PROCESSORIENTERING I
OFFENTLIGA ORGANISATIONER

-Olika baakgrundsfaaktorers påverkan på
angreppssättet vid processorienttering av
verksamheten

Yakubu Zahrrah, Kamaldeen.
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN WOMEN AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: A CASE OF GHANAIAN WOMEN

YAKUBU ZAHRRAH, KAMALDEEN

The general purpose of this project is two in one; to analyze and assess gender mainstreaming and sustainable women development policies of the two main political parties in Ghana, and to evaluate the contribution of gender based NGOs to the course of women empowerment in Ghana.

This thesis, by applying the methodological techniques of qualitative content analysis and discourse analysis explores and examines the strength and weakness of the parties' political manifestoes. It also explores and examines the activities of the NGOs while evaluating some of projects they have undertaken in the development of Ghanaian women. The paper also offered suggestions that will help to achieve effective sustainable women development when adopted by the political parties and the concerned NGOs.

Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD), the most widely used theoretical frameworks in gender and development studies, provide the conceptual frames for the analysis in this thesis. They are widely applied throughout the analyses of this paper and form the foundation for realizing the aims and objectives of this work.

The conclusion of this paper is able to identify pragmatic measures for ensuring gender mainstreaming and achieving effective affirmative action for Ghanaian women, it calls upon the political parties to exhibit effective commitment to gender mainstreaming by initiating policies that will give women a fair representation and participation in decision making processes in Ghana at all levels.

The women NGOs on the other hand, should depart from over concentration on service provision activities and re-redirect their programmes and projects toward encouraging and preparing women to enter politics at local, districts and national levels. These measures, as identified by the analyses, are the strongest weapons for achieving effective women empowerment in Ghana.
Title:

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN WOMEN AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT:
A CASE OF GHANAIAN WOMEN

A Paper Presented in Partial fulfilment of the Degree of Master of Science in
International and European Relations

Author:
Yakubu Zahrrah, Kamaldeen.

Supervised by:
Geoffrey D. Gooch. Ph. D
Professor of Political Science,
Jean Monnet Chair of European Political Integration
Abstract

The general purpose of this project is two in one; to analyze and assess gender mainstreaming and sustainable women development policies of the two main political parties in Ghana, and to evaluate the contribution of gender biased NGOs to the course of women empowerment in Ghana.

This thesis, by applying the methodological techniques of qualitative content analysis and discourse analysis explores and examines the strength and weakness of the parties’ political manifestoes. It also explores and examines the activities of the NGOs- while evaluating some of projects they have undertaken in the development of Ghanaian women. The paper also offered suggestions that will help to achieve effective sustainable women development when adopted by the political parties and the concerned NGOs.

Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD), the most widely used theoretical frameworks in gender and development studies; provide the conceptual frames for the analysis in this thesis. They are widely applied throughout the analyses of this paper and form the foundation for realizing the aims and objectives of this work.

The conclusion of this paper is able to identify pragmatic measures for ensuring gender mainstreaming and achieving effective affirmative action for Ghanaian women; it calls upon the political parties to exhibit effective commitment to gender mainstreaming by initiating policies that will give women a fair representation and participation in decision making processes in Ghana at all levels. The women NGOs on the other hand, should depart from over concentration on service provision activities and refocus their programmes and projects toward encouraging and preparing women to enter politics at local, districts and national levels. These measures, as identified by the analyses; are the strongest weapons for achieving effective women empowerment in Ghana
Table of Contents

Acknowledgements and Dedication................................................................. 7
1. Chapter one................................................................................................. 8
1.1 Introduction/Background........................................................................... 8
1.3 Research Questions..................................................................................... 10
1.4 Definition of Sustainable Development.................................................. 11
1.5 The Aims and Significance of the Thesis................................................... 13
1.6 Methodology............................................................................................. 14
1.6.1 Case Study............................................................................................ 16
1.6.2 Policy Analysis....................................................................................... 17
1.6.3 Data Collection....................................................................................... 18
1.6.4 Analysis and Interpretation of Data....................................................... 20
2. Chapter Two............................................................................................... 22
2.1 Literature Review....................................................................................... 22
2.2 Theoretical Frameworks.......................................................................... 29
2.3 Application and Conceptualization of the Frameworks............................. 32
3. Chapter Three........................................................................................... 34
3.1 Political Parties in Ghana: an Overview.................................................... 34
3.2 The Role of Political Parties in Development.......................................... 35
3.2.1 Development of Ghanaian Women: The Role of NDC & NPP.............. 36
3.2.2 NDC and Women Development............................................................ 37
3.2.3 NPP and Women Development.............................................................. 41
3.3 The Parties’2004 Manifestoes Vs the Women’s Manifesto for Ghana........ 46
3.3.1 The Parties’ Policies Vs the Petitions of the Women’s Manifesto.............. 58
3.3.2 NDC 2004 Manifesto and the Petitions of the Women’s Manifesto.......... 59
3.3.3 NPP 2004 Manifesto and Petitions of the Women’s Manifesto............... 60
3.3.4 Observation ........................................................................................ 61
4. Chapter Four............................................................................................ 62
4.1 Sustainable Ghanaian Women Development: The Role of NGOs............. 62
4.2 NGOs and Development Theory.............................................................. 63
4.3 The Impact/ Contribution of Women NGOs............................................. 64
4.4 World Vision-Ghana and Sustainable Development

4.5 Observation and Analysis

5. Chapter Five

5.1 Conclusion: Findings and Recommendations

5.2 NDC & NPP women’s Development policies & Recommendations

5.3 The Impact of Women NGOs and Recommendations

5.4 Contributions of this Thesis

5.5 Limitations of this Thesis

5.6 Recommendation for Future Research

References
AKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND DEDICATION

Many Individuals and Institutions have enormously contributed to the completion of this paper and I wish to express my greatest appreciation to them all.

First, I acknowledge with profound gratitude, the person of Professor Geoffrey D. Gooch for his constructive guidelines and supervision. Many thanks to all the lecturers in the programme of International and European Relation at Linköping University-Sweden, for their scholarly, enriching and exposing lectures.

I also appreciate the individual support from Mr. Seth Ibrahim of Metro TV- Ghana, Hamza Abdallah and Abdul Gaffar Gambari of Old-Tafo Kumasi, Ghana, and Amadu Isaka Suupalaala of Aviance Ghana Ltd., without which, this work would not have been a possibility.

My dept of gratitude also extends to World Vision- Ghana for consenting to my use of their projects to illustrate my analyses.

I also wish to thank Linköping University and the Swedish Government for the opportunity given me to widen the spectrum of my knowledge at no cost.

Warmest appreciation goes to my family for their patience and prayers, and to my friends for their encouragement and support. May Allah bless you all.

DEDICATION

I dedicated this book to:

AMINATU ZAKARI (JUMMAI) and her children.
Chapter One
Introduction/Background:

The Region of Sub-Saharan Africa is characterized by different dynamisms. Since the post independence years of the late 1960s, countries and societies in this region –and Ghana is no exception - have experienced persistent and severe economic, political as well as social and cultural disorder, which inadvertently have negative repercussions on growth and sustainable development.

One of the social problems characterized by these societies/countries, just like any society in the world, is persistent discrimination and marginalization over women by men in all sphere of live such as in the field economic, political, social, and cultural and what have you.

Paradoxically, history tells us that, women in Ghana particularly within the Akan traditional system\(^1\) wielded a lot of power through the queen-mother. The Akan traditional Administrative system assign the queen-mother very important political roles; she has the traditional right of nominating the chief for a particular Akan community. In the event of misconduct on the part of the chief, she has the power to ‘destoolment’, that is to relieve him of his post, upon consultation of other elders of the community. And above all, the system saw women as the traditional ‘think tank’ which manifest in the role they played by the legendary Old Women. The Legendary Old Woman is believed to be all-knowing and wise and therefore should be consulted in times of deadlock in any social forum. The proactive role of women in this traditional system indeed, attracts very high social respect and recognitions.\(^2\)

During the colonial era, women like Yaa Asantewaa, the queen mother of Ejusu near Kumasi-Ghana, led the Asante\(^3\) warriors against the British army in 1900 during the Yaa Asantewaa war. Her exemplary and symbolic leadership helped the Asante to win the war against British troops. This therefore reconfirms the belief that, when women are given the mandate they could equally do what is considered as men

\(^1\) Akan is the largest Linguistic community in Ghana.
\(^3\) Ashante is an ethnic group or tribe within Akan.
domain. It also explains the formidable nature of the time-tested women institutions marginalized by advent of colonial leaders.

However, upon attaining independence in 1957, the political marginalization of women as characterized the British colonial administration had to continue to the large extent in the post-independence administration, as a result, women political role has been relegated to the background.

The general conception modern Ghanaian society had about women changed drastically. They began to see women’s major roles as household chores. They are seen as bearers of children, retailers of fish and farmers. Traditional beliefs and cultural practices began to hinder the total development of women, which allow men to have unquestionable dominance over women and continue to marginalize them when it comes to major issues as decision making, distribution of property and ownership of land. This situation has brought about the mentality – which still instils in the minds of many Ghanaians; even among the so-called literate and educated elite-that women are inferior to men and are useful for only household chores and child bearing and petty trading.

Ironically, more than half of the Ghanaian population (nearly 52%)-like elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa- is made up of women who are responsible for the majority of the household work such as provision of health care, food and water, they also have greater influence on population growth rate, infant mortality and children’s education and nutrition, yet, women lack equal opportunity to education, credit facilities, technology, employment, administrative roles and political powers, despite the profound and pervasive effort they have on the well being of their family and community.

Men dominant power position over women stems and emanates from the traditional socialization and from their position as the breadwinners for the family. This give men uncompromising power position within the family decision making structure.

Safilios-Rothschild noted that, ‘Men are in fact, the final arbiters within family decision making structures because of women’s inability to contribute substantially to

---

6 ibid
the family budget. To this end, they are obliged to make a lot of compromises and accommodation to maintain family power equilibrium. United Nation report and World Bank annual report on developing countries assert that there is a positive link between education of women and development. The reports further stress that social gain from female education is much higher than those of male, they further pointed out that developing countries can reduce fertility, raise production, reduce population pressure and offer its citizen better standard of living when its’ female population are offered education.

Thus for a developing country like Ghana to build capacity for sustainable development it must ensure women have access to education and fair representation and participation in their country’s affairs. Yet due to traditional and cultural beliefs stated above only few women get access to education and their representation in political affairs and decision making is nothing to write home about. This has a negative repercussion to overall development of women and for that matter, their sustainable development.

It is in this vein, this paper intends to look into the concept of sustainable development of Ghanaian women, with the aim of exploring the role of political parties-the vehicle through which government is formed- and to analyze how policies and agendas of the two main political parties in Ghana, dealt with the rhetoric of sustainable Ghanaian women development and how they intend to incorporate women’s issues into their programmes when voted into power in the December 7, 2004 general elections. In addition, the contribution of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to the development of Ghanaian women will also be examined; all in an effort to discover the actual problems faced by women with view of offering a lasting solution to these impediments and eventually suggest a better ways of removing them in order to achieve effective sustainable women development.

Research Questions:

---

8 United Nation Annual Report 1984
This project intends to find answers to two main questions; firstly, what role(s) Ghanaian political parties—particularly the current ruling government and the major opposition party—play or have played in the development of the rights of Ghanaian women? To what extent their policies, agendas and programmes designed to incorporate women in decision making process? What need to be done to their existing policies to be gender sensitive? And hence to ensure women get fair representation and participation in government, administration and all decision making processes? Secondly, what are the impacts of the activities of the concerned NGOs in Ghana on improving the condition of Ghanaian women? Is their contribution sufficient? What problems are they facing? And how could they be resolved to ensure that their contribution effectively supplement government effort to sustaining Ghanaian women’s development?

**Definition of sustainable development**

Rhoda Redbock\(^{10}\) defines development in the following words; ‘In ordinary usage, development implies movement from one level to another, usually with some increase in size, number, or quality of some sort’. In the context of gender or development studies, it is used to describe the process through which countries and societies outside North America and Europe (many of them formal colonial territories) were to be transformed into modern, developed nations from what their colonizers saw as backward, primitive, underdeveloped societies.\(^{11}\)

According to Donald Brook\(^{12}\) the paradigm or worldview emerging the concept of sustainable development recognized the need to ensure and facilitate the following conditions;

- Integration of conservation and development
- Maintenance of ecological integrity
- Satisfaction of basic human needs
- Achieving of equity and social justice and
- Provision of social self-determination and cultural diversity.

---

\(^{10}\) Redock, R. Why Gender? Why Development? Parpert, J. L. et al (eds) Theoretical Perspective on Gender and Development’

\(^{11}\) Ibid

\(^{12}\) Ibid
However academics and researchers in the field of gender studies and feminists activists have gone beyond this narrow definition to include the struggle for peace and struggle against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. They have considered sustainable development as part of the large alternative model of development or societal transformation.

Kamla Bhasin\textsuperscript{13} for example noted among other things, that, the characteristics of sustainable development should include the following:

- It must be in harmony with nature. That is if nature is to sustain people, people must also sustain nature.
- It must be people oriented and people have to be seen as the subject and not the object of development.
- It must cater for the needs of the majority and this can be ensured by reducing consumption level of the advanced countries.
- It must also be women centred and recognize their needs and must promote policies of peace, non-violence and respect for life and
- Finally it must encourage decentralization of decision making and participatory democracy.

In short, for many feminists and experts in gender studies, sustainable development implies a new land of political, economic, social and cultural systems and a new values orientation. The term sustainable development has now been widely accepted as multidimensional concept and a political vision that states and other development agencies intend to achieve.

World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in giving an overview of concept of sustainable development has summarized it in this simple phrase: ‘sustainable development meets the need of the present without compromising the ability of future generation to meet their own need’\textsuperscript{14}

The concept of Sustainable Development in women therefore means how to meet the women’s need such as access to adequate livelihood, participation in the community, and

\textsuperscript{13} Bhasin, K. ‘Some Thought on Development and Sustainable Development: Women in Action.1993chapter 1 p10-18
\textsuperscript{14} World Commission on Environment and Development: Annual Report. 1987
local, and national administration and politics and respect for their rights and also getting access to adequate shelter and healthy environment for women.\footnote{Hardoy, J.E et el, Environmental Problems in The Third World Cities, London: Earthscan publications Ltd, 1999}

**The Aims and Significance of the Thesis:**

The general purpose of this project is to examine the relationship between gender and sustainable development within the context of the above questions. In doing so, the project intends analyzing and assessing the policies of the two main political parties in Ghana which are capable of winning the forthcoming elections. This will be done by analyzing their political manifestoes and how they are tailored to ensure sustainable Ghanaian women development. The strength and weakness of such policies, if they exist at all, will be examined and how they can be improved in order to achieve the objectives for which they have been formulated.

It will also explore and examine some projects undertaken by some concerned NGOs in that direction with the aim of evaluating their contribution in resolving the gender imbalance in Ghana.

