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Scaling up Gender Mainstreaming in Rural Transport: Analysis of Policies, Practices, Impacts and Monitoring Processes

Case Study Report: Ghana



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Abstract

Wide gender disparities have persisted in various forms within Ghanaian society including the transport sector. Previous gender mainstreaming efforts in this area have not always achieved their purpose, but even when successful, these initiatives are seldom up-scaled.

This study explored the scalability potential of gender mainstreaming initiatives in Ghana using the second phase of the Transport Rehabilitation Programme (TRP-2) and the ongoing Cocoa Roads Rehabilitation project as case studies. The research found that Ghana's gender policy landscape to be adequate but not necessarily optimal in operationalizing gender mainstreaming. This study emphasised the male dominance in the provision of rural transport infrastructure and services. Absence of gender issues in budgeting and a silence on gender issues in legislation and regulation points to weak gender responsiveness in the transport sector. A key observation is that gender mainstreaming components are more visible in donor funded programmes as compared to nationally funded programmes.

Key words

Gender norms, Gender disparities, Transport Rehabilitation Programme, Gender mainstreaming, Northern Region Pilot Infrastructure Scheme, NRPIS, Gender Policy

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Acronyms, Units and Currencies

\$	United States Dollar (US\$ 1.00 ≈ Ghana Cedi (GH¢ 4.32))
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AFCAP	Africa Community Access Partnership
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CHRAJ	Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice
CSO	Civil Service Organisations
DA	District Assembly
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DFR	Department of Feeder Roads
DOVVSU	Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit
DP	Development Partners
DPF	Decentralisation Policy Framework
DUR	Department of Urban Roads
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FIDA	International Federation of Women Lawyers
GDHS	Ghana Demographic and Health Survey
GFP	Gender Focal Point/Person
GHA	Ghana Highway Authority
GhIE/GIE	Ghana Institution of Engineers
GLSS	Ghana Living Standards Survey
GNEP	Ghana National Employment Policy
GoG	Government of Ghana
GPI	Gender Parity Index
GPRS	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy
GRC	Ghana Railway Corporation
GSGDA	Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
ICR	Implementation Completion Report
IDA	International Development Association

ILO	International Labour Organization
IMT	Intermediate Motorised Transport
ITP	Integrated Transport Plan
KTC	Koforidua Training Centre
LEAP	Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty
LMIC	low and middle income countries
MDA	Ministries, Departments or Agencies
MMT	Metro Mass Transit
MoFEP	Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
MoFEP	Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
MoGCSP	Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection
MoT	Ministry of Transport
MOWAC	Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs
MRH	Ministry of Roads and Highways
MTC	Ministry of Transport and Communications
MTEF	Medium Term Expenditure Framework
NDPC	National Development Planning Commission
NDPF	National Decentralisation Policy Framework
NFRRMP	National Feeder Roads Rehabilitation and Maintenance Programme
NGO	None -Governmental Organization
NGP	National Gender Policy
NLA	National Labour Act
NMT	Non-Motorised Transport
NRPIS	Northern Region Pilot Scheme for Rural Infrastructure Support
NTP	National Transport Policy
OED	Operations Evaluation Department
PSC	Penang Shipbuilding and Construction
PWDs	Persons with disabilities
ReCAP	Research for Community Access Partnership
SFP	School Feeding Programme
SFV	Single-wheel Farm Vehicle
STC	State Transport Company
TDWM	31st December Women's Movement
TRP	Transport Rehabilitation Project
TSMTDP	Transport Sector Medium Term Development Plan
TSSP	Transport Sector Support Programme
UN	United Nations
UNCDF	United Nations Capital Development Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UK	United Kingdom (of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
UKAid	United Kingdom Aid (Department for International Development, UK)
WinE	Women in Engineering

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Executive Summary

Wide gender disparities persist in Ghana. Relative to men, women are overburdened with domestic work, are underpaid for equal work done, are poorly educated, lack access to resources and are socio-economically disadvantaged. Disparities are widest in the rural communities especially when it comes to transport burdens that are borne by women. Decades of efforts towards achieving gender parity in Ghana have not yielded the desired results except for a few isolated initiatives. Successful initiatives are hardly ever up scaled-up and it is uncertain if they were designed and monitored in a way that would enable scalability in the first instance.

The study examined Ghana's gender policy environment as well as monitoring tools, indicators and targets that had been used in the second phase of the Transport Rehabilitation Programme (TRP-2) which was undertaken from 1991-1993 under World Bank funding. It examined weaknesses and strengths associated with these tools as used in the TRP-2 and identified ways of improving them. The ongoing Cocoa Roads Rehabilitation Programme funded by the Government of Ghana (GoG) and the Ghana Cocoa Board was also assessed to determine gender considerations associated with it. A detailed qualitative framework was used to analyse various stages of the TRP-2 from project identification through implementation to monitoring and evaluation. Key informant interviews were also conducted to seek the inputs of stakeholders from government institutions, donor partners, civil society groups, rural transport service providers, consultants and contractors.

From a legal and overarching policy perspective, the constitution of Ghana provides for equal rights and freedom for all categories of persons. However, the National Gender Policy (2015) indicates that there are still many deeply rooted inequalities in the structure of the Ghanaian society. Key among the gender inequality indicators identified include men's relative to women's time use. Inequalities in access to resources is also duly acknowledged as a challenge brought about by some customary practices including patriarchal inheritance systems which negatively affect women's prospects of owning resources. Policy documents such as the Decentralisation Policy Framework laments the lack of an enabling environment to support women's decision-making power and advocates for the promotion of gender-responsive planning and budgeting at the district level with appropriate capacity-building support.

The National Transport Policy declares its commitment to backing regulations which ensure that transport markets are fair, efficient, orderly and non-corrupt. Most importantly, it aims to ensure that the needs of users are met by safeguarding their interests and those of private sector operators while preventing discrimination against women, children, the aged and the physically challenged. However, this commitment is yet to be fulfilled in the legislation and regulations governing the sector. Furthermore, transport sector budgeting was found to be gender non-responsive. The Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) for the sector (2016-2018) neither mentions nor allocates a budget line for gender mainstreaming. An examination of an on-going rural transport programme gives credence to the fact that Government of Ghana (GoG) projects do not always consider social factors as critical to rural transport programming. Though incorporation in policy guidelines is considered a good step, this must be translated into actions through legislation and enforcement monitoring.

The study examined gender mainstreaming in various stages of the programme, particularly focusing on the Northern Region Pilot Infrastructure Scheme (NRPIS) component of the TRP-2. At the project identification stage, the provision of both low-cost rural access roads and intermediate means of transport (IMT) was included, because it was thought to be a good initiative that could increase

mobility for rural populations that live in relatively inaccessible areas in the Northern Region. Six key strategies, including the provision of low-cost access roads, potable water, introduction of non-motorised transport (NMT), provision of food supplements and nutrition education, tree planting and strengthening of Non-Government Organisations (NGO) were formulated and used to address gender and mobility issues in the project communities. In order to bridge gender capacity gaps, two NGOs operating in the project communities were drawn in to provide a link between the Department of Feeder Road (DFR) and the communities, and trained to facilitate various sub-components of the programme, including woodlot planting, well digging and nutrition programmes. Broad consultations with community members, facilitated by the two NGOs, was one of the helpful tools used in project identification. A specific quota of 70% of labour intake for the road construction was reserved for women as a measure to improve their participation relative to men in the NRPIS. Adequate budgetary allocations were also made to enhance gender outcomes. Like many such well planned and executed projects, the NRPIS achieved significant successes including a 1:1 ratio of men to women's labour in a rural transport project (though its target was higher). The NMT component, however, was not as successful because the cost of obtaining both bicycles and trailers, expected to reduce head portage among rural women, proved to be unaffordable.

To get a perspective on the current state of gender mainstreaming in the rural transport sector, key informant interviews were carried out with stakeholders and officials involved in the ongoing Cocoa Roads Rehabilitation Programme. It was confirmed that prioritisation, management and delivery of transport infrastructure and transport services in ongoing programmes still remain male dominated. This contrasts with donor funded programmes in the rural transport infrastructure sector, where gender objectives are clearly formulated and budgets drawn to support such interventions. However, this seems to be lacking in the GoG funded transport infrastructure projects which hardly make room for gender mainstreaming, especially if construction is highly mechanised. Labour based construction programmes, however, target a 30% quota for female participation in the construction process. Other gendered disparities recorded in rural areas relate to issues of access to healthcare, education, economic opportunities, agriculture, governance and justice. Key barriers to women's participation in and benefit from investments in the rural transport sector include existing gender norms and women's under-representation in science and technology-based subjects. Sexual and gender-based violence in construction, however, was determined by stakeholders to be virtually non-existent within Ghana's rural transport sector.

The study concludes that while Ghana's rural transport policy environment is supportive of gender mainstreaming, it seems to be silent on emerging gender issues such as gendered violence in construction and access to transport services, neither of which are mentioned in any of its policy documents. The study also revealed that key constraints in mainstreaming gender in the rural transport sector basically hinge on two issues. The first includes factors that affect the active participation of women in the sector and the second is the provision of infrastructure that addresses the needs of all social groups including women. Furthermore, the study concludes that successful gender mainstreaming in various sectors including the (rural) transport sector hinges on dedicated budgets. Therefore, deliberate interventions in rural transport programmes focused on vulnerable populations must have their own budgets and gender drivers from the project formulation stage to ensure success. In assessing the NRPIS, this study found that it was an ambitious programme which turned out to be largely successful. Nevertheless, the complexity of the project contributed to both the success and the failures of different components of the scheme.

1 Introduction

1.1 Country Overview

Ghana is a West African country with an estimated population of about 28.3 million people spread across a geographically heterogeneous land area of 238,535 km² (Ghana Statistical Service, 2016). The country has approximately equal proportions of rural (49.1%) and urban (50.9%) settlements, and a higher female population of 51% (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a). The country is categorised as a Lower Middle-Income Country (LMIC) even though this has been contested (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a; Nketiah-Amponsah, 2015). Successive Ghanaian governments have pursued poverty alleviation initiatives and social intervention schemes to improve the livelihoods of its citizens. Initiatives like the Livelihood Empowerment against Poverty (LEAP), the capitation grant and the school feeding programmes have made significant impact towards defeating poverty. In spite of the gains made over the years, substantial socio-economic and gender gaps persist in Ghana, especially, across the rural-urban divide. For instance, the average poverty rate in rural households is about three times higher than that in urban households, which stands at 10.6% (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a). Disaggregating poverty data by administrative regions reveals a grim picture of the clustering of poverty in the country. It shows the three northern regions (Upper East, Upper West and Northern Region) as the most poverty-stricken. A noteworthy observation about the poverty situation in Ghana is the fact that female-headed households in Ghana have lower poverty rates (19.1%) compared with male-headed households (25.9%) (Cooke, Hague and McKay, 2016; Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a).

Health indicators in Ghana are poor. Life expectancy at birth stands at 62.4 years for the total population, 63.9 years for females and 61.0 years for males. The poorest health indicators occur in maternal and child health where a maternal mortality of 319 deaths per thousand live births, an under-five mortality rate of 61.6 deaths per thousand live births and a neonatal mortality rate of 28.3 per thousand live births (WHO, 2017) forms a treacherous triad. Although these statistics may actually represent improvements over previous years, they are nonetheless frightening and need to be improved. Ghana's total expenditure on health as a percentage of GDP has fluttered between 1994 and 2014 with a net increase of 0.47% over the 19-year period. In 2014 the expenditure was 3.56%. However, the lowest and highest expenditure occurred in 1997 (3.0%) and 2010 (5.33) respectively. On the other hand, health accounted for 6.8% of total government expenditure in 2014 (WHO, 2017) and although successive Ghanaian governments have come under pressure to increase the health sector expenditure, existing evidence suggests a steady increase was only achieved between 2003 and 2010, after which time it began to drop again. Although an upturn in health sector investments could help improve health indicators of the country, authorities are well aware that tailor-made interventions addressing prioritised national health needs such as maternal and infant health of rural dwellers may yield better results.

Ghana's literacy rate among people 15 years and older of 80.3% (Ghana Statistical Services, 2014b) is higher than most Low-Income Countries (LICs) and LMICs but lower than the world's average 85.3%. The gender difference of 10.7% in literacy rate in favour of men is also higher than the world's average of 8.7% (UNESCO, 2013). Female representation in the legislature is 12.7%, a considerable shortfall from the target of 50% by 2030. This is unsurprising, given that only 6% of GDP is spent on education. The National household travel survey (2013) data suggests that in rural Ghana, 82.4% of women and 66.1% of men commute on foot to work daily. In urban areas, far fewer people commute to work by walking.

1.2 Overview of the Transport Sector

The vision of the transport sector in Ghana is to provide “an integrated, efficient, cost-effective and sustainable transportation system which is responsive to the needs of society supports growth and poverty reduction and is well capable of establishing and maintaining the nation as a transport hub of West Africa” (Ministry of Transport, 2008:38). The sector has, over the years, strived to attain this vision, however, the nexus of a growing population, over-reliance on road transport, and a stunted rail transport system portrays the sector as one with lopsided investments. Ghana’s 72,381 km road network supports about 95% of all passenger travels and 98% of freight cargo transported within the country (Ministry of Roads and Highways, 2017). This is in stark contrast to the rail transport network, which has only 947 km of rail route length, with only 130 km operational with freight service (Ghana Rail Development Authority, 2016). Rail transport has, however, received a huge boost through key investments recorded between 2015 and 2016 with the rehabilitation and modernisation of the Western and Sub-Urban Railway Lines. Air transport has been growing with domestic air passengers more than quadrupling between 2010 and 2012. The sector has accordingly received some investments in the recent past with the aim of expanding existing infrastructure (Ministry of Transport, 2014).

1.2.1 Transport sector institutions and respective mandates

The Ministry of Transport (MoT)

This is a Ministry that seeks to establish Ghana as a Transportation Hub for the West African Sub-Region. The Ministry has received a number of strategic mandates to enable it to achieve its vision. Firstly, it is mandated to create a vibrant investment and performance-based management environment that maximises benefits for public and private sector investors. Secondly, MoT is mandated to create and sustain an efficient transport system that meets user needs as well as integrate land use, transport planning, development planning and service provision. Thirdly, to develop and implement comprehensive and integrated policy, governance and institutional frameworks and ensure sustainable development in the transport sector, in addition to developing adequate human resources and the application of new technologies. Some of its agencies include:

- Civil aviation (Ghana Civil Aviation Authority, Ghana Airport Company Limited)
- Road Transport Services (Government Technical Training Centre, Metro Mass Transit Limited, Intercity State Transport Coaches (STC) Limited, Driver and Vehicle Licencing Authority, National Road Safety Commission)
- Maritime (Ghana Maritime Authority, Volta Lake Transport Company Limited, Ghana Ports and Harbours Authority, Regional Maritime University, Ghana Shippers Authority, Penang Shipbuilding and Construction (PSC) Tema Shipyard)

Ministry of Roads and Highways

The mandate of the *Ministry of Roads and Highways* covers policy formulation, coordination and oversight of the sector. It mandates performance monitoring and evaluation of road infrastructure development and maintenance and road maintenance financing. Some of the agencies that operate under the Ministry include:

- Ghana Highway Authority (GHA)
- Department of Feeder Roads (DFR)
- Department of Urban Roads (DUR)
- Koforidua Training Centre (KTC)
- Ghana Road Fund Secretariat
- Ghana Railway Company Limited
- Ghana Railway Development Authority

1.3 Prevailing Gender Norms

Gender norms in Ghanaian societies are actively evolving and the prevailing norms are far from ideal. In this melting pot of emerging gender trends and vestigial of customary practices, women tend to play subservient roles to men. Gender disparities created by these practices are manifested in domestic lives, economic opportunities, education, health, public life and decision-making.

