GENDERED ATTITUDES AND WOMEN'S POLITICAL INTEREST:

THE CASES OF SOUTH AFRICA AND GHANA

by Christabel Nyarwaa Baah (Thesis)

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Abstract

This thesis situates the issue of women's political representation in a socio-cultural context by examining the relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest in South Africa and Ghana. South Africa represents an African country with higher women's legislative representation, and Ghana represents a country with low women's legislative representation on the continent. "Women having less interest in politics than men" is a well-researched area in political attitudes studies (Campbell and Winters, 2008: Anderson, 1975; Burns 2001; Fox and Lawless, 2010). However, less is known about the underline cause of this difference. This thesis argues that socio-cultural factors such as patriarchy, gendered roles, and cultural beliefs are to be blamed for the presence of "gendered attitudes," which have consequently affected "women's interest in politics." I use data from the World Values Survey and bivariate statistics to answer the following questions: (1) are South African and Ghanaian women less interested in politics than men? (2) do gendered attitudes affect women's political interest in Ghana and South Africa? Findings from the analysis reveal, (1) women in Ghana and South Africa are generally less interested in politics than men. (2) there is a relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest in Ghana and South Africa. Findings from this thesis provide a start to a meaningful conversation. More research is needed to better understand the relationship between gendered attitudes and women's interest in politics.

Keywords: political interest, gendered attitudes, women's legislative representation.

<u>Acknowledgement</u>

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ANC	African National Congress
BFA	Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action
CEDAW	Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women
ESSA	Education Sub Saharan Africa
IDEA	Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IPU	Interparliamentary Union
UNDEP	United nations development program
UN	United Nations
UN WOMEN	United Nations Women
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
WEF	World Economic Forum
WVS	World Values Survey

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The discussion on women's participation in politics continues to top agendas worldwide as gender inequality against women is widespread across several countries. There is no doubt that some progress has been made. For instance, when we look back from the era where women had no suffrage rights to achieving 50% of women legislators in countries such as Rwanda, today it is evident women have made substantial progress in domains such as top leadership. Nonetheless, the ratio of disparity between men and women in politics particularly remains a primary concern worldwide and most especially in Africa. Current trends show equality is still a long way off, and progress is also far too slow. According to the World Economic Forum (WEF,2020), gender inequality in political engagement varies across countries, with most countries experiencing these inequalities in Africa. Across the region, some countries are doing better than others. For example, South Africa has 46% of women in the national legislature, accounting for nearly a balanced legislative representation. However, in sharp contrast, the percentage of women legislators in Ghana is relatively low, 14% (IPU,2020).

Existing literature on socio-cultural narratives that explains women's political representation holds that cultural factors have created barriers to women's participation in politics (Paxton and Kunovich, 2003). So even though political participation requires that citizens, including women, be visible in every aspect of a society's political process, this is usually not the case in Africa. Bari (2005) argues that most African cultures limit women's mobility, impacting their participation in active politics. It is imperative to mention that existing literature on women's political representation is generally broad. However, analysis on variation in gender inequality (particularly women's political representation) between countries in Africa is arguably not comprehensive. In addition to this, some scholars have also found that women are generally

less interested in politics than men (Andersen, 1975; Baxter & Lansing, 1983; Burns, 2001; Burns et al., 2001; Campbell et al., 1954; Hayes & Bean, 1993; Welch 1997; Bertelsen, 1974; Jennings, 1983; Bennet and Bennet, 1988). However, less is known as to why this difference exists (Campbell and Winters, 2008). Furthermore, such empirical analysis has not received much attention in Africa either.

Thus, this thesis sets out to fill these gaps. It seeks to investigate whether women in Ghana and South Africa are generally less interested in politics than men. Also, it examines whether there is a relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest in Ghana and South Africa. This study uses Ghana and South Africa as cases; here, South Africa represents a country with higher levels of women's political representation, and Ghana represents a country with low women's political representation. The justification for selecting these two countries is as follows. Here analysis is on two countries with similar socio-cultural practices, and most importantly, different legislative representation.

It is essential to mention that the political history of both countries does diverge. However, the 1990s marks a pivotal change in the history of both countries. Frempong (2017) posits that Ghana's 1992 general elections marked the country's fourth attempt to become a republican government maintained up to date. It returned to constitutional rule after more than a decade of military dictatorship. The results of the 1992 election had 16 women legislators and 184 male legislators (Frempong, 2017). To a similar extent, Southall (1994) posits, the 1994 South African election constituted one of the rarest moments in the country's political history. The first fully democratic election was held, which marked the end of the Apartheid regime, and the political structure was maintained up to date. The election results had 100 female legislators and 300 male legislators. This tells us that, at a pivotal point in history in both countries, women's legislative representation was lower than men.

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However, this story is no longer true. Nevertheless, the question of why this disparity came about or exists between both countries has not been fully explained, although studies have assessed factors such as electoral systems and quotas (Hills, 2015; Morejele, 2016; Ninsin, 2016). This thesis will help understand why Ghana and South Africa ended up decades after independence, in such starkly different women's political representation ratios, with a focus on the effect of "gendered attitudes" on "women's political interest." I rely on data from the World Values Survey (WVS) and the use of bivariate analysis to answer the following questions: (1) are South African and Ghanaian women less interested in politics than men? (2) do gendered attitudes affect women's political interest in Ghana and South Africa? The evidence obtained in this thesis will help us understand whether women in these two countries are less interested in politics and whether there is a relationship between "gendered attitudes" and "women's political interest."

1.1 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS/VARIABLES

For clarity and precise measurement of variables, it is essential I define the main concepts used in this study: "gendered attitudes" and "political interest." I will begin with a discussion on what politics is and then explain what the term political interest means for the purpose of this thesis. Next, I will briefly discuss what "gendered attitudes" also means.

The answer to the question "what is politics"? is highly contentious. The reason is that, like any concept, the term politics has received several meanings from different scholars. For instance, the term can be perceived as a state-centered activity or art of government. Baker (1951) defines *politics* as a public activity that takes place within a state and its institutions. This explanation connotes the traditional meaning associated with the term politics. This view

of politics connotes the everyday use of the term. For instance, people are said to be "in politics" when they hold public office.

Scholars, however, argue that this is just a narrow definition of the concept. Furthermore, they have sought to expand the meaning by incorporating all other social relations rather than activity centered on the state and its governmental institutions. According to Leftwich (2004), politics is at the heart of all collective social activity, formal and informal, public, and private, in all human groups, institutions, and societies. This view holds that politics takes place at every level of social interaction. For instance, it can be found within families, in church, amongst friends, or school boards and authorities.

Nevertheless, for this thesis, I situate the meaning of politics as a state-centered activity, such as running for public office or contesting for elections. Having established what the term politics means within the context of this thesis, I will explain what "political interest" also means.

According to Robinson (2017) and Luskin (1990), political interest is seen to be motivational, in that "interest" forms as the basis of engagement with "politics." In this case, these authors hold that interest stimulates engagement with politics. However, Dostie-Goulet (2009) also argues that defining political interest as "motivational" creates limitations on the scope of the concept. The author further argues that when *political interest* is defined only as motivational, it is possible to overlook people interested in politics but who do not act on this interest. Arguably there could be several ways by which an individual may be interested in politics. This includes reading news on politically related topics, paying keen attention to political campaigns or participating in political movements or protest. This thesis, however, aligns with Robinson (2017) and Luskin (1990) explanation on political interest, which connotes the tendency for an individual to engage or participate in formal politics, such as contesting for elections or running for public office.

"Gendered attitudes" often emerge due to conforming to societal expectations and societal norms. Many cultures traditionally prescribe gender-specific roles, influencing the behaviors and attitudes of their people. Lefkowitz et al. (2014) contend that traditional norms and beliefs shape the behavior of men and women. Similarly, Lawless and Fox (2005) posit gender-specific roles often affect how men and women behave in any given society. The authors further add that, in most situations, the reason behind people's actions or behaviors is partly because of the socialization process they obtain (Lawless and Fox, 2005). For instance, gendered expectations in Ghana define men as leaders and providers while it defines women as homemakers (Adinkrah 2017; Boateng et al. 2006; Oheneba-Sakyi, 1999).

Furthermore, Ampofo (2001) notes that girls carry the more significant burden of domestic work while boys are geared towards more "productive" work. The author further adds that, even where women are breadwinners and providers in their own rights, they learn to concede the nominal role of provider or head to a male (Ampofo, 2001). These gender-specific roles shape the behaviors of individuals and, with time, translate into gendered attitudes, becoming part and parcel of their everyday life. For instance, Madsen (2020) posits that there are certain beliefs and gendered perceptions, such; women do not partake in the decision-making process and are not to associate with masculine traits. Manuh and Ayidoho (2015) assert that in Ghana, female members of parliaments, who are assertive, show strength, and are strong gender advocates are often mocked as being masculine. These women are mockingly called "Yaa Asantewaa[1] (Manuh and Ayidoho, 2015, p. 23)

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[1] " (Yaa Asantewaa is a name used to mock women who exhibit strength and power usually associated with men)

Thus "gendered attitudes" have to do with the socially constructed thoughts, behaviors, perceptions, and beliefs individuals exhibit towards a situation, person, or event.

Moving on, a detailed explanation of the justification and selection of cases is provided.

1.2 JUSTIFICATION OF CASE SELECTION IN DETAIL.

This section will briefly discuss the logic of case selection, why the selected countries, and discuss the similarities and the different women's political representation between countries. Both countries provide excellent cases for comparison given their relatively similar histories and similar socio-cultural practices. The methodological approach used here can loosely be described as a "most –similar" research design (Lijphart,1971). Below, the similarities and differences between countries are discussed in much detail.

To begin, a comparative colonial history between both countries will be discussed. Both South Africa and Ghana went through different colonial experiences but inherited similar colonial legacies. For instance, both countries were colonies of Great Britain. The iconic leaders of both countries had a vison to empower women and increase women's legislative representation. "Ghana's Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first prime minister, developed his "vision 2020" in the immediate post-colonial period (Frempong 2017). His vision 2020 aimed at not only building a solid and world-class country but, most importantly, a country where the inclusion of women in its development process was paramount—a country where both men and women will have equal access to opportunities (Frempong 2017). Nkrumah, for instance, took the initiative to set aside ten (10) parliamentary seats for women to be automatically added to the then parliament in 1959 (Allah Mensah, 2007).

Similarly, in South Africa, Nelson Mandela made tremendous strides in his battle to include women. At the opening of South Africa's first parliament, for instance, following the end of the apartheid regime, President Mandela declared, "Freedom cannot be achieved unless women

are emancipated from all forms of oppression and discrimination"(CNN, 2013). This effort pushed the representation of women in South Africa's parliament, jumping tenfold from 2.7% during apartheid to 27% after the first democratic elections of 1994 (S.A. statistics, 2000). We see that the leaders in both countries had a similar objective to ensure gender equality in political representation.

Ghana was the first nation in Africa to come out of colonial rule. It became independent on March 6, 1957, with Kwame Nkrumah as the first prime minister in 1957. Later Ghana became a republic, with Nkrumah winning the presidential election in 1960, making him the first president of Ghana. In Meredith's book "*the fate of Africa*," the author shows how Ghana embarked on independence as one of the wealthiest tropical countries in the world. However, with Ghana's historical background, between 1957-1981, there were nine changes in government and four military coups. Nine years after independence in 1966, a series of military coups dipped the country into two decades of instability (Frempong, 2017; Allah-Mensah, 2007; Fallon 2008). The ousting of President Kwame Nkrumah in 1966 marked the beginning of a long period of political and economic uncertainty, which directly affected Nkrumah's vision 2020 plan. As Ghana witnessed these series of tensions between 1957 and 1983, its efforts to bridge the gender gap and fight against all forms of discrimination against women became unrealized. Tsikata (1989) described this phase as the "apolitical phase". Similarly, Prah (2005) described it as the "period of democratic disengagement", indicating women's political representation in this period have rather been characterised by a setback.

Thus, we see the genesis of Ghana's problem and why it has failed to bridge the gender equality gap present at the time. Looking at the experience of south-Africa., Noah (2016), posit the experience of South Africa's society, both pre-and post-British rule, was faced with some confrontations. Various institutionalized forms of racism and sexism created discrimination at the political, social, economic, and constitutional levels (Mamabolo and Sebola ,2014). Women

are viewed as a weaker gender and naturally incapable of making it in leadership and management positions.

Similarly, scholars have also pointed out that there was a general perception that most women do not want to serve in senior positions of the public service (Albertyn 2009; Sebola and Khalo, 2010; Louw and Kahn, 2011). Despite all these, South African women's resilience, and their ability to challenge the status quo at the time remains significant. In Trevor Noah's memoir "*Born a Crime*" (2016), he discusses how women took charge of the country's affairs in the absence of South African men. The author posits it was women that held the community together. Noah (2016) further adds that in recognizing the power and resilience of South African women, it is often stated in South Africa that "when you strike a woman, you strike a rock" (Noah, 2016). Let us look at the efforts made by Winnie Mandela, for instance. Winnie is popularly known as the wife of Nelson Mandela. Even before she became a wife, as an advocate for women's empowerment, and as a social worker, she challenged the in just system that had created discrimination and poverty against women (African Impact News, 2018). According to Manzini (2004), Winnie is often remembered for her resilience and ability to mobilize South-African women.

Manzini (2004) further posits that, during and after the apartheid, women were not found wanting. They actively fought against the in just system, built and strengthened the mass democratic movement in the country. Thus, it can be argued that South Africans' role in establishing the current South-African political landscape (emphasis on increased women's political representation) was instrumental. From our discussions so far, we can say that there was some form of tension and violence in both Ghana (with series of military coups) and south-Africa (violent protest during apartheid regime). However, unlike south-Africa, where women seem to have been instrumental, we do not see this in the case of Ghana. According to Akita (2010), women in Ghana have historically been shielded from all forms of political activities.

Neither did Ghanaian women challenge the in just system they found themselves in until the beginning of its fourth republic. The author posits that the cultural environment in the country is partially to be blamed for this. Gender-based roles and the socially constructed division of labour have made women believe politics is men's business (Akita, 2010). Hence, they want nothing to do with it.

There are several cultural similarities that make these two countries ideal points of comparison. The first similarity identified in this research is ethnicity and the multi-lingual nature of both countries. Ghana has several ethnic groups. The largest is the Akan. This group of people occupy the middle part of the country down to the south-western coastal areas and constitute about 47.5% of the population (Gyasi, 1997). There is also the Mole-Dagbon, in the eastern part of the Northern Region, representing approximately 16.6% of the population. The Ewes, in the east, bordering the Republic of Togo, comprise about 13.9% of the population. In Ghana, about 71.2% classify themselves as Christians, while 17.6% classify themselves as Muslims (Fuseini and Kalule-Sabiti, 2015). Some scholars have argued that in Ghana, these differences have manifested themselves in the multiplicity of military coup d'états, which have created instability over a long period (Asante and Gyima-Boadi, 2004). While it is not as rich in linguistic diversity as many other African countries, South Africa recognizes twelve national languages. The official languages of South Africa, apart from the two postcolonial and locally naturalized languages, English, and Afrikaans, are Tsonga (Shangaan), Venda, Tswana, Northern Sotho, Sotho, Ndebele, Zulu, Xhosa, and Swati (*S.A. Government News Agency*, 2018). Another similarity I identified between both countries is a cultural value shared by both countries. Discussing cultural values in African countries, Idang (2018) argues not all African countries have the same explanation for events, mode of dressing, languages and so on. Thus, cultural values are what makes diverse cultures unique. However, there are underlying similarities shared by some African societies. Ghana and South Africa both share a cultural

value worth discussing. While south-Africans have what they call "Ubuntu," Ghanaians also have "Ankabom." Ubuntu means "I am what I am because of who we all are" (Idang, 2018). Similarly, Ghana's "Ankabom" means "together we are all one people" (Idang, 2018). Emphasising on the importance of cultural values, Idang (2018) holds that cultural values forms the basis of understanding the actions and inactions of any group of people. It enables us to understand the attitudes and behaviours of a particular group of people. This similar cultural value shared by both countries indicates equal privileges for both women and men. However, despite the recognition of this cultural value in both countries, men are women are treated differently (Idang, 2018).

