

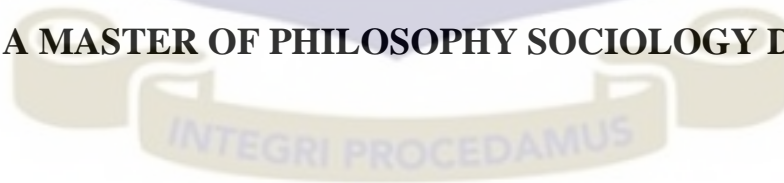
**THE REBELS WITHIN: AN ANALYSIS OF FIRST GENERATION
EDUCATED WOMEN IN GHANA, A STUDY OF KYEBI.**

BY

ABOABEA GERTRUDE AKUFFO

(10274269)

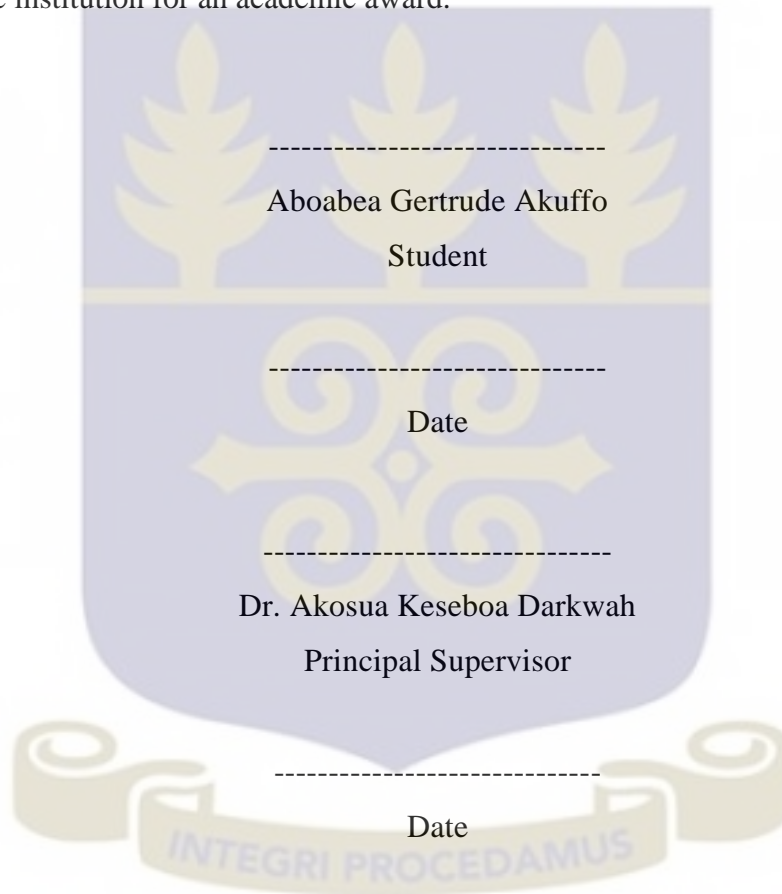
**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD
OF A MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY SOCIOLOGY DEGREE.**



JULY 2015

DECLARATION

I Aboabea Gertrude Akuffo do hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own work, conducted at the Department of Sociology, University of Ghana, Legon, under the joint supervision of Dr. Akosua K. Darkwah and Dr. Fidelia Ohemeng. All references have been duly acknowledged. I also declare that as far as I know, this thesis has not been published nor presented to any academic institution for an academic award.



Dr. Fidelia Ohemeng
Co-Supervisor

Date

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents: My dad Mr. Daniel Akuffo and my mum Georgina Birago Frempong.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I extend my earnest heartfelt appreciation to God for his wisdom, unstoppable favor and guidance in my life throughout the period of this work. This thesis would not have been possible without the support of many individuals and it is my pleasure to thank those who made this research possible.

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ABSTRACT

The current debate about understanding the changes in global educational patterns has led to much documentation on the subject. Scholars who have studied this have served us with more macro explanations than micro level politics. The study therefore takes as its focus, the understanding of the tensions, contentions and negotiations that underlay the everyday decisions (of who receives education) as an arena of micro politics and choice as a form of everyday power. Drawing on the data, collected using an in-depth interview and informal conversations with 30 participants from Kyebi, the inquiry explores an understanding of other determinants of who gets educated as an alternative to the conservative traditional structural approach. I analysed the data within the framework of Stephen Lukes' Concept of Power and James Scott theory of resistance and themes were generated accordingly. The findings suggest that the key decision makers around enrollment and non-enrollment decisions of the FGEW were their fathers. The mothers, whose daughters were affected by non-enrolment decisions resisted through covert and overt means. It was also uncovered that the mothers of the First Generation Educated Women in Ghana (FGEW) resisted by drawing alliances which served as situations enabling and constraining political actions. The findings further suggest that, children took part in the politics of resistance passively and actively. Gate keepers also played crucial role with respect to who got educated and who did not. A study that looks at both macro level explanations and how families respond to it at the micro level concurrently will be useful in painting a proper picture of how the two intersect. The study further recommends that since macro-level factors is but one of just the many determinants of education, aside a different family political contexts, policy makers should find ways of mediating the complex relationship between these two spaces in any educational policy, aimed at ensuring quality education for all.

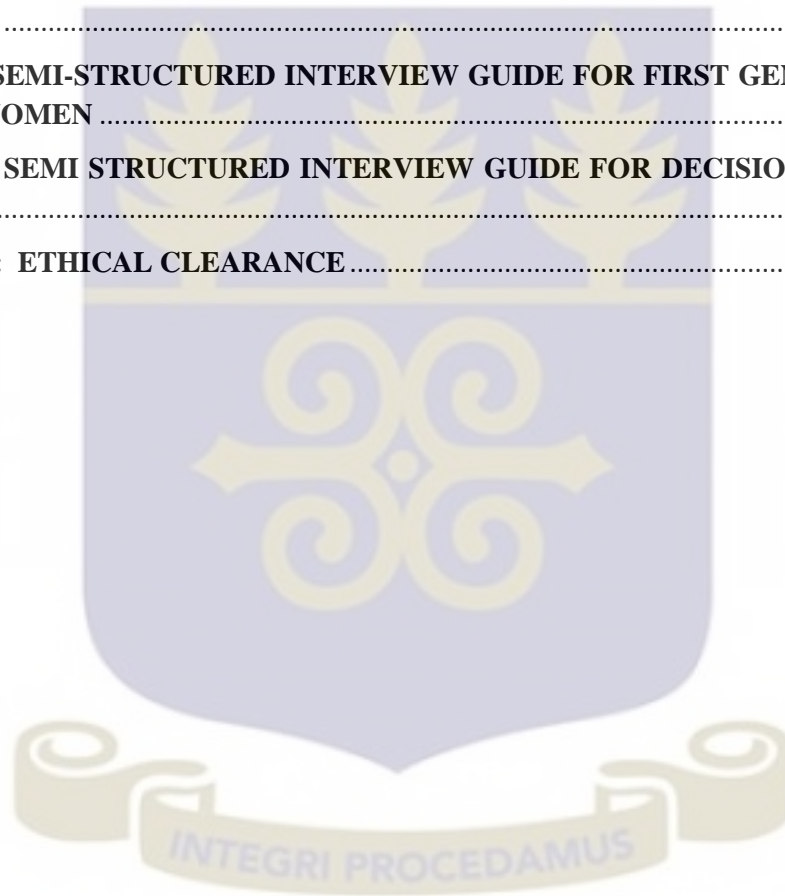
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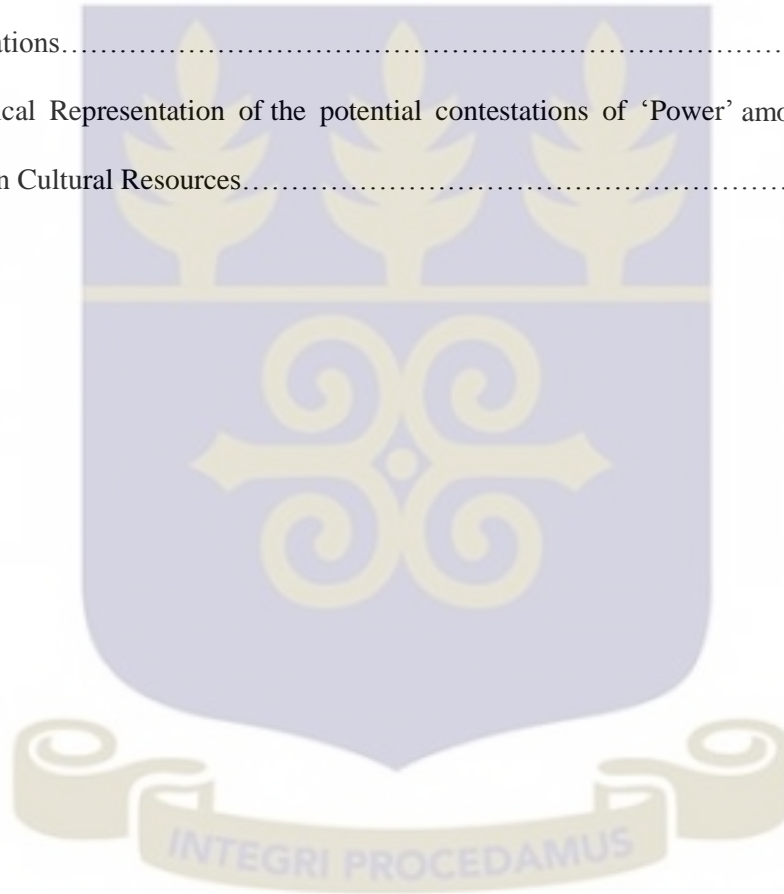
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

D	Divorce
DM	Decision Makers
EFA	Education for All
FGEW	First Generation Educated Women
FTGR	Fathers Traditional Gender Role
GK	Gate Keepers
GMR	Global Monitoring Report
M	Married
MBTR	Mothers Brothers Traditional Gender Roles
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MMBTGR	Mothers' Mother's Brother's Traditional Gender Role
MOE	Ministry of Education
NR	Non Rebels
R	Rebels
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UNESCO	United Nations Children Educational Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation
W	Widow



CHAPTER ONE

OVERVIEW OF THE EFFORTS MADE AT ENSURING EDUCATION FOR ALL AT THE GLOBAL, NATIONAL AND FAMILY LEVELS

1.0 Introduction

The issue of gender equality in education has received appreciable recognition for some decades now. At the international level, a lot of discussions and efforts have been made to ensure changes in global education patterns, expand opportunities, and increase enrolment levels. A lot of efforts have been made at the international level to ensure these changes. The Education for All (EFA) Joint Proposal of Education post 2015 for example states that:

Education is a fundamental human right and a foundation for human fulfillment, reach, sustainable development, economic growth, decent work, gender equality and responsible global citizenship. Furthermore, it is a key contributor to the reduction of inequalities and the eradication of poverty, by bequeathing the conditions and generating the opportunities for just, inclusive and a sustainable societies. As such education must be a standalone goal in the broader post 2015 development agenda and should be framed by a comprehensive overarching goal, with measurable global targets and related indicators(Joint Proposal of the Education Post-2015, ED-14/EFA/POST-2015/2).

The notion that education is a fundamental human right and a foundation for human fulfillment has become so widespread that today more than ever the idea that girls' education matters is taken for granted.

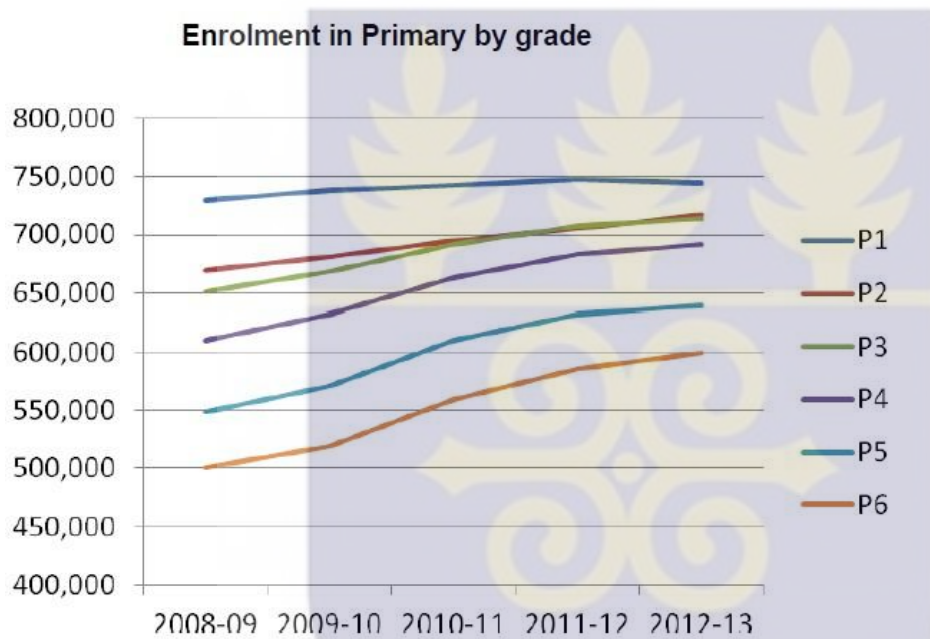
The growing body of scholarly work on these strides in terms of access and retention focus disproportionately on the macro level (Birdsall et al, 2005; Boyle et al, 2002; Brown and Park, 2002; Bruneforth, 2006; Cardoso and Verner, 2007;Gakuru cited in Ackers et al, 2001: 369;

Dachi and Garrett, 2003; Hunter and May, 2003; Porteus et al, 2000; Ranasinghe and Hartog, 2002; UIS and UNICEF, 2005; Vavrus, 2002) and meso- levels factors (Banerjee and Wasseman, 2013; Birdthistle et al., 2011; Freeman et al., 2012; Oster and Thornton, 2011). In a few instances, however, scholars have tended to look at the micro level politics and interventions as well. Brown and Parkes (2002) and Levine et al. (2009) for instance discuss how micro-level decisions on withdrawals from school take on gendered patterns as girls are more likely to be withdrawn than boys. For Ersado (2005), it is the girl child who is most affected by linkages between micro level decisions on who to grant access, education and child labor. Women face challenges when pursuing higher education. This is seen in the concomitant effects of differential educational participation of children across and within households. In terms of enrollment and completion, the findings resonate with the idea that not everybody is granted access. This is because intervening factors such as poverty and cultural perception play a role and the fact that access even when granted is skewed in favor of males. Despite the above, we see the stride Ghana has made in terms of the number of women who have been able to go through school and are doing very well in their respective fields such as Mary Chinery-Hesse; Akua Kuenyehia, Takyiwaa Manuh, Georgina Theodora Woode; Jane Naana Opoku Agyeman.

That notwithstanding much of the discussions in the literature addresses specific issues such as income, infrastructure, poverty, curricular, cultural perceptions and provides for how they affect access and retention. In most cases there is the taken for granted assumption that various changes happening have come about due to structural concerns rather than attitudinal change. In order to understand the state and context of education, scholars look at the relationship between contexts,

different forms of intervention and output relating to girls' education and broader gender equality outcomes (Collins, and Clark,2013; Fould, 2012; Jackson, 2013). They sometimes rely on statistics. In Ghana, for example, UNICEF multiple indicator cluster surveys and policy assessment documents from the MOE provide data that shows the increasing enrolment patterns.

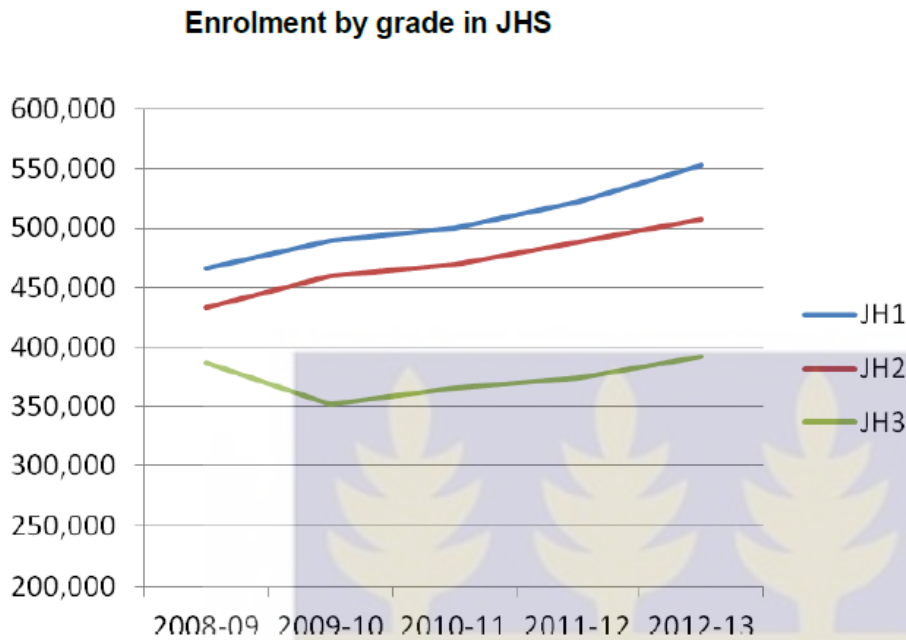
Figure 1 Enrolment in Primary School by Grade



Source: Education Sector Performance Report MOE (August 2013: 31).



Figure 2 Enrolment by Grade in JHS



Source: Education Sector Performance Report MOE (August 2013: 33).

Scholars such as Osei (1991) and Prah (1992) have noted that in Ghana, the sex differential in education is high with fewer women than men in formal education, as well as the numbers of women decreasing drastically as one moves up from primary to secondary and tertiary levels. Between 1989 and 1992 for example, the average percentage of all girls enrolled in primary, junior, and senior secondary schools were 44.95 percent, 41.13 percent, and 32.88 percent, respectively. The average percentage of women enrolled in the country's universities during the same period was about 23 percent. Below is a more recent statistics from the Education Sector Performance Report in 2013.

Table 1 Gross Enrolment Ratios and Gender Parity Indices Basic Education

Gross Enrolment Ratios and Gender Parity Indices Basic Education						
KG	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	Depr Dist 2012/13
FGER	92.2	96.5	97.5	98.4	115.3	112.7
MGER	93.5	98.1	99.2	100.4	112.4	110.6
GPI	0.99	0.98	0.98	0.98	1.03	1.02
Primary	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	Depr Dist 2012/13
FGER	92.79	93.03	94.7	94.9	104.5	97.2
MGER	96.97	96.7	98	97.9	105.5	100.3
GPI	0.96	0.96	0.97	0.97	0.99	0.97
JHS	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	Depr Dist 2012/13
FGER	76.93	76.3	76.4	78.1	79.2	65.4
MGER	84.05	82.5	82.6	83	85.2	72.0
GPI	0.92	0.92	0.93	0.94	0.93	0.91

Source: Education Sector Performance Report MOE (August 2013: 37).

Table 2 Gender Equality Indicators at SHS

Gender equality indicators at SHS

Details	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13
% female enrolment – SHS	44.3	44.7	45.4	45.3	45.9
GPI	0.84	0.85	0.87	0.87	0.86
Transition rate JHS3 to SHS1 % - Male	51.7	52.3	56.7	50.9	60.3
Transition rate JHS3 to SHS1 % - Female	51.1	52.1	58.4	50.4	62.3
SHS Completion rate – Male	-	35.8	34.6	37.4	33.9
SHS Completion rate – Female	-	29.8	31.1	31.1	28.1

Source: Education Sector Performance Report MOE (August 2013: 59).

When we compare the two points in time we can establish that, the numbers have improved over time but the compelling case is that the numbers are still unequal. Some scholars have demonstrated that, these statistics is as a result of factors which deny access or influence retention such as: socio cultural practices, belief systems, poverty, and ignorance (Twumasi 1986; Chinto 1986; Mensah 1992; Sutherland-Addy et al. 1995).The efforts at the macro level to fix this including school feeding, scholarships at the macro level have proved to be necessary but

not sufficient enough to bridge this gap. We can therefore not be certain whether enrolment in school is less structurally prescribed or driven and is instead dominated by other meso and micro level factors.

Thus it justifies the need for more research to be able to look out for other angles of the subject. Especially mediating the above vectors with the politics at the micro level is necessary for understanding the crux of the issue of gender and education. It is only appropriate for research to begin to focus on micro politics at the individual level for explanation because even though the literature above points to how interventions help address the issue of access, participation, retention and broader gender equality outcomes, existing research in this area are disproportionately tilted in favor of macro level factors to the neglect of micro level politics and issues which is mostly attitudinal. A focus on the micro level decision-making factors and the actors involved in this decision to enroll and keep a female in school will help us understand the nexus between gender and education better. I propose to focus on the key tensions, contentions and negotiations that underlie the everyday decisions of who receives education, who decides who to receive education, the gate keepers, the costs of such a decision, the tensions that such decisions produce and how these tensions are resolved in a household context.

1.1 Statement of Problem

There is a proliferation of scholarly work around gender and education. This body of scholarship has concentrated disproportionately on the macro-level and meso level factors, providing an overview on some of the issues that affect girls' education in terms of access and

retention. Specifically, issues such as income (Birdsall et al, 2005; Boyle et al, 2002; Brown and Park, 2002; Birdthistle et al. 2011; Bruneforth, 2006; Cardoso and Verner, 2007; Gakuru cited in Ackers et al, 2001: 369; Dachi and Garrett, 2003; Freeman et al. 2012; Hunter and May, 2003; Porteus et al, 2000) cultural perceptions (Pryor and Ampiah,2003;Nosike1996) sexist curricula (Aikman and Rao, 2012; Fould, 2012; Jansen, 2001) and their role in limiting girls' access and retention have been studied. In addition, issues of retention have been addressed (Aikman and Rao, 2012; Foulds, 2012; Levine et al. 2009; Mirsky 2003). Given the many angles to this debate, the micro level politics (contentions and negotiations that characterize the everyday decisions of who receives education in the home) has, however, received very little attention. This study therefore proceeds from the assumption that both macro and micro level politics are at play in determining the ability of a woman to receive education and seeks to explore the role of micro-level politics in shaping girls' access to education.

1.2 General Objective

The study aims at providing an understanding of the micro politics that characterizes the decision and responsibility to send a female to school.

1.2.1 Specific Objectives

1. To identify the decision makers were and why they were supportive of their daughters' education.
2. To find out the gate keepers were and why they were bent on maintaining the status-quo.
3. To uncover who the rebels were and the mechanisms of rebellion they used.
4. To understand the kind of tensions and contradictions that characterized the decision to

send a female to school and how the various allies responded to this.