For instance, violence at the domestic level, although not exclusively against females, disproportionately affects women and children. In the Northern Region, for instance, female victims of domestic violence outnumbered male victims by over four-fold (Bawah, 2013). High incidence of domestic violence appears to cluster differentially in space but it is unclear from the literature what accounts for this. Domestic violence against women and children has persisted in parts of the country in spite of the best efforts of the Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit (DOVVSU) of the Ghana Police Service. Specialised domestic violence courts and family tribunals have partly helped in addressing these issues.

An area where new gender norms may be emerging is the education sector. Available data suggest that gender disparity gaps in primary school enrolment has been bridged but other gaps have persisted. For instance, the difference between the proportion of females and males who progress to secondary school have mostly remained the same over the last 15 years. On the other hand, there was a 10.4% gap that existed between male and female youth literacy in favour of males in 2000, which has been narrowed to 1.4% in 2015. Similarly, the 8.5% gap that existed between females and males with regards to lower secondary school completion in 2000 has been narrowed to 4.5%. Although there was no data in 2000, a 6.1% gap persists in enrolment into tertiary education in favour of males (UNECA, 2017; UNESCO, 2015).

In Ghana, women hold 12.7% of the seats in parliament (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2017). Women's representation has gone up and down without any indication of a steady increase or decrease over time. This is against the backdrop of an increasing trend of female representation in parliament in middle, low and high-income countries. The push for a greater representation of women in various levels of decision making has been given a boost with cabinet's recent approval of the Affirmative Action Bill on gender equality in August 2016. When passed into law, the affirmative action bill will guarantee a 40% quota for female recruitment into security agencies and address gender inequality and inequity issues in both private and public sectors, among other objectives. Currently, the Labour Act 651, provides for the receipt of equal pay for equal work without any distinction of any kind. Unfortunately, the law is silent on the fate of domestic workers who are believed to constitute a significant percentage of the workforce and are mainly made up of women and girls. (Awumbila et al, 2016; Tsikata, 2009). Nevertheless, the nation has also ratified several conventions and acceded to international declarations that promote gender equality and equity, including the Beijing Platform for Action and the Convention of the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), as well as the Protocol on the rights of African women (UNDP/Ghana Government, 2015).

On economic opportunities, 47.8% and 35.5% of females and males respectively participate in the private informal sector labour force of Ghana (Ghana Statistical Services, 2014b). The critical role played by women in national development cannot be underestimated. Successive national development plans have attempted to create a social environment that is devoid of gender biases and further seek to give full recognition to women. Goal 2 of the current 40-year National Development Policy launched in 2015 focuses on the formulation and implementation of policies that seeks to create equal opportunities and access to essential social services including education, affordable housing, productive assets, civic infrastructure and judicial justice for all, particularly targeting poor and marginalised groups, including women and youth. Previous development policies

such as Vision 2020, which was launched in 1995, aimed at improving the health and nutritional status of women, improving female access to productive resources including capital and technology, and increasing female enrolment and achievement at all levels of education. Likewise, the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) II achieved steady progress in bridging the gender gap in access to education (NDPC, 2015; 2009; 1995).

With a better life expectancy and under-five-mortality statistics, gender disparities in health seem to favour females. Several institutional mechanisms have been built over the years to promote gender equality and women's empowerment. Primarily, the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (MoGCSP), which was created in 2013 to replace the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC), oversees all gender related activities by collaborating with other agencies such as DOVVSU, the Anti-Human Trafficking Unit, National Labour Commission, Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) and the Social Welfare Department. The Ministry produced a new gender policy in 2015 which seeks to streamline gender equality concerns into national development processes by emphasising the need for improvement of social, political, economic, civic, legal and socio-cultural conditions of the entire populace with a special emphasis on children, the vulnerable and people with special needs. This comes after the 2004 National Gender and Children Policy which reflected concerns for addressing gender and children's issues in key national policy frameworks including the GPRS (I&II) and the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda.

2 Project Overview

The Ghana Second Transport Rehabilitation Project which was undertaken from 1991 to 1993 covered all ten regions in the country (Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Central, Eastern, Greater Accra, Northern, Upper East, Upper West, Volta and Western Regions). The general objective of the project was to continue to sustain and accelerate Ghana's economic recovery by:

- i. Removing physical bottlenecks to the expansion of exports, farm production and labour mobility; and facilitating private sector development through improved maintenance and rehabilitation of the road and railway infrastructure;
- ii. Improving the efficiency of both the public and private sector transport management through promotion of market-oriented policies, institutional development and manpower training;
- iii. Encouraging new methods of infrastructure rehabilitation and maintenance practices, using appropriate technology, local resources, and community participation;
- iv. Reducing transportation costs; and
- v. Alleviating poverty in rural areas, and improving the self-development of rural women through a Pilot program focussed on:
 - ✓ Women's employment and earning under a specially-designed, labour-intensive road programme;
 - ✓ Savings' schemes to channel wage-earning into income-generating activities;
 - ✓ Support of community-sponsored activities to improve rural transport and well-water supply and the environment, through involvement of local NGOs (World Bank, 1990; 1998).

The programme had the following 5 key components:

- i. Road and Bridge Maintenance and Rehabilitation;
- ii. Support to Ministry of Roads and Highways;

- iii. Railway rehabilitation;
- iv. Support to transport sector institutions; and
- v. Northern Region Pilot Scheme comprising labour-intensive rehabilitation/construction of rural infrastructure with emphasis on employment of women and involvement of local NGOs.

The implementation agencies for the project were;

- Ghana Highway Authority (GHA),
- Ministry of Roads and Highways (MRH),
- Ghana Railway Corporation (GRC),
- Ministry of Transport and Communications (MTC),
- Department of Feeder Roads (DFR).

2.1 Objectives of the Research

The overarching objective of this study is to contribute to knowledge that can lead to improved policies and practices for sustainably mainstreaming gender in rural transport. More specifically, the study sought to:

- i. Map the national gender policy landscape.
- ii. Conduct a stakeholder analysis of key actors and their role in promoting gender equality in rural transport.
- iii. Assess the quality of gender mainstreaming in (rural) transport processes and institutions.
- iv. Undertake a gender appraisal of rural transport programmes along the project cycle.
- v. Identify opportunities for scaling up good gender mainstreaming practices in the context of rural transport.

2.2 Significance of the Research/Relevance to the National Rural Transport Sector

Governments all over the world recognise the potential benefits of committing to gender mainstreaming. The Ghana government is no exception and has accordingly adopted a gender policy framework which is all-embracing and aims at ensuring gender equality through access to productive resources such as land, labour, technology, capital/finance, and information. Currently, the Labour Intensive Public Works programme undertaken by the Ministry of Local Government is lauded as providing seasonal employment to 53,588 females, representing 57.9% of beneficiaries (Ministry of Gender and Children and Social Protection, 2015). It is, however, noteworthy that national level commitment to gender mainstreaming does not always result in gains that trickle down to the various sectors and sub-sectors of the economy. In fact, existing evidence suggests that commitment to gender mainstreaming at the national level does not necessarily tackle gender inequalities in the rural transport sector. For gender mainstreaming efforts to be effective, they must be targeted, take cognisance of the policy environment, and they must be incorporated into rural roads programmes at various levels of planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Table 1 highlights some of the key national gender equality indicators in Ghana.

The rural transport sector in Ghana continues to receive investment mainly from government and donor sources. Some of the donor investments go to fund pilot projects which often end up as boutique projects because of the lack of sustainability and replication plans. This case study aims to examine the scalability potential of the NRPIS.

2.3 An Overview of Gender Statistics for Ghana

A gender responsive national policy environment can contribute to closing gaps in many elements of gender inequality. Gender indices are important instruments in helping establish normative standards that allow comparison over time and across different countries. Table 1 provides a view of gender indicators for Ghana, drawing from both international and national sources. Many legal and policy instruments have been developed in Ghana to guarantee gender equality and freedom of all categories of persons including women, men, boys and girls. In spite of this, Ghana's gender policy acknowledges that there are still deeply rooted inequalities in its social systems. Policies and laws may not always translate into action; however, they are important landmarks on the road from advocacy to action.

Ghana's performance on OECD's Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) shows a high level of inequality. SIGI is a 160-country measure of discrimination against women in social institutions, covering several dimensions of inequality. Similarly, Ghana ranks 59 out of 144 countries on the Global Gender Gap Index that seeks to measure the relative gaps between women and men across four key areas: health, education, economy and politics (WEF, 2016). The national indices show major gender inequalities in respect of employment, political representation at both sub-national and national levels as well as in number of hours spent on domestic related work. In these cases, women are in a position of disadvantage

Table 1: Key National Gender Equality Indicators

Key indicator	Source ¹	Year	Score	Rank	Total Ranked
Social Institutions and Gender Index	OECD	2014	0.2988	High	160
Global Gender Gap Index	World Economic Forum	2016	0.705	59	144
Gender Inequality Index	UNDP	2015	0.547	131	188
NATIONAL INDICATORS					
Key indicator	Source ²	Year	F	M	National
Demographic					
Population [millions]	Population and Housing Census	2010	12,633,978	12,024,845	
Population [%]	Population and housing census	2010	51.2	48.8	
Headship of households [%]	Ghana Demographic and Health Survey	2014	37.1	62.9	
Education					
Proportion with no formal schooling [%]	Ghana Demographic and Health Survey	2014	19	9	
Total primary school enrolment [millions]	Annual Schools Census Report [GSS]	2014	2,009,695	2,096,218	
Literacy rates of persons aged 10 and above [%] (11 years above was used)	Population and Housing Census	2010	48.2	51.8	
Adult literacy rates [18 and above - %] (15 and above was used)	Population and Housing Census	2010	34.2	65.8	

¹ i.e. Demographic Health Survey [DHS], National Household Survey [NHS], Population Census, Statistical Abstract, National Service Delivery Survey (NSDS)

² i.e. Demographic Health Survey [DHS], National Household Survey [NHS], Population Census, Statistical Abstract,

used)						
Health						
Maternal mortality rate [per 100,000 live births]	World Health Statistics			2016	319	
Infant mortality rate [per 1000 live births]	Ghana Demographic and Health Survey			2014	41	
Under five Under-five mortality rate [per 1000 live births]	Ghana Demographic and Health Survey			2014	60	
Incidence of illness rural areas [%]						
Incidence of illness Under-fives [%]						
HIV and AIDS prevalence among 15-49-year-olds [%]	Ghana Demographic and Health Survey			2014	2.8	1.1
Women who make at least 4 antenatal care visits [%]	World Economic Forum			2016	87.3	
Births which occur in a health facility [%]	Ghana Demographic and Health Survey			2014	73	
Births which occur in a health facility in rural areas [%]	Ghana Demographic and Health Survey			2014	59.1	
Births delivered by a trained health professional [%]	Ghana Demographic and Health Survey			2014	74	
Births delivered by a traditional birth attendant [%]	Ghana Demographic and Health Survey			2014	16.2	
Women receiving postpartum care [%]	Ghana Demographic and Health Survey			2014	81	
National met need for EmOC [emergency obstetric care] - %	Ghana Emergency Obstetric and Newborn Care Report			2011	17	
Contraceptive prevalence rate [%] (modern or traditional) figure is both	Ghana Demographic and Health Survey			2014	26.7	
Total fertility rate [children per woman]	Ghana Demographic and Health Survey			2014	4.2	
Total fertility rate rural areas [children per woman]	Ghana Demographic and Health Survey			2014	5.1	
Level of teenage pregnancy [%]	Ghana Demographic and Health Survey			2014	14.2	
Sexual and Gender Based Violence						
Women aged 15-49 who have ever experienced physical violence since age 15 [%]	Domestic Violence in Ghana: Incidence, Attitudes, Determinants and Coincidence			2016	44.5	
Women aged 15-49 who have ever experienced sexual violence [%]	Domestics Violence in Ghana: Incidence, Attitudes, Determinants and Coincidence			2016	33.6	
Employment and Land Ownership						
Proportion of labour force [%]	Ghana Living Standard Survey 6: Labour force report			2014	62.5	64
Labour force participation [%]	Ghana Living Standard Survey 6: Labour force report			2014	94.7	95.3

Unemployment rates [%]	Ghana Living Standard Survey 6: Labour force report	2014	5.3	4.7	
Time-related underemployment rates [%]					
Proportion employed in the agricultural sector [%]	Ghana Living Standard Survey 6: Labour force report	2014	43.9	46.9	
Ownership of registered land [%] (check 15 to 59 was excluded since that of the women included 15 to 49 only)	Ghana Demographic and Health Survey	2014	24	32.6	
Political Participation and Representation					
Representation in national legislature [%]	World Economic Forum	2016	11	89	116
Representation in sub national legislature [%]	Boateng and Kosi (2015)	2010	7.95	92.05	6093
Time Use					
Average time spent on work in rural areas [hrs/week]					
Average time spent on economic activities in rural areas [min/day]	Ghana Statistical Service: Ghana Time Use Survey	2009	254	329	
Average time spent on care activities in rural areas [hrs/week]					
Average waiting time at water source [minutes]					
Household member who normally fetches drinking water [%]	GLSS	2014	63.5	35.1	50.4
Household member who normally collects firewood [%]	GLSS	2014	30.2	15.1	23.2
Average time spent on fetching water [minutes/day]	GLSS	2014	22.9	16.6	17.2
Average time spent on collecting firewood [minutes/day]	GLSS	2014	23.7	19.8	21.8
Average time spent on cooking [hours/day]	GLSS	2014	47.8	28.8	41.5
Average time spent on taking care of children [minutes/day]	GLSS	2014	46.8	31.9	43.2
Average time spent on taking care of the elderly [minutes/day]	GLSS	2014	34.6	27.8	30.1
Average income of household head rural [currency]					

3 Methodology

3.1 Scope

The Ghana case study examined the following issues:

- Ghana's gender policy environment;
- Monitoring tools, indicators and targets that had been used in the Transport Rehabilitation Programme II;

- The successes and weaknesses of these tools;
- Identifying ways of improving these tools;
- Identifying factors that can lead successful scaling up of gender mainstreaming;
- Gender tools used in on-going rural transport programmes.

