THE AKAN QUEEN MOTHERS IN GHANA
AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF COVERT GYNOCRACY

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Thesis submitted to Cardiff School of Management in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

2010

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DECLARATION

I declare that this work has not been previously accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted for any other degree.

I further declare that this thesis is the result of my own independent work and investigation, except where otherwise stated (a bibliography is appended).

Finally, I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photography and inter-library loan, and for the title and abstract to be made available to outside organisations.

Signed:

Fiona Araba Gibson (Candidate)

Signed:

Professor Annette Pritchard (Director of Studies)

Signed:

Professor Eleri Jones (Supervisor)
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to God Almighty, through whom I had the knowledge, strength and energy to persevere against all odds to achieve my dream. I describe the inspiration on which I drew to write the thesis on the position of Akan Queen Mothers, about whom very little is known, as divine because I believed I was guided through this journey by Supreme Being and very grateful to Him, Amen.

This thesis is also dedicated to two formidable women in my life, my grandmother and mother whom through their relentless efforts used every resource they had when they were alive to support me throughout my education.

The study is also dedicated to my family for their endless patience, support and encouragement, especially to my four children, Chris Ephine Nana Yaw Twum, Fiona Akosua Benuye Ewurasi Twum, Ebo John Twum and Ekow Lenard Twum for all the hard times they have suffered during my research journey.

It is also dedicated to all friends who supported and helped me along the way, especially David Jenkins, who showed an outstanding love, dedication, patience and understanding during my research studies. I must say he is very reliable friend and I use this opportunity to thank him dearly by standing by me during the hard times.
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I would like to express my sincere thanks and deep gratitude to my supervisors for giving me the opportunity to pursue an attractive research topic. I sincerely, thanked Professor David Botterill for his immense research advice and encouragement, which guided me throughout my research journey.

I am indebted to Professor Eleri Jones for her guidance, valuable inputs, assistance and encouragement along the way. Professor Jones’s brilliant contributions and effective review of the work is highly acknowledged. Finally, for drawing my attention to the contradictory position of Akan Queen Mothers regarding their power and authority and their background position in Akan social organisation of Ghana.

I am also indebted to Professor Annette Pritchard for her critically positive and constructive criticisms in shaping this thesis to acceptable level.

Thanks are extended to all formal and informal Ghanaian men and women who agreed to participate in both unstructured individual and focus or group interviews in Ghana on the position of Akan Queen Mothers of Ghana. Thanks are also extended to all special friends who freely offered help and the experiences they exposed are indeed appreciated.

I also want to thank Katerina Ciura for editing my thesis as well as Mrs Janet Simons for her immense support while writing this research thesis.

Finally, I would like to thank all organisations and women groups PANAFEST festival Foundation, the Ministry of Tourism and few more organisations and individuals for providing every possible help. I use this occasion to thank every body in Ghana News Agency, for the immense support I received during the time of the field study in Ghana, especially in shaping me into a fantastic narrative story teller.
ABSTRACT

Akan society in Ghana is a covert gynocracy. The Akan Queen Mothers assume a background position despite being co-political rulers of Akan traditional political chieftaincy institutions with sole authority and power for electing a man to be enstooled as king or chief. This background position results directly from traditional cultural and social norms - “cultural politics” - that have existed in Ghana from pre-colonial times to the modern-day and reflect how wider Ghanaian society perceives women.

Festivals are extremely important in Ghana with women playing a central role in festival celebrations. One such festival of national and international importance is PANAFEST which celebrates the ideals of Pan-Africanism. PANAFEST is dominated by men with women, apart from the Queen Mothers, playing a secondary role in the celebrations, only one day focuses on women’s activities.

This study investigates the implications of covert gynocracy for women’s empowerment in Ghana through a case study of women in tourism, particularly PANAFEST, and the role of the Akan Queen Mothers therein. Promoting social harmony rather than gender equality, this post-modern feminist study interprets rich qualitative data generated from unstructured interviews with better-educated individuals and focus group discussions with less well-educated individuals at three PANAFEST destinations.

The thesis discusses the structures that underpin Akan society and the power and authority of the Akan Queen Mothers as decision-makers, particularly in respect of kingship. It exposes the contradiction of the Queen Mothers’ power and authority with their background position as covert gynocracy and the implications of this for women’s empowerment. The thesis presents the Theory of the Giant Leap to encapsulate the enormous challenges for women’s empowerment in Ghana through addressing covert gynocracy and male hegemony. The thesis concludes that there is no short-term panacea and that issues can only be addressed in the long-term through education.
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<td>ASWIM</td>
<td>Association of Women in the Media</td>
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<td>DFP</td>
<td>Development Financial Plan</td>
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<td>Dr.</td>
<td>Doctorate in Philosophy</td>
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<td>DWM</td>
<td>31&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; December Women’s Movement</td>
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<td>ERP</td>
<td>Economic Recovery Programme</td>
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<td>International Federation of Women’s Lawyers, Ghana</td>
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<td>HOTCATT</td>
<td>Hotel, Catering and Tourism Centre</td>
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<td>UNWTO</td>
<td>United Nations World Tourism Organisation</td>
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<td>USA</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
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<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>WSHTLM</td>
<td>Welsh School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure</td>
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<td>WTO</td>
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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH JOURNEY

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH JOURNEY

1.1 Introduction

My name is Fiona Gibson. I am an Akan woman and I have been fortunate enough to have had a good education in Ghana and later in the United Kingdom (UK). This good fortune is not shared by lots of women in Ghana. Millions of Ghanaian women suffer as a result of the traditional, cultural and social norms that inhibit the progress of women in Ghana. In this thesis I want to explore the cultural politics prevailing in Ghana. In using the term cultural politics I mean the traditional socio-cultural and political norms of a society.

In this thesis I will focus particularly on the Akan society of Ghana, where women, children and the minority are suppressed by inhuman traditional, cultural and social practices that infringe upon their human rights. Cultural anthropologists classify the indigenous people of Ghana into five major groups: the Akan; the Ewe; the Mole-Dagbane; the Guan; the Ga-Adangbe. The Akan people occupy practically the whole of Ghana south and west of the Black Volta and account for about 50% of the entire Ghanaian population (Ghana home page, 2007).
Chapter one presents my personal journey from Ghana to PhD study in Wales which influenced my choice of research topic and research approach. Section 1.2 opens by discussing my childhood and strong maternal influences that have shaped my philosophy on life. It moves on to introduce my grandmother - the Queen Mother of my life - and my mother before explaining the influences on my life as a boarding student and as a married woman in Ghana.

The point of departure for this thesis came out of a discussion of the role of the Akan Queen Mothers as the decision-makers in the selection of the King with my supervisors. The Akan Queen Mother (or Ohemmaa) is the co-ruler of the Akan traditional political system and has joint responsibility with the Akan King or Chief to run the affairs of their kingdom or state (Women Leaders in Ghana, 2007). The Queen Mother or Ohemmaa has great political power in the Akan kingdom and under certain conditions, such as the sudden death of the chief or king can assume full control of central authority (Women Leaders in Ghana, 2007). If the Akan Queen Mother becomes King, she takes the title as Omanhene. According to Akan history, the Ohemmaa is the only person who can openly rebuke the Ohene/Chief/ King in public. In addition, the Akan Queen Mother/Ohemmaa continues to be chosen by her senior lineage of her clan. Although in the past some changes had been made during the colonial period, the Akan Queen Mother has
never been chosen by the king or chief (Women Leaders in Ghana, 2007).

However, when I looked at photographs of PANAFEST (the biannual Pan-African Festival that celebrates the slave trade and black African culture and is held every second year in Ghana attracting Ghanaian diaspora from all over the world) though women, apart from the Queen Mothers, were not in the foreground but relegated to the background or not present at all (see Figures 1.1-1.4). This was something that I felt was worth exploring as every picture tells a story.

Figure 1.1 – Candle Night Procession at Castle Dungeons
Sources – [PANAFEST Pictures, 2003]
In this thesis I want to explore the challenges that face women in Ghana today, i.e. the marginalised and the background position of the Akan women and to explain how important Queen Mothers are in the lives of Ghanaian communities and as role models and sponsors for young Ghanaian women. I will develop a case study of PANAFEST and
highlighting the sometimes contradictory role of women in its implementation. Section 1.3 introduces PANAFEST which is of critical importance in Ghana’s community and village-based tourism activities as one of the highest profile festivals in Ghana and a key ingredient in Ghana’s tourism development. Section 1.4 explores community and village-based tourism in Ghana. Section 1.5 opens by presenting the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) and its efforts in relation to tourism and poverty alleviation and moves on to deal with sustainable tourism and the pro-poor potential of tourism in Ghana. Section 1.6 explains how my thesis focus was determined and identifies the research problem that the thesis will explore and presents specific research questions and the study’s aims and objectives. Section 1.7 will provide an overview of the thesis structure and finally Section 1.8 presents a chapter summary to link to the next chapter.

1.2 My Personal Journey

Holiday (2002) asserts that sharing research experiences helps improve a researcher’s relationship with other researchers. Sharing my personal journey will help increase reader’s understanding of the Ghanaian context for this study and the traditions and culture in which the phenomenon of the role and involvement of the Akan Queen Mothers, in particular, and Ghanaian women, in general, in tourism is situated.
Stanley and Wise (1993) and Holiday (2002) agree that sharing research experiences are a means of showing the objective stand of a study. Maynard (1998) asserts that sharing research experiences gives researchers clear vision and direction as well as strengthening the research process through exposure to the culture and biographical aspects of knowing (Stanley and Wise, 1993; Maynard, 1998; Holiday, 2002). Holiday (2002) again argues that it is still not common to present explicit information as seen in the style of writing. Rather as a macro view approach, sharing research experiences concerns how such experiences contribute to the wider task of understanding society, here Holiday says:

> It is essential, in my opinion, to continue to share our individual experiences in the field in order to enhance our understanding of different socio-cultural contexts and their implications for the collection and interpretation of our data.

(Holiday, 2002: 169)

My interest in tourism development started with my career as a journalist when I had the opportunity to file reports on tourism-related issues in Ghana. Such reports gave me wider insight and understanding of Ghanaian women’s contribution to tourism development and management in Ghana. My enthusiasm for tourism grew deeper with my enrolment as a research student in the Welsh School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, which is now part of Cardiff School of Management, at the Colchester Avenue campus of the University of Wales Institute, Cardiff (UWIC) in Cardiff.
I had a strong desire to travel and this developed immediately after graduating from the Ghana Institute of Journalism (GIJ). After graduation, I had the opportunity to travel all over Ghana and some other parts of Africa in the course of my work as a journalist. Being a female journalist also presented an opportunity for me to report on the United Nations (UN) Assembly’s stand on the emancipation of women in Ghana. The UN’s declaration on international recognition of the contribution of women worldwide influenced the creation of women’s organisations and groups in Ghana. This thesis is particularly influenced by my association with women’s groups and associations in Ghana, especially in their quest to advocate for social change and to address the traditional socio-cultural injustices that over the years have affected public perceptions of Ghanaian women. It is equally important to note that colonialisation and Western civilisation have had a direct effect on how Ghanaian women are perceived in Ghana today.

The contradictions inherent in the power and position of Akan Queen Mothers have had a direct effect on my research journey as a Ghanaian woman. Until recently, the emphasis on education in Ghana was on Ghanaian men rather than women, but Ghanaian public policy now challenges the traditional beliefs that women are for childbearing and the kitchen and asserts that female children should have the same access to education and other opportunities as male children. As a Ghanaian woman, I associate myself with the sufferings of many less-
fortunate women in Ghana who are voiceless and too weak to fight against socio-cultural injustice in the country. I hope this thesis will explore some of the issues that continue to repress women in Ghana. The paradox of the Akan Queen Mothers has wide implications - many women in Ghana find themselves in a similarly paradoxical position and the researcher of this thesis is no exception.

1.2.1 My Childhood and Strong Maternal Influences

As a child, I always had the urge to further my education – an urge that was supported and encouraged by both my grandmother and my mother. Both women were instrumental and supportive in my upbringing, albeit in very different ways. I describe both women as my precious jewellery - they gave me unfading love and undivided attention as a child. I shed a tear whenever I realise that those happy bubbling days are gone forever and I will never see either woman again - my grandmother died in 1983 and my mother died in 2004. However, before their demise, both women gave me lifelong tutorials, a legacy I have passed on to my four children who I will introduce later in this chapter.
1.2.2 My Grandmother - the Queen Mother of my life

My grandmother was one person who really influenced my life. Her conversations with my mother dramatically changed my life and gave me my urge for a higher education. One conversation was to “make sure Araba (or Abena - a name given to all females born on a Tuesday in the Akan society of Ghana) stays in school, because she is a strong character”. I never speak of my father because I did not know him - he died long before I was born. Neither my mother nor my grandmother were willing to speak of him in my presence. I shared a close and intimate relationship with my grandmother but not with my mother. In fact until I was 15, I thought my grandmother was my birth mother. My grandmother took on the role of mothering me since my own mother had much younger children to focus on. I owe my higher education opportunities to my grandmother, who worked relentlessly to support my mother in sponsoring my education from primary to secondary school level. My grandmother was very zealous and philosophical, she never had any formal education, yet she was highly intelligent. She was a very religious person who prayed constantly and was very humble. Her philosophical ideals over the years have carried me far and given me the quality of life that I believe I deserved as a woman. I remembered my grandmother always saying to me “be focused and pursue the dreams of your heart, including higher education, because the sky is the limit for you”.
1.2.3 My Mother

The relationship I had with my mother was not as close as that with my grandmother. However, I did share a very sincere and open relationship with my mother. I can proudly say that my outgoing personality is due to her constant advice. I was brought up in a middle-income family, where women were seen as equal to men. My mother never said much to me but trusted me with money and I ran the family home for her from a very tender age. These two most formidable women made life in Ghana easier for me in comparison to the majority of Ghanaian women who were not lucky enough to have the kind of support and encouragement which I enjoyed throughout my education in Ghana or indeed to benefit from education at all.

1.2.4 Life as a Boarding Student

In 1969, at the age of 14, my mother sent me to a boarding school at the Half-Assini Secondary School in the Western Region of Ghana, where I spent five years. While there, I became dormitory prefect and girl's sports prefect, respectively. I earned these remarkable achievements because of my performance in athletics and in the girls' netball team. Academically, I was an excellent student who prided herself and came top among the third year students in economics-related subjects. In addition, I came close to snatching the first position
in mathematics. In terms of academic position, from primary to secondary school, I was always amongst the top ten students in my class. My most memorable achievement, apart from running and playing netball for the school, was the semester I devoted myself to my academic work. That year, I received the prize as the most industrious student. So not only did I feel respected but also was seen as among the best brains in the school at the time.

My first job at age 21 was with the Ghana News Agency (GNA) as a proof-reader and I later transferred to GNA’s Library to work as an index reference assistant. There, I took advantage of the reading environment to pursue a course in Library Studies. My interest in Library Studies was short lived even though I had six months training as well as a three-month attachment at the Ghana Library Board (GLB) although I did achieve a certificate in Library Studies. My interest in library studies dwindled because of internal challenges and competition at GNA. As an employee in a news organisation, I decided to change direction to read journalism; because it offered travel opportunities for international exposure and widening my horizons. I upgraded my education through remedial classes and in 1990; I enrolled at GIJ to read for a two-year full-time diploma in journalism and graduated successfully in 1992.
1.2.5 Life as a Married Woman

It is important to note that before I read journalism, I was already married with four children - three boys and a girl, who is the second oldest. I got married in 1980 but, unfortunately, my marriage broke down and was dissolved in 1997. After receiving my divorce papers I immediately embarked on a journey to the United Kingdom for additional higher education. The reason for such a decision was to inspire, encourage and be a role model to my four children. There is a saying in the Akan language that “Ockoto ewo anoma” which means, “a crab does not bear a bird”. Literally, you must set a good example to your offspring. I am glad to say that despite all the heartbreak and the challenges of being a single mother raising four children at an early age it has been well worth it. I am very proud now that three of my children have taken after me and read journalism. The fourth has yet to decide his path. At the time of writing this thesis my eldest son was working for a private newspaper, my daughter was working with a reputable financial organisation, my second son was about to complete his studies in a school of journalism and my youngest son was in his final year at boarding school. The most challenging thing I have ever done in my life so far is combining married life and child rearing whilst pursuing an educational career.
Even though the steps I took were very challenging, it has ended well and also helped me to understand myself better, unveiling my true self. In addition, it helped me to understand my children and to support them in their academic work. Immediately after graduation, I began to enjoy life as journalist and travelled widely throughout Ghana and other African countries to workshops, seminars and conferences, all on issues surrounding women, gender and children.

In 1994, I went to Cairo, Egypt to attend the International Conference on Population Development (ICDP) and to Senegal for the Fifth All African Women’s Conference in preparation for the Beijing International Conference on Women in China in 1995. At all of these seminars and conferences, I was the GNA’s special correspondent, since I majored in population communication. In 1996, I attended an eight-week course on population segmentation and reproductive health in Nairobi, Kenya.

1.3 The PANAFEST Festival and Tourism Development in Ghana

The Government of Ghana (GOG) has developed a tourism development plan within the framework of Ghana’s Vision 2020 which provides long-term guidance for national development (NTDPG, 1996). Ghana’s Vision 2020 provides the basis for establishing tourism development policy and growths targets. Ghana’s tourism development and
management will be discussed fully in chapter three of this study. To boost tourism in Ghana, GOG and NTDPG (1996) has identified the Pan-African Theatre Festival dubbed PANAFEST - an internationally significant festival developed in Ghana - as one major means to promote tourism development and management in the country. PANAFEST is a biannual festival in Ghana that draws diasporan Ghanaians, especially African-Americans, to Ghana to celebrate and witness true African culture and the routes taken by the famous Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (NTDPG, 1996). PANAFEST was the brain-child of a woman and it will be discussed in more detail in chapter seven. PANAFEST, which was established as a local week-long drama festival in 1992, took off internationally. According to NTDPG (1996) it has proved to be very successful and attracts international tourists from other African countries as well as from other continents, particularly from the United States of America (USA).

1.4 Community and Village-Based Tourism in Ghana

Village and community tourism is one key area that GOG, the Ministry of Tourism (MOT) and Ghana Tourism Board (GTB) have identified to boost tourism development and management in the country (NTDPG, 1996). The move will provide good infrastructural facilities and the all-important social amenities in identified rural tourist destinations in
Ghana. The aim is to improve the lives of many poor Ghanaians living in tourism destinations, especially those in the rural areas.

For sustainable tourism development in Ghana, GOG and other tourism stakeholders in the country have developed community tourism development programmes that include traditional rulers and local religious leaders to review the positive and negative impacts of tourism (NTDPG, 1996). The planned programme for Ghana’s community-based tourism is in coordination with MOT and Ghana’s Local Government Authority (GLGA).

The purpose of involving community leaders, traditional rulers and local religious leaders in community and village tourism in Ghana is to allow local residents to make decisions about tourism development and to come up with programmes and activities relating to their own communities and villages (NTDPG, 1996). According to the NTDPG (1996), MOT and GTB, with the assistance of GOG, will train community residents to work directly in tourist facilities and services including hotels, restaurants, craft and souvenir shops, tour and travel services and tour guides. NTDPG (1996) asserts that GOG, MOT and GTB will give priority to local residents to work in tourism enterprises as well as providing financial assistance and technical advice to local entrepreneurs to establish tourism-related enterprises in rural tourism destinations in Ghana.
1.5 UNWTO, Tourism and Poverty Alleviation

The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) (2002) has identified tourism as a vehicle for economic development and poverty alleviation in developing countries. The WTO (2002) defines sustainable tourism development as:

*Sustainable tourism meets the needs of present tourists and host regions, while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity, and life support systems.*

(WTO, 2002: 20)

The WTO (2002) identifies five advantages of sustainable tourism development:

- Natural, historical, cultural and other resources for tourism are conserved for continuous use in the future, while still bringing benefits to the present society.
- Tourism development is planned and managed so that it does not generate serious environmental or socio-cultural problems in the tourism area.
- The overall environmental quality of tourism areas is maintained and improved where needed.
- A high level of tourist satisfaction is maintained so that tourist destinations will retain their marketability and popularity.
- The benefits of tourism are widespread throughout society.
The WTO (2002) believes that if sustainable tourism development is achieved there will be benefits for the poor in developing countries who need tourism as a vehicle for national development. Furthermore, the WTO (2002) is convinced that tourism can be harnessed to bring local economic development in forms which assist poverty reduction. The WTO emphasised that for sustainable tourism development to succeed in a developing country, the environment, the poor and their culture must be protected. To achieve the goals of sustainable development, the WTO (2002) asserted that it is important to look at poverty holistically by recognising that the poor in community tourist destinations pursue a range of livelihoods, e.g. as employees in tourism organisations and as self-employed persons undertaking roles such as taxi driving and tourist guiding.

Sharpley and Tefler (2002) argue that evidence for tourism and its importance in influencing global activity is shown in the WTO’s annual tourism statistics for around 200 countries which proves that tourism is a major social phenomenon. In addition, tourism has developed into a powerful, worldwide economic force, generating over US$622 billion in 2004 through international tourism (WTO, 2005). International tourism receipts in 2004 reached a new record value of US$622 billion as expressed in absolute figures. Moreover, world tourism has over the years contributed to the establishment of a new international economic order that helped to eliminate the widening economic gap between
developed and developing countries, ensuring steady acceleration of economic and social development and progress, especially in developing countries like Ghana (WTO, 2002; Sharpley and Tefler, 2002). Sharpley and Tefler (2002) argue that although the UN in 1974 proposed the establishment of a New International Economic Order to address imbalances and inequalities within existing international economic and political structures, there were questions about political structures, ownership and control of international tourism. This raises issues about the developmental role of tourism in less-developed countries which consider tourism a vital ingredient in the overall development of their plans and policies (Sharpley and Tefler, 2002). Sharpley and Tefler (2002) argue further that the development of tourism has long been seen as both a vehicle for economic development and a symbol of Westernization. However, tourism is now also seen as a means of sustaining development and solving poverty alleviation to improve the lives of people in developing countries.

Sharpley and Tefler (2002) cited the case of The Gambia which lacks natural or mineral wealth and whose economy is largely based on the production, processing and export of groundnuts. The Gambia experienced an 11% increase in their GDP from tourism which provided some 700 jobs directly and indirectly (Sharpley and Tefler, 2002). The Gambia’s tourism story focuses on exploitation of the country’s fine Atlantic beaches and uninterrupted sunshine during the
winter months to energise her tourism industry (Sharpley and Tefler, 2002).

However, Ghana’s tourism experience, as already mentioned, even though very new, focuses on the country’s rich mineral resources, e.g. the gold mines in Ahanti and other parts of the country and its abundant colonial legacies in the shape of fort and castles. There are a number of UNESCO world heritage sites dotted along the shores of the country and acting as tourist attractions promoted through the PANAFEST celebrations. What Ghana is not doing at the moment is developing her fine beaches and her uninterrupted winter sunshine to attract European tourists to the country. On the question of sustainable tourism development and poverty alleviation, Ghana in her tourism policy, highlights community involvement as a key ingredient in reducing negative socio-cultural impacts as well as spreading the socio-economic benefits of tourism (NTDPG, 1996). Sex tourism could be identified as one negative aspect of global tourism, especially in Ghana. Ghanaian society has very high traditional moral standards to which sex tourism runs totally counter and is regarded as evil.

1.5.1 Sustainable Tourism Development and Poverty Alleviation

In considering with a sustainable tourism development to enable poverty alleviation, the WTO (2002) has highlighted small enterprise
development and stressed the importance of government support in such development. The WTO (2002) emphasises the importance of commodifying distinctive aspects of culture into tourism products as these products and their production process are then owned by the rural poor. The WTO (2002) outlines the reasons behind this thinking and explains why cultural tourism is important to meet the needs of the poor. It outlines a set of principles that will address poverty through tourism in general and cultural tourism in particular (WTO, 2002).

To achieve positive poverty alleviation through tourism, The WTO has recommended several approaches to tourism and poverty reduction, especially through cultural tourism, including employment of the poor in tourism enterprises; supply of goods and services to tourism enterprises by the poor and direct sales of goods and services to visitors by the poor. Other WTO recommendations which would benefit the poor are to: establish tourism enterprises; implement a tax or levy on tourism income or profits with the proceeds benefiting poverty reduction programmes; encourage the voluntary contribution of funds by tourism enterprises and tourists; promote investment in the country’s infrastructure as a result of stimulation by the growth of tourism; expand the economic base of community tourism (WTO, 2002). The WTO also presents a framework for action within which different stakeholders will operate in developing countries to work to achieve the
dream of sustainable tourism development thereby aiding poverty alleviation (WTO, 2002).

1.5.2 Pro-Poor Tourism Potential in Ghana

The WTO is concerned about the sustainability of tourism, including the high "leakage" of tourism-generated foreign exchange earnings, whereby such revenue ends up benefiting foreign-owned tour operators, hotels and airlines. Thus local communities may suffer the impacts of mass tourism on the natural environment and on their culture without enjoying the economic benefits (WTO, 2002). However, the WTO asserts that research on pro-poor tourism shows that many of the supposed disadvantages of tourism are in fact common to many types of economic development in a globalising world and that actually tourism appears to have certain characteristics that have greater pro-poor potential than other industries (WTO, 2002). To address the issue of high leakages of foreign exchange earnings through tourism, the WTO has identified some features of tourism that can benefit local interest. These include that tourism delivers consumers to the product rather than the other way round and that it opens up huge opportunities for local access to markets for other goods and services. Tourism has considerable potential for linkage with other economic sectors, especially agriculture and fisheries, through for example the sourcing of raw materials for food and beverage aspects of the tourism and hospitality product.
Realising such linkages will increase the proportion of tourism revenue retained in the host country. The pro-poor potential of tourism provides opportunities for farm diversification being organised and owned by the rural community, including the establishment of relatively labour-intensive opportunities that will employ a high proportion of women and contribute to gender equality (WTO, 2002).

1.6 Selecting a Thesis Topic

In 2000, I came to UK to read for a Master of Arts (MA) in Population Studies at Cardiff University. However, that decision changed because the centre was moved to England. In 2001, I therefore changed to read for a one-year MA in Journalism at the School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies in Cardiff University. My dissertation topic focused on societal perceptions of women in leadership positions and was entitled “Low Media Coverage of Women in Leadership Positions”. The dissertation was a comparative analysis of media and societal perceptions of women in Ghana and the UK, and in Cardiff in particular.

It is important to note that the idea of pursuing an MPhil/PhD came about through interviews I had with two professors at Cardiff University for my MA dissertation. I thank them dearly for their inspirational
words which changed my direction of thought into pursuing a research programme in Tourism Management. The initial idea for the MPhil/PhD research programme was the Communication and Representation of Women in Tourism Development in Ghana.

Nevertheless, eventually I settled on exploring the presentation and representation of Ghanaian Women – notably the Akan Queen Mothers – and an exploration of the paradox of women’s position in Ghana as illustrated through their involvement in the PANAFEST festival and the wider platform of tourism development in Ghana. I am grateful to Professors David Botterill and Eleri Jones who helped to develop the research topic on the position of women in Ghana. Special thanks to Professor Jones for initiating the idea of focusing on the story of the Akan Queen Mothers and how women are presented and represented in PANAFEST and wider Ghanaian society. I am also indebted to Professor Annette Pritchard for drawing my attention to the contradictory positions of women in Ghana and her advice to look at this critically.

1.6.1 **Background and Rationale for Research Problem**

In this thesis I want to explore the cultural politics prevailing in Ghana and in particular to focus on the Akan society of Ghana through the lens of PANAFEST and the contradictory position of women in festival celebrations. PANAFEST - the biannual Pan-African Festival that
celebrates the slave trade and black African culture - is particularly interesting as it is an international festival and a showcase for Ghana. It is held every second year in Ghana and attracts Ghanaian diaspora from all over the world). It is a key element in Ghana’s tourism offer.

As already mentioned the Akan Queen Mothers are the decision-makers in the selection of the Akan King and co-rulers of the Akan traditional political system with joint responsibility for running the affairs of their kingdom or state. The Akan Queen Mother has great political power and, under certain conditions such as the sudden death of the chief or king, can assume full control of central authority. Yet, apart from the Akan Queen Mother, in the PANAFEST celebrations Akan women are relegated to the background or not present at all.

The thesis will develop a case study of PANAFEST as a focus for conversations with key stakeholders about the challenges that face women in Ghana today, i.e. the marginalised and the background position of the Akan women and to explain how important Queen Mothers are in the lives of Ghanaian communities and as role models and sponsors for young Ghanaian women.

Telling the story of the Akan Queen Mothers and the position of women in Ghana, in the context of festivals and tourism development was a dilemma because research into tourism development was all new to me.
I consoled myself and decided to use my experience as a journalist and what I had learnt through that about women and tourism in Ghana to develop a narrative on the Akan Queen Mothers, their roles in festival celebrations and as a product in tourism development in Ghana.

1.6.2 Research study aims and objectives

The overall aim of this thesis is to explore implications of covert gynocracy and male hegemony on the empowerment of women in Ghana. The study was developed through a case study of the PANAFEST festival celebrations and a focus on the role and involvement of women, particularly the Akan Queen Mothers, in tourism development in Ghana.

To achieve this aim, the study focused on the following six specific objectives:

- **Objective One**

To explore the implications of feminist theories, the feminist movement and the United Nations (UN) Assembly’s stand on the advancement of women worldwide for women in Ghana.

- **Objective Two**
To investigate Ghana’s turbulent history from the Ancient Ghana Empire through colonial times to modern-day Ghana to inform a rich understanding of the context for women’s involvement in tourism development.

- **Objective Three**
  To explore the cultural politics of Akan society and better understand the role of the Akan Queen Mothers in the traditional political chieftaincy system.

- **Objective Four**
  To explore perceptions of the covert influence of Akan Queen Mothers and the implications of the Queen Mothers’ adoption of a background position in public, especially in festival celebrations,

- **Objective Five**
  To develop a case study of the organisation and management of the PANAFEST celebrations and the role of women, particularly the Akan Queen Mothers, in the festival celebrations.

- **Objective Six**
  To study additional contradictions around the role of women in festival celebrations, Ghanaian traditions and cultural politics that inhibits
women's advancement in relation in tourism development and its management in Ghana

1.7 Overview of Thesis

This thesis is structured in ten chapters. Chapter one outlines my personal journey which led to the selection of the research topic. The chapter identifies the point of departure for this thesis as being the observation that, despite their ultimate power as king-makers in Akan society, the Akan Queen Mothers take a background position in public life, e.g. PANAFEST a biannual festival celebrating pan-Africanism that makes an important contribution to tourism development in Ghana, as well as encouraging community and village-based tourism in the country. The thesis aims to explore this apparent contradiction and to develop an enhanced understanding of the discourses that underpin the power dynamics in Akan society.

Chapter two looks to world views on feminism to see if they shed some light on the issues surrounding the contradictory position of the Queen Mothers. It highlights four different feminist schools including post-modern feminism which counters radical feminism (which would happily replace patriarchy with matriarchy) by advocating for gender equality and a paradigm shift towards social harmony. However the
obduracy of male hegemony in many societies as evidenced through: the glass ceiling; women’s under-representation in leadership; their mis-representation in the media; the ongoing endeavours (over nearly fifty years!) of the United Nation’s Assembly culminating in the regurgitation of virtually the same set of issues in the statement of the critical areas of concern in Beijing in 1995, suggests that it is a long road to gender equality and a longer one again perhaps to social harmony. The chapter concludes that for Akan society there may be no quick panacea but the solution may have to be achieved in the longer-term through education.

Chapter three presents Ghana an overview of Ghana’s turbulent history through colonialism to the modern-day emphasising the impact of British colonial powers in the country on the people and their culture – especially their attitudes towards women. Once-proud Ghanaian women were forced into subservience through legislation which banished them from the public realm into the domestic realm. Independence and President Nkrumah brought affirmative action to try to restore women to their rightful position, i.e. one of equality with men. However women in Ghana, especially professional women, are still fighting the male hegemony to establish such equality through a range of women’s organisations and groups. Tourism, identified as a priority area for economic development by the Government of Ghana, is one that is identified as particularly suitable for women’s employment by
the World Tourism Organisation. The case study of PANAFEST in this thesis will evidence whether this rhetoric is a reality for Ghanaian women.

Chapter four discusses the theoretical approach to the research. The thesis adopts a post-modern feminist perspective, i.e. that there is no one truth and that all the different stakeholders will have different interpretations of their lived experiences of PANAFEST and women’s role in festival tourism. The research uses a qualitative approach through interviews and focus groups with a range of PANAFEST stakeholders situated in their natural settings to develop rich descriptions of their different perspectives to try to build an explanation of the discourses that underpin the power dynamics of Akan society, particularly in relation to the role of women.

Chapter five presents the research methodology of the thesis which involves a single embedded case study involving data collection in three PANAFEST destinations: Accra, Cape Coast and Elimina. The major data collection instruments were interviews with well-educated individuals and focus group interviews with informally-educated individuals. The data were supplemented with data collected through document analysis in the three destinations. A grounded approach using the method of constant comparison was used to draw out the key themes.
Chapter six reviews secondary sources documenting the traditional role of the Akan Queen Mothers as co-rulers of Akan society and the chief decision-makers in the selection of the new king. However, while the Queen Mother sits next to the king in public events, other women are relegated to background positions. Primary data collected through the individual and focus group interviews in Accra, Cape Coast and Elimina confirmed the continuing importance of the Queen Mothers – the old ladies – in modern-Day Ghana as the information database for Akan society. The cultural politics of Ghanaian society is very complex with a male hegemony established in the colonial era challenged by the covert gynocracy of the Queen Mothers. Only in certain aspects of modern-day Ghanaian life – notably the market system – are the Queen Mothers overtly recognised and even here they are disadvantaged through poor education. However, the high esteem in which Queen Mothers are held has put them in the position of acting as intermediaries and guarantors to support younger women in establishing small businesses enabling them to achieve a measure of financial independence.

Chapter seven discusses the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and its enormous impact on African society. Slaves captured across Ghana were imprisoned in Cape Coast and Elimina castles before passing through the Door of No Return to be shipped to Europe and the plantations of the New World. Today the descendants of slaves – now
often successful diasporan Ghanaians – return to Ghana to explore their roots. Their return, and wider African culture, is celebrated through PANAFEST which builds on Ghana’s rich festival tradition offering a schedule of events. Women take on important roles in festival organisation and yet, apart from the Queen Mother, they take on a background role adding only colour to the festival. The festivals foreground men and focus on their achievements emphasising the male hegemony. Women are specifically precluded from such events during menstruation and are thus marginalised. Unfortunately, PANAFEST, despite being conceived by a woman does little to overturn the prevailing cultural politics in Ghanaian societies.

Chapter eight discusses the matrilineage traditions which echo through Ghanaian society today despite the prevailing male hegemony. Post-independence the male hegemony has been carefully guarded by men and permeated into all corners of Ghanaian society. Despite Ghana being amongst the first signatories to the 1975 United Nations Assembly Declaration of the Advancement of Women and the establishment of strong women’s groups following the Beijing Platform of Action the majority of Ghanaian women have yet to shatter the glass ceiling. Quotas for female participation in education are gradually helping but women are generally less well-educated than their male counterparts. This perpetuates a cultural politics that counters women’s empowerment. In some areas of Ghanaian commerce, e.g. the
market system, although women have maintained a stronghold even in these situations men are better placed as a result of their superior education. Tourism is a sector which offers opportunities for women but here again, despite being favoured as employees, their poorer education disadvantages them from scaling the heights of management and they are relegated to lower positions as chambermaids, front office staff and caterers. The chapter concludes with some discussion of sex tourism which is an uncomfortable but key element of the Ghanaian tourism product.

Chapter nine proposes the Theory of the Giant Leap, i.e. that to achieve the goal of gender equality and social harmony ad to overcome the prevailing cultural politics of male hegemony and female subservience there needs to be a giant leap. Responsibility for making the giant leap lies with both women and men and is only likely to be achieved through long-term education and training.

Chapter ten concludes the thesis by reviewing the research objectives, the major findings and contributions of the thesis. It discusses the limitations of the study and identifies potential avenues for further research and concludes with some personal reflections.
# CHAPTER TWO

## POST-MODERN FEMINISM: THE ROAD TO SOCIAL HARMONY IN AKAN SOCIETY?

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CHAPTER TWO
POST-MODERN FEMINISM: THE ROAD TO SOCIAL HARMONY IN AKAN SOCIETY?

2.1 Introduction

Akan women are a force to be reckoned with - in Akan communities and in the Ghanaian nation as a whole. There is a Ghanaian adage that women are nation builders. Akan society, as mentioned in chapter one, is said to have been founded by mythical female ancestors. However, despite this, public perceptions of women in Ghana have been at an all-time low throughout the colonial period, up to when the country achieved independence in 1957, and beyond because of the cultural politics resulting from age-old traditions and socio-cultural norms. These perceptions have inhibited the progress of Ghanaian women.

This chapter discusses how a feminist approach to this research study might help to understand the discourses that have shaped Akan society and women’s roles – particularly the roles of the Queen Mothers in Akan society - and the power dynamics that underpin these discourses. The chapter provides a brief overview of three phases in the history of the feminist movement – the first two can be seen as a continuum of inequality – phase one relating to electoral inequalities and women’s
suffrage; phase two relating to legal and cultural inequalities. In phase three the feminist focus widens to include not only women but also other oppressed individuals to ensure that everyone regardless of gender, race or sexuality enjoys the same human rights.

Post-modern feminism provides a rhetoric that promotes social and economic change for underprivileged and marginalized individuals and would seem to be an appropriate way to achieve social harmony. However the harsh realities of many societies around the world, as evidenced by world views on women, the glass ceiling, the under-representation of women in leadership positions and the representation of women in the media, are that gender equality is hard to achieve so moving beyond gender equality to social harmony would be even more challenging. Despite United Nations (UN) endeavours for the advancement women they still have critical areas of concern on gender issues. The chapter concludes that post-modern feminism does offer a long-term solution to gender quality and social harmony that needs to be achieved through long-term educational means.

2.2 World Views on Feminism

Feminist scholars have divided feminist history into three phases. The first phase of feminism, particularly from the nineteenth century through to the early twentieth century, was manifested through the
suffrage movement (Tong, 1995; Carter, Branton and Allan, 1998; Crotty, 2003). The second phase was from the 1960s through to the 1980s and addressed a range of societal inequalities, especially legal and cultural inequalities. The third, and current, phase from the 1990s to today views both the first and second phases as a continuum of inequality, and is a response to their perceived failures (Tong, 1995; Carter, Branton and Allan, 1998; Crotty, 2003).

A number of feminist writers have provided an overview of the feminist movement from its earliest origins in the seventeenth century, which identifies diversities and pluralities of feminist thinking and behaviour. These developments have given rise to political, economic and social injustices, inequalities and discrimination against women and other oppressed individuals in society (Tong, 1995; Carter et al., 1998; Crotty, 2003). Tong (1995) classified feminist thinkers into seven feminist movements: liberal; Marxist; radical; psychoanalytic; socialist; existentialist; post-modern (Crotty, 2003). The approaches of each of these movements overlap because they have all used non-violent means to address women’s oppression (Stanley and Wise, 1983; Haralambos and Holborn, 1991; Tong, 1995; Norris, 1997; Crotty, 2003). This thesis will focus on four of the most important and widely-acknowledged feminist approaches in more detail as follows.

- Liberal feminism sought political voting rights for women worldwide.
• Marxist feminism fought for women’s economic independence, believing the existing structures in capitalistic society are the root of women’s oppression.

• Radical feminism asserted women’s exclusion and misrepresentation by liberal and Marxist feminists and promoted the idea that the root of women’s oppression lies in the patriarchal structures of society and hinders their education and their social, religious, health, employment and economic standing in society and their financial empowerment.

• Post-modern feminism seeks to achieve social and economic change for the underprivileged and marginalised in society—not just for women but also for other oppressed individuals, such as the rural poor.

2.2.1 Liberal feminism

Liberal feminists sought political voting rights or suffrage for women worldwide. Crotty (2003) asserts that liberal feminism is embedded in the humanism of liberal political thought that promotes the freedom, self-fulfilment and independent self-determination of the oppressed in society. Haralambos and Holborn (1991) argue that liberal feminism does not have a clear definition, nor does it develop feminist theory of gender inequalities in comparison to radical and Marxist feminism. Notwithstanding this liberal feminism enjoys more popular support
than other feminist perspectives because liberal feminism is more moderate and its views pose less of a challenge to existing values than either radical or Marxist feminism (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991).

Crotty (2003) affirms that liberal feminism wants the state to protect the rights of women and other minorities in society and to provide opportunities without interference because of its focus on social justice. Feminist thinkers, including Haralambos and Holborn (1991), Tong (1995), Norris (1997) and Crotty (2003), maintain that the three major feminist ideologies - radical, Marxist and liberal feminism - share a desire for revolutionary change. However, liberal feminists believe that nobody actually benefits from gender inequalities because both men and women are victims of social injustice and the potential of both sexes is suppressed. Haralambos and Holborn (1991) argue that gendering, i.e. socialisation into gender roles, has the consequence of producing rigid, inflexible expectations of men and women, resulting in discrimination that prevents women from gaining equal opportunities.

2.2.2 Marxist feminism

Marxist feminists call for structural change but do not attribute women’s oppression entirely to men (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991; Tong, 1995; Crotty, 2003). They have argued that it is capitalism rather than patriarchy that is the major source of women’s oppression.
Haralambos and Holborn (1991) concluded that Marxist feminism seeks to establish a communist society where means of production is communally-owned.

Marxist feminists see women’s unpaid work as housewives and mothers as one of the main areas in which women are exploited (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991; Tong, 1995; Crotty, 2003). Both Tong (1995) and Crotty (2003) argue that women’s oppression began with the introduction of private property and should now be seen as the product of the political, social and economic structures associated with capitalism that has deprived women of power.

### 2.2.3 Radical feminism

Radical feminists blame the exploitation of women on men who have forced them to assume subordinate positions by undertaking free labour for men through childcare and housework. Such subordinate positions have denied women access to authority and decision-making roles (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991; Tong, 1995; Norris, 1997; Crotty, 2003). Crotty (2003) argues that radical feminists see society as patriarchally-dominated and ruled by men. From a radical feminist perspective, men are the ruling class and women are the less-privileged class. Moreover, the family is seen by radical feminists as the key institution defining women’s oppression in modern society (Crotty,
2003). However, there is disagreement among radical feminists about the origins of women’s oppression and possible solutions to it (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991; Tong, 1995; Crotty, 2003).

### 2.2.4 Post-modern feminism

Burke (2000) explains that modernism is a progressive movement associated with a period of enlightenment in Western culture beginning in the eighteenth century. Postmodernism is a reaction to modernism and promotes the radical reappraisal of modern assumptions of identity recognizing its inherent complexity, contradictions, ambiguity and diversity. Both Leonard (1997) and Burke (2000) agree that modernism and post-modernism have provided a platform upon which humanity can achieve social progress.

As much as Schwartz (2008) supports the post-modern feminist advocacy for social and economic change for women and the marginalized in society, he however, admits a problem in coalescing two quite different social constructs - ‘women’ and ‘oppression’ - as demonstrated through post-modern deconstruction of the terms. Aligning them together therefore is problematic as it misrepresents them and puts the problem on a scale which far beyond an individual’s control.
However, Sylvester (1994) and Schwartz (2008) suggest that post-modernism and feminism can merge constructively at the point of identity consciousness, especially if elite feminist thinkers admit that all members of the human race are equal. Schwartz (2008) asserts that post-modern feminism seeks social and economic change for the underprivileged and marginalized in society, such as women and other oppressed individuals and furthermore, that the only way forward is to develop an effective feminist theory that does not identify or categorize women and oppression together (Sylvester, 1994; Schwartz, 2008).

_Sylvester (1994) and Schwartz (2008) agree that post-modern feminism creates a stronger and more encompassing feminist approach. Similarly, Giroux (1997) analysed some aspects of the central assumptions that govern the discourses of modernism and post-modernism together with post-modern feminism and argues that it is wrong for post-modernism and feminism to fight, suggesting that both should find a common ground to converge in terms of social ideology. Giroux (1997) asserts that modernism, post-modernism and feminism are pedagogies that offer social thinkers an opportunity to develop a political projection that embraces all human interests to move beyond the particularity of cultural politics of class, ethnicity, race and gender._

*The use of post-modern deconstructionism in understanding the categories that feminists posit as fundamental to the theories and goals of feminism provides a wider space for feminists with alternative identity categories and theories to unite.*

*(Schwartz, 2008:2)*
2.3 Towards Social Harmony

Feminist theory has many faces and definitions relating to the position of women today as already mentioned. Oleson (2000) argues that feminist ideologies reflect national contexts in which feminist agendas differ widely. Thus, feminist research is highly diverse and there are disagreements on issues ranging from treatment of voices to how to prepare research for policy use (Oleson, 2000). hooks (1994) argues that feminist thinkers and activists are committed to intellectual development and a dialectical exchange of ideas rather than opportunistic bids for stardom. hooks (1994) further argues that feminism has two dimensions - victim feminism and power feminism - that set up a competition in which feminists who do not agree with a particular feminist’s thinking are shown to be lacking. hooks (1994) describes oppressed women and minorities as victims of power feminism - white feminists - who for years have refused to recognise and acknowledge the work of black feminist writers and have intimidated them publicly.

hooks (1994) maintains that the feminist movement is neither a product, nor a lifestyle; rather historically, it is a movement, which emerged from the concrete struggle of women and men to oppose sexism and sexist oppression (hooks, 1994). The most interesting
aspect of feminist theory to this study is post-modern feminism that seeks social harmony rather than gender equality.

Creaser and Li (2003) assert that post-modern feminism eliminates the assumption that men and women have essential natures, that are fundamental and immutable differentiating men from women and making one superior to the other (Creaser and Li, 2003). Creaser and Li argue that post-modern feminism does not seek equal rights among genders but avoids placing blame and assigning right and wrong. However, Creaser and Li (2003) contend that post-modern feminism aims to place less emphasis on physical differences between genders in seeking to achieve harmony among people of all races. Pritchard, Morgan, Ateljevic and Harris (2007) argue that it is an obligation on tourism academics to challenge injustice and inequalities either in tourism’s material or in symbolic domains. Pritchard et al. (2007) further assert that it is not only for women to fight against patriarchy and sexism and that these are not fetters worn by women only but severely limit human possibilities for males as well.

*If we are to bring back the balance (in our communities, our world and ourselves), the way is not to replace one ‘archy’ (patriarchy) with another (matriarchy) but to move from either/or to embrace both/ and thinking: it is about reuniting the head, heart and body*

*(Pritchard et al., 2007:9)*

Although Marxist feminism aims at deconstructing language, symbols and discourse to reveal social power and misleading opinions and ideas on feminism theory, Creaser and Li (2003) and Hall (2003) contend that
post-modern feminism seeks to disagree with the patriarchal order and establish equality rights:

Among post-modern feminists, deconstructions is the word ‘women’, which they claim is meaningless because of the heterogeneity among females, and females, which are defined in terms of males

(Creaser and Li, 2003:1)

Hall (2003) also argues that the truth about the debate on feminism has never been reached because feminist scholars have been fighting over who is right and who is wrong. However, Hall (2003) asserts that there is something wrong with the current form of the debate on feminism; otherwise the truth about feminist theory would have been found. Hall (2003), in his attempt to find the truth and the mystery surrounding feminist theories poses three questions: “What is wrong with feminism? What is good about it? And how can we make it better? In his attempt to answer these questions, Hall (2003) agrees with the post-modern feminist perspective that the focus should be not on gender equality and but on social harmony:

Most forms of feminism today are wrong in some sense, but all of them disagree with each other……radical feminism and liberal feminism disagree the most….radical feminism is based on mysticism and has little to offer women in post-industrial society. Liberals are highly concerned about the reputation of feminism and think that a male backlash may occur if radicals give to men the idea that all feminists are militant femi-nazis.

(Hall, 2003:1).

Hall (2003) again argues that although liberal feminists think that radical feminists may or may not be semi-nazis, radical feminists do think liberal feminists are too weak and naïve. In addition, they have
no trust in the state let alone trust in men and believe that radical and liberal feminists hold irrational views of society.

_Radical feminists believe that women should be in absolute power and liberals say that government should maintain gender equality....A radical feminist movement would like to shift power to women, leaving the male population in oppression._

(Hall, 2003:1-2)

Sylvester (1994) and Hall (2003) argue that shifting absolute power to women and leaving the male population in oppression, is a type of thinking which does not contribute to social harmony but would create a cycle, which Hall (2003:1) terms a “gender-oppressive cycle”. However, Hall (2003) doubts the liberal feminist beliefs about natural law and human happiness (Sylvester, 1994; Hall, 2003).

_The cycle follows as such: After men become oppressed, in time, they would form a new belief, ‘Masculinism’ to rise against female oppression. Eventually, they would succeed as the earlier matriarchal power did shift did and the cycle would start all over again. This is what I like to call the Gender-oppressive cycle._

(Hall, 2003: 1)

Both Sylvester (1994) and Hall (2003) maintain that, unlike the gender-oppressive cycle, some feminist ideals contribute to social harmony. Furthermore, post-modern feminists believe that society has changed the definition of gender to serve today’s conditions and that the way words are used in society does not always represent their real meaning. Hall (2003) argues further that society’s definitions of gender are nothing but stereotypical characteristics. Hall (2003) argues that it does not make sense to use the different sexualities of men and women to argue for gender equalities, rather that society should strive for
equality for both sexes. However, I agree with Hall (2003) and Creaser and Li (2003) in the sense that feminists should not just look at equal rights among genders, rather they should look at social harmony that does not exclude any section of society:

Social harmony means that all women, races and sexualities have the same rights as straight, white males. By obtaining social harmony, gender will obtain the same rights (Hall, 2003:2)

2.4 The Long Road to Gender Equality

2.4.1 Gendering

Rakow (1986) and Creedon (1993) assert that understandings of gender can be very simple, but that the deeper one probes into its scientific, political, economic, or other cultural assumption, the more complex and more diverse the ranges of opinion have proved to be (Pritchard et al., 2007). In addition, feminist theories have shown that gender is not just the name of a person, place, or thing but a verb, which is the act of naming a person, place or a thing.

Gendering is the process that begins when a baby takes its first breath and begins the process of cultural conditioning. Therefore, gender differences are socially and culturally constructed, because of birth assignment as male or female (Rakow, 1986; Creedon, 1993; Pritchard...
et al., 2007) and the complexities and implications of gender have engaged different discourses. Such discourses are a direct result of the nuance of masculinities creating gender biases and inequalities in academe, in society and in employment (Creedon, 1993; Pritchard et al., 2007). Contemporary post-modernist researchers argue that gender issues carry little weight, and concerns about the existence and consequences of social differences based on genders are seen to be politically old-fashioned. However, some 40 years after the emergence of the Western feminist movement, globally, women remain worse off and disadvantaged compared to men in all social criteria and classifications (Oakley, 2006; Pritchard et al., 2007).

