Master's thesis

Kwaku Mpere Opare

Approaches for Promoting Party Political Participation Among Marginalized Groups of Women in Ghana; A Systematic Review.

Master's thesis in BSc Globalisation and Sustainable Development
Supervisor: Dr. Hilde Refstie

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APPROACHES FOR PROMOTING PARTY POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AMONG MARGINALIZED GROUPS OF WOMEN IN GHANA; A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW

SUPERVISOR: Dr. HILDE REFSTIE

MASTER THESIS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF SCIENCE (MSC) IN GLOBALIZATION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

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TRONDHEIM, MAY, 2022.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own research and written by me towards MSc. Globalization and Sustainable Development in the department of Geography. It contains no material previously authored by another with the exception of references which is duly acknowledged in the thesis.

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Opare Kweku Mpere

May, 2022

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Mr. & Mrs. Opare without whose dedication, sacrifice, love and support I would not be here. To my siblings especially Kofi Ntow Opare I dedicate this work to you.

This thesis is devoted to GOD ALEMIGHTY for His assistance always.

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ABSTRACT

In democratic states, participation in politics is supposed to be inclusive in the sense that every citizen has equal formal rights and opportunities to participate. Statistics and reports have shown that, women in Ghana are the most marginalized groups participating in political party activities in the country. However, little is known about approaches aiming to solve intersecting challenges to promote party political participation among marginalized groups of women. Considering the intersection of social identities responsible for marginalizing women is important because, women do not have homogeneous characteristics and have existing sub-groups among them. How intersecting identities work together among women emanates from intersectional social categories such as age, gender, ethnicity etc. which occurs concurrently. Their experiences differ as a result and requires approaches purposely created for them. Therefore, the study aimed to explore what intersectional challenges of women in party political participation in Ghana is reported, the approach in Ghana towards promoting party political participation among women and the characteristics of these approaches, and how the approaches correspond with the challenges faced by the marginalized women groups and their reported outcomes. Standing for political positions and attending political meetings were the party political activities investigated in this study. Due to the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, data collection from women in Ghana was not possible. A systematic review was therefore seen as the best option to conduct this thesis.

A Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA), a four phase flow diagram consisting of identification, screening, eligibility and inclusion method was used as a guideline to identify included studies to develop the systematic review. A final selection of 11 studies were retrieved for the systematic review which consist of 4 peer reviewed journal articles, 3 were reports, 2 dissertations or thesis, 1 book and 1website article. A thematic analysis and a narrative form of synthesis was used to present the results of the systematic review. The results indicate that, eight social identities of gender, educational level, age, financial status, religion, ethnicity, disability, and marital status were found to intersect and cause challenges for women participating in party politics. Six approaches namely affirmative action, SNV initiative, legal initiatives, Friends of the Nation (FON) meetings, United Nations Development Programme Initiatives and Organizational Advocacy, Capacity Building and Education were used to promote

marginalized groups of women in party politics. Most of the approaches were quite effective in promoting women in standing for political positions and attending political meetings.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

PRISMA   Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analysis

MMDCEs   Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives

NCCE   National Commission for Civic Education

NPP   National Patriotic Party

NDC   National Democratic Congress

CPP   Convention's People's Party

UGCC   United Gold Coast Convention

NNED   Northern Network for Education Development

WODEM   Women in Participatory Decision Making

CENSUDI   Centre for Sustainable Development Initiative

UERIGN   Upper East Regional Inter-Sectoral Gender Network

CEDAW   Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women

BFA   Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

GFD   Ghana Federation of the Disabled

GBU   Ghana Blind Union

GSPD   Ghana Society for the Physically Disabled

CRPD   Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Statistics and reports have shown that, women in Ghana are marginalized in terms of participating in political party activities in the country. Ghana ranks the 141st globally for women's representation in Parliament (Mensah-Kuttin, 2020). In Africa, Ghana ranks 32nd (14.55%) as of 2021 in the proportion of seats held by women in Parliament (Faria, 2021). At the local level, an underrepresented percentage of women (14.62%) were appointed as Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives (MMDCEs) in 2021 (Asante, 2021). Democracy in Ghana is marked by multi-party elections and other political party activities such as campaigning and protests (Asiamah, 2015). This is because the society directly has an association with the government through active participation in political party activities (Ninsin & Drah, 1993). Politics has become a mechanism through which collective decisions are made to distribute limited resources (Heywood, 1997). Participating in such politics is the way opinions are heard (Khasnabis et al., 2010) and resource entitlements are accessed. One of the reasons why Ghanaians are involved in political party activities is to directly or indirectly influence public policy such as health policies (Carbone, 2011) and agricultural policies (Poulton, 2014) that affects them. Political participation involves the activities of individuals before, during and after local and national elections such as forming groups and associations and vying for positions, with the aim of taking part in public affairs that affect them (UN, 2012). Political participation is party political when participation activities involves political parties.

In democratic states, participation in politics is supposed to be inclusive in the sense that every citizen has equal formal rights and opportunities to participate (Oskarson, 2010). Ideally, citizens regardless of their social identity such as class, gender, ethnic or religious background and age (an exception is voting where the voting age is typically set to 18 years and above) etc. should be able to influence political institutions such as political parties, government and their involvement according to democratic principles of representability and accountability (Cordenillo & Gardes,

2013). This can only be achieved when every disadvantaged group in a democratic country have equal opportunity or a fair chance of attaining their political goals without any form of discrimination (Hufe & Peichl, 2020) and the consideration of intersecting social identities among marginalized groups (Crenshaw, 1995). Marginalization of citizens is the process where individuals or groups are denied equal rights, opportunities and resources needed to participate in the society (Paciello & Pioppi, 2014). Factors that are responsible for marginalization include social exclusion (Morwat, 2015), forces of globalization (Cornish, 2007), migration (Muller, 2016), natural and unnatural disasters (Sahoo, 2019). These marginalized groups struggle to fully participate in political processes because they are perceived to be undesirable, ignored or excluded in political spheres. This makes them vulnerable to public decisions that do not favor them and reinforces the cycle of marginalization. Social groups can be marginalized in multiple intersecting forms including social identities such as gender, class and race which are identity makers that do not function separately but are dynamic and work together (Strolovich, 2013).

Marginalized groups can comprise of religious, ethnic and linguistic minorities, refugees, people facing caste-based discrimination, poor people, people with disabilities, young people, indigenous people, those from remote geographic locations, and people discriminated against on the basis of their gender or sexual orientation (Hedstrom & Smith, 2013). People from marginalized groups can find numerous challenges to participate in the different levels of political activities (Loon, 1970) such as being a political candidate to be voted for, member of a political party, campaigning, attending rallies and meetings. These challenges mostly emanate from social identities leading to societal and cultural discrimination of individuals or groups especially women (Castillejo, 2013). Political participation activities in Ghana such as attending political gatherings, contributing money to political parties, party affiliation and standing for political office from political parties, writing or speaking to elected representatives/officials, and writing letters to newspapers on political issues has not been well participated by marginalized groups (Sossou, 2011; Sackey 2014; Kyei & Dogbe, 2020).Voting is the highest recorded political participation activity (Boafo-Arthur, 2005) among the marginalized. In this study, the political party activities of women in two high level political party activities (Loon, 1970) which have been identified to achieve the purpose of development in democracy such as contesting for political positions at the local and national level

to address the needs of the people and attending political meetings to make decisions will be investigated by looking at approaches used to promote such activities.

1.2 Problem Statement

Political participation is known to eradicate political marginalization and increase social inclusion (Hall & Alvarez, 2012), yet marginalization and social exclusion of individuals or groups are evident even from the start and process of political participation and can be continued in the political process itself. Party political participation is also a process where marginalization is existing. Most studies have not researched on party affiliated political participation in Africa. The few studied were conducted at the national level ignoring party political participation at the local level (Bénit-Gbaffou et al., 2013). There have been many ways aimed at addressing the challenge of low participation of marginalized groups politically and promote the party political participation process. Some of these approaches are activities of civil society organizations such as advocacy (Cordenillo & Gardes, 2013), forums, sports and education (Brady, Chaskin & McGregor, 2020), policies of government, public education to create awareness of the disabled low participation in politics (Arthur, 2017), and gender mainstreaming by gender experts to help marginalized women (UNIFEM, 2010).

Approaches used to promote party political participation among women groups have achieved some level of success but not achieving its objectives and targets entirely. For instance, in 1979, the Government of Ghana implemented the affirmation action policy to tackle issues of gender inequality in political representation that arise from systemic discrimination (Tsikata, 2009). The target set was for women to represent 40% of political positions but this was not achieved. Out of 230 to 275 Member Parliament in Parliamentary elections, only 20 women (8.7%) in 2008 (Tsikata, 2009), 30 women (10.9%) in 2012 (UNDP, 2016), 37 women (13.5) in 2016 (Abdulai & Sackeyfio, 2020) and 40 women (14.5%) in 2020 (EU, 2020) won the elections. The number of women who are members of parliament keep increasing but at a very slow rate. Also, the Government of Ghana's initiative organized pro-poor programmes with the aim of alleviating poverty and increasing standard of living for persons with disabilities including women. This

approach has not met its target as poverty still persist among them (Voice Ghana, 2014) and hinders disabled groups from standing for political positions (Sackey, 2015).

However, little is known about approaches aiming to solve intersecting challenges to promote party political participation among marginalized groups of women. Considering the intersection of social identities responsible for marginalizing women is important because, women do not have homogeneous characteristics and have existing sub-groups among them. The sub-groups among women emanates from intersectional social categories such as age, gender, ethnicity etc. (Maguire, 2018) which occurs concurrently. Their experiences differ as a result and requires approaches purposely created for them. Data is needed to be collected and monitored to figure out these social identities. This kind of monitoring can be termed as equality monitoring where the characteristics of the target group is well documented (Christofferson, 2017). For example, the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) is an initiative which includes the goal 5 of achieving gender equity and empowering women and girls. The report on this goal did not provide enough data in the Voluntary National Report on the implementation of SDG's which was presented by the Government of Ghana (2019). Within the SGD 5, the indicator 5.5.1 aiming at identifying the proportion of seats held by women in national parliament and local government provided data differentiated by sex not according to social identities. The Government of Ghana recommended the use of disaggregated data to identify disaggregated groups of women in achieving the goal of increasing women's party political participation. Disaggregated data consist of social categories identified in intersectional challenges which can be used as indicators to check whether the approaches are achieving their targets. The progress of these approaches in Ghana indicates that the approaches are not well monitored and evaluated for strategizing and reforms. Ignoring such intersectional characteristics will lead to the ineffectiveness of approaches in promoting party political participation.

1.3 Aim and Research Questions

The aim of the thesis is to conduct a thorough systematic review of policies, literature and reports to examine the effects of approaches targeting to solve intersectional challenges to increase the

participation of marginalized women groups in party politics in Ghana. In the systematic review, disaggregated data on women will be extracted from selected studies. The social identities of women will be identified using their socio-demographic characteristics such as their age, gender, ethnicity, ability etc. and arranged into sub-groups. The experiences of these sub-groups in relation to their challenges with political participation will be described. These challenges addressed in policies and other approaches will be studied. Reports on the progress of the approaches will also be evaluated to study the strength and limitations.

Research questions are;

1. What are the reported intersectional challenges of women in party political participation in Ghana?

2. What approach in Ghana targets marginalized groups of women in party politics and what are their characteristics?

3. How do the approaches correspond with the challenges faced by the marginalized women groups and what are their reported outcomes?

1.4 Significance of the Systematic Review

Studies have been conducted to understand the political participation of marginalized people in Ghana. However, political participation studies in Ghana where research on approaches used to promote party political activities by marginalized groups of women considering intersectionality is rare. The research will use a systematic review on approaches used to promote party political participation among marginalized groups of women. The identification, summarization and evaluation of findings will provide evidence for decision makers interested in political marginalization to make changes and improvements. Policies are reformed to become inclusive through the collection of evidence sensitive to the needs of the marginalized and detects and tracks other disparities in the society (Sevciuc, 2014). Identities of marginalization change over time through a variety of factors such as the activities of those who make the identities and the conditions under which they are portrayed (Donaldson & Jedwab, 2003).

1.5 Organization of Thesis

The systematic review is organized into eight sections. Chapter one is an introduction of the phenomenon under study outlining the background, the gap to be researched, the aim and research questions and significance of the study. Chapter two consists of a theoretical framework on the conceptualization of political participation, political participation activities, challenges of marginalized groups, the role of initiatives and the theoretical framework of resource and intersectionality. Chapter three provides the methods for the systematic review which includes the inclusion and exclusion criteria, search strategy, identification of relevant studies, quality assessment, data extraction, analysis and interpretation. Chapter four to seven provides the results and analysis of the research questions. Finally, chapter eight gives a brief summary, conclusion and provides recommendations for the study.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is a theoretical framework of the study which consist of concepts, definitions and theories that explains the phenomena under study. Concepts in political participation that are party affiliated explains the various ways citizens participate in party politics. These concepts are voluntary participation, direct and indirect participation, behavioral attitudes towards participation and intent of participation in party politics. It also defines the concept of gender and political marginalization which was used to explain how the gender of women relates to their marginalization in party politics. The theories used for the study are the theory of intersectionality and resource used to highlight the different groups of women using social identities responsible and resources needed to effectively participate in party politics.