3.2 Approach

The study used a qualitative framework to analyse various stages of the TRP 2 project cycle from project identification, design and implementation through to monitoring and evaluation. All five sub-components of the project were evaluated to ascertain its success in achieving gender mainstreaming objectives. To facilitate the assessment of the national gender policy environment a total of 24 policy, legislative, regulatory documents and appraisal manuals were reviewed. Relevant gender equality and women empowerment perspectives contained in these documents were reviewed and conclusions on their gender sensitivity or otherwise drawn. Specifically, the documents were perused to establish if they acknowledged gender inequalities; included gender objectives and gender sensitive indicators, provided for the collection of sex and gender disaggregated data; included proven gender strategies/activities or had indications of resource allocations for the implementation of prioritised gender strategies contained in the documents.

Key informant interviews were conducted with various actors in the sector including representatives from Government institutions such as the Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Roads and Highways and the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection. Key respondents from allied departments and agencies of these Ministries, such as the Department of Feeder Roads and Ghana Highways Authority were also interviewed. Others such as on-going rural transport project management units, development partners, the private sector as well as civil society organisations also gave quality insights into achievements, challenges and lessons learnt in gender mainstreaming in rural transport programmes in Ghana. In all, a total of 12 Key informant interviews were conducted.

3.3 Limitations

The major limitation to the conduct of this study is the lapsed period between the end of TRP2 and the writing of this report. The programme ended in 1993 and the poor archiving system at some government institutions made it difficult to access relevant documents on the TRP2. The study, therefore, leant heavily on World Bank documents and supplemented it with interviews with key personnel who were with the Department of Feeder Roads at the time of the programme. However, contact with direct beneficiaries of the project was not feasible due to the time lapse.

4 National Gender Policy and Institutional Environment

4.1 Constitutional Provisions on Gender Equality and Women's Rights

Ghana's 1992 Constitution under Article 17(1) and (2) guarantees gender equality and freedom of all categories of persons including women, men, boys and girls from any form of discrimination on the grounds of their social or economic status among others. In spite of this, Ghana's gender policy acknowledges that there are still deeply rooted inequalities in its social systems, manifesting in several areas of concern, even though the nation has made quite some gains in gender equality and its women's empowerment drive (MoGCSP, 2015). Policies and laws may not always translate into action; however, they are important landmarks on the road from advocacy to action. Thus, mapping the national gender policy landscape provides vital information on progress or otherwise of gender mainstreaming activities at the national level. This study mapped the gender policy landscape in Ghana by conducting a comprehensive content analysis of available policy document and laws in Ghana.

4.2 Gender Dimensions of the Overarching National Policy Framework

One of the indicators used to assess inequalities employed by this study is men's relative to women's time use and women's time poverty. Time use has been one of the proven gender inequality indicators used in research, monitoring and evaluation globally (Ferrant, 2015; Sayer, 2016). Time use and the related concept of time poverty is especially useful in transport planning and gender studies because it reveals empirical linkages between gender, time use, power, and individual behaviour across societies (Sayer, 2016). Recent time use surveyors point to a gaping global gender time use gap, even in countries where gender equality is deemed to have been achieved (Arora, 2015; Blackden and Wodon, 2006; Ghana Statistical Service, 2014c; Hagqvist et al 2016; Sayer, 2016). The Sub-Saharan situation is perhaps the worst with wide disparities in men's relative to women's time use (Blackden and Wodon, 2006). Thus, progress towards gender mainstreaming may be monitored using aspects of men's relative to women's time use. An aspect of men's relative to women's time use used in this study is the extent of policy recognition. Although not an end in itself, policy recognition is an official acknowledgement of a problem/issue and a good measure for societal impact (Bornmann, Haunschild, and Marx, 2016).

Only three out of the 24 documents reviewed in this study makes direct or indirect mention of men's relative to women's time use or women's time poverty. The three documents are the National Gender Policy (Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, 2015); Ghana National Employment Policy (Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations, 2014) and the Medium-Term National Development Policy Framework: Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda II, 2014-2017 (National Development Planning Commission, 2014). Interestingly, the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA) makes the most copious mention of men's relative to women's time use or women's time poverty. The policy framework asserts that the provision of care largely by women (as unpaid work), has implications for their labour force participation and economic development at large. This is supported by the National Gender Policy which makes indirect but evidence-based mention of the issue. It acknowledges that over 84% of the Ghanaian active female population are considered to be engaged in vulnerable employment, meaning unpaid family work or own account work. The GSGDA further attributes the high poverty rates among females to lower literacy rates, heavier time burdens, lower access to productive resources, and weak implementation strategies of Government policies on women's economic empowerment. Under policy thrust 7 of the GSGDA policy framework, one of the identified challenges against the objective of safeguarding the security, safety and protection of the rights of the vulnerable in society, especially the girl-child and women, include time and mobility limitations of female members.

It was also refreshing to have men's relative to women's time use mentioned in the Ghana National Employment Policy of 2014, where reference is made as to how the low participation of women in formal employment is mainly due to challenges relating to female reproductive and domestic roles and responsibilities among others (Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations, 2014). However, the lack of mention in the National Labour Act (NLA) 2003 (Act 651) is worrying, and more disappointing is the fact that none of the transport sector documents mentions the issue.

Gender inequalities in ownership and access to resources are well known. Whereas gender gaps in land ownership and other agricultural related resources are the most talked about, gender gaps in access to labour, capital, knowledge, and markets are equally significant (Bornmann et al, 2016; Oduro, 2015; Peterman et al, 2014). As a proven indicator of gender inequality, policy references to gender differences in resource ownership could be an important gauge of progress towards gender mainstreaming. However, only three out of the documents reviewed for this study referred to gender differences in resource ownership. The National Gender Policy, for instance, acknowledges the challenges women face in their bid to access capital and trade. Other parts of the document

mention how the patriarchal inheritance system and customary rites negatively affects women's prospects of owning resources. The Integrated Transport Plan (ITP) for Ghana 2011-2015 (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2010) is the only transport-related document that makes mention of gender differences in resource ownership by pointing up to the fact that disparities between genders continue to exist with respect to access to and control of productive, human capital and social capital assets (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2010).

Another area of interest this study explored was the extent to which policy and laws in Ghana acknowledge restrictions on women's decision-making powers. Apart from being a good indicator for gender mainstreaming monitoring and evaluation, women's decision-making power has empirical relationships with several factors at the household, community and national levels (Ademe and Singh, 2005; Cunningham et al, 2015; Doss, 2013; O'Neil and Domingo, 2015). Thus, policy mention of restricted women's decision-making power is crucial not only for gender mainstreaming activities but for national development as a whole. Sadly, only two of the documents reviewed mentioned restricted women's decision-making power. The Decentralisation Policy Framework (Ministry of Local Government, 2010) laments the lack of an enabling environment to support women's participation in local government. The National Gender Policy also acknowledges this gender gap in decision-making power (in pages 8 and 42 of the policy document). It admits that there still exist issues of gender inequalities in critical areas including macroeconomic issues covering trade, industry structures and productive resources, regardless of progress already made. It blames these overarching inequalities on "the patriarchal structure of some societies in Ghana, systemic male domination and female subordination, socio-cultural and discriminatory institutions and structures" which "restrict women (including the marginalised and the vulnerable) from access to equal opportunities including productive resources, such as land, credit, education and training opportunities among other support systems" (Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, 2015:40). It explains that "the customary law considers property as a family asset to be administered by the family head, who is usually a man and as a result, women's access to land and to agricultural inputs is relatively poor. This partly has roots in an inheritance system that is largely based on patrilineal systems emanating from patriarchal societies". The policy again notes that, in spite of this line of inheritance, "to some extent, women in matrilineal communities do inherit land from either their female ancestors or fathers" (ibid: 43).

The gender gap in transport burdens is wide but seems obscured in Ghana's policy frameworks. This obscurity is unfortunate because apart from being important in its own right, transportation has vital empirical links with other gender indicators such as time use, decision-making power and resource ownership (Calvo, 1994). Analysis of available documents confirmed the obscurity of women's, relative to men's, transport burden in Ghana as well. The issue had only two policy mentions in the ITP and the GSGDA II. The ITP acknowledges that human portage is mainly practised by women. It, however, sees the bicycle as a relatively affordable means of transport, which has the potential of increasing mobility at a lower cost as its loading capabilities can be a substitute for human portage, which is mainly practised by women (ITP, 2010: 73). There is, however, evidence to suggest otherwise. For instance, Salifu (1994) raises economic, social, cultural, technological and environmental reasons for the inability of bicycles and trailers introduced in the northern region to reduce head portage. He is supported by Porter (2003) who reiterates that the capital cost of purchase tends to limit ownership of bicycles, especially among poorer populations. Moreover, Porter's (2003) study revealed that bicycles were perceived more as a mode of personal travel rather than as a potential load carrying IMT.

The travel patterns of women differ from that of men in many respects: mode choice, mean distance, side trips, frequency and many others (Elias et al, 2015; Katz, 2014; Adetunji, 2013; Porter, 2011). Although further studies will be required to thoroughly explore the empirical linkages in Sub-

Saharan Africa, these differences are known to be strongly linked to the household structure and more recently employment situation of women in high-income countries (Nobis and Lenz, 2005). Thus, changing household structures in Africa could also change the women's relative to men travel pattern. This indicator, therefore, does not merely tell variability in travel pattern but most importantly, it serves as a window into gender issues at the household level and at work. In rural areas of developing countries, irrespective of continent, Uteng (2011) outlines three broad categories of travel patterns which include domestic travel (fetching of water and collection of fuel wood etc.), agricultural travel (trips to and from farms, supply and marketing trips, etc.) and travel for access to services and social purposes. Though Ghana has a repository of data on these patterns from the Ghana Living Standards Survey, including time used in performing these tasks by men, women and children, none of the policy documents specifically makes reference to women's relative to men's travel patterns which to a large extent shape Ghana's transport policy framework.

The difference in the transport needs of men and women cannot be over-emphasised. It is noteworthy that the observed gender differences in travel behaviour emanate from the fundamental differences in the transportation needs of women relative to men. Thus, the acknowledgement of this gender difference in transport needs in Ghanaian policy documents and laws is an important first-step towards gender mainstreaming in the transport sector. This notwithstanding, only one policy (NTP) makes an indirect reference to this. This transport policy indicates its backing for regulations aimed at ensuring that markets are fair, efficient, orderly, and non-corrupt; and to ensure that the needs of the customers are met by safeguarding the interests of the users and private sector operators while preventing discrimination against women, children, the aged and physically challenged (Ministry of Transport, 2008: 25). The policy, therefore, does not make a direct reference to differences in transport needs between women and men but acknowledges the need to tailor transport services to meet the needs of customers in a regulated environment.

Women's safe access is impeded by fears of personal safety and this is subsequently influenced by factors such as time of travel, reliability of transport and choice of mode. Studies have shown that the further women travel, the greater their obligation to travel with an escort (FIA Foundation, 2015). Safe travel is a key element in promoting women's mobility, especially considering their higher transport burden. Where safe travel is absent, it tends to hinder women's participation in many activities and perpetuate the existing male dominance in society. A key area of concern to female travellers is freedom from sexual harassment and this has been observed in both developed and developing countries like the UK, Egypt, Netherlands and Brazil (ActionAid, 2016; FIA Foundation, 2015; Uteng, 2011). Ghana's National Gender Policy acknowledges inequalities between women and men in sharing of power and decision-making at all levels and in dealing with all kinds of conflicts, insecurities and threats on women. Unfortunately direct mention of sexual and gender-based violence on public transport and in the provision of transport infrastructure projects is conspicuously missing in both the National Gender Policy and the National Transport Policies regardless of indications that women are more likely to be targets of sexual assaults related to transport provision and delivery systems (Uteng, 2011). The Domestic Violence Act (2007) is stipulated as an Act to provide protection from domestic violence, particularly for women and children. It focuses on physical abuse, including physical assault or use of physical force against another person including sexual assault, the forcible confinement or detention of another person and the deprivation of another person of access to adequate food, water, clothing, shelter, rest, or subjecting another person to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. The Act as expected is, therefore, more general in its approach in addressing the issue of violence against women and not sector specific.

4.3 Institutional Mechanisms for Mainstreaming Gender Equality

4.3.1 National Gender Policy

The National Gender Policy of 2015 aims at mainstreaming gender equality and women's empowerment into the nation's development effort. This it hopes to achieve by improving the social, legal, civic, political, economic and socio-cultural conditions of its people, targeting women, girls, children, the vulnerable and people with special needs; persons with disabilities and the marginalised. It replaced the 2004 *National Gender and Children Policy* developed by the erstwhile Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC). It clearly identifies Inequalities between women and men in sharing of power and decision-making at all levels and in dealing with all kinds of conflicts and insecurities and threats on women (Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, 2015). The policy also acknowledges the need to draw men and boys into attempts at removing systematic socio-cultural practices that slow down women's empowerment and at ending violence against women and girls. Though developed to promote gender equality and women's empowerment, the policy is structured to be complementary in the implementation of Social Protection strategies.

4.3.2 Ministry of Gender/Women

The Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (MoGCSP) was created in January 2013 pursuant to an executive instrument. Its creation placed social protection and welfare within mainstream governmental policy direction alongside issues of gender and children, thus expanding the mandate of the Ministry. This was expressive of the government's vision of creating an all-inclusive society employing the provision of sustainable mechanisms for the protection of persons living in situations of extreme poverty, vulnerability and exclusion. The creation of the Ministry which replaced MoWAC has been seen as offering a great opportunity to lead on the agenda for reprioritising fundamental issues on social protection in the policy arena and relevant public policy frameworks at the levels of governance (MoGCSP, 2015).

Development partners lauded the MoGCSP on its achievements in mainstreaming gender in the country. They believed the first step in achieving its goal was the restructuring of the Ministry (which was formerly called the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs) as the Ministry for Gender, Children and Social Protection. Furthermore, the creation of gender focal points in the various MDAs helped actualise gender mainstreaming goals within government institutions. Sharing successes achieved by the MoGCSP, an Assistant Programmes Officer with the Ministry listed four key gender areas the Ministry was working on and which had recorded considerable progress. These, unfortunately, did not explicitly mention transport, although it is implied. The areas of progress listed was poor access to education, health, governance and economic empowerment. In terms of access to education, she reiterated that enrolment of girls in primary schools is gradually achieving parity even though the issue of retention of girls in school is still a key challenge. This is because more girls drop off the academic ladder as they move from the primary to secondary school levels. With health, issues of maternal mortality, fistula and some cultural practices that injure women's health such as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) are still being battled with as issues that generally affect the health of women.

The representation of women in governance was brought up by the respondent as particularly discouraging with only 37 out of 275 parliamentarians being women. However, it is still considered as an improvement in women's representation, albeit marginal (with 11% women in the previous parliament compared to 13% in current parliament).

".....Someone will say that it is insignificant but for me, I think that though it is small we are moving forward and we are not going backwards. In 2008, we moved back

but I think that if we move at this pace or increase this pace in our next election, we will be getting to the 30% mark we have set for ourselves”- Assistant Programmes Officer, Department of Women, Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (MoGCSP).