2.4.2 The glass ceiling

Pritchard et al. (2007) argue that gendering in academic circles is no different from what is happening in the social world saying that “gendered power dynamics and discourses have implications for the ideological underpinnings that shape knowledge production in the wider social sciences and in tourism studies and management in particular” (Pritchard et al., 2007:3).

Pritchard et al. (2007) further argue that detailed research information on global gender disparities in academe is not available. Nevertheless, current research shows that the glass ceiling remains intact in higher
education for women seeking to move on to professorial grades (Hall, 1997; Pritchard et al., 2007). However, some studies suggest that sex discrimination accounts for almost a quarter of the pay gap between men and women in British higher education (Hall, 1997; Pritchard et al., 2007). Globally, inequalities among the world’s middle class have built up “glass-walls to create “women’s ghettos” in the humanities, health sciences and education, with the disciplines of English and nursing studies being particularly ghettoized (Pritchard et al., 2007).

2.4.3 Under-representation of Women in Leadership Positions

Norris (1997) asserted that historically, women have always been underrepresented in the highest offices of state and that the likes of Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi, and Golda Meir who swept the world stage but remain very much the exception (Norris, 1997). Norris (1997) further maintained that only twenty-three women have ever been elected heads of states or governments. Norris claims that in 1994 membership of the exclusive club of Presidents and Prime Ministers included 180 men and just nine women (United Nations Document, 1995). Globally, women are nine per cent of parliamentarians and 5.6 per cent of cabinets’ ministers (United Nations Document, 1994). The Worldwide Guide on Women (2008) in Leadership of Female Heads of State and Government currently in office, including leaders of self-governing external territories at the moment stands at twenty-two.
Looking at the figures provided earlier by Norris (1997); this represents a drop by one candidate since 1994. Table 2.1 shows current figures on women Members of Parliament around the globe.

The International Parliamentary Union (IPU) (2004) and Pritchard et al., (2007) claim that gender inequality is not only seen in business but also in politics, where men hold 85 per cent of the world’s parliamentary seats and women lead only 12 of the UN’s 191 member countries. Prichard et al. (2007) affirms that around the world, women are underrepresented in every parliament and that reflects the number of women in all ruling government. For example, a survey by IPU (2004) and quoted by Prichard et al. (2007) indicates that in Arab countries only 8 % of Members of Parliament (MPs) are women and in the USA 14 % of seats in the US Congress are held by women (IPU, 2004; Liswood, 2005; Pritchard et al., 2007).

Table 2.1: The top countries for women Members of Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>% of Women MPs</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>45.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>37.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>36.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source – Inter-Parliamentary Union – Internet Accessed – 31/12/07
Pritchard *et al.* (2007) argue further that if women’s representation in the US Congress continues to grow at its present pace, it would take a further 250 years to achieve a gender balance. The IPU (2007) statistics shows that there was huge progress in countries where women were excluded or marginalised from political life (Johnson, 2007). IUP (2007) asserts that the increase of the number of women in parliament means more and more women are being encouraged to stand for election. Norris (1997) argues that the familiar gender imbalance in government office is evident at every level and most dramatic at the apex of power. Norris (1997) asserts that in a study carried out by Jean Blondel (1987) on world leaders less than 0.005 per cent were women (Norris, 1997; Blondel, 1987: 116-17). It is important to note that the global presentation of women in positions of leadership reflects on how women are globally presented in the legislature.

### 2.4.4 Women and the Media

Norris (1997) affirmed that the amount of coverage which women in leadership position receive, its placement in newspapers and its content, is important. She noted that one of the most persistent complaints voiced by women in politics and leadership position is that the media treats women less seriously than they treat men and focuses on negative issues rather than on their individual accomplishments.
(Norris, 1997). The media rarely focuses on real women’s issues and too often on women’s appearances; their family lives, and also relegates stories regarding women and politics to the style pages (Norris, 1997).

Norris (1997) asserts that and is a reflection of the way the wider Ghanaian community treats and perceive their women negatively in the name of tradition and culture. Fowler (1996) noted that if readers have the choice to highlight all the noun phrases designated to individuals in any front page of The Times, The Telegraph, The Independent and The 7/0 Guardian they would produce male dominated lists of roles. Fowler (1996) asserts that men as media company directors and chief executives make it very difficult to project women in totality in the media industry because men as news editors and news gatekeepers see women issues as everyday occurrences and therefore are not newsworthy (Creedon, 1993; Fowler, 1996; Hall, 1997; Norris, 1997).

This makes most female journalists very reluctant to report on issues regarding women because such news stories are deemed as soft and prefer to report on such areas as politics, or war. These male dominated issues gain more recognition (Creedon, 1993; Fowler, 1996; Hall, 1997; Norris, 1997).

The different categorisation of men and women in newspaper media reflects the different ways society treats men and women because the
majority of media company directors are male, while the chorus girls are female, employees with lower incomes (Creedon 1993; Fowler, 1996; Hall, 1997; Norris, 1997). Fowler (1996) argues that individuals, women and other minority groups in particular are placed into groups that are discriminated against (Creedon, 1993; Norris, 1997). Fowler (1996) further argues that nevertheless, by definition women are put into positions where such groups enjoy less power than other people do or other people directly exercise power over them (Creedon, 1993; Hall, 1997; Norris, 1997).

Fowler (1996) explains further that women are often represented in a very unfavourable light, whereas men are characterized in terms of occupational and political success.

_The point is that such categorizations habitually saturate discourse; 'common sense’ makes us fail to notice this saturation. But it is always present, and in the case of newspapers, can be readily detected in a critical reading of any newspaper one picks up_ (Fowler, 1996:103-105)

Fowler (1996) noted that if readers have the choice to highlight subjects about individuals on any front page of The Times, The Telegraph, The Independent and The Guardian they tend to produce male-dominated lists of roles. Fowler (1996) explains that such discourses in the Western media handle men and women in different categories and stereotyping in exactly the same way the Ghanaian newspaper handle different categories and stereotyping of women in the news. Fowler (1996) affirms that men as media company directors and chief
executives make it very difficult to project women in totality in the media industry because men, who are the news-editors and news-gatekeepers, see women’s issues as everyday occurrences and therefore not newsworthy.

It is also worse for women in contemporary Ghana to enter politics for fear of public ridicule and that rather than being recognised as women of strong character they will be given names, such as iron ladies and witches as happens in the west (Hall, 1997). Ghanaian women are afraid of media categorisation and discrimination against with names.

2.5 United Nations’ Advancement on Women

Feminists, and feminist movements around the world, the United States of America’s (US) Civil Rights Act and the 1967 US Executive Order 11246 and 11375 were some of the forces that accelerated the call on the United Nations (UN) Assembly to recognise women’s total contribution, development and advancement in life. The UN’s move to support the advancement of women began with the signing of the UN’s Founding Charter with a declaration for fundamental human rights, dignity and worth of the human person and equal rights for both men and women of all nations (UN status on Women, 2007).
Since the establishment of the UN in October 1945, the UN has adopted international laws and treaties on women’s rights that set common standards for measuring how societies advance equality between men and women (UN status on Women, 2007). Since 1945 when the UN was born, it has organised six world conferences on women to address negative issues affecting social, educational, financial and political lives of women. In addition, the UN has also adopted five conventions and international treaties that legally bind countries to recognize the rights of women around the world. Among such treaties are the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1952), the Convention on Recovery Abroad of Maintenance (1956), the Convention on the Nationality of Married Women (1957), and the Convention on the Consent to Marriage (1962) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, (1979). In 1975, the UN observed the International Women’s Year and held the first world conference on women in Mexico City.

In 1980, the UN held another world conference on women in Copenhagen and Nairobi, Kenya in 1985. In June 1993, the UN organised a world conference on Human Rights in Vienna, Austria to reaffirm that women’s rights are also human rights. The UN again adopted the “Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women in December 1993, which defined what constitutes violence against
women and outlined the actions governments and communities should take to prevent such acts.

The forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women from 1986 to the year 2000, adopted at the Nairobi Conference, was a blueprint for women's advancement and its 372 paragraphs dealt with the entire spectrum of roles of women in society. Lastly, the World Conference on Women was held in Beijing, China in September 1995, resulting in the UN critical areas of concern discussed in the next section. The UN conference on Women, Beijing, China, reviewed the advancement of women in the light of the Nairobi conference and adopted a Platform for Action that addressed the challenges and demands of the next century.

2.5.1 UN Critical Areas of Concerns on Gender Issues

The UN Beijing Platform of Action (1995) (UNBJA) affirms that the advancement of women and the achievement of equality between women and men are matters of human rights and conditions for social justice, which should not be seen in isolation as women’s issues.

*Advancement of women and achievement of equality between women and men are the only way to build a sustainable, just and developed society. Empowerment of women and equality between women and men are prerequisites for achieving political, social, economic, cultural and environmental security among all peoples.*

*(UN Beijing Platform of Action, 1995:4)*
Reviewing the Nairobi Conference, the UN Beijing Platform of Action (1995) highlighted special area of concerns that address women’s issues worldwide. The UN Beijing Platform of Action (1995) recognised particular issues that needed priority attention, which the UN thinks are barriers for women to have full equality and advancement. These areas include: race, age, language, ethnicity, culture, religion and disability. In addition, indigenous women, especially those in rural areas, are most affected because they encounter specific obstacles related to their family status. Moreover, issues affecting women are even more serious if they are single parents and their socio-economic status are questioned including their living conditions in rural, isolated or impoverished areas.

Other categories of women who suffer societal relegation are refugees, displaced as a result of internal or external war and conflicts, immigrant women and migrants, including women migrant workers. Other factors that affect women’s advancement include environmental disasters, infectious diseases and various forms of violence against women. To address problems, which are barriers to women’s advancement, the UN Beijing Platform of Action (1995) identified twelve critical areas of concern, which the UN asserts are matters of human rights and conditions for social justice that should not be seen in isolation as women’s’ issues. The twelve areas of concern are:

- The persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women
• Inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access to education and training
• Inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access to health care and related services
• Violence against women
• The effects of armed or other kinds of conflicts on women, including those living under foreign occupation
• Inequality in economic structures and policies, in all forms of productive activities and in access to resources
• Inequality between men and women in the sharing of power and decision-making at all levels
• Insufficient mechanisms at all levels to promote the advancement of women
• Lack of respect for and inadequate promotion and protection of the human rights of women
• Stereotyping of women and inequality in women’s access to and participation in all communication systems, especially in the media
• Gender inequalities in the management of natural resources and in the safeguarding of the environment
• Persistent discrimination against and violation of the rights of the girl child
To achieve these twelve identified critical concerns for women’s advancement, the UN Beijing Platform of Action (1995) identified main global stakeholders that will help develop and implement mechanisms of accountability for all the areas of concern. The identified groups include ruling governments, the international community, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), civil society and the private sectors (UN Beijing Platform of Action, 1995). The UN Beijing Platform of Action (1995) also asserts that the reason to involve governments, NGOs and civil society are to help address critical areas of concern on women’s advancements so that goals set out in the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the advancement of women in 1980 were not achieved.

The UN blamed the failure of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies of advancement on women on traditional, cultural and social norms as barriers to women’s empowerment. Other areas that the UN Beijing Platform of Action (1995) identified as barriers to women’s progress include political, economic and ecological crisis, which include internal wars of aggression, armed conflicts, civil wars and terrorism. The UN Beijing Platform of Action (1995) also noted that developing strategies to address critical areas of concern on women issues are the only way to build a sustainable and just society to empower women to achieve equal opportunities at all levels of life.
The UN Beijing Platform of Action (1995) argues that equality between women and men are prerequisites for achieving political, social, economic, cultural and environmental security among all people. The Beijing Platform of Action admits that the diversity of situations and conditions that women face are barriers to their economic, educational and financial empowerment, especially those in the developing world. To change the negativity affecting women globally, the 1995 UN Beijing Platform for Action asserts that it requires immediate and concerted action by all governments in both developed and developing countries to create a peaceful, just and humane world based on fair human rights and fundamental freedoms (UN Mission Statement, Beijing Platform of Action, 1995). Terms and conditions to achieve social conditions includes the principle of equality for all people of all ages and from all walks of life, and to this end, recognizes that broad-based and sustained economic growth in the context of sustainable development is also necessary to sustain social development and social justice.

The Beijing Platform of Action argues that in each critical area of concern, the problem is diagnosed and strategic objectives are proposed with concrete actions taken by governments, NGOs, civil society and private sectors in order to achieve those objectives:

*The strategic objectives are derived from the critical areas of concern and specific actions to be taken to achieve them cut across the boundaries of equality, development and peace:*

*(UN Mission Statement, Beijing Platform of Action, 1995)*
In this regard, the UN Beijing Platform for Action (1995) intends to improve the situation of all women, without exception, especially those faced with similar barriers, while special attention would be given to groups that are most disadvantaged.

### 2.5.2 UN’s Concern on Media Reports on Women

The UN Beijing Platform for Action noted with concern that although many women are working in the media, only a few have managed to reach decision-making positions. Moreover, in most countries, the media continue to project a negative and degrading image of women that does not reflect their diverse lives and contributions to human society (UN document on the Status of Women, 1995). The Beijing Platform of Action is right to comment on media negativity about women politicians and those in leadership positions and this is a true reflection of how women politicians and those in leadership in Ghana are portrayed as noted by Norris (1997).

The Beijing Platform of Action noted that the media have made greater contributions to change the image of women in authority and for all women in general. The Platform of Action suggested that the media should create a self-regulatory mechanism to help eliminate gender-biased programming in the print media in particular. The UN (1995) believes the world must empower women by providing them with greater

To achieve these goals, the Beijing Platform of Action called for an increase in women's participation, access to expression and decision-making in and through the media, using the various technologies of communication (1995 UN document on the Status of Women; Beijing Platform of Action, 1995).

2.6 Summary

In focusing on the paradox of the Queen Mothers and their role in Akan society it becomes clear that the cultural politics underpinning Akan society are complex. Whilst clearly Akan society is overtly a male hegemony, the Queen Mothers are in the unique position of holding the ultimate power, albeit covert, in critical decisions, such as king-making. Ordinary women in wider Akan society do not enjoy such power and their lives follow a very different pattern. In understanding more about the discourses underpinning gender in Akan society we are likely to learn more about how these other women can be supported and secure social harmony for future generations.
Feminist theory has shifted from a battle against male hegemony and gender inequality to one promoting social harmony ensuring that not just women but everyone, regardless of gender, race or sexuality, enjoys the same human rights. In making a paradigm shift from male hegemony it is critical not to turn the situation on its head and put women into power and men into oppression - a gender-oppressive cycle - but to strive to achieve social harmony.

The rhetoric is easy. However, the UN’s ongoing endeavours to address the harsh realities of the enormous challenges facing women the world over are testimony to how difficult this might be. In the microcosm of Akan society resolving the overt male hegemony and covert gynocracy of Akan women may need a grass-roots solution through the education of all children to ensure social harmony in the longer-term.
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CHAPTER THREE

GHANA IN BRIEF

3.1 Introduction

To understand the position of women in Ghana and the organisation of Akan Society it is necessary to discuss the country as a whole to understand the historical context and the social-cultural influences. The history of Ghana falls into four distinct phases: the Ancient Ghana Empire (see section 3.2); the pre-colonial period when early Europeans arrived on the Gold Coast (see section 3.3); the colonial period when the slave trade was at its peak with enormous negative impacts echoes through to today and reflected in PANAFEST (see section 3.4); and the period of post independence in 1957 (see section 3.5), which brings us up to the modern-day. Each period has had a major impact on the story of Ghanaian women as will unfold in this chapter.

3.2 The Ancient Ghana Empire

Archaeological evidence indicates that contemporary Ghana has been inhabited for thousands of years with early human settlements all along

The ancient Ghana Empire which arose between AD500 and AD1200 in the present-day West Africa Region between the bend of the Niger and the middle ranches of Senegal, was not the only state that emerged (Amamoo, 1958; Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998; Ghana Timeline, 2006). Other emergent states included: Tekrur, Mali and Songhai and further to the east were the Hausa states of Kano, Katsina, Zaria, Gobir as well as the Chadic states of Kanem and Bornu (Boahen, 1964).

The history of pre-colonial Ghana is not well documented due to years of neglect from western historians as a result of colonialisation (Fage, 1957; Bovill, 1958; Trimingham, 1962; Boahen, 1964; Ghana Timeline, 2006). Boahen (1964) and Ghana Timeline (2006) explained that Ghana has a strong oral history tradition with stories passed by word of mouth and other non-written media from generation to generation. Boahen (1964), Buah (1998) and others noted that this lack of documentation made it very difficult for any accuracy about factual events happening over the centuries (Fage, 1957; Trimingham, 1962; Boahen, 1964). Western historians and archaeologists also have failed to accurately research the intangible culture and traditions of these ancient states that emerged around about AD 500 (Boahen, 1964; Ghana Timeline, 2006).
Boahen (1964) believed that if accurate reports had been done it would have helped our modern-day understanding by providing a clearer picture of what the ancient Ghana Empire was like at the peak of her glory around AD 1060 (Fage, 1957, Boahen, 1964; Trimingham, 1962; Boahen, 1964). Ghana Timeline (2006) and Boahen (1964) both attributed the lack of detail on the history of Ghana, and Africa as a whole, to the limited amount of tangible archaeological evidence from the early kingdoms. However, both authors agreed that the early ancient Kingdom of Ghana was known as "Ghanata" or "Wagadugu" and was the most powerful African empire for several hundred years. It spread from Sahel and included most of present-day Senegal and some regions of Mali and Mauritania. However, it failed to reach the south, where modern-day Ghana now is. The ancient Ghana Empire at her peak was far more developed than any European country at that time (Boahen, 1964). Boahen (1964) maintained that the use of metals was known and the Kingdom was well organised with laws and a growing economy based on agriculture and international trade (Fage, 1957; Trimingham, 1962; Boahen, 1964).

According to Boahen (1964) commercial routes to and from the ancient Ghana Empire passed through the area occupied by modern-day Ghana. Most of the emerging kingdoms and nation states that rose immediately after the decline and fall of the ancient Ghana Empire existed where Ghana now is.
3.3 Pre-Colonial Ghana

Relationships between Ghana and early Europeans began in the mid-fifteenth century when the Portuguese first set foot on the shores of the Gulf of Guinea in 1471 and named it the Guinea Coast (Amamoo, 1958; Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998). Four major reasons caused Portuguese explorers to sail around the continent of Africa (Amamoo, 1958; Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998). First, was their desire to find new sea routes to the Far East rather than passing through the Middle East which was pre-dominantly occupied by Muslim nations. Second, was to have a share in the rich economic trade with the Western Sudan without using the trans-Saharan trade routes controlled by the North African Berbers and other Muslims. Third, Portugal, as a strong Christian country, aspired to limit the Muslim influence spreading fast across Western Sudan. And finally, Portuguese exploration ambitions were prompted by a spirit of enquiry and enthusiasm for knowledge sweeping through Europe which was known as the Renaissance period. In the sixteenth century for a period of eleven years the Portuguese enjoyed a monopoly of prosperous trade on the Guinea Coast with the people of Edina, which they named “El Mina” (the gold mines) because of the abundant gold they found there and in the surrounding areas. They also became involved in the slave trade (Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998).
The Portuguese were the first to export slaves to Europe. Other European people, including Dutch, English, French, Swedes, Danes and Germans, attracted by the wealth of the Guinea Coast from the mid-seventeenth century challenged the Portuguese monopoly (Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998) with the Dutch, whose trade on the Guinea Coast began in 1593, posing the biggest challenge. However, from 1678 onwards, the Dutch faced a stronger challenge from the British Royal Company and the Dutch involvement in the slave trade on the coast then declined (Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998).

### 3.3.1 European Trade Activities in Pre-Colonial Ghana

Buah (1998) asserts that by the end of the eighteenth century, European chartered companies had gained immense wealth from trade with West Africa and different territories came to be known by the names of the principal commodities which they supplied (Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998).

*Commercially too, as these regions lay across the trade routes leading from Ashanti, the land of gold and kola nuts, and the Ivory Coast, to the regions of ancient Ghana, Mali, Songhai and the Hausa states, they become the key to the economic life of both the forest regions and western Sudan.*

*(Boahen, 1964: 54)*

*This early trade was in the hands of Mande Dyula or Wangara as the Akan of modern day Ghana call them. By the fourteenth century, these Wangara had founded the commercial centres of Wa, Buna and Bole all along the western trade route, and Begho, which was situated just south of the Black Volta and not far from where the state of Bono-Manso in modern day Ghana.*

*(Boahen, 1964: 54)*
Until independence in 1957, Ghana was known as the Gold Coast, because the country was the greatest source of gold for European traders. It was renamed Ghana, in honour of the greatness and wealth of the ancient Ghana Empire, immediately following independence from British colonial rule by the late Osagyfo, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, first President of the Gold Coast (Boahen, 1964).

Due to the non-existence of currency as a medium of exchange, trading between indigenous people and European merchants was conducted through barter. Items such as metal wares, brass shaving bowls, brass chamber pots, shallow pans for washing gold, large cooking pots, a variety of clothing and textiles and weapons including guns and gunpowder were exchanged for gold, silver and slaves (Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998):

> Although the people were themselves manufacturing some of these goods before the Europeans came to the country, the white men were able, however, to create a demand for their goods mainly because of the non-existence of currency as a medium of exchange

(Boahen, 1998:69)

Factories were set up in pre-colonial Ghana by the Europeans to increase the production of articles like beads and cloth, which were then exported to other parts of the Guinea Coast. As trade increased, coinage was introduced as a commodity, (Amamoo, 1958; Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998). Buah (1998) affirms that prior to the arrival of the Europeans; the indigenous people on the Gold Coast did not use strong liquor other than palm wine produced from palm trees.
However, through their contact with the Europeans, the indigenous people began to develop a taste for stronger liquor, such as gin, whiskey, brandy and rum. The introduction of hard liquor to the Gold Coast served several purposes in relation to social and public functions. Firstly, the indigenous people used such liquors for funerals, marriages, annual festivals and child-naming ceremonies. The Europeans offered hard liquor as gifts to persuade traditional rulers to enter into agreements for the lease of lands or trade concessions. Most importantly, the Europeans used hard liquor to win favour from indigenous people to secure preferential treatment and compete with other Europeans merchants operating in the same locality (Boahen, 1964, Buah, 1998). One important European activity in pre-colonial Ghana is the slave trade, which will be discussed later on in the thesis in chapter seven.

3.3.2 Influence of Europeans Trade on Pre-Colonial Ghana

The activities of European merchants in pre-colonial Ghana had positive and negative effects on the indigenous people living on the Gold Coast. The trading brought many benefits that improved the standard of living of many Ghanaians in the pre-colonial period (Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998):
The rulers, the middlemen and what were called ‘merchant princes’ became wealthier through the trade and the commissions and rents paid to them, and their ordinary men benefited through the sales of commodities.  
(Buah, 1998:74)

The presence of the European merchants, led to the introduction of varieties of new crops from other territories into the Gold Coast, including cassava, plantain, pineapple, sugar cane, avocado pear, groundnuts and mango (Buah, 1998). Traditional Ghanaian society comprised the king and his vassal rulers on one side, and the commoners and a host of domestic servants and slaves on the other (Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998).

The trade in new crops developed new classes of recognised citizenship. Also out of the European trade, two new classes: the middle classes who were the African merchants and intermediaries; the wage-earning class, who served either the European merchants or the African merchants and middlemen emerged. Intermarriage between European merchants and local consorts bred another class of people known in Ghana as the mulattoes. Other major social impacts included the introduction of Christianity and Western education systems (Amamoo, 1958; Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998).

However, the negative effects far outweigh the positive. The slave trade, which is discussed in chapter seven, drained and destroyed the immense wealth of human resources of the country (Amamoo, 1958;
Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998). Some historians argued with some degree of justification that the wealth and prosperity of Europe and Great Britain in particular, derived its foundation and the strength of its economy from gold and the slave trade, which drained from Ghana and other parts of West Africa (Amamoo, 1958; Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998). Boahen (1964) and Buah (1998) argue that European merchants took advantage of the ignorance of indigenous Ghanaians to extract treaties that laid the foundation upon which the foreign merchants later claimed the treasures, riches and ancestral wealth of the country.

At first, too, taking advantage of the people’s ignorance of the true value and worth of imported goods, the alien traders felt no qualms about cheating or undersupplying the Africans for the goods they exchanged with them.

(Buah, 1998:73)

One other activity that left a negative imprint was that false belief amongst indigenous Ghanaians in pre-colonial Ghana that the white European merchants were gods and superior to them and they began to accept their culture and values in preference to their own social heritage.

Such negative attitudes Buah (1998) argued were very complex but resulted in the destruction of the confidence of Ghanaians in the pre-colonial period (Amamoo, 1958; Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998):

This unfortunate attitude became more and more pronounced right through the colonial days, to such an extent that the complex has not entirely disappeared from African society to this day.

(Buah, 1998:77)
As commercial trade went on, Buah (1998) argued that European merchants became more involved in the political affairs of the indigenous people on the Gold Coast in the pre-colonial period by encouraging hostility and conflict among the people to secure increased trade. Europeans maintained good relations with the traditional rulers of the territories where they traded to win the support of local rulers against their rivals (Amamoo, 1958; Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998). Furthermore, European merchants would secretly side simultaneously with two or more local rival parties in the hope that no matter who won they would win favour with the winning party. This Buah asserted resulted in another political development, i.e. the changing of allegiance of local people who migrated from one coastal kingdom to another (Amamoo, 1958; Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998), resulting in gradual colonisation.

### 3.4 The Colonial Period

Buah (1998) asserts that until the 1820s the European powers whose merchants were operating on the Gold Coast refrained from administering the territory as a colony. For each coastal settlement, the British government appointed a governor who gradually imposed some kind of authority on the neighbouring towns and districts, in an
attempt to suppress the slave trade and promote legitimate trade of gold and other minerals (Amamoo, 1958; Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998).

In 1821, the British Government assumed direct control of the forts and the possessions of the British Royal Company of Merchants by an Act of Parliament and placed it under the control of the governor of Sierra Leone (Amamoo, 1958, Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998). From 1822, trade progress in the Gold Coast was disrupted by ongoing armed conflict between the people of Ashanti (Akans located in the middle belt of Ghana) in the hinterland and the people of the Gold Coast (Amamoo, 1958; Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998). This resulted in uncertainty and a decline of trade and the British Government lost interest in continuing the administration of its possessions on the Gold Coast. Although, the British government was no longer interested to continue trading, British merchants were not anxious to leave the Gold Coast. As a result, the British Government authorised the Royal Company of British merchants to take control of settlements in the country with the provision that the forts of Cape Coast and Accra should continue to be dependent on the government of Sierra Leone (Amamoo, 1958; Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998):

*The British law shall consequently continue to be in force in the said dependencies. A committee of the merchants was established as a council of government, presided over by a president.*

(Buah, 1998:77)
According to Boahen (1994) in the mid-eighteenth century, there were concerns regarding the Ashanti empire’s expansion which led to the development of a hostile relationship between the people of Ashanti and the Fantis at the coast. In addition, the Ashanti desire to expand its empire and control the coastal states threatened the European traders who had established a network of post and fortifications at the coast (Boahen, 1994). Hostilities were the result of a series of law enacted by the Fantis that refused to allow Ashanti traders’ direct access to the coast and prohibit the sale of firearms and ammunition to the Ashanti national army. Boahen (1994) asserted that to resolve these problems, the Ashanti launched three successful wars in 1807, 1811 and 1816 against the Fantis and by 1820 had become the strongest power in West Africa.

*The Ashanti army’s success against the Fanti, coupled with the Ashanti’s determination to preserve their empire, posed a threat to the British, who also wanted to control Ghana’s coast for strategic, political, and economic reasons. Britain’s commitment to stopping the slave trade made it impossible for the British to maintain good relations with the Ashanti, who, by 1820, had become the main source of slaves on the coast.*

(Boahen, 1994:5)

In 1896, the Ashanti Empire, Boahen (1994) noted, almost collapsed and the British declared a protectorate over Ashanti that led to the exile of the Ashantehem, Prempeh, his immediate family and several close advisers to the Seychelles Islands. Boahen (1994) affirmed that the last Anglo-Ashanti war was fought in 1899-1900, when the British twice tried to take possession of the Ashantehem’s Golden Stool, symbol of Ashanti power and independence. The last war occurred in 1900 when
Nana Yaa Asantewaa, the Queen Mother of Ejisu in the Ashanti Region of Ghana, was furious over the refusal of Ashanti chiefs to wage war against the British colonialists for the return of Ashantehen. Nana Yaa Asantewaa, Boahen (1994) said was not happy because she realised that the Ashanti chiefs were afraid to confront the British colonialists for the return of King Prempeh and suddenly stood up and spoke and I quote:

Now I have seen that some of you fear to go forward to fight for our king. If it were in the brave days of, the days of Osei Tutu, Okomfo Anokye, and Opoku Ware, chiefs would not sit down to see their king taken away without firing a shot. No white man could have dared to speak to chief of the Ashanti in the way the Governor spoke to you chiefs this morning. Is it true that the bravery of the Ashanti is no more? I cannot believe it. It cannot be! I must say this: if you the men of Ashanti will not go forward, then we will. We the women will. I shall call upon my fellow women. We will fight the white men. We will fight till the last of us falls in the battlefields.

(Yaa Asantewaa and the Ashanti-British War of 1900-1, 2003:1)

Boahen (1994) asserted that the Ashanti Empire was eventually defeated and Nana Yaa Asantewaa and fifteen of her close advisers were captured and exiled to the Seychelles. The war, which lasted nearly a year, Boahen (1994) noted was the last Anglo-Ashanti war and that led to the formal annexation of the Ashanti Empire as a British possession.

In 1830, a British Governor was appointed by the British government and arrived on the Gold Coast to assume office in Cape Coast. In 1831, a year after assuming office, the Governor concluded a tripartite treaty to protect the costal region. The treaty partners was made up of the British Government and two representatives of Ashanti (on behalf of the
Ashanti King) and a number of rulers from the southern states, including the Cape Coast, Abora, Anomabo, Denkyira, Twifo, Asen, Wasa, Akumfi, Adwumako, Nzima, Asikuma and others (Amamoo, 1958; Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998).

To regularise British relations with the people of the Gold Coast a convention, that came to be known as the “Bond of 1844, was signed among eight chiefs on the southern coast of Ghana. As part of the 1844 treaty, the chiefs pledged to give up their customary practices and refer all criminal cases for trial by a jury comprising both British officials and traditional rulers (Amamoo, 1959; Buah, 1998). The bond of 1844 gave authority to the British Colonial rulers to exercise jurisdiction that gave protection to traditional political systems in the country.

By 1850, most European countries had sold their possessions on the Gold Coast to the British and departed (Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998). However, before they left, the European countries developed strong trading ties with the indigenous people and built forts and castle along the shores of the Gold Coast (Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998).

The British Colonial Administration in 1914 introduced a policy of indirect rule, otherwise known in the history books of Ghana as the Dual Mandate, where Ghanaian traditional states or groups of smaller Akan states including Akan traditional chiefs, sub-chiefs and important
traditional counsellors were constituted into native administration, called the “Native Authority”, presided over by a paramount chief (Buah, 1998).

*The indigenous ruler, before colonisation took root in the Gold Coast, now Ghana occupied a unique position and support with his ruler, he was accepted by his subjects as religious, political and judicial head of the kingdom, the spirit and the embodiment of the Akan nations and the custodian of the people’s ancestral cultural heritage* (Buah, 1998:106)

There were several factors leading to the Dual Mandate. Firstly, the British Authorities in the Gold Coast were faced with a lack of money and staff to run the government in Ghana from a local level throughout the country. Secondly, the authority realised the need to preserve the Akan traditional, political and social heritage and considered an effective way to help avoid detribalising the indigenous people, which might pose a threat to colonial interests (Buah, 1998). Thirdly, the policy of indirect rule enabled the British to protect their interests supported by the Akan traditional political system through a series of ordinances and laws. These included the Native Jurisdiction enacted in 1878 and amended in subsequent years - 1883, 1910 and 1924 (Buah, 1998). The amendment of the ordinances granted powers to controlling local tribunals, with limited jurisdiction relating to customary and testamentary matters to make byelaws, which did not go counter to the British concept of law (Buah, 1998)
By the early nineteenth century, the British were the most important European power on the Gold Coast and by 1900 all the coastal region of modern-day Ghana was colonised by the British. Ashanti was made a British protectorate in 1901 and was annexed. The northern territories protectorate came into existence in 1902 (Amamoo, 1958, Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998). Much of present-day Ghana became a British crown colony with Ghana's current borders realised in 1956 when the Volta region voted to join Ghana.

In 1957, Ghana was the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence from British Colonial Administration and helped inspire other African countries, to fight for their independence which were then still under British Colonial rule, especially those in West and Southern Africa (Amamoo, 1958; Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998).

Ghana’s role and involvement in helping and supporting other African countries to fight and gain independence is immeasurable and will be discussed later in this chapter. Soon after gaining independence in 1957, the first elected President of the country - Osagyfo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah - changed the country’s name from the Gold Coast to Ghana.
3.5 Ghana Today

In this section I will concentrate on the country’s geographic conditions, climatic conditions, rich mineral resources, religion, major ethnic groups and languages and education systems. Other areas discussed under this section include formal and current conditions that influence the position of women in Ghana, tourism development and its management in Ghana and media reports on women in Ghana.

3.5.1 Geography and Climatic Conditions of Ghana

Ghana lies on the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa, about 750 kilometres, north of the equator between the latitudes of 4 degree and to 11 degree north of the Equator. The country has a total land mass of 238,540 square kilometres and is strategically located to take advantage of trading relationships with other West African countries (Ghana Government, 1995; NTDPG 1996; Ghana Statistical Service, 2002).

The country is bounded on the north by Burkina Faso, on the west by Cote d’ Ivoire, on the east by Togo and on the south by the Gulf of Guinea (see figure 3.1). The land area stretches 672 kilometres from north to south and 536 kilometres from east to west. Ghana is well positioned and easily accessibly from other regions of Africa and Europe (Ghana Government, 1995; NTDPG 1996; Ghana Statistical Service,
Ghana is a medium-sized country compared to other West African countries and is approximately the same size as the United Kingdom. The coastal land of Ghana is made up of plains and numerous lagoons near the estuaries of rivers and river Volta occupies nearly five per cent of the country. The land of Ghana is relatively flat and the altitude is generally below 500 metres with more than half of the country below 200 metres (Ghana Government, 1995; NTDPG 1996; Ghana Statistical Service, 2002).

Climatically, Ghana has a tropical climate, characterised most of the year by moderate temperatures generally 21-32°C (70-90°F), with constant breeze and sunshine (Ghana Government, 1995; NTDPG 1996; Ghana Statistical Service, 2002). Ghana has two rainy seasons, from March to July and from September to October, separated by a short cool dry season in August and a relatively long dry season in the south from mid-October to March. Annual rainfall in southern Ghana averages 2,030 millimetres. However, it varies greatly throughout the country, with the heaviest rainfall in the Western Region and the lowest in the Northern Region (Ghana Government, 1995; NTDPG 1996; Ghana Statistical Service, 2002).
3.5.2 The Volta River

Ghana has one of the largest artificial man-made lakes in the world - the Volta Lake which is right behind the Akosombo Hydro-Electric Dam in Akosombo town and is among the most popular tourist attractions in the country (Ghana Volta River Authority, 1994). It is an area of outstanding natural beauty and attracts water sport enthusiasts. Volta Lake is navigable from Akosombo to Yeji in the middle of the country. A 24 metre pontoon, commissioned in 1989, links the Afram Plains to the west of the lake with the lower Volta Region to the east. The power of the river generates hydroelectricity from Akosombo which supplies Ghana, Togo, and Benin (Ghana Volta River Authority, 1994-2004).

The Volta Basin occupies the central part of the country covering about 45 percent of the country’s total land surface. The northern section of the Volta basin lies above the upper part of the Volta Lake and rises to a height of 150 to 210 meters above sea level (Ghana Volta River Authority, 1994; Ghana Home Page, 2006). The Volta River basin dominates the country’s river system and includes the 400 kilometre-long Volta Lake. The annual average rainfall around the Volta basin and between 1,000 and 1,140 millimetres. The north of the basin is predominantly savannah and shrub, while the south has extensive rain forestation (Ghana Government, 1995; NTDPG 1996; Ghana Statistical Service, 2002).
Figure 3.1: Map of Ghana

Source - (Ghana Volta River Authority, 1998-2004 and Ghana Home Page, 2006)

3.5.3 Ghana’s Rich Natural Sources

Ghana is endowed with rich mineral resources including gold, diamonds, manganese, bauxite, iron ore and various clay and salt deposits. There are also extensive rich forests providing a wide range of
fine tropical hardwoods, agricultural products and fishing resources. In addition, the country has unique tourist attractions including beautiful landscapes, sunshine, golden beaches, and wildlife parks. The countryside has a rich cultural heritage and the proverbial warmth and hospitality of the Ghanaian people (Ghana Government, 1995; NTDPG 1996; Ghana Statistical Service, 2002) provide a warm welcome to tourists.

3.5.4 Major Ethnic Groups, Languages and Religions in Ghana

Cultural anthropologists classify the indigenous people of Ghana into five major groups: the Akan; the Ewe; the Mole-Dagbane; the Guan; the Ga-Adangbe. The Akan people occupy practically the whole of Ghana south and west of the Black Volta. Historical accounts suggest that Akan groups migrated from the north to occupy the forest and coastal areas of the south as early as the thirteenth century. Some of the Akan people ended up in the eastern section of Côte d’Ivoire, where they created the Baule community (Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998).

There are about 76 different dialects in Ghana reflecting the various ethnic groups. The official language in Ghana is the colonial language, English with nine principal local Ghanaian languages, which are Akan, Dagaare/Wale, Dagbane, Dangme, Ewe, Ga, Gonja, Kesem and Nzema. On television and radio, the news would be read in English followed by
six local languages, which are Akan/Twi, Ewe, Ga, Nzema, Dagbane and Hausa. The official language of the country is English, with French and Hausa as the two other major foreign tongues spoken in the country (Ghana Government, 1995; NTDPG 1996; Ghana Statistical Service, 2002).

Ghana is a religious country and there is complete freedom of choice of religion. The country is predominantly Christian (constituting nearly 70 % of the Ghanaian population) with Islam accounting for 15.6 % and traditional religions account for 8.5 %, no religion and minority religions is 6.2 %, while others (e.g. African indigenous religions) constitute about 0.7 % (Ghana Statistical Service, 2002).

3.5.5 Ghana’s Educational System

Ghana has a high-quality educational system; a record of traditional academic excellence and the success of her professionals (scientists, technicians and teachers) throughout the world are testimony to this (Ghana Government, 1995; NTDPG 1996; Ghana Statistical Service, 2002). Originally, Ghana’s educational system was based on the English grammar school system, a legacy from the British colonial period. However, decades of radical change has refocused the educational system on scientific, technical, vocational, managerial and entrepreneurial skills to meet the country’s developmental needs.
Attention is also devoted to Ghanaian and African history, art, literature, languages, traditional skills and customs (Ghana Government, 1995; NTDPG 1996; Ghana Statistical Service, 2002). There are both public and private universities in the country and the largest of which include the University of Ghana at Legon, Accra, the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi in the Ashanti Region of Ghana, the University of Development Studies, Tamale in the Northern Region. Other main universities are the University of Cape Coast and the University College of Education, Winneba both in the Central Region of Ghana. There are also private universities including religious universities based in the suburbs of Accra (Ghana Government, 1995; NTDPG 1996; Ghana Statistical Service, 2002).

Ghana has numerous tertiary education institutions, including three schools of journalism all based in Accra. In addition, there are polytechnics and specialised institutions in all ten Regions of Ghana. The facilities of the tertiary education system in Ghana are wide ranging and improve yearly with substantial funds allocated by the central government. Besides providing an academic and residential infrastructure, they provide journals, IT technology and computers, and other learning equipment (Ghana Government, 1995; NTDPG 1996; Ghana Statistical Service, 2002).
3.5.6 Regional and District Administrations in Ghana

Ghana has ten regional administrations - the Upper West Region, Upper East Region, Northern Region, Brong-Ahafo Region, Ashanti Region, Western Region, Eastern Region, Volta Region, Central Region and Greater Accra Region, the capital of Ghana. The regions are subdivided into 138 districts, of which three are metropolitan districts – Kumasi, Cape Coast and Sekondi-Takoradi and eight are municipal districts. The 127 ordinary districts have urban councils, town councils, and area councils under them who deal with local and district administration. The metropolitan districts are divided into sub-metropolitan districts, which are further subdivided into town councils. The municipal districts are divided into zones. Unit committees are the lowest level of local government, subsidiary to all of the entities already mentioned.
3.6 Colonial Legacies in Ghana Today

Ghana today is geared towards developing her tourism potential and hopes to learn from other countries’ experiences in tourism rather than repeating mistakes made elsewhere (NTDPG, 1996). For example, Ghana’s cultural, traditional and historical sites, which include forts and castles dotted along the country’s coastlines provides Ghana with
legacy identity and appealing features for tourism development and tourists’ destinations (NTDPG 1996).

### 3.6.1 The Symbolism of the Flag of Ghana

Although tourism development in Ghana is quite recent, the description of her flag symbolises African unity and is a call to all African diaspora to identify with the African continent. The flag of the Republic of Ghana is also an embodiment of the struggle and liberation of the black race (see Figure 3.3). The description of the flag is of three equal horizontal bands of red at the top, yellow in the middle and green at the bottom with a large black five-pointed-star centred in the yellow band. It uses the popular Pan-African colours of Ethiopia, similar to the flag of Bolivia, which has a coat of arms centred in the yellow band (Sensen, 2000). The red colour represents the blood of those who died for the struggle for the country’s independence.
The gold stands for the mineral wealth of the country, while the green colour symbolises the rich forest belt of the country (Gutterman, 1998). The flag of Ghana was first raised on the third of March 1957 (Heimer, 2001; World Factbook, 2006). As the first independent African nation of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, (World Factbook, 2006) Ghana’s black star is the lone star of African freedom, taken from the flag of the Black Star Line, a shipping line founded by Marcus Garvey in June 1919 to take new negro colonists back to Africa. The shipping line closed in 1922.
3.6.2 The Coat of Arms as Colonial Legacy

The Coat of Arms of Ghana depicts the struggle of the black race, the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and an embodiment of cultural and traditional identities left behind by different early European colonial rulers (see figure 3.4). It is a shield divided into four quarters with green cross rimmed with Gold (World Factbook, 2006; Ghana Home Page, 2006). Freedom and justice is the national motto of Ghana and found under the shield of the Coat of Arms. The crossed linguist staff and ceremonial sword on a blue background on the top left hand quarter of the Ghana Coat of Arm, represents local administrations in Ghana. A heraldic castle on sea with a light blue background on the top right hand of the quarter represents the national government of the country. The cocoa tree in the bottom left hand of the quarter represents the agricultural wealth of the country and the mineshaft on the bottom right hand quarter represents the mineral wealth of the country (World Factbook, 2006; Ghana Home Page, 2006).
Finally, the Gold Lion in the centre of the Coat of Arms of the green cross represents the continued link between Ghana and the Commonwealth. The black five-pointed star rimmed with gold standing on the wreath of red, gold and green colours surmounting on top of the shield represents African freedom. Finally, around the necks of two eagles hang black star medals suspended from a ribbon of Ghana’s national colours, red, gold and green, supporting the shield of the Coat of Arms signifies a protector with strength and attentive eyes keeping watch over Ghana (World Factbook, 2006, Ghana Home Page, 2006).

3.7 Tourism in Ghana

The tourism industry in Ghana is a very recent phenomenon and in its early stages of development. However, it is using the country’s natural,
historic, traditions and cultural as the basis for developing the growth of tourism in the country (NTDPG, 1996). NTDPG is the National Tourism Development Plan for Ghana for 1996-2010, a final report of Integrated Tourism Development Programme (ITDP) for the Ministry of Tourism, Ghana. The initial NTDPG project was a Government of Ghana (GOG) support programme, funded by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and World Tourism Organisation (WTO). NTDPG was prepared within the framework of Ghana’s Vision 2020, a national document launched in 1995 guide to national development (NTDPG, 1996) as mentioned in chapter one. Ghana’s Vision 2020 provides the basis for establishing the country's nascent tourism development policy and growth target for the country.

Tourism is central to the 25-year NTDPG (1996-2010) document policy as on the country’s vast tourism resources, are felt to be critical to the transformation of the Ghanaian economy by the year 2010 (NTDPG, 1996; GTB, 2003; Debrah, 2006). The 15-year Plan of Action was long enough to provide more specific details for the tourism industry and its development in Ghana. As tourism progresses to the future, NTDPG (1996-2010) hopes the target and projection figures could be extended to 2020 based on the circumstances prevailing at that later time (NTDPG, 1996; GTB, 2003). The Ghana Tourist Board (2003) (GTB) asserts that GOG has a clear vision of indications for the growth of tourism development, its capacity for generating and sustaining foreign
exchange income, creating employment, stimulating rural development and promoting social cohesion within the country (NTDPG, 1996; GTB, 2003).

3.7.1 Ghana’s Tourism Development Plans

Ghana’s tourism development projects started in the early 1980s with the Medium Term Tourism Development Plan of 1983-1995. This twelve year initial tourism plan sought to promote leisure and business travels to Ghana and within Ghana (Debrah, 2006). This was to encourage local tourism from the late ’80s to early ’90s; tourism in Ghana has become a fast-growing activity for Ghanaians. The growth in tourism activities in Ghana is a direct result of GOG’s introduction of the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) in 1983 that subsequently undertook the efforts to stabilise the country’s economy (GTB, 2003). In 1983, GOG introduced the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP), which Ghana Tourist Board (GTB) and NTDPG confirm had increase international tourists arrivals in the country. In fact arrivals figures increased considerably from 85,332 in 1985 with corresponding receipts of US$20 million to 372,000 visitors and US$342 million receipts in 1999 (GTB, 2003). In 1987, Ghana developed a National Tourism Policy (NTP) that aimed at promoting three types of tourism in the country; international, regional, that is among African countries and domestic tourisms (NTDPG, 1996; Debrah, 2006).
From the early 1990’s, the NTP was initially replaced by the Integrated Tourism Development Plan (ITDP), and subsequently by National Tourism Development Plan for Ghana 1996-2010 (NTDPG). The NTDPG document spelt out the aims, objectives and sustainability approach of tourism development in Ghana. The NTDPG is one component of the ITDP, including 13 more components, which are GOG, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), WTO and MOT have developed for 2010 and beyond for set goals to improve tourism industry, development and management in Ghana (NTDPG, 1996). Others areas that are carried out within the 1996-2010 NTDPG plan of action included a five-year Tourism Development Action Programme (TDAP), five-year Development Financial Plan (DFP) that includes regional tourism plans for each of the ten regions of Ghana. The rest are pre-feasibility studies for selected tourism projects, one in each region of the country, Tourism Marketing Strategy (TMS) and five-year Promotion Programme (PP), Tourism Awareness Programme (TAP) and Tourist Behaviour Code (TBC) (NTDPG, 1996). GTB (2003) affirms that the Board hopes to review and make recommendations on improvements on hotel and restaurant licensing requirements and classification standards; to tour and travel agency licensing requirements.

Finally, NTDPG (1996) aims to provide technical and financial assistance for major improvements of the Hotel, Catering and Tourism Training Centre (HOTCATT), and Establishment of a Tourism
Management Information System (TMIS) within the Ministry of Tourism (NTDPG, 1996). NTDPG (1996) asserts that the various components and measures devised by GOG and its team of players mentioned above have produced a phenomenal growth in Ghana’s tourism industry and development in the mid 1990’s, with tourism sector registering an annual growth rate of 12 per cent (NTDPG, 1996).

### 3.7.2 Tourism Projections

NTDPG (1996) contends that the impact of growth in the tourism industry in Ghana is felt at both local and international levels. NTDPG (1996) asserts that the tourism growth rate in Ghana is remarkable because it has boosted the economy and enrichment in the Ghanaian cultures and traditions have also occurred (NTDPG, 1996; GTB, 2003). The Library of Congress World Factbook (2007) contends that GOG believes the country’s foreign exchange earnings from tourism will triple under a five-year tourism plan and that in 1991 to 1995 the annual number of tourists visiting Ghana doubled from the 1991 base of 145,000. The creation of new jobs in the years ahead in other sectors that derive business related to the tourist trade (NTDPG, 1996; Library of Congress, World Factbook, 2007).

To avoid making mistakes and to sustain the growth of expansion of tourism development in Ghana, GOG has developed new approaches
tailored to Ghana’s specific circumstances. The culture and tradition specific to Ghana create unique development objectives that are believed appropriate to the tourism development patterns in the country. In addition, GOG believes the tourism industry in Ghana would ensure sustainable future benefits in tourism developments in the country (NTDFG, 1996; GTB, 2003). GTB (2003) contends that the main objective of NTDPG (1996) is to transform the tourism industry into a formidable one, taking into account the needs of all the Ghanaian people. For this reason, GOG in collaboration with the UNDP in Ghana, the WTO and the MOT, Ghana have made tremendous efforts in establishing reception facilities of international quality. This, GOG believes, would add value to numerous tourist products and systematically create new ones (NTDPG, 1996).

3.7.3 Tourism Incentives in Ghana

According to the Library of Congress Country Studies on tourism development and management in Ghana, the World Factbook (2007) asserts that under Ghana’s 1985 Investment code, tourism is a priority sector with incentives and benefits for investors. In addition GOG would provide incentives to encourage more investors in tourism related areas. Incentives would also include quality star-rated hotels, approved tourist villages, beaches, and holiday recreational resorts. In addition, Ghana will provide incentives for tax and rate exemptions on building
properties for three years in addition to investment and depreciation allowances (NTDPG, 1996; Library of Congress, World Factbook, 2007).

### 3.7.4 Tourism Implementation in Ghana

GOG is committed to the plan development approach through implementation of ITDP, with support funding from UNDP in Ghana. The WTO being the executive agency and the MOT is its implementing body (NTDPG, 1996-2010). In 2003, Ghana again developed Tourism Capacity Development Initiative (GTCDI), with United States Agency for International Development (USAID) as funding body with Georgia State University (GSU) in America as the implementing agency, commissioned in 2003 (Debrah, 2006).

The focus of this thesis is the role and involvement of women in festival celebrations and takes PANAFEST as a case study to explore the cultural politics underpinning Ghanaian society and the position of women within that society. PANAFEST is the biannual Pan-African Festival that celebrates the slave trade and black African culture. As an international festival and showcase for Ghana it is particularly interesting as, held every second year in Ghana and attracting Ghanaian diaspora from all over the world, it is a key element in Ghana’s tourism offer.
The thesis will develop a case study of PANAFEST as a focus for conversations with key stakeholders about the challenges that face women in Ghana today, i.e. the marginalised and the background position of the Akan women and to explain how important the Akan Queen Mothers are in the lives of Ghanaian communities and as role models and sponsors for young Ghanaian women and yet, despite this importance, the contradictory position that they hold in Ghanaian society. The rationale for using PANAFEST as the case study for this thesis is that GOG sees PANAFEST as a key element of the tourism product that will help to provide the country with much-needed foreign exchange (NTDPG, 1996).