2.1 Conceptualization of Political Participation in Party Politics

According to Ninsin (2006, p.10), "political parties are the vehicle for participation". This creates the need for one to be a member of a political party known as a political partisan. The concept of political participation has no accepted definition because it has been universally defined in different research context (Verba, Nie, & Kim, 1978). Wajzer (2015) describes the concepts of political participation as problematic and uses five criteria in defining political participation that is the active subjects, whom it is directed towards to, motive behind activities, attributes of activities and effects of activities. In general, political participation is the "political engagement or public involvement in decision-making" (Lamprianou, 2013, p. 22). The concept can be viewed as a voluntary act as individuals who participate in political process are not forced. In Ghana, participation in party politics is voluntary because being a member of a political party is not compulsory and citizens are free to join any political party of their choice because of the liberal ideological orientation the country has adopted (Ninsin, 2006). Kaase & Marsh (1979) describes political participation as all voluntary activities by every citizen with the purpose of influencing either directly or indirectly political alternatives at various levels of democracies. It can also be described as voluntary because of the consciousness of individuals in performing the activity with

no intentions of economic gains. This was Townsend (1967, p. 4) context which defines political participation as all those "activities through which the individual consciously becomes involved in attempts to give a particular direction to the conduct of public affairs, excluding activities of an occupational or compulsory nature".

Also, party political participation can be performed indirectly and directly. It is indirect when activities such as voting influence decision making as representatives are chosen (Verba et al.,1978). Members of opposition parties can also participate indirectly in politics (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2009). Opposition parties question the policies of the party in power and hold them accountable to the public. The indirectness of political participation is termed as "legal acts by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions that they take" (Verba et al.,1978, p.1). Direct political participation occurs when individuals are the decision makers themselves. It can be described as "taking part in the processes of formulation, passage and implementation of public policies" (Parry et al., 1992, p.16). The party in power directly participate in politics (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2009) as they control the resources and personnel of government to implement political programmes (Salih & Nordlund, 2007). Moreover, the extent to which individuals participate in political processes has been described in terms of behavioral attitudes towards participation. Behavior towards participation is active when individuals are mentally or affectively engaged in politics and it is easily noticeable in one's behaviour (Mider, 2008). Citizens can show a behavior of low commitment or low activeness through low voter turnouts when leaders of political parties fail to address their concerns and the counties' problems (Carton, 2007). Behavior is aggressive and is considered illegal when "protest, extra-legal violence, or rebellions" (Verba, Nie, & Kim, 1978, p. 1) are involved in political processes.

Lastly, the intent or aim of political participation as a context is defined by Verba, Schlozman, & Brady (1995, p.38) as an "activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action, either by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make the policies". Mider (2008, p.15) summarizes these criteria's by defining political participation as "activities which are instrumental or expressive, voluntary or mobilized, legal (legitimized) or illegal (non-legitimized) as well as conventional (legitimate) or

unconventional (illegitimate) and which are performed in a non-violent way or with the use of violence by an individual who acts as a citizen or exercises political power for either public or particularistic purposes; these activities are directed to state authorities or other entities that exercise political power or have an influence on politics".

Conceptualizations are rare in the context of party political participation. Previous conceptualizations describe the involvement of all citizens without exclusion yet some individuals or groups are limited or cannot effectively participate in party political processes. This problem should raise the concern of involving the concept of marginalization to define party political participation in terms of inclusiveness. The World Health Organization & International Disability Development Consortium (2010) expresses political participation using the disabled as a marginalized group to describe the inclusive political participation as a broad range of activities of disabled to develop and express their opinions on the world and how is governed and shape decisions that affect their lives. Their activities include joining disabled people's organizations or other groups and organizations, and campaigning at the local, regional or national level, to the process of formal politics, such as voting, joining a political party, or standing for elections.

2.2 Activities of Party Political Participation in Democracy

Citizens use various mechanisms to express their political views or exercise their rights and influences on the political processes (Chatora, 2012) using a broad range of activities. These activities are mostly voluntarily performed to influence government's structured policies or officials. Loon (1970) grouped these activities in a hierarchy as high level activities, transitional activities and low level activities based on the importance, cost and number of participants. The hierarchy is also based on the assumption citizens involved in high level activities usually perform or have performed low level activities. These activities are termed as democratic activities and includes;

i. High level activities: activities include holding a public office, being a political candidate, holding a party office, soliciting party funds, attending meetings and planning campaigns. This is the level where one has the opportunity to register as a candidate, to be voted for, and to hold office

at local and national levels of government. Political parties and their candidates involve themselves in activities such as public debates in the media, town squares and local places (Wilson, 2006) to communicate their knowledge on issues concerning the public. The attendance of party meetings is also described by Ninsin (2006) as an act of political faith and commitment towards the political party one belongs to. In Ghana, political party meetings that is considered as the highest organ where most party members participate to make decisions is the party congress or national conference. The party congress is a meeting organized for party members to make crucial decisions concerning the party, approve constitutions and regulations, elect national executives and officers, and choose presidential candidates for national elections (Ibid, 2006).

ii. Transitional activities: consist of contributing money to political party, contributing time in campaigning, attending rallies and attempting to make people vote in a certain way. Money plays an important role in participating in party politics. In this stage, citizens donate money towards elections (Unwuchola et al., 2017) to help political campaigns. Money can determine the final choice of political candidates by citizens. In Ghanaian elections, funds are needed to finance campaign activities and pay incentives to electorates. Members of political parties help candidates win elections by contributing or donating money to the party. The Article 21(1) of the political parties Act 2000 of the constitution of Ghana permits only 45% of contributing money from citizens and 15% from party membership dues (Ninsin, 2006).

iii. Low level activities: consist of initiating political discussions, paying attention to political stimuli, and voting. In this level, citizens discuss social, economic and political issues that affect their lives and the nation. Interest are developed for political parties and their candidates because of the capabilities of these parties to advance their needs in the implementation of policies (Wilson, 2006). They assess the capacities of leaders in their performance of duties which serves as yard-sticks for choosing incumbencies. Citizens then elect political representatives through voter registration and finally vote on election dates for leaders who will make policies in their favor (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). Voting is one way in which individuals may voice their choice.

Other political participation activities include lobbying and demonstrations. Citizens try to influence legislative action through writing and signing of petitions, public consultations, joining interest groups that engage in lobbying, political advocacy, monitoring and reporting of cases of violation of the electoral process such as frauds, rigging, intimidation, violence, monetary inducements, underage voting (Abubakar, 2012). The inactions of government officials or political leaders to the concerns of citizens leads to demonstrations or civil protests (Gibson et al., 2005) where the citizens become aggressive to attract the attention of leaders. In this study, being a political candidate and attending meetings as high level of party political participation will be examined among marginalized groups of women.

2.3 Gender and Political Marginalization of Women

Marginalization is "both a condition and a process that prevents individuals and groups from full participation in social, economic, and political life enjoyed by the wider society." (Alakhunova et al., 2015, p.10). Individuals or groups are politically marginalized when they are not allowed to participate democratically in decision making, and, hence, they lose their right to every social, economic, and political benefit. These are large sections of people of women who are from ethnic minorities, migrants, disabled persons, and the elderly etc. Women are more politically marginalized mainly because of their gender. Gender is not about sex (Celis et al., 2013) but it is a socially constructed system of ascribing standards of masculinity and femininity to people (Gender Spectrum, 2014). This means that, the society shapes what is appropriate for a male and a female in its cultural settings. According to (Muñoz Boudet et al., 2013, p16) "gender roles are ideal expected behaviors for men and women in any position they occupy in society or in any activity, overlapping with other expected role behavior". These traditional gender roles are based on individual society's social constructs of gender, and encompass the activities, responsibilities, expectations and decision making power that a given culture has historically assigned to different genders within the public and private sphere (Gilles, 2012). An example of ascribed traditional roles for married women in Ghana is to clean up the homes, cook, care for the sick, reproduce and care for the children which prevents them from engaging in party politics (Tsikata, 2009).

The marginalization of women in political parties reflects patterns of gender discrimination, inequality, insecurity and gender-based violence (O'Neil & Domingo, 2016) that limit women's political participation. These sources of gender discrimination patterns are customary institutions which are patriarchal in nature where institutions are mainly controlled or led by men. Party structures are mostly dominated by men making party electoral processes such as financial contributions favor the men (Tsikata, 2009). This serve as a hindrance in mediating women's engagement with the state and in public life. For example, in Liberia and Sierra Leone, some customary authorities prevent women from claiming their rights through formal courts (Castillejo, 2013). Also, a media report narrates an incidence in Garu Tempane District of Ghana, during the 2006 elections where a woman was assaulted by her husband for taking nominations forms to vie for a position. In the same district, 8 women out of 16 returned their nomination forms. Male counterparts destroyed the campaign posters of women and threaten them to step them. These women candidates lost the elections and consequently discouraged other women from contesting thereby creating the cycle of marginalization (GNA, 2006). The foundations of customary discrimination have been observed to be deeply rooted and difficult to change. This led to the demonstrations of Palestinian women in 1917 characterized by the use of weapons against Balfour Declaration. They formed their own political group to rebel against men who dominated their traditional society (Hawari, 2019). Illiteracy is also common challenge among women especially in rural areas. Education is not seen as a priority for females in the society but are encouraged for males because in terms of gender in some ethnic groups, males are expected to be educated not females. Due to this, their capacities and confidence needed to be inclusive and improve their socio-economic lives is restrained (Cottrel-Ghai et al., 2013).

Gender varies by race, ethnicity and other social categories (Celis et al., 2013). Disability is another social category affected by gender as disabled women are also very known to be politically marginalized. The United Nations (2006) defines disability as "an evolving concept and that disability results from the interaction between persons with impairments and attitudinal and environmental barriers that hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others". Discrimination and stigmatization is the common challenge of the disabled (Prince, 2007). This is as a result of negative attitudes of others towards disabled women who are discouraged from standing for political positions (Sackey, 2014). The low political participation

of the disabled could also be attributed to financial problems (Hedstrom & Smith, 2013) which is needed to engage in political activities. Some factors such low level of education (Mensah et al., 2008) could be the cause of their low income which in turn affects their livelihood and health. The problem of accessibility is also a major challenge because roads, transportation and infrastructure in buildings are not suitable for their free movement and participation. The accessibility of information by those who with visual and hearing impairment hinders communication in political activities because formats used in communication by political parties and politicians are not suitable and acceptable by these groups of people (Kyei & Dogbe, 2020).

However, even though the youth including females in the society are needed to learn political processes to build their confidence, self-esteem and skills for future political roles, they are also marginalized and excluded in political processes. Most of such age group are unemployed and underemployed and therefore have no or low income to participate politically (UNDP, 2012). According to Penuel (1995, p.1), "regardless of competence, youths are constructed in our society as immature and manipulatable for the purposes of development." That means even if they have source of income and the skills, they are marginalized based on their age which is termed as immature. In all, understanding the hindrances of inclusiveness is a prerequisite to find effective measures against political marginalization (Hedstrom & Smith, 2013).

2.4 Theory of Intersectionality

Intersectionality is viewed in a political lens in structures with arising political struggles. The fight for equal opportunities and social movement politics due to questionable dynamics of variance and the consensus of sameness in the 1980's has received attention through the introduction of intersectionality (Cho, Crenshaw & McCall, 2013). Intersectionality is a theoretical framework formulated by Kimberle Crenshaw in 1989 to explain the interlocking social categories such as gender race and class in creating marginalization (Runyan, 2018). The theory was first used to describe women of colour experiences with marginality in the United States (Smooth, 2013) where Black women faced discrimination. Intersectionality acknowledges differences (Davis, 2008) and shows the variant experiences of individuals grouped according to their social identity. Social identities in the category of race, gender and class were commonly used in intersectionality

(Bedolla & Scola, 2006), but now other categories have been discovered to affect lives such as age, disability, religion, residence, family type, and marital status etc. (Manuel, 2006). Intersectionality gives an understanding of the interaction of the various social identities and experiences of individuals with these identities. In addition, the systems that give rise to discrimination to maintain the hierarchy of power existing in societies is also defined by these interactions (Smooth, 2013). There are two forms of intersectionality that is horizontal and vertical (Donaldson & Jedwab, 2003). Horizontal intersectionality describes the differences within a particular group such as a group of Americans being differentiated as either black or white. Vertical intersectionality on the other hand describes differences between groups.

The theory of intersectionality has three ideas on how social categories in identities function to form inequalities. First of all, social categories act dependently and are inseparable. Intersectionality claims that, the different categories within the society that shows identity such as gender, race, ethnicity, religion, class etc. do not act independently but interlocking or intersectional (Crenshaw, 1995). For instance, to prevent the likelihood of looking at individual groups such as the disabled and women as different entities, rather than viewing the various sub-groups among them (Maguire, 2018), intersectionality was considered by some studies (Evans, 2016; Celis et al., 2015) by examining the extent to which different variables such as age, gender, disability, ethnicity etc. increases political representation barriers. Intersectional analysis used in politics was also relevant to assess the extent to which political participation barriers are faced by different sub-groups such as women with disabilities or women with minority ethnicity (Maguire, 2018). These sub-groups consist of two or more social categories which are interlocking. Secondly, the social categories forming identities are multiple in every individual and function at the same time. The theory contributed to feminist studies in understanding stereotypes of black women based on their gender and ethnicity (Ghavami & Peplau, 2013). It was found out that, each person belongs to more than one social identity concurrently (Hancock, 2007). Lastly, there are variance in individual experiences. For example, stereotyping black women based on their gender and ethnicity gave rise to different individual experiences which was understood by examining both black women's gender and ethnicity in the context of power relations (Ghavami & Peplau, 2013).

The resource theory of political participation works well with the theory of intersectionality as intersectionality emphasizes on how important social identities such as class intersects with other identities such as gender, educational and financial status of individuals.