Over the years, the MoGCSP has rolled out and supported the implementation of some social interventions such as the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP), the free registration of the vulnerable on to the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) and the enrollment of elderly persons on to the Eban Welfare Card³.

4.3.3 Gender focal point mechanism in sectors and local/provincial governments

As part of the government’s drive to institutionalise gender mainstreaming, it encouraged the setting up of Gender Focal Points (GFPs) in all its Ministries, Departments or Agencies (MDAs) under the supervision of the MoGCSP. Gender focal persons are nominated by the Human Resource Departments. The basis on which such persons are nominated is not clear. However, they are mostly women engaged in other primary functions within their respective MDAs. The role of a gender focal person is therefore seen as an added responsibility, which does not come with additional remuneration. Furthermore, they only play active roles when issues of gender are brought to the fore, ranging from attending workshops organised by the MoGCSP to solving problems that occur within their jurisdiction which have gendered dimensions. The primary role of gender focal persons is to serve as a dual-carriage conduit for implementing government’s policies and strategies and reporting gender-based grievances to management. In all cases, these focal persons continue to perform their primary duties to which they are employed. In the two Transport Ministries and its affiliate agencies, all focal persons are professionally qualified engineers who perform their primary function as such. Their role as engineers often dwarfs their role as gender focal persons. Apart from occasional workshops organised by the MoGCSP, focal points within the transport sector are mostly dormant. Some key persons in the sector were oblivious of the gender focal point and their impact on their MDAs.

Perhaps the lack of a dedicated budget to run activities strongly accounts for the almost dormant status of gender focal points. For instance, one of the focal persons bemoaned the lack of dedicated budget and the on-demand approach to funding activities. However, she also emphasised that most males in top management positions are quite keen on ensuring a women-friendly working environment and therefore support women, citing key experiences over the years. The focal person emphasised that the dual role they play as GFPs in addition to their primary designations may be a major factor hampering the effective execution of their duties as GFPs.

“... I will say no I am not adequately resourced. Sometimes when programmes or workshops are being organised outside the Department, the (Department) will sponsor me but we don’t have a dedicated budget for gender issues. Maybe because I am an engineer and my primary designation is something different (Gender focal point is not my main course of duty), I only get to come in when the need arises”- GFP and Engineer.

Perhaps the appointment of dedicated GFP with a well-defined portfolio and an accompanying budget line would be an effective way of enhancing gender equality in the various MDAs.

³ The "EBAN" Elderly Welfare Card provides quick services to persons 65 years and above at hospitals, banks, public transport and other public places.

4.4 Gender Responsiveness of the National Operational Framework

An examination of the *Medium-Term National Development Policy Framework: Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA II) 2014-2017* reveals a document that heavily leans on gender mainstreaming for policy direction. It agrees that the provision of care largely by women, as unpaid work, has implications for their labour force participation and economic development at large. It further identifies that poverty among women continues to be high due to lingering issues such as lower literacy rates, heavier time burdens, lower access to productive resources and, often times, weak implementation strategies of government's policies of women's economic empowerment (2015: 134). It, however, posits that the upsurge in micro-finance institutions has helped narrow gaps in gender inequalities in access to credit especially in the informal sector where women dominate. The framework identifies other challenges faced by women as the prevalence of sex discrimination and perceived harassment, management of multiple roles, socio-cultural, time and mobility limitations (ibid, 2015:153). It also touches on women's relative to men's transport burden, placing emphasis on the fact that in many households in the rural areas, people rely on biomass (primarily wood fuels and charcoal) for cooking, and oftentimes women and children are burdened with the collection of wood fuels and charcoal. The policy framework seems to capture the Ghanaian situation so well when it indicates that even though there is an increasing awareness about the rights of vulnerable people, persistent social attitudes towards children, women, ageing and disability and weak enforcement of laws protecting their rights, deny them the full benefits of policies and legislative reforms.

In its aim to advance good governance in the medium term, the policy framework seeks to advance policy interventions which focuses on gender equity and women's empowerment among others. In the energy sector for example, the framework is structured to mainstream gender concerns into the sector and align them with proper health, safety and environmental standards. Some of the strategies set out to ensure this objective is achieved includes support to capacity development of women in the energy sector; promotion of increased access to modern forms of energy by women in order to reduce the tedium in their activities; ensuring participation of women in the formulation and implementation of energy sector interventions; and ensuring that concerns of women and children are taken into account in every aspect of energy production and distribution.

Another objective in the policy framework is to promote gender equality and equity in political, social and economic development systems and outcomes. It aims further to safeguard the security, safety and protection of the rights of the vulnerable in society, especially girl children and women; to promote women's equal access to economic opportunity and resources and integrate gender considerations at all stages and in all dimensions of data production. Issues identified by the policy framework that could possibly derail the achievement of this objective are:

- The lack of national commitment to eliminate gender-based inequalities;
- Low recognition of gender equity in the public sector (public sphere);
- Lack of gender responsive budgeting; inadequate representation of women and their participation in public life and governance; and
- Insufficient procedures and tools to monitor progress.

Promoting women's equal access to economic opportunity and economic resources, including property, is also designated an objective in the policy. It sets out to improve access to affordable and timely justice. Key strategies devised to achieve this objective include increasing the number and improving the quality of court infrastructure and further, implementing gender policy to increase access to justice of women and vulnerable groups. Another key objective outlined in the MTF is the promotion of an effective integration of gender considerations at all stages and in all dimensions of data production and creation of statistical knowledge. This is to ensure availability of timely, reliable

and disaggregated data for policy-making and planning. Strategies to be implemented to ensure this objective is achieved cover conducting relevant gender-sensitive research or social surveys for monitoring and evaluating progress on social inclusion; establishing and maintaining an integrated database of registered potential beneficiaries of social protection interventions; and optimising the use of administrative systems for collation, analysis, and dissemination of pertinent information on targeted segments of the population.

4.4.1 Gender equality in decentralisation

The National Decentralisation Policy Framework (NDPF, 2010) also recognises the insufficient systematic support provided to ensure the growth and participation of women alongside their male counterparts in local governance and development. It, therefore, sees the need to develop a conscious strategy to mainstream gender and to build Assembly capacity for gender mainstreaming. This is deemed most appropriate in areas of planning and budgeting as well as collaborating with women's groups and associations. The framework also aims at promoting a rights-based orientation to local development, ensuring equitable access to public resources and inclusiveness in decision-making. The framework further demands that District Assemblies (DAs) take on board issues of education, health, water and sanitation, women's rights and gender issues, children's issues, young people's issues, disability issues, people living with HIV/AIDS, human rights observance and poverty reduction interventions (NDPF, 2010: 14). Ghana's NDPF sets out to promote women's participation in local governance through relevant public education and affirmative action to ensure a critical mass of women in assembly administration (ibid, 23). The policy framework also advocates for promoting gender responsive planning and budgeting at the district level with appropriate capacity-building support. The Local Government Act of 2016 (Act 936) on its part provides a clause which mandates DAs to protect marginalised groups from discrimination of any kind, including discrimination based on language, religion, culture, national or social origin, gender, birth, descent or other status. It also directs them to sponsor the education of students from the district to fill particular labour needs of the district especially in the social sectors of education and health, making sure that the sponsorship is fairly and equitably balanced between male and female students. The Act further stipulates the institution of special measures of affirmative action for marginalised and minority groups to ensure they enjoy equal rights with the rest of the population.

4.4.2 Gender equality in employment/labour policy and legislation

The Ghana National Employment Policy (2014) recognises that participation of women in the formal sector of the economy has historically been low. It attributes this to challenges relating to female reproductive and domestic roles and responsibilities as well as gender imbalances associated with opportunities in education and professional training. The policy further identifies unfavourable working conditions for women and unassertiveness on the part of some women as challenges that need to be addressed (2014: 20).

The policy primarily focuses on addressing the employment situation and dealing with decent work deficits, targeting vulnerable groups, youth, women and persons with disabilities (PWD). It also aims at providing a framework for accelerated job creation through sustainable growth in all sectors of the economy. The framework is also expected to provide strategic direction to reduce unemployment among these groups including early exiters from school and graduates. The policy further promises to pursue measures for improving gender equity in employment to enhance women's access to productive employment opportunities and provide special assistance for the development of women's entrepreneurship. Others include improving their access to credit, providing them with adequate institutional support, removing cultural inhibitions, and providing them practical management training to become successful business women and effective role models in society (ibid, 2014:37).

In order to provide a friendly working environment, the framework aims at implementing specific measures and standards to protect the health of employed women during and after pregnancy. It also mentions the evolution of an efficient system for generating relevant, reliable and timely quantitative and qualitative gender-disaggregated information.

The National Labour Act of 2003 (Act 651) on its part prohibits restrictive conditions of employment as it clearly states that an employer shall not discriminate against a person on the grounds of gender, race, colour, ethnic origin, religion, creed, social or economic status, disability or politics (2003:14e). In addition, these conditions listed cannot form the basis of dismissal of a worker by an employer. The Act specifically mentions pregnant women and indicates that, unless with the employee's consent, an employer shall not assign or deploy an employee who is pregnant or nursing a child below 8 months to do any night duty or overtime [55(1)]. Furthermore, a female employee cannot be dismissed for getting pregnant or taking maternity leave. The Act again forbids employers to assign pregnant employees to a post outside their place of residence after fourth month of pregnancy, if the assignment is deemed to be detrimental to their health or that of the foetus [56(1)]. Other clauses mentioned in the Act covering pregnant employees include:

- i. A woman worker, on production of a medical certificate issued by a medical practitioner or a midwife indicating the expected date of her confinement, is entitled to a period of maternity leave of at least twelve weeks in addition to any period of annual leave she is entitled after her period of confinement. (57:1)
- ii. A woman worker on maternity leave is entitled to be paid her full remuneration and other benefits to which she is otherwise entitled (57:2).
- iii. The period of maternity leave may be extended for at least two additional weeks where the confinement is abnormal or where, in the course of the same confinement, two or more babies are born (57:3).
- iv. Where an illness, medically certified by a medical practitioner, is due to her pregnancy, the woman worker is entitled to additional leave as certified by the medical practitioner (57:4).
- v. Where an illness, medically certified by a medical practitioner, is due to her confinement the woman worker is entitled to an extension of the leave after confinement as certified by the medical practitioner (57:5)
- vi. A nursing mother is entitled to interrupt her work for an hour during her working hours to nurse her baby (57:6).
- vii. Interruptions of work by a nursing mother for the purpose of nursing her baby shall be treated as working hours and paid for accordingly (57:7).
- viii. An employer shall not dismiss a woman worker because of her absence from work on maternity leave (57:8).

Another gendered issue covered by the Act includes the directive that the employer provides separate, sufficient and suitable toilet and washing facilities and adequate facilities for the storage, changing, drying and cleansing from contamination of clothing for male and female workers [118 (2F)]. The Act also addresses issues on sexual harassment within the general employment environment.

4.4.3 Gender equality in strategic investment planning

Ghana's investment in transport for the past five years has been guided by the "Integrated Transport Plan for Ghana" document. "The plan utilises integrated economic and transport planning methodology to identify investment priorities based on future development on transport". However,

this plan only makes a brief statement about gender. The section dedicated to gender (section 4.1.4) comprises the four sentences below:

“Disparities between genders continue to exist with respect to access to and control of productive, human capital and social capital assets. In the road sector, there are a number of women working as engineers in the MRT and its agencies. Some women are also heading contractor companies. A large number of women work as labourers on road works”. (ITP, 2015: 73-203)

The plan touched on women’s relative to men’s transport burden and highlighted the potential role of IMTs/NMTs in eradicating human portage which has principally been women and children’s burden in most rural areas. It notes that bicycles, as a relatively affordable option, can increase mobility at a lower cost. Moreover, their loading capabilities could be used in order to replace human portage (ITP, 2011: 73). Taking cognizance of the potential cultural barriers IMTs/NMTs may face in some communities, the ITP planned public education campaigns and help to women to buy bicycles with micro-credit or subsidies.

On women’s restricted employment opportunities in the sector, the plan identifies that a number of women, though few, work in the road sector as engineers whilst others occupy managerial positions. However, a larger number of them work as labourers on road works. One of the key objectives of the ITP is to “create a well-regulated market for the provision of transport and infrastructure services which is: fair, efficient, orderly, and non-corrupt; that meets the needs of customers; safeguards the interests of the users and private sector operators; and prevents discrimination against women, children, the aged and physically challenged (NTP Goals 2, 4 and 5; Pg. 145-146)”. In all, the ITP aimed at highlighting gender mainstreaming in the transportation system by incorporating gender analysis into all transport planning so that gender impact is studied before project implementation (ITP, 2011: 211). The plan, however, does not show resource allocations attached to these objectives but gives indications of possible government financing towards achieving the set goals.

On the other hand, the Transport Sector Medium Term Development Plan (TSMTDP) which spans from 2014-2017 is less gender responsive. The only mention of gender mainstreaming in the sector can be found in pages 54 and 72 and these basically note the importance of the development of adequate skilled human resource base whilst continuing to promote women’s participation in the transport sector service delivery. The ITP and TSMTDP do not explicitly mention the acquisition of sex-disaggregated data but the transport sector management system does.

5 Situation Analysis of Gender Equality in the Context of Rural Transport

5.1 Key Actors’ Perceptions of the Gender Dimensions of Transport

As clearly noted in the Gender Policy, the “lack of professional knowledge and skill on gender causes conceptual clumsiness, and it is a key accountability challenge in the sector” (2015:40). Generally, key players in the transport sector had a reasonable understanding of the gender landscape of the country. On progress made on mainstreaming gender as a nation, there were mixed reactions, even though most had a positive outlook. Some respondents expressed worry over the tweaking of gender issues to focus only on women while other social classes of people were completely ignored. They noted that the issue of gender empowerment seems to be restricted to women’s empowerment with other vulnerable populations virtually left out of the discourse. According to one respondent, it appeared to him that Ghanaians are yet to understand the concept of gender equality. He sees it as often portrayed as:

“... the need to discriminate against a particular group of persons in order to bring up another group of people perceived as weak”- Independent Road Consultant

He regretted that certain inequality issues are presented as “forcing somebody to be where the person is not fit to be”, therefore misrepresenting what gender equality actually sets out to achieve. From his point of view very little has been achieved as a nation in their attempt to mainstream gender. Another stakeholder, however, holds an optimistic impression of Ghana’s efforts at gender mainstreaming:

“I think that it is something that has gone on for a while and it is still evolving and I think that the country is embracing it. There is the need to make sure that all social groups are fairly taken care of. Now in Ghana, most people have heard of gender equality. Mainly, it’s about making sure that all social groups are fairly taken care of and given the opportunity to everything.” – Principal Engineer, MRH.

Another respondent reiterated the need to work harder to achieve parity especially in the transport sector where the prevailing socio-cultural environment sometimes imposes an impregnable glass ceiling for women. This task of achieving gender parity is made more daunting for women, especially in an unsupportive environment where senior management often perceive woman as subservient to men.