PANAFEST as a festival in Ghana allows Ghanaian women, especially Akan women and Akan Queen Mothers to exhibit their talent and potential in their role and involvement in festival celebrations in Ghana. One other rationale for using PANAFEST as a case study is also to demonstrate the background and marginalised position of Akan women, the Akan Queen Mothers in particularly in festival celebrations and tourism development in Ghana. It provides an appropriate vehicle through which to understand the plight, the background and marginalised position of Akan women, apart from the Akan Queen Mothers, in festival celebrations in Ghana. Moreover, the selection of PANAFEST for the case study provides a tight boundary for the case
study and thus the sample selection of interviewees and focus group members for the methodology.

3.8 Women in Ghana

3.8.1 Perceptions of Women in Ghana

African women, in general, are seen as bearers of children, petty traders and farmers. Barrenness is considered a gross misfortune. The childbearing ability of women traditionally explained as a means by which lineage ancestors are allowed to be reborn still persists in modern day Ghana (Annotated bibliography on women in Ghana, 1990; Bartle, 1998). Anthropologists have explained that the practice is a traditional method for wealthy men to procreate additional labour to work on their farms while in a patrilineal society, dowries received from marrying off daughters help fathers to accumulate additional wealth as well as dominance in traditional society. Women’s ability to bear children therefore assures them of social and economic security in society (Annotated Bibliography on women in Ghana, 1990; Bartle, 1998). Ghanaian society views women with no progeny as useless
3.8.2 Women’s Suffrage in Ghana

In Ghana, evidence documented by Ghana Home Page (2006) shows that Ghanaian women historically were in power. These strong character women in Ghana from the pre-colonial period to colonial times throughout the modern age are not only Queen Mothers but highly-educated women with power and authority in reputable positions both in traditional political systems and modern day politics (Ghana Home Page, 2006). According to the Ghana Home Page (2006), female suffrage in the country began from 1949-1954 onwards. From 1979, the political front in the country has witnessed seven strong women, who are highly educated in positions of power and authority, including political office. Among the seven political women in leadership positions, two were members of the then National Revolutionary Council (NRC), Ghana from 1979-1981 and the other five were members of the Council of States from 1985 (Ghana Home Page, 2006).

3.8.3 Colonial Influences – Formal Position of Women in Ghana

Bartle (1998) asserts that the coming of the Swiss missionaries to the Gold Coast was a contributing factor for the decline of status of the women of Akan society of Ghana. Bartle (1998) noted that in the mid 1800, Swiss missionaries came to the Gold Coast and introduced theology and rituals of Christianity with the aim of transforming the
Akan society into a system imitating that of Swiss origins. Bartle (1998) affirms that a Swiss nuclear family ideology implies that women should be submissive and obedient to their husbands, stay at home to do domestic chores and raise their children while husbands are out at work.

This measure by the Swiss missionaries in the mid-1800s aimed at abolishing chieftaincy, matrilineages, ancestors, gods and all traditional cultures which supported these ancient Akan societies. Bartle (1998) argues that the adoption of Christian social structure, contributed to a decline in the social status of women of Akan society of Ghana.

Bartle (1998 cited Rosof, 2006) argues that colonial gender roles accelerated race discrimination and the decline of women’s social status in Africa as well as women in Ghana. Rosof (2006) maintains that racial descriptions of black and white only began in early Colonial America where English and Africans were immigrants to Virginia. However, the terms “black” and “white” were not in usage until the late 1600s (Rosof, 2006). Rosof (2006) argues that the early English colonists were familiar with class differences and gender differences. They knew how a gentleman ought to behave. They knew how a labourer ought to behave - men and women had different job descriptions (Rosof, 2006) and roles in life.
Kathleen Moore Brown (1996) in her book “Good Wives, Nasty Wenches and Anxious Patriarchs” argues how colonists created racial definitions to separate the roles of slaves from the roles of the English. Brown’s book is the first to explore how the Virginia colonists used gender roles to define English attitudes towards the African slaves. Brown chose to write on Virginia because it was the place where Americana ideas on race and gender roles started (Rosof, 2006). Brown (1996) became interested in the subject at graduate level since very little is mentioned about nineteenth and twentieth century women and nothing on colonial women.

The environment to which they moved challenged the familiar gender roles of women and of men as new gender roles had to be defined for a new class of people – the slaves (Brown, 1996; Rosof, 2006). Ogbomo (1997) in a survey on social, political and economic conditions in pre-colonial Africa argues that modern-day gender relations in Africa is not a true reflection of women’s exercise of power and influence on the African continent as the case in the past. Today the marginalized status of women shows that African women are oppressed by their male counterparts (Ogbomo, 1997).

On the contrary African women, Ogbomo (1997) noted, have in the past exercised a degree of independence and African men have responded to such independence in different ways and manners, ranging from
acceptance to accusing women of practicing witchcraft if the men find
the women to be of too strong a character. Ogbomo (1997) points out
that evidence from pre-colonial African societies does not support the
assumption that the myth of matriarchy indicated failure of women in
the past but in fact it emphasises the significant roles woman played.
Frequently, the pantheons are mixed and the task of research involves
analyzing the power structure among the deities.

Rojas (1994), Ogbomo (1997) and Bartle, (1998) maintain that the
beginning of colonial rule brought to Africa the European notion that
women belonged in the home, nurturing their family but at the same
time the society expected women to work. However, women’s work,
either domestic or formal employment was seen as complementary to
work done by men. During the beginning of colonial rule, the roles of
women changed by means of legislation restricting women’s societal
involvement and focusing on colonial economics led by men (Rojas,
1994; Bartle, 1998; Ogbomo, 1997).

3.8.4 Current Position of Women in Ghana

In the immediate post Independence era 1957-1966, President, Osagyfo
Dr Kwame Nkrumah of the Conventional People’s Party (CPP) of the first
Republican Ghana, immediately instituted an affirmative action plan
long before the idea of National Council on Women Development was
conceived (Women in Ghana, 2006). The CPP government reserved ten seats in the legislature for women, thus encouraging more women to enter politics from the late-1950s to the mid-1960s (Women in Ghana, 2006). Unfortunately, the CPP government was overthrown in a coup in February 1966 and this was a big setback for the advancement of women and for gender equality in Ghana (Women in Ghana, 2006).

However, the UN’s Assembly declaration on the advancement on women in 1975 stimulated the formation and establishment of many women’s groups, associations and organisations in Ghana to advocate against social injustices and gender inequalities in Ghana at that time (Women in Ghana, 2006).

3.8.5 Cultural Politics and Female Genital Mutilation

Cultural politics, i.e. age-old traditions and socio-cultural norms and practices, were used to suppress women’s voice (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) during and after the European occupation of the Gold Coast (Bartle, 1978; Ardayfio-Schandorf & Kwafo-Akoto 1990). One of the big issues that the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) is tackling in relation to women is the practices that undermine women’s well-being and violate their basic human rights. Such practices include slavery, foot binding and female genital mutilation/female genital cutting
(FGM/FGC). According to the UNFPA (2008) at least 130 million women have undergone FGM/FGC and another 2 million are at risk each year.

In Ghana, issues which fall under the blanket of cultural politics that affect the progress of women include menstruation, being confined for forty days following the birth of a child or being widowed. Women are regarded as being dirty in such situations and it is taboo for them to be in public eye at these times (Aidoo, 1984; Ardayfio-Schandorf & Kwafo-Akoto 1990). In various parts of Ghana a number of rites are performed on women, e.g. dipo in the Yilo Krobo Somanya District in the Eastern Region of Ghana, Trokosi in south-eastern Ghana and female genital mutilation in Northern Ghana.

Dipo is a puberty rite performed on females aged 18 years and over to ensure her virginity until she comes of age and gets married (Ashong, 2008). One positive aspect of dipo is that a girl is considered a woman after going through the rite no matter what her age is. However, dipo has negative aspects as it is often performed on girls less than fourteen years of age and can make them very promiscuous and vulnerable to HIV/AIDS (Ashong, 2008).

Trokosi is a traditional cultural practice where families offer a daughter to a traditional local priest (otherwise called fetish priest in Ghana) as a way of appeasing the gods for a relatives’ transgression, past or present
(Robson, 2008). The “trokosi” tradition has been part of the Ewe culture of Ghana for centuries. It requires girls to spend the rest of their lives in a shrine, as a wife of the gods. It is sad to note that when a “Trokosi” dies, her family is expected to replace her with another young girl, thus perpetuating the bondage to the shrine of the traditional local priest from generation to generation (Robson, 2008).

There are three types of FGM/FGC: type one is referred as clitoridectomy, type two is referred to as excision and type three is referred to as infibulations (International Women’s Issues, 2001). The type commonly practiced in Ghana is type two. The extent of FGM/FGC in Ghana as a whole is limited and practiced among a few groups in northern Ghana and also amongst some migrants from neighbouring countries who now practice it in southern Ghana (IWI, 2001). International Women’s Issues (2001) asserts that FGM/FGC crosses religious boundaries because the practice among some groups in Ghana has a spiritual rather than a religious basis and is perpetuated by traditional and tribal beliefs that it leads to cleanliness and fidelity of the woman.

Other beliefs are that: FGM/FGC increases fertility and prevents the death of the first-born babies; it suppresses a woman’s sexual desires and makes her less promiscuous; children born to uncircumcised women are stubborn and troublesome and more likely to be blind or
damaged if the mother’s clitoris touches them during birth (International Women’s Issues, 2001). In some parts of the world the presence of a clitoris in women suggests she is a man and must have a man’s funeral and be buried in men’s clothing when she dies. Some cultures regard uncircumcised women as unclean, less attractive and less desirable for marriage.

Social or peer pressure is cited as a primary reason that some women undergo this procedure (IWI, 2001). GOG has instituted a law to protect unwilling women or girls against the practice but although all levels of law agencies and women groups in Ghana have advocated against FGM/FGC, there is very little real protection for victims in rural Ghana (IWI, 2001).

As pointed out by UNFPA: ‘Eradicating long-standing traditional practices does not happen overnight. One way to begin, though, is by information and advocacy that raises public awareness and changes the climate of public opinion’.

As stated by UNFPA’s Executive Director Thoraya Ahmed Obaid:

Consensus-building around social issues is extremely difficult, because it touches the identity of nations, communities and individuals. Discussion of social questions polarizes viewpoints and may seem to widen the gap between cultures. But in the end, the overriding social purpose concentrates our minds and enables us to bridge all cultural gaps—not because we want to go home with an agreed form of words, but because all of us, each in our own way, want to save people’s lives.

(UNFPA, 2008:1)
3.9 Women’s Organisations and Groups in Ghana

Women in the world today and Ghanaian women in particular are made to believe that a women’s social place is not at the forefront but in the background, to bear children and be in the kitchen (Ardayfio-Schandorf & Kwafo-Akoto, 1990). However, as discussed earlier, things took a dramatic turn in 1975 with the UN’s advent for advancement of women and Ghana was among the first signatories to the UN’s declaration for the International Year for Women (Ardayfio-Schandorf & Kwafo-Akoto, 1990).

The National Council on Women and Development (NCWD)

To show the country’s commitment, GOG established the National Council on Women and Development (NCWD) as government machinery to ensure the development of women in Ghana (Ardayfio-Schandorf & Kwafo-Akoto, 1990). The NCWD, Ghana soon became the umbrella body of all women organisations in the country to serve as the official national machinery for advising GOG on issues relating to women.

Part of the mandate given to NCWD by GOG relates to collaboration with both national and international organizations to improve the status of women in Ghana and identify Ghanaian cultural and
traditional norms that had inhibited the social and public advancement of women (Ardayfio-Schandorf & Kwafo-Akoto, 1990).

Some of the work of NCWD included commissioning several research projects on women and development in Ghana, initiating and funding projects and raising awareness on gender inequalities (Ardayfio-Schandorf & Kwafo-Akoto, 1990). The establishment of NCWD prompted the founding of various women’s groups and associations in the country as advocates for the rights of Ghanaian women and Akan Queen Mothers in particular (Ardayfio-Schandorf & Kwafo-Akoto, 1990). Notably amongst these new women’s groups, organisations and associations, which were included the International Federation of Women Lawyers, Ghana chapter (FIDA), the Association of Women in the Media (ASWIM) and the 31st December Women’s Movement and many others that were established at this time.

**International Federation of Women Lawyers, Ghana Chapter (FIDA)**

A group of women lawyers from five American countries (Quaye, 2003) founded FIDA in 1944. In 1974, FIDA Ghana was founded by a group of dedicated female Ghanaian lawyers. This was a year before the UN
Declaration for the recognition of women’s contribution worldwide. FIDA Ghana shares the same broad aims and objectives as the International FIDA body and its main aims and objectives are to promote good governance, instil the UN’s principles of legal and social dimensions that enhance and promote the welfare of women and children in Ghana (Quaye, 2003).

To enhance the legal system and strengthen the position of women in Ghana, FIDA Ghana reduced some of the existing laws affecting the status of women and children into simple English language then subsequently translated the existing Ghanaian law and printed them in four major Ghanaian languages. Notably, the Ghanaian languages that FIDA Ghana translated the law into are Dagbani, Ewe, Ga, and Akan for easy access and understanding by all Ghanaian communities.

In addition, FIDA Ghana sensitises the Ghanaian society on gender-related issues of global concern and highlighted major issues by advocating against oppressive customs that affect the advancement and progress of women and children in Ghanaian society (Quaye, 2003; Ardayfio-Schandorf & Kwafo-Akoto, 1990). By 1985, FIDA Ghana set up the first Legal Aid Programme in Ghana to support the eradication of poverty among women and children (Quaye, 2003). FIDA Ghana also offers free legal advice via “Legal Aid Clinic” services that range from free legal advice, arbitration and counselling to represent women and
children in court for indigent people who cannot otherwise afford the services of a lawyer (Quaye, 2003).

**The Association of Women in the Media (ASWIM)**

The Association of Women in the Media, (ASWIM), is an umbrella organisation of all female journalists in Ghana established in 1981 (ASWIM, 2002). The main membership bodies of ASWIM are the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC), the Ghana News Agency (GNA), the Graphic Corporation, the Information Services Department (ISD) and the New Times Corporation (ASWIM, 2002). The main objective of ASWIM is to use the media to raise consciousness about the lack of focus on women’s fundamental human rights issues.

Since the establishment of ASWIM, it has remained a driving force behind gender awareness among female journalists and communicators (ASWIM, 2002). AWSIM, as a women’s media organisation, has a big challenge to negotiate with senior male editors to allow both multimedia space and newspaper articles for the coverage of women’s real issues in Ghana (ASWIM, 2002).

**The 31st December Women’s Movement (DWM)**
The 31st December Women’s Movement (DWM) was set up to help the course of women, especially the illiterate rural women, to gain social justice and economic independence (31st December Women’s Movement, 2006). DWM activities include income-generating projects, agriculture food processing and co-operative organisations. The Movement also instigate literacy campaigns to empower women with knowledge on the constitution, financial management, and reproductive health and human rights issues (31st December Women’s Movement, 2006).

3.10 Ghana’s Situation - Affirmative Action

Immediately after the Beijing Platform of Action, in 1995, GOG initiated “Affirmative Action Programmes throughout the country, especially at work places and higher education institutions (Government of Ghana, 2000). The Affirmative Action Programme is consequently enshrined in the 1996 constitution to ensure equal employment and educational opportunities for both genders at all levels of education and employment levels in the country (Government of Ghana, 2000). To ensure a smooth implementation of Ghana’s Affirmative Action Programmes, GOG instituted a compulsory 40 percent quota of places at all educational institutions made available for women and girls (Government of Ghana, 2000). GOG believes that the 40 per cent quota will help sustain the interests of women and girls and inspire other
marginalised groups in the country to attain higher education. GOG hopes Ghana affirmative action programme will help alleviate poverty and reduce social irresponsibility such as teenage pregnancies (Government of Ghana, 2000). Currently, Ghana’s affirmative action programme has helped improve the enrolment intake of women and girls from primary, to secondary and right up to higher education level institutions in the country. There has been considerable improvement in the literacy rates since Ghana gained independence in 1957 (Government of Ghana, 2000) due to many radical educational changes. Vigorous government educational policies to ensure that a considerable portion of Ghana’s population have at least basic education (Government of Ghana, 2000) has made huge improvement. However, although there is remarkable improvement in the number of women in Ghana at work there are still gender gaps despite the government’s efforts to address the differences. In 1990, the primary school enrolment ratio for girls was 69% (Government of Ghana, 2000) out of 100. For instance, between 1970 and 1995, the overall literacy rate more than doubled from 30 per cent to 64 per cent (Government of Ghana, 2000).

### 3.11 Women and the Media in Ghana

However, media coverage in Ghana is no different to how Norris (1997) described media coverage on women in leadership positions world-wide.
Newspaper coverage of women’s issues in Ghana are found either at the right hand corner of the front page or if more important or most often in the centre spread of Ghanaian newspapers as indicated by Fowler (1996) see also Creedon (1993). Fowler (1996) explores the relationship between discrimination, categorization and power of female journalists in the media.

Fowler (1996) explains that such discourses of the Western newspaper media handle men and women in different categories and stereotype in exactly the same way Ghanaian newspapers (Fowler, 1996; Norris, 1997; Hall, 1997; Creedon, 1993). Newsroom and cultural politics of a male-dominated environment have made many Ghanaian women shy away from public and social functions and get relegated to background role allowing men to assume foreground positions in the tourism industry (Ardayfio-Schandorf & Kwafo-Akoto, 1990; Norris, 1997; Hall, 1997).

Political women and observers of female public officials and candidates have shown concern and frequently pointed out perceived biases in the treatment from the press (Norris, 1997; Hall, 1997). From my personal experience as a journalist, most gatekeepers in the news industry in Ghana are male. They are the news editors, who define and decide on which page, and how much space on that page, a news story on women’s issues should have (Fowler, 1996; Norris, 1997; Hall, 1997;
Despite women constituting more than half the population of Ghana, media coverage allocated to women’s issues is very low in the print and the media industry whole.

An exploratory piece of work early during this PhD study showed that in selected Ghanaian newspapers women issues are under-represented compared to overall political, finance and economic issues that make money for newspapers in Ghana. This study also showed that state-owned newspapers (e.g. the Ghanaian Times) led with more stories on women’s issues than privately-owned newspapers (The Chronicle and Insight newspapers) which are more inclined to report on issues that will promote and increase market sales.

Most of the stories on women in the selected Ghanaian newspapers were related to advertisements. Women’s representation in national newspapers in Ghana reflects public perception despite GOG’s provision of 30 % affirmative action to increase women’s participation in education and politics. Similarly, a research report on women, gender and development in Ghana, shows that only 3% of the 110 presiding members of district assemblies in Ghana are women although women constitute more than 50% of the entire voting population (Accra Daily Mail, 2006).
Research findings show that there are fewer women in politics (Accra Daily Mail, 2006). Ghanaian women constitute less than 20 per cent of the entire membership of Ghanaian parliament. Although the new millennium has seen Ghana shift to a democratic system advocacy for change is less vigorous than in the 1970s.

A survey by Accra Daily Mail (2006) shows that in the 2000 Parliamentary Elections in Ghana, only 18 women were elected to Ghana’s 200 parliament seats. In the 2004 Parliamentary elections, 25 women were elected out of 230 Parliamentary seats. However, if one compares the increase of number of parliamentary seats from 200 to 230, men outnumber women by 205 and 182 in 2000 and 2004 respectively in two parliamentary elections in Ghana.

**Table 3.1: 2000 Parliamentary Elections in Ghana – 200 seats**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2000 Parliamentary Elections</th>
<th>200 seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Women Elected</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of men Elected</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.2: 2004 Parliamentary elections in Ghana– 230 seats**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2004 Parliamentary elections</th>
<th>230 seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Women Elected</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of men Elected</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Out of the 110 District Chief Executives positions in Ghana, only 17 women were elected in 1997. In the 2004 elections, there was a decrease of six, and only 11 women were elected. Additionally, in the February 2006 elections, 12 women were elected - an increase of one, with one woman elected as a Metropolitan Assembly Member (MAM).
Table 3.3 District Chief Executives Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>110 District Chief Executives</th>
<th>1997</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2006</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of the 21 Cabinet Ministerial posts in Ghana, only two were women from 1997 to 2000. In 2004, there were no women in cabinet positions and with only two women as Deputy Regional Ministers in Greater Accra and Eastern Regions respectively. At the time of writing this thesis another election was due to take place.

Table 3.4: Cabinet Ministerial Posts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cabinet Posts</th>
<th>1997</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2004</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.5: Regional Ministers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regional Ministers</th>
<th>1997</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2004</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The research conducted by Accra Daily Mail (2006) emphasised the lack of women in leadership positions as representative of low women’s participation in Ghanaian politics in general.

3.12 Summary

Chapter three has presented an overview of Ghana’s turbulent history through four distinct phases. First, the Ancient Ghana Empire. Second, the pre-colonial period when Europeans arrived on the Gold Coast. Third, the colonial period when the slave trade was at its peak with enormous negative impacts echoes through to today which are reflected in PANAFEST. Fourth, the period from independence in 1957 to today. The chapter has discussed the position of women in Ghanaian society through these phases. The impact of the British colonial powers on the people and their culture – especially their
attitudes towards women – cannot be underestimated. Once-proud Ghanaian women were forced into subservience through legislation banishing them into the domestic realm. Independence, and President Nkrumah, brought affirmative action to restore women to their rightful position, i.e. one of equality with men. However women in Ghana, especially professional women, are still fighting male hegemony for equality through a range of women’s organisations and groups. Tourism, which has been prioritised as a sector for economic development by GOG, has been identified as particularly suitable for women’s employment by the World Tourism Organisation. The case study of PANAFEST which unfolds in chapter seven will explore whether this is rhetoric or reality for Ghanaian women.
## CHAPTER FOUR

### THEORETICAL APPROACH

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CHAPTER FOUR

THEORETICAL APPROACH

4.1 Introduction

Chapter one outlined the contradictory positions of the apparently all-powerful Akan Queen Mothers shown in photographs of PANAFEST. In these photographs women are featured in the background with the exception of the Akan Queen Mothers who, despite being the king-makers sit in the shadow of the king or chief. Chapter two discussed feminism as a lens through which to explore this contradiction and identified post-modern feminism and its promotion of social harmony through gender equality as appropriate to this study. Chapter three provided an overview of Ghana’s turbulent history and emphasised women’s relegation to domestic obscurity and into the background in public life. This chapter aims to develop a research design for this study, which will enable the construction of a deep understanding of the discourses that inform the power dynamics in Akan society. This chapter will discuss the theoretical approach to the research that will underpin the methodological considerations which will be discussed in chapter five.
4.2 Research design

Crotty offers a useful model to inform research design defining four levels of question, which a researcher needs to be able to answer (see Figure 4.1). Crotty’s (2003: 3) questions are:

- What methods do we propose to use?
- What methodology governs our choice and use of methods?
- What theoretical perspective lies behind the methodology in question?
- What epistemology informs this theoretical perspective?

**Figure 4.1: Overview of research design (Crotty, 2003: 4)**

![Diagram showing the relationships between Epistemology, Theoretical Perspective, Methodology, and Methods.](image-url)
Crotty (2003) argued that epistemology and theoretical perspective comprise the theoretical approach, while methodology and methods together form the practical approach. Crotty (2003) further explained that the theoretical approach is more fixed and the practical approach is more flexible and responds to the particular research objective that governs a particular research study. This chapter will consider the theoretical approach and the next chapter the practical approach.

### 4.2.1 Epistemology and ontology

As explained by Crotty (2003: 3) epistemology is: ‘*The theory of knowledge embedded in the theoretical perspective and thereby in the methodology*’. Crotty (2003) and Bryman and Bell (2007) argue that ontology is the nature of knowledge - what one knows. Ontology sits close to epistemology - together they are about what one knows and how one knows it – they form a paradigm.

Bryman and Bell identify four paradigms for the study of organisations: functionalist; interpretative; radical humanist; radical structuralist. Arguably, this study has adopted a radical humanist paradigm, i.e. it explores ‘*a social arrangement from which individuals need to be emancipated*’ (Bryman and Bell, 2007: 26). In this case the social arrangement is the male hegemony prevalent in Ghana which has negative impacts on the empowerment of women.
The paradigmatic position selected in any research study is important as it informs the way in which the research problem is framed and therefore approached.

_Epistemology asks how do I know the world. What is the relationship between the inquirer and the known? Every epistemology ... implies an ethical-moral stand towards the world and the self of the researcher_ (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 157)

In the case of this research the ethical-moral stand is one of postmodern feminism as discussed in chapter two. The use of ‘self’ as a research tool is an important part of this research and will be discussed in detail below.

In Crotty’s model it is not easy to see how feminism fits into the theoretical approach. Bryman and Bell (2007: 29) have a model similar to Crotty’s model which introduces another influence on research, i.e. values which ‘reflect either the personal beliefs or the feelings of a researcher’ (see Figure 4.2). Consideration of values does help to show how feminism fits into the study, i.e. that it reflects the researcher’s values. Bryman and Bell (2007) emphasised the influence of an author’s biography on research values and the influence of values on the choice of research subject and the research process.
Figure 4.2: Influences on business research

[Bryman and Bell, 2007: 30]

Bryman and Bell (2007) debated the validity of value-laden research arguing that feminist research cannot be considered value-free but has to be replaced by ‘conscious partiality’ (Mies, 1993 cited in Bryman and Bell, 2007: 31). I find the phrase conscious partiality helpful in the context of this thesis because I need to remind myself throughout my research of my personal values and relationship with the research topic and the potential for bias.

The major research tool which I will use in this research is that of ‘self’ within an auto-ethnographic approach (Hickey and Austin, 2008). As
an Akan woman I can strongly identify with many Akan women marginalised in the name of culture and tradition in Ghana. My personal experience as an Akan woman has helped me to understand the traditional, cultural and the social norms of Akan society that determine the social and public advancement of Akan women in Ghana.

Auto-ethnography uses self as a social research tool and determines the socio-political orientation of a study and the research topic, question, aims, objective and approach (Hickey and Austin, 2008). Auto-ethnography recognises self as a social force formed through a range of social processes engaged with critical consciousness raising activity in terms of gender, race and class as socially formative constructions. Social researchers use pedagogy (auto-ethnography or new ethnography) to provoke emancipatory consciousness and to discuss social phenomena. Moreover, auto-ethnography opens possibilities for the development of a critical reflexivity within the senses of the self and agency of the world (Hickey and Austin, 2008).

*The surrounding of the human world helps to understand terms of the social processes mediating between the lived experiences and the material realities of individuals, organizations and societies under investigation.*

(Hickey and Austin, 2008: 2)

Hickey and Austin (2008: 3) go on to explain:

*Furthermore, auto ethnography is a method for critically engaging the self as a socially construct ... challenging the operation of the marginalization.*

(Hickey and Austin, 2008: 3)
Thus, in this study I will use myself as a research tool on the role and involvement of Akan Queen Mothers in Akan society through a case study of PANAFEST festival celebrations to enhance understanding of the social constructs that underpin Ghanaian society and to challenge the marginalization of women in Ghanaian society. Selection of an auto-ethnographic approach and the use of self as a research tool resonates with my personal history and how it has informed my research journey as explained in chapter one and how in turn this has influenced not only my choice of research topic but also the way that I have approached it.

4.2.2 Theoretical perspective

*The philosophical stance informing the methodology and thus providing a context for the process and grounding its logic and criteria.*

(Crotty, 2003:3)

The theoretical perspective adopted in this study is interpretivism, described by Bryman and Bell (2007: 19) as requiring ‘the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action’. In this study the discourse underpinning the actions played out by the various actors in the case study of PANAFEST will enable a deep understanding of the power dynamics around gender that underpin Akan society.

Crotty (2003) identified three approaches to interpretivism: phenomenology, symbolic interactionism and hermeneutics. I will
select phenomenology as my interpretivist approach. As Smith (2003) explains phenomenology is about interpreting lived experiences. Smith (2003) affirms that phenomenology situates itself and relates to key disciplines such as ontology, epistemology, logic and ethics to give meaning to an individual’s experiences of the world through their senses. As Haralambos and Holborn (1991: 807) argue - “individuals only come to the world through their senses, touch, smell, hearing, sight and taste”.

Crotty (2003: 78) argues that phenomenology allows human beings to revisit their consciousness to understand their experienced lives and world by making meanings through personal interpretation, as well as presenting the phenomena under question through personal lenses:

*Phenomenology suggests that, if we lay aside, as best we can, the prevailing understandings of those phenomena and revisit our immediate experience of them, possibilities for new meaning emerge for us or witness at least an authentication and enhancement of former meaning.*

Having collected rich descriptions of the life experiences of the various stakeholders and their interaction with PANAFEST I want to interpret these different perspectives to explore the discourses underpinning the power dynamics of Akan society.

### 4.2.3 Methodology

*The strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcomes*

(Crotty, 2003: 3)
In this study a naturalistic, situated approach is required so that the actions of the various actors in their natural settings can be interpreted. In this research a case study of PANAFEST will be undertaken to provide a context in which to explore the cultural politics, which inform the roles adopted by the various stakeholders. The design of the case study will be discussed in more detail in chapter five.

### 4.2.4 Methods

Crotty (2003: 3) explains that methods are: ‘*The techniques or procedures used to gather and analyse data related to some research question or hypothesis*’. A number of different methods are used to inform the case study of PANAFEST and will be explained in detail in chapter five.

### 4.3 Post-modern feminism

Post-modern feminism seeks answers to promote social and economic change for marginalised people through promoting social harmony (Crotty, 2003). Chapter two of this thesis discussed feminism and suggested the appropriateness of a post-modern feminist perspective promoting gender equality and more importantly social harmony that seeks that both genders co-exist. I will try to always be mindful throughout this study of the conscious partiality advised by Bryman.
and Bell (2007) and will not put words into the mouths of the stakeholders I interview or to over-interpret their words. What I will do is to probe their statements to try to gain an enhanced understanding of their lived experiences. The various stakeholders involved in PANAFEST each have different perspectives and there is no one truth as explored below.

4.3.1 Multiple perspectives and interpretations

Different stakeholders were used to gather data on the position and the role of Akan women in festival celebrations and contributed to the collection of rich, thick data. These included well-educated men and women as well as informally-educated people from three different PANAFEST festival destinations in Ghana. Each stakeholder has different perspectives and interpretations, which provide multiple perspectives and interpretations of the cultural politics underpinning the behaviours of the various actors in PANAFEST. The various stakeholders included office workers, from both the private and the public sectors - women's organisations, journalists and small-scale business men and women, secondary school teachers and university lecturers. Other stakeholders who participated included representatives from the Ghana Tourist Board, Ghana Investment Centre and the Ghana Cultural Centre and from the PANAFEST Foundation in Accra and Cape Coast.
4.3.2 ‘No one truth’

Crotty (2003) argued that there is no single definition for post-modernism but that it is a clear rejection of what modernism stands for and an overturning of the foundations on which it rests.

\[\text{Post-modernism refuses all semblances of the totalising and essentialist orientations of modernist systems of thought. Where modernism purports to base itself on generalised, indubitable truths about the way things really are, post-modernism abandons the entire epistemology basis for any such claims to truth.} \]  
\[(\text{Crotty, 2003:185})\]

There does however seem to be a consensus that post-modernism is based on the premise that there is no one truth and rejects the concept of an absolute truth (Becvar and Becvar, 2003). Gonzalez (1994 cited in Becvar and Becvar, 2003) argued that people inhabit different ‘realities’ that are socially constructed and therefore may vary dramatically across cultures, times and context.

Becvar and Becvar (2003) argued further that post-modern researchers no longer rely on the outcome of empirical research as they believe this does not represent the ‘real world’, which may produce only partial images that are more or less useful to the phenomenon under study.

\[\text{Therefore, in a post-modern philosophy, a qualitative research approach is used, the belief in an objective world is rejected and nothing is value free.} \]  
\[(\text{Van NieKerk, 2005: 60})\]

Becvar and Becvar (2003) assert that post-modernists use the term deconstruction in the sense of the deconstruction of established notions
by delineating the ideologies, assumptions and values on which they rest and further explain that there are various theoretical stances that reflect a post-modern epistemology and are grouped under terms including ‘social constructionism’ which is adopted in this study.

4.4 Constructing an interpretation of discourses underpinning the power dynamics of gender in Akan society

In interpreting the reactions of the participants in the study to their lived experiences of PANAFEST I want to focus on the meaning of power and culture in Akan society and to construct an interpretation of the social constructs and power dynamics underpinning gender issues and to present an explanation of the discourse.

Every individual is born into an objective social structure within which he encounters the significance of others who are in charge of his socialization. These significant others are imposed on him. Their definitions of his situation are posited for him as objective reality. He is thus born into not only an objective social structure but also an objective social world. The significant others who mediate this world to him modify it in the course of mediating it. They select aspects of it in accordance with their own location in the social structure, and also by virtue of their individual, biographically rooted idiosyncrasies

(Berger and Luckman, 1966:151)

These generic ideas carry through into Akan society. Every Akan individual is born into an objective social structure and is socialized by significant others into an objective reality. Thus, Akan individuals have to abide by rules and regulations of Akan society into which they are born into and respect its traditional, cultural and social norms. In a nutshell, the people of the Akan society are socially constructed.
I want to use social constructionism (Burr, 1995; Crotty, 2003) to understand how Akan society is socially constructed. Boghossian (2006) argues that social constructionism is used as an epistemology and not an explanatory theory and is an approach which can be used to focus on meaning and power. It aims to account for the ways in which phenomena are socially constructed. The phenomena under study, i.e. the role and the involvement of Akan Queen Mothers in Ghanaian society as explored through the case study of PANAFEST, is socially constructed and evidences the meaning and power underpinning Akan society, especially in terms of how women, and the Akan Queen Mothers in particular, are perceived by the Akan society in Ghana.

Burr (1995) in her work on social constructionism identifies four basic assumptions of the social constructionist position:

- A critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge - the world does not present itself objectively to the observer, but is known through human experience, which is largely influenced by language.
- Historical and cultural specificity - the categories in the language used to classify things emerge from the social interaction within a group of people at a particular time and in a particular place. Categories of understanding are situational.
- Knowledge is sustained by social process - how reality is understood at a given moment is determined by the conventions of
communication in force at that time. The stability of social life determines how concrete our knowledge seems to be.

- Knowledge and social action go together - reality is socially constructed by interconnected patterns of communication behaviour. Within a social group or culture, reality is defined not so much by individual acts, but by complex and organized patterns of ongoing actions.

4.5 Critical Inquiry - challenging conventional interpretations

Crotty (2003) defines critical inquiry as a lens that enables the exploration of the relationship between power and culture. Crotty (2003) identifies six areas in which critical inquiry can help to challenge conventional interpretations:

- By urging the questioning of common-held values and assumptions;
- By challenging conventional social structures;
- By spotlighting power relationships in society to expose the forces of hegemony and injustice;
- By offering a new way of understanding and taking effective action to combat oppression and manipulation of the social system;
- By not being viewed as a discrete piece of action;
• By aiming to become a just and free, equitable society that has perfect political and social conditions to prevent oppression and manipulation of the social system.

4.6 Research design considerations

The following sections outline the considerations which informed my research design as will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

4.6.1 A qualitative approach

My study uses a qualitative research design to achieve rich and thick authentic descriptions of the position and roles of Akan women, the Akan Queen Mothers in particular, in festival celebrations in relation to tourism development in Ghana. This approach has the potential of dealing with the complexity of presenting the reality of the lived experiences of PANAFEST stakeholders. A qualitative research design would provide open-ended situations and set up research opportunities which hopefully would lead to unforeseen areas of discovery about the lives of the women of the Akan society I investigated (Holliday, 2002).

*The qualitative belief that the realities of the research setting and the people in it are mysterious and can only be superficially touched by research which tries to make sense and interpret it findings*

(Holliday, 2002: 5)
4.6.2 A naturalistic, situated approach

My study is based on naturalistic inquiry. Lincoln and Guba (1985) assert it is crucial to understand the way that the naturalistic paradigm differs from, and even conflicts with, the positivistic paradigm through five axioms (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Contrasting the Positivist and Naturalistic Paradigms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axioms About</th>
<th>Positivist Paradigm</th>
<th>Naturalistic Paradigm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The nature of reality.</td>
<td>Reality is single, tangible and fragmentable.</td>
<td>Realities are multiple, constructed and holistic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The relationship of knower to the known.</td>
<td>Knower and known are independent, a dualism.</td>
<td>Knower and known are interactive, inseparable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The possibility of generalization.</td>
<td>Time-and context-free generalizations (nomothetic statements) are possible.</td>
<td>Only time-and context bound working hypotheses (idiographic statements) are possible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The possibility of causal linkages.</td>
<td>There are real causes, temporally precedent to or simultaneous with their effects.</td>
<td>All entities are in a state of mutual simultaneous shaping, so that it is impossible to distinguish causes from effects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The role of values.</td>
<td>Inquiry is value-free.</td>
<td>Inquiry is value-bound.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Adapted from Lincoln and Guba, 1985]

Realities are multiple, constructed and holistic

As already discussed, this research study will gather data from multiple PANAFEST stakeholders, each with their own interpretation of the PANAFEST phenomenon and explanation of the actions of the different actors.
Knower and known are interactive, inseparable

Whilst positivism asserts the independence of knower and known, naturalistic enquiry emphasises that they are interactive and inseparable. In collecting the data I interacted with the participants. How my role in eliciting information from them, and the way I probed to understand more, influenced their interpretation of the PANAFEST phenomenon cannot be ignored.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) define ethnography as “a descriptive account of social life and culture in a particular social system based on detailed observations of what people actually do”. Crotty (2003: 76) defined ethnography as “putting oneself in the place of the ‘other’ and seeing things from the perspective of ‘others’”.

Ethnography as a form of research in which the social settings to be studied, however familiar to the researcher, must be treated as anthropologically strange; and the task is to document the culture – the perspectives and practices – of the people in these settings. The aim is to ‘get inside’ the way each group of people sees the world.

(Hammersley, 1995: 152)

Thus ethnography can provide an in-depth understanding of culture:

Culture is not to be called into question; it is not to be criticised, least of all by someone from another culture. Instead, one is to observe is as closely as possible, attempt to take the place of those within the culture, and search out the insiders’s perspective. Herein lies the origin of ethnography, born to anthropology but adopted (and adapted) by sociology.

(Crotty, 2003:76)
Hall (2001) argued that ethnography seeks to describe nations of people with their customs, habits and points of difference and described a variety of data collection techniques which rely on prolonged and intensive interaction between the researcher and his/her subjects of research.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 1) argue that ethnography primarily refers to a particular method or sets of methods, which involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's lives for an extended period of time. The ethnographer watches what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions, and collecting whatever data are available to throw more light on the issues that are the focus of the research (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995: 1).

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) mention that ethnographic methodologies vary and some ethnographers advocate the use of structured observation schedules by which one may code observed behaviours or cultural artefacts for purposes of later statistical analysis. Ethnography is subjective rather than scientific social science research method. To validate the research findings and result, as well as avoiding subjectiveness of the use of the self as a research tool, the study use a multiple research approach eg individual interviews and focus group discussion at three PANAFEST festival destinations for the data gathering (see chapter five – sections 5.3.5 and 5.3.6).
I cannot, and would not want to, ignore the fact that I am a Ghanaian which makes me an ‘insider’ in relation to researching into the lives and roles of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations in relation to tourism development. In addition, I also see myself as an ‘outsider’ in my role as a social researcher reading for a PhD in the United Kingdom. Being both an ‘insider’ and an ‘outsider’ provides me with two different perspectives through which to look at how the world perceives the position of women in general. Despite being an insider, I am also to some extent an outsider having lived away from Ghana for several years and therefore am able to look at the prevailing cultural politics more dispassionately. With qualitative approaches, the emphasis is placed upon studying things in their natural settings, interpreting phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them, humanising problems and gaining an ‘emic’ or insider’s perspective” (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004).

Only time-bound and context-bound working hypotheses
(idiographic statements) are possible

The explanations of the discourse underpinning the relationships between power and culture which I will expose in this case study will only apply as far as the boundary of the case study. They cannot be seen to generalize beyond the boundary of the case study and therefore understanding of where the boundary is around the case study is
critical. This study is of Akan society through the lens of PANAFEST and therefore the conclusions drawn from the study relate to Akan society and cannot be generalized beyond Akan society. However the conclusion may form an important basis for comparative studies with other African cultures.

How cause and effect operate in Akan society is not really the issue. The male hegemony of Akan society results from the way that men and women behave. One cannot blame the prevailing cultural politics on men as women are also part of the problem. Radical feminism, as discussed in chapter two, would replace a patriarchy with a matriarchy to create a gender-oppressive cycle. As discussed this is not the solution to Akan society’s problems. At the end of chapter two I suggested that a solution to the problem might be long-term education of boys and girls to jointly accept responsibility for their behaviours and to work towards the goal of gender equality and social harmony. Such education would help the Akan to understand how cause and effect cannot be distinguished and that there is a joint responsibility on men and women to reflect on their attitudes and behaviours particularly in relation to the gendering process with their children.
4.6.3 Ethical issues – the vulnerability of participants

Wimmer and Dominick (2000) define ethics as a social research decision that determines the culture within which a researcher is working. The cultural behaviour of the people under study that is judged to be wrong in one culture may be judged differently by a researcher from another culture. Wimmer and Dominick (2000: 68) argue further that:

One of the ways that ethical norms of a culture may be established is through the creation of codes of behaviour or of good conduct that spell out what is good or wrong, or of what most researchers in the field think are desirable or undesirable.

The issue of the potential vulnerability of the participants cannot be ignored. This was a particularly important consideration in relation to interactions with informally-educated participants. Different approaches were used to overcome the potential vulnerability of informally-educated participants.

- Focus groups were used rather than individual interviews so the participants could support each other.

- The language in which the focus group discussions were conducted was the local language, i.e. Akan, rather than English. I am an Akan speaker and therefore it was possible for me to do this without having to have an interpreter present, which might have impacted adversely on the participants.
• The careful selection of settings for the focus group discussions, i.e. the informal settings of the canteen in the offices of the Ghana New Agency, the conference room of the Cape Coast Cultural Centre and the Elimina marketplace.

• The management of the focus group discussions. In some of the mixed group discussions, I observed that the women were very unwilling to share their experiences for fear of intimidation by the men present. Having observed this in each of the PANAFEST destinations I ran single gender focus groups as well as mixed focus groups.

• No participants below the age of 18 (i.e. children) were allowed to take part in the focus group discussions.

My obvious care for the welfare of the group participants prevented them from withdrawing and encouraged their participation in the data gathering on the position of the Akan Queen Mothers. However, the potential vulnerability of participants of the study is well addressed in detail in chapter five (see section 5.6 ethical considerations).

4.7 Summary

This chapter has explored the theoretical approach of this study, i.e. its epistemological stance and theoretical perspective. The study involves a
number of stakeholders and recognises that each stakeholder has his/her own unique perspective on PANFEST as a result of different lived experiences and thus there are multiple perspectives. To make any sense of this I will have to interpret these different perspectives to construct a meaningful explanation of the social constructs underpinning cultural politics in Akan society.

I will use critical inquiry to challenge conventional social structures and highlight power relationships in society and expose the forces of hegemony and injustice. I have decided to collect qualitative data to provide rich descriptions of stakeholder reactions to PANAFEST. Recognising the potential vulnerability of many of the research participants I will take particular care in my interactions with them, e.g. using focus groups with informally-educated participants and being careful in relation to setting up mixed gender focus groups. The next chapter will discuss the detail of the practical approach to the study and the methodology and methods selected to collect the rich qualitative data.
# CHAPTER FIVE

## PRACTICAL APPROACH

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CHAPTER FIVE

PRACTICAL APPROACH

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the detail of the research methodology developed to investigate the paradox of the Akan Queen Mothers and will explore the methodology and methods comprising the practical approach. A case study methodology was adopted which took the form of an embedded case study of the Akan Queen Mothers through the lens of PANAFEST with three embedded units of analysis, i.e. three PANFEST destinations – Accra, Cape Coast and Elimina. The case study is informed by data from a number of different sources of evidence – archival records, interviews, focus groups and document analysis.

5.2 Developing a case study of the Akan Queen Mothers

The decision to settle for case study research strategy was guided by the fact that it can help to understand complex social phenomena (Yin, 2003). Case study research strategy Yin (2003) maintained, allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events, such as individual life cycles, organisational and managerial processes, neighbourhood change, international relations
and the maturation of industries (Yin, 2003). Case studies along with histories are useful for answering how and why questions (see Table 5.1).

### Table 5.1: Research strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Form of Research Question</th>
<th>Requires control of behavioural events?</th>
<th>Focuses on Contemporary Events?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Experiment</td>
<td>How, why?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>Who, where, how, how many, how much?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes/No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival analysis</td>
<td>Who, where, how, how many, how much?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes/No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>How, why?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case Study</td>
<td>How, why?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Source – COSMOS Corporation cited Yin, 2003:5]

Yin (2003: 13) defines a case study as:

> an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.

Stoeker (1991) argued that case study is neither a data collection tactic nor merely a design feature alone but a comprehensive research strategy. Yin expanded on this and stated:

> case study as a research strategy comprises an all-encompassing method – covering the logic of design, data collection techniques, and specific approaches to data analysis.

(Yin, 2003: 14)
A distinct advantage of a case study is that it comprises multiple methods to corroborate the same fact or phenomenon (Sieber, 1973; Guba, 1978; Lincoln & Guba, 1981; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) and so automatically builds in triangulation to the research methodology. Lincoln and Guba (1985) assert that triangulation is important to verify the validity or credibility of research (Denzin, 1978; Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

*Once two or more measurement processes have confirmed a proposition, the uncertainty of its interpretation is greatly reduced. Triangulation is the most persuasive evidence comes through a triangulation of measurement processes*

*(Lincoln and Guba, 1981:306)*

Yin (2003) cites six main sources of evidence for developing case studies: documentation; archival records; interviews; direct observation; participant-observation; physical artefacts, among a potentially long list of sources of evidence including films, photographs, videotapes and projective techniques. Archival records, documents, open-ended interviews and focus group interviews were used to generate data (see Figure 5.1). This multi-method approach provides opportunities for triangulation and minimises uncertainties in interpretation.
Figure 5.1: Convergence and non-convergence of evidence

[Source: COSMOS Corporation, 1983 cited Yin, 2003: 100]

Yin (2003) used a 2 x 2 matrix to identify four types of case study design: single case (holistic) design; single-case (embedded) design; multiple-case (holistic) design; multiple-case (embedded) design (see Figure 5.2).
In this study I will use a single-case (embedded) explanatory case study design in which the context of the study is Akan society in Ghana and the goal of the study is to develop a rich understanding of the cultural politics which underpin Akan society and explain the paradox of the Akan Queen Mothers. The specific case is that of PANAFEST and how the Akan Queen Mothers are represented in it at the various PANAFEST destinations. The embedded units of analysis are the three PANAFEST destinations: Accra, Cape Coast and Elimina (see Figure 5.3).

[Source: COSMOS Corporation cited Yin, 2003: 40]
Figure 5.3: The design of the case study of the Akan Queen Mothers in Ghana through the lens of PANAFEST at three PANAFEST destinations

CONTEXT
AKAN QUEEN MOTHERS OF GHANA

CASE
PANAFEST

EMBEDDED UNIT OF ANALYSIS 1

Accra

EMBEDDED UNIT OF ANALYSIS 2

Cape Coast

EMBEDDED UNIT OF ANALYSIS 3

Elimina
5.3 **Data collection**

5.3.1 **Secondary data collection**

I used two major sources of data collection for this thesis, i.e. secondary data and primary data. In the early stages of the research I used secondary data sources to gather information to substantiate what I believed I knew about the position of the Queen Mothers in Akan society, i.e. to make my tacit knowledge explicit (Lincoln and Guba, 1981; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Giddens, 1989; Haralambos and Holborn, 1991). Some particularly valuable secondary sources included books, especially those written by Boahen (1964), Schwimmer (1995), Bartle (1995), Buah (1998), Stoeltje (2003) and Ardayfio-Schandorf & Kwafo-Akoto (1990). Also useful was the National Tourism Development Plant for Ghana (1996-2010) (Ghana Ministry of Tourism, 1996)

5.3.2 **Primary data collection**

As mentioned above, in this study I used documents, archival records, open-ended interviews and focus group interviews to generate data. These will be discussed in turn below.
5.3.3 Documents

Documents consulted to gather information on the position on Ghanaian women included mass media products – notably the Ghanaian daily newspapers (both government and private). I also used government and private documents on tourism development in Ghana including documents from the National Investment Promotion Centre, PANAFEST brochures and some carefully-selected Internet materials.

5.3.4 Archival Records

Unfortunately, there were no archival records on the position of the Akan Queen Mothers in relation to tourism development and management in Ghana. There was only one archival record I could lay my hands on and that was a video clip on the role of the Akan Queen Mothers in the traditional political Akan Chieftaincy system. I had to pay for a copy to be made by one of the librarians in the University of Ghana in Lagon. This required considerable careful persuasion. I used the video clip on the Akan Queen Mothers in the group interviews as a projective technique to generate discussions (Lilienfield, James and Garb, 2000).
5.3.5 Open-ended interviews

I used an unstructured open-ended interview as a conversational method that develops naturally and the format of which are non-standardised (Lincoln and Guba, 1981; Giddens, 1989; Haralambos and Holborn, 1991; Seale, 1998). This method of interview techniques helped to produce rich in-depth data that covered a wide range of interesting untapped and sometimes unexpected information (Guba and Lincoln, 1981; Giddens, 1989; Haralambos and Holborn, 1991; Seale, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). In addition, I did not seek normative responses; rather, the problem of interest unexpectedly arose from both the individual and group interviewees in reaction to the broad issue I raised (Lincoln & Guba, 1984; Giddens, 1989; Haralambos & Holborn, 1991; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The conversational open-ended unstructured interview I devised helped to unfold a free flow of information, especially surrounding the power and the authority of the Akan Queen Mothers.

Conversational analysis is the study of human interactions in everyday life situations which can be either verbal or non-verbal. It aims to describe the orderliness, structure and sequential patterns of interaction in social and political organisation, deemed as casual conversation (ten Have, 1999). ten Have (1999) asserted that conversational analysis is an approach to the study of social interaction.
that focuses on practices of speaking that recur across a range of contexts and natural settings.

This study used conversational open-ended interview to determine an emerging comparative perspective to demonstrate how the structure of talk from the individual interviews and the focus group discussion inflected by the natural settings within which the conversational operated.