2.5 Resource Theory of Political Participation

The resource theory of political participation explains the need to have access to resources to participate in political activities. These resources include individual's socio-economic status (Brady et al., 1995; McAllister & Makkai, 1992), institutional factors (McAllister & Makkai, 1992), time, money and civic skills (Anduiza et al., 2010; Verba et al., 1995). Socio-economic status as a resource are acquired from individual's occupation, income and educational level (McAllister & Makkai, 1992). This kind of resource stratifies individuals into class and status which makes it easy to determine the political behavior of such individuals. Individuals from the family of high socio-economic class or status background and have early experiences in their educational level also acquire socio-economic resources to participate politically (Brady et al., 1995). Institutional factors also include resources acquired from adhering to rules and procedures in structuring political activities (McAllister & Makkai, 1992). Political participation involves cost such as information and analytical cost in its activities (Verba et al., 1995) and therefore the resource of time, money and civic skills is important to participate politically (Anduiza et al., 2010). Time is essential in political activities that are time-consuming such as political meetings and election campaigns. Money is needed to engage in activities that depends on finances such as donating money towards elections. Civic skills include communication, organizational and writing skills and are relevant to most political activities as it builds individual capacities to effectively participate. According to McAllister & Makkai (1992), The difference in the level of political participation of individuals is as a result of the varying allocation of resources these individuals possess. For example, a group within a society could be politically marginalized and have challenges participating politically if resources such as socio-economic resources are low and unequal among these groups.

2.6 Role of Political Actors in Promoting Party Political Participation

Participation is an essential component of sustainable development and to achieve this means citizens in democratic countries should engender effective participation in governance. Promotional approaches are used to reach out to the large population in the country for political participation. Civil society or organizations groups are political facilitators and are mostly made of activists, advocates and inclusive reformers. Some organizations work together with civil society groups to promote political participation of marginalized groups. They collaborate with other sectors such as the private sector, academia etc. by mainstreaming gender and establishing parliamentary assemblies (Cordenillo & Gardes, 2013). For example, in the Philippines, civil society activism of women provides an opportunity for women to get elected by helping them build a political profile and engage in formal politics without the help of political parties (UNIFEM, 2008). In advocacy, these organizations influence the government to reform laws to reflect the needs of a particular group (UNDEF, 2015). They also use the media for advocacy to reach out to a wider audience for public support (IDEA, 2012). Women need the support from advocates and gender experts to work and include them in political processes through training, providing them with their preferred channels to engage politically, and educate male leaders to include women (UNIFEM, 2010). International or global organization also provide existing binding guidelines for its member states to follow to ensure inclusiveness. For instance, in Ghana, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) helps promote effective democratic governance and finds solutions to problems in the democratic process (Mengesha, 2014). Marginalized women have expressed their need of engaging with public institutions requesting for international support through their campaigns (UNSG, 2010).

The Government of Ghana has established national laws and constitutions that govern the country and its citizens also serve as a mechanism for promoting inclusive political participation. For instance, the 1992 constitution of Ghana grants every citizen including the disabled the right to participate and a Persons with Disability Act, 2006 (Act 715) was provided to ensure the protection and legal backing of the disabled to promote equal rights of participation (Aidoo, 2008). The constitution provides rules for the electoral commission during election periods to involve marginalized groups such as the youth to participate (Van Gyampo, 2012). In the same way, the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) is also mandated by the constitution to

formulate, implement and supervise educational programs which creates awareness of people's rights, freedom and responsibilities as citizens of Ghana. The Medium Term Expenditure Framework of the NCCE (2014-2016) provided resources to empower citizens especially women to participate politically (Abudu & Fuseini, 2014). In Kenya, regulatory institutions ensure that political parties involve and nominate marginalized groups and specify lower amounts of money to politically participate (Cottrel-Ghai et al., 2013). This compliance of this strategy is ensured as political parties are made to give accounts of how they included the marginalized groups and communities in their structures and providing a list of nominees and candidates in their party.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

3.0 Introduction

Due to the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, data collection from women in Ghana was not possible. A systematic review was the best option to conduct this thesis. This chapter entails the methods used for the systematic review. It includes the inclusion and exclusion criteria, identification of relevant studies, quality assessment, data extraction, data analysis and interpretation.

3.1 Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Below are the criteria that was used to include or exclude studies for the systematic review to examine the effect of approaches in promoting political participation of marginalized groups of women;

3.1.1 Inclusion

The systematic review included studies from journal articles, books and grey literature consisting of reports, student dissertations or thesis, and organizational website articles. Journal articles and dissertations using qualitative research methods were included to provide detailed information on the challenges of women in party political activities and approaches used to promote such political activities. Studies that has measurement of the outcome of approaches was included to know the short term and long term results. Publications from 2009 to 2019 was included to know the trend of challenges and outcomes of approaches in promoting party political participation from the oldest relevant publication year to current years of publication. The party political participation activity of attending political meetings in the review included meetings that were organized by political parties and meetings organized by other organizations which involved the representatives of political parties to address the affairs of marginalized groups of women. Publications which considered marginalized groups of women was used with a conscious effort to obtain their social identities of class, gender, ethnicity etc. Studies only written in English language was included to ensure reliability and articles with a geographic setting only in Ghana.

3.1.2 Exclusion

Articles that describes the medical conditions of persons with disabilities as a marginalized group of women was not eligible for the review. Challenges of women that did not spell out social identities responsible for the challenges encountered was not included. Studies that did not give information about approaches purposely for marginalized groups of women but for the public in general was not used. Also, approaches reported without its outcome or result was not included in the review. Studies not related to party politics that is party political participation activities was excluded. In Ghana, political participation activities at the national level are party affiliated. At the local level or at the local government level, positions with its meetings that are not party affiliated with no legislative powers and are independent of any political party in their elections are sub-metropolitan, town, area, zonal council and unit committees (Country Profile, 2019). Examples of some representatives at the local government dependent on political parties are District Chief Executive, Municipal Chief Executive and Metropolitan Chief Executives. Articles from predatory sources was excluded and studies on other party political participation activities apart from being a political candidate and attending political meetings was also not eligible.

3.2 Identification of Relevant Studies

A Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA), a four phase flow diagram consisting of identification, screening, eligibility and inclusion (Zurynski, 2014) method was used as a guideline to identify included studies to develop the systematic review (Figure 3.4). Internet search engines was used to search for relevant studies for the systematic review. Search engines such as google, google scholar, book.sc.org, Sci-hub was used to search for online relevant articles and books. Key words such as "political participation", "activities of political parties", "Political marginalization", "Challenges of women in politics, "approaches for political participation" and "intersectionality" etc. was used to search for relevant articles. The reference list of relevant studies was examined for more information on studies. Grey literature was extracted from organizational and governmental websites to retrieve articles and reports and tertiary school's repositories and google scholar to retrieve student dissertations or thesis. The relevant studies identified were then categorized into journal articles, books, and grey literature of reports, website article, and thesis.

3.3 Included Studies

Three-hundred and thirteen (313) potentially relevant studies were yielded from the online search engines; 253 were journal articles, 5 books, and a grey literature of 23 reports, 10 website articles, 20 dissertations and 2 were statistics (Figure 3.3). Of these, 23 journal articles were duplicates and removed remaining 290 studies. Inclusion and exclusion criteria was applied to the remaining 290 studies through two forms of screening. The first screening was made on the titles, abstracts and executive summary of the studies. Titles of all the studies, executive summary of reports and statistics and abstracts of journal articles that were not clear and relevant were excluded. A total number of 200 studies out of 290 were removed (170 journal articles, 5 reports, 3 books, 6 website articles, 15 dissertations and 1 statistics) leaving 90 studies consisting of 60 articles, 2 books, 18 reports, 4 website articles, 5 dissertations and 1 statistic. The second round of screening was made on full text of the studies. Out of 90 studies, 64 were excluded because the documents did not give information specifically on women, disabled groups and political participation of standing for political positions and attending political meetings.

A total number of 26 studies were retrieved from the second round for screening for the third stage of eligibility. In the third stage, the inclusion and exclusion criteria was re-applied to identify studies that were valid through a quality assessment. Studies excluded from the quality assessment were 15 in number and a final selection of 11 studies were retrieved for the systematic review. This consist of 4 peer reviewed journal articles, 3 were reports, 2 dissertations or thesis, 1 book and 1website article.

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┌─────────────────────┐
│  Total studies found│
│       (313)         │        ┌──────────────────────┐
│ Journal articles (253)│─────▶│ Duplicates excluded (23│
│    Books (5)        │        │      articles)        │
│ Grey literature (55)│        └──────────────────────┘
└─────────────────────┘
          │
          ▼
┌─────────────────────┐
│ Screening on titles,│
│ executive summary and│       ┌──────────────────────┐
│     abstracts       │─────▶  │ Studies excluded from first│
│       (290)         │        │      screening        │
│                     │        │        (200)          │
└─────────────────────┘        └──────────────────────┘
          │
          ▼
┌─────────────────────┐
│ Screening on full-text (90)│  ┌──────────────────────┐
│                     │─────▶  │ Studies excluded from │
│                     │        │   second screening    │
│                     │        │        (64)           │
└─────────────────────┘        └──────────────────────┘
          │
          ▼
┌─────────────────────┐
│ Eligible documents  │        ┌──────────────────────┐
│ through quality assessment│─▶│ Studies excluded (15) │
│       (26)          │        └──────────────────────┘
└─────────────────────┘
          │
          ▼
┌─────────────────────┐
│ Final selection (11)│
│ Journal articles (4)│
│     books (1)       │
│ Grey literature (6) │
└─────────────────────┘
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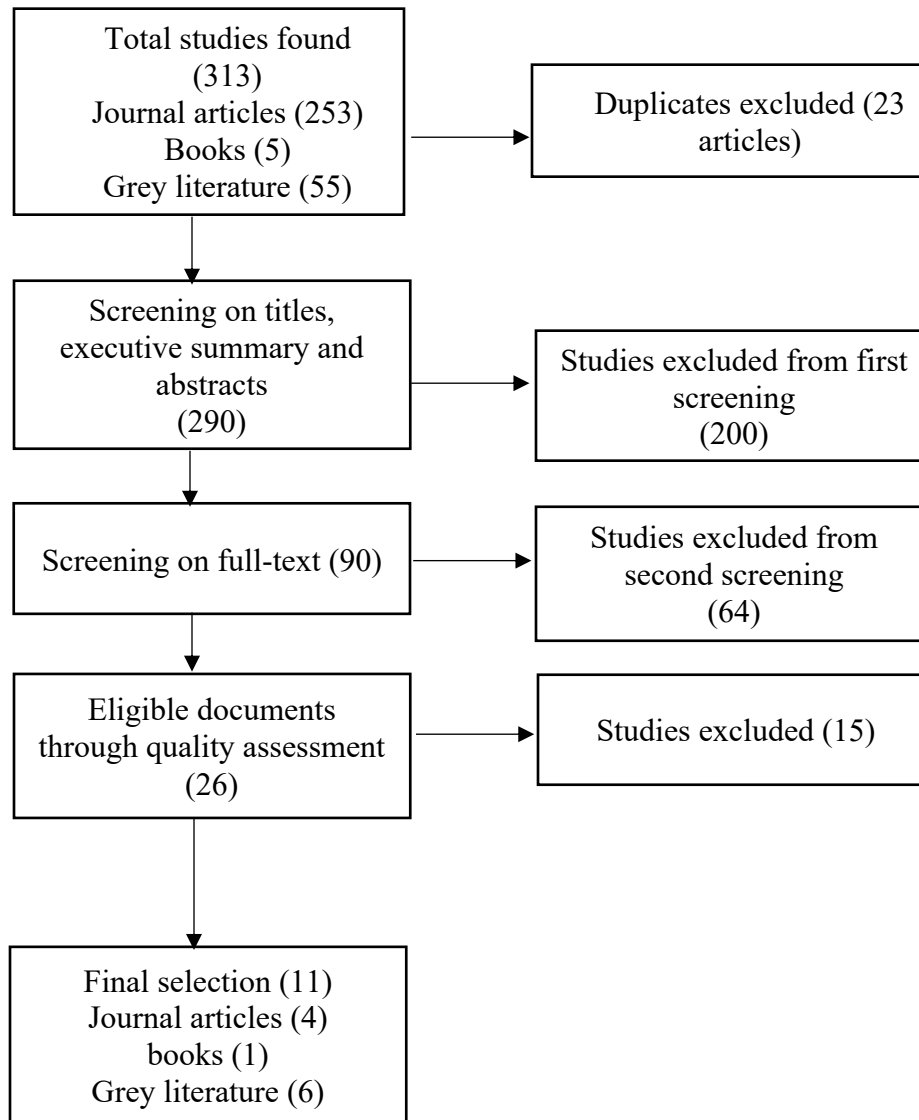
Figure 3.3 1: PRISMA Flowchart Diagram showing Included Studies

3.4 Description of Included Studies Identified

The identified studies are made up of three study types that is journal articles, books, and grey literature of reports, website article, and thesis (Table 3.4). Party political participation activities and approaches used to promote such activities both at the local and national level were found in the identified studies. The sample sizes of the studies ranged from 10 to l00 respondents. Six studies (Abakah, 2018; Arther, 2017; Bukari et al., 2017, Hamah, 2015, Sackey, 2014; Sossou, 2011) employed a purposive form of sampling in collecting data. The reports were mainly

feedback from implemented initiatives (SNV, 2016), dialogues with institutions (UNDP, 2013) and baseline studies (Voice Ghana, 2014). The book (Tsikata, 2009) is made up of a survey of the Affirmation Action, an initiative in Ghana to promote political participation. Addo (2019) is a Non-Governmental Organizational website article known as Friends of the Nation (FON). The studies comprised of settings in both rural and urban areas in Ghana. The study setting comprise of 2 municipalities, 17 districts, and 6 communities in the Central, Western, Volta, Upper East, Greater Accra, Brong-Ahafo, and Eastern region of Ghana. The Volta region of Ghana was the highest study setting (Arthur, 2017; Voice, 2014). The identified studies explored eight (8) marginalized groups of women. Women were found to be marginalized based on their gender as females, educational level as illiterates, financial status as financially handicapped, religion, ethnic group, disability, marital status as married and single, and age as youth. Gender was the most mentioned social identity marginalizing women in the studies. The political activity of standing for political positions (political candidate) was mostly studied and only two studies (Arthur, 2017; UNDP, 2013) examined both party political activities of being a political candidate and attending political meetings.

