

**The Effects of Gender and Education
on Perceptions of
Social Status and Power in Larteh, Ghana**

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Introduction

Social status and power are ambiguous terms. The classical sociologist Max Weber addressed social status in his discussions of social honor, status position, and status group. Social honor, according to Weber, "may be connected with any quality shared by plurality, and . . . it can be knit to class situations;" it "is normally expressed by the fact that above all else a specific *style of life* can be expected from all those who wish to belong to the circle"(Gerth and Mills 1946). Thus, an individual's social honor is shared by others who have similar values and expectations. Status position is determined by an individual's claim to social honor according to the number privileges she/he has (Weber 1968). A status group, on the other hand, is a group of social actors who claim social honor and privileges (Weber 1968). In sum, an individual's social status is determined by the social honor she/he claims according to her/his status group.

Social status, however, is not limited to the definitions provided by Weber. Turner (1988) expands the definition of social status by describing it as a social role assigned to a person's position in society. A person's societal position confers rights and obligations on that person as a member of a particular community (Turner 1988). According to Turner, social status can be determined by two attributes: ascribed status and achieved status. (Turner 1988). Ascribed status posits that the social status of individuals is determined by their given attributes, such as race, gender, and age. On the other hand, achieved status posits that social status can be earned. That is, individuals can increase their status through achievements, such as educational gain. In sum, ascribed status ties individuals to their given position and social status within their community, while achieved status provides opportunities for mobility.

Weber defined power as "the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action" (Gerth and Mills 1946). Weber thus viewed power in the social realm in which one person, or several people working together, have control over others. Those who have power dominate over others and force their ideals on those who do not have power. Lukes challenges Weber's definition of power. According to Lukes, views of power are not obvious and, in fact, definitions of power

may be at odds with each other (Lukes 1986). For example, power could refer to the production of intended effects, the capacity to realize one's will, the control over behavior, or a resource in society, among many other definitions of power (Lukes 1986). Lukes suggests that the concept of power is too broad to define and may encompass a number of attributes.

These definitions indicate the difficulties of defining the terms social status and power. Each definition differs according to the individual defining the terms and the social context to which they are applied. In other words, Weber, Turner, and Lukes defined social status and power according to their personal experiences and their environments. Thus, their definitions were derived within a developed country context. This does not suggest that their definitions could not be applied to developing countries. However, in order to determine how social status and power are viewed in a developing country, a case study should be pursued. Few studies have attempted to examine these concepts within a developing country context. In addition, the above definitions do not discuss the means by which individuals may obtain social status and power.

Education and gender, for example, play a large role in determining an individual's social status and power. In developing countries, education exposes individuals to new values which emphasize independence, self-reliance, and social mobility (Oheneba-Sakyi 1989, Pellow 1974). The exposure to new values change individuals' perceptions of social status and power. If education affects social status and power, then gender equally affects it since girls do not have equal access to educational opportunities as boys (Barry 1995). Moreover, the social structure of a community may prevent females from increasing their social status and power. Hence, in this paper, I will address two main research questions. First, how are social status and power perceived in developing countries? In particular, how are they perceived in Larteh, Ghana? Second, does gender and education affect social status and power in Larteh, Ghana?

I will address these research questions in three sections. First, I will place social status and power within a developing country context before examining it in relation to Larteh, Ghana. Second, I will examine how gender and education affect social status and power in Africa. In

doing so, I hope to display how education has increased opportunities for individuals and how gender has created or limited opportunities for individuals. Finally, I will analyze twenty-four interviews I conducted in Larteh, Ghana from April to May of 1994. I asked residents to list individuals who had power and/or high social status in the community and to explain why they believed these individuals had power and/or high social status. Moreover, I asked the respondents to evaluate their own power and social status in relation to their immediate and extended family, to their work place, to their social activities, and to the over all community (Please see Appendix A for interview questions).¹ In this analysis, I explain how education and gender influence the power and social status of individuals in Larteh, Ghana.

Social Status and Power within the Context of Developing Countries

Few studies examine power or social status in developing countries. Arens and Karp (1989) analyzed power within Africa; Leacock (1986) addressed the concept of power in relation to women cross-culturally, particularly women in developing countries; and Ortner (1981) discussed social status in Polynesia. All of these studies move away from the definitions provided by Weber, Turner, and Lukes. They emphasize attributes relevant to a developing country context. This does not suggest that their findings are limited to developing countries. Rather, their examinations of developing countries reveal differing perceptions of social status and power.

Arens and Karp (1989) define power according to ideology. They claim that previous studies on political systems (or societal structures) of developing countries rely on rationality or legitimacy of power. However, they believe that power should not be examined as rational, but rather in the ideational capacity (Arens and Karp 1989). They define power as encoding "ideas about the nature of the world, social relations, and the effects of actions in and on the world and the entities that inhabit it . . . [It is an] artifact of the imagination and a facet of human creativity"

¹ For the purposes of this paper, I concentrated on women's responses from the following questions: A 1-3, E 1-10, and G 1-2. For the men, I concentrated on the following questions: A 1-2, E 1-7.

(Arens and Karp 1989, p xii). They further emphasize that power is multicentered and that the idea of one center may be produced through the ideology of power (Arens and Karp 1989).

Individuals of a community conceptualize power and implement it in their social structure according to their actions and social relations. In this case, enforced ideologies are the multicentered powers that maintain a social structure. Clearly, ideologies can help to shape the distribution of power within communities.

Although Leacock (1986) agrees that ideology provides access to power, she also suggests alternative routes to power. According to Leacock, power can be divided into three different categories (Leacock 1986). The first is described as power achieved by, or authority accorded to, an individual. This would include monarchs, religious leaders, chiefs, etc. Because of the position these individuals hold within their society, their power, or authority, is legitimated, and respect is given from those who have not achieved the same position. This first category revolves around legitimization, authority, and respect. The second power, on the other hand, involves autonomy, which tends not to be legitimized. Through autonomy people make their own decisions, and they have the ability to make decisions for others. It is usually exerted through informal channels, such as social standing, money, or a job (Afonja 1986). Education also influences autonomy since it instills values such as independence and social mobility. The final type of power involves an objective structure of decision making which includes an ideological and cultural definition of a structure, as well as a validation of that structure by that culture. This third type of power is similar to the definitions of power provided by Arens and Karp since it hinges primarily on ideology. In sum, according to Leacock, power may be obtained from authority, autonomy, or the social structure of a society.