5.3.6 Focus Group Interviews

Focus group interviews are widely accepted as a method to reveal rich qualitative data for social science researchers (Oates, 2000; Wimmer and Dominick, 2000; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). Focus group interviews are a research strategy, which helps to understand audience attitudes and behaviours. It requires six to twelve participants who are interviewed simultaneously, with a moderator’s guiding interview structure (Wimmer & Dominick, 2000). In this study I did not use a structured format to ensure I did not intimidate my interviewees. My questions were relatively straightforward and I knew where I was trying to get to with them so I preferred to work without a guide and to let the natural flow of conversation unfold prompting my participants for ever deeper explanations of what they told me. The group interactions in the focus group interviews enabled the individuals in the group to draw
information from each other, to react to the responses of others and to compare experiences and perceptions (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004; Berg, 1998; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990). They were also to break down the researcher-researched power relationship (Krueger, 1994; Berg, 1998; Cunningham-Burley, 1999; Oates 2002; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004):

*As a group interaction partly replaces the interviewer-interviewee relationship found in individual interviewing, a greater emphasis can be given to participants’ viewpoints ... giving more weights to participants’ ways of understanding, their language and what they feel is important* (Oates, 2002: 187)

The advantages of focus group interviews are that they are very flexible, time efficient, very cost-effective and have the potential of using visual stimuli (e.g. the video clip for elaboration) (Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990; Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). Group interviews empower participants and encourage a more collaborative process of knowledge production as well as exploring how participants value and define key concepts in their own words, especially in their local dialect or language (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990; Phillimore & Goodson, 2004).

Among the disadvantages of focus group interviews are that: they do not take place in natural settings; dominant individuals may bias the result of the findings, the moderator as researcher may influence the participants and therefore they need to be managed by a very skilled moderator. More importantly, the small numbers of participants for the group interviews may limit the ability to generalise to a wider
population (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). I was able to overcome some of these disadvantages, others I was not. For example, I convened the focus groups as far as possible in natural settings in which my participants would not feel uncomfortable. The market in Elimina, for example, is such a setting. I was not able in some of the mixed focus groups to overcome the issue of dominant individuals – mainly men. However I ran single gender focus groups in addition to the mixed focus groups which circumvented this problem.

5.3.7 **Purposive Sampling Strategy**

According to Wimmer and Dominick (2000) sampling is the process by which a subset or sample of a population representative of the entire population is selected. In identifying a purposive sample for the focus group interviews I had criteria for inclusion and exclusion. I included only people over 18 years of age and excluded children from the focus groups. I therefore decided to go for purposive sampling, because it is a sample with a purpose in mind and with specific predefined individuals meeting the criteria for including in the sample (Trochim, 2006). In addition, I decided on purposive sample because it would enable me to reach my target group as quickly as possible (Trochim, 2006).

As an insider/outsider I was faced with the problem of recruitment, especially how to get people to participate in the focus group interviews
as I had lost touch with people since leaving Ghana to pursue higher education in the UK. My biggest challenge was in Accra, the capital of Ghana, which is a cosmopolitan city and where it is very difficult to identify who is an Akan speaker. Trying to identify who is an Akan for the data collection proved to be a big challenge since the language used in market transactions was either Ga or Akan/Twi, which most residents in the capital speak and understand. Faced with the problem of identifying true Akans, I asked a former colleague from GNA to help. She, with her public relations skills went to the market, which is not too far from GNA and recruited informally-educated men and women for the study.

In Cape Coast an official of the Cape Coast Cultural Centre helped me to recruit the participants for the focus group from the Centre. The focus group was convened in the conference room in the Centre. The Centre thus represented a natural setting as the focus group participants were regular visitors to the Centre.

In Elimina I went to the marketplace and spoke to a few people and they agreed to be part of the focus group. One focus group was held in the marketplace, the others were held in Elimina Castle.


5.3.8 Snowball sampling strategy

Wimmer and Dominick (2000) defined snowball sampling as a sampling technique that offer an established method for identifying and contacting hidden populations and have the potential to contribute specific phenomenon under investigation.

_A participant refers the researcher to another person who can provide information. This person, in turn, mentions another, and so forth._

_(Wimmer & Dominick, 2000:115)_

Key interviewees were identified as a result of the roles and responsibilities they held in relation to PANAFEST and gender and women and were identified by the gatekeeper. Thus a snowball sampling strategy was adopted to identify these key individuals.

5.3.9 Accessing natural settings in PANAFEST festival celebrations

Many authors comment about the importance of gaining access to interviewees and focus group participants in social research (Williamson, Karp and Dalphin, 1977; Guba and Lincoln, 1981; Wimmer and Dominick, 2000) and emphasise that this often requires persistence and public relations skills to build up a rapport and establish common interest with the participants (Bogdan & Taylor, 1984; Wimmer & Dominick, 2000).
To attempt to gain access into the natural settings of Akan social community in four PANAFEST festival destinations, I identified a gatekeeper in the person of a key individual in the PANAFEST Foundation and I briefed him of the relevance and the importance of the study (Lindolf, 1995; Nueman, 1997; Wimmer & Dominick, 2000). He facilitated access to study participants by phoning potential participants in Cape Coast and Kumasi. The gatekeeper was also able to help me to access other members of the PANAFEST secretariat.

As an insider born and bred in Ghana I had the linguistic advantage of being able to converse in the local Akan language and to understand several other local languages, e.g. Ga, even though I cannot converse in them. This was particularly important with the informally-educated focus group participants. The focus groups in Accra, Cape Coast and Elimina were all conducted in the Akan language. The only complication was in the Accra focus group where the Ga Queen Mother, despite understanding the Akan language insisted on interacting through the Ga language, which fortunately I was able to understand. All of the interviews with the well-educated individuals were conducted in English.

I also had the advantage of understanding the geography of the country which enabled me to undertake planning for the field work. I also understand the traditional socio-cultural norms and the natural
settings where it was important that the focus group interviews took place. This led, for example, to me providing the focus group participants with soft drinks and biscuits during the interview in line with Ghanaian traditional hospitality to incentivize their participation. For many of the well-educated individuals the incentive took the form of a bottle of whiskey.

In addition, as a semi-outsider, having been away from Ghana to study in the UK I felt sufficiently disconnected to be able to probe for deeper meaning behind what people told me in the individual interviews and the focus group interviews.

5.4 Data collection in PANAFEST destinations in Ghana

I undertook interviews and focus group discussions in three PANAFEST destinations: Accra, Cape Coast and Elimina. I had intended to undertake interviews and focus groups in Kumasi as well but due to logistical problems this did not happen. The numbers of participants in each destination are presented in the next paragraphs.

In Accra I was able to conduct individual interviews with 9 people (six men and three women). Thirty-six participants took part in three focus group discussions (see Table 5.2).
Table 5.2: Accra Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Individual interviews</th>
<th>Mixed Focus Group</th>
<th>Male Focus Group</th>
<th>Female Focus Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Cape Coast I was able to interview four people (three men and one woman). Twenty-four participants took part in three focus group discussions (see Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: Cape Coast Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Individual interviews</th>
<th>Mixed Focus Group</th>
<th>Male Focus Group</th>
<th>Female Focus Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Elimina I was able to interview one man. Twenty-four participants took part in two focus group discussions (see Table 5.4). Unfortunately, a third focus group discussion in Elimina involving only women could not take place because my visit to Elimina coincided with market day. It was difficult to convince the women to leave their market stalls and to contribute to the research. Obviously, to them selling their
wares in the market was their main source of income and therefore of prime importance to them and their families.

**Table 5.4: Elimina Interviews and Focus Group Discussions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Individual interviews</th>
<th>Mixed Focus Group</th>
<th>Male Focus Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unfortunately, due to technical problems the trip to Kumasi was cancelled for unforeseen circumstances. I was only able to interview one well-educated individual from Kumasi but he was interviewed in Accra.

The reason for conducting a women-only group discussion was to allow space and time to allow women to express their experiences without any influence by the male participants (Aidoo, 1984; Ardayfio-Schandorf & Kwafo-Akoto, 1990; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). I observed that women were quieter within a mixed focus group setting than the women in women-only focus groups. The focus group discussions had a major influence on the results of the study because although these less well-educated people lack a formal education, they are very knowledgeable on the traditional cultural and social practices that underpin the myths
around the Akan Queen Mothers and their roles as community leaders in relation to tourism industry and management in Ghana.

Tables 5.5 and 5.6 show the total numbers of people taking part in the interviews and the focus groups.

**Table 5.5: Individual Unstructured Interviews with sixteen Formally-educated Men and Women**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Destinations</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accra</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Coast</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elimina</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumasi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.6: Unstructured Focus Group Interviews with Informally-Educated Men and Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Destinations</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accra</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Coast</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elimina</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumasi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was more difficult to get women to participate in the fieldwork as can be seen by the figures in the tables above. I hoped as a researcher that the nature of the interviews and focus group discussions would shed some light on this reluctance and the reasons for the low participation of women. The emerging theory generated from the raw data on women in Ghana may therefore help throw more light and explain in-depth why Ghanaian women are reluctant to participate in high profile activities in Ghana.

The main question used for this study, “the role and the involvement of Akan women and their Queen Mothers in particular in festival celebrations in Ghana” was not a structured one, rather it was an open-ended question which was followed by supplementary probing questions. As already discussed, the questions were not in any
particular order; this allowed threads of related and similar responses to emerge as to be classified into categories, properties.

5.5 Data Analysis

Strauss and Corbin (1998) defined grounded theory as theories drawn from data. It is very suitable for qualitative research due to its veracity. Social researchers define grounded theory as theory derived from data, systematically gathered and analysed through the research process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Glaser & Strauss, 1995; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). In recent years, grounded theory has marked the key qualitative revolution and critical point in social science history (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Glaser & Strauss, 1995; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Grounded theory offers systematic inductive guidelines for collecting and analyzing data to build theoretical frameworks (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Glaser & Strauss, 1995; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) argued that the grounded theory process consists of four steps:

- Comparative assignment of incidents to categories;
- Elaboration and refinement of categories;
- Searching for relationships and themes among categories;
• Simplifying and integrating data into a coherent theoretical structure.

I used the method of constant comparison to compare and contrast data from the unstructured individual interviews and then focus group interviews from the three PANAFEST destinations. Using the method of constant comparison helped me to organise and categorise all the data gathered on the position of the Akan Queen Mothers in relation to festival and tourism development in Ghana into meaningful key theoretical themes.

I used word processing software to transcribe the interviews and focus groups. The transcribing of the data collection was in two phases. Phase one involved well-educated men and women who spoke in English and therefore there was no problem with transcription. All that I needed to do was to listen to the tape carefully and transcribe them accordingly. However, that cannot be said about the data collected on the focus group discussions because all the groups interviewed were allowed to speak in the Akan language, which I was born into.

Before transcribing the data collected on the focus group discussion, I carefully listened to the tapes several times in order to familiarise myself with and form a general impression about the perceptions, experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings of the
research participants. I then precisely transcribed them from the Akan language into English. As an Akan myself, I decided to avoid the use of a translator, whom I believed would translate blank words without any scientific sense and considerations of the lived experiences of the participants. Translating the field data from the Akan language to English enabled me to understand the data and allowed me to share the lived experiences of the participants. It also allowed me to familiarise myself with their perceptions before getting involved in the process of identifying rich and thick common emerging themes and theories from the collected data. I then numbered the lines of the transcripts (see Appendix 1) and went through the transcripts to note the emerging issues (see Appendices 2 and 3).

Although I had views on the role of women in Ghanaian society, I did not start this study with any preconceived theory but allowed the theories to emerge from the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Glaser & Strauss, 1995; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). There is a potential tension here between the use of a case study and the use of grounded theory. Yin (1994, 13) suggested that a case study “benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis” whereas Glaser & Strauss (1995) insisted that a grounded theory approach should have no pre-conceived ideas or hypothesis.
Grounded theory offered an insight to enhance understanding and provide a meaningful guide to action on women and tourism in Ghana where little is written and information about women is based on oral tradition. This was especially true in the natural setting of how the Ghanaian public perceive women in authority like Queen Mothers of Akan society of Ghana. Theory derived from data is more likely to resemble reality than is theory derived data by putting together a series of concepts based on experience or solely through speculation (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Furthermore, Glaser and Strauss (1995) argue that grounded theory helps to generate conceptual categories or their properties from evidence that eventually is used to illustrate the concept on phenomenon, such as the position of women in Ghana as explored in this study.
Holliday (2002) defines data analysis as the process of making sense of the raw data, sifting, organising, cataloguing and selecting determining themes of processing the data. Holliday (2002) argues that the common way of moving data to the written text is to take data from all parts of
the corpus and arrange it under thematic headings to which a discursive commentary is added to tell the reader which bits of the data are significant and thus to arrive at the argument which gradually unfolds within the thematic structure (see Figure 5.5).

**Figure 5.5: Using data to support argument**

![Diagram showing the process of using data to support argument]

[**SOURCE:** Holliday, 2002: 113]

Strauss and Corbin (1998) argue that thematic analysis focuses on identifiable themes and patterns of living experiences or behaviour of people within a social organisation.

_Thematic Analysis is a conceptual ordering, which refers to the organisation of data into discrete categories or rating according to their properties and dimensions to elucidate those categories_  
(Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 19)

Strauss and Corbin (1998) explained further that making sense out of the data by organising them according to a classification scheme, in which in a process items are identified from the data and are defined according to their various general properties and dimensions. The
corpus of the collected raw data on the role and involvement of Akan women and their Queen Mothers in PANAFEST festival celebrations is arranged and organised in thematic order.

When presenting these dimensional interpretations, researchers are almost certain to present various amounts of descriptive material using a variety of communicative styles.

(Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 19)

This study used triangulation to compare data collected from the three PANAFEST festival destinations, namely, Accra, Cape Coast and Elimina involving sixteen well-educated men and women for the individual interviews and 84 less-educated men and women for the focus group discussions.

Holliday (2002:110) defines coding analysis as determining the heading under which to organise the data to provide a structure within which the researcher can use as discursive commentary to talk about the data within the context of his or her argument adding:

Coding analysis provides the potential, which can be fulfilled only when the researcher shows, in her discussion, how the data interconnects and represents the richness of the social setting from which it has been taken

(Holliday, 2002: 110)

Seale (1998: 146) defined coding as placing likes with likes so that patterns in the data can be found. Coding is therefore the creation of categories in relation to data, grouping together of different instances of datum under one umbrella term that enable the categories of collected data be regarded as the same. Coding “is the first step towards data analysis” (Seale, 1998: 146). Once key categories were found, I counted
the number of times they came up and this help to interpret the findings (see Table 5.7).

**Table 5.7: Emerging theories, Patterns, Categories and Properties**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emerging Themes, Patterns and Categories</th>
<th>Interviews</th>
<th>Focus groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women and festivals</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance of festivals</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media, Women and Society</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Festivals and Male Domination</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women, Education and Financial Empowerment</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural, traditional and social norms</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender equality and tourism development in Ghana</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Nations and the Advancement of Women</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural, Gender Policy and Democracy</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women, politics and societal norms</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism development in Ghana</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women, Sex and Tourism development</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PANAFEST festival and the role of women</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PANAFEST and its Economic Benefits</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PANAFEST, Gender Issues and Media Production</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PANAFEST festival and Sitting Arrangements</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen Mothers and Traditional Political System</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social and family Structure of Akan Society</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Power and Authority Akan Queen Mothers</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Histories of Akan Festivals</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History and Origin of PANAFEST festival</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women Advocacy Groups in Ghana</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I did not use anyone to independently verify the transcribed translations of the group interviews. I have however kept the audio and video recordings in an archive and these could be independently verified if the authenticity of the interviews and the accuracy of the transcribed translations were to be challenged.
5.6  Validity and reliability

Haralambos and Holborn (1991) argue that secondary sources are invaluable however cautioned that their reliability and validity is open to question. To ensure reliability and validity of this study, I decided to use primary data collection to support the secondary sources (Glaser & Strauss, 1995; Seale, 1998; Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Wimmer & Dominick, 2000; Crotty, 2003) and to ensure the richness of the data.

The decision to use both unstructured individual and focus group interviews was to balance the limit of generalisation and skew of the result (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004) as well as to ensure the validity and reliability of my study. The unstructured interviews were able to draw out the data in a way which was meaningful to the participants and thus was able to ensure internal validity and contextual understanding (Yin, 2003; Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). The reason to use the different PANAFEST locations for data collection was to increase the richness of the study and also to delve deeper into the unveiled traditional and cultural mysteries surrounding the power and authority bestowed on the Queen Mothers in Akan society (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1998; Wimmer and Dominick, 2000; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004).
Yin (2003) argues that the best criteria for determining the quality of research is to use logical tests that include concepts, such as trustworthiness, credibility, confirmability and data dependability and that four tests are used to establish the quality of data. The four tests are: construct validity; internal validity; external validity; reliability. Table 5.8 shows tactics for each of these tests. In terms of construct validity in this research I used archival records, documents and interviews/focus groups at three PANAFEST destinations as multiple sources of evidence to provide construct validity. I rehearsed various explanations with the participants in the interviews and the focus groups to ensure the internal validity of the data. The extent of generalizability of the results of this study of the Queen Mothers in Akan society is beyond the scope of this study but future comparative research using the results of this work as a basis for comparison would be able to establish the generalizability beyond the current research context. Reliability comes from the case study protocol I adopted and the case study database I generated in the data collection phase from the three PANAFEST destinations.
Table 5.8: Case Study Tactics for Four Design Tests (Yin, 2003:34)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test</th>
<th>Case Study Tactic</th>
<th>Phase of Research in which tactic occurs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Construct Validity</td>
<td>Uses multiple sources of evidence.</td>
<td>Data collection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Establish a chain of evidence.</td>
<td>Data collection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Have key informants review draft case study report.</td>
<td>Composition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal validity</td>
<td>Do pattern-matching.</td>
<td>Data analysis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Do explanation-building.</td>
<td>Data analysis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Address rival explanations.</td>
<td>Data analysis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Use logic models.</td>
<td>Data analysis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External validity</td>
<td>Use theory in single case studies.</td>
<td>Research design.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Use replication logic study in multiple case studies.</td>
<td>Research design.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reliability</td>
<td>Use case study protocol.</td>
<td>Data collection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Develop case study database.</td>
<td>Data collection.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Source: COSMOS Corporation, 1983 cited Yin, 2003: 34]

5.7 Ethical considerations

Wimmer and Dominick (2000) contend that the aim of ethics in social research is to protect the rights of respondents and ensure that these rights are not violated. A key principal in social research relates to the issue of informed consent from respondents (Guba and Lincoln, 1981; Wimmer and Dominick, 2000). Much social science research relies on the goodwill and co-operation of respondents and it is important to protect them from unethical practices. The study adopts a relativist approach arguing that there is no absolute right or wrong way of behaviour and that the cultural environment in which the researcher is
operating should drive the ethical decisions made (Wimmer and Dominick, 2000).

Letters were dispatched from United Kingdom to identified individuals within the government and private organisations in the field of tourism and culture, investment promotion centres and women organisations (see Appendix 1). The letters included full information about the research, including why and how the individual had been chosen to participate. The letters also explained the purpose of the study and emphasised that the study was purely for academic purposes and that individual identities, organisations, agencies and institutions involved in the study would be protected and anonymised (Lindolf, 1995; Neuman, 1997; Punch, 2000; Wimmer & Dominck, 2000).

To incentivize people to participate in the focus groups, hospitality in the form of beverages and cookies as demanded by Ghanaian culture and tradition were offered. As mentioned earlier presents of whiskey were given to some individual interviewees. From my experience as a journalist I understood that this would have been an expectation of the interviewees and to not offer such a present would have been culturally inappropriate and might have threatened the outcome of the research.

According to oral Ghanaian traditions and culture, it is ethically acceptable to provide alcohol (hard liquor like Schnapps) or money for
drinks as a way of establishing contact and accessibility into the community through the gatekeeper, who in normal circumstances is the chief or an elder of the community. This is what Ghanaians called a “knocking fee”. The gesture of providing hospitality or money is a sign of respect and of offering the hand of friendship.

5.8 Summary

The methodology for this study involved a single embedded explanatory case study of the three PANAFEST destinations: Accra, Cape Coast and Elimina. The major data collection instruments were interviews with well-educated individuals and focus group interviews with informally-educated individuals. These were supplemented with data collected through document analysis in three PANAFEST destinations in Ghana.

The data collected was analysed using a grounded approach to draw out the patterns from the data. Following the identification of data elements in the translated transcriptions of the interviews and focus groups I used the method of constant comparison to draw out the key themes particularly in relation to Chapters 7 and 8. The next chapter (Chapter 6) discusses the role of the Queen Mothers in Akan society as evidenced through secondary and primary sources. Chapter 7 presents the case study of PANAFEST and Chapter 8 looks beyond PANAFEST to
the wider implications of the prevailing cultural politics in Ghana. Chapter 9 draws out the major issues from the fieldwork and proposes the Theory of the Giant Leap.
# CHAPTER SIX

## THE AKAN QUEEN MOTHERS IN GHANA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>6-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Akan Society in Ghana</td>
<td>6-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.2.1 Origins of Akan Society</td>
<td>6-3</td>
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<td>6.2.2 Akan Lineage</td>
<td>6-4</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6.2.3 Akan Social Structures</td>
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<td>6.2.4 Intestate Succession Laws in Matrilineal Society</td>
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<td>6.2.5 Matrilineages and Patrilineages in Akan Society</td>
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<td>The Akan Stools</td>
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<td>The Queen Mothers and the Akan Traditional Political System</td>
<td>6-13</td>
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<td>Covert Influence of the Akan Queen Mothers</td>
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<td>6.5.1 Queen Mothers as the Akan Chief Decision-Makers</td>
<td>6-26</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6.5.2 Queen Mothers as Information Database for Akan Social Heritage</td>
<td>6-29</td>
</tr>
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<td>6.6</td>
<td>Contradiction of Power and Authority of Akan Queen Mothers</td>
<td>6-30</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>Women of African Descent With Conferred Queen Mother Status</td>
<td>6-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>6-40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER SIX

THE AKAN QUEEN MOTHERS IN GHANA

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores what secondary sources have to say about the historical role of the Akan Queen Mothers and supplements these with the data collected from the focus groups and the individual interviews that were conducted in Ghana that comment on the role of the Akan Queen mothers and women in Akan society today. Section 6.2 traces the origins of the Akan, their lineage and social structures, the relationship between matrilineal and patrilineal descent and intestate succession laws in matrilineal society concluding with a discussion of matrilineal and patrilineal Akan groups. Section 6.3 and 6.4 explain the importance of the Akan stools and the role of the Akan Queen Mothers in the Akan traditional political system. Section 6.5 exposes the covert influence of the Akan Queen Mothers and section 6.6 explains the contradiction of the power and authority of the Akan Queen Mothers. Section 6.7 discusses women with conferred Queen Mothers status, notably the market Queen Mothers who reflect in an overt modern-day commercial context the traditional overt gynocratic
practices which for much of Ghanaian society have become much more covert.

6.2 Akan Society in Ghana

6.2.1 Origins of Akan Society

Although Boahen (1964) asserted that it is very difficult to trace the origins of Akan society, Schwimmer (1995) attributed the origin of the Akan to mythical female ancestors and that:

... no attempts are made to trace descent lines to the groups' founders. They assume little importance in the lives of their members, beyond creating a context for friendship among fellow clan members from distant localities.

(Schwimmer, 1995:1)

Schwimmer (1995) explained that Akan society was established on the basis of matrilineal descent from an unknown female ancestor that can be traced back for ten to twelve generations. Boahen (1964), in his attempts to trace the history and origins of the people of Akan, posed questions that helped to unfold the mystery surrounding the origins of the Akans (Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998), including who are the Akans and how did their states emerge? Even though Boahen himself was a Ghanaian by birth and from Akan society he struggled to come to terms with the origins of the Akan people because their history is undocumented.
It is generally agreed that their ancestors first lived in the open country of modern north-western Ghana and north-eastern Ivory Coast that is in the basin of the Black Volta; and whether the Akans originated in the region or emigrated from ancient empires of Ghana, Libya, Egypt or Abyssinia or the basin of the Chad and the Benue, historians are still uncertain. (Boahen, 1964:59)

From the north-west of which is now Ghana, the Akans probably migrated south in a first wave of migration into the forests of the Ashanti and Brong-Ahafo regions for two reasons - political pressure or population pressure or a combination of both. When this happened is disputed but it may have been more than two thousand years ago (Boahen, 1964). The Akans then appear to have migrated south again in a second wave of migration to avoid tribal wars in the northern parts of the forest towards the neighbourhood of the confluence of the Pra and the Ofin rivers on the boundary between what is now the Central and Ashanti regions (Tamaklor, 1931; Goody, 1954; Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998). (see figure 6.1)

In this area, the early Akan arrivals to the region absorbed the pre-existing peoples, multiplied and developed their distinctive language, the Twi, and their typical institutions, the patrilineal and the matrilineal clan divisions and the seven-day calendar (Boahen, 1964: 60)

6.2.2 Akan Lineage

The division into matrilineal and patrilineal clans is important. In matrilineal clans the ancestral line is traced through the mother (see
figure 6.2) and in patrilineal clans the ancestral line is traced though the father.

Figure 6.1: Map of Ghana showing the migration of the Akan people from the North-west, first south into the forests of the Ashanti and Brong-Ahafo regions and later south again into the Western, Central and Eastern regions.
Figure 6.2: Matrilineage in Akan Society

These clans dispersed eastwards and westwards across what are now the Western, Central and Eastern regions. Where the clans settled they founded villages that eventually grew into towns (Boahen, 1964) - nucleated settlements that consist of several thousand inhabitants and occupy the lowest administrative level of the territorial and political structure. Boahen (1964) provided considerable detail of the various clans, how they were related and how they developed. Today the Akans comprise about half the Ghanaian population (Boahen, 1964).
6.2.3 Akan Social Structures

Boahen (1964) and Schwimmer (1995) asserted that each town was made up of five to eight matrilineages occupying a continuous residential quarter within the settlement. The matrilineages, Boahen (1964: 59) continued:

... are subdivided into minor lineages that are ranked according to lines of seniority within the genealogical record, as well as forming a coherent neighbourhood ... [and] constitutes a fundamental corporate group with religious, political, social and economic functions.

Boahen (1964) and Bartle (1998) confirmed Schwimmer’s (1995) research findings which suggested that Akan society is not based on the nuclear family but on an extended family - the Abusua’ and formed the basis of the traditional political system of Akan society. The Abusua comprised about 100 and 200 members – it represented a system of division of labour and inequalities based on seniority and lineage (Schwimmer, 1995; Bartle, 1998). The interviewees and focus group participants in this study agreed with this account of the development of the Akans and confirmed that this social structure still drives Akan society today. Bartle (1998) described Akan society as a ‘gynocracy’, where power, wealth and independence were allocated to women.

Speaking on the social and family structure of Akan society, the Director of the Centre for National Culture (CNC) in Cape Coast, confirmed the research of Schwimmer (1995) and Stoeltje (2003):
The social and the family structures, for example in Cape Coast here, the line of succession, which is the matrilineal line of succession, has a bit to offer these women.

The Director of CNC went on to explain how the structure of the Akan society and its traditional chieftaincy political system worked to benefit women, i.e. that in terms of succession Akan children belonged to their mother and her family and, for this reason, men in Cape Coast and its environs lost recognition and respect from their children as a result of their lack of social responsibility:

But the men are not making a positive impact - that is not on the political traditional system, but on family structural level. The thing is that you take after your mother, even the educated men certainly don't look after their children very well with the hope that the children belong to the women because of the matrilineal kind of succession ... women struggle to look after the children.

This observation by the Director of the CNC provides a very clear picture of the relative roles and responsibilities of men and women in Ghanaian society and emphasises the importance of understanding the matrilineal line of succession. In fact, it explains the power and authority of women in Akan society, especially the Queen Mothers.
6.2.4 The Intestate Succession Law in Matrilineal Society

Inheritance patterns in matrilineal societies reflect the importance of the mother. In a matrilineal clan, the king would traditionally pass his title and status on to his eldest sister's eldest son rather than his own biological son (Boahen, 1964; Schwimmer, 1995; O'Neil, 2007). In the matrilineal system, the king's own biological son does not inherit the kingship because he was not a member of the ruling matrilineal family group. In contrast, women inherited status and property directly from their mothers (Boahen, 1964; Schwimmer, 1995; O'Neil, 2007). Whilst inheritance schemes in patrilineal societies are straightforward, in matrilineal societies they are very complicated and can lead to paradoxical situations. For example, a woman and her children may have worked all their lives on her husband's fields and on his death she may be left destitute without any land or property when the nephew arrives to take over the property if the man died intestate (Boahen, 1964; Schwimmer, 1995; O'Neil, 1996). Akan succession traditions can only apply to intestate property.

To overcome this problem, it is now more common for Akan men to donate properties to their children earlier in life, or to establish written wills so that their children inherit their property. Over the years in Ghana, especially among the Akan, the absence of wills has created tensions between different branches of families. To avoid this, the
Government of Ghana established the Ghana Law Reform Commission (GLRC) in 1968 to review statutory and customary laws and suggest reforms. First, GLRC identified inheritance and marriage law as among the main areas that required attention. In 1977, the Ghana Maintenance of Children Decree established family tribunals to hear complaints about maintenance of children during the subsistence of marriage and after divorce (Ghana Law Reform Commission, 1968). In 1985, the Intestate Succession Law was established to provide protection for children in communities where they are not entitled to shares of their deceased parents’ estates (Ghana Law Reform Commission, 1968).

6.2.5 Matrilineages and Patrilineages in Akan Society

Matrilineal and patrilineal groups or clans of Akan social organisations are important for each other’s survival, in the sense that they both co-exist for the procreation of new generations of society. These two regimes often co-exist in the same area which has interesting implications for social organization and economic issues including the inheritance of property as discussed above (Boahen, 1964; Schwimmer, 1995; O’Neil, 2007). According to Boahen (1964) and Schwimmer (1995) every Akan must belong to both a matrilineal and a patrilineal group, which he or she automatically inherits, from his or her mother and father.
Both Boahen (1964) and Schwimmer (1995) agreed that the same clans exist among all Akan, e.g. the Twifu, the Fante and the Akyem, wherever they are found. Members of the same clan considered themselves as brothers and sisters irrespective of where they hail from and cannot intermarry. Such intimate relationships were taboo and considered as incestuous (Meyerowitz, 1951; Fage, 1961; Boahen, 1964, Schwimmer, 1995).

Boahen (1964) further explained that the Akan follow the matrilineal system of inheritance not only of property but also of ‘thrones’ of authority (silver or wooden stools). The Akan matrilineal groups have certainly become more important and closely knit than the patrilineal ones. Schwimmer (1995) argued that matrilineal inheritance and succession among the Akan is usually formulated in terms of the transfer of property and status from mother’s brothers to sister’s sons.

On rituals, functions, and revering the ancestors, Schwimmer (1995) maintained that Akan society was defined primarily through the religious beliefs and ritual system that centred on ancestral worship. Descent groupings were defined by the female line whereas ritual observance focuses on the spirits of deceased male members incarnated in carved wooden ‘stools’ or ‘thrones’ as will be discussed in the next section of the chapter (Boahen, 1964; Schwimmer, 1995).
6.3 **The Akan Stools**

Busia (1954) asserted that it is common in Akan homes to have an ‘adwa’ (stool) that is used as a seat. Busia (1954) argued further that the stool is an important political symbol in Akan society. In addition, the stool of the Akan King is ‘Ohene adwa’, the sacred symbol of his political and religious authority that represents the permanence and continuity of the nation (Busia, 1954). The ‘Ohemma adwa’ (Queen Mother's Stool) is the ‘akonnua pinyin’ (the senior stool) and takes priority over Ohene adwa (Rattray, 1923; Meyerowitz, 1951; Busia, 1954; Aidoo, 1981; Arhin, 1983; Manuh, 1988).

**Figure 6.3: The Silver Stool of an Akan Queen Mother**

![The Silver Stool of an Akan Queen Mother](source: Arthur and Rowe (1998))
Figure 6.4 - A Typical Akan Stool

[Source: Arthur and Rowe, 1998]

6.4 The Queen Mothers and the Akan Traditional Political System

Stoeltje, as Weatherhead Resident Scholar in USA from 1997-1998, carried out research in Ghana on the Queen Mothers in Contemporary Ghana. She described the Queen Mothers as having equal political powers to those of the chiefs in the traditional chieftaincy political system (Stoeltje, 2003). Other researchers have also stated that the
Akan Queen Mothers were the co-rulers of Akan society and had joint responsibility with the king or chief for all affairs of the state and the communities in which they resided (Rattray, 1923; Meyerowitz, 1951; Busia, 1951; Boahen, 1964; Aidoo, 1981; Arhin, 1983; Manuh, 1988; Buah, 1998). The institution of the Akan Queen Mothers was an important constitutional role that illustrated the Akan political system (Rattray, 1923; Meyerowitz, 1951; Busia, 1951; Aidoo, 1981; Arhin, 1983; Manuh, 1988). The ‘Ohemmaa’ (Queen Mother) and ‘Ohene’ (King or chief) sit in state together with the Ohene seated to the right of the Ohemmaa (Rattray, 1923; Meyerowitz, 1951; Busia, 1951; Aidoo, 1981; Arhin, 1983; Manuh, 1988).

The seating arrangements in Akan traditional political system, according to the secondary sources, demonstrated the authority and power the Queen Mother had over the King or Chief and thus showed their importance as being the right hand or brain of the Akan. The Ohemmaa, literally ‘female ruler’, holds true political power and could, under certain conditions, assume full control of the clan as the king. The Ohemmaa is the only person who can rebuke the Ohene openly in public (Rattray, 1923; Meyerowitz, 1951; Busia, 1951; Aidoo, 1981; Arhin, 1983; Manuh, 1988). The Ohemmaa held her title because of her seniority in the royal matrilineage and not because of any relation to a particular male (Rattray, 1923; Meyerowitz, 1951; Busia, 1951; Aidoo, 1981; Arhin, 1983; Manuh, 1988).
According to Akan oral traditions the Ohemmaa was, and continues to be, chosen by her senior lineage mates, female as well as male although over time, and particularly during the colonial period, changes have occurred in the institution of Ohemmaa (Rattray, 1923; Meyerowitz, 1951; Busia, 1951; Aidoo, 1981; Arhin, 1983; Manuh, 1988). According to Akan oral traditions, one thing was certain, i.e. that the Ohemmaa was never chosen by the king. Traditionally the Ohemmaa had the authority to select a candidate when the king’s office, the royal stool, became vacant (Rattray, 1923; Meyerowitz, 1951; Busia, 1951; Aidoo, 1981; Arhin, 1983; Manuh, 1988).

The Ohemmaa summoned the Gyasehene who is normally head of the palace administration and her male and female relatives to discuss the matter away from the sub-chiefs and elders belonging to other clans (Rattray, 1923; Meyerowitz, 1951; Busia, 1951; Aidoo, 1981; Arhin, 1983; Manuh, 1988). Having chosen the chief from among the members of the Stool Family, she sent a message to the sub-chiefs and elders who discussed the nominee. When they agreed, which they generally did because no one could be enstooled against the choice of the Akan Queen Mother, the new Ohene was appointed (Rattray, 1923; Meyerowitz, 1951; Busia, 1951; Aidoo, 1981; Arhin, 1983; Manuh, 1988).
According to the individual and focus group interviews, the Akan Queen Mothers continue to play an important role in Akan society and are involved in the nomination of Akan kings, which calls for outdoor festival celebrations to commemorate the enstoolment. Today the Queen Mothers are often known as ‘the Old Lady’. As stated by one focus group member:

We have different clans (Abusua) and the Queen Mother of my clan is the person I refer as the old lady.

As asked to explain further who actually is the ‘old lady’, one female participant in the mixed focus group discussion in Cape Coast maintained that the Old Lady is the mother of the clan. She went on to say that women are the key developers of every nation and men are just facilitators or caretakers saying that the existence and development of Akan society depends on the strength of the women:

To explain further, in our Akan communities, for that matter, in this Fanti land, we believe that women are the owners of the land, the sole founders of the Akan communities. The old lady, simply is the Queen Mother, who is the founder of the Akan society, literally, this is the meaning of the word the ‘Old Lady.

As the Head of Centre for Natural Culture in Kumasi said:

To begin with, I will want to look at the role of women, the prominent role of women in our society. You know, we operate a matrilineal system and therefore women are very important because they own the stools, which is the most important bit of it all in any community. The stools belong to the Queen Mothers.

Although the Head of Centre for Natural Culture in Kumasi commented on the importance of women in Akan society and the ownership of the Akan chieftaincy stool by the Queen Mothers, when he
was asked why the Akan Queen Mothers take a background role he was unable to provide an answer. This issue is discussed later on in this chapter.

However, if for any reason, the Queen Mother's nomination for the king was rejected, she had to submit another nomination until the general public approves the nomination. The nominee (king/chief elect) was carried shoulder high in jubilation and away from the public for up to forty days (Rattray, 1923; Meyerowitz, 1951; Busia, 1951; Aidoo, 1981; Arhin, 1983; Manuh, 1988). During this period, the nominee elect would be educated on Akan traditional statesmanship, Akan stool history, court etiquette, public speech, Akan social dance and international issues before he assumed full office (Rattray, 1923; Meyerowitz, 1951; Busia, 1951; Aidoo, 1981; Arhin, 1983; Manuh, 1988). According to Akan oral traditions, and supported by Akan Stool Histories (1976), women in Akan society were not prevented from the Akan Royal Stool, especially in the absence of suitable male heirs.

On such extraordinary occasions, women can become ‘Omanhene’, which is the female name for a woman assuming the kingship position (Rattray, 1923; Meyerowitz, 1951; Busia, 1951; Aidoo, 1981; Arhin, 1983; Manuh, 1988). A typical example of a woman assuming the office of Akan Kingship (Omanhene) position was the case of the reign of the Juaben Ohemmaa, Nana Ama Sewaa, popularly known as Juaben
Sewaa. Nana Ama Sewaa occupied the Juaben Royal Stool in the mid-nineteenth century in the absence of suitable male heirs (Rattray, 1929: 173-177; Boahen, 1964:29). Nana Ama Sewaa, was, in turn, succeeded by her daughter (Akan Ohemmaa- Ghana Akan Queen Mother, 2007).

Stoeltje (2003) asserted that Akan Queen Mothers were co-rulers of the Akan traditional political system. Akan Queen Mothers today are seriously involved in festival celebrations as will be discussed in chapter seven. The research findings revealed that although Akan Queen Mothers were king-makers which confirmed Steoltje’s (2003) assertion of them being the co-rulers of the Akan traditional political system, they assume background position as asserted by Schwimmer (1995).

I believe that the background position of Akan women resulted from them being handicapped by their gender and biology (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991). Menstruation, childbirth and the menopause were all physical burdens for women. Pregnancy and breastfeeding had serious social consequences and implications for women (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991). For this reason, women had to rely on men (sons, husbands, spouses or partners) and the government, clan or community for survival (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991).

I also believe that there were important reasons that made the ancient Akan clans select an older woman – the Queen Mother – as the person to nominate a male member from the clan to assume a leadership role.
They stayed behind the scenes assuming an advisory role and maintaining the home. In doing this they were able to protect the Akan social heritage which Akan oral tradition says that Akan Queen Mothers are the custodians of. As explained by a female respondent in the mixed focus group interview in Cape Coast:

*Queen Mothers, women in general, assume a lesser position in public and social gatherings because of what society has prescribed for them through traditional, cultural and customary practices laid down by our ancestors.*

Moreover, if Akan Queen Mothers do appear in the public spotlight today at festival celebrations, the Queen Mothers and her entourage of women at the festival celebrations stay directly behind the chiefs and their entourage of men in the procession, thereby assuming a secondary position as asserted by Schwimmer (1995).

One of the respondents, a Queen Mother herself in the Greater Accra region focus group discussion, speaking in her local language (Ga) presented a picture of the role and involvement of women and Queen Mothers in the Ga district in Ghana asserting that women still play an important role in the selection and nomination for the candidature for the position of chief and king.

The Ga Queen Mother asserted that when it comes to festival celebrations women take a central position for the preparation of all festive foods, e.g. ‘*Kpokoi for the Ga Homowo festival*,’ for the gods and
the invited guests. This indicates the importance of women in festival celebrations as suggested by the Ga Queen Mother in the mixed focus group interviews in Accra:

*Nevertheless, when it comes to the sprinkling of the food for the gods, it is the men who do the sprinkling and women just follow the procession. However, for the thanksgiving procession for the goods of the land, it is the chief and his entourage take central position and the lead role followed by the Queen Mother and her entourage of women.*

The Ga Queen Mother explained further that behind the scenes the traditional role of women and their Queen Mothers at festival celebrations is to create unity between both sexes. However, the Ghanaian traditional and cultural social systems in recent years have acknowledged positive change for the interests of women as explained by the Ga Queen Mother in the mix focus group interview in Accra:

*However, things are changing in the sense that the world has recognised the role and involvement of women in all aspect of human endeavour and has called for equal opportunity for both sexes.*

The positive changes in the traditional social system, the Queen Mother emphasised is in acknowledgement of recognition by the Ghanaian community and world bodies - the United Nations in particular - of women’s contributions to overall national development and therefore a call for equal opportunity for both sexes.
6.5 **Covert Influence of Akan Queen Mothers**

Gynocracy is a society in which women form the ruling class and where an adult female person is distinguished from men to take up the leadership position (Bartle, 1998; Eller, 2000). Early social thinkers and anthropologists, like Johann Jakob Bachofen (1815-1887) and Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881), were the first to argue in print that many early societies were in fact matriarchal (Eller, 2000).

Although some contemporary feminist theory has suggested that a primitive matriarchy did indeed exist at one time in the wider world, especially in Africa and Asia, however, such claims were dismissed (Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974; Reiter, 1975; Eller, 2000). Bartle (1998) asserted that arguments on primordial matriarchy are not based on empirical fact even though contemporary Akan society is characterised by matriliney.

Eller (2000) asserted that claims for the existence of matriarchy rest on three types of data: first, societies in which women make the major contribution to subsistence. Secondly, societies in which descent are traced through women otherwise called matrilineal, and lastly, myths of ancient social organisations which were ruled by women. Eller (2000) claimed that women may have greater political power in matrilineal societies than in other societies, but this does not imply matriarchy.
because their power was severely limited by menstrual taboos (Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974; Reiter, 1975; Eller, 2000). Bartle (1998) argued that women from the primitive period had indirect influence through their involvement in agricultural production.

In many agricultural societies women produced the bulk of the group's dietary staples; however, men devalued this vital contribution (Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974; Reiter, 1975; Eller, 2000). This was true in Ghana, where from pre-colonial through colonial to post-colonial times Ghana, production, especially in rural Ghana, women have traditionally produced the bulk of farm produce. Eller (2000) further argued that over the centuries myths of ancient female dominance invariably highlighted women's failure as rulers and ended with men assuming power.

Eller (2000) claims further that the universality of male dominance is not, however, natural or biological, because the form of, and reasons given for, patriarchy differs in most cultures. Studying the various ways that male dominance is organized and justified; anthropologists have concluded that it is culturally constructed (Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974; Reiter, 1975; Eller, 2000).

In support of Rosaldo and Lamphere (1974), Reiter (1975) and Eller (2000) claims that early societies were matriarchal, Bartle (1998) argued
that sexual asymmetry is presently a universal fact of human social life (Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974). Bartle (1998) pointed out that the degree of inequality in society is culturally constructed and not determined by biological or other socially unchangeable causes.

Haralambos and Holborn (1991) agreed on sexual asymmetry by arguing that women are seen as the weaker sex and are ‘handicapped’ because of their periodical monthly menstruation; menopause and childbirth, which are physical burdens of womanhood. Haralambos and Holborn (1991) went further to explain that pregnancy and breastfeeding have the most serious social consequences and implications for women to bear within a matrilineal society.

For this reason, women have to rely on men, who are their father, sons, husbands, spouses or partners; most importantly dependent on the government, clan or community for survival (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991). This could explain why some centuries ago, as argued by Eller (2000), women’s ability to govern was a failure and ended up with men assuming power as in the case today in the Akan social group, which I believed was direct result of colonialisation and cash crop as asserted by Bartle (1998).

Bartle (1998), a Canadian anthropologist, lived in Ghana in the 1960s and studied relationships between the sexes of one Akan community in
Ghana to get a picture of the cultural variety in sexual inequalities. Bartle (1998) examined dimensions of inequalities that apply to women in Akan communities in terms of power, authority, influence, prestige, independence and office. Bartle (1998) argued that power is the ability to get one’s way despite potential opposition and authority as in the legitimate demand for obedience, as well as influence in the ability to persuade people to do things. Bartle (1998) argued further that independence, as in the freedom to avoid demands made by persons with authority, and office, is recognised as status and position pertaining to a role in which authority, prestige and or power are attached.

Independence, power and authority allocate different perceived recognition for both sexes in various societies. Sanday (1974) in a comparative analysis on the dimensions of social inequalities isolated three factors that contribute to sexual variations in society. Sanday (1974) attributed such sexual dimension of inequalities in our society as reproduction, since this limits women’s full potential to participate in societal and public activities as well as crucial subsistence for survival. Secondly, is male control of production and capital that most often does not place women in ritual, religious spheres or in leadership positions. Thirdly and the most socially-significant factor, is the concealing of female power under a barrage of ideology expressing male dominance (Bleek, 1972; Sanday, 1974; Bartle, 1998). Bleek (1972) argued that
the outward show of respect and courtesy for women by men defuses potential conflict and protects the economic and social position that women substantively enjoy. The objective here, Bartle (1998) noted, is not to document the disparity between appearance and reality between men and women but rather to examine the cultural and social factors of that hidden power. Bartle, (1998) cited East Africa societies as examples of societies where women are submissive and oppressed.

The covert gynocracy evident here should not be confused with matriarchal societies where women are automatically recognised as leaders. Bartle (1998) argued that in Akan society the higher power, wealth and independence of women is not so evident. Formal recognition (prestige) of office was not common, except for a few female chiefs, elders and priestesses; women found it useful to keep this inherited power from mythical female ancestors hidden (Bartle, 1998). Schwimmer (1995) explained that matrilineal descendants constituted a common ancestress and that both men and women were included in the patrilineage formed but only female links are utilized to include successive generations.

This explains why the Queen Mothers of Ghana in the Akan society are very powerful and have the authority to select and nominate who should be either their king or chief. The origins of the Akan, Schwimmer (1995) stated are attributed to mythical female ancestors
but Schwimmer (1995) noted that no attempts had been made to trace descent lines to the groups’ founders. There are many questions that need legitimate answers like who are these female ancestors and where did they originate from. Who were their husbands and were the husbands of the mythical female founders of Akan societies killed during the period of expansion of Akan kingdoms and Empires? What happened to the men during this period that made or forced those ‘mythical female ancestors’ to lead and found the Akan clan of Ghana, and subsequently the Gold Coast? The answers to these questions may explain the reasons behind the authority of Queen Mothers in the decision-making process of king-making.

**6.5.1 Queen Mothers as the Akan Chief Decision-Makers**

In relation to the decision-making process of the Akan Queen Mothers, all of the individual and focus group interviewees agreed that the selection of candidates for the position of chief was firmly within the Akan Queen Mothers realm. It is important to note that in Akan society, it was rare for a living chief to be relieved of his post as the chief of a community. If it happened, it was normally in extreme cases of inappropriate behaviour where the chief would be called before the council of elders at the traditional court to hear the matter and forcibly made to abdicate his role.
This is what the focus group respondent had to say - the Queen Mother was the mother of the nation and the land belonged to her. Sometimes, the Queen Mother was the chief’s sister, his cousin, or his mother - any one of these three women could be the Queen Mother depending on the given situation:

*She, the Queen Mother, by traditional rules and regulations laid down by our ancestors, has the sole rights to nominate, to select or appoint a suitable candidate to fill in the vacant post of a chief, this is our tradition and therefore can not be changed.*

Another reason for Queen Mothers to be solely responsible for the nomination and selection of a chief was that:

*The woman as a mother knows the character of each of her children and therefore can easily nominate the one with upright character to become the chief and lead his people to success.*

On the role and involvement of Akan women in festival celebrations, the Head of Centre for Natural Culture in Kumasi started off by explaining about the matrilineal system and that Akan Queen Mothers women play a very prominent role in the Akan society because they own the chieftaincy stool. When asked why the stools in Akan society should belong to Queen Mothers, he confirmed what other speakers had already said by saying that:

*It is the Queen Mother who chooses and decides who should be enstooled as a chief, by the virtue of that [the stool] and because the person is also a family member; she has the first option of who should be a chief and that tells you that the stool is for the Queen Mother.*

The importance of the role of the Queen Mother as the protector of traditional knowledge and social heritage (the brain and authority) was
symbolised by ownership of the Akan stool and being the person to nominate and select a candidate for chief. The Queen Mother could choose a chief from her son, her sister or brother’s son or a cousin’s son.

*I think this is about the second time, the late king Otomfo Opoku Ware 11 was the brother of the Queen Mother, because they are all from the same family, it can also happen again in the future.*

Moreover, in the Akan traditional political system, the traditional council of elders had to consult the Akan Queen Mother over every decision that was made in the traditional court house. As emphasised by the Head of the Centre of National Culture in Kumasi:

*The Queen Mother is very important, apart from choosing the chief; she also has the option of the first choice who should rule the Akan throne.*

*To begin with, I will want to look at the role of women, their prominent role of women in our society. You know we operate a matrilineal system and therefore the women are very important because they own the stool, which is the most important of it all in our community. The stools belong to the Queen Mothers.*

To explain further, a male respondent in mixed focus group interview in Cape Coast said:

*... in our Akan communities, for that matter in this Fanti land we believe that women are the owners of the land, the sole founders of the Akan communities.*

This makes the chief or king answerable to the Queen Mother. Throughout the research, the individual respondents and the group respondents all agreed that mythical female ancestors founded Akan society and that the Akan lands belonged to women and not men and supports Schwimmer’s (1995) claims that mythical female ancestors are
the foundation of the Akan social organisation and are therefore more powerful than the chiefs.

6.5.2 Queen Mothers as the Information Database for Akan Social Heritage

Akan Queen Mothers hold prominent positions in the Akan Society even though they choose to assume background roles. Akan chiefs may be seen in public as the leaders of Akan social organisation, but it is the Queen Mothers who hold the authority of the stool and are traditional political advisers. By right, Akan Queen Mothers sit by the chief or king at public and social functions. As explained by one male speaker from the Cape Coast mixed focus group interviews:

As it were in the olden days, all Queen Mothers hold prominent positions as she sits besides the chief and there is a difficult decision to make. The chief has no other choice than to turn to the Queen Mother for advice. The chief may be seen in public as the leader, but in reality, it is the Queen Mother who holds the authority to the stool… the custodian of our social heritage.