It is imperative to mention that both Ghana and South Africa have acceded to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BFA), where provisions are put in place for realizing equality between women and men. This includes equal access to political and public life opportunities, the right to vote and stand for election, and the right to education, health, and employment (United Nations, 2019). This declaration requested that governments implement measures to enable women to have equal access to power and participation in decision-making structures (Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2006; Fallon et.al 2012).

In Ghana, affirmative action has addressed gender and regional imbalances in access to politics, education, health, and work (Appiah, 2015). The use of this strategy has been variable. While it has had a few successes (particularly in improving the male-female ratios in education), some sectors continue to lag. For instance, it has been less effective for improving women's representation in political and public life (Appiah, 2015).

On the other hand, South Africa has made considerable strides and achieved positive milestones thus far in women's political representation (e.g., women's legislative

representation) although this was not always the case. Today, women's legislative representation, is at 46% (IPU,2020). According to Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), South-Africa is almost at the finishing point in achieving a balanced legislative representation. It is important to understand how this country achieved this. Why are Ghana and South-Africa different in women's representation today?

1.3 STRUCTURE/ORGANIZATION OF THESIS

This thesis has five chapters; chapter one has provided an introduction of the study, highlighted the factors that motivated this study, defined the operational terms and key concepts used in this thesis, and a detailed explanation and justification of case selection. The remainder of the thesis includes four additional chapters. Chapter two (2) provides the literature review, which situates the issue of women's political representation in a socio-cultural context. The chapter begins with an introduction, discussing women's political interest in Ghana and South Africa. It also discusses the socio-cultural factors that have generated the presence of gendered attitudes, accounting for women's interest in politics. The literature review also discusses the theoretical framework that underpins this study. Chapter three (3) discusses the data and methods used, the study sample, and the operational definitions of the dependent and independent variables. Chapter four (4) presents the empirical part of the thesis. Here, this thesis statistically examines (1) whether women in Ghana and South Africa are generally less interested in politics, (2) and examine the relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest in Ghana and South Africa. This chapter also discusses the evidence/results obtained from the analysis. Chapter five (5) summarizes the study, discusses some of the challenges faced in the research, and concludes by providing avenues for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The literature review chapter draws from existing literature on women's representation and situates the issue of women's political representation in a socio-cultural context. The chapter begins by discussing the general overview/background of the current gender inequalities women face. It narrows it to the disparity in political representation between men and women in Africa. This chapter also provides an overview of women's legislative representation in both Ghana and South Africa. The chapter provides a detailed explanation of the socio-cultural factors that limit women's presence in politics. This chapter concludes with a discussion on the theoretical framework that underpins this study.

2.2 GENERAL OVERVIEW/BACKGROUND.

Gender inequalities and discrimination against women persist in every part of the world today. Many studies on women's political representation suggest that structural, institutional, political, and attitudinal factors are all to be blamed for the low presence of women in politics and public affairs (Kasomo, 2012; Allah-Mensah, 2004; Bari, 2005; Shvedova, 2005; Barnes and Burchard, 2012; Abdulmelik and Belay, 2019). Despite this, the issue of women's absence in politics continues to persist even after all these years, even if the nature, size, and ratio of gender disparity between men and women is not universal (Sen 2001). These vary in scale, from country to country, and take different forms, from physical violence and deprivations to unequal opportunities in political life. Briefly, let us look at the Global Gender Gap Index used by the World Economic Forum to measure the extent of gender-based gaps (See Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 tracks inequalities faced by women today as measured by the World Economic Forum's global gender gap Index. This index measures four key dimensions or areas: political empowerment, economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, and health and survival. According to the global gender gap report (WEF,2020), the Gender Gap score (based on the population-weighted average) stands at 68.6%. Inferring from this report, we can conclusively argue that we are still not there yet, and the remaining gap to close is now 31.4%. Again, a closer look at Figure 2.2 indicates that there is substantial regional variation. So, in 2020, four regions have gaps of less than 30%. We see that western Europe is once again the region where the gender gap is smallest (76.7%), placing it ahead of North America, which has a gap of 72.9%, Latin America and the Caribbean (72.1%), and Eastern Europe and Central Asia (71.5%). East Asia and the Pacific region (68.5%) are just ahead of Sub-Saharan Africa (68.0%).

Observation of the figures (both figure 2.1 & figure 2.2) unmasks some critical dimensions, which I believe is very important as we proceed. First, let us discuss the political empowerment subindex as seen in figure 2.1. The *Political Empowerment Subindex* by the World Economic Forum measures the gap between men and women at the highest level of governance. It centres on the ratio of women to men in ministerial positions and women to men in legislative positions. Figure 2.1 indicates the enormous gender disparity is the *Political Empowerment* Gap on average. This is not surprising, given the small number of women in public office and legislatures across countries. Although there has been significant improvement in countries, thus far, only a 25% gap has been closed on this subindex. This means that, globally, on average, only 25% of women hold or occupy political/public offices. This report further indicates that only a handful of countries have closed at least 50% of their political empowerment gaps (WEF, 2020). This demonstrates how women's presence and participation in politics are still minimal globally.

Figure 2. 1   The state of gender gaps, by subindex (WEF,2020)

The Global Gender Gap Index	69%
Health and Survival subindex	97%
Educational Attainment subindex	96%
Economic Participation	58 %
Political Empowerment subindex	25%
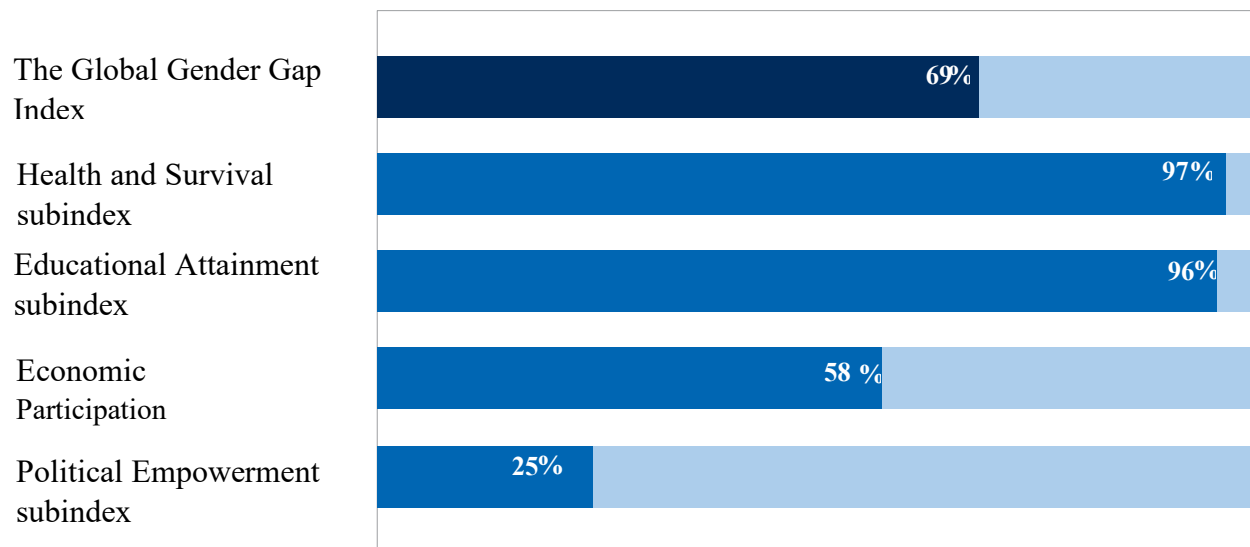
Figure 2. 2 Gender gap closed to date by region (WEF,2020).

Western Europe	77 %
North America	72.%
Latin America and the Caribbean	72.%
Eastern Europe and Central Asia	71.%
East Asia and the Pacific	68.%
Sub-Saharan Africa	68.%
South Asia	6.1%
The Middle East and North Africa	61.2%

0   Percentage points   100
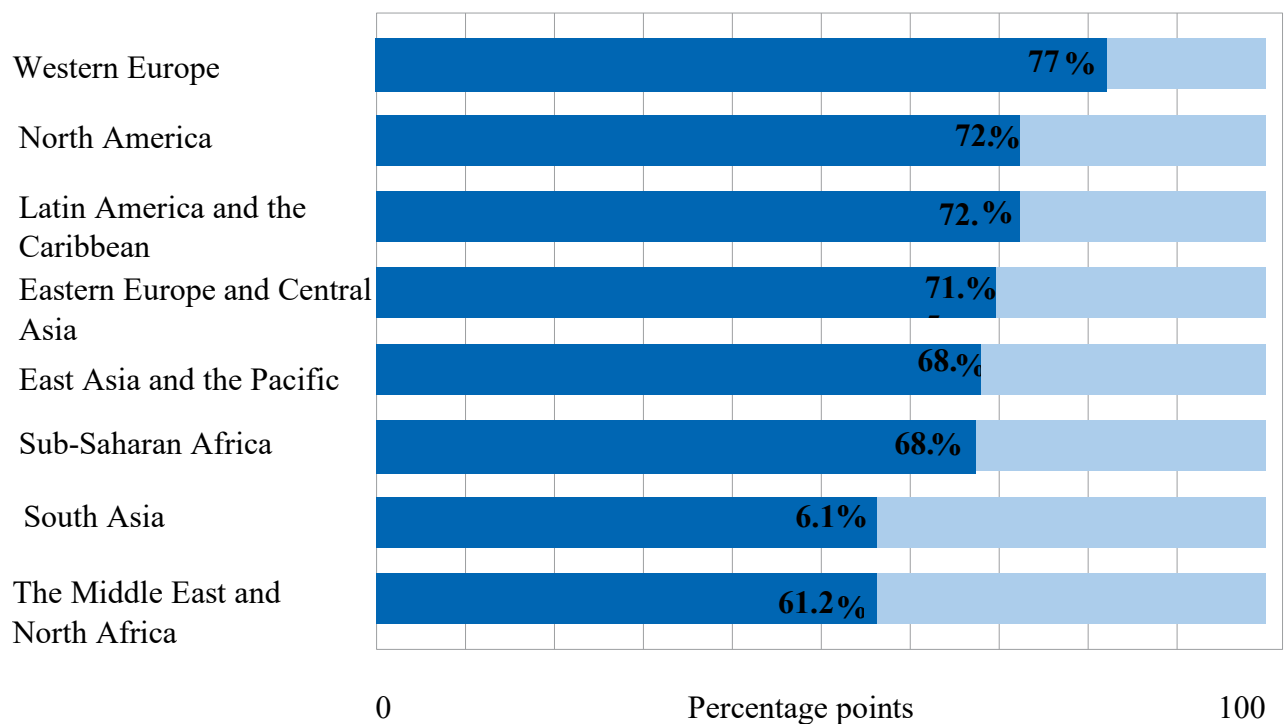
Second, we can see that progress towards gender parity is proceeding at different speeds across

the selected eight geographic areas. (East Asia and the Pacific, Eastern Europe and Central

Asia, North America, Western Europe, South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East, North Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean). The data presented above shows gender inequality is highest in Africa.

From our discussions so far, we know at least two things. First, we know the political empowerment index is where women are severely underrepresented. Second, we also know that gender inequality in political engagement is highest in Africa. Now that we have prior knowledge of this, next is a discussion on the current state of women's political representation in Ghana and South Africa.

2.3 "WHAT WE KNOW SO FAR": WOMEN'S POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN GHANA AND SOUTH-AFRICA.

We know there is variation among African countries regarding women's legislative representation. Tripp (2015) holds that "Rwanda claimed the world's highest ratio of women in parliament in 2003," and today, Rwanda women hold 64% of the country's legislative seats. Similarly, South Africa, Seychelles, and Senegal have equally made remarkable efforts by incorporating more women into their political domain. However, scholars agree that women's political representation in several African countries is significantly lower than their male counterparts (Allah-Mensah, 2004; Bari, 2005; Shvedova, 2005). For instance, in Ghana, Benin, Togo, and Nigeria, women's political representation is very low, with less progress so far. In Ghana, Awumbila (2001) finds that the number of women participating at the national level of politics is low, around 18%. Similarly, Ofei-Aboagye (2000) reports that the number of Ghanaian women in leadership positions is only low at 7% at district-level politics.

Scholars have identified factors such as political, socio-economic, ideological, and cultural factors in explaining the political under-representation in most countries across the African region. Scholars argue that these factors are to be blamed for the increasing disparity between

men and women in politics. First, when we consider the arguments on political factors affecting women's political representation, Lovenduski and Norris (1993) argue that a country's political system has the potential to either enhance or impede women's participation in politics. Similarly, Matland (1998) agrees that a country's electoral system plays a part in enhancing women's legislative representation. Scholars have found proportional representative system more favourable to women than a simple majority-plurality system (Norris 1985; Matland 1998; Rule 1994). Second, a review of the arguments on ideological factors points to factors such as the role of "gatekeepers" and party leaders as contributing factors to the continuous under-representation of women across most legislatures (Sanbonmatsu 2006). Third, on socio-economic factors, scholars have drawn attention to how factors such as women's level of education and women's lower participation in the labour force limit their participation in politics (Putnam, 1976; Patterson 1979). Scholars have also pointed out how cultural practices negatively affect and hinder women's participation in politics on cultural narratives. In this thesis, I focus on cultural narratives and explain women's political representation.

The literature on women's political representation would not be complete without emphasizing the role of culture because it encompasses the social behaviours of any group of people. From the way people talk, the values that shape people's daily activities, habits, and standards of attitudes and behaviours. Scholars have found that culture creates barriers to women's participation in politics. According to Yoon (2004), culture shapes and affects women's decisions to participate in politics. Similarly, Geisler (1995) and Gordon (1996) hold that, in Africa, the patriarchal nature of culture limits women to subordinate roles, thereby dissuading them from politics altogether. Paxton (1997) also agrees socio-culture and ideological arguments against women discourage most women from becoming candidates and equally lowers their chances of winning elections. Peprah et al. (1993) further holds that even though cultural practices have been identified as a significant impediment to women's participation in

politics, it is difficult to completely change or do away with a culture. So here, these authors draw our attention to the notion that cultural practices seem to be a problem, but they cannot be wholly eradicated. However, some scholars provide compelling evidence to address the "culture problem." According to Norris (1987), egalitarian culture creates more favourable conditions and environments for women's political representation. Similarly, in a cross-national study by Paxton and Kunovich (2003), the authors found that the presence of more liberal attitudes tends to increase women's legislative representation. Major conclusions from their research show that the high legislative representation in Scandinavian countries is partly due to liberal attitudes in these countries.

From our discussion thus far, some observations have come to light. First, we know there are divergent ratios of women's legislative representation across countries in the African region. Second, we also know that socio-cultural practices have been identified as factors predominantly affecting women's participation in politics. As stated, from the onset of this thesis, South Africa and Ghana would be used as cases, because of the very different levels of women's participation in these two countries. To explain the different political representation ratios in both Ghana and South Africa, the current state of legislative representation in both countries will be used as examples (See Table 2.1 and Table 2.2). A closer look at the statistics in Table 2.1 and Table 2.2 reveals that both countries have progressed over time. However, a careful examination shows that while progress in South Africa has been substantial and rapid, progress in Ghana has been plodding.

Table 2. 1 **Women M.P.s in Ghana from 1992 to date.**

	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
# Women Candidates	23	53	95	104	103	133	136	138
# Women Elected	16	18	19	25	18	29	35	40
Total N seats in parliament	200	200	230	230	230	275	275	275
% Women in Legislature	8.0	9.0	9.5	10.9	7.8	10.5	12.7	14.1

Source: Inter-parliamentary union, 1992-2020.

Table 2. 2 **Women M.P.s in South Africa from 1994 to date.**

	1994	1999	2004	2009	2014	2019
# Women appointed	100	120	131	174	163	185
Total N seats in parliament	400	400	400	400	400	400
% Women in Legislature	27.7%	30%	32.8%	43.5%	40.8%	46%

Source: Inter-parliamentary union, 1994-2019.

