

Influencing Factors Affecting Women Participation in Political Party Leadership in Northern Ghana

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ABSTRACT: *This study explored factors that influence women participation in political party leadership in four constituencies of Tamale in the Northern Ghana of the Republic of Ghana. Quantitative research was employed along with questionnaire administered. Ordinary least squares method of regression with a dependent variable as women participation in political party leadership roles were applied. The independent variables were religious affiliations, educational background, financial status, and level of social stereotype as well as the leadership skills of the respondents. The results showed that religious affiliations, financial status and leadership of the women were positively related to women participation in political party leadership roles and statistically significant at 1% level. Also, social stereotype was found to be negatively related but statistically significant at 1% level of significance. Education was found to be negatively related but statistically insignificant. The study therefore recommends that political parties should support the women contestants financially and also set a minimum requirement, in terms of the educational level of women, to encourage and promote education among the younger ones. Political parties should also be admonished to take a second look at the quota system of governance to integrate more women into the political arena.*

KEYWORDS: influencing factors, Northern Ghana, participation, political leadership, women.

INTRODUCTION

According to the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (2005), women in most countries carry a disproportionate share of domestic work, and so their participation in party politics is constrained. Further, according to UNESCO, if women are to play significantly active and leading roles in party level politics, they need to overcome the '*self-defeating mind-set and*

inferiority complex' which seems to be relegating their advancement in political parties at the grass root levels, allowing men in largely patriarchal communities to lead and dominate political party decisions (UNESCO, 2010). Gender social stereotype also hinder women's advancement in political party leadership because of certain culturally-shared norms that dictate expectations of how men and women are and how they should behave (Burgess & Borgida, 1999; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Some religions on the other hand, prevent women from attaining higher level in body politics. In some Muslim communities for example, it is said that women cannot be heads of families hence are not expected to be in frontline politics, (Golkowska, 2013). Another common theme of gender inequality in politics is that women desiring to run for office have less access to resources than men. Financial challenge is one of the weaknesses for women who want to run for elections. The Organization of American States Forum in 2003 on Finance and Women's Political Participation claimed, "Political financing and gender equality are not variables independent of each other. (Cigane & Ohman 2014). Most women believe that access to funding is by far a greater obstacle for them when it comes to running for higher office. (Asongu & Efobi, 2017).

The report from the Roundtable Conference of the Pathways to Women's Empowerment (2009), which was held in Malawi, shed light on some of the undercurrents that account for the low representation of women in politics citing deep-rooted socio-cultural factors, demographic, education, economic factors as well as character assassination, violence and stigmatization of women in politics among others. Elective politics is one area that has witnessed competitive women's participation but remains low on average. Over the past several decades, Ghana has signed unto, and ratified countless international conventions which demands increased participation of women in decision-making at all levels. In compliance, therefore, many programmes have been developed to promote women's participation in the decision-making process. However, historically, women's participation in the socio-political and economic dimensions of the traditional Ghanaian society is well documented. Notwithstanding these documented traditions of cultural practices, women in modern socio-cultural and economic environment have only gained marginal positions in modern multi party democratic politics in Ghana specifically.

Affirmative quotas for women have been topical on the agenda of political parties. For example, the 2016 campaign manifesto of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) promised 30% women representation in government upon assumption of power; while in 2008, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) manifesto promised 40%. These targets were and have not been achieved by either party. Currently, there are 36 women in Ghana's seventh Parliament of the Fourth Republic, representing 12.75% from both the majority and minority sides. This is widely short of the 30% representation set by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). However, this number is an increase of 7, as against the 2012 elections which had 29 for the Sixth Parliament of the Fourth Republic, after 133 women contested 102 parliamentary seats but still falls short of the minimum UN recommended threshold of 30% deemed satisfactory by activists at the Beijing Conference of

1995. This is attributable to the fact that significantly lower numbers of women compete at the political party primaries to represent their constituents in the Legislature. Data on current leadership roles from Tamale (Party Archives, 2020) in northern Ghana, shows a 0% representation of women in all roles except the women organizers role which had a 100% participation.

Using the two major political parties in Ghana as examples, Article 2.20 of the constitution of the NPP states: "*to give equal opportunities to women and to ensure that all forms of discrimination against women end so that they can contribute more effectively to the development of the nation*". Article 7c of the NDC's constitution states: "*ensure the attainment of equality and fraternity of all men and women under the law without regard to ethnicity, race, religious belief, ideology, and culture, social or economic status*".

The gaps identified in this study included among others, what factors account for the wide gap in gender representation within the political party leadership, and therefore the national stage despite the existence of coded frameworks within political party constitutions to protect and support female participation and leadership. What are the limiting factors that account for women's participation and increased representation at higher levels of the political party hierarchy. Is it that the women are not meeting the requirements or that there is no proper implantation plan for the provisions stated in the constitution by both parties. The research would therefore interrogate women participation at the political party level in the Ghanaian politics as well as analyse some of the factors that possibly undermine women's participation at higher political party levels.

Problem Statement

Paradoxically, despite Ghana's ratification of several international treaties and commitment towards improving women's rights, such as the Beijing Declaration, the Platform for Action, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security (WPS), and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the dedication to strengthening the assumption of women in leadership in the Ghanaian political and democratic processes has not been adequately demonstrated by political stakeholders and across political parties. The African Charter Protocol on Women's Rights (2003) and the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality (2003) and Article 17 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, all prohibits gender discrimination in all its forms. Ghana's commitments to narrow the gap between men and women in governance and political leadership disparity informed the Affirmative Action Policy of 1998 which dictates that a 40% quota is reserved for women in all public political platforms, has not seen any success. Again despite Ghana's position as the first independent African nation, Ghana is sometimes criticized for failing to set an example regarding women's political participation. Rwanda, a country that just recently recovered from years of bloodshed, has 50% of female lawmakers. South Africa is another forward-thinking country, with 29.8% of its parliament members being women (Pailey, 2019). Even more so, both the President of Liberia and the Vice President of the Gambia are women.