The Queen Mothers are said to be the information database of the Akan society; that is the oral Akan tradition and preservers of Akan socio-cultural norms, customary practices and ancestor heritage. According to one male speaker in the Cape Coast focus group discussions, even though Akan society had both men and women in a clan, it is the duty of the women to ensure development of their individual clans, they therefore would not allow outsiders access to find out how such individual clans are run. He adds by saying that as the years develop:
Queen Mothers of a particular clan begin to groom the young girls, one of whom will in future succeed her. These demonstrate the importance of our women in our traditional, cultural and ritual performance and therefore signify their roles and involvement in festival celebrations is very symbolic.

6.6 Contradiction of Power and Authority of Queen Mothers (The Dilemma facing Akan Queen Mothers)

Although the Akan Queen Mothers had enormous authority and power to decide on the selection, nomination and election of an Akan chief or king, there is a contradiction in their position in public and social functions in modern-day Ghanaian society. The background position of the Akan Queen Mothers was clearly demonstrated by both the secondary and primary research undertaken here.

Schwimmer (1995) argued that despite the Akan Queen Mother’s status of power and authority, their standing in public varied and in many instances they assumed a background position. However, there is a contradiction between the power and authority of Akan Queen Mothers as having equal political rights with the Akan chiefs and as co-rulers of the Akan traditional political institution (Stoeltje, 2003). The contradiction is what this research is all about, to find out answers to questions surrounding the mythical Akan female ancestors, referred to as Queen Mothers or ‘Old Lady’ as known affectionately in Akan societies. Boahen (1964), Schwimmer (1995) and Bartle (1998) confirmed that the old women of the Akan society had huge power and
responsibilities in running the individual family (Abusua) lineage affairs much of which is not public but covert authority and powers (not made public or seen). In conflict resolution, or deliberation, the chiefs and his entourage broke and then each head would go back to his or her matrilineal house (where the ancestral stools are kept) to ‘confer with the ancestors.’ In fact their consultations were with the older women in the clan (Boahen, 1964; Schwimmer, 1995; Bartle, 1998). Bartle (1998) noted that nine out of ten elders in a chief’s courts may break during a problem to consult the ancestors, which in most cases is the woman or ‘Old Lady’ in the family (Abusua) matrilineage house.

Boahen, (1964), Schwimmer, (1995) and Bartle (1998) again assert that the reason for this is that the issues regarding social heritage are only known to the ladies or women who keep better track of descent lines and they influence the decisions made in the chief’s court by advising the elders. A break from traditional court cases to consult the old lady or the Queen Mother demonstrated that the Akan men gave recognition and power to the old lady or the Queen Mother, in their consultation and by abiding with the agreement of their decision.

The consultation by chiefs and kings of Akan traditional chieftaincy institutions shows how powerful the Akan Queen Mothers were and confirmed their authority. It also demonstrated that Akan Queen Mothers were the power, the brain and authority behind the Akan
traditional political system and social heritage. It is important to note that situations where Akan Kings and Chiefs seek advise from the old ladies date back from pre-colonial times and still to an extent through to post-colonial periods and to modern day Ghana’ (Boahen, 1964; Schwimmer, 1995; Bartle, 1998) and this gave Akan Queen Mothers unmitigated powers.

Despite the Akan Queen Mothers’ power and authority, they are not represented formally in Ghana’s National House of Chiefs (GNHC). Paramount chiefs from the ten regions of Ghana constitute the house of chief and the GNHC is a male-dominated traditional institution of chieftaincy, guaranteed by the constitution of Ghana.

According to the 1992 constitution of Ghana and subsequent laws and ordinances enacted, the modern-day institution of chieftaincy has the authority of traditional laws and customs. The 1992 Constitution of Ghana accords chiefs and traditional institutions in Ghana a great deal of influence in the community and in government. Chiefs in Ghana are not permitted to participate in politics even though they play an important role in Ghanaian society (Constitution of Ghana, 1992).

The paradox of the Akan Queen Mothers is well explained through a scenario of GNHC where there is not a single Queen Mother to represent the voices of many Ghanaian women, especially those in rural Ghana with no formal education (Ardayfio-Shandorf and Kwafo – Akoto, 1990),
even though the Akan social organisation was founded by mythical female ancestors (Schwimmer, 1995). Their voices are not heard as the case of chiefs and kings, selected and nominated by the Akan Queen Mothers.

Although the 1992 Constitution of Ghana states that women are not discriminated against in any form and are encouraged by law to assume higher levels in society, women find themselves in background positions reflecting how modern-day Ghanaian society perceives their women. Furthermore traditional and cultural norms of the country do not allow women and girls to express their full potential (Ardayfio-Shandorf and Kwafo-Akoto, 1990). In Ghana, as a democratic country, one would expect that women’s voices would be heard and that women allowed to be represented in the GNHC. However, the absence of women in GNHC is a clear indication that Ghana is not democratic enough when it comes to the position of Ghanaian women in general and Akan Queen Mothers in particular.

According to the UN African Recovery Brief Paper (1998) traditional women leaders in Ghana, the Akan Queen Mothers in particular, have not been given the same recognition as male chiefs who have been co-opted into new positions of power in their societies. In Ghana, attempts to admit Queen Mothers into the GNHC have been quashed by powerful Ghanaian chiefs and their allies (UN African Recovery Brief Paper,
The dilemma facing Akan Queen Mothers is what I call ‘The Paradox of Akan Queen Mothers’.

One male speaker in the Cape Coast mixed focus group explained that in Akan society, although women play an important role and Queen Mothers are the custodians of the Akan heritage, men are more revered than women:

Simply because men are men and are supposed to lead the woman and therefore regarded as the head of the family. The man as the head is regarded as the power behind the woman.

He further explained that the Queen Mother is the founder of the land and therefore very powerful, however, at social gatherings, the chief leads at the front followed by the Queen Mother. This applies to seating arrangements at all social and public gatherings, ‘the chief takes his seat, followed by the Queen Mother who sits at the right hand side of the chief: He went on to explain:

This I will say is the traditional seating arrangement and at such social and public gatherings, the chief demonstrate his power and manhood and there is no way such seating arrangement will be altered for the Queen Mother to take a front role position and if it happens, then the authority and power of the chief is undermined.

According to this speaker, the Queen Mother’s presence is also felt at all social and public gatherings. The only time the Queen Mother will assume a lead role for her people is when the chief is dead and that:

No Queen Mother will assume a leading role if the chosen chief is alive and effective, unless in very rare occasions, but this usually never happens.
In support of what Schwimmer (1995), who first mentioned that Akan society is founded by mythical female ancestors and yet women assume a lesser position and as one male speaker in the mixed focus group interview in Cape Coast added:

*Queen Mothers, as we have always known in Akan society, would rather prefer to take lesser positions and give the chief the chance to assume the higher position and rule his subjects, while the Queen Mother stays in the background and assumes a lesser position and gives the chief all the moral support he needs to do his work effectively.*

So my research emphasises that the Queen Mothers have assumed a background position for their own safety and protection.

*Since time immemorial, old ladies have always assumed a lesser position because of their age and as the custodians of our traditional, cultural and customary heritage they are protected from violent situations, for example regional and local wars. In times of war, regional conflicts, or clashes that result blood shed, our ‘old ladies’ are protected by not allowing them to take front role positions at places that may cause their sudden death or injury.*

This was especially important during the time of the slave trade that saw many Ghanaians and West Africans transported to America and other European countries as slaves. The Akan Queen Mothers are the brains behind Akan social organisation and key to the Akan ancestral social and cultural heritage. Preventing them taking a front row position ensures that they, and the traditional, cultural and social heritage they embody, are preserved.

*This is what is described as oral traditional knowledge passed on to us by our ancestors through the wisdom of our Queen Mothers (‘Old Ladies’).*
6.7 Women of African Descent with conferred “Queen Mothers Status”

In modern-day Ghana there are a number of different types of women have conferred Queen Mother status. One group of women - the “Market Queen Mothers” - control the market system. Boaitey (1982) asserts that there also women with reputable positions of authority, particularly in the US, who through hard work have had Queen Mothers status bestowed upon them (The African American Registry, 2003). Women who are given conferred Queen Mother status all have something in common - they are role models within their communities undertaking significant work. Hundreds and thousands of less-fortunate people have been saved, nurtured and benefited through the efforts of these women.

In the USA, the most notable Queen Mothers were Mama Moses of Brooklyn’s Baptist Temple, known in life as Harriet Ross Tubman Davis, and Queen Mother Moore (known in life as Audley Moore of New Iberia, Louisiana) (African American Registry, 2003). The African American Registry (2003) noted that Audley Moore was a great freedom fighter, political activist, member of the National Association of Coloured Women (NACW) and National Council of Negro Women (NCNW). Notable among her achievements were her persistent efforts of gaining support within the USA to get over a million signatures to petition the government and successfully present the signatures to President
Kennedy in December 1963 to mark the 100th anniversary of the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. Harriet Tubman Mama Moses was described by Amasewa (2003: 2) as:

*The greatest and most skilled conductor on the Underground Railroad to freedom and one of the most powerful women liberators to walk on the face of earth.*

Mother Harriet Ross Tubman Davis was referred to as a revered ancestor and enstooled posthumously as a Queen Mother with the stool name Nana Tubman of Ghana, therefore becoming the first person to be so honoured, both in the USA and Africa (Amasewa, 2003). The history of Mama Moses is said to be celebrated in the USA as the first woman to lead a military expedition (Amasewa, 2003). This liberation foray took place in 1863 in South Carolina when Mama Moses, Colonel Montgomery and 150 black soldiers were successful in freeing over 750 Gullah rice field slaves (Amasewa, 2003). Mama Moses arranged care and dispersal to safe sites for these people.

In Ghana there are a lot more women who have Queen Mother status conferred on them through their roles in commerce and as community leaders. In 1982 a film documentary on Asante Market Women, Boaitey (2003) contends that in the Kumasi Central Market (KCM), Akan women are traders, retailers, wholesalers and negotiators and dominate the huge KCM (Boaitey, 2003).
The domination by women in KCM in Ghana is reflected across all Ghanaian markets, where Queen Mothers are leaders of particular sections of the market, such as the yam or tomato sections (Boaitey, 2003). However, the ‘Oba’ (the Plantain Queen Mother) or any other particular sectional market leader acquired her position through influence and therefore has less control and influence on the activities of co-workers and over resolution of differences among them (Boaitey, 2003).

Research has been undertaken on the role of Market Queen Mothers and market organisations in the marketing of yams in the KCM in Ghana (Asinor, 1971; Ardayfio-Shandorf and Kwafo-Akoto, 1990). Both Asinor (1971) and Boaitey (2003) assert that all traders engaged in yam marketing are grouped into an organisation headed by a Market Queen Mother, who was democratically elected and assisted by two deputies.

The yam Market Queen Mother (Asinor, 1971; Ardayfio-Shandorf and Kwafo-Akoto, 1990) performed very vital functions, which are completely indispensable to the survival, progress and efficiency of the organisation of the yam trade in KCM in Ghana. Asinor (1971) asserts that the Yam Queen Mother maintains peace, harmony, and unity and ensures free flow of information by liaising between the organisation and the authorities of the members of Kumasi City Council and other commodity associations (Asinor, 1971; Ardayfio-Shandorf and Kwafo-
Akoto, 1990). The Yam Market Queen Mother’s other functions includes arbitrating between members and non members, guaranteeing loans and credit services to members, advancing personal loan facilities and presiding over all meetings of the organisations. Thus, through the functions of the Market Queen Mothers, the organisation regulates the activities of its members, promotes their harmonious intimate contact and caters for their social economic welfare (Asinor, 1971; Ardayfio-Shandorf and Kwafo-Akoto, 1990).

6.8 **Summary**

Secondary sources document the traditional role of the Akan Queen Mothers as co-rulers of Akan society (Stoeltje, 2003) and the chief decision-makers in the selection of the new king yet who paradoxically despite this key role allow men to take the explicit leadership role (Schwimmer, 1995). However, while the Queen Mother sits next to the king in public events, other women are relegated to background positions.

The individual and focus group interviews I conducted in Accra, Cape Coast and Elimina confirmed the continuing importance of the Queen Mothers – the old ladies of Akan society – in modern-day Ghana. Thus the cultural politics of Ghanaian society is very complex with a male
hegemony established in the colonial era challenged by the covert

gynocracy of the Queen Mothers. Only in certain aspects of modern-
day Ghanaian life – notably in the market system – are the Queen
Mothers overtly recognised.

The high esteem in which the Queen Mothers are held in Akan society
has put them into the position of acting as intermediaries and
guarantors, e.g. in UNDP projects in Mayah Krobo District in the
Eastern Region designed to support younger women to establish small
businesses and enable them to become financially independent.
# Chapter Seven

## The Case of Panafest and the Akan Queen Mothers

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CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CASE OF PANAFEST AND THE AKAN QUEEN MOTHERS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will analysis the contradictory messages about gender equality that are projected through PANAFEST and emphasise the paradox of the Akan Queen Mothers. PANAFEST celebrates Pan-Africanism and black culture. It is the brain child of a woman, Dr. Efua Sutherland, and was first staged in 1991 since when it has grown into an international festival attracting diasporan Ghanaians from all over the world to return to Ghana to follow the slave routes to the “Door of No Return” and beyond. The chapter will focus on the role of women in festivals and how they are represented in PANAFEST. First it considers the history of the slave trade to contextualise PANAFEST’s development. It then goes on to consider PANAFEST as concludes with a discussion of Akan women in festival celebrations.
7.2 The History of the Slave Trade

Some aspects of the activities of early Europeans on the Gold Coast have already been discussed in chapter three. However, one important trade activity that took place on the Gold Coast which needs mentioning because of its catastrophic impact on Africa was the slave trade between the indigenous West Africans and the European merchants, dubbed the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (TAST). Buah (1998) asserts that through the TAST, slaves became articles of trade, like gold or any other exportable commodity.

*The plight of Africans taken to the New World was very different. They left their country and became nothing better than chattels who toiled all their lives for the gain of alien masters*  
(Buah, 1998: 71)

Before the slave trade began on a large scale from West Africa to America, in 1441, Portuguese explorers took ten Negro slaves from the hinterland of the Upper Guinea area to Portugal (Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998). Early Portuguese exploration was supported and engineered by Prince Henry the Navigator, the third son of the King of Portugal, who began an "Age of Discovery" in Europe (Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998; Fage, 2001). From 1415, Boahen (1964) and Fage (2001) explained that Prince Henry helped finance and organise many expeditions across the Atlantic to the coastlines of the North and West coasts of Africa. From
such expeditions, Prince Henry learnt about trade in spices, gold and silver on the West Coast of Africa.

In 1441, Portugal witnessed the arrival of the first slaves. They were received by Prince Henry who, according to Boahen (1964), hoped to convert them to Christianity, to educate the most talented among them and to send them back to Africa, to their individual countries as Christian missionaries.

_Though Henry’s hopes were never appear to be realised, more and more Africans were brought to Portugal and sold._

_(Boahen, 1964:108)_

His intentions may have been good at a superficial level but obviously involved Africans being coerced into becoming Christians.

Fage (2001) asserts that initially, slaves were captured through outrageous means, including kidnapping and banditry. However Prince Henry ordered a change of practice, and trading for slaves between Africans and Europeans became the legal norm and practice. Boahen (1964) asserts that before the death of Prince Henry in 1460, between 700 and 800 slaves were exported annually to Portugal (Boahen, 1964; Fage, 2001). Fage (2001) argues that initial slave exportation to Portugal was extended across the Atlantic to the Americas because of Spain’s involvement with exploration of North and South America from 1492 and 1504 requiring vast amounts of human labour to work on plantations and mineral resource exploitation.
As work on plantations and mining of mineral resources began, Spanish merchants and explorers were faced with an acute problem of human labour and realised that the indigenous North and South America people could not cope with the work on the plantations. The only solution seemed to be to import African slaves from Portugal to the New World to fill the vacuum created by the labour shortage. Wilks (1993) and Fage (2001) argued that Spain was aware of the work capacity of slaves from Africa through their initial involvement with the slaves they had received from Portugal (Boahen, 1964; Fage, 2001).

It is interesting to note that the first batch of Africans exported to the Americas in about 1501 was sent from Lisbon, Portugal and it was not until about twenty years later that slaves were transported direct from the West Coast to the Americas (Boahen, 1964:109).

Fage (2001) affirmed that by the 1470s Portugal’s capital city - Lisbon - became the country’s main slave port. During that period, the Portuguese slave trade was on a very small scale – much smaller than TAST – even when it expanded to Spain and Italy and became the social norm within many European societies.

However, Boahen (1964), Wilks (1993), Buah (1998) and Fage (2001) asserted that there were two aspects to the slave trade in pre-colonial Ghana: domestic slavery and transatlantic slavery (see section 7.2.1). First, domestic slaves in Ghana and other parts of West Africa were enslaved by African chiefs. These slaves retained some rights, and
many slaves, through their natural talents, rose to positions of responsibility and trust in society and were gradually granted freedom.

_In general, however, slaves in African communities were often treated as junior members of the society with specific rights, and many were ultimately absorbed into their masters' families as full members. Given traditional methods of agricultural production in Africa, slavery in Africa was quite different from that which existed in the commercial plantation environments of the New World._

(Wilks, 1993:53)

Both Boahen (1964) and Fage (2001) asserted that before the arrival of the first Portuguese in 1471 was the period when colonial communities in what is now Ghana were striving to consolidate their newly-acquired territories and to settle into a secure and permanent environment (Fage, 2001). Boahen (1964) argued that several of the immigrant groups had yet to establish firm ascendancy over earlier occupants of their territories, and considerable displacement and secondary migrations were in progress and that was the period when local slave trading began.

Ivor Wilks (1993), a leading Ghanaian historian, affirmed that the Akan purchased slaves from Portuguese traders operating from the Congo region to augment the necessary labour for the state formation that was characteristic of pre-colonial period of Ghana. Wilks (1993) argued further that there were two types of Akan people - the Akan groups of the interior – the Ashanti - and the major coastal groups of Akan, the Fanti. The Fanti were by far the most established and considered themselves to be superior.
7.2.1 The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

The second group of slaves was the enforced labour slaves who mainly worked on plantations and were involved in mining in the New World (Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998). According to Wilks (1993), the arrival of Europeans on the continent of Africa and the enslavement of its people through TAST ripped apart the continent and harmed the people and the communities involved. Fage (2001) affirmed that the TAST was one of the ugliest chapters in the history of the human race and has left an indelible mark on African societies, its culture and on world culture in general. Wilks (1993) asserted that the trade in Africans to the Americas to work on plantations was about plundering and brutality and represented a complete lack of respect for the human rights of people who were enslaved. Wilks (1993) argued that the period of the TAST was a 'reign of terror' that was imposed first on West and Central Africa, and then on the continent's south-eastern coasts at the end of the 18th century.

*The slave trade forced people to move away from their homes, their communities, their farmlands and from any kind of economic stability they had. It affected whole populations and political systems. It impacted massively upon agricultural production and severely disrupted the social and psychological well being of inhabitants.*

*(Wilks, 1993: 55)*

Boahen (1964) and Fage (2001) argued that with the opening of the European plantations in the New World during the 1500s, there was a sudden expansion in the demand for slaves in the Americas and the
TAST soon adumbrated gold as the principal export commodity of the area. Suddenly, the coast of West Africa became the principal source of slaves for the New World (Boahen, 1964; Wilks, 1993; Buah, 1998; Fage, 2001). Wilks (1993) argued that the greedy slave trade market and its substantial profits attracted adventurers from all over Europe to the coast of West Africa.

It also sparked conflicts among European groups on the coast and competing African kingdoms, thus, resulting in rivalry for the control of the TAST (Boahen, 1964; Wilks, 1993; Buah, 1998; Fage, 2001). Wilks (1993) explains further that the TAST spanned the whole range of European powers, especially the ones who sought imperial powers and trading expansion across the Atlantic. The trade began with Spanish and Portuguese merchants and later with Dutch merchants, and finally French and British merchants. Eventually even countries like Denmark and Germany were drawn in (Wilks, 1993).

Fage (2001) asserted that in 1539, about 12,000 slaves were sold in Lisbon’s markets and such slave trading differed from other European countries where slave activities were used as tools to gain profit in new ventures for more colonies. Boahen (1964) and Fage (2001) explained that as more mines were opened and new plantations opened in the New World so the demands for slaves increased.

As more mines were opened up and more plantations were set up, so the demand for slaves increased. Between 1530 and 1600 an average of 13,
000 slaves a year were being exported to the Americas. This number rose to about 27,500 a year in the 17th century, 70,000 in the 18th century and the 1830’s it had soared to 135,000 per annum. 

(Boahen, 1964:109)

Fage (2001) also argued that the volume of the slave trade in West Africa grew rapidly from its inception around 1500 to its peak in the eighteenth century. Fage (2001) cited Philip Curtin, a leading authority on the African slave trade, who estimated that roughly 6.5 million slaves were shipped from West Africa to North and South America, and about 4.5 million of these were shipped between 1701 and 1810, i.e. perhaps 5,000 slaves a year.

Boahen (1964), Wilks (1993) Buah (1998) and Fage (2001) argued that the TAST provided new forms of economic and social power. Through such activities emerged commercial and maritime companies often with royal or governmental support, backing and blessing. European countries, especially Britain, secured prosperity through slave trading and slave-based activities in Africa and the Americas (Boahen, 1964; Wilks, 1993; Buah, 1998; Fage, 2001).

British companies prospered on the back of slavery, investing their profits not simply in the urban and trading fabric of the country, but by spreading their profits across the face of Britain, from farms to schools, from stately homes to grand London residences.  

(Wilks, 1993:60)

According to Fage (2001) sugar was a source of great prosperity and was made possible by the Africans who were imported as slaves. Fage (2001) and Wilks (1993) asserted that about 27,000 slave voyages were
involved in the TAST, and out of that number, 12,000 voyages were
British, and half of these voyages began in Liverpool:

*The slave trade first started from London, then Bristol and finally
Liverpool, which dominated the British slave trade. But many other ports,
from Lancaster to Lyme Regis were involved in the Transatlantic Slave
Trade*

(Wilks, 1993:70)

Wilks (1993) and Fage (2001) argued that from the middle of the 17th
century the tastes and habits of the whole Western World changed
through people being able to buy the products produced by the slaves.
Wilks (1993), Buah (1998) and Fage (2001) asserted that Europeans
consumed vast quantities of products, such as tobacco and sugar
produced in Virginia and the Caribbean. Fage (2001) argues further
that between 1650-1800, the wealthy Caribbean islands became known
as the 'best of the West', all based on the profits from the TAST.

The southern parts of the United States became known as plantation
America. Fage (2001) affirmed that the slave trade provided labour for
large-scale agricultural production, especially for the Brazilian colonial
economy, based first on sugar production and later on gold mining and
coffee, which was made possible and profitable because of the slave
trade.

*Without the institution of slavery and the transatlantic slavery that fed it,
the rapid expansion and development of the economies of Americas and
Europe would not have been possible.*

(Wilks, 1993:87)
7.2.2 **Castles Used as Slave Dungeons in Ghana**

Rev. Dr. Quarcoopome (2002) asserted that Cape Coast and Elimina castles stand as testimony to the age of European exploitation and the subjugation of Africans by Europeans in modern-day Ghana. Elimina, one of PANAFEST destinations, formerly Edina, took its name from the Portuguese word ‘Al Mina’ meaning ‘the mine’. Elimina has its name because of its richness in gold (Boahen, 1964; Wilks, 1993; Buah, 1998; Fage, 2001; Quarcoopome, 2002). The town of Elimina is situated on the coast in the Central Region of Ghana, about 12 km west of Cape Coast and was the first point of contact with Europeans and the Portuguese arriving in the Gold Coast in 1471 to trade in gold, spices, ivory and other African artefacts. At the peak of the TAST, Elimina Castle was used to ‘store’ slaves, along with ivory and gold, while they waited for slave ships to arrive and collect them to take them to America and Europe. It is estimated that at least one thousand men and women were held in the dungeons at any one time (Boahen, 1964; Wilks, 1993; Buah, 1998; Fage, 2001; Quarcoopome, 2002).
Figure 7.1: Elimina Castle – Central Region

[Source: Quarcoopome, 2002]

Assin Manso is the slave market in the Central Region, where slaves were sold and taken to ships and transported to America and Europe (PANAFEST Brochure, 1997; Buah, 1998). In Assin Manso lies the “Slave River” (Nnonkonsuo) - a tribute of the river Ochi - where captured slaves from West Africa were allowed to bath after their long journey from the north to the coast. There is also a cemetery (Nnonokosie) where dead slaves were buried.
Cape Coast Castle

Fage (2001) noted that Cape Coast Castle was built on a rock called “tabora” near a town called Assin Manso. The castle was built as a timber-trading lodge by the Swedes in 1654 and was named Carolousburg after Charles X of Sweden. As the year went by, the lodge was replaced by a fort which changed hands several times until 1664 when the British captured it from the Dutch and made it their headquarters (Wilks, 1993; Fage, 2001). In 1672 the British Royal African Company was established and transformed Fort Carolousburg into a castle, which the British merchants used as their headquarters for penetrating West Africa. In 1768 the entire south of the castle was demolished and replaced (Wilks, 1993; Fage, 2001).
Wilks (1993), Fage (2001) and Quarcoopome (2002) asserted that under the platforms of the castles are enormous vaulted slave dungeons, some of which were condemned cells, where troublesome slaves were kept. The rooms were dark, unventilated with only a small window to let in air and light.
Figure 7.4: Stone Ramp Where Slaves Were Taken To The Ships

[Source: Quarcoopome (2002)]
7.2.3 The Abolition of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and its Effects

Buah (1998) affirmed that towards the close of the eighteenth century, Europe became convinced of the need to stop the TAST. In 1807, the TAST was outlawed but it took decades to finally end slavery in Europe in 1833 and it complete abolition of slavery in the USA was not successful until the 1860s (Boahen, 1964; Wilks, 1993; Buah, 1998; Fage, 2001). It is important to note that there were factors that led to the abolition of TAST. From 1787 onwards, campaigns were launched by group of Evangelical clergymen who campaigned for the end of slavery (Boahen, 1964).

However, efforts to end the slave trade in the United States were not successful until the 1860s because of the continued demand for plantation labour in the New World and that took decades to end the trade in people (Boahen, 1964; Wilks, 1993; Buah, 1998; Fage, 2001). Boahen (1964) and Buah (1998) argued that some historians doubted that the humanitarian impulse was inspired by the abolitionist movement, but attributed its abolition to the Industrial Revolution (Boahen, 1964; Wilks, 1993; Buah, 1998; Fage, 2001).

Buah (1998) asserted that by the mid 18th century, many Africans had arrived and settled in Europe in growing numbers. (Wilks, 1993; Buah, 1998; Fage, 2001). Buah (1998) asserted that the TAST invoked mixed
reactions across the continent of Africa. However, one thing was clear; it altered the development of African societies, its effects were deep and long-lasting and its legacies seen and felt across the continent (Buah, 1998).

Boahen (1964) argued that the slave trade created an economic vacuum in Africa. The continent’s rich human resources were drained because almost all the best African youths were taken away to work as slave labour on plantations in the New World. Boahen (1964) and Buah (1998) asserted that the slave trade resulted in the unpardonable destruction of many populations.

*During the whole period of the trade, it has been estimated that somewhere between 30 and 40 million souls were lost to Africa. What is particularly lamentable is that the victims were the most virile and active of the people of West Africa: the young and healthy men and women*  
*(Boahen, 1964:112)*

Other effects of the slave trade included indigenous West Africans who came to look on the slave trade as a quick way of making monetary gains, hence the decline in indigenous arts and crafts (Buah, 1998). In addition, indigenous Africa was never allowed to go into large-scale agricultural production and manufacture, making the country over-dependent on European finished goods (Boahen, 1964; Buah, 1998). Buah (1998) asserted that the Europeans discouraged sustained industrial and agricultural enterprise as substitutes for the slave trade. Buah (1998) argued that, in 1751, the British Board of Trade firmly instructed the English authorities resident in Cape Coast castle to stop
the Fantis from cultivating cotton. I believe that the British Board of Trade stopped the Fantis from going into large-scale cotton plantations because they saw the ingenuity of the people and that it would undermine the economies of the countries to which the slaves had been transported. To support his argument, Buah (1998) asserted and I quote:

*The cultivation of agriculture and promotion of industry among the Negroes is contrary to the established policy of this country, England; there is no saying where this might stop, and that it might extend to tobacco, sugar, and every other commodity which we now take from our colonies in the new World and elsewhere, and thereby the Africans, who now support themselves by wars, would become planters and their slaves be employed in the cultivation of these articles in Africa, which they are employed to work in America*

(Buah, 1998:72-73)

I will now move on to consider PANAFEST - a festival developed to attract diaspora tourists, often the descendents of slaves deported during TAST. PANAFEST was designed to counter the negatives of TAST and to reinterpret it in a more positive manner.

### 7.3 **PANAFEST**

PANAFEST is a festival designed to help rediscover ancient African traditions and culture. Women have always been associated with festival celebrations, playing a very important role in their development. Indeed, PANAFEST was created from the ideas of a woman, Dr Mrs Efua Sutherland, a Ghanaian woman and a renowned Pan-Africanist.
PANAFEST was conceptualised in a paper written in 1980 entitled "Proposal for a Historical Drama Festival in Cape Coast" by Dr Sutherland (PANAFEST Brochure, 1997). The idea gained root and took shape in an expanded form as the Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival in 1991. PANAFEST was first launched as a dramatised theatrical festival in October 1991 and the national phase of the festival was held in Cape Coast the same year (PANAFEST Brochure, 1997). Staging PANAFEST in Ghana brought together all Africans, African-Americans and those in the diaspora to witness the slave routes from the dungeons of Ghanaian castles.

Ghana never realised its tourism potential until the mid-1980s when Dr. Sutherland’s dream first emerged through the PANAFEST proposal to the Ministry of Education in Ghana to dramatise the historic events of the slave trade and the suffering of Africans (PANAFEST Brochure, 1997). Dr Sutherland named the drama “Pan-African Theatre Festival”, dubbed PANAFEST. The first PANAFEST was dramatised at Cape Coast castle and then became a biannual affair (NTDPG, 1996; PANAFEST Brochure, 1997) gaining a larger audience every time it was presented.

The initial dramatisation of PANAFEST aimed to tell the story of the slave trade, the miseries and sufferings associated with the painful ordeal that the captured slaves went through before their journeys to
America and to other parts of Europe and the impacts on the families they left behind (NTDPG, 1996; PANAFEST Brochure, 1997).

With its international dimension, PANAFEST is now classified as a tourism product with the potential for significant foreign exchange earnings capacity. PANAFEST has added a new dimension to Ghana’s tourism industry and has gained the support of the government of Ghana and other international donors including the USA, the United Kingdom, South Africa and countries in the Caribbean. The Ghanaian government is using PANAFEST to boost tourism development (NTDPG, 1996; PANAFEST Brochure, 1997).

Although, the TAST is well known and well documented, its routes, e.g. the castle dungeons where captured slaves were kept for months before being transportation, are not. It is important to note that the slave routes in Ghana, especially the ones in Cape Coast and Elimina, in the Central region of the country are now classified as sites of historical interest and packaged as tourism products that earn the country much-needed foreign exchange (Boahen, 1964; NTDPG, 1996; PANAFEST Brochure, 1997). The packaging of slave routes as a tourism product has helped Ghana to realise the full potential of tourism development in the country.
UNESCO, in its 1995 World Heritage Programmes, has inscribed two cultural sites from Ghana, one of which is associated with slavery and the castle dungeons. UNESCO, with WTO support, has long planned to establish tourist routes linking sites between Europe, the Americas and West Africa, including sites such as Goree Island in Senegal, Elimina Castle in Ghana, Feydeau Island, the slave quarters of 18th century Nantes and the plantations of Christiansted and Fredriksted in St Croix, Virgin Islands, as essential factors in improving knowledge of the TAST (UNESCO, 1995).

It is equally important to note that diasporan visitors to the castle dungeons once used as slave depot as tourists are overwhelmed with sadness. On my visit to the dungeons with a group of mainly diasporan visitors, tears rolled down our faces, silence and sadness filled the dungeons. I listened in bewilderment to the quiet soft sobbing of those around me, showing their innermost feelings and experiencing a reconnection with their dead ancestors who centuries ago had been taken away from Africa to work on Western plantations. The visit to slave dungeons provided me and the tourists around me with first-hand information and an insight into how our forebears had been treated as prisoners of war before taken away from the land of their birth to the Americas and to Europe (Boahen, 1964; NTDPG, 1996; PANAFEST Brochure, 1997).
7.3.1 Dr Efua Sutherland - catalyst for PANAFEST

Dr. Sutherland was born in Cape Coast, one of the PANAFEST destinations and named after her great-grandmother Nana Ama Nyankoma of the Nsona Paado clan. Although she was not a Queen Mother in real life, historical evidence gathered by Kofi Anyidoho in the 1997 edition of PANAFEST brochure tribute to her death revealed that she came from a royal family from Gomua Brofo and Anomabo in the Central Region of Ghana (Anyidoho cited in PANAFEST Brochure, 1997). Historical evidence about the royalty of Dr. Sutherland described her as Queen Mother in her own right, especially since her father was once a chief of the Gomua Brofo and Anomabo royal family in the Central Region. In addition, her idealistic contribution and the development of packaging the Pan-Africanist ideology into a tourism product also make her the Queen Mother of PANAFEST celebrations because she was the catalyst for the concept of PANAFEST.

Dr. Sutherland's immense contribution to Ghanaian women and to the country as a whole was seen in her writings and dramatisation of the theatre play what was used to re-unite African people, the African-Americans and those in the diaspora. She did this through her creative writing and her success in unveiling PANAFEST internationally. Dr. Sutherland has had an enormous impact on Ghanaian society.

*It was also in this final phase of her work that she gave Ghana and the African world probably her grandest artistic vision for uplifting and*
Dr. Sutherland had an artistic cultural vision in developing a local drama festival into an international drama festival, which is now a dynamic tourist product. PANAFEST, since its inception, has captured the imaginations of millions of people to witness the notorious slave passages and routes that took millions of Africans into slavery to Europe and the USA. Dr. Sutherland died on January 21, 1996. In paying tribute to her contribution to PANAFEST, Kofi Anyidoho (1997) stated that Dr Sutherland (Auntie Efua), as she was affectionately known, was a cultural visionary and activist and her impact on society had been comprehensive and enduring (Anyidoho, 1997, cited in PANAFEST Brochure, 1997).

Anyidoho (1997) asserted that Dr. Sutherland was a teacher, research scholar, poet, dramatist and social worker, who devoted her life to the building of models of excellence in cultural and education, and to the training of young people who would carry her vision far into the future (Anyidoho, 1997). However, her outstanding contribution to human development and her idealistic vision of Pan-Africanism is now packaged as a tourism product. PANAFEST has been a significant vehicle in attracting tourists to Ghana increasing tourism development.
and foreign exchange earnings in Ghana (NTDPG, 1996; PANAFEST Brochure, 1997).

### 7.3.2 PANAFEST and the Historical Slave Routes in Ghana

The slave route programmes include the Salaga slave market and other historic sites in Northern Ghana and the Door of No Return in Cape Coast castle in the central region of Ghana. Pilgrims to Cape Coast and Elimina go along an old slave route to visit Assin Manso (PANAFEST Brochure, 1997). Pilgrims embark on the historic journey to Anomabo via boat (canoe) and ride back through what was named the “Door of No Return” during the days of slavery at Cape Coast castle and now has been renamed the “Door of Return” as a symbol of hope (PANAFEST Brochure, 1997).

The first international Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival celebration was held in Cape Coast, Elimina and Accra from the 12th to the 19th December 1992 under the title "The Re-emergence of African Civilization" (PANAFEST Brochure, 1997). The launch of PANAFEST was followed by a series of activities that included national playwriting competitions, organized seminars and workshops on Pan-Africanism all over the country. In 1997 the third PANAFEST in the series (eight to date held biannually with the last one in 2007) was combined with 1997 Oguaa Fetu Afahye, a traditional festival of the chiefs and people of
Cape Coast, Ghana (PANAFEST Brochure, 1997). The purpose of celebrating the two festivals together was to bring in more local, national and international tourists to the festivals and to promote national pride. Celebrating the story of Africa through PANAFEST has helped Africans to interact with one another and to generate new confidence, creativity and hopefully greater unity for the people of Africa as wished for by Dr. Sutherland.

The detail of PANAFEST can be seen from the programme of the seventh PANAFEST in 2005. Africans and African-American travellers travelled from all over the world to participate in the festival, first flying to Accra then moving on to Cape Coast and Elimina - the traditional locations of the festival. Participants who were interested in visiting more historical sites travelled on to Kumasi and Northern Ghana before heading back home (PANAFEST, 2005).

Anansi Travels is one of many tour guides that organised PANAFEST trips from USA, Europe and the UK to Ghana for the 2005 PANAFEST. Below is Anansi Travels’ schedule of festival events and programmes (see Table 7.1). Participants to PANAFEST arrived in Accra on Saturday, July 23 and were met by an Anansi tour guide and taken to hotels in Cape Coast before being treated to some sightseeing in Accra. The highlights in Accra included the National Museum, Makola Market,
Chapter seven: The Paradox of the Akan Queen Mothers

the Art Centre, the W.E.B. Du Bois Memorial Centre for Pan-African Culture, the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park, the beaches and the Aburi Botanical Gardens. The Anansi Travels tour then followed PANAFEST as detailed below:

**Table 7.1: Anansi Travels Tour Guide [July 23 – August 2, 2005]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Departure from Accra</th>
<th>Saturday 230705</th>
<th>Cape Coast/ Elimina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape Coast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>240705</td>
<td>Carnival day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>250705</td>
<td>Historical Sites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elimina</td>
<td>Tuesday 260705</td>
<td>The return journey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Coast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>270705</td>
<td>Official opening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>280705</td>
<td>Women's Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>290705</td>
<td>Youth Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>300705</td>
<td>Grand Durbar of Chiefs and Queen Mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>310705</td>
<td>Rites of passage and naming ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>010805</td>
<td>Emancipation day and closing ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumasi</td>
<td>Tuesday 020805</td>
<td>Sightseeing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Source: Anansi Travels, 2005]

PANAFEST opened on Sunday July 24, 2005 with carnival day in Cape Coast. It included a colourful procession of floats, brass bands, masqueraders, Asafo companies and youth groups through the principal streets of Cape Coast. The procession ended up at the Cape Coast Centre for National Culture - the official venue of PANAFEST. On Monday 25th July PANAFEST visited some historic sites in Cape Coast.

On Tuesday July 26, PANAFEST moved to Elimina for the Return Journey and Akwaaba (Welcome) Ceremony, which involved a historic boat (canoe) ride from Cape Coast castle dungeon and the Door of
Return to Elimina castle to be received by traditional leaders and elders for a welcome home reception on the forecourt of Elimina castle.

Back in Cape Coast on Wednesday, July 27 was the official opening ceremony for international dignitaries and invited guests and other participants in the courtyard of Cape Coast castle and dungeons. The evening ceremony included drama performances at the Centre for National Culture and musical and other performances at Adisadel Park in Cape Coast. Thursday July 28 was Women’s Day and staged a colloquium on the topic of HIV/AIDS and women’s issues followed by an evening drama performance at Centre for National Culture and musical and other performances at Adisadel Park. Friday July 29 was Youth Day and featured a colloquium on youth issues and HIV/AIDS. Again the evening continued with drama, music and other performances at the Centre for National Culture and Adisadel Park (Anansi Travels, 2005).

Saturday July 30 was the Grand Durbar and procession of the Chiefs and the Queen Mothers and other important personalities through the principal streets of Cape Coast starting from Victoria Park in Cape Coast. According to Ofori-Ansa (1997), the Durbar is an English word that comes from the Indo-Persian term for “ruler’s court”. The Durbar in Ghana is a colourful social event involving the gathering of Ghanaian
traditional political rulers and their subjects who sit in state in an open-air court so that special government officials and invited guests can extend greetings and pay homage by presenting gifts to the Akan traditional kings and chiefs. The Durbar honours Akan ancestors and rekindles their bond to the people, revives unity, cleanses the society, and prays for the fruitfulness of the land and the welfare of the people. Akan people organise Durbars to enstool Akan chiefs, kings, Queen Mothers (Ofori-Ansa, 1997). In Ghana, the Durbar is accompanied by music and dance, ceremonies, and the procession of the chief and his entourage followed by the Queen Mother.

Sunday July 31 featured the Rites of Passage/Naming Ceremony in Cape Coast for youth of the brothers and sisters from the diaspora. This ritual ceremony was performed by a pre-arrangement request from 8:00 pm to midnight, known as “Reverential Evening” on the eve of Emancipation Day began with a candle-lit procession through the principal streets of Cape Coast to the castle courtyard and featured an evening commemorating African ancestors and ended with a midnight proclamation of Emancipation Day. Monday August 1st was Emancipation Day and started off at Assin Manso and the site of the last bath just outside Cape Coast. The day ended with a closing ceremony that included a dinner dance and an award night at the Cape Coast Centre for National Culture (Anansi Travels, 2005).
Chapter seven: The Paradox of the Akan Queen Mothers

For those PANAFEST visitors who wanted to extend their stay in Ghana to August 10, Anansi Travel offered a trip to Kumasi and on northwards to Mole Park. A number of historic sites were on offer in Kumasi for sightseeing including the Kumasi Cultural Art Centre, the Kejetia Market, surrounding small villages rich in crafts of bead making, weaving of kente cloth, carving of Ashanti stools and pottery making (Anansi Travels, 2005).

7.3.3 Organisational Structure of PANAFEST

The organisation of PANAFEST is overseen by an International Board comprising fifteen board members of whom five were women at the time this research was undertaken. The International Board is made up of representatives of various constituencies that have supported PANAFEST drawn from a range of countries including Ghana, South Africa, the Caribbean, USA and the Americas, the United Kingdom and Nigeria. The Executive Secretary of PANAFEST noted that PANAFEST recognises the importance of having women on board. One of the women is Esi Sutherland - the daughter of Dr. Sutherland. Both the Executive Chairman and the Executive Secretary agreed that the reason for having women on the International Board is because PANAFEST celebrates Women’s Day, which is solely managed and run by women.
National PANAFEST Board Members

Underneath the International Board is a National Committee, which coordinates PANAFEST and is run by two men – the PANAFEST Executive Chairman and the Secretary. Underneath this are local committees and community committees. The representation of women on the national committee is very low – only one at the time of the research. PANAFEST officials recognise the importance of having women represented on the various committees and contributing to the organisation of the festival, as stated by its Executive Chairman of PANAFEST Foundation.

*We recognise the importance of having women on our board ... And some others from outside the country who are members of the board, but this is only at the board level.*

The Executive Secretary of PANAFEST asserted that at every stage in the planning of the PANAFEST programme, there is a strong involvement of women, especially on Women’s Day and Youth’s Day. It is seen as extremely important to have Queen Mothers at the Durbar. Again according to the Executive Chairman of PANAFEST:

*If you talk about the bazaar that we hold, it is almost 70 per cent women who are trading at the African market. So we have heavy involvement of women and I think that by and large it is the interest of women that has helped this festival.*

At the national PANAFEST committee level, representatives are selected from the various sponsor and partner bodies affiliated to PANAFEST, e.g. Ghana Airways, Ghana Tourist Board, Ministry of Tourism,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Executive Chairman of PANAFEST Foundation asserted that representatives are not selected to reflect a gender balance so the gender mix of the National Committee depends on who the organisation in question nominates to represent PANAFEST at committee level:

*The national level, as I said, people come in because of the offices they occupy, not because of their personal interest, so depending on which organisation nominates whom. So there is no specific gender balance or equation of representation there.*

However, at a local level – in Cape Coast and Elimina - where the local committees are, Queen Mothers are heavily involved and represented in all the activities to provide the festival:

*We also have women on the exhibitions, women on the bazaar; almost all the programmes have women on them. Therefore, it is quite spread. I do not want to pretend that for that reason there is certain bias. It is just that it is out of interest that we have the women in various committees. It is not because we want to give any special privileges to women.*

### 7.3.4 PANAFEST and the role of the Akan Queen Mothers

The Executive Secretary of PANAFEST asserted that the Akan Queen Mothers play very important role and their involvement therefore cannot be ruled out. Both the Chairman and the Secretary of the International Board acknowledged the role of women in PANAFEST and attributed its creation to the venerable Dr. Sutherland:

*We in PANAFEST give pride and place to women first and foremost because the festival itself was given birth to by a women and we have always at all the editions of PANAFEST paid tribute to the memory of Dr. Efua Sutherland who had scripted the first proposal for the celebration of PANAFEST.*
According to the Executive Chairman of PANAFEST, in terms of who plays what role when it comes to PANAFEST there is no specific gender role. However, Queen Mothers play specific regal roles in the PANAFEST programme that manifest the traditional, cultural and social heritage of the achievements of the Akan people of which Queen Mothers are co-rulers. In other words, the participation of Queen Mothers in PANAFEST adds colour to the celebrations, which is definitely of great importance to people from the diaspora:

*Queen Mothers come in because of the expositions, which we are talking about, say the Durbar; everybody who comes to PANAFEST wants to know what is the role of Queen Mothers.*

On the representation of women on the PANAFEST Planning Committees, the Executive Chairman noted that since its inception in 1992, PANAFEST has involved women in all the programmes of action. Women are represented at all the committees’ right down from the international committee levels, to national committee levels and to local committee level. In addition, they actually handle the logistics of implementation of the programmes. As the Executive Secretary asserted:

*Pragmatically, we have always try to at least since 1997 have a specific days set aside for our women to identify the problem that still face the African women in trying to make strides the progress within the over all male dominated society.*

This means that the 1993 and 1995 PANAFESTs, interestingly which preceded the Beijing Platform of Action (see Chapter two), did not have a Women’s Day. The Executive Secretary asserted that women, especially
Queen Mothers, play significant roles on the PANAFEST committees at all levels and he sees PANAFEST as a platform that brings to gender issues to the forefront and create a forum for what he calls women’s issues in the transition from age-old traditions to more modern-day thinking.

*We all bear witness that when we address women’s issues today, it is an issue of gender; it is in a transition state, because we are leaving a traditional classification of women into a more progressive and redefinition of women’s role in our society and effectively we see that in African societies.*

Thus, PANAFEST acts a platform that brings to bear and create the forum for women’s issues in transition and supporting African women to reach and climb to higher heights in society.

### 7.3.5 PANAFEST Seating Arrangements

On seating arrangements at PANAFEST celebrations, the Executive Chairman and the Executive Secretary refuted that the seating arrangements at PANAFEST celebrations reflected a gender imbalance in which women, Queen Mothers in particular, assumed background or lesser positions at social and public functions:

*Absolutely, we don’t change roles when it comes to PANAFEST. They play the natural roles they play in their local settings. So the chiefs, we normally, wherever they are in a procession, they are accompanied by their Queen Mothers. When they sit, the Queen Mothers sit next to them, we do not want to break that one up. No, we all want them to be as real as they have been and that is what people want to learn about.*
Answering a question about PANAFEST and the role of women in festival celebrations and their relegation to background position, the Executive Secretary of the Ghana Journalist Association (GJA) was of the opinion that re-assigning roles for women and making that role important was very necessary: and cited the commemoration of the slave trade:

*For instance, PANAFEST it is about, you know giving recognition to the black race and yet, the focus is mostly on men. Not because the organisers seek to place emphasis on men but your history has determined that.*

As pointed out by the Ga Queen Mother in the Greater Accra mixed-focus group interview:

*In anything we do, if women are not included it will never be successful. Women are involving and play very important role in the selection and nomination of candidates for the post of chiefs in the Ga traditional area in the Greater Accra Region...... During the procession to thank the ‘gods’ of the land, it is the chief and his entourage who take central position and take the lead followed by women, but behind the scene, it is women who do the bulk of the work, that is playing all the important roles.*

So despite women’s immense contribution to the festival celebrations in relation to the growth of tourism development in Ghana, women are always in a marginalised position and their roles, involvement and contributions are downplayed. Although the ideals of PANAFEST were initiated through the dream of a woman, it is sad to note that men dominate the whole PANAFEST project and movement, although one finds women playing key roles in preparing for PANAFEST.
The PANAFEST case study has helped me to understand the marginalised position of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations from a local perspective. According to Akan oral traditions, Akan women and their Queen Mothers, in particular, play a very significant role in festival celebrations – not just PANAFEST but a number of other festivals mentioned by the individual and focus group interviewees (see Table 7.2).

Festivals are celebrated in Ghana all year round. This study will concentrate on festivals that were mentioned during the data gathering in Ghana from March 2004, in which Akan women and their Queen Mothers play a significant role.
Table 7.2: Ghanaian festivals mentioned during the data gathering

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Festival name</th>
<th>Festival celebrates:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Central region</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Atiesifo</td>
<td>The living</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aborkyeri</td>
<td>The ban on deer hunting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Owooakwa</td>
<td>The memory of men and women who sacrificed their lives for the communities in Cape Coast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ndobiaaba</td>
<td>The abundance of food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fetu Afahye</td>
<td>Thanksgiving/first contact with white man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bakatue</td>
<td>Lifting the ban on fish harvesting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adonteng</td>
<td>Women entering the woodlands to fetch firewood for the preparation of festive foods for the gods, the chiefs and all the invited guests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ashanti region</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Akwesideai</td>
<td>Honouring the ancestors and the Ashanti King/Purification of Ancestry Stools- every six weeks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adae</td>
<td>The vision and heritage of the Asante Kingdom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Greater Accra Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hommowo</td>
<td>The shaming of hunger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dipo</td>
<td>The initiation of young girls into womanhood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Volta Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hobetesosho</td>
<td>Migration of Anlos - the tyrannical ruler of Notsie - from Togoland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Brong-Ahafo</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appoo</td>
<td>The checking of monetary inappropriateness in traditional political systems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shria koo</td>
<td>Fetching clay to whitewash the chief’s palace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eastern Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Odwira</td>
<td>Harvest/Thanksgiving.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, most of the roles that Akan women play at the festival are in activities that do not attract the media spotlight or headlines. Again, Ghanaian oral traditions maintain that even though the contributions and involvement of Ghanaian women and their Queen Mothers in festival celebrations are enormous and immeasurable, they are marginalised in Ghanaian society. Ironically, although women are marginalised at festival celebrations, almost all the respondents agreed that women are the custodians of festival celebrations, and all respondents of both educated and informal educated attested to that.
As one female focus group participant in the mixed focus group in Cape Coast said:

*All the burden of the festival, before, during and after are all on the shoulders of the women. Therefore women can be described as the custodians of festival celebrations because they hold the key to all the problems and the answers. I am saying this because they are the very one who ensure the safety of the chiefs, ensure that all guest at the festivals are catered for.*

One educated male respondent interviewed in Accra asserted in African society, women or womanhood is always placed in the background and that applies when it comes to festivals and significance of festival and how they are even organised:

*So you notice that when it comes to festivals, women only play a background role, they don’t play concrete roles.*

One male, educated respondent from Cape Coast, one of PANAFEST celebrations, supported the assertion of festivals focusing on men and argues that it seems that the traditional rulers do not pick up on the sensitivity of the situation.

