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**WOMEN IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA**

**WOMEN IN GHANAIAN DEVELOPMENT - AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**WOMEN IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
IN GHANA**

**Prepared for USAID/Ghana**

**by**

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## WOMEN IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA

### INTRODUCTION

This study of the role of Ghanaian women in national development attempts first to provide a background picture of the social, economic and legal status of women including their importance in the commercial system as traders and as employees of commercial and industrial concerns. It then focuses on three areas in which the United States Agency for International Development Mission to Ghana (USAID) has a special interest: agriculture; health, population and nutrition; and education in an attempt to determine both the effects of these systems on women and women's inputs into them. Voluntary organizations are also examined to determine their potential in providing educational opportunities for women.

The study has been prepared to provide USAID/Ghana with the information needed to meet the requirements of Section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973, better known as the Percy Amendment. This section of the act requires that the assistance programs of the United States Government be administered "so as to give particular attention to those programs, projects, and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort." The study was coordinated by Jeanne North, who also wrote the papers on "The Sociological, Economic and Legal Status of Women in Ghana," "Women Traders," "Women as Wage Earners," and "Voluntary Women's Organizations." "The Small-Scale Female Farmers of Ghana" was prepared by Marian Fuchs-Carsch, "The Role of Ghanaian Women in Health, Population and Nutrition" by Judy Bryson, and "Women in Education" by Sharna Blumenfeld. It should be noted that the opinions expressed in these papers are those of the individual authors and are not necessarily those of USAID/Ghana.

## THE SOCIOLOGICAL, ECONOMIC AND LEGAL STATUS OF WOMEN IN GHANA

The supreme role of women in Ghanaian society is that of bearers of children. Provision of care and attention for children follows closely in society's values. Women of outstanding professional attainment and governmental rank advise that such success is considered in their own circle as secondary to that of producer of children.<sup>1/</sup> The great honors traditional groups heap upon women when they produce ten children, the value put upon pregnancy if marriage is not possible, and the common acceptance of it as a precursor to marriage illustrate this cultural trait. It would be expected that the importance of progeny, which is universal, would be greater in this society in which ancestors are so revered, and ties and communications between the generations, living and dead, are a source of strength and guidance.

The Ghanaian women are assigned, too, the role of "homemaker." They and their children are entirely responsible for the care of the home, the children, and the preparation of food. In rural areas the latter entails carrying of water, growing and purchasing of food, and perhaps provision of fuel.

These three functions, we are told, are the ones society must value for women: childbearer, childcarer, and homemaker. Yet in all of Ghanaian society, women are expected to provide part of the economic and financial resources for the family. The woman is expected to provide at least some of her personal needs, and usually for those of her children and the family as a whole. This frequently entails her spending as much time on revenue production as her husband. The labors with which she earns her separate income and contributes to the family's productive capacity are in areas vital to the country's economic development. A study of her role in national development is therefore highly appropriate.

It is interesting that society does not put a corresponding value on this economic sphere of the Ghanaian woman's life from which its expectations are high. Fiscal autonomy between spouses is almost complete in some traditions in Ghana. Perhaps this discrepancy accounts for the relative lack of official attention to these pursuits, and such anomalies as the prevalence of speaking of "the farmer and his wife" (for instance), when all seem to agree that in much of the

<sup>1/</sup>Echoed in a speech by a woman Principal Secretary, and conversations

country the wife commonly puts at least as much time into farming as the husband, and many would estimate more. This terminology would not be used by the women concerned, according to a study in which all women respondents in three villages designated themselves as farmers, traders, etc. Even those who had been too old to work for some time claimed these occupations. Not one person termed herself a housewife.<sup>2/</sup> (One would assume, however, that, if asked, their value would have echoed the society's relative to their status as mother.) Outside European influences have not been toward emphasizing or improving the jobs through which the Ghanaian women traditionally made her economic contribution. They have often had the opposite effect.

Conflicting comments can be made on women's place in the economic sphere. Women are prominent and numerous as leaders in many areas of public life in Ghana. Opportunities for education, promotion and employment have been encouraged for women, but have lagged behind those available to men, as has been the practice in Western countries. Women executives claim that though women presumably have equality with their men colleagues, women must be better than the masculine competition (not a rare comment in the U.S.). We have observed attitudes of indignation and resentment on the part of men university students when their opinions were criticized by women students, and wonder about the carryover to professional life. In areas of deprivation, the scarcity of resources, plus the priority given to men and boys for existing opportunities has resulted in over-burdened, overlooked and under-privileged women. There is a great variation in the status of women in Ghana.

"The statutory laws of this country make no distinction between the civil rights and duties of women and those of men," in the words of Appeals Court Judge Annie Jiagge.<sup>3/</sup> Women of full age whether married or not are free to sue and to be sued in their own right, free to enter into contracts, borrow money from the banks, purchase and dispose of property, enter any business transaction in their own right exactly as men. Women have full testamentary capacity and can administer an estate in case of intestacy on the same terms as men.

<sup>2/</sup>M. Hardiman, "A Preliminary Study of the Role of Women in Some Akan Rural Communities," 1971, p. 117, Legon Family Research Papers, University of Ghana, Legon, 1974.

<sup>3/</sup>Paper given in a seminar, Accra, 1973.

"No jobs in Ghana are specifically reserved for men. A woman in a position previously held by a man takes the salary and all fringe benefits attached to the post. In this country, there is equal pay for work of equal value and there are no tax concessions made for women on account of sex.

"Women are not barred from entering any of the higher educational institutions in this country. Women who know their rights take full advantage of them, but the majority are still illiterates, and not in a position to take their rightful place in society." Not only is there the limitation of illiteracy (70% of the country as a whole) to which Judge Jiagge refers, but also the impediment of custom to the use of the law by many who know about it. At the end of the speech from which this quote was lifted, very privileged, sophisticated ladies in the audience reiterated that the customary law which she had gone on to describe still limited their use of statutory law. This is, of course, because of the adherence of others in their family group to the traditional customs, if not any residual uncertainties of their own.

An understanding of family patterns is useful. Southern Ghanaian groups are traditionally organized in unilineal families. The Akans (Fanti, Ashanti) and some of the Gas are matrilineal and the rest of the Gas are patrilineal. Property holding, inheritance and family decision-making is organized around those with common blood relationship rather than between husband and wife. Moreover, in these at least potentially polygamous marriages, commonly the husbands and wives do not live together, but in the home of their own matri-kin or patri-kin. This is especially so in well-populated areas where both families live in the vicinity. Husband or wife travels to the other house to eat, cook or sleep.<sup>4/</sup> They do not own property in common, even if both spouses work to acquire it (e.g., a farm).<sup>5/</sup> Each spouse contributes to household costs. At death, property is inherited by those related to the deceased through the mother, in the matrilineal system. A man's brother or his sister's son inherits his goods, not his wife or children. Commonly a woman's children and her matri-kin inherit from her in this system, not her spouse. In the paternal system, a man's children may be included in the inheritance, though the wife never is.

<sup>4/</sup>Meyer Fortes, "The Akan System Today," p. 29, Legon Family Research Papers, No. 1, op cit

<sup>5/</sup>Christine Oppong, "Akan Senior Serwa Families in Accra, A Study of Domestic Continuity and Change," p. 4 of Changing Social Structure in Ghana; Ed. Jack Goody

The Ewes, another large southern ethnic group, have a family system variously described by different authorities.<sup>6/ 7/</sup> It seems to be essentially patrilineal, but to have elements of both, and it tends to be more conjugal than the others mentioned. (In this system daughters, but still never widows, may inherit from fathers.)

Observations differ as to the degree of economic independence of responsibility which is ordained for women, and the nature of the marriage relationship in the traditional systems. Dr. Ekow Daniels<sup>8/</sup> is quoted as saying that "in the marriage laws of the western and eastern world, marriage may be said to be the basis of the family; in Ghana, marriage is rather an offshoot of the family system." Professor Fortes<sup>9/</sup> states the Akan "women have a large degree of economic and legal independence and responsibility, especially in providing for their own children, working their own farms, and controlling their own households. Vercrujisse<sup>10/</sup> and associates reported that in a study of seventeen Fante communities "income does not have the character of a supplement, and cannot even be conceived as being part of the family income. .... We cannot possibly put too much emphasis on the fact that every conceivable person earns his/her own living and that only a part of what each person produces or earns is contributed for common householding. Or to put it differently, if you can earn your own living, you only join others to the extent that you are interested in having one woman (a pair of women) cook for you. All of your other expenses do not enter into the arrangement, so that the use of the term 'household' can hardly be defended." As to dual-residence of husband and wife, Hardiman's studies indicated that in one Akwapim village 112 men were household heads and 133 women headed households. One-fourth of the husbands of the female heads lived in the same town in other housing. One-half lived in other towns or villages much of the year. "Many own cocoa farms in other parts of the country and maintain their residences there." Male migration led

<sup>6/</sup>D. K. Fiawoo, "Ewe Lineage and Kinship," Legon Family Research Papers, No. 1, op cit

<sup>7/</sup>T. Kumekpor, "The Position of Maternal Relatives in the Kinship System of the Ewe," Legon Family Research Papers, No. 1, op cit

<sup>8/</sup>Jack Goody, "Comparative Studies, Introduction," p. 225, Legon Family Research Papers, No. 1. op cit

<sup>9/</sup>Meyer Fortes, op cit, p. 30

<sup>10/</sup>Emile V. W. Vercrujisse, "Composition of Households in Some Fante Communities," Legon Family Research Papers, No. 1, p. 48, op cit

to an increase of women heads of house,<sup>11/</sup> but not to more female ownership of larger dwelling units or compounds. One-fourth of the women in the study were widows or divorcees, who in the main provided for themselves and their dependents bolstered by the matrilineage.<sup>(12)</sup>

There is agreement that the common special and fiscal separateness of spouses is one side of the subject. Contrasting with these descriptions of exclusiveness, there seems to be common agreement that traditional spouses contribute specific kinds of work to the other; that there is a complementary nature to the farm work, for instance, (Wives always do all the carrying of water, and of produce in much of the country. Men always clear the land.) One authority in conversation outlined the heavier burden allotted to the woman in a traditional rural setting and added, "But there are reasonable men" who effect a very different pattern! Dr. Hardiman's material, cited above, indicated that if single family households are excluded, 41% of households in this study consist of husband, wife and children, and perhaps others. She reports that fathers who share the home with the mother are the ones to discipline and punish children, to make educational decisions, and to pay school fees. Another's report on research counts this a modern development: "Sometimes the mother's matri-kin may be responsible for their upkeep in schools, but today more and more of them are cared for (in school) by their fathers."<sup>13/</sup> Some educated women in the city claim that the farm woman must turn all her earnings over to her husband, and then beg for her needs. A psychiatrist tells of the life-long responsibility a husband customarily assumes for a wife (continuing during mental illness). Another authority tells of the deference the wife gives the husband. "He is the boss," and for that reason she is concerned the he have the best of the food, etc. Oppong cautions that the lack of a conjugal living pattern regarding space and money should not be construed to mean that there is a lack of conjugal feeling. She believes that her studies indicate that value of a conjugal companionship is a long-standing cultural trait.<sup>14/</sup>

The societies in the north of Ghana are patrilineal. They consist of

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<sup>11/</sup>"Household" was used here as a "cooking unit" or subfamily group of a large extended family compound.

<sup>12/</sup>M. Hardiman, Legon Family Research Papers, No. 1, op cit p. 109-110.

<sup>13/</sup>J. Adomako-Saffoh, "Migrant Asante Cocoa Farmers and Their Families," Legon Family Research Papers, No. 1, op cit

<sup>14/</sup>Christine Oppong, "Norms and Variations: A Study of Ghanaian Students' Attitudes to Marriage and Family Living." June 1972, unpublished paper

three or four generations of men living with their wives in a compound. The daughters marry out, and wives come from the neighboring communities. In these households, the husband, or head of the house, is expected to provide grain for his wife (wives). She is expected to grow or purchase other food needs and the requisite cooking implements. She is expected to acquire wealth of her own through her small cash plot, raising animals, making of beer, trading, pot making.<sup>15/ 16/</sup> Patterns differ with different northern groups, but in general women participate much less equally in farming and have much less independence in the north. The practice of the wife's having a separate income obtains here also. Professor Goody relates the relative independence of women to family structure, and he states that "stronger emphasis exists on the woman's contribution within this area (agriculture) in areas where matrilineal inheritance of wealth obtains."<sup>17/</sup>

Factors of change, education, Christianity, new crops (cocoa) have effected a change in the family patterns. Adomako-Saffoh describes the change taking place in outlying areas (Brong-Ahafo) where Ashanti people have migrated to establish new cocoa farms (which are more permanent in nature than subsistence farms which are not "established.") Apparently due to a cultural exchange with other residents of the area of other non-matrilineal family systems and to a pressure from wives whose assistance is required to establish a new farm, husbands are arranging for their wives and children to inherit the cocoa farms, or to give them a farm or a house during their lifetime to insure their ownership. This is not a change easily made, for not only must the wives and children give gifts to the matri-kin at the time the arrangement is agreed upon, but these arrangements are frequently contested and occupy much time of the customary courts.<sup>18/</sup> It is interesting that the near-universal custom that women be the headload carriers changes with respect to cocoa. Because it is a newer crop, less connected with custom, or because cocoa is more lucrative, or for other reasons, it is accepted and expected that men

<sup>15/</sup>Interview with Mrs. Maude Kodylas, Food Research Institute, Accra.

<sup>16/</sup>Bogaards, J. N., Report on an Inquiry Into the Farms of Some Kusasi Farmers, p. 31; report to K. A. Rigtters, Project, Garu Agricultural Station, 1969.

<sup>17/</sup>Jack Goody, The Social Organization of the Lowili, Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 33, 47

<sup>18/</sup>J. Adomako-Saffoh, op cit.

men will do the head portage of this crop.<sup>19/</sup>

The first Christian missionaries to work away from the coast, with traditional Ghanaians were those of the Basel Mission from Switzerland which was established in Akuapem (Akwapim) in 1835. Concerned about the instability of marriage, the resultant neglect of children and the problems facing the widow and children at the husband's death, the Mission led a crusade against the polygamous matrilineal system with its duo-residency spouses.<sup>20/</sup> Church customary laws concerning marriage and inheritance were established which influenced the codified national law to come later.<sup>21/</sup> Mission-established schools have had an effect on changing marriage patterns. Residence patterns were certainly changed. (Some observers claim that children of the early converts lived with spouses, and wives and children accompanied husbands when job assignments changed, but that grandchildren of these converts are living apart because of the spouses' modern professional ambition which conflicts with establishment of a single home.)

During this century, men and women leaders in and out of the church have been leaders to effect a societal change. Yet some observers maintain that there has been little change toward fundamental acceptance of the nuclear family in the last forty years.<sup>22/</sup> In 1960, only four percent of the Akan marriages and 3.6 percent of the Ewe marriages were under the Ordinance (which gives the conjugal bond primacy in law and inheritance, and does not permit polygamy).<sup>23/</sup> There seems to be wide agreement from many academic authorities that for those with this heritage, the matrilineal system persists to different degrees among the modern conjugal (and Christian) couples. There seems to be a strong relationship between the number of generations of education in the family and the degree of commitment to the

<sup>19/</sup>Interview with E. Bortei-Doku, Faculty of Agriculture, University of Ghana.

<sup>20/</sup>Kwabena Poh, "Church and Change in Akwapem," LFRP-1, op cit.

<sup>21/</sup>In 1861 Mission regulations requiring monogamous marriage were applied to the Gold Coast.

<sup>22/</sup>Meyer Fortes, "The Family, Bane or Blessing." An open lecture delivered at the University of Ghana, March 1971. Ghana Universities Press, Accra, and appendix to lecture of pamphlet excerpts.

<sup>23/</sup>1960 Ghana Census.

conjugal family.<sup>24/</sup> Women tend to favor the change a great deal more than do the men. Women tend increasingly to seek "their emotional and material satisfactions as wives while the husbands continue to seek them with consanguines,"<sup>25/</sup> and this itself is a source of conflict.<sup>26/</sup> Professor Fortes says, "One of the striking things about these systems in India as well as in Africa is their tenacity in the face of modern social, industrial, cultural and political changes. .... They may reduce in range, but, as we can see from the current state of affairs in Ghana, the basic orientations represented in them, the value system they incorporate, remain fundamentally unchanged. .... The women may complain and denounce the matrilineal family system here, as they do in other parts of Africa, but it is a system which traditionally gives them a degree of economic, political, and legal equality with men and a status of dignity that was never accorded to their sisters in classical patrilineal systems. The basis was there in the traditional system -- symbolized in the office of the Queen Mother and shown up in the whole way of life -- for the Akan woman to take advantage of the opportunities provided by modern social change to assert her freedom to teach, to own property, to have a voice in public matters, to remain married, or to go her own way. While the womenfolk of northern Ghana ... were never as free and as equal to their menfolk as Akan women were."<sup>27/</sup>

The modern urban Ghanaian woman (as do those who study her) sees herself as anxious about the economic insecurity caused her and her children by the customary inheritance systems in a modern setting, and by the tendency to polygamy, official or otherwise on the parts of the husbands. Discussions on the status or rights of women focus on these issues or on that of child maintenance or household contributions usually, rather than on work or education opportunities.

The rural woman, we are told, is more aware of her burdens which are increasing with modernization. (Introduction of new cash crops, and migration of the men to the cities leads to more responsibility on her part for food crops, without additional compensation. Schooling deprives her of the children's help on the farm. Increased acreage

<sup>24/</sup>Christine Oppong, "Norms and Variations," op cit.

<sup>25/</sup>R. C. Lloyd, The New Elites in Tropical Africa, Oxford, 1966.

<sup>26/</sup>M. Bird, "Social Change in Kinship and Marriage Among the Yoruba of Western Nigeria" unpublished thesis (quoted by C. Oppong)

<sup>27/</sup>Fortes, op cit, p. 6 and 8.

cultivation requires more weeding, etc., from her. (Introduction of poultry raising requires more water portage of her.) She would like modernization in the form of clean well water, grinding mills, feeder roads, etc., which affect her work directly in a positive way. She wishes for more help from husband and brother, and less time and money on their part spent in drinking. She is in general, quicker to seek and adopt new ideas which will bring better results and less drudgery from her work.<sup>28/</sup>

The above discussion illustrates some of the reasons that the Ghanaian woman is a conspicuous economic factor in the country. For the sake of her welfare and that of her dependents, and for the vitality of the nation's economy, official attention to her economic activity is indicated.

Dr. Hardiman's comments are pertinent.<sup>29/</sup> "In some cases, European administrators have helped to accentuate women's disability by concentrating agricultural training and land reform schemes on men. As Boserup says, 'The Europeans everywhere seem to have objected to the peculiar position of African women, which was so different from anything the Europeans were accustomed to.'"

Some of the economic roles are in the Western, or American, pattern. Women are doctors, lawyers and administrators. Many are teachers and nurses. In 1967, 19% of the Ghanaians in professional, technical and related fields were women, and 4% of those in the administrative, executive and management categories were women.<sup>30/</sup> From 3% to 8% of the industrial workers are women, the majority middle school leavers.<sup>31/ 32/</sup>

Many women earn through home enterprises familiar to westerners. Dressmaking, baking, and poultry raising are common examples. Whereas for some these may be undertaken in addition to other economic activity, in many modern homes this provides a supplement to a

<sup>28/</sup>Hardiman, op cit, ECA papers and other sources.

<sup>29/</sup>Hardiman, ibid p. 119

<sup>30/</sup>Yearbook of Labor Statistics, 1967, ILO

<sup>31/</sup>~~Esther~~ Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development, Oxford, 1966 p. 109 (quoting less than 3%).

<sup>32/</sup>Margaret Piel, The Ghanaian Factory Worker: Industrial Man in Africa, Cambridge University Press, 1972, p. 24. (8% of industrial workers in the sixteen industries she studied were women.)

successful family's income. (One European-educated, cosmopolitan, protective husband spoke of his surprise on discovering, when he left Ghana with his wife and children that in other countries a man pays for his wife's clothing!) As a group, women are not as well prepared educationally as men for their work in the modern life of the country. (See appendix of education statistics.)

In a pattern less familiar to the American are the two largest economically active group of women: the farmers and the traders. Some women, are, of course, both, since in much of the rural area, women head-carry all the produce to the market where they sell it. This large and mostly uneducated group of farming women merit concern. When more food crops are needed, attention is drawn to the women who are responsible for much of the domestic (home) food supply, and who often have a part in growing or marketing the cash crops also. Moreover, those concerned for the poor and underprivileged must look at this group of farm women for these reasons also. Resources of technical knowledge, improved implements, and suitable infrastructure should be directed to their use so that their efforts can be more productive for farm and family.

In Ghana, as well as in the rest of West Africa, women are prime movers in the distribution system, particularly of food (in addition to the local level) and textiles. Some say one-third of Ghana's women are in the trading business.<sup>33/34/</sup> (The 1960 census lists 1,567,968 as the number for all occupations for men, 991,414 as the number of all occupations for women, and 551,851 as the number of women in retail and wholesale trade). They purchase at source, transport; they are the "middle-men", the large, and the petty traders. Largely uneducated, resourceful, politically powerful, many of them are personally successful. They perform a useful service to those who produce small quantities and to those with small incomes and no storage facilities who must purchase in small amounts. However, those who regard the food distribution system, in particular, a major concern to the development of agriculture and to the provision of adequate food for the country might wonder how these traders can be helped to better serve the economy.

<sup>33/</sup>Kenneth Little, African Women in Towns, Cambridge, 1973, p. 45.

<sup>34/</sup>John C. Caldwell, Population Growth and Family Change in Africa: The New Urban Elite in Ghana, Australian Nat. Univ. Press, 1967.

The more general and succinct statements regarding women in economic development in Africa issued by ECA and are reinforced by a study of the Ghanaian situation. Reference to them is recommended: "Women and National Development in African Countries: Some Profound Contradictions" A position paper presented by the Human Resources Development Division, Women's Program Unit UNECA (sponsored by The Ford Foundation, 1973;) and "ECA Five-Year Program on Pre-Vocational and Vocational Training of Girls and Women." Toward Their Full Participation in Development," 1972 - 76.

## WOMEN TRADERS

The trading system for food in Ghana, and for some manufactured goods, is dominated by women. Trading is practiced by a very high percentage of the female adult population. Census figures do not reflect the near universal part time trading activity of the rural woman farmer and artisan in much of the country (exception is part of the North), though they indicate from 70% to 80% of southern urban women are traders. A focus on the Ghanaian woman trader must be a prominent part of a search for improved marketing systems, as it must be of efforts to improve the quality of life for Ghanaian women and their families.

The discussion to follow is based on a review of literature and a few collaborative interviews with knowledgeable individuals. The purpose is to demonstrate the pertinence of the subject and to show something of the mechanics of the marketing system as it affects the commodities as well as the women trading. The primary sources which were available to use in preparing this paper are inadequate in number and scope for our purpose. In general, they are not very new. In most cases, hard facts, and accurate statistics, were not available to researchers and the samples studied were usually small.

### A. Nature Of The Market System

History: Europeans visiting this area in centuries past commented on the trading activity of women here. The description was in connection with their traditional role as carrier of goods by head load. Pieter de Marees wrote in 1620 of the women being "burdened down like asses",<sup>1/</sup> and in their nimbleness and energy, walking five or six miles a day to sell goods to other areas. Dr. Klingshirn<sup>2/</sup> in her study of women in 1960s was told by old women of buying palm oil at Larteh in their youth and carrying it by head to Prampram twenty miles distant. One old lady told of years ago, buying fish twice a week in Odumase which was five walking hours away, and selling it in Larteh. Others carried cocoa fifty miles by head, earning a commission of one-third of the sale price. Prior to 1900 the way goods were moved was by head portage, although oil could be rolled in barrels. Because of

<sup>1/</sup>Quoted from Freda Wolfson "Pageant of Ghana", London, by Astrid Nypan.

<sup>2/</sup>Agnes Klingshirn, The Changing Position of Women in Ghana, Doctoral dissertation, Marburgh/Lahn, 1971, p. 149.

the tsetse fly, there were no beasts of burden.<sup>3/</sup> Today head carrying is considered a feminine activity (except, perhaps with more lucrative crops). Writers indicate that in the pre-1900 years there were insufficient head carriers, and they write of the high price of hiring such a carrier. It would be interesting to know if these porters were men as well as women.

Today Bauer writes that in traditional West African society, trading is considered a part of life, and is not usually designated as one's occupation. Particularly, he notes, this is true "on the part of a dependent"<sup>4/</sup> (wives and children). Such non-monetary societies are characterized by a multiplicity of occupational roles. In many of those parts of Ghana which are in this stage of development, women market the products of the home and farm, often to meet specific needs or wishes. Market sales are not the dominant source of the livelihood of the sellers. In such markets, "the principal of supply and demand is operative, but is affected by social factors that impinge on price making", for example, the status of the buyers, or the eagerness of the sellers to enjoy the sociability of the market, or to leave it and to go home.

At the other extreme, the urban areas which operate on a cash economy have merchants and traders who are highly specialized in their occupation, buying and selling to acquire more wealth and to expand the business. Many of these specialists are women. Much of the trading activity by women in markets of Ghana, however, is somewhere between these extremes. Their business activity reflects a culture in transition. This is more easily seen in towns of intermediate size and distance from the rural area, where market trading is of an intermediary pattern, but it can also be seen in the purposeful limitation of growth of business by many urban traders, for instance, and the increased selling of surpluses by the "subsistence" farmer.

McCall, in an article quoted by most of the other sources,<sup>5/</sup> writes that men have always in the past reserved to themselves the more lucrative trades, in slaves and gold, for instance.

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<sup>3/</sup>Peter Gould, Transportation In Ghana, Northwestern University, 1960, p. 15.

<sup>4/</sup>P. T. Bauer, West African Trade, Routledge and Kagan Paul, 1954, p. 11.

<sup>5/</sup>Davis McCall, Studies Presented In The International African Seminar, Makerere College, 1959.

They gave these up when such trade became illegal, or was taken over by the government or big business. At the same time, educational opportunities opened for boys, with wage earning jobs to follow. Thus men left the bulk of the trading in food, and almost all petty trading to women.

The present day trading system is characterized by a large number of intermediaries between producer and consumer. Lawson notes there are sometimes seven steps in the traditional trade of fish (which is usually smoked). Bauer describes a large number of intermediary traders as an economic arrangement when capital is scarce. The system uses "abundant redundant resources" which are in little demand.<sup>6/</sup> McCall adds that if it is economically efficient, it is socially wasteful of energy and labor time.

There is a wide variance in the pattern of the trading "chain" from producer to consumer. The majority of traders sell both wholesale and retail. The trading channels in one instance are very different from another although similar as to location and commodity. Many traders vary their own schedules and arrangements. Some long distance women traders make only one trip a month to the North during the yam season, for instance, making sufficient profit for their purpose with these trips (one would assume). Others keep to as much of a regular and consistent schedule as the problems of the business allow.

#### B. Long Distance Trade

Some long distance traders buy from a series of markets. Others have an associate begin the bulking process by making the purchases of a series of small quantities. Some long distance traders buy in quantity from one bulking point. Others make arrangements with the producers to purchase a cash crop at harvesting. Sometimes they buy on credit. At other times they may have made a loan to the producer, in the case of fishermen, and the purchase is, in fact, a payment on the loan. These wholesale (or wholesale/retail) traders may sell these purchases at a series of markets, distribute it among other traders on a pre-arranged basis, may bulk it at one point and sell it from there, or may truck it to the urban market center. Some are "truck traders" who buy in quantity and sell the content of the lorry to a wholesale trader. Other "truck traders" may be more involved in the gathering or the breaking of bulk. Of the thirty-seven long distance yam and plantain traders studied by Polly Hill twenty-five years ago, twenty-three were women. Of

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<sup>6/</sup>Bauer, op. cit, p. 22.

the fourteen men, ten were from other countries.<sup>7/</sup> Observers agree that in the present Accra market, there is evidence of more men in the long distance yam trade than in the trade of other food crops, and that these men are from the "North", some known to be from Mali or Niger. Men and women both bring lorry loads of all crops to the Accra marketing center, but women outnumber men except in the yam trade.

In crop production, there is also the problem of supply not being handled adequately by the traditional system.<sup>8/</sup> Considerable difficulty is reported in marketing food produced, so that there is wastage, lack of incentives to farmers, and high costs to an increasing number of consumers. Whether this is a result of change, or a condition of long standing, the author does not know. It could be a result of increased food production, or of increasing risks to the long distance traders (deterioration of roads and lorries, etc.) Mrs. Sai reports on the reaction of market traders to one effort of the government to work on this problem.<sup>9/</sup> In 1970, the Government sought to facilitate delivery of produce by bringing in truck loads to the Selwyn market to supplement the existing transport. The food sellers refused to sell the foods, saying that the government was trying to drive them out of business, and the produce was given to the cloth merchants to sell. Mrs. Sai believed that such an arrangement would have been more workable if the plan had been more carefully explained to the food sellers.

### C. Fish Trade

The trade in fish, the most common source of protein in the Ghanaian diet, is dominated by women in important ways. The traditional system exists today alongside more modern business. In canoe fishing, the fisherman turns his catch over to a fish "wife" who is usually a relative, but not necessarily a wife. Most describe her as his agent, but others state that she purchases the fish from him. In any case, there seems to be agreement that usually the transaction is a business one between

<sup>7/</sup>Polly Hill, The Organization of Food Wholesaling. A) The Long Distance Yam Trade. B) The Long Distance Trade in Plantains, unpublished manuscript. (Not located,) quoted by F. Sai in The Market Women in the Economy of Ghana, unpublished Masters Thesis, Cornell University, 1971.

<sup>8/</sup>Fred Winch and Michael Fuchs-Carsch, Agriculture Sector Assessment, USAID, 1975.

<sup>9/</sup>Florence Sai, op cit,

them with each seeking an advantageous bargain. The fish may be smoked by this "wife", or by someone locally to whom she sells the fish. The second woman may only smoke fish, or she may also bulk fish for resale to a wholesaler/retailer. In general, the fisherman, fishwife, and smoker sold at a disadvantage to the enterprising wholesaler/retailer to whom they may have been indebted. Their disadvantage was greater when there were few roads to fishing towns, and when due to poor education and timidity, there was little cooperative marketing by the fishwives. The trader who bought fish from them for other markets was in a strong bargaining position. Lawson estimated that smokers may sell at a 50% higher price than their purchase price. (This also compensated for the time and labor and expense of smoking.) The next trader would sell 30% to 50% higher.

In the traditional setting not only was there a long chain of intermediaries in the fish trade, but the amounts handled were usually quite small. The geographical scatter of retail markets where the consumer demand was for small purchases, the limitations of the small size of the smoking ovens and the portage of the fish by headload characterized the trade.<sup>10/</sup>

There were two principal problems prevalent in the system before 1961 (and to a certain extent today), according to Dr. Lawson. One is the restriction of trade and the tight control of the market exerted by the few large fishmongers, and the fish trading associations. This control was possible in part because of the small amount of space to be found in the large markets, and because the supply of fish could be controlled since it was the traders who financed the fishing industry.

The financing of the industry was the other problem. Fishermen were dependent upon individual traders, or small groups of traders, for capital with which to purchase nets and canoes. The future catch would be pledged toward the loan, as well as catches to follow repayment. Although some capital was available from family sources, almost all fishing was financed in this way. Middlemen traders, in turn, were known to advance money to smokers, for instance, with the same pledge of future supplies. Some traders,

<sup>10/</sup>Most of this discussion is from Rowena Lawson, Eric Kwei African Entrepreneurship and Economic Growth: A Case Study of the Fishing Industry of Ghana, Ghana Universities Press, Accra, 1974, pp. 126-163, also others.

taking advantage of the low level of the fisherman's income, were very sharp businesswomen. Lawson gives an example of a trader who loaned a fisherman, whose average annual income was £60, £60 for the purchase of a canoe, with £40 interest, the whole payable in two years. The trader reclaimed the canoe when the £60 was repaid, but the interest was not. Traders were successful in rewarding a fisherman who landed a large catch, with a lower unit price, and also in preventing the fishermen from selling their catch themselves.

In 1954 when motorized fishing was introduced, the fish traders became worried about the large landings, and the willingness of the masters of these boats to sell fish to "anyone who came along". The traditional system could not cope with the increased amount, and the traders feared that the price of fish would be driven down. This led to violence in Takoradi and in Winneba, instigated by the traders, with apparently the backing of canoe fishermen. Crews of motor fishing boats were beaten up, and ships were prevented from landing their fish. In a short time, however, the motorized fishermen turned to the traders for financing. Though the government loaned money for the purchase of motorized equipment, fuel repair and nets had also to be paid for, and the payments became due on the government loans. The traders resumed their former strong bargaining position. The trading associations themselves had become stronger, because of their organized opposition to the threat from the motorized boats. The fishermen did not develop new methods of marketing, and in general, did not make larger landings. (One reason for the latter was that it was the custom to give the small fish to the crew in part wage payment, and as a result an unusual amount of small fish was caught.) Large catches benefited only the trader who had enough capital to withhold the fish from the market to prevent temporary gluts from affecting the prices. The government's loans to the fishermen were not tied to the produce, a politically difficult thing to do when the fish traders were thought to have much strength in that area.

In 1960 the government built a pilot wholesale market in Takoradi, which was provided with ice and refrigeration equipment. The fishermen were so tied economically to the traders that they benefited little from the wholesale market. (They also had the competition of the "crew market" - the small fish marketed by the crew at cheaper prices.)

The State Fishing Corporation was started in 1962. Cold stores where fish could be frozen were built. Fish was shipped frozen to outlets inland. (Some profiteering was exposed in a government

inquiry, to which as far as this author knows women traders did not contribute.)<sup>11/</sup> When the fish did enter the traditional system in its frozen state in Kumasi, for instance, the system functioned as before, That is, fish smokers built ovens in that area, and sold their produce to traders, etc.

In the past few years, large private fishing industries have been built with the use of motorized equipment, private cold stores, etc. They have been able to hold the fish in good condition, and to provide a constant supply and to thus command a good bargaining position with the traders. They have attracted large wholesalers who buy in great bulk, supply institutions, and are able to bargain with transport operators. Women in the large wholesale fish business have a much higher income and social status than their more traditional counterparts.

#### D. Cloth Trade

We have been writing of the role of women in getting food from producer to consumer. We will interrupt for a look at the merchandising of a manufactured product before looking closer at the consumer markets.

Women predominate in the trade of cloth which they buy from large commercial firms. Gloria Addae (Nikoi) wrote a description of this business in 1954.<sup>12/</sup> Many procedures are the same today. Approved traders were given passbooks which enabled them to purchase cloth and they deposited with the firm (in 1954) £50 to £100. These women were then able to buy on "credit" an amount of cloth up to that value without further payment, until the accounts were settled at the end of the month. The goods were sold to the passbook holders at retail price (and they resold them probably at the same price), but, upon payment for the purchase, the trader was given a 5% commission which was added to her permanent deposit. The deposit was considered "permanent" and not more than one-third of it could be removed at any time,

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<sup>11/</sup>Report of The Commission of Enquiry Into Trade Malpractices in Ghana, State Publishing Corporation, 1965, pp. 34-36.

<sup>12/</sup>Gloria Addae (Nikoi), "The Retailing of Imported Textiles in the Accra Market", Proceedings Of The Third Annual Conference Of The West African Institute Of Social And Economic Research, March 1954, (now Nigerian I of S&ER.) Ibadan, 1956.

and that for purposes such as the purchase of a house. (An employee of the textile department of one of the firm tells the author that today a deposit is still required, but that the purchaser must pay cash for purchases, unless she is in a class especially recognized for being a very large purchaser.) Traders who sold greater volumes were allotted the major portions of the most popular cloth, the supply of which fell far short of the demand. Successful traders tried to sell in ever larger volumes so they would be allotted this preferred cloth which facilitated greater sales. The study found that real credit was offered those without enough capital or status for a passbook, by shops, at the personal risks of the store manager.

This study indicated that the passbook traders may have had a monthly turnover of £3,000 and a great many years' experience in the business. Some may have had forty regular customers, and spent no time in the market, occupying themselves with paying, collecting, making contacts and selecting supplies. The one to whom this passbook holder sold may have had a turnover of £100 monthly, but she would likely have sold other commodities as well.

#### E. Semi-Urban Markets

Students of the markets at Koforidua and Larteh report that Larteh, being more rural, has much less occupational specialization in respect to marketing. A small percentage of the female population is listed as full-time traders. Since "most" families farm, and since women market the products of the farm, it would seem that the number of women who trade would be much higher than the 27% Klingshirn quoted from the 1960 census, even if some of them "sell only occasionally when they have surplus farm products".<sup>13/</sup> The 27% seems to be the portion who consider trading their chief occupation. On the other hand McCall states that 70% of the women in Koforidua are traders (a conclusion reached also about Accra in the 1960 census). He writes that 40% of the adult female population were trading at a given time and that one-half his sample maintained some kind of connection with a farm.<sup>14/</sup> Since trading is a part time activity for many of those who are not marketing the products of their farms, as well as those who are, a researcher concerned about these statistics would require a schedule with many variables and definitions.

<sup>13/</sup>Klingshirn, op cit, pp. 162, 157.

<sup>14/</sup>McCall, op cit.

## F. Accra Market

In Accra almost all of the traders buy the foodstuffs from traveling traders. There is a wholesale yam (and gari) market on the edge of town near Korle Bu. The government took a part in moving it from Salaga Market. Fruits or vegetables may be sold from lorries in various areas known to the wholesale customers, near the railroad, for instance, or they may be driven to the market where they are sold to traders. The pattern seems to be characterized by the independence of the entrepreneurs. As neither buyer nor seller has storage facilities, and the availability is highly seasonal, the frequency of purchasing is high, and the nature of the selling chain is variable.

The ten markets in Accra are similarly difficult to describe. Two studies of stall holders, Nypan<sup>15</sup> in 1960 with a sample of 201 and Sai in 1970 with a sample of 57, give a useful view. Nypan reported in 1960 a record of licences for 4,344 stalls, some of which were shared. There were considered to be 25,000 traders in the market then, the majority of whom were "squatters". Those in the vegetable and fruit trade were usually "squatters". They were also generally the older and less educated traders. Stall holders usually work "full-time" 6 to 11 hours a day, and usually trade as wholesaler and as retailer. Many of the squatters and hawkers work only part time with a great variation from day to day, time of day and season. The final purchase in many cases is in very small amounts: one cigarette, one lump of sugar, a piece of yam, etc. Cloth is sold by the petty traders by the yard, but the stall-holders sell only in six or twelve yard pieces. Near the market are numerous permanent shops owned and operated by women who sell cloth. We understand that these Ghanaian women acquired these shops when the Lebanese merchants who owned them left the country at the time of the Aliens Expulsion Act 1969. (Addae wrote that in 1954, 75% of the cloth from one company, 18% from another and 3% from another were bought by the Syrian shop owners.)

In the Accra markets, 85% of the traders were women in 1960, and the sex differentiation is related to ethnic background and the type of commodity sold. Whereas most of the women who sell in Kumasi are Akan, most of the Accra traders are Ga. There is little tendency for women to travel widely, some reported, because of duties to care for children and cook for husbands. Researchers reported that 100% of the Ga and Adangme traders were women. Of the Akan, only the Kwahus are men. Traders from the French speaking countries are mostly men. Tailoring seems

<sup>15</sup>Nypan, Astrid, Market Traders in Accra, Economic and Research Division, University College of Ghana, 1960, Sai, op cit.

to be largely left to the men in the Accra markets and a large number of them are Kwahus and from the French speaking countries. Nypan found that her sample of stall-holders indicated that 51.9% were retailers, 45.9% were retail/wholesalers and 2.2% only wholesalers.

Traders selling one commodity usually group themselves in one geographical area, and form themselves into commodity rings in which there is strict discipline regarding under-selling. This is made possible by the scarcity of stalls in relation to the demand for them. In theory, the stalls are allocated by the city, but in practice a stall seldom becomes vacant, for those in the commodity ring, or in the family, arrange for its re-allocation without notification to the authorities. Therefore, those who have been admitted to the ring, or who hope to be, are careful not to offend by under-selling. One finds a differentiation in price only when sellers are dispersed.<sup>16/</sup> (Addae did not get this impression, in her study in 1954, noting that there did not seem to be much formal cooperation between traders, though she thought it possible that the most successful may make some arrangements.) The head of the commodity group, sometimes called a queen, is selected by the majority of the commodity ring. This commodity grouping may show new women business methods to help them start trading.

P. T. Bauer, writing in 1954, about West African trade, said that there seemed small possibility of traders securing excessive income as long as entry into the system is free, because competitors would be attracted to compete. It would seem that the pressure of, one would assume, increasing numbers of women wanting to trade from stalls, and the limited number of stalls has prevented free entry so that price fixing is possible. A great many of the goods are in short supply, both manufactured goods and food. This encourages profiteering, perhaps, though "small scale trading is highly competitive",<sup>17/</sup> and such profits may be shared by many.

The research that has been done indicates that a few women do very well indeed, many make as much profit as the average wage earner (unskilled), but that the majority of the traders make a sub-standard income from their efforts. Nypan's samples had a mean daily turnover of from £.20 to £110. The average was £7.60. Her guess was that they made a profit margin of 20-30% of the turnover. Mrs. Sai judged twenty of her samples of 57 made a

<sup>16/</sup>Lawson, op cit, p. 130

<sup>17/</sup>Bauer, op cit, p. 30

monthly income of between  $\text{¢}20 - 39$  and 19 between  $\text{¢}40-49$ . All researchers report the considerable unreliability of the figures used for computing these conclusions. Outstanding was the concern for secrecy, concern that tax collectors, family and competitors not know the amount earned. Usually researchers' guesses were derived from statistics regarding turnover about which there was also sensitivity, as well as lack of record keeping or long memory. It was difficult to adjust figures received for part time trading, for even stall holders do not necessarily go to the market every day of the week. All agree that cloth, and then meat, produce the greater profit for the trader.