Leacock, however, further argues that this access to power is obtained either through formal or informal routes (Leacock 1986). She argues that women's formal power is publicly recognized authority that "varies by class, culture, race, and national status, but it is always less than that of men in the same position" (Leacock 1986). Informal power is influence that "varies

with the gender system of their culture, the status of the class, caste, race or religious sect to which they belong, the state laws under which they live, the economic and political position their nation holds in the international structure of power, and their personal attributes and life histories” (Leacock 1986). According to Leacock, men usually gain and use their power from the structures of formal power. They are recognized and respected; they have the ability to enact decisions through publicly recognized channels (Leacock 1986). In sum, men tend to have access to formal power, which leads to authority, and this, in turn, leads to respect and recognition from the public. Women, on the other hand, tend to use informal power to gain influence. This organization of informal and formal power in developing countries can leave women at a disadvantage since most women do not have access to formal power, and, thus, they gain little respect or recognition through these methods.

Ortner (1981) addresses social status in developing countries. In particular she examines the prestige system in Polynesia, in which individuals are born into certain social statuses and few are able to change their status rankings (Ortner 1981). On the basis of her analysis, she claims that the social status of individuals is determined first by their birth into their family’s status and second by biological characteristics, individual talents, skills, achievements, or functionally defined roles (Ortner 1981). Hence, within Polynesia, ascribed status, as it relates to family lineage, plays a primary role. Achieved status, such as educational gain, plays a minimal role in gaining social status. In addition, Ortner emphasizes the fact that there is a male bias in the hierarchical system. She claims that within the system, “men are formally superior to women, have near exclusive access to positions of social leadership, and dominate decision making on issues of importance to the unit as a whole” (Ortner 1981, p. 397). Therefore, according to Ortner, individuals’ social status in Polynesia is determined primarily by the societal hierarchical structure, and secondarily by personal attributes.

All of these definitions indicate the importance of social context in which social status and power is derived. Definitions derived in developed countries may be applied to developing

countries, just as definitions derived in developing countries may be applied to developed countries. However, the manner in which definitions are applied differs according to the social context. For example, the importance of ascribed and achieved statuses in a developed country will differ from those in a developing country. An in depth study of Larteh, Ghana reveals how social context affects individual's perceptions of both social status and power.

Methods

In order to examine perceptions of social status and power, I conducted interviews in Larteh, Ghana. Larteh is a small farming town located about 60 miles northeast of Accra in the Eastern Region (Please see Appendix B for map). According to the 1984 Population Census of Ghana, Larteh had a population of 6,459 people, 2,866 of whom were men and 3,593 of whom were women. Since Larteh is a farming community, there are limited employment opportunities; most residents tend to be limited to farming activities, trading activities, or teaching. Many people also spend a portion of their lives outside of Larteh due to the employment situation. These unique characteristics of Larteh are captured in the interviews.

Overall, I interviewed sixteen women and eight men all ranging from the ages of 28 to 81. Of these interviews, eight of the sixteen women and two of the eight men were interviewed in Twi. Three different enablers helped me. The interviewees who spoke English were more than willing to help me and felt the need to tell me as much as possible. On the other hand, the interviews in Twi were more difficult to collect because the men and women interviewed were more suspicious of my research. Some individuals did not participate in the interview process because of their suspicions. However, the few interviews I did collect were rich in substance.

The questions I asked were divided into seven sections: definitions of power, status and respect, marriage, nuclear family, extended family, the work place, recreational activities, and the community. In the first section, the interviewees mention which people have power, status or respect in their community and why these people have obtained their position. The following

sections address which individuals have influence in decision making processes. Moreover, interviewees were asked to mention individuals who had power, status, or respect within the family, workplace and the community. From these interviews, I will examine how perceptions of social status and power are formed in Larteh, Ghana.

Social Status and Power in Larteh, Ghana

Some definitions of social status and power applied to developed and developing countries, as described above, can partially be applied to Larteh, Ghana. First, Ortner's discussion of hierarchical structure in Polynesia can be transposed, to a certain extent, to Larteh. The social organization revolves around the chief, who is the head of the community. Below him are a group of male elders and a selection of sub-chiefs, who may be male or female.² The elders are chosen by the chief, and each sub-chief represents a residential area of the town.³ Social status may derive from either one of these positions. Yet, this hierarchical structure is not a permanent structure. The selection of elders and sub-chiefs change with time, and selections may occur across different family lineages. Moreover, there are other hierarchical structures present within the community. For example, there is one main fetish priestess⁴ within Larteh with many other fetish priests and priestesses ranked beneath her according to their supernatural powers. Again, this hierarchical structure is not necessarily determined by family lineage, and the individuals who maintain these

² In this description of elders, I am referring to a small group of older men appointed by the chief. They help the chief keep order in the town. However, elders in general also receive respect from the community due to their knowledge of Larteh. I refer to this group of elders later in the paper.

³ Each sub-chief is nominated by members of the residential area. The chief must then approve the appointment.

⁴ Fetish priests and priestesses participate in African traditional religion. The main fetish priestess presides over the Akonedi shrine. She is possessed by the spirit of Akonedi, who dies during childbirth. She attempts to help individuals through her powers derived from the Akonedi spirit.

positions change over time. In sum, hierarchical structures do play a role in determining social status in Larteh; however, they appear to be fluid and revolve primarily around achieved statuses rather than ascribed statuses.

Second, although the role of ascribed statuses in Larteh is not predominant, it still contributes to social status in power. Social status may be determined by economic status, which contributes to ascribed status. Although individuals may increase their wealth throughout their lifetimes and eventually obtain economic status, economic status tends to remain within family lineages. Thus, families with a high economic status tend to maintain their economic status since their children may obtain higher educational levels and increase their employment opportunities. At the same time, families with a low economic status may not have the opportunity to increase their children's educational levels, which will in turn affect their employment opportunities. Birth into a family lineage contributes to the level of social status individuals obtain; however, both hierarchical structures and economic status play only a secondary role in determining individuals' social status. In Larteh, social status is determined primarily by the social roles assigned to a person's position in society. In other words, as one respondent replied, individuals maintain a higher social status if they have the "proper behavior and attitudes." For example, a woman who respects those of higher authority, is productive at her job, is respectful of her husband, and cares for her children will achieve a higher status. On the other hand, if she does not comply with these expectations, then she may obtain a lower social status. Thus, social status in Larteh, Ghana hinges primarily on social roles and secondarily on hierarchical structures and ascribed economic status.

Third, while Weber's definition of power does not offer much for the analysis of power in Larteh, Leacock's separation of formal and informal power helps to explain the organization of power in Larteh. The conceptualization of power in Larteh, Ghana, is also much more complex than the definition given by Weber. Achieving one's will over the resistance of others is one attribute of power. However, in this instance, "will" needs to be clarified. Does it refer to coercion, force, influence, or to any type of power to achieve one's will? Moreover, can power

only be realized with the presence of resistance? Leacock expands on Weber's definition through the analysis of formal and informal power. Formal power in Larteh is evident as recognized authority, such as the chief and sub-chiefs. As Leacock suggests, males in Larteh have more access to formal power than females. Although some females become sub-chiefs, most sub-chiefs are males. Informal power is also recognized in Larteh through attributes such as gender, age, economic power, or social roles.