Additionally, women make up about half of the world's population. However, they only make up 23% of parliamentarians and senators (Chalaby, 2017; Radu, 2018). Given that the population of women in politics has fallen from the global average, this study examines the factors hindering women from actively participating in politics and political party activities in the country. This research, therefore, examined factors that militate against the inability of women to rise to other elected leadership positions in a political party (with the view to examine influencing factors affecting women's participation in political party leadership) in northern Ghana. In other words, the study examined factors that account for the low representation of women in political leadership at the grass root and constituency levels and recommended some measures to address the such phenomenon.

Significance of the Study

In view of the above objectives, the study brought to the forefront challenges women continue to face in their participation in Ghanaian political leadership. Hamah (2010) argued that women have been kept in the background politically for years and are underrepresented in politics due to some limitations they encounter in Ghanaian politics. To accelerate the improvement in women's presence in political party leadership, the study shed more light on the challenges and draw the attention of the affected portion of the society, to their right to insist upon promises made in political party manifestos and codified legislation and other affirmative action instruments to ensure or support women in party political representations and leadership at various levels. Further to this, the research findings could boost the momentum of public concern on the subject matter and provide the basis for supporting and enhancing gender parity in Ghana's political and governance structure as well as the necessity for improved participation of women political party leadership in a country with a majority female population.

Next, the study contributes to the body of literature relating to leadership and management practices in Ghana, particularly the level of the presence and participation of women in these aspects of national and political party leadership, with emphasis on the latter. The findings aid policy decision-making aimed at addressing women's political participation at the higher political party hierarchy levels, by identifying the degree to which financial, social, religious practices and stereotypes affect women. It further highlights the lack of commitment to previous national legislations and political party promises to allocate and implement quotas of leadership positions for women and therefore the need to hold political stakeholders accountable. Apart from the above, the study is a relevant academic material for students, researchers, and civil society organizations, women's advocacy groups, as well as inform women politicians of the challenges and barriers they are likely to encounter as career female politicians. This is essential to contribute to the comprehensive identification of the challenges and opportunities by stakeholders in the policy design and implementation, including the review of existing ones aimed at supporting women to seek for political party leaderships.

The drive to promote women's decision-making worldwide started and gained momentum in the late sixties, where globally, feminist movements, backed the elimination of all kinds of gender discrimination and lobbied for the change in legal and administrative structures to ensure that women would be better integrated into economic and political systems. As emphasized by Madeline Albright at the National Democratic Institute (2010), *"if democracy is going to put down strong and healthy roots, it must profit from all the full and equitable participation of women in national and local leadership positions and in a full range of advocacy roles"*. African politics in the past five to six decades has been plagued by military interventions and 'strongman regimes' in national politics governance. This further exacerbated, the gender complexities and negative stereotypes undermining women's participation in politics and competing with men for positions and roles assumed to be the preserve to 'strongmen'.

LITERATURE REVIEWED

The few women in political leadership in Ghana, have not been able to advanced to any significant levels despite numerous efforts made to improve the situation. Women generally lack education and financial support, aided by religious barriers and stereotyping, and some discriminatory factors that limit their progress in political leadership (Sossou, 2011). Economic, social and political empowerment of women in Ghana requires that women themselves are at the forefront of policy decisions to champion that their demands are met through the practical and proactive implementation of these pro-gender policies. This is emphasized by Agbalajobi (2010), who opined that a change in values cannot occur until women can participate in government and political affairs and hold positions of leadership and power. To ensure that this male-dominated political leadership becomes thing of the past in a multi-party democracy, not only paying lip-service to codified pro-women policies when it comes to holding leadership positions in political parties, creat opportunities for a significant proportion of Ghanaian population, particularly women to change the trend, there is the need to review some literature and theories.

Theory of Participation

Many factors contribute to women's inability to participate in political party leadership or governance in Ghana. Attri (2021) argues that women can only be expected to participate fully in governance and development if they are given the same opportunities as males in all areas of society and at all levels of decision-making. According to Gaber (2020), Arnstein's issue of power structures in society and how they interact advanced a typology of eight stages of participation which reflects different degrees of citizen's power from a relatively non-participatory stage to a final stage of citizen control. Arnstein's typology of eight levels of participation which helps in the analysis of this tangled issue postulates that the different stages of participation are a reflective measure of the extent of power, influence and control by citizens. The bottom levels of the ladder made up of Manipulation and Therapy describe levels of non-participation that some leaders have contrived to substitute for genuine participation (Gaber, 2020).

Feminist Theory

African feminism theory offers a means to examine the cultural, historical, political, and economic context influencing the study of African women in management and leadership. African feminism is of great importance because it comprehends the impact culture and the historical experiences have on gender roles. Mekgwe (2010) recorded how past events such as colonial experience contributed to the "renegotiation, reconsideration, remaking of the African gender construct" which should be applied to the Ghanaian woman in politics because she has suffered colonialism and the cultural impact too.

Leadership Theory

Leadership in all its forms, be it organizational, political or even military, continues to command global attention. The differences between men and women leaders have been found to be in the level of participation afforded to followers, with men leaders operating more autocratic way while women leaders operate more democratically. (Burel, 2020; Harrison, 2017; Burel, 2020). Burel (2020) concluded that female directors are more altruistic and caring about everyone in the world than their male counterparts. Leaders are often categorized as either task-oriented or people-oriented. Gipson (2017) distinguished between these two categories by referring to them as "concern for output" and "care for people." Analyzing the activities of female political leaders through the framework of transformational and transactional leadership abilities emphasizes the importance of a leader's ability to communicate effectively with their followers (Arenas, 2019). Ravindran (2020) stated that transformational leadership harnesses trust, loyalty, admiration, and respect among employees for leadership. Moss (2019) noted that transactional leadership is based on an exchange relationship between leader and follower with a focus on work, reward and processes that drive consistent results.

The question under review here is how female leaders will lead. The daily behaviours that men and women leaders in position exhibit may be due to descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes (Zehnter et al., 2018). In a meta-analysis of organizational leaders across sectors and industries, Lowe and Bathula (2019) found that women display higher rates of transformational leadership than men. Women leaders are also rated as better at developing others (Arenas, 2019), as well as inspiring, and motivating others, building relationships, teamwork and collaboration than their male peers (Folkman & Zenger, 2015). Thus, women are more likely to engage in a relational approach to work than men (Matthew, Buontempo, & Block, 2013) and are also more apt at balancing dominant and affiliative interaction, which may be influenced by innate sex-related differences, gender role identity as well as societal and organizational expectations.

