAG over the years has been at the fore front in facilitating capacity building programs organized by ILGS for both male and female assembly members in the country. The programme has been annual based for all assembly members countrywide. Basically, the trainings serve purposes of both orientation and capacity enhancement on the concept and procedures of the local government system. It also covers the roles and functions of members and orients them on how to work with their communities. The programme has enabled the female members of KMA to enhance their knowledge in District Assembly local governance system.

Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) - the Metropolitan Assembly of Kumasi contrary to the statements of some assembly members had not organized any form of training for female members or any. National Council for Women and Development (NCWD) - This is a governmental council that also ensures the promotion of women's political welfare. In order to promote their performance, the council organized leadership training for female members of the Assembly during the 2006-2008.

- Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

The list of NGOs that also extended support included Centre for Development of People (CEDEP) in Kumasi, ABANTU for development, NETRIGHT and FIDA. Except CEDEP, the support systems offered these NGOs basically entailed finance and logistics, like the campaign materials prior to the 2006 local elections mainly to support female campaign trials. The assistance only encouraged more women to contest in the local government elections so as to increase female representation, but it was not to build their capacity so as to enhance their efficiency and performance. CEDEP - A Kumasi based NGO however held one capacity building exercise to train the assembly women on how to work with others under different shades of opinions.

- Outcome of Institutional Intervention

Women's Caucus – One positive outcome that came out of the training engagements the study found was the coming together of the female members in 2007 to form a 'caucus' and to serve as a unified force and voice. Unfortunately, the caucus did not sustain due to partisanship and lack of cooperation among the female members. The internal bickering and rancour is what undermined the caucus, disenabling it to establish network with other female leadership groups. It would be projected that the caucus could be revived in future to strengthen and deepen the female perspectives and interest in the local government policies of the Assembly. Moreover, the outcome of these trainings may also be linked to the performance of some of the assembly women in the process of addressing local concerns of their people.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

Gender parity in local governance may be achieved at set targets if women could demonstrate that their participation is meaningful and responsive to local development needs. This call for a thorough consideration of the current situation and to find measures that will empower women to be more impactful, efficient and results oriented in their participation in the local government system. This section therefore provides some specific findings and their implications as observed from the field in view of the specific objectives that underlined the study. It also gives general overview about some measures and policy recommendations that need to be taken into cognizance based on the findings.

5.2 Finding and Implications

Objective One

Find out the level of women's participation in governance structures at the local level

Research Question One:

What is the level of women's participation in local governance and development structures?

Representation and participation of women in local government at KMA is still very low. Improvement over the past electoral terms has not been appreciable. As at 2006, women represented just about 9% constituting six (6) elected and four (4) government appointees excluding the MCE. Besides, government appointments of female into district assemblies have also been very low. In 2006, out of the 26 appointees, only 6 (23%) were female. The study observed that the number of assemblywomen (i.e. 10) is actually a reduction from twelve (12) about 14% in 2002. This indicates that 50% and 40% gender parity targets set by Beijing Conference and African Union (AU), and IULA respectively by 2015 may not be achieved by Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly by 2015.

Objective Two

Determine the relevance of women's participation in governance and local development

Research Question Two:

How effective have women been in the contributions towards the development of the localities through their involvement in local governance?

The study revealed that, the participation of women in the local government is very relevant to addressing local development issues. This came to light when in the comparative assessment to find the level of responsiveness of the projects achievements by the assemblywomen and expectations of the voters within their electoral areas. The result showed that all the six (6) assemblywomen were able to tackle the two most priority issues on sanitation and night security through the provision of drainage and toilet facilities and regular clearance of refuse sites, and the provision of street lights respectively. In regards to these achievements, majority (about 72%) in the electoral areas of female members indicated they were satisfied with such performances.

Objective Three

Assess the level of influence that women representatives in local governance have on local development policy decisions

This was assessed in relation to the level of participation of the assemblywomen in the deliberation process of the House. It was established that in view of the low level of their contributions to discussions and in presenting issues for consideration as well as their inability to occupy influential positions in the assembly like the positions of Presiding Member and Conveners imply that the assembly women have minimal level of influence on the development policies of the assembly.

Objective Four

Assess the individual and institutional capacities of women in local governance

The study established that majority (80%) of the assemblywomen had Senior Secondary School qualification and it constituted the minimum educational qualification amongst the female members. Besides the educational qualifications, none of the assemblywomen had any leadership qualification acquired through self-initiative. In terms of institutional support, only NALAG and CEDEP organized two training programmes to help build their capacities. This meant that both their personal capacities and institutional support for capacity building were inadequate and low.