*The chiefs sit in the front and their women counterparts; a few of them just near them or sit in the background. The Queen Mothers have one or two chaperones and that is that and may be a few more women who may be there but the entourage of male chief are bigger and say a lot more.*

Another male (educated) respondent in Accra explained further that the festivals in Ghana focus on men and that African society is male-dominated, characterised by cultural and traditional norms thereby requiring African women to assume a background position. In addition, this situation has over the years transcended through everything
including the celebrations and commemoration of important event. What is more interesting is that the educated male respondent mentioned the media as having an important role to play in educating the public on issues surrounded male-dominated society in Ghana and Africa as a whole. He however admitted that the problem of male-domination over African society will take a long time to overcome and, as it is recognised as an issue, the media will have a very important role to play in changing this situation. However the male hegemony of the media may make this problematic:

... but don’t also forget that the media, which has to inform and educate the people, also suffers from this strain of male domination.

The educated male respondent, who spoke on the media, admitted that the situation in the media is getting better because the tool for correcting the situation is education, but when it comes to the festival, it is a different case.

Festival is not an issue of education... it is an issue of history and societal development.

### 7.3.6 Akan Queen Mothers used as Embellishment of Festivals

There are three main reasons why the Akan Queen Mothers are involved and play a significant role in PANAFEST. Firstly, it is to do with their position as custodians of festivals and social, traditional and cultural heritage. The Executive Chairman of PANAFEST acknowledged the importance of the Queen Mothers in festival celebrations:
Now, they (Queen Mothers) come in because in most of the expositions, which we are talking about, say the Durbar. Everybody who comes to PANAFEST wants to know what the roles of Queen Mothers are. They learn a lot. They don’t come and look at the spectacle, but they want to find out what each person’s role is, which is of great importance to the people from the Diaspora.

Secondly, Women’s Day during PANAFEST is very spectacular because the organisers of PANAFEST movement give the Queen Mothers the opportunity to present themselves and project a positive image that is constantly changing and growing stronger:

The changing role of women in the whole PANAFEST movement actually depends on the theme that we have chosen for the edition of PANAFEST and they (woman) discuss what they can do.

Thirdly, the presence of Queen Mothers at PANAFEST celebration also adds colour to the celebration of the festival because the Queen Mothers, like their male counterparts, are dressed in rich traditional kente cloth with spectacular hairdos and matching gold ornaments.

They are depicted as ‘embellishments’ to a festival. Embellishment in the sense that they wear ear rings, bracelets so they just add colour to festivals do.

Although Ghanaian women and their Queen Mothers are very involved in festival celebrations, men overshadow the women on the day of the festival. This is attributed to traditional and cultural norms of Ghanaian society, with women assuming a background position. The Executive Chairman of PANAFEST, somewhat ambiguously, denied the existence of specific cultural norms whilst confirming the male hegemony:

Well, I do not know of specific cultural norms setting the women behind. What I suspect is happening is that people perceive women retrogressing
as a result of men holding on very strongly to the positions they hold in traditional or cultural sectors.

Significant numbers of male respondents from both the unstructured individual and group interviews argued that there are no specific cultural norms setting women behind the scenes. This denies the existence of Trokosi and FGM, which were discussed in Chapter two as cultural practices prevalent in Ghana, which are defined by male domination. However, most of the women I interviewed made it clear that the cultural norms of the country contributed to their inability to assert themselves.

In addition, the power and social standing of the Akan Queen Mothers as the co-rulers of the Akan traditional political institutions and custodians of Akan social, traditional and cultural heritage and organisers of the PANAFEST movement enables them to entice other Akan women to embellish PANAFEST and other festivals adding colour to them.

The Executive Director of the GJA emphasised that the significance of the festivals is about male domination and that they are a way to showcase the authority of the chief and focus on his men - the focus of every festival in Ghana is on the chief, who is always surrounded by his men:

For every festival, whether it is the Odwira, whether it is the Hobetestosho, whether it is the Ga Homowo celebrated by the Gas, you
In addition to using festivals as a focus of male domination and authority, one female speaker in the Cape Coast focus group discussion mentioned that the idea of festivals is about safeguarding the interests of the chiefs because they are the mouthpieces of the people.

### 7.4 Akan Women and Festival Celebrations

On the role and involvement of women in festival celebrations, a Professor at the University of Ghana in Accra, says there are many ritual festival celebrations in Akan society and women play very important roles in all of them. Such roles, he asserts, include “Shira koo” (fetching clay) which involves whitewashing the chiefs’ palaces and tidying up the town for the commencement of the festivals. He again mentioned that at festival celebrations women are made to prepare festival foods and:

... it is taboo to even take part if women are menstruating and therefore not allowed at chief palaces and come near the deities or gods, rather elderly women who have reached their menopause are allowed to prepare food for the deities. It is taboo for young Queen Mothers to be allowed into deities’ room but even so they play an important role in festival celebrations.

Throughout the research, both the individual interviewees and the focus group interviewees emphasised the role and the importance of women
in festival celebrations. Describing women as the custodians of the festival celebrations, one of the women participants in the Cape Coast focus group discussion explained that women hold the key to all successful festivals in Ghana, especially in Akan society:

*During festivals, we have three things that are performed publicly by women that include the preparatory programme for the festival, the programmes of activities for the period of the festival celebrations and the aftermath programmes of accountabilities.*

The same speaker further explained that the only person allowed by tradition to prepare the chief’s food during festival celebrations is the chambermaid of the wife of the chief. This ensures that the life of the chief as the mouthpiece of both “Owooakwa” (the dead) and “Atiesifo” (the living) is safeguarded. She also explained that:

... women are therefore described as the custodians of festival celebrations because they hold the key to all answers and solutions to all problems that may occur during and after all festival celebrations in Akan society.

Although women play quite significant role in festival celebrations in Akan society, they are never allowed in the deities’ room or the big room as mentioned by one of the male speakers in the Accra all-male focus group interviews:

*In my hometown if we are going to visit the gods or deities, women are not allowed because it is taboo. This is an age-old tradition that cannot be changed. In addition, should women be part of the team, such women not be in their menstrual periods. Then again, those particular women are strictly never allow to be too close when rituals are being performed.*

Queen Mothers, by tradition, take a more dominant role in the planning of festivals and the commemoration of other important events in Akan society. Such events include puberty rites (initiation of young girls into
adulthood or womanhood) that are the right of passage for young girls into womanhood. One puberty rite in the Eastern Region of Ghana is called “Dipo” /Bregoro (see chapter 2). Both terms were used interchangeably in the individual and focus groups interviews.

The first menstruation period of girls is celebrated to announce to the community that these girls have reached womanhood and are ready to for marriage. In accordance with traditional and cultural laws and regulations that govern the customary practices of the Akan society, other similar puberty rites rituals are performed in Ghana. In all these festivals, women and Akan Queen Mothers play very significant roles.

Although it was very evident that Akan women take a background position, despite their immense contribution to festival celebrations, all the respondents agreed that behind all successful festivals are women; and as one female respondent in mixed focus group interviews in Greater Accra said:

*There is an adage that if there is a problem to be solved, we turn to ask the old lady in the house because we believe she is full of wisdom and traditional knowledge. We never say let go and ask the men on how to solve the problem. This is a full indication of the importance of women in problem solving techniques. Again, there is a saying that behind every successful man there is a woman...*
7.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed TAST and its enormous impacts on African society. Slaves were captured from across Ghana and imprisoned in Cape Coast and Elimina castles before passing through the Door of No Return to be shipped to Europe and the New World (USA). Generations later, following the abolition of slavery, the descendants of slaves, now often successful diasporan Ghanaians, are able to return to Ghana to explore their roots. This return is recognised through PANAFEST, which builds on a rich Ghanaian tradition of festivals to celebrate African culture and provides a more positive interpretation of TAST. PANAFEST takes visitors along the slave routes and offers a schedule of events, which symbolises and celebrates the homecoming. Women take on important roles in the organisation of, and preparation for these festivals. Yet apart from the Queen Mother, who sits at the right hand side of the chiefs, they take a background role, adding only colour to the festival. The festivals foreground men and focus on their achievements emphasising the male hegemony of Ghanaian society, women are specifically prevented from participation in many events during menstruation and thus, despite their critical role as decision-makers in Akan society, they are marginalised. PANAFEST does little to challenge the prevailing cultural politics in Ghanaian society in fact it strengthens the male hegemony and it is ironic that it was conceived by a woman.
CHAPTER EIGHT

BEYOND PANAFEST – WIDER CONTRADICTIONS ABOUT WOMEN IN GHANA

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8.1 Introduction

This chapter moves on to broaden the focus of the study from the specific case of PANAFEST and the paradox of the Queen Mothers to the more general case of the marginalisation of women in Ghanaian society:

In traditional Ghanaian society, women from royal families have played and continued to play an effective role in public affairs ... at the national level, the constitution accords women their fundamental human rights... however, in practice the participation of women in public life has not been felt very much.  


The chapter considers women and their empowerment in a range of contexts – tourism, education, and finance to understand the position of women in Ghanaian society. The Akan Queen Mothers are conferred with power and authority yet their appearances in public and social functions are seen as less important than those of their male counterparts - the chiefs or kings. At social and public functions, Akan women and their Queen Mothers assume lesser positions (Schwimmer, 1995), yet the Akan Queen Mothers are the co-rulers of the Akan traditional political chieftaincy institutions (Stoeltje, 2003).
The history of the power and authority of Akan women, the Queen Mothers in particular, is told through oral traditions passed from one generation to another of the Akan people (Buah, 1998; Boahen, 1964). However, what puzzled me in undertaking the research for this study being an Akan myself, who grew up and was schooled in an Akan-speaking community in Ghana, was that I never knew the full story and the mystery surrounding the power and authority of Akan women or their Queen Mothers. What I did know is what I heard from Akan speakers themselves that the Akan Queen Mothers were very powerful and, through observation. I noticed that Akan women are very assertive and had strong characters. However, there are questions that need answers with regard to the assertiveness of Ghanaian women and explanations as to why they assume background or lesser positions at social, state and public functions or gatherings. I wanted to know: What is it that has allowed a male hegemony to develop in Ghana and relegated strong Akan women into background or lesser roles in society?

Although there is very little information published on the position of Akan women, there are a few scattered works on the general contributions of women in Ghana in relation to national development and gender-related issues. Both Greenstreet (1978) and Bartle (1978) have commented on the position of women in Ghana as follows:
The woman’s role now transcends the boundaries of her traditional functions, her numerous and valuable economic activities enable her to enjoy a great deal of economic independence and equality. (Greenstreet, 1978: 116 cited in Women in Ghana, 1990:25)

In Akan societies, the matrilineal system accords women high status and significant social and political positions. (Greenstreet, 1978: 122 cited in Women in Ghana, 1990:25)

The social structure of the Obo community (one of the Akan societies) has a high regard for the women. Matrilineal results in the subordination of marriage and conjugal dependence and confer certain forms of power, prestige and independence to women in the community. (Bartle, 1978:737 cited in Women in Ghana, 1990: 21)

The data presented in this chapter will ascertain the true perceptions of the power and authority of women in wider Ghanaian society and was collected through the series of individual and focus group interviews conducted in Accra, Cape Coast and Elimina.

8.2 Women and Society - Traditional and Cultural Politics in Ghanaian Society

There were three times that the word taboo was mentioned in the interviews and focus groups. First, it was mentioned by a Professor at the University of Ghana, Legon, secondly by a speaker in the all-male focus group discussion in Accra and thirdly by a female from the all-female focus group discussion in Accra. All three speakers maintained that it is taboo for women to be too close to the gods or deities and to enter the dark room (the big room or the deities’ room) especially during menstruation. As the female speaker said:
The menstrual period is indeed a taboo and by our traditional laws, women in their menstrual periods are not permitted to carry out certain functions like going too close to the traditional stool of the chief.

The spokesperson for the all-female focus group discussion in Accra argued a point that I strongly believe in and that I believe goes towards hindering Ghanaian women in progressing to higher heights in life:

We all know that by using women’s menstruation as an excuse to prevent women from entering the deity room and describing it as a taboo and abomination, is in a way cheating on women and robbing women of their birth rights and therefore relegating women to assume lesser positions at public and social functions.

A female speaker from the all-female focus group interview in Accra had this to say:

This we believe is very unfair on women but there is nothing we can do because this is our tradition and our way of life that is our culture passed on to us by our ancestors and therefore very difficult to alter or change.

This confirmed the Executive Secretary of the GJA’s notion of festivals, i.e. that festival celebrations are male-dominated and the idea of festivals and other social events is for men to further push women into the background. He said:

African society is male dominated and it [male domination] transcends everything including celebrations and commemorations of important events.

Throughout the data collection, both well-educated men and women and informally-educated men and women agree on the importance of the role women play in ensuring the success of all types of festivals in the Akan society. There were arguments offered for and against the cultural politics that push women into background roles in Akan
society. One such disagreement occurred between two male speakers in the all-male focus group discussion in Accra and, when I asked them to explain, this is what they had to say and I quote:

*Only selected people are allowed to enter the deity room and they normally say “we are entering the big house or room” and this is purely tradition and therefore women are not allowed in. Should a woman disobey and enter the ‘big room’ and something happens to her, then she has herself to blame.*

The opposite side of the argument was provided by a second speaker in the focus group:

*Ironically, it is only in Africa that women are prevented from certain things in the name of tradition and culture. This does not happen in any European country, women are not exempted from anything. An example is the Great Britain, where the Head of State is a woman, in the name of Queen Elizabeth the Second. For this reason, women are not exempted or excluded in anything they do. It is only in Africa that women are always pushed behind the scene …*

Thus, there are two opinions, i.e. for and against, about the old traditions and socio-cultural norms of the people of Akan society surrounding the taboo on menstruation in Akan society. This is what a female speaker from all-female focus group interview in Accra had to say:

*In my hometown if we are going to visit the deities (gods), women are not allowed because it is a taboo. This is an old tradition that cannot be changed. Should women be part of the team, such woman should not be in a menstrual period. Then, again, those particular women are strictly not allowed to be too close when rituals are being performed.*

Ending this taboo would enable positive progression of women but at the cost of traditional customs. It is highly doubtful that Akan society will be rid of this taboo since it is embedded in their view of women.
Issues affecting women’s social and public position are cultural politics and include education, politics, health, religion, economics, finance, childbearing and their media image. What have become Ghana’s traditional cultural and social practices are heavily influenced by the arrival of the early Europeans and the later British colonialization with their ideological representations of women determining how they are still viewed as background structures.

Despite the cultural politics, some women are able to take a leading role in matters concerning their communities and on social issues. Almost all the respondents, both individual and focus group interviewees agreed that women assume a background position because of the traditional socio-cultural norms. Another instance of Ghanaian culture where women assume a lesser position or take a background role is in the traditional courtrooms. According to a female speaker in the all-female focus group in Accra:

*All these are laid down traditional rules and regulations that are very difficult to change over night.*

The Executive Secretary of the GJA’s argued that Ghana is a male-dominated country, and a male respondent in the research study hoped that in the future, the country will put the cultural traditions aside to address gender concerns to ensure the progress of Ghanaian women as enshrined in the 1996 constitution:

*African society is male dominated and it transcends through everything including the celebrations and commemorations of important events.*
Some of these cultural practices are serious set backs, traditional practices because they have been accepted over the years and have become a cultural phenomenon.

The Executive Chairman of PANAFEST added his voice and said:

**There are no specific cultural norms setting the women behind, but what I suspect is happening is that people perceive women retrogressing as a result of men holding on very strongly onto the position they hold traditional or cultural sectors. I must say that yes, this is true, but there is evidence of women, breaking through that barrier without waiting for men to dictate what they should do.**

### 8.3 Formal Influences – Colonial Powers and Male Hegemony in Ghana

Until the colonial era, Akan women had always asserted themselves through the traditional and cultural heritage left to them by their female ancestors. However, this assertion of power and authority by Akan women has changed dramatically over the centuries as a result of external influences that has eventually led to their diminished authority and gradually turned into a covert form of power. (see chapter six).

One such influence that led to the diminishing authority and declining power of Akan women, as Bartle (1978) argued was “the economic sexism, which came with the European capitalist economy that brought commercial and industrial institutions”. Bartle (1978) argued further that the Swiss Basel missionaries hired men to work as brick makers and timber cutters, while women were taught to sew and be useful as housewives, rather than economically independent.
In agreement with this interpretation of the causes leading to the diminished authority and declining power of Akan women, the Executive Secretary of the GJA pointed out that it was about the history of Ghana and her association with the arrival of the colonial powers on the then Gold Coast:

New institutions, like banking, a national army, police, a legal court system, large commercial and state corporations, and a civil service came to replace some of the functions of matrilineal descent groups: accumulation and transfer of capital, defence, social control, justice, trade control and executive political activity

(Bartle, 1978:4)

Bartle (1978) asserts that the introduction of Western economic principles have contributed to the decline of social functions in the matrilineage society.

Most of the functions of the new institutions were directed to the social and economic needs of the modern urban society that did not exist in earlier agrarian society ... matrilineage has survived, however, by adaptation to changing, urbanising conditions, and will continue to do so as long as the state recognises chieftaincy, “customary” laws related to inheritance and marriage, and the land tenure system....the covert status of women, described above, will continue, in modified forms.

(Bartle, 1978:5)

Here, the Executive Secretary of the GJA gave the example of the TAST to demonstrate the relationship between the colonial governors in the then Gold Coast and Akan women that contributed to the erosion of the power and authority of these women and eventually relegated them to background positions:

When they were taking women as slaves out of this continent, what it is they didn’t do to women; the governor for instance will pardon women. You know, women would be those who would be pardoned, if you were lucky and the governor slept with you.
The Executive Secretary of the GJA contended that it was not only in Africa that women were relegated to assume background positions and that it was also an issue in Europe:

> Even with Europeans when they came, that role that relegated the woman to the background was there. Colonial powers dealt ruthlessly with men when slaves were stubborn and if they were men; they were treated worse when they were men than were stubborn women slaves.

The Executive Secretary of the GJA was of the view that the problem of relegating women to background positions in society will need enormous efforts to overcome and that this is a problem throughout Africa.

Other powerful institutions which have changed the course of women, including the Akan women, are the media and the UN. Since the UN’s Decade for Women (1976-1985), the media is one institution that the UN Assembly has relied on to change societal perceptions of women, as well as using it to advocate the progressive advancement of women. However, whether the media has lived up to the UN’s expectations in relation to promoting the advancement and development of women more positively is one that needs national and international debate and focus.

On the question of how the media can help change societal perceptions of Akan women, the Executive Secretary of the GJA said it needs
refocusing in order to facilitate the celebration of the important achievements of women:

*It means that we have to refocus, for instance why don’t we pick on more important achievements of women like Nana Yaa Asantewaa? Why don’t we celebrate, have you ask yourself why when it comes to festivals we have never celebrated the achievements of our great women?*

The problem of marginalising women, the Executive Secretary of the GJA said, was not only accepted culture but also covers areas that transcends all aspects of our society, even modern things like journalism. He explained that Ghanaian journalists were not happy to see a woman elected as the first president of GJA in fifty years:

*We are yet to have a woman as a general secretary; you saw the hulabaloo when a woman became president of GJA for the first time in fifty years; and yet when she became president, look at the gains that were associated with her leadership.*

The achievements associated with the first woman president of GJA, the Executive Secretary of the GJA said were enormous and a sign that women have great potential and that the basis of the problem is culture. Society must be forced to recognise such potential and progress national development:

*Because most of the negative and the defective stance we take are because we haven’t overcome some of our cultural perspectives that push women and leave them behind.*

To overcome the negative cultural perspectives that leave women behind, the Executive Secretary of the GJA asserted that many Ghanaian women - like Nana Yaa Asantewaa – have played a critical role in fighting the colonial administration.
Nana Yaa Asantewaa was a the Queen Mother of Ejisu in the Ashanti region, a Ghanaian legend warrior and a symbol of Akan pride who took the people of Ashanti to war against the British colonial authority, in demand of the returned of their King, Nana Prempeh, who the British colonialist exiled to Seychelles Islands (Boahen, 1994). The war was dubbed “Yaa Asantewaa and the Ashanti-British War of 1900-1”, (Boahen, 1994).

The Executive Secretary of the GJA believed that the media can help change such negative attitudes but was afraid that the media cannot do it alone because the media in Ghana was also itself a victim of this male-domination. Asked to explain further why he thought the media in Ghana was a victim, the Executive Secretary of the GJA responded by posing a question: ‘Why did it take us [journalists in Ghana] so long to vote for a woman to be GJA president?’ He suggested that this was because society is male-dominated and within Ghanaian culture where gender roles were clearly assigned. Boys are encouraged to pursue higher education whereas girls are expected to be in the kitchen with children.

All the respondents, from both individual and focus group interviews agreed that the formal position of Akan women is always associated with traditional socio-cultural norms which have, over the years, helped
reinforce the pushing of women into assuming background positions at social and public functions or gatherings.

The respondents explained that although women are endowed with intelligence and rich traditional oral values, traditional and cultural gender stereotyping has forced Akan women to assume a background positions in the very land that was founded through the blood, sweat and toil of their mythical female ancestors. Some of the stereotyping that has relegated Akan women into the background includes: their lack of formal education and biological make-up and use of menstruation as a taboo thereby banning women from taking part or performing certain traditional, cultural or religious rituals.

Both male and female respondents agreed that there were widespread stereotyping of gender roles in Akan society. One male respondent from the all-male focus group in Accra said that when it comes to our traditional socio-cultural practices, women are treated as inferior beings and fall short of so many things even though they outnumber men in national demographic figures. Women are often unwilling to come forward in Akan society, because they are not as courageous as men and there is an assumption that they cannot perform as well as men. One male respondent from the all-male focus group in Accra used the slaughtering of a sheep for sacrifice to the gods as an example to demonstrate why Akan women fell short of their men:
It is the woman who goes to buy the sheep for sacrifice, but when it comes to slaughtering the sheep, the task of slaughtering is handed over to a man. Not that these Akan women are inferior, or fall short but it all started from the beginning when women themselves began to hand over important tasks to men. This they did from generation to generation, passing it on as tradition and gradually becoming cultural norms for women to assume lesser positions at public and social gatherings.

This accepted tradition reinforces the perceptions of men being of a superior nature.

The current positions of Akan women in Ghana took a dramatic turn in 1975 when the UN’s Decade for Women was declared. The government of Ghana is a signatory to this declaration and did not hesitate in establishing the National Council on Women and Development (NCWD) to oversee all women’s groups in the country. As already discussed, the establishment of NCWD led to a number of women’s organisations like the Association of Women in the Media, FIDA, the Federation of Women Entrepreneurs and the Association of Queen Mothers (not just the Akan Queen Mothers of Akan society, but Queen Mothers across Ghana and beyond) and the 31st Women’s Movement (see Chapter 3). All these women groups fall under the umbrella of NCWD and their main objective is to advocate for the rights and progression of all women in Ghana.

The other objectives of these women’s organisations include empowering Ghanaian women through formal education, through economics and politics, starting at grassroots levels. However, although
some of these women’s groups are still active, most are not as vibrant as they used to be in the period from the mid-1970s to early in 2002 when there was a change of government. It is important to note that when this study was underway in Ghana, one of the main personalities I wanted to interview was an official from the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs (MWCA) but unfortunately this was not possible.

8.4 Women and Gender Issues in Ghana

Gender issues intertwine with the development and advancement of women in every society including Akan society, especially when women are gender stereotyped by societally-prescribed roles which marginalise them.

Even though, Ghana was among the first signatories to the 1975 UN Assembly Declaration on the Advancement of women there was no national gender policy at the time this data was collected, despite the establishment of NCWD in 1975. It was no surprise therefore that the responses from all individual interviewees working in government and private organisations on the question of gender policy in their own organisations were negative. Organisations that responded negatively stating there was no gender policy included: the PANAFEST Foundation, the 31st December Women movement (DWM), government organisations
and agencies like Ghana Tourist Board (GTB), Ghana Investment Centre (GIC), Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Women’ and Children Affairs and the National Cultural Centre in Accra and Cape Coast.

During the data collection, one respondent revealed that there was a draft national gender policy in its final stages. However, because of political upheaval in the country, the document had been shelved. Nevertheless, hopefully, as soon as political differences in Ghana are resolved, the draft gender policy will be put before Parliament and debated and will hopefully becomes official policy for the country to utilize.

The former First Lady of the Fourth Republic of Ghana and a political activist thought that the government in power at the time of the data collection was not very interested in gender issues despite setting up a separate Ministry for Women and Children Affairs as she explained:

According to the United Nations, all countries should stop setting up women’s ministries. And the reason is that men are the policy and decision makers and everything concerning women will be pushed to Women’s Ministry without first consulting the women and addressing the issues, therefore nothing will be done for the advancement of women.

She further noted that, in 1995, it was a UN decision at the Beijing Platform of Action in China that countries should not have a separate Women’s Ministry since separatism is a sign of a bad policy:

So the UN adopted it and said no country should have Women’s Ministry because it does not work. Rather, they should have women’s department under the Head of State should it be created and every government
Ministry should have something on gender so that in every Ministry, you have somebody responsible for the issue on gender.

Unfortunately, the former First Lady of the Fourth Republic of Ghana was not happy about the issues regarding gender and noted that:

It is not everybody who is a gender sensitive person or not even women; it is not every woman who is gender sensitive. Some women don’t even understand the issue of gender and are against women, but there are some men who are very, very gender sensitive, so you can put a man in there. In addition, send them for training on gender issues.

Although there was no gender policy in Ghana as stated earlier on, the government had already put in place an affirmative action plan that sought to achieve about 40% female participation in all learning institutions. The affirmative action is at all levels of education from primary school level to higher learning institution to encourage young girls and women to stay much longer in education. To fulfil the dream of gender issues being regarded important in Ghana, one of the female speakers from the mixed focus group discussion in Accra commented that:

We attended a conference in Accra called ‘Brain G Conference’, where women are encouraged to assert themselves in society and for such an encouraging move, more women are asserting themselves and taking up lead roles.

The main issues discussed at the conference, the same speaker went on to say was what was called ‘gender balance’, because the organisers of the conference had realised that:

If women are involved in everything we do, there are always positive results. This is one reason why women are asserting themselves and making their voices heard.
Chapter five, section three of Ghana’s 1992 constitution on Fundamental Human Rights and Freedom says: ‘women are guaranteed equal rights to training and promotion without any impediment from any person’. I believe women have equal capability to men and they can achieve equally well if given the opportunity. There are no written documents that stop or prevent women from aspiring to higher levels of education but it is up to women to prove their capabilities by working harder and proving society wrong by succeeding. The problem is their fear of what society will think of them if they go against the norm. The delay in the establishment of a national gender policy in Ghana is but one indication of enduring male domination.

8.4.1 Women and Politics in Ghana

The former First Lady of the Fourth Republic of Ghana in her comment about the current political situation in Ghana in relation to the progression of women’s issues says there is much political harassment by the current government. She also noted how most of the existing politicians and government structures do not understand the gender issues facing Ghana. She went on to say that participating in a democratic system which promotes women’s development is an important aspect of human development and nation building.

In support of the former First Lady’s comments on the current political position of women’s issues in Ghana, a former female Member of
Parliament confessed that liberty in Ghana has slowed down a little and, although she hesitated in responding, she said:

> And this is why I have to confess this liberty in Ghana has slowed down a little bit ....I mean women's liberation has slowed down a little bit, I don't know, when you came haven't you noticed that it has slowed down.

Although a former female Member of Parliament asserted that politics in Ghana had slowed down in terms of women's issues, she did say that it is about time we had a woman as a Head of State. But the problem is fear and the majority of women in Ghana are afraid of being ridiculed and called names. The issue of fear and being ridiculed cropped up in all the focus group discussions. A typical comment was this one from the mixed focus group interview in Accra:

> Nothing stops women from becoming Members of Parliament but what is happening is that is a woman proves to be very strong character.....society tends to look at you in a different eye and calls you all sorts of name.. that you are a witch or iron lady.

In addition to the issue of fear and public ridicule if women want to become MPs, a female speaker in the mixed focus group interviews in Accra said:

> I am very glad that my male colleague has mentioned that women are their own enemy. We have women who are prepared to stand as politicians and run for elections..... the problem is the fear that female colleague will not support her, let alone vote for her into parliament and the ridicules and different names that she may be called if she makes such attempts to stand for elections.. if you are not called names, the other problems are how to sustain your marriage and prevent broken homes, because if this happens, it is the children who suffer.

A number of the female respondents spoke about the perceptions of society with regard to strong women and commented on how outspoken
women were frequently referred to as witches, iron ladies, barren women or women with no husbands as ‘those kind of women’ willing to enter politics. The question people would like to know the answer to is: Is Ghanaian society or the public ready to take on board and vote for women to enter politics?

No women in her right thinking will allow herself to be called names and be ridiculed by people, especially with low social standing. Women find it very difficult to run for election due to the nature of politics in the country. Politics is also about money, you need to dish out money to entice voters to vote for you. However, women have financial problems and that is a major set back even though they may have political potential.

The answer to this question lies with female respondents from both the individual interviews and focus group discussions who agreed on one thing. They all agreed that unless society’s perception of women with strong characters changes, no women in her right senses will run for election for men of low social status to ridicule them. However, one male speaker from the mixed focus group discussion in Accra commented on women in politics and this is what he had to say:

Nobody is stopping women, but the problem is fear, many of our women are afraid of failure and afraid of what society will say if they are not able to make it to the top as they wish.

He went on to say that, the fear of what society will say about their failure is what is hindering women to take bold steps to enter politics and become MPs adding that:

Women are their own enemies because more often than not women tend not to support each other, now is the time for breaking all odds and starting supporting any woman that takes a bold step to be in male dominated society.
8.4.2 Education and Financial Empowerment of Women in Ghana

On women and education, both the individual and focus group respondents agreed that education is the key to progress and the advancement of women’s development. They pointed out that women’s lack of formal education is one of the causes that relegate Ghanaian women to the margins of society. In the case of Cape Coast, for example, respondents from both individual and focus groups interviews mentioned that the formal educational level of women in Cape Coast principality is lacking. Some of the reasons given for this include that women are seen as being child bearers and as only suitable for the kitchen. Until relatively recently, the majority of girls were married off early and therefore there was seen to be no need to enlist them into formal education or to support its continuation following basic formal education. The basic formal education would have helped them to be able to read and write their names after which a small proportion may have been diverted into vocational training and trade, e.g. for hairdressing or catering. As one female respondent in the female focus group interview in Cape Coast explained:

Many of us women are far behind in so many ways because the majority of us are not able to progress further in life and have not been able to stand on our feet as we should as women. This I mean relegateing most of the women to background positions and this lack of formal education has indeed affected women in every aspect of life.

However, although lack of formal education for women in general in Ghana has contributed negatively to their advancement and
development, all the respondents agreed that formal education for women are important for national development and advancement. One of the female respondents in the mixed focus group discussions in Accra quoted a former Educationalist Dr. Kwegyri Aggrey, as once saying:

*When you educate a man, you have educated an individual, but when you educate a woman, you have educated a whole nation.*

Still on female education in Ghana, one of the individual interviewees—a female lecturer at Mfantispim Secondary School in Cape Coast—asserted that:

*I think female education is very important in the sense that if a woman is educated and married with children, she in a way be in a better position to support her husband and not allowing the man to shoulder all financial burdens. Their husbands most often treat women who are married off with no education with disrespect and contempt.*

One of the key issues relating to the advancement of women is their financial empowerment. As one of the individual interviewees—the Professor from the University of Ghana at Legon said:

*Well, economic empowerment in terms of women, I mean, I think, where I come from, women are more powerful economically. I come from ‘Tackymian’ and it has one of the biggest markets in West Africa, and women control the market system.*

Asked on what he meant by “control the market”, he explained that there is a market mechanism that allows the women of Tackymian in the Brong Ahafo region of Ghana to control the market system through the formation of different union groups set up by the women and headed by the Queen Mothers of the various sections of the market,
such as tomatoes, pepper, yam, cloth and fish (see chapter six). All these unions have their own Queen Mothers that oversee the day to day distribution, running and marketing of a range of products. This arrangement is not unique to Tackyiman but applies across Ghana and makes it very difficult for men to penetrate the system. Therefore the market system is one of the few aspects of the Ghanaian system that is not under male domination. As the Professor pointed out for men to have any part of the female-controlled market, they have to be employed by the Queen Mothers and work either as accountants or secretaries since most of these women are illiterate.

In fact, if you are man and you cannot go through the market system. They have unions. The women will swallow you. In a sense, because from the beginning women took it up. But for a man even to move into the market system, you have to gradually move with a woman, because, we have the yam sellers union, we have the pepper sellers union, meat sellers union, we have salt sellers union, we have plantain sellers union and we have all these unions and they all have Queen Mothers. They don’t have kings for yam sellers, and they control the systems. So where I come from, through a traditional area, the women are always economically very powerful.

Although, Ghanaian women are generally economically sound in terms of commerce in the controlled market system, as pointed out by the Professor, capital investment is their problem. The Executive Director, Ghana National Investment Promotion Centre (GNIPC) supported the notion that the women in the controlled market systems in Ghana do not have enough money to expand their business. He contended that the majority of the market women have very little capital to venture into any large project which would enable them to compete with their male counterparts in either the national or international market. Moreover,
the Programme Manager of the UN System for promoting Gender Equality in Ghana, in Accra asserted that women do not have access to bank loans because it is believed that women lack security or ability to pay back loans. However she refuted the idea of the inability of women to repay their loans as evidenced by a range of income-generating activities set up by women groups with support from the UN System for promoting Gender Equality in Ghana, through the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The Programme Manager of UN System for Promoting Gender Equality in Ghana mentioned that the programme has done some research in Mayah Krobo in the Eastern Region of Ghana, where HIV AIDS is endemic. There, young women travel to the Ivory Coast in search of personal wealth through the sex tourist industry, returning home with venereal diseases and HIV AIDS to die very soon afterwards leaving orphans who then had to be cared for centrally by the Mayah Krobo district Queen Mothers Association.

Based on the UN’s own research findings, the Programme Manager of the UN System for Promoting Gender Equality in Ghana noted that there was a pressing need for the government to arrange training regarding HIV/AIDS, reproductive health, puberty rites and gender issues at Mayah Krobo district to help these women to protect themselves. She further noted that the Mayah Krobo District has a Queen Mothers Association and compared them with the Akan Queen
Mothers in terms of their importance and the respect with which they were held in Akan society.

According to the Programme Manager of the UN System for Promoting Gender Equality in Ghana, the Mayah Krobo district’s Queen Mothers Association had a membership of more than 150 women and was working as intermediaries in a UNDP delivering education to combat HIV AIDS, gender issues and poverty eradication and to save lives. The programme has attracted both local and international interest from non-governmental organisations including Family Health International and the United Nations for Population Fund (UNFPA) and was supporting about 40 girls from the Mayah Krobo district with five hundred thousand cedis (500,000.00) Ghanaian currency each to set up their own businesses, mainly in the batik tie and dye business. The Queen Mothers act as intermediaries between the women and the UNDP to help disburse the money with the Mayah Krobo Queen Mothers Associations and the parents of the 40 girls standing as guarantors before the loan is disbursed:

_We have a consultancy to monitor them and how these loans are being used. I am glad to say that the girls have started paying back the loans and some of them have completed their loans in less than a year._

This scenario I believe demonstrates that finance is a general problem for women worldwide and the Akan women are no exception, especially when it comes to capital investment. As a result most women in the Akan culture struggle to make life more bearable for themselves and
their families and this eventually forces the majority of women in Akan society to fade into the background. However, tourism is widely perceived as a vehicle for empowering women financially and socially as various UN programmes have suggested because it can be seen as an extension of their domestic roles with low/no entry barriers in terms of skills or capital.

8.5 Gender, Culture and Tourism Development in Ghana

Developing regional and international tourist markets for Ghana requires the examination of market trends that relate tourist markets to the tourism product, analysis of markets and setting market targets (NTDPG, 1996). NTDPG (1996) asserts that West Africa had no clear tourist market image however the colonial legacy and the slave trade has become a major attraction. In the business tourism market West Africa is important and Ghana can act as a gateway and commercial centre for that market (NTDPG, 1996). In the non-business/leisure sector, African-American tourists see Ghana as the birthplace of their heritage, while European tourists relate to Ghana as a country rich in culture and with a historical legacy to be explored (NTDPG, 1996).


8.5.1 Tourism Development in Ghana

A government official from the Ghana Tourism Board (GTB) argued that tourism development in Ghana was a very recent phenomenon and was growing at 4% per annum, increasing Ghana’s foreign exchange earnings. In addition, Ghana wants to use tourism as a vehicle for improving and stabilising the economy and for creating wealth and jobs for poverty alleviation. The GTB official asserted that tourism in Ghana is conducted at a local level and affects very low-income groups because it reaches the rural poor, who need to benefit most. The government official from the GTB continued that:

*It is believed that if tourism is properly developed; it will affect the lives of the local people and the well-being of the poor. The government has put in place a plan to realise the country’s dream of making tourism one of the pillars of the economy.*

The GTB official announced that the Ghanaian government expects tourism earnings to go up to 1.5 billion US dollars, and hoped that tourism will employ three hundred thousand Ghanaians through encouraging community-based eco-tourism. To promote tourism development, the GTB official revealed that Ghana has created an enabling environment that include providing good infrastructure, investment opportunities for both local and foreign investors to invest in high quality hotels, restaurants and catering facilities to boost Ghana’s tourism industry. Ghana is developing fourteen eco-tourism projects that will be managed by local rural Ghanaians. In addition, Ghana is
developing thirty tourism receptive facilities as tourists’ attraction to promote tourism and bring wealth to the local people and alleviate poverty in rural areas. Appropriate development and management of tourism at the local level, as outlined in the 15 years National Tourism Development Plan (NTDPG, 1996), will improve the wellbeing of poor people in rural areas. He also announced that GOG was in the final stages of developing a fast-track plan out of the 15 year NTDPG, which had yet to be launched.

According to the strategic plan, we have to revise our targets, so we are saying that now we expect to have one million visitors annually by the year 2007 that is the end of the strategic plan period. And we expect earnings to go up by 1.5 billion US dollars by the same year and three hundred people to be employed in tourism industry by the end of the plan period.

8.5.2 Tourism Promotion and Investment

In terms of tourism promotion in Ghana, the Executive Director of the Ghana National Investment Promotion Centre (GNIPC) said it was very difficult to set a focus for tourism promotion because of the various branches of tourism in Ghana and therefore the initial investment is high. He argued further that it is difficult again in the sense that the Ministry responsibly for tourism has over the years been playing with tourism development strategies:

The tourism strategic plans for ten or twenty years - they have never really focused on a short-term strategy that we could run with; even though we do promote tourism in our mission, we promote it as just one of various sectors.
However, the Executive Director of GNIPC said that the Tourist Development Board (TDB), Ghana Tourism Company (GTC) and the Ministry of Tourism (MOT), Ghana, are giving the impression that:

*They are okay by way of development and promotion, so not much effort has been put directly into tourism development or promotion.*

### 8.5.3 Women and the Tourism Workforce

The Executive Director of GNIPC and a Professor and Director of GNCC in Accra asserted that it was difficult to measure and determine the role and involvement of women in the tourism industry in Ghana. Both men argued that Ghanaian women play a significant role in tourism because tourism activities are women-oriented and can be seen as an extension of their domestic activities. As asserted by the Professor and Director of GNCC in Accra:

*Food is the major aspect of tourism, the hotel food, food outside the hotel building, the indigenous food (chop bar food) - all these are things are handled by women.*

In addition, both the Professor and Director of GNCC in Accra and the Executive Director of GNIPC commented that the role of women in the tourism workforce is in marginalised positions. Examining the divisions of labour in tourism in relation to gender and power, women are on the periphery of the industry and in roles better classified as caring and motherly through services to tourists as hotel cleaners, receptionists and property owners (Kinnaird & Hall, 1994). Another image of women
is for them to offer food, clothing and other hand-made craft items for sale to tourists (Kinnaird and Hall, 1994).

Despite the fact that the majority of women in Ghana are marginalised in the tourism workforce, the Director of GNIPC said women in the tourism industry in Ghana are gradually moving up the ladder through formal education and staff training in tourism development, especially in the hotel industries in Ghana.

*I think we need to structure it properly because it is only in a few sections of the general sector that the women more or less congregate and you find that in tourism industry, hotels play an important part and you find women playing major role.*

Moreover, both the Director of GNIPC and the Professor and Director of GNCC in Accra asserted that women’s role in the hotel industry in Ghana is immeasurable because they are involved in food preparation, entertainment (sex-tourism), virtually right up to the managerial level. However, the Executive Director of the GNIPC asserted that women’s level of involvement in tourism industry become less and less at executive level as a result of fewer women being trained for executive positions in the Ghanaian hotel industry.

*Because we have not trained enough women to take up executive posts and I think that is something that we have to make a conscious effort to promote.*

In many developing countries most management positions were until recently held by foreigners and there was no real chance of promotion into such a position for an unskilled maid (Kinnaird and Hall, 1994).
Kinnaird and Hall (1994) contend that the development of training institutions for the tourist industry in several islands in the Caribbean has enabled better educated women to move into positions as receptionists and housekeepers (Kinnaird and Hall, 1994).

In confirmation of the assertion of Kinnaird and Hall (1994), the Executive Director of the GNIPC contended that the Ghana Tourist Operation Foundation or Corporation is one association that handled tourism and was heavily top-loaded with women because of their formal education and training. The Executive Director of the GNIPC further explained that women were now asserting themselves and playing major roles in the tourism industry in Ghana, especially in sections that do not require too much capital. Capital-intensive areas such as the building of hotels and other tourism infrastructure are still male-dominated.

*Because getting the fund to set up the hotel for instance is not easy. And the pressure, the anxiety and difficulties you go through getting money to put down infrastructure, is such that it is enough to put the women off.*

The Executive Director of the GNIPC further argued that tourism is women-oriented and that they play a major role in the hotel industry but lack adequate training in tourism development and therefore are disadvantaged when it comes to education and tourism development in Ghana. In the main, they are found below executive level.
The Professor and Director of GNCC in Accra noted that Ghana has something unique that gave her people a special niche in the tourism industry and that is her specific culture, community organisations, and the way of life of her people, and use environment and her hospitality skills to attract tourists:

*People come to Ghana, though they are impressed, not by the parks and animals and the beautiful cities we have, there are more beautiful cities in Europe than anywhere you go, but the kindness and our way of life, our hospitality, sense of humour this I think is what we have as a people.*

The Professor and Director of GNCC in Accra asserted that women are seen at the front desks in almost every hotel in Ghana and manage the tour guide industries by way of receiving tourists from the airport and transferring them to different tourist destinations in the country:

*Women manage the groups and they are the tour guides... so in terms of the contact with the outside world, women play a key role in the industry.*

Women do well in selling tourism products, as the Professor and Director of GNCC in Accra mentioned, and they constitute very significant numbers of those who sell tourism products. The hotel industry in Ghana tends to employ women in lower level posts as they have a basic education and are very articulate, presentable, and homely and can be trained for the roles. He also emphasised that there is a higher level of trust associated with women:

*The hotel industry tends to employ women.... People tend to trust women cleaners because they are less likely to steal from their guests.*
The Professor and Director of GNCC in Accra revealed that the first training establishment to train people in the hotel industry in Ghana was established by a woman and that the training institutions and those who have really acquired top skills in the hotel industry in turn tend to be women. In addition, both the Executive Director of the GNIPC and the GTB official agreed with the Professor and Director of GNCC in Accra saying women are seen as the foundation of tourism development because at every tourist attraction it is women who provide almost all the basic services:

At the eco-tourism site at Tobiaba for instance, when you go there, you realise women who provide the food, so there is no discrimination against women as such, in fact women play major role in tourism.

(The GTB official)

But in all these, you will find out that, women play very big part in tourism because the activities in there in tourism are more women oriented. Food is the major aspect of tourism, the hotel food, food outside, the indigenous food, all these are things that are handled by women; so in the sense, women play quite a big role there.

(The Professor and Director of GNCC)

They are the people who take care of the rooms, they are the people who take care of the food, even the entertainment and they are the people who take care of those things right down to the management, except that as you go up Usually, women’s involvement is less because we haven’t trained enough women to take up executive post and I think that is something that we have to make a conscious effort to promote that.

(The Director of the GNIPC)

### 8.5.4 Sex Tourism in Ghana

There is little mention in the Ghanaian tourism policy (NTDPG, 1996) of gender issues related to tourism, e.g. women’s employment in tourism, their role and involvement in festival celebrations. In fact the only section in the tourism policy framework that mentions women at all is
in relation to ‘prostitution’ under the section on socio-cultural considerations in developing tourism in Ghana. NTDPG (1996) contends that prostitution is not widespread in Ghana in comparison to other countries, but that it does exist:

Prostitution is sometimes associated with tourism areas because some types of tourist provide the clientele for prostitutes and these tourists are often willing to pay relatively high prices to the prostitutes. (NTDPG, 1996:273)

A Professor and Director, Ghana National Commission of Culture (GNCC) in Accra asserted that women are seen as part of the tourism product on offer to tourists although it touches on the sensitive areas of the country’s moral and social values and fibre:

I am afraid when you come to tourism development women seem to be looked on as part of the products that we offer to tourists.

Kinnaird & Hall (1994) explain that the activities of sex-tourism has flourished within societies that have a particular set of patriarchal gender/power relations that are steeped in historical traditions and interact with the modernisation and globalisation of the economy and society in the countries involved (Kinnaird & Hall, 1994).

In terms of tourism and entertainment, the Professor and Director of GNCC in Accra, the Director of GNIPC in Accra and the GTB official agreed that the role of women in sex tourism in Ghana cannot be ruled out. Here, the Professor and Director of GNCC in Accra mentioned that
sex is the second major selling commodity in tourism production and women play a significant role:

Apart from forests, animals and hospitality, one other important commodity that tourism in Ghana offers to tourists is sex and women predominantly offer that. Even though we are trying to discourage sex tourism, because we are truly sensitive about the value we attach to women and morality, I am afraid when you come to tourism development, women seem to be looked at as part of the product that we offer to tourists. And this touches the sensitive areas of our moral, social values and fibre.

Although, the Professor and the Director of GNCC in Accra reacted violently on sex issues and women as sex workers, it is one of the commercial products that are offered to tourists in Ghana. The Professor and Director of GNCC in Accra was very reluctant to answer a question on whether there are male prostitutes in the country and why should the emphasis always be on women and not on men. Due to African cultural norms, he hesitated when answering the question and this is what he said:

Yes, there are male prostitutes, but in Ghana and other parts of Africa, we do not really get to see too many.

As part of this study I carried out research on prostitution which identified that there are whilst there are a number of male prostitutes but there are a much greater number of female prostitutes. Strangely in the Gambia, there are more male prostitutes than women. To verify the truth about male prostitutes in the Gambia, I asked the Professor and Director of GNCC in Accra a direct question concerning male prostitution in Gambia and this is what he had to say:
In Gambia, yes, and this is something that is associated very much with Islamic countries because of very strict separation between male and female. There are more homosexual relationships there. And if there are male prostitutes in Ghana, they don’t advertise themselves as much as the females.

The reluctance of the Professor and Director of GNCC in Accra to accept the fact that there are male prostitutes in Ghana reflect the homophobia inherent in Ghanaian culture.

I believe that the emphasis and blame is always shifted on women because women advertise their availability openly. The issue here is that both men and women may have different reasons for working in prostitution and prostitution is prostitution and therefore the emphasis must not always be on female prostitutes but male prostitutes as well and both genders be classified the same.

On the question of legalisation of prostitution in Ghana, the Professor and Director of GNCC in Accra was not happy about it and said it would destroy the moral and social values of Ghanaian society. In his attempt to answer the question on the legalisation of prostitution in Ghana, the Professor and Director of GNCC in Accra put forward a couple of questions that include; how do you protect the health of the clients and those who engage in prostitution? If we are legalising it, how do we make it less shameful so that those who practice it can seek medical attention and reduce the health hazards, both to themselves and to the clients?
If we legalise, are many more men not going to engage in it and when they do engage in it, are they not going to influence others to follow their examples, thus, spreading the thing? If we legalise it, are we not going to reduce the number of women who will like to engage in healthier less morally sensitive occupations? And how secure will be our marriage institutions? Are we not going to have many more children without proper parental care?

These are very difficult questions about the legalisation of prostitution as it touches on the very basis of a society’s moral and socio-cultural values.

However, in my opinion, in relation to the development of tourism in Ghana, where the issues touch the very foundation of the country’s morals, then I believe legalisation of prostitution is very debatable and needs national consensus to agree on workable solutions which will protect the health and interests of both prostitutes and tourists who want sex as entertainment. However, because the commercialisation of tourism products, such as sex tourism, is closely intertwined with tourism development it needs a public consensus to be established before GOG expands tourism development in the country.

8.6 Summary

Despite matrilineage traditions in Akan society, colonial influences promoted a male hegemony which post-independent Ghana has not challenged. It continues to survive permeating all corners of Ghanaian
society. Despite Ghana being amongst the first signatories to the 1975 United Nations Assembly Declaration of the Advancement of Women and the establishment of strong women’s groups following the Beijing Platform of Action, the majority of Ghanaian women have yet to shatter the glass ceiling. Despite quotas for female participation in education at all levels of the educational system – primary, secondary and higher education – women in general are less well-educated than their male counterparts and this perpetuates a cultural politics that does not help women’s empowerment. However, there are some areas of Ghanaian commerce over which women have established a stronghold, i.e. the market system, where men are employed on women’s say-so. However, even in these situations men are well-placed as a result of their superior education and thus hold the roles as accountants and secretaries so, like PANAFEST, where women also play a leading role their role/influence continues to be marginalised.

In relation to tourism development, which is seen to offer excellent opportunities for women, they do not have the basic skill set to enable them to achieve managerial and executive positions in the tourism industry and are relegated to lower positions – chambermaids, front office staff and catering roles – that can be seen as an extension to their domestic roles. The extent to which women just accept or actually prefer these roles is not answered by this study and provides an opportunity for further research.
The cultural politics that underpin modern-day Ghanaian society are complex. The colonial period promoted a male hegemony which is reinforced by the prevailing educational and financial systems which have disempowered women. The Akan Queen Mothers have a contradictory role in Akan society yet offer a beacon of hope for younger, better-educated women through acting as intermediaries and guarantors to enable women to break the financial disadvantages and get access to financial resources which will enable them to break free of the male hegemony.