Arnstein (2019) citizen participation hypothesis, the African feminism theory and the transformational/ transactional leadership theories were integrated into this study to explain issues regarding the role of women in political party leadership in Ghana. The three theories highlight the fact that even though women could be good leaders because women have traditionally occupied

specific roles; and society still perceives women as a gender that lacks the leadership to hold positions of power (Cook & Glass, 2013).

Women Participation in Political Parties leadership.

The position of women in politics globally cannot be compared to that of men. The gender gap between the two groups has been narrowed from 1995 to 2019. In 1995, 11.3% of women were involved in national politics as compared to 24.3% in 2019, Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), 2019. However, the trend is not encouraging to say that women are having equal opportunities in stirring the affairs of various countries. In sub-Saharan Africa, 23.9% of the parliamentary members are females with Rwanda boosting significant members of their parliamentarians as women, (IPU, 2019).

Several empirical studies have attested to the facts above. Most of them from developing countries. Yao and You (2018) delve deeper into women's participation in political parties' activities as well as the gender gap among males and females in political parties' participation in China. The study was conducted with data taken from 1950 to 1990 using ordinary least squares regression with data on the schooling records of female students between 1950 to 1990 who later entered into politics during the period of the study, (Yao & You, 2018). It was found that political parties' participation has a positive influence on the education history of the female students in the long run and also helped impacted gender equality in education substantially, (Yao & You, 2018). However, the finding of India, Deiningera, Nagarajanb & Singha, (2019) contradicts that of Yao and You (2018). Deiningera et al. (2019) examined the economic empowerment of women through their participation in political parties' activities in the Indian Public Works Sector. The study adopted ordinary least squares approach to determine the impact of the political leadership position of women in assessing economic resources in the short-term and the long-term, the study further examined the effects of material and resources on the economic activities of the female political party leaders, (Deiningera et al., 2019). The study established that women's participation in political parties' leadership led to a decrease in bribes taking and harassment. It also led to more women assessing economic resources. It concluded that having female leaders whether through imposition or elections empowered them to demand and benefits from the share of the national cake.

Further, Rosen (2017) carried out a comprehensive study to examine the proportion of women in national politics across 167 developed and developing countries which span 21 years; from 1992 to 2012. The study used ordinary least squares regression analysis and incorporates gender quota policies that reflect the dynamics and substantial diversity of current quota legislation in each country, (Rosen, 2017). The study adopted indicators that enable it to recognize the particular variables which have powered many less economical countries in recent years climb to the top of the international rankings in women participating in politics, (Rosen, 2017). The study established that gender quota and other explanatory variables that were adopted to boost women's participation

in national politics varies across countries. It further noticed that quota for gender participation among political parties is more effective in developed countries and compulsory gender quota effective in developing economies. The study concluded that for electoral quota enforcement to yield more women in political parties' participation, women must be placed in winnable positions, (Rosen, 2017).

Similar cross-country studies were conducted earlier before Rosen (2017) by Bullough, Newbury, Kundu and Lowe (2012) which has a similar conclusion to that of Rosen (2017). Bullough et al. (2012) assessed the participation of women in political leaders in a cross-country using linear regression analysis. The study found that factors responsible for enabling greater numbers of women participation in political parties' activities include customs and trade regulations, bridging the gender gap in political participation through empowering women, increasing expenditure on education, political freedom, increasing the assessment to the internet facilities and electric power, (Bullough et al., 2012). Again, the study concluded that the more the women can voice out their opinions on national issues the better empowered they become (Bullough et al., 2012). However, a later study by Mlambo, Kapingura and Meissner (2019) emphasized that political parties appoint more women in political positions to make them more active.

Mlambo et al. (2019) identify factors inducing women participation in politics in 14 Southern African Development Communities using pooled OLS and dynamic GMM based on Blundell and Blond (1998) from 2010 to 2017. It was further discovered that political culture, labour involvement, government efficiency positively associated with the political participation of women, (Mlambo et al., 2019). According to Mlambo et al. (2019), the human development index, civil liberties, pluralism of central government and electoral procedures are negatively associated with women taking up active politics. Another cross-country study on women's participation in political parties' activities was conducted in Asia during the period 1991-2013 where the correlation between female political engagement and economic growth was analysed using data from 30 Asian countries (Xu, 2015). The data collected from these countries was analysed using panel regression. The results indicate that women's political parties' participation has been promoting economic growth in Asia in recent decades as they channel their resources obtained from politics participation into the development of their constituents (Xu, 2015).

In Latin America, Domínguez (2016) analyses gender challenges of political parties to determine the link between gender inequalities and identify the situations political parties must integrate gender demands and commit to gender mainstreaming. The study used secondary data as it was based on a review of previous empirical studies on gender equality and political party participation of women (Domínguez, 2016). The study established that when several cultural, systemic, institutional, structural and agency influences are in place, political parties have a stronger tendency to respond to gender-related demands. This could ensure the gap of gender inequality is bridged (Domínguez, 2016). Kunovich and Paxton (2015) in the USA analyse the role of women

leaders in the selection and promotion of women as political candidates in the political parties. The study employed a cross-sectional data and regression model that predicts that all endogenous variables would be influenced by each exogenous variable and that endogenous variables that appear faster in the electoral cycle would influence endogenous variables that happen later in the election, (Kunovich & Paxton, 2015). The study establishes that the participation of women in parties is as essential in helping women become candidates and elected officials. Nevertheless, the ability of women's elites to make a substantial difference varies across electoral systems, (Kunovich & Paxton, 2015).

The study also establishes that results have important consequences for how women can make use of their increasing role in leadership roles to support other women, (Kunovich & Paxton, 2015). In India, Raheena and Neena (2017) sought to ascertain the participation of women delegates in the advancement of disadvantaged segments of society, particularly women and children through political activities. The study employed a simple random sampling procedure that helped selected fifty women elected representatives and data collected via the structured questionnaire, (Raheena & Neena, 2017). This study points out that women play a very important role in democratic governance, but certain socio-inhibit women to function to the full potential. The study acknowledges that women's active involvement in rural local government remains limited to a small number of women, (Raheena & Neena, 2017). The study further reveals that family cohesion, submissiveness, and misunderstanding of their position and responsibilities are factors that affect the performance of women in political positions, (Raheena & Neena, 2017).