Objective Five

Identify the constraints to their efficiency and effectiveness in local governance

Research Question Three:

What are the factors that impede women's effective participation in the local level governance?

The study discovered that the main factors negatively affecting the overall performance of the assemblywomen were the following: relatively low educational achievements and poor leadership skills; poor self-esteem and lack of courage and confidence amongst the assemblywomen; inexperience and incompetence; lack of allocated funds to serve as "operating funds" for the assembly members; socio-cultural prejudices and lack of confidence in the ability of female members as most people still entertain some reservations and stigma about the capability of women.

5.3 Recommendations

On the basis of the above findings of the study, the following recommendations have been made to encompass three key broad areas: capacity building and empowerment of assemblywomen; public education and re-sensitization of local communities; and institutional and legal reforms. These recommendations seek from short to long term to enhance the capacity of women, especially, women representatives (assemblywomen), change the unfavourable mentality of sections of the local communities about the capability of women on one hand and to stimulate institutional and legal reengineering on the other.

5.3.1 Capacity Building and Empowerment of Assemblywomen

- NALAG and other NGOs should organize periodic leadership training for female members to help improve their leadership skills levels. In this regards, NCWD and CEDEP should be credited for their initiatives taken to build the leadership competence of female members in the Assembly. The training should be internalized to cut down the quantum of resources needed to sustain the programme. To do that therefore, there should be:
 - a. Collaboration between NCWD, Regional Women's Department and KMA through its gender desks.
 - b. Design specific gender-based leadership topics for the training programmes. This should be done by the collaborating team proposed above or some expert group, and should be organized in modules so as to address the special needs and deficiencies of the women.
 - c. The training should be organized at least twice a year.
- Educate Women about the District Assembly Concept, and on their roles and functions as local representatives. NALAG has been spearheading this exercise and should therefore be well-resourced and equipped to intensify the education to ensure that the association organizes the programme every year.
- Encourage women to undertake self-developing educational trainings. This could be a strategy to motivate female members to further their education and to upgrade their knowledge base. It could be achieved if a financial sponsorship or scholarship package is instituted by MOWAC to support such women.
- Organize annual mentoring sessions for assemblywomen. Assemblywomen should be enabled to have periodic interface with women who had been in various leadership positions within the metropolis. This will expose the assemblywomen to tap practical leadership experience and advice from the women. The proposed collaborating team of

the NCWD, Women's Department and KMA should play a lead role to identify and bring the mentors together.

- NGOs and organized women's organizations such as FIDA, should design their women support activities to go beyond the traditional way of just exciting female participation in local governance to a more scientific, rational and performance-based approach. By implication, NGOs should not limit themselves to just the sensitization of women to contest local elections and financial support for campaigning but, to step further to organize leadership and competence building trainings to enhance their capacities and efficiency.

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5.3.2 Public Education and Community Sensitization of the Local Communities

- Undertake rigorous civic education to sensitize citizens on the need to lend support and cooperate with their female representatives in the Assembly. As the study indicated, most people fail to lend their support due to lack of faith and confidence in the ability of assemblywomen. NCCE should in this case be at the fore front to educate communities on the need to believe in the ability of women and to rally behind them. This could to improved participation of the local people in the governance system through town and urban councils.
- Educate the communities about the local government system and the need for community involvement. NGOs can take up this challenge or collaborate with NCCE as well as the Information Service Department.
- There should also be educational campaigns organized by NCCE and MOWAC to disabuse the notion that women become prideful and disrespectful when they assume leadership roles. This should go hand in hand with a sensitization for female assembly members to cultivate a more friendly and tolerable postures towards their communities.

5.3.3 Institutional and Legal Reforms

- In view of the voluntary nature of the local government system and its unattractiveness to most people, the civil society organizations like Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII),

Integrated Social Development Centre (ISODEC) and other women's organizations like FIDA should engage the government to take necessary steps to review those aspects of the provision in the Local Government Law, (Act 462) of 1993. The review should endeavour to institute a remunerative clause for assembly members. It is envisaged that, if the position is remunerative, it will not only attract more competent women but the post will be taken as full-time work by female members, who mostly suffer from divided attention from family and domestic responsibilities, private work and that of the Assembly.