Usually the women studied received their initial capital as a "gift" from a member of their family. This may be a loan, inheritance, or a sharing by a mother in the trade. It seems common for a husband to give his wife an amount to begin business with, or a weekly stipend for this purpose, and that she is expected to run the household and meet her, and many of the children's needs from proceeds of the business.<sup>18/</sup> The most common amount used for the start of business was in 1960 the equivalent of  $\text{¢}36$ .

The shorter time the trader is in business, and the less her initial investment, the greater the amount of her reinvestment in new goods. Commonly traders invested in the business until they had enough capital to buy a complete turnover of goods, after paying for what they were selling at the time. After becoming established, traders choose between different patterns: either they decide how much they want to take from proceeds and re-invest all other profits, or they keep the trade static by re-ordering the same amount, utilizing the profits for capital investments such as houses (very few), savings or personal expenses. Two most common investment is in education expenses for their children. Some re-invest in the business proportionally. Frequently traders like to keep their capital free from easy access, or common knowledge. The passbook system serves this purpose. Bauer reported that it was usual in the past for traders to distrust banks for they were not sure the tellers would keep their accounts confidential. It was therefore difficult to secure bank loans because they had not been using the bank. However, half of Sai's sample, sixteen years later, had bank accounts and a few had Post Office accounts. The transition from a "sharing" subsistence economy where the social pattern is what Bauer calls "over-generous and

<sup>18/</sup>McCall, op cit, Addae, op cit, Kenneth Little, African Women In Towns, Cambridge, 1973, p. 50.



Peter Garlick's study on traders chose<sup>20/</sup> for his sample a selection of the "biggest African traders in Accra dealing in manufactured goods who had permanent store premises." He makes no reference to the possibility that there may be women shopkeepers (nor how his sample was selected) though the writing makes it clear that there were none in his sample. His investigation was to the purpose of learning why Ghanaian businesses do not expand. 86% of his sample in Kumasi, and 90% in Accra were Akan, most of whom were Kwahus. (He notes that the Ga long had educational opportunities available to them and so tended to take the white collar occupations.) These men who are both wholesalers and retailers, had concerns also about their inability to preserve capital for expansion of the business due to the claim of maternal kin on resources. They also were reluctant to go into partnership with another. His respondents gave the following reasons for not taking associates in business: 1) fear of dishonesty 2) indication of individualistic nature and 3) in the words of one: "not much understanding of the ways and means of coming together". When these men retired from business they also closed it and took their profits with them.

#### G. Benefits To The Trader

Trading as an occupation for the urban woman is very attractive because of her need to work to provide at least a supplement to the husband's contribution to the family, and the lack of other opportunities in the city for an uneducated woman. Estimates are that 65% to 90% of the women traders are illiterate.<sup>21/</sup> Also the appeal of the market-place is great. All writers comment on the excitement, entertainment and sociability of the market as having universal appeal in both rural and urban settings. Thus many women trade even though their earnings would not otherwise make it worthwhile. The woman with childcare responsibility can combine business with childcare in the market. There seems to be an inter-relatedness for some between the drive for independence from husbands and lineal kin, and trading.<sup>22/</sup> Whether the

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20/Peter C. Garlick, African Traders And Economic Development In Ghana, Oxford, 1971.

21/Klingshirn writes that the 1960 census indicates that 90% of Ghana's traders are illiterates. 65% of Mrs. Sai's sample were illiterates, and 24% of her sample of 57 had finished middle school.

22/A subject touched on by Sai, Nypan, Addae, Klingshirn, McCall and Little.

independence is forced on the woman by the urban situation which separates her from consanguine kin, combined with the traditional pattern of a degree of separate living and working pattern from the husbands, or whether she seeks it, the urban trader tends to be independent and to have heavy responsibilities for the financial needs of her children. McCall notes, in a more rural community, choice of trading is a choice for independence. The farming husband controls the product of his wives' labor as he cannot do for a trader. The change to town living diminishes his control of her other activities as well. Sai's sample of 46 traders showed 22 lived with their husbands (six did not answer this question). Twenty-six marriages were monogamous. There was in her sample an average of 4.7 children per trader, one-third of whom were grown and independent. The average in McCall's sample were supporting or helping to support 2.7 children.<sup>23/</sup>

#### H. Questions Regarding The Welfare Of The Woman Trader And The Public Served

It would appear that the public is served by the abundance of urban traders in that commodities can be sold at the very small amounts required by many customers through this system. One wonders, though if there were more dispersed urban markets, and fewer intermediaries within the urban market itself, whether the bulk breaking could not be provided at a better price to the consumer. Although we are told that it is unlikely that traders could cooperate to use a wholesale market with storage facilities, one wonders if time and effort could not be saved the trader by such facilities, and if a greater supply of food in better condition could not be provided the customer by such service. It would be interesting to know if the experience with the fish industry provides a useful example. In this case, it was the private cold store centers which brought about a greater change, according to Lawson.

The welfare of the trader is served by a system which allows for a large number of intermediaries because there are so few options for uneducated women who have financial responsibilities for themselves and their children. An inadequate income earned in an interesting situation is more to be desired than no income, or a dull existence. (One wonders about the comparative earnings of middle school leavers in industry, with attendant child care problems, and those of the few middle school leavers in the market.)

23/McCall stated that the amount husbands contributed to family support varied greatly. Sometimes in a polygamous marriage it was related to when the wife cooks for the husband.

There seems to be an inadequate number of people engaged in long distance trading in foodstuffs. If the trade were made more attractive to the private sector by the reduction of risks, provision for storage facilities, better roads, improved transport, improved transport and market services, one wonders if the role of women in this area would expand, or whether men would increase their participation and perhaps dominate. Present traders operate with low capital outlay. If the business became more attractive, those with access to capital would have an advantage.

Bohannon and Dalton had noted that monetary exchange comes to dominate the African economy, commodities do not necessarily go through the traditional market place. In the case of cocoa and palm oil, they bypassed the market trade "which remains a pin money affair for the women".<sup>24/</sup> For many of Ghana's women trading is not a matter of "pin money", but a way of meeting substantial financial obligations.

Conclusions reached by this writer from a review of this literature are:

1. The trading system in Ghana has been evolving as the society changed.
2. The uneducated with poor employment opportunities, but with financial needs, ability, venturesomeness and industry have gone into trading.
3. As better opportunities have opened for other segments of the population, women in the South of Ghana and men in the North have been those to take the major trading roles. Women already had a beginning in trading, and there were no social prohibitions to this in the South.
4. The trading system lags in its evolution behind the development urged upon the country by its leaders.
5. The system is of mixed value in the moving of goods and food.

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<sup>24/</sup>Paul Bohannon and George Dalton, Markets In Africa, Doubleday, 1965.

- A) It serves that part of the economy which produces in small amounts, and buys in small quantities, better than would a more sophisticated system.
  - B) It copes better than other systems might with the existing poor infrastructure.
  - C) It does not provide producers with incentives for more production.
  - D) The system, together with the existing infrastructure, cannot cope with the larger agricultural production needed by the country, to feed a growing population with higher expectations.
6. If more capital is attracted to the distribution system by a modification of present constraints, this need not be a threat to present women traders, some of whom could compete with outside sources, as has happened with the fish industry. This would be particularly true if advice and credit were offered such business women (and men) by banks and government.
7. The system has been of benefit to women in view of the lack of alternative opportunities for earning the independent income which is needed by many women, and the substantial supplementary income needed by the majority of women.
8. Lack of progress of the bulk of the petty trader population, in comparison with other segments of the population may cause an over-population of the urban market, leading to over-retailing and price fixing which are harmful to the consumer.
9. The system and the traders might be benefited by a look into the possibility of establishing alternative urban markets, and wholesale markets with storage facilities. Although the traders have long campaigned for improvements in the Accra markets, they strongly resist moving to another one, or so Nypan found in 1960, and they would be resistant, no doubt, to wholesale markets where profits might be monitored, etc. However, if a gradual effort could be made by government or private business, with a concern for the welfare of the traders, it should be mutually beneficial.

10. Development of alternative opportunities for women would be of obvious benefit to the trader group, and no doubt to the urban market customers. Education for girls which can lead to work opportunities which will allow mothers to care for children while working seems most needed in this regard. This probably involves vocational education, child care plans, family planning, and development of home industry opportunities.
11. As the character of the "retail" market becomes more specialized, training or other small business assistance should be considered for established traders who want to improve their business methods. This should assist trader and consumer in a smoother transaction.

## WOMEN AS WAGE EARNERS

A clear statement of the situation of the Ghanaian woman wage earner is not presented here, due to lack of time available for the research, and the contradictory nature of sources available. Because the subject is germane to the consideration of Ghana's women in national development, it was thought it should nonetheless be included. The following discussion has been written from a general consensus of comments and opinions expressed by numerous Ghanaian professionals concerned with these issues, in personal communication, discussion groups under various auspices, and articles.

Women are found at most levels of governmental and private employment in Ghana. One segment of this feminine work force, the middle school leaver, is included in this study, though briefly, because it represents a larger group than those of other educational levels, and because there are more discussions about problems attendant to their working. (There seem to be many fewer non-educated women on the wage force than men, who perhaps fill jobs as watchmen, janitors, etc.)

The importance of an examination of the situation of Ghana's women wage earners is not indicated by their number, but by the hope that this area of employment will offer an increased number of needed options for Ghana's women. At present, there are many more otherwise untrained middle school leavers of both sexes who are not able to continue their education than there are job openings. We are told that in general there is no discrimination in hiring women at this level (they appear to be preferred over men in positions which require handling of money), and that equal pay is paid for equal work. Employers, however, often complain about the relative lack of productivity of the unskilled, or semi-skilled Ghanaian worker in industry, business and government whether male or female. Women employees, working on a low wage, in such jobs are under particularly heavy pressures.

The number in this group is a small part of Ghana's female population, but what the number is, and whether it is growing or static has not been ascertained by this writer. <sup>1</sup> In her study of wage

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<sup>1</sup>/Margaret Peil, The Ghanaian Worker: Industrial Man in Africa, Cambridge University Press, 1972, p. 24, notes women were 8% of the factory work force in 1965.

Miranda Greenstreet, "Employment of Women in Ghana," International Labor Review, February 1971, presents women as 12% of the manufacturing work force in 1960.

earners in Accra and Tema in 1964, Pail found that these women were almost entirely middle school leavers who worked in "lower" clerical jobs, or who did hand assembly or hand trimming. Two-thirds of the women in her sample were under thirty. One wonders if the age indicates that these opportunities had recently opened, or if, as she implies, this is an indication of a large turnover among women.

As in the rest of the world, there is the question of whether society or the woman involved should bear the financial costs of work absences caused by women's special role in bearing children. The Ghana Government pays for three months of maternity leave, and the law requires that firms give the same amount, on at least half pay, applying annual leave to the amount if required. The issue is more complicated in this society than in some others because women are more generally dependent upon their own earnings, and pregnancies are more frequent. On a national average, one woman in four has a completed pregnancy each year. Whether or not the number is comparable for the working population, the employers tend to think that women are expensive to employ, and that staffing continuity in a job is further complicated. Women who advise these working women have found that many of these pregnancies are unwanted by the women but not by the men.

The criticisms often made of women workers (particularly in this category) are complaints of a lack of diligence, which seem to contrast with observers' comments about women farmers and traders who are considered highly industrious and persevering.

There seems to be a general complaint among observers and employers that women in these categories tend to be less prompt than their male counterparts, to be absent more often, to sleep on the job, and in the civil service, to take less advantage of opportunities to improve their situation through courses offered toward promotion.

Those seeking answers to these problems have pointed to reasons in three categories:

1. Frequently there is a lack of understanding of the worker's importance to the accomplishment of the total work effort. Absences do not seem to matter, and the worker does not seem to be important to the organization.<sup>2/</sup> Mrs. Ntosoah,

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<sup>2/</sup>Ewusi Kodwo, The Distribution Of Monetary Incomes In Ghana, Technical Publication Series No. 14, Institute of Statistics and Economic Research, University of Ghana, 1971.

This author speaks of the "ineptness and unresponsiveness" of African labor (No sex mentioned) resulting from employers neglecting the arts of labor management. "Production fossilized at a low level," p. 29.

head of the Youth Employment Branch of the Department of Labor in Accra, has found that counseling has good effect in these situations. When she explains to such women, for instance, why biscuits must be wrapped as they come from a belt while warm, absenteeism in this work drops dramatically. (One would wonder if there is usually a difference in orientation and supervision and perhaps placement of men and women, or why such lack of management skills would affect the women more than their male counterparts.)

2. Pressures felt by young women to marry, and particularly to have children are blamed by some for inattention to work. A complaint heard often from the women and some men is that junior employees particularly are very vulnerable to advances and demands by male supervisors. This is especially so where the personnel system is such that supervisors' ratings are not known to the supervisee and there is no appeals procedure and there is not a watchful trade union. Instances are cited where there are resulting pregnancies, but more commonly, tension is described and a strain on the relationships between women workers.
3. The problem seen most frequently and to a greater extent by observers is the difficulty of combining child care with this sort of employment. Those with low wages cannot employ qualified child minders, and urban women often do not have a family member available to give such help. It is not unusual for the mother to have complete responsibility for the children. The arrangements which are made for the children's care are sometimes tenuous, and difficult to carry out, and children become ill, resulting in lateness, absenteeism, and distraction from work. The transportation problem which troubles many workers, further complicates the situation of the working mother.

This problem is the same for many who do not work in industry - retail sales women, for instance, and conspicuously, the bulk of the health workers.

#### Agencies Concerned

The YWCA which houses working women in its hostel and which runs a day nursery, is concerned about the difficulties of working women. The youth employment office of the Department of Labor

in Accra has taken an interest in the on-the-job adjustment of women employees. In the recent past, the office had been conducting discussions with middle school leavers about job possibilities, and choices before they left school. Several women's groups have expressed interest in raising money for a day nursery, located near centers of employment. The National Vocational Training Institute has been conducting forums and workshops for women executives and academics on solutions to the problems of working women.

## THE SMALL-SCALE FEMALE FARMERS OF GHANA

### Introduction

1. The purpose of this paper is to examine the role of women in small-scale food production in Ghana, to consider the problems of such women, to find out what if anything has been done to assist them, and to suggest possible methods for further assistance.

The paper is organized in four parts; the first outlines the situation of the small-scale farmer under present conditions, with a section on the female farmer in particular. The second part describes the problems of these small farmers, and the third section is concerned with possible ways and means to assist the women in small-scale food production. Material on current projects aimed at the small farmer, sponsored by the Government of Ghana and foreign donors is presented in three appendices. The final section contains conclusions and recommendations.

Material on male small-scale farmers has been included for two reasons: firstly, although they may have distinct responsibilities and chores, male and female small-scale farmers share many activities and problems, and secondly, since acknowledgement of the substantial contribution of female smallholders is relatively recent, much of the material on this subject has been couched in terms of "the farmer, he."

Throughout the paper the small-scale food farm is defined as a holding of 10 acres or less whose cropping pattern primarily or in part reflects the holding's (i.e., the household's) subsistence requirements.

Definitions of the terms "holding," "household" and "farm" are problematical. A holding often comprises several farms, possibly in different regions; a farm may consist of several fields. Since it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the considerable material devoted to definition of these terms in the literature, the reader should bear in mind that hereafter these terms are used loosely, and sometimes interchangeably.

2. The Present Situation of the Small-Scale Farmer will be presented in three sections. First, statistics will be presented from the 1960 and 1970 censuses. Then the situation of the small-scale farmer in general will be described. Finally, additional responsibilities specific to women will be discussed.

Goodwin and Selley: 1973,\* using 1970 census data, suggest that of 805,200 holdings, 30% were less than two acres in size, 55%

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\*A full description of sources is provided in the Bibliography at the end of this section of the paper.

less than four acres, and 82% less than 10 acres. Winch and Fuchs-Carsch: 1974 show that holdings of 10 acres or less account for only 47% of the total land cultivated in Ghana. It is likely, however, that in terms of food crop production, small holdings produce about 80% of total production. (These inferences were made from the 1970 Agricultural Sample Census.) It is likely that with the expansion of rice production since 1970 in the Upper and Northern Regions, the percentage of food produced by large holdings has become somewhat higher.

Goodwin and Selley estimate that about 82% of Ghana's farmers are small-scale farmers, of which some 20% produce only for subsistence (such farmer's holdings are likely to be less than 2 acres in size), 50% produce a surplus no larger than their own consumption, and perhaps 30% are producing primarily for sale. It is likely that in general, female holdings are smaller than males', and that their production will fall mainly in the subsistence, or near subsistence category.

## 2.1. Statistics

The 1970 census data as presented in Table I indicates that of the almost 2½ million women over the age of 15, about one-third were employed in agriculture. This figure, however, is misleading, in that many women who gave their occupation as trader or housewife, will in all likelihood be undertaking at least part-time work in agriculture. As will be discussed below, farming for most rural women in Ghana is as integral a part of their daily lives, as is driving a car for the American suburban woman; yet few of the latter would give their occupation as driver. It is therefore suggested that most Ghanaian women, even those in the urban areas who are not involved in wage employment, and who have access to some land, are at least part-time farmers; so that we may assume some 2 million women were involved in small-scale farming, in 1970.

Many of these women work as labourers on their husband's or fathers' farms. Table II presents data on the status of the population economically active in agriculture for 1960 and 1970. A surprising number of women are farmers in their own right. As will be noted below, many of self-employed female farmers are widows or divorcees, or wives whose husbands have migrated to towns to seek wage employment. Detailed figures for 1970 have not yet been published, but it is interesting to note the decrease in self-employed females, over the 1960-70 decade and concomitant rise in the percentage of female family workers. Data in this table should, however, be interpreted in the light of the fact that it is common for a woman who works on her husband's holding as a family worker, to have a small farm of her own, on which she will typically grow vegetables, etc. for

her family's consumption. Since the census question did not allow for a positive response in more than one category, such women may have classified themselves as either self-employed or family workers, when in fact they are employed part-time in both. Much of the literature on small-scale agriculture in Ghana would suggest, that for Southern Ghana at least, it would be the exceptional rural women who would not have at least a small plot to farm for herself.

2.2. Situation of the Small-scale Farmer: Male and Female - There is a consensus among writers in the field (see e.g. Boserup: 1970, Kamark: 1967, ECA reports: 1974, a,b) that a generalization can be made between crops grown and sex of farmer, with men predominating in the production of cash crops, and females dominating the small-scale production of cash crops. However, there is a problem of definition here. If cash crops are industrial crops such as cocoa, rubber, sugar, pineapples, etc., then this generalization may hold, although Okali: 1971 and Hill: 1963 give data on the existence of female cocoa farmers; they indicate, however, that females' farms are generally smaller than males', and that yields also tend to be lower.

It should also be noted that many rural males are also involved in food production, and this is certainly the case in the rural areas of the Upper Region, where there is relatively little cash crop production on small-scale farms.

If, on the other hand, cash crops are taken to mean food crops grown for sale, it is clear from Goodwin and Selley's figures quoted in section 2.1 above, that only 20% of Ghana's smallholdings are purely subsistence holdings, and that 80% of the holdings produce food crops for sale; some of these latter 80% are certainly female holdings.

In general, small-scale farming has become a low status occupation in Ghana. Boserup: 1970, Klingshirn: 1971, McCall: 1961 attribute this decline in status to the influence of the Europeans, who encouraged males to leave agriculture for wage employment, or to switch from food (subsistence) production to cash crop farming. Unaccustomed to the concept of female farmers, the Europeans did not provide them with any economic and technical assistance, and as agriculture was increasingly left in the hands of women, while productivity remained static, this view was reinforced, and generalized, so that today, agriculture is a very low choice for school leavers. (Rourke and Obeng: 1973). The emphasis that Nkrumah placed on large state farms in the late 50s and early 60s must also have contributed to the lowering of the importance of small-scale farming.

The pattern of small-scale farming in Ghana varies with ecological zones. In the forest areas of the South, the pattern remains one of land rotation. Land remains relatively abundant, and a farmer will typically clear a new plot each year by first burning the bush and felling the trees. This plot will be fairly small, depending on the amount of available labour from less than an acre to about 3 acres. The plot that was cleared last year will be farmed again, but the plot of two years ago will be allowed to revert to bush, although the hardy cassava plant may still be harvested from this land.

Food crops grown in this area include: yam, cocoyam, plantain, cassava, beans, maize, pepper, garden eggs, tomatoes, okro, palm oil, pawpaw.

A typical small-scale farm in the forest zone will contain nearly all of these plants. The farm will typically be divided into 3 types of land; a cash crop plot, proceeds from which are usually exclusively the man's, a family food plot, where the woman will be responsible for most of the work, and a small plot that is the woman's own area to grow what she wishes either to supplement the family diet or to sell in the market, where she will purchase such supplements. Women's plots are often devoted to such crops as tomatoes, pepper, okro and garden eggs. The literature describes food farms as consisting of "mixed stands," but it was this author's impression, that "scattered planting" would best describe the crop mixtures. The small-scale farmer in this area has two basic tools: a hoe and a cutlass. With these two tools, the various crops are planted and harvested according to the consumption needs of the household and anticipated sales to meet the holdings cash requirements. It is, of course, in the farmers own interest to diversify crops. On the one hand, it increases the self-sufficiency of each household's food needs, and also acts as a hedge against the failure of any one crop in any year. The nature of the various crops also assists the farmers marketing plans. Plantain, for instance, cannot be stored; it must be consumed within a week after the stalk is cut down. Tuber crops such as yams and cocoyams, however, can be stored in the ground (i.e. not harvested) for some time until required for sale or consumption. Cassava can be stored in this way for up to a year. Thus even during the dry season, the small-scale forest zone farmer has food available, and there is no "hungry season" here, as there is in the North. \*See however a report by P.L.H. Davey - (National Nutrition Survey of 1961 and 1962) which notes slight agricultural shortages and weight losses for Southern Ghana between April and July.

Typically, small-scale farms in the forest area are located at a considerable distance from the village. Work on the farm is undertaken 4 or 5 days per week.

In the savannah lands of Northern Ghana, where land is abundant, land rotation is also practiced; however, grain crops and yams are more abundant than tree crops in the cropping pattern.

In the Savannah lands of the extreme North-east and North-west of the Upper Region, the pattern is significantly different. The areas are relatively much more densely populated, and since land is scarce, there is no bush fallow period. The land is worked every year, and all farmers interviewed in the area named decreasing fertility of the land as their major problem. The amount of land cultivated, therefore, determines to a very large extent, the wealth of the household.

Food crops grown in this area include: millet, yams, guinea corn, rice, grain legumes such as groundnuts and vegetables. A typical small-scale farm in areas of continuous cropping will contain all these crops, although millet is the preferred food crop for home consumption.

Much rice is grown as a cash crop throughout the savannah zone, (local people eat rice only at feasts and festivals, and regard it as luxury food); guinea corn is also used as the mush for brewing pito (local beer). Small-scale farms in the North are studded with sheanut trees, the nuts of which can be processed into a sort of butter. Grain crops cannot, be stored in the ground, so there is a considerable storage problem. These crops also depend on good rainfall, are planted in mixed stands and are harvested at about the same time. Given this agricultural annual cycle, the end of the dry season is a time when stored food has run out, and when nothing is growing - - it is the hungry season, particularly in the famine-prone areas of the extreme north-east and north-west in the Upper region.

Typically in the North, the household lives in a compound located near to the farm land. All members of the household are available for various forms of agricultural labour. Farm work is undertaken whenever the agricultural cycle demands it. During the hungry season there is out-migration of members of the household who seek work, primarily as casual agricultural labour in the forest areas of the south (Brong-Ahafo cocoa areas, Ashanti etc.)

Farmers in the North also keep animals; bullocks are kept for ploughing, cows for bride price, and goats, chicken and guinea fowl for consumption.

For the purpose of this paper, no separate description of small-scale farming in the coastal zone is given, since it essentially does not differ from the typical farming pattern in Southern Ghana.

Various cash crops such as coconuts, citrus, rubber and sugar are found in this area, and fishing is a most important activity. For details on the role of women in the fishing industry see the paper in this series on Women and Trading.

### 2.3. Responsibilities Specific to Women

Publications of the ECA: 1974 (a,b) present the following table of the responsibilities of women, here given as a percentage responsibility vis-a-vis males:

<u>Responsibility</u>	<u>Percentage of responsibility versus males</u>
Food production	70
Domestic food storage	50
Food processing	100
Animal husbandry	50
Marketing	60
Brewing	90
Water supply	90
Fuel supply	80

These figures were estimated for sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, (comparable Ghana-specific data unfortunately are not available); but if they are merely taken as very rough approximation, it is clear that the small-scale food farmer referred to in the section above will often be a woman farmer in her own right, and where the woman is rather a family worker, she is still responsible for a great deal of the labour on the farm. This picture, however, is not true for Ghana as a whole. As in the section above, a clear distinction must be made between the forest zone of the South and the savannah areas of the North. It is to the forest zone that the ECA figures most aptly pertain. Engmann: 1973 breaks down female occupations in 1960 by ethnic groups, and shows that the major ethnic groups of the South (Akan, Ewe, Ga-Adangbe, etc.) have a far higher percentage of female farmers than those of the North (Hausa, Fulani, Mande, etc.) This does not imply however that Northern women are not undertaking agricultural activities. The absolute figures presented in Table I bear this out.

Nearly all of what has been written on the role of the female farmer in Ghana, has been written about the South. Wagenbuur: 1972 in a time budget study of 5 lime farmers and their families in Southern Ghana that involved an interviewer living with and recording information for each household for a full year found the following work patterns:

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Hrs/month male</u>	<u>Hrs/month female</u>
On and off farm productive	123.55	141.8
Household	64.2	171.5
Leisure	103.2	40.2

(hours spent at rest make up the balance of these figures.)

Although these figures may not hold equally true for farmers in other parts of Ghana still a pattern may be discerned, in which the female is spending significantly more hours per month on productive work on and off the farm and in the home than her husband.

For it goes almost without saying, that the Ghanaian rural woman (North or South) is also responsible for home care, child care and food preparation for her children and husband. Hardimann: 1974, using data from Akan villages and Brong-Ahafo areas describes a female's working day as follows: early in the morning she undertakes household chores, walks to the farm around 7 am - 8 a.m., returning around 2 - 3 p.m.; (Not all of this time is productive, considerable time is spent walking to and from farm to village) thereafter woman will be involved in fetching water, firewood, cooking, and, if she has a secondary source of income, spending some 3 hours per day on, for instance, sewing, baking, frying sweets, etc. Hardimann notes that some of her interviewers observed some women consistently working 15 - 16 hours per day.

It should be noted that not all weekdays are farm days; usually 1, 2 or 3 days per week are designated non-farm days in which the woman may go to market, catch up on household chores, take care of secondary sources of income, etc. (Each area usually has one "Dabone" day when farm work is prohibited. Christians will observe Sundays in addition. Women going frequently to market will take an additional day off her trading.)

Many observers have noted that there is a division of labour by sex in agricultural roles in the South. Men are said to undertake the heavy work of clearing and felling, while women are involved in planting, weeding and harvesting. Hardimann comments: "Apart from the value of the domestic services she provides for her family, a village woman contributes in cash and kind through her substantial role in agricultural production. Men ... often say that they do the hard work because they undertake the physically strenuous task of clearing the bush; but in terms of hours of work put into the production, processing and distribution of food crops, the woman's share is greater." (p. 117)

This division of labour is not found in the extreme North. Bogaards (1969) notes that the woman's specific role in agriculture in the savannah area is limited to sowing crops on the family farm and cultivating her own very small plot of either rice or groundnuts. Clearing, weeding and cutting for harvest are male jobs. This notion was amply borne out by interviews with farmers and agricultural workers in the area. In addition to their farm responsibilities, Northern women are also responsible for home and child care, taking care of visitors, and fetching water and firewood. This latter job can be most time consuming, since firewood is at a premium in the densely populated Upper region and after millet and sorghum stalks are used up, women must walk for considerable distances to procure sufficient fuel for cooking, etc. Further relevant differences between North and South must be mentioned. In savannah areas, farmers will tend to have several wives, as a sign of wealth and a source of labour, who will typically reside with the husband in the same compound. This pattern may also be observed in the South, although with closer proximity to large towns, there is a greater likelihood that southern households will be split up, often leaving the wife in sole charge of the family farm.

It should not be assumed that the polygamous household is disadvantageous to the wife since she thereby has co-workers for agricultural and household labour, and can share with other wives the feeding of her husband (see Boserup: 1970).

In the North, the husband will typically give each wife a weekly supply of staples from the family store. The wife is then responsible for procuring additions to the staple in food production to prepare soup (e.g. salt, smoked fish, vegetables.) She will obtain cash for such purchases either from the sale of produce from her own small plot, or from the sale of processed food in the market, or from sale of pito, which is brewed in the compound for the family, to pay for "invited" labour, and also sold for cash in the market place.

In the forest zones, where men are primarily concerned with cash crop production, the wife cultivating the food farm will harvest her own staples as well as providing for additions to the menu. Her sources of income also include the sale of surplus agricultural produce from her plot, and the sale of processed food in the market. She may also expand into other forms of petty trading, especially if she is close to an urban area as a supply of goods, or she may obtain money from secondary occupations such as those mentioned by Hardimann above.

Material in this section has not been presented under the three categories of female farmers: those who farm alone (being widowed,

divorced, or left to tend the farm); those who work as labourers on the family farm and have their own plots, and those who work solely as family farm labourers. This is due to lack of basic data and absence of relevant literature. There can be no doubt, however, that the situations of women in these categories must be significantly different, especially with regard to decision-making on the farm. It is hoped that any future research into the role of women in Ghanaian agriculture would take these categories into account.

Regardless of status, the rural small-scale female farmer has had little or no formal education. She had had little or no exposure to non-formal education either. The ECA documents suggest that women in Africa receive only 15% of the non-formal education in agriculture. This same female farmer will typically have between 6 and 7 pregnancies (Gaisie:1970). As noted above, she is working for up to 16 hours per day. Given this, it is not surprising that she has serious problems, and these problems are the topic of the next section.

### 3. Problems of the Small Scale Food Farmer

#### 3.1. Males and Females

Agricultural output and yields on small-scale farms in Ghana are relatively low. As noted above, in some parts of the North, the availability of fertile land is a constraint; in other parts of the savannah zone and the south this will not become a problem until the rapidly increasing population will put considerably more pressure on land and food. The topic of land inheritance in Ghana is extremely complicated, in that different conditions pertain for each different ethnic group, and it was felt that this topic was beyond the scope of the present paper.

Winch and Fuchs-Carsch:1974 argue that the small farmer in Ghana has learned to combine meagre farm resources efficiently, but achieves relatively low levels of production. They imply that the small farmer seeks to reduce the risks and effort inherent in farming under arid and humid tropical conditions, ~~and that,~~ with present technologies, desires to act efficiently by minimizing cash outlays on farm inputs and his own labour in farm activities, rather than maximizing output, see Rourke and Obeng: 1973. (One may suspect that the male farmer will be less concerned with minimizing the labour of his family workers).

Throughout Ghana, the availability of cleared land and draught power is likely to be the main constraint to increasing agricultural production by expansion of the land area cultivated. Lack

of knowledge regarding improved farm practices, and the scarcity of improved inputs such as fertilizer, seeds, chemicals and implements are the major constraints to raising agricultural production per land area cultivated and per farm labourer.

Many farmers appear to have knowledge of the benefits of fertilizer, but lack of capital and availability have hindered its use. Supply of improved seed is also limited, and lack of availability restricts most farmers from investing in improved tools. Thus planting, weeding and harvesting are, for most farmers, highly time-consuming and arduous. Storage facilities on most small farms are inefficient, and spoilage rates are high. Some surveys estimate up to 50% in traditional on-farm storage of grains. (Conversation with Karl Ritgers of the Garu Agricultural Research Station) Irrigation of small farms is very rare, again due to lack of information, capital or water resources. Food processing for home consumption or sale is also problematic, in that equipment is unsophisticated, and labour hard and time-consuming.

Marketing presents yet another problem area. Research into the market structure of food products (Nyanteng and Apeldoorn: 1971, Dumor and Amonoo: 1973) suggests that except in times of real food scarcities, the seller is at the mercy of the prices offered by the purchasers, and that this often results in the seller receiving lower prices than are fixed by the marketing boards. Farmers are reputedly often cheated by buyers who have a monopoly of transport facilities to get produce to large urban markets. Most of the above problems may be subsumed by two major constraints: lack of information and lack of credit. (For a brief discussion of availability of credit, see Appendix III)

### 3.2 Female Specific Problems

As was implied in section 2 above, the female farmer, in addition to her problems as a farmer, is also subject to problems in her other roles as mother, wife, water carrier, fuel gatherer, marketer of produce, cook, etc. In this connection, problems include: frequent pregnancies; time-consuming cooking for husband and children; and the purchasing of additional food items for family meals; time and effort spent in walking to and from water source, and head water portage (this problem will be multiplied if domestic animals such as fowl or rabbits are kept); time and effort spent in gathering fuel for cooking, brewing pito, etc; poor storage facilities for own grown produce and poor market facilities.

The above problems are basic; in addition, the woman is also responsible for the good nutrition of her family, and often she

will lack either knowledge or cash to fulfill this responsibility adequately. She also has a desire for economic independence in order to buy luxuries for herself, help educate her children etc. This desire will lead her to seek secondary sources of income; an effort that is often thwarted by lack of time, lack of knowledge, lack of capital.

The female farmer who operates without a man (widow, divorcee, wife left to tend the farm alone) has particular problems in that the heavy work of clearing and tree felling must be hired out, which may present problems in a lack of available labour, or lack of income with which to pay hired help.

ECA documents 1974, (a,b) summarize the ways in which the traditional situation of women in Africa has impeded development as follows: a) by retarding the production and distribution of food, etc. since the energy-input of women has only minimal productive returns; b) by the physical and mental effects on the population because women live at drudgery level; and c) by a resultant waste of human beings and resources, due to low life expectancy and high infant mortality.

To this may be added the following: d) low levels of food production arising from ignorance and/or non-availability of productivity enhancing techniques, tools, agricultural inputs, marketing methods, credit supplies; e) low labour productivity arising from the problems of the additional responsibilities of female farmers in the home; f) low levels of food production arising from the fact that agriculture is a relatively unpopular occupation.

This last point needs elaborating. Various writers (Boserup: 1970, McCall: 1961, Klingshirn: 1971) have observed that women, given half a chance (e.g. moving to urban area, or husband hiring non-family labour) prefer trading to farming as an occupation. Given the low status of agriculture, the extremely hard work involved in traditional farming, the lack of opportunities for farm development on the one hand, and the attraction of spending time with female friends in trading the relatively lighter work load, and the greater opportunities for personal profit on the other, this preference is most understandable. Klingshirn suggests: "agriculture is losing its importance for women too. Where possible, women prefer to trade, ... although profits from petty trading are low, it offers an opportunity for even illiterate women to become more independent, and it provides them with a basis for adjusting to an emancipated status." (p. 166)

This raises yet another problem area for women, namely the effect of social change on their roles as farmers. Hardimann: 1974 notes,

"Women in villages are beset by many problems, and they are probably more aware of these problems than in the past. They are very conscious of their burdens and frequently talk about them. They wish sometimes that their husbands or brothers would give them more support, that they would work harder, and spend less time in drinking. Social change has brought new anxieties, many of them due to the disappointment of their expectations. They have made sacrifices to educate their children, and find that the jobs they hoped their children would get are not available, and that education has had a negative result in terms of the young person's willingness to settle down to farming." (p.121).

Hardimann goes on to mention that women have not benefited from social innovations due to a) migration of men from village areas (leaving women to hold together the household and the family farm); b) the fact that higher education favours boys over girls; c) that rural social services lag behind those of the towns.

Moreover, women have not benefited from the development of non-formal education. ECA research: 1974 (b) gives the following figures (for Africa as a whole) for areas of access to non-formal education, here given as percentages vis-a-vis males:

<u>Areas of access to non-formal education</u>	<u>Percentage access versus males</u>
Agriculture	15
Animal husbandry	20
Co-operatives	10
Arts and crafts	50
Nutrition	90
Home economics	100

Clearly, this is a great misallocation of information, with women almost the sole receivers of information pertaining to home economics and nutrition, thus reinforcing the female stereotype of home maker, while on the other hand, women, who form a great part of the agricultural labour force, are receiving very little education in this field.

#### 4. Ways and Means to Assist the Small Scale Female Farmer

The ECA document: 1974(b) makes the following detailed suggestions for improvements for small female farmer agriculture:

Intermediate technologies:

oxdrawn ploughs and harrows<sup>2</sup>

hand-operated inter-row cultivators, planters,  
winnowers  
seed cleaning sieves  
chicken feeders and waterers<sup>✱</sup>  
locally made sun dryers  
smoking drums for fish and meat<sup>✱</sup>  
improved food stores against insects, rodents, damp<sup>✱</sup>  
solar water heaters  
maize shellers<sup>✱</sup>  
cassava grinders  
community mills  
clothes lines and cupboards<sup>✱</sup>

Techniques for improving water supply:

wheelbarrows, bicycle or tricycle carts for water  
(and other) portage  
catchment tanks for water

Techniques for improving fuel supply:

planting quick growing trees near villages  
introducing portable mechanical saws for firewood

Program and projects:

females to be given greater access to relevant non-  
formal education  
extension services to be extended in food crop  
production to women<sup>✱</sup>  
improved market facilities (loans, credit<sup>✱</sup>, guidance)  
improved health education<sup>✱</sup>  
development of cottage industries

In Ghana several of these suggestions have been adopted. In appendices to this paper can be found short descriptions of some of the projects undertaken in recent years by foreign donors, as well as details of projects undertaken by the Government of Ghana. It should be noted that with the exception of the Home Science programme of the Ministry of Agriculture and the program of the Community Development Division of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development, none of the projects listed are aimed either explicitly or implicitly at the female farmer. Nevertheless, other projects have had the result of introducing some of the improvements outlined above, and it is likely that they have, almost inadvertently, improved the situation of the female farmer. The items above that are followed by an asterisk have been adopted by one or more projects currently in operation in Ghana. It is not

suggested that this is all that is being done: the author found considerable difficulty in unearthing details of all projects underway; nor should it be forgotten that if an improvement has been adopted, it has most likely only be implemented in one, usually very small, section of the country. Citations in the appendix include locations of projects.

Notwithstanding the fact that the problems of the small scale farmer (male and to some extent female) have been recognized in Ghana, problems remain, and will remain. The most basic problem, and one that maybe is least amenable to project or program solution, is that small-scale food agriculture at prevailing low levels of production is not an occupation undertaken by choice. For most of those involved in it, it is the only alternative open to support themselves and their families. As has been noted previously, women in agriculture, given sufficient capital and alternative labour to look after the farm, will prefer to spend their time off the holding in small-scale trading. Male farmers will prefer to seek income either from cash crop farming, or from wage employment in large-scale agriculture or in the modern sector. On the other hand, the Government of Ghana, in association with its Operation Feed Yourself program, would seem to have a policy of encouraging small-scale farming. Winch and Fuchs-Carsch: 1974 state:

"Currently, there is a strong belief among many government officials that much more emphasis, particularly at the operational level, needs to be directed towards the smallholder community. A real desire exists in many government departments to vigorously move in this direction; however, the GOG has not been able to define an operational small-holder production strategy. . . From a policy point of view.....the GOG desires to increasingly rely on smallholders to increase food production (p.208)."

In efforts to increase agricultural output, programs and projects, by the GOG and/or foreign donors have two basic possibilities: by increasing the land cultivated through mechanization or bullock ploughs or by improving inputs to agriculture increase yields per acre. The final section of this paper examines the likely responses of female farmers to either of these changes, as well as predicting probable responses under prevailing conditions. In line with the comment in section 2.3, female farmers have been divided into 3 categories: those who farm in their own right, without the help of a male; those who are family workers, but have their own farm plot, and those who are solely labourers on their family's farm. It is hoped that these suggestions will be

useful to planners when considering what effect potential programs or projects are likely to have on female farmers.

## 5. Conclusions and Recommendations

### 5.1. Conclusions

#### A. Scheme of probable responses of female food farmers under three conditions.

##### I. Under prevailing conditions--no change in the state of the arts in agriculture.

A. Female farmers in all categories with any alternative source of income other than farming, will choose to take that alternative (See section 3.2 above). Despite small efforts recently made to provide female extension workers, female farmers have long been ignored, and are still working long hours at arduous tasks. Any female who perceives that she can receive higher returns (monetary and/or social) off the farm than on the farm, will leave agriculture for the commercial or modern sector.

#### B. Female farmers with no alternative source of income

##### 1. Female farmers in their own right:

These women are less productive than they might be, since they do not have a male to do their clearing and tree felling for them, nor in many cases can they obtain, or if available, afford, hired labour. More seriously perhaps, these female farmers are increasingly in a situation where improved technologies could not help them. Change in the past has left the female farmer isolated with her poor techniques and technologies with little or no education, no access to credit, etc.

##### 2. Female family workers with their own plots:

These women will increasingly wish to put their labour into their own farms, since the profits from these plots are theirs to spend on their children or their own needs.