Still analysing the statistic in the above table, in Ghana, we can see that between 1992 to 2020, there has been an average of 10.3% increase of women legislators. In South Africa, the percentage increase of women legislators between 1994 to date is 36.8%. South Africa is doing better off as compared to Ghana.

To analyse this disparity, there are several angles we can begin to look at. First, one way to look at this is from a political angle. Remember the political arguments for women's underrepresentation as stated from the beginning of this chapter. Here, scholars had found proportional representative systems to be more favorable to women than simple majority systems (Norris 1985; Matland 1998; Rule 1994). These authors argue simple majority system serves as a challenge to women candidates who seek to win legislative seats. Norris (1985) contends voters are more likely to support candidates deemed as solid and mainstream, which in some cases can exclude women. However, in a proportional representative system, political parties are most likely to favour a gender-balanced caucus by adding more women to their party.

When we consider the political and electoral systems in both countries, it can be argued that the use of a proportional representative system in South Africa may contribute to the increased women's legislative representation in the country. Also, in the case of Ghana, we can argue that the use of "first past the post" or a simple majority system may have accounted for the low women's legislative representation present in the country. To support this, Rule (1987) agrees that proportional representation systems are more favourable to women than the simple majority or plurality systems. Also, Yoon (2201) and Ballington (1998) also add that gender quotas is the most effective way to improve female political representation. In south-Africa, there has been the use of voluntary quotas system by the ANC (the largest political party in the country) since 1994 to date. However, in sharp contrast, in the case of Ghana, gender quotas for political representation have not been used since 1960 (IDEA, 2020)

However, there is also a compelling argument from Lovenduski and Norris (1993) that cultural practices can influence such institutional establishments. The authors posit that cultural practices can influence institutional settings even where the use of gender quotas is set in place to enhance an increased women's representation. This discovery, however, turns the focus of this discussion towards the relationship between socio-cultural practices and their effects on women's presence in politics. Based on what we know so far (Table 2.1 and Table 2.2), we can also assume that women in south-Africa are probably more interested in politics than women in Ghana. Alternatively, perhaps, the cultural environment in south-Africa is more egalitarian, thereby allowing women to engage in politics, and the situation could be the opposite in Ghana. Nevertheless, this is just an assumption; unless some form of empirical evidence has been attained to support this, we cannot make any conclusions yet. However, we must have this in mind as we proceed further.

While Political and Institutional variables are important and may explain women's representation across these two countries, the cultural variable also needs attention in the African context. To fully understand the relationship between culture and women's interest in politics, there is the need to dig further into the literature. Thus, a discussion on the socio-cultural factors which has potentially affected women's interest in politics will be analysed.

2.4 SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS THAT AFFECT WOMEN'S INTEREST IN POLITICS.

In this section, I will discuss some socio-cultural factors that can potentially affect women's participation in politics. The goal here is to draw a connection as to how these socio-cultural factors have generated the presence of gendered attitudes, which have consequently affected women's interest in politics. The factors under discussion include Patriarchal structures, traditional beliefs and norms, and gendered roles. Based on a review of existing literature, these factors have potentially led to the presence of gendered attitudes (See illustration provided below; figure 2.3).

Figure 2. 3 The process that has generated the presence of gendered attitudes.
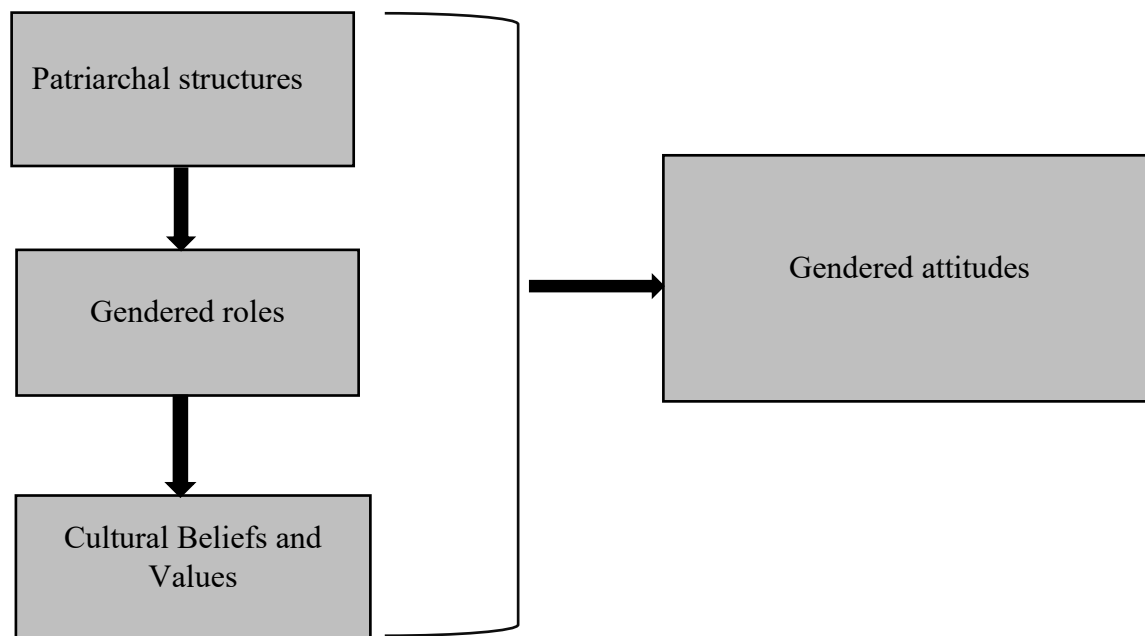
Figure 2.3 presents a model of gendered attitudes. As this section unfolds, I will explain why and how I came about this model. Shvedova (2005) and Ginwala (2005) posit that cultural factors such as patriarchal structures, institutionalized norms, and beliefs stand as obstacles to women's representation in politics. Allah-Mensah (2005) also posit that women in Africa are often faced with stereotypes. Despite this, an interconnection of these socio-cultural factors and how they generate gendered attitudes has not been fully explained. Thus, in this thesis, I develop a causal structure based on the relationship between these cultural factors. My

argument here is that patriarchy which promotes male supremacy and female subordination (Sossou,2011), forms or shapes people's beliefs (which are ideas people hold to be true). Here, people in most African communities come to accept that men are the heads. These beliefs then transform into "values" (what is considered highly important) with time. Idang (2018) posits that cultural values in most African societies are formed based on beliefs. Furthermore, with time we gradually see a transition of these values into "attitudes" (how people treat others and approach situations). Here, the goal is to paint a picture of how the independent variable (gendered attitudes) came about. As stated from the onset of this section, the factors under discussion include patriarchal structures, traditional beliefs and norms, and gendered roles. However, before discussing these factors in detail, explaining, and highlighting the complexity surrounding most African cultures is fundamental. This will help to understand better the argument being built here.

2.4. a CULTURE

Culture is defined as a society's beliefs, values, and attitudes that shape its people's everyday lifestyle. Generally, it has to do with how we think and our perceptions and behaviours about an event, situation, or individual. Schein (1990) posits culture can be viewed as a widely held, shared set of values, beliefs, and ideas. Similarly, Walsham (2002) argues culture can be defined as shared symbols, norms, and values in a social organization. Furthermore, Gurung and Prater (2006) defines culture as deeply set of values that are shared by members of a nation. Thus, culture is that which provides us with a sense of belongingness and identity. It encompasses different languages, mode of dressing, festivals, ethics, beliefs, and norms of a particular group of people. Culture plays an essential role in understanding the actions of people, because it influences both the norms and values of people.

Discussing cultural values in African countries, Idang (2018) argues not all African countries have the same explanation for events, mode of dressing, languages and so on. Thus, cultural values are what makes diverse cultures unique. However, there are underlying similarities shared by some African societies. Ghana and South Africa both share a cultural value worth discussing. While south-Africans have what they call "Ubuntu," Ghanaians also have "Ankabom." Ubuntu means "I am what I am because of who we all are" (Idang, 2018). Similarly, Ghana's "Ankabom" means "together we are all one people" (Idang, 2018).

Emphasising on the importance of values, Idang (2018) holds that values forms the basis of understanding the actions and inactions of any group of people. It enables us to understand the attitudes and behaviours of a particular group of people. This similar cultural value shared by both countries indicates equal privileges for both women and men. However, despite the recognition of this cultural value in both countries, men are women are treated differently. However, this principle or value only exists in theory and not in practice. Existing literature shows socio-cultural practices within the African region not only side-lines women but also women are treated as inferior to men (Sossou, 2011). The literature posits that women in Africa are often faced with stereotypes, and their engagement in politics is mostly being questioned (Allah-Mensah 2004). In some African societies, such as Ghana, politics is perceived as relegated to men. As such, it is often described as men's business. So, for instance, to engage in politics, one is mainly required to exhibits attributes such as being tough, rugged, never showing weakness (Tsikata, 2009). However, the socialization process in most Ghanaian societies is such that, even when a woman possesses these attributes or qualities, she is mocked/ridiculed at the end of the day and often faced with backlash (Tsikata 2009). So, in most African societies, we see these socio-cultural practices and norms negatively affecting women in politics.

Now that we know what culture is, the complexity surrounding most African cultures, and how socio-cultural factors affect women in politics, it is essential to discuss these factors in detail. Hence, three main factors will be discussed: patriarchal structures, gendered roles, beliefs, and values.

2.4.b PATRIACHICAL STRUCTURES

Patriarchy, in simple words, can be explained as the power structure which promotes male supremacy and female subordination. According to Johnson (2005), "*patriarchy is the degree to which a society promotes male privilege, male domination and by being male-centred.*" Surprisingly, this relationship still exists everywhere, and Africa is no exception. Johnson (2005) argues that even in modern-day societies where legal frameworks exist to ensure gender equality, cultural notions of patriarchy persist in people's minds. Sossou (2011) also adds that patriarchy is institutionalized in most developing or emerging countries, impacting women's political representation. These patriarchal notions are deeply entrenched in every aspect of life. Moreover, politics is no exception. Allah-Mensah (2005) and Tsikata, et.al (1993) contend women are hesitant to engage in politics or partake in political discussions due the patriarchal nature of most African communities.

Most individuals highly uphold these patriarchal notions. For instance, in Ghana, there is the patriarchal notion that men are the head and the belief that politics is men's business. Furthermore, even when women decide to engage in politics, their husbands often influence their decisions. Sossou (2011) found that men sometimes exert pressure on their wives, influencing their decisions to join a political party, contest elections, and the candidates they vote (Sossou, 2011). Even in situations where women find themselves in mainstream politics, their skills, and capabilities to effectively and efficiently work are often questioned. The integrity of these women is disputed and maligned. Madsen (2020) argues that women who

attain high political appointments are accused of exchanging sex favours to attain such positions. Madsen (2020) further adds that an example of such ridicule was the former chairperson of the electoral commission of Ghana, Charlotte Osei. The former chairperson of the electoral commission was said to be literally "in bed with the government", implying the former president (Madsen, 2020, p. 228)

Similarly, Madsen (2020) found that one reason affirmative action policies have proved rather difficult to implement is the patriarchal nature of Ghana's political institutions. The author posits that, in 2016, the New Patriotic Party's (one of the major political parties in the country) affirmative action initiative to introduce women's seats was taken off the table on patriarchal arguments (Madsen, 2020). The reasons were that it could become a permanent measure for other aspiring female candidates from other constituencies. Furthermore, the opposition party could put up a strong male candidate to overrule the female candidate (Madsen, 2020). Patriarchy is seen in mainstream politics; this is potentially affecting women's participation in politics.

Similarly, in Trevor Noah's memoir "born a crime" (2016), the author posits that such patriarchal notions exist in South Africa. However, significant events of the apartheid brought to an extent limited such patriarchal structures which prior existed. The author cites examples of how women had to stand up for themselves and challenge these patriarchal structures. For instance, author further argues that women took charge of affairs in the absence of South-African men at home and the political front. At the political front women were seen publicly protesting the in just systems facing them at the time (Noah, 2016).

Looking at the discussions so far, two components come to mind when we consider the concept of patriarchy. That is "the idea/notion of patriarchy" and "the idea of power structure". Having these patriarchal notions of "men being the head" or "male supremacy" is where the idea of

patriarchy comes to play. Moreover, putting this into actual practice is what generates "power structure." We see that this power structure where women are dominated would not exist if people did not conceive or uphold this patriarchal thought in the first place. Furthermore, such notions continue to persist due to their acceptance by most people in Africa (Sossou, 2011).

This idea of male supremacy traces its roots from the socialization process in most African societies. So, over time, these patriarchal notions are passed on from one generation to another. The socialization process in most African societies is to be blamed for the persisting patriarchal structures. It is the genesis of the power structure problem we have at hand. However, that has been said, the most critical question that arises is how to address this patriarchal structure. According to Dobash and Dobash (1979), higher education can eliminate such patriarchal notions from the mindsets of people. It is imperative also to add that there is a need to change and reshape the socialization process in most African societies. This is because the current socialization process in most African societies is highly patriarchal. Moreover, to change this, we need to own the truth as it stands, first by acknowledging that patriarchal culture not just relegates women to subordinate roles but also creates "gendered roles," which goes a long way to affect women in general.

The following section will look at gendered roles and beliefs present in most African societies.

2.4.c GENDERED ROLES AND BELIEFS IN AFRICA.

This section discusses gendered roles and beliefs found in most African societies. The discussion will be geared towards how gendered roles and beliefs have created the presence of gendered attitudes, which also affect women's participation in politics.

The hegemonic masculinity in most African countries that supports male supremacy and female subordination has created "gendered roles" over time (Peprah et. al, 1993). Here, we see a socially constructed set of roles, where men are revered as the head and women incapable of leading. This stereotype towards women's roles evidently, influences women's tendency to participate in politics. According to Hughes et al. (2007), in Ghana, people tend to assume leadership is a masculine trait. Similarly, Sossou (2011) argues politics is often classified as "men's business", largely because in Africa traits such as strength, assertiveness and leadership qualities are often relegated to men (Sossou, 2011). Manuh and Anyidoho (2015) holds that women who exhibit such masculine traits are often mocked and publicly ridiculed.

Moreover, given how women are perceived as belonging to the private sphere, women face prejudices when they decide to engage in politics. From a historical point of view, Paxton et al. (2007) argue that the presence of the "private-public dichotomy" and the idea that women are incapable of participating in politics have dominated political theory for a very long time. The authors state, "it took until the twentieth century for feminist political theorists to challenge this" (Paxton et al., 2007, p. 271).

Furthermore, from a global point of view, this problem is ubiquitous. Lawless and Theriault (2005) found that, even in advanced countries where the level of education of the entire populace is high, people still believe that men are better suited for politics or that women are better suited for roles such as running the home. In addition, Shvedova (2005) argues that cultural ideas about women's roles often inhibit their participation or participation in politics

within the African setting. Furthermore, Peprah et al. (1993) hold that the domestic roles assigned to women usually dissuade them from mainstream politics. For instance, Peprah et al. (1993) contend that men do not engage in domestic activities such as cooking in Ghana as these roles are perceived to be for women.

Now, it is imperative to mention that these gendered roles are largely fostered by religion in most African societies (Soothill, 2007). In Africa, three main religions are dominant. This includes Christianity, Islam, and African traditional religion. In most of these societies, people are either traditionalists, Christians, or Muslims. Paxton and Hughes (2007) hold that cultural beliefs about women being inferior to women are present across most dominant religions. For instance, most Christian doctrines posit that women need to be submissive to their husbands. Both Christianity and Islam share somewhat similarities when it comes to women's positions or roles. Meyer et al. (1998) argue that Islamic laws constrain women's activities.

Similarly, Deniz and Graham (1991) argue that Islamic laws hold that men and women do not share the same domain. Moreover, consequently, women are limited to the private sphere while men take charge of the public sphere. It is imperative to mention that African traditional religion is patriarchal. People who practice this religion believe that women should be subordinate to men. In Ghana, for instance, it is surprising to know that women usually bow on their knees as a sign of respect to their husbands in typical traditional society. Also, women do not contribute to decision-making. This is primarily the man's role (Peprah, et. al 1993).