Table 3. 4: Description of Included Studies Identified

Citation	Study type	Title	Aim	Sampling size, method and study setting	Marginalized groups of Women targeted	Party Political activity
Abakah, 2018	journal article	Participation without a voice? Rural women's experiences and participation in local governance activities in the Abura–Asebu–Kwamankese district of Ghana.	To examine women's participation and roles in local politics and in social/community activities in Ghana	53, purposive and homogeneous sampling. 3 communities in Abura–Asebu–Kwamankese (AAK) district in Central region	Married, gender, illiterate, religious, financially handicapped	Political candidate
Addo, 2019	Website article	FON holds town hall at Tarkwa-Nsuaem	To present challenges faced by women and persons with disabilities to the Tarkwa-Nsuaem Municipal Assembly	Tarkwa- Nsuaem in Western region	Gender, financially handicapped, disabled	Political meetings
Arthur, 2017	thesis	Political participation of persons with disability (pwds) in Ghana	To examine the extent of implementation of the Disability Act in promoting political inclusion of PWDs.	12, Purposive sampling (maximum variation type). Volta region	Gender, disabled, financially handicapped, illiterate, religion, ethnicity,	Political candidate
Bukari et al., 2017	Journal article	Affirmative Action as a Strategy for Promoting Women's Participation in Politics in the Frafra Traditional Area of Ghana	To examine the ideological, programmatic and socio-cultural impacts of affirmative action on women's political participation in the Frafra traditional area of Ghana	100, purposive sampling, Frafra traditional area of Upper East region 1municipality, 2 districts, 3 communities.	Illiterate, gender ethnicity,	Political candidate and political meetings
Hamah, 2015	thesis	Women's Participation In Ghanaian Politics: An Assessment Of The Opportunities And Limitations	To explore and analyze factors that influence women's participation in the Ghanaian political process	30, purposive sampling. Greater Accra region.	Youth, gender, Married, single, illiterate, financially handicapped	Political candidate

Sackey, 2014	Journal article	Disability and political participation in Ghana: an alternative perspective	To examine the extent to which local politics remain directly accessible to PWDs in Ghana.	58, quota and purposive sampling. 2 districts in the Brong Ahafo and 2 districts in the Eastern region	Disabled, gender, financially handicapped, illiterate	Political candidate
SNV, 2016	Report	Social public expenditure and financial accountability (SPEFA)	To provide training to citizen groups on Public Financial Management (PFM) processes	Cape Coast, Central region	Gender, youth, disabled	Political meetings
Sossou, 2011	Journal article	We do not enjoy equal political rights: Ghanaian women's perception on political participation in Ghana.	To explore Ghanaian women's perception about issues of political participation	68, purposive sampling, Greater Accra and Volta region	Married, gender, illiterate, financially handicapped	Political candidate
Tsikata, 2009	Book	Affirmation Action and prospects for gender equality in Ghanaian politics	To examine the experience of affirmative action in Ghana, trace its history, achievements, limitations and challenges	Survey	Married, gender, illiterate, financially handicapped	Political candidate
UNDP, 2013	report	Consolidating Representation and Participation in Ghana.	To build capacities of governance institutions to promote service delivery and citizen participation especially women, youth and other marginalized groups	Dialogues with key national institutions in Ghana	Gender, illiterate, financially handicapped youth, religion, disabled and ethnicity	Political candidate and political meetings
Voice Ghana, 2014	Report	Political governance for persons with disabilities	To present the findings from a baseline study carried out by VOICE GHANA in the context of its project on political governance for persons with disabilities	10 District assemblies in Volta region	Gender, disabled, single, financially handicapped	Political meetings

3.5 Quality Assessment

Quality assessment also known as quality appraisal or critical appraisal was conducted to reduce error or bias in data analysis and the results. Accuracy in data extracted from included studies is assured through quality assessment (Popay et al., 2006). The quality of studies depends on how well the study was conducted to provide reliable results (Torgerson, 2008). In quality assessments, the internal validity, external validity and reporting quality is considered (Whiting et al., 2017). Internal validity ensures an appropriate design and analysis to prevent bias in results. The external validity ensures the results applies to the research question in reviews and the quality in reporting deals with the appropriateness of reporting the results. Bias derived from publications, citations, locations, outcome reporting, geographic settings etc. was minimized using approaches such as using peer reviewed journals which are determined as high in quality because of the thorough review by experts. Also, the methodological quality of qualitative research such as clear aims, appropriate methods, ethical considerations, quotations and narratives was assessed to ensure quality. The quality of grey literature such as reports were assessed using criteria such as adequacy of data collected for intended use, systematic analysis of data, conclusion fully based on results, and timeliness of data collected. These criteria used to assess the quality of included was rated with numbers and quality scores to know the level and extent of quality.

3.6 Quality Appraisal of Included Studies

The strength of the evidence in included studies is demonstrated in the methodological quality and low risk of bias. The quality of included journal articles, the book and grey literature is assessed using questions related to how the studies were designed, conducted, analyzed and interpreted or reported.

3.6.1 Quality of Qualitative Journal Articles

All the journal articles (Table 3.6.1) explicitly stated the aim of the study and clearly described the sampling procedure. The studies also clearly stated the use of interview guides, tape recorders and focus group discussion as a means of collecting data with the exception of Sackey (2014). In considering ethics in the research, only two studies (Abakah, 2018; Sossou, 2011) clearly stated

how ethics was ensured by seeking approval from the affiliated educational institutions of the authors, seeking the consent of leaders of communities under investigation during community entry, seeking the consent of participants of the research to participate and anonymity of participants. Data analysis method of transcribing recorded interviews and forming themes and narratives out of the transcribed data in relation to the research questions of the study was deemed appropriate by all the journal articles. As a result, the data collected supported the research findings in all the studies. In all, three journal articles (Abakah, 2018; Bukari et al., 2017; Sossou, 2011) was rated as high in quality and Sackey (2014) was rated as moderate in quality.

Table 3.6.1: Quality of Qualitative Journal Articles

Quality appraisal questions	Citation			
	Abakah, 2018	Bukari et al., 2017	Sackey, 2014	Sossou, 2011
Does the study clearly state the aim?	1	1	1	1
Is the sampling procedure clearly described?	1	1	1	1
Is the data collection method clearly stated?	1	1	0	1
Does the study clearly state ethical considerations?	1	0	0	1
Was the data analysis appropriate?	1	1	1	1
Does the data support the research finding?	1	1	1	1
Total scores	**6**	**5**	**4**	**6**
Quality score	**High**	**High**	**Moderate**	**High**

(the number '1' denotes Yes and '0' denotes No. The quality score ranging from 1to 2 is low, 3 to 4 is moderate and 5 to 6 is high)

3.6.2 Quality of Reports

The quality of all three reports is rated as high (Table 3.6.2). The purpose of the reports was clearly stated and key targets of marginalized women (SNV, 2016, UNDP, 2013; Voice Ghana, 2014) were mentioned in the findings. The findings on the key targets provided adequate information to answer the purpose of the report.

Table 3.6.2: Quality of Reports

Quality appraisal questions	Citation		
	SNV, 2016	UNDP, 2013	Voice Ghana, 2014
Does the study clearly state the purpose of the report?	1	1	1
Does the study clearly state key targets?	1	1	1
Does the findings of the study provide adequate information?	1	1	1
Total scores	**3**	**3**	**3**
Quality score	**High**	**High**	**High**

(**the number '1' denotes Yes and '0' denotes No. A quality score of 1is low, 2 is moderate and 3 is high**)

3.6.3 Quality of Qualitative Dissertation/Thesis

The two qualitative dissertation found were all rated as high in terms of quality. The problem to be solved in the dissertations with the aims were clearly stated. Ethical considerations of seeking consents of participants, authorities and ensuring confidentiality were implemented. Data analysis consisting of transcription, forming themes and clearly outlining the results to solve the problem was ensured in the two studies. In the case of sampling method, Hamah (2015) was not considered as clear and appropriate because of how the sampling size was determined (table 3.6.3). Hamah (2015) first considered to use a sample size of 60 women who were interviewed without any justification. The study again stated to use the Yamane's formula for proportion to obtain the sample size of which 60 women had already been interviewed. Only 30 women's interviews were transcribed in the study without any reason.

Table 3.6.3: Quality of Qualitative Dissertations

Quality appraisal questions	Citation	
	Arthur, 2017	Hamah, 2015
Does the study clearly state the problem?	1	1
Does the study clearly state the aim?	1	1
Are the sampling and data collection methods appropriate?	1	0

Does the study clearly state ethical considerations?	1	1
Was the data analysis appropriate?	1	1
Was the presentation of results clear and concise?	1	1
Total scores	**6**	**5**
Quality score	**High**	**High**

(the number '1' denotes Yes and '0' denotes No. The quality score ranging from 1 to 2 is low, 3 to 4 is moderate and 5 to 6 is high)

3.6.4 Quality of Book

Tsikata (2009) was the only book in the found eligible for the systematic review. The book is high in quality because the profile of the author showing expertise in the field of study, the audience of the book directed towards Ghanaian policy makers and evidences derived through a survey of policies and events. Also, the book has been as discussed in workshops and used as a basis for further development and implementation of Affirmation Action strategy in Ghana.

3.6.5 Quality of Website Article

The only article in the website included in the systematic review is high in quality. The Friends of the Nation (FON) is a non-profit Non-Governmental Organization focused on social and environmental advocacy created the website. The author of the article (Addo, 2019) is from the Ghana National Authority. The website is current and up-to-date and the article gave a report on addressing the needs of disabled groups and women through a meeting.

3.7 Data Extraction

The findings of a research are a characteristic of data extraction (Victor, 2008). Data from the included studies was extracted according to the research questions using a written form of data extraction (Harris, et al., 2014). The data extraction form serving as a guideline, consisted of parameters such as the citation (author (s) and year of publication), title, aim, sampling size and methods, study settings, political activity, social categories of intersectionality, challenges and

approaches (Appendix). In order to extract data on social identities of intersectionality, the themes and quotations of participants in the included studies were examined to deduce such identities.

3.8 Data Analysis

Data was analyzed by collecting the main findings of all included studies according to the research questions. The data was also coded into major themes from qualitative research for which used quotations were used to explain the results. A thematic analysis (Popay et al., 2006) was performed on the themes of qualitative studies to derive intersectional challenges and approaches. The findings from books and reports was analyzed by studying the trends, progress and aim of the studies to obtain the challenges, approaches and its outcomes of marginalized groups of women. All data was checked for the second time to ensure accuracy.

3.9 Interpretation of Data

Data was presented in a structured manner giving a detailed results of the three research objectives. A narrative synthesis (Popay et al., 2006) which presents data in a narrative form and in the form of story-telling was used to present the results of the systematic review. A detailed intersectional challenges was outlined for women. Every initiative used to promote political participation was examined by describing the characteristics, the challenge and marginalized group it targeted. The effects of the approaches on women was assessed according to the challenge encountered in political party participation activities and intersectional challenges among the groups.

CHAPTER FOUR

INTERSECTIONAL CHALLENGES OF WOMEN IN PARTY POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter gives an analysis on the findings on intersectional challenges of women in party political participation and how it has made them politically marginalized. The role of gender and resources as a contributing factor in marginalizing women in Ghana was also provided. First, a brief overview of Ghana's Party Political System was provided to show the trend of gender dynamics in parliamentary seats as an example. Marginalized groups of women were identified, analyzed and informed by concepts in theories of intersectionality, resource and gender.

4.1 Ghana's Party Political System

Ghana is a West African country with 16 administrative regions, different cultures and a total population of 31,905,934 (Worldometer, 2021). The first political party in Ghana (then Gold Coast) was the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) in 1947 which was led by wealthy colonial government (Rathbone, 1979) to increase their economic interest in their colonial rule (Birmingham, 1988). Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, a youthful Ghanaian who was part of the political party came into conflict with the party in the fight for independence for the entire colonized people and leaders. This caused him to part ways from the UGCC and form his own party known as Convention's People's Party (CPP) in 1949 (Boafo- Arthur & Salih, 2003). The CPP won elections and led Ghana to independence in 1957 (Austin, 1964). After alternating military governments overthrowing Nkrumah's party and other political parties that emerged, democracy was ushered in Ghana again under the Fourth republic in 1992 where the 1992 constitution made the formation of political parties legal and gave the right and freedom for citizens to speak freely, choose their own leaders and participate in political affairs of the country (Ninsin, 2006). The Political Parties Act 2000 (Act 574, article 2(1)) and the constitution states that "every citizen of voting age has the right to participate in political activity intended to influence the composition and policies of the

government". Also, a law was passed to ban political parties formed based on ethnic groups, religion, and racial backgrounds (Republic of Ghana, 1957).

