Negotiating Female Roles and Social Integration in the Church and Society: The Case of Ghanian Women

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ABSTRACT: In the Ghanaian communities women turn to play roles with men in whatever situations they find themselves. Ghanaian women as church leaders combine traditional and contemporary roles. Church women combine church duties with their various professional duties and in this context I term these church women especially female clergy in other professions as “Tent” workers. Many women are wives, mothers, reverend ministers, ministers in politics, Chief justices at the supreme court, speakers of parliament, doctors, lawyers, farmers, traders, judges, secretaries, nurses, architects, engineers, lecturers, military women, among others. The study examines the theory of intersection of female/male duties as a theoretical frame using cases and historical analysis method. The structures within both the church and society lay emphasis on men than on women in the various sectors of life. After the 1970’s, Ghanaian women have been leaders in the society, attaining other professions, combining duties, embarking on developmental projects, and generally, participating fully in almost all aspects of the society and church’s activities. The conclusion is that women leaders in the church and society are combining their professions perfectly and I recommend their recognition.

KEY WORDS: Women, Tent, Contemporary Roles, Professional duties, Intersection

Introduction

It is about time African women gain equal rights in developing countries such as Ghana and such rights are fully translated into all facets of life. Surprisingly, the reluctance to give women equal rights is high in the society and religious settings. Some Ghanaian women leaders in the church like in the Presbyterian Church of Ghana (P.C.G) had to perform multiple roles, combining chaplaincy with their various professional duties.
In some cases the few women leaders do not have full financial resources and as such they have to take additional jobs to financially support themselves and their families. For example, the single mothers, besides, the financial issue and other socio-cultural factors turn to impede their work and their homes. The “Tent” women leaders have to juggle several roles while, navigating through a complex male-dominated world. The focus of this work is a thorough examination of “Tent” Female leaders in the Ghanaian church amidst their male counterparts and how their roles are evolving. This implies that African women leaders in the society including those in the church and their counterparts in the other sectors of life do not neglect their predominant female duties using their leadership roles as an excuse despite the demands each of these peculiar roles places on the women.

This research is an attempt to negotiate the multiple roles and social integration of the tent female leader in Ghana and especially the balance of power, time constraint and self image.

Women and men struggle to reconcile their beliefs with social realities, especially economic factors that require women to share responsibilities for providing. They are context/time specific and changeable, determines what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman or a man in a given context. In Ghana, there are differences and inequalities between women and men in responsibilities assigned as well as decision-making opportunities. There seem, in the 21st century, to be a new generation of women leaders who are playing multiple roles, such as becoming full clergy and being fully employed in other secular jobs.

**The Problem**

Recent studies have found that the female leader engage in various forms of strategizing to re-establish or reaffirm conventional patterns of patriarchal authority within the church and society. However, very little attention has been paid to the multiple roles that the female plays for church and societal development.

**Theory and Method**

The study examines the theory of intersection of female/male duties as a theoretical frame using cases and historical analysis method. The structures within both the church and society lay emphasis on men than on women in the various sectors of life. And there are some legacies. Crenshaw (1989) comments on “intersectional feminism” as “the view that women experience oppression in varying configuration and in varying degrees of intensity. She laments on how oppressive institutions are interconnected and cannot be examined separately from one another”. After the 1970's, Ghanaian women have been leaders in the society, attaining other professions, combining duties, embarking on developmental projects, and generally, participating fully in almost all aspects of the society and church’s activities. Oduyoye (1986, 121) argues that gender ‘intersection’ ‘has become the shorthand for the
proclamation that women's experience should become an integral part of what goes into the definition of being human.' Oduoye (1986, 121) explains that both men and women should be given equal opportunity to work together as partners in order to liberate the human community from entrenched attitude structures.