Beyond these definitions of power, I must rely on the definitions of power as suggested by Leacock, Arens and Karp. According to these authors, ideology contributes to the conceptualization of power within a community. In other words, the definitions derive from within the community. The ideology of power and social status was revealed, for the most part, through the interviews I conducted in Larteh. The interview respondents grouped power and social status into three main categories. First, some referred to power as it related to the "authority system" which is based on respect. The chief, sub-chiefs, elders, and fetish priestesses/priests fall into this category. Leacock's discussion of authority accorded to individuals also encompasses this category devised by residents of Larteh. Second, some defined power in a more general sense of having any influence over another person's actions. This includes influencing the decisions or actions of others, such as educating individuals. Many respondents emphasized how individuals influenced others through education. Again, Leacock's discussion of autonomous individuals who influence decisions would fall in this category. Finally, many respondents referred to power as supernatural power, which includes the positions of the fetish priestesses and priests, as well as individuals who have the ability to perform black or white magic. The respondents further separated power into beneficial and malicious power. Beneficial power includes educating individuals, while malicious power includes bringing harm to others, such as practicing black magic. Thus, according to the ideology of power in Larteh, power refers primarily to the "authority system," the influence an individual has over another's actions and decisions, and the supernatural abilities of an individual.

Social status and power in Larteh, Ghana incorporates definitions derived in both developed and developing countries. However, and not surprisingly, definitions taken from a developing country context relate more to the situation in Larteh. The examination of Larteh indicates the importance of social context in determining perceptions of social status and power. In Larteh, social status focuses on fluid hierarchical structures, and achieved and ascribed statuses; power relies primarily on informal and formal structures, as well as the authority system, the influence of individuals, and supernatural abilities. Only through the examination of this case study could the perceptions of social status and power be determined.

In addition, all definitions of social status and power - in developed countries, developing countries, and Larteh - indicate the importance of gender and education in relation to social status and power. Leacock discusses how women lack access to many formal channels of power. Ortner emphasizes the fact that there is a male bias in hierarchical systems of social status. The authority system described by respondents in Larteh also suggest a male bias. At the same time, educational attainment appears to influence increases in social status and power. Leacock describes how autonomy of individuals leads to their influence in decisions-making processes. Respondents in Larteh substantiate this when they indicate that individuals influence others through education. Thus, in order to fully understand the implications of education and gender on social status and power, I will examine how they directly influence social status and power in Ghana.

The Effects of Education and Gender on Social Status and Power

Education

Education is essential in affecting individuals' social status and power. This is evident when examining the introduction of education into Ghana. Under the British rule, schools were founded by missionaries and later by the British government (Pellow 1974). These British schools were established mainly for the education of boys in order for them to obtain formal sector jobs in cities. Some schools were established for girls; however, the instruction focused on domestic

chores, such as sewing or cooking (Pellow 1974). Because many Ghanaians believed that girls would eventually become housewives, they had no reason to attend schools (Akuffo 1987). Unlike girls, boys were expected to earn money, and people soon learned that the jobs obtained as a result of education earned more than physical labor would (Pellow 1974). The historical implementation of education disadvantaged women relative to their male counterparts. Moreover, it reinforced the domestic roles of women. Essentially, it formed and reinforced the values that placed women in the domestic sphere and men in the public sphere. However, these values slowly changed in the 1960s when more girls began to enter secondary schools and emphasis on the domestic sphere dissipated within the school system (Pellow 1974).

As demonstrated above, values can be formed through the educational system. In Ghana, these values are based on "western" ideology, since schooling was introduced through the British (Pellow 1974). This ideology emphasizes the importance of the individual and reshapes the values of men and women (Oheneba-Sakyi 1989). The majority of secondary schools are boarding schools which take adolescents out of their homes and out of the direct influence of their parents (Pellow 1974). In these boarding schools, they are taught new ideas and values. For example, education emphasizes independence rather than the obligation to one's parents (Oheneba-Sakyi 1989). Most importantly, educated individuals no longer have to rely on traditional values since education teaches self-reliance and provides the means for social mobility. For example, women may no longer feel the need to gain status through children. Rather, their status would accrue according to their education and employment. In fact, studies indicate that education does decrease women's fertility levels, as well as to help shape new values (Oppong and Abu 1987). In sum, education introduces individuals to new values that help to shape their own perceptions of social status and power.

Besides influencing individual values, education also enhances social status and power through other methods. When a woman receives a school diploma, she has already increased her status (Oppong and Abu 1987). With a diploma, others know she is an educated person. Better

paying job opportunities are also at her disposal. Women with secondary schooling can obtain jobs, such as civil servants, clerical workers, or teachers. Women gain respect from others through their employment. Moreover, their wealth increases, which further increases their social status. On a more elementary level, literacy allows for more independence. With literacy, women no longer have to rely on others to tell them how to take medication, what the newspaper says, or what an advertisement signifies. Literate women can read information themselves and determine whether or not it is of importance. Women's ability to read further increases their status since they may explain information to those who remain illiterate. Furthermore, literacy no doubt increases women's self-esteem. They have the ability and the knowledge to read. They also gain some autonomy because they no longer have to rely on others to interpret information for them. Thus, education plays an extremely important role in improving women's position.

Education is an achieved status. As individuals increase their education their social status and power will increase in two respects. First, education increases autonomy. Values taught in the schooling system stress independence and social mobility. This increases individuals' autonomy, which Leacock suggests increases individuals' influence over decision making processes. Second, education increases social status and power according to the ideologies of individuals. With an increase of education, new perceptions of social status and power are formed. Individuals' perceptions of social status move away from traditional values towards educational values. In addition, diplomas, literacy, and employment opportunities obtained after schooling raise social status. Thus, individuals' social status and power increase and their perceptions of social status and power changes with increased education.

Gender

Unfortunately, girls do not have equal access to educational opportunities as boys. Statistics compiled by the Ghana Statistical Service demonstrate girls' lack of access to education (Berry 1995). The primary school enrollment in 1980-81 in Ghana included 766,406 boys and

611,328 girls. The boys enrollment was 56% of the total, where as the girls was 44% of the total. The percentage in gender breakdown did not change much within a ten year period. Out of the total enrollment of primary schools in 1990-91, 55% were boys and 45% were girls. The gender gap further increases when examining secondary schools. In 1980-81, the boys made up 69% of the total enrollment, and the girls made up only 31%. Again, the gender breakdown changes little over a ten year period. In 1990-91, the total enrollment consisted of 67% boys and 33% girls. When examining the University of Ghana, the gender gap widens further. In 1980-81, 84% of the enrollment was boys and 16% of the enrollment was girls. The gender gap did not improve much in 1990-91. Out of the total enrollment, 76% were boys and 24% were girls. Clearly, girls are gaining more access to primary education; yet, their access to secondary and higher levels of education remain low in comparison to boys' access.