This study is not only intended to further create the awareness of Ghanaian policy makers and the general public about the necessity of incorporating women in the political and administrative governance of the Ghana, but also hopes to serve as guiding principle for rectifying the negative attitude of the public toward the stereotype social status of women and hence, calls for treating women as equal partners and counterparts while giving them adequate representation and fair participation in all spheres of political and socio-economic life. The goal is to achieve the objective of the two applied theoretical frameworks namely Women in Development, and Gender in Development; the former calls for incorporating and integrating women in all the development and decision processes which is theoretically called affirmative action, whereas the later indicate that the affirmative action alone is not sufficient for achieving effective sustainable women development and calls for proper gender sensitization ,by doing away with all the social constructed ideas, values and beliefs, so that gender issues should applied in all institutions of human life.
In a nutshell, the goal of this project is to come out with suggestions and necessary corrective measures of empowering Ghanaian women with the view of reducing the social imbalance and inequality in their representation in the political and administrative circles of Ghanaian society. It is my hope that, the findings of this research will serve as a reference material for further studies in gender and sustainable development in Ghana and will be useful for donor agencies as well as the concerned NGOs.

And not least, the ultimate goal of this work is to support the campaign for affirmative action and or for social justice and to help give Ghanaian women the opportunity of becoming full and equal partners in the development process of Ghana.

**Methodology:**

This thesis is primarily placed within a qualitative methodological framework and thus a combination of both empirical and library-based strategy is adopted.

Both secondary source of collecting data and documentary research, particularly case study analysis is used. Qualitative methods are basically and traditionally associated with the school of social research which sees ‘truth’ of any matter to be determined through experiments and observation. Qualitative researchers are therefore ‘more interested in deeply understanding specific cases within a particular context than in hypothesizing about generalizations and causes across time and space.’

According to Bryman, the term ‘qualitative research ‘is sometimes taken to imply an approach to social research which quantitative data are not collected or generated. This is not to say that the distinctiveness of qualitative method solely reside in the absence of numbers. The technique is very complicated and ambivalent as Punch clearly noted that ‘qualitative method is complex changing and contested field… a site of multiple methodologies and research practices …and is therefore not a single but an umbrella term which encompasses enormous variety.’ Unlike the quantitative research, the paradigm of qualitative research is multidimensional and pluralistic, the

---

17 Patton, M.Q. Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods, 3rd. eds. London: Sage Publication. P114
effect has been to highlight the political nature of social research, the recognition that the term social is ‘human construction, framed and presented within a particular set of discourses and conducted in social context with certain sort of social arrangements, involving especially finding, cognitive authority and power.'\textsuperscript{20} Under this mirror, effort will be made to measure the degree of commitment of the major political parties in Ghana toward women effective sustainable development, what policies have they put in place and what effort have they made or are they making to implement these policies. Contribution of the Non-Governmental Organizations in supplementing the political parties or government effort in empowering will also be explored.

At this juncture, it is worthy of note to summarize the distinctive features of qualitative approach. Qualitative method shows the relationship between theory and research; whereby theory is generated out of research, it is more concern with words than numbers and its epistemological position stress on the understanding of social world through examination of the interpretation of the world by its participants, and not least, its ontological position is described as constructionists, which implies that social properties are outcome of the interaction between individuals rather than phenomena and are separated from those involved in its construction.\textsuperscript{21} Even though the ambiguity associated in linking the theory and research is considered a serious setback of qualitative method, this thesis will be as precise as possible and it will outline the connection between them in the most comprehensive and appreciable manner. Care is also taken to minimize and check the possible limitations often associated with qualitative method. Qualitative method has been criticised of being unrepresentative, unreliable, incomparable and unable to make generalization from actual findings. It must be noted that qualitative method has no one specific purpose; the aim could be to seek diversity and not representativeness. The term ‘transferability’ is often preferable to the term ‘generalization’ in qualitative approach.\textsuperscript{22}

Although researchers following qualitative approach must be cautious about making generalization from a sample number of cases, the research can also be used to ease an understanding of other similar circumstances. Besides, generalization is always the

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid. p 140
objective of a study for instance when a case deserves to be thoroughly verified in its own right, because it is very significant, fascinating or unique so there is only one of its kind. Qualitative research could also be said to be ‘more interested in deeply understanding specific cases within a particular context than hypothesizing about generalization and causes across time and space’.

**Case study**

As a case study, this thesis is an explanatory research which involves a critical analysis of investigating Ghanaian women and sustainable development within the parameters of policy agendas of the two dominant political parties in Ghana which are capable of forming a government. It also involves reviewing and assessing some of the projects undertaken by some NGOs in improving the condition of women in Ghana. This will be carried in an attempt to find answers to the questions posed under the sub heading ‘Research Questions’.

A case study inquiry may be defined as ‘a technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than what data points to’.

Robert K. Yin on the other hand, sees case study research method as ‘an empirical inquiry that investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context and is based on multiple source of evidence with data needing coverage in a triangulation fashion and which benefit from deduction to guide data collection and analysis’. A case study is not a specific technique per se, ‘it is a way of organizing social data so as to preserve the unity character of social object being studied.’

This thesis will analyse the role of political parties and NGOs in the phenomena of Ghanaian women and sustainable development by organizing the relevant gathered information in a unitary form by interrelating the variety of facts on the ground and providing for an intensive analysis of specific details that are overlooked by both the parties and the NGOs. This will unveil the misconceptions majority of Ghanaian public hold about the role of women.

---

23 Ibid. p154
24 Patton 2002p 546
26 Yin, R. Case Study Research Design and Method, 2nd ed. 1994 p13
vis-à-vis what they can actual do when they are offered equal opportunity like their male counterparts.

**Policy Analysis**

At this point, it must be emphasized that, case study research does not only involves recognition of a broad range of types of evidence and the ability to use them in the appropriate circumstances or have to compromise a single event, however it also compromises a process. In this wise, this thesis is also going to give a coherent policy analysis of what the two said political parties in Ghana have enshrined in their political manifestoes regarding empowerment and sustainable development of women, what policy implementation strategies have they put in place to ensure women inclusion in the processes of development, which will eventually lead to their emancipation and empowerment, and ultimately reduce the gender disparity and inequality in Ghana. This is also considered as a process which is another way of looking at a case study. The analysis of the parties’ political manifestoes will be measured against the newly published political document called ‘The Women’s Manifesto for Ghana’ which set out critical issues of concern to women in Ghana and made demands and suggestions for addressing these concerns. Assessment of the feasibility of the implementation procedures and suggestions offered by this document is also very central and crucial to this thesis.

According to Pressman and Wildavsky, studying implementation can be seen as studying ‘a process of interaction between setting of goals and actions geared toward achieving them’. This method of enquiry is considered appropriate for this thesis because it provides the opportunity to explore how the problems of Ghanaian women is addressed and makes it possible to also assess the contribution of concern NGOs in supplementing the effort of the government (the political parties) in improving the socio-economic and political condition of women in Ghana. Case study also lays emphasis on explanation of actual situation on the ground and gives room for dealing with diversity of evidence and the ability to articulate research questions and the

---


theoretical preposition.\textsuperscript{30} This is however not to say that case study method is devoid of any limitations. One of its limitations is that, formal procedures of undertaking case study are still relatively undeveloped and they also emphasize on explanatory and not descriptive.\textsuperscript{31}

**Data collection**

The data collection is based on texts, essays, published articles and documents collected from various sources, precisely from the two main political parties in Ghana-the ruling government NPP and the leading opposition parties NDC, as well as women groups and information from some concerned NGOs in a form of reports on projects they had undertaken toward enhancing sustainable development of women in Ghana.

The data to be analyzed in this paper, as previously stated, is made up of a number of documents, since the aim of this thesis is to explore the role of political parties in Ghana and NGOs in sustaining development of women. The political agendas of the two main parties capable of forming government are primarily of great interest here. Moreover a women development project report undertaken by World vision; an international NGO with branch in Ghana is also part of the data, and not least, the Women’s Manifesto for Ghana- a political document prepared and launched by various women groups in Ghana with the aim of alerting the political parties of the demand which they want the political parties to implement so that the marginalization of women in Ghana in all walks of life will be reduced, and hence increase their sustainable development.

Documentary evidence is considered important and proper means for collecting data for this paper for the reason that, the research problem is directed toward the use of concepts in language and within semantic field. The aim is to fish out the concept of sustainable Ghanaian women development within the policy agenda of the NDC and


\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.
NPP on one hand, and to review of the contribution of some NGOs via the assessment of some project they undertaken in the field of women development.

Regarding sampling process, ‘Purposive sampling’-which means undertaking sample with specific purpose or focus in mind\(^\text{32}\)- has been adopted instead of probability sampling which aims at representativeness and largely characterized by quantitative research. The purpose is the fact that, since the re-introduction of the democratic governance in Ghana in 1992, only the said two political parties are capable of forming government. In 1992 and 1996, the NDC won the general elections respectively and lost to the NPP in 2000 election. Come December 7, 2004 elections, either of the two parties can win the elections and form a government. I therefore decided to limit the boundary of this research to the policy agenda of these two parties because Ghana operates two parties system and consequently what is enshrined in the political manifestoes of the two leading political parties is worthy sufficient for effective analyses and projection about the general situation in Ghana. As Punch rightly indicated, ‘in case study research, qualitative sampling involves identifying the case(s) and setting the boundaries, where we indicate the aspects to be studied, and constructing a sampling fame, where we focus selection.’\(^\text{33}\)

Regarding the choice of World Vision as a sample of other numerous NGOs, it has among its programmes a gender and development activities which is geared toward development and emancipation of women. The data gathered from this NGO is sufficient to make a projection and deductive analysis on the role the concerned NGOs play in sustainable development of women in Ghana. Thus, the type of sampling used is non- probability sampling otherwise called ‘convenience sampling’ which is ‘the one that is simply available to the researcher by virtue of its accessibly’\(^\text{34}\)

Documentary data as social research approach is often used in a variety of ways. It can be used in conjunction with other types of data such as interviews and ethnography in different type of triangulation, as indicated by Punch that ‘in

\(^{32}\) Punch, K.F. Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches. London: Sage Publication 1999 p139

\(^{33}\) Ibid p193

conjunction with other data, documents can be important in triangulation where an intersecting set of different methods and data types is used in single project.\(^{35}\) However, this study will depend entirely on documentary data as further stressed by Punch ‘{although} documentary sources of data might be used in various ways in social research, some study might depend entirely on documentary data, with such data the focus in their own right’.\(^{36}\) In a net shell, data for this study have been collected via textual analysis of primary documents mentioned above and secondary sources a form of books, journals and articles. Literature on gender and development studies have also provided the direction of the analysis,

**Analysis and Interpretation of data**

This project adopts discourse and qualitative contents analysis as method and technique for interpretation and analysis. Content analysis may be defined as ‘a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context. Intuitively, it could be characterized as a method of inquiry into symbolic meaning of message’\(^{37}\). Qualitative content analysis has chosen as one of the tools for the analyses and interpretation for this paper because of its suitability to methodology used in collecting data for this research. As Bryman rightly put, ‘qualitative content analysis is probable the most prevalent approach to qualitative analysis of document, it comprises searching-out of underlying themes in materials being analyzed.’\(^{38}\)

On the other hand, discourse analysis is a series of interdisciplinary approaches that is used to explore many different social domain in many different types of studies such as sustainable development and gender issues- the topic for this paper. Discourse analysis is sensitive to how spoken and written languages are used and how accounts and descriptions are constructed….it emphasises the interrelationship between account and hierarchies, power and ideology.\(^{39}\) It must be emphasized here that, there is no clear consensus as to what discourse analysis is, it is not a single approach and can be applied to all areas of research. However, it cannot be used with all theoretical

---

36 Ibid
39 Punch 1999 p229.
frameworks more crucially, as Phillips and Jorgensen vivid description shows
‘discourse analysis is not to be used as a method of analysis detached from its
theoretical and methodological foundation, it is not just a method for data analysis,
but a theoretical and methodological whole.’

Hence, in analyzing the data, these two methods are used. The aim is to ascertain the
contextual meaning of the documents and other information collected for example the
project reports, and to verify and identify their rationale and effects on sustaining
Ghanaian women. This is to be done bearing in mind the variation of the meaning
according to social institutional setting, the documents and texts will be analyzed
from their social context.

At this juncture, one misconception needs to be corrected; discourse and qualitative
content analysis are not mutually exclusive techniques. They are interconnected,
overlapping and complementary. They have been resorted to because of their
compatibility with this study.

Literature on gender studies and development are the hub through which the analyses
of this paper revolve, particularly the theoretical and empirical perspectives. Authors
such as Naila Kabeer and Jane, L.M et el have come closer to the perspective of this
work considering the theoretical framework and thus serve as foundation for the
analyses.
Chapter Two

Literature Review:

This study is drawn on diverse approaches to origin and history of the study of the gender and development, but the references and analyses made are however confined to the existing competing theoretical perspectives.

Sari Kouvo’s work on mainstreaming women’s human rights and gender perspective has formed an integral part of this project. Her work explored the concept of gender mainstreaming and the idea of integrating women into all stages of human institution, and as a strategy for equality which were introduced to a broader UN audience at the Nairobi conference of 1985. Thus, her study purely explores and examines the conceptual framework of Women in Development (WID) within the United Nation, with specific objective of analysing the interaction of women and men. The agreed conclusions at the Nairobi conference contained a definition of gender mainstreaming which the most is referred to within the UN. The conference defined mainstreaming a gender perspective as ‘the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies and programmes in all areas and at all levels’. It is therefore a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and an evaluation of policies and programmes in political, economic and social spheres so that women and men alike, benefit equally and thus inequality is not perpetuated.

The strategy of mainstreaming a gender according to this reference implies a shift of focus from women to women, to women and men. It also involves moving what have been considered women’s issues from the margins to the mainstream. Thus, it is a process-oriented strategy which aims at illusive goal of gender equality. In explaining the term gender, Kouvo adopted the definition given by the Division for the Advancement of Women which sees ‘gender’ as socially constructed role of women ascribed to them on the basis of their sex, in public and private life. The word ‘sex’ refers the biological and physical characteristics of women and men. Gender

---

42 Ibid
43 Ibid
44 Ibid
roles she emphasised are learned and vary widely between cultures. As social constructs, they can be changed when societies or human institutions so desired. She emphasised that gender roles shape women’s access to rights, resources and opportunities.45

Besides the definition of mainstreaming a gender perspective, her work also touches on the general principles for gender mainstreaming and offered specific recommendations regarding how to implement gender mainstreaming strategies. Those principles highlight high-level responsibility and system-wide implementation of gender mainstreaming strategy which include among other goals; participation by women in decision making and other activities, creating awareness of importance of women centred initiatives, establishment of concrete programmes in that respect, a clear political will and making availability of sufficient human and financial resources.46

Essentially, there are three (3) main emphases in the principles;

- The presumption that nothing is gender-neutral
- That attempts to mainstream a gender perspective will not succeed without adequate high level support and concrete guidance and guidelines and
- That mainstreaming does not replace the need for targeted action on behalf of women.47

The study further focuses on the core components of the gender mainstreaming strategy; she indicated that ‘although mainstreaming strategies seem fairly straightforward, they are not necessary easy to use, they are rather strategies that everybody can understand, although no one is sure what they require in practice’48

The basic idea behind mainstreaming strategies ‘consists of moving an issue such as gender into a framework from which it had previously been excluded and allowing it to be integrated into or to transform the framework. The mainstream includes both core high level decision –making bodies within a state or an institution and the system-wide broad based institution.49 It is worthy of note that mainstreaming is not about mere adding a women component or even a gender

45 Ibid. p173
46 Ibid. p174
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.p176
49 Ibid p178
equality component to an existing activities, it rather puts gender equality issues at the centre of policy decisions, medium-term plans, programmes and institutional structures and processes. It therefore entails bringing the interests, perceptions, experiences as well as knowledge of women and men alike to bear on policy-making, planning and decision making. It reveals a need for change in goals, strategies and actions and requires institutional changes which will create an enabling environment that is conducive to the promotion of gender equity.\textsuperscript{50} However, ‘there is no set of formulae for gender mainstreaming that can be applied in every context, what is common to mainstreaming in all sectors or development issues is that a concern for gender equality is brought into the mainstream of activities rather than being dealt with as an add-on’\textsuperscript{51}. Integrating gender issues is preferred to the transformative mainstreaming strategies because integration is easier and practically more acceptable to both men and women. The gender analysis component which is the critical starting point for gender mainstreaming states that, ‘for gender mainstreaming, all gender analysis should be contextual; that is dependent upon and related to the specific problem area or issue being analyzed. It is a sophisticated analytical framework that borrows much of its analytical tools from gender studies and other social sciences, which analytical task demands posing questions which relate to;

- Responsibilities, activities and priorities of women and men and how their experiences of the problems may differ i.e. reflect upon gender factors that could relate to the problem or issue.
- Assumptions about families, households or people that may implicit the way a problem is posed or a policy is formulated i.e. reflection upon the common understanding of the concept and conceptual frameworks that build on gendered presumptions.
- Obtaining data/information to allow the experiences and situations of both women and men to be analyzed
- Seeking the input and views of women as well as men about decision that will affect the way they live.