Gender based segregation is largely evident in the socio-economic activities, patterns and roles set for women and men in traditional African societies. Thus, women were not only prevented from occupying certain societal positions in the society because of their sex but also assign different roles that centre on the home. As Olajubu (2003, 10) comments that restrictions and prohibitions based on the woman's physiological makeup are a common denominator to women's roles in Africa. Thus Oduoye (1986, 123), also argues that 'in Africa, women make pots which are sold cheaply; men make ritual objects and carvings that are highly regarded.

Emerging African Women Leaders have faced Resistance and in her Feminist Approaches, for example, Morgan (2004, 42), gave a historical synopsis of some of what she terms as 'historical perpetuation of unjust, exclusion practices that have legitimized male superiority in the very social domain.' It is then clear that women have been unjustly discriminated against based on their sex. Such discrimination has always (or rather mostly) been purported to be supported by socio-cultural perceptions which are used to legitimize it. Women who tried to resist this institutionalized subordination of women were in one form or the other shut up or counter resisted.

Morgan offered the historical development of feminist approaches that sought to highlight the role of women who in every historical period challenged the constraints placed upon them by societal authority. According to him, its origin can roughly be traced to 'a recognizable form of organized Anglo-American feminism that emerged in the nineteenth century.' The dominant issues at the time bordered on the debate over equal access to leadership positions.

Roslin Growe (1994), thinks women in leadership; however, confront barriers or obstacles that men do not realize exist. She says some myths suggest women cannot discipline older subordinates, particularly males; females are too emotional; too weak physically; and males resent working with females. (Whitaker & Lane, 1990). After the myths are dispelled, the "glass ceiling barrier" that limits women from achieving high ranking position must be overcome (Cullen & Luna, 1993).

The other obstacle is society's attitude towards appropriate male and female roles that identifies women as not task-oriented enough, too dependent on feedback and evaluations of others, and lack of independence. Women receive little or no encouragement to seek decision making positions, while men are encouraged to enter administration to a greater degree than women, despite the positive perceptions of principals towards female capabilities.
Many Ghanaian wives for example are expected to relocate to wherever their husbands find themselves, irrespective of the type of jobs they do before or after marriage or the type of schools their kids attend. As Sintim Adasi discusses a scenario where Grace a lecturer, whose husband is a bank staff, is promoted to the position of a bank manager and he is being transferred to another region in the country from where they live. The cultural and societal expectation from their context demands that Grace leaves her job and pack bags and baggage and move with the kids to join the husband in his new region, regardless of her job and the kid’s school. On the other hand, if Grace’s employees transfer her to another place in another town or region the husband according to culture and custom will not relocate with her. (Sintim Adasi, 2012)

African female workers have faced Grace’s plight if they are wives. In other words one of the problems facing women is this cultural and societal demand that every wife, irrespective of who they are, relocate to wherever their husbands are transferred to. I think this issue of relocation has greatly influenced some of the society’s attitude to married women aspiring to higher positions thinking what will happen if their husbands are transferred and they would have to accompany them. This is gender bias and feelings of barriers that women face. Again, there is lack of role models and mentors because there are fewer women in decision making positions.

Roles of Ghanaian women in the Church/Society

In this project, I selected some “Tent” women Clergy ranging from Traders, Professors, Senior Lecturers, Lecturers at the Universities, Polytechnics, Research Institutes, Teachers in the Secondary and Primary Schools, Health Personals, Security Personals, Bankers and Traders, Administrators as well as managers in Educational institutions. I looked at some of their works, activities and examined their multiple roles vis a vis social integration. I interviewed the Tent women ministers and I discussed with them issues that they face and analysed how they negotiate the issues facing them in the society.