With time, these gendered roles in most African societies have become beliefs and values to most people. These beliefs have become ideas that people hold as being valid (Idang, 2018). Now, once a person becomes committed to these beliefs, with time, they become "values" (what a person holds as highly important). Moreover, these values gradually become standards that shape an individual's decisions and choices, translating into "*gendered attitudes*" (how

people treat others and approach situations). Inferring from the discussions and arguments made thus far, it can be argued that gendered roles and traditional beliefs have generated "gendered attitudes" which have the potential to impede women's political participation.

Next is a discussion on "gendered attitudes" and how they potentially affect women's interest in politics.

2.5 HOW GENDERED ATTITUDES AFFECT WOMEN'S INTEREST IN POLITICS.

In Chapter One, while providing operational definitions to the significant terms in this thesis, I defined "Gendered attitudes" as socially constructed behaviours towards a situation, person, or event. This definition is similar to the conventional definition of the concept in the existing literature. Lefkowitz et al. (2014) posit that traditional norms and beliefs shape the behaviour of men and women. In that, men and women's role are formed based on societal expectations. Similarly, Lawless and Fox (2005) posit, different roles and social expectations for men and women constantly shape the behaviours of individuals.

Robinson (2017) and Luskin (1990) posit that political interest is seen to be motivational, in that "interest" forms as the basis of engagement with "politics." Consistent with the conventional definition of "political interest" in most political attitudes research, I define political interest "as an individual's tendency or inclination to participate or engage in politics." According to Fox and Lawless (2010), running for public office represents the ultimate act of political participation; in that, it signals an individual's willingness to put himself or herself before the voters and vie to become a member of an elected body. But time and again, women have continually shied away from such process. The reason for this yet remains unknown (Lawless and Fox, 2010).

Women have been constantly shaded as incapable or not fit to occupy a leadership position (Sossou, 2011). With time, there is the likelihood of some women gradually accepting this

notion even without knowing. The presence of these gendered attitudes is ubiquitous, and the domain of politics is no exception. Often there is the likelihood of coming across notions such as "men are better at politics than women" or "it is a problem for a woman to earn more money than her husband." Opinion polls and surveys have continually asked voters around the world for their thoughts on these issues (e.g., World Values Survey).

In Africa, for instance, even in the face of modernization, people still believe that women are incapable of attaining higher education or participating in politics (Allah-Mensah, 2005). This is not surprising given that boys are educated at higher rates than girls. According to Education Sub Saharan Africa, currently, 7.19% of women are enrolled in universities and colleges in sub-Saharan Africa compared to the 10.41% of men enrolled (Education Sub Saharan Africa, 2021). Even more shocking is the belief that the women should stick to being a wife or confine to the role as a mother regardless of their educational attainment (Tsikata 2004).

In an analysis on gender and political interest by Welch (1977), the author argues that women's interest in politics increases when they work outside the home. Welch states that "marriage and motherhood" provide little help in understanding the present gender gap in political interest. Welch's principal conclusions are that structural factors (such as marital status and parental status) do not eliminate differences in political interest. Furthermore, Dracy et al. (1994) found that when women run for political office, they receive as many votes as men. However, from our discussion so far, it can be argued that there is the likelihood of these gendered attitudes negatively dissuading women from engaging in politics in the first place.

Hence, the need to test the relationship between gendered attitudes and political interest. However, before we proceed to the data and methods chapter, it is essential to discuss the theoretical framework that underpins this study.

2.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

In this section, I will provide and discuss the theoretical framework guiding this study. This thesis draws on the Kunovich and Paxton (2005) model of Women's inclusion in politics. Primarily with a focus on the authors' "*ideological arguments*" and how that has contributed to the low presence of women in politics. The literature reviewed indicates that socio-cultural factors such as patriarchal structures, institutionalized beliefs, and gendered roles collectively create gendered attitudes. In this model, the authors illustrate their process for women's inclusion in politics, explaining how ideological factors affect women's legislative representation.

Figure 2.3 The Process of women's inclusion in politics.
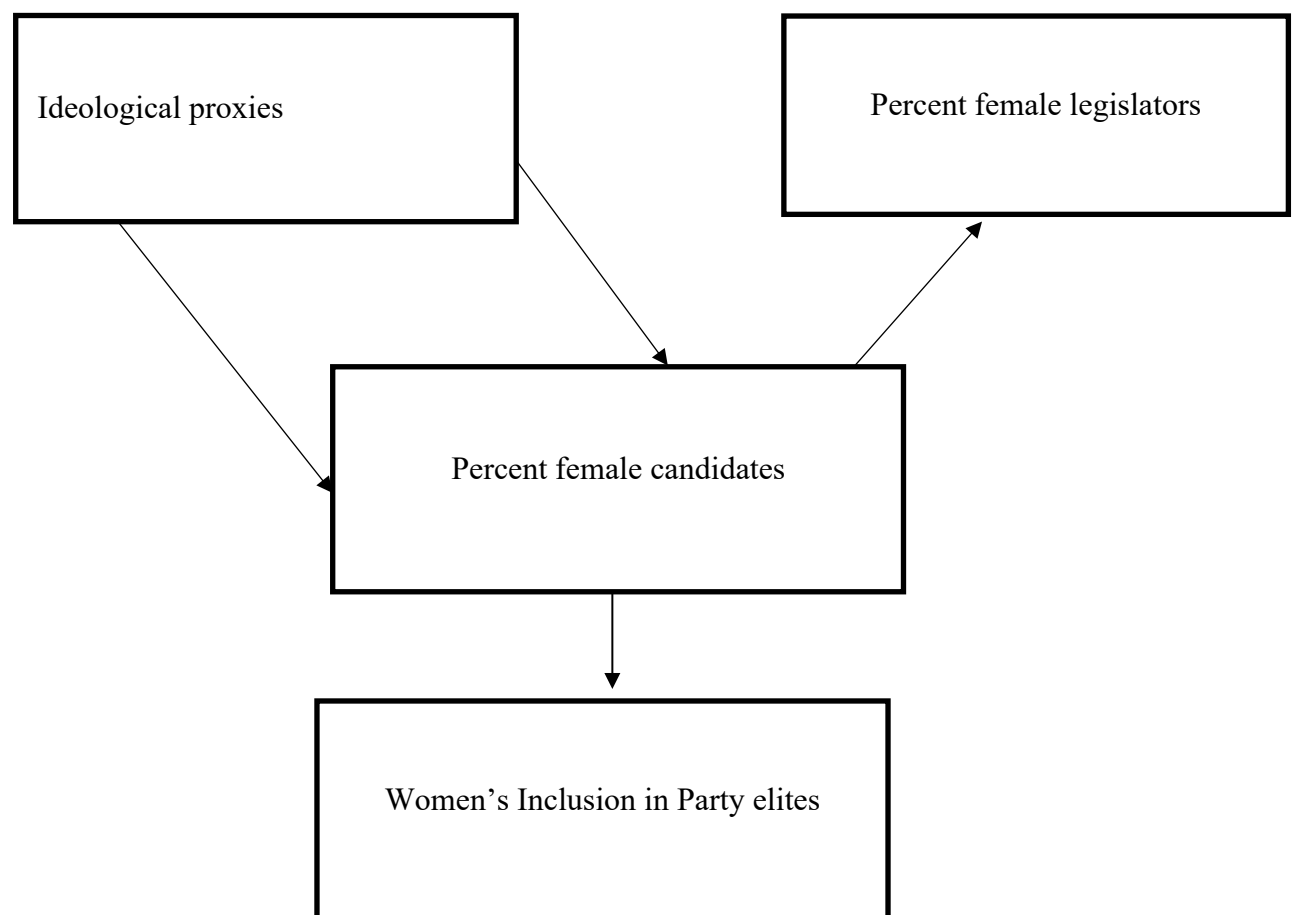
Source: Kunovich and Paxton (2005).

In this model, Paxton and Kunovich (2005) argue that ideology constitutes a country/region-level explanation for female participation in politics. The authors posit that ideas about women's role and position in society can enhance or constrain women's ability to seek political power (Paxton and Kunovich 2003; Paxton 1997; Arceneaux 2001; McCammon et al. 2001). Ideological arguments state that, even in the presence of sound political systems or an adequate supply of qualified female candidates, cultural norms can limit women's opportunities to participate in politics (Rule and Zimmerman 1994; Norris and Inglehart 2001).

This theoretical model is in line with this thesis, and much elaboration will be provided as the discussion proceeds. This thesis holds that gendered attitudes are likely to affect women's interest in politics. Similarly, Paxton and Kunovich (2003) argue that negative ideas against women have created barriers to women's participation in politics for many years. When we look at the discussions made in this chapter so far, we can say there is the likelihood of gendered attitudes affecting women's interest in politics. Paxton and Kunovich (2003) tell us that socio-cultural practices tend to generate what they term as "ideologies" (a set of ideas and opinions about women), and this has the likelihood to affect women throughout the political process. From women's decision to participate in politics, their inclusion in political parties, their selection as candidates to becoming legislators (see figure 2.3 for details). Furthermore, even after women have gained office, there is the likelihood of cultural norms limiting their effectiveness when dealing with their male counterparts.

2.8 CONCLUSION.

The issue of gender equality is mainly placed on the policy agenda globally. The reason is that women are most disadvantaged by the main patterns of gender inequalities and therefore have redress. It is essential to mention that gender inequalities are embedded in a multidimensional structure of relationships between women and men. Moreover, this operates at every level of human experience, from culture to interpersonal relationships to politics (Holter 1997; Walby 1997; Connell 2002). Thus, ensuring gender equality requires a fundamental change in every aspect of our lives. This includes recasting or reshaping attitudes, thinking, and gender roles across the home, schools, the media, and even the workplace.

This chapter has provided a general overview/background on the current state of gender inequalities women face by narrowing it to the gender disparity in political engagement between men and women in Africa. The literature review chapter has also provided an overview of the current state of women's legislative representation in Ghana and South Africa and discussed the socio-cultural factors that limit women's presence in politics. This chapter has also discussed the theoretical framework that underpins this study and finally concluded with a discussion on why ensuring gender parity is fundamental. The next chapter focuses on the data and methods that form the basis of this study's analysis.

CHAPTER THREE: DATA AND METHODS.

3.1. INTRODUCTION.

This study assesses the relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest in Ghana and South Africa. Ocran (2014) indicates that women constitute a significant proportion of the world's population, Bari (2005) also suggests that by the dual roles played by women in both productive and reproductive spheres, their socio-economic contributions amount to more than half compared with those of men. Nonetheless, neither their population nor socio-economic contributions to societal development seem to correlate with their political representation. Using the United Nations (U.N.) 30% gender quota as a scale of measurement, some countries (South Africa and Rwanda) have achieved the 30% representation of women in their respective parliaments, whereas others (e.g., Ghana, Nigeria, and Benin) continue to lag (IPU, 2020). According to Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), South Africa has 46% of women in the national legislature, accounting for nearly a balanced legislative representation. However, in Ghana, the percentage of women in the national legislature is relatively low, 14% (IPU,2020).

Karnig and Walter (1976) and Darcy and Schramm (1977) found that once they run as candidates, women are as likely to win elections as are men in congressional races. However, the issue of women's legislative under-representation continues to persist and varies across countries. While countries such as South Africa have made tremendous strides, countries like Ghana continue to struggle. One way to explain the absence of women in public office is the lack of public acceptance of women in political life and how beliefs and perceptions limit women's presence in politics. To test the accuracy of the assumption that gendered attitudes are an important reason for women's lower interest in politics is to examine these attitudes directly.

Employing a quantitative research design and using World Values Survey data (Wave 6; 2010-2014), this thesis investigates the research questions that underlie this study.[2] Using simple descriptive statistics and bivariate analyses, the relationship between the variables of interest will be analysed. The goal is to identify systematic patterns, trends, and relationships between gendered attitudes and women's interest in politics across countries. A critical assessment on existing studies suggests that socio-cultural practices such as perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs, has to a large extent, accounted for the low presence of women in politics (Jennings and Niemo 1981, Verba et al. 1995, Delli and Keeter 1996, Inglehart 1981, Inglehart and Noris 2003). Thus, this thesis examines whether gendered attitudes affect women's interest in politics. (See illustration below; figure 3.1)

Figure 3. 1 Effect of gendered attitudes on women's interest in politics
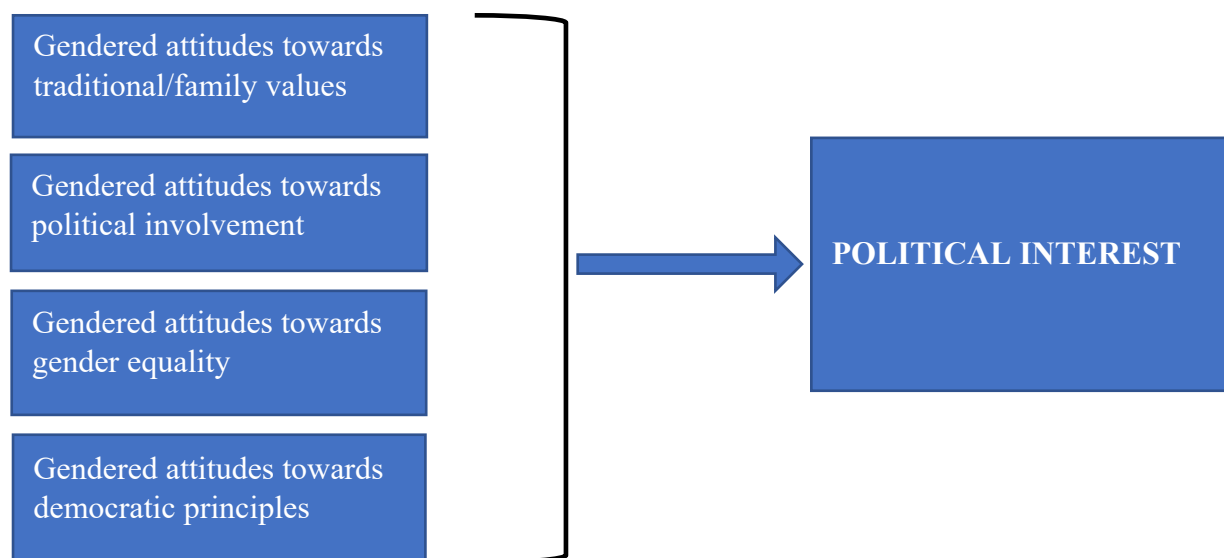
Figure 3.1 provides a diagram to show the relationship between different types of gendered attitudes and general interest in politics. This chapter will outline more about these gendered

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[2]More information, including data and questionnaires available at www.worldvaluesurveys.org

attitudes and how they are measured. I will begin to elaborate on how this chapter will proceed. First, a description of the concepts being measured, and a broad overview of the statistical analyses will be provided.

3.2. DESCRIPTION OF THE SURVEY DATA.

World Values Survey (WVS) asks respondents from around the world to provide their opinions on a number of issues including gender equality, economic development, democratization, religion, social capital, and subjective well-being. Central to this thesis, the World Values Survey asks questions about women's representation and gender-related attitudes. These data are helpful for two main reasons; the participants represent the entire citizenry, whose responses may also reflect the whole populace's attitudes. Furthermore, the survey includes questions that answer the research questions, which underlines this study.

3.3. OPERATIONALIZATION OF VARIABLES.

To answer the research questions, (1) are South African and Ghanaian women less interested in politics than men? (2) do gendered attitudes affect women's political interest in Ghana and South Africa? I will assess a series of questions asked in the World Values Survey in both Ghana and South Africa. Four hypotheses emerge from the existing literature:

H1*: South African and Ghanaian women are less likely to be interested in politics than men.*

H2: *Women with more traditional attitudes are less interested in politics than men with more traditional attitudes.*

H3: *Women with more traditional attitudes are more likely to report "not interested" in politics.*

H4: *Women with contemporary/feminist attitudes are likely to be more interested in politics.*

Table 3.1 1 shows the survey questions selected from the data, including complete question-wording. The questions comprising the independent variables have been grouped into four categories: (1) Attitudes towards traditional/family values, (2) toward political involvement, (3) towards gender equality, and (4) toward democratic principles. The last part of Table 3.1 consists of the dependent variable, which is political interest. (See below Table 3.1)

Table 3. 1 (Independent variables & dependent variable).