##### 3. Female family workers without own plots:

These women, found predominantly in the extreme north-east and north-west of the Upper region, can be considered merely as units of unpaid labour, who will

increasingly look for sources of income in off-farm activities.

II. Given a change in the state of the arts in agriculture:

A. Land expansion through drought power in Northern Ghana.

It has been estimated that by using bullock ploughs, the farm size in the savannah zone can be increased to about 20 to 25 acres. However, cattle are taboo to women, so they would not directly be involved in this activity.

In areas amenable to drought power, women are less likely to be farmers in their own right, and as family workers, with or without their own plots, increased farm size is likely to put increased demands on their roles as sowers, threshers, winnowers and food processors. This will be disadvantageous to women, since it will cut down their time available for off-farm activities, such as pito brewing, from which they can make their own profits, as well as time needed to obtain non-staple items for the family diet.

B. Improved agricultural inputs to increase yields on existing acreage (forest area and coastal zone)

I. Female farmers in their own right:

Improved inputs (seeds, fertilizers, tools, etc.) can improve the situation of such a female farmer provided: a) that she can be reached; b) that she finds them profitable and c) that she can afford them. The likelihood is, however, that there will be little infrastructure (in the form of credit facilities, extension services, or research into "scattered planting" or planting in mixed stands) to facilitate her adoption of such inputs. She is the most problematic target group for such services, being the least uneducated, and having, on the whole, the smallest farms. The expense of providing services specifically for her is likely to be prohibitive. However, she is likely to benefit indirectly from infrastructure created for male farmers; and those female farmers in their own right who have a husband elsewhere, may receive credit and information through him.

2. Family workers with own plot:

These women will benefit to the extent that improved inputs will increase yields on their own plots, but at the same time, increased yields on the family farm will necessitate increased time spent on weeding, harvesting, head protage, etc. Since such women are already fully occupied in the home and on the farm, it is hard to see how they will find the time for this increased labour.

3. Female family workers without own plot:

Given increased yields, these women's agricultural labour will be increased as for women with their own plots. Since this female farmer too is already working to capacity, it is hard to see how this situation could do anything but worsen her position.

Summary

From the above scheme it is clear that methods introduced to increase agricultural production will not per se improve the lot of the female farmer. Given labour scarcities, and without mechanization, women will probably be allocated the major share of the incremental workload. Since they can scarcely cope with present workloads, their future in agriculture looks bleak. Even if improved technologies are introduced that could make a woman's labour more productive, it would appear that she is likely to be the last to receive such technologies, being the most difficult group to reach.

The following section contains suggestions for actions that might prevent too great a worsening of the female farmer's position and possibly even increase her productivity and quality of life. The author feels however that new programs and projects in agriculture (crop, area or technology specific) designed specifically and exclusively for women should not be encouraged. Female farmers as a target group are probably difficult and expensive to isolate being relatively uneducated and to some extent under male domination. Also, if a new project results in attractive conditions or increased profitability, it seems probable that male farmers will be interested to take over such a project.

5.2. Recommendations

It is suggested that any future action in the area of agricultural development should take the following into account:

1. Methods to ensure that the present gap in the status and opportunities for male and female farmers does not widen, and where possible, narrows.

For instance: a) Support should be given to any increase in formal or informal agricultural education programs for women.

b) Support should be given to on-going programs of agricultural extension for women, i.e. the Home Science Department Program of the Ministry of Agriculture, (who have expressed a need for transportation and visual aid facilities.)

c) encourages and support efforts to add a "female" component to existing agricultural extension programs, as is being contemplated by the Christian Service Committee's programs in the Upper Region. Such additions should, however, not be restricted only to the nutritional aspects of agriculture.

2. Methods to minimize the additional burdening of women in agriculture that might otherwise result for programs of agricultural development.

For instance: a) In the planning of future projects, the new role of women should be taken into account, in particular determining what new demands will be put on her as a family farm worker.

b) If programs are instituted that provide production increasing inputs (e.g. bullock ploughs, fertilizer, etc.) such inputs should be introduced together with labour saving techniques for women's agricultural labour, such as the ECA proposed list of improvements, cited in section 4.1 above.

3. The value of micro-level research. There is a lack of area specific information in Ghana about the behaviour of small-scale farmers in their environments. Such environments are diverse, and vary with respect to climatic and ecological zones, ethnic background of farmers, crops grown, etc. It has been impossible to make specific recommendation for improvements for female farmers, due to the absence of **research** into the farm systems and farm behaviour of small farmers in all but a few small areas of Ghana. It is thus recommended that any efforts to investigate small-scale farming on this micro-level be encouraged and supported.

**TABLE I - FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IN AGRICULTURE BY REGION (1960, 1970 CENSUS DATA)**

Region*	Total No. of Women 15 yrs. and over		Number of Women employed in Agriculture	
	1960	1970	1960	1970
Total	1,845,757	2,316,348	578,934	772,715
Western	( 199,933 )		( 154,554 )	83,528
Central	( 377,050 )	250,596		119,966
Eastern	294,120	337,222	104,775	127,551
Volta	221,640	267,203	79,871	105,469
Ashanti	282,600	376,091	227,254	165,263
Brong-Ahafo	143,690	188,447	57,071	104,654
Northern	( 391,900 )	197,554	( 51,681 )	24,393
Upper	( )	272,105	( )	28,251

\* In 1960 Western and Central Regions were both included in Western Region and Northern and Upper Regions were included in Northern Region.

Greater Accra district has been omitted, since this region is predominantly urban.

**TABLE II - STATUS OF THE POPULATION ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN AGRICULTURE (1960, 1970 CENSUS DATA)**

	Males		Females	
	1960	1970	1960	1970
<u>Total economically active in agriculture</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Employers, self-employed (all crops)*</u>	<u>71.8%</u>	71%	<u>69.1%</u>	66%
(in foodstuffs)	35.1		49.2	
(in cocoa)	28.6		13.9	
(in other crops)	2.4		5.4	
<u>Family workers**</u>	<u>15.0%</u>	12.8 <sup>xxx</sup>	<u>29.6%</u>	32.4
(in foodstuffs)	11.4		17.0	
(in cocoa)	2.7		11.2	

\* Definitions: Employers: persons who operate their own enterprise by themselves or through another person, and hire one or more persons whom they pay.

Self-employed: persons who operate their own enterprise.

Family workers: persons who help in running an economic enterprise operated by a member of their family, and who may or may not be paid.

xxx In 1970, over 10% of males in agriculture were employed in Government or private enterprise.

## APPENDIX I

Recent programs and projects sponsored by foreign donors designed to assist the small-scale farmer in Ghana. The description of programs is largely taken from the 1973 Development Assistance to Ghana document drawn up by the Resident Representative of the UNDP in Accra, and supplemented by personal interview. (Further details may be obtained from papers on current projects in Ghana written by Development Alternatives, Inc.)

Title: Increased Farm Production through Fertilizer Use.

Sponsor: UNDP

Nature of Assistance and location: To promote use of fertilizers and other inputs with a view to significant increase in the production of maize and other important crops, Ho-Kpandu-Swedru-Foso-Nkoranza-Mampong.

Title: Rural Fisheries

Sponsor: (Canada) International Development Research Center

Nature of activities and location: Financing research and development of fishing methods, fish storage and marketing. Involves assistance to both small and large fishermen. One part of project aimed specifically at women: development of improved ovens for smoking fish, also parts of marketing component: Elmina.

Title: CUSO volunteers

Sponsor: Canada

Nature of assistance and activities: Eight volunteers in five agricultural stations in Upper Region. Working closely with the Christian Services Committee project described below. The activities of one station, Binaba, are given in detail in Appendix II, to show the scope of agricultural extension in Northern Ghana.

Title: Dr. Paul Isert Rural Development Center

Sponsor: Denmark, ECA

## APPENDIX I (Cont'd)

Nature of assistance and activities: 1. To train young school leavers in modern agriculture; 2. to operate demonstration farms; 3. to develop nurseries for main crops in the area (oil palms, coconuts, citrus); 4. to develop vegetables and other crops: Elmina.

Title: Ghanaian-German Agricultural Project

Sponsor: Federal Republic of Germany

Nature of activities and location: Project has evolved in pragmatic fashion responding to needs identified in the field and requests from MOA. Started with increasing use of fertilizer; went on to provision of unproved seed in rice production; concentrating on rice, provided machinery and rice mills for large scale commercial farms. Shifted emphasis to small farmers by linking activities with Christian Services Committee (see below and Appendix II). In mid-1974 project planned a technological package for next 4 years, concentrating on: fertilizer use, use of improved seeds, introduction of improved crop rotation techniques, bullock ploughing and grain storage (through introduction of low-cost silos). Also involved in improving capabilities of MOA extension staff: Northern and Upper Region.

Title: Agriculture Implements

Sponsor: United Kingdom

Nature of activities: Provision of animal-drawn tool bar, crop drying units, small portable threshers and other intermediate technology equipment for demonstration.

Title: Agricultural Extension and Production

Sponsor: USAID

Nature of activities and location: Assist in a) focus and concentrate extension program; b) mechanization; c) seed multiplication.  
Accra-Ho-Tamale

## APPENDIX I (Cont'd)

Title: Peace Corps Volunteers

Sponsor: USA

Nature of activities: 9 volunteers in various forms of agricultural extension/development, including vegetables, cotton, poultry and cattle extension. Other volunteers in forestry, game and wildlife.

Title: Christian Service Committee Programme

Sponsor: Private aid from Germany, U.S., U.K., Switzerland and Holland

Nature of activities and location: Programmes of agricultural extension, health and nutrition rehabilitation; many joint enterprises with the German/Ghanaian Agricultural Development Project. Appendix II contains a description of the activities of Garu agricultural station, one of the 10 agricultural centers sponsored by the Committee. An excellent description of the work of the nutrition rehabilitation component can be found in Gordon: 1973.

Mention should be made here of the Denu Shallots Project which has no foreign donor support. Launched by the Agricultural Development Bank in 1971, the project provided credit to farmers to expand shallot production in the Denu area of Volta Region. Most loan recipients were farmers with up to 4 acres; average farm size being 1.8 acres. Has had problems of loan-repayment. Also, estimated that only 20% of ADB funds were used to expand production seems from ADB records that the smallest farmers (i.e. with less than 1.8 acres) used greater proportion of loans for production, have received greatest production return, and have had highest repayment rates.

## APPENDIX II

Detailed description of activities of two agricultural stations in the Upper Region: Binaba, staffed by 2 CUSO volunteers, Garu, supported by the Christian Services Committee and the Ghanaian-German Agricultural Project. Cited to show effective assistance to small farmer in operation:

### 1. Binaba Agricultural Station

Concentrating at present on two projects: sales of imported bullock ploughs and developing dry season gardens.

The bullock plough program has been very successful - the only constraint being the supply of ploughs, which are imported. Eight farmers have paid the full price of ₵120.00 in advance with no assurance on the delivery date of the ploughs. This program entirely excludes female farmers, since local custom prohibits women from touching cattle at all. (Male farmers also enjoy the novelty of new technologies, and tend not to leave their use to women).

The dry season garden program is designed for farmers with land with water tables no deeper than 3-4 feet. Simple wells are dug, and mud walls constructed to enclose a plot for the planting of tomatoes, onions and other vegetable crops. This program is designed to alleviate somewhat the effects of the hungry season. Women are involved, since they may already have some small horticultural plots, but well-digging and wall construction are seen as male jobs.

The station also encourages construction of improved storage silos, distributes fertilizer, seeds and rice mills when these are available.

Extension work is undertaken by visiting outlying areas in the evening, and having group discussion with farmers in the evening. The next morning visits to farms are undertaken to attempt problem-solving on the spot. Women do participate in the group discussions, and recently the extension workers have introduced a nutrition section in their presentation, developed by the Bawku Food and Nutrition Program.

APPENDIX II (Cont'd)

2. Garu Agricultural Station

Also involved in bullock plough sales and dry season gardens. Additionally disseminating information and inputs in the following problem-areas:

1. Weed control: the stringa weed, a hard-to-eradicate parasite on millet, sorghum and maize is being studied, and the herbicide Amatrine being applied, although with little success to date.

2. Storage: Encouragement and courses in construction of concrete and mud silos, and use of chemicals to prevent insect damage.

3. Soil conservation: teaching of contour ploughing, compost making, anti-bush burning, tree planting to prevent erosion and soil exhaustion.

4. Protein deficiency: encouraging planting of lettuce, cabbage, Irish potatoes. Have chicken broiler program underway and layer program with local schools.

Women not directly involved, except in number 4 above. Extension workers note that when men are persuaded to adopt new methods or technologies, women are enthusiastic in support or imitation.

### APPENDIX III

Activities undertaken by the Government of Ghana to provide agricultural assistance for women. Brief summary on the availability of credit for small-scale farmers, and the role of women's agricultural co-operatives.

#### 1. Agricultural Extension for Women

Home Science Department of the Ministry of Agriculture:

As of February 1975, 77 female extension workers operating in 5 regions. In 5 years the program is expected to be country-wide.

Clientele: Farm women and farm youth primarily; other rural people to be motivated to have backyard gardens, schools to be encouraged to raise gardens.

Annual work program: Nutrition in relation to food production and diet improvement (2 months). Food production/food demonstration (4 months)--concentrates on grain legumes, vegetables, fruits and small livestock to supplement diets. Food processing, preservation and storage (2 months). Food production - minor and off-season cultivation crops - management of resources in the farm and home (4 months).

Extension methods: individual farmer contacts, home and farm visits, office calls by farmers; group meetings and discussion; method and result demonstration; mass media methods, distributing brochures, radio and T.V. where practicable; small-scale exhibits and participation in agricultural shows.

(Further details on this program may be obtained from the 1974 publication "Programme of Work for the Home Extension Unit, Ministry of Agriculture, Ghana.")

It should be noted that even this program, designed specifically for the female farmer, concentrates on food production in relation to nutrition, and provides little to assist in the production of staple foods, which is contrary to the practices of male extension workers.

It should also be noted that this program, as well as the one that follows, is experiencing problems in two major areas, namely transportation and drop-out of female officers in the field. These problems may be related, and it seems unfortunate that this unique

### APPENDIX III (Cont'd)

effort to provide extension for rural women should be jeopardized by a lack of transport facilities for women in the field.

#### Home Science Extension Programme of Department of Social Welfare and Community Development:

This is a much larger, and longer established program, which in the past has concentrated on child and home care, health and nutrition and literacy eradication: "improvement of home life, family and community through the training of women and families". Recently, however, senior officials of the program have recognized the fact that rural women not only have roles as mothers and wives, but also as farmers, and the new work program is to include sections of food production and processing. Again, this information is to be disseminated in the nutrition context, and it is not clear what degree of overlap will exist with the program of the Ministry of Agriculture's Home Science Department.

#### 2. Availability of Credit for Small-Scale Farmers

(This information is taken from Winch and Fuchs-Carsch: 1974, pp. 155/6). Lending to small farmers has been almost exclusively the province of the Agricultural Development Bank. The ADB has had problems of making credit available to small farmers: firstly to cost of making, administering and collecting such loans is high, relative to their value; secondly, the risks of making loans is high because land (due to communal land tenure system) cannot be used for collateral. (Equipment and seeds can, however, be used). To overcome these problems, the ADB has introduced a group/cooperative credit scheme for small-scale rice and maize farmers. The cost of loaning to a group is less than for individuals, and the risk element reduced in that all members of the group must repay their loan before any member may receive another loan. In an effort to assist farmers in increasing yields and income, and hence an increased ability to repay loans, the adoption of an improved technical "package" (seed, fertilizer, etc.,) is required of the groups. The ADB also provides credit for industrial crops, food crops other than maize and rice, livestock production, fishing and agro-business activities. It is not clear whether small farmers receive loans in these categories.

#### 3. Women's Agricultural Co-operatives

According to the Government of Ghana Department of

### APPENDIX III (Cont'd)

Cooperatives, there are no agricultural cooperatives with only female members. However, many of the food production cooperatives have female members; from the Department's point view, no distinction is made as to sex of members, and thus no data on the extent of female membership could be obtained. In addition to food producers cooperatives, the Department also has registered some 450 credit unions in Ghana, some 200 of which are located in rural areas. Here too, statistics on members' sex were not available, but officials maintained that in many cases females did avail themselves of this method of obtaining credit. They added that the Department itself has recently started recruiting female field officers, and plans to increase its female field staff substantially in the next few years.

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## THE ROLE OF GHANAIAW WOMEN IN HEALTH, POPULATION AND NUTRITION

The role of Ghanaian women in health, population and nutrition will be examined from two angles: both in terms of their need for an improved health and nutritional status with a concomitant change in attitudes and practices of family planning, and as important agents for bringing about the needed improvements. Ghanaian women not only have health, family planning and nutrition problems which they must be helped to solve, but they are in many cases the ones who must be the helpers in their roles as doctors, family planning nurses, traditional birth attendants, and food producers, preparers and child raisers. The problems which Ghanaian females have in these three areas are distinct but so inter-related that they will be discussed together; a division, however, will be made between women's role as patients/beneficiaries/victims of the health, family planning and nutrition system, and their role as health, family planning and nutrition workers. The total implications of population programs go beyond family planning, but as they are largely beyond the scope of this study they will be touched on only briefly here.

### The Health, Family Planning and Nutrition Status of Ghanaian Females

#### A. General Discussion

The health problems of Ghana as described by Sai and others are primarily "communicable and infectious diseases, poor environmental sanitation, insufficient or absent antenatal and postnatal care, and malnutrition" (37, p. 131)<sup>1/</sup>. As females live in the same environment as males, share many of the occupational hazards, and have the added burden of repeated childbearing and lactation, it would be reasonable to expect that their health status would be lower. The data available is not sufficient to prove or disprove this expectation, and indeed if life expectancy is taken as a measure of health status, it would appear that Ghanaian females are better off than males.

Ghanaian life expectancy during the period 1970-75 has been

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<sup>1/</sup>Numbers shown in parentheses refer to the number of the source in the bibliography provided at the end of the paper.

estimated by Gaisie to be 49 years for males and 52 years for females (19). He however cautions that this may be due to the lower death rates among females in the infant and 1-4 age groups and not to excess adult male mortality. As health care for young children improves, he believes the situation could be reversed unless strenuous efforts are made to reduce the high maternal mortality rate. An indication that he is correct are the life expectancy figures for the United States where lower death rates for females in all age groups, fewer occupational hazards, and a low maternal mortality rate have resulted in female life expectancy 7.7 years in excess of males (75.1 years as compared to 67.4)<sup>2/</sup>.

Disease rates are another indication of health status. Little precise data is available on disease rates except that which is available from a few sample surveys, diseases seen during clinic attendance, reports on the incidence of communicable diseases, and the causes of registered deaths.

Malaria is the number one health problem among the infectious and parasitic diseases. It accounted for 76 out of every 1000 registered deaths in 1967 (31c) and placed a very heavy burden on available medical services, as it accounted for 742 out of every 1000 outpatients treated in 9 regional hospitals in Ghana in 1969 (38, information supplied by Sakwa-Mantey) and at least 5% of hospital admissions in 1967 (31c). Malaria exacerbates anaemia conditions and has an adverse effect upon nutrition particularly of young children. The only general survey of the incidence of malaria parasites in Ghanaians which the writer has discovered was carried out during the National Nutrition Survey of 1962 (13e). The table shown below was adapted from the data on seasonal occurrence of malaria parasites from which an annual average has been computed. Children are taken to be those from 0-20 and adults everyone 20+ years in age.

Annual Occurrence of Malaria Parasites

<u>Forest villages</u>				<u>Coastal villages</u>			
Children		Adults		Children		Adults	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
14%	11%	4.7%	10.5%	12%	11.3%	5%	8.8%

<sup>2/</sup>Unless otherwise indicated all figures for the United States are taken from the Summary Report--Final Mortality Statistics, - 1972 Parts 1 and 2, and Summary Report--Final Natality Statistics, 1972 issued by the National Center for Health Statistics, U.S. Department of Health Education and Welfare on October 3, 1974, November 6, 1974 and October 31, 1974 respectively.

As can be seen, the incidence of parasites is higher among children than among adults with male children having a slightly higher rate than female children and the rate among adult females is considerably higher than that of adult males. This information tallied with the data collected on the incidence of anaemia which will be discussed below.

The above figures provide only a slight indication of the seriousness of malaria as a national health problem, as the peaks of infection are more important to illness and death than is the annual average occurrence of infection. In addition, the youngest children are those most seriously effected which is obscured by lumping together everyone under age 20. As an example, a National Malaria Service survey made in the Volta Region in March 1974 on 850 persons found malaria parasites in 36.6% of those studied, and among children ages 2-4 the rate was well over 60%.<sup>3/</sup>

Other parasitic diseases also present health problems. These include onchocerciasis or river blindness, schistosomiasis, guinea worm, hookworm, and round worm. Parasitic infections are debilitating and are a factor in the high rate of malnutrition. Their prevalence is indicated by the finding of intestinal parasites in 550 out of every 1000 persons examined in the Village Health Survey of the Danfa Project (5).<sup>4/</sup>

Although data is very sketchy it would appear that women have a high rate of parasitic infestation, but rates among women are lower than rates among men. An interesting illustration of this are the hookworm infestation rates found during the Danfa Village Health Survey. Hookworm infection is picked up by walking barefoot in moist, loose earth so it can be considered an occupational hazard of farming though the infection can be picked up in other ways as well. The infestation rates for children were similar, reaching 55% for both boys and girls by the age of 15. This was the peak for the girls but the rates for males went on to a peak of 69% before it began declining to a level more near that of the females.<sup>5/</sup> Information on the sex

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<sup>3/</sup>Information supplied by Dr. Julius Prince, Health, Population and Nutrition Officer, USAID/Ghana, from field trip notes.

<sup>4/</sup>Preliminary data.

<sup>5/</sup>Preliminary data presented by Dr. W. Chinery of the Department of Microbiology, Ghana Medical School at the Fifth Annual Review Meeting of the Danfa Project, held February 26-March 1, 1974, in Accra, Ghana.

incidence of onchocerciasis and schistosomiasis has been collected by the W.H.O. in connection with projects to control these diseases.

The prevalence of schistosomiasis in boys and girls climbs steeply in infested areas to rates above 90% by age 15 in some villages along the Volta Lake. Thereafter the rate for women is somewhat less than that for men as the women tend to send children to fetch water and wash clothes at the lake side and accordingly are not being continuously reinfected. The men are walking in and out of the water daily in connection with fishing. It should be remembered, however, that without treatment the women may still have internal damage from the parasite as a result of childhood infections.

Surveys on onchocerciasis showed that the percentage of women with onchocerciasis in endemic areas is similar to that of men (19.4%) but the intensity of their infections is not as great which may indicate that they have not been bitten as often by the black fly which carries the disease (41).

Measles is the most important infectious disease, as it was responsible for 51 out of every 1000 registered deaths in 1967, primarily children aged 0-5 (31c). It will be discussed further below. Tetanus is also an important cause of death with a rate of 33 per 1000 registered deaths. Other infectious diseases with a high rate of occurrence are chicken pox, rabies, yaws, pertussis and infectious hepatitis. Cerebro-spinal meningitis is a problem in the North where there are outbreaks of epidemic proportions (31d (5)). Cholera first appeared in Ghana during 1970 and has been a problem periodically since that time (31d (1)). The incidence of yellow fever is somewhat uncertain as it is often diagnosed as infectious hepatitis (31d (4)) but there are occasional epidemics, the last of which was in 1969. With the exception of the report on cerebrospinal meningitis and the limited evidence provided by a report on the annual diagnostic return for 1971 at Korle Bu Teaching Hospital, the writer was unable to find a breakdown by sex of the occurrence of these diseases. The rates at Korle-Bu were similar but the numbers were too small to be significant, while the report on cerebro-spinal meningitis showed a preponderance of male cases over female cases.

Tuberculosis ( T.B. ) and leprosy are the most severe chronic infectious diseases. Although the incidence of the diseases is not known with any precision, the 1967 report, Medical Services in Ghana prepared by the Ministry of Health estimated

that T.B. affected 1% of the population and leprosy .9%. Based on a population of approximately 10 million this would indicate that 100,000 persons are suffering from T.B. and 90,000 from leprosy. The report cited above indicated that very few of the persons with the diseases were receiving treatment -- only 21,600 persons were receiving treatment for leprosy. A similar situation exists with respect to T.B. as another Ministry of Health report (3ld (2)) states there were only 20,937 notifications of T.B. in Ghana in 1970-1973. Again there are no figures available to indicate what the rates are for men and women with respect to leprosy. For T.B., the only indication found is a report on a survey of tuberculin skin tests which was carried out in 1957 on 7,400 persons in all age groups in 45 places around Ghana (26). By age 15 both boys and girls showed a positive rate of 40%, after age 15 the rate for males rose much more steeply than that for females, reaching 73% in the 35+ age group, while that for females only reached 61% by age 45. The report also mentions an X-ray survey on 54,000 persons which was carried out in Southern Ghana and Trans-Volta between 1955 and 1961 which found a 1% incidence of active cases but the sex breakdown is not indicated. However, the results of the skin test survey would indicate that it is more prevalent in men than women. (A positive skin test indicates exposure to T.B. and not necessarily that the person has the disease.)

Gastroenteritis, another important cause of morbidity and mortality results primarily from unsanitary environmental conditions. The high rate of the disease is indicated by the fact that diarrhoeas were the second most common diagnoses among patients seen at the Danfa Health Center in a twelve month period, and accounted for 13.8% of cases (2). Gastroenteritis accounted for 61 in each 1000 registered deaths in 1967, 88% of which occurred in children below the age of 5 (3lc). Respiratory infections were also an important cause of disease and death, as they accounted for 124 in each 1000 registered deaths the majority of which were children under 5 (3lc). The prevalence of respiratory infections is indicated by the fact that they represented 7% of the cases seen at both regional hospitals in 1967 (3lc) and the Danfa Health Center (2). Leaving aside problems of old age and heart disease, the most important remaining causes of disease and death were nutritional disorders (64 per thousand registered deaths -- primarily children under 5), anemia (37 per 1000 registered deaths) and complications of pregnancy (40 per thousand registered deaths). Malnutrition will be discussed in the sections dealing with specific age

groups as it primarily attacks children under 5 and pregnant and lactating women. Maternal morbidity and mortality will also be discussed below, so the remaining condition to be covered in this general discussion is anemia.

Anemia is a condition in which the red corpuscles of the blood are reduced in number or are lacking in hemoglobin causing pallor, shortness of breath, and palpitation of the heart; the sufferer is weak and lacking in vigor. As a result, anemia effects a person's ability to fulfil his or her economic and social roles. The high rate of anemia in Ghana is indicated by the finding of anemia in 117 of every 1000 persons examined in the Danfa Village Health Survey (5)<sup>6/</sup> and the information collected on hemoglobin values during the National Nutrition Survey of 1962 (13e). Hemoglobins were estimated on the Sahli method, and the result was recorded as the percentage reading on the scale. Any reading below 70% may be taken as a serious degree of anemia. The following table is adapted from data presented in the survey report which showed annual average of hemoglobin values for various locations around Ghana.

Annual Averages of Hemoglobin Values by Age and Sex (Percent of Sahli Scale)<sup>7/</sup>

Age	0	1	2-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50+
Males	57	60	62	68	73	78	81	82	81	78
Females	57	60	64	67	74	75	76	76	74	73

The above information presents a serious picture as the average Ghanaian child can be said to be anemic up to the age of 10 and women suffer from secondary anemia throughout their lives. As there did not appear to be any shortage of iron in Ghanaian diets,

<sup>6/</sup>Preliminary information.

<sup>7/</sup>The Table was prepared by averaging the percentages at the five types of locations shown in the survey for each age group rather than taking a percentage of the total number of individuals tested. This was done to retain the overall picture as the numbers of hemoglobin levels taken in certain locations were greater than in others. The primary effect was to reduce the values for males under what it would have been as the rates reached 87% in coastal villages where a large number were taken as compared to 75% in the North where a smaller number were taken.

Davey (the author of the survey) postulated that this high rate of anemic conditions must be due to other reasons among them the destruction of red blood cells by malaria, and the failure of the body to absorb iron due to intestinal parasites. Shortage of protein could also be a reason for anemia, but Davey points out that it is generally believed the shortage of protein would have to be severe before it would affect hemoglobin values. Although severe had not been defined he felt that the protein deficiency of children in Ghana which was on the order of 40-50% countrywide might well be resulting in lower hemoglobin values. The diets of adult women are generally lower in protein both in quantity and quality than males, and the results of a number of small surveys carried out by the Department of Nutrition and Food Science at the University of Legon indicates that the protein shortage among women during pregnancy and lactation is on the same order as that for young children (11, 14a and b). These factors plus the higher incidence of malaria parasites among women and children discussed above may account for the difference.

This final portion of the general discussion will focus on attendance figures for health facilities in Ghana. It is tempting to equate high attendance figures at health facilities with high disease rates and a low health status for the groups which are using them. However, lack of attendance may be due to a number of factors including mal-distribution of health facilities, lack of mobility to reach health facilities, the difficulties individuals have in confronting the health bureaucracy, and the decision making process involved in seeking help for health problems.

Twumasi (40b) has described the problems of maldistribution succinctly, 29% of Ghanaians live in the urban areas which are served by 72% of the medical personnel, conversely 28% of medical personnel work in the rural areas where 71% of Ghanaians live. Considerably more mobility would be required of rural people to reach health services. In the same article, Twumasi described the difference between the world view of traditional rural societies and that of the scientific medical community. He described traditional societies as non-bureaucratic systems where behavior control is achieved through magic, fear, vengeance and exorcism, and disease, especially disease of a serious nature is looked upon as being due to disordered social relationships. In contrast, the scientific medical community is trained to operate within a bureaucratic structure and looks upon disease as being due to natural causes. In his doctoral thesis, Twumasi provided an excellent description of the traditional healer as an individual who shared the same world view as his patient and was

further completely familiar with the details of the patient's personal life (40a). The difference in confronting an impersonal doctor can be easily imagined. Finally the decision to use health facilities would involve a considerable expenditure in time and money, especially for rural people and could be expected to be made more quickly for those of a higher social status. All of these factors could well operate to the disadvantage of women and should be kept in mind during the following discussion.

Women could be expected to be heavy consumers of health services as the health requirements of maternity would be added to the normal health problems of both men and women. The available statistics support this contention. The Medical Statistical Report No. 1 for 1967 contains an analysis of in-patient morbidity based upon a ten percent sample of the patients at five regional hospitals. Women accounted for 4180 of 5848 in-patients or 72%. However, if maternity cases are eliminated, females account for only 996 out of 2674 cases or 37%. A somewhat similar picture is presented by the annual returns for Korle Bu in 1971. Females accounted for 11,197 of 20,739 in-patients or 54%. If maternity cases are discounted females account for 6332 in-patients of 15,874 or 40%. The ratio of female to male in-patients in both instances is accordingly roughly 2 to 3 if maternity cases are excluded. The writer has been advised that for some institutions such as the Princess Marie Louise Children's Hospital in Accra the ratio of males to females is on the order of 2 to 1. Some individuals interviewed by the reviewer contended that these figures resulted from the superior health status of the Ghanaian female. The facts presented above may indicate that this is so with respect to some conditions but it is doubtful if the marginally better condition of females would support these patient ratios. Certainly this area deserves investigation.

The previous discussion and that which follows presents a grim picture of the health and nutrition status of the Ghanaian female. When this is equated with the important economic and social role of the female which is described in the last section of this paper (females as providers of health, nutrition and family planning services) and those described in other portions of this study, the need for urgency in achieving a vast improvement in health services and health status is obvious.

## B. Ghanaian Females Aged 0-4

Ghanaian children in this age group have been described as being in a state of siege. The truth of this statement is illustrated by the high infant mortality rate which was estimated by Gaisie to average 133 per 1000 live births; 145 per 1000 live births among male infants and 121 among female infants. He further estimated that death rates among children age 1-4 were between 72 and 95 per 1000 with the rates among boys slightly higher than those among girls ( 19 ). The death rates for infants in the Danfa Project Area were found to be similar to the Gaisie estimates but the rates for children aged 1-4 were much lower, ranging between 18.4 and 37.6 per 1000 in the four project areas (12 p. 135).<sup>8/</sup> The health status and growth rates of children who survive are also very poor.

The serious state of the preschool child results from poor nutrition, infections, and diarrhoeas. Most children begin life with a low birth weight due to the malnourishment of their mothers. After birth, the children are breast-fed, and traditionally breast feeding continues for a long duration. Despite the much deplored move to bottle feeding, this is still the case; for example, a recent study in Agogo found that breast feeding was continued to 18 months for 86% of the children in the sample and to two years for 30%, after which it dropped rapidly down to almost zero by the age of three years (42). Even in Accra, a study carried out in 1971 by Ofosu-Amaah (35b) showed that while 61% of the mothers were supplementing breast feeds with formula, the mean age of stopping breast feeds was 16 months. Breast milk is the best diet for young infants, and Ghanaian children make good progress up to six months of age. After four months supplemental foods should be added to the child's diet but this is generally not done until much later in Ghana, and the quality of the weaning foods is poor.

In the Accra study, Ofosu-Amaah found that the mean age for introducing a weaning diet was nine months. The National Nutrition Survey made a similar finding for the South with most children receiving supplements between 8 and 12 months of age. However, in the North only 40% of children were receiving supplements by 12 months of age (13a). Children are usually

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<sup>8/</sup>Preliminary information which will probably be increased when demographic techniques are used to correct errors in the information.

given a ground cereal mixed with water as a first food, later starchy foods and soup are added. When the child is taken off the breast, it is primarily the amounts of starchy foods which are increased. Up to one year in age the percentage of children receiving high protein foods such as milk, eggs, fish or groundnuts is very low. The amount of fish added increases thereafter; up to about 15% of children are receiving fish by the age of two years, and 75% of children are receiving some soup made with meat or fish by that age (13b). Both the amount and the quality of these diets is inadequate; as Davey summarized it, "in general, both calorie and protein deficiencies are of the order of 50% (13e)."

Although there is not enough food available in Ghana to provide everyone with an adequate diet, it is somewhat difficult to understand why children do not receive more than they do, as a high value is placed on them by the society. There is, however, a lack of understanding of the contribution of malnutrition to disease and death. For examples, a comparison between a morbidity interview survey and clinical examinations of the same individuals in the Danfa Project Area revealed that while only .8% of the interviewees (which were mothers in the case of preschool children) mentioned malnutrition as a complaint, malnutrition was found to exist in 32% of those examined (5).<sup>2/</sup> Gaisie found a similar situation in a sample survey made in Ghana in 1968, where malnutrition was not mentioned as a cause of death in a single instance in the rural areas and in only .1% of cases in the urban areas (19). Nukunya, Twumasi and Addo also found in a study carried out in four communities in Ghana ranging in size from urban (Nsawam) to a very small rural village that only 9.1% of the persons interviewed mentioned food as important to keeping well as compared with 47.9% who mentioned sanitation (34).

Various feeding practices also contribute to the problem. Davey (13e) found that the child's starting to walk tended to be a signal for the cession of breast feeding; this, however, was a time when the child had a greater need for calories and the loss of the high quality supplement at that moment was particularly bad. Once children become too heavy to carry on their backs, rural women are forced to leave them behind in the care of someone else, often an older child, when they go out to farm or trade. The infant is fed in the morning, she/he

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<sup>2/</sup>Based on an arm circumference of less than 14 centimeters among children aged 1-5 years. This is preliminary data.

then may receive some cold porridge which the mother left behind at midday (which the baby possibly refuses to take) and does not receive anything more until the mother returns home in the evening. The long time interval between meals tends to depress the child's appetite and she/he may take less food than she/he is offered. The same situation applies with urban working mothers, except that those working in the modern sector must leave their children at home from an earlier age. Few busy mothers have the time (or the cooking facilities) to prepare special meals for the children, and as the dishing out of food starts with the husband followed by the mother and then to each of the children in age order, the youngest tends to get only what is left at the bottom of the pot. Many Ghanaians also believe that high quality protein foods are bad for children. Among the reasons cited are that they will make the children sick or give them worms, and also that the children will get such a taste for them that they will become thieves and steal more than their share from the kitchen (11, 15c). As can be seen, many problems of different types will have to be overcome if the diets of children are to be improved.

The malnourished child is prey to many infections; mild infections can become serious and constant infections reduce appetite and add to malnourishment. A severe infectious disease can precipitate a case of clinical malnutrition, and conversely an infectious disease such as measles can kill a malnourished child (35a). Children catch infectious diseases at an early age as they are carried about on their mothers' backs and come into contact with many people. This underscores the need for immunizations. Children are also subject to a high incidence of diarrhoeas due to unsanitary environmental conditions and the parasitic diseases discussed above.

As a result of these factors, young children are heavy users of health services, as parents tend to take them to clinics for a high percentage of their treatment. The morbidity survey carried out by the Danfa Project found that infants were taken to clinics for 58.7% of their care but the use of clinics declined with increasing age (7). In the Ministry of Health sample taken in 1967, children under five accounted for 25% of all patients (31c). The sex difference in that sample was four boy patients for every three girl patients, and this appears to be the usual ratio except with respect to the children's hospital mentioned above where the ratio of boys to girls was 2 to 1.

There are few indications that boys are better nourished than girls as is the case in countries where boys are more highly valued. Most evidence suggests that girls may be slightly better off than boys, for example, the National Nutrition Survey found a smaller percentage of underweight girls than boys in all parts of Ghana except for southern fishing villages (13b). However, the writer has reviewed two studies which indicate differences exist in certain areas of Ghana. The Agogo study mentioned above found that 31% of the girls were below 80% of the Harvard Standard as compared with 20% of the boys. At the age of one year, 20% of the boys and 32% of the girls are under-nourished. The rates among boys reach a plateau of 28% in the age group 12-30 months, after which the rate falls. The rate among girls climbs to 35% at 15 months, 37% at 21 months, and reaches 50% at 30 months, after which it falls to 30% by the 36th month. The results of another study which was carried out in clinics for children under five in Bawku, Garu and Zebila in the Upper Region (21a p. 248) were summarized:

Nutritional Status of Boys and Girls

Level	Boys		Girls	
	Weight for Age %	Height for Age %	Weight for Age %	Height for Age %
Acceptable	36	43	36	39
Low	52	39	37	34
Very Low	12	18	27	27

The authors of both studies suggested that the findings indicated boys were given preferential treatment in terms of both food and medical care.

Sex differences aside, the examples given underscore the profound effects of undernutrition on both sexes. A broad-based attack on the problem must be mounted involving medical services, increased food production as well as nutrition education, as nutrition education by itself has been shown conclusively by Gordon (21a & b) to be lacking in utility when the resources to apply it are not available. The importance of such a program to Ghana's future development is of the first order, as recent research (while not conclusive) has indicated that undernourishment in the first years of life results in physical and mental retardation and may well be irreversible.

#### C. The Ghanaian Female Aged 5-14

Girls in this age group begin to make good the growth deficiencies of their earlier years (though they may never reach their full genetic potential) and generally speaking have fewer health problems than any other age group. They have already had many of the communicable diseases that affect American children of similar ages. However, as the general discussion has shown, the rates for chronic infectious diseases and parasitic infestation continue to increase throughout the period.

The diets of girls in this age group are still very inadequate but show gradual improvement. Simic (38) cites a study made by Fiwoo (reported by Kpedekpo) of the weights and heights of 5000 Ghanaian children aged 5 to 18 years. There was not much differential between the weights of rural boys and girls until the age of 10 after which girls were heavier than boys in all age groups. It should be noted that girls aged 11-16 tend to be heavier than boys in most countries as their principal growth occurs earlier. Ghanaians suggest that the big difference in the weight pattern is due to the fact that girls help their mothers in the kitchen and receive extra food in the cooking process.

The Danfa Project has recognized, however, that this age group tends to be somewhat neglected from a health standpoint as health services tend to concentrate on the earlier age group which is much worse off, and parents assume that these children are old enough to take care of themselves. However, good health and nutrition are important to school performance, and the project is accordingly testing ways of improving health through a variety of programs which revolve around the school (12).

#### D. The Ghanaian Female Aged 15-44

The most important single factor in the health status of Ghanaian women aged 15-44 is their childbearing role. As other factors in the health status of women were covered in the general discussion, this section will focus on fertility and its effect on health and nutrition. Attitudes towards fertility and family planning will also be covered.

It is estimated that Ghanaian women in this age group comprise 21% of the population or approximately 2,100,000 persons. With a crude birth rate of approximately 52 per 1,000 population (520,000 live births per annum) the figures indicate that 1 in 4 Ghanaian females is pregnant each year, not taking into

account those pregnancies which result in miscarriage, abortion, or stillbirths.<sup>10/</sup> By contrast in the United States in 1972, only 1 woman among 14 of childbearing age was pregnant. Pregnancy is followed in Ghana by long-term breast feeding which also acts as a drain on the health of the woman, particularly where diets are inadequate.

The most extreme example of the health effect of pregnancy is the high maternal mortality rate. Although there is considerable difference of opinion over this figure, the most generous estimate is five deaths per 1000 live births. An analysis of mortality statistics indicates that there are 40 maternal deaths per 1000 registered deaths. As there are approximately 220,000 deaths in Ghana per year, this would indicate 8,800 maternal deaths per year or a rate of approximately 17 deaths per 1000 live births. However, this is probably too high as it would indicate that maternity is responsible for a very high percentage of all female deaths in this age group, so the rate is likely to be somewhere in between. Even the lowest rate indicates that 2,600 females die each year of complications of pregnancy. By comparison there were 612 maternal deaths in the United States in 1972 or a rate of .19 per 1000 live births.