There was a call by some stakeholders on the need to maintain the balance in advocacy by focusing on neglected groups such as persons without formal education. Their sentiments are summed up by this respondent:

“I think that the issue of gender empowerment is widely used/integrated in major issues in Ghana but more needs to be done in terms of the folks who are not educated. We are basically talking about educating the female child and bringing about other initiatives but what about those who have not had the opportunity to be educated? How are they being assisted to address these issues? I know that they do it in other areas but when you go to the rural area, there are women who we are doing nothing to help and do not form part of these groups we focus on. So how are we dealing with them to also empower them and bring them to higher level? There is still a gap somewhere in making sure that gender equality and women empowerment is fully achieved in what has been done so far.” - Chief Engineer, Ghana Highway Authority.

Economically, women in Ghana seem to be less empowered than men. The NGP (MoT, 2015), acknowledges the lower number of women in formal sector employment where poverty is low. However, women dominate the private informal sector and non-farm self-employment where earnings are relatively low resulting in a bias against women when poverty is seen through the lens of gender. In most cases, the capital set up for their business cannot be compared to that of men who are in the same business. In the rural transport sector, stakeholders decried the dominance of males in almost all spheres. They highlighted the fact that most artisans, engineers and contractors are males. This is not only evidenced in the participation of women in the building of road infrastructure but also very visible in the participation of women in the provision of rural transport services. This they blamed on the socio-cultural environment operating in the country. Their frustrations seemed to be summed up by a transport operator who plies between an urban and rural area:

“When you look at Ghana in general and Cape Coast in particular, I have never seen a female drive a taxi. I have used this Jukwa route for the past 2 years and I have

never seen a female drive a taxi on this route before. On this account, I will say that gender equality is non-existent.....Let's look at how females are natured from birth. Females are trained to cook and asked not to engage in activities which are deemed to be done by males and this is one point that hinders the females from matching their male counterparts at all levels" – Male Transport Operator.

Some stakeholders blamed the inability of women to participate in rural transport infrastructure, on their avoidance of science and mathematics courses at Junior and Senior High schools. This often prevents women from studying engineering courses at the tertiary level. Ironically, the so-called avoidance of science and mathematics courses at secondary school is also a product of a social norm that perceives girls to be better at arts subjects and poor at mathematics and science. This stereotype has led many academic counsellors, and family members to railroad girls away from mathematics and science. Advocacy by groups such as Women in Engineering (WinE) is geared towards reversing this trend.

"We used to work within the tertiary institutions and the second cycle institution to help whip up their (girls') interest in Engineering. However, we realised that a lot of the females are not reading Science and of course, you can't do engineering without doing science and mathematics in the secondary schools. Usually, we had girls who would come to us after such interactions to say they regretted not reading science and mathematics. In order to make much impact, we had to change our target audience from the Secondary Schools (Senior High) to the junior high level where we are promoting the idea among girls and encouraging them to read science and mathematics courses when they get to the Secondary school level. Our experiences have been such that in some cases, some of them haven't even heard about it, others have heard and they don't even know what it is. First, we have the education barrier where women are expected to be doing certain things with other areas barred to them. Secondly, even when the girls know about it, they lack the information with regards to how they can do that". – President, Women in Engineering.

Obviously, many stakeholders believe that women have a place in construction, especially within the rural transport sector. However not all held a positive view. Some contractors restricted the place of women in the sector to, at most, the task of fetching water for mixing concrete used for the construction of culverts or cooking meals at project sites.

"In my mind, this job is a man's job but some brave women engage in it if they want to and when the chance is offered but these women cannot do the job like the men since it's quite tedious to undertake. I once had a mate (a female) who used to operate their pile loader which is used to move the logs. Another example is when you go to Wassa Akropong, it is the women who drive the roller but at our end, they don't do any of these. If women were in construction work, it would have helped since they will be sweeping, and doing other assignments. As I said, here, the men do everything and even if you see a woman on site, she may be fetching water. When I used to work at Highways (GHA), there was a woman who used to drive a tractor (she was from Winneba) and she wanted to train other women but they were not interested. This woman drove the tractor till her retirement. The issue is about one's interest. This woman was very interested in her job and was willing to train other females but they were not availing themselves to be trained."- Foreman Walker Enterprise.



Courtesy: Regina Amoako-Sakyi

Figure 1: Workers at a road construction site in Ghana

Key persons from all road sector institutions consulted in this study were quick to add that there are no obvious discriminatory practices against women who work in the sector, nor are there any institutionalised practices within the various Ministries against women. Nevertheless, employment in the sector is greatly skewed towards men and this is basically because the sector is a very technical one. Generally, Ghana government supported programmes are seen as less insistent on gendered targets in construction by the majority of stakeholders. This also covers women directly employed in the construction process itself. Decisions as to what percentage of women to employ lies in the power of the contractors, even though the DFR has set a target of 30% women's participation rate when using labour-based techniques. Often times they are unable to achieve this target.

“Our contractors will usually continue with an intervention after they have tried them and found them to be successful. Thus, it is important that we educate, assist, and encourage them to do it. Normally, donor funded projects like World Bank projects really emphasise this on projects the fund. They raise gender issues about the project and are always eager to find out how the project will specifically benefit women. They ask: what have you done to improve the lives of women. This forces contractor to include gender issues in road construction. However, Government of Ghana are left open for the contractor to employ whoever they deem quality. The exception is when it is a labour-based project where the contractor is mandated by the DFR to employ 30% women. Even when it is labour-based, the 30% rule is rarely achieved. When it comes to equipment based construction, No! There isn't much emphasis on the women as happens in the labour based ones.” – Principal Engineer/GFP

The formulation of a gendered rural transport policy framework to give policy direction on the involvement of women in rural transport infrastructure provision could enhance female participation in the construction process, rather than leaving the decision solely to contractors, as is the practice now.

Finally, issues of access for all social groups within rural communities also came up as a key gender issue in the sector. Accessibility for women has been a challenge even though they bear the greater transport burden. Strongly linked to the issue of accessibility is affordability of the transport services

where they do exist. Women, as has been discussed earlier, lack access to resources to either own or travel by various means of transport. They are most often restricted to walking long distances and subjected to head portage, which is often the only way of moving foodstuffs, fuel wood and water from access points to their homes. Currently, there is a policy statement on accessibility for women, children, the aged and the physically challenged. It behoves on all implementing agencies such as the DFR, DUR and GHA to implement these policy strategies by incorporating the need for access by all social groups into new road construction designs. For instance, the new designs of the footbridges that are being constructed in Accra takes care of issues of accessibility especially for persons with certain physical disabilities. However, such design considerations are not reflected in rural infrastructure.

The emergence of commercially operated tricycles popularly referred to as “Aboboyaa” in both urban and rural communities in Ghana is seen by some as “taking the load off the heads of people” (Asiedu-Addo, 2015). Observations in rural areas show that these tricycles are not only used for transporting goods but has also emerged as a cheaper and more available alternative for transporting people. Legally, there is a law banning the use of motorcycles for commercial purposes and tricycles for transporting human beings. However as noted by one of the respondents:

“In fact, we understand that this is a challenge to the transport sector. There is a law which is against the use of motorcycles and even extends to tricycles and this is when you use them for commercial purposes. However, the idea was that, in the hinterlands where accessibility is an issue or where getting access to transport services is an issue, we could allow the use of tricycles in the areas but not in the busy cities. Legally, there is a law against it but it has been relaxed for people to move freely given their constraints. It is possible the law could be reviewed to see how this new trend could be taken care of....On the other hand, with the government policy on transport, they try and provide affordable services for the masses which is not that specific on gender but we know on the blind side that women are more of the economic active population especially in the rural area. By the MMT bus services, we try to ensure that those services are more affordable than the ones provided by the private operators. MMT provides far cheaper services to rural folks or farming communities at a cheaper cost than what a typical GPRTU service might cost. These are all issues geared toward addressing the plight of the rural folks”- Planning Officer, MoT.

A number of challenges faced by government and its agencies in the process of mainstreaming gender in the rural transport sector were raised by stakeholders. Some of the challenges include the lack of data to help assess progress made in mainstreaming gender in Ghana’s rural transport sector and translating policy into action. They believe that though the nation is doing well in its advocacy drive, the seemingly lack of credible data on successes and challenges faced in mainstreaming gender in the transport sector, makes it difficult to formulate it into policy and even where policy exists, implementation has always been a daunting task. As has been previously discussed, Ghana’s 2008 Transport Policy vaguely captures aspects of gender issues and some stakeholders look forward to the new one being formulated to be more gender sensitive. One respondent advocated for the incorporation of issues of inclusiveness, empowerment, consultations and offering of opportunities of participation in the rural transport sector for all persons, especially women, into the policy. Others hoped that design manuals used in rural transport infrastructure building would ensure that there is accessibility to facilities linked to transport for all persons, irrespective of gender or ability.

5.2 Rural Women's Relative to Men's Accessibility and Mobility Issues

Mobility is an important factor for social and economic development globally, but more so, for low and middle-income countries (LMICs) like Ghana. Mobility enables people to access employment and economic opportunities, healthcare, education and other socio-economic amenities. However, research suggests that men and women travel for different reasons, by different modes, and at different times (Porter, 2011; Uteng, 2011; Women in Transportation, n.d.). A better understanding of mobility trends, patterns, disparities and barriers among men and women is therefore important in addressing spatial and gender inequalities.

5.2.1 Economic opportunities

Differential gender and spatial mobility can influence access to economic opportunities and eventually lead to inequalities. The three northern regions of Ghana, for example, have remained below the poverty line, even though poverty incidence has reduced in the south. Over 70% of people whose incomes are below the poverty line can be found in the northern/savannah areas (NDPC and UNDP, 2015). Economic inequality has several gender dimensions. Perhaps the most striking is the fact that women sometimes receive less pay for equivalent work and comparable level of education and experience. The disproportionate mobility constraint women face relative to men adds another layer to the inequality milieu. Rural women (especially the aged) are often positioned as victims of structural inequalities. Although clearly in the majority in terms of unemployment or underemployment, they are less likely than men to relocate in search of better economic prospects (Osei-Assibey, 2014; Asante-Antwi, 2013). However, among younger women, there has been a long-standing trend of migration north to south to access better economic opportunities.

5.2.2 Access to Health

Generally, in the rural areas, access to healthcare for both sexes come with a lot of challenges. Gender inequalities exist, however, and are influenced by factors such as distance to health facilities, transportation costs, ownership and use of IMTs and cost of treatment. These factors have led to more males than females accessing healthcare, since in most cases they have higher incomes and own most resources within the family. On the other hand, the 2014 Ghana Demographic Health Survey (GDHS) data shows that more rural women (60.9%) than men (45.8%) subscribe to the national health insurance scheme. In some communities, the decision to access healthcare rests on males in the family and this, to a large extent impedes women's access to critical healthcare programmes including antenatal, postnatal and family planning services. Furthermore, women's domestic work overburden often leads to postponement in seeking health care services (Osei, Acheampong and Edusei-Nkrumah, 2016; GSS, 2014c; Daniels et al, 2013).

5.2.3 Education

Available data indicates some spatial and gender inequality gap still exists in education in spite of increased efforts aimed at parity ("Ghana.pdf," n.d.). Gender parity in school enrolment has been achieved at the primary level and this is attributed to the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) policy which started in 1996, the drive towards the achievement of the MDGs and some social interventions including the School Feeding Programme (GSFP). Ghana achieved its primary school enrolment goal in 2012. On the other hand, the GSFP, for instance, has been lauded to have significantly reduced the school dropout rate in beneficiary schools (Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, 2016; GSS, 2014c). However, the gap seems to persist and widen with progress from primary to tertiary level (GPI of 0.95, 0.88 and 0.71 is recorded at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels respectively).

Generally, urban females stand a greater chance of being educated than their counterparts in rural areas and available statistics indicate that up to 35% of rural females as compared to 18% urban females have no education (GSS, 2014c). Some key barriers to quality education in rural areas include inadequate teachers, lack of educational infrastructure and materials including classrooms and textbooks. Specifically for females, certain cultural predisposition in some rural communities has proved a hindrance to their education in the past (Lambert et al, 2012). Furthermore, lower attendance patterns have been observed in both male and females in rural basic schools. Though the phenomena is said to be recorded higher with boys than girls (Dunne and Leach, 2005), girls are more likely to skip school due to chores they perform at home prior to the journey to school, distance to school, punishment for reporting late to school and personal safety on route to school (Porter, 2011). Although the relationship between insecure school children and gender disparity in education may not be immediately discernible, it may be instructive in our understanding of intra-gender and intra-spatial inequalities in education in Ghana.

5.2.4 Agriculture

Agriculture employs about 44.3% of Ghana's workforce and accounts for about a quarter of the country's GDP. In all, 72.9% of rural men and 69.7% of women are employed in the sector (GSS, 2014b). Relative to men who are often engaged in lucrative and decision-making tasks in the industry, women often perform less lucrative tasks such as planting, weeding, harvesting, and the transportation of farm produce. The GLSS 2014 data (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014d) also indicates that whereas 2.7% of men in the sector were self-employed and had employees, only 1.1% of women in rural areas did the same. The data further shows that inequalities exist in the average hourly earnings received by rural men (1.36 Cedis) and women (0.33 Cedis). Two key initiatives on gender mainstreaming in agriculture has been the establishment of the Women in Agriculture Department (WIAD) in the 1970s and the setting up of the Gender and Agricultural Development Strategy. In spite of these initiatives, gender inequalities persist (Ghana Economy Profile, 2016).

5.2.5 Justice

Justice for all is greatly undermined when actions which impede on women's right to life, dignity and resources are left to thrive on the grounds of female subservience. Being a signatory to the Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) has not ameliorated this inequality. Pockets of negative practice against females such as genital mutilation (FGM), operation of witches' camp and Trokosi (a form of ritual servitude) still occurs, especially in rural areas. Justice for victims of gender-based violence is often hampered by particularly slow judicial processes. Available data shows that out of a total of 667 sexual and gender-based violent crimes recorded in 2014 in the Northern Region, only 56 were investigated and successfully prosecuted. Some paralegal agencies such as the International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) have trained community-based volunteers to extend counselling, legal advice and mediation to women in rural areas as part of empowerment drive (Ghana Business News, 2016; Duho, 2015).

5.2.6 Governance

Huge gender inequality gaps exist in governance at the local level. Low incomes, less education, low access to social services and low self-esteem act as barriers to women's participation in local governance in rural areas. This has led to a male dominated governance structure (including Chief Executives, assembly persons and unit committee members). Data shows that only 8.2% of District Chief Executives are women and this is oftentimes reflected at the national level governance structure, evidenced by only 13% of females present in parliament (Gender Centre for Empowering Development, 2015; Osei-Asibey, 2014).