- Establish a revolving fund for the position of assembly members. An 'Assembly Members' Common Fund' should be established under the local government law to enable the assembly members initiate and undertake certain minor developmental projects in their electoral areas. This will afford female members the opportunity to take up some local projects thereby improving confidence and trust of communities in the output of women. The amount should be publicized to make them transparent and answerable to the communities.
- Institute a supervisory body to monitor performance of female members. NALAG as an umbrella association concerned about ensuring best performance among the local governments should once again be mandated to constitute a body in each region to constantly monitor and supervise the performance of female members of the various Assemblies.
- Review of the local government law should also introduce incentive packages for assembly members. In generic terms, assembly members who are the agents of change and policy making need to be motivated at least to enable them sustain their interest and passion as local representatives. Besides, it will in a way address petty corrupt practices that usually go on in some assemblies and which has proven a disincentive to efficiency of female members.

- Association of Women Assembly Members (AWAM) should be formed at regional levels to establish inter-assembly women networks for experience sharing. Here again, NALAG, MOWAC and NCWD could play a more collaborative role to regularize activities of the association. The association meetings should be held annually to serve as a forum to evaluate, and take stock of performance and achievements of members. The forum should also enable members to share their experiences of best practices and challenges. The annual forum should result in the collation and documentation of all achievements or best practices and challenges to constitute an assemblywomen's performance database for each district.
- Introduce quota system to give women a minimum representation in the Assembly. The local government law should be revised to reserve specific number of seats in each district assembly for women. This can be integrated into the current system of the President's appointments in to district assemblies, such that a specific percentage of the appointees is earmarked for women. This measure will leverage women to be able to move issues into policies, especially, when such issues are put to votes.
- Finally, the study based on the outcomes of the investigation noted that the arch justification for inclusion in political processes has transcended the important issues of equality and right, and has increasingly become results-oriented. Particularly, as the present political system has transformed into one of serious competition and show of ability. Responding to this dynamic trends therefore, the study has come up with a synthesized approach, that is 'integrated performance-based approach' to redirect advocacy strategies for civil society, pro-women advocacy organizations for rapid realization of gender parity through projection of women's best performance and outputs in governance and politics without compromising on other approaches such as the women empowerment and right-based approaches.

5.3.4 Direction for further research

The study observed that, although, 70% of the assemblywomen could be linked to some specific performance and outputs in terms of bringing development projects to their people, the efficiency

levels of most members were found to be relatively low. This tends to imply that, most of the projects carried out by 80% assemblywomen as indicated in chapter four (4) were obtained not necessarily out of the competence and efficiency of the assemblywomen. Since measuring the efficiency levels of women in local governance was not particularly under the purview of this exercise, the study suggest that further research can be directed to investigating their efficiency levels in attracting development projects.

5.4 Conclusion

Lack of ample data to showcase the numerous outputs of women in governance systems and to use them as effective advocacy tools has accorded some critics of female political integration to discount and question the consequential relevance of women in governance. In the foregone, the study has endeavoured to investigate what specific outputs this engagement could yield to the development of the local people. The spotlight was on the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA). The study employed both explanatory and comparative research designs and purposively focused on the ten (10) female members of the Assembly, as well as ten (10) other sampled male members. This led to the conduct of individual - voter - respondent interviews involving 96 voters, randomly selected from the six (6) female represented electoral areas of the Metropolis to ascertain their perception and opinions on the subject.

The generality of the study suggests that, indeed, female like other members of the Assembly do make visible outputs which are responsive to local concerns and also when compared to their predecessors who were all males. The study further discovered that, low educational achievement, low level of competence, lack of leadership skills, poor mobilization initiative, low female representation, poor motivation as well as low community and family support serve as the major stumbling blocks to the efficient performance of assembly women. Moreover, the rate of female participation still remains relatively low in KMA. Interestingly, the study observed that most of voters were satisfied with the performance of their assembly women, whom they expressed interest to vote for one more time should they contest in the subsequent local elections.

In conclusion, the study recommended that three broad critical areas need to be accorded maximum attention and consideration towards charting ways to address those identifiable

challenges, so as to improve female capacity and representation in local governance. The first proposed area involves capacity building and empowerment for assembly women. The next concerns mass education and re-sensitization of both the communities and assembly members alike about the District Assembly concept. Lastly, it was suggested that, institutional and legal reforms should be carried out to remedy and institutionalize certain mechanisms that would help effective harnessing of the utility of decentralization system and the participation of women in the local government system.