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid
\textsuperscript{51} Gender Mainstreaming: An Overview.2001 p2
• Avoid assumption that all women or all men share the same needs and perspectives, because there are often differences between women and men that relate to class, religion, age, ethnicity and other factors, and
• Analysing problems and issues from a gender perspective and seeking to identify means of formulating directions that support an equitable distribution of benefits and opportunities.\textsuperscript{52}

However, this theoretical framework may not be conclusive enough to explain the actual situation of Ghanaiian women within the context of sustainable development; this is because it is postulated to give a general explanation of the situations of women in world in general and in third world countries specifically. Nevertheless, it can serve as indicator or a measurement for testing and making a comparative analysis with the actual situation in Ghana.

In particular, work of writers like Naila Kabeer\textsuperscript{53} Gitasen,\textsuperscript{54} Jacson,\textsuperscript{55} Young\textsuperscript{56} as well as Momsen\textsuperscript{57} on women and development also form component part of this thesis. Kabeer’s article entitled ‘From Feminist Insights to an Analytical Framework\textsuperscript{58} among others is considered and referred to extensively and have come to the perspective of this project. Her analysis of sex and gender constituted an invaluable foundation for analysis for this thesis.

Contrasting between sex and gender, Kabeer noted that, sex is taken to refer to those basic biological attributes which differentiate the male and female species, attributes which largely relate to their reproductive organs. By gender reference is given to the full ensemble of norms, values, customs and practices by which the biological difference between male and female of human species is transformed and exaggerated into a very much wider social difference. ‘The tendency to conflate sexual difference which is biological with gender which is social, gives rise to a view that all observed

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid p56
\textsuperscript{54} Gitasen N. K, Development crises and Alternative Vision: Third World Perspective.
\textsuperscript{55} Jacson C, Environmentalism and Gender Interest in the Third World Development and Change, 1993
\textsuperscript{56} Young, K, Planning Development With Women, London: Macmillan, 1991
\textsuperscript{57} Momsen J.H, Women And Development in The Third World, London: Rutledge 1991
differences in the roles, capabilities and aptitudes attributed to men and women within a given context are rooted in their biology and hence cannot be changed\(^{59}\), she added. In many parts of Sub-Saharan Africa and Ghana is no exception, cultivation is hoe-based and it is largely women’s work that an official from Ghana once said that ‘if a man touched the hoe, he would become emasculated’.\(^{60}\) Thus, men and women are prevented from doing certain things or enjoying certain benefits not on the ground of proven ability or inability but because they are men or women. Differentiation on this ground is unnecessary and unjust, particularly when it leads to gender difference.

Kabeer further noted that, those who defend gender inequality on the ground of culture often fail to perceive just how much culture has been changing, because gender inequality embodies cultural values, and indeed, cultural values in particular have now begun to change. Clearly in cultures where the essence of gender inequality is silence of women, the idea that they should begin to speak for themselves is a radical break with the past and as such, constitutes a major threat to those whose sense of themselves, and of their places in the world, is constructed around social order in which women are silent and men speak on their behalf.\(^{61}\)

On institutional construction of gender inequality, Kabeer\(^{62}\) emphasised that, gender relations does not operate in social vacuum, but are products of the ways in which institutions are organized and reconstructed overtime, this means that gender relations are aspect of broader social relations which are constituted through the rules, norms, and practices by which resources are allocated, tasks and responsibilities assigned, values are given and power mobilized. This interpretation of the concept of institutional construction of gender inequality sees the organization of family/kinship in the household and extended family system as the primary site of gender relations, but the processes by which gender inequalities are socially constructed, are not confined purely to the household and family relationships. They are reproduced across a range of institutions which include many of the policy making agencies whose objectives are to address the different forms of exclusion and inequality within their societies.\(^{63}\)

\(^{59}\)Ibid. p5

\(^{60}\) Ibid.

\(^{61}\) Ibid. p7

\(^{62}\) Ibid. p12

\(^{63}\) Ibid. p12
For theoretical references, this paper has relied on work edited by Jane L. Parpart, M. Patricia Connelly, and V. Eudine Barritteau. This work is one of the outstanding literature that show how gender studies frameworks link with one another.

Much of the analysis of this project is also a product of the work complied by Tsikata and Kerr. Their work analysed and gave a comprehensive commentary on the book entitled ‘Gender and Economic Reforms in African Program’ otherwise called FERA. The book was initiated by the North and South Institute, but designed and steward by African gender researchers and activists. The programme’s agenda was to increase the capacity of African women to analyse and influence economic policies from the perspective of gender viewpoint, and to strengthen and promote linkages among African policy makers, researchers, trainers and advocates. It is also to build upon the existing research base on gender and economic reforms that meet the African countries’ needs.

Tsikata and Kerr stress that, the need for financial sector policy and institutional change in Ghana specifically and in Africa at large will help alleviate poverty on women. They claimed that, given women’s diminishing access to formal financial services and their increasing dependence on informal means of credit, there is an unfortunate little support within the banking sector to develop products and services that are easily accessible to women and meet their needs. They emphasised that, micro-credit or loans for small business do not necessary improve the live of the poor.

However, the anti-poverty is one that has been heralded by the international community as an important means to fight poverty and neither the lack of credit is necessarily the cause of poverty. They buttressed this point with the outcome of participatory research conducted in Ghana which concluded that, the rural female farmers were asked to prioritize between accessing credits and improving their health serves, they overwhelmingly chose the later. When these women ranked credit against increasing availability of time, more time was preferred.

---

64 Parpert.J.L (eds) ‘Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Development. Free copy published on internet at A:\THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT-BOOK.htm
65 Tsikata, D. & Kerr J. ‘Demanding Dignity: Women Confronting Economic Reforms in Africa
66 Ibid.p12
67 Ibid. p16
68 Ibid. p17
On the contribution of women groups and NGOs to gender equality, advocacy, and strategies, Tsikata and Kerr lamented that, Africa women and NGOs working with women have responded to the economic reforms in a variety of ways. On one level, services delivery organization in health, education, and community development have been engaged in an effort to create a safety net. At another level, many of these organizations have adopted policy advocacy strategies to counter the impact of the reforms and enter the policy decision-making process. The writers further noted that, Market women in Kumasi- the second largest city in Ghana beside the capital Accra- wanted to transform the physical nature of market. The problem of the market women were the local expressions of flaws rooted in the decentralization model being implemented in Ghana. While the districts have been given powers to make decisions regarding critical areas of their operations, they are also expected to generate much of their resources locally. Following a series of participatory exercises, the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) agreed that, the market women would collect their own tolls, saving 10% commission paid to the private toll collectors. The market women however adopted different ways of addressing their concerns, by their participating in the policy process which they consider as their right, and by lobbying and making partnership with all stakeholders to solve their problems. Thus the real test of their success is their ability to sustain and institutionalize dialogue among the different groups of market women.

Empirically, literature on comparative politics and policy analyses has been referred to, in order to uncover the role of political parties and NGOs in influencing state policy. Peter Calvert’s book on comparative politics and Bratton and Van de Walle’s on Democratic Experiments in Africa also form an integral part of the reviewed literature and thus the foundation for this section. Besides, documents explaining the programmes of the two main political parties in Ghana; the New Patriotic Party (NPP)-which is the current ruling government-and the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the major opposition party-which has also been in power for eight years between 1992-2000-are also reviewed. Together with The women manifesto for Ghana- constitute the basis for empirical analysis of this thesis.

69 Ibid. p28-30
In this regard, a review of the political parties’ manifestoes; which clearly state their political agenda, and for that matter how they dealt with the concept of sustainable development of Ghanaian women was conducted. Another reference is Mrs Marian A.Tackie’s article and contribution to the book ‘civil society in Ghana’, in which she presented Ghana’s situational picture regarding women’s participation in politics and the role of Ghana National Council on Women and Development (GNCWD) on women development and its efforts in coordinating activities of women Non-Government organizations in enhancing women effective participation in development and democratisation processes in Ghana.

On the contribution of Non-Governmental organization, authors such as Aloysius Denkabe come to the perspective of this work. Her article entitled ‘An Overview of the Non-Governmental Sector in Ghana’ has served as strong parameters for critical evaluation of this thesis.

Thus Ghanaian women situation is analyzed vis-à-vis the general conditions found in the relevant existing theories. Evaluation of the general condition of women in Sub-Saharan African particularly those which fit Ghanaian example or situation was undertaken, and a logical conclusion is drawn as to whether the theories really explained the Ghanaian women’s situation.

The literature review of this thesis hence focuses on published materials on the subject matter, from Ghana’s Ministry of Women Affairs, National Council for Women and Development (NCWD), other local women organization and International NGOs like world vision as well as reports on some projects they had undertaken to sustain development of women in Ghana. Finally United Nation’s and World Bank annual reports on gender mainstreaming in developing countries have also been extensively consulted and referred to.

**Theoretical Frameworks**

This paper is influenced by a combination of the two most outstanding and widely used theoretical frameworks which regulate the work of academia in feminist/gender

---


and development studies as well as policy makers; namely **Women in Development** (WID) approach and **Gender and Development** (GAD) framework.

The theory of Women in development (WID) which sees women essentially in isolation and seek to integrate them into development efforts through such measures as increasing their access to credit, land and employment\(^{74}\) provides a means for exploring the role of Ghana’s two main political parties and the NGOs are playing in improving the subordinate status of women in Ghana. This approach is based on acceptance of existing social structures and traditional development objectives, which the advocates of the framework believe that such objectives would be better met if women were brought fully into the process of the development\(^{75}\)

WID approach emerged when women involved with development issues in US lobbied to bring their concern to the attention of US policy makers. They criticized the assumption that modernization will automatically increase gender equality. They use the term ‘**Women in Development**’ in their campaign to influence policies of United State Agency for International Development (USAID).\(^ {76}\) Their emphasis is on equal opportunity for women and this framework represents a merging of modernization theory and liberal feminist theories.

The advocates of this approach assumed that, development was measured by adoption of western technologies, institutions and values and their innovation was to bring to task how to include women in the development process. WID facilitates women’s access to development and calls for efficient and accurate measurement of women’s life experiences and for improvement in women’s access to education, training and more better employment.

The greatest concern of WID is the absence of women from development plans and policies and their exclusion from the development process. Its goal is to see effective and efficient development that include women, and this can be achieved by integrating women into the existing development processes and structures.

This theory has the limitation of heavily over reliance on the modernization theory and tends to see development as an activity of government-to-government nature. It also sees state as a solution rather than a potential problem for advancement of

\(^{74}\) Rethberger, E.M, Women In Development, Women And Development, Gender And Development: Trend in Research and Practice, Ottawa: International Research centre, 1986 p6

\(^{75}\) Ibid

\(^{76}\) Ibid
women. WID is also preoccupied with only women subordination role ignoring the importance of global inequality on third world women as well as the importance of race and class in women life.

Another theoretical axis around which this study is formed is the approach given by the theorists of **Gender and Development** (GAD). The advocates’ of this approach believe that affirmative action strategies aimed at integrating women into the ongoing development projects alone are not enough to generate sustainable women development, they rather focus on women in isolation, their argument is that it is important to understand the culturally variable social relationship between men and women, their philosophy is that the key problem of gender relationship is women’s subordinate status to men and they therefore call for a fundamental re-examination of our current social and political institutions with the goal of giving women equality with men.  

This approach emerged from the grassroots organizational experiences and from the writing of the third world feminists. The process of developing this framework began in the early 1980s and calls for women development that recognizes the importance of global and gender inequalities.

This approach focuses on social constructed relations between women and men with special attention on women subordination as well as the problem of unequal power relations which prevent equitable development and women’s full participation. This framework seeks to ensure equitable sustainable development with women and men as co-decision makers. It sees women as agents and not simply recipient of development and calls for re-conceptualization of the development process to take gender and global inequality into account. It echoes for identifying and addressing practical needs as determined by women and men, to improve their condition, and at the same time address women’s strategic interests.

Under this framework, a distinction is drawn between women’s interests and gender interests. Women interests imply biological category that assumes homogeneity where as gender interests connote a socially constructed set of relations and material practices. The advocates stressed that; gender interests can either be practical or strategic. Practical interests arise as the need to provide food, shelter, education and health care among others, and strategic interests arise out of an analysis of women’s

---

77 ibid
subordination and require changes in the structure of gender, class, race that define women’s position in any given culture.

The principal goal of this theory is to materialize the politicization of practical needs of women and transforming them into strategic interests.

The approach further argues that, women’s status in society is deeply affected by the nature of patriarchal power in their societies at national, community and household levels which is defined and maintained by the accepted norms and values that define women’s and men’s role and duties in particular society.

The focal attention of the strategy is women-men relationship, and gender relations are seen as the key determinant of women’s position in society as socially constructed patterns of behaviour which can be changed if desired.

In summary, GAD provide a way of analyzing policies and organizational effort to determine which one will both meet short-term practical needs and help to change the structure of women subordination. This framework is used to evaluate the subordination status of Ghanaian women and the and how it could be changed.

Application and Conceptualization of the frameworks

From the above expatiation of the frameworks, it could be noted that, WID and GAD tend to focus on practical and strategic needs of women which the state or national governments and for that matter the political parties are expected to play a leading role in achieving them. They are applicable in analyzing policies of the two main political parties in Ghana and how they could be directed to achieve the practical and strategic needs of Ghanaian women. They are also used in determining the effectiveness of implementation of such policies. The approaches serve as a guide and mirror for checking the feasibility of the policies and a mechanism for evaluation. More so, a critical evaluation of the projects and structures as well as institutions put in place to implement those policies is also measured applying the goals of these frameworks.

Both frameworks come to bear when comparative analysis of the two parties’ women development policies and agendas is to be made especially against Ghanaian women’s demand for affirmative action as enshrined in a document called The Women’s Manifesto for Ghana. What concrete steps have put in place by the political parties to provide those demands?
On the other hand, the same frameworks are used to evaluate the activities of some of the NGOs particularly women oriented ones and to what extent their activities constitute a supplement, or a pressure on the government, to provide such demands and interests of women on one hand, and what they are also doing to correct women’s subordinate status.

The performance of the NGOs is assessed having these frameworks in mind. The frameworks are applicable strategies for evaluating the activities of the NGOs, what have they done, what they could not do, the problems they are facing and steps to be taken in order to address their problems.