1.2.2 Central Research Question

What are the micro-politicking that underpin the decision and responsibility to send a female to school?

1.2.2.1 Specific Research Questions

1. Who were the decision makers and why were they supportive of their daughters' education?
2. Who were the gate keepers and why were they bent on maintaining the status-quo?
3. Who were the rebels and what mechanisms of rebellion did they use?
4. What kind of tensions and contradictions characterized the decision to send a female to school? And how did the various allies respond to this?

1.3 Definition of Terms

1.3.1 Decision Makers

They are those who make decisions around the education of their children in this case their daughters. The major decision makers were usually the fathers of the FGEW. Their decisions could be enrolment or a non-enrolment decision. Depending on what decision is taken, other actors within the family respond to it. If it is a non-enrollment decision, gate keepers usually support it whilst rebels rebel against it.

1.3.2 Gatekeepers

There are traditional normative conceptions about women with respect to how they are supposed to behave. Conventional gender ideology suggests that women are vulnerable, and unable to

stand up for themselves. They are supposed to submit themselves to male leader female led relationships. This showed that women were not decision makers. Scholarship around such gender conditioning is replete in literature (Crespi, 2003; Lober, 1994 and West and Zimmerman, 1987). Gate keepers are those whose actions and inactions maintain and enforce these patriarchal scripts. In short they follow the statuesque. Education in the past was a space appropriated for men and gate keepers (GK) made sure that it stayed that way. The GKs in this context were the (Mothers' brothers') and the (Mothers mothers' brothers').

1.3.3 Rebels

There are various forms of resistance which is well documented in scholarship. These scholarships are usually theoretical in nature (Butler, 1997; Girard, 1977; Sandowal, 2000; Scott, 1985, 1987, 1989, 1990; Rainbow, 2003). These forms of resistances could be non-confrontational (covert) or confrontational (overt and outright). These forms of resistance involve the transgressing of specific social limitations. Those who transgress these social limitations to make sure that non enrolment decisions suffer from the silencing of alternate views are called rebels. They see to the implementation of alternate views by rejecting, enacting, reshaping and completely changing non enrolment decisions. I differentiate between active rebels and passive rebels. Active rebels were the (Mothers of the first generation educated women- FGEW) and the passive rebels were the FGEW themselves. I call the FGEW passive rebels because their agency was limited such that they could not rebel on their own in most instances.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The importance of this research is twofold: First the study offers a number of contributions to the understanding of the micro politics that characterize the decision as well as the responsibility to educate a female. Specifically, the tensions, contentions and negotiations that underlay the everyday decisions (of who receives education) as an arena of micro politics and choice as a form of everyday power were stressed.

The thesis paper also provide significant lessons on how the discussions about micro-politics can inform debates about educational change and guide broader policy from the perspective of gender and education.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

1.5.1 Introduction

I explain the theory, with respect to the origin, what it means and how applicable it will be to my work. For this research, I used the theory of power (Stephen Lukes Radical View of Power and James Scott's theory of resistance).

1.5.2 Theory of Power (Origin/ Historical Context)

Stephen Lukes' theory of power emerged around the early 1970's to address the debate surrounding power at that time in scholarly circles. The behaviorist, decision-making approach of power, made famous by political scientist Robert Dahl represented, for Lukes, the first dimension of power. It focused on empirical identification of actors who participated in decision-making where influence over others could be readily discerned. Dahl's work had challenged the elite theories of Mills (1956) and Hunter (1953). The elite theory posit that, a small number of people usually (economic elites and policy planners)

network and hold the most power through undemocratic means. The elite theories further suggest that, counter elites will emerge from those excluded from wielding power and there will be a need for negotiations between these two groups. A significant community power debate emerged around Dahl's (1961)'s study "Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City" regarding the distribution of power in the post-World War II United States. Dahl's concentrated on what happens in decision making.

Dahl's approach was soon challenged, however, by Bachrach and Baratz (1962) for leaving out of consideration "what does not happen" in decision-making settings; namely, those issues that are unwittingly neglected or consciously excluded from the agenda. Power can be exercised through non-issues and non-decision making as well. It is in the midst of this debate that Lukes came out with his piece in 1974. For Lukes, the above approaches to power represented the second dimension of power: control of the agenda. It was, however, in the third dimension – power through domination – where Lukes saw his principal contribution and where his early work most shaped subsequent thinking by offering a "radical critique" of the approaches limited to just the first two dimensions.

1.5.3 Theory of Power (Steven Lukes)

The early work of Lukes "radical critique" looks at three dimensions of power. It claims there are three dimensions of power. The first is overt power, typically exhibited in the presence of conflict in decision-making situations, where power consists in winning, which is prevailing over another or others. The second is covert power, consisting in control over what gets decided, by ignoring or deflecting existing grievances. And the third is the power to shape desires and

beliefs, thereby averting both conflict and grievances. For Lukes, the effects of power are not exhausted by decision making and agenda construction but could operate at a deeper more invisible level. Influenced in particular by Gramsci's (1957, [1971]) notion of "hegemony," Lukes argued that the third dimension of power consists of deeply rooted forms of political socialization where actors unwittingly follow the dictates of power even against their best interests. Power as domination – the third dimension – asks "how do the powerful secure the compliance (unwilling or willing) of those they dominate?" Lukes' first work was devoted for the most part to stressing the importance of this third dimension of power.

1.5.4 Conceptual Shifts

Lukes makes a conceptual shift to his ideas in his 2005 edition. He added two new chapters in which he addresses key criticisms of the first edition and shows how his thinking has shifted 30 years on. There are five limitations he now finds in his earlier conceptualization (Lukes, 2005:64–65, 109). First, a broad definition of power should not be limited to the behaviorists' conception of power which focuses on the visible exercise of power. Rather, one needs to think of power as a capacity or ability that may or may not be explicitly activated in given situations. This view is similar to Sen's (1989) Capabilities approach. For Lukes, a generic definition of power should not be limited to valued resources. Power includes both "resources" and "exercise" but, Lukes stresses, both point to a "potentiality, not an actuality." Lukes stresses even more now that power is a "dispositional concept." This is the conceptual language of Bourdieu (1991). This has to do with the understanding that 'power over' as domination is internalized, where actors see what is arbitrary and unequal as natural and objective.

Second, the definition of power should not be limited to only asymmetric power relations, or “power over.” It also needs to deal with “power to.” Whereas the first edition focused on power as domination, the second edition acknowledges the distinction long made by numerous critics between “power to” and “power over.” Lukes has now admitted in his second edition that not all power is negative and zero sum. Some forms of power, including forms exercised in relations of dependency can be positive, productive, and transformative. This distinction is a needed one and shows a significant shift in Lukes’ thinking from the mid- seventies. The influence of Michel Foucault (1979b, [1980]) in particular seems important here as power is no longer presented exclusively in zero sum terms; power not only represses but also creates new significant effects. In his 2005 version, Lukes did not only talk about the three dimensions of power nor shift definition of power to mean domination but also pays attention to other writers on the social context of power such as James Scott and Michel Foucault. Domination can occur through explicit coercive means, but it can also occur through unconscious mechanisms. This allows Lukes to address the theories of people like James Scott (1990) “Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcript” and Michel Foucault (1979) ‘The History of Sexuality, Vol1’.

1.5.5 Importance of the Theory of Power and the Approach to the Study

I adopt Lukes theory, to enable me illustrate a full critique of power to include both subjective interests and those "real" interests that might be held by those excluded by the political process. This theory also provides me with the framework to look at the actors especially with respect to whom power is being exercised over as well as overt and covert forms of power.

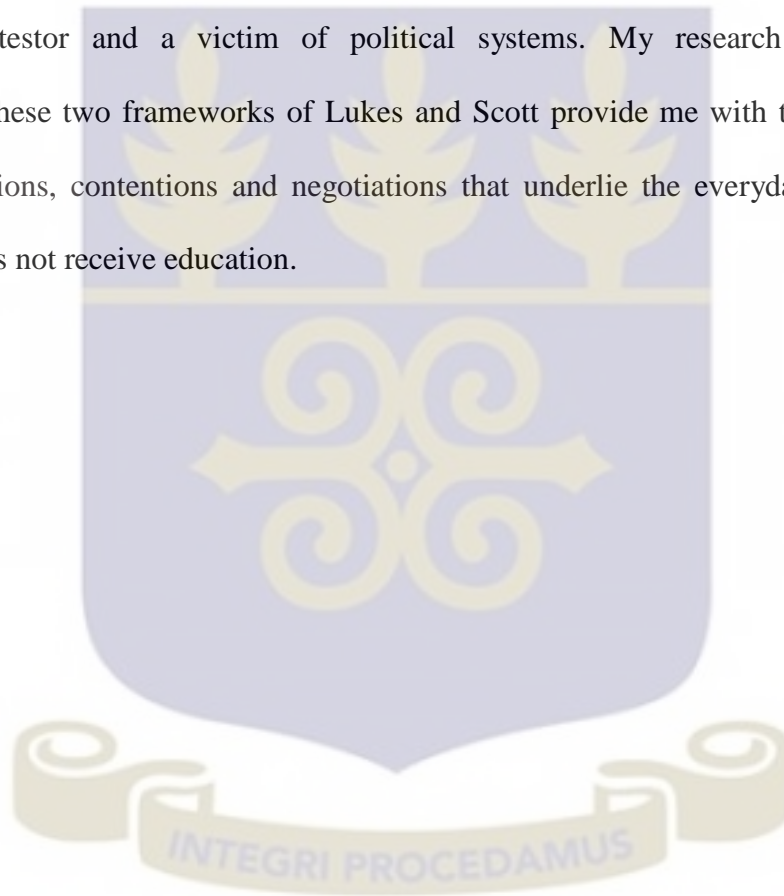
1.6 James Scott (Theory of Resistance)

James Scott's theoretical orientation has to do with the clarification of concepts such as class struggle, false consciousness, and hegemony (Gramsci style) and the views of E. P. Thompson, Genovese, Althusser (1971), Havermas, and Marcuse. Scott mounts a discussion of 'class consciousness' in which the theoretical and empirical work of Bloch, Bourdieu (1991), Engels, Gramsci (1971), Lukacs, Marx, Barrington Moore, Orwell, Sartre, E. P. Thompson, Williams, and is refined with respect to the ideas on forms of peasant resistance. He demonstrates his theoretical understanding empirically by examining the roots of major peasants' rebellions in South- East Asian history (Scott, 1976).

However, in *Weapons of the Weak*, he examines the everyday struggle of peasants in Kedah state, Malaysia (Scott 1985). 'Weapons of the Weak' is a study of everyday forms of peasant resistance such as the "war of words, sabotage, boycotts, disguised strikes, theft, and imposed mutuality among the poor mostly individual forms of struggle in a general atmosphere of peasant overt compliance. It is also a subtle analysis of class relations at the village level. He makes a strong case for the importance of the study of pilfering, arson, vandalism, slander and other forms of non-confrontational protest as the preferred response of peasants to oppression. His work is also in defense of moral economy school as compared to political economy school. James Scott in the search for an empirical basis for his theory applied it to a peasant farming setting. Since then, the theory has been applied to other settings (Obi 1997; Ong 1988).

The theory is useful to my research because it provides me with the framework to analyse the covert forms of tensions, interests, cunning forms of everyday resistance, how actors justify their

positions and interests as well as the covert and or overt forms of rebellion in the quest around the decision and responsibility to send a female to school at the micro-level. It is also a good lens through which to see that the weak are not entirely without power. James Scott's theory like every other theory is not without issues. A review by Muratorio (1987:585-586) argues that Scott makes an attempt at generalisation, and thus loses the ethnographic grip and leaves us with yet another stereotyping about the peasant as an eternal petty commodity producer, a protestor and a victim of political systems. My research is not aimed at generalization. These two frameworks of Lukes and Scott provide me with the lens to address the issues of tensions, contentions and negotiations that underlie the everyday decisions as to who does or does not receive education.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

There have been several studies that have attempted to acquire an understanding of the breadth and depth of the issues around gender and education. While some studies have focused on areas such as identity construction and everyday gender relations, class analyses of achievement in school, macro reforms, sexist curriculum and sexual harassment in school, retention and enrollment, the vast amount of studies focus on issues of access, retention impacts and more recently first generation female students.

2.1 Access

The most notable focus of the gender and education literature has covered issues of access. The literature discusses access in terms of poverty, cultural beliefs and interventions. There is a general consensus that the decision on who gets to be educated among and within families is affected by processes within and beyond schools. Beyond the schools, access is greatly influenced by the level of income and poverty.

Gender and education research has had one of its foci attempts to explain the issues of poverty in terms of impacts of family earnings on who to enroll in school, enrolment levels, income shocks and who is likely to be affected as well as how bereavement affects who get educated. Even though the concentration here is on the Ghana and the African specific context, the issues here are not unique to us, for example see Kozol (1991)'s *Savage Inequalities* where he describes a vast funding disparity between rich and poor school districts in the United States of America,

painting a picture of children being cheated out of a future due to appalling standards. Even though Kozol (1999) is an example of poverty in structural terms, the point here is to show that the issue of poverty with respect to education is not unique to Africa and whether people will be troubled enough into action has got a lot more to do with both macro and micro politics. Education comes with a cost both direct (school fees) and indirect (uniforms, transport fares as well as the opportunity cost of keeping a child in school). The income of the family therefore becomes a decisive factor in determining who is kept in school, how frequently the person attends school or whether the person quits school. Most scholars who have looked at this subject have tied in household incomes and access as related (Birdsall et al, 2005; Boyle et al, 2002; Brown and Park, 2002; Bruneforth, 2006; Cardoso and Verner, 2007; Gakuru cited in Ackers et al, 2001: 369; Dachi and Garrett, 2003; Hunter and May, 2003; Porteus et al, 2000; Ranasinghe and Hartog, 2002; UIS and UNICEF, 2005; Vavrus, 2002).

In Ghanaian schooling today, unequal power relations exist as seen in terms of the differential allocation of and access to resources among social groups and economic sectors, as well as regions of the country (Sefa, 2005). In the same vein, there is a differential allocation of and access to resources especially in deciding who gets what and who decides how much one gets and the politics that goes into such a decision and the implementation of such decisions. In Ghana, Moletsane and Manuh (1999) believe that girls do not quit school by choice but as a result of access. For Sefa (2005), gender is another area where difference is spoken about, as it also functions to demarcate life's chances. This is very true in the sense that in most cultures, women are known to bear dis-proportionately large burdens in terms of work like, cooking, cleaning, washing, looking after the little ones in the family in addition to paid work.

Buura (2001) suggests that such exploitative terms and conditions of such work often propel mothers to utilize the services of their girl children either to augment output or to do house-hold tasks or both. This arrangement, which on the face of it appears warranted because of the poverty of such families, and this militates against the interests of the girl child. By virtue of the fact that she assists her mother through the day, her opportunity for an education is systematically denied.

In Ghana, there is now a policy about cost sharing as well as community based schools expected to serve the local communities so as to cut cost and increase access (Lerotholi, 2001). However, much of the private cost of secondary schools does not appear on the school bills, but is hidden and spent daily in small amounts. The policy presumption about cost sharing, regarding its equity in quantity and access is therefore misleading. Reality does not always back up governments statements of cutting cost. Bray and Bunly (2005) discuss that when the funds are not enough, schools will try to 'balance the books' by shifting the burden to the parents and guidance (Lerotholi, 2001). The decision as to whether the hidden cost will be borne and by whom and for whom is an activity of micro politics which in turn could have implications for access, equity and efficiency (Lerotholi, 2001).

In other aspects of the gender and education literature, studies have shown that bereavement can also affect the probability of keeping a child in school. Case and Ardington (2004:17) show how this affects education in the Kwa Zulu Natal region of South Africa. Guarcello et al. (2004) also show how it happens in Burundi. Depending on who is bereaved, be it a father or a mother, it has a toll on how to support children in school. Awumbila (2006)'s assertion that in Ghana,

although men and women share many of the burdens of poverty, poverty is gendered in its predisposing factors, in its process and its impact feature prominently here as to the possible differential effects associated with a mother or a father passing on.

A careful scrutiny of the literature relating access and poverty shows that micro-politics have received little focus. In terms of looking at differential educational participation of children across and within households as well as the determinants of school enrolment, even though household level decisions on who to enroll is micro-politics, studies that capture the actors, the gate keepers, their interest, the tensions, and contentions have not received much focus. For example it is not enough to exit the discussion when you say that under enrollment in school is closely linked to family income and has a necessary gender outcome. It is also important to understand the battle of interests that leads to this or the stage at which females are withdrawn from school when there is income shock and there are available options to make up for losses.

Another determinant of access which has been documented has to do with cultural perception. Nussbaum (1995) relates cultural perception to poverty and access and for him, poverty is also about who has access to and control over and decides how resources are to be used. When we look at it in the context of girls' education, custom and tradition play a major role in deciding whether girls are sent to school or are relegated to working full-time within the four walls of their homes. In Ghana and most societies, women are socialized not to be decision makers. Moreover, traditional distribution of resources within the house-hold is skewed in favor of the male child (Whitehead 1984). This serves to dis-empower females in terms of access to and

control over resources. In Ghana, Pryor and Ampiah (2003)'s research on schooling, discusses how people perceive education for girls as extravagant and not important. In a cultural context where tradition unfairly puts resources in the hands of male members, coupled with perceptions around how unimportant educating a girl is, we can easily deduce how this can affect access to the education of girls and when granted access, retention in school.

The works of scholars who speak to the issue of under-investment in the education of girls cannot be under-estimated. Nosike (1996), for example posits that the perception that a woman's capacity to bear and rear children is the core of her identity and the principal source of esteem for her within her family and community still holds. According to Adomako Ampofo (2001), traditionally, boys are socialized to be decision makers and girls to be submissive. Socialization has been that way as a result of cultural perceptions. If this is anything to go by, then the role of decision makers is very important in determining access especially in Ghana where Moletstone and Manuh (1999) believe that girls do not quit school by choice.

There may be many possible intervening variables with respect to access to education but decision making is key. It cannot be the case that as a result of the kind of socialization given to girls as posited by Moletstone and Manuh (1999), men are therefore absolute deciders in determining whether a female is given the opportunity of education. Some scholars as far back as the 1980" s have argued that women have different access to political, social and economic structures both within the family and outside and that women wielded enormous, unchecked power (Ennew, 1986).

2.2 Interventions

Closely related to the issue of access is intervention. In order to expand access, government and other international organizations have made various interventions at the macro and meso level. Interventions can also occur at the family level. The macro level interventions which are made mostly at the policy level ranges from resources and infrastructure, changing institutions and changing norms, incorporating the voice of the marginalized and ushering in education related decision making. Different kinds of interventions can have an impact on access as well as improving girls' participation in schools and a combination of these interventions could also have effect as well on the context in which they occur. In some works such as Hurwitz (2012), interventions such as institutional grant aid allocation can influence college choice even though the choice elasticity will differ depending on other variables such as income. The meso level interventions occur at the school level and include the provision of separate toilets for boys and girls (Birdthistle et al. (2011), sanitary products (Oster and Thornton,(2011), water treatment and sanitary programs (Freeman et al. (2012) and expanding access and scholarships for girls (Banerjee and Wasseman,(2013). Elsewhere, other scholars have heralded the idea of looking out for the effects of combined interventions on enrolment and retention with the view that it will give a clearer picture of the whole situation.

The theory of change has also been employed on many occasions to examine the relationship between contexts, different forms of intervention and output relating to girls education and broader gender equality outcomes (Collins, and Clark,2013; Jackson,2013). For instance, in Kenya, girls currently outnumber boys in primary school enrolment due to the implementation of the MDG 3. Accordingly, Kenya will achieve the MDG Goal 2 by 2015 (Fould, 2012).

Studies on impacts of education have shown contradictory effects. While some interventions such as free meals (Reetika 2006; Swaminathan and Jayshree(2004), reorients people to allow their female child in school, other interventions such as school feeding and fee waivers do not produce similar effects (Sefina, 2005). Micro level factors specifically interventions at the household level may be a key intervening variable that determines the success or otherwise of macro and meso-level interventions.

We can therefore not be certain whether enrolment in school is less economically prescribed or driven and is instead dominated by other factors apart from availability. Thus it justifies the need for more research to be able to look out for other angles of the subject. Therefore, mediating the above vectors with the politics at the micro level is necessary for understanding the crux of the issue of gender and education.

The question of micro level politics about the decision and responsibility to educate the female members of the family has been around since the advent of formal education. However, in recent times when the socio-cultural understanding of delinking the cost of child rearing from the benefits of child bearing is gradually diminishing due to economic situations, the tendency for micro-level politics is even more pronounced. According to Majrekar (2003), various governments withdrew from the education sector to usher in the entry of private enterprise and to compel families to take on greater responsibility of educating children. The question of who then determines who to enroll in school, who to retain in school, which school a person attends be it category A or B school necessarily becomes a function of the tensions and contentions of the micro politics that plays out at the household level.

Interventions do not only occur at the structural level. At the family level, research has revealed that family earnings or investments have an effect on gender and quitting school. In South Africa, Fuller and Laing (1999 cited in Grant & Hallman, 2006: 6) found a link between families' financial capabilities and the possibility or prospects of keeping a daughter in school. In Malawi, when school fees begin to soar there is a great probability that girls from needy families will drop out of school (Kadzamira and Rose 2003). In Guinea, however, Glick and Sahn (2000) argue that a boost in families' income leads to investment in girls' education without a corresponding effect on boys. The literature does not suggest why a boost in families' income has no corresponding effect on boys' education but that happens probably because the boys are already in school a lot of the time. It is only appropriate for research to begin to focus on micro politics at the individual level for explanation because even though the literature above points to how interventions help address the issue of access, participation, retention and broader gender equality outcomes, existing research in this area are too focused on macro level interventions, which is structural and focuses little on micro level interventions which is mostly attitudinal.

2.3 Retention

A substantial body of literature has developed over the years, which documents issues around retention. I begin by noting the focus of these literatures on poverty, sexual harassment in schools and lack of basic facilities. One of the unique challenges that women face when pursuing education is sexual harassment and this has an impact on retention. With reference to Lin Farley (1978: 38), I explain sexual harassment as

any physical, visual or sexual act experienced by a person from another person at the time or later, which asserts a person's sexual identity over their identity as a person,

which makes them feel all or any of the following: embarrassed, frightened, hurt, uncomfortable, degraded, humiliated or compromised; which has the further result of diminishing a person's power and confidence.