5.3 Women's Participation in the Transport Sector

5.3.1 Public sector institutions

The National Transport Policy seeks to promote the role of women in the transport sector, not only as service providers but also as professionals and managers. Women's participation in the public sector is generally low (4.2%) as compared to men (7.6%) and this figure takes a further dip in rural areas where only 1.8% of women are employed in public sector institutions (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b). This comes on the heels of clear disparities identified in the sector's employment composition. The 2014 annual performance report for the Ministry of Roads and Highways shows a gender parity index in staff composition of 0.29. Further details suggest there are 88 female senior officers and 70 junior officers employed within the Ministry and its allied agencies, as compared to 363 senior and 178 junior male officers (Ministry of Roads and Highways, 2014). The 2015 report, however, suggests a slight improvement with a gender parity index of 0.30. The number of female senior staff had also increased to 118 with a corresponding fall in junior staff employees to 54. There were however, reductions in male senior staff (360) and junior staff (167) employees of the Ministry and its civil service organisations (Ministry of Roads and Highways, 2015).

The GLSS data shows that only 0.1% of females in their survey population aged 11 years and above had apprenticeship training in transport and material moving trades, as against 19.4% for males. Existing employment for persons aged 15 years and above showed further disparities with 7.7% and 0.3% for males and females respectively. In rural areas, only 3.5% males and no females had apprenticeship training in transport and material moving trades. Generally, men dominate formal sector employment while women tend to dominate the private informal sector which is usually linked to relatively lower earnings. However, with specific reference to transportation, men tend to dominate in both sectors. One barrier to women's participation in the rural transport sector labour force could be the long hours usually expended by workers in the sector. The data further shows that more than half of workers in the transport and storage sector work for 60 hours or more each week and this could be a deterrent to women due to the long hours they will have to spend outside the home as compared to other sectors such as agriculture, forestry and fishing where 60.7% of its employs spend less than 40 hours per week (Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, 2015, GSS, 2014b; 2014d; Ministry of Transport, 2008).

5.3.2 Participation in the rural transport sector

Gender norms and their impact on inequalities is a well-researched subject. However, there is paucity of literature on the barriers that traditional gender norms impose on women's participation in the transport sector. A study conducted in Ghana suggests that the gender norm of discouraging girls from riding bicycles in some Ghanaian communities makes it disproportionately difficult for girls to access educational and other social amenities in those localities (Amoako-Sakyi and Owusu, 2012). Women are further disadvantaged in investment in the transport sector by the gender norms that frown on their involvement in the transport sector as drivers or conductors (Porter, 2008; Peters, 2013; Amoako-Sakyi and Owusu, 2012).

5.3.3 Under-representation in science and technology-based subjects

Barriers to women's participation in investments in the transport sector are built decades before they turn professionals. Enrolment into science-based programmes at the secondary school level disproportionately favours boys. As part of efforts to bridge this inequality, Science Technology and Mathematics Education (STME) clinics have been organised for Junior Secondary schools since 1987. The success of this initiative in some regions was only marginal (Ghana Education Service, 2002; Donkor and Justice, 2016). Early childhood environment, gender stereotypes, family expectations,

school environment and societal image are some critical factors that have been attributed to low girls enrolment in STME programmes (Asimeng-Boahene, 2006).

5.3.4 Sexual and gender-based violence in construction

Data on women's participation in construction in the transport sector is scarce. It is, however, reasonable to expect that barriers that confront women in other construction sectors may apply here too. However remotely linked to sexual and gender-based violence is the influx of labour and income associated with new transport investments (World Bank, 2014). Sexual and gender-based violence in construction, however, was determined by the stakeholders interviewed to be virtually non-existent within Ghana's rural transport sector. Stakeholders, including contractors, engineers and consultants, concluded that even though some relationships are forged between men and women during construction of road transport infrastructure, they had not yet been confronted with incidents of sexual or gender-based violence. Albeit, the sample size is relatively small to make evidenced-based conclusions.

5.4 Gender Responsiveness of Transport Sector Legislation and Policy.

In spite of advocacy efforts, the transport sector is one of the most gendered in Ghana. Almost all commercial drivers, bus conductors, mechanics, transport terminal management team and transport owners are males. Several factors may explain the sector's languid performance towards gender parity. However, the widely-held notion that the transport sector is a "man's world" may play a significant role. A scrutiny of the sector's legislations and regulations (i.e. the Road Traffic Act (2004, Act 683), Road Traffic Regulation (2012), Ghana Highway Authority Act (1997, Act 540) and Road Fund Act (1997, Act 536) fails to reveal overt efforts to gender mainstream the transport sector.

The transport policy, however, makes reference to gender equality. The policy acknowledges differences in women's relative to men's transport needs, as well as the transport needs for persons living with disabilities. It also seeks to promote the role of women in the transport sector as providers of services, professionals and managers. It suggests that market regulations implemented in the sector are set to ensure that the needs of the customers are met; safeguard the interests of the users and private sector operators and to prevent discrimination against women, children, the aged and physically challenged (Ministry of Transport, 2008). Often, these contradictory forces are created by significant economies of scale and demand externalities associated with the sector.

Key among the policy's considerations is the provision of transport facilities that provide access for women, children, seniors, and the physically challenged. Strategies designed to realise this goal include the development of accessibility criteria and standards for transport infrastructure and rolling stock. Another is set to develop guidelines and implement their use by planners, designers and operators. Developing and enforcing regulations to ensure the provision and maintenance of minimum standards of accessibility for women, children, the aged and physically challenged in transport facilities is another strategy designed to realise the goal. Unfortunately, the nation does not have a specific policy for doing this in the rural transport sector.

5.4.1 Gender budgeting in the transport sector

The transport sector budgeting is not gender responsive. Both budget allocations for the Ministry of Roads and Highways and the Ministry of Transport do not make any specific allocations to gender mainstreaming. This is irrespective of the fact that the Medium-term development plan stresses a drive towards gender parity in key sectors including transport. The Medium-Term Expenditure Framework for 2016-2018 neither mentions nor allocates a budget line for gender mainstreaming. A careful examination of the 2017 budget plan for both the MRH and MoT reveals a similar situation. It is, however, unclear from these budget documents whether gender allocations are made under

general administration costs as this is not clearly stated in the budgetary documents. Stakeholders confirmed this, by indicating that gender mainstreaming budgets are barely stated in the timelines issued by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MoFEP). Often, the transport sector ministries try to put in programmes that go by those guidelines given by the MoFEP. However, in terms of contract, sector agencies are trained on how to mainstream gender issues in their budget. The Ministry of Transport concedes that gender budgeting is a new development in the Ministry and, as such, not many projects have been undertaken under it. Some Stakeholders have alleged that, even in situations where gender mainstreaming is budgeted for under rural transport programmes financed by the Government of Ghana (GoG), funds are not released to support the gender components, therefore, jeopardising such projects. This brings to the fore governments' commitment to gender mainstreaming in the sector programmes beyond donor funded programmes.

“There are questions as to whether some of these gender issues are no more donor driven than the Government of Ghana driven because Donor Partners (DPs) push it as a requirement for their support programmes and therefore, the country or government is inclined to look at these issues” – Male DP representative.

The issue raised by the representative from the DP community brings into sharp focus the question: is gender mainstreaming in rural transport programmes an imposition from donor agencies? In most cases, as brought up by key stakeholders, it is completely absent in GoG financed projects. On the other hand, others suggest that it is because there are always insufficient funds to construct roads. Therefore, even when projects are planned to have gender dimensions, the funds allotted for such programmes are diverted into the main road construction project. In order to avert future occurrences, clauses in contracts must be clearly enacted to ensure that funds for social/gender aspects of projects are not diverted into the road infrastructure works.

A review of transport programmes in the country suggests gender mainstreaming may be indeed donor-driven. The lack of political will in the broader context of a lack of funding may be among the hindrances to the integration of gender mainstreaming into transport programmes. Perhaps the sentiments expressed by one of the Chief Engineers captures government's frustrations and reasons why gender issues may have been side-lined in transport programmes.

“The problem we have is that we always never have enough money for building the road so the monies that are allocated to these projects end up going into the road infrastructure. So, we are still fighting to get these monies allocated in the contract but not as part of the project so that we can effectively identify the needs of the women and men when they are identified through the gender and poverty intervention studies which is done as part of the feasibility study”- Female Chief Engineer

6 Ghana Country Case Study: The Transport Rehabilitation Programme II

6.1 Project Background

The second phase of Transport Rehabilitation Project (1991-1993) came on the heels of TRP 1 (1988-1991), which was implemented to address a virtually collapsed road transport infrastructure in the 1980s. The prolonged neglect of maintenance and rehabilitation which characterised the era had resulted in serious systemic bottlenecks and concomitant high transportation charges. The TRP2 is, therefore not a stand-alone project but can be viewed as a follow-up phase to programmes rolled out after the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) targeted at the restoration of adequate transport

capacity, especially for the road system, and the rebuilding of efficient sector institutions. The main aim of the programme was to sustain and accelerate the ERP by:

- i. Removing physical bottlenecks to the expansion of exports, farm production and labour mobility; and facilitating private sector development through improved maintenance and rehabilitation of the road and railway infrastructure;
- ii. Improving the efficiency of both the public and private sector transport management through promotion of market-oriented policies, institutional development and manpower training;
- iii. Encouraging new methods of infrastructure rehabilitation and maintenance practices, using appropriate technology, local resources, and community participation;
- iv. Reducing transportation costs; and
- v. Alleviating poverty in rural areas, and improving the self-development of rural women through a pilot programme focussed on: women's employment and earning under a specially-designed, labour-intensive road programme; related savings schemes to channel wage-earning into income-generating activities; support of community-sponsored activities to improve rural transport, well-water supply and the environment, through involvement of local NGOs.

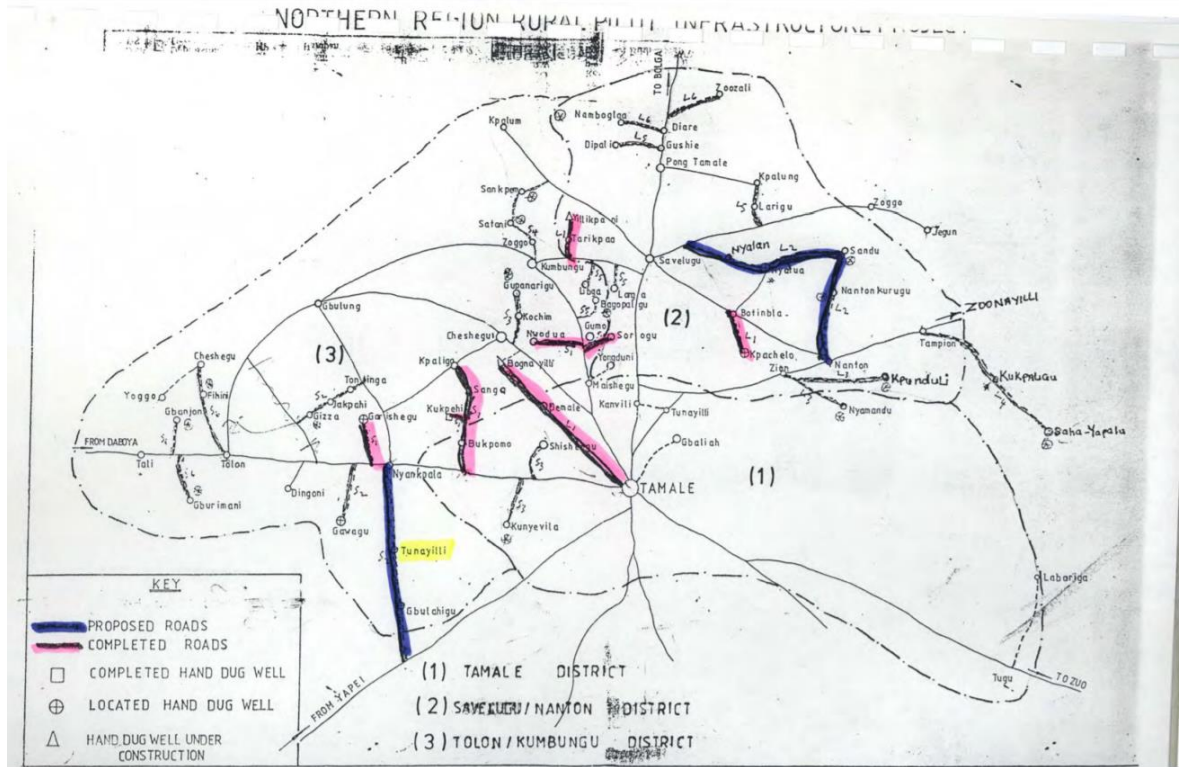
6.2 Gender Analysis in Project Identification

6.2.1 Benchmarking gender and accessibility issues

As implied in the last objective, the Northern Region Pilot Scheme for Rural Infrastructure (NRPIS) was aimed at providing support for low-cost rural infrastructure development and maintenance systems with emphasis on women's employment and involvement, through provisions for civil works. A key innovation of this project was the expected integration of two successful programmes experimented under previous transport programmes. The first is the labour-based road rehabilitation which had been successfully piloted by the Department of Feeder Roads (DFR) under the National Feeder Roads Rehabilitation and Maintenance Programme (NFRMP, 1985-1991); the second was the Ministry of Transport and Communications' low-cost Intermediate Means of Transport (IMT) promoted under the TRP-1. This integrated component was aimed at alleviating poverty embedded in the identified rural areas and improving self-development of women (World Bank, 1990). Indeed, at the project identification stage, time use was found to be notoriously gendered and thus men's relative to women's time use emerged as an excellent indicator of gender inequality. As a former line staff with the DFR at the time of the project puts it:

"We were happy targeting the women because we knew that if we introduce the bicycle and bicycle projects, they (women) were going to benefit. This is because, if you look at the household chores, they do a lot of the water fetching, fetching of firewood and so on. At times, they can walk for about 10 km, so we felt that if they have the bicycle and the trailers, at least the transport burden will be released slowly. And so, this was how it came on board. Furthermore, if you take firewood or looking for water for example, they spend so much time and we felt that if the time had been channelled into something more profitable, they would have been some time saving and they would have channelled that into something more profitable and they would have been better off. So, we looked at that". - Prof. Kwesi Kwafu Adarkwa

The project identified that the provision of both low-cost rural access roads and low-cost IMTs in relatively inaccessible rural areas in the Northern Region could assist in bringing mobility to these rural settlers (World Bank, 1990a).



Courtesy: World Bank (1990)

Figure 2: Map of Project Communities

6.2.2 Institutional gender capacity gaps identified

During the project identification, the World Bank acknowledged that most past road and rail projects in Ghana suffered from the limited capacity for policy and institutional change (World Bank, 1990a:14). Subsequently, the Bank had provided adequate training and technical assistance to consolidate reforms introduced in projects it funded from 1984. Some of the agencies such as the Ghana Highway Authority (GHA), Ministry of Roads and Highways (MRH), Ghana Railway Corporation (GRC), Ghana Ports and Harbours Authority and the MTC had had its domestic capacity for project and implementation further enhanced. Under the TRP-2, the Bank identified capacity gaps in the GRC due to expanding operations. However, institutional gender capacity gaps were not documented as identified in the DFR, which handled the NRPIS component of the programme.