Quite a number of the Ghanaian female clergy are into tent-making professions. Some of these women are Ernestina Afriyie (minister in charge of Sakumono and a lecturer at (Akrofi christaller Institute) Cynthia Boama (Deputy Director – PCG Women’s centre at Abokobi and minister in charge at Adenta PCG) Esther Segbefia (Nurse – Korle bu Teaching hospital, minister in charge) , Joan Koranteng (Science Tutor –Ghana Education Service, minister in charge – PCG Kuntuse) , Josephine Ankrah (Administrator – Ga Presbytery office, minister in charge PCG Labadi ), Florence Simpson (Tutor- University of Ghana Junior High school) Rev.Dr.Yaa Adobea Owusu (Senior lecturer, University of Ghana, in charge of NUPSG) Baaba Oduro Boateng ( Officer – internal revenue, minister in charge Apenkwa) All the female chaplains are again teachers, lecturers, nurses and military women. These women are from different walks of life and they bring their gifts of professions to the
church/society. Josephine Tawiah a businesswoman who sells cloth at Makola Market in Accra, Ghana, initiated the market ministry in the PCG. Florence Simpson, a French teacher at the University of Ghana Junior High school initiated the French congregation of the PCG at Shiashi, East Legon in the Greater Accra Region, Ghana, which is the first of its kind. The nurses who are chaplains for example bring health issues into the church for people to benefit. They gather congregants, talk about health issues and guide them on health hazards. There are a lot of these women like Korkor Hammond who are primary school and secondary school teachers and fully in charge of congregations.

The roles of these women pose a big challenge because they are performing multiple roles intersecting with their male counterparts, ranging through spiritual, economic and social services.

The women play the role of chaplains in institutions like Hospitals, Schools, industries and the military. Dora Ofori Owusu, Gladys Maku Nyarko, Alice Kyei Anti and Mercy Agyei Dankyi were chaplains at the Presbyterian women training colleges at Aburi and Agogo and Sandema, Bawku, Bolgatonga, Agogo, Donkokurom, Techiman Hospitals. In the area of health services, the female chaplains help the PCG in the healing ministry reaching out to some of the hopeless, hurting and the dying. Some of these chaplains are professional nurses and ordained ministers. Dora Ofori Owusu (Sandema, Bolgatonga and Bawku mobile PCG clinics) (1966) Dormaa Ahenkro Hospital (1980-82), Alice Kyei Anti (Donkorkuom Hospital (1988 - 2002), Mercy Adjei Dankyi (Agogo Hospital)) (1982), Elizabeth K. Fosu Donkokurom, Mavis Hennah Yeboah (Dormaa Ahenkro Hospital) and Esther Segbefia (Korle bu Teaching Hospital) Janet Afua Addo (Dormaa Ahenkro Hospital). These women have been chaplains at PCG mobile clinics at Sandema, Bolgatonga and Bawku, Donkokurom Hospital, Agogo Hospital, Dormaa Ahenkro Hospital and Korle bu teaching hospital respectively. These women ministers work in two worlds, the world of religion and the world of medicine. They provide pastoral care for the patients, support the patient’s families and head the care giving staff. Dora Ofori Owusu, Alice Kyei-Anti and Mercy Adjei Dankyi joined a PCG mobile clinic team at Bolgatanga, Bawku and Sandema in the Upper East Region when they were deaconesses even before being commissioned and ordained.

Socially they stimulate activism and women’s empowerment by visiting mothers in their homes, hospitals and clinics to educate and teach them about the love of God. They help them administer drugs to the sick especially children. Kyei-Anti recalled in my interview with her how as a chaplain at Donkokurom Hospital, she promoted the socio-economic development through advocacy and effective delivery of social services by organizing with British Water Aid to bring portable water to the people and they taught them not to drink untreated river water. She indicates she always accompanied the then District Chief Executive, Nana Odefoe Adade Bekoe to advice the people to bring their children for immunization. Financially, Kyei Anti contributed towards children’s immunization with the poor and sick fund from the
hospital. According to her, 'she travelled on tractors to immunize children, sometimes on motor bikes with boxes hanging behind her' (Interview, 10 June 2009, Tema)