Sexual harassment is closely related to sexist harassment. According to Epstein (1997), sexist harassment only conveys remarks and does not elicit sexual cooperation. These behaviors play a significant role when it comes to retention of girls in school and it is a worldwide concern affecting both developing and developed nations (Mirsky 2003). Most debate on the subject of sexual harassment in schools focuses on prevalence. Prevalence studies have estimated the proportion of college women experiencing sexual harassment such as rape and attempted rape at anywhere between 14 and 27.5% (Fisher, Cullen, and Turner, 2000; Fisher, Daigle, and Cullen, 2010; Fisher et al. 2002; Humphrey and Kahn 2000; Payne and Fogerty 2007; Schubot 2001). Close to 40% of college women have been stalked (Fisher, Daigle, and Cullen 2010), and up to 92% have experienced sexual harassment (Belknap and Erez 2007).

A number of studies on sexual harassment in Ghana suggest that the issue is widespread but underreported (See Andoh, 2001; Bortei Doku-Aryeetey, 2004; Britwum and Anokye, 2006; Norman, Aikins and Binka, 2013). Some studies report extremely high levels of sexual harassment such as the work of Britwum and Anokye (2006:27) which reveals a 63% prevalence rate among women at the work place and educational institutions and Rosseti, (2001) whose survey of 560 students in Botswana found 67% having experienced sexual harassment. In the context of primary and secondary schools, the figures are much lower; Brown's 2003 survey of primary and secondary students in Ghana reports a much lower figure, 13.5% out of 347 girls and 4.2% of the boys had been a victim of sexual abuse at school. This statistic gives credence to Ringrose and Renold's (2012), assertion that women still suffer from deeply sexist social and

cultural values". The problem is that they receive the blame when there is sexual harassment (Duits and van Zoonen (2006); McClintock 1995).

Bortei-Doku Aryeetey (2004)'s study found this to be fairly true in Ghana because her findings reveal that for the Ghanaian society and individual offender, blaming the victim in cases of sexual harassment superseded acceptance of impropriety. Other scholars agree that cultural norms put extra burden on sexual harassment victims when they report their ordeals. The victims face labeling and victimization, further harassment threats or trivialization of the case resulting in denial of justice (Andoh, 2001; Britwum and Anokye, 2006; McCann, 2001). Most parents are very aware of the problems relating to sexual harassment that their daughters" face in society, especially the multiplicity of contexts within which sexual harassment could occur and the possibility of non-disclosure (Boakye, 2009) and are therefore very likely to withdraw their daughters from school with the slightest indication of sexual issues (Moletstone and Manuh,1999).

Some scholars have sought to look out for the various interventions at preventing and stopping sexual harassment. They have done that in two ways; in law and in curricular. Scholars with respect to investigations on management systems for dealing with sexual harassment in terms of law have come out with various assertions. Britwum and Anokye, (2006: 27), note, however, that Ghana does not have any national law on sexual harassment even though it amounts to an offence. Consequently, putting forward a checklist to deal with it makes it challenging. Bortei-Doku Aryeetey (2004) makes a similar observation that the law does not pay much attention to non-rape forms of sex discrimination. Both sets of scholars, however, believe in the

possibility of generating policies within various structures and systems in the schools for confronting sexual harassment. A curricular is a pedagogical perspective that aims to confront, through educational and practice, the gender stereotypical messages that girls and boys receive about their respective natures (Bloom and Covington 2000, 11). With respect to curricular, scholars have examined the nature and extent of gender stereotyping, both linguistic and pictorial, in textbooks. In order to do this, a content and linguistic analysis was conducted, focusing on, amongst other things; the ratio of male to female characters, the portrayal of women and men in social and domestic settings, the use of gender-inclusive expressions, and the ordering of items in female/male symmetrical constructions. These scholars have argued based on their examination of educational curricular that the current sex education programs have failed us and need to be reformed (Aikman and Rao, 2012; Foulds, 2012). The nature and extent of gender stereotyping, both in the West, specifically Australia (Lee and Collins, 2008) as well as other continents is very alarming (Simmonds, 2013).

Apart from sexual harassment, there has been a considerable broadening of the academic discourse in relation to how poverty also affects retention. Higher education costs can result not only in students' non-enrollment but also dropping out (Boyle et al. 2002:73-75). In Guinea and Ethiopia, inability to pay for the direct cost of education leads parents to withdraw their children from school and Mukudi (2004) categorizes it into temporary withdrawal and limited attendance. Brown and Parkes (2002) also discuss how such withdrawals take on gendered patterns as girls are more likely to be withdrawn than boys.

School dropout rates for girls are higher than those for boys in most developing countries, partly

due to reasons outside the girl's control, such as early marriage or cultural norms that prioritize investments in boys (Levine et al. 2009). Elsewhere, Levine (2006) posits that in the 1980's most parents in Nepal took their girl child to school only to learn to read, write and to know her letters and once that was achieved, they had to leave school and even though parents pleaded poverty when it came to a daughter continuing in school, money was found to pay a son's school fees.

According to Hunter and May (2003), poverty is very likely to be responsible for school disruption. Some scholars have revealed that as part of coping strategy during income shocks, family members especially the girls are stopped from schooling in order to beef up labor or save cost (De Janvry et al. 2006; Robilla, 2006). The most obvious forms of child labour are usually domestic and are perceived as household duties for girls which forms part of the unrecognized care economy. Very rarely is this seen by either the girls or their parents as work. Instead, it is assumed to be useful preparation for their role as mothers later on as well as a way of easing their mother's burden and allowing her to be more productive (Johnson, 2000; Wolf, 1972). Ersado (2005) and Guacello et al. (2005) recognize that even though this form of labor may not stop a girl from schooling, depending on the nature and volume of work, it may take a lot of the girl's time and cause infrequent school attendance or habitual absenteeism. In Tanzania, Dachi and Garret (2003) have noted that child labor is a catalyst for absenteeism, repeating a class and an eventual dropping out of school. For Ersado (2005), it is the girl child who is most affected by linkages between access, education and child labor. This affects retention in the sense that even though a girl may be given access to school, hidden labor may encourage absenteeism and eventual withdrawal from school. This problem has been prevalent because there is this blindness shared by parents, children and teachers that girls' contribution at

home come at a cost to the girls in that it affects their retention in schools.

2.4 Impacts of Education

There is also a large literature documenting associations between female education and a variety of social outcomes such as lower fertility, decreases in child mortality, improvements in child health and nutrition, and better education and child cognitive development (see reviews in Strauss and Thomas 1995; World Bank 2001).

Health wise, research has shown that women's education is associated with child survival. The argument is that educated women tend to be less fatalistic about illness, are more attentive about nutrition and hygiene, and better equipped to adopt preventive practices as well as ensure access to medical facilities (Cleland and Harris, 1996; Hobcraft, 1992; Jejeeboy, 1992). An analysis of 18 developing countries participating in the DHS confirmed that women's education is strongly associated with the survival of children between the ages of 6 and 60 months, although very large inter-country variation was found (Cleland and Harris, 1996). The use of multivariate analyses to study mothers and have indicated that, giving mothers with seven or more years of education might be associated with a 40 per cent decline in overall child mortality; nevertheless, the same analyses show that the association becomes weaker in sub-Saharan African countries (United Nations, 1994a).

Another health related benefit of female education is infant immunization rates. Some studies have it that, almost half of all educated women immunize their children as compared to uneducated women. A recent comparative study based on 25 DHS concludes that the most

important differential in child immunization is associated with the mother's educational levels (Gage et al.1997). Also, educated women are more likely to receive proper prenatal and postnatal care, and to have their deliveries assisted by trained personnel (Hobcraft, 1992; and Lettenmaier et al. 1988).

According to Caldwell (1989:175), women's lack of control over their own lives as the main factor underlying the poorer mortality outcomes experienced by Islamic societies and suggests that education of women is a sure catalyst to reverse some of these outcomes. Other scholars have speculated that formal education somehow instills new attitudes that lead to better health and longevity and is therefore a social vaccine to curb infection rate (Peters, E. et al, 2009). Jejeebhoy (1995) has reviewed the literature on women's education and fertility in the developing world in an effort to identify the pathways through which education affects fertility and how education-fertility relations depend on cultural contexts. Jejeebhoy emphasizes that a major difference between this study and previous surveys is the focus on women's autonomy- "the extent to which women have control over their own lives" (:7) -as intervening and conditioning the relationship of women's education to fertility and its proximate determinants. Jejeebhoy makes the following conclusions in the data. In her assessment, the empirical evidence indicates that: women's education tends to reduce fertility and increase women's autonomy; with such effects context dependent. She argues strongly from a policy standpoint, "the close association between female education and well-being, including enhanced autonomy, improved family health and child survival, greater reproductive choices, and lower fertility, are strong enough to warrant sustained government investment in female education" (pp. 185, 188). Others such as DeRose, et al., (2002) contend that it is not enough

to make a blanket statement that women's schooling on its own is sufficient enough to reduce fertility. They argue that the popularly touted inverse relationship between schooling and fertility may not be as strong in all places. In the case of Ghana, they demonstrate a crises-led fertility transition and not a female education led one. Educated women are better at managing their family's health issues, thereby reducing infant and maternal mortality, as well as health care cost and improving demographic structures.

In other instances especially with respect to economic advantages, scholars (Levine et al. 2008; Lloyd and Young, 2009; Temin and Levine, 2009) note that the returns from girls' education in developing countries are substantial, and in most cases they exceed those observed in developed countries and those of boys. Investing in women's education produces economic benefits with respect to higher wages. A study on return to primary education indicates that, on the order of 5 to 15% for boys, girls are slightly higher (Psacharopoulos and Patrins (2002). These advantages are also evident at the secondary level (Fallon 1999; Schultz 2002) Overall, the data suggests that the single highest return to investment available in the developing world is the education of its female members (Herz and Gene, 2004). Glick and Sahn (1997), as well as Hadden and London (1996) also assert that educating women leads to improved economic advantages for individuals, families and society. Education also enhances faster economic growth. World Bank, World Economic Forum and OECD point to the key economic role played by women as they become more productive citizens through education. The World Bank conducted a study in 100 countries and came to the conclusion that, increasing the share of women with higher education by 1% boosts annual per capita income growth by 0.3%. Herz and Gene (2004), think that this is welcome news because per capita income gains in

developing countries rarely exceed 3%. Klasen (1999[2009]) also believes that 1% annual growth in terms of GDP could be achieved with equal education. Investment in female education can yield a “growth premium” in GDP trends and that narrowing the gender gap in employment can boost per capita income. In the area of agriculture, Smith and Haddad (1999) and Quisumbing, (1996) have argued that educating women is likely to lead to increase in productive farming and consequently reduce poverty.

Instead of looking at the benefits of girls’ education directly, some scholars rather have looked at the opportunity cost of not educating girls. They have looked at the cost of leaving them uneducated and based on that have deductively projected the benefits that society would have accrued had they taken the responsibility to educate girls. Chaaban and Cunningham (2011) use simple non-parametric methodologies to quantify the costs incurred by societies as a result of the social exclusion of adolescent girls. They have come to the conclusion that, the opportunity cost in terms of losses is the potential productivity gains and income young girls could have achieved if they were employed, if they had delayed pregnancy, or if they had attained higher educational levels. According to Temin et al. (2009), the economic cost imposed on societies by the extensive incidence of these negative factors is overwhelming. Despite these established returns on investment in girls’ education and the large number of interventions undertaken both by government and international organizations, a large number of girls continue to be left out of school. A focus on the micro level decision-making factors and the actors involved in this decision to enroll and keep a female in school will help us understand these contradictions better.

2.5 First Generation Educated Women in Ghana

Irrespective of the factors which are glaring from the literature to be some of the determining factors influencing access and retention of girls in schools, it is a truism that there are women who have been able to go through school and are doing very well in their respective fields. However, there is limited scholarly work that exclusively explores the lives of early educated women in Ghana except Behrenda (2002) which focuses on Dagara women. Otherwise, you can only figure this out when scholars state this in passing elsewhere. Scholars whose work are a compilation of biographical materials such as Wyllie (1966) only looked at the socio economic characteristics of parents and whether there is a trend towards closure in terms of recruitment (Weis, 1981). In other cases, monuments of these women make their lives visible. For instance, we learn about the first woman to graduate from the University of Ghana (Elizabeth Frances Baaba- Sey because a hall is named after her (Undergraduate and Post Graduate Prospectus, 2014). A closer look at these generations and how they were able to sail through education perhaps unimpeded or impeded especially in terms of how the decision to enroll them in school were carried out amidst gate keepers, tensions, contentions and undertones of class and kinship (matrilineal and patrilineal) will be a great contribution to the literature on the subject because it will help to make sense of the contradiction where in spite of the increasing attention to girls' education, the numbers assessing and staying in school through to the tertiary level has not appreciated dramatically.

2.6 Gap in Literature

The section on problem statement, addresses the gap in literature in brief. Efforts have also been made to address the gap in each thematic area of the literature reviewed. For the purpose of clarity, the gap in literature is summarized below. Existing literature pays too much attention to structural interventions and less attention on micro-level interventions. Moreover, even though the literature on the impacts of education suggests established returns on girls' education, girls continue to be left out of school. The contradictions here have not received much focus. Any study that seeks to look out for the micro-level decision making factors around education and the actors involved in such decisions, which could unravel such contradictions would be laudable. Paramount among others, we notice from the literature on FGEW in Ghana that little has been written about them. It is only appropriate for researchers to pay attention to this generation especially in respect to the micro-politicking around the decision to enroll them in school and how the undertones of kinship played a role.

2.7 Conclusion

A substantial body of literature developed over the years documents some of the determinants of education. They look at the differential educational participation of boys and girls across and within households in terms of enrollment and completion. The findings resonate with the idea that not everybody is granted access as intervening factors such as poverty and cultural perception play a role. Even when access is granted, retention is skewed in favour of males. The challenges that women face when pursuing higher education has been well noted in literature, especially in terms of how (sexual and sexist harassment) also affects retention. The issue is that even though we are privy to all these challenges, there is not enough evidence

to show those who were still able to sail through education amidst these issues. The tensions, contentions and negotiations that underlay the everyday decisions of who receives education have not been stressed.



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

3.0 Introduction

In this section, the methodological preferences and strategies I used in collecting the data, the challenges I confronted and how it was handled is described. The nature of the research problem and its associated research objectives, in tandem with the researcher's epistemological orientation informed the methodological preferences and procedures that were followed for the production of knowledge about the problem. I map out the chapter in four subsections. First I will profile the study area, and then look at the philosophical worldview underlying the study and the ways in which they lay the groundwork for the choices of methodological approaches. Additionally, I have a descriptive summary of the research participants and finally map out the analytical framework that I applied to analyse and interpret the interview data.

3.1 Study Area

The study was conducted at Kyebi, the capital of the East Akyem Municipality in Ghana. Other researchers who have attempted a study of first generation educated women have done so in European countries. I did not come across any study of this sort in Ghana except that which was done on Dagara women (Behrends 2002). The subject matter with that was not about micro-politics but about elite formation, migration networks and intergenerational career trajectories. This area was chosen so as to enable me fill this void. Moreover, this area was chosen because it is renowned to have produced some of the first educated elite in Ghana known to have played crucial roles in the independence struggle of Ghana. More importantly, the area has produced female elites in Ghana such as the first female doctor in Ghana, Mrs. De Graft Jonson, formerly

called Dr Susana Ofori Atta, the first Ghanaian female professional librarian Grace Abena Amoakoa Ofori Atta (Kwakye, 2007).

Kyebi is one of the towns of East Akyem. According to the Akyem Abuakwa Presby Chronicle, the first school in this area was the Presbyterian school established in 1867 by the Basel Missionaries. From the school's Log Book, all the pupils were males. Subsequently, other missionary schools such as the Methodist, Anglican and Catholic schools were also established around the late 1870's. Later on, the town also set up state schools. Currently, the town has about eight government's Primary and Junior High schools and a number of private schools. The ratio of the male to female population in terms of school enrolment in the past was highly skewed in favor of males. That notwithstanding, as far back as the early 1900's, the town had a women's training college, the Queen Elizabeth Girls School which was later converted into a mixed teacher training college now known as the Kyebi College of Education (Kyebi College of Education's Log Book). The Akyem Abuakwa State established a secondary school, the Abuakwa State College at Asafo which was moved to the Kyebi Township under Nana Sir Ofori Atta I, 73years ago. Abuakwa State College in the past had a scholarship scheme for the indigenes and a lot of females took advantage of it. Currently, the ratio of males to females in the only College of Education in Kyebi is 2:1 respectively (2010 population census). This unequal distribution of male to female population in the school is similar to all schools not only in Kyebi but the whole of Akyem Abuakwa Kingdom, according to a baseline study compiled in the 2003/2004 academic year (Kesse-Tagoe and Associates, 2004). Below is a tabular representation of the population of males and females in schools in the kingdom in the 2003/2004 academic year.

Table 3 Distribution of Schools/ Teacher/Pupils in Akyem Abuakwa Kingdom

Distributions of Schools/ Teachers/Pupils in the Kingdom

Institutions	No. of Institutions	No. of Pupils				No. of Teachers					
		Male	%	Female	%	Total	Male	%	Female	%	Total
Nursery	423	14638	50.3	14442	49.7	29080	139	14.8	803	85.2	942
Primary School	764	59320	52.4	53812	47.6	113132	2667	67	1315	33	3982
JSS	437	20829	54.1	17674	49.9	38505	1979	68	930	32	2909
SSS	24	7845	54.1	6591	45.7	14436	497	85.4	85	24.6	582
Teacher Training College	1	368	70.2	156	29.8	524	24	72.7	11	27.3	35
Voc/Tech.	5	1963	80.4	479	19.6	2442	102	85	18	25	120
Total	1654	104963	53	93154	47	198117	5408	63.1	3162	36.9	8570

Source: Baseline survey, Kesse-Tagoe and Associates, (July 2004)

It is worth noting from this table that at all levels of education, not only do the male population dominate the female population, the gap gets wider at the higher levels that is from SSS/Vocational/Technical to the Training College. Male dominance is even wider with respect to the number of teachers except for the nursery which reflects the ‘traditional’ pattern of female dominance in care giving.

3.2 Philosophical Underpinnings - Advocacy or Transformative Worldview

Philosophical worldviews are important in influencing why a researcher may chose qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods. The general orientation or worldview which was espoused in this work is the advocacy and transformative Worldview. This worldview emerged from the writings of scholars from diverse ethnic and racial groups and feminists persuasion (Mertens, 2003). The basic assumption is that knowledge is not neutral: it is influenced by human interest and all knowledge reflects power and social relationships within a society. This worldview

places importance on the lives and experiences of marginalized groups such as women, ethnic and racial minorities, members of the gay and lesbian communities, people with disability and the poor. These underlying assumptions are illuminated by answering ontological, epistemological and methodological questions. The ontological assumption holds that there are diverse viewpoints with regards to many social realities but that those viewpoints needs to be placed within the political, cultural, historical and economic value systems to understand the basis for their differences. The epistemological question is, what is the nature of knowledge and the relationship between the knower and ‘the-would be’ known? The methodological question asks, how can the knower go about obtaining the desired knowledge and understanding? The transformative paradigm may involve qualitative, quantitative and mixed method however; it is typically seen with qualitative research. The qualitative research method was used. This methodological decision was made because I was interested in the richness of data and not numbers. An advocacy or transformative worldview holds that research inquiry needs to be intertwined with politics and a political agenda (Creswell, 2009: 1, 7). Moreover, I intended to analyse the data with a theory which is allowed under advocacy research (Morris 2006), unlike the grounded theory or the constructivist worldview where the researcher needs to set aside, as much as possible, theoretical ideas or notions so that the analytic, substantive theory can emerge. I must admit that this worldview impacted the belief, thinking, viewpoint and biases I brought to this research. This also laid the groundwork for the choices of methodological approaches and the formulations of the research questions.

3.3 Research Design: Qualitative Methods

My choice of a qualitative method was in tandem with the philosophical position of advocacy or transformative orientation. I used qualitative data collection methods, qualitative research evaluation, qualitative data collection sources and qualitative sampling methods. The quantitative approach is inadequate for exploring issues of power, micro politics, contentions and tensions that needed to be addressed. I was also not simply interested in the numbers but rather on the quality and richness of data to be collected (Morse 2000:4). As a result of these concerns the quantitative approach which is usually aimed at generating statistical data could not fit in here.

3.3.1 Sampling Strategies

Non-probability sampling strategy was used to generate a sample which allowed me to understand the subject of interest, specifically purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling strategy in which participants are selected on the basis that they are considered typical of the population (Gray, 2009). I used purposive sampling because of its advantage as has been argued by Neuman (2007) that it allows the researcher to use her or his own judgment in selecting cases which she or he thinks will be helpful in the study.

3.3.2 Sampling Population

The target population was the people of Kyebi where data was gathered to capture women who are the first generation of educated women in Ghana. I chose this study area because it is a matrilineal society and also a town that is known to have hosted some of the first set of elites (both females and males) in Ghana. The research units comprised of 30 participants from

Kyebe. To qualify for the interview, the participants had to satisfy certain criteria. Criteria for eligibility were as follows:

- Women who had received education up to the tertiary level.
- Women who were the first (in the nuclear and extended family) to have received tertiary education in their families.
- They should come from Kyebe (Indigenes).

In addition to the above criteria, information was gathered from other individuals who were identified as key actors in the decision-making and financing of the females in school. These were:

- Those who were the decision makers in the family throughout the period of the woman's schooling.
- The gate keepers and
- Rebels

The sampling, therefore, excluded:

- Women who were not educated up to the tertiary level except for a role they played as part of the micro politics which eventually contributed to another woman receiving education (the role could be as a gatekeeper, ally or decision maker).
- Women who were educated but were not the first to be educated in their families.
- Men whether they be educated or not were not a part of the study unless they played a role as decision makers, gate keepers, or allies.