It must be stated here categorically that, the frameworks are not going to be treated separately. Both supplements each other and aimed at achieving though different but related goals. In other words, practically is difficult to draw a line of distinction between the two as can be done theoretically as analyzed above.

The concerns of the two approaches are the guiding principle of this research, how to materialize them within the context of Ghanaian women, and within the policies and programmes of the two dominant political parties in Ghana the concerned NGOs. They are also the guide for interpretation of the information collected and the for evaluating the performance of the parties at one hand, and the NGOs at the other, for ensuring sustainable development of both practical and strategic needs of Ghanaian women.

Finally the concerns of these approaches fused together holistically, also help in exploring for deeper understanding of the root causes of the problems facing Ghanaian women, they will eventually serve as a guidance to identifying whether they are applicable and for that matter explain the predicaments of marginalization which Ghanaian women face.

In a net shell, these two frameworks will be the principles against which the research questions of this thesis will be answered. They will be used to assess the performance of the political parties as well as the concerned NGOs. The frameworks will be the mirror for checking whether or not the parties are able to integrate women, into the development process and thereby facilitate achieving affirmative action; which is the principal goal of WID. And to also check to what extend they are able to achieve women’s practical and strategic needs; the goal of GAD which is reducing women sub-ordination to men.
Chapter Three

Political Parties in Ghana: an Overview

Ghana will be going to the poll for both presidential and parliamentary elections on 7th December, 2004. Some of the political parties which registered to contest for that election are:

- Convention People’s Party (CPP)
- Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere (EGLE)
- Great Coalition Party (GCP)
- National Democratic Congress (NDC)
- New Patriotic Party (NPP)
- National Reform Party (NRP)

Ghana held its first Presidential election in 14 years on November 3, 1992. The NDC under the leadership of J.J. Rawlings was declared the winner. The 1992 presidential and parliamentary elections marked Ghana’s move to democratic governance after a long period of military rule. In 1996 new presidential and parliamentary elections was held, marking the first time in the political history of Ghana in which an elected civilian government served its full term and presented itself for re-election through multiparty competitive election. The NDC government was re-elected for the second term, the then major opposition Party the NPP conceded defeat and congratulated the ruling NDC.

The success of 1996 elections make Ghana the most stable democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa and one of the leading democracies in Africa at large. In the year 2000, another general election was held, this time around, the leading opposition party the NPP ceased the political power from the then ruling NDC, largely because of the absence of founding father of NDC party and the charismatic leader J.J Rawlings; who has served his second term as the president of Ghana and cannot continue for another term, as the constitution of Ghana stated. Some political analysts are with the view that NDC lost the elections because the majority of Ghanaian populace are fed up with NDC government and wanted a change. Others also hold the view that the NPP packaged their campaign strategies well and the result was taking power from NDC.

The NPP is thus the currently ruling party of Ghana with John Agyekum Kuffour as the President. The philosophy of the NPP lies between Political Conservatism and Liberalism and thus follows conservative liberal democratic values and tradition.
Another interesting aspect of Ghana’s political parties is that, majority of the parties emerged since the overthrow of First Republic, and claim to the basic orientation of one of the two major competing political parties during the period before independence. Thus the historic evolution of Ghana has given rise to a political culture in which two strands of political traditions have developed, one in opposition to the other. They are the Nkrumahiest tradition—which was socialist-oriented, and Dankwah Busia tradition of Dr. Busia which came to stay after the 1969 elections. The Dankwah Busia tradition ushered the Second Republic of Ghana and successfully led the Progress Party (PP) to victory.78

The NDC is viewed by some political commentators as the third force on the Ghanaian political scene but the NDC itself claim strong connection with Nkrumahiest tradition.79

Although Ghana operates multiparty system, only two political parties have majority of followers at any given presidential and parliamentary elections to win election and hence form the government, the ruling NPP and the leading opposition party the NDC. In this sense, Ghana is a two-party state.

It is on this basis this paper will limit its focus on examination of the policies and agendas of these two parties and how they will ensure sustainable Ghanaian women development should either of them win the forthcoming elections.

**The Role of Political Parties in Development**

Political parties are technically subset of political system and are universally recognized as the mechanism for articulating national interests of a particular country.80 In layman’s language, political parties may be defined as a group of people coming together with common views and ideas and with the intention of capturing a nation’s political power through competitive democratic elections. Political parties are therefore a body of people united for promoting national interests upon some particular principles they all agreed. Parties articulate philosophies of the masses and develop policy; they have methods of debating issues and formulating policies to present at election.

---

79 Ibid.
80 Calvert, P. ‘Comparative Politics: An Introduction’ London: Ashford Couler Press Ltd. 2002 p161
Political parties are supposed to be avenues for community groups-like women and other marginalized groups- to influence the decision-making process of a country, it is an avenues for political debate and discussion in a country. In a nutshell, political parties are means of establishing effective government and a vehicle through which groups and organizations within a state can push forward their demands and concerns through communication into the system so that the political system, in turn, translate these demands and concerns into outputs, in a form of good policies and programmes that will resolve the concerns of the people.

It is against this background this thesis will explore the policies of NDC and NPP from social, political and economic empowerment of Ghanaian women and offer suggestions for consideration.

**Development of Ghanaian women: The Role of NDC and NPP**

This section examines the roles played by each of the above mentioned two political parties in the development of Ghanaian women during their respective term of office in government. It also considers what measures the parties put in place to support affirmative action Ghanaian women are yearning for. It will start with the analysis of their previous political manifestoes as well the current ones for the December 7, 2004 elections.

As previously stated, the NDC Party ruled Ghana for two terms, between 1992-1996, and 1996-2000. The NPP on the other hand took over power from the year 2000-2004 and it currently campaigning vigorously for re-election for second term. Even though the two parties did not serve equal terms in office in government, a brief comparative analysis of assessment of their contributions and achievements to the development of Ghanaian women could be made using discourse and qualitative content analysis techniques.

**NDC and Women Development**

To begin with, during NDC’s term of office, an effort was made to strengthen the National Council on Women and Development (NCWD) by giving it much room to operate effectively.

This body serves as the national machinery on women and it is charged with coordinating and monitoring activities of Ghanaian women’s non-governmental
organizations and enhancing their effective participation in the democratization process in Ghana.\textsuperscript{81} Even though this body is not a creation of NDC government, it is not an overstatement to say it was more active and prominent during the NDC government terms of office. The NCWD was established by the government of Ghana in 1975 by the then military regime; the National Redemption Council (NRC) to act as an official national machinery for pursuing the advancement of Ghanaian women by enhancing their participation in development and in the long run to eliminate inequality between men and women\textsuperscript{82}.

Whether NDC deserves commendation or otherwise, a quick examination of the role NCWD played in enhancing the participation of Ghanaian women in democratization process and decision making during its terms of office is mandatory.

The function of NCWD to NDC government is advisory; thus it was suppose to advice NDC government on all matters relating to the notion of integration of Ghanaian women in national development at national, regional and community levels. It was therefore tasked with responsibility of ensuring the conceptual framework of Women in Development (WID) manifest into the programmes and policies of NDC government. The evaluation of the contribution of women in the field of socio-economic, cultural as well as political was among the functions of the council.

The council also coordinates programme-funding for gender specific projects, register and coordinate activities of all women’s groups within Ghana through research, public educational programmes, and also promote income-generating activities for women.\textsuperscript{83}

By virtue of the above enumerated roles, objectives and functions, NCWD has succeeded in playing a significant role during the NDC era; it advises the government on all issues relating to emancipation and total enhancement of women. It has sent a series of recommendations on how to improve the situation of Ghanaian women and on other pressing issues affecting the development of women from time to time to government for policy decision-making.\textsuperscript{84}

Other equally important role the council played during this era was helping to raise the living standard of women through the initiating and promoting small scale

\textsuperscript{82} Ibid. P44
\textsuperscript{83} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{84} Ibid  p45
industries, supporting women to gain access to financial assistance from Banks and other credit systems, and introducing Ghanaian women to appropriate technology. It is therefore not a misstatement to sum up that to less extend, the council—which NDC government strengthened—has contributed to development of Ghanaian women by mobilizing women, pushing their concerns, and presenting them to the decision making authorities. As Tackie noted ‘the role of women in the national economy [during this era] and their contribution to the Gross National Product (GNP) cannot be over-emphasized. Though women’s contribution economically has not been properly quantified and valued, it is a well known fact that the contribution of women in national development cannot be underestimated’.

Perhaps, the NDC government strengthened this council in an attempt to honour their 1996 campaign promises made to Ghanaian women, as enshrined in the party’s 1996 Political Manifesto under the caption ‘Women on The Move’ which reads inter alia: ‘the NDC Government has already accepted in principle the NCWD’s post-Beijing report, which recommends affirmative action to speed up the implementation of measures to raise the status of women and promote their participation in decision – making at all levels’. It stressed further that, ‘among these measures will be steps to increase the number of women appointed to government post committees, boards and other positions and to promote more women candidates to stand for elective posts’.

The last paragraph of the section of 1996 NDC manifesto dealing with women integration reads; ‘the NDC will continue to uphold and defend the rights of women and will pursue affirmative action until men and women can stand side-by-side as equal partners in progress’.

Let me now examine critically to what extent the NDC government was able to fulfil these goals and sweet promises.

In fact the NDC Government has not only just announced its Women's Affirmative Action as cited from their 1996 manifesto above, but has also taken concrete initiatives to implement aspects of the promises into national Policies. In the education sector, the country’s universities were directed to apply affirmative action in admissions procedures; in the students’ intake, in the allocation of halls of

\[\text{85} \text{ Ibid}\]
\[\text{87} \text{ Ibid}\]
residence, and in the chosen study programmes like sciences and medicine. Girls Education Unit was established within Ghana Education Service to address girl-child access to education and motivate issues of girls’ interest. In the Education Service, eight (8) out of the ten (10) Divisions are headed by women. However, the promised Women's Desk in the Office of the President was not established. The number of women Ministers also dropped from six (6) to four (4)\(^8\).

In the water sector, women are being trained as pump caretakers in communities for regular maintenance of the Community Water Sanitation (WATSAN) facilities. The Community, district and regional WATSAN teams have women constituting 25-30 per cent.

Virtually every Board of Directors appointed since 1996 has included a woman or women. Indeed 12 out of the 19 Board members of the Ghana National Commission on Children i.e. 63.16% were women. Two very critical Commissions, the Lands Commission and the Forestry Commission, were both chaired by women. The President reserved 30% he entitled to appoint to the District Assemblies for women, resulting in an increase in the number of Assemblywomen from 6.2% in 1994 to 11.1% in 1998. The number of women District Chief Executives (DCE) has also risen from nine (9) to eleven (11). The Northern Region has had a woman DCE for the first time since 1965.\(^9\)

Also, vigorous public education to encourage women to contest the 1998 District Assembly elections was waged, resulting in an increase in the number of women who contested. During period under review, five women Ambassadors out of twenty –nine (29) and three (3) out of the eleven (11) members appointed by the President to the Council of State were women.

The Rural Enterprises Project and the Capacity 21 Project of the Ministry of Environment Science and Technology (MEST) have both targeted rural women. Under the former, women have benefited from apprenticeship training, business advisory services and credit.\(^9\)

The NDC has also supported Ghanaian women through the 31 December Women’s Movement (DWM) and the Women’s Wing of NDC. These bodies, particularly


\(^9\) Ibid.
DWM pursued and continue to pursue practical measures such as maternal and child health, day care centres, education of girl-child and participation of women in community, district and national levels.

The 31st December Women's Movement (DWM) is largest women NGO in Ghana, it is a broad based development oriented Non Governmental Organisation which was headed by the then Ghana’s First Lady, Mrs Rawlings. She had summarized the objectives of the movement as follows;

‘[It is] my desire to see the emancipation of women at every level of the development to enable them to contribute and benefit from the socio-economic and political progress of the country. Their participation will help to achieve the aims of the United Nations Declaration for Women; equality, development, and peace. Women's vital role of promoting peace in the family, the country and the world at large must be acknowledged. To do this, they must be empowered politically and equip them adequately for the challenges of critically identifying and assessing situations for the betterment of society.’

Specifically, the Movement has encouraged women to participate in functional literacy programmes. In conjunction with the African Development Bank and the National Council on Women and Development, a Women's Community Development Project has been initiated which has a component to assist in the eradication of illiteracy as well as help women acquire basic skills, vocational courses and entrepreneurial development training.

The Movement has also been involved in the establishment of Day Care Centres for such reasons as; enabling women to have the opportunity to leave their wards in a safe environment while they go about their activities, to help mothers have the peace of mind to attain high levels of productivity in their various economic activities, and above all, to offer pre-school training to children, especially those in the rural areas.

And not least, 31 December Women’s Movement has the credit of engaging in the training of women attendants to handle their children. So far, in collaboration with the Nursery Training Centre of the Ministry of Education, the Movement has sponsored

---


92 Ibid.
the training of 240 attendants. Many of these centres have been financed from contributions from members of the Movement as well as proceeds from the income generating projects.\(^\text{93}\)

Notwithstanding said and done, I am with view that, the NDC government did not do enough to empower Ghanaian women, it was not able to ensure the fifty-fifty balance between men and women, particularly in terms of political participation and representation as enshrined in its 1996 political manifesto. Taking into the account that, majority Ghanaian population is made up of women, much need to be done in terms of giving women fair chance to participate equally with men in decision making processes and by showing commitment to affirmative action by giving women equal opportunities in governance.

**NPP and Women Development**

Just like the NDC, the NPP has also indicated a palatable commitment for the rhetoric of sustainable Ghanaian women development. In the ‘forward’ section of their 1996 political manifesto entitled ‘Development in Freedom, Agenda for Change’ it stated that the NPP fundamentally believe among other things that: ‘The only way to develop and sustain democracy is through free enterprise, where the individual (including woman) is not at the economic mercy and munificence of the government,…our government will provide a reasonable and temporary safety-net for the disadvantaged (women not excluded)…the full of potential of women must be realized. Every effort must be made to remove all impediments in the way of the advancement of women’.\(^\text{94}\)

Under the heading ‘Opportunity for women’ the manifesto further stressed that ‘women have undoubtedly been the backbone of the family and our economy; trading and agriculture would never been what they are without their dominant inputs. In spite of their contributions, the voice of women is sufficiently not head in government and in legislature’ it continue saying that, ‘we will strengthen women’s groups especially NCWD to ensure that the Ghanaian women voice is head at the highest levels. Women will be encouraged to be part of the policy making process, this will be done

\(^{93}\) Ibid

by making sure that they are sensitized to their civic responsibilities. Their participation in the economic, political and social life of the nation will be properly acknowledged and enhanced.\textsuperscript{95}

Let us now consider what programmes and projects the NPP government has also undertaken during their tenure of office to narrow the gap between men and women. Since the New Patriotic Party administration took office in January 2000, they made efforts to improve upon the social, economic and political empowerment and circumstances of women.

One indelible mark the NPP government made was the creation of the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs, with a Minister for Cabinet rank charged with the responsibility of working, among others, towards the empowerment and development of women with the view to mainstreaming gender into all policy initiatives and development programmes of the country. The creation of the ministry was the first of its kind in the political history of Ghana.

Thus, the NPP government has not only fulfilled a campaign promise in this regards but also embraced the international agenda of empowerment of women at the highest policy levels.

Indeed, the NPP government wanted by establishing that ministry to consider policies to encourage women to be part of the policy making process, and to bridge the gap between men and women in education at all levels.