This discrepancy between male/female enrollment can be explained by two main reasons. First, women are primarily seen as mothers while men are viewed as financial supporters in Sub-Saharan Africa. The kinship lineage emphasizes the importance of kin (Dolphyne 1991). Therefore, women feel pressure to bear children to continue their kin lineage. Their social status hinges on having children, and it becomes their primary responsibility. If they have several children, they gain respect from relatives since they have continued their lineage. Due to these expectations, many girls feel pressure to have children and do not finish their education because of early pregnancies. In addition, girls are expected to care for younger siblings and are taken out of school for this purpose (Dolphyne 1991). Lloyd and Gage Brandon (1993) found that with each additional younger sibling, the likelihood of dropping out school increased among girls. Men, on the other hand, are expected to provide monetary support for the household and their parents. Since there are no social security benefits in Ghana, parents depend on children for financial support (Dolphyne 1991). Women are expected, for the most part, to support their husbands. Men, however, are expected to be financially responsible for their parents. Therefore, families tend to send boys -- over girls -- to school for the purpose of obtaining a higher paying job. In

sum, whereas the socially expected role of the woman in Sub-Saharan Africa is seen by many as that of a caretaker, the man is socially expected to fulfill the role of the household provider.

Second, women's economic returns to education are not as evident as men's. Women's returns are in fact lower than men's return to education in developing countries (Herz et al 1991). However, this may be deceiving since these estimates are based only on economic returns from wage labor (Herz et al 1991). Many women do not participate in the wage labor force and their returns are not calculated into the economic returns to education. Therefore, women may in fact have a greater economic return to education than is indicated. Women's returns to education may also be affected by the labor force. Women have limited employment opportunities in the labor force due to sexual discrimination (Herz et al 1991). Moreover, women tend to receive lower pay than their male counterparts. Thus, women may opt out of the wage labor market due to financial reasons or the lack of opportunities. The fact that women do experience discrimination in job selection and payment also reinforces the practices of sending boys, rather than girls, to school. Parents may recognize these impediments facing women in relation to employment opportunities. Therefore, they may choose to educate their boys. However, the economic returns to any individual should be emphasized. Every individual does accrue economic returns, particularly when educated at the primary and secondary levels of education.

Girls' lack of access to education further affects their employment opportunities. As education increases so does employment opportunities. Therefore, men tend to have greater access to a wide variety of employment opportunities, while women are limited in their employment opportunities. As evidenced in Africa South of the Sahara 1996, women tend to be employed in lower income sectors (Please see Appendix C). Men dominate the following sectors: mining and quarrying; electricity, gas and water; construction; transport, storage, and communications; financing, insurance, real estate and business services; and community, social and personal services. On the other hand, women dominate the manufacturing sector and the trades, restaurants, and hotels sector. At first glance, women may appear to be involved in a higher

income sector, due to their participation in the trades, restaurants, and hotels sector. However, few women participate in restaurant and hotel employment opportunities. Most women participate in small scale trade. Overall, the examination of this data indicates that men tend to dominate sectors that require skills or education, while women dominate sectors that do not require education. Moreover, more men participate in a wide variety of sectors, whereas women tend to be concentrated in two main sectors. Thus, women's lack of access to educational opportunities appears to affect their access to employment opportunities.

To conclude, the effects of gender on social status and power are directly related to education. Unlike education, gender is an ascribed status. Females tend to be at a disadvantage to males. As Turner suggests, a social role is assigned to a person's position in society. Thus, women are bound to the societal expectations of their gender roles. According to this ideological distribution of power, women do not receive equal access to education which hinders their employment opportunities. Since societal expectations limit women's options, gaining social status and power through achieved status is difficult. Hence, gender limits access to education and employment.

Gender and Education in Larteh, Ghana

Gender and education clearly have an effect on social status and power in Larteh, Ghana. When I asked the twenty-four respondents to mention some individuals in Larteh who had power, respect, or influence, the majority mentioned individuals who had gained power or social status through traditional means. For example, the chief, sub-chiefs, the fetish priestess, and the elders were predominantly mentioned by the respondents when they were asked which people of Larteh had power or gained respect.⁵ Clearly, tradition still plays a key role in determining social status and power in Larteh. However, education and gender also influence perceptions of social status

⁵ Most respondents were referring to elders in general and not the elders appointed by the chief.

and power. In order to demonstrate the effects of education and gender on perceptions of social status and power, I will first present data indicating educational inequalities in relation to gender. Second, I will demonstrate how women's lack of access to educational opportunities affects their employment opportunities, as well as their financial situation. Both employment and finance play a key role in perceptions of social status in Larteh, Ghana. Third, I will examine how women perceive social status and power as applied to employed women. In the final analysis, I will argue that gender and educational disadvantages limit perceptions of social status and power.

Educational gender inequalities are apparent in Larteh, Ghana. Of the sixteen women I interviewed, three had no education, three completed primary school, five attended secondary school (but did not complete it), and five attended a training school.⁶ Of the eight men I interviewed, all of them had completed their education up to Form 4. Four of the eight men attained a secondary level education, and two of these four men completed an education beyond the secondary level (Please see Appendix D to see outline of educational and occupational backgrounds of respondents). According to the statistics above, age should affect individuals' educational levels. For example, more younger women should have gained a primary or secondary education than the older women. However, in these interviews, age does not appear to influence educational levels. The women who obtained no education ranged from thirty-three to seventy-one years of age. The women who attended a training school ranged from twenty-eight to seventy-two years of age. The men's ages ranged from twenty-eight to seventy-four years. Thus, the younger men or women do not appear to have an advantage over the older individuals in attaining a primary or secondary level of education. Moreover, access to education is clearly divided by gender. All men obtained a secondary level education, whereas only half of the women gained a secondary

⁶ The schools of Ghana are based on the British system. Primary school consists of Classes 1-6. Secondary school includes Forms 1-6 plus ordinary and Advanced Levels. After completing A' or O' Levels, individuals may choose to enter a university. Some individuals take an early leave of schooling after completing Form 4. The completion of Form 4 allows individuals to enter training schools.

education. Since women begin with an educational disadvantage to men, they have a further disadvantage in employment and financial opportunities.