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LIST OF APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: Six (6) Female Electoral Areas (2006-2008)

Electoral Area	Sub-Metro
Abrepo Junction	Bantama
Tarkwa Markro	Suame
Ayigya Aketego	Oforikrom
Anlo FNT	Subin
Manhyia	Manhyia

Source: KMA, June 2009.

Appendix 2: Seven (7) Male Electoral Areas (2006 -2008)

Electoral Area	Sub-Metro
Anloga	Oforikrom
Nsiah/Asare	Kwadaso
New Atonsu	Asokwa
Bohyen	Bantama
Aboabo No. 1	Asawase
Fante Newtown (FNT)	Subin
Pankrono	Tafo

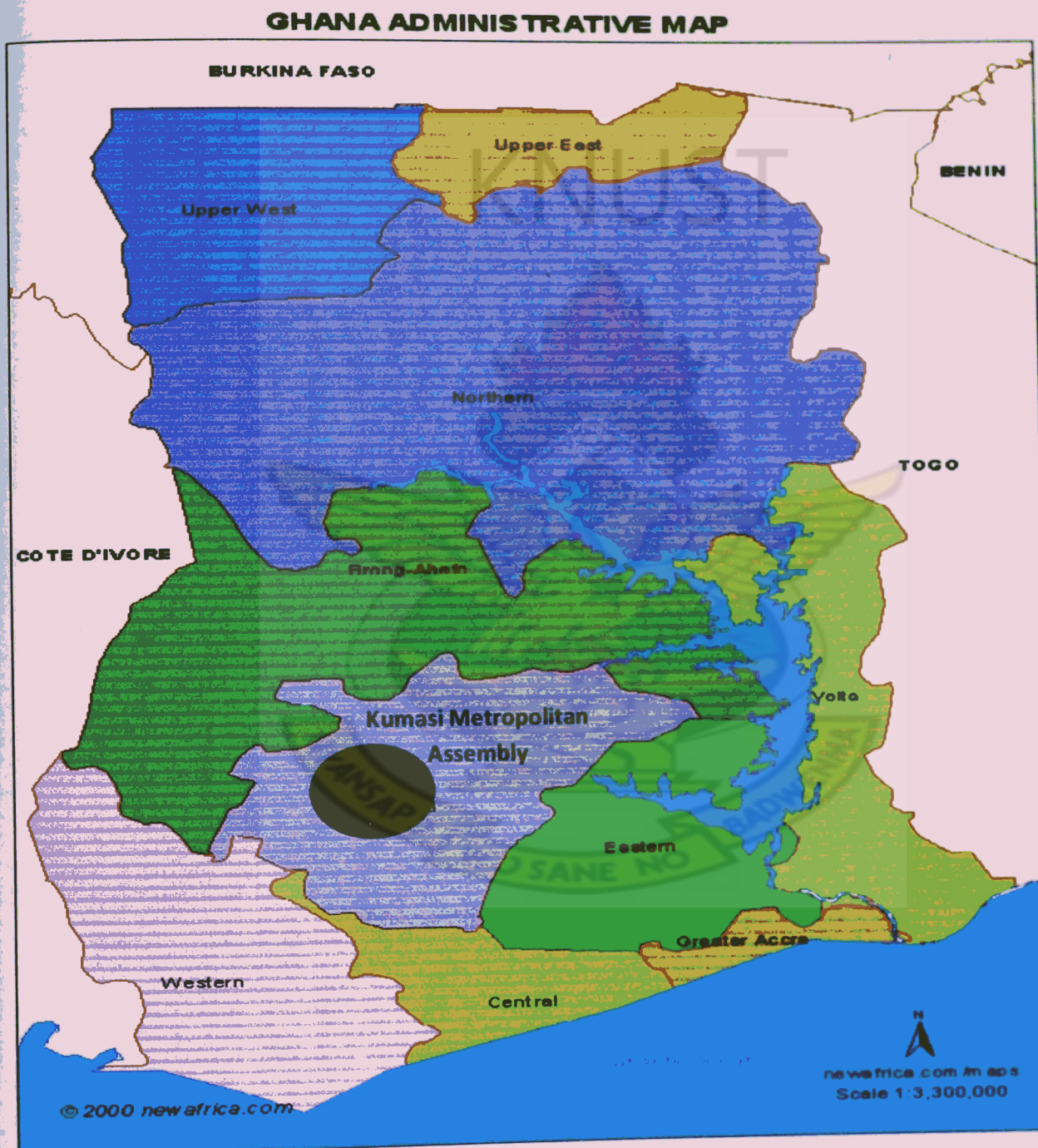
Source: Field Survey, June 2009.