It economically wanted to create an avenue to empower women and reduce poverty among them. It also wanted to ensure equitable distribution of the country's wealth and public appointments, and also to discourage stereotyping which has created two worlds; a man's world and a women's world- the hallmark of patriarchal systems, and above all, to protect women against all forms of violence both physical and psychological in the name of traditional and customary practices. And by this obligation, repeal all discriminatory laws which interfere with the attainment of equal rights for women to re-enforce their empowerment.\textsuperscript{96}


The Ministry of Women And Children's Affairs (MWCA) has since its inception carried out extensive sensitisation, educational and advocacy programmes to help shape societal attitudes to be gender sensitive and friendly. Through advocacy, it has been possible to obtain a fifty percent of government appointees into District, Municipal and Metropolitan assemblies to be women.\textsuperscript{97}

During NPP term of office, many women have been appointed to high public offices while others have been made to head public institutions and government departments. For example two ladies were made both the Director-General and the deputy of the Ghana Education Service. A female was also the Director-General of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation. Other positions held by women under the NPP government includes; Acting Commissioner of the Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), the Ghana Government Statistician, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Services (IRS) and her Deputy, as well as the Head of the Registrar General's Department.

The rest are the Head of the Ghana Immigration Services, Head of the Tema Development Corporation, Head of Ghana Trade Fair Authority and Two confirmed female Chief Directors of Government Ministries. There are six (6) other female in acting capacities and over thirteen (13) Directors in the Civil Service are female.\textsuperscript{98}

The above records are clear indication of the NPP government’s commitment to affirmative action and creating enabling environment to women to occupy higher positions in public offices. It also shows a remarkable improvement in the status of women during the four years of NPP administration. It also vividly shows how NPP administration has also made some effort to reduce the gender based disparities which has characterized the Ghanaian system.

The Government of the NPP through promotion of girl-child education and the micro-credit programme under the ministry of women and children affairs has also shown commitment towards the economic and social empowerment of women. In an effort to attain such objectives the NPP Government has disbursed more than One Hundred Billion Cedis (100 billion Cedis) in micro-credit to over 150 thousand women across the country; who are engaged in food production, processing,

\textsuperscript{97} Ibid
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid.
distribution and other forms of businesses. This support also included the provision of cottage level processing equipment for cassava, shear nut, groundnuts and vegetables such as tomatoes.

The introduction of the Women's Development Fund during the NPP term of office, and its requirement from beneficiaries to open bank savings accounts coupled with the resultant accumulated savings has also contributed in no small measure to the financial and economic viability of many of the participating rural banks.

Indeed, the financial, economic and social circumstances of women have improved as a result. Follow up surveys conducted by the ministry indicated that beneficiaries of the fund in many of the deprived coastal communities have used the fund to enrol their wards in schools.

Despite the measures undertaken by NPP government to empower women it could not reverse or significantly improve upon the condition of women. Ghanaian women continue to be victims of well define status of inequality, male dependency and subjugation. Just like the NDC government, the number of women occupying key political portfolios in the NPP administration is nothing to write home about.

It is worthy of note that, the aim of this analysis is not to compare the performance of the NDC and the NPP administration and rank them in terms of achievements in empowerment of women and affirmative action, rather, it is to show that despite both parties’ recognition of the need for empowering women, very little has been done by both to ensure women equal participation in politics. It is only and only when women are given the opportunity to hold some sensitive positions like defence ministry, ministry of finance or women are made presidential candidates or their running mates or are given equal representation at all levels of human endeavour, that we can say that, indeed the parties have shown true commitment toward the rhetoric of women empowerment and equality between man and women they have filled in their political manifestoes.

This is not however to down play or discredit the political parties from the little contributions and efforts as well the programmes they have made to mainstream gender, however, I hold the view that their policies and programmes have not

99 Ibid
100 Ibid
101 Ibid
successfully integrated Ghanaian women in the decision making processes. The following statistics will buttress my viewpoint.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERIOD</th>
<th>LEADER</th>
<th>NUMBER OF FEMALE ELECTED/APPOINTED</th>
<th>NUMBER OF FEMALE MINISTERS</th>
<th>TOTAL NUMBER OF SEATS</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE PARLIAMENTARIANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960-1966</td>
<td>Dr. Kwame Nkrumah</td>
<td>6 Appointed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>5.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-1972</td>
<td>Prof. K.A Busia</td>
<td>2 Elected</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>1.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-1981</td>
<td>Dr. Hilla Limann</td>
<td>5 Elected</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>4.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-2000</td>
<td>Jerry John Rawlings</td>
<td>18 Elected</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Representation of women in Government since Independence.\(^{102}\)

A close look at the table above clearly shows that Ghanaian women are underrepresented in the political arena with very insignificant representation in both the NDC and NPP administrations despite a slight increase in women’s number during their respective regimes. The reasons for this slight increment could be attributed to the Beijing conference, activities of NCWD, 31 December women’s movement and other concerned women groups and organization and not least, the creation of the Women and Children Affairs Ministry.

Although women represent nearly 52% of the Ghanaian population the statistics in the table demonstrate that they are highly disadvantaged compared to men through out the political history of Ghana.

\(^{102}\) The representation exclude the period under military regimes.
The table further indicates that since independence, women have been sidelined and the various governments have inherited the culture of excluding women from decision making from their predecessors. The culture of exclusion of women from decision making could be said to be a colonial heritage, as Kessey103 rightly put;

‘In 1957, the British granted independence to Ghana under Kwame Nkrumah’s leadership. Ghana therefore, became the first African country south of the Sahara to gain independence. The political marginalisation of women that characterised the colonial administration had continued to a large extent in the post-independence administration’.

Other reasons are the traditional prejudices, beliefs and perceptions, gender discrimination and high level of illiteracy on the part of women resulting in lack of political will are all indicators for lower level of Ghanaian women participation in politics and policy-making process. The greatest of all the reasons is the lack of commitment by the political parties and the executive branch of the various governments to facilitate women’s effective participation in politics and government as highlighted by table 1 above.

It is for this purpose this paper is limited to the study of political parties particularly the ones under review, and the gender biased NGOs. I have the feelings that, if the politicians show a little concern and commitment, couple with the contribution of the NGOs the apparent neglect of Ghanaian women in decision-making process will be drastically improved.

Thus this paper is limited to the study of political parties and NGOs. Sustainable development of Ghanaian women is not only the responsibility of political parties and NGOs, media, judicial system, the religious organization, chief and all civil society organization within Ghana are all responsible actors for its achievement.

The Parties’ 2004 Manifestoes Vs the Women’s Manifesto for Ghana

As indicated in the preceding paragraphs, Ghana will be holding presidential and parliamentary election come 7th December 2004. The political parties, haven shown little commitment toward affirmative action, women empowerment and development during their respective tenure of office, this section will try to examine what policy

103 Kessey, C. ’ Poverty Alleviation: The Case of the Ghanaian Woman’1995p3
agendas the parties have put in place for the development of Ghanaian women, particularly those relating to their political marginalization, their economic development and reducing their poverty. How do the 2004 manifestoes for the NDC and the NPP respond to the claims and demands put forward by ‘The Women Manifesto for Ghana? The section will also offer suggestions and recommendations on how gender sensitive policies cloud be formulated.

The forthcoming elections (the December 7, election) galvanized Ghana’s women to have a nationwide series of meetings to draft a women’s manifesto for the elections with the hope that it will help end the situation where they have been left behind in the democratic process.

Even though women are assumed to be equal citizens of Ghana, they are usually limited in the way they are engaged in the political process during elections. The women’s Manifesto for Ghana is now the most fundamental and important reference point for women’s issues.

To ascertain whether there is a change of attitude on the part of the two major political parties regarding the embracement of women in the decision making process there is the need to briefly examine the contents, claims and the demands of women’s manifesto for Ghana and crosscheck how each political parties’ manifesto adheres to them.

Basically, the Women’s Manifesto for Ghana has enumerated a lot of problems faced by Ghanaian women which serve as impediments to their socio-economic, cultural and political development. These concerns and demands could be grouped as women economic empowerment, women and land issues, social policy development and women in politics and decision-making.

Other claims include women’s human rights and the statute law, discriminatory cultural practises, media and the projection of women as well as condition of Ghanaian women in conflict and peace among others.

To start with, economically Ghanaian women have lost control over the management of Ghana’s resources. The structural Adjustment imposed on Ghana by the IMF and the World Bank in the 1980s has contributed greatly to live many women in Ghana in a devastating impoverishment. As a result of the adoption of the so-called Economic Recovery Programmes suggested by these institutions, Ghana experienced widespread poverty and insecurity. Certain social groups such as women, children and
physically challenged people suffered particular forms of hardship. Women are mostly found in the informal sector engaging in trade and other service activities where salaries are very low. Workers in the Ghana informal sectors are hardly protected by the labour laws therefore have no such rights as the minimum wages and health care.\textsuperscript{104}

In this regard, the women’s manifesto demanded among other things that; the government, and for that matter the political parties should undertake a fundamental review of Ghana economic policies to promote the well being and the security of women and men and ensure a reversal of past economic policy failure. It also calls on the government to promote economic rights of women by providing them with opportunities to improve their livelihood, opportunities that will target poverty and include women’s access to bank loan, technology and land\textsuperscript{105}. It further asked the government, the Ministry of Employment and Manpower Development (MEMD), the Trade Union Congress (TUC), Social Security and National Investment Trust (SSNIT) and employers to ensure that social security arrangements are iron out to cover all working women in the rural and the urban areas by the year 2015.

On the issue of land, they wanted the reverse of the cultural and customary practices which place woman in an unequal right to acquisition of land. ‘Land relations’ the manifesto highlighted ‘are critical for women’s right in Ghana. This is because of the centrality of land as a resource for livelihood of many Ghanaian. Land is important source of food, water and medicinal plant. The control of land means gaining social and political power and authority, as such women unequal rights to land negatively affect their access to other resources and for that matter their economic, social and political status’.\textsuperscript{106} The Ghana customary systems and traditions did not favour women when it comes to land distribution, for example marriage is the source of farming land for women, however access to the husband’s land depends on marital residence and the continued existence of the marriage. In situation of marital conflict or divorce, the woman not only looses the land but also investment she has made on the farmland in term of cultivation and development. Although parliament is required by the constitution of Ghana to enact legislation regulating the property right of

\textsuperscript{104} The Women’s Manifesto for Ghana\textsuperscript{2004}. Accra: Coalition on the Women’s Manifesto for Ghana p11-14
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{106} Ibid.p17
spouse, however, twelve year after the constitutional rule nothing concrete has been done.

In this regard, the women’s manifesto proposed the following corrective actions, and requested that, women’s contribution to the development of farms be recognised and compensated at divorce and on the death of their spouses. It also calls for immediate arrangement which will allow women to participate equally with men in land administration at national, regional and local /community levels, and asked for women’s customary interests in land to be recognised, re-valued and strengthened by the end of 2006. Furthermore, it petitions state to ensure achieving equity in access to land control becomes an integral component of the Land Administration Project. It also required by the year 2015, that part of land tenure reform and customary laws of getting access to land and inheritance which discriminate against women should be reformed.  

On the issue of women and social policy and development, the women’s manifesto for Ghana denies existence of comprehensive and progressive social programme that will cater for needs of women which constitute majority of the population of Ghana. It stressed that, Ghana has no social policy and therefore no systematic programmes to deliver the accepted minimum level of service provision. This anomaly has resulted in very few improvements in the live of women and men over the years. It explain that, period of economic growth have been characterized by increased level of poverty, disease, and insecurity. Social development indicator have either stagnated or deteriorated over the past years with women being disproportionately affected by the trends. The adoption of Economic Recovery Programmes (ERP) and Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) with their resultant privatization and cost recovery measures have turned all public and social goods and amenities into commodities that are bought and sold on the market. This means access depends on income not need. Women and girls are therefore forced to take responsibility for the provision of what were ought to be socially provided services and resources. There is no good drinking water and sanitation facilities for the rural women. The health system is deteriorating and cost of health care is exorbitantly higher making it extremely impossible for poor to get access to health. The prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS in

108 Ibid.p23-24
Ghana has thrown gender inequalities into sharper relief. Available statistics show that, more than 90% of all AIDS cases are found between the ages of 15-49 and 3/5 i.e. 61% of the reported cases between 1986 and 2002 are female. The statistics also indicated that women are more prone to being infected with HIV/AIDS than men\textsuperscript{109}. Thus, apart from physiological factors that make women more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS, poverty has also denied them the right to negotiate safer sex with men they often depend on. Furthermore, traditionally, Ghanaian women are required to give birth to consolidate their marriages; this is also a contributory factor for unsafe and unprotected sex.

On the question of education, a big gap exists between men and women. 44.1% of women as opposed to 21.1% did not have formal education. Given the fact that getting employment in the formal sector requires at least secondary education, it follows that women are more disadvantaged in getting job in the formal sector that men\textsuperscript{110}. Given this statistics only 5.7% of women and 15.8% of men can work in the sector.\textsuperscript{111}

From the above depicted picture by the manifesto, it is clear that the social developments trends in Ghana are both deteriorating and unfavourable not only to women, but for the entire people of Ghana. As a result the manifesto put forward the following claims to the political parties. Among many things it requires the government to come out with a national security policy that addresses issues of inequality which will specifically targets women and other disadvantaged groups in society, such as the aged and physically challenged people. It also asked for immediate statutory measures to ensure minimum life-line provision of basic utilities for poor urban and rural communities and for household living in abject poverty.

It also petitioned the government to take steps to implement measures needed for securing reproductive rights of women as agreed in the Beijing platform for action and its outcome documents. The manifesto asked the government to ensure that full proactive implementation of strategies and targets, including affirmative action policies at all levels, to ensure equal enrolment and retention of girls in school at all stages of education. And not least, the document also tasked the government to remove cost-sharing fees at primary and secondary school levels. Basic education the

\textsuperscript{109} Ibid p25

\textsuperscript{110} Ghana Living Standards Survey 2000 (GLSS4)

\textsuperscript{111} From: http://allafrica.com/stories/200310060020.html
manifesto added ‘is a fundamental human right and its cost should be met by government, the private sector and community’.\textsuperscript{112}

On position of women in politics and decision making process, the manifesto holds a similar view as mine, which I have elaborated in the previous section that, the role of women in pre-colonial era and the unfortunate change of events at post-independence have created a culture of excluding women from politics and decision making as table 1 above vividly shows. The political marginalization of women is reflected in the small number of female candidates who are elected to both parliament and district assemblies. In Africa, Ghana is still far behind countries like Uganda, South Africa and Botswana where there is an appreciable increase in the number of women representation in legislature. According to the Swiss-based Inter-parliamentary Union, the women account for only 9\% of the Ghanaian legislature against 24.7\% and 29.8\% in Uganda and South Africa respectively.\textsuperscript{113} It further pointed out that, Ghana’s decentralization programme which was intended to unearth and develop local talent and initiative and train people for participation in other levels of national decisions making has also not been very cordial to Ghanaian women. Women have not been able to take advantage of their potential to shape decision because of low representation.