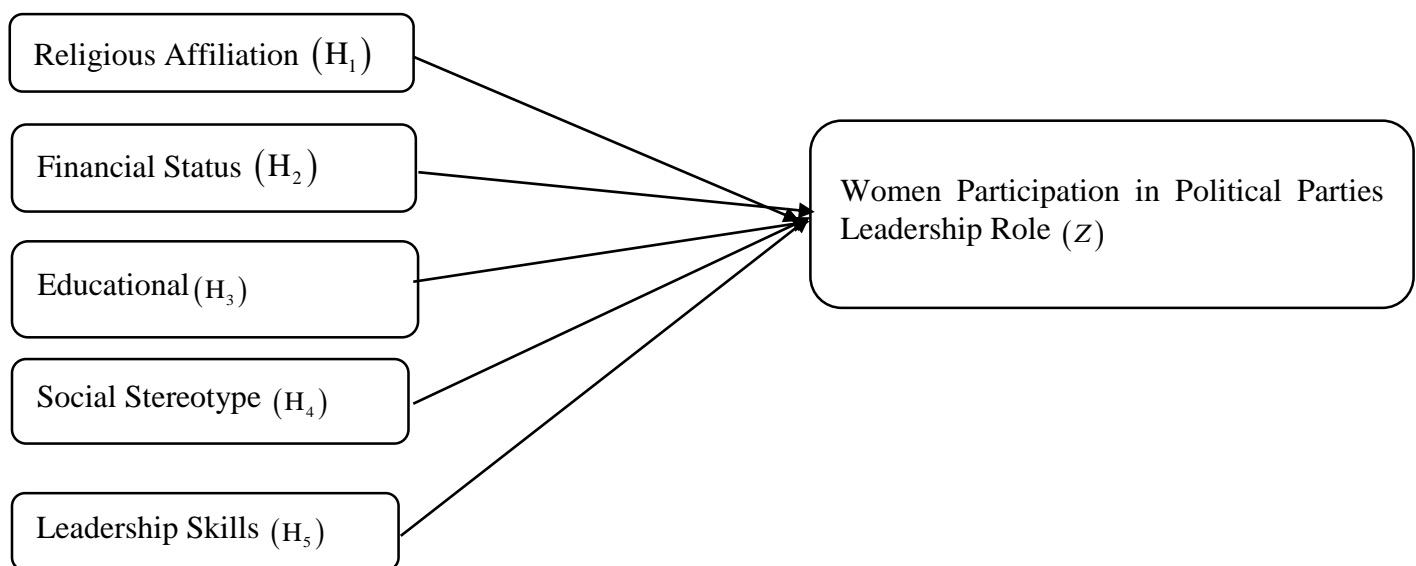
The financial status of the women as a factor determining their level of participation in political party leadership role is chosen parallel with Dim and Asomah (2020) and Umar (2020) Mlambo et al (2019). The variable social stereotype is selected as per the studies of Raheena and Neena (2017) as well as Anigwe (2014). The educational background of the women as a factor that determines the participation in a political party leadership role is selected in reference to Maber (2016), Vijayakumari and Rao (2012) as well as Yao and You (2018). In brief, this study in assessing the participation of women in the various political parties' activities in the area, sought to determine factors that foster women's participation in political parties' leadership role. The research further considered the financial and economic status of the women, the education, the religious background as well as the level of social stereotype of the women who considered politics as their main career or a second job.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework that underpins the women's participation in leadership roles in political parties is developed by the researcher based on available literature. It is made up of the dependent variable which is women participation in political parties' leadership. The independent variables; religious status, financial status, education, the social stereotype of the women and leadership skills of the women. The dependent variable, Women Participation in Political Parties Leadership Role

and was chosen alongside Arnstein (2019) citizen participation hypothesis explained above and other empirical studies such as Yao and You (2018), Rosen (2017) and Deininger et al. (2019). The independent variable; Leadership Skills measures the ability of the women to use their styles of leadership in the daily administration of political parties' activities was chosen with the Leadership theories such as the transformational and transactional leadership style as explained in the theoretical review of the study and other studies such as Lowe and Bathula (2019) and Adams and Funk (2012) who focused on women leadership skills in politics. The other independent variables; Religious Affiliations, Educational Background, Financial Status and Social Stereotype are chosen by the reference with factors that determine political party leadership role of women. Religious affiliation is chosen in line with Dim and Asomah (2020) and Umar (2020) as well as Aghazadeh and Mahmoudoghli (2017).

In many nations with a majority of Muslims, Islamic groups and parties have a negative outlook on women in political leadership roles, which is why the study employed religious affiliations to categorize respondents. (Marks, 2013).The prevailing gender rhetoric of these groups, which is frequently founded on patriarchal readings of religious scriptures, places women's appropriate place in the home as mothers and spouses and essentially excludes women's active involvement in the public realm, particularly in political decision-making positions. Since Muslims make up such a substantial percentage of the area under investigation, this research factored in religious beliefs.



The Conceptual Framework of Women Participation in Political Parties Leadership Role

Thus, it is hypothesized that:

H_1 : There will be a negative relationship between religious affiliation and women Participation in political parties leadership role.

It is widely held that an individual's ability to financially support their involvement in political parties is a major factor in determining that individual's level of engagement. It is theorized that socioeconomic status influences political opinions and behaviors. Economic self-interest likely underlies this connection, with people gravitating toward measures that increase their own financial well-being (Dim & Asomah, 2020; Umar, 2020; Mlambo et al, 2019).

H_2 : There will be a positive relationship between financial status and women participation in political parties leadership role.

Formal education is a characteristic that has been discovered as having a positive effect on the likelihood of an individual participating in the activities of political parties. This is due to the widespread belief that completion of a formal education will result in the acquisition of knowledge and communication skills that are applicable to public discourse, as well as direct training in political analysis through the completion of classes that cover topics related to current events.

H_3 : There will be a positive relationship between formal education and women participation in political parties leadership role.