A liberal ideological orientation of political parties is adopted in Ghana where being a member of a political party is voluntary (Ninson, 2006). Ghana's multi party politics is dominated by two political parties (Agomor, 2019) that is National Patriotic Party (NPP) and National Democratic Congress (NDC). The activities of the political parties in Ghana consist of a free and fair elections, campaigns, and political meetings etc. Women have been the least participating people in party politics in Ghana right from the first republic to the current or fourth republic. The first woman to hold national office in CPP as Minister for Social Welfare was Mrs. S. Alhassan in 1965 (Ninsin & Drah, 1993). In the fourth republic, statistics shows the disparity of women participation in party politics. An example is the number of women and men who stood for parliamentary elections and won as shown below;

Table 4. 1: Gender differences in Parliamentary Elections in Ghana's Fourth Republic

Year	Candidates		Total	Elected		Total
	Males	**Females**	**(100%)**	**Males**	**Females**	**(100%)**
2020	788 (86.2%)	126 (13.8%)	914	235 (85.5%)	40 (14.5%)	275
2016	1022 (88.3%)	136 (11.7%)	1158	238 (86.5%)	37 (13.5%)	275
2012	1198 (90%)	134 (10%)	1332	245 (89.1%)	30 (10.9%)	275
2008	856 (89.3%)	103 (10.7%)	959	210 (91.3%)	20 (8.7%)	230
2004	849 (89.1%)	104 (10.9%)	953	205 (89.1%)	25 (10.9%)	230
2000	986 (90.7%)	102 (9.3%)	1,088	182 (91%)	18 (9%)	200
1996	721 (92.4%)	59 (7.6%)	780	181 (91)	19 (9%)	200
1992	418 (94.8%)	23 (5.2%)	441	190 (95%)	10 (5%)	200

Source: retrieved from Tsikata (2009), EU (2020) and Hamah (2015)

4.2 Constraints of Women in Party Politics

The intersection of social identities hinders women in party political participation. The themes, quotations and narrations of the included studies highlights these challenges and proves women are the most politically marginalized group in Ghana. Eleven intersecting challenges of women were identified from eight studies (Hamah, 2015; Sossou, 2011; Abakah, 2018; Tsikata, 2009; Bukari et al., 2017; Voice Ghana, 2014; Sackey, 2014; Arthur, 2017). Voice Ghana (2014) study only investigated the political activity of women attending political meetings. Only one study (Bukari et al., 2017) identified challenges both in women attending political meetings and standing for political position. The other studies only identified challenges in women standing for political positions. The social identity elements in these challenges were gender, age, educational level, financial status, marital status, ethnicity, disability and religion.

Gender and Age was found to be intersecting and hindering women. Ageism and the gender of being a female was identified by only one study (Hamah, 2015) affecting women's political participation. Young women are not expected to hold political positions even though they are qualified. Hamah (2015) narrates the story of a political party in Ghana that is the National Patriotic Party (NPP) which elected Francisca Oteng-Mensah, a 22 years old woman as a parliamentary candidate for Kwabre East Constituency in Ashanti region in the parliamentary elections on June 13, 2015. Negative reactions were received by the public especially males in the party because of her gender and age. They claimed she was unexperienced and her success was as a result of monetary awards. Four studies (Hamah, 2015; Sossou, 2011; Abakah, 2018; Tsikata, 2009) identified the gender of women and their marital status as a hindrance to women's political participation. In Ghana, marriage is a culturally expected and women who are married are recognized and accepted in the society (Hamah, 2015). The roles and responsibilities of married women in Ghana is what creates challenges for women in politics. They are responsible for most of the domestic work also known as household chores in the home such as raising children, caring for the sick and elderly, and reproductive activities (Tsikata, 2009; Hamah, 2015). They are overburdened as they perform these roles in addition to their income generating activities (Tsikata, 2009). Married women who dare to stand for political positions are threatened with divorce by their husbands and are not voted for (Sossou, 2011; Abakah, 2018). Sossou (2011) study probed

further by asking participants of the study whether it was possible for Ghana to have a female as a president. Their views suggested that, only a single woman who does not have marital obligations to their husbands, children and families can be the first female president in Ghana.

Gender, Disability and Marital Status also caused challenges for women. Female persons with disability who were single parents expressed their views on how they are overburdened with family issues, have less time to attend town hall meetings which are used as a platform for politicians to address the issues of the public. Their responsibilities as single parents prevented them from accessing information concerning such meetings (Voice Ghana, 2014). Gender and Educational Level is a strong challenge for women for engaging in party politics. The level of education is an important factor for an individual to participate in politics (Hamah, 2015; Sossou, 2011; Abakah, 2018; Tsikata, 2009; Bukari et al., 2017). Education is classified as informal (Tsikata, 2009; Sossou, 2011) and formal (Abakah, 2018; Tsikata, 2009). In the cultural norm of Ghana, women based on their gender as females deprive them of their right to be educated which is a requirement in politics (Bukari et al., 2017). They are not allowed to go to school or further their education and lack training on leadership and politics. This makes males more endowed to stand for elections because they are given educational opportunities (Sossou, 2011). As a result, women lack essential skills in public speaking and politics (Tsikata, 2009), self-confidence and desire (Hamah, 2015) to participate in politics. Tsikata (2009) study referenced the Daily Graphic, a national newspaper in Ghana, on how women were doubted in politics even though they had acquired knowledge in education in 1960. Women who contested for members of Parliament were vetted based on their proficiency in English and knowledge on current affairs but the men were not vetted based on such requirement.

 Disability, Gender and Educational Level is another intersectional challenge. Two studies (Sackey, 2014; Arthur, 2017) identified illiteracy among disabled groups of women to be a challenge. Educational facilities for persons with disabilities are very limited in Ghana (Sackey, 2014). Schools for the deaf and blind have regular curriculum just like non-disabled students which makes the educational system not inclusive. Persons with disabilities need to be qualified by acquiring knowledge through education in order to hold position and make decisions (Arthur,

2017). Females especially with hearing impairment find it challenging to attend these limited schools because of their gender and disability which the society disapproves (Sackey, 2014). Only one study (Abakah, 2018) identified the gender of females and religion to hinder women's political participation. The study mentioned in one of its quotations that, women are not even allowed to lead prayer sessions which indicates that, women cannot hold leadership positions and women should not be voted for. The religious beliefs, traditions and customs of ethnic groups in Ghana have negative attitudes and stigmatize persons with disabilities because they are unacceptable in the society. Being a woman with disability makes the challenge worse because men are allowed to be leaders not women. A virtually impaired woman in Arthur (2017) study narrates how she was insulted by the public because of her gender and inability when she stood for elections. Her political intentions were deemed as an abomination in the society and had to withdraw from the contest. Finances in political participation is needed to organize effective campaign activities and paying for nomination fees making politics expensive in Ghana (Hamah, 2015). Women are financially handicapped (Sossou, 2011) based on their gender to raise money and win elections. This is because, most women are not employed in the formal and informal sectors like men (Hamah, 2015) which is important in generating income. Most women who work are usually poor farmers (Abakah, 2018). Also, men are financially dominated both at the household and at the party level which favour male candidates (Sossou, 2011; Tsikata, 2009). Women are not able to mobilize funds from other sources because those sources are also controlled by men (Hamah, 2015).

Bukari et al. (2017) study identified gender and ethnicity as a challenge for women in politics. Frafra traditional area is a sub-ethnic group of the Gurunsi ethnic group in the Upper East region of Ghana. The traditions and customs embedded in the ethnic group in the study communities that is Yakene, Gowrie and Sakote limits females or women in holding political positions and contributing in political meetings. The tradition of Yakene allows only men to be leaders. Gowrie's tradition ascribes the role of women to supporting men to be leaders and supplying food and water. The people of Sakote also prevent women from speaking in the presence of men during meetings. Hamah (2015) study identifying age and gender as a challenge in the story of the young female member of Parliament also spelled out marriage to be a social identity intersecting with age and

gender. The study made reference to online news where Francisca the young female Parliamentarian was not only criticized based on her gender and age but her status of being single. She was mocked of not attracted to any man and will not be voted for. One study (Bukari et al., 2017) identified the challenge of women's political participation as a result of the intersection of the gender of women as a female who are married and ascribed roles based on the ethnic group they belong to. The traditions of Yakene, Gowrie and Sakote communities prevent women from holding political positions. The women in these ethnic group are overloaded with household duties such as gathering water and firewood, farming and going to the market. A woman who succeeded in becoming a Member of Parliament from Yekene narrates how she was viewed as competent and not allowed to contribute or make decisions in party meetings in her political career.

The challenges of women in participating in party politics form the above discussion confirms the theory of intersectionality where one social identity depends on the other identities, cannot be separated and happens simultaneously, and differences in experiences. It has provided lens through which practices and norms makes one discriminated in the society. To add to the theory of intersectionality, the extent of marginalization using intersectionality should not only be determined by the number of interlocking and concurrent social identities a woman is identified with but also, the flexibility or rigidity of such multiple intersecting identities in hindering a woman to participate in party politics. For instance, in Hamah (2015) study, even though a young woman was criticized for standing for a political position due to her gender, age and marital status of being single, she still had the opportunity to vie for the position and won the elections. Her form of marginalization was quite flexible because of the knowledge of her rights to participate in party politics and with the help of those who supported her vision. Comparably, women in Bukari et al. (2017) study were faced with two intersecting identities of gender and ethnicity causing political marginalization. The extent of these women being marginalized as compared to the young women in Hamah (2015) study with three intersecting identities was greater and rigid because of how deeply rooted cultural norms prohibited the women from participating in party politics in that ethnic group.

4.3 Politically Marginalized Groups of Women in Ghana

From the results of the included studies, it has been proven that, the challenges of women in Ghana participating in party politics is intersecting and simultaneous. Women are politically marginalized in Ghana due to two or more social categories they belong to. These social identities found in the study are gender, financial status, religion, ethnic group, disability, marital status, age, and educational level (Abakah, 2018; Arthur, 2017; Bukari et al., 2017, Hamah, 2015, Sackey, 2014; Sossou, 2011; SNV, 2016; UNDP, 2013; Voice Ghana, 2014; Tsikata, 2009; Addo, 2019). Gender is the dominant social identity intersecting with other social categories or identities causing the political marginalization of women in Ghana. The gender of women as females in the Ghanaian society determines whether she can be educated, her roles when married, roles in her religion, the way to behave in her ethnic group and her level of finances (Tsikata, 2009). In the case of disability (Arthur, 2017) and age (Hamah, 2015), even though both males and females are both marginalized based on these two social identities, the gender of being a female in these social identities makes it worse. Women are marginalized into groups due to intersecting and simultaneous social identities with gender being the highest influencing identity are categorized into eleven groups in the study. These groups are (i) young females (Hamah, 2015) (ii) married females (Hamah, 2015; Sossou, 2011; Abakah, 2018; Tsikata, 2009); (iii) disabled and single parent females (Voice Ghana, 2014); (iv) illiterate females or poorly educated females (Hamah, 2015; Sossou, 2011; Abakah, 2018; Tsikata, 2009; Bukari et al., 2017); (v) disabled and illiterate females (Sackey, 2014; Arthur, 2017); (vi) religious females (Abakah, 2018); (vii) disabled, religious and ethnic females (Arthur, 2017); (viii) financially handicapped females or poor females (Hamah, 2015; Abakah, 2018; Sossou, 2011; Tsikata, 2009); (ix) ethnic females (Bukari et al., 2017); (x) young and single females (Hamah, 2015); and (xi) married and ethnic females (Bukari et al., 2017).

4.4 The Role of Gender and Resources in the Political Marginalization of Women in Ghana

The political marginalization of women is both a condition and a process (Alakhunova et al., 2015). It is a condition in the sense that, the state of women's inability to effectively participate in party politics is as a result of the circumstances or factors emanating from gender inequality. Women's political marginalization is a process because it takes series of steps and actions of gender inequality from the grassroots to the national level to hinder women's party political participation.

The state of femininity of women determines how a female is supposed to behave and resources entitled to the female. This standard ascribed to women as females is as a result of how the society ascribes standards to their state of femininity (Gender Spectrum, 2014). In the Ghanaian society, there is a socially constructed system that shapes the level of party political participation activities women can engage themselves. The society shapes Ghanaian women in party politics in four ways that is, in terms of the type or level of participation activity, the extent of participation activity, the support for women's participation and the amount or quantity of resources to participate.

Women in Ghana are noted to engage in low level party political participation activities especially voting which is the highest recorded political participation activity (Boafo-Arthur, 2005). Women will not be considered politically marginalized if voting has been the only form of political participation. They have voted massively since 1992 (Hamah, 2015) but there are other forms of participation and high level participation activities such as standing for a political position and participating in political meetings are poorly participated by women. This is because politics is believed to be a man's sphere and women are allowed only to undertake in low level activities in the Ghanaian societies. The extent of party politics participated is also determined by gender. Women in some Ghanaian societies are allowed to participate in high level participation activities but not fully. An example is the marginalized group of ethnic females in Bukari et al. (2017) study where women were allowed to attend meetings but not allowed to speak in the presence of men in meetings according to the tradition of the ethnic group of Sakote in Ghana. In this case, they can attend meetings but cannot make decisions concerning their wellbeing and for the nation as a whole. Public support for women in party politics in Ghana is minimal. This is because women participating in any activity are expected to behave in an acceptable way (Muñoz Boudet et al., 2013). This explains why the young and single female in Hamah (2015) study did not receive maximum support. This is because gender roles are based on decision making power assigned to females (Gilles, 2012). A young female who was also single in the study was known to be criticized despite her qualifications. Penuel (1995) study explains this critic behavior as the society constructing the youth as immature.

Resources needed to participate in party politics which includes finances, knowledge, skills, and time is also controlled for women by cultural standards by the society. Money is one of the resources needed to effectively participate in politics (Anduiza et al., 2010; Verba et al., 1995). Financially handicapped or poor females cannot participate in party politics because funds are needed to organize campaigns and pay for nomination fees (Hamah, 2015). Most women are not employed in the formal and informal sectors like men which is a source of funds to win elections. Men in Ghana are supposed to dominate financially both at the household and at the party level (Sossou, 2011; Tsikata, 2009). The financial state of women in Ghana affecting their participation in party politics confirms McAllister & Makkai (1992) assertion that, the difference in the effectiveness of political participation of individuals is as a result of the unequal allocation of resources these individuals possess. Party politics in Ghana requires a qualified individual to participate in high level activity of being a political candidate and attending meetings. An individual can be qualified through the educational level, additional training, and capacity building. Females are deprived of education in some cultural norms of Ghanaian societies making males more endowed to stand for elections because they are given educational opportunities (Sossou, 2011). Illiterate females or poorly educated females lack civic skills such as communication, organizational and writing skills (Anduiza et al., 2010) and the capacity and confidence (Cottrel-Ghai et al., 2013) to participate in politics. Disabled and illiterate females especially females with hearing impairment find it difficult in participating in party politics because they are provided with few educational facilities and the society disapproves of their schooling (Sackey, 2014).