The primary causes of maternal mortality are hemorrhage, infection, and toxemia. Deaths from these causes could be virtually eliminated through proper prenatal care, the availability of blood and obstetrical care for complications of delivery when they are needed, and sanitary delivery conditions.<sup>11/</sup> The difficulties of providing these conditions are very great. As present, a majority of pregnant women receive no scientific medical attention at all during their pregnancies. Gaisie reported on the basis of information collected in the Demographic Sample Survey that 69.5% of women deliver at home -- the urban/rural breakdown being 37.4% and 82.5%, respectively. There is an even more profound

<sup>10/</sup>These figures were arrived at by using the present estimated population of Ghana (10,000,000 persons) and applying the male/female ratios and age structure of the population as described by Gaisie - see source 19, p. 35 and p. 45.

<sup>11/</sup>Much of the information presented in this discussion of maternal mortality was gained from a conversation with Dr. David Nicholas of the Danfa Project. The maternal mortality rate of 17 was also reported in reference 14, p. 32.

difference in attendants at birth between the urban and rural areas; 61% of all births were attended by a doctor or midwife in the urban areas as compared with 15.9% in the rural areas, giving a national average of 29%. The largest proportion of birth attendants were relatives of the pregnant women (19).

That women would use medical assistance if it were available is suggested by the large difference between the urban and rural areas, particularly in terms of the use of a trained midwife to deliver in the home. As it will be many years before sufficient numbers of midwives can be trained and employed to work in the rural areas, the Ghana Government is examining various ways in which the needs for services can be met in the rural areas. One pilot project using traditional birth attendants is under way in the Danfa Project area (see below).

Even without medical assistance, a healthy, well-nourished woman should have few problems in childbirth. However, the overall health status of women as portrayed in the previous sections is not very good, and nutritional practices in pregnancy tend to make it worse. It is generally agreed that pregnant women should gain 20-24 pounds during their pregnancy, 15 pounds of which is accounted for by the weight of the baby and its support system, and 6+ pounds which is fat stored in the woman's body to cover the energy needs of childbirth and the early months of lactation. Accordingly, the pregnant woman should consume an additional 40,000 calories during the course of her pregnancy. The quality of the diet is also important, as "at term, the mother-placenta-fetus complex must have added 925 grams of protein to its original weight, all of which must have come from the diet (30)." The recommended daily protein allowance for pregnant women doing light work is 64 grams.

However, evidence from a number of studies (3, 13c, 11, 14a & b) indicated that Ghanaian women whose normal diets are not sufficient to meet their energy and protein requirements in the non-pregnant state, do not consume any additional amounts of food when they are pregnant. Accordingly, pregnancy results in a deficit of 40,000 calories. Half of this deficit is made up through a failure to gain more than nine pounds which means that the woman loses six pounds of her own body tissue to the fetus, and has no fat reserves at all. The balance of 20,000 calories is made up by restricting her activities, sleeping more, and neglecting normal work at home and on the farm (3).

The undernourishment of pregnant women was clearly shown by the National Nutrition Survey as signs of malnutrition (Bitot spots on the eyes, cracked and peeling skin, skin ulcers, etc.) were found 50% more frequently in pregnant women than non-pregnant women (13. c.).<sup>12/</sup>

Twumasi explained the failure to consume more as resulting from a belief that the developing fetus is looked after by "the gods" and the only thing the woman could do to ensure the successful outcome of the pregnancy was to keep to the norms of the society. She would not expect nor receive additional amounts of food though she might be allowed to eat unusual foods which she craved.<sup>13/</sup>

It has also been suggested that women consciously restrict their intake as they are aware that the baby will be smaller and hope thereby to have an easier birth. Certainly there is much pressure on the women to have quick and easy deliveries, as difficulties in childbirth are traditionally taken as a sign that they have transgressed during the pregnancy and especially that they have committed adultery. Death in childbirth is considered a great misfortune which could affect the entire community, and in the past the woman was often not given a proper funeral or burial (25).

Lactation also represents a heavy additional demand for calories and protein. Here there is more recognition of the need for food to produce food, and Davey remarked that in the early stages of breast feeding, the woman was given considerable amounts of extra food, rich in fats and protein (13e). The emphasis here though must be on the early stages as the time when extra food is given; over the 18 month-period of breast feeding described above, it is unlikely that the woman continues to receive more than she normally does. Studies made in three communities by the Department of Nutrition and

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<sup>12/</sup>The sample size was 226 pregnant women and 1500 non-pregnant women. Signs of malnutrition were found in 68% of the pregnant women in the North as compared with 45% of the non-pregnant women. For the rest of the country the finding was 40% among the pregnant and 28% among non-pregnant women. However, the figures also show that the diets of non-pregnant women are inadequate.

<sup>13/</sup>Personal communication with Dr. Patrick Twumasi of the Department of Sociology, University of Ghana, Legon.

Food Sciences at Legon bear this out, as the lactating women were eating essentially what other females were eating, and accordingly were meeting only a portion of their requirements. The range of caloric requirements met among lactating women in the four groups studied went from 84% down to only 50% in one community; the highest proportion of protein requirements met was 64% and went down to a low of 45% (11, 14a & b). Based on a calculation made by Ofosu-Amaah (35a) it would require 62 million cedis in foreign exchange per annum to purchase the equivalent of the milk produced by lactating women in Ghana. Society's gain is the individual woman's loss, and the constant round of pregnancy and lactation takes a high toll in death and disease.

The physical demands of pregnancy and lactation indicate that the women should have considerable time between each pregnancy to recover and this is well recognized by the women themselves. An example is a study made by Kumekpor (27) among rural women in Southern Togo, 90% of whom were illiterate. Fifty percent of the women in his sample wanted their children spaced out at three-year intervals and a further 17% wanted them at four years or more. The principal reason given was the health of the mother and the health of the child, primarily that of the first child. Kumekpor concluded that the women sincerely desired to space their children but they failed because ". . . they do not know HOW or they do not have the MEANS to achieve this without too much physical, psychological, emotional and matrimonial hardships to themselves." Tribal societies also recognized the need for spacing, and taboos on sexual intercourse during the period of breast feeding were widespread. However, even in the past these taboos were often breached, and with the drift from polygamous to monogamous marriages, the pressure to ignore them has been increased. Except for spacing, all other influences from traditional society were designed to encourage the woman to have as many children as possible.

Much has been written about the reasons for the extremely pronatal attitude in Ghana including among others the economic worth of children, both to work on the farm and to provide security in old age for the parents, and the need to perpetuate the family. Many children were also desired as it was recognized that some would not reach adulthood. For the woman herself, the need to bear children is paramount. Among the Dagomba in Northern Ghana a woman is not recognized as an adult until she is seven months pregnant with her first child (36b); in all societies the childless woman is an object of pity and

scorn. In response to these factors, the fertility rate is very high, and the average woman has 6-7 children during her childbearing years (19). Fertility rates have remained constant in a time of falling death rates, resulting in a population growth rate of 3.0% per annum. The effects of rapid growth are many and profound and include a high dependency ratio (an estimated 45% of the population is below the age of 15) and problems in providing education, health services, and employment for many new persons each year (9).

The Ghana Government has recognized the adverse effects of such rapid growth, and proclaimed an official policy on population in 1969 (22). The Government pledged that it would provide services to couples who wished to voluntarily limit their families and the Ghana National Family Planning Program was created to provide those services. Since 1969, considerable progress has been made in changing attitudes toward family planning as is shown by a comparison of surveys made in the late 1960's and those of the early 1970's. The Demographic Sample Survey of 1968/69 found that 60% of the women disapproved of the idea of family planning, and only a little over 25% did not express any opposition (19). By comparison, a survey made in the Danfa Area in 1972 before family planning activities were begun found that 70.1% of all respondents expressed approval of family planning and the rate of approval among women was 72% as compared with 67.3% of the men (12 p. 104). However, not much progress has been made in translating attitude changes into the actual practice of family planning.

Another interesting factor which has been brought out by recent surveys is that women desire fewer children than men. The Danfa Survey mentioned above found that male respondents wanted two to three more children than did the females interviewed. Another survey which was made by Vickery in Biriwa, Central Region produced very clear-cut results (43). The following table which was prepared using his data shows the differences between all men and women, between the younger age group of both sexes and the educated men and women

Desired Completed Family Size

No. Children Desired	All Interviewees		Persons 15-44		Persons with Education	
	Males %	Females %	Males %	Females %	Males %	Females %
Don't Know	20.6	8.0	22.9	2.5	20.5	2.8
0-4	10.5	18.7	16.2	24.6	13.7	61.1
5-6	22.9	53.1	34.2	64.7	31.5	36.1
7+	<u>46.0</u>	<u>20.2</u>	<u>26.7</u>	<u>8.2</u>	<u>34.3</u>	<u>0</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample Size	428	411	105	122	73	36

The women obviously have a much clearer idea of the number of children they desire, a larger percentage of women in all categories want fewer than 7 children than do their male counterparts, and the desire for fewer than 7 children is much more significantly correlated with education in females than in males. On the other hand a larger percentage of women than men want 5-6 children.

As women desire somewhat smaller families, and this is in line with Ghana Government policy, what factors would assist in achieving this mutual desire? Unfortunately, most studies of the question have found that the most important factors are those which are least influenceable by government policy, for example, later marriage, a high degree of husband-wife communication, and the wife's influence in family decision making (8). In Ghana, marriage for females traditionally followed almost immediately upon puberty, and the women wanted to become pregnant as soon as possible thereafter. This is still largely the case, for example Danfa Project studies have shown that the mean age of first menstruation was 15.1 years, mean age at first marriage was 18.5, and the onset of the first pregnancy was at 18.7.<sup>14/</sup> The roles of the two sexes in traditional Ghanaian society are clearly separated, each has his or her own tasks to perform and go their separate ways. Husband and wife generally do not eat together, nor do they attend social functions together, often they do not live in the same house. Interactions between the two are largely limited to wants and needs (25). The Ghanaian woman's ability to make her wishes felt are also limited by the fact that she is generally much younger than her husband, the average age gap at first marriage in the Danfa area is 7 years<sup>15/</sup>

<sup>14/</sup>Information supplied by Dr. Don Belcher of the Danfa Project.

<sup>15/</sup>Ibid.

and among some societies such as the Konkomba the gap at first marriage averages 16 years (39). The fact that men marry much later than females and marriages are rather unstable permits a higher degree of polygamy than would be possible based upon the sex ratio as one woman can make it possible for several men to be polygamous at some time in their lives (20, 25).

Studies (8, 43) have also shown that work near the home has almost no effect on lowering fertility as the woman can easily mix her two roles. Only wage employment in the modern sector seems to have any effect, and this may also be influenced by the higher status of women in such employment. Improvements in the wife's status, however achieved education (10), employment etc. probably would be correlated with declining fertility. These factors, however, are part of the overall problem of increasing opportunities for women and would take some time to have the desired effect. Solutions specific to family planning also need to be found.

There are numerous indications that in this regard considerably more attention needs to be paid to the male. In the first place, research is required on the reasons for his desire for such large numbers of children and factors which would influence him to have fewer children. Family planning campaigns could then incorporate the findings into their motivational activities. There is also a need to put much greater emphasis on counseling the couple than on providing clinical services for the female alone. This was stressed in a survey made by Oppong among married nurses living in Accra (36c). A follow-up survey of family planning acceptors was recently made in the Danfa area, and the data collected has not yet been analyzed. Dr. Nicholas has reviewed the interviews and feels that the continuation rates and success with using the various methods are much higher than they previously expected. In addition, approximately 10% of the women who had stopped using contraception had done so not because they wanted to but because their husbands had objected, and approximately 25% of female users were using contraceptives without their husband's knowledge.<sup>16/</sup>

Emphasis is already being placed by the family planning program on the area which is most powerfully reinforced by tradition, i.e. child spacing. Vickery's data indicated that this may be more helpful in achieving a smaller completed family size than is usually expected since he believed that larger desired family size expressed by older age groups was not only an expression of more traditional attitudes but a rationalization of a family

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<sup>16/</sup>Information supplied by Dr. David Nicholas of the Danfa Project.

size which had been achieved. In this regard, the greatest need is for a more effective and acceptable form of contraception and for services to provide the contraceptives and explain the methods for using them. The pill has been found to be the most popular form of contraception in surveys carried out by the Danfa Project. In the past there has been some question about the suitability of oral contraceptives for nursing mothers as some studies have indicated that it reduces the milk supply. However, the results of other studies have been contradictory. Consequently the pill is now being given to nursing mothers by the Danfa project after the third month of nursing when lactation is well established and the weights of their babies are being carefully checked to determine if there is any ill effect. Research efforts of this type should be continued and expanded. The age at which women stop having children is also an area which deserves attention as the health risks to the mother and the infant increase after the mother's age at childbirth exceeds age 35. Opong suggests that the family planning program should emphasize this risk, as a high percentage of the women in her surveys indicated that they did not intend to stop having children until age 40 and above (36a and c).

#### E. The Ghanaian Female Aged 44+

Ghanaian women in this age group represent about 600,000 individuals or about 6% of the Ghanaian population (19). Their health problems are serious and the rates for most illnesses are higher than those of younger women. Many of them are widowed or divorced, and women who find themselves unmarried at this age generally do not remarry. They usually go to live with their children or other relatives, but there is increasing evidence that the effects of modernization are resulting in greater numbers of them being left to live entirely alone. In the Danfa area for example, it was discovered that approximately 1 in 5 households was a single person household, and about one-third of the single persons were women around age 50.<sup>17/</sup> Klingshirn noted that a number of old women were living alone in Larteh and pointed out that males generally did not suffer a similar fate as they had more financial resources and also tended to marry younger women who take care of them. An old woman living alone is forced to undertake many tasks which are beyond her strength and her health suffers accordingly. She

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<sup>17/</sup>Information supplied by Dr. Don Belcher of the Danfa Project.

is also likely to have more problems with mental health which perhaps explains why women in this age group are more likely to be accused of witchcraft (25).

The previous discussion has not touched on mental health except to mention that there were twice as many males as female patients in the mental hospital. The social situation of women, their insecurity in marriage, and potential conflicts with co-wives creates tension situations which may result in mental problems. It has also been suggested that vitamin deficiencies brought on by repeated pregnancies and poor diet may lead to depression and delusions (18, 25). As modernization progresses the mental stresses on women are likely to increase. At present, as the work of Jahoda (24) and Field (18) has suggested, women seek help for their mental problems largely from traditional healers, fetish shrines, and the spiritualist churches. Such assistance may be very effective in certain cases but, overall, this is a neglected area which deserves much greater attention from researchers and medical personnel.

## Women as Providers of Health, Nutrition and Family Planning Services

The following discussion is brief, and is only a bare outline of the important role of women as providers of health, nutrition and family planning services. The time available to prepare this study has not permitted a thorough review of the literature on the subject, but an attempt will be made to highlight the most important areas and indicate where further work needs to be done.

### A. Women in the Health Professions (Modern Sector)

Beausoleil (4) presented figures on the numbers of health workers in Ghana in 1973 which showed that 13,140 persons were engaged in providing health services, including 951 doctors, 30 dentists, 538 pharmacists, 6153 nurses, 4932 midwives, 276 laboratory technicians and 260 sanitarians. Although Beausoleil's figures were not broken down by sex, information from other sources suggests that all of the midwives and a majority of the nurses are women, and that women represent only a small proportion of the other categories.

A rough calculation indicates that 60-70% of the health workers are women. They provide much of the services available to patients as the nurses and midwives see most patients and refer only the most seriously ill to the doctors. Their importance in the rural areas is even greater. Information provided in the same report by Beausoleil shows that while only 35% of the doctors were working in localities of less than 20,000 population in 1971, 61% of the midwives and 58% of the nurses were working in those areas. Nurse mid-wives who have been trained to insert intra-uterine devices and prescribe birth control pills are also in charge of most family planning clinics. Accordingly, the attitude of nurses to their work, and their understanding and compassion for those who come seeking services is crucial to the satisfaction of the patient with his treatment.

One hears much criticism of the nurses particularly with respect to their lack of concern for patients, and there have been several recent articles and editorials on the matter in the local press. A number of factors are probably responsible for this criticism including the differing viewpoints of the traditional patient and the modern medical person which was described in the general discussion. It should also be remembered that most nurses are married with children to care

for and have all the problems of other female employees in coping with their many responsibilities (see other section of this study). About the same percentage of married nurses interviewed by Oppong (36c) listed physical exhaustion as a problem they had had since their marriage as did those mentioning trouble with their children (85% as compared to 84%). Most of the nurses were also unhappy with their pay and pessimistic about their prospects for promotion. Medical services available in all parts of Ghana are not sufficient to cope with the demand, and tired, worried and overworked women could not be blamed if they operated in a manner which was designed to discourage their patients from seeking extra services.

It has been suggested by some observers that relaxation of the government's ban on part time work would result both in many nurses who are now working full time, because they must have some income to meet their financial responsibilities, opting for part time work and also in many trained nurses who are not working because they cannot work full time, coming back to the profession on a part time basis. This would appear to be disadvantageous for all concerned as the nurses would have time to meet their personal responsibilities while still remaining in the profession, and patients would have the benefit of more relaxed attention.

Other important areas not examined in this study are the recent reviews which have been made by governmental commissions on the pay and conditions of work for nurses, the curricula at nurses training colleges and the efforts being made to improve them, the understanding of nurses of the problems faced by their patients in acting upon their advice (especially with reference to nutrition), and the general attitude of nurses toward their work. However, with respect to family planning it was encouraging to note in the Oppong study that 89% of the nurses approved of the concept of planning the number of children a couple would have, and more than two-thirds had used contraceptives themselves. As the health professions are considered appropriate for women, further study of the ways in which women can be trained and employed in the most efficient manner is warranted both from the point of view of increasing gainful satisfying employment opportunities for women and for improving the health status of Ghanaians.

#### B. Women among Traditional Medical Personnel

Women are also well represented among traditional medical personnel such as fetish priestesses who handle illness cases among other problems, herbalists and birth attendants.

Although these persons may use some techniques in common with modern medicine, they are characterized by their lack of understanding of hygiene, nutrition and the natural causes of diseases. It is generally believed that fetish healers and herbalists are mainly men and that traditional birth attendants are women, but there is apparently considerable difference in practices between various areas. For example, Klingshirn found only 9 men among 32 licensed herbalists in Larteh in 1965 (25), while the Danfa Project survey of traditional birth attendants (TBAs) made in 1971/72 found that 48% of the TBAs were men (33).

Various studies have been made of the conditions under which persons seek treatment from traditional healers and the extent to which they are used. All studies agree that traditional healers are used for only a small percentage of conditions. For example only 7% of the persons in a survey (1) made by Ione Acquah in Accra in the early 1950's used traditional healers, while Nukunya, Twumasi and Addo found an overall utilization rate of 7.6% in a survey they made in four communities in 1973 (34) although the rate varied between 1.9% in one of the communities (surprisingly, Nsawam which was the most urban community had a utilization rate of 7.6%) and 17.7% in the most rural community. Nukunya, Twumasi and Addo believed that the persons interviewed made a distinction between chronic and acute sickness in deciding whether to use traditional or modern medicine. Acute attacks of fever etc. were most likely to be treated by modern methods, while long standing conditions such as barrenness, impotence or madness which made it impossible for persons to perform their social roles, but did not make them physically weak were more likely to be explained by supernatural forces and treatment was accordingly in the province of herbalists and fetish priests. Jahoda's (24) research in Accra bore this out, as a majority of the women who came seeking treatment for illness from traditional healers came with problems of either barrenness or madness.

The Ghana Government has recognized the assistance which traditional personnel, especially herbalists and TBAs, can provide to the hard pressed modern medical service and is considering various ways in which they can be utilized. Dr. Twumasi has stressed that careful study needs to be made of the ways in which these health providers can be trained to improve their methods without changing their approach to their work.<sup>18/</sup> The Danfa Project has been working with the

18/ Personal communication.

TBAs to improve their delivery practices, and provides them with a simple kit to assist their work upon "graduation." Follow-up visits are made to the TBAs to encourage them to continue using improved practices. The training includes family planning techniques, and studies are being made both in the usefulness of TBAs as distributors of contraceptives and in vital events registration.

### C. Women in the "Food Chain"

Awareness has been growing over the last few years of the complexity of the "nutrition system" and the many steps in the process from production and consumption. It would be fair to say that women in Ghana are important and perhaps the most important actors in the "food chain." Other portions of this report have documented the importance of women in growing food for the family table, and the section on women in trade has described the role of women as fish smokers and sellers and in the sale of other food commodities. This section will deal with women as food processors and as hawkers of prepared food while the last section of this study will include a discussion of their role as providers of nutrition within the family.

Traditionally, processing of agricultural and meat products was part of the cooking process, and as such was woman's work. Idusogie described the problems of traditional processing in a paper presented at the National Nutrition Conference (23). He provided examples of studies which had been made in other parts of West Africa which indicated that traditional methods considerably reduced the nutrients in various products such as grains, red palm oil, and fish. He concluded that "the traditional processing procedures take no serious account of hygiene factors and are associated with gross wastage, quantitative losses through inefficient handling, insect infestation and bacterial attacks." Lartey (29b) mentioned many of these same problems, and also emphasized the considerable time involved in processing food by traditional methods.

The food processing system is now undergoing a change, and elements of mechanization are being introduced. Where steps in the process are mechanized, men tend to take over that portion of the work. Examples are the small gasoline operated corn grinding mills seen in many villages and cassava graters which are owned and operated by men. The mechanized portion is accordingly largely involved with reducing the size of the original produce, and all other steps which may be involved in the process such as peeling, roasting, fermenting, pounding

and mixing are still done by women. The preparation of some foods such as kenkey ( a fermented corn product) and gari (a cassava product) are so **difficult** and time consuming that they are rarely made in the home. Instead groups of women and sometimes nearly all women in certain villages are involved in the preparation of these foods which are collected by sellers and taken to the markets. Lartey (29a) believes that many more steps in the preparation of these foods can be rationalized, but it must be a gradual process as it will eliminate some persons presently working on preparation of the products.

The Food Research Institute (FRI) has a number of projects underway to study ways in which the preparation of various traditional foods can be improved. The FRI also has some projects working directly with the women who are preparing the foods, and especially the fish smokers. As food processing is an area where women are heavily involved, receive a cash income for their labors, and provide an important service to the community, these efforts should be continued and expanded. More information should be collected on the number of women involved in the preparation of various products and the ways in which their methods can be improved without eliminating women from the activity.

Food hawking is another nutritional service which is supplied by women. Many are involved in running "chop bars" although men also own and operate these establishments. However, women completely dominate the more informal food trade such as plantain roasting at the road side. Women with their cooking pots immediately appear outside a new work site to provide a noon meal for the laborers, and they can also be seen around office buildings, schools, and any other place where potential customers exist. As such, they provide a valuable service for these groups who would otherwise have difficulty in securing a hot meal. The types of food supplied by these women, their sanitary practices in preparing the food and keeping it covered, and the quality of the ingredients they use, determines the nutritional value of what they provide. This is particularly important when they are selling to young children.

Consideration has been given to attempting to improve the products these women provide, but there are several problems to overcome before these attempts can be successful. In the first place, the women are rather difficult to reach as they may not belong to an association, and are often illiterate. Secondly, an attempt to improve the quality of the products

sold by some hawkers at a school failed when it was found that the children did not buy from them any more since they had to charge higher prices for their improved products. Efforts of this type will be continued however, as both the Danfa Project (12) and the Department of Home Science at the University of Legon are studying the food hawkers, and the Danfa Project has underway programs to assist them to improve the food they provide to school children.

#### D. Health Services Provided by Women in the Home

The provision of health service within the home is almost entirely the responsibility of the female. She not only provides the services but also makes a substantial contribution to the procurement of necessary items such as food and medicine. As such, the woman's economic role can not be looked upon as being for "pin money" or the purchase of luxuries, for the resources which she earns herself are basic to family welfare, and particularly the welfare of children.

A number of recent studies have underscored this point. For example, Engberg's study in Medina (16) found that families where the husband's authority was strongest<sup>19</sup> were those with the lowest health scores (based upon number of children who had died). She found further that the highest proportion of deaths among children had occurred in those families where the husbands were either uneducated or had secondary education or higher, and the families of the husbands who had semi-professional jobs. In all these cases the differentiation level of the wife (based upon her education, level of income etc.) was low. Engberg concluded that "increased family demands were not likely to be met by the women with low levels of resources, regardless of the resources available to the husbands" (p. 398). Ofose-Amaah (35b) divided children attending child welfare clinics into four social classes (on a descending scale of I to IV) based upon parental education and housing conditions. Of the 742 children in his sample, 5% were in Social Group I, 31.5% in group II, 46.2% were in group III, and 17.3% were in group IV. In all four social groups,

<sup>19</sup>The husband's authority was measured by determining whether he had bought the household furnishings, decided on the housing, chosen to provide education for the children, kept track of household money and accounts, decided on wife's employment, and taken some responsibility for punishing the children.

the percentage of the father's contribution to household expenses did not exceed 67.7% and in social group III which included the highest proportion of the children, the father contributed less than half the expenses (46.5%).

For the rural areas, other portions of this study have shown that while the men provide the staple in the diet (assisted by their wives as she works on their farms), the women are generally expected to provide ingredients for the soups either by growing them themselves or by purchasing them with money they earn in other ways. The soups provide the "quality" elements in the diet such as proteins and vitamins, so the women's contribution is again seen as a major element in family health and welfare.

In terms of actual services, women in Ghana are universally expected to carry out the traditional feminine chores of cooking, cleaning, child rearing, and caring for the sick. Very often, however, the other roles she is expected to perform, such as farming and/or trading take up the greater portion of her time, and she must cook and clean early in the morning before she sets out, or late at night upon her return.

Cooking in Ghana is a time consuming chore, which requires a heavy expenditure of energy. A woman in America may put potatoes or rice on to boil, or cut a slice of bread to provide the staple of the meal but the preparation of staples in the Ghanaian diet may take several hours or even days. For example, fufu which is eaten in most of the Southern parts of Ghana requires not only that the yam, cassava or plantain used in its preparation be peeled, and boiled, but it is then finished off by pounding for an hour or more with a heavy wooden pounder. The preparation of soups is also time consuming as the woman generally must first process the basic ingredients such as palm nuts or ground nuts and then begin the cooking. As a result, women generally cook enough each time to last for several meals with a consequent risk of contamination in the absence of refrigeration.

As discussed above, the women also distribute the food. Family members rarely eat together and the father is given the first and best portion of the meal. The separation of family members at mealtime probably contributes to the poor health of the children; Mrs. Florence Dovo of the Food Research Institute believes that the men would not take so much for themselves if they actually saw the meagre portions and the hunger of their

children.<sup>20/</sup> However, cultural practices such as these are likely to change only slowly in the absence of such programs as intensive health education efforts to correct them coupled with an over-all increase of the food supply.

This study has not touched upon child rearing practices with respect to health or on the ability of women to carry out treatment in the home. These are important areas which should be examined as the Danfa survey of morbidity found that the greatest portion of illness was treated in the home (7). The above discussion, however, has indicated that a general reduction in the workload of women would go far to improve family welfare by giving women more time to care for their families and hopefully themselves. Gordon suggested that "simple village machines, such as mills; a nearby water supply; easier methods of cooking and processing food; improved farming methods; and the use of bicycles would all give the mother more time and energy." (21b, p. 13) Improvements such as these, coupled with education for women to provide them with the means to earn greater income and the knowledge to properly feed and care for their families are necessary prerequisites to an improved health status for all Ghanaians.

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<sup>20/</sup>Personal communication.

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## WOMEN IN EDUCATION

### Introduction

In order to understand the scope of education for women and the role of women's education in the development of Ghana this paper has been divided into several sections.

A. Formal educational opportunities describing the history of education in Ghana, educational development since Independence, and the place of women in formal education.

B. Non-formal, vocational, technical, and informal education offered in Ghana, including: Institute of Adult Education; National Vocational Training Institute; Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development (Home Science Extension, Literacy Classes, Women's Training Institutes); Ministry of Education; Other Ministries; International Organizations (Opportunities Industrialization Center, Social Aid Guild).

C. Teachers

D. The effect of education on occupational opportunities.

E. Summary and conclusions

Four appendices follow the body of the report explaining; (1) School Drop-outs (2) Enrollment by sex in public schools in Ghana; (3) Adult Literacy; (4) teachers by sex.

The summary and conclusions section is designed to explain the role of education as it relates to other aspects of the study on women in development in Ghana, and to make suggestions for research activities that would be helpful in designing educational projects for this country.

Time constraints made it difficult to investigate smaller efforts at informal education for women, and it is hoped that this area can be explored more fully in the future.

### A. Formal Educational Opportunities Offered to Women -

1. Historical Development - Until the arrival of the European colonial powers in Ghana at the end of the 15th century, education was carried out informally by parents, according to traditional patterns of behavior. Fathers were responsible for the education of their sons and mothers for their daughters. The extended family watched to assure that parents did not neglect their duties, for a poorly-raised child reflected on the larger family as well as on the parents. Occupational training was passed in the same way from generation to generation.

The arrival of Europeans on the West Coast of Africa changed the manner in which education was transmitted.

The first attempts at Western education were made by the Portuguese. In 1529 King John made provisions for a school to be opened at Fort Elmina to propagate Christianity. "Aside from intermittent, short-lived efforts by European missionaries, education efforts were, for the next three centuries, almost entirely limited to the half-hearted attempts of the various European merchant companies" (#15 - page 170).<sup>1/</sup> During this time the content of the educational program was limited almost exclusively to religious instruction.

Not until the middle of the 19th century was it realized that education in the Gold Coast should be made available on a larger scale. Growing interest in education by the indigenous population and economic changes coming through involvement with Europeans finally brought about formal education. The 1st Education Ordinance for the Gold Coast (on the initiative of the British Crown Authorities) was published in 1852. It provided that "a superior system of education should be adopted so as to meet the wants of an advancing society" and further indicated, "that some effort should be made to educate the rising generation of females." (#15 - page 171) Funds were to be furnished by public revenue raised for this purpose, but this plan was unsuccessful. Apparently the government had over-estimated the enthusiasm and demand for education at this time without taking into consideration that they had so far offered little incentive to the indigenous population for a European education. The economic and occupational gains from Western education were not made sufficiently attractive for public financing, but had the government been willing to assume this burden, sufficient numbers of students might have been available. The few schools which were established were ultimately absorbed by the missions.

Missions were more aware of the people's attitude toward formal education at that time and offered education facilities free of charge. In the beginning, the missions even contributed to the maintenance of pupils, boarding students in missionaries' homes in exchange for household help. By 1880, the Basel mission had 43 schools with 1200 pupils and the Wesleyans (Methodist), who were in the coastal urban areas, had 83 schools with an enrollment of over 3,000. At the same time the British colonial government had only 2 schools in the country. Girls were encouraged to take advantage of mission education so that they could become "good Christian wives." In fact, in the Akwapim area, by 1918 the Basel Mission schools had almost as many girls as boys, while other schools of that time had 6 or 7 boys to each girl (#5 - pages 158-161).

<sup>1/</sup> Numbers in parentheses refer to the number of the source in the bibliography provided at the end of this section of the study.

After 1874, rather than improve its own school system, the government gave grants to missions. In 1927, there were only 18 government schools out of 252 operating in the country. By 1951, at the end of the colonial era, direct government provision of schools was negligible, and government action was concerned with offering grants-in-aid to institutions developed by voluntary agencies-missions and some interested private groups. In 1950, of the 2999 primary and secondary schools in the country, only 48 were government schools, 1573 were government assisted, and 1378 were unassisted.

During the colonial era, education developed unevenly in the country. In the coastal areas, where there had been long contact with Europeans, growth of urban centers, change to a money economy, and gradual changes in the social system resulted in the development of schools in these areas. Among the inland (Ashanti) and Northern people education did not generally spread until the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, when there began to be changes in their socio-economic and political situation. The Ashantis began to favor Western education largely as a result of their newly-acquired cocoa-based wealth beginning with 1907 cocoa boom, which allowed for mobility outside the traditional structure of society, and thus created a desire for formal education.

In 1951, an Accelerated Development Plan for Education was introduced by the government; so that by Independence in 1957 the enrollment in primary and middle schools was nearly  $\frac{1}{2}$  million, 32% of whom were girls. At the same time, 18% of secondary students were girls and 28% of students in teacher training were girls (#15 - pages 168-175). The position of the government toward financing the establishment of secondary schools also changed. In 1957 there were 38 secondary schools with an enrollment of 18,000; in 1966-67 there were 103 schools enrollment: 42,276; in 1973-74 there were 162 schools; enrollment: 68,489 (#21).

## 2. Educational Development since Independence -

In 1958-59 there were four Principal Education Officers responsible respectively for Teacher-Training for Secondary Schools, for educational matters concerning Women and Girls, and for a General Schedule (the administration of primary and secondary schools and teachers and conditions of service.) In 1960 the post of PEO (Women and Girls) and PEO (General) were abolished. Matters of special interest to girls' schools and training of women teachers then became the responsibility of a Principal Domestic Science Organizer (#26, page 16).

In the period from 1957-1960 a high drop-out rate between 1st and 2nd classes was discovered. Twenty-five to thirty percent of children admitted to primary class one did not continue their education beyond that class. This trend is discernible today. At present 10.3% of boys and 15.3% of girls drop out between P1 and P2. See Appendix I for full current figures. Wastage among female pupils was approximately 6% greater than among males.

The government's 2nd Development Plan (1959-64) had as its primary aim the abolition of payment of tuition fees in primary and middle schools. This fee-free education, which was compulsory, was established in November 1961. Also during this period there was a great intensification of the teaching of English. The Ministry directed that English should be used as the medium of instruction for all subjects from primary class 2 beginning in 1959.

Middle School (ages 12-16) was a stepping stone to Secondary School mainly because of a need for English. The Government aim was to allow entrance into secondary school directly from primary school at age 12 for students strong in English. "It is planned that the age of entry into secondary schools be reduced to 12 years and a pupil completing an elementary course would be able to follow the post primary course that is most suited to his aptitude and ability; either secondary grammar, secondary technical, or middle school" (#26-1958-60). At that stage it was expected that education would be reorganized to provide the following types of vocational education: agriculture, commercial, woodwork, metalwork, handicrafts, or home economics.

In 1966, after the Nkrumah regime and compulsory education, the government of Ghana set up a committee under the chairmanship of Professor Alex Kwabong, Vice Chancellor of the University of Ghana to review the educational system. In the opinion of Mr. G.K. Breese, Assistant Director of Education, Ministry of Education, the then-extant system of 6 years primary school, 4 years middle school, and 6 years secondary school leading to passage of "O" and "A" level GCE examinations, produced intellectuals but did not meet Ghana's needs of producing workers to build the economy.

The committee recommended an 8-year primary terminal course, with the possibility of entering secondary school at Class 6, 7, or 8. For those students not eligible for secondary school or not yet ready to begin, a 2-year continuation school was recommended. The aim of this school was to introduce pre-vocational subjects to all students at what was then the end of middle school. This plan was implemented in the academic year 1969-70, with the continuation schools introduced into middle school Forms 3 and 4.

In 1973, the Ministry of Education decided that M3 was too late to start with the introduction of pre-vocational courses. At that point students were concentrating on taking the M4 school-leavers' examinations and spared little time for practical subjects for which there was no diploma. Since then, pre-vocational subjects have been introduced at Middle School Form 1, along with academic subjects, and the students are allowed to specialize before M4. This approach has been successful in interesting students in vocations, but it has been difficult to get educated crafts teachers, to develop curricula, and to devise examinations for this course of study. Subjects taught include agriculture, home science, tailoring, shoemaking, carving, etc.

Beginning with the school year 1974-75, the Ministry of Education adopted a new plan for the structure and content of education for Ghana which is designed to shorten pre-university education by one year and to allow for choices of secondary, technical, or commercial education for students after compulsory education ends with nine years of free schooling at approximately age 15 (#29). This new structure is as follows:

- I. Kindergarten education: 18-24 months for ages 4-6.
- II. Basic first cycle education: 6 years primary plus 3 years junior secondary. This will be basic, free and compulsory for all.
- III. Second cycle education: from the junior secondary course there will be selection into the following terminal courses:
  - A. Senior Secondary courses leading to the present "O" level (3 years).
  - B. Technical courses, such as:
    - (1) Electrical Engineering Trades
    - (2) Mechanical Engineering Trades
    - (3) Automobile Engineering Trades
    - (4) Building/Construction Trades
    - (5) Secretarial Studies
    - (6) Accounting
    - (7) Pre-nursing
    - (8) Agricultural Engineering
    - (9) Furniture Manufacturing
    - (10) Beauty Culture
    - (11) Fashion, Dressmaking and Tailoring
    - (12) Leather Work
    - (13) Commercial and Industrial Arts
    - (14) Catering
    - (15) Fishing
    - (16) Pottery
    - (17) Carving
    - (18) Crop Husbandry
    - (19) Animal Husbandry
    - (20) Horticulture
  - C. Commercial Courses
- IV. Second Cycle Education - Further courses: Pupils from level 3 above who wish to continue formal education and possess the necessary qualification can proceed to:
  - A. Senior Secondary Upper course, leading to "A" level (2 years)
  - B. A Teacher Training course
  - C. A Polytechnic course

Pupils who do not proceed to University from the Senior Secondary Upper Course shall be encouraged to train for middle level professions in institutions available in the system e.g. Polytechnics, Specialist and Teacher Training Colleges.

One of the major aims of the new structure of education is to encourage children to learn trades useful in the village so that they will not drift into cities. Researchers agree that one of the biggest problems in convincing Northern parents to send their children to school is the example of previous Northern students who upon completing their schooling, left the village work force to seek their fortunes in the cities only to find a lack of jobs, and therefore poverty and sometimes the stigma of juvenile delinquency.

### 3. The Place of Women in Formal Education

From the beginning of the development of formal education in Ghana in the 16th Century, women have had an equal legal right to education, but not always parental permission to exercise that right. Out of the Basel missionaries' projects of boarding students, boys and girls boarding schools developed, with 3 girls' boarding schools being established by 1898 (Aburi, Abokobi, and Odumase) (#15-page 180). Early in the 20th Century, Abokobi school closed for lack of students. The explanation given by the mission was that girls who had graduated from the school were not very successful since they refused to do manual labor, were proud and lazy, and seemed more susceptible to moral dangers because they were free in their movements without having strengthened their character. These perceived characteristics intensified parental prejudice against female education. According to Klingshirm (#15-pages 184-186), other reasons more males than females receive education are:

1. If a father can only afford to send one child to school, boys go first because a boy represents him, while a girl marries into another house.

2. Some girls are not sent to school because the family loses their working power on the farm, as petty traders, or as attendants for younger children.

3. Until recently sending a girl to school was more a matter of prestige than of serious interest in her education. Parents felt that since she would marry anyway, why spend money on something that had no tangible value?

4. There was parental mistrust of education also because once children, especially girls, attended school some were seen to think themselves better than their illiterate parents.

Paradoxically, even though female education was held in low esteem, an educated wife brought a much higher bride price to the father. The few women teachers there were in the early days of education proved

that women could make practical use of education even though they were expected to stop teaching once married.

Interestingly, even today men complain that many educated girls do not make good housewives because they are too proud to do housework. However, an educated man would rarely marry an illiterate village girl, and even if he does, he will often marry a second, literate wife with whom he will live in the city. A more modern attitude is that girls are just as intelligent as boys and are also able to make practical use of education even if married. The 1970 Population Census of Ghana tells us that although in 1960 83% of females and 63.3% of males in Ghana aged 6 and over had never been to school, by 1970, these rates had dropped to 66.2% for females and 47.3% for males.

The 1973-74 statistics (#21) show that girls are beginning to come to primary schools in greater numbers than ever before: 573,487 boys and 442,313 girls last year; but in middle schools less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the students were girls, and in secondary schools only 27.7% of the students were girls.

If we continue into higher education we find, according to the 1970-71 Ministry of Education statistics (#20) that 29.3% of the students enrolled in public commercial colleges were women, but only 10.6% of the teachers in these colleges were women. In public technical institutions only 17.1% of these students were women, and in Teacher Training Colleges 31.1% of the students in initial courses were women and 27% of those in specialist courses were women. At the university level numbers of women students were even smaller; at the University of Ghana 15.4% were women, including 68 out of a total of 343 in health services (M.D.'s, nurses and others) 25 out of 164 in law, 6 out of 181 in agriculture, and 23 out of 281 in administration; at the University of Science and Technology at Kumasi only 7.3% were women, and there were no women enrolled in the faculty of engineering; at the University College of Cape Coast there were 15.3% women, most of them in the faculty of Arts, Science, and Education.

The older ideas concerning education of women are more prevalent in the northern, rural parts of the country than elsewhere, but even there the barriers seem to be falling. According to the 1970 Census, the rate of increase in school attendance was highest in Upper Region, and Northern Region was third highest.

#### B. Non-formal, Vocational, Technical, and Informal Education offered in Ghana.

1. Institute of Adult Education - The Institute of Adult Education; under the auspices of the University of Ghana, provides opportunities for people who have passed middle school or beyond, but who have not been able to continue their formal education (#25). The largest program of IEA is in basic education, preparation for GCE "O" and "A" level examinations. These courses are offered at the Workers'

Colleges in Accra, Takoradi, Kumasi, and Tamale, and at the Cape Coast Center for Adult Education. In an interview with Dr. E. Ampone and Mrs. Miranda Greenstreet of IAE, we were told that about 1/3 of the students in the basic education program are women. In order to allow the Institute to utilize its resources on other aspects of adult education, the students are encouraged to enroll in correspondence courses first, then in classes. Correspondence courses have not been as successful as had been hoped (66% drop-out rate 1970-74) because of (1) delays in printing and compiling lesson notes for students and teachers; (2) the rising cost of living prohibits many students from paying fees, textbook, and stationery costs; (3) if a course was taken in preparation for a job or to pass an examination, and the student achieved that goal, he dropped the course.