Through workshops and seminars, the female clergy chaplains indicate they pursue activities and programmes geared toward women's welfare at the intra and inter church levels. For example, they organize the women to participate in religious, community and national programmes such as seminars, talks, parades, and visitations. They help homeless women to build kitchens and learn vocations. They maintain dual roles as chaplains and nurses, combining day and night shifts as chaplains and nurses. On Sundays, they preach to more than seven congregations. For example, at Donkorkrum PCG Hospital in the 1980s, Kyei-Anti joined the nurses’ team, which included trained traditional birth attendants, for vaccination and health talk.¹

These ordained female clergy nurses bring their profession (health issues) into the churches for congregants to benefit. They gather them and give them talks on health issues and guide them on health hazards. Esther Segbefia, a minister and a nurse at the Korle Bu teaching Hospital always has her instruments and brochures checking members' blood pressure, weight, during conferences like annual PCG minister’s and Presbytery annual conferences with her colleague ministers she advisees' them on dieting, cholesterol and quality methods of living.

Some of the women have been working at the industries as industrial chaplains from 1985. Rose Akua Ampofo for example was an assistant chaplain in urban and industrial mission at Tema between the years 1985 to 1990. The philosophy of industrial Chaplaincy is for employees to be safer and more productive. Her duties included proclamation of the gospel through preaching, visitation, organizing and leading worship, seminars and vocational training. The employees are not to be distracted by marriage and family crisis, alcohol, drugs and other addictions including myriad of personal and spiritual problems. Rose Ampofo organized and led morning devotions and Bible studies. She organized seminars for female factory workers on single parenthood, training and counseling on topics that dealt with adolescents, lobbying and advocacy in the work environment. She introduced the young recruit women for vocational training like hair dressing, batik / tie & die making.

The women are performing chaplaincy roles in the security sectors. Irene Sarbah is an ordained minister and a military woman and a trainee for Armed forces chaplaincy. The women chaplains help young people who are preparing for war by proclaiming the gospel to them. The security sector in this context includes the Armed forces, police and prison services. The Ghana Army as an institution has built chaplaincy into the services and no group of the Army moves for an assignment without a chaplain. The chaplain is always with the troops as they move in any direction. The female chaplains help to bridge and link the church with the barracks community. The female military
Chaplains conduct family life counseling, carrier and guidance counseling and they train the cell/committee members. In the security service the chaplain again organizes and runs programmes for spouses of security personnel on issues relating to family-life. This has helped to improve the family-life of many personnel.

African women have been administrators/managers of the various institutions that they serve. These women include Reverend Alice Kyei-Anti, Pualina Danquah, Rose Akua Ampofo, Felicia Adu Kumi, Esther Abam Adjetey, Cynthia Boama, Gladys Maku Nyarko, Victoria Kai Wayoe, and Edith Osafo Affum among others. They have been actively involved in women’s activism and empowerment, bringing about social, political, economic and religious change on the lives of people in the society. Their leadership roles have changed people’s lifestyles and empowered them especially women in the sense that through their efforts, they have increased the capacity of individuals or groups to make choices and to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes.

Rose Ampofo for example, was an administrator and an over comer who could stand tension. Reading through her obituary brochure, (Knispel & Kwakye, 2006, p.102), the researcher realized, Ampofo was appointed a General Secretary of the Presbyterian Women’s Fellowship (1986-1992) and at that position she worked to improve the status and quality of the women’s ministry in the PCG. She struggled for Ghanaian women (PCG) with their problems in marriages, family systems, workloads and other concerns. Her leadership roles implied assertiveness in every situation that a woman may find herself as well as the ability to forge ahead through all obstacles having a strong determination to transform unfavorable situations. (Sackey, 2006, p.164.) She initiated the women’s centre at Abokobi through networking. Ampofo convinced synod committee to build the centre, she vigorously mobilized PCG women to raise funds to the tune of one million, four hundred thousand old Ghana cedis, raised from the sale of the women’s fellowship conference souvenirs, started the project on 22.7. 1987. She worked very hard with a seven-member committee put in place by the church with financial support from her friends abroad, the church's foreign partners and the women’s fellowship of the PCG. 'Rose could tap resources; manage the centre coming out with simple layout and attractive buildings which won her a nickname ‘Chief Superintendent of Work.’(Boama, Interview, 20 August 2011, PWC). As an ordained female minister, she was appointed a director of the centre for ten years. (PWC, Annual Report to the General Assembly 1993, p.4). As a director, she performed administrative duties and she sacrificed her personal belongings (a deep freezer, a vehicle, an overhead projector and a screen) for the work at the centre.