Appendix 3: List of Department/Offices Contacted

1. Women's Department, MOWAC Ashanti – Regional Office, Kumasi, Ghana.
2. Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly, KMA, Kumasi
3. Electoral Commission, Kumasi
4. Centre for the Development of People (CEDEP)
5. Ghana Statistical Service Department, Kumasi
6. Metropolitan Engineers Office
7. National Council for Women and Development (NCWD), Ashanti Regional Office, Kumasi

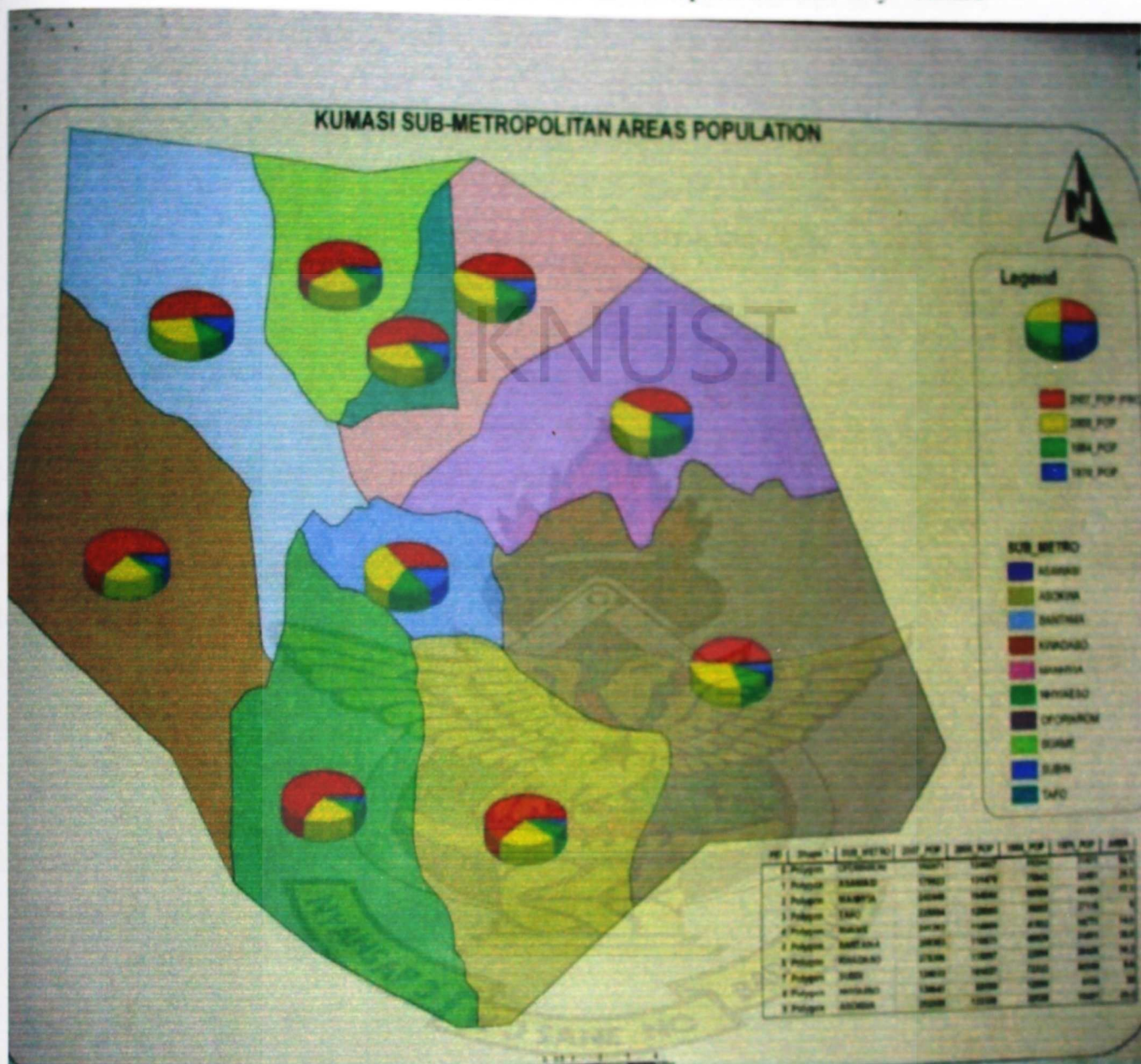
Appendix 4: List of Maps

Appendix 4a - Administrative Map of Ghana Showing Kumasi Metropolitan Area



Source: KMA – MTDP, 2009

Appendix 4b: A Sub-metropolitan Map of Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly - KMA



Source: KMA – MTDP, 2009.