The Institute also has a large Liberal Studies section which offers public lectures in the regions. Examples of topics in 1973-74 were: Economics of Self-Reliance, Economics of Hoarding and Smuggling, Functions and Operations of the Cocoa Marketing Board, Education Opportunity and the Literate Adult, Traditional Religion in West Africa, United Nations, Family Planning and Economic Development. About 90% of those attending these public lectures are men, unless the subject is aimed at women, such as Problems of Inheritance. Often a lecture promotes enough interest to form a short course on the same topic. The impetus for the Liberal Studies program comes from local branches of the People's Education Association, a voluntary, independent, non-political organization founded in 1949 (#29). Its main objective is to stimulate and satisfy the demands of Ghanaians for education through systematic courses of study and informal activities. The PEA is financed by membership fees and voluntary donations. Assistance comes from the Institute of Adult Education in providing and paying lecturers.

PEA is very active in the rural areas setting up drama and cultural courses, and working with Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development in pointing out literacy, agriculture, home science, or other village group's needs. At an international meeting in 1960 or 1961 with which PEA was involved, this statement was made, "Education merely for literacy is too limited an objective; it defeats its own purpose. It is only as part of a program for the general education of the adult that literacy acquires meaning and permanence" (#29). In Accra, the PEA has a large group in GNPC, and among salesgirls in other local stores.

Other informal activities of IAE include: one-day schools; week-end study conferences; an experiment in Ashanti Region with blacksmiths and 'way-side' motor mechanics organized into cooperative units to help them improve their skills and thus increase their productivity substantially; diploma courses in adult education: The first course in October, 1973, enrolled 4 men and 2 women; New Year Schools -- a week's program of seminars around a central theme which in 1972-73

was "Self-Reliance" and in 1974-75 was "Operation Feed Yourself"; the Awudome Project, which is a comprehensive adult education program for rural development which hopes to include agricultural extension, training in village technology, and special extension courses for women (#25).

The Institute of Adult Education also offers short courses in accountancy and banking (leading to professional exams), in typing, shorthand, continuing teacher education courses, and university degree courses through part-time study programs at the Workers' Colleges.

The Institute's instructors and lecturers come from the University, from government, and from industry. The biggest problem in getting lecturers is to get them to travel to the rural areas. Family obligations prevent many women from taking advantage of the Institute's courses; they have time, transport and baby-sitting problems.

2. National Vocational Training Institute - The NVTI was established in 1969 by the Ghana Government with technical assistance from UNDP (Special Funds) which arranges for ILO expertise. The NVTI, whose government involvement is with the Ministry of Labour, is responsible for ensuring that adequate and essential skilled manpower suitable to Ghanaian industrial and clerical needs is available. In the request to the UNDP for assistance in developing the NVTI, Phase I, it was expected that over 2000 people would benefit from the training in 4 years. Actually, NVTI trained 1600 girls and 3 times as many men in 3 years. The total persons trained at NVTI from 1969-1973 were as follows: In-plant training - 997; Instructor training - 217; Clerical-secretarial - 2432; Apprentice Training (1971-73) - 837 (#40).

NVTI was established to help fill the gap between middle school and University level training, to help alleviate the shortage of middle level skilled people, and to train school drop-outs who are employed by industry at the unskilled level. Pressure for this type of Vocational education came from 3 sources: (1) Education - where there are not enough spaces in secondary schools, leaving middle school and form 5 leavers unskilled. (2) Industry - where jobs being filled by expatriates needed trained Ghanaians to take over, and (3) Government - which needs sources to fill Ghana's skilled manpower requirements in relation to its expanding economy. Industry comes to NVTI to train its new employees', it offers facilities and NVTI sets up classes and gets teachers.

Phase I of the NVTI program, from 1969-73, set up in-plant training facilities in Kumasi, Accra, and Biriwa to train auto mechanics, agricultural mechanics, and building trades' workers (electrical workers, carpenters, plumbers and welders). The Clerical Training Department was also established during this period to train secretaries, typists, telephone receptionists, etc. This type of in-service training is also offered through banks and government.

During Phase I an Instructor's Training Department was built to train instructors and train officers from various industries. 600 were trained in this center. Now NVTI has between 20-25 women on its staff of 800. In addition, NVTI includes an Apprenticeship Training Department and a Trade Testing Department (which conducted about 600 tests after it took over this activity from the Ministry of Labor in 1973). Seven Trade Panels - Automotive, Electrical, Metal, Building, Printing, Dressmaking, and Catering-operate under NVTI.

Phase II, scheduled to run from 1973-1976, is concentrating on the training of women, both literates and illiterates, to absorb them into industry. The Planning Department of NVTI is responsible for studying the contents and problems involved in the training of women in Ghana and of studying training in non-farm rural occupation.

Esther Annan, the Public Relations Officer for NVTI, recommends that day care centers be provided by industry to make it easier for women to work, and that there be health insurance to cover maternity leave so that employers will be more willing to hire women. Miss Annan discussed the following women's problems (1) young girls who are not in school because they work as hawkers or taking care of working mothers' children, have no education, and thus continue their low standard of living; (2) women have to work much harder than men to get high level jobs; (3) There are not enough jobs for women trained in dressmaking and catering; and (4) Technical schools for girls are most necessary so that there can be jobs for a group of girls who graduate from middle school, but do not continue formal education.

3. Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development - The largest amount of activity in vocational training and non-formal education for women by the government of Ghana is by the Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development. This ministry offers 3 types of women's education: (a) Home Science Extension, which works with Women's groups in the villages; (b) Literacy classes, (c) Women's Training Institutes.

(a) Home Science Extension - Under this division of the Community Development Department, courses for women in child care, budgeting, housewifery, community health, nutrition, family planning basic agriculture, marketing, and accounting are held for literate and illiterate women in the rural areas. The main objective of Home Science Extension is to show ways to better family living, and to teach families how to care for their children, food and nutrition, health and sanitation. Estimates of the numbers of rural women reached by Department of Community Development field workers range from 10% to 85%, according to the source. A 10-15% coverage of rural women is the consensus of most authors. Students in the women's groups are encouraged to be voluntary leaders in their communities, and the Department offers a course in voluntary leader-

ship for such women. These voluntary leaders assist the Community Development Assistants from the Department in teaching, demonstrations, organization of village women, pointing out needed courses, etc. They are paid by the Department of Social Welfare.<sup>4</sup>

Mrs. Nellie Mancell, who is the Principal Community Development Officer responsible for extension work for women, states that in 1973 there were 759 women's groups with a total of 15,169 active members who attended classes regularly. Out of these groups came 744 voluntary leaders, almost one for each village. The aims of the village women's groups are: (1) to unite rural women and to assist them in improving living conditions, socially and economically (2) to assist the government in eradicating illiteracy and superstition among women, (3) to eradicate nudity, malnutrition, and diseases.

In the past 2-3 years there has been a shift in approach from working with only women's groups to family projects within a home. There have been 20,766 home projects accomplished such as a soap-making, iceless refrigerators, low-cost beds, tie-dye, etc. Home competition is organized between women.

(b) Literacy classes - Home Science Extension and literary classes are handled by Community Development Assistants who travel to 4-5 villages at least once a week to conduct courses. The CDA's work in pairs, a man and a woman, to cover all aspects of the program for both men and women. Often a field worker from the Ministry of Agriculture or the Ministry of Health accompanies them. The original literacy classes some years ago were mass literacy-just teaching people to read and write. Then functional literacy was in vogue - job - oriented reading. Now literacy classes are Family Life oriented-literacy not only for jobs but anything concerning the life of the family. Curriculum is built from the groups on subjects such as naming children, or beautifying the home. The literacy section of the Department of Social Welfare, under the direction of Mr. S.C. Ohene, has been working with World Education International of New York for the past year to develop materials for family life oriented literacy classes.

Appendix II of this report, showing adult literacy in 1972, indicates that there is a 17% greater drop-out rate in English than in Ghanaian language courses. Since most of these classes are in rural areas, the indication is that there is still not an intense need for knowledge of English in these areas.

Mrs. Mancell and Mr. Ohene discussed the following problems of Community Development Workers, 250 of whom live and work in the villages: (1) mobility (2) transport (3) finances (workers are not even supplied with demonstration materials) (4) spending the night in the village - CDA's must conduct classes late in the day or on Sundays to accommodate villagers, therefore must be away from their own families overnight. (5) Village workers (CDA's) leave after a

short time because they are Secondary School graduates who find living in villages unacceptable. Incentive schemes used to be used to encourage people to work in the villages, but there is no longer money available for this.

(c) Women's Training Institutes - There are 2 types of Vocational Training Institutes for women as described by Mrs. Selina Taylor of the Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development in Ghana, (1) 28 Regional Vocational Centers, which are privately owned, but supervised and partially subvented by the Ministry of Social Welfare; (2) 11 Women's Training Institutes, started in 1965, run by the Ministry of Social Welfare. The purpose of the Women's Training Institute is to assist women school drop-outs desirous of training in domestic subjects and skills which will earn them a living. Courses are offered in child development, home science, English and Twi, dressmaking, gardening, back-yard poultry, home nursing, wig styling, etc. The students are either middle school leavers or illiterates, married or unmarried, who enroll for courses lasting from 6 months to 2 years. All trainees pay fees which are almost the same as secondary school fees in Ghana. At the O.L.A. Girls Vocational Institute, a private vocational centre, for example, in the Central Region, fees for a 12-month course including housecraft, needlework, home nursing, English language, Bible knowledge, wig styling are ₵24 for day students, and ₵58 for boarding students each of 3 terms, plus the students' own supplies (#23). Students can sit for the Vocational Certificate Examination conducted by the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development after a 3-year course. They are also prepared for the City and Guild examination.

There are about 3,000 women in all the Regional Vocational Schools, according to Mrs. Asirifi, the largest being the Mancell School in Kumasi which this year received an international grant privately and is currently training about 1000 girls. UNICEF donates equipment to the vocational centers, also.

At the National Women's Training Institute in Madina there are classes for vocational school teachers, and a 2-year course in dressmaking, cooking, tailoring, and crafts, at the end of which the Department of Social Welfare assists some students in finding employment while others open their own crafts shops. In 1971 there were 123 graduates of this course; 1972 - 158 graduates; 1973 - 227 graduates. (Statistics supplied by Mrs. Taylor). At Madina, also, women workers are being trained to assist agriculture extension experts in food production, animal rearing, and horticulture. They are taught to grow food and prepare it properly. Other courses offered at the National Training Institute, are 2 - 8 week or week-end regional and refresher courses and courses for voluntary leaders, and day care center workers.

4. Ministry of Education - At this time, there are no vocational schools for women under the Ministry of Education, although according to the ECA country report, 1973, "the Technical Education Division of the Ministry of Education is charged with duties of organization and administration, technical education and vocational training at the pre-university level." The Ministry of Education does offer technical education at the pre-university level at 20 technical institutes in order to produce skilled technical manpower to meet Ghana's needs in industry, agriculture and commerce, as well as offering training for self-employment. (ECA Country Report, 1973) Although these institutes are open to women, students are almost exclusively men.

Mrs. Susan Alhassan, Ministry of Education, states that under the Ministry's new plan for structure of education for Ghana, the emphasis will be on education for girls. In order to provide increased opportunities for vocational and technical education, especially for girls, there must be qualified skilled educators to teach vocational education methods to prospective teachers. Ghana has teachers and craftsmen, but not enough teacher-craftsmen to meet the needs of the students who will enter vocational and technical schools after Junior Secondary School under the new plan for education.

The Ministry of Education has a two-part plan for solving this problem: (1) to train teachers with 5 years of teaching experience in vocational skills. This plan is presently being implemented at 6 Specialist Training Colleges: Tamale, Kumasi, Amedofi (Volta Region), Takoradi, Cape Coast, and Aborifa. (2) to continue utilizing the local craftsman who are now teaching vocational subjects in continuation schools, but who are not teachers, and often are not literate or English-speaking. For these people, the Ministry plans a conference during the summer holiday, August-September 1975 to draw up a syllabus for all teaching similar crafts; after that, uniform examinations can be developed. Although the Ministry's plan for utilizing existing personnel for its supply of vocational teachers is good, it may not solve the problem. Technical assistance in training vocational educators would seem to be a vital link in furthering the Ministry's efforts toward middle-level education.

5. Other ministries teaching vocational subjects are the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Health. The programs of the Ministry of Agriculture are mentioned in the section of this study dealing with agriculture.

The Ministry of Health runs some small programs, such as the jewelry-making project at PML Hospital. These are usually in conjunction with nutrition classes to try to provide mothers with skills which will earn additional money for extra food.

## 6. International Organizations

a. Opportunities Industrialization Center - OIC began in Accra in 1971 with a program of vocational training designed around the building trades, automechanics, and secretarial courses. Although the building trades and automechanics departments train mostly men, OIC claims credit for training Ghana's first woman automechanic and first woman plumber. There are 185 OIC students in training (30 of whom are women, mainly in the office skills department) and 1457 on the waiting list. OIC courses run from 9-18 months and are free to students. There are 2 job developers to place graduates as a direct organized activity, and according to Mr. William Opare, OIC Executive Director, OIC convinces employers that a person does not need City and Guild examinations, or others, to be job-ready. But because of a desire by students to have a "diploma", OIC certificates have been issued since October 1973, validated by the Ministry of Labor. After OIC places a person in a job, that person must remain on the job for 3 months to qualify for a certificate. OIC has to date placed 230 graduates, 51 of whom are females. Local financing and placement of graduates depend on strong community support, which the OIC has earned thru its own efforts.

b. Social Aid Guild This is a German Catholic Organization with 2 divisions: (1) Social Advance Institute, and (2) Christian Mothers' Club.

The Social Advance Institute offers commercial and vocational training in Accra. (There was no time to investigate the program before writing this paper).

The Christian Mothers' Club works with Village Mothers' Clubs on public health nutrition, and sewing. Currently, an expatriate woman volunteer is preparing a teaching guide for simple sewing which will be a do-it-yourself series. According to Dr. Christian O. Agbenyega, of West African Examinations Council, this kind of do-it-yourself course is badly needed in Ghana. Since there is little continuing education here, this could lead to work with consultants to stimulate new ideas, methods, for do-it-yourself learning and it could supplement teachers' training.<sup>2/</sup>

<sup>2/</sup>In planning for any type of non-formal education, the following ideas of a Peace Corps official might be useful:

The Peace Corps has come to the realization that their present methods of informal education have been too "informal". The feeling seems to be that it would be better, rather than the "look-over-my-shoulder" technique which is now being used, to have a 15 week training course for Ghanaians, just as is held in the U.S. for Peace Corps volunteers, to prepare them to run their own projects. In addition, current Peace Corps volunteers should have a structured, definite time during a volunteer's stay to teach, not just to help do a project. Also, it was suggested the Peace Corps utilize the Volunteer Workers Corps in Ghana, such as the Worker' Brigade along with the peace corps volunteers, as regular teachers of skills, not just as "fill-in" teachers or doers.

### C. Teachers

According to 1970-71 Ministry of Education statistics, 29.2% of Ghana's primary school teachers are women; 19.5% of middle school teachers are women; and 15.8% of secondary school teachers are women (see appendix 4). The 1970 census registered 23% of all professional people as women, but there is no information to indicate whether teachers are included as professionals in Ghana, or what percentage of professional women are teachers. Since the literature and the interviewees surveyed for this report stress the need for qualified teachers, and knowing that teaching is a culturally acceptable field for women in Ghana, it would seem that this is an area in which increased womanpower would definitely contribute to the development of the country.

A study done in 1968 on Middle School Teachers in Ghana (#6) gives data indicating that about 20 out of 100 middle school teachers were women; in the South urban areas 36 out of 100 were women, whereas in the rural strata about 10 out of 100 were women. Ghanaian middle school teachers are young. The mean age of men teachers is 28.6; women 27.3; over  $\frac{1}{2}$  the women middle school teachers are below 25. The reasons for such young teachers are: (1) rapid expansion in number of middle schools during the 1960's necessitated recruiting of large numbers of teachers whether qualified or not. (2) Some older teachers leave middle school for other employment or for higher studies, (3) the high proportion of pupil teachers in middle schools. In 1968, 29.03% of Ghana's teachers had no teacher training. (See Appendix 4 - more men than women are unqualified, which means they may or may not have had some teacher training, but have not graduated.)

While men teachers seem to move to different schools more than women during their careers (men served on an average in 2 schools; women - 1.5 schools), women in the south urban areas have more mobility (1 in 10 have worked in 6 or more schools).

Dr. C.O. Agbenyega, from the West African Exams Council tells us that until the early 1970's, middle school leavers could go directly into teacher training colleges without having attended secondary schools. As a result, teacher prestige, especially in primary and middle school, has dropped. The "cream" of students go on to secondary school, not into teaching, and so the quality of teachers may be affected, and these teachers may be less motivated than older teachers. Now that secondary school graduation is required for teachers training, the "cream" will go on to universities, still leaving "left-overs" in teaching.

According to David J. Klaus in Students as Teaching Resources, "teacher training, as most of education in Ghana, suffers from the too indiscriminate adoption of foreign content. Approaches, methods, and principles taught to teacher candidates do not reflect the problems and needs that characterize Ghanaian education."

#### D. The Effect of Education on Occupational Opportunities

Only when increased commercial activities and the slow extension of political control in the 19th century necessitated recruitment of indigenous personnel did official interest in education grow and stimulate the desire to make use of such opportunities (#15-1971). Primary education was a means to rise in social scale outside the traditional system, which had a hereditary rather than a meritorious basis. Africans were striving for a European type of education despite the efforts of the missions (especially Basel) to provide curricula adapted to African conditions. Along with religious instruction, Basel missions tried to emphasize improved agricultural methods, craftsmanship, and industrial training. The reasons for academic education were: (1) the advantages of clerical employment out-weighed any other occupation, and (2) a new status hierarchy was developing, based on European type occupations only obtainable through education (#9).

The expansion of schools created an over-supply of semi-educated and educated people. As early as 1850 the indications were that the supply of literates was already exceeding the demand for their services. Even today, employment opportunities have not kept pace with the output of graduates, especially at middle school level. In a study done in December 1959, Phillip Foster tells us that more middle school leavers not entering secondary school preferred skilled manual and technical vocations to white collar jobs. Teaching was the least popular occupation.

A study (1974) (#12-page 121) on rural women tells us that these women have made sacrifices to educate their children and then find that the jobs they hoped they would get are not available. Also, this study repeats the finding that education has a negative result in terms of the young person's willingness to settle down to farming.

In Mr. Foster's analysis of aspirations of secondary students, 97% of students studied hoped to continue their education beyond 5th form both girls and boys. "It would appear that once Ghanaian students have been fortunate enough to gain access to the selective secondary schools they become committed to a continuous program of full-time studies beyond the secondary level."

Bearing this in mind, studying employment opportunities for girls reveals the following:

- 1) Teaching - Middle and Primary school teaching though low on the list, ranked slightly higher in prestige for females, while both

males and females ranked secondary school teaching 6th out of 25 occupations both male and female perceived secondary school teachers' income much higher than middle school teachers, so, although the percentage of women teachers is rising, teaching at primary and middle school level is not very attractive in either prestige or income, and does not enhance the status of women significantly.

2) Nursing --In Foster's survey, nursing ranked high in prestige, even though noticeably lower in estimated income. Women have been successful in nursing, but this may be due to a lack of significant competition from men.

3) Clerical employment is also on the rise among women at the younger age levels. In Foster's study of secondary students almost  $\frac{2}{3}$  of females and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of male students expected to be working in clerical positions, either for the government or private industry, although the majority would have preferred other types of employment. Agnes Klingshirn in The Changing Position of Women in Ghana, (p.202) states. "Both male and female students are forced into an occupational structure they do not aspire to, but they have no choice, because the economic development has not kept pace with the educational expansion."

4) By the 1960 census women were represented in almost all professions, especially in the youngest age group. However, traditional attitudes and differential emphasis by the missions and the colonial government have influenced educational development so that even those women who successfully complete higher courses of education were conditioned by expectations to the extent that it was hard to move away from activities generally regarded as appropriate for women.

Now we find the market for certain technical skills is already becoming saturated, and the educated are often without jobs. Therefore, Phillip Foster says "Recent studies on human capital formation through education frequently ignores the fact that training in skills alone will have little effect unless an occupational structure exists in which these skills can be effectively utilized... Ghana represents a classic situation where the pursuit of educational goals has produced an unanticipated consequence of serious proportions." Until the economy improves, Foster questions the necessity of achieving high levels of literacy.

An overwhelming number of women students leave school before secondary school. The Commission on University Education 1961, urged government, press, and educational leaders to break through the social restraints which keep able women students from completing courses of higher education. "Prestige and influence of government is needed to convince Ghana that education is not wasted on women and that it does not have an adverse effect on women's capacity for marriage and family life." "Ghana cannot afford to neglect brains or talent and social restraints should not stand in the way of their

development among women. Ghanaian men cannot move forward and leave their women in a world grown obsolete." (#33-appendix II, P. 35)

In School and Career, written in 1968 by Fred M. Agyemang, mention is again made of the number of educated unemployed, and of the number of untrained middle school leavers. Mr. Agyemang says, "We must begin to bend children's interests in areas other than where we went -- doctors, lawyers, etc. The prosperous future of the country lies in agriculture, industry, and commerce. Manual labor must not be frowned upon." A student must examine his or her own motives to see if higher education is really necessary. Self-employment must be encouraged because the government cannot provide jobs for all.

#### E. Summary and Conclusions

When one considers that real efforts toward mass, public education have been developed in Ghana for only the past 15 years, dramatic progress has been made. Each year educational statistics show many more students entering schools at all levels. However, problems of rural school attendance, lack of adequate space in secondary schools, poorly-qualified teachers, lack of coordinated curricula and testing, high drop-out rates, and cultural taboos, especially for women, are still very much in evidence.

The new structure of education for Ghana seems to be on the right track -- to provide a basic education for all, and at the end of that period to offer choices to meet each individual's goals, for the country's development. The crucial time is at the end of Junior Secondary School (nine years of schooling.) At this point a student must be assured of a place in secondary school, or vocational school, with course offerings which will provide Ghana with its necessary man and womanpower while stimulating each individual to self-improvement and self-fulfillment.

Women's place in an educated Ghanaian society is legally secured, but practically, relatively few women take advantage of educational opportunities. The rural girl has so many pressures from her family combined with her own knowledge of what is to come - early marriage and/or motherhood with all of the attendant responsibilities, such as food production, child care and homemaking coupled often with community rejection of education - that it is difficult for her to sustain the hardships of obtaining a solid formal education. Some reasons for the large drop-out rate in primary schools in the rural areas are these, suggested by David J. Klaus in a report to USAID in 1973: preference by rural parents to keep children at home for farming and household duties; general lack of interest in formal education by Muslims, especially for girls; the age discomfort felt by some rural students who did not begin school until age 8 or 9 because the long distances to school are too far for young children

to walk. Logically then, there should be greater opportunities for a rural girl's non-formal education, both for her own awareness and self-fulfillment, and to make her occupational load easier

In planning ways of providing non-formal education, these elements stand out: (1) classes should be geared to meaningful subjects for the rural woman, such as agricultural methods which can make her subsistence food production easier and provide her with time to grow more for cash crops. Although village classes in home economics, nutrition and arts and crafts have been quite beneficial to women farmers, agricultural education has not often come to them; it usually is more accessible to men, (see the agriculture section of this report). Most efforts thus far to harness education to agriculture development have failed, though this is an agriculture based economy, for these additional reasons: (a) parents and children have resisted changes in a school program which promised to tie children to rural areas; (b) teachers have been ill-prepared and reluctant to handle agricultural subjects or school farms; (c) national examinations have been barriers to the introduction of "practical work" into the school day (#11). Perhaps this situation has changed somewhat under the NRC's policy of self-reliance. Proper family nutrition, maternal and child care, family planning, sanitation, and homemaking classes as are now being conducted by several agencies should continue. (2) The availability and accessibility of these courses in rural areas should also be assured by covering even more villages than is now possible so that women farmers will be better able to participate. This would include better means of transport, improved facilities, and incentives for teachers and Community Development Assistants who travel to or live in rural areas. It also means offering short-term courses to rural women in their own villages and at convenient times for them.

For the young urban female, education is increasingly becoming a way of life. Still, the real reasons for such large numbers of school drop-outs at all levels, but especially in primary school, and again in secondary school, after entrance (appendix I) should be analyzed.

The urban woman might continue her education, especially on a non-formal basis if more day-care centers were available to her, and if there were evening courses and part time jobs which would allow her the time to improve herself. Even among wealthier and highly educated women, there are baby-sitting and transport problems and lack of leisure time to pursue activities purely for enjoyment. The comment was recently made by a Ghanaian woman physician that even a husband who helped with housework and baby-sitting when he and his wife were overseas studying will revert back to "his old ways" when they return to Ghana.

It would be helpful to know what skills are really marketable in the modern sector so that vocational training is for maximum employability for both women and men. To train for industrialization when

the economy of the country is based on agriculture should be guarded, and yet as industry develops there must be enough trained man and woman power to service it. Concentrating on domestic skills, as is done in the Women's Training Institutes and even in the new public vocational education program, not only furthers the stereotype of women, but concentrates too much on the same skills and creates unemployment. Encouragement to train girls as day nursery teachers (a program which was begun this year by the Ministry of Education with facilities built by the Dutch government should be supported); as primary and middle school teachers; as nurses, midwives, and health care superintendents, as data processors, as accountants or bookkeepers, and as bank tellers would seem to be in order for the large numbers of women who must, under the new structure of education, choose between secondary school and vocational school. This of course, assumes that a vocational school education will be of high quality.

Since most women earn independent livings in Ghana in trading or in agriculture, skills in budgeting, banking, marketing, advertising, and even simple arithmetic and literacy are vital to every woman and can be taught in nonformal classes.

One main problem of education in the urban area, according to Dr. C. O. Agbenyega, is that every parent wants his child to attend university. Only those who cannot make it decide to choose something else. Out of 90,000 students who took the Common Entrance Exam in 1973, only 15,000 were absorbed into secondary schools. Most people taking the exam are from affluent homes (#2). Affluent parents want to ensure the best education for their children and will often enroll them in special schools rather than in government schools, even though fees are high. In 1974, 521 among the first 1000 CEE candidates were from special schools, even though only 2% of the school population is in special schools, prior to secondary level. Variables in special school attendance are: (1) School environment -- special schools are better endowed, have more books and visual aids than the public schools. (2) Supervision in special schools is better -- discipline and attention to duty is better enhanced. (3) Home support -- public school students' homes often have no books; rural children walk as much as four miles to school after carrying water or doing other home chores. Also, they cannot stay after school for coaching for the CEE because of the long walk home. (4) Teachers are better qualified in special schools.

Another problem of Ghanaian education is that new curricula and methods of teaching are being introduced while the testing remains virtually unchanged. The West African Examinations Council, which conducts the GCE "O" level and "A" level examinations, standardizes testing for Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and the Gambia. The government of Ghana realizes that curriculum and testing should coincide, and wants to move toward decentralization of the Exams Council, but apparently the other member nations do not agree. This

Conflict hampers Ghana's efforts to develop educational curricula and measurement which meet its needs.

It is interesting to note that in a newspaper article printed in Ghanaian Times on January 13, 1975, Col. I.K. Acheampong, stated that the government of Ghana is spending \$124 million on education for the current fiscal year. "This represents about 30% of total government expenditure -- the highest spent on education in the world." Hopefully, a portion of that money will be properly channeled into the development of more meaningful education for women.

#### APPENDIX I

##### Drop-out Rates in Ghana's Public Schools (1973-74 Statistics)

Graph (a), showing a 44.2% drop-out rate for girls and 37.7% for boys in primary school gives us a strong indication that parental attitudes must play an important part in early education in Ghana. Children of this age do not voluntarily leave school; therefore, we must give serious consideration to factors in Ghanaian culture and family life which cause this situation to exist. This is an area in which more extensive research would be extremely useful.

The literature does describe costs of education and hardships of students, especially in the rural areas; such things as distance from house to school, carrying water and doing other chores before walking long distances to school, helping on the farm or caring for younger children instead of attending school. But still, we must ask ourselves if these are the only reasons for such high drop-out rates, particularly if we recognize that the figures include urban children as well as rural children. We should isolate areas of the country in which large numbers of students drop-out of school and examine closely the schools themselves, the teachers, the communities and the parents. Perhaps then we will have better insights into the problems and values of Ghana's education system.

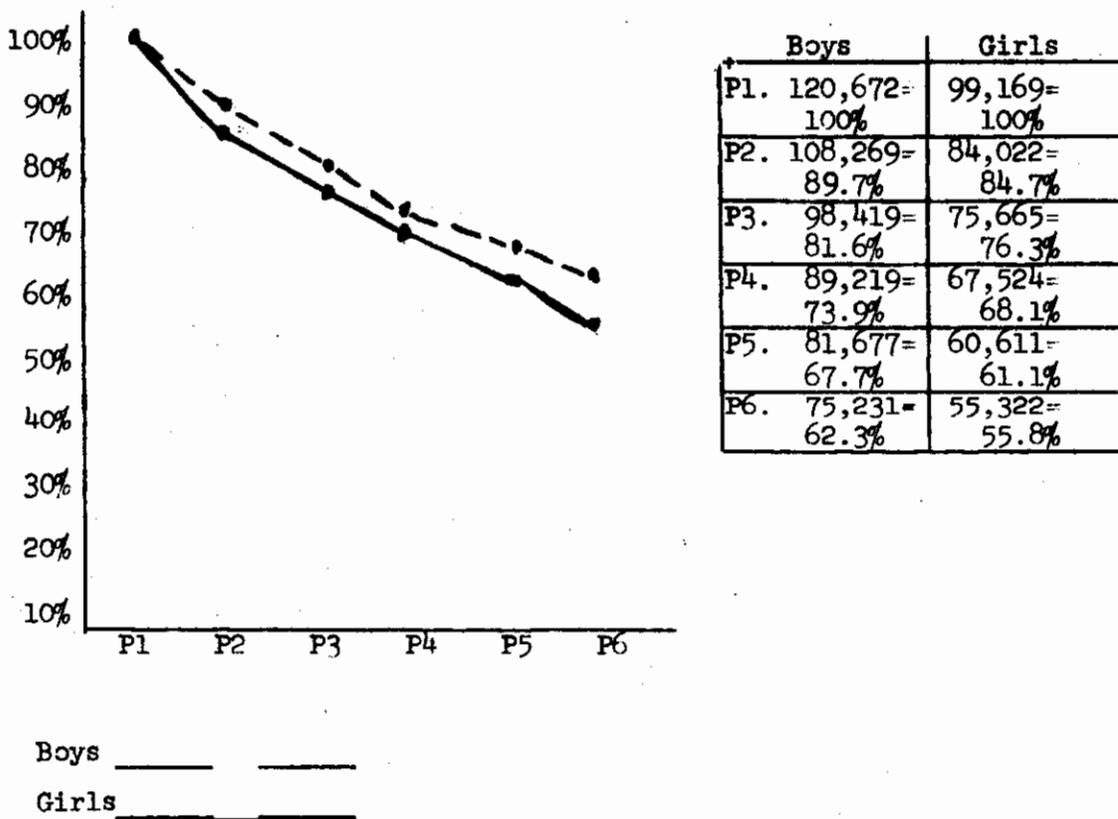
When we analyze graph (a) further we find that 15.3% of the girls who enter Primary Class 1 drop out before the end of that first year of school. This figure is  $\frac{1}{2}$  again as large as among the boys in the same class. Since 31.9% of the girls who began P1 have dropped out by the beginning of P4, we can assume that most of those girls who reach Primary Class 4 will finish at least 2 years of middle school (as indicated by the relatively small percentage of drop-outs before middle school class 3, as shown in Graph (b)).

Looking at Graph (c) we find that almost  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the girls who enter Form 1 of secondary school drop out before the beginning of Form 5, while only about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the boys drop out by that time. Also, although the percentage of boys in Form 6 is considerably less than in Form 5,

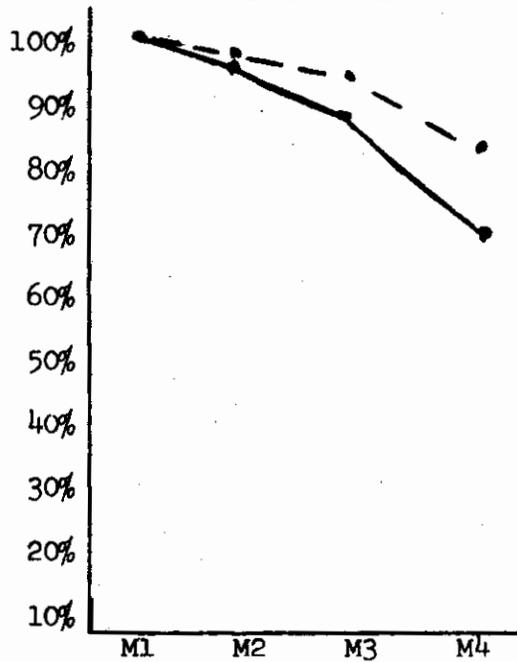
the percentage of girls entering Form 6 is almost  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times smaller. We can see, then, why the percentages of women in higher education, as shown earlier in this report, are significantly low.

When we look at the figures which gave us these percentages of drop-outs, we find another significant factor among students in Ghana's school system: a total of 93,703 students were in middle school form 4 in 1973-74, and only 15,039 were in secondary school form 1. This shows us what a small percentage of middle school leavers actually continue into secondary school. 13.4% of girls entering middle school 4 enter secondary school -- less than 1 in 8. 17.7% of boys entering middle school 4 enter secondary school, which is also a small percentage. Referring to Dr. C.O. Agbenyega's statement that 521 students from special schools were among the first 1000 candidates for the CEE in 1974, we can surmise that students in special schools are better prepared than those in public schools, and more of them get places in secondary schools. A study to determine how many more students would begin secondary school if there were more places, and another study giving suggested ways of providing secondary education to more Ghanaians would seem in order.

GRAPH (a)--1973-74 PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT



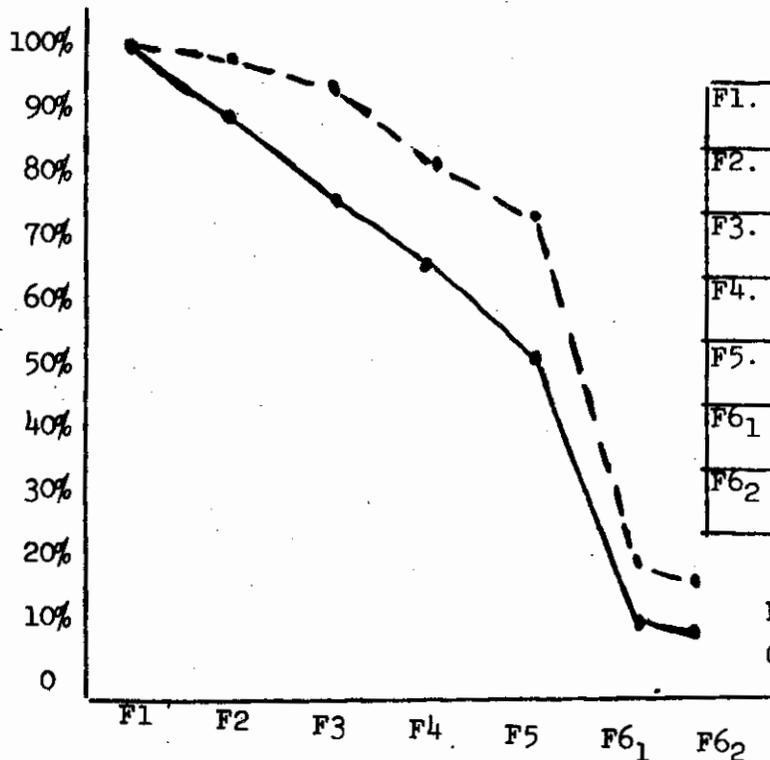
GRAPH (b)--1973-74 MIDDLE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT



	Boys	Girls
M1.	69,836= 100%	51,650= 100%
M2.	66,520= 95.3%	48,623= 94.1%
M3.	64,681= 92.6%	45,052= 87.2%
M4.	57,783= 82.7%	35,920= 69.5%

Boys \_\_\_\_\_  
Girls \_\_\_\_\_

GRAPH (c)--1973-74 SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT



	Boys	Girls
F1.	10,213= 100%	4826= 100%
F2.	10,089= 98.8%	4255= 88.2%
F3.	9630 = 94.3%	3588= 74.3%
F4.	8546 = 83.7%	3124= 64.7%
F5.	7561 = 74.0%	2485= 51.5%
F6 <sub>1</sub>	1861 = 18.2%	365= 7.6%
F6 <sub>2</sub>	1635 = 16.0%	311= 6.4%

Boys \_\_\_\_\_  
Girls \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX II

Enrollment in Government Schools - Pre-university

2a. Primary School Enrollment

	Girls	Boys	Total
1957	154,164	301,585	455,749
1969-70	n.a.	n.a.	975,629
1973-74	442,313	573,487	1,015,800

2b. Middle School Enrollment

	Girls	Boys	Total
1951	11,835	53,340	66,175
1960	41,809	105,710	147,519
1968-69	140,251	241,318	381,569
1969-70			424,430
1973-74	181,245	258,820	440,065

2c. Secondary School Enrollment

	Girls	Boys	Total
1957	1,767	7,662	9,429
1960	2,252	8,921	11,173
1969-70	n.a.	n.a.	49,182
1973-74	18,278	46,039	64,317

(Forms 1-5)

6th Form Enrollment

	Girls	Boys	Total
1957	49	382	431
1960	102	599	701
1973-74	676	3496	4172

2d. Enrollment in Public Commercial Colleges, 1970-71

<u>Total</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>% of Girls</u>
4,273	3,023	1,250	29.3

2e. Enrollment in Public Technical Institutions, 1970-71

<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>% of Women</u>
8,091	6,711	1,380	17.1

2f. Enrollment in Teacher Training Colleges

1964-65 - Total = 10,203

1965-66 - Total = 15,144 (35 new teacher training colleges opened)

1967 - - Total = 16,441

1970-71 - Initial courses:

Total = 18,814    Men = 12,967    Women = 5,847

% of Women = 31.1

Specialist courses:

<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>% of Women</u>
879	642	237	27

Percentages of children ages 6-14 attending primary and middle schools from 1960-1967:

1960 = 41%;    1960/61 = 42.9%;    1966/67 = 71.8%

Secondary Schools, ages 15-19:

1960 = 2.3%;    1966/67 = 5.2%

The 1971/72 government statistics show 63% of the age-eligible population in primary school - 85% in P1, 53% in P6.

Almost all primary graduates enter middle school or secondary school; 68% of primary graduates complete middle school; 10% enter, 7% finish secondary school (Form 5).

40% of all children finish at least 10 years of formal education.

APPENDIX III

Adult Literacy, 1972

	No. in class	No. of classes	No. taking exam	Drop-out before exam	% Drop-out	Passed
Ghanaian Language	4,099	403	2,616	1,483	36%	2,239
English Language	1,646	90	759	887	53%	729
Total:	5,745	493	3,375	2,370	41%	2,968

The drop-out rate in English language literacy classes is considerably higher (17%) than in Ghanaian language classes. More information is needed to determine the causes for this, and for the high total drop-out rate. It would be interesting to know if the Family Life-oriented literacy classes developed recently have lowered this drop-out rate. The literacy courses, both English and Ghanaian, are quite successful for those who complete them, as indicated by the 90% who pass exams.

APPENDIX IV

Number of Teachers in Ghanaian Public Schools

a. 1968-69

Ghanaian teachers in public secondary schools:

Men = 1657      Women = 336      Total = 1993

Teachers in commercial colleges:

Men = 138      Women = 18      Total = 156

(Students in commercial colleges at the same time:

Men = 1846      Women = 1046      Total = 2892)

b. 1970-71

1. Primary Schools:

Total = 32,828      Men = 23,247      Women = 9581      % of Women = 29.2

Qualified Men = 10,044      Qualified Women = 5,052

Unqual. Men = 13,203      Unqual. Women = 4,529

% of Unqualified:      Men = 56.8      Women = 47.3

2. Middle Schools:

Total = 14,132      Men = 11,379      Women = 2753      % of Women = 19.5

Qualified Men = 7,208      Qualified Women = 1,872

Unqual. Men = 4,171      Unqual. Women = 881

% of Unqualified:      Men = 36.7      Women = 32

3. Secondary Schools: (Ghanaians, Full-time)

Total = 2,323      Men = 1955      Women = 368      % of Women = 15.8

% of non-graduates = 45.5

c. 1973-74:

1. Primary Schools:

Total = 33,752      Men = 22,818      Women = 10934      % of Women = 32.4

Unqualified Men = 4745      Women = 1193

% of unqualified men = 20.8,      Women = 10.9

c. 2. Middle Schools:

Total = 16,401 Men = 12,574 Women = 3827 % of Women = 23.3

Unqualified men = 1096, women = 78

% of unqualified men = 8.7, women = 2

3. Secondary Schools:

Total = 3950 Men = 2977 Women = 618 % of women = 15.6

The percentages of women teachers at all levels of the public school system is low, however, the percentage of women primary and middle school teachers has risen from 1970 to 1974. The percentage of women secondary school teachers has made a slight drop in the same time period.