3.3.3 Sampling Procedure and Representativeness

On sampling procedure, the difficulty in generating a sampling frame for targeted participants made it imperative for me to use non probability sampling. Moreover, in qualitative studies, we are not so keen about the mathematical significance of the sample but rather the quality of the data the researcher intended to gather (Morse 2000:4). The probability sampling was not appropriate here. As a qualitative researcher my search was not so much about ensuring a representative sample so I diversified my sampling so different First Generation Educated Women (FGEW) would take part in the study. An initial effort was made through opinion leaders and people who had been in town for long to help the researcher identify various family homes. The Kyebi town has a history of stereotyping various families based on professions. For example, the Dua-Sakyi's are known to be lawyers. I took advantage of this knowledge to approach these families to obtain various contacts which were useful in my selection of initial respondents. These initial respondents, after the interviews, were urged to help secure the participation and cooperation of other participants who fell within the category of decision makers. The initial efforts yielded 10 respondents, who made subsequent referrals to other respondents. Based on information provided about who the decision makers and /or allies were, the researcher found them so that they could also tell their own part of the story. Such referrals yielded 5 more respondents. These brought the total number to 15 respondents. I was convinced that subsequent data could shed further light on the issue under investigation, so I made a conscious effort to get more respondents. This time around I went to the palace and they helped me identify 30 more first generation educated women, however, I realized that 8 of them already formed part of the 10 initial respondents. It meant that I only had 22 people to deal with, 7 had already passed away and frantic efforts to get in touch with their daughters who might qualify for

the study proved futile as three of them had travelled to Europe and the telephone conversation as an option was not considered. I did not consider telephone conversation because of the difficulty in creating rapport, as suggested by (Sweet, 2002) as well as the difficulty in detecting misleading information (Nunkoosing, 2005). Moreover, I was interested in gathering rich data which meant that probing was necessary however; the difficulty in probing due to the absence of visual cues characterizing telephone interviews was a major reason why I left that option out (Car and Worth, 2001). I managed to locate 15 respondents who fit the criteria as first generation educated women out of the 22 left. Out of these 15, I interviewed only 5. This was because some of them were indisposed and the others had challenges with recalling some of their experiences. The 5 people made further referrals to allies or supporters and neutrals who were 10 in number. I interviewed 30 respondents in all, 15 were FGEW, and the other 15 constituted the DM's, GK's, Rebels and Supporters or Allies.

Even though I had 13 more people I could have interviewed, I stopped at 30 upon the realization that more data did not lead to more information after interviewing the 29th respondent. Besides after I had transcribed the data and reviewed them it was realised that the research objectives and or questions have been adequately answered therefore more data could be counterproductive (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Jette et al, 2003; Lee et al, 2002; Morse, 2000:4; Ritchie et al, 2003:84; Strauss and Corbin, 1998 [1990]).

Beyond the guiding principles of the concept of saturation, other factors also complemented the adequacy of the sample size of 30. Some scholars have suggested what constitutes a sufficient sample size for different kinds of qualitative studies: Bernard (2000:178) states that most studies

are based on samples between 30-60 interviews for ethno-science; for ethnography and ethno-science, Morse (1994:225) suggests 30-50 interviews for both; Creswell (1998:64) also suggests (20-30) for grounded theory methodology and (5-25) for phenomenology. Morse (1994:225) puts the figure at a minimum of six for all qualitative research. However, Bertaux (1981:35) believes fifteen is the smallest acceptable sample (adapted from Guest et al., 2006). Charmaz (2006:114) for example also suggests that "25 (participants are) adequate for smaller projects"; for Ritchie et al. (2003:84) qualitative samples often "lie under 50"; while Green and Thorogold (2009 [2004]:120) state that "the experience of most qualitative researchers, is that in interview studies little that is 'new' comes out of transcripts after you have interviewed 20. In this case, I had exceeded Green and Thorogold's (2009 [2004]) figure by 10. I was mindful of some factors that could influence sample size as suggested by Ritchie et al. (2003:84)

the heterogeneity of the population; the number of selection criteria; the extent to which 'nesting' of criteria is needed; groups of special interest that require intensive study; multiple samples within one study; types of data collection methods use; and the budget and resources available.

In this study the selection criteria included: educated up to the tertiary level, first in the family to have tertiary education and must be matrilineal. Other factors that influenced sample size were the extent to which 'nesting' of criteria is needed as well as groups of special interest that require intensive study. I catered for these groups of interest (constituencies) in the study and they comprised decision makers (their allies and supporters) as well as the constituency I term rebels (their supporters and allies and those that I classified as the gatekeepers). Decision makers here have to do with actors who decide on issues surrounding the FGEW's education. Rebels on the other hand are those actors who disagreed with decisions by the decision makers and went ahead

to make sure such decisions were not carried out. Taking into consideration the scope of the study, the nature of the topic, the quality of the data I intended to gather and the study design I used as suggested by Morse (2000:4), I was convinced that analyzing a large sample in this study was simply going to be impractical and unnecessary.

3.3.4 Characteristics of the Sample Specifically the FGEW and the Decision Makers

Table 3.2 and 3.3, summarizes the demographic characteristics of the sample of the FGEW and decision makers the researcher interviewed. The FGEW ranged between the ages 64-101. The Decision Makers are also within the age bracket 87-105. All FGEW are from Kyebi. The FGEW have been categorised under rebels (R) and non-rebels (NR). Rebels are those who actively or passively took part in the resistance against non-enrolment decisions by the decision makers (DM) and non-rebels are those who did not take part in the resistance against non-enrolment decisions by the DM.

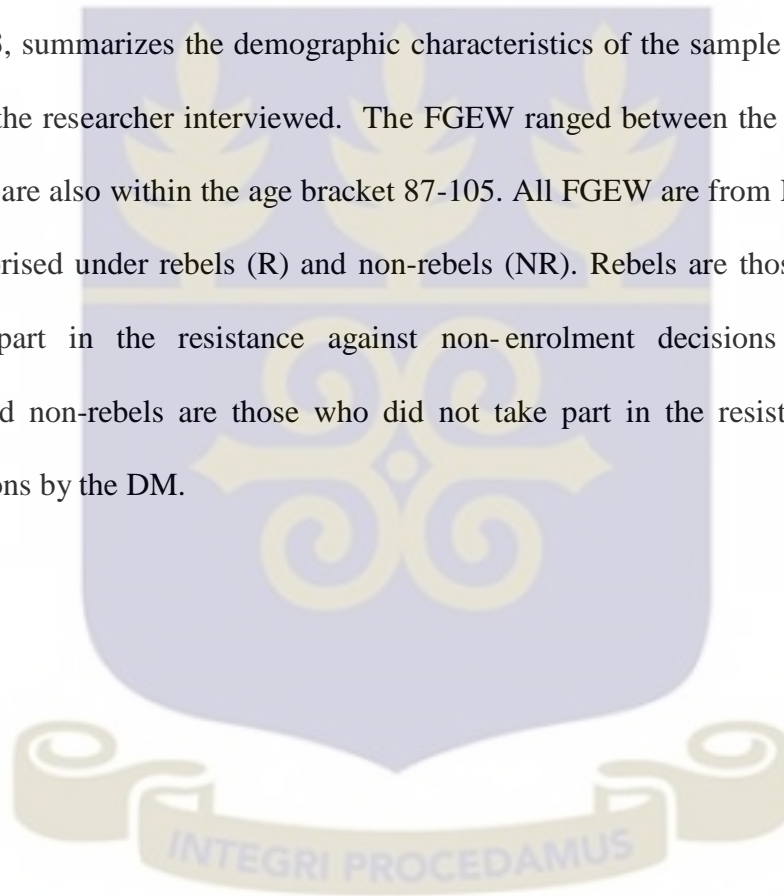


Table 4 Demographic Characteristics of First Generation Educated Women (FGEW)

Name*	Age	Marital Status**	Number of Children	Profession	(Lineage)#	Rebel or Non Rebel
Darkoah	83	W	3	Teacher	Akyem (M.)	NR
Nana Tiwaa	66	M	2	Dev.Planner/ Economist	Akyem (M.)	R
Hannah	81	W	2	Teacher	Akyem (M.)	NR
Mary	89	W	5	Midwife	Akyem (M.)	R
Donkor	87	W	10	Banker	Akyem (M.)	R
Obea	87	D	4	Midwife	Akyem (M.)	R
Oye	101	W	3	Midwife	Akyem (M.)	R
Angela	64	M	2	Lawyer	Akyem (M.)	R
Debora	69	M	2	Tax Officer	Akyem (M.)	NR
Lucy	100	W	4	Midwife	Akyem (M.)	R
Pomaa	70	M	0	Lawyer	Akyem (M.)	R
Akua	65	M	1	Journalist	Akyem (M.)	R
Charity	100	W	3	Midwife	Akyem (M.)	R
Akosua	80	M	3	Midwife	Akyem (M.)	R
Gyankroma	67	M	2	Lecturer	Akyem (M.)	R

* Name: These are pseudonyms

** Marital Status: M= Married; W= Widowed; D= Divorced

Lineage Affiliation: M. = Matrilineal – It is homogenous for all respondents under the category (FGEW) because they have to be matrilineal in order to take part in the study.

Table 5 Demographic Characteristics of Decision Makers

Name*	Age	Sex**	Occupation***	Relation to FGEW	Social Class****
Opanin Kwakye	94	M	Farmer	Farther	NES
Kwame Sarpong	87	M	Teacher	Father	ES
Yaw Dua	95	M	Trader	Father	NES
Ofori	88	M	Teacher	Father	NES
Maame Yaa	105	F	Trader	Mother	NES

*Name: These are Pseudonyms

**Sex: M= Males; F= Females

****Social Class: ES= economically sound; NES= not economically sound.

3.3.5 Research Instruments and Interviewing Procedures

For the interview approach, the semi-structured and informal conversational interview and in-depth interview were used. Each of these types under the interview approach was employed for specific purposes. I chose these instruments in response to the philosophical worldview within which my study was grounded. The in-depth interview and the informal conversational interview were used to ensure detail-oriented probes, elaboration probes, and clarification probes on my part my (the part of the researcher). On the other hand, the participants were able to offer rich and detailed account of their experiences when the researcher employed the in-depth

interview approach. The use of these instruments, the rationale and the processes for their use are discussed below.

3.3.5.1. Semi Structured Interview Schedule and Interview Process

The semi-structured interview schedule was applied in most of the interviews. This instrument was a general structure decided in advance on the issue to be covered and the main questions to be asked. The participants had a considerable amount of freedom in what to talk about which could stray from the guide (Reid et al. 2005; Smith et.al 2012). A list of questions was prepared, but I did not deal with all of them. This interview approach was adopted due to the benefit as espoused by Gray (2009) that it offers the researcher some flexibility to change the order of questions depending on what direction the interview took¹. The interviews did not always follow the chronology of the questions on the schedule. This was because I gained mastery over the rest of the interview and how to build rapport so much after the first sets of interviews such that I could start from anywhere and still cover every aspect of the schedule and even more. A lot of the interviews were conducted using the informal conversational interview. This allowed the most open ended form of interview technique in terms of which path the interview should take. These benefits as outlined by Gray (2009) were in tandem with a necessary postulate within the theoretical framework I was using. James Scott and Stephen Lukes' concept of power is itself open-ended thus permitting endless constellations of different dimensions of power to be explored. Most of the interviews were varied depending on how the micro-politics surrounding how power was played in such decision making. Most of the interviews were conducted without much interruption from me, except in situations where I had to ask follow-up questions to get more details of what I was trying to understand, for elaboration or for further

¹ See details of these instruments in the appendix section

clarification. Two languages were used for the interview and these were Twi and English. Sometimes it was a combination of the two. The duration of the interviews was between 50 minutes and 130 minutes. This was generally affected by respondents' reasoning ability, venue and personal attributes. Two of the interviews I conducted at the work place of participants experienced a lot of distractions as individuals looked in and walked by almost throughout the interview. I maintained my focus regardless but tried to negotiate venues outside the workplace for subsequent interviewees even though the respondents had the option of deciding where the interview should take place. Apart from venue, the respondents' reasoning ability also prolonged some of the interviews. Most of the people who were interviewed were very old people so sometimes, memory failures or inability to remember some of the issues influenced the duration of the interviews. My own experience was also a factor. The first set of interviews were prolonged because I did not know what to expect especially when the views were new to me so I kept on interrupting for clarification. Having overcome this, I tried to be as unobtrusive as possible and let the respondents talk freely in the subsequent interviews. This explains the shorter duration in the second set of interviews.

3.3.5.2 Designing for Reliability and Validity

I took various steps at the design stage to ensure reliability and validity. First, I made use of data triangulation where data was collected from multiple sites, the different constituencies of interest involved in the micro-politicking of educating women. I was able to do some checks and balances from the information I gathered from these 'interest' groups and where the narration of one constituency in the same family was not adding up, I probed further for clarification or sought clarification on the same issue from another constituency in the same

family. This is what is known as inter respondents' validity checks. This was done within each family because the nature of my studies made it unacceptable to do this across different families. I also made use of person's triangulation (Gray, 2009), where data was collected from women indifferent age brackets. The age bracket of my participants was between 64 years to 106 years. Further, varieties of data gathering technique and tools were also employed such as in-depth interviewing and informal conversations so as to elicit more details. I selected this design to ensure reliability and to enable the weakness of one method to compensate for the other. I also prolonged engagement and had multiple interviews and discussion with some of the participants. I made efforts to get feedback from some of the respondents in the research area and from the research participants in order to ensure respondent validation of preliminary findings as Creswell (2007[2009]) suggests. I did this by presenting a summary of findings to each interviewee for accuracy checks. It was at the level of inter respondents' validity that I got to know about the issue of neutrals. Neutrals are those family members who stood on the sidelines, without taking sides in the contentions around the enrolment and non-enrolment decisions by the decision makers. Finally, I also took steps to ensure the trustworthiness of my research instruments; I also ensured good tape recording and transparency in note taking as encouraged by Guba and Lincoln (2005).

3.3 Ethical Consideration

In compliance with University of Ghana's research regulation for the protection of human research subjects, I got approval from the Institutional Review Board otherwise known as Ethics Committee for Humanities (ECH), Legon². The main purpose of the study was communicated

² See attachment of this letter in the appendix section

to the participants. They were made to understand that there were no direct benefits to the participants, but their participation was likely to help a researcher find out more about the micro politics and choice as a form of everyday power. They were further told that this information when added to literature could also inform broader education policies which will indirectly benefit them in future. I assured them of confidentiality and anonymity as well as the use of the data mainly for academic purposes. I sought for their permission anytime I wanted their voices taped. In the two instances where participants did not give their consent for their voices to be recorded, I obliged accordingly. Verbal consent was sought before I used the tape recorder. In one instance, however, the participant asked for an agreement form and so written consent was given even before the interview commenced. Respondents were made to understand that participation was entirely voluntary and that they had the right to withdraw at any time even if they had already agreed. Contacts for additional information were given and they were made to understand that there were no compensation packages for them. Seeking their consent helped erase any clout of suspicion and allowed for a convivial atmosphere for the interview to take place.

3.4 Procedures for Interpretation and Presentation of data

3.4.5 Practical Process of Storing and Managing Data

After data collection, what to do with the data becomes very important because every other aspect of the research depends on it. I was mindful of how stressful it would be if data gathered got lost. In order to avoid this, there was the need for responsible data management. This began with planning for data collection and will continue until the work is published. I put a system in place to collect and manage the data because the integrity of the data ultimately lies with the principal investigator. I took some steps to make sure that the data was safe. The recordings,

contact summaries, and audio files were stored in a folder and encrypted with Sensi-guard. I recorded 28 out of the 30 interviews and also used a notepad in documenting each interview.

3.4.6 Transcription Method

For this study, the transcription method was a reflection of the interpretative approach underpinning the qualitative research. I tried to convey as fully as possible the experiences and representations of the participants (Roberts, 2007). This included a word-for-word transcription of all hesitations, pauses, utterances, cross-talking and incomplete sentences. A set of notations was then applied to indicate these. Major interruptions by other people or telephones were also recorded and transcribed to contextualize any breaks in speech or repetitions. I encountered a lot of these instances especially among those interviews that were done at the various workplaces of participants. However, minor interruptions were not recorded in order to ensure the flow of the transcripts and support interpretation and analysis (McLelland-Lemal, 2008). The two interviews that were not tape recorded during the interview were expanded to include details. In response to White's (2010) suggestion about proofreading transcriptions, the transcriptions were proof-read against the audio file by myself to check for accuracy, identify any missed or misheard words and to clarify any areas of confusion or unclear terminology. All queries and changes were made using MS Word's track changes tool. I then created a cleaned up version of the transcription and translated into English those that were done in Twi.

3.4.7 Cross Checking

I checked each transcript, and each translation, by listening to sections of the recordings and cross-checking the transcription, or reading sections of translations and cross-checking these

with the original language texts. On two occasions when errors were identified, the entire file was re-transcribed and re-translated.

3.4.8 Data Interpretation

I began the interpretation of the data right from the beginning of data collection and continued throughout the process of collecting the data. According to Campbell and George, (2004), there are numerous ways of conducting qualitative analyses and no one particular way has primacy over the other. Transcripts were coded line-by-line, and then later developed into themes (Auerbach and Silverstein 2003). The researcher manually analyzed all the data from the fieldwork. The objectives of the study guided the ultimate discussion of the themes and trends that emerged from the transcribed interviews. This was ultimately discussed in line with the objectives as well as the theories underpinning the study. This is made plain in the subsequent chapters.

3.5 Delimitations and Scope of the Study

This has to do with the boundaries or parameters that I set for the investigation of the problem so that the objective of the research will not be too broad to study. On population, I have drawn this boundary clearly under section 3.3.2 with the heading ‘sampling population’, as criteria for inclusion and exclusion. With respect to the literature review, I did not review every literature on education since my interest was specifically on gender and education. On instrumentation, only qualitative research instruments were used. The use of each of these instruments has been justified above.

3.6 Limitations of the Study

Crosschecking information was challenging due to aging issues of respondents. Actual numerical data or pertinent numerical data was not given initially unlike the quantitative method which is explicitly stated. Moreover, the participants were not many as I was interested in the richness of the data and not the numerical quantity. I cannot therefore make claim that the women are necessarily representative of other first generation educated women everywhere. The extent to which data is applicable or generalized to other places is limited due to the nature of qualitative research. The data obtained may be subject to different interpretations as well, bearing in mind potential biases of choosing one philosophical worldview and its concomitant methodological stance as against another.

3.7 Field Experiences

The fieldwork was not without challenges. Often, I would walk long distances with the aim of making an appointment with respondents only to meet their absence on arrival. On one occasion, I had to attend the church service of a respondent twice before I could finally get to interview her. In another instance, I had to wait two weeks to attend a funeral where I was assured that, I would have the opportunity to meet a participant, however, to my disappointment I got there and I was told the funeral was no longer going to be held. I had to find other means of tracking her movement in and around the town to be able to meet her finally for the interview. Interestingly, most of the people the researcher interviewed were between the ages of 64 and 106 and some of them forgot things easily. One interesting case was an interview I conducted with a 96 year old participant at Dansoman Sahara. Two weeks after the interview session, she called me on phone and I thought that maybe she had gotten some information related to the study for me only for

me to be asked of my identity and how come she found my number in her room. This is captured in the conversation below:

Respondent: Hello, Researcher: Hello Grandma

Respondent: Who are you? And how did your number get into my room?

Researcher: Yes grandma, I am the interviewer who came to interview you at your Dansoman Sahara residence on 5th April, 2015.

Respondent: I don't remember.

Researcher: I even gave you a copy of my first research on chieftaincy and we took pictures together after the interview as you showed me around to see the awards you have received from TV Africa and other places.

Respondent: No, no, no I have not granted an interview to TV Africa and i have not granted an interview to you either.

This conversation above shows some of the challenges I had to grapple with on a daily basis. Most of the respondents also lived outside Kyebi specifically in Accra and Tema so I had to shuffle between these three locations to locate them. In spite of these challenges, however, it was a very interesting experience though there were times when I wished I was somewhat closer to their age in order to understand them better as we conversed.



CHAPTER FOUR

DECISION MAKERS: EN-GENDERING EDUCATION, PROBLEMATIC EXCLUSIONS AND INCLUSIONS IN DECISION MAKING

4.0 Introduction

The decision to provide a daughter with education was generally made by different categories of adults in a child's life depending on the nature of power they had over the girls' life. To make sense of these various groups of decision makers, I use Lukes' ([1974] 2005) theory of power to discuss issues such as: who the decision makers are, how they arrive at their decisions, what they do to garner support for their decisions, how consistent they are with their decision and whether they take full responsibility for their decision.

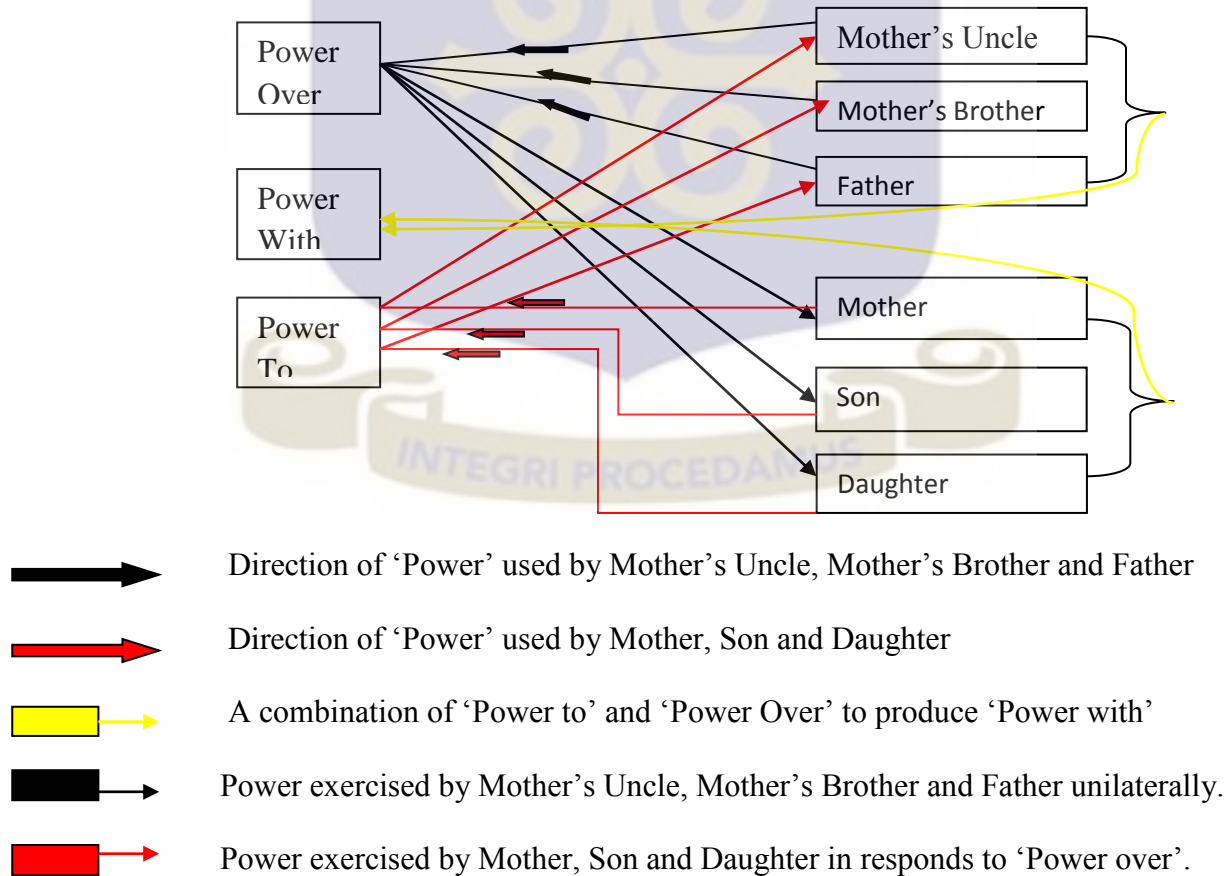
Lukes' concept of power posits that there are three dimensions of power and these are: the overt form of power, the covert form of power and power to shape desires (Lukes 1974). These dimensions of power deal with asymmetric relationships in what has come to be known as power over (Lukes 1974). His concept of power also explains 'Power with' and 'power to' which deals with how the unarticulated interest of those who are otherwise excluded from decision making respond to decisions (Lukes 2005).³ We situate the application of power within the wider context of the families. The children are related to the nuclear family and the extended families of both mother and father. The mothers' mother's brother, the mothers' brother and the daughters' father have 'power over' the mother, daughter and son. In most families, the daughter is the least in the

³ There are numerous assessment of the literature on power. For a clearer understanding of the conceptions of

power, see (Arendt 1969; Lukes [1974], 2005; Wartenberg 1990)

response to the power wielded over them. Those with ‘power over’ could exercise power in solidarity to achieve ‘power with’. Those with ‘power to’ could also apply power as a collective empowerment to achieve power with in response to power over. These actors, employ resources in the exercise of power and could be in the form of drawing allies or supporters from within the family (nuclear or extended) and also from outside the family (friends or non-friends). It is important to recognize that those who exercise power over also have power to. Below is a graphical representation illustrating the power relationships among the members of the family.