Appendix 5: Outline of Interviews and Questionnaires

KWAME NKRUMAH UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

FACULTY OF PLANNING AND LAND ECONOMY

DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING – SPRING PROGRAMME

RELEVANCE OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE UNDER THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM OF GHANA

RESPONDENTS' STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

(INDIVIDUAL RESPONDENTS)

This exercise is purely for academic purposes and it intends to strengthen advocacy for greater participation of women in governance through performance – based approach. The following questions are meant to help ascertain and assess the contributions that female members of this Assembly – KMA have made to the development of their localities. It therefore requires your objective opinions.

Please tick/fill where appropriate in the following:

Sex: Male ☐ Female ☐ Occupation:.....

Age:..... Educational level: (a) Basic... (b) SSS...(c) Post-Sec..... (d)Tertiary.....

Place of Residence:..... Electoral Area:

1. Are you a registered voter? Yes.....No.....

1a. If yes, at which electoral area do you vote?.....

2. At which of the district level local elections have you voted?

a) 1998.....b) 2002.....c) 2006.....

3. Have you ever voted for a female candidate as the Assembly member?

Yes.....No.....

4. Would you vote for a female candidate in the local elections?

Yes.....No.....

4a. If yes, give two (2) reasons why (i).....

(ii).....

4b. If no, give two (2) reasons why

(i).....

(ii).....

5. Do you think women should be encouraged to contest at the local level elections?

Yes..... Why?.....

No..... Why?.....

6. How many women will you want to see in the assembly as Assembly members?

(a) Half.....(b) Two-thirds.....(c) One-quarter.....

6a. Explain briefly, why this number?

7. What benefits do you think women can bring to their localities if elected or appointed into the local governments?

8. Can you mention any three (3) development projects that your Assembly person has brought to your area? 1).....2).....

.....3).....

9. How will you describe the community mobilization initiative of your Assembly person? i)

Lowii) Average.....iii) High.....

10. Do you think educational levels of Assembly women can affect their performance as Assembly members? Yes..... No.....

11. What level of education/qualification will you suggest for Assembly women should have?

a) No education.....b) Basic..... c) Secondary.....d) Tertiary.....

12. What should be done to help Assembly women improve on their performances in them Metropolitan Assembly? i)..... ii).....

13. Give three (3) factors/problems that you think affect the performance of Assembly women at KMA:i).....ii).....

.....iii).....

14. Suggest any three (3) ways of addressing those problems:

i).....ii).....

.....iii).....

15. Comment about anything more on the performance of Assembly women in the local government:.....

THANK YOU!

KWAME NKRUMAH UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
FACULTY OF PLANNING AND LAND ECONOMY

DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING – SPRING PROGRAMME

**RELEVANCE OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE UNDER THE
LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM OF GHANA**

RESPONDENTS' STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

(ASSEMBLY MEMBERS – FEMALES)

This exercise is purely for academic purposes and it intends to strengthen advocacy for greater participation of women in governance through performance – based approach. The following questions are meant to help ascertain and assess the contributions that female members of this Assembly – KMA have made to the development of their localities. It therefore requires your objective opinions.

Please tick/fill where appropriate in the following:

Sex: Male ☐ Female ☐ Occupation:..... Position:.....

Level of Education:..... Age:.....

Electoral Area:..... Electoral Status: Elected ☐ Appointed ☐

How many members constitute the Metropolitan Assembly?

How many are women?

Is the current number of women representation enough? Yes ☐ No ☐

3a) If No, give three (3) reasons why:

1).....2).....

.....3).....

Do you think the number of women has any relation to their performance/influence on Assembly's decision? Yes ☐ No ☐

4a) If yes, indicate how:

5) How many sub-committees does the Assembly have?.....

6) On which of the sub-committee do you serve?.....