The public's opinions about women may be described along two dimensions: the first is one of inferiority, while the second is one of apathy. While there are those who hold the view that males are superior to women, there are also people who hold the view that men and women are just different from one another. According to the factor analysis of the NORC General Social Survey, the difference stereotype does a poorer job of explaining political sentiments than the inferiority stereotype does (Morrison, 2020).

H_4 : There will be a bidirectional relationship social stereotype and women Participation in political parties leadership role.

Leadership skills are the main characteristics of politicians. A person who aspires to a political party role ought to have a good leadership skills. It was acknowledged that women's active involvement in rural local government, enhanced their chances to seek higher political offices (Raheena & Neena, 2017). It was also revealed that leadership qualities such as cohesion, submissiveness, and misunderstanding of subordinates enables women to perform effectively in political positions, (Raheena & Neena, 2017).

METHODOLOGY

This study employed the quantitative approach as a research design for both data collection and analysis. The quantitative research approach was employed because it uses numbers and statistics to arrive at results (Saunders, et, al, 2006). A quantitative survey research design was adopted to establish a correlational relationship between religious affiliations, educational background, social stereotype as well as the financial status and women's participation in political party's leadership role and its consequent effect on political party development and national governance. The study further used multiple regression analysis to establish the impact of each of the independent variables on the women participation in the political leadership role of the respondents using the regression model below.

$$WPPPLR = a + b_1RS + b_2EB + b_3FS + b_4SS + b_5LS + e$$

EB is the Educational Background of the Women, FS is the Financial Status of the Women, SS is the Social Stereotype of the societal members towards the women and LS is the Leadership Skills expected of the women in their various leadership position. The variable α is the constant of the regression model, $b_i (i = 1, 2, 3, \dots, 5)$ are the coefficients of the independent variables and ϵ is the error term of the regression model.

The study area was Tamale Metropolis and the capital of the Northern Ghana and the largest city in the northern part of Ghana with four constituencies; Tamale Central, Tamale North, Tamale South and Sagnarigu. The target populations for this study consisted of women who on the ticket of the New Patriotic Party and the National Democratic Congress, contested for executive positions and were still active in the political party leadership in the selected constituencies. The study arrived at 905 women executives through the phone calls that formed the total population of the study. The major political parties in Tamale are the New Patriotic party and the National Democratic Congress with a total of 4 constituencies each. The sample size of the study is calculated from the total population as summarized with the use a confidence interval of 95% with the margin of error pegged at 5%. In the sampling processes, the population comprised of women in the various leadership positions in the two main political parties; the NDC and the NPP at the polling station, branch and constituency levels (a sampling technique where every element in the population has a chance of being selected to be in the sample (Mandallaz, 2019).

Given the nature of the study, Primary data was collected using a self-administered questionnaire. On the other hand, secondary data is information "originally collected for a different purpose and reused for another research (Hox & Boeje 2005:593). Due to the quantitative nature of the study, the researcher modified a structured questionnaire in line with Kusi (2012) which contains predetermined standardized items intended to collect statistical data that can be analysed. The instrument used for data generation was developed on five-Likert scale. To measure accurately and to determine the validity and reliability of the questionnaire, the pilot testing of the

questionnaire was conducted in the Savelegu district. The questionnaire's reliability was evaluated using the Cronbach Alpha test. The reliability co-efficient of Cronbach Alpha showing the internal accuracy of the items on the women's participation in political party leadership roles questionnaire was determined to be 0.746. On the other hand, the validity of the research instrument was tested using Pearson's Product Moment Value and the Person's Correlation Coefficients.

The researcher personally administered the questionnaires to respondents after pre-informing party offices of the study being carried out. This was to make respondents feel safe to get more cooperation from them. A covering letter was obtained from the researchers Head of the department, which was attached to the questionnaire to convince respondents of the authenticity of the research. In carrying out the research, the researcher ensured that the consent of all the respondents involved was obtained and their rights duly respected. The consent copiously underscored the importance of confidentiality and discussed with respondents. The respondents were informed ahead of time about the purpose of the research as an academic work. More so, the confidentiality of any information given by respondents was assured and observed accordingly. This study poses no harm whatsoever to the respondents that were engaged. This research is scheduled in order to address ethical problems that may arise, including disclosing biological data of the respondents and their views and opinions expressed in answering the questionnaires.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Constructs that Constitute the Variables

The results of four major areas below were carefully analysed and discussed separately.

These included:

- a. religious affiliation on women's participation in political party leadership.
- b. educational status of women on their participation in Political party leadership.
- c. financial status of women on their participation in Political party leadership.
- d. social stereotype influence women's participation in political party leadership.

Religious Affiliation on Women's Participation in Political Party Leadership.

The respondents were asked if the religious activities or doctrines encourage them to take active participation in political parties' activities and leadership.

Table 4.1 Religious Affiliation on Women's Participation in Political Party Leadership

	Mean		Std. Deviation Statistic	Skewness		Kurtosis	
	Statistic	Std. Error		Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Std. Error
My religion encourages women involved in political party activities in the Metropolis.	3.47	.044	1.091	-.518	.099	-.553	.198
The religious faith of my family prevents females from taking up active political leadership.	3.58	.050	1.231	-.718	.099	-.550	.198
Religion has been cited as a reason to discourage women from taking up political party leadership.	3.58	.048	1.179	-.702	.099	-.476	.198
My religious group actively support its female members	3.57	.046	1.119	-.630	.099	-.508	.198
Active or frontline party-political leadership by women is not acceptable in my personal religious beliefs.	3.50	.051	1.250	-.584	.099	-.791	.198
Religious affiliation does not allow women to devote family time and financial resources for political party activities.	3.47	.049	1.196	-.611	.099	-.616	.198

Source: Authors Computation from Field Survey Using SPSS, April 2020

Further, the study examined whether women with a higher education gets financial support in contesting political parties' elections. Respondents had neutral view about that women with a higher level of education get financial support in contesting political elections from my party. The factors of religious affiliation on women's participation in political party leadership show an average mean score rate and same error rate of the standard error of the various statistics. This mean that the factors have same contribution rate error rate. Also, the factors are negatively skewed and leptokurtic.