Figure 3: Graphical Representation of ‘Power’ Relationships among the Members of the Family



The sons can also be recognized in this complex grand scheme of application of power because they are usually the reference point as to why a daughter could be involved in non-enrolment decisions. ‘Power to’ is the most basic among the senses of power applications. The daughter is the least in the hierarchy of these power applications. Sometimes she becomes the site of contested interest. She may also take sides in the issue. She can use the ‘power to’ but her power to could be meaningful if she is able to culminate it in solidarity with others to produce but with power. These applications are not mutually exclusive; there can be different applications and all the joints in the diagram are all possible applications of power depending on the actor’s interest. Having power over presupposes having ‘power to’ and having ‘power with’ also presupposes having ‘power to’. I also make use of the theory of resistance but it is good to note that the theory of resistance is an example of an application of power to and to a larger extent power with.

4.1 Gendered Structure of Power and the Dynamics of Household Decision-Making

For most of the respondents, their fathers were the key decision makers in all aspects of their lives. Their mothers also took certain decisions within the family, however, it is important to distinguish between major and minor decisions.⁴ Drawing on Lukes’ (1974; 2005) submission, fathers had ‘power over’ daughters and they dominated the more important decisions or major decisions whilst the mothers took minor decisions. Only a few of the family decisions were taken jointly. The matter of who makes the decision about school enrolment is directly

⁴Major decisions as used here has to do with the decisions around issues like where to stay, buying a plot of land, determining which land they could farm on, what to farm and who to receive education. Minor decisions are also about issues around food management, cooking, taking care of the children, children’s clothing and the general ‘niceness’ of the house

related to the quality of relationships among household members and how power is looked at within the family. The dynamics of interaction within households also determines the nature of power in decision making. In general, although decision-making power in most families of respondents was primarily possessed by the male head of household, as is often stereotypically thought, women were also participants in the decision-making process and, in some cases, wielded considerable power themselves. Women, therefore, in Lukes' (1974; 2005) language, had 'power with'. This is what Opanin Kwakye a decision maker and Darkoa his daughter had to say in response to how the decisions concerning Darkoa's education was arrived at. First Opanin Kwakye,

I took decisions about my daughter's education. Sometimes I consulted my wife for her support especially when my daughter was not pleased about my decisions. I involved my son too because he was the eldest son.

Darkoah, a FGEW and a retired midwife also had this to say:

My father and mother took decisions about my education. My father's decisions, however, counted the most. Sometimes he tried very hard to have my mother's support when he realized that I was not happy with his decisions. He did not involve me but he sometimes involved my younger brother (his eldest son) too in taking decisions about my education

These quotes raise two important issues pertaining to the enrolment of a daughter in school. First; it was primarily the father who made the decision, sometimes with input from his wife and his eldest son. The basis of this distinction in decision making is twofold; cultural factors that allot major decision making powers to men as Adomako Ampofo (2001) observes and the differential allocation of resources which is also in tandem with what Leman et al (1994) contend. We can also situate cultural factors in what Lukes describes as 'manipulated consciousness' (p.24) in his bid to reject the behavioral analyses of Dahl, such that for most of the respondents, their fathers were the breadwinners even if their mothers contributed a fair bit in

terms of finances in the home. All the male decision makers held the title as the breadwinners of their families and it did not matter whether they contributed the most financially or not, it did not undermine their male provider identity. This is supportive of earlier suggestions by some scholars that an increase in the financial contribution of mothers/ wives does not suggest a change in male bread winner ideology (McKee and Bell, 1986; Morris, 1985, 1990; Wheelock, 1990). They took decisions in their capacity as the leader of the family. In those instances where the females had absent fathers due to divorce and they stayed with her mothers, their maternal uncles became the major decision makers in matters relating to their education.

A second point to note is the absence of the daughters in question regarding their educational trajectories. They are ignored in the decision making process about their education but, their brothers are consulted even though the decision to be made is about them and not their brothers. This shows that the agency of the girls (FGEW) was limited. It is not surprising though because we recognize that the girl in question only has her 'power to' use but she uses it in obedience to whatever decision is arrived at. In other instances, we see transformative power and not power to as domination as Lukes makes us understand.⁵ From the conversation below we recognize that the decision maker wanted the best for his daughter and not just because he wanted to exercise his power over. Even though he exercises power over his wife and daughter and he does that by constraining their choices in respect to what school she can attend, he does that so as to bring the best in her and not just to dominate them as Lukes' (1974) concept of the first face of power seeks to portray. Power over is not just synonymous to domination then. This provides a situation where power over is both domination and transformative.

⁵For an extended account of what transformative power entails, see Spelman (1989).

Power is domination here because the decision maker constraints the choices of his daughter and wife (Lukes, 1974) and transformative because the decision maker wants the best for his daughter (Wartenberg 1990: 9, 10). It is also about the actual choice of school as well as the choice of subject and not so much of a non-enrolment decision. Below, Nana recounts some of exchanges between her mother and father concerning some of the decisions around her education.

My father was a headmaster and my mother was also a teacher so the decision about whether I will go to school was not an issue because everybody went to school in my family. But from form five to six which I am sure you don't know about there were a lot of contentions between my parents. First, my father wanted me to do science, but I did not want it and my mother was not going to sit down for science to be pushed down my throat. I cried so much but my father would not budge, so my mother during one of the heated arguments with my father went to the bedroom and produced all my reports. My father became sober because my grades right from the scratch had always been better with the Arts. That was the end of the discussion.

In another instance, it was the issue about my choice of school. I had the opportunity to go to Aburi Girls but my father said no! no! never. For him, it was either Achimota School or no school. I spent one whole year at home. The following year I had Holy Child but they didn't have my subject combination and so they transferred me to Ola and my father was like his children must attend Achimota. He thought that Achimota was the best school and since he attended Achimota College and PTC, I must also go to Achimota. My mother said no way "Ma onkoenyeesaa ye nsen fie ha" (let her go to any school available otherwise the house will be too small to contain us) and she meant it. I went to Achimota eventually in 1966 and entered the University in 1974.

Some decision makers actually took decisions to educate their sons and not daughters. I realized that they headed a household that struggled economically. The education of their children must fit in with the broader considerations of the family need. I am inclined to follow Fuller and Laing's (1999 cited in Grant & Hallman, 2006: 6) suggestion that families' financial capacity could influence the prospect of keeping a daughter in school. To them, the most

important expenses to make were food, health care and sending their sons to school. Educating their daughters meant that they had to forgo certain ongoing commitments which they were not ready to abandon. This explanation is similar to Pryor and Ampiah (2003)'s findings of people's perception of girl's education as extravagant. Parents may desire education for both sons and daughters, but be constrained by poverty. It was found out that more than one member of a household is usually involved in an enrolment/non-enrolment/dropout decision and various actors play prominent roles in the negotiation of such decisions especially when the father is unable to win the support of the mother. We see the gendered structure of power here as issues are referred to brothers in law of the husband (the mother's brother) and sometimes the mother's uncle. We do not see the decision makers refer unresolved issues of education to women in this context. Mr. Apietu, who used to be a farmer, also recounted how he took the decision about his daughter's education.

I used to be very rich and I had farms but two of my farms got destroyed in a fire outbreak and I became financially bankrupt. I decided that my daughter should stay back at home for some time until I could raise money for her education but her mother would have none of that. She was not cooperative at all but her daughter was not the only one who dropped out, my daughter from my second wife also dropped out. I called on my brother in-law to help talk to my wife so that she would cooperate but that is when matters got worse because her brother and her uncle sided with her against me.

4.2 Why Decision Makers Wanted their Daughters in School

A number of issues were raised by decision makers on why they wanted their daughters in school. Based on these reasons we could see some tensions and contentions here.

On a personal level, regardless of economic status, decision makers wanted the lives of their children to be better than theirs, and they perceived that one way to future success for their children and, correspondingly, their households was through education. Part of the definition of

success through education is economic in nature, and it implies the belief that sending children to school – especially boys, but also girls – will result in their gainful employment. Perhaps not consistent with the household’s economic reality, the phrase “to become a doctor or an engineer” was a commonly voiced aspiration of parents. In addition, many parents believed that they would achieve increased social status for themselves and their families through their children’s education and, in some cases, decision-makers were influenced by the belief that when they gave their children educational opportunities, they would be able to take proper care of them in their old age. This is consistent with Caldwell’s (1967) idea of intergenerational transfer of wealth. Both daughters and supporters portrayed these sentiments in various ways. Brako portrayed his sentiments as follows:

I wanted my daughter in school so that when she grew up she could also take care of me and ‘lift me’ out of poverty.

My father wanted me to be a doctor so that when he started falling sick in his old age I would take care of him”. (Nana, a 66 year old FGEW who is an economist and development consultant)

I wanted my daughter in school because her step sister was in school. She was being taken care of by her father and I did not want her to ‘get ahead’ of her and succeed through education whilst my daughter was left behind (Maame Gyasiwaa, the mother of a FGEW)

Here in this area after Nana Sir Ofori Atta I declared that everybody should send their daughter to school and that any man who got a girl of school going age pregnant would be fined, the education of girls became fashionable. There is a saying that ‘Efe a aba so na obia di bi’ (What has become fashionable is usually the order of the day). That became the order of the day so I also sent my daughter to school but at first it was only those in ‘ObroniKrom’ who went to school (Fredua a decision maker)

The role of Nana Sir Ofori Atta I in education in general and female education in particular at Akyem Abuakwa has been tremendous. Having ascended the throne in 1912 (Frempong 1945),

his focus was on physical infrastructure, medical facilities and public health. A look at the history of education in Kyebi and how King Ofori Atta I come into the picture will make us appreciate the issues better. Before the coming of the missionaries (Basel and Wesleyan), there were no formal schools in Ghana. When the missionaries started evangelism in the Gold Coast, they faced a lot of obstacles. The work of the Basel missionaries in Akyem was not different from other missionary work except that they faced a more determined opposition to evangelism in Akyem (Odamtten, 1978) argued. Nana Amoako Atta I or King Atta as Odamtten (1978) refers to him led this persecution until his exile in Lagos. According to Kani (1975) the persecution intensified upon his return from Lagos in 1886 such that the Christians who lived in Buroki Krom (a Christian Salem) had to escape to neighboring towns and in their absence their properties ransacked and stolen. According to Miescher (2005:5), the Basel missionaries in Ghana, made efforts to separate its followers from the local people who were expected to live according to a set of rules that intervened in every aspect of their daily lives. Yaw Boakye, a Chief state drummer, and his wife Gyankroma a royal became Christians and were also declared outcast because it was a traditional taboo to become a Christian, “a religion only fit for slaves and outcasts” (Kani 1975: 25). Yaw Boakye and his wife were the first royals to receive education (how to read and write). One needed to accept the Christian religion before one could be educated by the Basel missionaries in Kyebi. Their first son was killed by persecutors in Asuom when they had gone to evangelize. Their second son Aaron Kwadwo Odua was also trained in a Basel missionary school. He grew up to become the Chief of Akyem Abuakwa (Nana Sir Ofori Atta I) and declared that everybody should send their children to school both royals and non-royals. Nana Sir Ofori Atta I by 1917, concentrated on how to make education widespread. Bourret (1960: 161) claims that his approach to politics

was a mix of educational modernism and aristocratic nepotism. Sir Hugh Clifford, a governor of the Gold Coast described his Kingdom as the most progressive of all native states in the Gold Coast by 1920 (Gold Coast Leader, 14th August). He started the building of the Kyebi Primary and Middle Schools. In 1937, he founded the Abuakwa State College (the eighth Secondary School to be built in the country and the first in the country to be established by a traditional state. In one year alone, in 1942, he had built 32 primary schools throughout the traditional kingdom (Kwakye, 2007). He introduced a scholarship scheme for Akyem Abuakwa citizens in the secondary school and another in the universities abroad. At the time when, there was not a single university in this country and the colonial administration was rather unwilling to spend on university education. Through this scheme, ‘Okyeman’ led by Nana Sir Ofori Atta I, gave university education to citizens at Oxford, Cambridge, London, Durham, Glasgow, Birmingham, Edinburgh universities and Trinity College, Dublin. Part of this policy was a special scholarship scheme for girls in secondary schools at a time when education for girls was generally frowned upon. According to Brizuela- Garcia (2007:71), he created a dynasty by privileging education amongst his sons and daughters. His reign brought education to most of his citizens. His edict explains why most of his citizens became ‘first’ in vital fields of national endeavors: The first Ghanaian anesthetist Prof. Kofi Amoah Oduro, the first Ghanaian female professional librarian Grace Abena Amoakoa Ofori Atta, the first Ghanaian director of public prosecution, Kwasi Duah Sakyi, the first Ghanaian female doctor Susan Ofori Atta, the first West African to obtain a doctorate degree from a British University, Dr J. B. Danquah all benefitted from the Okyeman Scholarship.⁶

⁶For a list of others who benefited from the Okyeman scholarship to the following Universities: Queens College, Cambridge, London School of Economics Dublin University, Oxford University, Leeds College of Commerce, Northwest London Polytechnic, University of Wales, UK, University of Birmingham, University of Edinburg,

Durham University UK London University, University of Ottawa, Canada, Holborn College of Law, Montreal University Canada, Bernau University and Queens College, see (Kwakye 2007;64-95).

Another reason why daughters were put in school was plain and simply gossip. Gossip about female school attendance may also indicate jealousy between households in which some individuals feared that others would ‘get ahead’ and succeed through the education of their children. In this way the education of a female in a particular family was seen as a threat to another. It was also realized that negative sanctions contributed to the decision of some ‘decision makers’ to send their daughters to school because it was the order of the day and they did not want to be left out lest they be mocked.

4.3 Walking the Talk: Providing Support for Girls in School

Most decision makers did a lot to keep their daughters in school. One respondent on the issue of how he took responsibility to educate his daughter noted:

I made monthly expenditure on school items (notebooks, pens, pencils, books), school uniforms, pocket money which was required although government schooling was free. Besides she was very careless and her pen got missing all the time meaning I was made to buy pens almost every day.

There were other decision makers who explained that they went the extra mile to get their daughter educated even if it meant borrowing from people and the constraints that came with it.

Mr. Brako a farmer shed light on the ways and means through which he supported his daughter in school as follows:

I borrowed a lot to see my daughter through school. Sometimes when those I owed came chasing me for their money, I would hide. Debt can wait. I was supposed to pay off a lot of debt. My creditor cannot kill me. So I decided I could pay my debt off when I made extra money. I knew that one year income from my trade and farm produce could take care of my debts and that would be fine but if I did that what would happen to my children? Do you know who would really be paying off the debt then? That would mean I

have to sacrifice my children's school fees. My kids, because they have to go to school so debt can wait.

Apart from monetary expenses which were borne by decision makers, other decision makers encouraged their daughters to remain in school in other non-monetary terms. They got involved in their daughters' schooling by communicating their belief in their potential and how they expected them to succeed. They helped them avoid distractions and helped negotiate crises of confidence by praising them for their effort and instilling in them the spirit of persistence. One male decision maker also a farmer intimated as follows:

I could not give my daughter the same access and opportunity afforded other privileged children. I did not have enough money to make her comfortable in school. I could not help her in her school work because I did not go to school but I encouraged her to do well. I praised her anytime she did well. I made her understand that I had high expectations of her and made sure she did not overdo household duties as expected of every girl her age.

4.4 Walking the Talk: Keeping Girls out of School

Various actors who matter with respect to taking decisions do everything to garner support for their non-enrolment decisions. It was found out that, these usually happen when consent is not given by other interested parties in the nuclear family. In such situations, the discussions are moved beyond the immediate nuclear family; they draw on alliances from outside the family such as friends and even non-friends provided they will serve their interest. Decision makers, in the nuclear family do all they can to make sure they contain the situation at home. They do this in three ways: first by winning the argument, setting the agenda or shaping desires. Decision makers win the argument through what can be termed as information asymmetry. This has to do with non-disclosure of the actual amount of money they get from business such as how much they earn from the sale of farm produce. They get an upper hand when issues about who to educate and how to support such decisions come up. The end of the discussions is

usually about money and when the women have little knowledge about how much money is available, the decision makers win the case. Decision makers set the agenda by eliminating alternatives that fail to satisfy criteria of what their predetermined outcome should be like. They also intimidate others from even asking for what they themselves want in the first place. They employ conservative cultural role expectations of different sexes as a resource to have their way. In this way when decisions are taken they expect the woman submit herself to be led. Thus, Blood and Wolfe's (1960) assertion that culture is a poor predictor of the observed patterns of decision-making within the family is not wholly true in this context. This is because they take decisions within a set of cultural, relations of power that work to women's disadvantage. This is what Kankam shared on a follow up question on why he did not actively involve his wife on his wife on his decisions concerning his daughter's education:

I take the major decision in the house so it is also expected that I take decisions about whether I wanted my daughter to be in school or not. What is expected of a woman is to help or support my decisions. Where she refuses, I simply listen to her concerns anyway and then point out how insensible her reasons are. For example if I do not put money on the table for food, she will complain so when she is lucky and I have put her sons in school why must she complain when her daughter is out of school? Especially when she was far better off than her co-equals who had none of their sons in school.

This way of exercising power through decision making as seen in the above quote is in consent with the actor-oriented approach where power is possessed or controlled by any single actor (Lukes, 1974).

In other instances, there is simply a decision of no decision. Those who lose out of the benefits of education simply do not question any decision that puts them at a disadvantaged position. The decision makers manipulate the debate over the kinds of decisions that actually reach the stage of "being made". The ability to shape what gets discussed in the house is also important in

the approach of decision makers. This has its roots in the pro-son attitude that is entrenched even in matrilineal culture. We can also locate this in Lukes' theory of power (1974: 20-23) where an actor with power over consciously and or unconsciously creates barriers to what can be aired or shape the agenda of issues to be discussed. In this context, as seen below, the decision maker's wife becomes the barrier who sieves complaints before it gets to the hearing of the father thereby excluding potential issues. Kankam for example argues below on why daughters were not involved in the decision making about their education and why he in particular would not have tolerated any dissent that may have come from his daughter through his wife.

It was not every issue that got to my hearing. As a child what was expected of her was her total obedience. A well trained child does not go about questioning her father's decisions. So it is not about whether my daughter was happy about my decision or not. I had more experience than she did. So even if she might complain at all, these complaints only got to the hearing of her mother and not me. After all it is not everything that a child complains about to her mother that gets to her father. A responsible woman ought to know what to tell her husband and what not to tell her husband. Every decision I took was in the interest of the family of which she was a part.

Lukes' (1974:2, 4-5) concept of power distinguishes between the unarticulated interest of those excluded from the decision making process and the interest of the powerful and calls it real interest. The articulated interest of those who wield power over is the father and the girl in question is the one whose interest becomes unarticulated.

Sometimes DMs shape the wishes and the desires of others in this case the women and their daughters. This is known as Lukes' third face of power. Decision makers hide under certain ideas of society and train their children to see the decision making power of men as inevitable and normal. As a result the girl child, her mother and other members of the family do not challenge decisions which are clearly in line with these ideas. This form of power is more

subtle so they do not even see that they are being manipulated. The decision maker secures compliance without any conflict from his daughter in this situation. This is in consonance with what Lukes (1974) posits that the third face of power may involve the inculcation of ideology. Traditional ideology of gender expectation is seen here. This is also the story from one respondent as to why he didn't want his daughter too educated.

I didn't want my daughter to be too educated. After she completed standard 7, I decided that enough was enough. My wife initially did not support this but she later came to agree with me. Even my elder children saw the sense in my decision. My daughter in question did not desire to want to continue her education. As a girl, the most important thing to do is to learn to be submissive and learn how to keep a home. That is the only way to attract a responsible man to marry you so you see they themselves did not want to go further and I think it was the best thing to do at that time.