7) What position(s) do you hold at:

Sub-committee level:

District Assembly level:

8) How did you become a member of the Sub-committee? a. Appointed ☐ b. Elected ☐

9)s. What (other) qualifications and or skills do you have?
1). 2).

10). How did you acquire those qualifications and or skills? Through: i) Self-financed.....ii) Assembly organized.....ii) Women's group.....(specify).....iii) Other..... (Specify).....

11). State any leadership /capacity training(s) you have ever attended:
i).
ii).

12). Which organization organized the programme?
a) Metropolitan Assembly.....b) Women's Department.....
c) Other..... (Specify).....

13). How many motions/issues did you raise since 2006 as a member for discussion at any of the Assembly's meetings?.....

14). Mention any three specific issues/motions your raised in (13) above:
(i).(ii).
.....(iii).

15). What happened to the issues/motions you raised? i) Discussed
ii) Not discussed.....iii) Other..... Specify.....

16). What two (2) women's issues have the female members ever raised for consideration during Assembly meetings?
i).
ii).

17). Do you sometimes contribute in the Assembly discussions?
Yes.....No.....

17a). If yes, indicate how your contributions and or issues raised, if any, affect development policy decisions of the Assembly:.....

18). Mention anything or project that you were able to secure for your electoral area.....

- 19). Mention any organizations that give support to women Assembly members in this Assembly:(i).....(ii).....
.....(iii).....
- 20). Indicate the specific support you received from:
 (a)Government agency/dep't.....
 (b) NGOs.....
 (c)Others (specify).....
- 21). Mention any four (4) problems that you face as an Assembly member:
 1.....2.....3.....
4.....
- 21a). Indicate how those problems negatively affect your performance as an Assembly member:.....

- 22). What do you think should be done to improve your performance as well as other women in the local governance? i) Training/capacity building.....ii) Networking and lobbying.....iii) Increase number of women in the Assembly.....
 iv) Other, specify:.....
- 23). How many women's groups do you have in your electoral area?

- 24). How many of them do you belong to?
- 25). What specific women-based project(s) have you been able to secure for women in your electoral area?.....
- 26). How many policy decisions of the Assembly were you able to change as an individual or collectively with other Assembly women?.....
- 27). Do you have something more to say about the performance of assembly women in local government?.....

THANK YOU!

KWAME NKRUMAH UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
FACULTY OF PLANNING AND LAND ECONOMY

DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING – SPRING PROGRAMME

**RELEVANCE OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE UNDER THE
LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM OF GHANA**

RESPONDENTS' STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

(ASSEMBLY MEMBERS – MALES)

This exercise is purely for academic purposes and it intends to strengthen advocacy for greater participation of women in governance through performance – based approach. The following questions are meant to help ascertain and assess the contributions that female members of this Assembly – KMA have made to the development of their localities. It therefore requires your objective opinions.

Please tick/fill where appropriate in the following:

Sex: Male ☐ Female ☐ Occupation:..... Position:.....

Level of Education:..... Age:.....

Electoral Area:..... Electoral Status: Elected ☐ Appointed ☐

1. How many people constitute the Metropolitan Assembly or decision making body of the Assembly?.....

2. How many Assembly women are among?

3. Is the present number of women representatives enough? Yes ☐ No ☐

3a) If no, give three (3) reasons why:

1).....2).....

.....3).....

4. Do you think the number of women has any relation to the influence Assembly women can make on Assembly's decision? Yes ☐ No ☐

4a) If yes, indicate how:

5. How many sub-committees does the Assembly have?.....

5a. On which of the sub-committees do you serve?.....

6. What position(s) do you hold at:

Sub-committee level?

District Assembly level?.....

7. How many women are in that sub-committee?.....
8. What highest position(s) do they hold within the committee?
.....
9. Mention any three (3) project that you have been able to secure for your electoral area:
i).....ii).....
.....iii).....
10. What three (3) particular challenges/problems do you face as an Assembly member?
1).....2).....
.....3).....
- 10a). How do those problems in (10) above affect your performance as a member?
.....
11. How will you describe the participation of Assembly women during Assembly discussions?
(a) Very Active.....(b) Active.....(c) Poor.....
12. What three (3) factors do you think affect women's performance in the Assembly?
(i).....(ii).....
.....(iii).....
13. How should the problems/factors be addressed or solved? Give any two (2) suggestions:
(i).....
(ii).....
14. Mention any organization(s) that you know of which support Assembly women in the Metropolis:.....
15. What measures do you think should be taken in order to improve the general performance of women in local governance? Mention three (3):
(i).....(ii).....
.....(iii).....
16. What is the level of contribution by the Assembly women during Assembly's deliberations?
i) High.....ii) Average.....iii) Low.....
17. Are women able to present issues or motions during Assembly meetings about the development of their electoral areas? Yes.....No.....
- 17a. What issues/motions do Assembly women usually raise?
i) Economic issues.....ii) Socio-cultural issues.....iii) Political issue.....

iv) Other, specify.....