ATTITUDES TOWARDS TRADITIONAL/FAMILY VALUES
For the following statement, can you tell me how much you agree or disagree? "University education is more important for a boy than a girl"
For each of the following statements, can you tell me how much you agree or disagree? "A woman earning more money than a man is almost certain to cause problems".
For each of the following statement I read out, can you tell me how much you agree or disagree with each? "Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay".
ATTITUDES TOWARDS POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT
For each of the statement I read out, can you tell me how much you agree or disagree? On the whole, would you say men make better political leaders than women?
ATTITUDES TOWARDS GENDER EQUALITY
Which of the following problems do you consider the most serious one for the world as a whole? (1) people living in poverty and need (2) discrimination against girls and women (3) poor sanitation and infectious disease (4) inadequate education (5) environmental pollution
ATTITUDES TOWARDS DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES
For each of the statement I read out, can you tell me if agree or disagree? "Men should have more rights to a job than women"
POLITICAL INTEREST (DEPENDENT VARIABLE)
How interested would you say you are in politics? Are you: very interested, somewhat interested, not very interested, or not at all interested?

Next, a simple descriptive analysis (summaries and frequency distribution) of the demographic characteristics is provided.

Table 3. 2 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

VARIABLES	PERCENTAGES	
	GHANA	SOUTH AFRICA
SEX		
male	50.5%	48.3%
female	49.5%	51.7%
Total	**100%**	**100%**
AGE		
Up to 29 years	55.8%	38.5%
30 – 49 years	31.4%	36.9%
50 years and more.	12.8%	24.6%
Total	**100%**	**100%**
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		
lower	54.6%	12.9%
middle	37.1%	77.3%
Higher	8.3%	9.0%
Total	**100%**	**100%**
INCOME		
low	31.6%	23.0%
medium	60.8%	57.2%
High	7.6%	17.1%
Do not know	-	2.7%
Total	**100%**	**100%**

The table above (Table 3.2) provides a descriptive statistic (percentages and frequency) of the overall sample size and the participants' background. It reflects the sample selected crossed by region/country and characteristics such as sex, age, level of education, and income level. The demographic information included here is to provide insights into the backgrounds of participants.

In the case of Ghana, out of 1,552 participants, 772 were women representing 49.74% of the total sample, while 780 were men representing 50.26%. Most of the participants (58%), were under 29 years, 31.4% were between 30-49 years, and those between 50 years and more were 12.8%. Most of the participants (54.6%), have a lower education level. While those with higher education (tertiary education) make up 8.3% of the participants, also those with middle educational level comprises 37.1%. Regarding participants' income level, participants with a high come to make up 7.6% of the sample size, those with a medium-income level make up 60.8%, and those with low income (31.6%).

In the case of South Africa, the total of participants was 3,531. Out of the sample, 1,767 women represented 49.96%, while 1,764 men represented 50.24%. Most participants (38.5%) were up to 29 years, 36.9% were between 30-49 years, and those between the ages of 50 years and more were 24.6%. Most of the participants (77.3%), have a middle education level/background. While those with higher education (tertiary education) make up 9.0% of the participants, those with low educational level comprises 12.9%. Regarding participants' income level, participants with a high income make up 17.1% of the total sample, those with a medium-income level make up 57.2%, and those with low income represent 23.0%.

The participants' demographic details/characteristics show the sample is representative, as it reflects the population in both Ghana and South Africa. It includes demographic details such as the respondent's age, level of education, income, and sex. In effect, I will focus on patterns in the attitudinal variables listed in Table 3.1, breaking it down by country and by sex, with a goal to understand the relationship between gendered attitudes and political interest.

The next chapter presents the empirical part of the thesis. It statistically examines the relationship between the dependent and independent variables and answers the research questions that underline this study. Given that the impact of gendered attitudes on women's political interest is central to the study, the analysis that follows will be broken down by sex. This is essential because it will help us to understand the relationship between the variables from different perspectives.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis assesses the relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest in Ghana and South Africa. I hypothesized that (H1) South African and Ghanaian women are less likely to be interested in politics than men (H2) women with more traditional attitudes are less interested in politics than men with more traditional attitudes (H3) women with more traditional attitudes are more likely to report "not interested" in politics (H4) women with contemporary/feminist attitudes are more likely to be interested in politics.

Arguably, we can say women's lower interest in politics has accounted for their low presence in national legislatures across the African region. Paxton and Kunovich (2003) posit socio-cultural and ideological factors affect women's interest in politics, and consequently, limit their presence in most national legislatures. Considering this, I predict women are less interested in politics and there exists a relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest in Ghana and South Africa.

It is to these assumptions that I now begin to examine the relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest. The analysis proceeds in two stages. First, I closely examine the data by focusing on the dependent and independent variables' descriptive statistics. These descriptive statistics help better understand the data and draw a broader picture of both countries' gendered attitudes and political interest. The second part of this chapter assesses the relationship between political interest (dependent variable) and gendered attitudes (independent variable) through bivariate analysis (crosstab and chi-square statistics). Here, I describe the patterns observed from the analysis.

4.2 DEPENDENT VARIABLE (Political Interest).

The dependent variable in this analysis is political interest. Karnig and Walter (1976) and Darcy and Schramm (1977) found that once candidates, women are as likely to win elections as are men in congressional races. However, the progress in women's political representation across the African region has been plodding. It's possible that a lack of political interest leads women to be less likely to stand as candidates. In addition, Paxton and Kunovich (2003) also posit socio-cultural factors affect women's interest in politics, and consequently, limit their presence in most national legislatures.

Thus, we have seen a great deal of substantial variation among countries in the percentage of women in national legislatures, from 14% women in countries such as Ghana to 46% women in countries such as South Africa (IPU,2020). There is wide variation across countries worldwide. Inter-parliamentary Union's (IPU) 2020 annual report highlights that some countries have made substantial progress over the years compared to others. For instance, South Africa had 32% of women legislators in 2004, 43% in 2009, and 46% in 2019. In sharp contrast, Ghana had 9.5% of women legislators in 2000, 10.5% in 2012, and 14% in 2020.

Below, Table 4.1 and Table 4.2 provide an overview of the percentage of women legislators in these two countries (Ghana and South Africa) over the last thirty (30) years.

Table 4. 1 Women MPs in Ghana from 1992 to date.

	1992	**1996**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**2012**	**2016**	**2020**
# Women Candidates	23	53	95	104	103	133	136	138
# Women Elected	16	18	19	25	18	29	35	40
Total N seats in parliament	200	200	230	230	230	275	275	275
% Women in Legislature	8.0	9.0	9.5	10.9	7.8	10.5	12.7	14.1

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 1992-2020.

Table 4. 2 Women MPs in South Africa from 1994 to date.

	1994	**1999**	**2004**	**2009**	**2014**	**2019**
# Women appointed	100	120	131	174	163	185
Total N seats in parliament	400	400	400	400	400	400
% Women in Legislature	27.7%	30%	32.75%	43.50%	40.75%	46%

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 1994-2020.

Furthermore, the World Values Survey allows us to look at "political interest" levels in these two countries, although not over time. Table 4.3 shows descriptive statistics for the dependent variable (Political Interest). See below Table 4.3

Table 4. 3 *Descriptive Statistics: Political Interest (Ghana and South-Africa).*

COUNTRY	MEAN	
	MEN	WOMEN
GHANA	2.50	2.71
SOUTH AFRICA	2.42	2.68

According to the numbers in Table 4.3, in Ghana, the mean score for men is 2.50; for women the mean score is 2.71. In the case of South Africa, the mean score for men is 2.42 and the mean score for women is 2.68. This suggests that in both countries, men and women relatively show interest in politics. However, in both countries, there's a slight difference in mean scores between men and women. This tells us that in both Ghana and South Africa, more than 50% of respondents are likely to show interest in politics.

It is imperative to mention that the numbers in Table 4.3 simply provides us with the basic mean scores for the dependent variable (political interest) across countries. In the second stage of this chapter (Hypothesis testing phase), we will be analysing the relationship between "sex" and "political interest". This will aid in answering whether South African and Ghanaian women are less interested in politics than men.

Now that I have described the dependent variable in the analysis, I will also describe the independent variables in this analysis.

4.3 INDEPENDENT VARIABLES (Gendered Attitudes)

The World Values Survey (wave 6: 2010 -2014) in these two countries has six questions that link to gendered attitudes. I have grouped these questions into four categories. (1) Attitudes towards traditional/family values, (2) Attitudes towards political involvement, (3) Attitudes towards gender inequality, and (4) Attitudes towards democratic principles.

Variables that fall under attitudes towards traditional/family values include "University education more important for a boy than a girl," "a woman earning more money than the husband is certain to cause problems," and "being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay." The question of whether discrimination against women is a serious problem falls under "attitudes towards gender inequality". Furthermore, "men having more right to a job than women" falls under attitudes towards democratic principles". And for attitudes towards political involvement, "there is the question of whether men make better political leaders than women." The previous chapter (chapter three) outlined the measurement of all the independent variables. The variables were coded such that a higher value represents more liberal attitudes. For instance, with the question "whether men make better political leaders than women," the higher value indicates greater disagreement.

Below are Table 4.4 and Table 4.5 providing basic summary statistics for each of the independent variables.

Table 4. 4 Descriptive Statistics- Ghana

Variables	Mean	Median	Minimum	Maximum	Std. Dev	Observation
University education is more important for a boy than a girl.	2.95	3	1	4	0.998	1,552
A woman earning more money than a man is certain to cause problems.	1.77	1	1	3	0.897	1,552
Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay.	2.70	3	1	4	0.869	1,552
On a whole, would you say men make better political leaders than women?	1.83	2	1	4	0.874	1,552
Is discrimination and inequality against women a problem?	2.08	1	1	5	1.354	1,552
On a whole, men should have more right to a job than women.	1.96	2	1	3	0.970	1,552

Table 4. 5 Descriptive Statistics- South-Africa.

Variables	Mean	Median	Minimum	Maximum	Std. Dev	Observations
University education is more important for a boy than a girl.	2.72	3	1	4	1.147	3,531
A woman earning more money than a man is certain to cause problems.	1.88	2	1	3	0.906	3,531
Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay.	2.27	2	1	4	1.188	3,531
On a whole, would you say men make better political leaders than women?	2.29	2	1	4	1.182	3,531
Is discrimination and inequality against women a problem?	1.81	1	1	5	1.142	3,531
On a whole, men should have more right to a job than women.	2.16	2	1	3	0.902	3,531

Descriptive statistics provide a starting point for understanding the properties of the data. First, I will begin to describe the data for Ghana, followed by that for South Africa, as seen in Table 4.4 and Table 4.5, respectively.

In Ghana, a first interesting observation is that most of the variables follow asymmetric distribution. For "University education is more important for a boy than a girl," the mean value equals 2.95; "Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay" the mean value equals 2.70; "Men make better political leaders than women" the mean value equals 1.83; "Men should have more right to a job than women" the mean value equals 1.96. In South Africa, observation of the data also follows the asymmetric distribution. For "University education is more important for a boy than a girl" the mean value equals 2.27; "a woman earning more money than her husband" the mean value equals 1.88; "Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay" the mean value equals 2.27; "Men make better political leaders than women" the mean value equals 2.29; "men should have more right to a job than women" the mean value equals 2.16.

Table 4.4 and Table 4.5 reveal that socio-cultural norms and beliefs persist in both Ghana and South Africa. The highest mean scores across countries come in response to questions about attitudes towards university education. The numbers in table 4.4 and table 4.5 tells us that respondents in both Ghana (2.95) are more supportive of university education for men than respondents in South Africa (2.72). This suggest that respondents in South Africa are likely to support equal access to education than respondents in Ghana.

Also, on whether "men make better political leaders than women," respondents in South Africa (2.9) disagree more as compared to respondents in Ghana (1.83). Here, it is possible to say that

whereas respondents in Ghana are less likely to support women as political leaders, respondents in South Africa are likely to be more supportive of women being political leaders.

Comparing the mean values across countries on whether "discrimination against women is the most serious problem in the world", respondents in Ghana (2.08) are more supportive of ensuring gender equality as compared to South Africa (1.81). One possible explanation for this could be that the low women's legislative representation in Ghana is most likely to make respondents regard gender inequality as a serious problem. Also, the increased women's legislative representation in South Africa is most likely to make respondents disregard gender inequality as the most serious problem in the world. As South Africa has made vast improvement in women's legislative representation (IPU, 2020).

On the question of "whether men should have more rights to a job than women", respondents in South Africa (2.16) are more supportive to equal access to jobs for women than respondents in Ghana (1.96).

Overall, this exploration with descriptive statistics suggests that gendered attitudes are upheld by respondents across countries. However, support for gendered attitudes in both countries seems to be variable.

Having examined the mean scores for the independent variables (gendered attitudes), I now move on to the hypothesis testing phase. Here I test the relationship between (1) sex and political interest (2) gendered attitudes and political interest.

4.4 HYPOTHESIS TESTING

Using descriptive statistics, we have understood some of the basic properties of the dependent variable and independent variables in this analysis. We now proceed to the second stage, which is to test the hypotheses that underlines this research. Here, I test the relationship between the dependent and independent variables and whether women are less interested in politics than men, across the two countries.

I used bivariate analysis for two reasons. First, it helps to explore the strength and direction of the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. Second, bivariate analysis is also used to determine whether a statistical association exists between two variables. This thesis makes two main assumptions. The first assumption is that women are less interested in politics than men across the two countries. The second assumption is that there is a relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest in Ghana and South Africa.

To test these assumptions, I used crosstabulation and chi-square statistics to assess whether (1) women are less interested in politics than men (2) women with more traditional attitudes are less interested in politics than men with more traditional attitudes (3) women with more traditional attitudes are likely to report "not interested" in politics (4) women with contemporary/feminist attitudes are likely to be interested in politics.

Below, I will discuss the bivariate analysis and chi-square test results for each of the selected independent and dependent variables. However, before testing the relationship between gendered attitudes and political interest, the relationship between sex and political interest will be analysed.

4.4.1 Relationship between Sex and Political Interest.

In the first part of this chapter (where we described the dependent variable), we learned that most respondents in Ghana and South Africa are relatively interested in politics. However, what we do not know is whether women are less interested in politics compared to men. So, I will test the relationship between sex and political interest using crosstab and chi-square statistics. This analysis is essential because it helps us answer one of the research questions underlining this study and helps us to either affirm or deny the assumption that South African and Ghanaian women are less interested in politics than men. Below is the result obtained from the analysis (see Table 4.6).

Table 4. 6 Relationship between Sex and Political Interest.

Political Interest	Respondents Sex		Total (N)
	Male	Female	
Ghana			
Interested	57.42%	44.86%	100% (667)
Not Interested	42.58%	55.14%	100% (885)
South-Africa			
Interested	56.30%	43.70%	100% (1,763)
Not Interested	43.60%	56.40%	100% (1,741)

Ghana: Chi-Square=24.01, d.f. = 1, p = 0.000

South-Africa: Chi-Square=56.67: d.f. = 2, p = 0.000

According to the above statistics, there is a statistically significant relationship between sex and political interest (p=0.000). When we examine the results in Table 4.6, it is not surprising that the percentage of males interested in politics is more than the percentage of females interested in politics across countries. In Ghana, 57.42% of males are interested in politics while 44.86% of females are interested in politics. In South Africa, 56.30% of males are interested in politics, and 43.70% of females are interested in politics. The p-value indicates a strong relationship between the two variables.

The story Table 4.6 tells us is that to a considerable extent both men and women possess an interest in politics across countries. This finding supports Fox and Lawless (2010), who contend despite similarities in levels of political participation, in terms of political interest, women are less politically ambitious than men.