The daughter in question managed to continue up to the tertiary level after all and will see how she and others like her did that in other chapters. When decision makers are not able to contain the situation at home, extended family members and or friends could be invited or even intervene without being invited. To gain the support of others, decision makers use various means to choose allies in most cases, alternatively coalitions could also evolve. They vary their tactics from issue to issue forming alliances based on payoffs and preferences but that do not mean every decision maker spend time thinking through this with knowledge of the full implication of their decisions. Such alliances are explained using Lukes (2005) understanding of power with, where actors do not just exercise power but does so in solidarity with those who support their interest. Boakye shares his experience on how he garnered support for his non-enrolment decision:

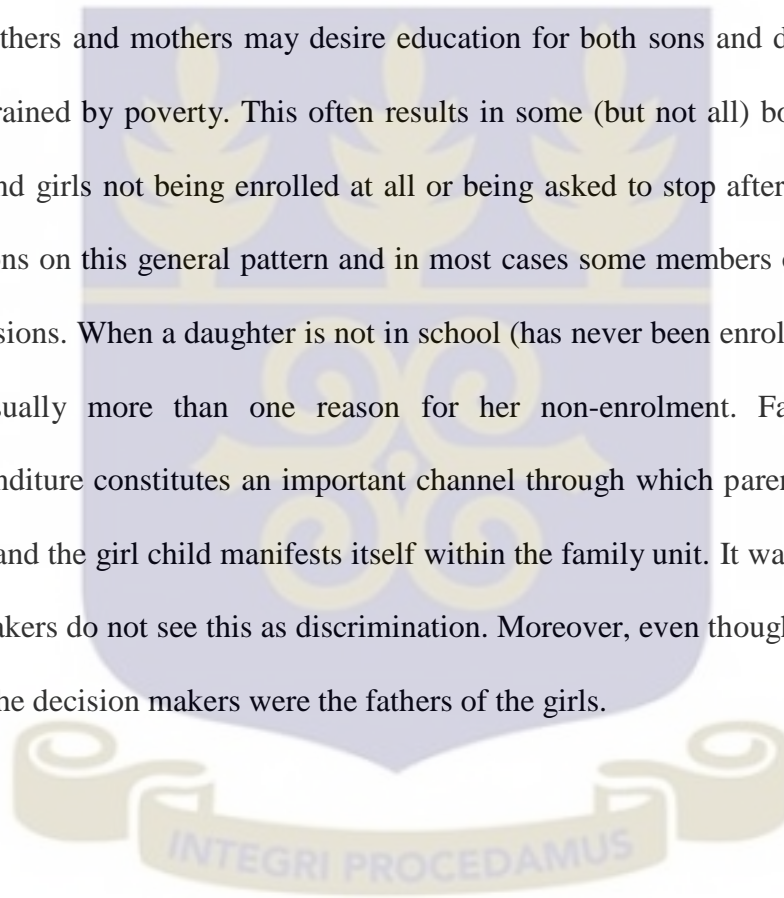
I should have informed her uncle 'their family head' but I realized that my wife had informed him already without telling me that she had told her Uncle about it. I also told

her best friend without letting her know when I went to see her husband to give him those two plots of land he had come to ask for some time ago, to farm on. Her friend and her husband were all in full support of my decision. I told my own mother about it and she was quite surprised why my wife was behaving in such a manner. Even our neighbor who was not on good terms with me supported my decision. The girl in question was my daughter so how on earth will my wife be thinking that I did not wish her well. Her younger brother was even on my side not because I was the one taking care of his son but the blatant display of disrespect from my wife was uncalled for. Well you women are always someway.

The decision makers garnered support using several means. Garnering for support implies an application of power with as it involves the ability not just to apply power but to apply power in concert or in solidarity with others (Arendt 1969:44). Some stand on informal alliances with some family members to gain support. Others were willing to be friends with those that they otherwise would not befriend. Some even went to the length of going to the opposing party's circle of friends to garner support. We recognize Lukes' first dimension of power in this context because of the discernible conflict between the decision maker and the mother of the girl in question. Lukes' (1974) first dimension of power states that, 'A' exercises power over 'B' when A's policy preferences, reflect A's subjective interests. However, the daughter's mother responds by applying her power to. She reports to her uncle and seeks to apply power with. In a similar vein the decision maker also garners support from friends and non-friends.

4.5 Conclusion

Decisions about whether to send a son or a daughter to school are made within the context of a household's general livelihood strategy, which often involves complex resource allocation between members. Many households struggle to make ends meet, and the education of their children must fit in with the broader considerations of the family unit when this happens, boys are usually considered with the aim that when he succeeds, he will take care of his sisters and their children. Fathers and mothers may desire education for both sons and daughters, but they were often constrained by poverty. This often results in some (but not all) boys in a household being enrolled, and girls not being enrolled at all or being asked to stop after standard 7. There are many variations on this general pattern and in most cases some members of the family rebel against such decisions. When a daughter is not in school (has never been enrolled or has dropped out) there is usually more than one reason for her non-enrolment. Family allocation of educational expenditure constitutes an important channel through which parental discrimination between the boy and the girl child manifests itself within the family unit. It was also realized that some decision makers do not see this as discrimination. Moreover, even though it is a matrilineal society, most of the decision makers were the fathers of the girls.



CHAPTER FIVE

MATRIARCHAL RELATIONS: RETHINKING TRADITION, GATE KEEPERS AND CONTENTIONS

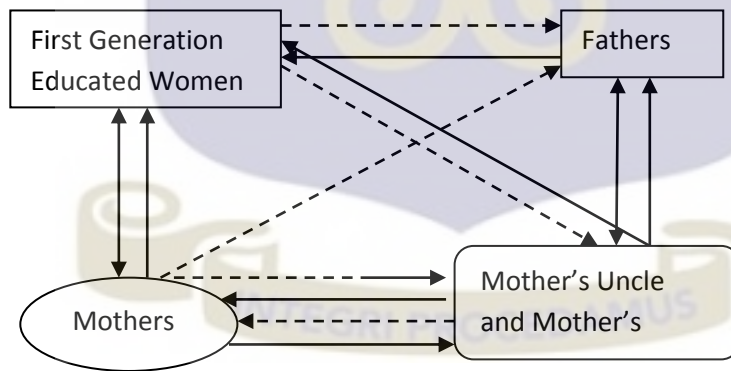
5.0 Introduction

Whilst the previous chapter focused on the fathers who were supportive of their daughter's education and their reasons for supporting them, this chapter focuses on those who were maintaining the status-quo to understand who they were and why they were so bent on maintaining the status-quo.

Gate keeping decisions about who not to educate and the gendered nature of such decisions results from a complex interplay of interest. Such interest could be cultural, economic in nature, or based on family structure. Most studies have shown that family socio-economic status, as measured by financial assets and parental education, promotes the education of children (Buchmann 2000; Fuller and Liang 1999; Lloyd and Blanc 1996; Wolfe and Behrman 1984). Whether family resources are sufficient to provide for the education of children depended on family size and composition. The number, age, gender, and birth order of children influence educational outcomes (Steelman et al. 2002). Large families must stretch resources, both material and nonmaterial across more children, thus reducing the overall amount of schooling that children receive (Powell and Steelman 1990). Commonly referred to as the problem of resource dilution, the negative effect of sibling size is an influential factor but of course the politics of who become the selected few to go to school then becomes the battle of interest. A common outcome of such politicking is that boys become the preferred choice. Some girls go to school, while others are denied access because they stay home to help with household

duties or go out to earn money. Thus, it is important to understand how family circumstances shape the kind of politics led by gatekeepers, and the results in terms of the restructuring of obligations that compete with schooling. The gendered consequence is what is seen in the closing and opening of educational doors to some people. In this study, however, we see a contradiction with respect to the economic rationale usually touted in scholarship as the reason why girls are denied access to school. The irony here is that, even when some families were resource sufficient, girls were still denied access and we see this contradiction clearly spelt out by some of the FGEW whose denial were not as a result of monetary problems. In order to discuss this I apply Lukes (1974, 1986) theory of power. Below is a diagram illustrating gatekeepers and their exercise of power in direction of relations.

Figure 4: Graphical Representation of Gate-keepers and their exercise of ‘Power’ in direction of Relations.



- ↔ 'Power with' exercised in direction of
- - - - -> 'Power to' exercised in direction of
- 'Power over' exercised in direction of
- - - - -> 'Power to' converted to 'Power over exercised in direction of

The diagram illustrates the application of power to, power with and power over in this section. Those who were maintaining the status-quo are the gatekeepers. For most of the FGEW, the gatekeepers were the mothers' brothers and the mothers' uncles. Few had their fathers as the gate keepers. The mother's brother, the mother's uncle and the daughter's father had 'power over'. The 'power over' by the father, mother's brother and mother's uncle in most instances, are deployed to constrain the choice of schools and or choice of subjects for the FGEW. The 'power over' as seen from the mother in the direction of the daughter is neither because the mother want to wield power over the child nor to defend herself against the 'power to' wielded by the child. It is simply an empowering use of power which does sometimes involves having 'power over' (Lukes 1986). The 'power to' converted to 'power over' and exercised from the mother in the direction of the mother's brother and mother's uncle demonstrate a particular instance where the FGEW's mother was a paramount queen mother and by virtue of her position could therefore apply her 'power to' as 'power over' her brother and uncle. We see a more nuanced account of the conceptual relationship between the various dimensions of power here because some of the findings as we shall see below make it difficult for us to make a blanket claim that all men have 'power over' all women. Besides a greater aspect of the discussion is not so much about outright non enrolment decisions but about decisions made after access.

5.1 To go or not to go to School

When we traced the educational traditions of the first generation educated women, it was uncovered that, gate keepers decided those who came in and those who went out. The gate keeping were generally used to keep those without access out. The people frequently denied accesses were the females and some of these explanations defy the economic rational

postulates.

5.1.1 The Ofori Atta Contradiction

It was popularly touted that the royals who came after the Ofori Atta's generation had the opportunity to go to school. This was because they had a King (Ofori Atta I) who was enlightened and resolved to do more with education coupled with enormous resources that were available to him. Gatekeepers in this family used culture as a technique of gate keeping. The extended family heads in this family were masters at cultural 'games' for gate-keeping. Cultural attitudes and practices had a strong influence on the opportunities for education. Cultural attitudes has to do with the production of norms that women are to observe in order to be marked as feminine such as caretakers and the 'production' of children. Producing children was an important cultural expectation for women especially those close to the stool because they provide children for the matri-lineage. Cultural attitude was therefore the overriding factor regarding whom educational opportunities were given to and whom it was denied independent of other family level factors such as economic rational. We can invoke Lukes' (1985:24) perspective of power here. This has to do with the organizational effects of the family structure in a manner which results in mobilization of bias. This is seen in Lukes' subtle emphasis on the possibility of manipulated consciousness' otherwise known as socialization. Signs of traditional matriarchal beliefs are evident in a variety of cultural practices such as the need to empower the sons of sisters. The idea that sons have an obligation to take care of their sisters' children was deeply entrenched. This was clearly defied, as the King empowered his own sons through education and left the majority of his sisters' sons' illiterates. There were also instances where gatekeepers confined girls to the domestic sphere as a preparatory ground for motherhood and wifhood. Such cultural beliefs had a serious

outcome on who were allowed to go to school. What is ironic about the King and his well-known support for education was how a large section of his own daughters were left uneducated. I mean this was a King who was busily “dishing scholarship left, right and center” to people in his kingdom as we have already seen in chapter 4. In a conversation with some daughters of this King, however, it was made clear to me that the idea that everybody who was related to Ofori Atta I had the opportunity to attain formal education was false. In reality a female in that household only got educated depending on how conscious their mothers were about education. The quote below from Nana, one of his daughters captures this contradiction clearly:

There is this perception that once a person belonged to the royal family that ascends the susubiribi stool, it was a done deal that he or she would have had the benefit of formal education. But that assertion is not wholly true. You are asking why? You, let's document those highly educated people close to the stool. Most of the highly educated ones are the King's children. Traditionally, this is a maternal society, where women and men are connected to the maternal clan through their mother and so the 'Wofaase' (the king's sisters' sons) should count more because they become the crown prince, but the King sent his children rather to school. Well, apparently for him, his children were his children. Even among the Kings children you are only likely to hear the names of the men: you hear the Kwame Ofori Atta (Director, Ashanti Goldfield), A. A. Ampofo (Contractor), Owoahene Acheampong (Secretary General Ghana Peace Council), Guggisberg Frederick Asante (Valco), Jones Ofori Atta (Economist and a deputy Minister of Finance), William Ofori Atta (a Minister of Foreign Affairs, Presidential Candidate of the UNC), Dr Akwasi Amoako-Atta (Governor of Bank of Ghana), and many more. You hardly hear of any women. May be apart from Dr. Susana Ofori Atta, Mrs. Adeline Akufo Addo and Victoria Ofori Atta, (the first Superintendent of Post and Telecommunications), which other female in that generation do you hear of? But the King had more than 90 children and 30 wives and if I am permitted to say some side chicks. Remember that two of these females whose names I just mentioned belonged to one mother. A female gets to go to school depending on how reformed your mother's consciousness was.

It is quite obvious from the above that even in the royal family, there seems to be some politics of who gets to go to school with a complex array of factors including gender, blood ties and mother's consciousness about the importance of education all playing some roles. The King, it

seems, did not practice what he preached to the letter.

5.1.2 Zigzag to carry the Family Name

For other FGEW, royal lineage served to undermine their quest for education. Gate keepers who were bent on maintaining traditions in connection with their association to the stool deployed all kinds of tactics to deny educational access to women. For the maternal uncles of most of these women, being a child did not provide exemption. They were guilty of overreaching the boundaries of the gate once they demonstrated any resilience. Their acts of resistance were usually formed through solidarity with their mothers. For some of the FGEW, though they were little and did not realize the full extent of their transgressions until they were young adults, they participated in the resistance regardless of the very polarized nature of the contentions. The gatekeepers used expectations and practices associated with traditions to create situations where girls more than boys found their education curtailed. These expectations such as characterising birth as a maternal gift, and an ethical responsibility women had to take so that the families' name and direct connection to the stool was not lost, was very strong in some cases. This is similar to Guenther's (2006:75) assertion that sometimes, historical and political conditions are used to force women into motherhood. The only difference however is that, in this context it was not just about employing political conditions but it was also about how access to education was denied the women in the process. The politics in this context is so polarized that the idea of 'if you were not with us, you were against us ruled' because dissent meant disloyalty to the entire lineage. The assertion by Donkor, 87 years old, and a mother of 10 paints a good picture of the above. Donkor is a royal and her mother was the Paramount Queen mother of the royal Akyem Kingdom. Donkor was the only daughter of her mother and the

only direct descendant of her grandmother Nana Dokua. She came under severe pressure to quit school and start producing children. She had this to say:

My mother gave birth to 8 children but they all died at birth or immediately after delivery. I was the eighth and only surviving child that is why they call me Donkor. My whole family (maternal family) was against the idea of my going to school especially my mother's brothers because for them a whole lineage was looking up to me to act fast so that we would have people to ascend Nana Dokua's stool in future. They were visiting me at school on a weekly basis. For them the one duty they held dear was for me to bring forth children to perpetuate Dokua's stool. Their reason for their stand was that they thought I was too clever and so if they did not do something about me and I furthered my education, I may not give birth. They threatened me with all sorts of gods, telling me on a daily basis that our family ancestors were not happy with me. My mother did not allow me to quit school and she gave me more than enough, of everything I needed for school. But when my mother died I could not take the pressure any longer not when my uncles kept insisting that they have received messages from our ancestors in dreams warning me about the consequences of my actions. I got married when my mother died and even with that, it was an arranged marriage between a royal from Akuapem Akropong because they would not allow me to marry just anybody. Today, I have 10 children and a former 'Okyehemaa' is my daughter.

From the quote we see that 'gatekeepers' do all they can to deny the FGEW access to education and this is occasioned by their heavy handed emphasis on keeping a family name and tradition. A common approach they used was the cultural expectation of a woman who had a direct link to the stool to procreate. For the gatekeepers, quitting school to produce children was non-negotiable. On the account of power relations, it can also be observed that all her mother's brothers' had power over, but her mother's 'power to' alone was able to keep their power over at bay because of her position then as the queen mother. This shows that different kinds of women experience 'power over' wielded over them differently. When her mother died however, she could not contain the situation as she said she agreed to marry and consequently gave birth to 10. She continued her education anyway after her third born. We see from chapter 3, under the sub-section 3.4.4 that she worked as a banker.

5.2 Choice of School and Subject

Sometimes gate keepers maintained the status-quo by restricting females to particular schools or subjects. A key strategy of gatekeepers in this context is their role in restricting access to some kind of school and some subjects. These gatekeepers, I was mostly informed did not deny the FGEW access to school in general. They were made to go to school, but then it becomes an issue of either you attend a particular school or no school and sometimes they were forced into doing a particular subject or no other subject. I discuss these two scenarios below: First, it is the kind of subject and school and the second is the kind of subject as a standalone issue.

5.2.1 Achimota to Medicine

The considerations around which school a FGEW is allowed to go may weigh heavily in one direction. That is the preferred direction of the gatekeeper who possesses power over. Focusing on the nuclear family as a locus of educational decision making, we identified husbands and fathers who impeded females' access to certain schools especially because they felt that a particular school was the best. Moreover, there were also those who thought once they were a product of some schools, if their daughters were going to be allowed access, then they must attend those schools or no other. Nana Tiwaa, a 66 year old economist and a FGEW in her nuclear family illustrates the above clearly:

My family has always had a strong thing for education and in fact at a point in time, in Kyebi my father was like the most educated. In those days if you go to Akropong Training College and you ended up in Achimota College, then you will see what I am talking about. My choice of school brought a lot of tension in my home. When I finished form five then my father thought I should go to Achimota but my father was not around and I had the opportunity to go to Aburi Girls Secondary School but my father said no, no, never. For him, Achimota was the school and so it's either I attended Achimota or a

no school. My mother was like ‘ma onko enye saa yen sene fie ha’ (Let her go otherwise, this house will be too small to contain us). But I had to waste one whole school year at home because of my father’s obsession with Achimota School. So I went to Achimota in 1966 and I entered the University in 1974.

We can see in this particular context that even when access was given, choice of school was limited to the choice as prescribed by the gatekeeper. This shows how the power wielded by the gatekeeper and how they shape the kind of access when they finally allow it. In a similar vein, sometimes the choice of subject was another issue gate-keepers had control over. In situations where a FGEW was allowed to go to school, their freedom to determine the choice of subject was actually taken from them. Gate keepers dictated which subject they should do.

Adwoa opined:

From form five to six form, then a decision had to be made, my dad actually thought I should go to the sciences because I must be a doctor, but I didn’t want to do medicine. My mum thought my grades were much better with the arts. I wanted to do the arts as well and my mother said she was not going to sit down for medicine to be pushed down my throat the same way my father did with Achimota School. Well I finally had to do the arts but it was not easy as I remember in one of such many arguments, my mother got so mad that she actually went to her room and came back with my reports at various levels to make her point. My father was so surprised how she had kept all those report cards and that was how the issue was resolved.

I must admit that the FGEW in this subsection did not need to fight the same battle as the ones we have already seen because theirs were not an outright non enrollment battle but rather a battle of subject choice. In this context, the gate keepers restricted access to only certain subjects. The choice of what subject to read could not be individually chosen by the FGEW; it was always imposed on them by their father’s and or uncles.

5.2.2 Midwifery as the status-quo

Majority of the FGEW in this study were made to do midwifery. It is no wonder that so many of them ended up as midwives. We need to emphasize on the gendered character of the choice of subjects as a tool for maintaining gendered cultural practices; if girls were going to go to school, it was to enhance what it was that girls traditionally did, not to break out of the mould completely. Adwoa a 97 year old trained midwife shared her story which captures better the above:

My uncles and my aunties supported my education until I was about to go to Teacher Training College in 1937. For them I was the chosen one in their search for who will replace my mother as a Traditional Birth Attendant (TBA), a family profession believed to have run through the family since my great grandmother's time. With the help of my father, I went to Training College without paying heed to their demands. One Saturday morning when I came back home, they were crying because a baby my mother delivered had died in the cause of delivery. I was told that no baby had ever died in my mother's care and that this was a sign from the gods. I became alarmed when they started acting cold towards me. My mother was gradually relegated to the background. My uncles would only calm down if I became a TBA. So instead of a TBA, I was made to go to midwifery school and that was how I became a midwife.

5.3 Conclusion

We have seen those who were maintaining the status-quo as the gatekeepers. They were usually the mothers' brothers and or uncles. A few of the fathers' were also gate keepers. It was uncovered that they decided who was given access and those who were denied access. This took a gendered nature as we see more women denied access due to reasons which sometimes defy the economic rational popularly touted by scholars. Moreover, it was recognized that where access was given, FGEW could be denied the freedom to choose their own schools and their own courses. Gatekeepers constrained their choices in these matters.

CHAPTER SIX

REBELS: TRANSGRESSING PATRIARCHAL SCRIPTS AND THE STRATEGIC USE OF THE POLITICS OF MEANINGFUL RESISTANCE

6.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I discussed who gatekeepers were, the contradictory ways in which decision makers could also be gatekeepers and the various levels at which gate-keeping could occur in terms of enrolment as well as kinds of schools or subjects studied. In this chapter I illustrate how certain parties rebel against non-enrolment decisions, how they undermine the decision making arrangement, the means through which they renegotiate their conditions to 'reclaim' what they perceive to be theirs through acts which could be subversive, normatively disruptive, politically empowering, or discursively paradigm-challenging.

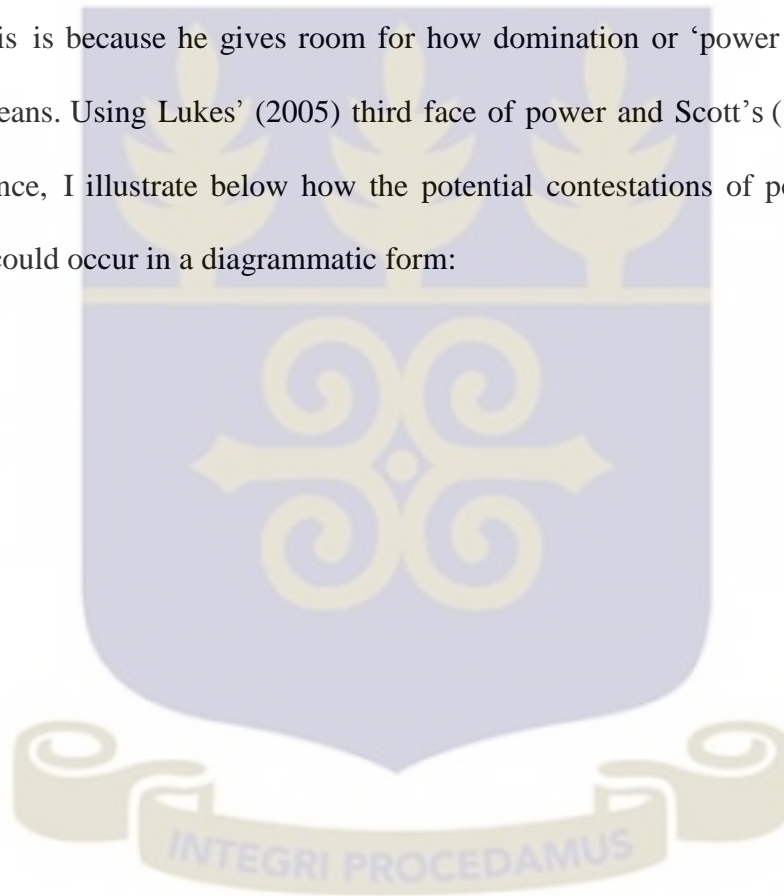
Conventional gender ideology suggests that women are vulnerable and unable to stand up for themselves. They are also supposed to submit themselves to be led especially with respect to decision making. These are the scripts women are supposed to follow and these things have been theorized by a lot of scholars who write about gender conditioning and how role stereotyping messages are enforced (See Chege and Sifuna, 2006; Crespi, 2003; Lober, 1994; Lorber and Farrell, 1991; Sifuna et al, 2006; Stromquist, 2007; Wamahiu and Kurugu, 1992; Wamahiu and Ombinaa, 1992; West and Zimmerman, 1987). Through actions and inactions, decision makers' maintain and enforce these traditional normative conceptions. I call these conceptions patriarchal scripts.