Individuals' employment hinges primarily on their educational levels. Individuals with lower educational levels have limited employment opportunities. Most of the women in Larteh either sold food, traded goods, or farmed. Out of two women who completed their primary education, one woman was a seamstress and the other used to work for Ghana Airways (this woman had nearly completed her secondary level education, but dropped out before she completed it). One woman who completed Form 4 owned a shop. However, three out of the five women who attended a training school were teachers. One of the teachers also owned a shop. An additional woman was a midwife and used to operate a nursery. The fact that primary and secondary levels of education appear to have little impact on employment opportunities may be related to the structure of Larteh. Since Larteh is a farming community, individuals have fewer employment options. Therefore, many women opt to trade goods or sell cooked foods. In addition, as stated earlier, some of these women may have experience sexual discrimination in the formal employment sector and, thus, decided to trade goods or sell prepared foods instead. Nonetheless, all of the women I interviewed attempted to gain income through some type of employment. Only two women, both without any education, farmed and did not attain income through other methods. Moreover, women may not be as mobile as men. Since men have greater access to education, they may also have greater access to mobility for the purpose of obtaining employment. Due to the cultural expectations, men are expected to be the primary financial providers. Therefore, men may prove to be more mobile for obtaining employment. Women, on the other hand, are simply expected to support their husbands. Thus, employment, for women, plays a secondary role and mobility for the purpose of employment is not stressed. Among the men, only one man farmed without any other source of income. Three of the eight men owned drinking establishments; one man was a store keeper in another city; one was a retired nurse; another man was a communications manager with civil aviation authority in the capital of Ghana;

and one man worked in an architectural and engineering office outside of Larteh. In comparison to the women, the men had higher paying employment opportunities. Thus, the secondary educational levels improved the mens employment opportunities. Again, the men had an advantage over women in relation to employment opportunities, as well as educational opportunities.

Employment and educational opportunities play a key role in perceptions of status because they affect individuals' income. Nearly all of the interview respondents made explicit references to money and how it affects individuals. Only three men did not associate money with power, status and respect. The other men emphasized the importance of money. One man claimed that "people are respected because they get money, or they get a big job to do." Another respondent stated that one man "wields a lot of power because of his wealth." Women also emphasized the importance of money. One woman said that "if you have money, they will respect you," and "if you have money, then you have more power." Another woman claimed that she admired a woman because she depended financially on herself. In addition, money affected status and power within marital relations. As one man said, "I think I have more power (than my wife) because everything in the house is provided by me." One woman also said that "since [I also] contribute to the household, I have a stake in the decision making." Another woman concurred when she claimed that "because she can contribute (to the household), she can advise her husband more." If women have an increased income, they may rely financially on themselves, gain respect from their husbands, and gain respect and power within the community. Income plays an essential role in increasing women's social status and power and their own perceptions of social status and power as it relates to themselves, their marital relations, and their community.

Men are at an advantage over women in relation to educational, employment, and economic opportunities. Women, overall, have a lower social status than men; therefore, further examination into their perceptions of social status should reveal how their social status and power and their perceptions of social status and power can change and improve.

When the female respondents were asked to name other women within Larteh who had power, social status, or respect because of their jobs, the answers varied according to educational levels. All of the women without any education claimed that they were not familiar with the community, so they could not mention women who had power or respect because of their employment endeavors. One woman claimed that "she can't tell which people are doing well because they are all living in their homes. She doesn't talk with others about women who work and do well." Another woman said that with jobs some women had money, but she didn't think that gave them more power. Similarly, two women who finished primary school simply stated that they do not know any women who have power, status or respect because of their jobs. Only one woman who finished Form 4 said that she did not know any women with power and respect. In sum, all women without an education could not mention women who were respected due to their employment; two out of five women with a primary education named employed women; two out of three women with a secondary education mentioned women who had power and respect; and all women who attended a training school named women who gained respect and power through employment. Respondents with higher educational levels are more inclined to perceive employed women as having power and respect.

Women with higher educational levels list employed women as having power and respect for several reasons. According to their responses, an employed woman is respected because "she has money and she does well," "she gives out loans to other women," "she has several cocoa farms, so she has money and is respected," "she depends on herself," "she is living on her own," "she is a retired teacher and she is respected because of her work," "she has her own store," "she also talks in public," "she will credit you," "she has apprentices," or "she is a woman and she is having her own machines to make the bread." Clearly, employment and income play a large role in forming women's perceptions of social status, power, and respect.

This is particularly salient when analyzing whether or not the respondents felt as if they received power and respect from within the community. Women with no education and women

with a primary level education received little power and respect from within the community. Four out of the eight women did not gain power and respect within Larteh. Three out of the eight women gained respect due to traditional reasons. For example, one woman claimed she had respect because she descends from the founders of Larteh. Another woman said she had respect within her community because she was the first to settle in that area. She, thus, earned the nickname of queen mother. One woman who nearly completed her secondary level education remarked that she gained respect because others could ask her for help if they needed to borrow anything. Although two of the women who completed Form 4 stated that they had no influence in Larteh, one woman maintained she did because people go to her for advice and jobs. Four out of the five women who had attended a training college claimed that they had power and respect in Larteh due to their employment. One woman stated, "Yes (I have power, respect and influence in my community). Because I was going around with patients to make sure people are o.k., I was respected and got many patients." Another woman responded, "Yes. I serve on committees. It influences other people." A teacher who creates projects, such as soap making, for community members also remarked she had power because "people respond to whatever [she] tells them. They get something from it, so they trust me. For example, soap making. People have been making money by selling it on the market." Learned skills and employment opportunities appear to influence respondents power and respect within the community. With an increase in educational levels, women rely less on traditional means to gain power, respect and status within the community and more on their educational and occupational skills.

As evidenced above, perceptions of social status and power are formed, in part, by gender and educational levels. Tradition still plays a predominant role in determining individuals' social status and power. However, perceptions of social status and power move away from traditional expectations towards employment opportunities or income intake with increased education. This leads to increased gender inequalities since men have a more expansive source of power and social status through their increased access to education. Women's lack of educational and occupational

opportunities leads to their overall decreased status, as compared with men. In sum, women's social status remains lower and their power weaker, as compared to men's, due to their lack of access to educational opportunities.

Discussion

Gender and education affect social status and power in Larteh, Ghana. In this section, I examine what role gender and education play in determining an individual's overall social status and power. According to the social context of Larteh, social status and power may be gained either through traditional or non-traditional (i.e. educational) means. In the following two sections I demonstrate how traditional access to power and social status differs from non-traditional access. In particular, I explain how tradition limits access to power and social status, while education expands access to power and social status.

Social Status

Social status in Larteh, Ghana appears to hinge primarily on traditional positions. The traditional hierarchical structure of Larteh and the means by which to gain social status is emphasized in the interviews. When the respondents were asked to mention individuals with power and high social status the predominant three categories mentioned were the chief, the fetish priestess, and elders. The respondents mentioned the chief because "the chief is the overall power. All lands are in his hands, so he has the power over the people in his town." The fetish priestess has power and a high social status because she "pays tribute to the gods, and holds the history of the town." The "elders that gave birth to their group of people" gain respect and power because "they have knowledge of history." These responses demonstrate the importance of the traditional hierarchical system, as well as the importance of ascribed statuses.