In thesis also, we see a higher sense of political interest is more common in men than women. This finding affirms the assumption that women are generally less interested in politics than men. It is imperative to say that the cause of women's less interest in politics is unknown at this stage. It is possible gendered attitudes makes women less interested in politics. However, this is just an assumption. In the next section, we will test the relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest. Then we can make conclusions about the relationship between these variables as to whether gendered attitudes are likely to predict women's political interest.

Having affirmed that women are generally less interested in politics (and similarly so in each of these two countries), I now proceed to test the relationship between gendered attitudes and political interest.

4.4.2 The relationship between gendered attitudes (IV) and political interest (DV).

From the beginning of this thesis, the goal is to determine whether there is a relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest. So far, we know this thesis has affirmed that women are generally less interested in politics than men. Nevertheless, we do not know whether there is a relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest. Thus, the relationship between gendered attitudes and political interest was tested using bivariate analysis and chi-square statistics.

The analysis brings forth exciting observations. First, a statistical association/relationship exists between the independent variables (gendered attitudes) and the dependent variable (political interest). Second, there exists a relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest. The strength of the relationship indicates a strong relationship between variables across countries. I will begin to discuss the results of the analysis in much detail as I proceed.

4.5 RESULTS/EVIDENCE.

In this section, I discuss the evidence/results obtained from the cross-tabulation analyses. In the beginning of chapter three (3), while describing the independent variable (gendered attitudes), I grouped the variable into four categories namely:(1)Attitudes towards traditional/family values, (2) Attitudes towards political involvement, (3) Attitudes towards gender inequality, and (4) Attitudes towards democratic principles.

As the discussion of evidence proceeds, we will look at the relationship between each of these categories and women's political interest. Here I begin to uncover patterns of gendered attitudes and women's political interest.

4.5 a. Gendered attitudes towards traditional/family values.

The category (gendered attitudes towards family/traditional values) had three (3) gendered-related questions. These include "university education is more important for a boy than a girl," "A woman earning more money than a man is almost certain to cause problems," and "Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay."

I will discuss the patterns observed between these questions and the dependent variable (political interest). Discussion of evidence will be as follows; first, I look at the relationship between attitudes about "university education is more important for a boy than a girl" and "political interest." This is followed by the relationship between attitudes about "a woman earning more money is certain to cause problems" and "political interest. And lastly, the relationship between attitudes about "being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay" and "political interest." To do this, first, I describe the results of analyses across countries, then discuss the patterns observed from the analyses.

Looking at the relationship between attitudes about "university education is more important for a boy than for a girl" and "political interest," in the case of South Africa, the relationship between variables demonstrates a strong relationship. Following the statistics in Table 4.7, the p-value is statistically significant (p=0.000). Interestingly among respondents who agree that "university education is more important for a boy than a girl," both men and women are more likely to be interested in politics. However, this relationship is stronger among men (69% of men who agree are interested in politics compared to 60% of women who agree). Among those men who disagree, interest in politics is more evenly split. Also, women who disagree are more likely to report "not interested in politics." For those women who disagree, political interest is

at 35%. Predictably, the patterns in Table 4.7 reveal that most men support university education for males.

Following the statistics in Table 4.8, in the case of Ghana, there is a statistically significant relationship between "university education is more important for a boy than for a girl" and "interest in politics" (p=0.100). This measure of association indicates a relatively weak relationship between the two variables. Among respondents who agree that "university education is more important for a boy than a girl," men are more likely to be interested in politics compared to women. This relationship indicates a strong relationship among men (53% of men who agree are interested in politics compared to 37.75% of women who agree). Also, women who agree "that university education is more important for a boy than a girl" are more likely to report "not interested in politics." For those women who disagree, political interest is at 36.55% (See above Table 4.8)

Table 4.7 and Table 4.8 reveal a similar pattern on the impact of gendered attitudes towards university education on women's political interest across countries. The patterns reveal that in both South Africa and Ghana, gendered attitudes towards university education are likely to affect women's interest in politics. Also, women who strongly believe that "university education is more important for a boy" are likely to be less interested in politics. However, the patterns reveal that men's interest in politics are most likely not to be affected by their attitudes towards "university education being more important for a boy than a girl" in any way. Furthermore, between men and women who uphold this traditional attitude (i.e., university education is more important for boy than a girl), more women report "not interested" in politics

(this is similar in both countries). This suggests that gendered attitudes towards university education is likely to affect women's interest in politics more negatively than men.

According to Education Sub Saharan Africa (ESSA), currently, 7.19% of women are enrolled in universities and colleges in sub-Saharan Africa compared to the 10.41% of men enrolled (Education Sub Saharan Africa, 2021). Arguably, with low tertiary education, it is possible that most likely, women will consider themselves less qualified (in terms of the level of education) to participate in politics or hold public office. This could possibly be one explanatory factor for their low presence across national legislatures.

Furthermore, the patterns in Table 4.7 and Table 4.8 tell a story about the relationship between gendered attitudes, women's political interest, and country. Here, the effects of gendered attitudes towards university education on women's political interest have a similar pattern across countries. This is just as I anticipated. In South Africa and Ghana, there is not much percentage difference between women with feminist/contemporary attitudes towards "university education being important for a boy than a girl" and interested in politics. This tells us that women who uphold more feminist/contemporary attitudes are likely to be more interested in politics.

However, this story gets interesting when we compare the percentage difference between men with feminist/contemporary attitudes. In South Africa, among those men who disagree, interest in politics is higher than their male counterparts in Ghana. Bari (2005) argues that most African cultures limit women's mobility, impacting their participation in active politics. In that, men exert pressure on their wives, influencing the decision to join a political party, contest elections, and the candidates they vote for (Sossou,2011). It is possible to suggest that negative attitudes towards women are obstacles against women's participation in politics. Nevertheless, the pattern in this analysis tells us that, in South Africa, men are most likely to have positive

attitudes towards women. This indirectly suggests that men in South Africa are more likely to support equality in higher education.

The lesson learned from the relationship between gendered attitudes towards "university education being more important for a boy than a girl" and "women's political interest" is that gendered attitudes are detrimental to women. Not only in terms of political interest or political ambition. Nevertheless, such negative attitudes tend to affect women in every aspect of their lives.

Furthermore, this thesis affirmed that gendered attitudes about "university education being more important for a boy than a girl" are likely to make women less interested in politics. Nevertheless, it also tells us that there is a need for more contemporary/feminist attitudes across the African continent. It is possible that upholding traditional attitudes could be a setback in ensuring increased women's political representation.

Table 4. 7 (South-Africa): Relationship between attitudes about "university education is more important for a boy than a girl" and "Political Interest".

Political Interest	University education more important for a boy than a girl		Total (N)
	Agree	Disagree	
Sex: Male			
Interested	48.20%.	51.80 %	100% (973)
	68.47%	48.74%	56.60%
Not Interested	28.95%	71.05%	100% (746)
	31.53%	51.26%	43.40%
Total	39.85%	60.15%	100%
	100.00	100.00	100.00
Sex: Female			
Interested	50.46%	49.54%	100% (765)
	60.50%	34.87%	44.35%
Not Interested	26.25%	73.75%	100% (960)
	39.50%	65.13%	55.65%
Total	36.99 %	63.01%	100%
	100.00	100.00	100.00

South-Africa (male): Chi-square = 65.25,   d.f. = 1, p = 0.000.

South-Africa (female): Chi-square = 107.04 d.f. = 1 p = 0.000

Table 4. 8 (Ghana): Relationship between attitudes about "university education is more important for a boy than a girl" and "Political Interest".

Political Interest	University education important for a boy than a girl		Total (N)
	Agree	Disagree	
Sex: male			
Interested	38.38%	61.62%	100% (383)
	53.07%	46.92%	49.10%
Not Interested	32.75%	67.23%	100% (397)
	46.93 %	53.05%	50.90%
Total	35.51%	64.49%	100%
	100.00	100.00	100.00
Sex: female			
Interested	20.07%	79.93%	100% (284)
	37.75%	36.55%	36.79
Not Interested	19.26%	80.79%	100% (488)
	62.25%	63.45%	100.00
Total	19.56%	80.44%	100%
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Ghana (male): Chi-square = 2.703,   d.f. = 1, p = 0.100

Ghana(female): Chi-square = 0.0745 d.f. = 1 p = 0.785

Moving on, I report the results and patterns observed from the relationship between attitudes about "a woman earning more money than husband is certain to cause problems" and "women's political interest." First, I describe the results of analyses across countries, then discuss the patterns from the analyses.

According to the statistics in Table 4.9, in the case of South Africa, the relationship between "a woman earning more money than husband is certain to cause problems" and "political interest" shows a statistically significant relationship between variables (p=0.000). Among respondents who agree that "a woman earning more money than husband is certain to cause problems," men and women are more likely to be interested in politics. However, this relationship is stronger among men (60.39% of men who agree are interested in politics compared to 51.49% of women who agree). The percentage between "interested in politics" and "not interested in politics" is evenly split among women who agree. Among those men who disagree, interest in politics is higher. However, when we compare the percentage between men and women who disagree, the difference in "political interest" is not much. Also, for women who disagree, political interest is at 40.78%. See below Table 4.9.

The results in Table 4.10 (the case of Ghana) shows that, among respondents who agree that "a woman earning more money than a man is certain to cause problems," men (50.71%) are more likely to be interested in politics compared to 38% of women (Thus, this relationship is stronger among men). For those women who agree, the majority (62%) are likely to report "not interested in politics" compared to 49% of men. Also, the majority (53.63%) are likely to report "not interested in politics" among those men who disagree. For women who disagree "that a

woman earning more money than a man is certain to cause problems, interest in politics is at 35.78% (See above Table 4.10)

The story Table 4.9 and Table 4.10 tells us is that traditional attitudes about "women having more money than husband is certain to cause problems" is likely to affect women's interest in politics. Here, women's political interest across both countries is again seen to be less than men. This pattern suggests that men's interest in politics is not so much affected by their attitudes towards traditional values compared to women. Thus, it is possible to say, although traditional attitudes persist in both countries, these traditional attitudes most likely do not serve women's interest.

The patterns further reveal that between Ghana and South Africa, women with more traditional attitudes and an interest in politics tend to be more than their female counterparts in Ghana. Furthermore, the patterns tell us there is a relationship between attitudes, political interest, and country. The percentage difference between men and women with more traditional attitudes is not so much in both countries. This pattern is similar in the case of the percentage difference between men and women with feminist/contemporary attitudes in both countries. This tells us that traditional and feminist/contemporary attitudes are somewhat balanced/evenly split between these two countries. On the downside, this should not be the case. The presence of feminist/contemporary attitudes should supersede that of traditional attitudes.

It is possible to suggest that some Africans are perhaps still attached to these traditional attitudes and values. It is possible this could be infiltrating the mindset of people in these countries. Looking at the patterns, it is possible that factors such as the "marital values" could also be a bearing on the low level of women's political representation on the continent. One possible explanation for this is that, if traditional notions such as 'a woman earning women more than husband is certain to cause problems' persist, it is possible to conclude that women's

mobility to engage or participate in politics could be limited. This is not surprising, as Sossou (2011) contends socio-cultural practices and values treat women as inferior to men. In a study conducted by the author, findings showed husbands sometimes exert pressure on their wives, influencing their decisions to join a political party, contest elections, and the candidates they vote (Sossou, 2011).

The lesson learned from the relationship between attitudes about "a woman earning more money than husband is certain to cause problems" and "political interest" is that, yet again, gendered attitudes affect women's interest in politics negatively than men. Moreover, this is similarly so in each of these countries. Not only has this thesis found that gendered attitudes towards traditional/family values are likely to lessen women's interest in politics. Nevertheless, the story from these analyses also tells us that there is a need for reformation and change of mindset within the African continent, most especially on some of these traditional values.

Table 4. 9 (South-Africa): Relationship between attitudes about "a woman earning more money than husband is certain to cause problem" and "Political interest."

Political Interest	A woman earning more money than husband is certain to cause problems		Total (N)
	Agree	Disagree	
Sex: male			
Interested	38.19%	61.81%	100% (974)
	60.39%	55.38%	57.19%
Not Interested	33.47%	66.53%	100% (729)
	39.61%	44.62%	42.81%
Total	36.17%	63.83%	100.00 (1,703)
	100.00	100.00	100.00
Sex: female			
Interested	36.59%	63.41%	100% (757)
	51.49%	40.78%	44.14
Not Interested	27.24%	72.76%	100% (958)
	48.51%	59.22%	55.86
Total	31.37%	68.63%	100.00 (1,715)
	100.00	100.00	100.00

South-Africa (female): Chi square = 4.027 d.f. = 1, p = 0.045

South-Africa(male): Chi-square = 17.161, d.f = 1, p = 0.000

Table 4. 10 (Ghana): Relationship between attitudes about "a woman earning more money than a husband is certain to cause problem and "Political interest"

Political Interest	A woman earning more money than a man is certain to cause problems		Total (N)
	Agree	Disagree	
Sex: male			
Interested	65.01%	34.99%	100% (383)
	50.71 %	46.37%	49.10%
Not Interested	60.96%	39.04%	100% (397)
	49.29 %	53.63%	50.90%
Total	62.95%	37.05%	100% (780)
	100.00	100.00	100.00
Sex: female			
Interested	46.83%	53.17%	100% (284)
	38.00 %	35.78%	36.79
Not Interested	44.47%	55.63%	100% (488)
	62.00 %	64.22%	63.21%
Total	45.34 %	54.66%	100% (772)
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Ghana (male): Chi square = 1.374 d.f. = 1, p = 0.241

Ghana (female): Chi-square = 0.0012 d. f = 1, p = 0.972

Moving on, I will discuss the results for the relationship between attitudes about "Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay" and "women's political interest." First, I describe the results of the analyses across countries, and then I discuss the patterns from the analyses.

The statistics in Table 4.11 (in the case of South Africa) show that the relationship between "being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay" and "political interest" is statistically significant (p=0.000). Among respondents who agree, men (63%) are more likely to be interested in politics than women (52%). Among those men who disagree that "being a housewife is as fulfilling as working for pay," interest in politics is evenly split. For those women who disagree, interest in political interest is at 35%. (See below table 4.11).

The statistics in Table 4.12 (in the case of Ghana) among respondents who agree that "being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay," men and women are more likely to be interested in politics. However, this relationship is stronger among men (49% of men who agree are interested in politics compared to 40% of women who agree). Among those women who agree, 61% are likely to report "not interested in politics." For women who disagree that 'being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay, political interest is 35%. (See below Table 4.12).

Table 4.11 and 4.12 reveal a similar pattern in the other two questions under the "gendered attitudes towards traditional values" category. Once again, the analysis pattern reveals that women with more traditional attitudes are less interested in politics than men with more traditional attitudes. As I anticipated, women who strongly believe that "being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay" tend to be less interested in politics. However, men's interest in politics seems not to be affected by their attitudes towards "being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay."

This relationship helps us to examine whether attitudes about women's domestic role or position constraints women's participation in politics. Based on the results, we can say it is possible that values attached to women's domestic roles may limit their engagement in politics altogether. Just as Peprah et al. (1993) posits, that women's domestic roles usually dissuade them from mainstream politics. Thus, to encourage women's participation in politics, I suggest complementing women's domestic role with other roles outside the home environment. This suggestion aligns with Welch (1977) position that women's interest in politics increases when they work outside the home.

Table 4. 11 (South-Africa): Relationship between attitudes about "being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay" and "Political Interest.

Political Interest	Being a housewife is fulfilling as working as working for pay		Total (N)
	Agree	Disagree	
Sex: male			
Interested	63.24%	36.76%	100% (944)
	62.97 %	49.08%	57.04
Not Interested	49.37%	50.63%	100% (711)
	37.03%	50.92%	42.96
Total	57.28 %	42.72 %	100 % (1,655)
	100%	100%	100%
Sex: female			
Interested	65.43%	34.57%	100% (755)
	52.11 %	34.80%	44.46%
Not Interested	48.14%	51.86%	100% (943)
	47.89%	65.20%	55.54%
Total	55.83%	44.17%	100 % (1,698)
	100.00	100.00	100.00

South-Africa (male): Chi-square = 31.9038 d. f = 1, p = 0.000

South-Africa (female): Chi-square = 50.80 d. f = 1, p = 0.000

Table 4. 12 (Ghana): Relationship between attitudes about "being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay" and "Political Interest".