The entire DFR was seen as a male-dominated department with only two engineers and a planner being females. In-house, there was absolutely no gender capacity to understand gender issues. To make up for this, the two NGOs (Amasachina and TDWM) provided the much-needed link between the DFR and the local women. Furthermore, project identification reports suggest that the DFR-identified contractors expected to work on the project had been trained and equipped under an ILO, IDA and the Project for Amelioration of Social Costs of Adjustment funded training programme. These contractors were to use labour-based methods based on appropriate technology for the construction of access roads. This method offers quite an opportunity for women to be engaged in the construction process. Also, two UN volunteers, one with specialisation in rural water supply and another with specialisation in women's development, were set to provide support to the project manager. The project manager to be appointed by the DFR was to be an experienced engineer specialised in labour-intensive road works. However, the UN volunteers were to be supplied under an arrangement with the UNDP. Apart from the two volunteers, the project was looking forward to

recruiting another UN volunteer with expertise in nutrition as a potential source of assistance on that component during the first year, when all activities under the pilot scheme would be rolled out.

6.2.3 Barriers to women's equitable participation

Following extensive work done by the DFR and the two NGOs in the communities, no significant gender gaps in equitable participation were identified. However, cultural gender norms, especially non-assertiveness of women during the community meetings where their male counterparts were present, was evident at the needs identification stage. However, this was completely absent when they had separate interactions:

".....Yet when we met them (women) separately or when we asked Amasachina to go out to hold community interactions, they came back with a lot of exciting details about women that we really wanted. The results from these interactions with the women led to the inclusion of components such as woodlot planting in some communities". Kwasi Kwafo Adarkwa.

The newly introduced bicycle-trailers and Single-wheel Farm Vehicles (SFV) were readily accepted as a substitute for head-porterage. However, not many households were able to own them as they were deemed expensive.

6.2.4 Tools and approaches to identification of gender issues

In spite of being useful in gender mainstreaming activities, community engagement has to be used with tact to achieve the desired results (Kim, 2005). A couple of consultations were made with the community with both men and women participating. However as initially pointed out, this did not prove useful, especially in getting the women to express their true transport needs. Further consultations were however, more revealing as women freely expressed their needs in the absence of their male counterparts. For instance, they expressed their concern about the long distances they walked to fetch water and fuel wood, leading to the inclusion of the well digging and woodlot planting in order to minimise the time spent in searching for these and further reduce the distance for their access. As the World Bank Staff Appraisal Report (1990a) notes, discussions with potential contractors and the two NGOs and visits to the villages indicated a good response to the project (1990:23). Labour surveys were also conducted and it showed that women labour willing to work the proposed road rehabilitation works far exceeded the estimated labour demand for the project (ibid, 131).

6.3 Gender in Project Formulation and Appraisal

The concept of participatory development offers several opportunities for gender mainstreaming development in LIMCs (Cornwall, 2003; Mayoux, 1995; Moser, 2012). The NRPIS was one of the foremost projects in Ghana to draw from this idea and attempted to integrate gender and participatory development. As an integrated scheme, the NRPIS was primarily aimed at improving the lot of poor rural women through increased earnings, savings, reduced head porterage and increased community self-help activities.

6.3.1 Strategies used to address gender and mobility issues

The six under-listed strategies were formulated to address gender and mobility/accessibility issues:

- i. Provision of low-cost access roads
- ii. Provision of potable water through the construction of hand-dug wells
- iii. The introduction of non-motorised transport (NMT)
- iv. Provision of food supplement and nutrition education
- v. Enhancement of environmental quality through tree planting

vi. Strengthening of Non-Governmental Organisations

Three of the strategies were expected to have direct mobility/accessibility impacts, especially on the lives of rural women. One of them was the provision of low-cost rural access roads in a hitherto inaccessible rural area in northern Ghana. The project set out to rehabilitate 150 km of rural access roads, which ultimately served about 50 villages. Contractors were to use labour-based methods and target a 70% women labour force. This was about twice (35%) the women labour participation normally used under the method in and around that time (World Bank, 1990a).

Another strategy identified at the formulation was the provision of potable water through the construction of an estimated 50 hand dug wells funded under the project, which also employed women labour. This was expected to be the communities' contribution to the total cost of providing the well, which was estimated to be about US \$1500 (per unit cost) for a well of about 15-20 m deep. The amount included unskilled labour cost, which accounted for up to 40% of the cost. It was identified that, though these rural communities dug wells, they did not have the resources to construct stone linings to protect them. The lining work was expected to be contracted to the two NGOs who were to be trained by a UN volunteer. This was targeted at reducing the long hours women and children spent daily in search of potable water and reduce distances to water access points.

Perhaps, one of the most innovative strategies to address women's accessibility and mobility issues was the introduction of non-motorised transport into the communities. These were expected to be low-cost IMTs including bicycles and trailers aimed at reducing head portage, which had become a massive burden for women in the project communities. The NGOs were expected to mobilise labour as part of their operational role as sub-contractors to the substantive contractors to whom they charged organisational fees. These fees were expected to be added to the stream of daily contributions (20 Cedis) from each participating worker and channelled into a Community Projects Fund. Part of this fund operated by the two NGOs was expected to be used in purchasing the IMTs for further distribution to the women on credit basis. The construction of the access roads to villages and the provision of the low-cost IMTs was expected to benefit the women as it helped to avoid the higher cost of head loading and was expected to provide gains in farm output profitability (World Bank, 1990a).

Other components, such as the provision of food supplements and nutrition education, were not expected to have direct impact on mobility/accessibility but to ensure that the nutritional status of female workers on the project was not affected by the additional physical labour needed for road building. This was seen as essential as, at the project identification stage, malnutrition was found to be strikingly visible in the selected rural communities. It was expected that daily meals and iron supplementation for women tested and found to be anaemic would not only improve the nutrition status of women but would also increase productivity. In addition, an educational programme on nutrition was to be brought on board to broaden the range of nutritional benefits. This was to be achieved through influenced behaviour as the education was set to have positive effects on the nutritional status of women, on the project and on their children. The intended use of female community leaders and organised community groups to be trained under the project as community nutrition monitors seemed like a good strategy to support the nutrition component.

The environmental component of tree planting was expected to play a dual role. Its primary function was to prevent land erosion and desertification by protecting the road surfaces. They were, therefore, to be planted 6m apart on both sides of the new roads. Apart from these trees, village woodlots and nurseries were expected to be added. They were to be initially funded at a minimal cost under the project (per set cost of seedlings, pots and mud-made tree guards was estimated at

US\$1.5). The village woodlots, apart from their environmental protection role, were also to provide fuel wood for the women through normal harvesting of the woodlots. The villagers were to plant and maintain these trees as this component was to be contracted to the NGOs and funded by the project. The villagers were to employ an innovative pot irrigation technique, which needed only weekly watering.

The final strategy outlined in the NRPIS to address gender issues within the beneficiary communities was the provision of support to NGOs involved in women's development in the project communities. This was mainly through technical assistance for project management, to conduct impact studies and also to support these NGOs to encourage women to improve their environment, nutrition levels and other self-development activities.

6.3.2 Measures to improve women's participation and benefits

The labour-based method, which allowed for the use of unskilled labour in the construction works, was deliberately chosen to improve women's participation in the project. Thus, the project supposedly traded off a cost-effective approach to construction for an approach that made it possible to directly employ women, the majority of whom were unskilled. In effect, this ensured that unskilled women in the community could be directly employed on various components of the project such as access road construction, hand-dug wells and the tree planting and woodlot component. This was one of the key deliberate measures to improve women's participation and benefits from the project relative to men's.

Another measure was the deliberate clause which mandates contractors to draw up to 70% of their labour force from women from the local communities contracted by the two NGOs. This was expected to improve their chances of both participating and benefiting from the project. Furthermore, it was expected that workers from each group of villages would work on roads close to them. This was aimed at distributing the employment over the region. It was expected that 2,100 women would benefit from the employment and earnings, with each person earning up to US\$145 over the 3 months they are employed on that project. Furthermore, it was expected that wage earnings would often accrue to women of the same households while the women would be further encouraged to save part of their earnings as their extra food needs as a result of the physical work involved would be covered under the food and nutrition component of the project. In fact, the entire pilot scheme was expected to alleviate poverty in rural areas and improve the self-development of rural women. The documents, however, did not contain measures to minimise potential negative project impacts on gender relations.

6.3.3 Gender sensitivity of the monitoring and evaluation framework

Details regarding monitoring of gender sensitivity of the project's performance are not indicated in the staff appraisal report of the Bank. However, it notes that expert assistance from the Bank or outside will be provided to set up a monitoring system and impact study for all aspects of the pilot programme. Furthermore, appraisal suggested an impact evaluation using a case study design to assess the effects of the food supplementation on worker productivity and nutrition education on specific behavioural change objectives related to infant and child feeding practices during pregnancy and lactation (World Bank, 1990a).

6.3.4 Budgetary allocations to enhance gender outcomes

A total of US\$2.98 million out of the total project sum of US\$96 million was expected to go into the realisation of gender outcomes of the programme. The breakdown for this is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Budgetary allocation for mobility/support to women in NRPIS

Component	Cost estimates (US\$ million equivalent)			
	Local	Taxes	Foreign	Total
Single Blade Roads (150 km)	1.04	0.07	0.27	1.37
Design and Supervision	0.10	0.00	0.06	0.16
Monitoring and Evaluation	0.09	0.00	0.06	0.15
Supp. For Hand-dug wells by community labour	0.05	0.00	0.01	0.06
Support to Non-Motorised Transport	0.03	0.00	0.03	0.05
Environmental component	0.14	0.01	0.05	0.20
Nutritional component	0.05	0.00	0.02	0.07
Strengthening and Support to NGOs & Women	0.22	0.00	0.09	0.31
Subtotal Rural mobility/support to Women	1.71	0.09	0.58	2.37
Physical Contingencies	0.15	0.01	0.05	0.21
Price Contingencies	0.32	0.02	0.06	0.40
Total Cost	2.18	0.11	0.69	2.98

Source: World Bank (1990a)

The sources of funding for the NRPIS was the International Development Association (IDA), which was to provide US\$2.44 million (81.9%) and the Government of Ghana, US\$0.54 million (18.1%).

6.4 Gender in Project Implementation and Monitoring

6.4.1 Gender sensitivity in procurement

The Implementation Completion Report (ICR) document indicates all procurements were done in conformity with the World Bank's procurement guidelines. It is, however, unclear from the document if procurement guidelines for the World Bank then had specific gender sensitivity guidelines. A later document, however, alludes to the fact that it usually recognises the time factor as a major challenge in integrating gender into infrastructure projects. It states that, within tight timeframes, the mandatory analyses, such as those for procurement, financial management and safeguards, often take precedence over social and gender analysis (World Bank, 2010).

The project targeted a 70% quota for women's participation in the NRPIS. This target was not met because some of the tasks, such as excavation of materials and loading on the trucks and trailers were found to be difficult for women and resulted in initial setbacks including delays. Other

activities, such as spreading the materials on the ground and grubbing were found to be better done by women and therefore men were not assigned such tasks. Overall, the projected quota for women's participation dropped to 50%. The work was usually task based which made it flexible enough for women to perform their tasks with some level of flexibility and go back to other commitments they had elsewhere. There were no clear indications of maternity leave arrangement with workers. Workers who could not report to the project site, for whatever reason, could opt to send relatives to perform their tasks for them and these representatives were given the same wage at the end of their task.

Implementation documents sighted so far do not clearly specify if the project had specific indications on a zero tolerance for sexual harassment; neither is it included in project monitoring documents. However, key personnel involved in the project stated in key informant interviews that no such incidents were either reported or recorded over the project period.

Project monitoring documents mention two UN volunteers, one specialising in water supply and the other in women's development, as one of the expected outputs, with the verifiable indicators as these UNVs at post. A critical assumption made in the monitoring document is that these two UNVs were to be available throughout the project life cycle.

6.4.2 Gender sensitivity in monitoring, reporting and knowledge sharing.

In monitoring the project, the overall project goal of the NRPIS - which was to improve the lot of women, reduce head portorage and to increase community self-help activities, was key. Objectively verifiable indicators (OVI) used in the monitoring process included:

- i. Women employed on project and their income/expenditure in project area
- ii. Women engaged in productive/ income generating activities
- iii. Incidence of head portorage
- iv. Number of range of community self-help activities

These were verified against results of field surveys by DFR Project staff and consultants, Contractors' labour returns, Consultant's socio-economic surveys and surveys by NGOs and other agencies.

6.5 Gender Outcomes of the Project

Though the project set out to provide higher employment to women relative to men (7:3), various challenges experienced during the project made the realisation of this target impossible. For instance, staff of DFR involved in the project recalled that women had to be taken off some aspects of the work such as shovelling off materials because it was found to be a difficult task for them to undertake and furthermore caused some delays on site which inadvertently increased cost. As summarised in the Project Completion Report (World Bank, 1998), the 70% female labour target could not be realised due to labour intensive work activities that could not be effectively handled by women. Another is that women were simply not available to fill in all the slots available to them and therefore men had to be brought in to supplement their efforts. Due to these aforementioned issues, the final female to male ratio was 1:1. This was a great achievement coming from the rural transport sector. Hitherto, involvement in the provision of road transport infrastructure was the preserve of men. Women only provided services along markets generated by the construction process including selling food to workers on such projects.

In the area of women relative to men's earnings, the project insisted on equal pay for equal work done. All workers, therefore, received daily wages commensurate with work done, irrespective of gender. Women who for one reason or the other could not report to work could arrange for their

relatives including husbands to perform their tasks for them and the representatives received the same amount since the wage was task-based.

Key persons involved in the programme suggests that prior to the project, men were considered the main breadwinners of their families. However, the project gave women in these rural communities, the rare opportunity of doing road construction works, which was traditionally regarded as a preserve for men. Subsequently, it offered women an opportunity to earn incomes and contribute to the running of their homes. It also gave some of the women some resources to enable them to purchase bicycle trailers and thereby reduce the incidence of head portering. This aspect, however, was not as successful as the other components of the NRPIS.

CSOs attached to the project received training on gender capacity building. One of such skills acquired by the two NGOs (Amasachina and Thirty-first December Women's Movement-TFDWM) and some community members was in the area of well construction. This, the project hoped, could lead to technology transfer for other interested communities, though it was clear that the kind of funds needed for the construction of such wells by the various communities was far beyond the capacity of the communities to provide in support of such developments. Additionally, the NGOs were also trained in nursing and planting tree crop seedlings (World Bank, 1998).

There is no direct evidence to show if the current gender policy landscape prevailing in the country is linked with advances made in the NRPIS. However, the ICR review document (Reja, 1998) suggests that the project's contribution to institutional and policy reforms, as at 1998, was improving the management and financing of the road network in Ghana. Unfortunately, the review stop short of providing details on how this was being achieved. It, however, added that the establishment of an autonomous road fund was expected to enhance cost recovery in the sub-sector and contribute to future sustainability of road maintenance. Similarly, it asserted that, due to the autonomous status of the GHA, there is sure to be a better incentive structure in the organisation where it will be able to provide market-based compensation to its staff and management. This, the review believed, will attract and retain trained staff, and improve the performance of the GHA (Reja, 1998).