The educational background of women as a factor that determines the participation in a political party leadership role is also selected in reference to literature in Maber (2016), Vijayakumari and Rao (2012). A case in point as mentioned in Golkowska (2013), in some Muslim communities, women cannot be heads of families and are not expected to be in frontline politics. The study

sought to determine whether the religious beliefs in family with women support their participation in active political leadership positions. Religious affiliation is chosen again in line with Dim and Asomah (2020) and Umar (2020) as well as Aghazadeh and Mahmoudoghli (2017).

Educational Status of Women on their Participation in Political Party Leadership

	N Statistic	Mean Statistic	Std. Deviation Statistic	Skewness Statistic	Std. Error	Kurtosis Statistic	Std. Error
My political party uses educational background as a key requirement for women participation in higher political party leadership.	605	3.00	1.231	-.130	.099	-1.046	.198
Women with a higher level of education get financial support in contesting political elections from my party.	605	2.96	1.210	-.052	.099	-1.050	.198
Women who attain higher education levels are perceived to perform better in political positions than those with low or no education.	605	2.84	1.067	-.026	.099	-.919	.198
Low level of education is responsible for low women's participation in party politics and the party leadership levels in my constituency.	605	2.66	1.083	.178	.099	-.850	.198

Source: Authors Computation from Field Survey Using SPSS, April 2020

The majority of the respondents asserted that those with higher educational level do not perform better than those with little or no education at all. The response gathered from the analysis shows that political party uses educational background as a key requirement for women participation in higher political party leadership with a mean, std. deviation, skewness and kurtosis value of 3.00, 1.231, -0.13 and -0.19. Also, these shows that, response are neutral. Also, there is a disagreement by respondent on women with a higher level of education get financial support in contesting

political elections from my party. Women with a higher level of education get financial support in contesting political elections from my party, Women who attain higher education levels are perceived to perform better in political positions than those with low or no education and Low level of education is responsible for low women's participation in party politics and the party leadership levels in my constituency since values below 3 indicate disagreement or not in favour of. The statistic mean values are (mean=2.96, std.= 1.210, skewness =-0.52), (mean=2.84, std.= 1.067, skewness =-0.26) and (mean=2.66, std.= 1.086, skewness =1.78). The assessment above falls in line with Yao & You (2018) that political parties' participation has a positive influence on the education history of the female and also help impact on gender equality in education substantially. Women generally lack education and financial support, aided by religious barriers and stereotyping, and some discriminatory factors that limit their progress in political leadership (Sossou, 2011).

The study asked the respondents whether the gender imbalance between the women is as a result of the little educational background of the women. From table 4.1.3, it can be observed that the various factors have an average mean value between 3.80 to 3.68 which means the there is agreement in the Financial capability is used as the main indicator by your political party for permitting women participation in a political election with (mean=3.68, std.= 1.089, skewness =-0.963), Women without sufficient financial resources are not encouraged to run for political positions with (mean=3.72, std.= 1.057, skewness =-1.026), Financial strength is major consideration factor by most people for nominating women for political party leadership (mean=3.82, std.= 1.008, skewness =-.936), Financial challenge is the main reason why less women contest for political party leadership positions (mean=3.72, std.= 1.042, skewness =-.986), Electorates in my constituency prefer to vote for women who take care of their financial needs. Example paying of school fees for their wards. (mean=3.62, std.= 1.026, skewness =-1.011), Women in politics use their position to enrich their economic status (mean=3.82, std.= 1.021, skewness =-.735). from the statistic, it shows that there is equal variability and also all factor are silty negatively skewed. The study deduces from this that education is not the problem for the women to participate actively in the grassroots politics in the Tamale metropolis. Figure 4.17 and table 4.17 give the descriptive statistic as shown. Yao & You (2018) also found that political parties' participation has a positive influence on the education history of the female students in the long run and also helped impacted gender equality in education substantially.

4.1.3 Financial Status of Women on their Participation in Political Party Leadership

	N	Mean	Std.	Skewness		Kurtosis	
	Statistic	Statistic	Deviation	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Std. Error
Financial capability is used as the main indicator by your political party for permitting women participation in a political election.	605	3.68	1.089	-.963	.099	.350	.198
Women without sufficient financial resources are not encouraged to run for political positions.	605	3.72	1.057	-1.026	.099	.649	.198
Financial strength is major consideration factor by most people for nominating women for political party leadership.	605	3.80	1.008	-.936	.099	.532	.198
Financial challenge is the main reason why less women contest for political party leadership positions.	605	3.78	1.042	-.986	.099	.499	.198
Electorates in my constituency prefer to vote for women who take care of their financial needs. Example paying of school fees for their wards.	605	3.82	1.026	-1.011	.099	.690	.198
Women in politics use their position to enrich their economic status.	605	3.62	1.021	-.735	.099	.100	.198

Source: Authors Computation from Field Survey Using SPSS, April 2020

The above objectives further sought to find out if women without sufficient financial resources to run campaign are encouraged to still contest political positions or not. On the contrary, considering that politics involve much financial outlay, majority of the respondent agree that women who do

not have sufficient financial resources are not encouraged to contest political positions agree to the assertion. Leadership theories as explained in the theoretical review of the study and other studies such as in Eagly et al., (1992), Van Engen and Willemsen (2004), as well as in Adams and Funk (2012), focused on women leadership skills in politics and lamented on financial challenge as one of the weaknesses for women who want to run for elections. According to Cigane & Ohman (2014), the Organization of American States Forum in 2003 on Finance and Women's Political Participation claimed, "Political financing and gender equality are not variables independent of each other.

The study asked the women if financial challenge is the main reason for the gender gap between women and men in contesting political positions. The statistical analysis show there is agreement to the assertion that financial challenge is the main factors that led to fewer women contesting for political parties' positions. The financial status of the women as a factor determining their level of participation in political party leadership role is chosen parallel with Dim and Asomah (2020) and Umar (2020) Mlambo et al (2019).