Scholars have documented various forms of resistance that take place in both the public and the

private sphere. Traditionally, women have used socially approved mediums such as fighting with proverbs as a strategy in the private sphere to reject, invoke, enact, reshape and completely transform gendered practices (Yitah, 2009). In the public sphere, van Allen (2009: 181) documents how Igbo women deployed their strategy of 'War Women' to force government officials to recognize their presence. Other documented traditional forms of tactics used by women to establish their own terms include: painting of faces, carrying sticks with palm fronds, sitting on a warrant Chief (van Allen, 2009). While the literature is replete with the various forms of resistance women can use both in the private and public sphere, to understand the ways these women in the study setting have used it, I apply Lukes' theory of power and Scott's theory of resistance.

The data I gathered from the field contradict some of the traditional beliefs about women and their place. This offers an alternative vision of what women in this context may be. They rebelled against non-enrolment decisions of decision makers and even though this rebellion and acts of resistance operated at an individual-level, it involved the transgressing of specific social limitations which altered gender relations for other generations. In so doing, they expanded options for future generations of women in their household. The different kinds of rebels are first the mothers of the FGEW, The FGEW themselves though I must admit that the agency of the FGEW was limited a lot of the time. They draw alliances or supporters from friends and family (both extended and nuclear) and put up countervailing processes of resistance to the non-enrollment decisions of the DM and the gatekeepers (GK). Lukes' (2005) third phase of power and Scott's theory of resistance provides the lens through which this is discussed. Lukes' third face of power shifts from the behavioral conception of power where an individual actor A has

power over another actor B and strategically constrains B's environment as seen in his first face power Lukes (1990:85), to an appreciation of the use of 'power to' and how power is used in solidarity to produce power with (Lukes 2005). The import of Scott's theory of resistance is that we need to appreciate covert and unorganized forms of resistance because these have become the only viable forms of resistance for the exploited (Lukes, 1976, 1985, 1990). Lukes' third sense of power, addresses Scott's (1990) 'Domination and Arts of Resistance' to some extent. This is because he gives room for how domination or 'power over' could occur through covert means. Using Lukes' (2005) third face of power and Scott's (1976, 1985, 1990) theory of resistance, I illustrate below how the potential contestations of power among these relational actors could occur in a diagrammatic form:



From the diagram, we can recognize that the mother, the father, the mother's brother, the mother's uncle and the daughter all have power. They apply this power by drawing on resources. These resources include cultural content, father's traditional gender role, uncles' traditional gender role, individuals' consciousness, mother's brother's gender role' child's gender and daughters' gender role). Depending on which resources are applied, the result could be counterproductive (-) or productive (+). The father, the mother's uncle and the mother's brother individually have power over the mother and daughter. Having power over also presupposes having power to. They draw on cultural resources such as; cultural content, child's gender, father's traditional gender role FTGR, uncles' traditional gender roles (UTGR) and mother's brother's traditional gender roles (MBTGR) to legitimize their powers. They can also apply 'power with' by drawing alliances. The mother and the daughter, however, only have their 'power to' to apply. They can also make use of power with. They, however, only have their consciousness as a resource to rely on apart from the alliances upon which they can draw. The conventional resource such as mother's role and daughter's gender can serve as a disadvantage in their application of power. That is why they have to neglect the cultural resource or creatively counter the normal ways of applying power. Rebels used different approaches varying from one extreme of assertions that suggested a more fierce opposition and rejection of the decision makers' terms of engagement to a quieter but no less meaningful resistance. In this chapter, I discuss the approaches that the rebels utilized using the theory of Lukes (2005) and Scotts (1985) theory of resistance beginning with how the two forms of resistance (covert and overt) happens sequentially, followed by a more overt form.

6.1 Subverting the Norms: Mothers' Infractions of Rules of Subordination

There were four kinds of infractions that mothers deployed in their acts of resistance. I discuss these five using Scott's theory of resistance.

6.1.1 Refusing to submit themselves to be led

First, some mothers in this context disobeyed their husbands in subtle ways through noncompliance of their directives. The women in this context deployed the application of power to and power with to be able to reconstruct some of the gendered practices that made their influence in enrolment decisions very ineffective. The gendered practice as seen here has to do with the traditional expectations that men lead and women follow. The understanding of 'power to' as argued by Lukes (2005) has to do with the capacity of an agent to act in spite of or in response to the power wielded over her by others. Even though husbands' wielded power over wives, wives responded with 'power to' because it is one thing for husbands to take decisions, it is another thing for wives to conform or resist with their 'power to'. The case of Aduome, mother of a FGEW illustrates this clearly. Initially, she chose to conform to traditional expectations by supporting her husband unflinchingly in hopes that he might reconsider his decision. However, when she realized that this would not work, we see her show her displeasure in subtle ways through murmuring. Subsequently, she made use of collective power (power with) by drawing on the informal alliance with her mother. In this context, she did not question her husband's decision but she managed to get her mother and uncle to take care of her daughter for some time. Aduome's infractions in response to her husband's non-enrolment decision are captured in her words below:

I supported my husband the more and became very thrift with the little my husband gave me thinking that he would save send my daughter back to school. When I could not

persuade him, I showed my displeasure and he saw it because I murmured anytime the issue of my daughter's education came to the fore for discussion and he does not show concern. Sometimes, he will tell me to take my time that he is the man and he will sort things out. My daughter had to leave school temporarily for two years but when I could still not persuade my husband to reconsider his decision, I did not sit idle. I told my mother about it and she was very helpful in those times. My mother and my uncle took responsibility for my daughter's school fees for two years.

6.1.2 Mothers as Breadwinners

In other instances, the mothers' of the FGEW, saw beyond the family and societal pressure that came from the conventional role expectations of the wife and took on jobs that they would otherwise not do. Most women at that time worked with their husbands on one farm or the other and there was division of labour as the women did the planting and the men tilled the land for cultivation. Even though traditionally it was not out of the ordinary for women in this matrilineal community to have their own farms, they were nonetheless expected to contribute labour on their husbands' farms. Time constraints made it difficult for women to do both. As a result, most married women did not have their own farms. In addition, traditionally, marriage is based on the idea that men will take on the primary bread winning role while the woman is expected to keep the home. As a result even though, most women worked with their husbands on the farm and they all benefited from the farm, the actual monetary benefits accrued from the farm went to the husbands who then determined what to do with the money. Women who wanted daughters to go to school therefore had little income to make this a reality. To resolve this situation, some women made the decision to manage farms of their own so they could have full control of the money they made from their own farms. We see through this with Scott's (1985) theory of resistance. This is because of how they covertly resisted their husband's decisions. They did not have 'power over' to dominate their husbands

and force them to change their decisions against their will, but they asserted their ‘power to’ in response to husbands. It is just like saying, if their husbands would not reason with them on these issues, they would not complain but they would get it done anyways without directly usurping their husbands’ ‘power over’. Aduome’s situation speaks to this more clearly. She achieved results of getting to school only when she used ‘power with’ by applying her ‘power to’ with that of her mother’s ‘power to’ to produce power with (the sort of empowerment derived in solidarity). Through the use of power with, she was able to move her uncle who has ‘power over’ to give her land. It is important to note that in a context that did not define gender roles in a more equal manner, she was seen as transgressing traditional role expectation because she was expected to butter the cream while her husband earned the bread so to speak (Nickie and Emma, 2005). This was the story of Aduome, mother of a FGEW:

My husband and I farmed on the same piece of land but when he withdrew our daughter from school with the excuse that there was no money I became alarmed. I asked my husband to send his sisters children two of them who were staying with us back to their mother so we could save some money for my daughter to go to school but he refused. When my effort to persuade him failed, I told my mother about it. She took me to my uncle and took land for me. She gave me money and I started my own farm. Within four years I had 3 farms, one was an orange plantation, one was a cocoa farm and one was foodstuffs even though I also planted maize initially in the cocoa farms until they grew a bit taller. I had my own money and I sponsored my daughter’s education myself going forward. It was not easy because it nearly led to divorce as my husband accused me of flouting his decisions anytime I refuse to go to our farm. He said I think myself as equal to him and so have become very disrespectful but you see I couldn’t shuffle between going to the farm with my husband to work and attending to my own farms too so I concentrated on my farm besides, my mother kept telling me that in our tradition, a woman did not need a man’s approval to have her own farm. Even though it was usual for a woman to own a farm if she was not married, it was very unusual for a married woman to own a farm of her own. Once I started farming on my own, almost every action of mine became a recipe for quarrel. My husband could accuse me of improperly covering his food and there were times when I got beaten through no fault of mine.

6.1.3 Questioning their Husbands' Decisions

Scott (1985), in building his theory of resistance argued that, peasants make use of war of words as a potent form of resistance. This is replicated here as we see that most mothers' of the first generation educated woman used war of words in questioning their husband's non-enrolment decision. The kind of resistance they employed here can also be compared to Yitah's (2009) study of Kasena Nankana women. Resistance as used by most of the respondents involved non-confrontational protest through the exchange of words. Analyzing this with Scott's (1976, 1985: 29, 1990) theories, we see a lot in common with what Scott's contends in the development of his theory of resistance which hinges on the idea that we must appreciate covert and unorganized forms of resistance, and that this form of resistance is the only viable form of resistance for the exploited and oppressed. The only difference is that Scott portrays the agency of the people in his context as only capable of adaptation and not to change their circumstances but here we see most of the mothers of the FGEW, change the circumstances of their daughters through resistance. Adwoa's situation makes us appreciate this well. First, she used exchange of words such as "Wo sum brode a sum Kwadu" literally meaning if you plant plantain, plant banana because there comes a season of hunger to make her point without any direct confrontation as well as "se woafuo eye mienu a wo ye ninyinaa" literally meaning that if you have two farms, take care of all of them. We also see her follow this strategy up with another covert form of defiance. Adwoa sheds more light on how she managed to get her daughter through school in the quote below:

My sister in law's daughter was with us and she went to school because the farm my husband inherited used to be her mother's farm before she died. My younger daughter was at home. I remember consistently telling my husband that, if you plant plantain, plant banana and that if your farms are two you take care of all of them. I sold farm produce and I always went with my daughter to go and sell. When I made some money I did not disclose it to my husband, I enrolled my daughter in school and she went to

school sometimes under the pretense of going to sell with me.

Every resistance as seen above is geared toward change but Scott's theory of resistance does not reflect change. His context of application (Sedaka, Malaysia) for example reflected the people's determination to cope and not to really transform (Lukes 1976). But these forms of resistances alternate, and transform themselves into each other sometimes. A covert form of resistance can lead to an overt form and vice versa as we have seen in the discussions above. Perhaps, Scott (1990:191) explains it a little better with 'Hidden Transcript' where covert forms of resistance could be a condition for outright resistance. Everyday forms of resistance do not necessarily need to be hidden even though this was the case in the Malaysian situation, it was hidden and overt at the same time in the context of Kyebi. In some instances a few of the respondents had acknowledged that challenging their husbands' decision concerning their daughter's education became a recipe for chaos in their marriages. Some had to leave their marriages so that their daughters could go to school. We did not see subtle resistance here but rather an ongoing confrontation in which the power inputs of all the individuals involved are reciprocally put to test in other words, getting to know who was most powerful. We would not hesitate to call the exercise of the husband's power as 'power-over', because he sought to constrain the choice of the wife to stop selling and be with him in the farm. The interest in power, with reference to the action of the wife can be understood as power to because she acts in spite of or in response to the power wielded over her by her husband. We can conceivably assert that her power to act in the way she did was a particular instance of resistance. And her husband's action of domination was also a particular instance of 'power-over'.

6.1.4 Disobeying their Husbands

Paramount among other resistance was disobeying their husbands. Resistance in this context involved overt compliance with husbands' decisions and covert disobedience to the exact details of the decisions. Majority of the women covertly disobeyed decisions and made it look as if it was unintentional when they were questioned. Some pretended to be sorry in very cunning ways when they were questioned and in most instances, their husbands believed them. Few of them stole their husbands' monies from where 'the monies were hiding' but they did not describe these as stealing to the interviewer. Few women actually admit that they joined their husbands' in the search for their monies even though they knew that the monies would never be found. This kind of strategy is seen strongly in Scotts' (1985) 'Weapons of the Weak'. We can also identify their use of power to and power with in achieving this result. Maame Boa whose situation speaks clearly to these issues talked about how she first spoke to her brother about her daughter's plight due to her husband's decision. Her husband paid the fees of the woman's stepdaughter but complained about poverty when it was the turn of the daughter in question. She confided in a friend and she was a completely changed person because she got new ideas about how to resist the situation and get her daughter back in school. This presupposes having power with on the one hand because she drew in an ally and they used their collective capacity to act so as to attain a shared goal. On the other hand, her individual capacity to respond presupposes her application of power to in this context. Maame Boa had to adopt a subtle way of resistance in order to get her daughter back to school. She recounted:

Hmm, one lesson that a married woman must learn is how to be skillful. If I had not been insistent, my daughter Pomaa wouldn't be a Lawyer. You have to be skillful. You are asking me skillful in what? I will tell you. My husband made my daughter drop out of school for sometime because of money. Surprisingly, he paid my step daughter's fees, well she had just one child and I had three and his reason was he simply cannot pay for all the three. I thought it was not fair so I complained to my

brother but he couldn't help. I confided in my friend and she gave me insight and I became skillful. I took his money at every given opportunity and this was effective I think you know how careless men can be. Sometimes when he brought home his salary I took everything from where he put it.. When he asked me I would tell him that I had no idea, maybe it was stolen before he got home. We would all start searching everywhere and when he told me about the new employee in the work place I would tell him to be extra careful with the other workers at his work place. I inflated the prices of commodities when he sent me and when he gave me money with specific instructions I would do otherwise and come back to plead when he got angry. That was how Pomaa went to school. A married woman must always be skillful.

Although power-to is perhaps the most basic of the three phases of power, the conceptual interrelatedness comes out clearly in these accounts of resistance. We are able to detect that Power-over, power-to, and power-with are not just distinct types or forms of power; rather, they are just used to represent situations. All features were present in every case of resistance. As seen above one case of resistance involved power-with, which presupposed power-to, and also used as a means to achieve power over the situations that threatened the education of their daughters. Apart from the kinds of resistance that the mothers of the FGEW put up, the FGEW also rebelled in different ways themselves.

6.2 Fleeing the Site of Persecution

We have seen from the ongoing discussions how rebels break conventional gender norms. I suggest here that there are also cultural practices that routinely obscure the inputs of children in family contentions. The FGEW in this study were the center of most of the politics and contentions around non enrolment decisions. We recognize that the rebel constituency put up resistance so that the FGEW could go to school so they are the beneficiaries of such resistance. The FGEW in this data were usually co-opted into their mother's constituency and thus they took part in the contentions as both passive and active participants. Their approach to resistance took

two different directions:

6.2.1 Playing Truancy

The FGEW in this data had the least power in the family structure. They only had their „power to“ to use. Their ‘powerto’ was not empowering enough unless it was used in solidarity with others as power with. It is therefore not surprising that they were usually co-opted into their mothers’ constituency. Thus they took part in the contentions as passive and active participants. Sreenivas (2010) argues that childhood is supposed to be a state of innocence, vulnerability, and play and clearly separated from the world of adult anxieties and responsibilities. Even though the FGEW rebelled, their agency was limited. Most often they were co-opted into their mothers’ constituency. Poonacha (1992:2) contends that children are the most vulnerable in the society therefore their wellbeing should not be dependent on the vagaries of adult society. This calls into question any childrearing practices which do not encourage rational choices based on the self-interest of a child. Such representations by scholars of what childhood is supposed to be regardless of how sound they are, remains disintegrated from the historical context and the kind of politics that shapes the lives of children especially girls. The kind of politics that permeated the childhood of FGEW and their involvement makes it woefully inadequate to describe them as ‘children’ per the universal description of what childhood is supposed to be. Some of them as we shall discuss were an integral part of the rebel struggle and resisted to make sure that the opportunity for formal education did not elude them. Thus they were touched by the adult realities of life, a not so normal girlhood not based on a normal child who was always in school, not at work, playing carefree and sheltered from the acrimony of adult politics. The discussion around the FGEW who rebelled does not problematise the field of an ordinary

childhood but is instead based on the conviction that the female child has to fight to prevent her exclusion from formal education. She might not have known the causes of such exclusion but it formed the bases of all the politicking that got played out at the domestic level. An 85-year old FGEW made this claim:

I was just 8 years when my father told me that I could not go to school. My cousin who was staying with us went to school as well as the children of our neighbors. Their father was a tailor and they had neat and beautiful uniforms. My elder sister had interrupted school sessions. Growing up, I saw my elder sister quit school because my father said there was no money. Listening to my mother talk about my father's actions, I became sad about his actions because I thought he could have done more and could not hold back my calm any longer because I did not want to experience the same fate as my elder sisters had. My mother did not have enough money on her own to help so I was made to look after my younger siblings as she carried farm produce round to go and sell every day while my elder sister helped my father in the farm. I became very jealous of my cousin because I wanted to be like her, to also go to school. Anytime I told my father about school, he would shout at me. When my mother had made some money, she told my father who collected the money with the assurance that I would go to school but the reality of the situation dawned on me when I had turned 11 years and my mother still sold but my father never took me to school. My cousin was still in school but I got to understand that the farms my father had was inherited from my cousin's mother and my father thought that he had a responsibility to send my cousin to school.

Akosua finally returned to school but that only happened because her mother arranged with her under the pretense that they were all carrying farm produce to go and sell. When her father realized this it was too late. We see that though Akosua herself may not have realized the full extent of what was going on, she participated in the resistance by playing truancy. She overstepped her childhood expectations by listening to her mother talk about her father's actions and participating in the plot to get her back to school. Her life was marked by sibling rivalry as well as jealousy of her cousin who was in school. Her rebellion emerges from a solidarity formed through everyday living together in difficult circumstances with her elder sister, and her mother who became her allies. She does not carry the burden to succeed as an individual. She

was sustained by a positive connection with her mother and her mother's sister and her father does not realize easily enough that she was in school because she was not directly seen as someone who could rebel. Looking at this through the lens of Lukes' (2005), we can say that Akosua was exercising 'power with'. Akosua's father had 'power over'. Wartenberg defines power over as "a social agent A has power over another social agent B if and only if A strategically constrains B's action-environment" (1990:85). Akosua had 'power to' but she combined her power to with that of her mother and elder sister to produce 'power with'. Akosua's resistance can also be seen as covert because she does not openly confront her father who exercised 'power over' her; she could only align with her mother. Even her action and that of her mother can be said to be covert because it happened on the blind side of her father (Scott 1985).

Some of the FGEW in the study became aware of the kind of politicking and power play that went into the discussions of whether they be allowed to go to school or not. The realization that they like their mothers could not escape the conventional gender expectations of the society and name calling when they dared to be different was glaring. Another respondent explains how her mother could not comply with symbols of the good woman and a good wife because she disobeyed her husband insisting that no child of hers be left out of educational opportunities contrary to what her husband wanted. Her mother was called names such as an unfit mother, beaten and on one occasion burned.

6.2.2 Running whilst others are staying

In addition to playing truancy, another strategy which was applied under extreme conditions was running whilst others are staying. Before we discuss how they resisted using this strategy, below is Akua, a journalist whose childhood experience speaks to this eloquently. Akua shares her childhood experience as follows:

I have spent much of my childhood life shuffling from one male authority figure to the other. When my father died I was 7 but I could not stay with my mother and step father because I frequently got beaten. I had 4 brothers and my mother gave birth to my father's fifth born. I came to have 9 siblings in all because my mother married twice after my father. Being the eldest girl like I told you before, I was taught to do household duties very early. I could bath a one month old baby when I turned 9. I always got to school late so I run away from most morning household duties so I could be in school on time. I had elder brothers who did virtually nothing because, anytime they were told to do something in the house, they did not do it well and my mother would say it is because they are boys so I was made to do it again. My step father would beat me when I came back from school. I run away to my grandmother but they still came for me. I was made to stay with my uncle but he had no plans for my education at all. This was my life until I run away again to my grandmother and this time around my grandmother said enough was enough, she would take care of me. Today I have only one daughter because I swore never to give birth to so many and watch them suffer.

Many of the FGEW in the study became very much aware of the potency of how the societal expectations of their gender could put limitations on their education. They watched how their brothers were treated differently in terms of performance of household duties. Their parents had power over them and they only had their 'power to'. The only resource they could apply were their power to as their 'individual consciousness' because their 'gender role' resource was counterproductive. We also recognize some kind of evaluative gaze on everything they did in the sense that their elder brothers got off the hook when things were not done properly because of their gender. In the instance above, she applied her power to and run away to her grandmother but that became counterproductive. She was only successful when her grandmother joined in

solidarity with her to ensure that she was able to go to school. She runs away whilst her brothers stayed.

6.3 Covert Diplomacy: Allies in support of insubordination

The preceding discussions, makes us understand that mothers and FGEW rebelled when they were confronted with non-enrolment decisions. In their quest to ensure that their daughters went to school they put up some resistance. They did not do this in isolation; rather they formed alliances so as to be able to turn their situations around. They were usually the reason why the use of 'power with' was possible for the women and their daughters. They also rebelled in different ways and these include giving advice that did not conform to traditional expectations of a woman and interfering in the affairs of others.

6.3.1 Giving advice that does not conform to the traditional expectations of women

Allies as seen here gave advice that challenged the traditional gender expectations of the FGEW. They did this through the application of their 'power to'. Applying power to as collective agency produces power with. Their modus operandi was also covert and subtle. The story Maame Yaa shares below suggests that the advice she gave whenever Maame Boa came running to her with issue was advice that shook the very foundation of societal expectations. Maame Yaa revealed this to me as follows:

Interviewer: Grandma please how did you get to advise her?