As a lay Institution of the PCG the centre is dedicated to improve the lives of women. Skills are imparted to participants (especially women) for them to perform leadership roles and contribute meaningfully to their families and the society as a whole. The centre offers a variety of training programmes that empowers women especially in the area of communication and business skills. Workshops are organized
on topical issues like environmental problems and HIV/AIDs. For Ampofo, ‘education is something which no one can take away from you. It gives you self-esteem. If you have education, you can earn money and are less dependent upon your husband’.

Some of the programmes initiated and taught at the centre at Abokobi aim at giving women the skills for coping with their general functions as leaders in a socio-cultural and religious environment which is mostly suppressive of women. Sackey confirms the reasons for women’s suppression that, when the first level of damage was done, female lines of authority and socio-political power were destroyed and completely eliminated by foreign European/Arabian male-centered systems of authority and governance. (Sackey, 2006, p. 62). At the centre the women are empowered that the deathblow to their psyche and dewomanization of their womanhood is something of the past. Their reality as women, equal of men in reality as daughters; and their realities as mothers are reduced, giving way to the prominence of their realities as wives. They become and remain only as an extension of their husbands, as is the case in the Western World. (Sackey, 2006, p. 62.)

As an administrator, Ampofo empowered widows by drafting a liturgy on widowhood rites for the church which the church uses today. The widowhood liturgy is a contribution to the liberation of women from some of the negative socio-cultural practices. Her programmes met the needs of all women, other institutions like Christian Council of Ghana and Scripture Union among others. According to Boama, the deputy director of the centre, Ampofo believes in Agrey’s dictum that ‘if you educate a man, you educate an individual but if you educate a woman you educate a nation’. She said education is essential to human life. She took ‘Abokobi, a small village in Ghana, to countless places in the world and brought all kinds of dignitaries from all over the world to Abokobi’. Ampofo said ‘The mustard seed planted in Abokobi on the 22nd July 1989 has indeed blossomed, and it has grown into an enormous tree in which birds all over the world stop over and build their nest’. It is stated in the Presbyterian women’s centre vision and mission statement that the centre aims at being the voice of women in social development and a channel of change especially in the area of negative socio-cultural practices against women. (PWC vision and mission statement, 2007, p. 2.)

The Tent women have performed their duties and imbibed in women, the principles of hard work, hope and a sense of motivation for whatever cause that they want to embark upon. Through their positions, they have developed the talents of women, organize workshops and seminars. In their capacities as General Secretaries of WWCC, they visited many women, travelled across the country, visiting women, organizing courses, serving on various committees and serving on Christian Council women’s committee.

The focus of their seminars and workshops were violence against women and children, the environment, child survival and development, and women and tradition. It is worth discussing some of these topical issues as they hinge on the concept of
justice and oppressions. These are the words of the United Nations on the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEWAW), which was passed by the United Nations General Assembly in 1993. DEWAW further describes violence against women as encompassing physical, sexual and psychological violence including battery, sexual abuse of female children, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, and violence related to exploitation.