It is interesting to note that the percentage of unqualified teachers in primary and middle schools has dropped considerably from 1970 to 1974, perhaps due to the lowered numbers of pupil teachers now being recruited. All of the tables show fewer unqualified (partially trained or untrained) women teachers than men teachers, however.

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## VOLUNTARY WOMENS ORGANIZATIONS :

Voluntary organizations play an important part in the economic and social life of many Ghanaian women. They are used for financial and social security, education, recreation, religious activities, as a political medium and as an avenue toward emancipation.

Most of these associations were organized since 1920, it seems, though this author does not know if the church women's groups and the commodity trading associations were started earlier. Ione Acquah noted that some benefit associations were started in Accra over fifty years ago.<sup>1/</sup> There have long been women's groups in the traditional culture, of course, who were responsible for the instruction of girls at puberty, for instance, or for performing dances on important occasions. Women have also played an active part in organizations along with men in southern Ghana. In passing, Klingshirn's mention of the Sea Never Dry brass band in Larteh which is composed of forty-eight men and seventy-four women, pricks the interest.<sup>2/</sup>

After 1932, tribal organizations were found in the large urban areas of Ghana, composed of people from other parts of Ghana or West Africa. Acquah found in Accra in 1954, that there were twice as many men as women members, that they were largely illiterate, and that they were chiefly concerned with mutual assistance.<sup>3/</sup> Three of these tribal groups had only women members. Two of these women's groups, composed of women with education, were cited as offering leadership and service to the larger community. They were concerned with orphans and destitute children, rules of inheritance, drunkenness, gambling, the drift of young women to large towns, and in the encouragement of vocational training schemes and education programs on childcare, hygiene, home industries, domestic work and literacy..

Formed during the same era, but cutting across the occupational and tribal lines are the benevolent, or mutual benefit societies, the bulk of whose membership has also been illiterate. As the name implies they exist for mutual social and economic security. In 1954, Acquah stated there were 26,192 members of fifty-two such societies in Accra and a welfare officer of the Accra District Department of Social Welfare, gave a similar figure for the membership today. In 1954, this was said to represent 75% of all Accra females, and 10% of Accra males. In these associations, there were twice as many women as men, and the proportion is larger than that today.

Several observers regard these organizations as a response to the social re-organization caused by growth of the city in which traditional community support and place is no longer as available. These

<sup>1/</sup> Ione Acquah, Accra Survey, University of London 1958 & Ghana University Press 1972. Page 87

<sup>2/</sup> Agnes Klingshirn, The Changing Position of Women In Ghana, Doctoral dissertation, Marburgh/Lahn 1971 P.231-239

<sup>3/</sup> Acquah, Op cit P. 103

associations give to sick members and assist financially a member who is bereaved, and the family of a deceased member. Some of them assist when members are robbed, involved in a court case, or when they give birth. They assist at the "outdooing" after a child is born. All of them, it is thought, operate the system known as "susu", periodic collections, the lump sum of which is presented to each member in rotation. As a savings and capital acquisition scheme, it served as a useful substitute or supplement to financial institutions. (Acquah stated that at the time of her writing, money lenders charged 50% interest).

In addition to the friendship, companionship, and public display of this, that these societies promote, some show an interest in institutions for the sick, etc. Similar kinds of organizations called "youth groups" have a more equal number of men and women among their membership. The social worker before mentioned, pointed to only one of the benevolent, or youth groups which are making a significant contribution to the larger community. This one, the Alfa Expedition in Labadi, (Accra), has a very active program of community service.

The section on trade discusses association of market women organized as to markets, or as to commodities sold. It may not be clear that smaller cities and towns also have such associations. (These groups have played political roles, notably in the pressure for independence). There are economic groups which are not traders, and which may be women, as, for instance the bread bakers association. In many of these other groups not here termed "benevolent associations", a benefit scheme is followed. Women are trade unionists, but do not generally play a conspicuous role.

Most individual protestant churches have at least one women's group. Klingshirn reported that 20% of the women she interviewed in Larteh belonged to one.<sup>4/</sup> These groups usually meet weekly. They study the Bible, have an educational program about home or social life, give literacy classes, and concern themselves with neighborhood institutions. The national churches have training centers where leadership courses for women are given. Such groups as the Methodist Women and the Evangelical Presbyterian Women have very large numbers of members in southern Ghana. The Christian Mothers is an organization of Catholic women who are looking to develop service opportunities.

International women's organizations have active associations in Ghana. Zonta has been started here within the last five years, but the Girl Guides and the YWCA were started in Ghana in the 1950s.

The Girl Guides has an active membership of older women in addition to the young people, and an active training program and training site.

<sup>4/</sup> . Agnes Klingshirn op cit P. 259

The YWCA has a hotel in Accra for single working women, a praised, non-profit creche for children of working mothers, a clerical training school, a lunch room and bakery which serves the public on a commercial inexpensive basis. Their meeting rooms are used, sometimes without cost, by other organizations. There are twelve branches in other regions which conduct classes, social and leadership programs in an active fashion. They have had experimental social programs which did not work, and so were abandoned, or which were successful, and so were turned over to the leadership of the group which they served. An example of the former is a training course for housemaids, and the latter, creches in suburban and nearby rural areas. This organization seems to be the only one which has sponsored day care programs for children younger than two or three years old.

Both the Girl Guides and the YWCA have hosted world conferences for their organizations in Accra during the past four years. The amount of work required of these women in the YW and the Guides as well as the other Ghana Assembly of Women (see discussion below) members to host such conferences where housing, transport and communications are not easily arranged, is impressive, as is their success in accomplishing this in an effective, hospitable manner.

The Committee for the Status of Women is a voluntary organization composed of women government employees who concern themselves, it seems, with improving the status of women in particular working situations. They are particularly concerned with the problem of working women in the ministries and have endeavored to get a creche established in that vicinity for their use.

There are professional associations made up entirely of women, two of which are the Midwives Association and the Home Science Association. The latter undertakes educational responsibilities especially within the profession, through seminars and the publication of a professional journal. The American Home Science Association through AID financing, has sponsored Ghanaian women's participation in several international conferences, and have furnished consultants to the Ghana Association. The Association of Ghana University Women is interested in educational opportunities for women.

The Ghana Assembly of Women (GAW) is an umbrella organization which covers a portion of the voluntary groups and the portion is of considerable variety. There are three or four benevolent societies, the Presbyterian Women, the Evangelical Presbyterian Women, the Anglican Mothers Union, Christs Little Bank, the Methodist Women's Fellowship, and the Christian Mothers. The YWCA, the Girl Guides, the Committee for the Status of Women, the Midwives Association, and the Ghana Registered Nurses are members. The Legon Women's Association, the Akasombo Womens Association and the Accra Womens Association are three service/social clubs of educated women which are members. They invite membership of foreign groups, and so the Nigerian, Egyptian, British and American Womens Associations also belong to the Ghana Assembly of Women. Others who meet with the Assembly, and attend their functions,

are the Market Womens Association, the Ideal Homemakers Club and the International League for Peace and Freedom.

The present leadership of the Ghana Assembly started the Federation of Ghana Women in the 1950s. When the organization was politicalized after 1960, and eventually made an arm of the ruling political party, these members left the Association. After the fall of the Nkrumah government, the Federation was banned, and thereafter, the first leadership has rebuilt the previous structure under the new name. During the 1950s, beginnings were made in very active voluntary work by the Association, (whether through its constituent groups, or the leaders alone) in village education, in gardening, nutrition, food preservation, literacy, etc. Vocational schools were promoted. It was apparently a time when there was much excitement about what could be done through voluntary service.

The Association is a member of the International Alliance of Women, the International Council of Women, and the Association of Country Women of the World. These groups frequently send officials to Ghana, and issue frequent invitations to the GAW to attend world conferences elsewhere at their expense. The national groups of other countries which belong to these international associations do the same. These conferences are usually concerning education or other developmental concerns. In July 1974, the International Alliance of Women conducted a seminar for West African womens groups in Accra on the Demographic Aspects of Women in Development. This was apparently in part financed by AID, and AID sent an observer. The Ghana Assembly of Women is recognized by the government as the group to host visiting womens' delegations, (e.g. Egyptian women lawyers) or the one to refer to when the state is requested to respond to questions or invitations addressed to women.

Because there are frequent opportunities for executive members of the Assembly (composed of one or two members of each constituent organization) to go to Australia, Canada, Russia, Denmark, India, and the Assembly has no funds to permit these same members to travel to Kumasi or Secondi, to strengthen its ties with constituent groups, one sometimes thinks that the situation is out of balance, and that more use could be made of the valuable international experiences. (The Assembly's budget is small, since they depend on constituent groups for fees and fund raising efforts, groups which have lean budgets themselves, and crowded days.) The Assembly makes a consistent and energetic effort to have the members in the vicinity meet and talk with international visitors, though the drain on resources is comparatively large.

The Ghana Assembly of Women has organized for its members, in addition to annual meetings, teas, lunches and rallies, programs on the nutritional and inventive use of local foods, harmful traditional customs, etc., and they have made representations to government on matters

of concern to women. They publish a quarterly The Ghanaian Woman which is intended to reach and serve the members of the constituent groups. The executive committee of the GAW has run a vocational school, and a village education program, which was useful as demonstration, but the continued operation had too small and busy a volunteer base. Communication and transportation has been a constant problem due to lack of funds to cope with these problems in Accra.

In all of the groups described above, with the possible exception of some of the professional groups, the most active members are those who do not have small children. As is evident from the previous text, there are many more demands on women in that age group than there is on older women.

### Conclusions

1. There has been in Ghana a spontaneous organization of women for mutual assistance which has involved a high degree of cooperation and trust.
2. Their part, or potential for contributions to national development is apparent from a) the educational contributions made by some, and the possible medium for education presented by others, b) the active community service offered by some and the interest in it expressed by others, c) the financial and social stabilizing force many represent, and d) the liaison with international thought presented by those with international connections.
3. The YWCA, the Home Science Association and the Girl Guides are examples of organizations whose effectiveness has been increased by the facilitating assistance given by affiliated groups, often from the U.S.A.
4. With some international assistance in internal travel and communication expenses, the Ghana Assembly of Women could better serve its constituent members particularly those without other outside assistance, to develop leadership, pertinent education programs, and community service.
  - a) Such work is otherwise difficult, aside from financial constraints, because of the role of leading, while not appearing to do so and making education facilities available without assuming a superior teaching position is not easy to work out.
  - b) Ghana's "hortatory culture" makes acceptable the lecturing and admonition of the older, more experienced person of higher status, but may nevertheless dampen initiative needed for grass roots development, and it requires that a very diverse group of people agree on the status of the leader which is an unnecessary and unwanted political exercise.
  - c) The leadership of the Ghana Assembly of Women has had courses and international discussions on leadership development, and

has expressed a wish to further its development in that area.

d) The importance of voluntary groups is greater than the actual work they accomplish. They develop public opinion, demonstrate examples for government, and can facilitate individual growth.

**WOMEN IN GHANAIAN DEVELOPMENT**

**An Annotated Bibliography**

**Prepared for USAID/Ghana**

**Marian Fuchs-Carsch  
April, 1975**

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## INTRODUCTION

This bibliography contains annotated entries concerning books, journal articles, reports and other documents that have bearing on the role of women in Ghanaian development. It has been prepared for the United States Agency for International Development Mission to Ghana as part of their efforts to meet the requirements of Section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973, also called the Percy Amendment. This amendment requires that foreign assistance by the U.S. government be administered "so as to give particular attention to those programs, projects and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort."

Areas of main concentration were selected in line with USAID interests, and material is presented in the following sections:

1. Women and Development in General
2. Women and Education (Formal and Informal)
3. Women and Health, Nutrition and Family Planning
  - 3.1. Health
  - 3.2. Population and Family Planning
  - 3.3. Nutrition
4. Women and the Economy
  - 4.1. Agriculture
  - 4.2. Trading
  - 4.3. The Modern Sector

Background sources in peripheral, but related areas, such as legal, anthropological and sociological studies are presented in an appendix. Several of these sources have not been annotated, due to lack of time.

In several instances it proved difficult to assign material to one particular section. The reader is therefore urged to consult sources in related areas when researching a particular topic.

Research for this bibliography quickly highlighted two problems: the paucity of materials specifically concerned with women's roles, and the difficulty of obtaining materials, once sources were identified. The compiler has attempted to alleviate the first problem by including considerable material that pertains to women either indirectly, or only in part; lengthy annotations for hard-to-find materials are given to overcome the second difficulty. Many sources, however, remained elusive, and where it was felt that these promised to be particularly relevant, they have been included without annotation.

I wish to acknowledge with thanks the generous assistance of several people:

Mrs. Jeanne North, who wrote nearly all the entries on women in trading and women in the modern sector;

Mrs. Judy Bryson, who provided sources and guidance on entries concerning health, family planning and nutrition, wrote several of the entries in that and other sections, and did the final editing of the bibliography;

Mrs. Sharna Blumenfeld, who provided sources and discussion on many of the entries on women and education;

Dr. Lila Engberg, who provided many sources on women and development;

Carmel Dinan, who provided suggestions for sources included in the appendix.

It is hoped that this bibliography will provide a useful starting point for anyone undertaking research into the status and problems of women in Ghanaian development.

## 1. WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT IN GENERAL

BOSERUP, Ester, Woman's Role in Economic Development, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1970.

Examines the changing patterns of female employment in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. An ambitious attempt to show women's actual and potential contributions to economic development, using comparative data and theoretical analysis. Author suggests that modernization process may deprive women of their traditional functions, and that economic growth may therefore be retarded. Examines patterns of female activity in rural and urban areas, and the effects of migration to towns, and charts implications for national development policies.

Since this work is currently out of print, specific points of interest to role of women in Ghanaian development are quoted here.

Describes sub-Saharan Africa as area of "female farming," with no areas entirely subsistence, i.e., some cash crops grown. Causes include European influence which encouraged males to take wage employment or concentrate on commercial crops; relatively low population densities giving rise to shifting agriculture together with labor extensive practices allow African men to work short hours and leave most farming to females. Notes that introduction of technology, e.g., plough, leads to predominance of male farmers; since women predominate in hoe agriculture, and farming is relatively unattractive to men, there is an obvious disinclination on the part of males to go into permanent plough agriculture, unless forced to do so by population pressure and consequent land shortages.

Explains the popularity of polygamy in both males and females. Males gain status due to bride price for daughters, and productive labor from wives and children. Females, who are expected to support themselves and their children, as well as work for husbands, welcome co-workers to share the burden of these tasks.

Suggests that under European rule, small-scale agriculture lost status, as male cash crop farming became more productive, while female food production was ignored by Europeans, and productivity remained static. This "productivity" gap in turn seemed to justify European prejudice against female farmer, and continued to prohibit assistance to them. This in turn lead to a strict division of labor within the household, and Boserup suggests that in some areas women's insistence on not helping husbands with cash crops (since they would realize no economic benefits) has been a major constraint to the development of cash crop economies.

Suggests that education of women in modern agricultural practices and their exposure to agricultural extension services as means to overcome this lack of productivity.

Notes that areas of female farming are also areas of female trading with, e.g., women in Ghana accounting for 80 percent of labor force in urban and rural small-scale trading. Quoting McCall, 1971, predicts that agricultural development leading to the practice of employing hired labor will in turn free women to participate more fully in trading, an occupation that they prefer.

Despite female predominance in small-scale trading, notes male dominance in trade and industry in the modern sector. Suggests that missionaries, Europeans and husbands all interested to keep women in villages (among other things, to keep down prostitution), which in turn lead to a barrier to women's emancipation from tribal and family authority and their efforts to find genuine urban employment. In this connection, also discusses urban employer preference for male employees, and urges need for part-time work and flexible hours so that women may become productive in the modern sector.

Gains in the modern sector have been largely in the areas of teaching and nursing due to a felt need that women should be taught and medically treated by women.

Notes three forms of income generation in developing countries:

- a) Money income earned by sale of products and services or work for wages and salaries.
- b) Incomes in kind earned by barter of farm goods and services, or by work for wages in kind.
- c) Incomes in kind consisting of goods produced and services provided for family's own needs.

Suggests that with migration of families to urban areas, the wife is restricted in her earning of c) above, and that families will try to compensate for this by incorporating aspects of subsistence economy in towns, i.e., having small farm plot, keeping animals, etc., which with increasing urbanization becomes increasingly difficult.

Final recommendations include the importance of training females in agricultural topics, and the development of attractive occupations in rural areas to mitigate against the pull of urban migration.

BIRMINGHAM, Walter; NEUSTADT, I.; OMABOE, E.N.; A Study of Contemporary Ghana, Volume 2; Some Aspects of Social Structure, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1967.

Basic source for data and analysis on population and education in Ghana. Four chapters on population (general characteristics, change, migration and urbanization, projects and policy) by J. C. Caldwell. Chapter on education by C. E. Hurd, describing development, structure and functions of Ghanaian education. Chapter on marriage, family and the household by P. A. Tetteh, and other chapters on religion and land tenure.

CUTLER, Virginia F., "Woman Power, Social Imperatives and Home Science," Ghana Universities Press, Accra, 1969. (An Inaugural Lecture delivered on May 16, 1969, at the University of Ghana, Legon)

Using 1960 census data, post enumeration survey data (Addo and Gaisie) and other studies, author outlines four social imperatives or problem areas which must be overcome if women are to realize their full potential. Author is also concerned to point out the role of home science in helping to overcome problems.

The four social imperatives are: 1. To increase the educational attainment of women. Author stresses need for improved informal education as well as importance of equal access with males to formal education. 2. To reduce the homemaker load. Comments on the drudgery of household chores and need to fill free time with constructive activity. 3. To reduce the dependency load, i.e., number of children. Suggests that home science workers can help change attitudes so that people recognize achievements of family members rather than the numbers of children born. 4. To upgrade and increase the economic activity load of women. Author states: "Women Power in Ghana reaches its zenith in the field of economic activity...if help were given to them to upgrade their competence and to opening the doors of opportunity for them at all occupational levels, the feminine half of Ghana's people would be able to demonstrate to the world that one should never underestimate the power of a woman."

DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVES, INC., "A Seven Country Survey on the Roles of Women in Rural Development," a report prepared for USAID, 1974.

A report on the current and potential roles of rural women in Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Nigeria, Bolivia, Paraguay and Peru, presenting preliminary conclusions concerning rural women's active decision-making and participation roles in agricultural production, family care, family planning and education of children.

Includes very brief sketches on the current status of women in the rural sector of each country. Charts on educational status of women are also presented which provide useful comparative data. Similar data on economic activities for males and females also presented. Most interesting data concerns male/female decision making and participation in various fields: agriculture (including carrying out agricultural production, use of modern inputs, joining cooperatives, obtaining credit); marketing (including petty trading and cash crops); putting aside savings; family care (including health, nutrition, education of children, number of children, home economics training and willingness to use contraceptives); other rural sector production and income opportunities (handicraft production, marketing of handicrafts, use of women's own income); community projects (self-help projects, community projects). These data are highly useful; however, it is not clear how reliable they are. Authors concede that only two months were spent on data collections, and charts do not give detailed data sources. Finally, selected projects and programs are examined in some detail with respect to their impact on the role of women in development. Those in Ghana are Home Extension Program, Christian Mothers' Association and Denu Shallots Project. Although material is presented on projects in details, conclusions seem somewhat rosy, especially with regard to the Home Science Program. Nor is there any justification given for the selection of the projects chosen.

Major findings include: 1) Women play active roles as decision makers and participants in most development-related work. Women in most countries take part equally with men in basic agricultural production. Rural women predominate in petty trading. In five countries, women are prime movers in self-help and government projects. Rural women continue to prevail in family care and handicraft production. 2) Social, cultural and legal barriers to broader roles for women are not as restrictive for the future as the past might indicate. 3) Integration of women into rural economy will proceed more quickly if integration is in context of development project rather than women-only projects. 4) Home economics projects rank far below agricultural production projects involving women as promoters of change and modernization. 5) Methods for involving women in development projects are not fundamentally different from methods for involving any local population target groups in the adoption of a technique or process. 6) The question of whether or not to integrate women into existing organizations or create new ones exclusively for women is complex and depends largely upon local circumstances. 7) Data collected on the roles of rural women is not merely country-specific; it is region-within-country specific. 8) Truly relevant statistics on the involvement of women in the rural sector are

generally not available. Data on decision making and participation can only be found in the field.

A useful, unannotated bibliography.

ECA Regional Seminar on the Integration of Women in Development with Special Reference to Population Factors, "The Data Base for Discussion in the Interrelations between the Integration of Women in Development, their Situation and Population Factors in Africa," Addis Ababa, 1974.

One of the background sources for the following FAO/ECA paper.

Notes that most development goals set forth by UN relate to women's roles, viz., nutrition, health, population and education, increase of productive employment, high production and more equitable distribution of income and wealth. Presents detailed, tabulated and graphic data continent-wide in the above areas. Describes the situation of women in subsistence and early modernizing areas, noting that the traditional situation of women in Africa has impeded development in three ways:

1. By retarding the production and distribution of food, etc., since the energy input of women has only minimal productive returns;
2. By the physical and mental effects on the population because women live at drudgery level; and
3. By a resultant waste of human beings and resources, due to low life expectancy.

Discusses extent to which modernization has improved women's situation and concludes that lack of sufficient, reliable data permits no generalizations for the whole continent. Available data on employment, education, participation in administration and public life, access to health and maternity knowledge and services (including family planning, food supply and nutrition, and reducing workloads), increasing productivity given and analyzed. A chapter is devoted to the inter-relationships between population growth rates, development and women's situation; employment, education and the situation or status of women are identified as the major influences affecting fertility. These factors are discussed with statistical illustration.

A final chapter presents action implications. After present prevailing attitudes that might impair action, recommends the following:

1. Institutions to assure the full integration of women in development. (National Commissions, Women's Bureau, an Africa Regional Standing Committee)
2. Research and action to improve the status of rural women. (Including formal and informal education programs, cooperatives, technology, child-care facilities, etc.)
3. National and regional-level action. (Development plans to give emphasis to female work, equal opportunity for education, men to be encouraged to share home labor, school curricula to be similar for both sexes, etc.)

An excellent background source, available at the local FAO office.

FAO/ECA, "The Role of Women in Population Dynamics Related to Food and Agriculture and Rural Development in Africa," unpublished mimeo, September 26, 1974.

Comments on the irrelevance of most documents on African agriculture that talk of the "farmer, he." "Everyone who has worked in Africa knows that it is predominantly the women who produce the food crops in addition to helping their husbands to weed their cash crops, harvest them, and carry them to market."

Quotes various ECA sources in presenting a detailed outline of African woman's daily activities. Reiterates Boserup, 1970 and McCall, 1961 in describing the role of colonialism in relegating agriculture into the hands of women.

Presents tables on responsibilities of women and their areas of access to non-formal education based on various FAO/ECA documents.

<u>Responsibility</u>	<u>Percentage responsibility of females</u>
Food production	70
Domestic food storage	50
Food processing	100
Animal husbandry	50
Marketing	60
Brewing	90
Water supply	90
Fuel supply	80

<u>Areas of access to non-formal education</u>	<u>Percentage responsibility of females</u>
Agriculture	15
Animal husbandry	20
Cooperatives	10
Arts and crafts	50
Nutrition	90
Home economics	100

Notes that access to non-formal education not related to female responsibility pattern. Also that most female education geared to nutrition and home economics, areas in which males have almost no access to information. Deplores the misallocation of time and effort. Also the "homemaking" content of most women's training, i.e., cake baking, cocktail mixing and flower arranging, as not suitable or relevant to females who are predominantly foodstuff farmers.

Notes, as Paulme, 1963, that "women's major creative contribution in the eyes of their societies is still child-bearing."

Suggests that the traditional situation of women in Africa has impeded development in three ways:

- 1) By retarding production of food since the energy output of women has only minimal productive returns.
- 2) By the physical and mental effects on the population caused by women living at drudgery levels.
- 3) By resultant waste of human beings and of resources spent on them by families and by countries, from high infant mortality and low expectation of life at birth.

Makes detailed suggestions for improvements in the field of agriculture which include the following intermediate technologies: ox-drawn ploughs and harrows; hand-operated inter-row cultivators, planters, winnowers; seed-cleaning sieves; chicken feeders and waterers; locally-made sun dryers; smoking drums for fish and meat; improved food stores against insects, rodents, dampness; solar water heaters; maize shellers; cassava grinders; clotheslines and cupboards; community mills; wheelbarrows, bicycle or tricycle cars for portage and water catchment tanks for water; planting quick-growing trees near villages, and introducing village portable, mechanical saws for firewood.

Also recommends females be given greater access to relevant non-formal education; extension services be extended in food crop production

to women; improved market facilities (loans, credit, guidance); health education; development of cottage industries. In general, integrated rural services.

FAO/UN, "Planning Family Resources for Rural Development," Nutrition Information Documents Series, (ESN:IDS/72/6), Rome, 1972.

Contains selected and edited papers from the FAO/ECA/SIDA seminar on home economics development planning for English-speaking countries in Africa, held in Addis Ababa in March, 1972.

The following papers particularly relevant for the role of women in development, although somewhat superceded by later ECA documents.

1. (ECA/FAO Joint Agriculture Division, ECA) "The Economic Role of Women with Special Emphasis in the Implementation of Rural Development Schemes in Africa."

Contains useful section on position of women in the framework of customary land tenure. Concentrates on role of women in settlement schemes; concludes that settlement schemes one of the effective tools for improving women's conditions in rural areas and for overcoming the obstacles that oppose their progress. Calls for equalization of rights and duties for both sexes in the settlement areas; equal opportunities of access to land under the same conditions as those established for men; betterment of work distribution within the family group, mainly between the sexes; equal opportunities of access to training, education, credit and marketing and extension services; implementation through local bodies, as women's associations, of the legislation protecting women's rights.

2. (Human Resources Development Division, ECA) "Women and Rural Institutions."

Without giving country-specific information, discusses the role, form, and problems of institutions in following areas: production, processing, marketing, handicrafts, distribution, mobilization of local savings, credit, housing, other rural services. A final section of women's rural institutions in the planning process.

3. (Human Resources Development Division, ECA) "The Impact of Modern Life and Technology on Women's Economic Role: Implications for Planners."

An inclusive paper giving abundant statistical illustration, including Ghana data. Poses question, "Does the time women spend on development have the greatest possible returns for development -- the increased freedom and well-being of themselves, their families and their countries?" In examining this question, paper describes the impact of modern life, i.e., the money economy, education, technology, on women. It also reviews existing vocational training programs for females in home science and other fields. The paper concludes with a discussion of planning for full participation of women in development, by outlining identification of the active labor force, research and planning strategies.

Paper concludes, "...women, who raise the children, produce most of the continent's food and are responsible for most of its self-help projects, may be the key to development."

An excellent background source for any research into the role of women in development.

KLINGSHIRN, Agnes, "The Changing Position of Women in Ghana: A Study Based on Empirical Research in Larteh, a small town in Southern Ghana." Doctoral Dissertation, University of Marburg/Lahn, 1971.

Study divided into two sections; first, position of women in Ghana in general from the point of view of traditional kinship structures; second, economics, education, political and public life and religion as areas of women's roles examined in greater detail.

Author's research undertaken 1965-66. Detailed guided interviews and personal observations covering every fifteenth house of the approximately 1000 in Larteh. In addition to personal research, author has done excellent review of existing literature.

Section I. An excellent, clear, detailed and authoritative presentation of the major anthropological studies of kinship structures of Ghana. Although primarily covering Southern Ghana, Northern ethnic groups are also discussed. Role of women traced through birth and childhood, puberty, marriage, old age and death. Authorities discussed by Klingshirn and not otherwise annotated in this bibliography:

Brokensha, David. Social Change at Larteh, Ghana, Oxford, 1966.

Feldman, Harold. "The Ghanaian Family in Transition," Legon, around 1962, mimeo.

Field, M. J. Religion and Medicine of the Ga People, London, 1961. The Social Organization of the Ga People, London, 1940.

Fortes, Meyer. "Kinship and Marriage among the Ashanti." In A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde (eds) African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, (1950) London 1962, pp 254-284. (Also "Time and Structure: An Ashanti Case Study" in Fortes (ed) Social Structure, London, 1949.)

Goody, Jack. Death, Property and the Ancestors, A Study of the Mortuary Customs of the LoDagaa of West Africa, Stanford California 1962.

Goody, Esther N. "Conjugal Separation and Divorce among the Gonja of Northern Ghana," in M. Fortes (ed) Marriage in Tribal Societies. Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology, No. 3, Cambridge 1962, pp 14-54.

Kemp, D. Nine Years on the Gold Coast, London, 1898.

Omari, T. Peter. Marriage Guidance for Young Ghanaians, Edinburgh, 1962.

Rattray, R. S. Ashanti, London.

Rattray, R. S. Religion and Art in Ashanti, London, 1927.

Rattray, R. S. Ashanti Law and Constitution, London, 1929.

Southall, Aiden. (ed) Social Change in Modern Africa, London, 1965.

Westermann, Diedrich. Various publications in German, 1905-1943. (Also Africa and Christianity, Oxford (1937) 1949.

Summary of conclusion on women's role in economic life:

Ghana still predominantly agricultural with lucrative sources of income in this area, i.e., cocoa and palm oil production -- predominantly male. Women, with exception of Akans and Gas who may inherit trees and land from their mothers, mostly laborers dependent on husband's or father's farms.

Women primarily occupied with producing necessary foodstuffs for the family and largely excluded from cash crop farming. Although a woman may keep the income from the sale of surplus foodstuffs for her own use, and if she has land of her own she may grow cash crops there, most of her time is taken up with work for her husband and

care of the household, so her income does not usually amount to much. Woman is forced to try to have some separate income since she cannot expect husband to provide for any personal special expenditures and since she will wish to have a reserve fund for her old age when her husband may leave her. Finally, she will wish to accumulate wealth to benefit her children.

With increased status of wage employment, agriculture has lost status and women increasingly become landowners or tenders. Despite this, agriculture is losing its importance for women too. Where possible, women prefer to trade, although big business trading is still predominantly in male hands. Although profits from petty trading are low, it offers an opportunity for even illiterate women to become more independent, and it provides them with a basis for adjusting to an emancipated status. In modern Ghana occupation structure for women is shifting from agriculture to jobs requiring relatively much education -- nurses, teachers, secretaries. These new professions are primarily held by younger females and as such may show a trend which should continue in the future.

Summary of conclusions on women's role in education:

The missions credited with the spread of education in Ghana. Missions proclaimed the importance of female education with ratios of 2.7 males to 1 female while government school ratios 6:1. Missions, however, trained girls to be good Christian housewives and mothers.

Up to present, however, discrepancy between literacy rates; 1960 census gives 29 percent males, 11 percent female literate. Discrepancy due to negative attitudes to female education and economic outlooks, which expects a higher return from educated son than daughter who will marry out of family and not use training. Families also reluctant to lose cheap working power of girls on farm and in home. However, educated men prefer educated wives, and parents receive higher bride price for educated daughters.

Notes that at present primary schooling equally available to boys and girls, but that discrepancy still exists at higher levels of education. This pattern also reflected in the rise in numbers of female teachers who are concentrated in the primary or middle schools, leaving men the more lucrative positions in high schools and colleges.

Concludes that industrialization and general economic development has not kept pace with education expansion in Ghana and that there is considerable unemployment, especially of middle school leavers. This equally true for boys and girls, "so that an increasing equality of chances for women in the educational sector does not, because of scarcity of vacancies, give her a factual equality of occupational chances."

LEAR, Julia Graham. "The Impact of Economic Development and Social Change on the Status of Women: A Select Bibliography," December 30, 1973. (Available from Committee on Women in Development, Society for International Development, 1346 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D.C. 20036 for \$1.00)

Unannotated bibliography on research and writings published in the last 15 years from Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Subdivided into books, periodicals, manuscripts and monographs, bibliographies, official documents and research projects in progress.

MITCHNIK, David A. "The Role of Women in Rural Development in the Zaire," Oxfam Publication, 1972.

Provides the following conclusions concerning Zaire applicable to other less-developed countries:

1. Including women in development planning "not simply a matter of raising women's status and waving the liberation flag; it is a crucial factor for ensuring better results in rural development programmes." Suggests emphasis must be put on alleviating some of the tasks which are being carried out by women so as to give them more energy and time to spend in the house and thus to concentrate on child-care problems. However, women will not be completely released from agricultural tasks, thus she will need increased education and training.
2. Vocational training at present somewhat irrelevant (author deplures, e.g., training in cocktail mixing, etc.) and should be broadened to include agricultural training, the growing and preparation of vegetables unknown to them, processing of agricultural products, cottage industries, rural health education, family planning and nutrition.

NORTH, Jeanne; FUCHS-CARSCH, Marian; BRYSON, Judy and BLUMENFELD, Sharna, "Women in National Development in Ghana," papers prepared for USAID/Ghana, April 1975.

Research undertaken in late 1974 and early 1975, primarily based on reviews of relevant literature and supplemented by interviews with government officials, researchers and field workers in the following main areas: Women Traders, the Small-Scale Female Farmers of Ghana, The Role of Women in Health, Population and Nutrition, and Women in Education. Briefer overviews are given of the sociological, economic and legal status of women, women as wage earners, and voluntary women's organizations.

PAULME, Denise. (Ed) "Women in Tropical Africa," (translated from French) London, 1960, 1963.

Six essays by female anthropologists covering the everyday lives of women in rural areas of Senegal, Guinea, Niger, Central African Republic and Burundi.

Introduction by Paulme stresses following similar patterns: sexual permissiveness, attachment of women to natal families, and the importance of motherhood as "the core of the African family." Notes that African women set greater store by their children than by their husbands, and it is only becoming a mother that they feel truly fulfilled. Describes African women as independent, courageous and used to relying on no one but themselves.

WARE, Helen. "The Changing African Family in West Africa, Essay and Bibliography," Australian National University, 1974.

Provides useful discussion of the West African family and the many processes which are leading to change and adaptation. Considerable Ghana-specific data is discussed. Although the primary focus is on the family as a whole, a major section (pp 45-61) deals with the position of women. Many important facts are highlighted, for example:

1. Concept of dependence of wife upon the husband has been rare in West Africa. Marriage is an alliance between two families, not two individuals, and the woman could depend upon her family to support her in marital difficulties. African women expect to contribute economically to the family, and the idea current in the West that women should not work after marriage and especially when they have young children is not accepted.
2. Western administrators abrogated rights women already possessed as they accepted the old men's word as to what should happen according to customary law without asking what in fact normally did happen.
3. Social segregation of the sexes often worked to advantage of women as they were able to develop executive abilities in their own groups rather than being subordinate members of men's groups. Solidarity of women's organizations made them a force to be reckoned with.
4. Modernization does not necessarily improve the position of women. Where women had important traditional roles in trading, service occupations and domestic craft production, women's participation in labor market may decline with industrialization.
5. A remarkable feature of almost all West African cultures is the way in which women have been allowed to keep the profit made by their own exertions. They also can sue husbands for using their property without their approval.

## 2. WOMEN AND EDUCATION (Formal and Informal)

ANONYMOUS, "Welfare and Mass Education in the Gold Coast, 1946-51," Gold Coast, Accra, 1953.

Basically an outline and report of the team approach to informal education that is a forerunner to the present Department of Social Welfare Program.

Although the original program was designed for men, women in rural areas turned out in great numbers and demanded to be included.

BLAKEMORE, K. "Research Note," Institute of African Studies Research Review, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1972.

Noteworthy as one of the few educational studies of rural areas. An investigation into school-leaver unemployment in a remote village in Northern Region, and a town very close to Tamale. Various reasons for parental reluctance to have children attend school outlined. Many parents felt that one educated child (i.e., son) per family was enough, in that he could read English and serve his family in his educated position. The eldest, most helpful and most "sensible" children were NOT sent to school, as this was felt to be a waste of their talents. The urban-area parents were more discouraged about educating their children than the rural-area parents.

CHACKO, V. J. and SUBRAHMANYA, M. T. "Middle School Teachers in Ghana," Technical Publication Series, No. 7, ISSER, University of Ghana, Legon, 1968.

Gives interesting statistics for sex ratio of middle school teachers at the time. Eight out of ten teachers in the survey were men, with a lower female ratio in rural areas. In the urban areas of Southern Ghana, 36 of every 100 middle school teachers were women.

The author also notes the relative youth of teachers. Mean ages were 28.6 for men and 27.3 for women. Part of the reason for this attributed to the fact that older teachers will leave the profession for more lucrative employment. (Teacher's salary at that time averaged about \$600.)

CHABAUD, Jacqueline. "The Education and Advancement of Women," UNESCO, 1970.

(Could not be obtained for annotation.)

DUMONT, Rene. "If your sister goes to school, your next meal will be your fountain pen," pp 257-265 in Education and Nation-Building in Africa, Cowan, L. Gray, et al (eds), Pall Mall Press, London, 1965. (Translated from French.)

In the course of a muddled article on the role of ex-colonial powers in African education, author reports addressing the title remark to a "peasant" schoolboy in the Congo. The author is "greatly disturbed" when girls in tropical Africa go to school -- not, he insists, because he favors female servitude, nor does he oppose education for girls, but rather he deplors the anti-agricultural bias of education, which weans the girls from their roles as agricultural laborers. Useful for the insight into one side of ex-colonial thinking of the time.

ECONOMIC Commission for Africa, "Factors Affecting Education, Training and Work Opportunities for Girls and Women within the Context of Development," (E/CN 14/SW/36), 1971.

Contains a full discussion of the historical and contemporary factors which produce and influence the attitudes of both men and women towards the status and role of women.

(Not available for detailed annotation.)

ECONOMIC Commission for Africa, "Report on the Regional Conference on Education, Vocational Training and Work Opportunities for Girls and Women in African Countries," Rabat, Morocco, May, 1971.

(Could not be obtained in time for annotation.)

ECONOMIC Commission for Africa, "Women in Ghana," Addis Ababa, 1972. (Currently being updated.)

Provides simply presented facts and figures on the following areas relevant to women:

Women's activities, (including description of the "susu" credit system.)

Vocational and Technical Training; areas of training include social development, mass education, agricultural development, medical training, teacher training, literacy campaigns, technical and commercial training.

Formal education

The Employment Situation

A summary of educational and training opportunities for women is given plus appendices giving 1969/70 educational statistics, figures from 1960-1969 on women participation in the labor force, and a list of training institutions with courses taught, duration of training, admission requirements and annual intake capacities.

An excellent background source available at local FAO office.

GRAHAM, C. K. The History of Education in Ghana (From the Earliest Times to the Declaration of Independence, Frank Cass and Co., London, 1971.

Contains two chapters on female education: Girls' Education and teacher training before 1850, and from 1850-1900, plus section on developments in female education in the 20th century. Concludes that in Gold Coast (unlike many other African societies), girls' education from the very beginnings of the educational process was considered important. Woman's place was in the home and curricula of girls' schools had domestic science appended (as was the case in England). However, not as many girls as boys commenced an education and not as many continued; a girl was more likely to receive some education if she had an educated father.

KAYE, Barrington. Bringing Up Children in Ghana: An Impressionistic Survey, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1962.

A relatively informal synthesis of information from 37 students' theses on child-rearing practices in various parts of Ghana. Illustrated with several delightful photographs. Includes interesting chapter on attitudes toward having children. For a more technical approach to the same material, see author's book, Child Training in Ghana, Institute of Education Child Development Monographs, No. 1, University of Ghana, Legon, 1960.

KLAUS, David J. "Students as Teaching Resources," American Institutes of Research, Report to USAID, October, 1973.

Provides inter alia a good description of the Ghanaian educational system, its history and problems up to 1973.

The four main problem areas noted were non-relevant curriculum leading to school-leaver unemployment, and a disincentive to return to rural employment; textbooks which stress facts rather than understanding; poor classroom facilities; inadequate teacher training with too much "foreign content" which does not reflect Ghanaian problems.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, "The New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana," February 1974.

Contains the new curriculum and structure of government education which went into the first phases of operation in academic year 74/75. Under this scheme the government will provide the following free education: six years of primary schooling and four years of junior secondary education. This latter will include vocational subjects. In addition, 18 to 24 months of kindergarten are recommended plus a final four years of high school in which training in vocational areas would be continued.

One of the problems of the new Junior Secondary schools is the lack of qualified teachers in crafts and other vocational subjects. The government is organizing summer seminars for present craft teachers to set up a country-wide syllabus, and testing standards, and is also developing specialist courses at teacher-training institutes where qualified craftsmen, etc., will give instruction to teachers.

MOUMOUNI, Abdou, Education in Africa, Andre Deutsch, 1968. (Translated from French).

Provides on pp 84-88 a brief history, data, and outline of problems of girls' education in French colonial policy. Suggests that one reason for the negative attitude of Africans for female education was the anti-national content of education that drew girls away from home attitudes and influences and made them too sophisticated.

OPPONG, Christine. Growing Up in Dagbon, Ghana Publishing Corporation, Tema, 1973.

Detailed anthropological account of education -- formal, informal and in the home -- of the Dagomba people of Northern Region. Includes section on how girls are trained for housewife role and describes parental resistance to sending children to school. (1956-64 no girls were voluntarily sent to school by villagers.) For more details on this subject, see Oppong, C., "The Dagomba Response to the Introduction of State Schools," Ghana Journal of Sociology, Vol. II, No. 1, 1966, pp 17-25.