Available data shows that\textsuperscript{114}, in the 1998 district assembly elections, out of an overall total of 4820 elected candidates’ only196 were female representing only 4\%. In 2002 election, 341 of the total of elected candidate of 4583 were women also representing 7\%. This resulted in insignificant representation and for that matter participation of women in decision making process at district level. Given this scenario, the women’s manifesto for Ghana has listed the following demands\textsuperscript{115},

‘That, all arms of government and political parties take action to promote the transformation of the political culture to make it more transparent, accountable and sensitive to the needs and concerns of women’,


\textsuperscript{113} From: http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.phd?ID=45621

\textsuperscript{114} The Women’s Manifesto for Ghana 2004. Accra: Coalition on the Women’s Manifesto for Ghana. p 32

\textsuperscript{115} Ibid. p33-34
‘That, political participation ensures that by 2008, there is at least, 50% representation of women in party executive and other decision-making structures.’

‘That, all political parties promote affirmative action to progressively increase the number of women candidates for parliamentary elections in order that there is 30% representation of women by the 2008 and 50% by the year 2012’

‘That the government ensure that by 2008, 50% of appointees to district assemblies and to the offices of district chief executive and district co-ordinating director are women’

‘That the constitutional provisions and the sections of the CEDAW and Platform for Action regarding women’s participation in decision making are implemented by the government of Ghana’.

‘that until gender parity is achieved, women accepted as parliamentary and district assembly candidate should be supported financially from a special independent fund created by the government by 2005’. And finally,

‘That the NCCE, CHRAJ and the Ministry of Women’s and Children’s Affairs increase their effort to sensitise the general public in order to enhance understanding and support for gender equality’.

Under the women’s human rights, the women’s manifesto acknowledged that many laws have been passed to improve the status of women in Ghana such as Marriage Laws, Interstate Succession, Customary Marriage and Divorce Registration and what have you. It also recognised the commitments shown by Ghana to various UN conferences on Women, and the obligations Ghana had under the international human right instruments such as UN Charter of 1945 and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1984.

It stressed however that, women continue to suffer bias and discrimination because international human rights instruments are not fully integrated and enforced within national laws. This resulted in women’s continuance to contend with discriminatory laws and practices in marriage, employment, divorce and in access to resources such as land and labour. One funny scenario is that, a man under customary law can divorce his wife on the grounds of adultery, witchcraft but a woman is not under obligation to seek divorce for same accusations. Furthermore, legal decisions show that the laws governing the distribution of marital property at divorce do not sufficiently take into account women’s non-monetary contributions to the acquisition
of such property. The inadequate implementation of the laws emanates from discrimination against the poor women and men, lack of resources, low capacity and undue delays in court proceedings and processes. Even few rich women who are able to access the legal system find themselves dealing with an unduly formal alienating environment. In fact very few women and men are fully aware of the women’s rights under the law partly because of the poor performance of the legal institutions particularly department or section tasked with legal education.\textsuperscript{116}

To these problems the women’s manifesto suggested that it is of superlative importance for the government to take necessary corrective actions to ensure prevalence of effective instruments for gender justice. It offered the following recommendations:

- The government should initiate a constitutional review process which will promote the principles of fundamental human rights and freedoms and economic and social rights for all women and men on an equal basis, to be completed by the 2010.

- That by the same date, the government completes a review of the entire body of laws to ensure their conformity with the constitution of Ghana and the obligations under international and Regional Human Rights Instruments. Regarding the marriage and divorce laws the suggested that,

- Discriminatory provisions regarding the rights and duties of the parties to a marriage as wells divorce are reformed. While recognizing the validity of polygamy under customary and religious laws, the government and the law enforcement agencies should ensure that, the laws against bigamy are properly enforced.

- That women non-monetary contribution to their households should be recognised and valued through equal distribution of property acquired during marriage in divorce and inheritance proceedings.

- That the government make and implement an affirmative action policy with legal backing to ensure the full integration of women in all spheres of public life, and take steps to ratify the Optional Protocol to CEDAW to enable women benefit form its provisions, and

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid.p37
The National Commission of Civic Education (NCCE) develop and implement a comprehensive programmes to create awareness about the provisions of international, regional, and national women’s rights laws and instruments and inculcate in the general public respect for the right of women. While requesting Ministry of Education to activate Human Rights Education from primary through tertiary levels of education.\textsuperscript{117}

The manifesto also considers some aspects of the Ghanaian cultural and traditional practices as injurious, discriminatory and therefore negatively affects the social development of women. Such practices prevent women from fulfilling themselves as full citizens of Ghana and calls for campaign to shun away from them. The practices include female genital mutilation and widowhood rights.

In terms of marriage, Ghanaian societies expect all men and women to marry and bear children by certain age, the weight of these expectations are more heavy felt by women as they are expected to marry much earlier than men and are often blamed for marriage breakdown and the absence of children within the marriage. Besides, women are expected to be submissive to their husbands irrespective of the issues at stake. Their submissiveness is reinforced by theological and religious doctrines and beliefs.\textsuperscript{118}

Within the household set up too, women are further disadvantaged by precepts which designate men as the heads of the family and therefore the principal decision-maker in matters concerning household resource control and its usage. The man decides the number of children the family should have and how they should be maintained, resulting in little communication and discussion on the reproductive health issues. Women are expected to seek consent of their husbands before they can use contraceptives although this is against Ghana’s population policy which indicates individual willingness and voluntarism in family planning.\textsuperscript{119} The state institutions are also not very helpful is correcting this cultural anomalies. For instance the courts, correctional institutions, the police as well as the military which are established to protect and defend Ghanaian citizens consider certain matters affecting household and marital relations as private and inappropriate for state action and therefore need to settle at home. As those matters mostly affect women’s rights, it limits state’s ability

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid. P38-40
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid. 42
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid. P43
to protect women from abuses which occur within the household. This is however against the provision of the status laws.

Other unfavourable cultural practices and norms are that, women are considered primarily as wives and mothers whose domain is home while men are seen as in terms of their role as workers and professional who have to cater for the household. Women contributions to their home are not financial or monetary quantified and therefore not properly recognized. These conceptions affect the way many institutions treat women and issues concerning them and continue to have a stereotype misconception about the roles of women and men. These discriminations and bias are also pronounced in terms of career prospect of women in Ghana, the working institutions are also constrained by practices which neglect or fail to appreciate the particular needs of women and assume that male careers are more worthy of promotion.

The educational institutions have also unfavourable and bias practices against women. Teacher and text book bias and the challenging of girls into conventional training in areas like home management, vocational skills and humanities also strengthen gender differentials in educational attainment. The environment of most schools in Ghana also has certain qualities which are bias to the female students. For example there are inadequate residential facilities for ladies in most Ghanaian schools, besides different roles are assigned to boys and girls whereby male students are encouraged and allowed to general prefects in almost all the co-educational institutions in Ghana, this could be the reason and the manifestation of the stereotype preconception of subordinate women’s role in politics and decision making processes. This mentality does not only reinforce gender biases at schools in Ghana but it also threatens the achievement of policies to improve women’s access to education.

Although there is evidence of certain religious institutions whose progressive development activities have contributed to the improved status of women in Ghana, many other religious movements and organizations are to be partly blamed for encouraging women subordination to men. These religious movements have not fully embraced the positive development; they continue to espouse doctrines and dogmas which discriminate against women who in most case constitute the majority of their followers. Such teachings are not only limited to forced marriages and abductions,
polygamy and child betrothal, but also include widow inheritance, dehumanizing puberty rites, female gentile mutilation and slave marriages.\textsuperscript{120}

To end these unfortunate practices, the women’s manifesto is with the view that if the following steps are taken into consideration, it will go a long way to reduce problem if not end it completely.

It suggested a reform of customary marriages to eliminate substantial payments of dowry in money and or kind to ensure that only token payment is made. It is also recommends for abolition of wife inheritance, and asks for reform of the intestate succession law to ensure equal rights of inheritance to both sexes. The manifesto calls for immediate ban of forced marriages and abductions of child marriages and also asked the government and the political leaders to strengthen the prorogation of hash laws for rape and defilement.

The women’s manifesto for Ghana also propose to government to ensures domestic violence bill laid before parliament—a very controversial bill to some section of Ghanaian citizens—is passed without amendment by 2004.

‘The draft bill was initiated in 1999 following research on domestic violence in Ghana conducted by various research institutions and NCWD. Recommendations on minimizing domestic violence included community mobilization and education on violence. The responses the communities and advocates against domestic violence revealed the need for a legal instrument to support their activities. This necessitated the National Law Reform Commission (NLRC) to recommend the need for drafting a bill to address domestic violence.

The bill as it stands provides an understanding of domestic violence to include all who live in a domestic setting i.e. household who one way or the other experience any form of abuse, physical or psychological. Above all, the bill in its domestic setting seeks to protect house helps, who are abused daily; elderly people who are neglected and abused; boys who are sodomized; girls who are defiled and raped and indeed anybody who lives in a house\textsuperscript{121}.

The women’s manifesto urged government to expedite action to enforce legalization and sanctions against perpetrators of any cultural and religious practices that

\textsuperscript{120} Ibid p45-46

negatively affects the welfare, health and right of women. It also calls on government and the political leaders to urgently kick-start the process of working with the National House of Chiefs (NHC) to undertake an evaluation of traditional customs and practices as required by the constitution of Ghana.

The document also recognized the essential roles of media in promoting democratic dispensation as well as its contribution to the socio-political development of Ghana. However, it lamented that, Ghana’s transition to democracy has opened up new challenges for the media that is how they can contribute to a just and equitable society of both women and men. It expatiated that, the media and other communication and information channels’ role in society, and the link between women’s rights and democracy, raises several questions that must be addressed by government. These include making institutional arrangements that enable the media to promote women’s empowerment and democracy and to reduce gender, class and ethnic discrimination in society. This could be done in the ways issues and programmes are presented and telecasted. It further requires media to make an access to space and voice more accessible to citizens especially women and other disadvantaged in Ghanaian society.

The women’s manifesto for Ghana criticizes media for creating an environment of commercial pressures which produce news and programmes that do not empower women or promote gender equality. It stressed that developments in the media brought on by the so-called technological advances also pose another challenges. Policies formulated around technological innovations fail to consider women’s concerns. It perceives internet as a source for potential perpetuation of inherited hegemonic tendencies that must be addressed at local level. Although internet allows women’s group to set up their websites and pages but it also becomes a source of women’s denigration and exploitation, as demonstrated by the exploitation of Ghanaian women on pornographic websites. Another area of media that requires special attention is the structural challenges in the Ghanaian media sector and how it tackles the issue of gender. In Ghana women are negatively represented or better put excluded from decision making positions within the media. In the formal workforce, women make up less than 20% and less than 10% of top management in the media

making the field a male dominated like other institutions. There are also some information gaps which persist between women’s civil society organization and government agencies, and between government organizations and the media.\textsuperscript{123} The manifesto for Ghanaian women therefore recommends for a structural changes that will address the challenges relating to gender equality in the media as explained above, and petition the government through legislature to pass in to law a gender-responsive Freedom of Information bill to enhance access to information and ultimately benefit women and the marginalized in Ghana. The legislation should also make a provision for pornography and the exploitation of women, raised by new information and communication technology like internet.

Other demands are the National Media Commission (NMC) should also formulate media policies that will promote adequate representation of women and children in programming and ensures that all the programmes are gender sensitive. It should make sure that advertisements in electronic and other media portray women positively as creative beings, key actors and contributors to the process of development and not as mere object of satisfaction.

The media commission of Ghana should also work toward implementation of affirmative action policies to achieve gender equality in the appointment of members of public media boards and head of media institutions. And not the least the government should alter the power dynamics in media institutions by encouraging and supporting the training of more women for professional level jobs in the industry. The government and the district assemblies should also champion community radio, television and newspaper and other form of information that will give the citizen the opportunity to participate actively in programmes that improve their welfare\textsuperscript{124}.

\textbf{The Parties’ Policies and Petitions of the Women’s Manifesto for Ghana.}

In order to make an impartial conclusion on the two parties’ positions on affirmative action and women’s participation in politics and decision making process, it is necessary for a thorough re-examination of their 2004 political manifestoes vis-à-vis the petitions and the claims put forward by the coalition of Ghanaian women group in the women’s manifesto for Ghana. This is because the time for the launch of

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{123} Ibid. P51
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid p52
\end{footnotesize}
document was perfectly calculated, it was released some months before 2004 elections, at a time none of the political parties has released its political manifesto for the December elections.

It therefore of great necessity to explore the reactions of the NDC and the NPP to those concerns and petitions.

**NDC 2004 Manifesto and Petitions of Women’s Manifesto.**

The NDC manifesto for December 2004 elections has the slogan ‘A BETTER FOR GHANA’. It consists of eight main chapters discussing a range of issues, from economic policy, social sector policies, and foreign policies, to policies on infrastructure, chieftaincy and culture law, as well as order and security and a section on fair and just society.

Chapter four of the manifesto deals with NDC policies on fair and just society. Under this section, reference is given to a range of themes which encompasses women empowerment, children and vulnerable, disabled and aged and population policies.

Under the women’s empowerment, the manifesto promises to ensure gender mainstreaming and strengthening the position of women in senior government positions and in the party’s organization. It stated that: ‘we shall introduce major gender policy and legislative reforms aiming for a minimum 40% representation of women at conferences and congresses of the party and in government and public service, the promotions of increased female access to education, health and employment and other socio-economic infrastructure and services. We will resume our programme to intensify public education against negative socio-cultural practices that discriminate against women and enact legislations to safeguard the dignity of women and create conditions to enable their advancement.’

The NDC has welcomed the objectives of the Women’s Manifesto for Ghana and promises to honour them when voted to power. In this wise, their 2004 Political manifesto stressed that ‘we accept generally the objectives of the ‘women’s manifesto for Ghana’ published in April 2004 which are the achievement of gender equality and national development. We will work with the sponsors of the Manifesto to incorporate its key demands in NDC’s Affirmative Action Policy for Women document, which

125 National Democratic Congress(NDC) 2004 Manifesto: A Better Ghana p69
was first issued in 1999, and to be revised and implemented upon assuming office in 2005.\textsuperscript{126} 

Part of their policy on women is the commitment they assured Ghanaians to review the mandate of the existing Ministry of Women and Children’s Affairs to ensure its conformity with their policies on gender mainstreaming and development. Under their educational policies, the NDC manifesto analyzed a broad based educational polices from basic to tertiary level without mention of specific measures for addressing women educational petitions as enshrined in the women’s manifesto for Ghana. This commitment is also the case under NDC health policies, job/employment creation policy as well its policies on culture and chieftaincy institutions.

\textbf{NPP 2004 Manifesto and the Petitions of Women’s Manifesto} 

The NPP manifesto on the other hand has four main broad chapters which contains their 2004 strategic policies and plans for Ghanaians. It consists of sections dealing with economic policy of enhancing the living condition of Ghanaians, health, housing, and provision of water as well as youth development and women empowerment. The remaining chapters deal with policies on good government and the party’s external affairs.

Under the section dealing with empowerment of women, the NPP acknowledged the fact the women have been marginalized in Ghana noting that women and children have been traditionally handicapped over the years, and the Women’s and Children Ministry it created will continue to champion the interests of women and children. The NPP like NDC also promise to pursue intervention for empowering women technically and financially with greater vigour in order to play more active roles in Ghana’s wealth creation programmes as well as in education and in other social and political fields. It also promised to strengthen the women development fund which was launched during its term of office, and promises to increase the budgetary disbursement for the programme.

However, there is no mention whatsoever on how they will give women a paramount role to play in government nor there is a policy put in place to meet their demands on inclusion and participation at district and local government politics.