It is my view that in the long term gender equality and social harmony can only be achieved through education. The potential for change must be embraced by men and women to promote a social harmony that will enable a new cultural politics of equality to be established. In the next chapter I discuss these issues and the enormous efforts which will be required to surmount the extant cultural politics which I term the Theory of the Giant Leap.
CHAPTER NINE

THE THEORY OF THE GIANT LEAP

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CHAPTER NINE

THE THEORY OF ‘THE GIANT LEAP’

9.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the steps in the argument that lead me to propose the ‘Theory of the Giant Leap’. It identifies how Ghana, its turbulent colonial history and the ramifications of the slave trade overturned the prevailing cultural politics of Akan society and led to a new order and very different coexistence of men and women with enormous implications. It considers the case of PANAFEST which, in celebrating the homecoming of diasporan Ghanaians, foregrounds the paradox of the Akan Queen Mothers – their authority as co-rulers of Akan society and their key role as king-makers yet their background role in public life.

The paradoxes inherent in PANAFEST are reflected more widely across modern-day Ghanaian society and emphasise women’s disadvantage through lack of formal education and access to financial support which has enormous repercussions for their empowerment. The chapter proposes the ‘Theory of the Giant Leap’ to encapsulate the enormous strides that will need to be taken by men and women in Ghanaian
society to move beyond male hegemony towards gender equality and social harmony.

9.2 Ghana Colonial Legacy and the Implications for Women

The ramifications of the first European explorers landing at Elimina in 1471 have had enormous implications for contemporary Ghana. The Portuguese were first to arrive and were quickly followed by other European merchants (Germans, Swiss, French, Danes and British) to plunder not just the rich mineral resources, especially gold, but also human resources that were transported to Europe and the plantations of the New World to work as slaves.

Whilst most of the European merchants had left the Gold Coast by 1820, the British merchants remained taking full control and gradually turning the Gold Coast into a British colony. By 1900 all the coastal region was colonised. In 1901, Ashanti was annexed and became a British protectorate. By 1902, the British had extended their control across the whole of what is now Ghana and had completely colonised the region (Buah, 1998). Independence from the British came in 1957 and the Gold Coast was renamed Ghana, after the powerful and wealthy ancient Ghana Empire.
Bartle (1998) commented that women in pre-colonial Ghana were very assertive, commercially sound and economically empowered because they controlled agricultural production. However, the arrival of Swiss missionaries to the Gold Coast contributed to the decline of the status of women in Akan society. Bartle (1998) explained that the introduction of Christianity by Swiss missionaries in the mid 1800s resulted in the imposition of a new theology which transformed Akan society through the Swiss-style nuclear family system and destroyed the economic power and influence of Akan women. Women, Bartle (1998) argued, were forced into the domestic realm to be submissive and obedient to their husbands, to stay at home and do the domestic chores and to raise their children while their husbands went to work.

Immediately after independence in 1957, President Osagyfo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, of the first Republic of Ghana, immediately instituted an affirmative action plan to support the inclusion of women in political and social decision-making, reserving ten seats in the legislature for women and encouraging more women to enter politics from the late 1950s to mid 1960s (Women in Ghana, 2006). Unfortunately, President Dr. Nkrumah’s government was overthrown in a coup in February 1966 which was a major set-back to gender equality and women’s advancement (Women in Ghana, 2006).
However, the UN General Assembly’s International Declaration on the Advancement on Women in 1975 stimulated the formation of women’s groups, associations and organisations in Ghana to advocate against social injustice and gender inequality (Women in Ghana, 2006), e.g. the National Council of Women and Development; the Association of Women in the Media; the 31st December Women’s Movement. The Federation of Female Lawyers had been established in 1974 - a year before the UN’s Declaration (Women in Ghana, 2006).

The fourth UN conference’s Platform of Action Beijing, China in 1995 called on the media to change the perceptions of the world about the position of women. Immediately following the conference, the Ghanaian government instituted an affirmative action programme in workplaces and higher education institutions to encourage more women into decision-making positions (Ghana Government, 2000). Affirmative action is now enshrined into the 1996 constitution to ensure equal employment and educational opportunities for both genders at all levels of education and employment levels in the country (Ghana Government, 2000). A 40% quota for places at all educational institutions for females has helped to promote women’s interests and progress the educational level of female Ghanaians (Government of Ghana, 2002). The government hopes that affirmative action will help alleviate poverty and reduce social irresponsibility, such as teenage pregnancies, by providing new life choices through education. Young Ghanaian women today are
better educated and becoming more visible and valued as citizens with increased confidence and higher self-esteem.

9.3 Akan Queen Mothers and their Traditional Overt Gynocratic Influence

The Akan Queen Mothers were the co-rulers of the Akan traditional political system. Even today in contemporary Ghana they are extremely powerful and acknowledged as the custodians of the Akan social and cultural heritage (Stoeltje, 2003). According to Akan oral traditions, the Queen Mothers had sole authority for selecting a male member of their family to become king should the throne become vacant. This is what one of the focus group interviewees had to say:

You are perfectly right, if you have a critical look, the land is named after a woman that is “Assesi Afua” in Fanti and in Twi is “Asses Yaa”. If you do detailed research you may get the truth but not all. For this reason, we the Akan believe that Akan society is founded by a woman and this is the main reason why we the people of Akan always give power to our women.

(Head of Department of CNC, Cape Coast)

Giving total power to the Akan Queen Mothers clearly confirms their authority:

You know we operate a matrilineal system and therefore the women are very, very important because they own the stools which are most important in any Akan community. The stools belong to the Akan Queen Mothers.

(Director of CNC, Kumasi)
The case study of PANAFEST and the Akan Queen Mothers revealed the powerful position of the Akan Queen Mothers sitting next to the king but also showed that other women are relegated to the background. This situation is reflective of wider Ghanaian society today although there are glimmers of hope that women’s enhanced educational opportunities are enabling them to become more assertive and empowered.

However, the worrying aspect is that the Akan Queen Mothers’ power and authority is contradictory in the sense that they assume a background position despite their power and authority. Whereas in pre-colonial Ghana there was a gynocracy, today the Akan Queen Mothers have covert rather than overt influence with their authority and power hidden while they support the man whom they appointed as king to assume the Akan throne.

Eller (2000) noted that women have greater political power in matrilineal societies than in other societies. However such power and authority is often severely limited by menstrual taboos and other issues which limits their influence (Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974; Reiter, 1975; Eller, 2000). Anthropologists, such as Bartle (1998) and Eller (2000), argued that the universality of male dominance is not natural or biological but artificially, culturally and socially constructed.
Women in matrilineal societies, as noted by Bartle (1998) and Eller (2000), have to rely on men, their fathers, sons, husbands, spouses or partners and most importantly, they are dependent on the government, clan or community for survival because of their biological set up (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991). Schwimmer (1995) argues that despite Akan Queen Mother’s status of power and authority, their position varies and in many instances they assume a back seat.

*Women assume lesser positions in public and social gatherings because of what society has prescribed for them through traditional, cultural and customary practices laid down by our ancestors.*

(Ga Queen Mother in the mixed focus group interview in Accra)

One issue that came up during the research study with regard to Ghanaian women assuming a background position was their lack of formal education.

*Formal education has indeed set our women backwards, this goes beyond that. I must say that most of these illiterate women are very intelligent and sensible because most of them run their own businesses - the only problem is communicating effectively in English, which of course is not our mother tongue - they communicate better in their own individual local language.*

(Ga Queen Mother in the mixed focus group interview in Accra)

One instance which provides evidence of Akan Queen Mothers’ power and authority is in conflict resolution. During deliberations, the chiefs and their entourages break and each heads back to his matrilineal house (where the ancestral stools are kept) to "confer with the ancestors". It turns out that they are conferring with the older women who are the holders of the tribal wisdom (Boahen, 1964; Schwimmer,
1995; Bartle, 1998) enabling conflict resolution through advice and guidance to the chiefs.

*The old lady is as already stated, we have different clans and the Akan Queen Mother of my clan is the person I refer to as the old lady.... Women are the key developers of every nation and men are just helpers or caretakers. The existence and development of all Akan nations always depends on the strength of women.*

(Female Speaker of mixed focus group interview in Cape Coast)

The social heritage of Akan traditional and political systems is monitored by the women who keep good track of descent lines and influence the decisions made in the chief’s court by advising the elders (Bartle, 1998). From the pre-colonial period through the colonial period to modern-day Ghana, Akan kings and chiefs have sought advice from the old ladies. This situation has given the Akan Queen Mothers power, albeit diminishing, and thereby reinforcing their increasingly covert influence over the Akan kings and chiefs.

*All Akan Queen Mothers hold prominent positions in Akan traditional political institutions. They sit beside the chief and if there is a difficult decision to make, the chief has no other choice than to turn to the Queen Mother for advice.*

(Male speaker from the mixed focus group interview in Cape Coast)

There are many factors or reasons why our old ladies or Queen others... take lesser positions because of their age, as custodian of our traditional, cultural and customary heritage and to avoid violent situations. In times of war, regional conflicts or clashes that will result bloodshed, our old ladies, our Queen Mothers for that matter are
protected by not allowing them to take front role positions at places that may cause their sudden death or injury.

Despite the cultural power and authority of the Akan Queen Mothers they are not represented in Ghana’s National House of Chiefs (GNHC), a male-dominated institution of chieftaincy guaranteed by the 1992 constitution of Ghana which states that:

The National House of Chiefs shall have appellate jurisdiction in any cause or matter affecting chieftaincy which have been determined by the Regional House of Chiefs in a region, from which appellate jurisdiction there shall be an appeal to the Supreme Court, with the leave of the National House of Chiefs or the Supreme Court.


The paradox of the Akan Queen Mothers position in society is reinforced by powerful institutions, such as GNHC, where there is not a single Queen Mother to represent the voices of Ghanaian women as argued by Ardayfio-Shandorf and Kwafo–Akoto (1990).

9.4 PANAFEST and the Covert Gynocracy - the Paradox of the Akan Queen Mothers

This study explored the covert influence of the Akan Queen Mothers as the decision-makers in relation to the nomination of the king in the Akan traditional system through a case study of PANAFEST:

The chief may be seen in public as the leader or taking leadership position, but in reality, it is the Queen Mother who holds the authority to the stool (throne) and as already stated she is the custodian of our customary heritage.

(Make speaker in mixed focus group interview in Cape Coast)
Although, the Akan Queen Mothers have enormous power in Akan society, in PANAFEST women play a secondary role and are overshadowed by men. Furthermore, in PANAFEST, only one day is set aside to celebrate the achievement of women. According to officials from the PANAFEST Festival Foundation ‘the seating arrangements at PANAFEST have never altered - PANAFEST gives pride and place to women as the brain behind the ideals for the festival and is a catalyst to empower woman’.

However, the Akan Queen Mothers play a specific regal role to project the image of Ghana through the festival. In other words, the participation of Queen Mothers in the PANAFEST event adds colour to the celebrations, which is definitely of great importance to people from the diaspora. Despite women’s immense contributions to the festival celebrations in relation to the growth of tourism development in Ghana, women are always in marginalised position and their roles, involvement and contributions are downplayed. There are three major reasons why women and Akan Queen Mothers in particular, are involved in festivals, such as PANAFEST.

Firstly, Akan women and their Queen Mothers are used as an embellishment for the festival. They enrich the experience using traditional gold ornamentation and colourful clothing. Secondly, the women’s day of the PANAFEST festival celebrations is very spectacular
because the organisers of the PANAFEST movement give the Queen Mothers the opportunity to present themselves and that gives them specific roles to play. Thirdly, the presence of Queen Mothers at the PANAFEST festival strengthens the visual spectacle of the festival. Moreover, Queen Mothers, as their male counterparts, are dressed in rich “traditional kente cloth” with queenly hairdos and with matching gold ornaments which is very spectacular.

However, despite the marginalised position of Ghanaian women and Akan Queen Mothers in festival celebrations, all respondents from both individual and group unstructured interviews agreed that women are the custodians of all festivals in Ghana. According to all respondents the background position of Ghanaian women and Akan Queen Mothers in particular is socially and culturally constructed, a situation which women in Ghana over the years have to come to terms with.

### 9.5 Other Contradictions in Ghanaian Society

Although, there is no discrimination against women in relation to tourism development in Ghana, the prevailing cultural politics are not conducive to the advancement of women. Unfortunately, at the time of the research fieldwork in Ghana in March and April, 2004, there was no gender policy in existence. The lack of a gender policy in Ghana
constrains the level a woman can attain in the workforce in tourism development and unfortunately women tend to be limited to lower level domestic jobs. It is worth reiterating the comments of the former First Lady of the Republic of Ghana who asserted:

*It is not everybody who is a gender sensitive person or a woman it is not every woman who is gender sensitive. Some women don’t even understand the issue of gender and are against women but there are some men who are very, very gender sensitive.*

(Former First Lady of the Fourth Republic of Ghana)

However, the 1992 constitution of Ghana categorically states that women are not discriminated against in all level of education and at all workplaces and goes on to say that the labour laws of the country prohibit discrimination on the basis of race, sex, ethnic group, colour, religion, social or economic status. Furthermore, part six of the Labour Act ensures protection for working women; however, the labour market data issued still indicates signs of gender discrimination:

*In the latest Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS IV), only 0.1 percent of women were found to be in the managerial/administrative category while 2.7 percent were in the professional/technical category. In the trade union movement as well, there not a single woman is among the 17 General Secretaries and 17 Deputy General Secretaries of the unions affiliated to the Ghana TUC*  

(The Ghana Labour Act, 2003:651)

The Labour Act highlights the paradox for women. The Ghana Labour Act Law (2003) continues that the situation is worse in rural areas where women are mostly illiterate and disadvantaged:

*The situation is worse in rural areas were women are mostly illiterate. Traditionally women in Ghana are engaged in production of food crops but not cash crops such as cocoa where returns are high. Women in the agriculture sector have, therefore, been seriously disadvantaged and have not benefited proportionally from recent increases in cocoa prices.*

(Ghana Labour Law, 2003:651)
Discrimination against women in the workforce is more evident at lower levels of average earnings, particularly in the informal food production sector, where there is a lack of opportunity for career advancement. This sort of discrimination against women working in the food production sector was more evident during the fieldwork where respondents agreed that more and more women in the tourism industry in Ghana are found at a lower income level.

In much the same way as the organisation and presentation of PANAFEST suggest, women in the wider tourism industry do well in selling tourism products as the tourism industry is women-oriented. However, although women play a major role in the hotel industry, the only problem is that they lack adequate training in tourism development and hospitality etiquette. Women’s lack of formal education in tourism development in Ghana put them in a disadvantaged position in relation to achieving promotion to better-paid roles and there are few women at executive level. Some of the activities in the tourism industry in Ghana are specifically women-oriented, such as in the areas of food preparation which is handled by women as an extension of their domestic activities:

Food is the major aspect of tourism, the hotel food, food outside, the indigenous food; all these are things that are handled by women, so in that sense, women play quite a big role there.

(Executive Director, GNIPC)
The research findings showed that Ghana has something unique that gives her people a special niche in the tourism industry. The special position of Ghana in the tourism industry, which was evident during the research, is the country’s traditions, culture, community organisations, and the way of life of her people. International tourists who come to Ghana are impressed by the way of life, the kindness, the hospitality skills and sense of humour of Ghanaians. Tourism in Ghana is judged by the welcoming hospitality of Ghanaians and not just by the parks and animals or the beautiful cities and colonial heritage legacies.

As argued by the Director of Ghana National Commission for Culture (GNCC) Ghana’s uniqueness is all about the country’s rich culture and traditions and this is what he has to say as already mentioned in chapter eight:

*People come to Ghana, though they are impressed, not by the parks and animals and the beautiful cities we have, there are more beautiful cities in Europe than anywhere you go, but the kindness and our way of life, our hospitality, sense of humour this I think is what we have as a people.*

(Professor and Director of the GNCC)

In addition, respondents agreed that the tourism industry is a commercial product that enables women to play two important roles. First, women are seen at every front desk in all hotels in Ghana. Women are seen as receptionists, hotel managers and tour guides receiving tourists from the airport and facilitating travel to different destinations in the country. Furthermore, women in Ghana play a significant role in
selling tourism products, because they are the “worker base” of the bedrock of tourism development in Ghana.

Now if you look at the tourism industry, it is a commercial thing, as selling second products, and here women play two important roles. On other hand, is women who are at the front desk, if you talk of hotels, women are at the front desk. If you talk about the tour guide industry, those who are organised to receive tourists, a lot of these groups are either owned or run by women.

(Professor and Director of the GNCC)

Most importantly, the hotel industry in Ghana employs more women than men, because tourists and hotel managers in Ghana trust women cleaners, since they feel they are less likely to steal from their guests as shown by comments during the fieldwork in Ghana.

The research showed that highly-educated women in tourism development and management in Ghana are very articulate, presentable, and welcoming. The research findings also revealed that the first training establishment to train people in the hotel industry in Ghana was established by a woman. Furthermore, Ghanaian women have acquired highly skilled jobs in the hotel industry, because such hotel jobs are less capital-intensive and do not require huge bank loans.

If you talk about women in particular, now you have the Ghana Tourist Operators Foundations or corporation that is one of the associations that handle tourism. I can see that it is heavily loaded at the top with women, which is a good sign. This shows that the women are now asserting themselves, so the women play a major role in tourism industry, except that it is only in the sections that don’t require too much capital.

(Executive Director of GNIPC)
The other important significant role that women play in the tourism industry is entertainment, or sex tourism. Respondents agreed that sex tourism is one major area in which women play significant role and advocated for the legalisation of prostitution coupled with protection for the health of those who want to participate in it as a full time career. Although the question of prostitution came up during the fieldwork, the respondent from the individual unstructured interview I spoke to was not very comfortable in discussing prostitution because he was of the view that it is against Ghanaian social values.

However, he did agree that sex tourism cannot be ruled out because it would boost tourism development in Ghana if it were legalised through parliamentary debate. He also admitted that sex tourism is one important aspect of the tourism entertainment business that draws international and local tourists to a particular tourist destination. In this regard, it is up to the country’s legislature to debate the issue of sex tourism in parliament and find a workable solution that will help protect the lives of those who take it up as full time career. A male respondent of the individual unstructured interviews, who was asked about his opinion on the legalisation of sex tourism, disapproved of the idea and said:

So this is the paradox, we need women to promote tourism but women are likely to be victims and be degraded through tourism. (Professor and Director of GNCC)
9.6 Beyond Covert Gynocracy and Male Hegemony

Francis (2001) argues that both feminist theories and post-modern feminist theories provoke hostility, which Francis believes challenges local norms that include male hegemony and adherence to traditional male and female roles (Francis, 2001). Francis (2001) asserts that women have to make conscious efforts to claim their place in society from powerful male hegemony. Francis (2001) explains further that to claim their rightful place in society, women should develop powerful voices through existing, effective women organisations and groups to advocate for women’s human rights.

Francis (2001) urged that women have to refuse to be victims and claim equality, challenging male hegemony and the culture and structures that perpetuate it. Francis (2001) explains further that if women refuse to make their voices heard, they will continue to be excluded from top-level executive positions. This, Francis (2001) believes, will in the future recreate societies that trap men in a model of masculinity with full power control. Francis (2001) in other words is asking women to empower themselves through every possible means to change societal perceptions of themselves. Such empowerment could also limit male hegemony in terms of power and the political control of women.
Women’s education in Ghana is seen as an indispensable aspect of development as they are responsible for major activities that go to ensuring the welfare of the family. However, cultural politics in Ghana for centuries and in recent decades have forced many Ghanaian women to assume background positions. This chapter has discussed the predicaments that face many Ghanaian women, especially the Akan Queen Mothers, termed “the paradox of Akan Queen Mothers”. Although, Akan Queen Mothers have covert influence in Akan society as already discussed under chapter six, it is sad to note that the case study on PANAFEST and Akan Queen Mothers depicts the paradoxical problems women face in festival celebrations in Ghana and the entire Ghanaian community.

9.7 Post-modern Feminism – A vision of social harmony

In chapter two I discussed feminist theory which has many faces. For the purpose of this thesis I looked at four feminist theories - radical feminist theory, Marxist/socialist feminist theory, liberal feminist theory and post-modern feminist theory. I concluded chapter two by favouring post-modern feminism which promotes the notion of equality and social harmony as a goal for Ghanaian society rather than creating a ‘gender-oppressive cycle’ (Hall, 2003: 1) which would change a male hegemony to a female hegemony. Social harmony, as argued by Creaser and Li
(2003), transcends the biological differences that are a physical reality for men and women rather than accepting that one gender is superior to the other. To avoid this vicious cycle of human oppression, my model of post-modern feminism would seek long-term investment in the appropriate education of both girls and boys.

I therefore propose the long-term investment in a media campaign in Ghana that will change public perceptions of how women are treated. In addition, I call for adequate education and training aimed at preparing both sexes for living in a society in which women and men are equally valued openly and transparently to avoid distrust. In this endeavour the importance of the role of mothers and fathers in educating their male children and their female children appropriately to prepare them for a society in which people are fully equal and live in social harmony cannot be underestimated. Such preparation must eradicate the cultural politics in which there is social acceptance of male hegemony.

9.8 The Theory of ‘The Giant Leap’

The Theory of the Giant Leap is about how personal identity and cultural politics shapes one’s philosophical thinking and enable’s one to become free and emancipated. The theory I am proposing is concerned
with championing the idea that women in Ghana do not have to be marginalised but can make the giant leap to emancipation.

Botterill (1989), for example, discusses the marginalization of women in the tourism and travel workforce. The Theory of the Giant Leap aims to establish women as central to human activity in the tourism industry and its management. Currently in Ghana, women have little or no voice when it comes to tourism activities in the country, as argued by Denzin and Lincoln (2000). However, tourism could be a major force for good in Ghana if the right structures were put in place.

However, behind different generic activities stands the personal biography of the researcher, who speaks from a particular class, gender, race, culture and ethnic community perspective (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). This study speaks from a gender perspective, a knowledge that has shaped my thinking and the realities of my life and of many of my experiences (Lincoln and Lincoln, 1985; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000) other Ghanaian women in tourism and travel (Botterill, 1989).

However, having said that Ghana has taken tremendous steps to address traditional, cultural and religious rituals and rites and traditional laws that have traditionally suppressed women. It was against this backdrop of research carried out on marginalised women
(hooks, 1994; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000), that I am inspired to propose the Theory of the Giant Leap.

The Theory of the Giant Leap explains how vulnerable Ghanaian women such as the Akan Queen Mothers have managed to make their voices heard, despite all odds, especially in the media and through the tourism industry and its management as is the case of Ghana (Fowler, 1991; hooks, 1994; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Pritchard et al., 2007). The field work revealed that Akan Queen Mothers are the information database of Akan social organisations. In addition they are also the Akan political chief decision-makers, role models for less-fortunate Akan women and are the social heritage of all Akan festivals in the country.

... In our tradition and cultural set up... the Akan Queen Mothers are the custodians of our social heritage.
(Male speaker of the mixed focus group interview in Cape Coast)

The Theory of the Giant Leap speaks about the cultural politics that have inhibited the progress of Ghanaian women, the Akan Queen Mothers in particular, for centuries - cultural politics which, in the name of age-old traditions and socio-cultural norms and practices, have been used to suppress the voices of women (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

In Ghana, specific issues which fall within the blanket of cultural politics which affect the progress of women include basic issues such as
menstruation, confinement (women are confined for forty days following the birth of a child) or being widowed (for a period of time mourning has to seen to be done publicly) (Bartle, 1978; Ardayfio-Schandorf and Kwafo-Akoto 1990).

A study on media coverage of women in three Ghanaian newspapers, The Daily Graphic, The Ghanaian Times and the Mirror show that women’s issues do not receive front or back page prioritisation, but are sandwiched within all the clusters of items that make up the newspaper (Asamoah, 1980; Ardayfio-Schandorf and Kwafo-Akoto 1990; Norris, 1997). This shows how unimportant or insignificant these issues are for the male-dominated management of the media. The Theory of the Giant Leap believes that women of Ghana have come a long way in advocating for social change and for both sexes to live in social harmony. From 1975 onwards the concepts of the emancipation and empowerment of women triggered national debates at work places, among families and homes as to who is the “boss”, the man or the woman.

The international empowerment of women proposed by the UN’s Assembly brought fear, imbalance and division of marriages and families in Ghana. Fear in the sense that many Ghanaian men were afraid that the emancipation of women was going to break up many homes and families. Women on the other hand were also afraid of being
divorced by their husbands. Here, it is arguable to call for social harmony in a society for both sexes to co-exist harmoniously without fear or suspicion of the other spouse (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Creaser and Li, 2003; Pritchard, et al, 2007). The situation of fear and panic among the elite in Ghana because of empowerment and emancipation of women encouraged an executive member of National Council on Women and Development (NCWD) to hold a press conference to address the causes of disagreement which arose between Ghanaian men and women.

The strategy pursued by the NCWD was to provide economic, social, financial, religious, education and health empowerment to women to enable them to break through the glass ceiling of male-dominated society. This empowerment gave women in Ghana a voice to determine their own destiny and break away from societal norms that hindered their progress (Ardayfio-Schandorf and Kwafo-Akoto 1990).

9.9 Observational Position of Interviewees

The case study on PANAFEST and the Akan Queen Mothers has demonstrated that despite government initiatives and the power and authority of Akan Queen Mothers, they still assume a background position, which was all due to socio-cultural norms of Ghanaian
tradition going back many centuries. This research has allowed me to personally observe the inherent paradoxes in Ghanaian society through the interviews and focus groups with male and female Ghanaians. I noticed that the male interviewees were more assertive than female interviewees. However, there were exceptions, because the highly-educated women from the individual unstructured interviewees were very assertive and called for changes in Ghanaian socio-cultural politics that inhibits the progress of women. The call for change was in line with the UN Assembly’s 1975 declaration of the international year to recognise the work of women worldwide. The UN’s declaration engineered the establishment of many women’s groups and organisations, which advocated for the empowerment of women in Ghana.

On the other hand, less-educated women in the mixed group interviews seemed less assertive and fearful of commenting on socio-cultural norms that inhibit their lives. Observation from all of the three PANAFEST destinations shows that less-educated women expressed themselves freely in the context of the all-female focus group. One major observation from the fieldwork was that the rich data on the Akan Queen Mothers was provided by participants from group unstructured interviews. The reason, I presumed was because the group interviewees were allowed to speak in their local language, thus allowing them to
speak out boldly on issues regarding the myth surrounding Akan Queen Mothers with no male presence.

9.10 The Significance of Empowerment

Following the 1995 UN Beijing Conference on women in China, the word empowerment became a household term in Ghana and threatened the foundation of many Ghanaian marriages sending shock waves through all Ghanaian society. Empowerment relates to the capacity by individuals or groups to determine their own affairs (Sofield, 2003) and is a developmental concept working at the level of the individual and of the community. Women in Ghana have over the years empowered themselves through active education and training to challenge aged-old traditional male hegemony in Ghanaian society. I believe that if Ghanaian women continue to empower themselves through education and challenge the cultural politics which have inhibited their progress in recent decades then male hegemony in Ghanaian society will finally begin to crumble. I therefore recommend working towards social harmony to enable society to be successful in enabling everyone to achieve their potential.


9.11 Recommendations

According to Ghana’s Social, Family and Traditional Data (2003) women in Ghana are subjected to severe abuse and violation of their constitutional rights. Extreme examples are witnessed in rural areas in Ghana where women remain subject to burdensome labour conditions and traditional male dominance. Based on earlier discussions in this chapter concerning women in the workforce in the traditional food production sector in tourism development, I propose a new labour policy to safeguard the national interest of rural people who are predominately are women, as well as promoting pro-poor community based tourism in Ghana. I therefore urge GOG to re-design Ghana’s Labour Law to reflect the daily realities of rural life and to ensure the safety and protection of women in rural areas, especially those in food production whose annual earnings are far below the national minimum wage. The reason for such a recommendation is that throughout the research findings, it became very obvious it is necessary to aid the poorly paid rural women to enable them to achieve a higher quality of life.

In addition, modification of Ghana’s Labour Laws will help empower traditional community leaders, such as Akan Queen Mothers, who are co-rulers of the traditional political system of Akan social organisations in the promotion of community-based tourism. Such empowerment will
help strengthen the public perceptions of Akan Queen Mothers who serves as role models for less privileged rural women and empower their position.

Women’s World Banking is active in Ghana and advocates for the establishment of a continental bank for women. The Women’s World Banking (2008) network gives the world’s poorest entrepreneurs the means to lift themselves out of poverty by providing them with access to financial services and information. WWB supports a global network of more than 50 micro-finance institutions and banks in 43 countries throughout Africa (Women’s World Banking, 2008). Its main purpose is to help address the issue of lack of credit for women entrepreneurs (women’s World Banking, 2008). Women’s world banking acts as the collateral guarantors and provides funds to women to get better credit and access to funding to establish themselves in the business world. Specifically, some Ghanaian women in rural areas have separate access to the land and work independently on farm produce and other income-generating activities. Most of these women have fewer opportunities to earn income (Women’s World Banking, 2008) due to the established culture in rural Ghana. Apart from the activities of Women’s World Banking in Ghana, there are other micro-finance institutions, networking with active NGOs to provide funds to small scale women entrepreneurs in Ghana.
Before the introduction of Women’s World Banking and the microfinance programme in Ghana there was an ancient traditional system of informal banking called “susu”. Williams (2006) asserts that “susu” collectors are known to have plied their trade in and around Ghanaian markets for at least three centuries. The “susu” concept is remarkably simple and provides a very useful service for small traders (Williams, 2006). The Ghanaian “Susu” works as follows: traders pay a small sum of money to register and then the “susu” collector makes daily rounds and collects a similar amount over a 31-day rolling period from each of his/her customers. At the end of the month, the “susu” collectors pay out lump sums to the customers, while retaining one day’s payment from each customer for his services (William, 2006).

From personal observation, however, although these micro-finance institutions are in Ghana to provide funds for small-scale women entrepreneurs, women who are interested in starting businesses need to have seed money to begin with. That is why family members of women involved in financing small-scale businesses have to step in to support them by providing funding which will be used to advance the business and help the whole family. On the other hand, married Ghanaian women use money provided by their husbands, partners or spouses to start small-scale businesses. This, will in turn qualify them to get
assistance from ancient traditional “susu” collectors, Women World Banking or micro finance institutions.

From personal observation, the majority of women in Ghana combine their unpaid labour as housewives and child carers, with income generating activities to increase the family standard of living. Such informal income generating activities help Ghanaian women to attain some measure of autonomy and self-reliance. The incomes of many Ghanaian women are indispensable for family survival regardless of the presence of men. It is important to note that the system of allocation and distribution within many Ghanaian households usually imposes individual responsibilities on men and women to meet their personal needs. In Ghana it is habitual practice for women to actively generate the means to meet the daily expenses for themselves and their children.

Some Ghanaian women are lucky to receive loans or advances from their husbands to set up small trading operations. However others, who do not have family members, husbands, spouses or partners to support them with some sort of funding, struggle alone and rely on themselves to raise seed funding. Even though cultural politics have over the years relegated Ghanaian women to assume background position, in post-modern Ghana, more and more women are economically and financially empowered through small scale income generating activities.
A Ghanaian Chronicle report by Chris Tuwm, (2008) on women on “Women in Small-scale Business” argues that most of these individuals operating in the informal sector are pre-dominantly single mothers and women who started their businesses on tabletops with very little capital (Twum, 2008).

My thesis will recommend to GOG to enshrine UNWTO Pro-poor tourism development policy strategies into the country's tourism development policy to address the issue of rural poverty. I propose tabletop enterprise, which is an extension of women’s domestic work and a means of generating income to support raise the standard of living of women with informal education and that their families in Ghana. This is within the reach of many women if encouragement is provided.

Tabletop enterprise does not require large bank loans because most operators use money provided by husbands, partners, spouses or family to start such businesses on a very small-scale level. To achieve tabletop enterprise, the GOG can use the existing vocational training institutes in the country to train the very rural poor in Ghana about positive and negative aspects of tourism.

Tabletop enterprise is widely practiced by the majority of Ghanaian women to generate income to improve their standard of living and that of their family. Items that are classified as tabletop enterprise include
selling of fruits like oranges, bananas, vegetables, sugar cane and different varieties of cooked food. Cooked foods include fish and kenkey (cooked corn meal), gari (processed Cassava meal) and beans laced with palm oil and traditional Ghanaian sauce called shitto, rice and stew. Women also sell locally-produced charcoal. Other tabletop items including iced water and home made cold soft drinks.

Iced water and home-made lemonade-like ginger drinks are packaged in small manageable disposable polythene bags. It is important to note that operators of table top enterprises make lots of money and gradually move on to establish larger businesses such as chop bars (traditional restaurants).

One important issue that I would like GOG to look into is the legalisation of prostitution, in terms of sex tourism which is an uncomfortable but key element of the Ghanaian tourism product. This is a very sensitive issue in terms of morality, culture and traditions and needs parliamentary debate as a bill to pass laws to govern this growing area. Legalisation on prostitution is crucial if GOG wants to pursue the dream of increasing tourism in the country.

I believe that passing a law on prostitution will help protect the health and life of both tourists who are interested in prostitutes and those who practice the trade to earn a living. One other area that this study is
very concerned over is gender policy because at the time of the data collection in Ghana, there was no such policy to protect the interest of Ghanaian women.

Although Ghana has affirmative action to encourage more young women and girls to stay longer in school, I think that this is not enough since rural Ghanaians find it very difficult to make a basic living and therefore cannot afford to send their female children to school for any length of time. I therefore propose a policy of working towards social harmony to enhance early career development for the total advancement of both boys and girls in pro-poor tourism development and its management in Ghana.

9.12 Summary

Chapter nine promotes the concept of post-modern feminism and its vision of gender equality and social harmony rather than the establishment of a gender-oppressive cycle in which a male hegemony is replaced by a female hegemony.

In pre-colonial Ghana Akan society was divided into interdependent and co-existent matrilineages and patrilineages in which women were the chief decision-makers and the information database for Akan social
heritage. During the long years of colonial rule women were forced into background positions and were not empowered to take part in public life. Post-independence there have been various initiatives to empower women yet the cultural politics that have established a male hegemony since the colonial period run deep and are very difficult to overturn. It is likely to take several generations before women are truly empowered and time must be reinforced by education of both men and women.

Festivals are a key element of the rapidly-growing Ghanaian tourism industry and offer opportunities for women's employment and entrepreneurship. However festivals, e.g. PANAFEST which celebrates pan-Africanism and the homecoming of diasporan Ghanaians taken away by the TAST via Europe to the New World, project Akan traditions in which the Queen Mother sits next to the King as a public demonstration of her authority. However, the other women are relegated to sit in the background although they are instrumental in planning the festivals. Women prepare foods as a sacrifice to the gods, yet they are prevented from entering the house of the deities, particularly if they are menstruating.

The contradictions observed through the case study of PANAFEST are reflected in wider Ghanaian society. Post-independence, men have not relinquished their power and women, apart from in the market system, have retained their background position and even today are generally less well-educated than their male counterparts and therefore less
empowered and have less access to the financial support which open the door to better quality of life for them and their families.

Technically the Ghanaian constitution gives women equal rights. However, the prevailing cultural politics and male hegemony makes it difficult for them to enact these rights and thus even today they take a background role in Ghanaian society despite the government setting quotas for female participation in education at all levels – primary, secondary and tertiary. Working with the UNDP the Queen Mothers today act as intermediaries and guarantors for young Ghanaian women enabling them to secure loans to establish small businesses focused on batik tie dyeing and other arts and crafts.

It is clear that to achieve the goal of gender equality and social harmony and to overcome the prevailing cultural politics of male hegemony and female subservience that there needs to be a giant leap. Responsibility for making the giant leap lies with both women and men and is only likely to be achieved through long-term education and training supported by a media campaign.
CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS

10.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes this study on PANAFEST and the covert influence of the Akan Queen Mothers in Akan social organisations. It will review the research objectives and discuss the major research findings. The chapter will then discuss the contributions of the thesis to knowledge, methodology and practice. It considers the limitations of the study and identifies potential avenues for further research. Finally, the chapter will provide some personal reflections.

Women in Ghana and the Akan Queen Mothers in particular, are strong characters yet assume a background position. This is due to age-old traditions, culture and social practices that through the centuries and decades overshadowed the progression of women in Ghana. Oral traditions in Ghana support claims by Stoeltje (2003) that Akan Queen Mothers are a force to be reckoned with because they are traditionally acclaimed political leaders and co-rulers of the Akan traditional political system (Stoeltje, 2003) but assume a background position even though
the Akan states were founded by mythical female ancestors (Schwimmer, 1995).

There is a contradiction between the authority of Akan Queen Mothers and their position in the Akan community. The situation that the Akan Queen Mother found themselves in is termed the paradox of Akan Queen Mothers. To challenge social injustice and gender disparities against women, Ghana welcomed the UN assembly’s Declaration of International recognition of women’s work worldwide in 1975 and became a signatory to it.

The declaration of International Women’s Year by UN Assembly saw the establishment of Ghana’s National Council on Women and Development (NCWD), which is an umbrella to all women’s organisations in Ghana and oversees all women’s groups in Ghana. Women’s groups and organisations in Ghana from their onset of their establishment have advocated against social injustice, gender disparities and inequalities in Ghanaian society. However, the new generation of Ghanaian women activists have called for social change in relation to the background position of women in Ghana. In this regard, this study has made a number of recommendations that in the future would help change the retrogressive position of Ghanaian women and their role and involvement in the tourism development in Ghana.
However, the new generation of Ghanaian women are taking up the challenge to break age-old traditions and cultural myths through education and training. This study has shown that women are more involved in tourism development and management in different ways. For this reason, I propose a scheme, which has already been discussed in chapter nine of this thesis that I believe will benefit the poor, especially young Ghanaian women and girls in tourist destinations. The proposed scheme will allow the very poor in Ghanaian tourist destinations to use locally-produced materials to generate income that will benefit themselves and raise their standards of living and those of their families.

10.2 Review of objectives

The overall aim of this thesis is to explore the socio-cultural influences on Ghanaian women in general, and women in Akan society in particular. The study is done through a case study of the PANAFEST festival celebrations in relation to the role and involvement of women, particularly the Akan Queen Mothers, in tourism development in Ghana. To achieve the overall aim, the study focused on six specific objectives.
Objective One: To explore the implications of feminist theories, the feminist movement and the United Nations (UN) Assembly’s stand on the advancement of women worldwide for women in Ghana.

The outcome of objective one is presented in chapter two and argues four different approaches to feminism including liberal feminism, Marxist/socialist feminism, radical feminism finally settling for post-modern feminism, the philosophical stand of this thesis. Chapter two examined the UN’s International Declaration of the Advancement of world-wide in 1975. Objective one also discussed the 1995 UN international conference on women in Beijing, China. The UN Beijing conference identified 12 critical areas of concern to address the global issues on women and appealed to the media to present positive image of women’s work life. Other areas of UN Beijing Platform on the concern on women are to create avenues of empowerments for women worldwide for their holistic advancements

However, the empowerment of women in Ghana was met with hostile attitudes from Ghanaian men who were afraid of women taking control and eventually leading to family break-ups and social conflict. Many Ghanaians believe that shifting absolute power (Sylvestre, 1994) to women will lead to the oppression of men, thus creating a cycle called “gender – oppressive cycle” (Hall, 2003:1). It added that, leaving the male population in oppression is a type of thinking which does not contribute to social harmony but creates a vicious cycle (Hall, 2003:1).
I therefore advocate post-modern feminism that seeks economic change and social harmony and encourages co-existence of both sexes in an enabling environment.

**Objective Two: To investigate Ghana’s turbulent history from the Ancient Ghana Empire through colonial times to modern-day Ghana to inform a rich understanding of the context for women’s involvement in tourism development.**

The outcome of objective two is presented in chapter three and highlighted the turbulent history of Ghana, which developed during the early arrivals of Europeans on the shore of the Gold Coast from 1471 onwards. Women in Ghana, according to early anthropologists had great strength of character and were economically independent people, through traditional matrilineal system of kinship. However, all this changed during the arrival of early Europeans, especially with the introduction of the Swiss Missionary’s Western civilisation model of a nuclear family that maintains that women stay at home as domestic unpaid workers.

The introduction of the European model of a nuclear family had a direct factor in women’s repression with the assumption now coupled with traditional, cultural and social norms enforcing the lack of social and public advancements of many Ghanaian women. However, the advent of the 1975 UN Assembly’s International Declaration of the advancement of women world-wide changed the Ghanaian public
perception of women. It brought with it the establishment of National Council of Women and Development (NCWD) to oversee other women’s organisations and associations to advocate against traditional, cultural and social norms. In addition, the new generation of Ghanaian women have challenged the old style of male hegemony and aim to break through traditional, cultural and social norms that relegate them to background positions. To make their voices heard, many Ghanaian women have taken advantage of GOG’s 40% affirmative action programme to educate themselves and break through the glass ceiling of male domination of many areas of employment in Ghana.

**Objective Three: To explore the cultural politics of Akan society and better understand the role of the Akan Queen Mothers in the traditional political chieftaincy system.**

The outcome of objective three is discussed in chapter six, which explored the Akan social organisation and its matrilineal system, where women are very powerful. The research identified Akan Queen Mothers as co-rulers of the Akan traditional political system and chief decision-makers regarding the nomination, selection and election of the Akan chiefs as well as the chief advisers to the Akan traditional political institutions.
Objective Four: To explore the covert influence of Akan Queen Mothers and why they assume background positions, especially at social and public functions such as festival celebrations in Ghana.

The outcome of objective four is presented in chapters six and seven. Chapter six explores the concept of covert gynocracy, and the Akan Queen Mothers’ covert influences in Akan royal courts and its implications. As co-rulers, the Akan Queen Mothers assumed background positions but despite such enormous powers and authority, Akan Queen Mothers are not represented in the Ghana National House of Chiefs (GNHC). GNHC is thus a male-dominated chieftaincy institution, enshrined in the 1992 constitution of the fourth republic of Ghana. The contradiction of the power and authority of Akan Queen Mothers is a dilemma, termed as a paradox of the Akan Queen Mothers and is discussed in chapters six and seven respectively.

Objective Five: To study the organisational structures of the PANAFEST celebrations, its policy statement, planning committees and the role of Akan Queen Mothers in festival celebrations.

The outcome of objective five is presented in chapter seven which discussed the Akan Queen Mothers immense role and contributions towards the organisation and presentation of festival celebrations. However, despite the significant role of the Akan Queen Mothers in PANAFEST festival celebrations, they are over shadowed by men and marginalised to assume background positions as discussed in chapter seven. Objective four also explores the role of Akan Queen Mothers in
festival celebrations and their major role as traditional festival information data bases as discussed in chapter seven.

**Objective Six:** To study additional contradictions around the role of women in festival celebrations, Ghanaian traditions and cultural politics that inhibits women’s advancement in relation to tourism development and its management in Ghana

The outcome of objective six is presented in chapter eight and highlights the additional contradictions in Ghanaian society that relegates women to background positions. Although the 1992 constitution of Ghana states categorically that women are not discriminated against, the research findings suggest a different picture. The cultural and traditional politics in Ghana inhibits the progressive advancement of Ghanaian women and this is an indication why many Ghanaian women work in informal employment. Those who work in formal employment such as tourism development, find themselves at the base of the employment ladder, especially in the hotel industries in Ghana. Chapter eight also suggests that cultural, traditional and social Ghanaian norms thus affect educational, financial and economic prospects of women in Ghana and associated relatives.
Chapter ten: Conclusions and Recommendations

10.3 Major Findings

My study is different from early anthropological studies on Akan social organisation regarding women’s power and authority (Stoeltje, 2003) and their background position (Schwimmer, 1995). My research findings revealed that Akan Queen Mothers assume a background position because of their own safety and protection against violent situations during internal conflicts and social disharmony. Other findings include that the background position of Akan Queen Mothers is due to the ideology of Western civilisation coupled with traditional, cultural and social norms that over the years have inhibited the advancement of women in Ghana.

Another reason for the background position of Akan Queen Mothers is their biology. Ghanaian women and other women in the world in general are seen as the weaker sex and “handicapped” because of their biological monthly menstruation; menopause and childbirth bearing are seen as a physical burden for women (Haralambos & Holborn, 1991). For this reason, women have to rely on men, who are their fathers, sons, husbands, spouses or partners; and most importantly dependent on the government, clan or community for their survival (Haralambos & Holborn, 1991).
The background position of the Akan Queen Mothers has made Akan men think that the ideal place for women is the home and the kitchen. However, despite the Akan Queen Mothers assuming a background position, the research findings show that Akan men give their women, especially Akan Queen Mothers, great respect, because they strongly believe they are the true founders as claimed by Schwimmer (1995) of the Akan institutions and that the Akan land belong to their women.

One other major finding is that the covert decision-making skills of Akan Queen Mothers is explicitly strengthened, protected and enshrined through a series of ordinances in the constitution of Ghana from the 1800s onwards. The British Colonial authority in the Gold Coast enacted a series of ordinances from 1800 to the 1992 constitution of modern-day Ghana.

The British Colonial Authority enacted the Native Jurisdiction in 1878, amended in subsequent years from 1883, in 1910 and finally in 1924 (Buah, 1998). Buah (1998) asserts that the main purpose of the enactment of Akan political institutions in Ghanaian law is to protect the Akan traditional political institution, Akan social heritage and avoid destabilising tribal Akan units as confirmed by this research study. Buah (1998) asserts that the amendment of the ordinances granted powers of controlling local tribunals, with limited jurisdiction relating to customary and testamentary matters to make byelaws, which did not go
counter to the British concept of law. Buah’s (1998) assertion is evidence of the covert influence of Akan Queen Mothers as again enshrined in the 1992 Constitution of Republic of Ghana. The enshrinement of ordinances to protect Akan social organisation of which Akan Queen Mothers are co-rulers (Stoeltje, 2003) clearly confirms their covert influence. It also confirms Akan oral traditions of background positions of Akan Queen Mothers as asserted by Schwimmer’s (1995) and the importance of their ancestral origins.

Another key finding is that Akan Queen Mothers are community role models, who stand in as loan guarantors for young Ghanaian women who cannot gain collateral from the national banks for loans to start small scale businesses. The Akan Queen Mothers play major roles in festivals and they are the key Akan social heritage and traditional festival information data base aimed to ensure the success of the festivals and to attract both local and international tourists. At festival celebrations, the Akan Queen Mothers are spectacular to watch, adorned with gold ornaments, displaying the rich Ghanaian traditions and culture at PANAFEST festival.
10.4 Contributions of the Thesis

This thesis claims contributions to knowledge, methodology and practice as outlined below.

10.4.1 Contributions to Knowledge

This thesis makes a pioneering contribution to the body of knowledge of the case study on PANAFEST festival, Akan Queen Mothers and the implications of covert gynocracy. The thesis also makes a contribution knowledge on the status on the Akan Queen Mother in festival celebrations in relation to tourism development and its management in Ghana through qualitative research approaches. The thesis determines the factors such as traditional and cultural politics that influence the lives of Akan Ghanaian women and their Queen Mothers to assume background position from pre-colonial period through colonial times to modern-day Ghana through a comprehensive qualitative field study.

This study is original and presents the first qualitative investigation of the position of women in relation to tourism development and its management in Ghana. Through an exploration of the issue of covert gynocracy this thesis contributes to the growing Ghanaian research agenda, particularly in relation to the field of women’s studies.
Women’s studies have been encouraged in Ghana by NCWD with the support of GOG and other international donors since the UN International Declaration of the Advancement of Women in 1975. However, despite the rhetoric of women’s emancipation in Ghana there is a reality of women’s under education disadvantaging women in a society in which there is male hegemony.

Traditional male attitudes will remain hard to change and indeed for individual older men such change may never be achieved. There needs to be long-term planning for a better future in which boys and girls are given equal opportunity and empowerment and thus there are strides towards a future in which social harmony is more realistic.

In addition, this investigation contributes to the paucity of literature on the position of Ghanaian women in tourism development and its management not only in Ghana but also at the international level of academic studies. It is equally important to note that despite periods of frustration, spending much time struggling to gather literature, my investigation shows that there is no literature published on the position of Akan Queen Mothers and Ghanaian women in relation to tourism development and its management in Ghana.

Thus, this research is a pioneering study in the area of women’s workforce in PANAFEST festival and tourism industry in relation to the
role of Akan Queen Mothers in Ghana. In addition, the background position of Ghanaian women and Akan Queen Mothers in particular is socially, culturally and traditionally constructed, a situation women in Ghana have had to accept over the years as part of Ghanaian tradition and culture.

10.4.2 Contributions to Methodology

The main contribution to methodology by this thesis lies in the post-modern feminism perspective in social research on women studies. Seale (2002) and Stanley and Wise (1983) have argued in the past that feminist methodology within social science research developed due to concerns raised in 1970s regarding gender inequalities. They state that the use of qualitative approaches depends on the appropriateness of the phenomenon under investigation that determines the use of specific research methods and techniques. Moreover, Harding (1987), Denzin and Lincoln (2000) and Seale (2002) argue further that feminist research methodology approaches had a broad theoretical scientific base which does not indicate any choice of particular research methodology.

For the sake of the broad theoretical approach in feminist work, tourism researchers have urged feminist researchers like myself to consider the application of qualitative research approaches to address the voice of
women in tourism studies (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). The emphasis is for both feminist and tourism research to use the same qualitative research connotations (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004) to address the concerns of women in tourism development and the marginalised in society.

The thesis adopted alternative research approaches to develop theories from untapped human social organisation that have very little available written information. Alternative research techniques were used on different research locations at PANAFEST festival destinations to achieve maximum research results on the position of Ghanaian women, Akan Queen Mothers in general and their role in festival celebrations in relation to tourism development in Ghana.

The research used multiple research approaches, methods and techniques in a conversational research approach. The purpose of using alternative research techniques was to compare data from two different research interview techniques (unstructured individual interviews and unstructured group interviews) at three PANAFEST festival destinations on the position of the Akan Queen Mothers in their role on festivals and in tourism development in Ghana.

Another contribution of methodology is the application of the concept of a “Knocking Fee”, a Ghanaian cultural and traditional custom of
providing drinks and money to indigenous traditional political leaders. The “Knocking Fee” aims to grease the palm and enables an exchange to take place. In Ghana, it is an accepted norm that to provide hard liquor (whisky or schnapps) or money to gain favour provides access into traditional research locations. The concept of a “Knocking Fee” was introduced into the Gold Coast, now Ghana, by early European merchants to the country and the aim was to gain special political favours and respect from the chiefs and elders of an area (Buah, 1998). The concept of a “knocking fee” helped me to gain access into the natural setting of the three PANAFEST destinations, thus allowing the both individual and focus group interviewees to relax and provided me with all the information I needed to know on Akan Queen Mothers and their roles and involvement in festivals celebrations in Ghana.

10.4.3 Contributions to Practice

The current study makes four major contributions to practice. Firstly, the background position of Ghanaian women and Akan Queen Mothers in particular is socially, culturally and traditionally constructed, a situation which women in Ghana over the years have to come to terms with. Secondly, the study identified that more Ghanaian women are more likely to be employed in the lower echelons of the tourism and hotel industries in Ghana, thereby creating an employment gap between men and women in the workforce. The concentration of women in
these more menial tourism-related jobs is an indication that the majority of Ghanaian women in the tourism industry lack the prerequisite educational qualification requirement for suitable middle or top executive level positions. It is essential that education and training programmes are easily accessible for women in tourism development and its related jobs in Ghana.