According to Ortner, individuals in developing countries, particularly Polynesia, base their social status according to the hierarchical structure into which they are born. Therefore, their

statuses are based primarily on ascribed statuses rather than achieved statuses. In Larteh, the positions of the chief, the sub-chiefs, the Fetish Priestess, the elders (as selected by the chief) and the remaining priests and priestess gain their positions during their life course. They are not born into these roles. Rather, they are appointed to these roles by others. Only the position of the chief is more ascribed than the other positions listed; the individual who follows the current chief remains in the same brong.⁷ However, the particular individual to take the place of the chief would not be chosen until after the chief has stepped down or passed away. Thus, the position of the chief is ascribed in the sense that it remains in the same brong; nonetheless, individuals are not born into the position of chief in Larteh. Even the position of chief indicates the fluid hierarchical structure in Larteh. Although the chief, sub-chief, Fetish Priestess, the elders, or fetish priests/priestesses are not born into a rigid social structure that automatically gains them respect, they are nevertheless naturally accorded respect and gain social status according to their titles. In sum, the fluid hierarchical structures in Larteh determine social status, but this status is not dependent on ascribed status.

Ascribed statuses are also linked to the traditional system. As mentioned above, many traditional positions are not ascribed from birth. However, many positions rely on familial ties. For example, the appointments of chiefs remain within the same lineage (this is not the case with sub-chiefs), and individuals recognized as the descendants of the founders of Larteh also maintain their social status due to familial lineage. Therefore, individuals may acquire ascribed social status through their lineages and families. Many respondents also mentioned all elders as respected individuals in Larteh. Any individual who is fairly old maintains a higher social status since they garner the knowledge of the town. In an indirect way, gender is also an ascribed status that affects outcomes. Females cannot become chiefs (although they do have the opportunity of becoming sub-chiefs). Females are also not accorded the same opportunities as males due to the cultural

⁷ A brong is a social unit with kinship and territorial dimensions. They are central to social organization.

expectations (please see the section above addressing education and gender in Ghana). Thus, ascribed statuses are linked to tradition through kin lineages, age, and gender.

However, social status is not solely limited to the traditional hierarchical system nor to ascribed statuses. Achieved statuses emphasize attained social status outside the traditional system. As evidenced in the interviews, individuals with increased education placed greater value on achieved statuses, such as occupational activities. Moreover, individuals with increased education were more likely to participate in employment opportunities that gained them respect. Therefore, they felt as if they had social status within their community because of their employment. At the same time, many respondents equated money with increased social status. Both employment opportunities and income increase with education. In sum, increased education led to an increase in income and employment opportunities, which further led to a higher social status within the community.

Clearly individuals may gain social status through traditional means. However, education provides alternative routes to increased social status. Unfortunately, not all individuals have equal access to increased social status through education. Due to gender bias in Ghana, more males attend schools than females. Thus, males have a greater opportunity to increase their social status than females. Hence, a gender bias persists not only in the traditional hierarchical structure and the ascribed statuses, but also in relation to education, employment and income. Therefore, many women rely on traditional values to improve their social status. Only females who have access to education have the opportunity to increase their social status through educational, or non-traditional, means. In sum, the traditional hierarchical structure provides avenues for gaining social status; however, education provides additional opportunities for gaining social status. With an increase in education and a decrease in gender bias, more individuals will have greater access to increased social status.

Power

Like social status, power is obtained either through traditional or non-traditional means. Most of the ideological definitions of power that residents of Larteh presented remain linked to the traditional system. To begin with, the authority system corresponds with tradition. One respondent, defined this system well when he said, "We have the chief of the town as the head. Under him, every division has a head (sub-chiefs). These go down the ladder to the common man. Just as every child is obliged to obey the father, we are very much influenced by power or authority and have respect for power or authority." Thus, the chief, sub-chiefs, or other traditional titles, such as the abusua panyin (the head of a kin lineage) wield power because of the position they have obtained within the society. The individuals who have obtained these positions have legitimated, or formal, power accorded to them by the people. On the other hand, individuals who have obtained power through supernatural resources use informal sources; yet, they are also tied to tradition and maintain authority. Those who use supernatural powers include the Fetish Priestess and other fetish priestesses and priests under her. Their power is considered informal since they gain it through supernatural influence rather than through legitimated and recognized positions. Whether the power resources are formal or informal, many residents of Larteh refer to traditional means of gaining power. However, this should not suggest that individuals are limited to traditional sources of power.

The one remaining definition of power presented by residents of Larteh includes influence by individuals. Individuals who influence others do so through traditional and non-traditional means. Obviously those tied to the authority system, or those using supernatural powers, have the power to influence those subordinate to them. However, one man specifically claimed that "someone who has influence is any other person (outside of the authority system) who has wielded respect from others." Influence does not appear to be dependent on the traditional system. This becomes evident in many of the interviews. For example, one woman working as a seamstress claimed that she had many apprentices, so she influenced them and they respected her. Another

woman claimed she had influence working at Ghana Airways because she had juniors under her who she had to teach. She influenced them and they respected her. One respondent stated that “some influence in the home or through learning. Because of education, they can influence.” The same respondent stated that she had influence because she made money. A teacher also claimed to have influence, “because I am teaching children, I have influence over the children. I help them to learn.” One woman who worked in a nursery said, “because I was in charge of a nursery, I was giving commands. I will have influence by all means.” One male respondent claimed that reverend ministers and teachers influence because they have respect for people and they give knowledge to people. Another male respondent commented that one woman can influence and help another woman to start a business. Clearly, when individuals of Larteh speak of influence on other individuals, they refer primarily to those who are educated or employed. If they do not directly state that educated individuals influence others, they do so indirectly by making reference to their employment. Most individuals who have gained influence over others have done so through occupations that require an education. The teachers, the nursery head, or the Ghana Airways employee attributed their influence to employment. Thus, power derived from influence over others is gained, for the most part, outside of the traditional system and through educational means.

Individuals may gain social status and power through obtaining a position within a fluid hierarchical system, through ascribed statuses, through supernatural powers, or through educational means. Individuals who obtain social status and power through a fluid hierarchical system, through ascribed statuses and through supernatural powers remain dependent on the traditional system. Their resources for gaining social status and power are more limited. However, individuals who gain social status and power through educational means are exposed to new resources outside the traditional system. Therefore, exposure to education can only lead to an increased social status and power for individuals in Larteh, Ghana. Moreover, exposure to education is relevant for both males and females. Since males have greater access to education

their social status and power remains higher than females. Only if women gain equal access to educational opportunities will their social status and power increase and perhaps achieve a state equal to their male counterparts.

Conclusion

In this paper, I analyzed social status and power in two parts. First, I placed social status and power within a developing country context. Social context forms perceptions of social status and power. In the case of Larteh, Ghana, social status and power are gained through either traditional or non-traditional (educational) means. Second, I demonstrated how education and gender affect social status and power in Larteh, Ghana. While education provides additional avenues for gaining social status and power, a gender bias in the traditional hierarchical structure and the educational system places women at a disadvantage. Thus, women do not have equal social status and power as compared to men.