Party politics also needs time to participate effectively. Women do not have enough time to participate in party politics because of gender roles in the household. Gender roles which are the ideal expected behaviors (Muñoz Boudet et al., 2013) ascribes responsibilities for women in the household which includes raising children, caring for the sick and elderly, and reproductive activities (Tsikata, 2009; Hamah, 2015). These roles are mostly ascribed to married females (Abakah, 2018), disabled and single parent females (Voice Ghana, 2014) and married and ethnic females (Bukari et al., 2017). The responsibilities of these marginalized groups of women is time

consuming and does not allow women have enough extra time for taking a political position and attending meetings.

The concept of gender and theory of resources work together to further explain the political marginalization of women in Ghana. The concept of gender shows that, political participation is not only facilitated by the availability of resources but how the society permits and accepts one to participate in party politics.

CHAPTER FIVE

APPROACHES ADDRESSING POLITICAL MARGINALIZATION OF WOMEN IN GHANA

5.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the approaches used to promote party political participation among marginalized groups of women in Ghana. It also shows how each approach corresponds with the intersectional challenges faced by women in Ghana.

5.1 Promotion Approach

Approaches used to promote party political participation in the systematic review were approaches aimed at solving intersectional challenges of women in participating in party politics. These approaches were created by the government, Non-Governmental organizations and international organizations. Six approaches were identified in the included studies to promote marginalized women in politics. These approaches are;

i. Affirmative Action

Four studies (Tsikata, 2009; Bukari et al., 2017; UNDP, 2013; Hamah, 2015) identified the Affirmative Action policy in Ghana as an approach to promote women's political participation. Affirmative Action is a set of measures implemented by the government and other institutions such as political parties to address the exclusion of social groups who are marginalized to achieve development goals (Tsikata, 2009). This initiative is backed by legal obligations due to Ghana's commitment with international, regional and national laws. Ghana's membership with international organizations such as the United Nations has adopted and ratified agreements such as the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BFA). The Article 7 of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) encourages political parties to take appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in political life and ensure women have equal terms with men to be elected and make decisions at all levels of government.

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BFA) on the other hand deals with inequality between men and women in leadership and decision making. Regional obligations serving as a legal backing to Affirmative Action has made Ghana to adhere to the protocol of African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights of Women in Africa, to ensure women participate in political and decision making processes. National laws embedded in the 1992 constitution of Ghana ensures these agreements signed by the country are adhered.

The affirmation action is geared towards promoting a direct, active and voluntary form of party political participation among women. This is because political participation is active when the individuals are the decision makers themselves (Parry et al., 1992). Promoting women's ability to stand for elections enables them not only to vie for the position but to win and have a direct political participation through decision making and influencing policies. An active form of political participation occurs when there is effective engagement in politics (Mider, 2008). The affirmation action will help change the behavior of women in politics and make them more active. In all, the affirmation does not force individuals to participate in party political. This kind of liberty is known as voluntary political participation (Kaase & Marsh, 1979).

ii. SNV Initiative

Town hall meetings organized with the municipal and metropolitan assembly authorities to plan and make decisions (SNV, 2016) reports on Social Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability (SPEFA) Forums which is an approach to encourage women to make decisions in meetings. SPEFA is a component of the local government which organizes meetings to improve the development of participation of citizens. It is an initiative by the Government of Ghana and World Bank with civil society organizations as partners led and implemented by SNV. The Social Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability (SPEFA) meetings empowers disabled groups and gives them the voice to address their needs and interest. Meetings with the Municipal and Metropolitan Assembly which are dependent on political parties build capacities of women to plan and make decisions on their development needs. The SNV initiative is also a form of promoting direct, indirect, voluntary and active political participation as women are trained to make decisions

that is direct political participation, influence government policies which is indirect political participation (Verba et al., 1978) and improve the effectiveness of political engagements.

iii. Friends of the Nation (FON) meetings

The website of Friends of the Nation (FON), a Non-Governmental organization reported on a town hall meeting in an article (Addo, 2019). The political meeting which was held by the NGO and a political party representative which is the Municipal Chief Executive of Tarkwa-Nsuaem met with women in the area. This initiative which targeted women and their income generating activities as market women was organized separately for them to present their challenges to the authorities. Friends of the Nation (FON) meetings promotes a voluntary and an indirect form of political participation. It involves individuals influencing the actions of political leaders (Verba et al., 1978). The meetings women have is directed to political leaders with the motive of influencing their actions towards improving their livelihood activities. This confirms Wajzer (2015) criteria in defining political participation that is the active subjects, whom it is directed towards to, motive behind activities, attributes of activities and effects of activities.

iv. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Initiatives

The UNDP (2013) undertakes advocacy on participation in governance and organize capacity building programs to enable women contribute to policy planning. It also supports political parties to increase the representation of women in decision making by performing gender audits on political party activities in order to have a dialogue with them towards achieving equal participation and complying with Affirmative Action policy. The UNDP initiative promotes direct, indirect, active, voluntary and active political participation.

v. Legal Initiatives

The Article 29 of the 1992 constitution of Ghana stated the need to make laws and fulfil national and international obligations of protecting the rights of persons with disabilities. The Parliament was mandated to make these laws in section 8 of Article 29. The Parliament of Ghana formulated

the Persons with Disabilities Act (Act 715) in 2006. The section one of the Persons with Disabilities Act deals with the rights of disabled groups which includes the right to participate in all political activities (Arthur, 2017; Voice Ghana, 2014; Sackey, 2014). The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) ensures the development and empowerment of women and girls with disabilities by addressing their needs. The Local Government Act (462) in the 1992 constitution also states that "a person is not disqualified from being elected or appointed to a District Assembly by reason only of the status, position profession, religion, creed or physical disability of that person" (Arthur, 2017). Legal initiatives also promote direct, indirect, voluntary and active political participation.

vi. Organizational Advocacy, Capacity Building and Education

Disability laws are being taught by Civil society organizations such as Ghana Federation of the Disabled (GFD), Ghana Blind Union (GBU) and Ghana Society for the Physically Disabled (GSPD) because the knowledge of the laws helps disabled women know their rights and privileges in decision making processes. Training is also organized to promote the effective participation of disabled groups in political processes (Arthur, 2017). The Voice of People with Disability Ghana also campaigns for the rights and needs of persons with disabilities in Ghana by involving authorities in local government, traditional settings and enterprises to educate them on their roles towards disabled groups (Voice Ghana, 2014). The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) also educates the public on the rights of persons with disabilities to prevent the stigma and negative attitude society has on disabled women (Arthur, 2017). The Organizational Advocacy, Capacity Building and Education approach promote direct, indirect, voluntary and active political participation.

5.2 Accordance of Promotion Approach with Intersectional Challenges of Women

Tsikata (2009) study mentioned the existence of two generations of Affirmative Action in Ghana. The first generation Affirmative Action policy was implemented in the 70s and aimed at solving intersectional challenges in gender, financial status, and education to increase the number of women in political positions. This was achieved by reserving ten (10) seats for women in Parliament, granting scholarship schemes (for example, Northern Ghana Scholarship), free

education and uniforms to educate women, recruiting women to make income by making women hold positions in certain professions. Reserving ten (10) seats for women in Parliament is a way of ensuring women are accepted and voted for as leaders in the country. This will also encourage women to stand for political positions. Scholarship schemes, free education and school uniforms is an initiative which corresponds which the challenges of high literacy rate among women which prevents them from participating in party politics. Recruitment of women helps to improve the finances of women as they are employed in certain professions. The second generation Affirmative Action policy was implemented in the 80s and was also aimed at solving intersectional challenges in gender and education to achieve a 40% quota set for women to occupy political positions. Girls education initiative was implemented in universities where gender was studied as a course, increase the number of females in schools and grant educational funds to poor girls in deprived districts. Gender studied as a course correspond with challenges emanating from deeply rooted gender roles and responsibilities embedded in ethnic groups that negatively affects women. A lower cut-off point for females was implemented to increase their numbers in tertiary institutions. Public education was organized to achieve equality among men and women. Finally, a meeting was organized for political parties by the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) to ensure political parties include measures to increase promote women's representation in their manifestos.

Advocacy and assessment of the compliance of the Affirmative Action in Assemblies and public sector organizations through the examination or inspection of gender sensitive institutional and organizational activities was done by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2013). Women wings were created in the structure of political parties (Hamah, 2015) as a way of implementing the Affirmative Action. The aim was to increase the number of women in the executive positions of political parties. Bukari et al. (2017) study demonstrated how the Affirmative Action Policy was used as an initiative in the FraFra Traditional area in the Upper East region of Ghana. The study area mostly had intersectional challenges emanating from gender, ethnicity, education, financial status and marital status. In this geographic area, the District Assembly was responsible for the implementation of Affirmative Action policies with the help of three Non-Governmental organizations (NGO's). The District Assembly Organizes campaigns on gender equity, train women in leadership skills and economic empowerment. The three Non-Governmental organizations aiding the District Assembly to implement the Affirmative Action

policies are the Centre for Sustainable Development Initiative (CENSUDI), Upper East Regional Inter-Sectoral Gender Network (UERIGN) and IBIS. The Centre for Sustainable Development Initiative (CENSUDI) implemented projects such as education improvement projects and Women in Participatory Decision Making (WODEM). The education improvement project known as the Northern Network for Education Development (NNED) promoted girl child education by sponsoring brilliant but needy girls in education. The Women in Participatory Decision Making (WODEM) was an initiative to promote the decision making levels of women at the household, community, district, regional and national levels. This was done through capacity building and provision of funds to support women standing for elections. The second Non-Governmental organization that is Upper East Regional Inter-Sectoral Gender Network (UERIGN) implemented girl child education programmes, supporting female political candidates by campaigning and voting for them. IBIS also undertook gender advocacy programmes through capacity building and mentoring women in elections, a continuous training of women already in politics and conducting research on women leadership issues.

Some citizen groups SPEFA forums organized by SNV targets are political parties, youth groups, women groups and persons with disabilities. SPEFA meetings are organized as town hall meetings where women and the youth engage with officials on development issues. This approach promotes political participation of young and disabled women by building their capacities and training them on financial management policies and processes. The purpose is to involve marginalized groups based on gender as females, age as youth and disabled women to participate in decision making during meetings with the Municipal and Metropolitan Assembly.

FON town hall meetings (Addo, 2019) targeted gender, disability and financial status of women in meetings. The town hall meeting was organized separately for women with disabilities. The involvement of political leaders such as the Municipal Chief Executive of Tarkwa-Nsuaem gave the opportunity of disabled groups to present their challenges they face. Some challenges pertaining to their financial status and disability were presented. Developmental projects implemented purposely for disabled groups were also known to them by the political leaders. The Municipal Chief Executive assured the women to solve their challenges faced in the market.

The UNDP (2013) reports on improving the representation and participation of marginalized groups of women based on their gender as females and age as youth, religion, disability, ethnicity and education in political positions and political meetings. To solve intersectional challenges emanating from gender, religion and ethnicity, a dialogue with religious leaders and traditional leader was made to make known the importance of women in decision making. Challenges from gender and education on political skills was solved by organizing induction programs for women who have been elected into a political office, educating them on rules and process of Parliament and Municipal Assemblies, and providing skills on debating and contribution to law making. Disabled women were supported by undertaking advocacy for them and supporting political parties to increase their representation. Capacity building programs were organized based on assessments conducted to purposely to identify the ability of disabled groups in policy planning and other critical capacity gaps. In this way, disabled women are not marginalized based on their ability and their knowledge needed to participate in politics.

The Persons with Disabilities Act (Act 715) formulated by the Parliament of Ghana in 2006 as a legal initiative, ensures the equality of persons with disabilities and non-discrimination in the quest for employment in section one. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) also mandates political parties in Article 5 to provide measures to eliminate discrimination among disabled groups in the society (Arthur, 2017; Voice Ghana, 2014) and Article 24 where political parties are mandated to ensure persons with disabilities are provided with special schools. Arthur (2017) and Voice Ghana (2014) studies' identified the initiatives of private and public organizations to solve intersectional challenges of disability and education of women.

Organizational Advocacy, Capacity Building and Education by civil society organizations such as Ghana Federation of the Disabled (GFD), Ghana Blind Union (GBU) and Ghana Society for the Physically Disabled (GSPD) support persons with disabilities through the organization of workshops to build their capacities and educate them in disability laws. Their activities were aimed to solve challenges of low knowledge among the public and disabled individuals concerning rights and needs of persons with disabilities in Ghana (Arthur, 2017; Voice Ghana, 2014).

CHAPTER SIX

CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTY POLITICAL PARTICIPATION PROMOTION APPROACHES

6.0 Introduction

Approaches to promote women's participation in party politics specifically to stand for political positions and attend political meetings are characterized with elements that makes it feasible and appropriate. These approaches can be categorized under approaches taken by the Government of Ghana and approaches taken by organizations and individuals outside the government.

6.1 Characteristics of Governmental Approaches

The Government of Ghana as a political actor has the power to establish national laws and constitutions to govern the country and its citizens. This vested power in the government served as a mechanism to adopt three approaches in the study which includes the affirmative action, SNV initiative and legal initiatives to promote women participation in party politics. The affirmative action is backed by legal obligations within international, regional and national structures. The international obligations are adopted from ratified agreements with international organizations such as CEDAW and BFA and regional obligations in the form of Ghana adhering to the protocol of African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights of Women in Africa. These two international organizations and the protocol recognized gender as a main factor for women's low participation. Gender marginalizes women in the form of discrimination, inequality, insecurity and violence (O'Neil & Domingo, 2016). The protocol, CEDAW and BFA therefore aim to eliminate discrimination against women and inequality between men and women and ensure women participate in leadership and decision making at all levels of government. CEDAW also recognizes the ability of political parties to promote women's participation as stated by Ninsin (2006, p.10) that "political parties are the vehicle for participation". Political parties were used as a channel to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women through encouragement.