\textsuperscript{126} Ibid. P70
It is evident that, just like the NDC manifesto, the NPP political manifesto did also not come out with clear-cut and specific gender policies on health, education, governance, culture and tradition that will resolve the claims put forward by the Women’s Manifesto and which will reduce women marginalization and dominance in political, social and economic aspects characterized by the Ghanaian society.

**Observations**

The vacuum declarative statements on gender and women empowerment found in the both the NDC and the NPP manifestoes presuppose that both parties are aware of the women’s marginalized and subordinate positions in Ghana, and the need to resolve the situation. However, perhaps due to inherited stereotype preconceptions about women position and the parties’ unwillingness to incorporate women in politics and decision making may be among reasons for failing to formulate concrete and coherent policies which will amend and address the problems faced by Ghanaian women and thereby reduce gender imbalance and women exclusion in decision making.

Considering the magnitude of the petitions contained in the women’s manifesto, couple with publicity mounted before it was launched, and failure of both parties to make pragmatic policies to deal with the petitions is an indication of their non-commitment for women issues and concerns. However, the prevalence of few paragraphs in their manifestoes on women empowerment are just political propaganda and gimmick intended to attract women’s votes rather than a true intention to incorporate them into the governance and decision making process.

This is because democracy is about participation and representation. Despite high level of illiteracy among Ghanaian women, they constitute majority of Ghanaian population, and therefore need to be given fair representation and participation in governance, development processes and in decision making.
Chapter Four

Sustainable Ghanaian Women Development: The Role of NGOs.

Non-Governmental Organization may be defined as ‘private voluntary organ…non–profit seeking organizations; some religious, others secular, some indigenous, other foreign, some professional other lay. Their principal aim is to contribute to the reduction of human suffering and to develop the poor countries. They include community associations, cooperatives, church groups, trade unions, environmental groups, consumer associations, women groups, credit unions and peasant.’

Generally, Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Ghana are non-profit voluntary organizations which deliver development projects and charity in a philanthropic spirit. They differ in terms of their convictions, aim/objectives, structure and activities. Some NGOs are geographically limited to community levels with no any external support and affiliations. Others are national NGOs that are indigenous and are without external affiliations, others are international and operate as local or sub regional branches of their international affiliates.

Structure wise, NGOs in Ghana can be grouped into three; those that limit their coverage to single community; this type may be operating exclusively on their own or in conjunction with others and are usually welfare or development oriented with no full time paid staff. These types of NGOs commonly operate in the marginalized regions of Ghana like Northern Region. The second type’s coverage extends to more than one community and they are usually church-based and at the same time welfare or development in orientation. They manage to have small full-time paid staff and provide services to single community groups or to other NGOs. Example of this type is the Christian Mothers (CM) in Northern Region and Association of Church Development Projects (ACDP). The third kind are NGOs originating from foreign countries but are implementing their own programmes within Ghana or operating in support to the Department of Social Welfare (DSW). This includes Word Vision-Ghana, Adventists Development Relief Agency (ADRA) and many others.

---


NGOs may also be classified using such criteria as the activity they perform. Some are service providing; and engage in the delivery of health services, education and agriculture to communities that are deprived of such services. Others are organization builders which help communities to identify their constraints and work with them to fight them. There others too who support advocacy and provide training, research and technical assistance to other NGOs or key individuals. Some of the NGOs are gender biased or have gender programmes as part of their main activities. Example of this type includes 31 December Women’s Movement (DWM), World Vision, ADRA, and CARE International to mention just few.\textsuperscript{129}

The type of activities they do as it can be inferred from their philosophy and structure range from health, agriculture, water and sanitation, helping the disadvantaged and physically challenged people, institution capacity building, environment and gender and women development.

As a matter of fact, and as indicated in under the aims and objective of this thesis, emphasis in this paper will be laid on the contribution of the NGOs that are gender biased or have women development as an area of concentration.

**NGOs and Development Theory**

The growing popularity of NGOs in the development field seems to be strictly associated with the emergencies of the so-called ‘Policy Agenda’ in the last twenty years. This agenda was motivated by growing scepticism about the role of the state [government/political parties] in development and by concerns with negative consequences of the ‘rent-seeking’ behaviour of state bureaucrats. Under the new policy agenda is the idea that private sector initiatives are intrinsically more efficient than public initiatives. It therefore advocate for private forms of intervention should be seen as the preferred carriers of policies aimed at increasing social welfare.\textsuperscript{130}

Theoretically, the NGOs are regarded as the vehicle for institutionalization of mechanisms of democratic accountability similar to those which emerged in the western liberal democracies years ago. They are considered as the key ingredients in

\textsuperscript{129} Ibid. P142
the process of democratic dispensation of the developing countries. Thus they are expected to keep elected officials on their toes.

It is against this belief; this project is reviewing the contribution of women NGOs together with the role of the state via government/political parties so as to identify solution to problems facing women in Ghana.

**The Impact/Contribution of Women NGOs**

Women NGOs in Ghana, just like their counterparts in other part of Sub-Saharan Africa are part of the civil society organizations. They serve as an intermediate between state and women and are committed to problems of development. They are indispensable instrument for influencing decisions and also play such vital roles in service provision and as well, come up with interesting approaches to the organization of poor women particularly women in the rural areas. They combine the provision of incentives for poor women to come together creating income opportunities through credit and conscientization i.e. collective reflection on the development of women’s plight and on possible corrective remedies. Their activities are rooted in the growing recognition of the situation of women in Ghana and the need to address women’s concerns and gender issues. Many of them share the position that women equally with men should be the beneficiaries of development and are creating programmes and projects that will achieve this objective.

One characteristic of women NGOs development activities in Ghana is the concern of the need to reduce poverty by increasing women’s productivities. Many women groups and individuals are investing the credit given to them by the NGOs in input and technology for agriculture and small scale processing industries. It can be said that in several part of Ghana, women NGOs are supporting women to participate in productive activities that have always been the preservation of Ghanaian men. Some women NGOs concentrate in providing training and management support to enable women to operate their projects on their own. The idea of women as operators of processing technology or management of their own projects is becoming a fairly common phenomenon in rural Ghana.\(^{131}\)

One other dimension of NGOs which are biased toward women development is the training and sensitization of development workers, governmental as well as non-

\(^{131}\)Ibid p150.
governmental so that they become more aware of gender issues in planning and implementation of their projects and programmes. Another important aspect of women development NGOs is the encouragement and support they offer to women to organize themselves at various development levels independent of men. World Vision-Ghana is a clear example of this type. They have undertaken some projects in this regard which shall be analyzed in the next section.

**World Vision –Ghana and Sustainable Women Development**

World Vision is an International Christian non- denominational relief NGO. Promotion of human transformation and working with the oppressed and poor section of community such as children and women are some aspects of their mission agenda. In its mission statement, World Vision Ghana acknowledges the significant correlation between gender issues, poverty alleviation and the well being of children. It has a framework for the implementation of gender sensitive programmes which has the objective of integrating gender in its programme planning, designing, implementation, monitoring and evaluation to benefit women and men alike.

The activities of World Vision in Ghana as indicated above cover programmes in children and family development, relief and rehabilitation, education, health, nutrition and HIV/AIDS as well as water and sanitation. It also has gender and women development activities. It is therefore the type of NGO with international affiliation whose activities target more than one community and has permanent paid staff. World Vision – Ghana operates in all the ten regions of Ghana with its head office in the capital city of Ghana: Accra. In the year 2000, World Vision –Ghana had undertaken a women development project in Odumase which targeted women dealing in cassava processing and the project was named ‘Odumase Women’s Cassava Project’. The prime aim of the project was to increase the cassava production of the target group and increase their income through stabilizing the price of their produce.

The project was designed to help the tenant women farmers of Odumase to process their cassava dough into a flour form what is locally called ‘Gari’ which can be easily stored and sold at later time. This did not only help Odumase women to get higher prices for their produce but has also gone a long way to protect them from market

---

132 Odumase is a small farming village within Dodowa Town Council area in Ghana. The village has a population of roughly 620 people who are mainly farmers and petty traders. The farmers mainly produce cassava and corn.
exploitations. The project at the start mobilized and registered 25 women, however to ensure gender sensitization and create awareness, 5 male members were added making the targeted group to consist of 30 people. The inclusion of male members in the programme re-emphasises the fact that, the project was undertaken along the framework of Gender and Development (GAD); a theoretical framework that sees both sexes as the actors of development but intend to change women’s subordinate position such that both sexes become equal partners in development and decision making.

The age of the targeted women ranges between 35 and 50. World Vision’s contribution was in form of giving training, technical assistance and supervision of the production process of Gari. It also helped in the marketing of the produce by buying greater part of the product which it uses in feeding nursery school children.

Report on the project indicated some positive achievements. World Vision through the offered technical assistance, to large extend was successful in increasing the size of the group’s cassava farm by 20%. Cassava dough and Gari production has also registered a positive increase by 30% and 80% respectively. The group members also took turn to work on one another’s farm thereby saving the labour cost. The income of the group has become stable with an appreciable 50% increase emanating from tremendous increase in the production and sale of the produce.

An interaction with the Gender and Development coordinator of the World Vision Ghana reveals that apart from the financial and monetary gains, the group also gained the experience on how to manage resources at their disposal by themselves. It was also an opportunity for the project coordinator and her assistants to informally and indirectly send the idea of gender mainstreaming to the group, and in this regard, the women in this group somewhat became financially independent of their husbands as the project helped them to raise some money to buy their certain needs without resorting to their husbands.

Not withstanding the above achievements, the project was also beset with some setbacks. The inclusion of the men in women’s group according to the report has created some problems. The few men displayed male dominance over the women and greater part of the work was left for the women with the belief that some jobs are

---

134 Ibid. p2
specifically for women. All the group members are illiterates as a result record keeping and training sections became a bit problematic. An attempt by the coordinators of the project to resolve this problem with literacy session also did not materialized, because the Non-formal Education Supervisor of that village who is a man refused to cooperate. The women in the group were also over burden with work on their family farms as a result they were only able to sacrifice little time for their group work and this has affected their production rate. The inability of the women to get a permanent land to build a shed for processing is also another setback. When the landowners saw the assistance being given to the women they suddenly increase the rent far beyond what the women could afford.  

Observations and Analysis
World Vision-Ghana, like other NGOs which are women biased or have women-centred programmes continue to uplift and improve upon the condition of women through the invaluable activities and projects they undertake. However most of these NGOs are non-political and for that matter avoid programmes that will create consciousness of the women and prepare them to participate in politics or decision making process at all levels of Ghanaian politics. Despite the affinitive action undertaken by women groups and NGOs in Ghana, most men still continue to marginalize over women and are adamant to accept in practice the fact that, both men and women need to co-exist with equal rights and opportunities in all spheres of life. As observed in the Odumase cassava project, the attitude of the land owners suddenly changed, when they began to see improvement in the activities of the women. Also, the behaviour of the male members of the group further buttress Ghanaian men’s mentality of unwillingness to see women as equal partners.

There is therefore the urgent need by the concerned groups and organizations to intensify education on affirmative action, and for the NGOs both national and international to reconsider mapping out projects that will prepare Ghanaian women particularly those in the village and the rural areas to participate in political activities at districts, regional and national levels. It is by political participation and representation that women can influence policy changes and improve their status quo.

135 Ibid. P3
Perhaps one of the reasons for the lackadaisical attitudes of the concerned NGOs to involve in promoting and encouraging women to participate in political activities could be attributed to what Baccaro noted that, ‘[the NGOs] are particularly being accused of economically and ideologically controlled by western donors [and affiliates] whose funds are conditional on the NGOs not seriously challenging the status quo; of being politically unaccountable to the local populace and sole accountable to external donors’. As a result one of the broad political consequences of the NGOs in Ghana and other part of West Africa is that of ‘collateralism with poor’ to make themselves more acceptable to government. It has therefore been argued that the concerned NGOs have somewhat abandoned their original concerns with structural reforms and transformation [particularly working to enhance political participation of the people] and have retreated in more hospitable and less politically contested territory of service provision.

Although NGOs in Ghana particularly women NGOs share many of the strengths like other women NGOs in the sub-region such as flexibility, innovativeness, ability to establish themselves in inaccessible areas- like World Vision did in Odumase project- and to work with most marginalized communities, the concept is still a recent phenomenon in Ghana and in the Sub-Sahara generally. The relative youth of the NGO sector present it with these problems that need to be given critical attention. In the words of Denkabe, there are no role models here [Ghana] as one will find in Asia, Latin America and to some extend in Francophone Africa. It is only now that professional local [women] NGOs are beginning to make a mark. Most of them are welfare oriented with single community focus, majority of them have identifiable church connections which means the churches have active role to play in this sector. The churches have usually organized their NGO interventions from the church status which serve villages within it radius. There is now some recognition that this approach runs the risk of a ‘station mentality’ developing with it-that is to say it adopts inappropriate mechanisms which are not very cost-effective way of bringing development to the communities.

---


137 Ibid. p14

Even though NGOs in Ghana particularly gender biased ones have many drawbacks and are often not perfectly as good as the theories indicate, their role in development of women in Ghana remain very important. For one thing they often replace the state in the provision of basic social amenities to rural communities and the deprived areas. They therefore have experience in reaching out and working with local communities and making it a comparative advantage vis-à-vis government bureaucracies.
Chapter Five

Conclusion: Findings and Recommendations.

As indicated in the introduction, this thesis explores the role of political parties and women NGOs in sustainable development of Ghanaian women. The purpose is to find out if the current ruling party (NPP) as well as the major opposition party (NDC) have contributed meaningfully to the current rhetoric of affirmative action of Ghanaian women. As a result two main broad questions were set. First, what role(s) have the political parties played or are playing, and of what impact the activities of women NGOs is to the sustainable development of Ghanaian women.

To answer these questions vividly, the questions have been further broken down into:

a. What are the parties’ women development policies?

b. Are they designed to develop women?

c. What corrective measures to be made to make them women development-oriented?

On the part of the NGOs,

a. what impacts their activities have on women development?

b. is it sufficient enough?

c. what problems are they facing?

d. and how could these problems be resolved?

This chapter will therefore wound up the result of this project by summing up the answers to above questions; it will also touch on the contributions this thesis has offered, while indicating its limitations and eventually wrap up with recommendation and suggestions for further studies. It will however not repeat the methodology and methods used, because that section has already been thoroughly dealt with in the preceding chapters.

NDC and NPP Women Development Policies and Recommendations

In order to fulfil the goal of section a critical analysis of the parties’ 1996 and 2004 manifestoes was reviewed. The review indicated that, although both parties did recognise the need for policy design to deal with women issues much was not done to fulfil this need. This is justified by the few paragraphs one can read on women empowerment and development in their respective manifestoes. A close look at the
contextual meaning of those reveals only sweet promises written down to attract votes from women.
In fact, both parties do not have a substantive and documented policy agenda for women development apart from their manifestoes, They have not also vividly declare their stand on how they will handle the petitions raised by women groups in the Women’s manifesto for Ghana. This therefore envisages that women development concerns are not matters of priority to the political parties. Their policies ignore or better put, kept silence on how to resolve the problem of majority of Ghanaians. It is therefore an undisputed fact to say that, their policies are not formulated to develop Ghanaian women.

The reason why Ghanaian women are unable to break through into the political parties machinery is that, the parties are consciously male-biased, formed and operated on male fraternal connections and relationships. Essentially, political parties in Ghana are run by men network which leaves little room for women to come in. This is not limited to political parties alone; generally formal state institutions in Ghana are male dominated and intrinsically male biased and apparently the case of political parties as well. Other reasons are social factors, the nature of the social structures and culture, lack of education, lack of self confidence on the part of women and sometime lack of solidarity, encouragement and support from other women.