Some key stakeholders working with the MRH at the time of the project, however, suggest some aspects of rural transport found in the current transport policy might have had their root in the success of the NRPIS. But many believed that the end of donor funding for the project also ended Ghana's drive towards incorporating gender dimensions into rural transport projects, especially those funded by GoG. The challenge as with many donor-funded programmes is to do with sustainability and the ability of governments to institutionalise gender into rural transport policies.

6.6 Lessons learnt and good practices

The Implementation Completion Report (World Bank, 1998) indicated that the rural infrastructure pilot scheme would have benefited from having a project management team drawn from concerned institutions, which could then have been responsible for the various sub-components going forward, rather than an ad-hoc project management unit.

The project also introduced simple yet appropriate non-motorized transport technology for rural conditions (farm carts and bicycle trailers) which was to benefit women especially by easing their farm work and domestic chores activities. The success of this sub-component has been seen as a mixed bag. Buabeng et al. (1995) reports of the use of just the trailers without bicycles by some women and children for household provisioning activities as well as other productive activities. Starkey (2001:23) argues that the trailers were promoted without clear understanding of the social, economic and technical issues involved; that although initial responses to IMT demonstrations can be 'euphoric', careful participatory research is needed to establish likely costs, benefits, usage

patterns and constraints; and that other poverty alleviation options to assist women should have been explored.

Salifu (1994), referred to the introduction of the cycle trailer as “a reasonable but inappropriate technology”. Some of the factors he advanced for this include the cost prohibitive prices for the trailers which were to be operated in tandem with bicycles. It was designed with the wrong assumption that the beneficiaries already owned bicycles and perhaps only needed the trailers. The reality, however, was that interested people had to purchase both bicycles and cycle trailers which they could not afford. The problem was worsened by the delay of the manufacturers in delivering the items, which resulted in price increases because of inflationary effects. Marketing strategies developed to solve the problem like selling to communities were not effective due to the issue of ownership and responsibility for maintenance.

The fact that the trailers were perceived as clumsy and redundant due to the flat bicycle carrier’s ability to carry loads. Socioeconomic issues including women’s ownership and use of bicycles in the north which was seen as minimal and the failure initially to provide bicycles without crossbars (which is more appropriate for women) affected the successful implementation of the scheme (Salifu, 1994). Apart from these, the ICR review also suggests that a line of credit for establishing a terminal, workshops, and vehicle production facilities was not utilised by the potential beneficiaries. Altogether, key lessons from the bicycle trailer sub-component as assessed by the World Bank in its ICR are two-fold. (i) They believed that, the project complexity and innovativeness was well served by the comprehensive programme of technical assistance, the partnership with NGOs on non-motorized vehicles and the Bank’s frequent supervision. (ii) Furthermore, being a pilot scheme, the supervision inputs needed from both the Bank and the implementing agency were substantially higher than the average for IDA operations in the sector (World Bank, 1998).

It is rather unfortunate that, though components like the roads development and construction of hand-dug wells were evaluated to have been very successful, the sustainability of all the components after the project completion could not be guaranteed. For instance, for the Feeder Road Component, the initial design standard of 3m had to be revised to 6m since the completed roads proved to be dangerous for the level of traffic which utilised the roads.

The objective of engaging 70% women labour force on each road corridor had to be revised to 50% since some of the labour-intensive work activities could not be effectively handled by the women. The sustainability of this component was however assured since the Department of Feeder Roads continued to use the labour-based road construction technology to improve roads in the area and thereby provided employment for rural women. Currently, DFR uses a female target labour of 30% on such Labour-intensive works.

With the Hand Dug Wells, the initial plan of rehabilitating existing wells within the communities had to be abandoned since it was realised that some of them were poorly constructed and posed a threat to human lives. The estimated cost of each well increased since the original plan of constructing non-lined wells was revised to stone-lined wells, which was considered more durable and hygienic. Even though this component had been very successful during the programme, its sustainability could not be guaranteed due to the issue of funding. It might be argued that the overarching goal in capacity building associated with this project was achieved, as evidenced by the fact that some NGOs and some community members had acquired the necessary skills for well construction and could provide some form of technology transfer to interested communities. The cost of construction, however, was estimated to be beyond the means of most of the communities (World Bank, 1998).

Another aspect was the Tree Planting, which experienced some initial implementation challenges due to the lack of involvement of technical expertise from the forestry department. It was also recorded that the rigid stands by the project design to pay for only surviving trees frustrated the efforts of the NGOs. Again, the transplanting of trees along the road corridors posed a problem due to adverse climatic conditions. These problems were resolved by the involvement of forestry personnel and the adoption of woodlots by the NGOs.

The nutritional component of the project also encountered some challenges, mainly due to the non-involvement of the Regional Nutrition Department and the non-residence of the nutrition consultant in the project area. Due to these constraints, solutions to arising problems were delayed which also affected the successful implementation of the component to some extent. At least, the component obtained its short-term objective of providing a balanced diet to workers on site to enable them to do hard manual work, as well as increasing the knowledge of female workers on nutritional issues. However, it was noted in the implementation completion report by Reja (1998) that the component was unable to achieve a lasting impact on the nutrition-related attitudes and practices of the beneficiary women.

From all indications, the NRPIS was a reasonably complex project and though the Implementation Completion Report (World Bank, 1998) concludes that the complexity of the project might have posed some challenges, a former project staff feels the integrated nature rather helped to get higher community participation than might otherwise have been achieved as it raised their interest. The main thrust of the scheme was the rehabilitation of access roads; the other components that were brought on board to tackle the needs of the community seem to have contributed immensely to the schemes acceptance and keen participation by women in the project communities.

“The way the project was integrated was a very good thing which with the same or a bit of more money, you are able to do a lot for the community and address almost all the needs that they had. Looking at things, if we had gone in just to build the roads, we will not really get the true benefit of it. But while you give them the road, you give them what they are going to use on the road. You get them the water that they were going to spend a lot of time running around while looking for it, you get it to them at their backyard. So, the integration was a wonderful thing.” –Road Consultant and former Staff, DFR)

6.7 Knowledge management, embedment and sustainability of outcomes.

The TRP2 was a multipronged project and therefore had embedded knowledge that goes beyond gender mainstreaming. It extended into engineering, community nutrition, road safety, capacity building, poverty alleviation, and a host of other less obvious areas. On the engineering front, DFR discontinued the construction of 4-metre-wide roads and focused on 6-metre-wide roads. In capacity building, the Koforidua Training School modified its curriculum to include modules on the construction of 6-metre-wide roads. This has most probably enhanced the human resource capacity in road construction in Ghana and the Sub-region. Road users were the ultimate beneficiaries of the 6-metre roads.

Efforts to sustain some aspects of the project included the setting up of a maintenance system. Personnel who had acquired knowledge in the labour-based road construction methods were engaged from communities to undertake routine/recurrent maintenance activities on completed roads. This ensured some level of continuity in the provision of employment for some members of the community including women.

7 A Brief Review of the Cocoa Roads Rehabilitation Programme

One of the key on-going rural transport programmes in the country is the Cocoa Roads Rehabilitation Programme (COCOBOD) which started in 2015 and is expected to end in 2020. It covers the Central, Eastern, and Brong Ahafo Regions, which are all key cocoa growing regions. The Cocoa Roads Project aims at improving road networks in cocoa communities in an attempt to ensure access to remote cocoa areas as well as create a conducive environment to promote the livelihoods of cocoa farmers. The project does not have specific gender equality objectives. It employs a capital-intensive approach to the rehabilitation of selected roads, thereby inadvertently restricting women's participation in the construction process. However, Charles a former Engineer of COCOBOD maintains that, though the project is a machine based one, the concrete works involves the use of labour and some women are directly involved in this aspect by fetching water at project sites. The construction of roads has also provided direct and indirect local markets, especially for food sellers and related services workers on-site. Most of the people who have taken advantage of these opportunities to provide services are women.

“The objective of the project was on accessibility, so we knew that it is the cocoa farmers and the community that will benefit but the objective of the project was not designed to improve or transfer technology to the community. It was just the community labour we were taking at a point in time but every other thing was more or less machine based. So, it wasn't necessary to look at the social aspect of the project”- Male Engineer

Like other GoG-funded rural transport programmes which are capital intensive, it completely lacks a gender management plan and has no socio-economics input. Data disaggregation on the basis of sex is also not a key requirement because of the machine-based approach, which has been tagged as often restrictive to women's participation over the years.

“As I said, for projects that we do that are labour based all these things are taken into consideration because here, the project objectives are not limited to the construction of the road but we are also looking at the employment base. In that particular case, when we are looking at the total labour force, we consider the number of women. At times, we ensure that women participation in certain roads account for about 30% of the total labour force. However, in the machine based, that is not the issue, the issue of concern is the road targeted for construction but the total labour force is not taken into consideration. It is not even an issue and not something of interest to the programme” – Male Engineer

8 Conclusions and Recommendations

Evidence from this study suggests a supportive gender policy landscape in Ghana capable of nurturing the country's gender mainstreaming aspirations for the transport sector. However, gendered issues such as women's access to rural transport and the potential for construction site violence lack specific policy backing for effective gender mainstreaming. Thus, although the ITP stipulate plans and strategies to narrow the rural-urban disparity, it did not address the gender disparities in rural transport. Beyond policy, Ghana seems to have bureaucratic bottlenecks and incongruities that impede the effective implementation of gendered mainstreaming policies. The

creation of gender focal points at MDAs without a corresponding operational budget line epitomises the bottlenecks and incongruities.

This study has reviewed the performance of gender in two rural transport programmes, the NRPIS and the ongoing COCOBOD. Though NRPIS ended 24 years ago, it is one of the few programmes in Africa to pioneer and test gender mainstreaming issues in Africa, albeit with mixed results. The programme achieved 1:1 gender ratio in labour participation; afforded women nutrition literacy; provided potable water through digging of wells, and conserved energy through planting of woodlots to reduce the domestic work burden of women. The NRPIS also built the capacity of NGOs involved in gender activities. Regardless of failing to reduce head portorage, the NRPIS may be deemed as an overall success.

Complexity and ambition are the two most striking attributes that define the successes and shortcomings of the NRPIS. It aptly integrated several interlinked interventions that reinforced each other. This level of complexity, however, presented a management nightmare that overwhelmed a management committee with limited expertise. In spite of its scalability potential, the gender mainstreaming success of the NRPIS has not been upscaled. The lack of the right policy landscape at that time could have been a major hindrance to upscaling. However, the lack of an enabling policy environment may be symptomatic of a bigger hindrance; the lack of political will.

The NRPIS was donor-funded, and it is noteworthy that almost all donor-funded programmes have gender mainstreaming components, whilst the government-sponsored programmes do not always consider this as critical. Even national plans such as the ITP, which has gender dimensions, are partly donor funded. It is disquieting to note that the ongoing cocoa roads programme (2015 - 2020), which is a Ghana government sponsored programme (funded by COCOBOD), has no gender mainstreaming components. The fact that there are no gender mainstreaming components to a transport sector project being executed in the midst of gender mainstreaming advocacy and an enabling gender policy landscape is perhaps an indication of regression within gender and transport. There is need for the rural transport sector to examine ways of ensuring sustainable and systemic mainstreaming of gender issues in policies, regulations and monitoring and compliance systems of government.

This study reemphasises the need for deliberate efforts to ensure that people from all social groupings have equal opportunities in the rural transport sector. This requires dedicated personnel, dedicated budget lines, a fine-tuned institutional framework and an enabling policy environment. Thus, intentional consideration of gender from the outset of project formulation and a well-co-ordinated management system that draws in all key sectors of interest must be put in place to ensure that the right expertise is brought on board in such programmes.

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Annex A: List of Project Documents

PROJECT DOCUMENTS

- a. Project formulation documents
 - i. Report on NGO Involvement in Northern Region Pilot Scheme of Second Transport Rehabilitation Project (D53775). B.V. Parameswara Rao/World Bank (1990).
 - ii. Northern Region Pilot Project to Improve Rural Mobility. K. Adarkwa, (1990)
- b. Feasibility studies/Appraisal reports
 - i. Staff Appraisal Report: Ghana Second Transport Rehabilitation Project (Report No. 8945-GH), World Bank, 1990.
 - ii. Northern Region Pilot Scheme for Rural Roads and Transport - Nutrition Aspects (D42193). World Bank (1990)
 - iii. Report on a Northern Region Pilot Program: Economic Analysis of Selected Roads. (D42191), The Planning Unit, DFR (1990)
 - iv. Report on Feasibility Study of Hand-dug Wells in Tamale and its environs (D42188). A.T. Amuzu, D.G Frempong & World Bank (1990).
- c. Monitoring Reports/Annual reports (Name author and year)
 - i. Implementation Schedule (D42341). World Bank (1990)
 - ii. Second transport rehabilitation project: Northern Region pilot infrastructure scheme, third/final monitoring and supervision report, DFR, United Consultancy Ltd. (1990).
 - iii. Inception Report on Socio Economic Impact Monitoring and Evaluation Studies for the Northern Region Pilot Infrastructure Scheme (D209701). Department of Feeder Roads - Ministry of Roads and Highways (1994).
- d. Evaluation reports (Name author and year)
 - i. Implementation Completion Report (Report No. 15721). World Bank (1996).
 - ii. World Bank. Implementation Completion and Results Report: Second Transport Rehabilitation Project II. (Report No. 18413). World Bank (1998).
 - iii. Implementation Completion Report (ICR) Review - Second Transport Rehabilitation Project II , Binyam Reja (Independent Evaluation Group)/World Bank (1998)

Annex B: List of Key Informants

NAME	GENDER	POSITION	INSTITUTION
1. Francis Fiifi Arthur	M	Consultant/ Former Staff, Ministry of Roads and Highways	
2. Mawuena Vincent Kodzo	M	Programmes Officer	DANIDA
3. Maribel Okine	F	Assistant Programmes Officer	Department of Women (Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection).
4. Efua Duma Akwetea-Mensah	F	Principal Engineer/Gender Focal Person	Department of Feeder Roads (DFR)
5. Efua Effah	F	Principal Engineer/Gender Focal Person	Ministry of Roads & Highways (MRH)
6. Alhaji Issah Salifu	M	Executive Secretary	Amasachina Self- Help Association, Tamale, Ghana
7. Rita Ohene Sarfoh	F	Chief Engineer	Ghana Highways Authority and President Women in Engineering, Ghana (WinE).
8. Daniel Essel	M	Planning Officer	Ministry of Transport
9. Charles Asafo-Adjei	M	Former Chief Engineer,	COCOBOD and member Ghana Institute of Engineers
10. Ebenezer Armah	M	Transport Operator (Taxi driver), Union Chairman,	Jukwa Taxi (Station) Driver's Union.
11. Alhaji Ampah	M	Foreman for Road Contractor	Walker Enterprises
12. Kwasi Kwafu Adarkwa	M	Planning Consultant Former Vice Chancellor and Professor of Transportation Planning	NRPIS Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology College of Architecture and Planning of