"REPORT of the Commission on University Education, Dec. 1960-Jan 1961."

This report contains an appendix on women in higher education. It states that although opportunities for women were open, few women availed themselves of these opportunities, that the resulting "waste

of woman power" was a serious problem. Suggests that part of the cause was negative attitudes towards higher education for women prevalent in the society, notably notations that such education is wasted on girls who marry and that educated women make poor wives. Noted that in "typically women's fields" such as teaching, social work and nursing, Ghana was short of qualified women.

SLOAN, Ruth, Associates and KITCHEN, Helen (ed), The Educated African (A Country-by-country Survey of Educational Development in Africa), Praeger, London, 1962.

In chapter on Ghana, provides history of education in Ghana with special emphasis on the influence of nationalism and the CPP. Also outlines educational problems, including lack of equal opportunities for female students. A lengthy description of how the school system operates plus brief sections on technical education, teacher training and higher education. Profuse statistics.

SNYDER, Margaret. "The Changing and Contemporary Role of Women in African Development," paper for the Economic Bulletin for Africa, January, 1974.

(Could not be obtained for annotation)

#### EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS AND REPORTS

Educational Statistics, 1968-69, Ministry of Education, Accra, 1971.

Ghana Education Statistics, 1970-71, Ministry of Education, Accra, 1973.

Ghana Education Statistics, 1973-74, (unpublished), Ministry of Education, Accra.

1970 Population Census of Ghana, Volume II; Census Office, Accra, June 1972.

1965-66 Statistical Year Book, Central Bureau of Statistics, Accra, 1969.

University of Ghana, Basic Statistics 1961-1974, Legon.

Institute of Adult Education, Annual Report, 1973-74, University of Ghana, Legon.

Girls' Vocational Institutes Brochures. (Mancell School,  
Around-De Fashion Home, O.L.A. Girls' Vocational Institute,  
Nkawkaw #1 Girls Vocational Training Institute).

Ministry of Education, Education Report, 1963-67, Accra.

University of Ghana, Annual Report 1970-71 by the Vice-Chancellor,  
University of Ghana, Legon.

### 3. WOMEN AND HEALTH, NUTRITION AND FAMILY PLANNING

#### 3.1 - Health:

ASHITEY, G. A.; WURAPA, F.K.; and BELCHER, D. W. "Danfa Rural Health Centre: Its Patients and Services, 1970/71," Ghana Medical Journal, Vol.II, No. 3, pp 266-273, Sept. 1972.

Studies conducted from 1970 to July 1971 showed:

a) Typical patient was young and suffered from a variety of diseases. (Fifty-five percent of all patients were pre-school age children and women in their reproductive years.)

b) Almost all diseases were readily diagnosed and treated by medical auxiliaries using relatively few drugs.

c) Seventy percent of Danfa patients lived within three miles of the center, so that little contact was being made with pre-school children and pregnant mothers living further away.

Above results led to a reorganization of the main center and the establishment of satellite clinics.

ASSOCIATION of Medical Schools in Africa, "The Teaching and Practice of Family Health," proceedings of a conference sponsored by the Association, Kampala, 1971.

Material arranged around five keynote addresses:

1. Patterns and Trends in Infant and Maternal Mortality.
2. The Shortage of Medical Manpower in Africa.
3. Health Aspects of Family Planning - Integration of Family Planning Services into Maternal, Child and Other Health Services.
4. Training Tomorrow's Doctors in Family Health.
5. The Relative Safety of Various Types of Contraceptives.

Paper by F. K. Wurupa, "Rapid Population Growth and Rural Development," pp 28-39, gives Ghana-specific data, characterizing Ghana's population increase as caused by continuing high fertility rate, falling mortality rate and significant proportion of immigrants from neighboring African countries.

In describing Ghana's health problems, author notes that infants, children and mothers pose special problems for Ghanaian health services. Describes what is being done in Ghana by the Planned Parenthood Association of Ghana, the Population Council, the Demography Unit of the University of

Ghana, Legon, the Government of Ghana's National Family Planning Program and the Danfa Rural Health and Family Planning Program.

Suggests a) (quoting Caldwell and Gaisie) woman's desire for more children is to a large extent determined by the number of her living children, b) urban communities are likely to be more receptive than rural areas to family planning, c) education of women correlates with lower desired family size, d) there is a current low level of knowledge of family planning practices in Ghana.

Useful list of references.

BEAMER, Lyndall G. and GANGLOFF, Linda J. "Synchrisis: The Dynamics of Health: An Analytic Series on the Interactions of Health and Socio-Economic Development. No. 10: Ghana," U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, June 1974.

Gives up-to-date background information on the following: geography and climate, population and society, economic and social conditions and the health sector.

Final recommendations:

1. A shift in resource allocation from curative services to control (e.g. of yaws, tuberculosis, tetanus, etc.) by prevention.
2. Provision of potable water supplies may be a most efficient method of decreasing morbidity and mortality.
3. Reorganization of health care infrastructure should take cognizance of indigenous healers as a source of manpower.
4. Greater efforts at health education should be made among the large school population and at outpatient treatment facilities.
5. Greater emphasis should be given to problems of maternal and child health and nutrition to reduce the high level of maternal, infant and child mortality.

Useful 1973/74 Ministry of Health statistics.

DOUGLAS-WILSON, I. and McLACHLAN, Gordon (eds), Health Service Prospects: An International Survey, The Lancet Ltd. and the Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust, London, 1973.

Contains a detailed and up-to-date report on health in Ghana by F. T. Sai, statistics from the late sixties and early seventies presented on population, gross domestic product, government expenditures, causes of death, regional distribution of hospitals and hospital beds, regional distribution of doctors and nurses.

Areas discussed include financing of health services, goals and limitations of health services, health education, research, organization of services and national problems.

A useful background source presenting relevant information in brief, easily accessible form.

ENGBERG, Lila, E. "Household Differentiation and Integration as Predictors of Child Welfare in a Ghanaian Community," Journal of Marriage and the Family, May 1974, pp 389-399.

Research undertaken in March/April 1971 in Madina, 10 miles north of Accra, to investigate the relationship between family variables and measures of child welfare. Methodology followed conceptual framework of previous research and used factor analysis and multiple regression.

Major conclusions: suggests that women with their children comprise a subsystem of their own; women's resources called upon in child care and providing basic human needs such as food for the family, far more than man's. If her resources in terms of cash, knowledge, opportunities to earn and make contacts are limited, then the conditions in which the woman is the decision maker cannot easily be changed. This in turn suggests that differentiation (e.g. improvements in income, education, etc.) of male may not bring about improved child welfare conditions. Calls for the structural differentiation of the mother-child unit to be shifted upward and improved; this type of approach requiring the provision of comprehensive programs for changing the larger environment, not merely provision of nutrition and health services.

ENGBERG, Lila E. (ed) Legon Family Research Papers, No. 4. (To be published by the Institute of African Studies, Legon, in spring 1975)

(Annotation incomplete since documents read in draft form and not all entries available.)

Contains very useful sources in four areas: family welfare, family planning, child welfare and child health and nutrition.

Papers particularly relevant to the role of women in development include:

Boumann, Jeanne, "Notes on Participation of Women in Rural Development," which suggests that the nature and extent of rural female roles have been largely ignored, although the women's contributions have been considerable. Feels that female activities outside the home yield low incomes and that time spent away may deprive women of time needed for child care and household responsibilities. Urges further research into women's roles and needs, and the development of suitable female technology and training.

Engberg, Lila, E. "Women Power and Birth Control," cites information on the birth control movement in Britain and the U.S., and concludes that changing circumstances that give women new opportunities for education, employment and participation give rise to spontaneous birth control movements. Suggests that Ghana requires a "systems approach" in which a family planning component is only part of an integrated overall development strategy appropriate to a given community. "Women power and birth control go hand in hand. Motivational techniques which promote one and not the other will fail."

FIELD, M. J. Search for Security: An Ethno-psychiatric Study of Rural Ghana. London, 1960.

Presents a large number of detailed cases of mental illness associated with witchcraft beliefs in Ashanti, with a description of the disease in terms of Western psychiatry.

Also valuable as a source for insights into the traditional attitudes and beliefs of men and women as given in the family and personal histories of patients that are presented with each case.

GROOTHUES, Christine. "A Bibliography of Child Development in Africa," Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, 1974.

Unannotated citations of studies done in the physical, psychological and social fields of child development in Africa, emphasizing the pre-school age child, but also including primary school children. Compiler notes the paucity of studies on social and psychological problems, but cites a large number of studies in medical and nutritional fields.

JAHODA, Gustav. "Traditional Healers and Other Institutions Concerned with Mental Illness in Ghana," International Journal of Social Psychiatry, Vol. 7, 1961, pp 245-268.

Fascinating study of the importance of traditional healers in cases of mental illness in Accra. Inter alia, author notes that men tend to go in more for scientific and Western medical care than women; apart from the

higher literacy rate for men, this can probably be explained in terms of encouragement males receive for this type of behavior in connection with their employment. Sample cases are presented in detail including both literate and illiterate women, providing unique insight into personal lives, problems and priorities of these women.

NEUMANN, A. K.; AMPOFO, Daniel A.; NICHOLAS, David D.; OFOSU-AMAAH, Samuel; WURAPA, Fredrick K. "Traditional Birth Attendants - A Key to Rural Maternal and Child Health and Family Planning Services." (Mimeo), Danfa Project, October 1973.

The paper reviews traditional birth attendants (TBA) training programs in many countries, and summarizes common problems. A current study of TBAs in the Danfa Comprehensive Rural Health and Family Planning Project, Ghana, is discussed. Authors note that Danfa TBAs average over 60 years of age and almost half of them were males. Eighty-ninety percent of all deliveries in the area were attended by untrained TBAs. Authors suggest reasons for high dependence on TBAs (and low attendance at government facilities) are: TBA lives close by; villagers trust TBAs more than government workers; TBAs include a degree of cultural sensitivity with their service that is lacking in government facilities. Areas for future research are outlined; paper concludes with a ten-point guideline for studying Ghanaian TBAs, training them in safer delivery techniques and involving them in government health services.

TWUMASI, Patrick Adubofour. "The Interrelationship between Scientific and Traditional Medical Systems: A Study of Ghana," Doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1971.

A lengthy but interesting sociological study of modern and traditional medical systems, especially in Ashanti, which provides much data on medicine in Ghana. Relevant to women inasmuch as traditional practitioners of various sorts may be women as well as men. Women also largest users of traditional medicine.

Author concludes:

1. Traditional medicine will never disappear from Ghana.
2. The limited utility of scientific medicine in the area of psychosomatic disorders leaves a relatively permanent area of chronic ills within which traditional medicine may survive at least in the rural areas.
3. Interaction between the two medical systems creates a division of function between traditional and scientific medical practices.
4. That a kind of pragmatism acts to help determine which method of treatment is followed by patients.

Sources of Medical Statistics and other pertinent information:

BEAUSOLEIL, Dr. E. G. "Some Aspects of Population and Health in Ghana," paper presented to the National Conference on Population, May 6-9, 1974.

MINISTRY OF HEALTH, Annual Report of the Medical Services of Ghana, 1967.

MINISTRY OF HEALTH, Medical Statistical Report, No. 1, 1967.

### 3.2 - Population and Family Planning:

BIRDSALL, Nancy. "Annotated Bibliography, Volume 2, No. 1. (An Introduction to the Social Science Literature on 'Woman's Place' and Fertility in the Developing World," Interdisciplinary Communications Program, Smithsonian Institution, September, 1974.

A selected and annotated bibliography of articles, monographs and books on the relationship between woman's place and fertility. Includes some citations on developed country data as background and a few entries from authors not interested directly in fertility, but providing various disciplinary views of woman's changing role. Most works cite the important influence of schooling and employment as being decisive factors in levels of fertility.

This publication includes a cogent introduction giving an overview of the literature, including significant gaps. Works are also cross-referenced with regard to area, eight works being cited as directly relevant to Sub-Saharan Africa. Four of these are cited elsewhere in this bibliography: Boserup, 1970; Caldwell, 1968; Little, 1973 and Paulme, 1963. None of the remaining works are directly relevant to Ghana but two works dealing with neighboring countries which might be hard to locate are reproduced here as they appear in the bibliography.

Diarra, Fatoumata-Agnes. n.d. "Femmes Africaines en Devenir: Les Femmes Zarma du Niger." Centre Nigerien de Recherches en Science Humaines, Niamey, Niger.

A Nigerian sociologist examines changing roles of women in a society in transition from traditional agriculture to modern. Excellent sections on women's attitudes toward bearing and rearing children. One of the best anthro-sociological studies of African women for those interested in population issues.

Olusanya, P. O. "Nigeria: Cultural barriers to family planning among the Yorubas," in Studies in Family Planning, the Population Council, New York, 1969, pp. 13-16.

Author maintains that male dominance among the Yorubas is one of two major cultural barriers to acceptance of modern family planning (the other being the value of children as "pillars" of the house). As demonstrated in male responses to 1966 interviews, a variant of male dominance (emphasis on female chastity and absolute faithfulness on the part of the wife) has led men to reject female contraception. Author recommends greater emphasis on male contraceptives.

BLEEK, W. "Perceptions and Practice of Birth Control in a Ghanaian Matrilineage," in The Neglected Sector: Family Planning Perception and Reaction at the Base, ed. by Jongmans, D.G. and Classon, H.J.M., Assen, van Gorarm, 1974.

Paper based on studies carried out by author among a Kwahu matrilineage. Provides an interesting perspective on marriage and family planning and a critique of Ghana's National Family Planning Program from the point of view of rural dwellers. Notes that strong marriage ties are in conflict with the maintenance of matrilineal descent groups and marriages among the group studied were unstable (56 percent of marriages studied had ended in divorce). Wives generally received \$12-\$18 per month from husbands, all wives were active in agriculture, some were also petty traders and they often contributed more than their husbands to the household. After divorce, fathers often failed to make even the minimum contribution of school fees and a school uniform to their child's upkeep. Fact that divorce likely to occur and father fails to help thereafter may make woman desire to limit number of children, recognizing potential burden on herself. However, "other side of coin" is fact marriage is for procreation and each new union must prove fertile.

Birth control associated with illicit sexual intercourse. Those in lawful union critical of it; however, when they had temporary unions, often practiced contraception as they do for extra-marital relationships. Twenty of 27 contraceptive users were practicing birth control only outside marriage and none were practicing birth control only within marriage. Birth control has a furtive and secretive character and is linked with abortion as need for both often arises in the same situations. Condom is linked with prostitution. Only 1 in 27 users obtained contraceptives from FP clinics -- all others purchased from stores where they might be as much as 10 times as expensive, and many preparations being used were of dubious value.

Author believes attempt by family planning program to enhance image of small nuclear family only useful with elite and sub-elite who are in relatively stable unions and obstructs interest of average Ghanaian. Methods need to be found to make contraceptives readily available and individuals knowledgeable about how they are used. Suggests more use should be made of the image of the medical doctor in promoting family planning as they are widely trusted.

CALDWELL, John C. Population Growth and Family Change in Africa: The New Urban Elite in Ghana, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1968.

From a survey of the new urban elite of Ghana, undertaken in the early 60's, major findings were:

1. Elite couples married relatively late: 20-24 years of age for women; 25-29 for males.
2. Half or more respondents felt that economic development would probably be assisted if Ghanaians had fewer children, but did not proceed to the conclusion that it would be preferable if there were fewer children.
3. Notes and describes the type of social change that influences the modern urban elite, giving rise to "the turning in of the nuclear family's interest upon itself" so that half-elite families lived in households of parents and children without other relatives.
4. Families reported financial strain of educating children; among elite this strain stronger, since parents wish to prepare children for high status, urban occupations.
5. Despite financial burden, frequent or unexpected pregnancy not regarded as a major disaster in most elite families; on the other hand, only about one-third of husbands or wives in marriages where pregnancy did not currently exist wishes the position were otherwise.
6. About one-third of respondents claimed to have tried to prevent pregnancy at some time and about one-fourth were currently using contraceptives; although author found that no definite association between family size and use of contraceptives could be shown.
7. Readiness to prevent conception is much more common than successful efforts to do so. Over two-thirds of all respondents favor the establishment of family planning clinics, and almost three-fifths expect to use them.

Major conclusions were:

1. The smaller incidence of family planning among less educated, the rural born and first generation elite members does not indicate a desire for relatively large families, but reflects this group's general problems of coping with recent social change. Members of this group show willingness to control births, if methods simple enough and if public acceptance exists. Similar problems exist for other sub-groups, i.e., Catholics; spouses in polygamous or unstable marriages.
2. Problems of communication between spouses almost certainly cause both husbands and wives to underestimate each other's ability to innovate, either in action or communication.

CALDWELL, John C. "Population Change and Rural Transformation in Ghana," mimeo, The Population Council, 1970.

Provides, inter alia, interesting data on marriage ages and effects of urban migration.

Notes that in rural Ghana, whether married or not, women operate as productive units, and that early marriage is less likely to withdraw a woman from production than to ensure that she becomes a part of a new family production unit, and is probably thus less likely to migrate.

Gives following ages at first marriage:

Countrywide: just under 17 years  
Traditional, subsistence areas of the North: under 15  
Cash crop areas of the South: over 17  
Poor areas, major urban: 18  
Better-off areas, major urban: over 20

Notes that migration of men from the North, either to urban areas or to newly developing cocoa areas, has led to a male deficit from 12 to 20 percent. This migration, together with a lack of cheap transport facilities, has had a significant effect on fertility rates.

GAISIE, S. K., et al. The National Demographic Sample Survey, 1968-9, Vol. 1, General Report, Demographic Unit, Department of Sociology, University of Ghana, Legon, 1970.

In the absence of the detailed results of the 1970 census, provides an excellent source of country-wide statistics on women, including demographic data and data on education, household composition and economic activity. Most data broken down by sex and urban/rural areas; comparisons frequently made with 1960 census results.

GAISIE, S. K., JONES, S. B. "Ghana," (Country Profiles), The Population Council, New York, 1970.

Summarizes, in easily assimilated format, general population characteristics, including rural/urban distribution, religious and ethnic composition, economic status and future population trends. Relates population growth to social and economic development, specifically to national income, labor force, education and health. Discusses factors involved in the development of a national population policy.

Population estimates given:

1970 - 9.5 million  
1980 - 13.6 million  
1990 - 19.7 million  
2000 - 28.9 million

Ghana's crude birth rate (based on 1960 data) between 47-52 per 1000.  
 Total fertility rate between 6.5 and 7.5  
 Rate of natural increase ranged between 3.0 and 3.5 percent per annum  
 between 1967 and 1969.  
 Life expectancy was approximately 40 years in 1960.

GAISIE, S. K. "Determinants of Population Growth in Ghana," Doctoral  
 dissertation, Australian National University, Canberra, February 1973.

A very long and detailed study based on data collected by the author in  
 the 1968/9 National Demographic Sample Survey (cited elsewhere in this  
 bibliography).

Provides data on general demographic and socio-economic characteristics of  
 the Ghanaian population: fertility; mortality; age structure; population  
 growth and population projections; family planning knowledge, attitudes  
 and practice (KAP).

Summary of major findings:

1. Estimated Fertility Levels (1960s)

	<u>Range</u>
Crude birth rate	49 - 51
Total fertility ratio	6.7 - 7.1
Gross reproduction rate	3.4 - 3.6
Net reproduction rate	2.0 - 2.4

2. Estimated Mortality Levels (1960s)

Crude death rate	19 - 20
Infant mortality	133
Child mortality (between 1 and 4 years old)	72 - 95
Expectation of life at birth	47 years

3. Population Growth

Rate of natural increase estimated at 2.7 percent p.a. in early 60s;  
 rising to between 2.9 and 3.0 percent p.a. in late 60s.

4. Population Projections

Rate of natural increase would go up to 3.4 percent p.a. between 1980  
 and 1985, largely attributable to declines in crude death rate. A  
 reduction in fertility of 42 percent (unlikely) between 1985 and 2000

would result in a natural increase of 2.3 percent in 2000. If fertility is not decreased by between 40 percent and 57 percent by 2000, the rate of growth would increase to between 3.6 percent and 3.9 percent in that year, and the population would have more than doubled in less than 25 years.

#### 5. Some Socio-Economic Implications of the Population Projections

- a) Suggests a likely increase in pre-school age population: 2 million in 1975; between 3.1 and 3.5 million in 1990, with implications for limited health, social and education resources of the country.
- b) Primary and secondary school-age populations: the increase in these numbers will put an increased demand on educational facilities so that it is "unlikely that Ghana will achieve universal primary education before the end of the century," and that a large proportion of children of the appropriate age will not receive secondary education.
- c) Labor force in 1960 was estimated at 3.1 million; by 2000 is estimated at 11.0 million. This will put increasing pressure on the employment market and require extra capital for equipment and training of additional workers "in order to maintain the level of output per worker of the existing labor force whose productive capacity even now needs considerable improvement."

#### 6. Family Planning

- a) A strong link established between social and economic modernization and awareness of the population problem including practice of family planning or birth control.
- b) Desire for more children considerably influenced by the size of the existing family. This desire stronger in rural areas and less-developed Regions (i.e. Upper, Northern and Brong-Ahafo.) Notes that except for Accra Capital District, more than 60 percent of respondents desired six or more children, this proportion being one of the highest recorded in KAP studies in developing countries.
- c) Modern family planning knowledge, attitude and practice is highly restricted in Ghana. Urban dwellers, younger women and the better educated are all more knowledgeable than rural dwellers, older women and the less educated.
- d) A large proportion (over three-fifths) of women were opposed to family planning or family limitation.
- e) Only 5 percent of women had ever practiced birth control, motivated mainly to space pregnancies and/or to avoid pregnancies immediately after childbirth.
- f) Major determining factors for the adoption of family planning practices in future are extended formal education, urbanization and general socio-economic advancement. (This finding in line with other Ghana KAP studies.)

(For several convincing social and institutional reasons why fertility will probably not decline in Ghana in the future, see Gaisie, S.K., "Social Structure and Fertility," Ghana Journal of Sociology, Vol. 4, No. 2, October 1968, pp. 88-99).

GERMAIN, Adrienne and SMOCK, Audrey. "The Status and Roles of Ghanaian and Kenyan Women: Implications for Fertility Behaviour." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association on "Women's Status and Fertility Around the World," September 1, 1974.

Uses Kenya and Ghana as examples to examine the theory that women with access to roles other than motherhood, and whose status does not chiefly rest on the number of children they bear, will have fewer children.

Includes a "Profile of Ghanaian Women," presented historically, which would serve as an excellent background source for any research into the role of women in Ghana. Aspects covered include women's status in traditional society, the influence of colonialization and Nkrumah, and the present position with respect to education and employment in the traditional and modern sectors. Based on wide-ranging and up-to-date bibliography.

Presents detailed demographic information. Follows Pool and Caldwell in noting effects of education and urbanization on positive responses to family planning programs. Suggest that such programs should be better run to reach more women, to take advantage of potential desire, especially of younger women, to have few children; however, authors feel that even if programs are run optimally they will not achieve the fertility reduction desired by the two countries "without specific measures that would increase couples' motivation to practice family planning." They further note that high infant mortality is a disincentive for contraceptive use.

To test theory, authors, giving theoretical reasons, hypothesize a) that women's education is correlated with lower fertility, and b) that women's employment is correlated with lower fertility.

Authors find that data from Kenya and Ghana tend to support a) above although cultural pressures in some rural areas may be stronger than the effects of education. Other factors, in conjunction with education, found to be relevant, i.e., age of respondents and urban/rural residence. Level of education also important.

The relationship between fertility and employment was found to be complex. Authors regret lack of specific research in either country. Suggest that currently for both countries, motherhood (which is a crucial role for all women) does not conflict with work roles, in that women are not forced to choose between two roles. Cite Pool in suggesting that fertility related to "a constellation of factors associated with modernization" such as wife's

motivation for working, her approval of non-domestic roles for women, the division of labor and decision-making in the family, the amount and type of education she has received. To the argument that not enough time has elapsed for modern education and activity to have had an effect on fertility behavior, authors feel that "there is not much hope that secondary and higher education as well as rewarding employment will soon be available to the masses of women in Ghana or Kenya."

Authors recommend:

Broader policy to take into account existing data on importance of women's education and employment.

Research into roles played by, e.g., kinship structures, traditional child-spacing practices, nature of women's traditional work, value of children, urbanization, liberal labor laws.

Full involvement of women in the development process.

Finally suggest that reducing women's dependence on children by increasing the productivity of the labor they currently do, and increasing their education, may be critical first steps in reducing fertility.

KUMEKPOR, Tom K. "Rural Women and Attitudes to Family Planning, Contraceptive Practices and Abortion in Southern Togo," Department of Sociology, University of Ghana, Legon, December 1970.

Pilot survey in Ewe area of Togo, bordering Ghana. Almost 300 women of all ages interviewed. From questionnaire data concludes that women had large number of children at very short intervals. Most would prefer children spaced around three-year intervals, their primary reason being the health of the mother and secondarily the health of the child (most concern was for health of first born). Author suggests women know the consequences of having children too close together, but do not know how to prevent this, or do not have the means to achieve spacing without "too much physical, psychological, emotional and matrimonial hardships to themselves."

KUMEKPOR, Tom K. with TWUM-BAAH, S.L.A. "A Study of the Views and Attitudes of the Emergent Educated Elite, on Family Planning, Contraceptive Practice, Abortion and Sex Education (A Case Study of the Students of the University of Ghana)," Current Research Report Series, No. 3, Department of Sociology, University of Ghana, Legon, 1972.

Summary of major findings: on questions pertaining to family planning and contraceptive use, a lower percentage of women (although not very much lower) students were interested, or used, or desired more information, than male students; fewer female students favored abortion than male students; female students in general desired smaller families than males.

MAY, Jacques M. "Contribution of Family Planning to Health and Nutrition," Office of Population, Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C., 1974.

Aimed at researchers interested in developing countries, the paper reviews major research on nutritional requirements of women during pregnancy and lactation, including studies that stress the need for child spacing to allow women to recover from pregnancies. Summarizes consequences of unfulfilled requirements on maternal and child health, including high death rates for mothers and poor physical and mental development for surviving children.

Extensive bibliography. Tabular data on mean birth weights in various developing countries.

OPPONG, C. "Attitudes to Family Size among Unmarried Junior Civil Servants," Paper read at third interdisciplinary family research seminar, March 1973. (Forthcoming in Legon Family Research Papers, No. 4, ed. by Engberg, L., see Section 3.1.)

Study based on two parallel samples, one of men (80 clerical officers) and one of women (78 nurses) made in Accra. Author found that the ideal family size of the respondees was 4, and the number desired ranged from 2-6 among women to 2-15 among men. Over 90 percent approved of planning the size of their families. Half of the women and 37 percent of the men complained of the current concentration of the family planning program on women and suggested more attention should be paid to the husband and couple. Author suggests more emphasis should be placed in family planning motivational material on the hazards to mother and child of pregnancies after the mother has reached 35, as only one-third of the respondents thought women should stop having children after that age. As compared with Accra natives, immigrants to Accra from rural areas (most spatially mobile) with non-clerical or non-professional fathers (most socially mobile) want a smaller number of children. Most mobile sector even wants fewer children than it thinks to be ideal. Immigrants were also paying out more to kin -- a one-way flow of resources. They were more achievement oriented and felt more economically insecure.

OPPONG, C. "Nursing Mothers: Aspects of the Conjugal and Maternal Roles of Nurses in Accra," paper written for the Canadian African Studies Association Meeting, Toronto, February 1975.

Data presented is based upon a questionnaire survey of married nurses carried out in Korle Bu Teaching Hospital in Accra in 1972 to which there were 185 respondents. Deals with problems married nurses have in combining motherhood with full-time employment, and aspects of their relationships with their husbands. Major portion deals with attitudes toward family

planning and size of family. Nurses had a much more positive attitude toward family planning and smaller families than do most Ghanaians (see Gaisie above), the modal number of children desired was four, and a majority had used contraceptives (or their husbands had) at some time during their married lives. Those who desired the smallest families differed from the others in the sample mainly in terms of the jointness of their marital relationships (decisions and expenditures made jointly with husbands) and their concern with the problems of raising children. A fuller presentation of the data this paper is based on and the questionnaire used in making the survey is contained in another report: Oppong, C., "A Pilot Study of Family Systems Planning and Size in Accra: The Case of Married Nurses," a report submitted to the Ghana National Family Planning Program in January 1975.

POOL, D. I. "Ghana: The Attitudes of Urban Males Toward Family Size and Family Limitation," pp. 12-18, in Studies in Family Planning, The Population Council, December 1970.

Article presents data collected in Accra in 1966, plus more recent material collected by other authors. Some major implications of findings were:

1. Majority of urban Ghanaians, male and female, favor the idea of a "small" family, although the actual number of children desired is relatively large by non-African standards. Marked difference between urban and rural respondents and between population as a whole and more modern segments. For example, those wanting seven or more children were 42 percent rural women, 30 percent urban males with no education and 4 percent urban males with secondary or higher education.
2. In general Ghanaian men have more liberal attitudes toward family limitation than Ghanaian women and thus action programs should not ignore men.
3. The target population for action programs exists among young men who are educated and highly skilled, particularly those from Southern Ghana. Many peers of this target group have not yet formulated their ideas on family size; publicity would be most usefully directed at such groups.

SNYDER, Donald W. "Economic Determinants of Family Size in West Africa," Demography, Vol. 11, No. 4, November 1974, pp. 613-629.

A study to test the theory of fertility that postulates incomes and prices (broadly defined) as the important determinants of family size. A survey of 717 predominantly urban households in Sierra Leone. Husband's education was taken as proxy for income: wife's education and wife's wage rate taken as "price" of a child. Findings tended to support the theory, but certain peculiarities indicated a need for further research.

VICKERY, Edward. "Fertility Determinants in West Africa: The Case of Biriwa, Ghana," (to be published). (Mimeo, 1974.)

Survey data collected at the household level in a Ghanaian fishing village to permit analysis by means of a simultaneous equation model of fertility behavior. Elasticity of desired family size, actual family size, females' contribution to household earnings and contraceptive use were estimated from the resultant multiple regression coefficients. Policy relevance of results presented in conclusion.

Some major findings were that males in the sample desired larger families, reported larger actual families and approved less of contraception than did females. Males also tended to marry later, obtain more formal schooling, contributed a larger part of total household income, and were more often household heads. The means for desired family size were: males - 7.4 children; females - 5.7 children. Author tentatively suggests that more research attention should be allocated to determining attitudes of males towards family formation, especially since findings contradict other research in Ghana.

Useful bibliography.

The VICTOR BOSTROM Fund for the International Planned Parenthood Federation, "Family Planning: Improving Opportunities for Women," Report 18, Spring 1974.

Contains articles by seven female authors on various aspects of interrelationships between family planning and the status of women. All articles polemical, but interesting. Paper "Changing Roles of Women in Africa" by A. R. Jlagge describes traditional African attitudes towards large families, and ways in which attitudes have changed. Deplores the low percentage of women participating in formal education, and discusses reasons why girls drop out. Briefly discusses economic activities of women in Ghana, and calls on African governments to give priority to the development and implementation of long-term programs for the advancement of women.

### 3.3 - Nutrition:

COMMITTEE on Maternal Nutrition, Food and Nutrition Board, National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences, "Annotated Bibliography on Maternal Nutrition," U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1970.

Materials selected from Index Medicus from 1958-1968, although some previously-published material included. Only materials in English included; information published in popular magazines excluded. Organized by topics. Overwhelming majority of studies undertaken in the United States.

DAVEY, P.L.H. "A Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations of the National Nutrition Surveys of 1961 and 1962," Document 2 of the proceedings of the National Food and Nutrition Conference held in Accra, 1974. (Forthcoming in Conference Proceedings, see Ofusu-Amaah, S., below.)

Singles out "vulnerable" groups in field of nutrition, first one of which are pregnant and lactating mothers.

Examining nutritonal status by occupation, found:

1. Wage earners and self-employed men, petty traders and other self-employed women had best nutritional status.
2. Farmers, both men and women, had worst(!)
3. The unemployed were a little better.
4. Fishermen and housewives were only slightly lower than the best.

Suggests that some 40 percent of female petty traders in Accra and the large towns are overweight, some grossly so. (This group only overweight people in Ghana.)

Recommends:

1. Methods to increase food production
2. Making available Vitamin A sources for the North
3. Introduction of better preservation and processing methods
4. Improved distribution
5. Education aimed primarily at pregnant mothers, for themselves and weaning children
6. Government assistance in the provision of cheap protein-rich supplements for children and mothers.

GORDON, G. "Nutrition Education in the Upper Region," The Home Scientist, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1973, pp. 7-14.

Presents data on nutrition status and relationship to various socio-economic status factors of parents in Bawku, Upper Region. Concludes that scarcity of water, seasonal goods shortages, high incidence of infection among children and heavy workload for women are the most important limiting factors for improved child nutrition.

Also presents detailed description of daily activities of women at home, on farm and off farm, with list of major problems and potential solutions. Presents a clear picture of the situation of women in rural Northern Ghana.

Article based on detailed study by author which is fully presented in Gordon, G., "An Evaluation of Nutrition Education Given to Pregnant and Nursing Women in Six Communities in the Upper Region of Ghana," MSc. thesis, University of Ghana, 1973 (unpublished).

GORDON, G. "Nutrition in Relation to Agricultural Production," mimeo, about 1973.

Using information gathered from author's experience working with Christian Service Committee project in the Upper Region, suggests that in the North nutritious food is grown, but not in sufficient quantity, and that seasonal variations have strong effect on nutrition status.

Discusses prevalence and effects of malnutrition in Northern Ghana. Notes significant difference between birth weights of children born in hungry season and those born in harvest season, mainly due to malnourishment of mother, but also to higher incidence of malaria in the hungry, rainy season. Quantity of breast milk also lower in hungry season. Notes that the nutrition program, which requires mothers to put more effort into feeding their children, has least chance of being effective in the hungry season when women must conserve all their energy for farming and trading in order to feed the family at all.

Outlines basic nutrition of the area and content of nutrition education, main targets of which are pregnant women and mothers of children under five. Relates factors affecting the nutritional status of families and children: size and composition of family, resources of family, food losses through infestations and ignorance of nutritional values. Gives information gathered from a survey undertaken in the hungry season of 1973. Outlines action program to prevent hunger and starvation, with particular emphasis on growing legumes and vegetables. Urges interlinkage of agriculture, nutrition and health in presentations of extension workers and educational seminars.

OFUSU-AMAAH, S. (ed.) Proceedings of the National Food and Nutrition Conference, Accra, Ghana, April 8-10, 1974 (in publication).

Conference theme was "Nutrition and the Development of Ghana." The Proceedings include papers presented at the Plenary Sessions, the ensuing discussion of each paper, reports of the deliberations of the workshops, and background papers including reports on the nutritional situation in each of the regions of Ghana. Provides an up-to-date profile of nutrition in Ghana. Of particular interest with respect to women are:

Omololu, A. "Malnutrition and the Nation," describes nutritional problems of females and effect upon children from perspective sub-Saharan Africa.

Baddoo, M. A. "The Pattern of Malnutrition in Ghana" provides inter alia a detailed description of the nutritional problems of pregnant females in Ghana.

Idusogie, E. O. "Traditional Customs, Social and Food Habits Related to Malnutrition in Ghana," provides general background to nutritional situation in Ghana, covering historical and social factors which affect food intake and the quality of food eaten, including the role of women as food processors.

Dako, D. Y., and Watson, J. D. "Baafi: A Case Study in the Assessment of Nutritional Status" provides an insight into specific dietary problems in Ghana and graphically portrays the inadequate diets of pregnant and nursing mothers.

Ofosu-Amaah, Dr. S. "The Effect of Malnutrition on the Community," concerned mainly with the medical and health effects of malnutrition on children but also discusses the effect upon pregnant women. Contains interesting calculation on the economic value of breast milk produced by Ghanaian women which suggests it would cost Ghana ₵ 62 million per annum in foreign exchange to replace breast milk with formula.

ROSA, Franz W., and MEREDETH TURSHEN, "Fetal Nutrition," Bulletin of the World Health Organization, Vol. 23, 1970, pp. 785-795.

Reviews international literature on nutrition in pregnancy. Recent research suggests that infants developmentally retarded before birth suffer in their long-term development. Worldwide statistics (including Ghana) are presented. Although a definite correlation was found between socio-economic status of parents' and child's birthweight, it is not known whether small birthweights of low socio-economic status groups could be improved by nutrition. Authors give general advice on maternal nutrition and family planning, giving also FAO/WHO figures for nutrients required during periods of pregnancy and lactation.

VAHLQUIST, Bo (ed), Nutrition: A Priority in African Development, the Dag Hammerskjold Foundation, Uppsala, 1972.

Presents papers of the 1972 Hammerskjold Foundation Seminar on nutrition, organized into three parts: Problems of Human Malnutrition, Factors Involved in Problem Solution, and The Necessity of Integration.

"Nutrition as a Priority in National Development" by Fred T. Sai (pp 137-149) presents some Ghana-specific information.

#### 4. WOMEN AND THE ECONOMY

##### 4.1 - Agriculture:

BENNEH, Dr. George. "Environment and Agricultural Development in the Savannah Regions of Ghana," annotated bibliography sponsored jointly by the Natural Resources Committee of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and USAID/Ghana, November, 1974.

A multi-disciplinary annotated bibliography of publications, periodicals and other documents covering the following areas: environment, ecology, meteorology, agriculture and socio-economic conditions and trends in the savannah zones of Ghana and adjacent areas.

An inclusive bibliography, with sources taken from Tamale and Kumasi archives, all university libraries, etc. Notations detailed. Relevant sections on land tenure and social organizations.

BOATENG, E.G. "Agricultural Practices and Population Growth: The Ghana Case," paper given at the Seminar on Population Growth and Economic Development, Nairobi, Kenya, 1969. Mimeo.

Given the problems of increased population and relatively stagnant rate of economic growth, author cites three approaches to solutions: increased industrialization, agricultural improvement, curtailment of population growth. Author favors agricultural development coupled with rural development. Supports argument with detailed description of agriculture, with description of problems, especially those of the small-scale farmer. Concludes that "agriculture cannot afford any longer to remain a primitive subsistence activity; it must become commercialized and brought within the range of modern scientific discoveries and techniques. Equally...rural life...must be made sufficiently attractive to induce people with capital and ability to enter this sector of the economy."

It is noteworthy that in this clear and well-argued paper, NO mention at all is made of the role of women.

BOGAARDS, J. N. "Report on an Inquiry into the Farms of Some Kusasi Farmers," mimeo, Deventer, Netherlands, December 1969. (A paper prepared at the request of K. A. Rigters, project leader of the Garu Agricultural Station, Upper Region.)

An in-depth, relatively informal study of five farmers in the Garu Station area. Careful, detailed research, with author conducting his own field work, staying in farm compounds, etc.

Findings pertaining to women:

Women's role in agriculture is limited to sowing crops, also cultivating small plots of rice and groundnuts. Clearing, weeding and cutting for harvest are male jobs.

Women are economically independent, although occasionally wives may receive cash from husbands. Women may also occasionally help husbands, although if women invest in livestock (i.e., sheep, goats) these will be kept in the father's compound so that husband will not claim them as his own.

Women are responsible for cooking for themselves, their children and husbands. Most Kusasi farmers have several wives, which is a sign of prosperity. Large compounds are also a sign of wealth since each wife has a separate hut within the compound.

Women brew pito (a local beer of fermented guinea corn) for profit, family and "invited" labor from neighboring compounds.

Women are given weekly amounts of staples from the family stores by their husbands. Women are responsible for procuring additions to the staples in food preparation.

Women are also responsible for home care, child care, cooking, taking care of visitors, fetching water and firewood.

Both men and women go to market, women slightly more often. Men go to eat, drink, see friends, maybe buy parts for tools. Women go to buy and sell foodstuffs, cloth, pots.

In addition to the sale of foodstuffs, some women sell sheabutter, pots and pito.

Author recommends that women be involved in extension work only with respect to crop sowing techniques.

(This paper also contains a painstakingly detailed analysis of the budgets of the five farm compounds.)

BUKH, Jette. "Awudome Rural Development Project: An Evaluation," Institute of Adult Education Monographs, No. 5, University of Ghana, Legon, 1973.

An evaluation of the Institute of Adult Education's Rural Development Project in the Awudome area. In a thoughtful and constructive evaluation, a detailed picture of the situation and problems of small farmers (mostly

male, some female) is presented, based on questionnaire administered at a "One-day School." Useful for the detailed responses given by those for whom the experiences provided by the project were not effective. Author recommends having demonstration farm small to be more relevant to small farmer, and also use of local channels of communication. Clear, simple facts and conclusions.

DALTON, G. E., and PARKER, R. N. "Agriculture in Southeast Ghana, Vol. II, Special Studies," Development Study No. 13, Department of Agricultural Economics and Marketing, University of Reading, 1973.

This is a technical publication, but two of the five chapters contain inter alia information pertaining to women in development. Of particular interest is the chapter on "Catchment Systems for Rural Water Supplies" which describes the time-consuming nature to women of their responsibility for providing water, and the economic cost of this inefficient system which is above and beyond its cost in terms of poor public health. The researchers found that women were spending an average of 46 minutes a day carrying water, which represented 20 percent of the time they spent on directly productive labor (domestic chores were not considered to be directly productive labor). The women indicated that they would spend 57 percent of any additional time they had on directly productive labor so the researchers estimated each household would make an additional \$609 per year if they developed a roof catchment system for rainwater. Most of the houses in the village had corrugated roofs which the women used to collect rainwater by putting pots under the eaves. However, a major reason why catchment systems had not been developed was that it was the responsibility of women to carry water while it would be the responsibility of men to put up bamboo guttering and purchase the barrels for storing water. The chapter on the "Charcoal Burning Industry" describes the inputs of the women into the industry and the benefits they received from it. (Earnings for this industry was the basis for the estimated \$609 in extra income above.)