18. Are Assembly women able to influence any policy decision(s) of the Assembly?

Yes..... No.....

19. Any further comment about performance of Assembly women in the local governance system:.....

.....

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THANK YOU!



KWAME NKRUMAH UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
FACULTY OF PLANNING AND LAND ECONOMY
DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING – SPRING PROGRAMME

RELEVANCE OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE UNDER THE
LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM OF GHANA
RESPONDENTS' STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE
(MUNICIPAL CO-ORDINATING DIRECTOR)

This exercise is purely for academic purposes and it intends to strengthen advocacy for greater participation of women in governance through performance – based approach. The following questions are meant to help ascertain and assess the contributions that female members of this Assembly – KMA have made to the development of their localities. It therefore requires your objective opinions.

Please tick/fill where appropriate in the following:

Sex: Male ☐ Female ☐ Occupation:.....

Position:.....

Level of Education:..... Age:.....

1. How many people constitute the Metropolitan Assembly?.....

2. How many women forms part of the Assembly?.....

3. Is the present female membership representative enough in your opinion?

Yes:.....

No:.....

3a. If no, state two (2) reasons why:

(i).....

(ii).....

4. What do you find as the three (3) main factors that hinder women's participation in local governance?

i).....ii).....

.....iii).....

5. Which government department/agency or NGO support female members of the Assembly?.....

6. Indicate what kind of support the Assembly provide to female Assembly members:.....

7. What particular role(s) do assembly women play in the preparation of the Medium-Term Development Plans?.....

8. How will you assess the general performance of female members in the Assembly?

(i) Very Good.....(ii) Good.....(iii) Average.....

9. What problems affect the performance of Assembly women in the local governance?.....

10. Indicate any three (3) ways by which the problems above can be addressed:

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

11. How can the performance of Assembly women be improved?.....

12. Please kindly provide information on the following:

YEAR:	<u>1994</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2006</u>
Total number of Assembly Members:
Total number of female memb:
Total number of motions raised by members:
Total number of motions raised by female members:

13. Any further comment about performance of Assembly women in the local governance system:.....

THANK YOU!

KWAME NKRUMAH UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

FACULTY OF PLANNING AND LAND ECONOMY

DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING – SPRING PROGRAMME

**RELEVANCE OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE UNDER THE
LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM OF GHANA**

RESPONDENTS' STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

(THE PRESIDING MEMBER)

This exercise is purely for academic purposes and it intends to strengthen advocacy for greater participation of women in governance through performance – based approach. The following questions are meant to help ascertain and assess the contributions that female members of this Assembly – KMA have made to the development of their localities. It therefore requires your objective opinions.

Please tick in a box or fill where appropriate in the following:

Sex: Male ☐ Female ☐ Occupation:..... Position:.....

Level of Education:..... Age:.....

Electoral Area:..... Electoral Status: Elected ☐ Appointed ☐

1. How many development issues or motions were presented to the assembly since 2006 by the entire Assembly members?.....

2. How many were considered for deliberations in the House?.....

3. How many of such motions/issues were presented by female members?.....

4. Are women able to influence any development policy decision of the Assembly?

Yes:.....No:.....

5. What is the level of involvement by the Assembly women in discussions?

a) High.....b) Average.....c) Low..... d) Nil.....

6. How many approved local development project were implemented in the electoral areas represented by women?.....

7. How were they approved by the House? Through:

(a) Influence by the Assembly member.....(b)House agreement
(consensus).....(c)Alternate choice.....(d)Other..... Indicate.....

8. How will you assess the overall performance of women in local governance?.....

9. What problems affect the performance of Assembly women in the local governance?.....

10. Suggest ways to address those problems identified in (9):.....

11. How can the performance of Assembly women be improved?.....

12. Any further comment about performance of Assembly women in the local government:.....

THANK YOU!