4.1.4 Social Stereotype Influence Women's Participation in Political Party Leadership

	N Statistic	Mean Statistic	Std. Deviation Statistic	Skewness Statistic	Std. Error	Kurtosis Statistic	Std. Error
Society generally looks down upon women who want to stand for party and political elections in my community.	605	3.65	1.069	-.890	.099	.160	.198
Women are considered inferior to men in contesting for party elections and other national elections in the constituency.	605	3.58	1.046	-.792	.099	.043	.198
Women consider their fellow women who are in politics to have deviated from social norms and therefore vote against them.	604	3.53	1.067	-.782	.099	-.051	.199

Tradition see men as the head of the family and therefore see no reason in women contesting an election to rule the men.	605	3.81	.957	-.976	.099	.800	.198
Women are seen as home keepers and have no business doing politics.	605	3.82	1.065	-.993	.099	.401	.198
Women who are physically challenged are considered not fit for a political position.	605	3.78	.984	-.864	.099	.462	.198
Women in my constituency are marginalized or branded as social deviants for contesting for elected political position.	605	3.75	1.069	-.881	.099	.194	.198

Source: Authors Computation from Field work 2020

The study further examined the effect of social stereotype on women ability to get elected into political parties' position in the constituencies as well as the branch and the polling station level. The question on whether society looked at down on women who are in politics was asked the respondents. Society generally looks down upon women who want to stand for party and political elections in my community (mean=3.65, std.= 1.069, skewness =-.890), Women are considered inferior to men in contesting for party elections and other national elections in the constituency (mean=3.58, std.= 1.046, skewness =-.792), Women consider their fellow women who are in politics to have deviated from social norms and therefore vote against them (mean=3.53, std.= 1.067, skewness =-.782). Tradition sees men as the head of the family and therefore see no reason in women contesting an election to rule the men (mean=3.81, std.= 0.957, skewness =-.976). Women are seen as home keepers and have no business doing politics. (mean=3.82, std.= 1.065, skewness =-.963), Women who are physically challenged are considered not fit for a political position (mean=3.78, std.= .984, skewness =-.864) and Women in my constituency are marginalized or branded as social deviants for contesting for elected political position (mean=3.75, std.= 1.069, skewness =-.881). This suggests that society actually looked down upon women who want to run for political parties' positions. Gender social stereotype also hinder women's advancement in political party leadership because of certain culturally-shared norms that dictate expectations of how men and women are and how they should behave (Burgess & Borgida, 1999; Eagly & Karau, 2002)

As to whether women are considered inferior to the men in contesting for party elections was asked. The variable social stereotype is selected as per the studies of Regehr and Glancy (2014), M'Cathy and Sossou (2017), Raheena and Neena (2017) as well as Anigwe (2014) falls in line with the assessment above. Tradition sees men as the head of the family and therefore see no reason for women to contest an election to rule the men, this is an assertion the study sought to obtain its validity from the respondents. It was revealed that most respondents agree to the fact that women to contest an election to rule the men. In Latin America, according to Domínguez (2016) analyses on gender challenges of political parties is a fact and there is the need to determine the link between gender inequalities and identify the situations political parties must integrate gender demands and commit to gender mainstreaming.

4.1.4 Leadership Skills expected of the women in their various leadership position

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness		Kurtosis	
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Std. Error
The involvement of women in politics brings transformation and development to their political party.	605	3.91	.955	-1.256	.099	1.754	.198
The involvement of women in politics brings transformation and development to the constituency.	605	3.96	.904	-1.279	.099	2.040	.198
Women in politics in my constituency help in community building.	605	3.85	.910	-1.102	.099	1.438	.198
Women in politics act as unifiers for the Tamale Metropolis.	605	3.84	.962	-1.179	.099	1.425	.198

Women in politics ensure that the national cake for the constituency is distributed equally among all members and union group within the constituency	605	3.83	.942	-1.175	.099	1.484	.198
Women in politics in the various constituency in the Tamale Metropolis help in reducing women's marginalization in the constituency.	605	4.03	.860	-1.277	.099	2.259	.198
Women in a political position in their various parties perform better than men.	605	3.66	1.025	-.846	.099	.196	.198
My political party take steps to support women to take up party leadership positions	605	3.37	1.241	-.645	.099	-.660	.198
Women take advantage of support provided by political parties in the constituency	605	3.75	1.090	-.986	.099	.320	.198
The support offered by political parties to their constitutes are adequate to help the women to actively involved in politics	605	3.53	1.329	-.784	.099	-.608	.198

Source: Authors Computation from Field Survey Using SPSS, April 2020

The study asked the respondents whether women in their constituency are marginalized or branded as social deviants for contesting for elected political position. Form table 4.1.4 women in politics in the various constituency has the high rating and this help the Tamale Metropolis in reducing women's marginalization in the constituency. This means that women are actually marginalized or branded as social deviants for contesting for elected political positions as the majority of them agreed to the assertion.

Relative Importance Index on the Factors

Application of Reliability statistics on the data will be checked by using the Cronbach "s Alpha. The Cronbach's alpha values is a measure of internal consistency of the data or examines reliability by determining the internal consistency of a test or the average correlation of items (variables) within the test. It shows how closely related a set of items are related (Likert, 1932). From table 4.2 The Cronbach" s alpha coefficient of three factors which are: Religious affiliation on women's participation in political party leadership (0.842). Educational status of women on their participation in Political party leadership (0.789), financial status of women on their participation in Political party leadership (0.876) and social stereotype influence women's participation in political party leadership (0.846). This shows that the items under each of the factors are consistent and also very high.

Table 4.5 Cronbach's Alpha Analysis

Factors	Cronbach's Alpha	No. of Items
Religious affiliation on women's participation in political party leadership.	0.842	6
Educational status of women on their participation in Political party leadership.	0.789	4
Financial status of women on their participation in Political party leadership.	0.876	6
Social stereotype influence women's participation in political party leadership	0.846	7
Leadership Skills expected of the women in their various leadership position	0.846	10

From Table 4.5 above, the Cronbach's Alpha between the items within each factors show a high correlation between the them. This shows that, the reliability of data is good for used and also, the respondents answered the questions very well with minimum errors. It also gives the right indication that, the right respondents answered those particular questions

Multiple Regression Model

Multiple regression model or analysis is different from multiple linear regression in such a way that the outcome variable (dependent variables) and also a continuous variable. Its main objective is the same as that of all other model-building methods: to derive the best-fitting, most parsimonious (smallest or most efficient), and economically reasonable model to describe the relationship between an outcome (WPPPL) and a set of predictors (Educational Background of the Women Financial Status of the Women, Social Stereotype of the societal members towards the women, and Leadership Skills expected of the women in their various leadership position).