Maame Yaa; She is my friend and we converse a lot.

Interviewer: Please on this particular issue, how did you get to advise her?

Maame Yaa: She told me when the whole thing started and we kept talking about it throughout.

Interviewer: Please what advice did you give her? Maame Yaa: I told her to be skillful.

Interviewer: Please what did that entail?

Maame Yaa: Anything like when you are washing your husband's cloth and you see money in his pocket you take it. When he gives you money to purchase something, you buy it and quote your price or the money should even get missing on the way, you know what I mean? In desperate times, you take his money which he is saving and if he does not notice fine, however, if he does just come up with something. You can even help him to search for it. So this is very simple you just have to have a very sharp eye to see and be skillful and just apologise if you are caught red handed with some ready excuses.

From the conversation above we get a sense of how covert their resistance was. It was very difficult for anybody who was not in their camp to figure out what was happening.

6.3.2 Interfering in the affairs of others

Allies could come in to intervene invited or uninvited. Those who came in uninvited were usually family members; friends on the other hand could come in only when they were invited. Some friends could also come uninvited at times. The ally below was a family member and in this case the issue was informally referred to her because the FGEW run away from home to her. This is what the FGEW said about her grandmother:

.....I run away to my grandmother but they still came for me. I was made to stay with my uncle but he had no plans for my education at all. This was my life until I run away again back to my grandmother and this time around my grandmother said enough was enough she would take care of me.

The quotation here is incomplete but we can make meaning out of this because it has been used under subsection 6.2.1. The grandmother we see in the FGEW's narration was an ally in her quest for education. The FGEW was not co-opted into her mother's constituency because she run to her grandmother based on her informal alliance with her as family. We see this resistance as overt and the grandmother's action as overt too. The two apply both power to and 'power with' in a more overt resistance. Her grandmother's 'power to' and her 'power to' which produced power with this time around became power over in response to the situation.

6.4 Conclusion

We have been able to identify the people who rebelled as the mothers and the First Generation Educated Women. With the exception of one FGEW who led the resistance herself, all other resistances were led by the mothers of the FGEW who co-opted their daughters into their rebel camps. We appreciate that through covert and rarely overt means, they rebelled by the use of ‘power to’ and sometimes their ‘power with’ could lead to ‘power over’. In their application of ‘power with’, they formed alliances and the allies even though they were not the actual rebels provided the kind of collective power that was needed to produce results.



CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Introduction

The discourse about the changes in global educational patterns in terms of expanded opportunities and increased enrolment levels has been the focus of much research in recent times. The result of this appreciable recognition is seen in a number of documentations both at the international level and at the national level. Scholars in their bid to understand these changes have stuck to the conservative traditional structural approaches which focus more on interventions at the macro and meso-levels. In short, we have been served with more macro explanations and less of micro explanations aimed at shedding light on the issues of gender and education and particularly of the politics that happens in the home around enrolment and non-enrolment decisions. This silence in scholarship may well be due to the taken for granted notion that girls go to school.

The study is therefore among the few which focuses on the micro-level issues around gender and education. Earlier studies in this arena include Fuller and Laing, (1999 cited in Grant and Hallman, 2006: 6); Glick and Sahn, (2000); Kadzamira and Rose, (2003), and the focus in these has been around family earnings or investments and how it affects gender and quitting school. This study therefore was an attempt to provide an understanding of the micro-politics that characterizes the decision and responsibility to send a female to school and the specific objectives were to: find out about decision makers and their rationale for supporting their daughters' education, to find out about the gate keepers and why they were bent on maintaining the status-quo, to uncover the mechanisms certain parties use to rebel against non-

enrolment decisions and to understand the kind of tensions and contradictions that characterizes the decision to send a female to school and how the various actors respond to this.

7.1 Research Approaches

The data collection was done in Kyebi. A qualitative research approach was used. A total of 30 participants were sampled using the purposive and snowballing sampling techniques. In-depth interviews were conducted and voices tape recorded except in the case of two participants who declined to have their voices recorded. The interviews were transcribed and translated concurrently. Data was stored in a folder and encrypted using Sensi Guard. The objectives of the study guided the ultimate discussion of the themes. Of fundamental importance is how wearing the theoretical lenses of Stephen Lukes' theory of power (1974, 1986, 2005) and James Scott's theory of resistance (1976, 1985, 1987, 1989, 1990) helped in bringing out the various contestations and contentions and how individuals applied power as it exists in several forms and resistance depending on their interest.

7.2 Key Research Findings

The study site is a matrilineal community, where the mothers' brother is expected to play a key role in important decision making. It was surprising, however, to find out that the key decision makers around enrollment and non-enrolment of the girl child were their fathers. It was also instructive to observe that the dynamics of household decision-making around who to educate was in response to the general livelihood strategy and complex resource allocation between members. Mothers' opinions did not count much in such decisions mostly because of the position of the father as a male bread winner, the manager of the family resources and the leader

of the family. Among all the decision makers interviewed, only one said he consulted his wife and even that was for him to garner support for his decision not for her to come and dissent. Generally, decision makers wanted their daughters in school due to reasons such as gossip, sibling rivalry, intergenerational transfer of wealth and Nana Sir Ofori Atta I's influence. I, however, observed a gendered pattern in the outcome of such decisions. The cultural preference for males with respect to education accounted for such gendered differences. Birth order also featured prominently here as most of the FGEW were not the first daughters in their families. This confirms Steelman et al. (2002) to a large extent that birth order influences who gets educated and the amount of schooling one gets (Powell and Steelman 1990). In situations where tensions surrounding such decisions were not properly contained within the nuclear family, an extended family head or the mother's brother could come in invited or uninvited. Underlying such factors of decision making was also sibling rivalry and contestations of different interests such that not every decision was made to see the light of the day.

Another major finding has to do with responses to such decision making by those that were otherwise affected by such decisions. As I have already hinted, not every decision was carried through religiously but depending on the various interests and possible alliances, people put up resistance to some of the decisions. In order to make possible impact in some of the decision making or see to the implementation of alternate views, respondents employed different means to deflect the power of the decision maker within the family structure. They did this through resistance and such resistance came in the form of boundary negotiation, leaving the site of perpetuation and rebelling. Here, James Scott's (1976, 1985, 1990) theory of resistance, which tries to justify everyday resistance as covert and subtle was challenged in this context as we see a

more outright and overt resistance happening concurrently and sometimes sequentially with covert resistance on a daily basis. It came to light from the study that the process of winning alliances or supporters served as situations enabling and constraining political actions. Moreover, it became clear that children took part in the politics of resistance passively or actively. Some family members, however, chose to stay on the sidelines under the guise of neutrality. Having been provoked by dissent and a possibility of change to resist decisions that were not favorable to some members of the family reawakened how successful they were in resisting or how such forms of resistance became their bane. Either way, we know empirically that outcomes of decisions could be altered in the most dramatic ways through covert and overt means in which such decisions were negotiated every day.

Paramount among others, the study has shown that most of the FGEW came from families with education traditions dating back three generations. Gate keepers, however, played a crucial role with respect to who got educated and who did not. The gate keepers comprised mainly the father of the FGEW, the mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother (mother's uncle). The father is the gatekeeper for the nuclear family and the mothers' brother and uncle are external gatekeepers. Together they form a multiple gate keeping system. It was realized that when one closed a gate of educational opportunity to a member of the family, another could open. However, when they all came together as one gate keeping web, it became difficult for an individual to penetrate this web. This way, individuals came together and converted their 'power to' into 'power with' in order to surmount such challenges. The powers and decisions of gatekeepers could intersect, overlap and complement one another. We recognize from the study that, how gatekeepers determined the privilege of education was usually gendered, however,

they were usually immune to questioning because they employed cultural resources which extracted obedience from females due to the consolidation of norms that women were compelled to observe in order to be marked as good women.

Finally, the study has shown that how much of a group's economic resources can be translated in to educational privileges for its members has to do with a lot of politics, however, radical the means by which specific constituencies attempt to affirm the existing ways or to challenge the existing ways all in their bid to have a say on who to transmit such opportunities. The girl child, however, has been at the center of most of the politics.

7.3 Conclusion

The point in this study has been about understanding the micro politics that characterizes the decision and responsibility to send a female to school. This study can therefore be situated in the broader studies on gender and education. I chose micro politics because we have been served with a lot of macro explanations on the increasing numbers of girls in school. FGEW, were chosen because they mark a turning point in the constitution, conception, alteration, remaking and shaping of education in the histories of their families. This study is useful for the understanding of other determinants of who gets educated especially, the micro level politics of those determinants as an alternative to the conservative traditional structural approach. We can never single out macro interventions from, for example micro politics in the home in any undisputed way, since the success of such structural policies only becomes reality if the doors of education are opened to the individual in the homes. It is not possible to think of these things only as a top down problem, thus this study has looked at the issue in its local variations. The

discussions here are noteworthy for anyone interested in gender and education because it is among the few studies that demonstrate a shift in paradigmatic understandings of how females come to receive education. Having spent time justifying the study in the conclusion, I now turn to look at recommendations.

7.4 Recommendations

I look at recommendations on two counts. At the core of the recommendation is the opportunity for further consideration of the complex determinants of female education. The second part is about policy considerations. Addressing policy attention is very necessary especially because the transformative worldview underlying my study advocates for an action agenda to confront issues that emerge from the study and spearhead the needed changes (Mertens 2010).

7.4.1 Opportunity for Further Studies

Although this study makes significant contribution to the literature on gender and education as I have tried to justify in the conclusion, particularly in understanding of the micro politics surrounding how females get to go to school, the findings of the study reveals some major limitations on the basis of which further research is warranted. The politics surrounding educational decisions at the micro level is not the same, for all families at all times. The relationships based on interest and the application of power and resistance are always contingent on time therefore understanding the ways in which actors enact this politics in different contexts and times will be a laudable research project. For example it could be done in a patrilineal society or among other generations aside the first generation so as to appreciate how things have

changed and or remained the same overtime. Moreover, it appears that this study only presents a case of those who successfully negotiated the limitations of their circumstances and ended up being educated. Further research could be directed at looking at the politics that results in unsuccessful attempts at circumventing laid down practices encouraging non-enrolment decisions affecting females. I must admit that indeed I was hard pressed to see any evidence from any respondent who attributed enrolment and non-enrolment decisions to structural policies such as the availability of schools. That notwithstanding, a study that captures structural interventions at the macro level and how families respond to it amidst politics at the micro level concurrently will be useful in painting a proper picture of how the two intersect. Such a study should endeavor to unearth the political triggers of various constituencies that inform who they choose to take advantage of such interventions. New research is also needed to determine how the constellations of gatekeepers as reported in this study continue to affect gender inequality in schooling.

7.4.2 Policy Issues

It is true that today, a lot more girls are in school than in times past but the statistics both at the global level (EFA GMR, 2013) and the local level(MOE, 2013)continue to be skewed in favor of the male particularly at higher levels of education. Standards and practices which have cheated females in the past out of education are still being practiced. The importance of this study is to remind us that gender issues are still not settled in the proper way as expected. Males and females still occupy boundary conscious realms (Carlson, 2011:14), such that the influx of females in schools (a space that was appropriated for males in the past) does not suggest a more equal distribution of household duties between boys and girls. A complete

woman is framed today as the one who chooses to fulfill herself through education as well as embracing her role as the performer of household duties (Carlson, 2011:5). However, we all know that constraining the time of one because of gender is extremely unacceptable such that in most instances a girl who succeeds in education is the one who successfully does a double job. Policy makers should therefore begin to think through questions of childhood and come out with ways that allow for a more radical potential of girls becoming.

The second policy recommendation has to do with care giving as a matter of distributive justice. Government must find ways of presenting through education care giving as every family member's duty within the context of dynamics of gender relations. The exploitative nature of the historical distribution of care work within the family and thus the injustice of such arrangements still persist (Bubeck 1995, 1999). The current arrangements for girls who bear a double burden in the family should be looked at as a matter of urgency. Moreover, like Heather Brook (2007, 2015 :2, 18) posits, despite the oppressive history of marriage in women's bid to make sure that their opinions will count in decision making and in this context, regarding the enrolment and non-enrolment of their daughters in school, marriage is unlikely to wither away due to any lack of interest. The call is therefore for policy makers to have a serious and a sustained public education and orientation program aimed at getting people to change their male leader and female led orientations that characterize decision making in families. It does not make sense in this day and age for any institution to put leadership and consequently decision making in the hands of a person simply because of the person's biological make up and the social construction or cultural interpretation of this make up that influences the valuing of males and females differently.

Finally, I will suggest that since structural interventions could for instance bring a school closer to a girl but a different family political context is needed to actually see her in the school, government should find ways of mediating the complex relationship between these two spaces in any educational policy, aimed at ensuring quality education for all. The future prospects of education for all will be very difficult to achieve, if government does nothing about the issues raised in this study.



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APPENDIX I: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FIRST GENERATION

EDUCATED WOMEN

University of Ghana

Department of Sociology

Topic: The Rebels within: an analyses of First Generation Educated Women in Ghana

In-depth Interview Guide

Demographic and Work history

Profession -----

Highest Educational Grade attained ----- Year of graduation-----

Are you originally from this town? Yes No

Master Status-----

How old are you? 20-29yrs 30-39yrs 40- 49yrs 50-59yrs 60-69yrs Over 70yrs

Number of Children----- Master Status of Children----- Number of Siblings-----

Time started: ----- Time ended: -----

1.0 To identify the decision makers and why they were supportive of their daughters' education.

- Who took the decision to send you to school?

Probe: what was his/her role in the house/family/community?

Why did they want you in school?

- Is she or he the major decision maker in matters relating to your education?
- What exactly did the person do to keep you in school?
- Did he get other members of the family supporting this decision?
- How did they support the decision?
- What role did they play to support this decision?
- Was there any decision at any point in time in the decision making process not to put you through school?

If the response is yes,

- What was the decision?

- Who took the decision?
- Why did she/ he want you out of school?
- How did you feel about such decision?
- Did the decision maker garner support for this decision?
- Who were the supporters?
- How exactly did they support her or him?

1.0 To find out the gate keepers and why they were bent on maintaining the status-quo.

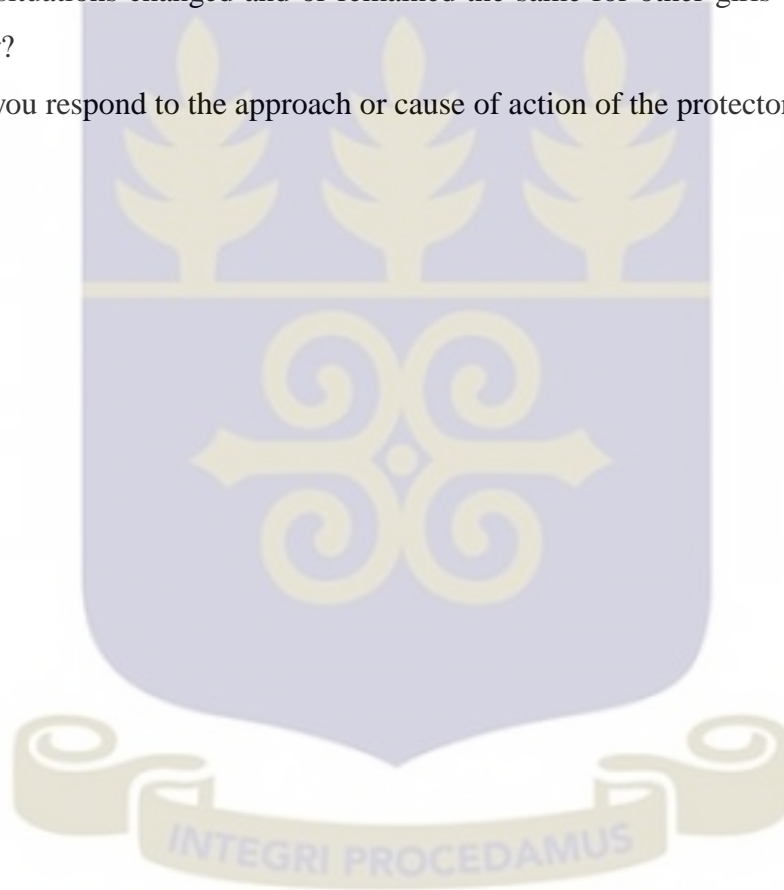
- What is the family tradition with respect to putting the female members through school?
- Is it a tradition that supports the idea of putting a girl through school?
- Who controls access to this tradition?
- How have they guided this tradition?
- What strategies have they employed or do they employ to keep this tradition?
- Was anybody against this decision to send you to school?
- Who was she or he? and why
- Who are the allies in the approach of the protectors" of this tradition?
- Did their activities affect you?
- How did it affect you?
- How do you feel about that?

3.0 To uncover who the rebels were and the mechanisms of rebellion they used

- Was there any disagreement between those who supported the decision to get you educated and those who did not?
- What was the basis of disagreement?
- Who were those for or against?
- Who wielded more power to carry their decisions through?
- How did the other /others respond?
- Was the differences ironed at any point in time in the decision making process? How did it happen? How did it not happen?
- Was relationships strained?

4.0 To understand the kind of tensions and contradictions that characterized the decision to send a female to school and how the various allies responded to this?

- How did you feel about the decision to send you to school?
- How did you feel about the decision not to send you to school?
- How did you respond to both decisions?
- Did you take part in the row about this decisions and the way it was carried through?
- How did you participate, can it be described as active and or passive
- How has situations changed and or remained the same for other girls who follow you in the family?
- How did you respond to the approach or cause of action of the protectors' of this family tradition?



APPENDIX II: SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DECISION MAKERS

AND ALLIES

University of Ghana

Department of Sociology

Topic: The Rebels within: an analyses of First Generation Educated Women in Ghana

In-depth Interview Guide

Demographic and Work history

Profession -----

Highest Educational Grade attained ----- Year of graduation-----

Are you originally from this town? Yes No

Master Status-----

How old are you? 20-29yrs 30-39yrs 40- 49yrs 50-59yrs 60-69yrs Over 70yrs

Number of Children----- Master Status of Children----- Number
of Siblings-----

Time started: ----- Time ended: -----

Decision Makers

- How are you related to the female?
- In what capacity were you taking decisions concerning her education?
- Did you want her in school?
- Why did you want her to go to school?/ why not?
- Did you garner support for your decision?

Probe: How did you do that? What was the strategy? Did you achieve the desired result?

How?

- Who supported you? Who was against your decision?
- What did you do to get her through school?
- How did you make sure she was out of school?
- How successful were you with your decision?
- How did your activities affect her schooling?
- How do you feel about her educational attainment now?

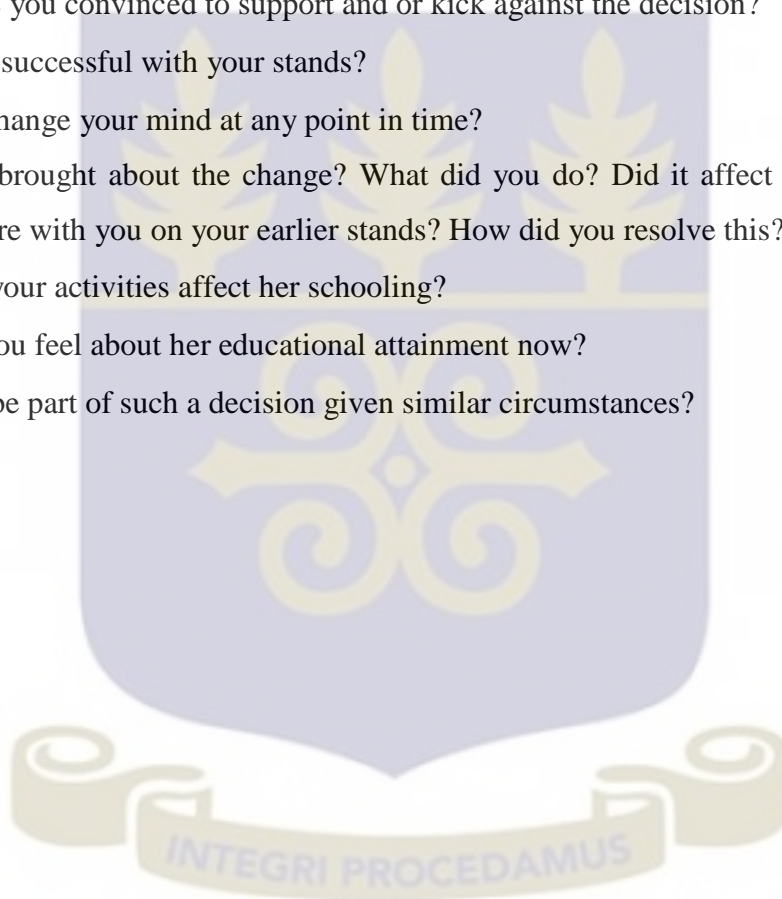
- Will you take the same decision given the same opportunity?

Allies

- How are you related to the female?
- In what capacity did you support the decision to see her through school?
- In what capacity were you against the decision to see her through school?
- Why did you support such decision? And how did you do it?
- Why were you against such decision? And how did you do it?
- How were you convinced to support and or kick against the decision?
- Were you successful with your stands?
- Did you change your mind at any point in time?

Probe: What brought about the change? What did you do? Did it affect your relation with those who were with you on your earlier stands? How did you resolve this?

- How did your activities affect her schooling?
- How do you feel about her educational attainment now?
- Will you be part of such a decision given similar circumstances?



APPENDIX III: ETHICAL CLEARANCE



UNIVERSITY OF GHANA ETHICS COMMITTEE FOR THE HUMANITIES (ECH)

P. O. Box LG 74, Legon, Accra, Ghana

My Ref. No.....

27th March, 2015

Ms. Gertrude Akuffo
Department of Sociology
University of Ghana
Legon

Dear Ms. Akuffo,

ECH 063 /14-15: THE REBELS WITHIN: AN ANALYSIS OF FIRST GENERATION EDUCATED WOMEN IN GHANA: A CASE STUDY OF KYEBI

This is to advise you that the above reference study has been presented to the Ethics Committee for the Humanities for a full board review and the following actions taken subject to the conditions and explanation provided below:

Expiry Date: 17/09/15
On Agenda for: Initial Submission
Date of Submission: 19/02/15
ECH Action: Approved
Reporting: Quarterly



Please accept my congratulations.

Yours Sincerely,

Rev. Prof. J. O. Y. Mantle
ECH Chair

CC: Dr. Dan-Bright Dzargbo, Dept. of Sociology