Political Interest	Being a housewife is as fulfilling as working.		Total (N)
	Agree	Disagree	
Sex: male			
Interested	39.16%	60.84%	100% (383)
	49.18%	49.05%	49.10
Not Interested	39.04%	60.96%	100% (397)
	50.82%	50.95%	50.90
Total	39.10%	60.90%	100% (780)
	100%	100%	100%
Sex: female			
Interested	37.32%	62.68%	100% (284)
	39.41%	35.39%	36.79%
Not Interested	33.40%	66.60%	100% (488)
	60.59%	64.61%	63.21%
Total	34.84%	65.16%	100% (772)
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Ghana(male): Chi-square = 0.0012 d. f = 1, p = 0.972

Ghana(female): Chi-square = 1.216 d. f = 1, p = 0.270

4.5 b Gendered attitudes towards political involvement

The category "gendered attitudes towards political involvement" had one gendered-related question. Which is "would you say men make better political leaders than women." Here, I present the results of the relationship between attitudes about "men make better political leaders than women" and "women's political interest." And then, I discuss the patterns from the analyses.

The statistics in Table 4.13 (in the case of South Africa) reveal a statistically significant relationship between "men make better political leaders than women" and "Political Interest" (p=0.000). Among respondents who agree that men make better political leaders than women, men (64%) are more interested in politics than women (53%). This indicates a strong relationship among men. Among respondents who disagree, men (48%) and women (36%) are more likely to be interested in politics. Among those men who disagree, interest in politics is more evenly split. Also, women who disagree are less likely to be interested in politics ("interest in politics" is at 36%)

The statistics in Table 4.14 (in the case of Ghana) show, among respondents who agree, that "men make better political leaders than men," men (50%) are more likely to be interested in politics than women (38.28%). Again, among those men who agree, "interest in politics" and "no interest in politics" are more evenly split. For those women who agree, the majority (61%) are likely to report "not interested in politics." Also, among females who disagree, political interest is at 32%. See below Table 4.14.

Table 4.14 and Table 4.15 brings to light some interesting observations. Based on what we have done thus far in this thesis, we know that in both Ghana and South Africa, men's political representation is higher than women's political representation.

It is interesting to point out that, just as I anticipated, the patterns from the analyses indicate that gendered attitudes towards political involvement are likely to affect women's interest in politics. This could explain why men are doing better than women concerning political/legislative representation.

Once again, we see that women's interest in politics is less compared to men. However, men's interest in politics seems not to be affected much by their attitudes towards "men being better political leaders than women."

Nevertheless, we also know that South Africa is doing better than Ghana in terms of women's legislative representation (S.A. = 46%; G.H. = 13%). The pattern from the analysis indicates that South African women with more contemporary/feminist attitudes and an interest in politics are more than their female counterparts in Ghana. This result is not surprising because South Africa has 46% of women's legislative representation (IPU, 2020). This could possibly be one explanation for the disparity in legislative representation present in both countries. Women in South Africa may be more supportive of contemporary/feminist attitudes, which fuels their interest in politics more than their counterparts in Ghana.

Another observation worth discussing has to do with 'men with contemporary/feminist attitudes". Even though women are the most disadvantaged by the prospect of gender inequality and constantly seek redress, Rhodes (1997) tells us that, over time, the "women problem" has created a further problem for redress. Men consider the issue of gender inequality resolved given the achievements women have obtained in this area (Rhodes 1997). Nevertheless, it is essential to say that men need to partake in the fight for gender equality.

Just as I anticipated, the patterns from the analyses indicate that south African men with contemporary/feminist attitudes and an interest in politics are more than their counterparts in Ghana. It is possible to suggest that men in South Africa are more likely to support equality in political representation. Hence the "nearly balanced" legislative representation in the country.

The lesson from this relationship tells that attitude (be it traditional or contemporary/feminist) go a long way to either increase or decrease women's political participation. It also tells us that ensuring equality in political participation requires joint efforts from both men and women. Inviting men to end men's privileges might seem like an unpopular opinion. Nevertheless, it is feasible, as we have seen in the case of South Africa. The presence of more contemporary attitudes not just from women but most importantly from men can potentially create an equal environment to improve women's mobility to engage in politics.

Thus, it is imperative to say that much attention should be on "how men can contribute" towards ensuring balanced political representation across the African continent.

Table 4. 13 (South-Africa): Relationship between attitudes about "men make better political leaders than women" and "Political Interest".

Political Interest	Men make better political than women		Total (N)
	Agree	Disagree	
Sex: male			
Interested	65.08%	34.92%	100% (968)
	64.09%	48.42%	57.58
Not Interested	49.51%	50.94%	100% (713)
	35.91%	51.58%	42.42
Total	58.48 %	41.52 %	100% (1,681)
	100.00	100.00	100.00
Sex: female			
Interested	58.91%	41.09%	100% (753)
	53.63%	35.89%	44.58%
Not Interested	40.96%	59.04%	100% (935)
	46.37%	64.11%	55.42%
Total	48.96%	51.04%	100% (1,687)
	100.00	100.00	100.00

South-Africa (male): Chi-square = 41.01 d. f = 1, p = 0.000

South-Africa (female): Chi-square = 53.72 d. f = 1, p = 0.000

Table 4. 14 (Ghana): Relationship between attitudes about "men make better political leaders than women" and "Political Interest".

Political Interest	Men make better political leaders than women		Total (N)
	Agree	Disagree	
Sex: male			
Interested	86.42%	13.58%	100% (383)
	50.00%	44.07%	49.10%
Not Interested	83.38%	10.62%	100% (397)
	50.00%	55.93%	50.90%
Total	84.87%	15.13%	100% (780)
	100.00	100.00	100.00
Sex: female			
Interested	75.38%	24.65%	100% (284)
	38.28%	32.86%	36.79%
Not Interested	70.70%	29.30%	100% (488)
	61.72%	67.14%	63.21%
Total	72.41%	67.14%	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Ghana (male): Chi-square = 1.4182 d. f = 1, p = 0.235

Ghana (female): Chi-square = 1.9475 d. f = 1, p = 0.163

4.5 c Gendered attitudes towards gender equality.

This category had one gendered-related question; "what would you consider as the most serious problem in the world." Here, I present the results of the relationship between attitudes about "the most serious problem in the world" and "women's political interest." And then, I discuss the patterns from the analysis.

According to the results in Table 4.15 (in the case of South Africa), there is a statistically significant relationship between the "the most serious problem in the world" and political interest." Also, among respondents who consider "discrimination against women as a serious problem," both men and women are more likely to be interested in politics. This relationship is, however, stronger among men (67% of men consider "discrimination against women" as a serious problem, compared to 57% of women). Among female respondents who consider gender equality as necessary, 42% are not interested in politics. Among men who consider gender inequality as a serious problem, 32% are not interested in politics. See below table 4.15.

Following the statistics in Table 4.16 (in the case of Ghana), among respondents who consider "discrimination against women as a serious problem," men (53%) are more likely to be interested in politics compared to women (35%). Among female respondents who consider gender equality as necessary, 34% seem to be interested in politics. Among men, 47% are not interested in politics. See below table 4.16.

The story Table 4.15 and Table 4.16 tells us is that, across countries, there is a similar pattern in response to the relationship between "discrimination against women as the most serious problem in the world" and "women's political interest." The patterns indicate that men who consider "discrimination against women as the most serious problem in the world" are more interested in politics than women (this is similar in each of these countries).

In the case of South Africa, for respondents who consider "discrimination against women as the most serious problem in the world, interest in politics is somewhat evenly split between men and women. As I anticipated, both women and men are likely to be committed to ensuring gender equality. This possibly suggests that contemporary/feminist attitudes lead to support for gender equality. Which subsequently materialize into "how" (the measures) to ensure equal/balanced political representation.

According to IDEA (2020), South Africa has used legislated and voluntary quotas since 1994 to increase women's legislative representation. Looking at the patterns from the analysis and South Africa's commitment to equal political representation, it is possible that support/commitment towards equality is needed before institutions are set up. Having contemporary/feminist attitudes is most likely to lead to more commitment ("how to"/ "measures") towards equality in political representation.

In the case of Ghana, the pattern indicates, men who consider "discrimination against women as a serious problem" are more interested in politics than women. This result is not what I anticipated, given the low women's legislative representation in the country. Looking at the direction of the pattern from the analysis, it is possible to suggest, respondents in Ghana support the idea/notion of ensuring gender equality but probably struggle with "how to" (measures) ensure equality in political representation. To support this, Frempong (2017) and Allah-Mensah (2005) posits, in Ghana, a measure such as quotas has not been used since 1960, when ten (10) parliamentary seats were set aside for women (Allah-Mensah, 2005).

Based on the patterns, it is possible to suggest that simply supporting the idea of gender equality and ensuring gender equality are two different things. Arguably, there seems to be a causal relationship between these two. Where more contemporary/feminist attitudes are most likely

to lead to support for gender equality. Which most likely leads to 'how to" ensure equal/balanced political representation.

The lesson learned from this relationship is that ensuring equality in political representation is a process. It begins with contemporary/feminist attitudes towards women, which is most likely to lead to support/commitment towards ensuring gender equality. This subsequently leads to the "how to phase." Where measures are put in place to ensure equality (as seen in the case of South Africa), simply supporting the idea/notion of ensuring equality might not be enough to ensure an increase in women's legislative representation.

Table 4. 15 (South Africa): Relationship between attitudes about "most serious problem in the world" and Political Interest.

Political Interest	Poverty	Discrimination against women	Sanitation	Education	Environment	Total (N)
Sex: male						
Interested	57.86%	18.95%	12.50%	7.56%	3.13%	100%
	54.10%	67.38%	57.14%	51.37%	64.58%	56.65%
Not Interested	64.16%	11.99%	12.25%	9.35%	2.24%	100%
	65.16%	32.62%	42.86%	48.63%	35.42%	43.35
Total	60.59%	15.93%	12.39%	8.34%	2.74%	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Sex: female						
Interested	51.56%	24.55%	12.34%	7.92%	3.64%	100%
	40.43%	57.10%	42.60%	39.10%	46.67%	43.95%
Not Interested	59.57%	14.46%	13.3%	9.67%	3.26%	100%
	59.57%	42.90%	57.40%	60.90%.	53.33%	56.05%
Total	56.05%	18.89%	12.73%	8.90%	3.42%	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

South-Africa (male): Chi-square = 18.807 d. f = 4 p = 0.001

South-Africa (female): Chi-square = 30.012 d.f. = 4 p = 0.000

Table 4. 16 (Ghana): Relationship between attitudes about "most serious problem in the world" and Political Interest.

Political Interest	Poverty	Discrimination against women	Sanitation	Education	Environment	Total (N)
Sex: male						
Interested	59.27%	5.22%	13.05%	18.54%	3.92%	100%
	52.18%	52.63%	39.37%	49.31%	41.67%	49.10%
Not Interested	52.39%	4.53%	19.40%	18.39%	5.29%	100%
	47.82%	47.37%	60.63%	50.69%	58.33%	50.90%
Total	55.77%	4.87%	16.28%	18.46%	4.62%	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Sex: female						
Interested	55.62%	7.75%	15.49%	15.49%	5.63%	100%
	36.34%	34.92%.	38.94%	42.11%	42.11%	63.21%
Not Interested	55.94%	8.40%	14.64%	17.01%	4.92%	100%
	63.34%	65.08%	61.06%	65.35%	57.89%	63.21%
Total	55.83	8.16	14.64	16.45%	4.9%	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Ghana (male): Chi-square = 7.454 d. f = 4 p = 0.114

Ghana (female): Chi-square = 1.0349 d.f. = 1 p = 0.904

4.5 d Gendered attitudes towards democratic principles.

This category had one gender-related question: Do you think men should have more rights to a job than women. Here, I discuss the results of the relationship between attitudes about "democratic principles" and "women's political interest" in both countries. First, I describe the results of analyses across countries, and then I discuss the patterns from the analyses.

According to the statistics in Table 4.17 (in the case of South Africa), the relationship between "men should have more right to a job than women" and "political interest" demonstrates a strong relationship between variables. Following the statistics in Table 4.17, the p-value is statistically significant (p=0.000). Among those who agree that "men should have more right to a job than women," men and women are more likely to be interested in politics. However, this relationship is stronger among men (62% of men who agree are interested in politics than 56% of women who agree). Among those men who disagree, interest in politics is more evenly split. For those women who disagree, political interest is at 40.30%.

Following the statistics in Table 4.18 (in the case of Ghana), among those who agree that "men should have more right to a job than women," men are more likely to be interested in politics than women. This indicates a strong relationship among men (50% of men who agree are interested in politics compared to 36.75% of women who agree). For those men who agree, there is an evenly split between "interest in politics" and "no interest in politics." Also, women who agree "that men should have more right to a job than a woman" majority (63%) are more likely to report "not interested in politics." For those women who disagree, political interest is at 6% (See above Table 4.18)

The story Table 4.17 and Table 4.18 tells us is that gendered attitudes towards democratic principles persist in South Africa and Ghana. The pattern from the analyses indicates that attitudes such as unequal access to jobs are likely to affect women negatively. Here, evidence

obtained suggest attitudes such as "men should have more right to a job" lessens women's interest in politics compared to men. The patterns from the analyses reveal that women with more gendered attitudes towards equal access to a job are less interested in politics than men.

Inglehart et al. (2002) posit that gender equality is a central component of democratization. Everyone, including women, should have equal access to privileges, opportunities, jobs, etc. (Inglehart et al., 2002). It is imperative to say that both Ghana and South Africa are democratic countries. As such, both men and women should have equal access to opportunities and jobs. However, the patterns from the analyses in the case of South Africa are not exactly what I anticipated. Given South Africa's increased women's legislative representation, my initial expectations were that respondents who disagree with "unequal access to job opportunities" will be more interested in politics than those who support "unequal access to job opportunities."

Likewise, in the case of Ghana, given the low women's legislative representation, I expected male respondents with support for "unequal access to jobs" to be more interested in politics. However, the patterns indicate a somewhat evenly split in political interest between men who agree and men who disagree with "unequal access to jobs." Nevertheless, just as I expected, the pattern further reveals that women in South Africa who disagree that "men should have more right to a job than a woman" tend to be more interested in politics than their counterparts in Ghana. This suggests that women in South Africa may be more likely to support equal access to jobs. It is also possible to suggest that this contemporary attitude is likely to push women in South Africa to engage more in politics. This consequently explains the increased women's legislative representation present in the country.

The lesson drawn from this relationship suggests that gendered attitudes such as "men should have more right to a job than women" most likely do not favour women. As seen in this thesis,

such negative attitudes dissuade women from having an interest in politics, which could explain

their low presence across national legislatures.

Table 4. 17 (South-Africa): Relationship between attitudes about "men should have more right to a job than women "and "Political Interest"

Political Interest	Men should have more right to a job than women		Total (N)
	Agree	Disagree	
Sex: male			
Interested	38.77%	61.23%	100% (988)
	62.48%.	53.78%	56.85%
Not Interested	30.67%	69.33%	100%
	37.52%	46.22%	43.15%
Total	35.27%	64.73%	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00
Sex: female			
Interested	29.84%	70.16%	100% (765)
	56.02%	40.30%	43.98
Not Interested	18.40%	81.60%	100% (973)
	43.98%	59.70%	43.98%
Total	23.43%	76.57%	56.02%
	100.00	100.00	100.00

South-Africa (male): Chi-square = 12.248 d. f = 1   p = 0.000

South-Africa (female): Chi-square = 31.252 d. f = 1   p = 0.000

Table 4. 18 (Ghana): Relationship between attitudes about "men should have more right to a job than women "and "Political Interest"

Political Interest	Men should have more right to a job than women		Total (N)
	Agree	Disagree	
Sex: male			
Interested	61.62%	38.38%	100% (383)
	50.00%	47.73%	49.10%
Not Interested	59.45%	40.55%	100% (397)
	50.00%	52.27%	49.10%
Total	60.51%	39.49%	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00
Sex: female			
Interested	36.62%	63.38%	100% (284)
	36.75%	36.81%	36.79%
Not Interested	36.68%	63.32%	100% (488)
	63.25%	63.19%	63.21%
Total	36.66%	63.34%	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00

*Ghana(males): Chi-square = 0.3852 d. f = 1   p = 0.535*

Ghana (female): Chi-square = 0.0003 d. f = 1   p = 0.987

4.6 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

In this section, I discuss the conclusions drawn from the analyses. To do this, I begin with a summary of the relationship between sex and political interest. And then, I move to discuss the implications/conclusions drawn from the relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest across countries.