The multiple logistic function and its regression equation is given as

$$WPPPLR = a + b_1RS + b_2EB + b_3FS + b_4SS + b_5LS + e$$

RS is the religious status of the Women, *EB* is the Educational Background of the Women, *FS* is the Financial Status of the Women, *SS* is the Social Stereotype of the societal members towards the women and *LS* is the Leadership Skills expected of the women in their various leadership position. The variable α is the constant of the regression model, $b_i (i = 1, 2, 3, \dots, 5)$ are the coefficients of the independent variables and ϵ is the error term of the regression model.

Assumption of Multiple Regression Model

- ✓ There is a linear relationship between the dependent variables and the independent variables
- ✓ The independent variables are not highly correlated with each other
- ✓ y_i observations are selected independently and randomly from the population
- ✓ Residuals should be normally distributed with a mean of 0 and variance.

Results of Multiple Regression Model

Model Summary

R Square	Adjusted Square	R	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
.114	.051	.487		1.685

ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	17.258	40	.431	1.817	.002 ^b
	Residual	133.715	563	.238		
	Total	150.974	603			

Table 4.7 Multiple Regression Analysis

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients			T	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	3.596	1.410		2.551	0.002
RS	-0.108	0.087	-0.131	-1.248	0.004
EB	0.373	0.106	0.257	2.653	0.009
ES	0.282	0.091	0.304	4.103	0.000
SS	0.282	0.187	0.419	2.108	0.068
LS	0.174	0.067	0.087	1.027	0.000

Table 4.7 above, shows the results of regression estimates of the various factors (Educational Background of the Women Financial Status of the Women, Social Stereotype of the societal members towards the women, and Leadership Skills expected of the women in their various leadership position). The significant value of the chi square statistics for each of the predictor's variables indicates the contribution or importance of each predictor variables $\chi^2 - value(0.002) < 0.05$. This implies that the multiple regression model is significant and can be used for predictions. Similarly, in the model, items of factor contributed significantly to the model. These factors are the Religious status $\chi^2 - value(0.004) < 0.05$, Educational Background of the Women Financial Status of the Women $\chi^2 - value(0.000) < 0.05$ and the Social Stereotype of the societal members towards the women $\chi^2 - value(0.068) > 0.05$ and Leadership Skills expected of the women in their various leadership position $\chi^2 - value(0.083) < 0.05$ has no significant effect on the multiple regression model.

Hypothesis Formulation [Significance of Parameters in Logistics Regression Model]

First Hypothesis: Significance of b_i [Social Stereotype of the societal members towards the women]

$H_0 : b_1, b_2, b_3, b_5 = 0$ [There is significant difference in each of the parameters]

$H_1 : b_1, b_2, b_3, b_5 \neq 0$ [There is no significant difference in each of the parameters]

From table 4.6 above, we reject the Null Hypothesis $H_0 : b_1, b_2, b_3, b_5 = 0$, since the significant level $\chi^2 - value(0.000) < 0.05$ is less than the alpha value (0.05). We conclude that religious

affiliation, Educational Background, Financial Status and Leadership Skills of women's participation in political party leadership, there is no significant difference within in each of the parameters.

Second Hypothesis: Significance of b_4 [Social Stereotype of the societal members towards the women]

$H_0 : b_4 = 0$ [There is significant difference in the social stereotype of the societal members towards the women]

$H_1 : b_4 \neq 0$ [There is no significant difference in the social stereotype of the societal members towards the women]

From table 4.6 above, we fail to reject the Null Hypothesis $H_0 : b_4 = 0$, since the significant level $\hat{P} - value(0.068) > 0.05$ is less than the alpha value (0.05). We conclude that there is significance difference in the social stereotype of the societal members towards the women. Also, the research sought from the women whether those in leadership positions articulate an appealing vision of the future, challenge followers with high standards and provide encouragement to them in an attempt to induce them to perform tasks assigned them. It follows from this that the total respondents agreed to this assertion. Another factor used to determine the leadership quality of the women in politics dealt with their level of trust and their stand when confronted with difficult issues or decision. Women according UNESCO (2010) play significantly active and leading roles in party level politics, they need to overcome the '*self-defeating mind-set and inferiority complex*' allowing men in largely patriarchal communities to lead and dominate political party decisions. The study used ten questions that evaluate the participation of the women in political parties' activities and leadership in the four constituencies. These questions were modified or adapted from Mohd Nor (2011); Some Socio-Demographic Determinants of Political Participation. The first question asked whether active participation of women in politics brings transformation and development to their constituency and political party as a whole.

CONCLUSIONS

From the analysed data, it was discovered that religious affiliations, financial status and leadership of the women are positively related to women participation in political party leadership roles in the four constituencies and statistically significant at 5% level of significance. This implies that an improvement in any of the independent variables; religious affiliations, financial status and leadership could as well improve women participation in political parties' activities. On the other hand, the independent variable; social stereotype is found to be negative related but statistically significant 5% level of significance with women participation in political parties' activities. This also means that the more stigmatized and marginalized some sections of the women in the constituencies were, the less they get involved in political party leadership roles. The independent variable; educational background or educational status is found to be negatively related to women participation in political party leadership roles, but statistically insignificant. This indicates that women in the four constituencies do not consider education to be a factor that influences one to get involved in political party leadership roles.

Recommendations

From the data collected and analysed, it was evidenced that women do not enjoy any financial support from the political parties when contesting party position in their constituencies; given that financial resources forms part of the main component of running political parties' campaigns and the elections. The study on this basis suggests that political parties need to help their members, especially women, to raise funds for their political ambitions. The level at which the marginalized

women in the constituencies are stigmatized, again prevent them from fully engaging in political party leadership roles. The study recommends that the constituents be educated on this to discourage them from stigmatizing women who stand for political parties' positions. Further, it is recommended that attention be given to education of women on leadership positions, to a level that they can be able to read and write, before they attempt to contest. The study also proposes further study be carried out in other parts of the country to ascertain what influences women participation in the leadership roles of political parties and what those already in power are doing differently that can create opportunities for more women in politics.

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