In Larteh, Ghana, individuals rely primarily on the traditional hierarchical system to gain social status and power. However, education introduces alternative routes to gaining social status and power. To begin with, perceptions of social status and power change with increased education. Educated individuals viewed education, employment and income as sources of social status and power. Moreover, with increased education, individuals have greater access to employment opportunities and increased incomes. Many respondents also recognized the value of education. Education allows individuals to influence others through their knowledge or it allows them to provide knowledge to others.

Unfortunately, females do not have equal access to educational opportunities as males. Because of females lack of access to education, they also face limited employment opportunities. Moreover, if women do not have an education their income will remain lower than those who have gained an education. Since income and employment are linked to education and they play such a prominent role in determining social status and power, women maintain a lower social status and

have less power than men. Therefore, uneducated women find themselves dependent on the traditional system to gain social status and power. Their access to power and social status is limited. Women's social status and power can only improve if they have equal educational opportunities as men.

Within the social context of Larteh, Ghana, social status and power are gained either through traditional or non-traditional (educational) means. Education provides additional routes to gaining social status and power outside the traditional hierarchical system. Unfortunately, females do not have equal access to education as males. Thus, the social status and power of individuals in Larteh, Ghana, will only improve with a decrease in gender bias and an increase in educational opportunities.

Appendix A

Women

Name

Age

Ethnic Group

Education Level

Religion

Married?

How long?

How long have you lived in Larteh?

Husband's ethnic group

Where does he live?

A. Power

1. When you hear the words power or influence, such as influencing someone's actions, what do you think of generally?
2. Do you feel you have power or influence?
3. Can you name some people in your community who have power, influence, or respect? Why do they have power or respect?

B. Decision Making

1. Who in your household buys clothes for the family?
2. Who decides which clothes to buy?
3. Who buys food for your family?
4. Who decides which foods to buy?
5. When clothes, food, and other household items are bought, what money is used?
6. Do you have your own source of income? Do you think this affects your role in decision making?
7. Do you lend/give your income to others? i.e. relatives
8. Who decides when meals should be prepared?
9. Who decides which household items should be bought? i.e. brooms, pots, pans, mattresses, appliances, etc.
10. Who decides the arrangement of the household? i.e. furniture, cooking utensils, etc.
11. If guests come to stay in your home, who decides which guests may come and how long they may stay?
12. If your husband decides to take another wife, do you have any say in the decision?
13. According to the questions I just asked you, how would you say power or influence relates to your relationship with your husband?
14. Can you influence your husband to take certain actions? or can you influence him to do something for you?
15. How do you influence him? Through words? Actions?

C. Children

1. Do you and your husband stay in the same house? If not, who do the children stay with?
2. How many children do you have? What is their sex and what are their ages?
3. Does the number of children you have and/or the sex of your children affect your marital relations? In what way?
4. Who determines how many children you should have?
5. Who decides when and what the children should eat?
6. Who determines what clothes they should wear?
7. Who determines if they should go to school?
8. Who decides which school they should go to, and for how long they should attend school?

9. Do either of you decide on the type of jobs your children should do in the future? Does the decision differ for boys or girls?
10. If one of your children misbehaves, who would punish the child? Would the punishment differ with a son or a daughter?
11. What would the punishment be?
12. What influence do you have over your children?
13. Who has more influence, you or your husband? Why?
14. Does the way you influence your children differ from the way your husband influences your children? How so?

D. Family

1. Do you and your husband make decisions regarding other members of you family? i.e. if a family member were to stay with you two.
2. Who makes these decisions? Why?
3. What influence do members of your extended family have over your family decisions?
4. Would you like to add any other comments that relate to power, influence, or respect within the family?

E. Job/Work

1. Do you work?
2. What do you do?
3. If you farm, do you own your own land and make your own profits?
4. Do you work with other people?
5. With Whom?
6. Do you believe your job allows you to have any influence or power? Why?
7. Do any men work with you?
8. If so, does their influence or power differ from your own or other women? How so?
9. Can you name some women in your community, who are respected or who have influence because of their work? Why do they have power, or why are they respected?
10. At your workplace, have you ever worked with other people to gain influence, power, or respect? With whom, and in which situations?

F. Recreational Activities

1. Do you participate in any recreational activities? i.e. religious associations
2. Do you receive respect or gain influence because of your participation? Why?
3. Do you have any decision making power within this activity?
4. Do you work with others to get things done? With whom? What was the purpose in doing so?
5. Do any men participate in your recreational activities?
6. Does their influence differ from yours or other women in your group? How does it differ?
7. Would you like to mention any other aspect of your recreational activities that have allowed you to gain influence, respect or power?

G. Community

1. Do you have any power, respect, or influence within your community? Why? How it shown?
2. Would you like to mention anything else in relation to power, respect, or influence?
3. Do you consider your activities typical?
4. If they are different from other women your age, how are they different?
5. Do you consider your family typical or atypical? Why?
6. Do you believe other women in your community have the same views, or do they differ? Why?

Men

Name

Age

Ethnic Group

Education Level

Religion

Married?

How long?

How long have you lived in Larteh?

Wife's ethnic group

Where does she live?

A. Power

1. When you hear the words power or influence, such as influencing someone's actions, what do you think of generally?
2. Can you name some people in your community who have power, influence, or respect? Why do they have power or respect? Can you name some women too?

B. Decision Making

1. Who in your household buys clothes for the family?
2. Who decides which clothes to buy?
3. Who buys food for your family?
4. Who decides which foods to buy?
5. When clothes, food, and other household items are bought, what money is used?
6. Who decides when meals should be prepared?
7. Who decides which household items should be bought? i.e. brooms, pots, pans, mattresses, appliances, etc.
8. Who decides the arrangement of the household? i.e. furniture, cooking utensils, etc.
9. If guests come to stay in your home, who decides which guests may come and how long they may stay?
10. If you decide to take another wife, does your wife have any say in the decision?
11. According to the questions I just asked you, how would you say power or influence relates to your relationship with your wife?

C. Children

1. Do you and your wife stay in the same house? If not, who do the children stay with?
2. How many children do you have? What is their sex and what are their ages?
3. Does the number of children you have and/or the sex of your children affect your marital relations? In what way?
4. Who determines how many children you should have?
5. Who decides when and what the children should eat?
6. Who determines what clothes they should wear?
7. Who determines if they should go to school?
8. Who decides which school they should go to, and for how long they should attend school?
9. Do either of you decide on the type of jobs your children should do in the future? Does the decision differ for boys or girls?
10. If one of your children misbehaves, who would punish the child? Would the punishment differ with a son or a daughter?
11. What would the punishment be?
12. What influence do you have over your children?
13. Who has more influence, you or your wife? Why?
14. Does the way you influence your children differ from the way your wife influences your children? How so?

D. Family

1. Do you and your wife make decisions regarding other members of your family? i.e. if a family member were to stay with you two.
2. Who makes these decisions? Why?
3. What influence do members of your extended family have over your family decisions?
4. Would you like to add any other comments that relate to power, influence, or respect within the family?