DE WILDE, John C. Experiences with Agricultural Development in Tropical Africa, Vol. 1, The Synthesis, Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1967.

A study undertaken for IBRD of the problems of small-scale agricultural development in tropical Africa, with detailed studies of Kenya, Uganda, Mali, Upper Volta, Chad and Ivory Coast. Chapters include: The State of Knowledge; The Rural Society; Factors Affecting Receptivity and Incentives to Change; Implements and Machinery; Land Tenure and Agricultural Extension Training and Education. Analysis based on evaluations of past projects and programs.

In section on rural society, fully acknowledges contribution of women as agricultural laborers and stresses need for women to be included in extension efforts. Also discusses their importance in trading, although maintaining that female marketing of food products does not significantly

affect allocation of productive resources. Identifies sex-determined roles in agriculture as bottleneck to increased production. Praises Farmers' Training Centers in Kenya for providing training opportunities for women. Also advocates short courses for both men and women to be attended separately as time permits in new crops and new methods. Finally recommends that efforts be made to ensure the women an adequate and regular share in the farm's cash income so that women will improve the nutrition of their family's diet, and thus create effective rural demand for nutritious crops.

DUMOR, E. and AMONOO, E. "The Focus and Concentrate Programme in the Somanya District, (Evaluation of an Extension Programme)," Centre for Development Studies, Research Report Series, No. 14, University of Cape Coast, 1973.

In a general evaluation paper, includes an interesting description of maize marketing in the area, i.e., Agomanya, Eastern Region.

Maize sellers, who are women, are headed by a commodity queen who has no control over the volume of produce or the price of produce sold in the market. She does, however, organize the sharing of produce among sellers and gives assistance to the families of any seller who dies. She receives no remuneration for this job. In this area, author notes, sellers are not well organized, and that except in times of real scarcities, it is a buyers' market. Buyers are "Accra women" who employ an agent who is usually a man with wide experience in the maize trade. Buyers deposit money and bags with agent and stipulate a price each day. Sellers have little alternative but to accept this price due to lack of storage facilities. In this area, hired storage facilities are six pesawas a day. Buyer often cheats the seller by using larger bags.

HARDIMANN, M. "A Preliminary Study of the Role of Women in Some Akan Rural Communities," in Domestic Rights and Duties in Southern Ghana, Legon Family Research Papers, No. 1, Christine Oppong (ed), Institute of African Studies, Legon, 1974.

Notes that the economic independence of women is a striking feature of Akan society, and investigates the effect that this has had on the women themselves, their families and communities. Poses questions with respect to the effect of social change on female's positions, equal economic opportunities for females, and current influence in the power structure of the community.

Data is used from studies in three communities -- one in Akwapim and two in Brong Ahafo.

Results show that in household arrangements in many cases lead to a far greater involvement of the mother and her kinfolk with the children, especially where marriage is breaking down or broken, but that it is the norm for the father to pay educational expenses and to make the major cash contribution to the household if he is living in the same household as his family.

Most of the women regard farming as their main occupation and regularly go to the farm at least four days a week. Women are at a disadvantage in exploiting cash crops, following Boserup, 1970.

Concludes that social change so far has not greatly benefited women in rural areas, migration has taken many males from the villages, higher education has favored boys rather than girls and rural social services have lagged behind those of the towns. Change has tended to leave the women in the position of "holder-together" of both the household and the family farm.

HILL, Polly. "Women Cocoa Farmers," in The Economic Bulletin, Ghana, Vol. 2, No. 6, 1958, pp 3-5.

Gives statistics and analysis of women cocoa farmers derived from 1948 census data. In some areas (i.e. Effiduassie, Suhien, Asamankese and Kibi) the census indicated that there were more female than male cocoa farmers.

HILL, Polly. Migrant Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana, Cambridge University Press, 1963.

A study of migrant farmers who, according to the author, are the real innovators of the world's largest cocoa-growing industry, from the 1890's to the present.

Presents data of female cocoa farmers: of non-migrant farmers, nearly half were women farmers in their own right, cultivating farms of one to three acres. Notes that women only occasionally invest their trading profits in the purchase of land, and then usually through the agency of men. Suggests that in West Africa it is unusual for women to be formally associated for economic reasons although small trading partnerships among women are common. Concludes, "Commercial though the behavior of women is in many ways, they lack a commercial attitude towards land."

Notes that women exert significant power in role of custodian of husband's or lineage's land, and that many men leave their farms in full charge of their wives while they travel about managing work on their various lands.

Suggests that profits from oil palm production gave men the capital for cocoa land purchases, for although women assisted in the preparation of the oil, it was not "theirs to sell" as with other crops.

HUME, Professor D. J. "Food Supply and Population Growth -- The Case of Ghana." A paper given at the Eighth Annual Home Science Conference held in Accra in April, 1974, and reprinted in the Home Scientist, Vol. 3, Nos. 1 and 2, January-June 1974.

Professor at the Crop Science Department of Legon is concerned that agriculture will not keep pace with population growth. Tables and statistics are presented giving crop production for Ghana in 1970-72, including percentage of losses in harvesting, storage, transportation, marketing, fire, smuggling. Also gives figures on food imports.

Concludes:

1. Available food in Ghana does not fulfill requirements of the population at present. To maintain only the status quo, food production must increase as fast as population growth, which author estimates as growing from 2.4 to 2.7 percent per annum.
2. Dislocation in the food distribution system must be overcome if the urban population is not to be more poorly nourished than its rural counterpart.

Recommends:

1. Emphasis on the subsistence or near subsistence farmer. Calls for education in techniques and nutrition to encourage more protein in the diet, more work and higher production.
2. Agriculture must be made attractive. Describes a program in which school leavers would group together to contract for agricultural labor by the job rather than by the day. Calls for incentives to work efficiently, and means to encourage saving of capital for future farming by school leavers.

KAMARK, Andrew M. The Economics of African Development, New York, 1967.

Contains an interesting and clear chapter on agriculture in which the author fully explores the influence and importance of the African female farmer.

Since traditionally women are responsible for feeding families by their agricultural labors, and men derive income from cultivating cash crops, the author suggests that the rural family should be virtually regarded as two separate enterprises, with two separate labor forces.

Since the female farmer can derive cash benefit from selling surplus food, she will be unwilling to switch into cash crops, which would rather benefit her husband, and will also be unwilling to contribute labor to his farm, and vice versa. The author notes, however, that the great desire to send children to school, with school fees taking up to 50 percent of a family's cash income, may force husband and wife together to work on cash crops.

Notes that many "progressive" farmers are female "sole" farmers, i.e., widows, or those with husbands in wage employment. Suggests that this is due to the fact that woman is getting full benefit of returns to the farm and that she has no problems of different elements of labor and income so that the farm is operated as a single management unit, and thus is more efficient. Such women often seek and follow extension officers' advice.

MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, GHANA, "Programme of Work for the Home Extension Unit," 1975.

A publication designed for use by the Home Extension Officer in executing the Home Extension Programme in the field. This work is cited to show the recent interest shown by the Ministry of Agriculture in the role of women as farmers, by providing a corps of female agricultural extension workers. The publication gives a brief account of the need for officers to receive education in Agricultural Extension and further describes the program as it is designed to operate in the field. The clientele to be reached by the Home Extension Programme are farm women and farm youth; the material to be used covers three project areas: nutrition in relation to food production and diet improvement; food production, processing, preservation and storage; management of resources in the farm and home.

NYANTENG, V. K., VAN APELDOORN, G. J., "The Farmer and the Marketing of Foodstuffs," Technical Publication Series No. 19, Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research, University of Ghana, Legon, 1971.

Three hundred fifty farmers and sixty traders interviewed in Mampong and Atebubu agricultural districts in 1970. The following also interviewed: local leaders, agricultural officers, managers of commercial farms, transport owners and drivers.

Found both areas to be surplus production areas for rice, yams, maize. Farmers grew variety of crops for subsistence, concentrated on a few crops for sale.

Found following production problems: general lack of capital, lack of roads, lack of drinking water. Authors suggest that unless these overcome, self-help schemes in area will be largely ineffective.

Concerning marketing, authors note deficiencies in storage, loading and handling facilities. Bulk of sales was to private traders whose greatest problem was lack of capital for improved transportation. Concerning prices, authors note that price differential throughout the year was so great that farmers who could afford to store would make profits providing they could reduce heavy storage losses.

Farmers market a variety of crops; given insecure prices, this policy is a sound one. Much produce processed before sale. Buyers not always readily available. Dealings between farmers and traders are characterized by individual bargaining often in isolation. Credit forms an important aspect of the relations between traders and farmers because lack of capital is one of the farmers' most important problems, and the trader is his most important source of credit.

Farmers' marketing problems include transportation, insecure prices, poor storage, lack of buyers and low frequency of buyers' visits, "cheating" -- authors suggest problems interrelated, lead to low bargaining power for farmer. Farmers say, "We farm for other people to benefit."

Authors note that marketing bottleneck defeats the object of increasing marketed food supplies; long-term development objectives become more difficult to obtain since farmers are denied the possibility of accumulating capital needed for envisaged changes.

It is noteworthy that throughout the report authors do not once refer to the role of women in marketing foodstuffs. Sex was noted only on the questionnaire for traders!

OKALI, C., KOTEY, R.A. "Okokoaso: A Resurvey," Technical Publications Series, No. 15, I.S.S.E.R., University of Ghana, Legon, 1971.

A restudy of a village in the Eastern Region to update and compare with a 1930's study by W. H. Backett, with particular emphasis on cocoa farming.

In this area, female cocoa farmers predominantly own smaller acreages than men, and produce smaller loads. Other women are left in charge of cocoa farms owned by brothers or husbands who have migrated to towns; these women are often unable to tend the cocoa since they are too busy with their own farms and family, and the farm owners do not send enough money to hire labor, which at that time was 65 pesawas per day.

OLU-OKEDIJI, F. "Social Factors in Food Production and Consumption in Tropical Africa," a paper given at the Eighth Annual Home Science Conference held in Accra in April 1974, and reprinted in The Home Scientist, Vol. 3, Nos. 1 and 2, January-June 1974.

Presents a history of social factors affecting food production and consumption in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times. Criticizes post-colonial Ministries of Agriculture for being "dependent" on former colonial masters, and for not effecting an agricultural breakthrough.

Briefly examines the influence of socio-economic status on food consumption and cultural influences on food habits and consumption. Recommends:

- a) a new concept of GNP to include the eradication of poverty, disease, etc.
- b) modernization of agriculture to provide adequate production of foodstuffs.
- c) improvement of communications to facilitate foodstuff distribution.
- d) rural industries based on rural resources, to lead to increased rural income, to lead to increased rural purchasing power, and hence to increased rural nutrition. Less imported foodstuffs would save foreign exchange which could then be invested in agriculture.
- e) nutrition education programs to overcome cultural patterns.
- f) control of food advertisements which mislead illiterate mothers.

ROURKE, B. E. and OBENG, F. A. "Seasonality in the Employment of Casual Agricultural Labour in Ghana," Research Report No. 1, Department of Agricultural Economics and Farm Management, University of Ghana, Legon, 1973.

A survey of four areas (Kade: forest crops; Goaso: cocoa, cocoyams, plantain; Tamale: rice cultivation; Akuse: sugar cane) to present quantitative estimates of seasonality in the employment of casual agricultural labor and to provide estimates of their incomes.

One category of casual agricultural labor was housewives and petty traders. These were found only in Tamale and Akuse. Except for a few women over 55, these women expressed the desire to be permanently employed, because trading was not very lucrative. Women were used

as a regular source of labor for all operations except stumping and clearing of new fields. Most of this work took place from June to September and workers received an estimated ₵70.85 per annum for this work.

Another category that included females was local full-time laborers who tended to be young school leavers. Author notes that male school leavers tended to regard this as employment of last resort, while girls would have preferred less "tiresome" jobs, but did not regret farm work. These workers who at the time were earning the daily minimum wage of 75 pesawas appeared to be under-employed, since migrant laborers were preferred by hiring farmers.

WAGENBUUR, H.T.M. "Labour and Development (An Analysis of the Time Budget and of the Production and Productivity of Lime Farmers in Southern Ghana.)" Social Studies Project, Research Report Series No. 17, University of Cape Coast, 1972.

A study of five lime farmers and their wives conducted in one year, 1969 to 1970, with one interviewer closely observing and interviewing each farmer every day. Although the farmers were not selected according to strict random sampling, the author feels that the stratification employed gives fair replicability and generality. His sample includes one large farmer, one above-average farmer, two average farmers, and one small farmer.

Time allocation findings:

Males: Farming activities - 82.7 hours/month. (The same as the highest inputs for Africa; usual input of subsistence farmers in Asia.)

Non-farming activities: 30-40 hours/month. (Varied activities, including processing of agricultural products; house construction for family; running a bar; selling home-brewed alcohol and charcoal)

Marketing: 5.85 hours/month. (These lime farmers all sell to Rose's Lime Company, thus this time allocation is a special case.)

Social obligations: 65 hours/month. (Traditional activities, funerals)

Females: Productive activities - 141.8 hours/month. ("As we may expect a much higher labor input in the household activities compared with the male farmers, this figure is amazingly high." These hours divided between on-farm activities, food processing and marketing. The author noted that female productive activities

increased with the size of their husband's farms.)

Social obligations: 45.6 hours/month

Comparing domestic activities of males and females which were in addition to the above, the following figures were given:

	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
Household:	171.5 hours per month	64.2 hours per month
Leisure:	40.2 "	103.2 "
Rest:	40.5 "	59.3 "

Author concludes that female farmers are putting a high amount of their time into productive activities and that, ceteris paribus, there is no time left over to increase this labor input.

WILLIAMS-BAFFOE, A. B. "Home Science in Agricultural Development," an address given by the Deputy Director of Agriculture at the Sixth Annual Home Science Conference at Ho, Ghana, in April 1972, reprinted in The Home Scientist, Vol. 2, No. 3, Third Quarter, 1973.

Policy recommendations pertaining to the situation and problems of small-scale agriculture in Ghana. It is noteworthy that nowhere in this paper is there any specific mention of the role of women farmers.

Outlines principles of agricultural development that will favor the population and the economy:

- a) food items should be produced in sufficient quantities so that they will not be too expensive for consumers
- b) sufficient raw materials should be produced at reasonable cost to ensure that existing factories operate to their fullest capacity
- c) constant efforts should be made to increase agricultural exports in order to ease the balance of payments situation, and to enable the importation of industrial equipment that is likely to stimulate the economy.

These principles need extension, and extension needs home science supplements.

Describes the objectives of the Home Extension Programme as an arm of the Agricultural Extension Service:

1. To create an awareness and understanding of nutrition in relation to food production and its effects on the attainment of health, physical fitness for higher working efficiency.
2. To motivate families to produce high proteins and vitamin-giving foods in the home gardens and farms, and to teach ways in which such foods could be used in the family diet to raise the level of nutrition.
3. To offer training in the methods of processing, preserving and storing of home-grown foods to improve their quality and prevent wastage.
4. To help develop skills, knowledge and attitudes in the management and use of available resources to ensure better living conditions for the family.

Methods to be adopted include: talking to individuals and groups, group discussions, demonstrations, group practice, individual projects and home visits.

Long-term aims: to arrange to supply inputs such as seeds, seedlings, fertilizer to "farmers, housewives and school children" at subsidized prices.

#### 4.2 - Trading:

ADDAE, Gloria (Nikoi). "The Retailing of Imported Textiles in the Accra Market," Proceedings of the Third Annual Conference of the West African Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1954, University College of Ibaden, 1956.

This study describes the urban distribution system for cloth from its purchase by the passbook holder from the large importing firms, to the final sale by the petty trader on the street.

A large number of the passbook holders and all of the smaller traders were women. The system of deposits and credits with the importer and the origin of the starting capital used for a trading business are described. This study echoed the reports of others that traders are reluctant to give figures to researchers. The two major trading associations in Accra are noted.

BAUER, P.T. West African Trade, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1963 (first printing: 1954)

This economic study of the structure of trade in West Africa and of the West African economies has portions which are of considerable relevance to the study of women in development. Because Ghanaian women do the bulk of the trading, especially in foodstuffs, this economic appraisal of the "traditional" marketing system is very pertinent.

The discussion of the "imperfect" specialization of economic activities, the number of intermediaries in trade, the tasks of bulk making and bulk breaking, and the discussion regarding the restrictive tendencies in "traditional" marketing are useful.

GARLICK, Peter C. African Traders and Economic Development in Ghana, Clarendon Press, 1971.

The author describes this book as a study of the behavior and social background of the "biggest African traders" dealing in manufactured goods, mostly imported, who had permanent store premises in Accra and Kumasi. The purpose of the study done in 1965 was to discover what factors prevented expansion of individual businesses.

Aside from a considerable discussion of the influence on this question of the family of the trader, women are referred to only in a brief reference to petty traders. There are interesting parallels between the business practices of these traders in his sample and those found by other researchers to be practiced by women market stallholders.

BOHANNAN, Paul and DALTON, George. Markets in Africa, Doubleday, 1965.

This book presents a study of the technical, social and economic organization of eight small-scale African communities, none in Ghana. The authors describe the main question of the book to be, "Do the transactions in the market place, or by the market principal, in each case, provide the sellers and producers with the bulk of their livelihood, or do they not? The answer indicates the degree of evolution of the social economy of the place described from a subsistence to a market economy.

A pertinent point made was that when market exchange comes to dominate an African economy, the traditional market place need not be the locus of the expanded market activity. As examples, cocoa and palm kernels by-pass the market place, "which remains a pin money affair for women."

McCALL, D. F. "Trade and the Role of Wife in a Modern West African Town," pp 286-299 in Social Change in Modern Africa, A. Southal (ed), Oxford University Press, 1961.

Presents a clear summary of the position of Akan female farmers vis-a-vis land and lineage in the period of the Ashanti Kingdom when trade was in male hands. Attributes the rise of female traders to:

- a) decline in inland trade with the coming of the Europeans;
- b) a rise in wage employment for men at the same time;
- c) simultaneously, certain items of trade became obsolete -- slaves, gold, monkey skins;

thus trading, a less desirable occupation, left in the hands of women.

In modern times, trading by women is seen as an urban phenomenon where the woman may be a stranger with no land and therefore unable to farm; alternatively, available farm land may be too far from the town.

Suggests that women prefer trading to farming; although trading is also hard work, it has the advantages of a pleasant social atmosphere where women are able to find friends and possibly also lovers.

Suggests that urban trading has influenced marital relations: "The rise of towns and the role which women play in the trade of these towns, has modified the role of wife in that it has diminished the dominance of the husband both in his regard to his ability to control his wife economically and sexually." (p 298)

NYPAN, Astrid. "Market Traders in Accra," (African Business Series No. 2,) 1969, Economic Research Division, University College of Ghana.

A description of the ten markets in Accra precedes the results of a study of 201 stallholders in the Salaga (Accra) market. Useful figures and estimates regarding numbers of traders, their sex, ethnic background, and the commodities they sell are given. The author found 85 percent of the traders to be women.

The nature of the trading business for those in her sample is described. The mean starting capital used was Gb 19. The range of expansion or decline of the businesses is very great and often related to personal and family needs and expenditures. She found, as others did, that when the trader leaves the business, he or she takes all the capital with him/her.

The author obtained estimates of profits from information regarding turnover which was reluctantly given by the traders, daily, from memory. Profits on turnover were thought to vary between 10 percent to 200 percent of the turnover. She thought an average of 20 percent to 30 percent profit of the value of turnover goods would not be too high. Credit was sometimes obtained from the supplier, never from a bank.

SAI, Florence Aleeno. "The Market Woman in the Economy of Ghana," unpublished thesis, Cornell University, 1971.

The author quotes findings regarding Ghana's marketing from Garlick, Bartells, Lawson, Nypan and Hill.

This is a study of 57 women stallholders in the Selweyn Market (Accra), in relation to their ethnic and educational background, the numbers of their children, and something of their financial independence and responsibility. She obtained information on the amount of their initial capital, their pattern of re-investment in their businesses, and estimates of their monthly income. She found a substantial number make use of banks and Post Office accounts.

#### 4.3 - The Modern Sector:

BOULDING, E. "Women as Role Models in Industrializing Societies: A Macro-System Model of Socialization for Civic Competence," in Cross-National Family Research, eds. Sussman, M.B., and Cogswell, B. E., Leiden, 1973.

Reference could not be obtained for review. A discussion of the article in another source (see Ware, Helen in Section 1) indicates that it includes a ranking of the nations in West Africa in terms of the number of women holding professional positions and compares those nations which were formerly colonies of France and those of the United Kingdom. The former English colonies had higher scores.

DUTTA-ROY, D.K. "The Eastern Region Household Budget Survey," Technical Publication Series No. 6, Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research, University of Ghana, Legon, 1969.

This enumeration of a statistical sample of the Eastern Region of Ghana to study the pattern of the household expenditure and the socio-economic situation underlying it has findings of particular interest to the study of the status of women in the region.

"A third of the rural households and slightly more in the urban sector are managed by women, an overwhelming majority of whom have their own earning as the main, if not the only, source of income. A substantial number of these women are divorced, separated from their husbands, or widowed, but quite a few of them stay apart from their husbands, who visit them occasionally. These women...depend on their own earnings though some financial support might be forthcoming from their husbands in a few cases." p. 19

"Although the total size of household is smaller for households managed by women (often the female head is the only adult), the number of children in these households are almost the same as those managed by male heads of households. (2.21 in the rural area and 2.77 in the urban areas) This brings out clearly the onerous responsibilities of the women in the Ghanaian society who frequently have to make out a living not only for themselves but a large number of dependents." p.24

ENGMANN, E.V.T. "The Labour Force in Ghana: A Statistical Analysis of the Distribution and Interrelations of its Attributes," Bulletin of the Ghana Geographical Association, Vol. 15, 1973, pp. 50-71.

Using factor analysis on 1960 census data of the Ghanaian labor force, author relates various factors to participation rates. For women, author finds a positive correlation between past school attendance and labor participation, with high degrees of both factors being found in areas along the coast. Presents an interesting table of major employment of

the labor force in 1960 by ethnic background and sex, which reveals notable differences between female occupations in different ethnic backgrounds. Some major findings:

Akan females:	8.7 percent crafts workers
	18.5 percent sales workers
	70.0 percent farmers
Ga-Adangbe females:	14.2 percent craftworkers
	56.4 percent sales workers
	24.1 percent farmers
Ewe females:	12.6 percent crafts workers
	36.2 percent sales workers
	47.8 percent farmers
Hausa females:	5.2 percent crafts workers
	86.4 percent sales workers
	3.1 percent farmers

Crafts here signify tailoring, brewing, milling and baking. Sales workers are predominantly retail street vendors. Farmers mostly food-stuff producers.

GHANA Association for the Advancement of Management, "Ghana's Women Workers," General Publication No. 1, (about 1961).

Contains the conclusions of a 1961 seminar set up to outline the problems of working women at that time. These problems were a) maternity problems; b) women's resistance to being transferred to rural areas; c) unfavorable attitudes by men and to some extent women on the subject of women workers; d) lack of adequate training for female workers; e) the deleterious effect on children and the home of mothers working away from home.

Final conclusion of the Seminar: that the "vastly increased" educational facilities prevailing in Ghana at that time would result in improved situation for women.

GREENSTREET, Miranda. "Employment of Women in Ghana," International Labor Review, Volume 103, No. 2, February, 1971.

This presents a discussion based upon official records of women's employment in the civil service, industry, and of self-employment in Ghana since 1928. The education of women is also discussed.

The article notes that the colonial government stipulated in 1928 that a woman officer must resign when she becomes married or pregnant. This policy was liberalized in practice and in policy in the years before

independence. "The labor decree of 1967 required that the employer of any industrial, commercial or agricultural undertaking 'shall give leave to any pregnant female worker if she produces a certificate given by a medical officer or a midwife...to the effect that her confinement is in the opinion of such officer or midwife likely to take place within six weeks...; give (her)...remuneration, in respect of such leave, of an amount which is not less than 50 percent of the remuneration she would have earned had she not been absent; and allow (her)...if she is nursing a child, half-an-hour twice a day during working hours for this purpose.' The law enables a female worker to take her annual leave immediately after her maternity leave."

It is also noted that in the civil service men and women have always had the same salaries. Ghana ratified the ILO Equal Remuneration Convention in 1951.

HILL, Polly. Studies in Rural Capitalism in West Africa. African Studies Series, No. 2. Cambridge University Press, 1970.

A collection of studies of local economies in Ghana and Nigeria which emphasizes the sophistication of the economic behavior of the participants. Relevant fieldwork sections include Ghanaian migrant cocoa farmers, Ewe seine fishermen, cattle ownership on the Accra Plains and Northern Ghanaian cattle trade.

Material particularly relevant to the role of women in Ghana is to be found in the section on Ewe fishermen (pp 30-53). In this fishing economy, "wives" (i.e., women attached to the men of a net company) play a crucial role. Not only do they cook and prepare food for the men of the company but they also preserve fish by smoking and are solely responsible for marketing the fish. "Wives" are given cheaper rates to buy fish when the nets are pulled in, although bargaining takes place each time. Women receive some fish on credit and are permitted to retain any profit. "Husbands" are responsible for repayment of any debts.

KUMEKPOR, Tom K. "Some Aspects of Problems of the Working Mothers in Accra: Mothers and Wage Labour Employment," The Home Scientist, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1973, pp 16-30.

Discusses theory of problems and motivations of working mothers in various roles, in traditional and modern times. Presents data of a survey of 350 working mothers conducted in 1969-70, including reasons for working, salaries, problems of pregnancy and motherhood. Notes that women's salaries often go to maintaining self and children, that often salaries so low that women undertake supplemental sales activities and have to borrow money before payday. Wives most often ignorant of husband/partner's income and vice versa.

Concludes that it is "important for employers to recognize the multiplicity of roles that women are called upon to play at various stages of their lives in changing West African society" and "to recognize that working mothers/married women are a permanent part of the labour force, not...a mere aberration."

LAWSON, R. M. and KWEI, E. K. African Entrepreneurship and Economic Growth: A Case History of the Fishing Industry of Ghana, Ghana University Press, 1974.

"This book is essentially a study of African entrepreneurship, of its response to processes of economic growth, and the trials and errors experienced in its attempt to introduce rapid structural change to an indigenous traditional industry." The data is drawn from the fishing industry.

The chapter on entrepreneurship in fish marketing describes the traditional system, dominated by women, and the changes brought to part of the trade by the introduction of motorized boats, cold stores, etc.

The description of the heavy involvement of women in financing the fishing industry and of the restriction of trade possible to them, and their trading associations, presents interesting considerations.

LITTLE, Kenneth. African Women in Towns: An Aspect of Africa's Social Revolution. Cambridge University Press, 1973. (Paperback)

Sources: Multi-disciplinary research by author and others, and situation portrayed in works of African novelists.

In relatively informal style, looks at changing roles of women in the urban context of sub-Saharan Africa, with particular emphasis on West Africa, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, and South Africa. Urbanization is seen as embodying a Western-type lifestyle attractive to certain African women in search of new opportunities, both economic and personal. Chapters of interest include women's associations, women as prostitutes and lovers, women in monogamous marriages. Concludes that female migration to towns is for different reasons and has different consequences than male migration, and that the resulting situation of urban woman is different from Western "women's lib" in that traditionally African women "have their own way of handling husbands and lovers and so there will be no comparable wielding of cudgels and no attempt at bludgeoning the men into compliance...Being forged out of the inherited and age-old knowledge of their men folk's virtues, foibles and frailties, the weapons that African women possess are altogether sharper and more subtle." (p. 198)

MBILINYI, Marjorie J. "The Participation of Women in African Economics," University of Dar-es-Salaam, Economic Research Bureau, Dar es Salaam, 1971.

Could not be obtained for annotation.

PIEL, M. The Ghanaian Factory Worker: Industrial Man in Africa, Cambridge University Press, 1972.

This is a study of 994 workers in 100 factories in the Accra-Tema area. The purpose is to make comparisons among them regarding urban and rural background, skilled, unskilled and clerical jobs, and their work in firms of varying size and type.

It was thought that eight percent of the 12,083 workers in the area were women. Twelve percent of the author's sample were women. Most of them were young middle school leavers who held "lower" jobs. Attention is not focused on these women. There are statements regarding the difficulty of combining work with child care due to the lack of day nurseries, and of the relative lack of attraction of wage earning to these women compared to independent employment for this reason.

Of the 59 tables showing findings related to the socio-economic background and attitudes of the workers, 16 are specific to men. In only three has a sex differentiation been made in the figures indicating any data about women. One of these is the table showing the percentage of women in the sample mentioned above.

STEEL, W. F. and MABEY, S. J. "Research on Unemployment and Income Distribution in Ghana since 1960: An Annotated Bibliography," University of Ghana, Legon, 1973. (Sponsored by USAID grant.)

An inclusive and detailed annotated bibliography covering studies of migration, employment, levels and distributions of income and related background studies. A summary on the current state of knowledge and of central policy issues relevant to research is also included. Citations are cross referenced and data, findings and analysis are presented thoroughly. None of the works given pertain directly to women in development, but this publication provides an excellent background source for current factors affecting the economic behavior of the female labor force.

APPENDIX: BACKGROUND MATERIAL (Legal, Anthropological and Sociological Works)

1 - Women and Law:

(Although none of these sources relate specifically to women, they are recommended as sources on such relevant topics as intestate succession, land inheritance and marriage and family laws.)

ANDERSON, J.N.D. Islamic Law in Africa, Colonial Research Publication, No. 16, HMSO, London, 1954. (Especially pp. 249-286)

BENTSI-ENCHILL, Kwamena. Ghana Land Law, Sweet and Maxwell, London, 1964. (Especially Chapter 4, Intestate Succession, pp. 124-192)

OLLENNU, N. A. The Law of Testate and Intestate Succession in Ghana, Sweet and Maxwell, London, 1966.

VELLENGA, Dorothy Dee. "Attempts to Change the Marriage Laws in Ghana and the Ivory Coast," Chapter 6, pp. 125-150 in Foster, P. and Zolberg, A., Ghana and the Ivory Coast, University of Chicago Press, 1971.

Describes legal changes taking place in Ghana family law post independence, stressing a gradual transition from lineage systems to a conjugal system of marriage.

## 2 - Background Anthropological and Sociological Studies:

(See also KLINGSHIRN, Agnes, entry in Section 1 - Women and Development in general.)

ACQUAH, I. Accra Survey, A Social Survey of the Capital of Ghana, Formerly Called the Gold Coast, Undertaken for the West African Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1953-1956, Ghana Universities Press, Accra, 1972 (first published University of London Press, 1958).

The author has attempted to provide a "socio-economic factual survey" of "social conditions in Accra" in the 1950's. Much of the data presented is broken down by sex (age composition of population, employment, school attendance, utilization of medical services, etc.). Very useful in assessing change through comparison with more recent studies.

AMEDEKEY, E. Y. The Culture of Ghana: A Bibliography, Ghana Universities Press, Accra, 1970.

Briefly annotated citations of books, pamphlets, documents and periodical articles relating to the culture of Ghana published up until 1965. Citations arranged in the following sections: general culture, history and traditions of origins; economic life and material culture; social institutions; kinship inheritance, marriage, etc.; government and law; traditional religion and ceremonial, folklore and magic; impact of religions; music; language and literature; biographies. Citations numerous and include quite obscure sources. Within each section material is presented according to the ethnic group involved.

Useful for background sources for regional research, also for inclusive section on economic life.

AMOO, J.W.A., "The Effects of Western Influence on Akan Marriage," Africa, Vol. XVI, 1946.

BASCOM, W. R. and HERSKOVITS, M. J. Continuity and Change in African Cultures, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1965 (first published 1959).

Although this book was first published in 1959 and was based on field work carried out in the early 1950's, it contains much information that is still valid today. With respect to women in national development in Ghana, the following papers are most useful:

Dorjahn, V. R. "The Factor of Polygyny in African Demography," (pp. 87-113)

Discusses difficulties of obtaining accurate demography data in Africa for planning purposes and then focuses on subject of polygyny. Concludes on basis of data available that approximately 35 percent of married men in sub-Saharan Africa are polygamous, the mean number of wives per married man is 1.5, and the ratio of married women to men is 3 to 2. Although the sex ratio of women to men shows there are slightly more

women, there is not sufficient surplus to support this level of polygyny which is rather achieved through celibacy and later marriage for males. Polygyny has effect of increasing number of children per household but reduces reproduction on a per-woman basis due to rotational sexual relations and ability enforce taboos on intercourse during weaning period.

BLEEK, W. "Family Dynamics in a Changing Society: A Case Study of a Rural Ghanaian Community," M.A. thesis, University of Ghana, 1972.

BROKENSHA, David (ed) Akwapim Handbook, Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1972.

Collection of articles on the Akwapim area and people, an area approximately 20 square miles, north of Accra. Interdisciplinary contributions cover ecology, history, social organizations, economic events and recent development in local government, education and the arts. Each article has a useful short bibliography. Appendices provide highly detailed statistics on social participation, etc., in towns in the area in 1968. Would provide excellent background data for future research in the area.

CALDWELL, J. C. African Rural Urban Migration (The Movement to Ghana's Towns), C. Hurst and Co., London 1969.

A study of rural urban migration in Ghana which the author believes may have the key role in economic and social transition. Study was based on data from the 1948 and 1960 censuses and the 1960 post enumeration survey plus additional surveys made by the Demographic Unit of the Department of Sociology, University of Ghana. Study documents the process by which people move to urban centers with the primary focus on the sending areas where the decision-making process takes place. Documents the population shift which has been taking place over the last few decades, and the importance to rural as well as urban development. Strong ties are kept with the sending village, two-thirds of migrants visit home village at least once a year and one-third of rural households were receiving some money from relatives in town in 1963, most on a monthly basis. Tends to develop village as cash creates demand for new services, and ideas from the cities are brought back to the villages, providing a background which helps villages to understand information coming from radio and newspapers.

Although there are greater numbers of male than female migrants, women have not been left behind in the movement. Surveys found that wives and children of long-term migrants almost always joined them in town, and unmarried girls from the villages were becoming involved in migration in greater and greater numbers. Believed the remaining margin between numbers of male and female migrants was largely due to differences in education although there was some hostility in families to girls moving to cities due to fears that they would become too sophisticated and take up prostitution. Documents family changes

resulting from the migration, including tendency toward a nuclear family system as other members of extended family left behind in the village and pressure felt by migrants to limit number of children as economic burdens of subsistence and education much heavier in the cities.

CRABTREE, A. "Marriage and Family Life Among the Educated Africans in the Urban Areas of the Gold Coast," Unpublished M.Sc. Thesis, University of London.

FORTES, Meyer. "The Family, Bane or Blessing," an open lecture delivered at the University of Ghana, Ghana University Press, Accra, March, 1971.

GOODY, Jack. The Social Organization of the Lowilli, Oxford University Press, 1967. (2nd edition)

Anthropological study of the people of North Western Ghana, giving details of economic, social and personal relationships. The Lowilli at the time of writing numbered around 5000 people.

JAHODA, Gustav. "Boys' Images of Marriage Partners and Self Images in Ghana," Sociologus, Vol. 8, 1958.

JAHODA, Gustav. "Love, Marriage and Social Change. Letters to the Advice Column of a West African Newspaper," Africa, Vol. 29, No. 2.

KILSOP, M. de B. "Continuity and Change in the Ga Residential System," Ghana Journal of Sociology, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1967, pp 81-97.

LITTLE, Kenneth and PRINCE, Anne. "Some Trends in Modern Marriage Among West Africans," Africa, Vol. 37, No. 4, 1967.

LLOYD, R.C. The New Elites in Tropical Africa, Oxford University Press, 1966.

MENDS, E. H. "Changing Marital Functions," Viewpoint Editorial in The Home Scientist, Vol. 2, No. 3, Third Quarter, 1973.

Discusses the reality of the Ghanaian working wife in the context of traditional attitudes to the division of roles of the sexes, revealing the paradox of the reality of the economically independent working wife, and the traditional belief in the submissive, dependent woman in the home situation.

Suggests that the continuing reality, which is fostered by economic necessity (in the family and the national economy) will lead to a change in attitude, so that the role of the working wife will be favorably viewed.

NUKUNYA, G. K. Kinship and Marriage Among the Anlo Ewe, The Athlone Press, London, 1969.

Anthropological study of the Anlo, the most numerous of the Ewe peoples living in Ghana and Togo. An account of Anlo traditional social structure with particular reference to kinship, marriage and the family, and an examination of how changes brought about by European activities have influenced it. Useful discussion on changes in household structure that result from the absence of parents on trading or fishing expeditions or in wage employment.

OMARI, T. Peter. "Changing Attitudes of Students in West African Society Towards Marriage and Family Relationships," *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol 11, No. 3, 1960.

OPPONG, Christine (ed) Domestic Rights and Duties in Southern Ghana, Legon Family Research Papers, No. 1, Institute of African Studies, Legon, 1974.

Contains 20 articles on family studies of the Akans and Ewes, with introductory papers on the Akan Family System Today, Ewe Lineage and Kinship, and Comparative Studies. Research is interdisciplinary, but with heavy concentration on anthropological studies. Articles by Vercrijse and Hardiman cited in detail in this bibliography. Some uncited articles of interest include:

Adomako-Saffoh, J. "Migrant Asanta Cocoa Farmers and their Families."

Fiawoo, D.K. "Ewe Lineage and Kinship."

Fortes, Meyer. "The Akan System Today."

Kumekpor, T. "The Position of Maternal Relatives in the Kinship System of the Ewe."

Poh, Kwamena. "Church and Change in Akwapem."

Four other volumes of articles, most of which originally part of Institute of African Studies Family Seminars, to be published shortly. (See previous entry under Engberg, Lila, for one volume shortly to be published.)

OPPONG, Christine. "Husbands and Housework: A Ghanaian Example of Ethnic Variation," mimeo, Institute of African Studies, Legon.

Presents data collected from 180 senior civil servants in Accra in 1968 on the division of labor by sex in household chores. Subjects from Ga, Akan and Ewe

backgrounds. Concludes that there is considerable individual variation in domestic chores undertaken by both husbands and wives, that chores may be ranked with some degree of accuracy according to the likelihood that they will be performed by each sex, and that active chore performance is significantly correlated with ethnic origin. Results show expected pattern of female dominance in household chores, with husbands sometimes willing to undertake home repairs, but extremely unlikely to assist in food preparation or child care. An interesting point is that men often do shopping at stores but rarely go to the markets because the mammys "laugh at us." /

OPPONG, Christine. "Norms and Variations: A Study of Ghanaian Students' Attitudes to Marriage and Family Living," unpublished paper, March 1972. (Forthcoming in Family Life Research Papers No. 3.)

OPPONG, Christine. "Parenthood in a Changing Context," paper presented at Ninth Annual Conference of the Ghana Sociological Association, March 1975.

An extremely useful summary of information and recent research into parenthood in Ghana which looks first at the traditional norms of parenthood and then examines the modern situation with respect to urban elites, educated middle-level employees (junior civil servants, nurses, etc.) and the lower socio-economic groups, both rural and urban. Highlights various areas of importance to women:

1. Vast majority of Ghanaian women are gainfully employed, fewer than one in five is classifiable as a homemaker. Traditionally, women have been expected to contribute financially to the upkeep of children and many recent research studies have shown that they are often now forced to contribute the major portion of household expenses so that work outside the home is an economic imperative.
2. Elite parents solve problems of child raising by employing housemaids, many of whom are underage (below 15), at low wages or by utilizing services of children of poorer relatives. Both solutions often based on exploitative relationships and children also suffer as there is considerable turnover of persons caring for them. System, however, allows wife to combine large family with continued full-time employment.
3. Middle-income parents follow a similar model but with much less success as their financial resources are not sufficient to establish satisfactory child care arrangements. Considerable strain on women is evidenced in results recent research studies and there is strong impetus to limit number of children.
4. Lower socio-economic groups show pattern of spreading parental burdens by utilizing services of relatives, fostering, or low-paid child labor.

Evidence from research studies has shown women often taking unequal share responsibility and are highly overworked as they are combining strenuous food-producing and income-gaining activities with heavy and time-consuming household tasks plus the responsibilities of child care.

5. Suggests need for expansion social programs promoting family planning and child care centers to eliminate worst elements of present situation.

A long bibliography which details recent publications and papers in press is included in the paper.

PEIL, Margaret. "Ghanaian University Students: The Broadening Base," British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 16, 1965.

VERCRUIJSSE, Emile V.W., in cooperation with Lydi M. Vercruijsse-Dopheide and Kwasi J.A. Boakye, "Composition of Households in some Fante Communities (A Study of the Framework of Social Integration)," Research Report Series No. 10, University of Cape Coast, 1972.

An illuminating study of the social patterns revealed in 32 dwelling units in three different Fante areas. Within each unit, smaller sleeping, cooking, eating and earning units were distinguished, and these smaller units most often did not overlap. The authors noted that the coherence of dwelling unit members is relatively amorphous, and restricted by only minimal authority on the part of the unit head. Concluded that "household" was not a useful concept for these dwelling units, for the above reasons, as well as the economic independence of the female members of the units.