National obligations of which laws embedded in the 1992 constitution of Ghana ensures these guidelines to promote women participation is followed. An example is the creation of women

wings (Hamah, 2015) by political parties to ensure inclusiveness of marginalized groups of women. The laws in the 1992 constitution to promote women participation is an indication that barriers to political participation are well understood. This strategy is a precondition to find effective measures against political marginalization (Hedstrom & Smith, 2013). The first and second generation Affirmative Action policy which was implemented in the 70s and 80s respectively took into account intersectionality. Differences was acknowledged (Davis, 2008) as the varying experience of women in Ghana based on their social identities was identified. The social categories the affirmative action targeted were gender, financial status, and education. Horizontal and vertical intersectionality (Donaldson & Jedwab, 2003) were slightly taken into consideration. The differences between women in different and within regions led to the allocation of resources to specific regions and specific individuals within the regions. For example, girls and women in the northern sector which is known to be deprived were granted specific educational scholarship schemes for the region and specific girls with funding educational problems within the regions (Tsikata, 2009) which depicts both horizontal and vertical intersectionality.

Town hall meetings organized by the Government of Ghana through SNV targeted groups such as political parties and more importantly women. The trainings and capacity building programs organized for women together with political representatives at the Municipal and Metropolitan Assembly is an example of Lamprianou (2013) view on political participation being a political engagement or involvement in decision making. Women are educated on financial management policies and processes which is an important knowledge sharing needed to participate in party politics. The enablement of women to make decisions with politicians at such meetings develops and train them for party politics activities. The legal initiatives were more concerned about persons with disabilities including females. The Local Government Act (462) in the 1992 constitution which stated that "a person is not disqualified from being elected or appointed to a District Assembly by reason only of the status, position profession, religion, creed or physical disability of that person" (Arthur, 2017), is an indication that every individual belongs to more than one social identity concurrently (Hancock, 2007) hence, the importance of studying intersectionality.

6.2 Characteristics of Non-Governmental Approaches

Friends of the Nation (FON) town hall meetings, UNDP initiatives and Organizational Advocacy, Capacity Building and Education are the three non-governmental approaches to promote women's political participation. FON town hall meetings (Addo, 2019) which included a political party representative which is the Municipal Chief Executive of Tarkwa-Nsuaem meeting with women in the area was a strategy to promote of party politics with intent. A political participation with an intent or aim involves activities that has the intent or effect of influencing government action, either by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make the policies (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995, p.38). Women were made to forward their challenges and needs to the leaders to inform the authority's strategies to solve them.

The UNDP (2013) initiative is known for targeting many social identities (gender as females and age as youth, religion, disability, ethnicity and education) of women causing challenges. One key observation about the UNDP initiative is that, apart from the advocacy and training programs the organization organizes, they have tackled the intersectional challenge emanating from gender, religion and ethnicity through inclusive participation of traditional and religious leaders in their meetings that is educating male leaders to include women (UNIFEM, 2010). This strategy is appropriate because gender discrimination and other societal institutions marginalizing women are patriarchal, deeply rooted and controlled or led by men (Tsikata, 2009).

The traditional and religious leaders the UNDP targeted are men who have inherited societal norms for determining gender roles. If there is going to be a change, these men who control norms in the society have to be included in the party politics promotion activities for women. The approach of Ghana Federation of the Disabled (GFD), Ghana Blind Union (GBU) and Ghana Society for the Physically Disabled (GSPD) and The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) to educate females with disabilities and the public about disability laws and their rights will reduce cost to promote disabled women's political participation. This cost involved is the cost of information which is a resource needed to participate in politics (Verba et al., 1995) where money and time is used to obtain an information to engage in an activity.

6.3 National Machineries

A set of structures within adopted approaches to solve challenges of marginalized groups of women by the Government of Ghana and outside the government aimed for gender equality. Government approaches such as Affirmative Action (Tsikata, 2009; Bukari et al., 2017; UNDP, 2013; Hamah, 2015), SNV initiative (SNV, 2016) and legal initiatives (Arthur, 2017; Voice Ghana, 2014; Sackey, 2014) aimed at promoting women's political participation by prohibiting discriminatory attitudes, setting rules for their inclusion and building the capacities of women on development issues. The characteristics of the Affirmative Action in Ghana makes it clear it was more directed towards ensuring equality with men in making decisions and taking leadership positions. The obligations of Ghana to align laws to international conventions objectives ensures adherence to the obligations (Tsikata, 2009). SNV initiative empowers women to make decisions and increase these their knowledge on matters concerning them (SNV, 2016). The legal initiatives which are also obligated to international conventions purposely aimed at protecting the rights of persons with disabilities including women (Arthur, 2017; Voice Ghana, 2014; Sackey, 2014). The three governmental approaches led to gender mainstreaming where institutions and other organizations which are outside the government, adopted the laws and measures found in the affirmative action, SNV trainings and the legal initiatives in their approaches. For example, organizations such as the UNDP (UNDP, 2013), Centre for Sustainable Development Initiative (CENSUDI), Upper East Regional Inter-Sectoral Gender Network (UERIGN) and IBIS (Bukari et al., 2017) in its approach to promote women's political participation provided gender sensitive measures by mainstreaming gender perspectives to inform their advocacy, creation of women wings, capacity building, trainings and campaigns.

CHAPTER SEVEN

OUTCOME OF APPROACHES TARGETING POLITICAL MARGINALIZED GROUPS OF WOMEN IN GHANA

7.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the results of the approaches used to promote women's political participation. The effectiveness of each approach was provided using the criteria used for assessing effectiveness.

7.1 Outcome of Promotion Approaches

Approaches used to promote political participation by aiming at solving intersectional challenges yielded results to some extent in enabling women to standing for political positions and attend political meetings.

7.1.1 Affirmative Action

First of all, the implementation of the Affirmative Action in Ghana led to the rise of women and girls in education mainly in the Southern parts of Ghana (Tsikata, 2009). However, there were inequalities in the education system in terms of access and quality in the Northern part of Ghana, rural and poor urban neighborhoods. The reason for such educational disparities was as a result of lack of trained teachers in the region and the low infrastructural development in the Northern region which repelled trained teachers to migrate from the Southern part to teach in the North. Also, the University of Ghana, a tertiary institution, introduced an aggregate concession for girls in the Science Faculty as a way of complying to the Affirmative Action but was not implemented and questioned. Gender activists amount pressure on political parties to implement the measures to improve women representation in their parties which is stated in their manifesto documents. This was done by acquiring the document of commitment made by these parties during their meetings with the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA). Affirmative Action programmes have not been effective in political parties, the executive arm of government and universities because there was lack of effective internal processes and mechanisms for the programme's implementation,

monitoring and evaluation, resolving complaints and conflicts. The beneficiaries of the Affirmative Action in these institutions were also not recorded because there was no consensus.

The UNDP advocacy and gender assessment and inspections led to institutions and organizations making reforms in their governance system (UNDP, 2013). The strategy of political parties including women's wing in their executive positions gave the opportunity for women to fill those positions in Hamah (2015) study. The women respondents in the study claimed that, those women's wing positions was an indirect way of limiting or restrict them to stand for such reserved position with little influence but not any other position. The women proved this by citing an example that, apart from Samia Nkrumah who is the chairperson of the Convention's People's Party (CPP), a political party in Ghana, the roles of being a chairman, organizer and secretary in political parties are mostly given to the men. A women being a deputy to a national executive is how far she can be promoted because those deputy positions have little influence.

In the case of Bukari et al. (2017) study, where the Affirmative Action was used as a strategy to promote women's political participation in the Frafra Traditional area, achieved some results even though the level of women's participation is still far from being equal to the men. The Assembly together with the three Non-Governmental organizations that is Centre for Sustainable Development Initiative (CENSUDI), Upper East Regional Inter-Sectoral Gender Network (UERIGN) and IBIS, were able to (i) Increase the percentage of female candidates in the national level elections from 30% in 1996 to 40% in 1998; (ii) three female candidates won district elections in 1996; (iii) increased ability of female candidates in leadership and the use of media; (iv) one woman appointed as the Minister of State and two as Deputy Ministers; (v) one women being the head of an influential NGO; and (vi) increased level of confidence of women to participate. The challenges the Assembly and NGO's encountered which hindered them from achieving their expected results was lack of funds, imbalances in institutional networking and deep rooted cultural norms and practices in the area.

7.1.2 SNV Initiative

The Social Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability (SPEFA) Forums which is an initiative by SNV encouraging women to make decisions in politics through a town hall meeting was effective (SNV, 2016). Political leaders represented in the Assemblies are now responsive to the demands of women. A voice was given to marginalized groups of women and are now central to the municipal and metropolitan assembly decision making process. Due to SPEFA and town hall meetings, persons with disabilities were able to access their 2% share of Common Fund which is a designated percentage amount to support persons with disabilities in Ghana. The Assemblies through the meeting are now mindful to disburse those funds to disabled groups. The capacities of women have been built to the extent that, they undertake monitoring of developmental projects together with the Assemblies.

7.1.3 Friends of the Nation (FON) meetings

Friends of the Nation (FON) which is a Non-Governmental organization's town hall meeting (Addo, 2019) made separately for both women with financial problems and another for persons with disabilities yielded results. The concerns of market women were heard by political representatives in the Assemblies. The opportunity given to women to also speak in this political meeting enabled them to present their challenges to the authorities concerning their income generating activity in the markets. Persons with disabilities also raised concerns about the disability Common Fund and transportation to enhance their mobility. At the end of the meeting, women and disabled groups were assured by the political leaders to address their concerns and were made known of some of the developmental projects put in place purposely for them. The achievement of this meeting was the opportunity given to women especially disabled women to attend and contribute to political meetings despite their gender, ability, and the efforts made to improve their financial status.

7.1.4 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Initiative

The initiative to improve the representation and participation of marginalized groups of women has produced result with the use of baseline studies, monitoring indicators and targets by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2013). The advocacy, capacity building and gender

audits of political parties improved the representation and participation of women as there was an increase in their numbers in political meetings organized by the District Assembly in 2014. The technical capacities in governance of both women were built. The dialogue between the organization and stakeholders such as the religious and traditional leaders and political parties led to the development of political platforms for women's representation and participation.

7.1.5 Legal Initiatives

Arthur (2017) study gives an account of the outcome of legal initiatives in enhancing the political participation of disabled groups. Special schools for the blind and deaf located in Capecoast, Akropong and Ashanti region of Ghana. These schools even though implemented are few in number making access to education still a challenge for disabled groups (Sackey, 2014). The legal initiatives have also informed civil society organizations in their advocacy and capacity programs as it serves as a framework to perform their duties. The legalities informed the National Democratic Party (NDC), a political party in Ghana, to incorporate disability laws in the party. The nomination fees of disabled groups to stand for elections are reduced. Also, the party support persons with disabilities who are parliamentary candidates with party paraphernalia and logistics for their political campaign.

7.1.6 Organizational Advocacy, Capacity Building and Education

The activities of civil society organizations for disabled groups and other national organizations led to persons with disabilities acquiring knowledge about their rights and ready to defend themselves anytime they have the intentions to participate in politics. The activities of the organizations unfortunately led to the involvement of persons with disabilities mostly in electioneering processes such as ensuring the electoral commission provides tactile ballot jackets, the braille and voter education purposefully for voting during elections not necessarily for standing for elections and engaging in political meetings. Positions held by disabled groups such as electoral observers and election monitors are also mostly related to election activities only (Arthur, 2017).

7.2 Criteria for Assessing Effectiveness of Party Political Participation Promotion Approaches

From the study, measuring the effectiveness of the promotion approaches of party political participation depends on the objective of each approach. The affirmative action aimed at solving the challenges of marginalized groups of women based on their gender, financial status, and education to increase their numbers in political positions by 40% (Tsikata, 2009). Other organizations such as CENSUDI, UERIGN and IBIS adopting the affirmative action also had an objective to promote women marginalized based on their gender, ethnicity, education, financial status and marital status (Bukari et al., 2017). SPEFA meetings will be effective if young and disabled women are able to participate in decision making meetings with the Municipal and Metropolitan Assembly concerning financial management policies and processes, their interest and needs and other development issues (SNV, 2016). The Friends of the Nation (FON) (Addo, 2019) will also achieve effectiveness if women with disabilities and financial problems are empowered to voice out their challenges to political leaders without discrimination or exclusion. The UNDP objective is to improve representativeness and participation of marginalized groups of women based on their gender and age as youth, religion, disability, ethnicity and education. The legal initiative is effective when the rights of disabled women are protected to participate in party politics (Arthur, 2017; Sackey, 2014). Civil society organizations such as Ghana Federation of the Disabled (GFD), Ghana Blind Union (GBU) and Ghana Society for the Physically Disabled (GSPD) aim to help disabled and poorly educated females to educate them in disability laws, thereby the level of knowledge in disability laws is the metric for its effectiveness (Voice Ghana, 2014).

7.3 Effectiveness of Party Political Participation Promotion Approaches

Even though each promotion approach has its own aim and objectives and it is used to assess its effectiveness, the results of the approaches taken by the government and organizations and individuals out the government should either promote marginalized groups of women in participating in the party political activities of standing for a political position and attending political meetings.