E. Job/Work

1. Do you work?
2. What do you do?
3. Do you work with other people?
4. With Whom?
5. Do any women work with you?
6. If so, does their influence or power differ from your own? How so?
7. Can you name some men and women in your community, who are respected or who have influence because of their work? Why do they have power, or why are they respected? Are there any women?

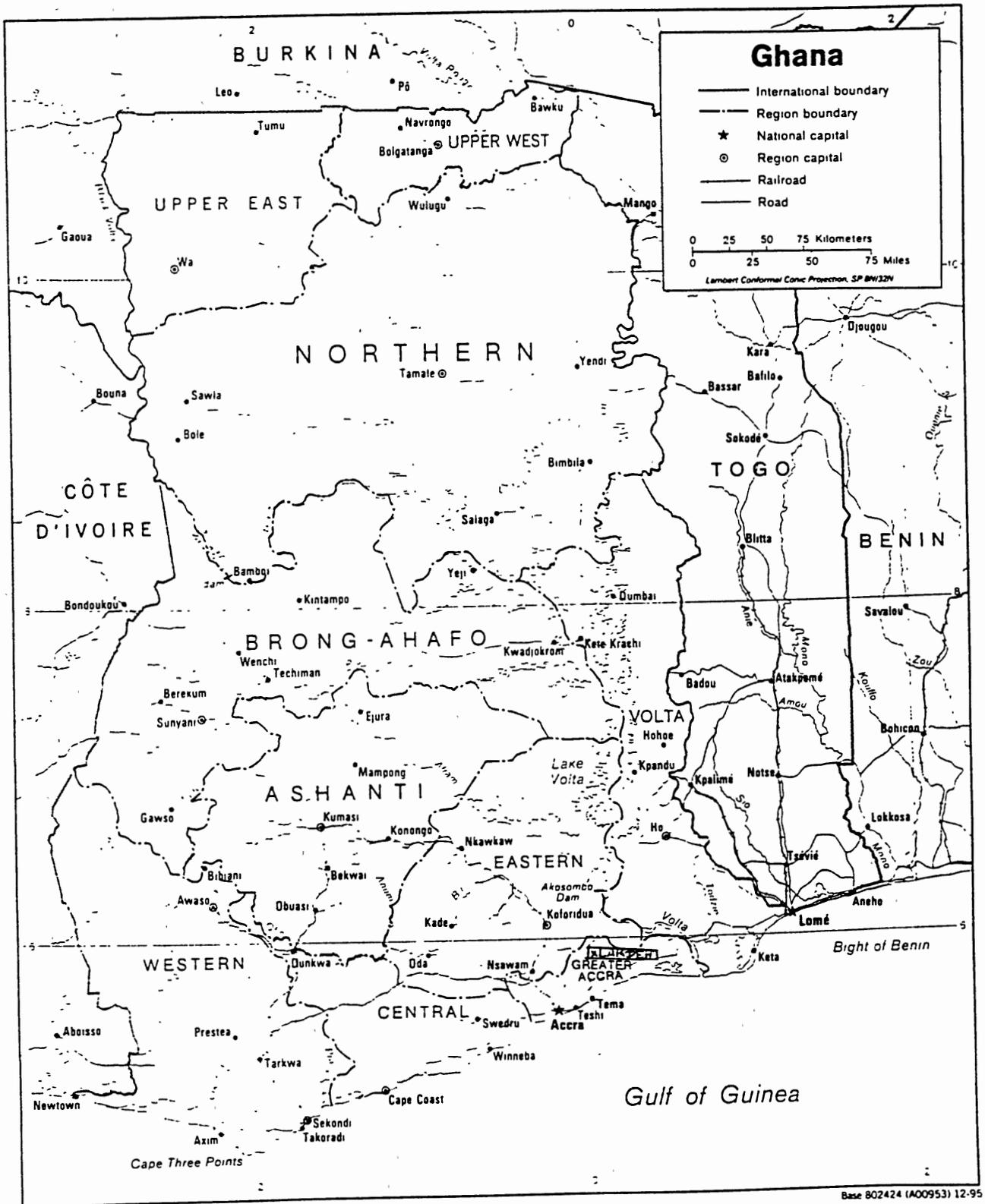
F. Recreational Activities

1. Do you participate in any recreational activities? i.e. religious associations
2. Do any women participate in your recreational activities?
3. Does their influence differ from yours or other men in your group? How does it differ?

G. Community

1. Do you consider your activities typical?
2. If they are different from other men your age, how are they different?
3. Do you believe other men in your community have the same views, or do they differ? Why?

Appendix B



Appendix C

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION (1984 census)

EMPLOYMENT SECTORS	MALES	FEMALES
Agriculture, hunting, forestry, and fishing	1,750,024	1,560,943
Mining and quarrying	24,906	1,922
Manufacturing	198,430	389,988
Electricity, gas and water	14,033	1,404
Construction	60,692	3,994
Trade, restaurants, and hotels	111,540	680,607
Transport, storage, and communications	117,806	5,000
Financing, insurance, real estate, and business services	19,933	7,542
Community, social and personal services	339,665	134,051
Total employed	2,637,029	2,785,451
Unemployed	87,452	70,172
Total labour force	2,724,481	2,855,623

Source: ILO, Year Book of Labour Statistics.

Appendix D

Outline of Educational and Occupational Backgrounds of Respondents

Respondents	Age	Education Level	Work
Woman 1	70 years	none	Farms; sells foods from farm
Woman 2	33 years	none	Sells cooked food (Waakye)
Woman 3	71 years	none	Farms; sells cooked food (Kenkey)
Woman 4	45 years	Class 6	Farms; sells foods from farm
Woman 5	81 years	Class 6	Seamstress; sold cloth
Woman 6	67 years	Class 6	Bakes and trades
Woman 7	35 years	Form 1	Sells cooked food (Waakye)
Woman 8	50 years	Form 3	Worked at Ghana Airways; trader
Woman 9	52 years	Form 4	Farms; trades
Woman 10	30 years	Form 4	Sells cooked food (Rice and stew)
Woman 11	38 years	Form 4	Owens a shop; trades; farms
Woman 12	39 years	Training School	Teaches; farms
Woman 13	46 years	Training School	Teaches; trades; farms
Woman 14	52 years	Training School	Midwife; Ran a nursery
Woman 15	72 years	Training School	Teaches; Owens a shop; farms
Woman 16	28 years	Training School	Trades
Man 1	57 years	Form 4	Farms
Man 2	69 years	Form 4	Owens a store; Farms
Man 3	74 years	Form 4	Retired nurse; farms
Man 4	30 years	Form 4	Owens a bar; farms
Man 5	28 years	O' Level	Owens a bar
Man 6	55 years	O' Level	Communications manager with the civil aviation authority
Man 7	37 years	Technical school	Owens a bar; farms
Man 8	69 years	University	Building technologist in architectural and engineering consulting office

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