The significance of seminars and workshops on the above themes is that they portray the female leaders as sensitive women who are desirous of helping women to extricate themselves from social, economic, physical, psychological and political forms of violence as these are inimical to the precepts of justice, peace, godliness and decency. In this, the female leader can be classified as a fighter for freedom based on humanism. This view is reinforced by Knispel's characterization of Ampofo in these words: 'Rose was empathic; she was deeply moved by other people's burdens. She pointed out that the church could be more relevant to women and young people if she could take a stronger stance in some issues like violence against women and children for example (Knispel & Kwakye, 2006, p. 104).

Of equal importance in terms of themes of the seminars and workshops organized by Ampofo is the issue of Women, Tradition and Religion. It is factual that in Ghana, certain cultural practices infringe of the liberties of women, and these cultural practices have been condemned by Rose during all these seminars. Some cultural practices that she regarded as anathema are ritual servitude like trokosi, female genital mutilation, early marriage, sexual slavery, forced abortion and sterilization. For Ampofo, religion was used by men as justification to oppress women. During seminars she often referred to the aspect of the Bible which states that 'Wives, submit yourselves unto your husband ......'( Ephesians 5:22) for Rose, men have used this biblical injunction to subjugate women, thereby oppressing them and forcing them into servitude and a world of silence in the midst of this travesty. Her quick-witted approach to rebutting such a stance is to use divine words to counteract such limited and narrow interpretations of biblical edicts. To her, the admonition of Paul that 'husbands love your wives is a pointer to the fact that a living husband will not, under any circumstances, perpetrate violence in whatever form against his wife so as to portray his position as family head or patriarch. For a loving husband recognizes the worth of his wife and regards her as an equal partner in the running of the home.

**Tent Women as General Managers of PCG Schools**

The female clergy for example, have occupied the position of general managers of schools. Victoria Kai Wayoe, and Edith Osafo Affum have been regional managers of schools in the PCG. As managers of PCG Schools they strengthen the administration of the Schools and improve upon Supervision/Monitoring. The General Managers of schools claim they meet Head teachers every term and they advise them to live up to their responsibilities. They claim to conduct interviews for prospective head teachers and assign them headship positions. They have instituted examination and mock
examinations which are conducted to assess and prepare the students before their final examination. The Presbyterian Church of Ghana has a mission which all her members aspire to achieve. It is the overall perception of the church in which women are seen to be part. What the mission statement of the PCG seeks to do is that women, who are more than men, contribute directly or indirectly to the development of the church. Some scholars argue that within the African socio-cultural context patriarchal system is men centred thus, Labeodan (2007, p. 113) argues that;

The patriarchal system is held in high esteem in most African Societies. As a result of this, women... are to be seen and not heard... there is so much suppression and oppression of women by men who are supported by the cultures and religions. They used certain facts about the physiology of man and woman as the basis for constituting a set of identities that work to empower men and disempower women.

She explains that the roles assigned to women are very much related to the cultural and historical traditions that try to place women in the domestic domain that they are suppose to be home makers and nurturers of the family including husband and children. Grace Adeoti (1998, p. 107), like Labeodan, also holds a similar view that

In many societies be it Africa or elsewhere, a woman is seen as the burden bearer with no rights whatsoever to equality with man. She is even seen as an irrational being not capable of reasoning; therefore, she is to be seen and not to be head... The ancient world was predominantly a man’s world.

**Conclusion**

Women have emerged as playing multiple roles, intersecting with their male counterparts where certain things stand out like in the area of networking and human relationship they bring out their gifts not only as women but as women, performing their duties creditably. Some of these women like Josephine Tawiah were traders who after being ordained in to the ministry initiated market ministry into the PCG. The professional teachers, nurses, revenue officers, media women, military women show that being clergy does not mean your duties are only confined to the church but also to all spheres of live and places and to the market. Rose Akua Ampofo and others as administrators/managers bring their good interpersonal relations into good use and they initiate projects and building of centres and schools. As administrators, they still work and impact in communities, not only in the churches. Their work is not abstract but rather their work can be realized in day to day life.
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