The contribution of the parties in terms of strengthening NCWD, giving little support to some women NGOs which champion affirmative action or and establishing women Ministry is woefully inadequate to resolve women problems. They are basically intended to less extent, to satisfy Ghanaian women half way and to keep their mouths shut. Perhaps they did that because of international pressures that came after Beijing conference and or because of the pressure mounted by women groups and organization working to achieve affirmative action and gender mainstreaming.

The political parties, for that matter the government could achieve, ensure, strengthen and realize the effective sustainable development of Ghanaian women by the following measures:

- **Real democracy**: democracy is a system through which all citizens have a right to participate in the governance from national level to regional, community and village levels. For effective democracy in Ghana, participation of women at all levels of decision making and in all spheres of society is crucial for the
development and the realization of women’s right. True democracy depends on equal participation and this can be achieved by including it in the political agendas of the political parties. The parties or the government must ensure that all structures and procedures do not directly or indirectly discriminate against women participation. They should create enabling environment that will ensure women’s fullest participation in the leadership positions, not only in the party’s structure but also within the three arms of government. In Ghana this can be done by introducing the quota system such that, an appreciable number of seats are reserved for women in parliament and 1/3 of the executive portfolios be given to women. This quota system was implemented in other parts of Africa; in Uganda and Botswana, and it could also work in Ghana. The international human right treaty which Ghana ratified in 1986 stipulates that, where women are not able to hold public office, they must be helped to do so.\textsuperscript{139}

- \textbf{Integration of the principle of Affirmative Action:} the true meaning of affirmative action is not only mere declarative statement and promises as contained in the political manifesto of NDC and NPP. Affirmative action is about making progress toward substantive equality of historically marginalized group. It is a political and social action of transition period along the way from relations established by centuries of oppressed and inequality to a future of truly equitable relations.\textsuperscript{140}

- It is incumbent on the political parties, and for that matter the government of Ghana to take concrete steps toward effective promotion of good governance and economic development in order to ensure women’s participation and influence in decision making. Ghana’s direction in terms of political thinking policies and programmes should also be a matter of prime concern. This can be ensured by making it a provision in the parties’ agenda and considerations and apply it internally by ensuring women at least, form three quarters of the party’s organization structure. They can also monitor their mechanisms to ensure affirmative action is applied, and also work toward

\textsuperscript{139} United Nations Women: Challenges to the year 2000, New York
eliminating the factors that continue to discriminate and disadvantage women and other marginalized groups.

- **Legal Rights**: there is need also for setting up a statutory permanent commission which handles women legal issues, and reforming the laws of Ghana to meet the demand of current socio-economic realities, and expediting the process of justice in the family court. Legislative actions should also be taken to protect Ghanaian women from all forms of violence (including the domestic violence bill which is before the parliament now) such as custodial violence, sexual harassment, public humiliations and prostitution. The political parties/government should establish supportive administrative measures which should include shelters for victims of violence and also provide state counselling for women prisoners.

- **Social Infrastructure**: the government must also come up with effective policies and measure to close the gap between male and female. This could be done by offering more scholarships to female students as it is being done to students from the Northern part of Ghana. There is disparity in education levels between the people in the Southern part of Ghana and those from the North. The government instituted free education scheme, up to secondary level for people from the north and special scholarships were also made available to them. This can also be applied in the case of women education so that all girls/ladies should be given free education up to tertiary level until the educational gap between men and women is closed. Furthermore, the government should also take a life cycle approach to female health, in order to improve their health status, health care services must easily made accessible to them. Greater financial and human resources should also be generated to concentrate on an effective rural, primary and preventive health care delivery system through the linking up of maternal health care facilities with family planning services. Above all, a national employment policy should be formulated for women workers in both the formal and informal sectors, to extend the legal cover of an adequate minimum wages, acceptable working hours, health and maternal benefits to causal and temporary workers; and to establish small business guidance centres, starting with existing infrastructures like polytechnics, vocational institutes and colleges.
The Impact of Women NGOs and Recommendations

The analyses of the activities of the concerned NGOs reveal that, the NGOs in Ghana are able to bring some level of development to the majority of Ghanaian women particularly those living in the rural area. A number of NGOs and professional women bodies have launched programmes to assist women by training them in skills necessary to enter politics and other decision making areas. Notably among them is Centre for the Development of People (CEDEP). This organization is building the capacity of women who have shown interest in politics and those who actually contested the in the local government elections of August 2002. Only few of such NGOs exist. Majority of the NGOs particularly those with international affiliation do not to meddle in political activities which will prepare women for participation in politics. The NGOs generally have not been able to make a very impressive contribution in this regard. During my short visit to Ghana to gather data for this thesis, I introduced myself to the Country coordinator of World Vision Ghana, after telling him about my research topic, he sarcastically said ‘our organization is non-political and if you want such information you better contact the politicians or the political parties’. The greatest achievements of the concerned NGOs are in the field of service provision, mobilizations, advocacy and what have you. As admitted by women groups who wrote the Women’s Manifesto for Ghana ‘apart from government and the state institutions, NGOs and civil society institutions have been engaged in the promotion and protections of women’s rights over the years. They have done this through the delivery of services, education and training and advocacy. In many ways, they are filling some of the gaps in policy implementation. However, in relation to the field of gender equality advocacy, NGOs have been less effective as most of them are working on a fairly new terrain having begun life as service providers. This is even more so as year of militarism and political instability and state repressive practices have had adverse impacts on the NGO terrain as a whole, leaving it with a week democratic culture and timidly in its relations with the state and its institutions.’

Furthermore, the situation is worsen by the over dependency of NGOs on the donors and the impression that they are competing with the state and with one another for scarce donor funds. Their financial insecurity hampers the autonomy of their programme and activities and leaves them open for cooperation with donors.

141 The Women’s Manifesto for Ghana 2004 p66
conditionality and initiatives. This has not been very helpful for women’s rights activism at all, resulting in duplication and concentration of similar activities.\textsuperscript{142}

In a nutshell, the impacts of the women NGOs in Ghana is more pronounced and limited to provision of socio-economic needs rather than preparing the women for political participation- the means through which the woes of Ghanaian women could be resolved. In this regard, it can be theoretically stated that, the women NGOs have been able to yield a positive result in achieving the practical interests and needs of Ghanaian women.

However not withstanding the positive impacts made, the NGO sector in general and Ghanaian women as a group specifically are characterized with some problems that needs urgent attention in order to make them more effective and instrumental in ensuring sustainable development for women. Ghanaian women as whole are affected by a syndrome of not supporting but rather destroying one another. This creates frustrations and bitterness among the ranks of women. There is also lack of sensitivity for women’s issues to their own problems, gender issues are often misrepresented to mean only women’s issues. There is the need to tackle such basic issues if the problem of lack of support and of encouragement is to be resolved. Personal factors among the women such as double role of women, apathy and lack of self-confidence need to be corrected.\textsuperscript{143} Some concerned NGOs could also direct some of their activities and programmes toward resolving these problems. The women as a group therefore need to work together hand in hand, as unified body and withstand any divisive pressure whether from within or from without. What matters is for them to work together for their own welfare and sustainable development.

Some of the concerned NGOs often compete among themselves in an antagonizing manner in order to gain financial support from the donor agencies. There is the need for an effective network among the women NGOs since they all have a common goal. They have to create and develop technical service and training facilities to support the needs of all the women NGOs with similar problems. Effective networking can help

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid p67
\textsuperscript{143} Tackie, M.A. ‘The Role of Civil Society in the Democratization Process in Ghana with Particular Reference to Women’s Participation Leadership Position’ In Drah, F.L &Oquaye, M (eds) Civil Society in Ghana. Accra: Gold-Type Ltd. 1996.p49-50
the NGOs to overcome these constrains and to quickly assimilate and disseminate new information services to solve their problems.

There is also little collaboration between women NGOs and government or the political parties, so to speak, otherwise most of the demands and the petitions they made would have been attended to. There is therefore the need for working around the clock to establish contact with the government, this can be done through the use of appropriate state apparatus, when that fails they can resort to demonstration and unrest and this will go along way to change the government attitude toward them.

To intensify affirmative actions, women NGOs should also be sending specific suggestions to the political parties during election period on legal rights, violence, political participation and representation and on other issues bothering women. This however does not underpin the significance of the women’s manifesto for Ghana. The document, though very relevant did not target a particular political party per se, it is a general document that has been launched as a reminder to all political parties in Ghana with no binding force on the political parties. What I mean here is that, it is incumbent for the women group to send a specific petition to individual political parties offering their suggestions or asking them questions as to how certain issues of great concerns to women would be handled by the parties. Or better stated, they should enter into dialogue with the political parties to discuss issues and present their petitions to the parties. This could be made a condition for their votes. This will be the best way of sensitizing the political parties to take up issues that relate to women development seriously. It will also pressurize the political parties to address and fix their concerns into the party’s policy. The reason for suggesting this approach is that political parties in Ghana can do anything during election period to satisfy people in order to win their votes.

**Contribution of this Thesis**

The underlying aim of this thesis is to evaluate the impact and contribution of Ghana two main political parties on Ghanaian women sustainable development. Part of the objective is to also assess women groups/NGOs’ activities, programmes and projects and their impact on gender mainstreaming, with the hope of identifying their bottlenecks and to offer suggestions that will help them to contribute positively to the development of women.
In summary, the research questions for this paper try to explore what role the two political parties are playing in the development of Ghanaian women and also examine the impacts of women NGOs’ activities on the development of Ghanaian women. In doing so, two theoretical perspectives namely WID and GAD are applied. WID basically concerns integrating and incorporating women in the development and decision making process, whereas the GAD stresses that affirmative action alone is not sufficient to achieve development and calls for attitudinal change that will erase the social constructed ideas, values and beliefs about women to ensure that women are placed at par with men in all the developmental and decision making processes thereby checking the women subordinate status in all walk of life.

To sum up all, the conclusion of this paper is that, the political parties did not do enough for the development of women since they are unwilling to incorporate, and give women fair representation and participation in the decision making and development processes. Besides they do not consider women issues a matter of priority and fail to formulate policies that will address their concerns. In theoretical language, the political parties did not adequately incorporate Ghanaian women in development, and woefully failed to achieve Ghanaian women strategic and practical interests, and for that matter could not resolve women’s subordinate status and as such failed to achieve the objective of theoretical frameworks of both WID and GAD.

On the part of NGOs, they register success in service provision but did not do enough to encourage women to participate in political activities and decision making at all levels. The NGOs are therefore able to some extend, successful in achieving objective of the theoretical framework of WID and also been able to register positive achievements in realizing some of the practical interests of Ghanaian women. However, they are also not been able to achieve the strategic objective of Ghanaian women. This means they are unable to resolve women’s subordinate position to men, this could be achieved by women getting fair representation and participation in politics and decision making process and NGOs activities in Ghana is yet to develop to prepare women for this challenge.

It is evident from the comprehensive analyses outlined above that, this paper has been able to identify two main issues which when resolved will go a long way to help the
course of an effective affirmative action and reduce the gender disparity and women’s subordination in Ghana.

Firstly, this paper is able to identify measures for creating enabling environment to accommodate Ghanaian women in politics and decision making processes. Such measures are giving them roles to play in key state institutions, educating them and treating them as partners. Secondly, this thesis also gave recommendation to NGOs and women group to change their focus and over concentration on service provision to advocacy programmes/projects that will encourage women to participate in politics and decisions making processes at all levels. In this sense the paper is able to identify pragmatic strategies and measures for resolving Ghanaian women’s problems thereby contribute positively toward their proper sustainable development.

Furthermore, it is evident that this thesis is also a contribution to the struggle for affirmative action and women empowerment in Ghana, it succeeded in outlining, analyzing and unearthing what has been done so far by both the political parties and women NGOs and what they could not achieve. This therefore becomes a strong foundation and a reference point for further research in the field of gender mainstreaming in Ghana and other part of Sub-Saharan Africa region. This is because women problems in all the countries of Sub-Sahara are virtually the same.

This conclusion is arrived at, after a carefully textual and conceptual analysis of political manifestoes of the NDC and the NPP as well as the Women’s Manifesto for Ghana, and not least, proper examination of the activities of women groups and NGOs. Finally the conclusion is also a product of analysis of some projects undertaken by NGOs in Ghana particularly those which are women development biased.

**Limitations of this Thesis**

This thesis is limited by focusing its analyses on only the contextual meaning of political parties’ policies, and the activities of the women NGOs. It creates the impression that sustainable women development in Ghana could only be achieved through these two means. These two parameters are not the only yardsticks for evaluating sustainable development of Ghanaian women. Other equally important institutions whose activities are indispensable for mainstreaming gender issues and
therefore worthy of research are the media, the judiciary, human rights activists and civil society organizations as whole.

Other shortcomings of this paper is the over centrality on the library and secondary data. Lack of funding, financial assistance and time constrains did not allow the use of interview as technique or methodology. Besides, cooperation with most NGOs was not very smooth and hence the reason for using only one project as a case studies.

**Recommendation for Further Research**

This study therefore leaves out a wide variety of issues for further consideration, the impact or the role of the media, Ghana chieftaincy instructions, churches and religious organizations toward sustainable development of Ghanaian women need to be considered for further studies in order to complete the fight for women empowerment and gender mainstreaming in Ghana.
References


- Gender Mainstreaming; an Overview.2001

- Ghana Living Standards Survey 2000 (GLSS4)

- Gitasen N. K, Development crises and Alternative Vision: Third World Perspective

- Ghana Electoral Commission http://www.ec.gov.gh/political-paties.htm,


- Jacson C, Environmentalism and Gender Interest in the Third Word Development and Change, 1993


- Parpert, J.L (eds) ‘Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Development. Free copy published on internet at A:\THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT-BOOK.htm


- Redock, R. Why Gender? Why Development? Parpert, J. L. et el (eds) Theoretical Perspective on Gender and Development’


- Tsikata, D. & Kerr J. ‘Demanding Dignity: Women Confronting Economic Reforms in Africa

- United Nation Annual Report. 1984


- World Bank Annual report. 1995

- Yin, R. Case Study Research Design and Method, 2nd eds. 1994


**Other Internet websites**

http://www.ndc.org.gh/indman.htm

http://www.nppinparliament.org

http://allafrica.com/stories/200310060020.html

http://allafrica.com/stories/200411221548.html


http://www.dec.org.gh/progofwork.html
Processorientering är ett relativt nyttbegrepp inom organisationsläran, men studierna inom detta område ökar i takt med att allt fler företag börjar få upp Ögonen för de fördelar som detta synsätt kan medföra. Även om 1930-talet, är den senaste utvecklingen mot fullständig processorientering inom företag fortfarande en relativt utt oftlikad företeelse. Processorientering innebär i korthet att verksamheten organiseras utifrån olika typer av kundfokuserande processer som löper över traditionella funktionsgränser.
hur ett angreppssätt kan defenittieras och utformas vdare redogör vi för hur olika faktorer som struktur, storlek, syfte och omvärd, påverkar organisationens angreppssätt.

Processorientering har traditionellt främst förknippats med Tillverkningsindustrin och den privata sektorn. Denna uppsats behandlar Däremot processsorentering utifrån den offentliga organisationens Förutsättningar, vilken många gånger skiljer sig från den privata organisationens. Till vår hjälp her vi använt oss av två offentliga processorierande organisationer: Försäkringskassan Östergötlaand och AB Stångåstaden.