From the analyses, the pattern of sex on political interest is a straightforward one. Based on the findings obtained in this thesis, we saw that women are generally less interested in politics than men (this is similarly so in each of these countries). The statistics displayed in Figure 4.1 show a summary of the results. The bars in the figure represent the percentage of political interest. (See Figure 4.1)

Figure 4. 1
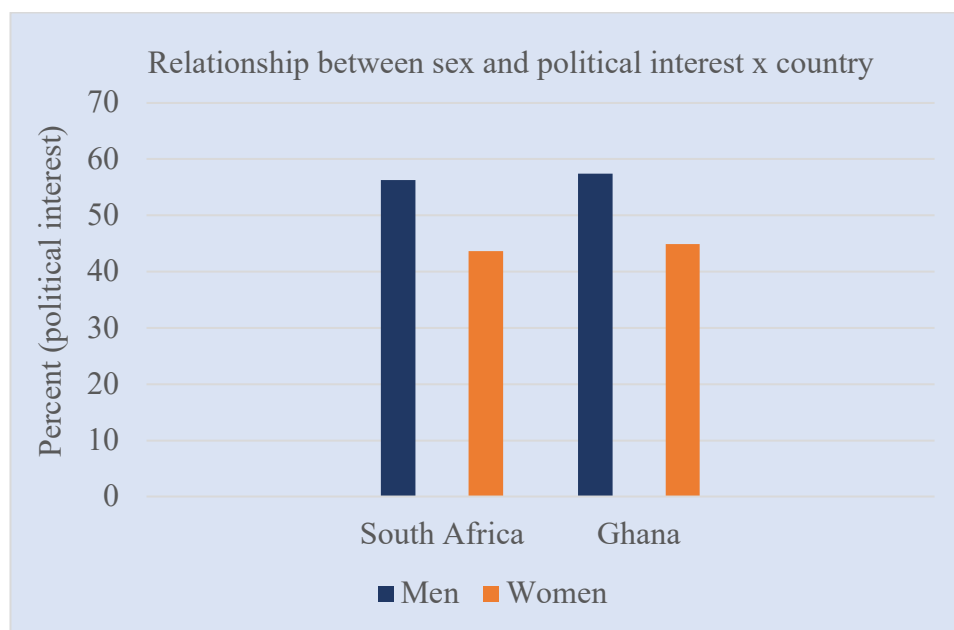
This finding is consistent with past research that women are less interested in politics than men (Andersen, 1975; Baxter & Lansing, 1983; Burns, 2001; Burns et al., 2001; Campbell et al., 1954; Hayes & Bean, 1993; Fox and Lawless, 2010). In addition, this finding also answers

one of the research questions that underscores this study. Moving on, I provide a summary of the conclusions drawn from the relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest.

Looking at the relationship between "gendered attitudes towards traditional values and women's political interest," the findings from the analyses revealed that women with more traditional attitudes are less interested in politics than men with more traditional attitudes. This is similarly so in both South Africa and Ghana. This suggests that women's interest in politics is more likely to be negatively affected by traditional attitudes than men. A similar pattern was found in all three questions that were used to measure this category.

In addition, patterns revealed that women with more traditional attitudes are not interested in politics. This was evident in the case of Ghana. Here, women with more support for traditional attitudes reported: "not interested in politics." It is possible to suggest that in Ghana, women are more likely to support traditional attitudes.

Furthermore, findings also revealed a relationship between attitudes, political interest, and country. Here the patterns indicate, persons with contemporary/feminist attitudes tend to be more interested in politics. This relationship is stronger among respondents (both men and women) in South Africa. Here, it is possible to suggest that support for contemporary/feminist attitudes is likely boost more women's interest in politics. Alternatively, it is possible to suggest that women's level of support for contemporary/feminist attitudes might differ in both Ghana and South Africa.

Gendered attitudes towards traditional values included in the analysis are very substantial. The reason is that scholars have found that structural factors such as socio-cultural norms and traditional beliefs, to an extent, predict women's participation in politics (Paxton and Kunovich 2003). In addition, Welch (1997) also found little evidence to support the claim that structural

factors such as "marital status" affect women's participation in politics. Welch's main conclusions suggest that women's interest in politics increases when women work outside the home (Welch 1997). Thus, including questions such as "being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay" and "a woman earning more money than the husband is certain to cause problems," this thesis directly probes into the relationship between attitudes/values and women's political interest. Furthermore, findings in this thesis support research that posits that traditional values and negative attitudes towards women limit women's overall participation in politics (Paxton and Kunovich, 2003).

Including the question "university education is more important for a boy than a girl" in the analyses was equally fundamental. As Simpson (2013) puts it, "higher education aids to develop the competencies one needs to thrive." The evidence found in this thesis suggests that the traditional attitude, "university education is more important for a boy than a girl," is likely to lessen women's interest in politics. It is possible that women would not see the need to pursue higher education when such negative notions persist. Moreover, consequently, it is possible that women would consider themselves less equipped (educational-wise) or incapable of participating in politics.

Moving on, I discuss the conclusion drawn from the relationship between gendered attitudes towards political involvement and women's political interest. As I anticipated, the evidence found in this thesis suggests, attitudes about "men make better political leaders than women" make women less interested in politics than men. This finding supports past research that contends negative attitudes and ideas about women can constrain women's ability to seek political power (Fox and Lawless, 2010; Paxton and Kunovich 2003).

Figure 4.2 summarizes the results for the relationship between respondents who agree that "men make better political leaders than women" and "women's political interest". The bars in the figure represent the percentage of political interest. (See Figure 4.2)

Figure 4. 2
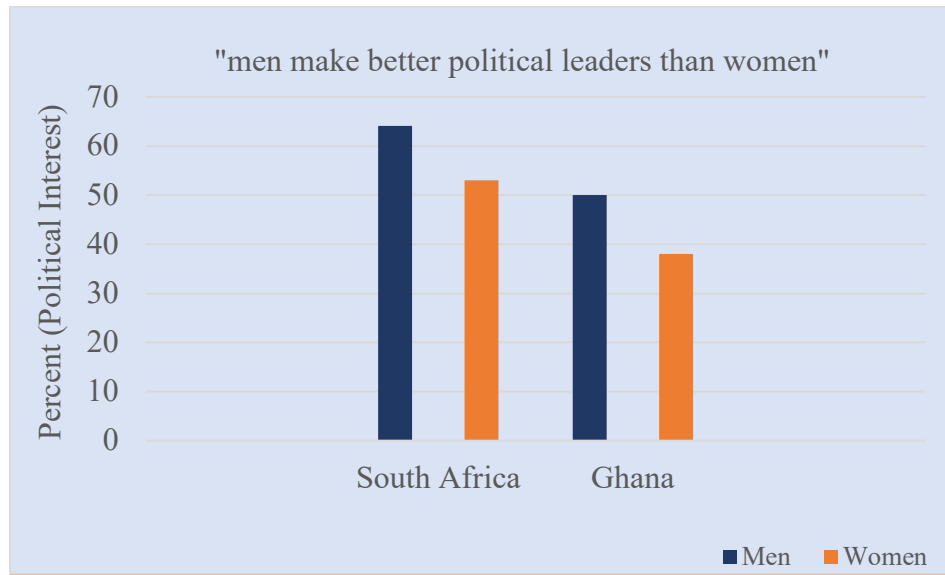
As Figure 4.2 indicates, support for attitudes towards "men make better political leaders than women" is likely to lessen women's interest in politics than men.

Another conclusion drawn from the relationship between "gendered attitudes towards political involvement" and "women's political interest" is that women with contemporary/feminist attitudes tend to be more interested in politics. This was evident in the case of South Africa, where women with contemporary attitudes were more interested in politics than their counterparts in Ghana. This suggests that more contemporary/feminist attitudes are more likely to encourage political participation among women.

Furthermore, another conclusion worth discussing is men with contemporary attitudes. As I anticipated, the patterns revealed that South African men with feminist/contemporary attitudes, tend to be more interested in politics than their counterparts in Ghana. This suggests that men in South Africa are more likely to support equal political representation. It is imperative to

suggest; this implies a shift from the focus on "women's political under-representation" to "how men can contribute" towards ensuring equal political representation.

The conclusions drawn from the relationship between gendered attitudes towards gender inequality and women's political interest suggest "having the idea/notion of gender equality" and "actually ensuring gender equality" are two different things.

The patterns revealed across countries, respondents (both men and women) who consider "discrimination against women as a serious problem" are relatively interested in politics. However, a fundamental element the pattern revealed has to do with men with contemporary attitudes and their level of political interest. Men in South Africa who consider discrimination against women a serious problem were more interested in politics than their counterparts in Ghana. This observation is fundamental. It suggests that men in South Africa are likely to be more supportive/committed to ensuring equal political representation.

With the conclusion drawn from the relationship between attitudes about "men should have more rights to a job than women," the analysis pattern suggests that gendered attitudes are likely to affect women more negatively than men. As seen in this thesis, findings reveal that "men having more rights to a job than women" dissuades women from being interested in politics. It is possible to suggest that this kind of attitudes consequently limits women's presence across national legislatures.

In summary, this chapter has presented the empirical part of this thesis that statistically examined whether South African and Ghanaian women are less interested in politics than men and whether there is a relationship between gendered attitudes and women's interest in politics. This study found evidence of (1) South African and Ghanaian women less interested in politics than men (2) a relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest in South Africa and Ghana.

The experiment I conducted showed that; women are less interested in politics than men across countries, women with more traditional attitudes are less interested in politics than men with more traditional attitudes, women with more traditional attitudes are more likely to report "not interested" in politics, and women with contemporary/feminist attitudes are likely to be more interested in politics.

It is imperative to mention that findings from this thesis are just the starting point of meaningful conservation. Further research is needed to make more substantial claims about the relationship between gendered attitudes and women's interest in politics and how it contributes to women's political representation.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

This thesis examines the different women's political representation in Ghana and South Africa, with a focus on the effect of gendered attitudes on women's political interest. The issue of women having less interest in politics is a well-researched area in gender and political attitudes studies (Burns, 2001; Burns et al., 2001; Campbell et al., 1954; Hayes & Bean, 1993). However, less is known about the cause of this difference (Campbell and Winters, 2008). Furthermore, existing studies also suggest that socio-cultural practices such as attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs, to an extent, account for the low presence of women in politics (Jennings and Niemo 1981, Inglehart 1981, Inglehart and Norris 2003). However, the relationship between "gendered attitudes" and "women's political interest" has not received much attention across the African region.

Thus, this thesis examined the relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest in Ghana and South Africa. It sought to answer the following research questions: (1) are South African and Ghanaian women less interested in politics than men? (2) do gendered attitudes affect women's political interest in Ghana and South Africa?

This chapter summarizes the research study. The chapter is divided into three main parts. The first part provides a summary of the research conducted. The second part discusses the limitations faced in the study. The third part provides an avenue for future research.

5.1 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH.

This thesis examined the relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest, using data from the World Values Survey (Wave 6: 20110-2014). The countries used as cases were Ghana and South Africa. South Africa represents an African country with higher women's legislative representation, and Ghana represents a country with low women's legislative representation on the continent. The research questions that underpinned this study were (1) are South African and Ghanaian women less interested in politics than men? (2) do gendered attitudes affect women's political interest in Ghana and South Africa? To answer these questions, I hypothesized that:

H1: *South African and Ghanaian women are less likely to be interested in politics than men.*

H2: *Women with more traditional attitudes are less interested in politics than men with more traditional attitudes.*

H3: *Women with more traditional attitudes are more likely to report "not interested" in politics.*

H4: *Women with contemporary/feminist attitudes are likely to be more interested in politics.*

The available evidence obtained from this thesis suggests (1) that women are less interested in politics than men (across countries). This finding supports past research that holds that women are generally less interested in politics than men (Burns, 2001; Burns et al., 2001; Campbell et al., 1954; Hayes & Bean, 1993).

(2) Findings reveal there is a relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interests. This supports research on socio-cultural explanations for women's political representation, which posits that socio-cultural practices and beliefs negatively affect women's political participation (Inglehart 1981, Paxton and kunovich 2003). Evidence from this thesis

reveals a strong relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest across countries. In Ghana and South Africa, the findings show that women with more traditional attitudes are less interested in politics than men with more traditional attitudes. In addition, findings from the analysis show that women with more traditional attitudes are most likely to report "not interested" in politics. This is evident in the case of Ghana. Furthermore, in Ghana, women with more support for traditional attitudes are more likely to show no interest in politics. Furthermore, evidence suggests a relationship between gendered attitudes, sex, and political interest across countries. Findings reveal that respondents in South Africa (both men and women) with feminist/contemporary attitudes tend to be more interested in politics than their counterparts in Ghana.

5.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.

Throughout the research, I identified two main challenges. The first one has to do with sex as a proxy for gender in the analysis. Arguably, treating gender as a dichotomous variable in survey research can be problematic. To support this, Bittner and Goodyear-Grant (2017) argue that although measurement of gender using the traditional sex is fair, it can inhibit precision in survey research. It is imperative to mention that sex and gender are distinct. The former is biological, while the latter is socially constructed. Some scholars, however, argue that sex and gender do overlap (Archer 2004, Butler 1999).

Nevertheless, it is possible to have individuals whose sex and gender do not match. Even though the use of "sex as a proxy for gender approach" is fair (Bittner and Goodyear-Grant, 2017), recording respondents' gender based on sex (whether they are male or female) is likely to inhibit this research from obtaining additional nuanced information. This could have aided

in a better understanding of the relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest.

The second challenge I faced in this research has to with the inability to control the data set. This is a problem that usually comes with most secondary data or using secondary data for analysis. Although most of the questions in the data set are gendered-related attitudes, not all of them operationalize or capture the variables used in the study. An example is the dependent variable used in the analysis. The meaning of political interest could be potentially ambiguous or could have a different meaning for different respondents. It is possible to have people interested in politics but who do not act on this interest or are unwilling to act on this interest (Dostie-Goulet, 2009). Campbell and Winters (2008) argue that a measure from "not at all interested in politics" to "very interested in politics" is unlikely to capture the entire scope and meaning of "political interest."

Thus, a follow-up question where respondents indicate their willingness to act on their interest (to participate in politics) would have been more desirable. In addition, although the data used was more representative of the sample population, combining it with a qualitative method (e.g., focus group analysis) would have provided additional valuable insights into respondents' interpretations of survey questions and their understanding of political interest in general.

5.3 AVENUE FOR FUTURE RESEARCH.

Considering what has been done in this thesis thus far, there is a compelling need for further research on the relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest across the African region. This thesis showed that (1) Ghanaian and South African women are less interested in politics than men (2) there is a relationship between gendered attitudes and women's political interest in Ghana and South Africa.

These observations require further examination to discern how the relationship between gendered attitudes and political interest contributes to women's legislative representation. Also, an area of possible/future research, aimed at trying to understand the difference in women's legislative representation, could be the different recent political histories of both countries, but especially the role anti-apartheid movement played in the development of politics in post-Apartheid South Africa.

There is also a compelling need for further research on developing new measures that adequately capture gendered attitudes towards women. Cultural practices such as attitudes and beliefs are often challenging to measure. Current research is limited to a few proxy variables that generally fail to effectively and accurately measure attitudes that affect women. Accordingly, it is essential to focus on how best to measure attitudes in the future.

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