The affirmative action which was aimed at promoting the political participation of illiterate and financially handicapped females to increase their numbers in political positions by 40% achieved some results but not satisfactory. the persistent inequalities in the education system in deprived areas, the non-supervision of affirmative action compliance by educational institutions, lack of effective internal processes and mechanisms for the implementation, monitoring and evaluation, conflict resolution of the affirmative action and lack of records to monitor beneficiaries (Tsikata, 2009), will lead to difference in the level of political participation (McAllister & Makkai, 1992) because resources such as education resources allocated to women in Ghana to promote their political participation is varying. The main aim to increase women numbers in political positions by 40% was not achieved. For instance, the number of women who contested for parliamentary elections rather reduced from 136 in 2012 to 126 in 2020. Women who won the elections makes up to 14.5% (EU, 2020) which is far away from the expected percentage of 40. Political parties in Ghana in their way of complying to the affirmative action have created women wings in their executive positions which gave the opportunity for women to fill those positions (Hamah, 2015). This initiative was a good approach to enable women participate but unfortunately, the deep rooted gender roles of the Ghanaian society was practiced within the women wings in the political parties. Gender roles also spell out expected behavior even in any position a female occupies in any activity (Muñoz Boudet et al., 2013). Women filling the positions of the political party wing were restricted for the reserved position and were not supported in standing for other positions in the party apart from the women wing. Even within the women wing, they had little influence in making decisions. This is a clear indication that, political parties in Ghana creating women wings as a way of complying to affirmative action is rather a deceptive way of pleasing the government and the public to be gender sensitive but still hold on to the traditional gender roles which marginalizes women.

The activities of CENSUDI, UERIGN and IBIS where affirmative action was used as a strategy to promote women's political participation in the Frafra Traditional area is consistent with the idea of Cordenillo & Gardes (2013) that, civil society organizational groups are political facilitators as they collaborate with other sectors by mainstreaming gender in their activities. The increase of

female candidates, confidence, number of females winning elections as a result of the activities of CENSUDI, UERIGN and IBIS is a great achievement for the Frafra Traditional Area which is well known to face gender inequality issues. The SNV initiative which targeted disabled and poorly educated females was effective as the meeting encouraged women to make decisions (SNV, 2016). The ability of women to undertake monitoring of developmental projects together with the Assemblies is a requirement to develop participatory skills in party politics. This is because, the civic skills acquired is essential to participate politically (Anduiza et al., 2010). This strategy also is a way of giving women the chance to use their preferred channels to engage politically (UNIFEM, 2010) because their views are considered and are now confident to make decisions in political meetings. The legal initiatives by the Government of Ghana purposely made for disabled and illiterate females and disabled, religious and ethnic females provided results that were not satisfactory. Special schools for the blind and deaf are few in Ghana to raise the educational level of disabled females. The legalities which informed National Democratic Party (NDC) to reduce nomination fees of disabled groups and support persons with disabilities who are parliamentary candidates with party paraphernalia and logistics for their political campaign have so far yielded results for the promotion of disabled males as Dr. Henry Seidu Danaa, a visually impaired lawyer was assigned to the Ministry for Chieftaincy and Traditional Affairs (Sackey, 2015). No disabled female has been recorded to stand for elections in the party meaning the gender sensitivity of the legal laws are not well monitored in its implementation to achieve results.

Friends of the Nation (FON) town hall meeting (Addo, 2019) made separately for financially handicapped females or poor females and disabled females. The opportunity given to women to attend and contribute to political meetings despite their gender, ability, and the efforts made to improve their financial status is a way of promoting their class and status in participating in political meetings. The socio-economic status of an individual includes the individual's occupation, income and educational level (McAllister & Makkai, 1992) which stratifies individuals into class and status which determines their political behavior. The decisions made at FON meetings to improve women's occupation and income promotes their class and status to participate in party politics. Mengesha (2014) mentioned how the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) helps promote effective democratic governance and finds solutions to

problems in the democratic process. The results of the study confirmed the UNDP efforts in democratic process as was an increase in their numbers in political meetings organized by the District Assembly in 2014. The dialogue between religious, traditional leaders and political parties to solve the problems of women such as disabled, religious and ethnic females led to the development of political platforms for women's representation and participation. This is achievement is considered to be a great opportunity to get the public involved to promote marginalized women especially those who committed members of a party and leaders making those political platforms in office can be held accountable.

The activities of civil society organizations purposely for disabled females improving their knowledge on the disability laws in Ghana is a first step to empower them to defend themselves when they have the intention to participate in party politics. The provision of tactile ballot jackets, the braille and voter education purposefully for voting during elections by the electoral commission through advocacy by the organizations removes barriers in access to participation (Arthur, 2017). Barriers in political participation has been emphasized by Kyei & Dogbe (2020) as the problem of accessibility of movement and accessibility of information. Barriers in movement consist of roads, transportation and infrastructure in buildings not suitable for free movement and participation of disabled groups. Barriers of information by those who with visual and hearing impairment hinders communication in political activities because formats used in communication by political parties and politicians are not suitable and acceptable by these groups of people. Even though this approach was not effective in terms of promoting women in contesting for political positions and attending political meetings, the results of the approach to aid disabled females to vote and become election observers could be a first step to promote disabled females in high level political participation activities. This will lead to the prevention of discrimination and stigmatization (Prince, 2007) which is a common challenge for disabled groups.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.0 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the systematic review and provides the strength and weaknesses of the review. It also gives the conclusion of the study and implications for theory and practice. Finally, recommendations were provided for consideration.

8.1 Summary

Approaches used to promote the party political participation of marginalized groups of women in Ghana was what the systematic review entailed. Included studies of journal articles, books and grey literature was acceptable using PRISMA as a guideline. Data was extracted from the included studies based on the research questions of the systematic review with an extraction form. A thematic and narrative synthesis was used to provide results on intersectional challenges of women, approaches for party political participation promotion and the outcome of the approaches. The included studies provided eleven intersecting challenges of women, six promoting approaches and their outcomes in promoting party political participation among marginalized groups of women.

8.2 Strength and Weaknesses of the Systematic Review

The validity, quality and reliability of the review were the strengths in this study. A quality assessment conducted separately for the different types of studies of which most of the studies were of high quality showed the validity of data in the studies. The characteristics of each studies provided showing all the relevant information needed also showed the validity of the included studies used. The included studies consisted of different types of studies especially studies from grey literature which provided additional evidence and increased understanding increased the reliability of the results of the study. The weakness of the review is the unassured minimization of bias in selecting studies, information in studies and analysis bias because the review was done only

by one reviewer which is more acceptable when two or more reviewers engage in systematic review. Only four search engines of google, google scholar, book.sc.org, and Sci-hub was used to retrieve relevant studies excluding other renowned databases which could have provided additional relevant studies.

8.3 Conclusions

The systematic review answered the research questions and had implications for theory and practice. The first research question which is; what are the reported intersectional challenges of women in party political participation in Ghana? was found by using social identities that were intersecting, concurrent and responsible for the party political participation challenges faced by women in Ghana in the included studies. Eight social identities of gender, educational level, age, financial status, religion, ethnicity, disability, and marital status were found to intersect and cause challenges. Hamah, (2015) study found gender and age to be a challenge as young females were deemed incompetent and unexperienced to stand for political positions. Marital status and gender (Hamah, 2015; Sossou, 2011; Abakah, 2018; Tsikata, 2009) hindered married women as they were overburdened with gender roles in their homes and threatened with divorce by their husbands and are not voted for when they stand for elections. Gender, Disability and Marital Status were intersectional challenges for disabled and single parent females (Voice Ghana, 2014) as they were overburdened with family issues and have less time to attend town hall meetings. Gender and educational level was a challenge for illiterate females or poorly educated females (Hamah, 2015; Sossou, 2011; Abakah, 2018; Tsikata, 2009; Bukari et al., 2017) as the cultural norm of Ghana deprives women based on their gender as females of their right to be educated which is a requirement in standing for political positions and making contributions in political meetings. Disability, gender and educational level is another intersectional challenge for disabled and illiterate females (Sackey, 2014; Arthur, 2017).

The gender of females and their religion hinder women's political participation as women are not deemed worthy of holding leadership positions thereby not be voted for (Abakah, 2018). Disabled, religious and ethnic females (Arthur, 2017) are discouraged to participate in party politics as their religious beliefs, traditions and customs within their ethnic groups have negative attitudes towards

and stigmatize these group of women. Financially handicapped females or poor females (Hamah, 2015; Abakah, 2018; Sossou, 2011; Tsikata, 2009) are not able to organize effective campaign activities and pay for nomination fees due to women's struggle to be employed in the formal and informal sectors like men. The traditions and customs embedded in Yakene, Gowrie and Sakote community limits females or women in holding political positions and contributing in political meetings (Bukari et al., 2017). Young and single females (Hamah, 2015) criticized based on her gender, age and status of being single and are not be voted for. Lastly, married and ethnic females (Bukari et al., 2017) prevent women from holding political positions as a result of the intersection of the gender of women as a female who are married and ascribed gender roles based on the ethnic group they belong to.

The second research question which is; what approach in Ghana targets marginalized groups of women in party politics and what are their characteristics? was found in the included studies. These approaches were created by the Government of Ghana, Non-Governmental organizations and international organizations. Approaches created by the Government of Ghana includes affirmative action (Tsikata, 2009; Bukari et al., 2017; UNDP, 2013; Hamah, 2015), SNV initiative (SNV, 2016), and legal initiatives (Arthur, 2017; Voice Ghana, 2014; Sackey, 2014). Most of the approaches promotes voluntary, direct, indirect, and active political participation. The affirmative action is characterized by legal backings from obligations within international, regional and national structures. SNV initiative is a town hall meeting organized with the municipal and metropolitan assembly authorities to plan and make decisions. Legal initiatives are laws mandated by the Parliament of Ghana to fulfil national and international obligations of protecting the rights of persons with disabilities. Approaches created by Non-Governmental organizations includes Friends of the Nation (FON) meetings (Addo, 2019), and Organizational Advocacy, Capacity Building and Education by Ghana Federation of the Disabled (GFD), Ghana Blind Union (GBU) and Ghana Society for the Physically Disabled (GSPD) (Arthur, 2017; Voice Ghana, 2014). FON meetings are characterized by town hall meetings involving political party representative and women in an area. Organizational Advocacy, Capacity Building and Education constitutes private and public organizations initiatives to educate and train marginalized groups of women. The approach introduced by an international organization was the United Nations Development

Programme Initiatives (UNDP, 2013). It characterized by its activities to improve the representation and participation of marginalized groups of women in Ghana.

The third research question is how do the approaches correspond with the challenges faced by the marginalized women groups and what are their reported outcomes? The Affirmative Action in Ghana (Tsikata, 2009) corresponded with challenges faced by women such as high illiteracy, low financial capacity, gender roles of married women, low acceptance of women by the public and political parties to be political leaders. SNV initiative corresponded with the challenges of women's low education specifically on financial management policies and processes and low decision making capabilities. FON town hall meetings (Addo, 2019) targeted low financial status of disabled women. The UNDP (2013) targeted low decision making levels of religious and ethnic females especially married women at the household level, low knowledge on political activities, rules and skills, low political capacity of disabled groups of women. Legal initiatives corresponded with challenges of discrimination against women with disabilities (Arthur, 2017; Voice Ghana, 2014). Organizational Advocacy, Capacity Building and Education aimed to solve challenges of low knowledge among the public and disabled women concerning rights and needs of persons with disabilities in Ghana (Arthur, 2017; Voice Ghana, 2014). Age was the only social identity not targeted by any of the approaches. Most of the approaches were planned as long term approaches. The outcome of affirmative action was not satisfactory as the number of women contesting in political positions is increasing at a slow rate. SNV initiative was effective as women were able to attend meetings and take decisions in monitoring of developmental projects and addressing their needs. Legal initiatives were quite effective because even though political party's initiatives to support disabled groups in contesting for political positions were made according to the adherence of the legal laws, there were no records of women benefitting from the initiative. UNDP initiative was quite effective as the number of women attending meetings increased and the number of women contesting for political positions as a result of their activities was not specified. Organizational Advocacy, Capacity Building and Education was quite effective because knowledge in disability rights was known to participate in all political activities but the high level activity of contesting for a political position and attending political meetings was not achieved.

The theoretical implication of this study is that, the findings of this study confirms the theory of intersectionality and resource. The results proved that challenges faced by women in party politics are intersecting and simultaneous. Practically, this study implies that, approaches will not achieve its desired results if they not made to address intersecting challenges of women instead of targeting individual challenges. The flexibility and rigidity in marginalization should be considered in the theory of intersectionality to help determine the extent of marginalization. The availability of resources should not only be considered as a potential to participate in party politics among women but policy makers should consider gender inequalities present in the society.

8.4 Recommendations

1. An Affirmative Action bill should be passed into a law in Parliament to provide sanctions for non-compliance at the household level, institutional level, local and national governance levels. The bill should also include an affirmative action law for females with disabilities.

2. The Government of Ghana should support women with the intention to contest for a political position with funds to aid their campaign activities.

3. The intensity and frequency of organizational advocacy, training and capacity building especially for disabled females should be strengthened to promote their participation on high level political activities

4. The Government of Ghana should increase the number of schools purposely made for persons with disabilities and provide sanctions for parents or guardians who would prevent disabled females from attending the schools.

5. Training should be offered to married women and their husbands by non-governmental organizations and religious institutions on how to manage their time when undertaking their political activities and encourage husbands on how to support their wives engaging in politics.

6. Regular meetings should be organized for traditional leaders by the government and other non-governmental organizations to educate them on the legal laws, gender policies and negative effects of their traditions on the rights of women.

7. An approach should be created by the Government and other Non-governmental organizations to promote the youth in party politics.

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APPENDIX

DATA EXTRACTION FORM

SOURCE OF DATA	DATA
Title of study	
Author (s)	
Year of publication	
Aim of study	
Study settings	
Sample size and sampling method	
Political participation activity	
Quotations and text on challenges of participation	
Social identities from challenges	
Approaches for promoting contesting of political positions	
Approaches for promoting attendance of political meetings	
Outcome of approaches	