Thirdly, the study also identified the lack of gender policy in the country, even though, according to Ghana’s 1992 constitution, though officially there is no gender discrimination against women. However, the lack of gender policy in Ghana at the time of the data collection clearly shows discrepancies in the constitution of Ghana against women’s advancement. According to Ghana Labour Act Law (GLAL) (1968) women are at a disadvantage in the informal employment like traditional agriculture since less money is gained for their farm produce than those in cash crop production like cocoa. Fourthly, the study identified the need to enforce gender policy in Ghana to energise women’s career development in tourism development, thus, helping decision-makers to develop appropriate strategies to promote and enhance women’s employment within tourism development.

Re-enforcing gender policy in Ghana will enable decision-makers to revisit the 1968 Ghana Labour Act Law, which states categorically that
women are at a disadvantage in the informal employments like traditional agriculture where rural women farmers are paid less.

10.5 Research Limitations

Although I looked at PANAFEST which is the major international festival, I did not look at other Ghanaian festivals or women’s employment in other tourism attractions. Festivals are short-term activities generally, often community led. Employer attitudes to longer term employment are important.

One other limitation to this study was the limited literature on women’s issues in Ghana. The situation made me devise a conversational unstructured interview approach for both individual and focus group interviews at the three PANAFEST destinations. The aim was to derive more information on the role of Akan Queen Mother in festival celebrations in relation to tourism development and its management in Ghana. Other research limitations are to lack of funding. The study could not explore women’s role in the community and village based tourism development in Ghana since time, travel and expenses greatly increased costs.
10.6 Potential Avenues for Further Research

Areas that require further research include women’s employment in tourism development and its management in Ghana. For long-term research purposes, there is the need to look at women’s employment in the hotel business in Ghana, which for sometime have not been investigated for improvement to be proposed. Other areas for further investigation will include Ghanaian public perceptions of women in tourism related employments.

In addition studies could investigate the number of Ghanaian women employed as managers in tourism-related jobs and the number of Ghanaian women employed in decision-making and executive levels in tourism development and its management in Ghana. Other potential avenues for further research are to explore the role of women in community and village-based tourism development. Also there is the issue of the gap between men and women employed in tourism-related jobs in Ghana.

10.7 Personal Reflections

This research has broadened my horizons, provided me with an in-depth understanding of feminist theories in relation to how women are
perceived in Ghanaian society. The research has built up my confidence, and increased my knowledge in tourism development and its management on feminist research studies wide-world. I will describe this research as a narrative story on the paradox of Ghanaian Akan Queen Mothers and the implications surrounding their covert influence in the Akan social organisation as original and very unique.

Information gathered on the study of the Akan Queen Mothers and their roles in festival celebrations and tourism development in Ghana were based on Akan oral tradition. Initially, it was very difficult to start this research which needed a lot of thought and blending of ideas. At the end, I must say, I am very happy and relieved that I achieved telling the important story of Akan Queen Mothers, where very little is written on their role in festival celebrations and tourism development in Ghana through their role is irreplaceable.

My research is unique and its uniqueness is based on the fact that this is the first research undertaken on women’s experience surrounding the implications of covert influence of the Akan Queen Mothers in relation to festival celebrations and tourism development in Ghana.

The qualitative research approach on the study is also original because being an insider as a Ghanaian and outsider as a person studying in the UK I needed to develop an approach acceptable to both the
indigenous group and individual interviewees. Right from the beginning of my study, I knew there would be problems in terms of research strategy and to resolve this I designed a qualitative conversational unstructured research approach for the gathering of data.

One thing to be mentioned is to never underestimate the knowledge and intelligence of indigenous rural people because of their lack of formal education. The raw data gathered on Akan social organisation was provided by indigenous Ghanaians and not from the well-educated individual men and women interviewees. The indigenous Ghanaian group interviewees or focus group discussions were run in local languages without fear or intimidation, especially in their own natural setting and environments. In their natural setting I mean by providing them with cookies, drinks and money to give them enthusiasm, without reservation to provide information about their culture and life experience.

10.8 Final Thoughts

This thesis is the outcome of over four years of continuous research effort in both Ghana and UK on a case study of PANAFEST festival and the Akan Queen Mothers and the implications of covert gynocracy in Akan social Organisations. The research also looked at Ghanaian
traditional and cultural politics that influences the advancements of women in tourism development and its managements in Ghana. The research allowed me to explore interesting areas that are seldom investigated through my search for the appropriate methodology and theoretical perspective that correspond to my research.

My studies at Cardiff School of Management have greatly contributed to my knowledge and research capacity as well as my own personal character development. Coming to the end of the writing of this thesis is a wonderful feeling - a feeling that I believed was made possible by my supervising Professors as well as my own hard work, through perseverance and guidance of the Almighty God.

10.9 Summary

Chapter ten concludes the case study on PANAFEST festival and the covert influence of the Akan Queen Mothers in Akan social organisations in Ghana. It reviewed the research objectives, research study, aims and objects and presented the major research findings, contribution on theory, contribution on knowledge and contribution to practice. The chapter also discussed research recommendations, potential avenues for further research and research limitations and
problems. Finally, it presented my personal reflections and thoughts on completing the research thesis to my own satisfaction.
APPENDIX 1

TRANSCRIPTS OF UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

AND TRANSLATED FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS
Forty introductory letters were to key individuals, institutions and organisations that I believed would help with information gathering on women and the Akan queen Mothers and their roles and involvements in festival celebrations, two months before my arrival date in Ghana. Some of the individuals, organisations and institutions I wrote to include the National Council on Women and Development (NCWD); the 31st December Women’s Movement (DWM), the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) Ghana, the Association of Women in the Media (ASWIM), the Ghana Tourist Board (GTB), the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC), the Minister for Tourism and the Minister for Women and Children’s Affairs.

Fieldwork Limitations

However, out of forty targeted individuals, organisations and institutions, only sixteen formal educated men and women from organisations mentioned above, responded to participate in my research data gathering. Organisations, which were not available for interview, include the Ministry for Women and Children Affairs, The Federation of Women Lawyer (FIDA), Federation of the Association of Women Entrepreneurs (FAWE), as well as some selected chiefs and Akan Queen Mothers in PANAFEST festival destinations.
The breakdown: of the sixteen unstructured individual interviewees are:

Accra in Greater Accra Region has nine men individual interviews made up of three female and five male.

Cape Coast in Central Region has four individual interviewees made up of three male and one female.

Elimina in Central Region has two male individual interviewees, while Kumasi had one male individual interviewee.

Focus Group Interviewees

No introductory letters were sent out to any of the unstructured focus group interviewees because for effective group interviews identified participants must be identified on the spot to avoid impersonations and such groups should be Akan speaking origin. In addition, such groups should be indigenous Akans with informal education background who are prepared and without reservation to openly discuss the traditional and cultural practices that relegate women to assume background position in relation to the role of women Queen Mothers in festival celebration and tourism development and
management in Ghana. The overall participants of unstructured group interviews or focus group discussion were eighty-four (84).

The breakdown was:

**Accra – Greater Accra Region**

Accra has three unstructured group interviews totalling thirty-six (36) informally educated men and women. The first group is made up of twelve men only, second is made up of mixed group of twelve men and women and the last is twelve women only.

**Cape Coast – Central Region**

Cape Coast has three unstructured group interviews made up of eight all men, eight all women and eight mixed group of informally educated men and women, totally 24.

**Elimina –Central Region**

Elimina has two unstructured group interviews made up of twelve men only and twelve mixed up of both men and women, totally 24.

**Gaining Access into Natural Data Collection Environment**

Gaining accessing into natural setting of PANAFEST festival destinations needs careful planning and consideration to win the hearts and minds of the unknown interviewees in Ghana. For
maximum results I identified a gatekeeper, through whom I was able to reach out to all the identified gatekeepers in other PANAFEST festival destinations. The study used one month to gather the data in three PANAFEST festival destinations; however, Kumasi focus group interviews as planned were cancelled due to technical problems.

**Ethics**

Participants of the unstructured individual and group interviews were assured of anonymity and coding of respondents are not in any particular order. Food and drinks were provided, especially to the unstructured group interviewees as according to Ghanaian Akan traditional and cultural and practices.

**Data Gathering Techniques**

The study used audiostream recorder and audiovisual equipment to record interviews. The interviews generally lasted between 20 to 30 minutes. There were two segments of interviews as mentioned earlier, which were unstructured individual educated men and women and focus group interviews. Unstructured focus group interviews were carried among informally educated men and women. Participants of focus group interviews constituted traders, from the local market in
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

Appendix 1

Accra, traditional dance groups from Cape Coast and in Elimina artefacts traders and museum workers. Members of focus interviews comprised of twelve to six participants.

Self – Introductory Message to Both Individual and Group Focus Interviews

Good Morning, I am here as a research student from the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, University Institute of Cardiff, Wales (UWIC). I am a Ghanaian by birth and here to research into the role and the involvement of Akan women and Queen Mothers in festival celebrations, PANAFEST in particular. I will also be looking into the cultural and traditional norms in our society that inhibit the
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

development of our women. This discussion is purely for academic purposes and will be grateful for your contribution. This I mean I want you to speak freely without fear or intimidation.

Interview No. 1 – Mr. Bright Blewu, Executive Secretary, Ghana Journalist Association (GJA): Accra, Greater Accra Region

Question:

What is the significance of festival and the role and involvement of women?

Answer:

I begin by observing that the Ghanaian society, for that matter the African society, the women or womanhood is always placed in the
background and that applies when it comes to festivals and significances of festivals and how they are even organised. And if we take for instead the Hobetestosho of the Aworoes for instead, which is been their commemoration of their fleeing from their dictatorship of their Chief, Agocolee. You would always find that on the durbar grounds women are dressed with beads; so you noticed that when it comes to festivals, women only play a background role – they don’t play concrete roles. They are depicted as ‘embellishments to a festival’ embellishment in the sense that ear rings, bracelets so they just add colour to festivals.

**Question:**

**What is the Significance of Festivals?**

**Answer:**

For every festivals, whether it is the Owira, whether it is the Hobetestosho whether it is the Ga Homowo celebrated by the Gas’, you would always find the chiefs with the umbrellas, they are surrounded by men and they play the role; they sprinkles the “Papale”, you know, so the focus is on men. Now, I think the reason I have already given. African society is male dominated and it transcends through everything including the celebrations and commemorations of important event. You know, that is all festivals are all about.

**Question:**

**How can the problems of male dominated society and the media n rectify the situation?**
Answer:

Now, this problem would take a long time to overcome and as it was recognised the media has a very important role to play. But don’t also forget that the media that is to be informing and educating the people, also already suffers from this strain of male domination. But I must also admit that the situation in the media is getting better because the tool for correcting the situation is education. But when it comes to festival; festival is not an issue of an education.

Question:

In your opinion and what do you suggest we can do to solve the problem facing women today?

Answer:

It is an issue of history and societal development. So when you look at all the festivals; how can we place women at the centre; for me in my kindly opinion, it is a tough task we will face.

Question:

What do you think about PANAFEST and the role of women in festival celebrated here in Ghana?

Answer:

Re-assigning roles for women and making that role important; for instance, I would like to give you an example; if we have anything to commemorate the slave trade, for instance; PANAFEST it is about, you know giving recognition to the black race and yet, the focus is mostly on men. Not because the organisers seek to place emphasis on men
but your history has determined that. Let me give you an example, when they were taking women as slave out of this continent, what it is that they didn’t to women, the governor for instance will pardon women. You Know, women would be those who would be pardoned, if you were lucky and the governor slept with you. You understand, so it is not only even in Africa, even with Europeans when they came; that role that surrogated the woman to the background was there. They will deal ruthlessly with the men when slaves were stubborn and they were men, they treated worse than they treated stubborn women slaves. So you see, it’s something that we all have to overcome in society. Even though I must admit that is more pronounced in Africa.

So your accession is right.

Question:

How can the media help in changing the perceptions of Ghanaian society about women?

Answer:

It means that we have to refocus; for instance why don’t we pick on more important achievements of women like “Nana Yaa Asantewa”. Why don’t we celebrate, have you asked yourself why when it comes to festivals we have never celebrated the achievements of our great women --- pause ---

Ashantis celebrates “Owiera” Yaa Asantewaa was an Astanti, but I am sorry to say that I don’t remember a day or I can’t recall any festival that has actually focus on the role that women play in fighting the
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

colonialists, which was what Yaa Asantewaa did. Is there any day like that? No!! So you see it means that the media must be begin to help society pick on some of the positive aspect; no matter how minute, no matter how small, for society to recognise that women too play important role. Even as we sit down now, apart from Yaa Asantewaa, I think there are others, you know, that can fall on others within the ranks of other ethnic groups that women play roles. But if the media does not bring these up, that is one, the media has a role, the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs and the Minister Cultural and Tourism also has to; if these thing is to be documented, it is not a question of the media saying we are going to find out a lot about what Yaa Asantewaa did. I understand the wife of Prempeh the Third when he was banished to Seychelles Islands; the wife was very aggressive, we need to bring out some of these things. You know and that was how come that they have to take the man all the way to Seychelles. She kept on saying, where is my husband, you know she was very aggressive. All these are positive aspect of womanhood that you see your husband in trouble and yet you are ready to die for this man and to fight for. So what it means and all I am saying is that yes it is true that what you have said is true that women have been kept in the background. But don’t forget that it is not only in culture, it transcends all factors of our society even modern this like journalism now, like I tell you now we are yet to have a general secretary of the GJA who is a woman. Not yet, you saw the hula balloon when a woman become the president of GJA for the first time in fifty years,
and yet when she became president, look at the gains that associated
with her leadership. It is a sign that women have a potential that you
see, if society is not forced to recognise that how then can we in our
culture; - considering the fact that at the base of all this is culture.
You see, I can assure you that if we are able to focus well on the
achievements and the contributions of women in our cultural heritage,
it will permeate through journalist, engineering quickly.

Probe:

How and where do we begin?

Answer:

You see, if we begin from there, and how do we begin, for me I think
that me as a media person, that is what I find to be perhaps the
biggest challenge of development. Because most of the negative and
the defectives stance we take is because we haven’t overcome some of
our cultural perspectives that push women and leave them behind.
So how do we if we can overcome this things, in terms of culture,
women play the role in the fighting colonial administration. We need
to sit down and think of all these things. For me I think that for the
media, I can also assure you, that the media cannot do it alone
because they themselves are also victims.

Question:

How is the media a victim?
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

Answer:

They are victims because, for instance, why did it take us so long to vote a women to be GJA president it is because society is male dominated, is cultural, you want to give a role to a women, go to the kitchen, kwaku you go and learn, why is it that the two of your children, daughter and son, you don’t make the two to go and learn, it is because you think that the man is the person who must climb up the educational ladder. So already all are victims and trying to overcome it. So how can we bring out of this shell. Before even we tackle the real problem which for me is cultural because if we don’t overcome it there is not much we can do. I can assure you, the cultural is like an envelope which conceal a letter, and not until we can break that envelop and see inside what points you have got saying you are tackling other aspect of life. So I only say that it is a task that the media alone cannot perform, it is a concerted effort we are making to. Because the media can only educate people if they have the facts and so far, the facts for me is not positive it does not give a lot of us it were credit to the contributions that women have made. You see, these things need to be; not necessarily documented but you must get people who would research into this aspect.

Question:

Are you saying it is all about money then?

Answer:

I don’t think money will be a problem; but you see, that is not the beginning. The beginning is even the principle, the intention, the
commitment, and the belief that this is the problem. That I have located the problem, now after you have located the problem; what do you do to solve that problem? Money then could come up but as far as I am concerned, I don’t think we have fully identified the problem. Because we are all still victims of male dominations, by and large we believe in male domination. We go to PANAFEST is only the chief alone in the palanquin who are dancing to the tune of drums and talk about the chiefs. How many times do they allow women but the women are dressed and virtually follow the chiefs entourage as if they don’t have any important role to play. The media will not be of any great assistance if the national psychics are not change. The problem must be a national problem because cultural is the way and life of the people. The media has a role to play but cannot do everything.

Question:

How then can it be? You have spoken about the cultural aspect of the Ghanaian society; what is the tradition then?

Answer:

Cultural only becomes a tradition when you believe that is a positive aspect at a particular time that the tradition goes on. It means that you have accepted the cultural norms that the culture is that fewer women should go to school. Now you believe and then you can say it is the tradition that fewer women should go to school; that is for women not to go to school and rather give preference to men. That is when society has accepted that it has become the norm of the tradition. Culture is what our ancestors left behind. And that is our
culture but when you accept is and says some thing like a principle becomes the tradition. And people will tell you can break tradition but not culture because it is a bit difficult. That is why they say it is our culture. I don’t know, but as a journalist, breaking culture and overcoming some of the challenges of the negative aspect of culture it work of the national psychic. You see, we as a people are government institutions that are why I mentioned the ministry of culture and tourism, a journalist cannot start writing but the people must agree that we have not given enough credit to our women. What do you know about Yaa Asantewaa. But I tell you there is no festival celebrating her. How many time do we celebrates our women. No one, so you see, the national psychic is important. The country itself, all of us must agree that women have contributed to national development and begin to celebrate them and that is when we can begin to bring them at pair and then the media can begin to fuel the media’s role but I don’t see it happening because culture can be a very difficult thing to break. It is not like some other thing like international relations. It is the way of life of the people but tradition if the belief that society have accepted norms that becomes part of the culture of the people as time goes on,

Thank you very much for your contribution
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

Interview No. 2 - Professor Owusu Benpon, Department of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon: Accra, Greater Accra Region
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

Interview No. 2- Professor Owusu Benpon, Department of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon: Accra, Greater Accra Region

- What are the role and involvement of women in festival celebrations in Ghana?
- Why should Ghanaian women take background position?
- Why should upbringing of children be part of cultural and traditional norms of Ghanaian society?
- What about economic empowerment of women in Ghana?
- Why should women control the Ghanaian market system?

In terms of festival, or all kinds of festivals, we have limited participation kind of festival. We are talking about initiations ceremonies. Usually, what the Akans called the puberty ceremony or “bragoro”. That one is specifically for women. And women have important role to play. Because is the women who have to determine when the girl going through menstruations. And the women will inform the father and what the father does is that, in the early days, the father will buy bullets and secure guns for hunting and go to the bush and hunts for game for the festival for the daughter. Usually, the men will go and bring a lot of games and then they smoke it and the women will prepare meals or food for the festival. Then the rest of the festival, like a cleansing the women, you know, preparing the “ootto” or mashed yam mixed with red palm oil, I think, I have written about it and that one is a women’s affair. They have to beat the drum and dance around the candidate. All that is the women; sometimes the
young maidens will go and stood in public and greet people but the role of men is the game (bush meat from the forest) but everything is more of women’s affair.

**Can you please explain what Appoo festivals is all about?**

When it comes to state festivals, “Appoo” festivals for instances is the festival for men I call it “democratic. It is a festival that really allows people to “la poll” or to task against their superiors and their inferiors. It is a democratic way of people expressing themselves. Appoo is to reject bottlenecks in the society. And that one, before, there are so many rituals involve. The first rituals, which women play part is called “shira koo”. Shira is clay and koo is going for clay. And that part going for clay is the women who have, sometimes they go in processions. They line up and they sing songs and they will carry their pans and you know, and they go to the river side, which is about a mile or two away from town and then they go and get the clay. And when they are coming, they will also sing their songs and they take the clay to the “High Priest” or the “Okomfo” at his palace, the chief of the high priest. And here, it is the women who will white-washed, they use the clay to tidy up the whole palace in preparation for the festival. But then you know, it doesn’t mean that, women also play very important role in most of the festivals, especially when it comes to the preparation of the “ootto”. In most cases, the women will prepare the oottoo. Cut the yams and boil it and mashed the yam, the white oottoo is the plain one and the red oottoo is when a red palm oil is added. And that is what is used as a sacrifice for the deities or (gods) and their ancestors.
So women play important role in festivals. Sometime there are some women who will not play certain roles in festivals, especially, during menstruations. The women are not supposed to go to the palace or to the deities’ houses when they are in their menstruation or periods. This is a “taboo”. And women who do that will not participate in the festival instead; they will rather pick up something the elderly women who have reached menopause who will play that kind of role. Even sometimes queen mothers will not enter the stool room to perform libation, especially the young Queen Mothers, because they all do that but after that then they will play their role in festivals.

Do you know the reason why women always in our society take the background role or assume lesser position?

Well, it doesn’t means that women are under dogs or something, but it just that women only give respect. There are certain roles that women play. It doesn’t mean that they play inferior role, actually, they respect. After all it is women who gave birth to men. So, it is a matter of, sometimes mothers will even tell their young men, don’t behave like a women. A woman behaves little bit milder, you know, than the men. A man is supposed to be masculine and a little wild and so a woman is supposed to be calm and respectful. So it is not that they are inferior. In western terms, is not that; But there are women too who are like men physically; and that sometimes in the olden days they are accused of being witches but these days, you know I think it is normal to see women, who have the energy and play role like men. Like me, my own nice is a Queen Mother. She is a very hard workingwoman,
(Woman building contractor) she has built a swimming pool, and she has also built a palace for the whole village. So somebody like that is normal. But in certain situations she comes down and in certain situations she is up, because she knows how to play the role. It doesn’t mean that when she is playing the down role, she is inferior or so. And sometimes in certain situations when you play the down role, it means you are polite and you are respected. And in certain situations if you don’t play the down role, and you try to play up role it means you have not been brought up well. So up bringing of children in our society is very important.

So in this wise do you think up bringing can be part of cultural and traditional norms of the people.

Well as for the way people are raised, you cannot really take it out of culture. So it is part and parcel of culture and culture is behaviour so the way people are brought up take a great deal of the person’s image. Example, if you are kid and you are told you are like this, you grow up to be like that. Well if people are saying that you are symbol of your grandfather or grandmother who was like this, then they encourage you to become like that. So up bring you cannot take it out of culture, because it was what, who is bringing you up. That person who is bringing you up, even the language you are speaking, you know has been laid down for a long, long time. If speaking and giving you dirty language all the time, you know, and then you are picking that up, because it becomes part and parcel of you. If he is giving you a polite language, especially in a court, I was raised in a palace; you are
taught how to speak. All the same, you learn. It becomes part and parcel of you.

So do you think education has something to do with the progression of women and financing their progression in society?

Well education and finance; - education is very important. But you have to think of what kind of education.

**Formal education, please**

It doesn’t mean that before the white man we never had education or the school system came, in fact there are some people there, what we call the educated fools. If you are really a book oriented person and you know all the books, and if you don’t bring the traditional values to it, then you become a stupid person. So if you are educated woman and you think; that the western values or norms are the only ideal; and then you throw away your own cultural system then you are being a fool. There are certain things that your cultural is dynamic and is changing all the time, but then, you don’t have to be a radical to think that your own culture is not good, your own language is not good. Because the language we speak alone is one important aspect of culture. How polite is the language that you speak and you are taking somebody languages that even you don’t even understand. I think to be schooled does not only mean only western education. To be schooled can become traditional as well as western education I will call foreign ideas. If you call, we learn, we learn from each other we cannot really say that our cultural should be static. We have to at
least borrow, learn from others, especial things that are good from others and add it to ours. Every culture is unique by itself.

What about economic empowerment of women in Ghana?

Well, economic empowerment in terms of women, I mean. I think, where I come from, women are more powerful economically. I come from “Takyiman “has one of the biggest markets in West Africa. And women control the market system.

Why the market systems controlled by women?

In fact if you are man and you go the market systems. They have union and unions. The women will swallow you. In a sense, the women are so powerful that men cannot really penetrate through the market system. Because from the beginning women took it up. But for a man even to move into the market system, you have to gradually move with a woman. Because, we have the yam sellers union, we have pepper sellers union, meat sellers union, we have salt sellers union, we have plantain sellers union and we have all these unions and they are all have Queen Mothers. They don’t have kings for yam sellers, and they control, although they use men, as secretaries or finance officers, but they control the systems. So where I come from, though a traditional area, the women are always economically very powerful.
Interview No.3: Mrs. Joana Opere, National Programme Manager, United Nations system for Promoting Gender Equality: Accra, Greater Accra Region

- What do you know about gender and tourism in Ghana?

- What is the role and involvement of women in festival celebrations in Ghana?

- What is the significance of Dipo/Begro festivals in Ghana?

Interview No.3: Mrs. Joana Opere, National Programme Manager, United Nations system for Promoting Gender Equality: Accra, Greater Accra Region

INTERVIEW THREE

I am happy to be associated with little work of yours, because it focuses on gender issues and I am really concern about tourism and gender. What there is in there and as we know especially, tourism analysis, in almost every aspect of life, you get people at disadvantage over there. And since in Ghana, we want to develop the tourism sector, to ensure that it becomes the number one foreign exchange earner I think we got to look at things at gender perspective. Now having spoken to you about your topic, it just strike me that the Mayah
Kroobo Queen Mothers Association, could be a good target for comparison in what happens in the Akan lands. In that I know they have big Queen Mothers Associations over there and there are more than about 150 people in that association. We have been working with them and they have integrated programme combating HIV AIDS and they looking mainly at HIV AIDS, Gender and Poverty. I don’t think may be the programme for them started like that, now it is involving and I am always happy to share what our Queen Mothers are doing. Some where in the seventies, they started the programme down there and they found out that they are very affected by the HIV AIDS, a lot of their young ones have to leave there and travel to Ivory Coast and wherever to indulge in sex trade and came back with the virus. So their young ladies started dying and leaving orphans. These Queen Mothers decided to take up the orphans and look after them in their homes. So they provide for the orphans in their homes and through that somewhere along the line, there have been a lot of Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) involved, United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). Of late, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has also joined. There have been NGOs like Family Health International and others that have been there. What we are doing as a programme for them at the moment is; - we went on board when the Queen Mothers approached us to support them in training some of the young girls they have targeted and this is being done so that these girls would get occupied and will not have to involve in sex trade. So they started giving them some skilled training, “batique tye
& die” beads and soap making, etc. After training them, they said they needed support and we went in and did some analysis and found that there was a need to incorporate into training – HIV AIDS education, productive health and puberty rites and gender issues so we supported them with that training. After that they came and said that well, the girls are clean, they are ok. Now they need something (financial support) to start life. And so again we went in to do an analysis on what ever they wanted and we were able to give them loan ranging from five hundred thousand cedis (500,000.00) per girl, they were about 40 of them. We can’t disburse the loan to them, have to do feasibility studies and involve the Rural Bank in the area. And for guarantors, the Queen Mothers are the guarantors, as well as their parents of the loan beneficiaries. We all have consultancy to monitor them how these loans are being used. I am glad to say that the girls have started paying back the loans and some of them have completed their loans less then a year. They are happy and outwardly, you can see a lot of them change physically and they are looking very well. And I taught it is something we could share. I have become a member of the “Dipo” Planning Committee and the Queen Mothers promise that the next “Dipo Festival”, it will not be like the others, where the girls were display naked to the public. This time round Queen Mothers wish the girls are covered with “Kente” or local cloth, so that they don’t expose their bodies to the public. This means that education that has been going on there over these years has been successful and achieve its aims and they have accepted it and they are well supported
by the chiefs Nene Secketey, the second of the place and also the
other sub chiefs there support the use of cloth to cover the girls
during the Dipo festivals. So they are a force to reckon with. So far as
development is concern, they have developed a lot of beads, “tye & die”
and I think the one I am wearing was made by the girls. I have Batiqe
materials which, were made by the girls; I tell everybody that this is
from “Mayah Kroboo”. If our girls can produce this, we can help them
to give it a good finish. Why can’t we export this to also promote the
tourism industry in the Ghana?

**What is the significance for covering the young girls during Dipo” festivals?**

Well they explained that when a girl is of age they do the “dipo”. The
reason for doing is to prepare the girls for marriage. You are getting of
age and there are men around so and so on. So it is like, now they
understand that you don’t need to do that. To actually to initiate a girl
into adulthood or into womanhood; you can do it without exposing
their nakedness. So this is where we are with them now. We are
thinking of targeting another batch of 40 and I think they are about
starting the training themselves. What I like about them is that they
are using their own initiatives and they are not that educated; few are
either schooled, but they are together as a group and been able to
help these young ones.

**When was this thing started?**

The whole programme started I think somewhere 1986 or so. We got
in two years ago (2002).
Thank you very much Madam for your time and knowledge.

Interview No.4: Honourable Gladys Boateng, International Relation Officer, National Commission on Culture: Accra, Greater Accra Region

- What are the roles and involvement of women in festival celebrations?
- Do you have reasons why women play a background role?
- Are there any specific reasons why most women refuse to stand as MP or for elections?
- What are the normal ridicules in politics about women?
- What suggestions will you give to women who enter politics in future?
- What is the role and involvement of women in PANAFEST festival celebrations?
- How can you relate culture and tourism development in Ghana?
INTERVIEW FOUR

What are the role and involvement of women in festival celebrations?

The role of women are defined – to me in the Bible, after reading the Bible a little bit and I realised that even when they are choosing the ideology, they mentioned some, is once in a while before they will mention a women. And something I think had been handed down. Women are always taken at the background role. When it comes to festivals, they have to prepare the place, if they have to clean, is the women who do the clean ups, clean the house, they have to make sure there is food for the festivals, they look for the food, they cook the food, and then they have to make sure that children and even their both husbands and brothers are all clean by washing their cloth. And then again, when there are durbars, they put them there to fill the place. If it is festivals, like the “Homowo”, the women will cook the food, but when it comes to the sprinkling, it is the men or the chiefs who will do it. So to me, generally, the women play a background role.

Do you have reasons why the woman or women generally play a background role?
It looks as if in Africa, for that matter, Ghana, we have accepted that background role. Even when they are bringing up children, if the boy and the girl are playing, the girl is always scolded; go back home and help your mum in household chores, the girls place is in the kitchen and the boy will be allowed to just go and play around. And so you grow up with that thing. All the household chores are the ladies responsibility. And you will be surprised. Those of us who say we are liberated find ourselves doing these things automatically. Yesterday the same thing happened in my own case where we were serving lunch and two directors, mine plus another one director were put in one bag. My colleague said that he wasn’t going to eat his food. So he wanted an envelope and I said give it to me before I could realise, I have taken an envelop to wrap it even though he was prepared to do it and I was fastening it and I said you see, we been doing these things automatically and now look at me. I said I am liberated and I find myself serving you, even when you haven’t asked me to do it. So the up bringing is such that you accept to do second fiddle those things. And we grow up being so shy and I believed that is why even sometimes we are given the chance, we say no. I remembered when I was a Member of Parliament (MP) in my constituency I just tried something. I put a ballot box down and just told my people that they want somebody to represent us in Accra. And so, let nominate two people. That is one man, one lady. When we met, there were more women than men and I made sure I selected a woman who was better educated than the man. You know that when we finished, the man
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won. And I said what is going on, and why? Even though, he could bearing speak English, and that lady has finished university and has the poise and everything, they decided that it is the man who should represent us. So I don’t know, should I say it is in born. So it is not easy. It isn’t easy at all. We have grown up to accept the roles, because they started nurturing us with it and we accepted it automatically. And that is why I have to confess this liberty in Ghana is slowed down a little bit.

This what?

I mean women’s liberation, has slowed down a little bit. I don’t know, when you came haven’t you noticed that it slowed down.

I have noticed that but still I what you to continue with what you were saying

But what I was trying to say when we meet and realised that mistake, I think we should accepted it and then see how we solve and then we can move forward. But this thing that happened at my set me aback; are just talking and then when we go back to our homes, we go back to our words, then how should it be. So I think there is a knot there, which we have to un knot, even when we put our heads together, we will know what to do. You ask somebody to stand for election and she says, no, no my husband won’t allow me to.

So there is another set back.

Meanwhile, this person encouraging another person to go, saying you are better, why don’t you go, she is refusing, saying my husband will not allow me to run for elections.
Are there any specific reasons why most women refuse to stand as MPs or for elections?

One, they are very shy, two they don’t want to be exposed to the normal ridicules in politics.

What are the normal ridicules in politics? Once you have been there, you can tell.

You remember when we were in parliament; they said all the women in parliament are single that was why they have been able to make it. And even people pass comments that those there have left their husbands, that is why, they were able to make it. So it is not easy in a society like this, where everybody expected the women should be at the back and suddenly, you pop your head up, society will not accept that. You have to do the work everybody is doing two, three times and it happened to me I have to really work hard. You know, so some women cannot stand this.

What suggestions can you give to women, who will be entering into politics?

I think when we are bringing-up the children everything starts from the home. We should look at the way we assign duties at home. My mum used to assign duties to everybody regardless of sex, and we were rotating. I believed that was very good training. So let us not leave the little girls feel that they are inferior to the boys because the boys are stronger, just assign the same roles to them. And then again I think that if there is a problem, the solution lie on us, the women. It is our problem and we should come together sincerely to tell ourselves,
this problem is out. Now, we are prepared to solve the problem. If you
see a woman trying to come up; push her. Don't help the men to bring
the woman down. Because, sincerely, the men have something to hide;
they know we can do it, they know we can manage, so they are always
praying we should not come up where they are. You mark it on the
wall, it is time a woman becomes a head of state in Ghana. The time
has come but then again, which woman you think, will come up and
thus, are we really, really ready to vote for. Forty seven (47) years,
we've given the men the chance, we manage homes, the day you leave
home for your mother's place, and some even chase you to bring you
back, because they can't manage that small home. Then we are telling
ourselves they can manage all of us. We must start telling them look
we think it is the turn of the women. You give us four years and if we
are not able to do it don't try again.

Do you think men are intimidated by fact that women can do
better when given the chance?

We can make it. I believe strongly that we can make it; that is if we
can support each other. That support is what I am talking of.

Do you meaning supporting each other?

I mean support. Even common voting, are we prepared to vote for our
women, sisters

Then again going back to the festivals: the role of women in
festival celebrations;
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I wish we could bring out one festival like Homowo or the PANAFEST; again you find the women in fashion. But if it comes to speech giving and that kind of things, I don’t normally see the woman.

**What about the day set aside for women celebrations; what really happens?**

*Have you observed any thing like the organisation of the day, something spectacular?*

On PANAFEST celebrations, we see women like Esi Surtherland –Addy giving speeches and I respect her. She is learned and she is so cultured and very nationalistic. As I said on this day, women normally go into the grafts, display of grafts wares, like beads, like braiding of hair, hairdressing and then clothing and textiles and then the dancers. I think the women are the custodians of most of our performing arts.

**What is the role of the Commission on Culture; in terms of PANAFEST celebrations?**

I believed that PANAFEST was initiated here. But because of the international nature of it, they turn it into a foundation now.

**Why the foundation?**

I think if it is a foundation, it will be easier to source for funding and people will feel freer to join. Because people have this perception it is government thing. Either they won’t be serious or they feel that when they go out for funding they will not get it and that will affect participation. So I think if it is a foundation, it gives it a non-governmental touch and people from all walks of life can join. You know we are not too matured in democracy and we are still at the
winner takes all kind of thing. Even though it is “you go” they will accept it. They will not have anything to do with if it is a particular government, but if it is a foundation, then it is O’ Kay.

**What is culture?**

I think culture is in born, so no matter what other strange cultures you get into contact with, naturally, you still feel comfortable with the culture in which you were born. So when it comes to governance for example, I still find narrowly we should try to involve our own sort of democracy, our own kind of democracy out of our local, should I say chieftaincy set up. It is democratic and I will cite the Ashanti Region as an example, when it was time to enstool somebody, there were six contestants. Finally, when they nominated one person, the others tooled the line put their structures, which was already there, they just sharpened them properly and now they are developing, because it is what they are used to. So to me when it comes to the national level; we should try something and involve our own cultural way of leading the people. Every Ghanaian believes in one leader. Go to all the villages and we know the chief and when the chief beats the gongon, everybody response. They don’t say the chief belongs to group A, and therefore will not respond. So in the same vain, if we are able to that in the national level, we will still be democratic. Let us have people who think they can lead us, they should present themselves, we vote for them and then finally if one person wins, I believe it will be easy to really all of them or everybody behind him. And then to me there will be “Unigov”.

Can you relate that to tourism development in the country?

Tourism!

Yes

In what sense

When you talk about tourism, then you have to reconsider the culture aspect of it. People really think that the importation of tourism into the country is trying to destroy the traditional and cultural norms of the country; what do you think?

I think it depends on how as a country we want to package our tourism industry. You ask yourself, what does the tourist want, what kind of tourist do you want to visit your country? And I believe the average tourist go to a place to look for something new, adventure. So it depends on how we package. If it is ecotourism, how do you want it done; are the people just coming to see animals at “Kakum”, our virgin forest and if it is the cultural aspect, how are we going to package it.

The souvenirs they buy, are we producing souvenirs, even though these are cultural norms, if it is our cultural dances and festivals, I don’t think we are bring in foreign. May be the only foreign about it is the hospitality industry. I am not too happy with them because if it comes to primary art that is the food. They are trying to import something like Chinese food and instead of rather promoting ours.

You look at Ghana, from north, south, east and west; we have various traditional foods, which if one package properly can sell because most of our foods don’t have sugar, for example. To me health wise, it is better. But rather, we prefer import. You go to our hotel and they are
all serving western food or eastern food at the expense of ours. Then again, the accommodation, I think we should try and also present something more cultural by high rising hotels are coming up, it is as if we want to satisfy them. I don't think we have any hotel here that is higher like what we have in London, Hilton, that kind of thing. Let us try and introduce what we have here once it is nicely package. So if there is any intrusion, I think we are rather inviting it. Otherwise the tourist who is coming, is prepare to share with whatever we have here. The only thing is packaging. It is food make it neat.

**Thank you very much for our time and knowledge.**
Interview No. 5: Honourable M. Kojo Yankah, former Deputy Minister Ministry of Information, formal Ashanti regional Minister and now Executive Chairman, PANAFEST Foundation: Accra, Greater Accra Region

- Could you please tell me the role and involvement of women in PANAFEST festival celebrations?
- Can you tell me at the committee level, how members were made up? The criteria for the selections and how many women were involve, from regional to sub regional levels?
- Can you tell me how many people constituted the board members and out of this number, say how many women were represented in the International Board?
- What about the national level, how many women are involved?
- What about the national level, how many women are involved?
- You made mention of the Queen Mothers, what specific roles do the Queen Mothers play during the PANAFEST celebrations?
- Surprisingly, when you look at or compare it with the social and traditional norms of the country at Durbar grounds, you realise that women are always placed at the background. Does it really reflect on what is happening at PANAFEST celebrations?
- From deliberations that I have so far, it seems that traditional and cultural norms of the country have set the women to be at the background position. What do you say about that?
- And would you say also that barrier is due to educational and financial power of women?
Interview No. 5: Honourable M. Kojo Yankah, former Deputy Minister Ministry of Information, formal Ashanti regional Minister and now Executive Chairman, PANAFEST Foundation: Accra, Greater Accra Region

INTERVIEW FIVE

Mr. Chairman, you being the chairman of PANAFEST foundation, could you please tell me the role and involvement of women in PANAFEST celebrations?

Well, we in PANAFEST give pride and place to women first and foremost because the festival itself was given birth to by a woman and we have always at all the editions of PANAFEST have paid tribute to the memory of Dr. Efua Sutherland who had scripted the first proposal for the celebration of PANAFEST. And we have also recognised the importance of having women on our board and therefore, her daughter, Esi Sutherland-Addy, we also have some others from outside of the country who are members of the board. But that is only at the board level. At every planning of PANAFEST programmes there is a strong involvement of women. Why, because there is always the women’s day and there is also the importance of having Queen Mothers at the durbar. You know, our programmes range from the durbar, through the rite of passage, through women’s day, youth day and other day’s programmes, through to emancipation day and then we also have various activities in the evenings like
theatre, performances, concerts, drama, and so and so forth. And all these are weighing heavily on the women. If you talk about the bursar that we hold, it is almost 70 per cent women who are trading at the African market. So we have heavy involvement of women and I think that by and large it is the interest of women that has helped this festival.

Can you tell me at the committee level, how members are made up? The criteria for the selections and how many women are involve, from regional to sub-regional levels?

Let me say that we have at the highest level, the International Board: - The international Board is normally made up of representatives of various constituencies that have supported PANAFEST. Ghana, of course is one, Southern Africa is one, the Caribbean is one, The Americas is one, the United Kingdom is one, and lately, we are taking one from Nigeria. In fact we want to consider it as a West African Region. Apart from the group in Nigeria, our board members, which is made up of two eminent men, all the other regions have women on their boards, on the committees, which all constitute the international board. Then, here at the local level, we have the main planning committee, which is national; people normally come in from the various offices where they work like, Ghana Airways, Ghana Tourist Board, Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, hat one depends on who they nominate. At Cape Coast itself, Cape Coast and Elimina where the local committee is we have the Queen Mothers are heavily represented; we also have women on the exhibitions, women
on the bazaar, almost all the programmes have women on them. So it is quite spread. I do not want to pretend that for that reason there is certain bias. It is just that it is out of interest that we have the women in the various committees. It is not because we want to give any special privileges to women.

Can you tell me how many people constitute the board members and out of this number, say how many women are represented in the international board?

Let me say that we have just reconstituted the board, but in the past, I think I can quickly say that out of fifteen (15), five (5) were women.

What about the national level; how many women are involved?

The national level, as I said people come in because of the offices they occupied. Not because of their personal interest, so depending on which organisation nominates whom. So there is no specific gender equation there.

You made mention of the Queen Mothers; what specific roles do the Queen Mothers play during the PANAFEST celebrations?

PANAFEST is a festival about the achievements of peoples of African descents. It is a celebration of people, it is a celebration of our history, our culture, our theatre, and it is a celebration using the various legal of the programmes to manifest our achievements. Now they (Queen Mothers) come in because most of the expositions, which we talking about say, the durbar, everybody who comes to PANAFEST what to know what is the role of Queen Mothers. They learn a lot. They don’t come and look at the spectacle, but they what to find out what each
person role is, which definitely is of great importance to the people from the Diaspora. Secondly, when we hold the women’s day, we give them (Queen Mothers) the opportunity to look at themselves and that gives them specific roles to play. The changing role of women in the whole PANAFEST movement actually depends on the theme that we’ve chosen for the edition of PANAFEST and they discuss what can do. And you should see some of these meetings of women from all over the world, you know, literate, non literate: all meetings at the Cape Coast University auditorium, African- American, Caribbean, Nigerians, from all over just discussing issues among themselves. It gives them the opportunities to exchange positions, exchange views, exchange ideas from where all of them are coming from, and it is very helpful. Again, when it comes to the art and crafts, and the bazaar and so on, because, you know, traditionally in Africa, it is the African woman, so you find Nigerian women, Liberians, Bukinabes doing a lot of very brisk business during that time. So I believe that by and large we have not set out a definite role for women, no! No, we do not want to make it seem as if we want to pamper the women, no, they have found their own roles, if I should say so in the movement and we encourage them to hold that positions.

Surprisingly, when you look at or compare it with the social and traditional norms of the country at durbar grounds, you realise that women are always placed at the background. Does it really reflect on what is happening at PANAFEST celebrations?
Absolutely, we don’t change roles when it comes to PANAFEST. They play the natural roles they play in their local settings. So the Chiefs, are normally, wherever, they are in a procession they are companied by their Queen Mothers. When they sit, the Queen Mothers sit next to them and so and so forth. We do not want to break that one up. No we want them to be as real as they have been and that what people want to learn about.

From deliberations that I have so far, it seems that traditional and cultural norms of the country have set the women to be at the background position. What do you say about that?

Well, I do not know of specific cultural norms setting the women behind, what I suspect is happening is that people perceive women retrogressing as a result of men holding on very strong to the positions they hold in traditional or cultural sectors. I must say that yes, this is true, but there is also a lot of evidence of women, breaking through that barrier without waiting for men to dictate what they should do. And if you go around, you will find like, gas stations, women are serving if you go to places that they repair vehicles, there are a lot of mechanics, all over the places, there are drivers, there are number of people (women) who are doing very well in male dominated professions. It is true that there are prejudices in work places but I would not consider that those are deliberates. If a manager has a prejudice against women, because they go on leave several times, in their work life that is his own problem. The point is that women must go on leave, whether you like it or not, But at the same time, I don’t
think the society has denied any woman who has reason to her position to her rightful place we have women who are chief executives in various places.

**And would you also say that barrier is due to educational and financial power of women**

No, I think, if it is being broken it is because there has been a women’s movement that has brought awareness and to a lot of people. We need to sustain that kind of awareness. It is easy for women to accept that was how their grandmother was treated you know it is very easy. But if over the years, there have been a lot of awareness about women standing on their own and breaking the barriers and getting out of that domain in which they have, I think it has made a lot of impact on women. Now, you know, look at radio phone-in; women call in and really make their voices heard. They are not left behind at all.

**Thank you very much Sir for your time and knowledge.**
Interview No. 6: Mr. Owusu Mensah, an Official from Ghana
Tourist Board (GTB): Accra, Greater Accra Region

As the main implementing agency on tourism development, what stage is the country at the moment?

You mentioned fast track, what exactly do you mean?

Can you please elaborate what you mean by receptive facilities?

You just mentioned that the government is about to launch tourism strategic plan, do you have any specific date for it?

You have spoken length on tourism development in Ghana. What specific role do women play?

Does the Board have gender policy, if yes, does it encourage both genders to get involved in tourism development in the country and if no, why?

You just mentioned that lack of formal education and training is a barrier for women in tourism development, can you please explain?

Does the Board encourage local or domestic tourism?

INTERVIEW SIX
Friday, April 2, 2004

Mr Owusu Mensah, is a officer at Ghana Tourist Board

The Ministry is the one that looks after the policy and the board is the main implementing agency.

As the main implementing agency, can you please tell me what stage tourism industry is in at the moment in Ghana?

When you talk about what stage, what do you really mean?

I mean, I think I had in on the Internet that tourism development in Ghana is the fourth foreign exchange earnings of the economy.

And those tourism earnings are about 16% of the total earnings of the Ghanaian economy. Is it true? My point of interest is to know whether this percentage has been increased or decreased.

O, Kay, I think it is not in terms of general earnings but in I think it is in terms of foreign exchange earnings. And I am not sure about the sixteen percent rather it is about four per cent (4%). Well, the point is that government want to use tourism as a vehicle for improving the economy and for stabilising the economy and also for creating wealth and jobs and for poverty alleviation. It is because tourism is done at the local level committee levels. It affects the lowest of the people, I mean, it goes down well to the people and it is believed that if tourism is properly developed; it should affect the lives of the local people and the well being of the poor people. The government has put in place a plan to as it will realise its dream of making tourism one of the pillars of the economy. And this was put together in 1996 by the government and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Ghana.
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

with support from World Tourism Organisation (WTO), which is the
umbra body of tourism organisations in the world and has even now
become a specialised agency of the United Nations (UN) and also with
support from the United States (USID). This is what we called the 15
years National Tourism Development Plan (NTDP), so it is on going.
The planning is on going: I mean it is being implemented in phases
and so on. But when the current government took over in 2000, there
was a need to fast track tourism development.

What is fast track?

Fast track means move it at a faster pace. So the government decided
that there should be, we should put together a strategic plan out of
the 15-year National Tourism Development Plan. The Plan has now
reached its final stage and we hope that any time soon it will be
launched. According to the strategic plan, we have to revise out target,
so we are saying that now we expect to have one million visitors
annually by 2007 that is the end of the strategic plan period. And we
expect earnings to go up to 1.5 billion US dollars by the same time.
And we also expect that three hundred thousand people be employed
in the tourism industry by the end of the plan period so you realised
that these as quite lofty objectives. We have to work very hard to
attain that. But we know also that tourism basically, is not a
government job, not a government activity. What government has to
do is to create the environment in what we call popular in Ghana, “the
enabling environment”. Government should facilitate the development
of tourism. And government will be able to do that by making sure
that the necessary infrastructure is laid, and then the private sector will then take up, because tourism is basically a private sector led activity. It is not the business of government to run hotels. The government should leave that to the private sector. It is the private sector which should run tourist transportations, private sector which should put up souvenir shops, private sector, which should provide catering facilities, private sector which should provide high way restaurants and so on. But the private sector will not be expected of course to make a road. The strategic plan actually has put together all this things but how to improve access to the tourist attractions sites in Ghana, how to make them attract investments and investors. Because you asked me most of the tourist attractions are in the rural areas. You ask me to go and put up facilities which would cost let say about five million US dollars and I go and put it up there only for it to be under utilised because there is no proper access to the place. I don’t think any investor will like to do that, so the strategic plan takes care of that. In fact, it was drawn with representation from all the agencies and ministries and organisations from tourism. So even though, the main stream tourism and the ministry of tourism and the Tourist Board and may be the training schools and tourism development companies, the stock holders like wild life division, museums and monument board, Ministry of Roads and Transport, Ministry of Works and Housing, we have to talk about water and so on, Ministry of Railways and Ports and Harbour because we believe that some it like Volta Lake, we are under utilising the recreational and
leisure aspect of it. They were all brought in and we have come out with this programme. Even though the programme is not launched yet, we are still doing bits and pieces of it. As soon as the programme is launched, I can say that we still talk to the other agencies to help when there is the need; but as it is launched, we will see that yes, there is a sense of oneness and purpose and we all put our hand together to get tourism going in the country. We cannot also discount the role of Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are playing in tourism. In fact, at the moment, we have what we call, Community Based Ecotourism Projects seabeds. The Tourist Board is doing it and an NGO called Nature Conversation Research Centre (NCRC), with support from USPCALL, USAID and with the concern of the District Assemblies in the areas. Fourteen ecotourism sites are being developed. You know, when we talk about ecotourism, we are talking about responsible tourism. So these sites are being developed and then being managed by local people. You know we have put together a tourism management team at the local level. Some of these sites are Boabeng Feamong Monkey Centaury at the Brong - Ahafo Region Tafoatusmey Monkey Centaury in the Volta Region Bobery Forest Reserve and Butterfry Centaury in the Ashanti Region and Siregu Pottery and Architectural, it is a women’s groups which is doing traditional architectural, traditional pottery in the Upper West Region and Crocodile Pond, in fact in all there are fourteen of them. We are just about to even start the second phase and we will add a few more to them. On government’s own sites two, government is not just
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

Putting up or providing the infrastructures, in addition to that, government has decided to do some receptive facilities at tourist attraction sites.

**What are Receptive Facilities?**

When you go to a tourism attraction sites, it is not just the raw attraction you want to see, you go there to see the beautiful waterfalls you go and look at it. So it is that the end, your experience will not be complete if you cannot come back to a point where they can even sit down for a meal, buy a souvenir, local souvenir there and if there is a museum, you want to know about how the museum came into being and so on and so forth. So a place where you can sit down and relax after you have visited the attractions and have something to eat and ask questions about information and collect resiciquate information and so on and forth. So this is what we call Tourism Receptive Facilities. And government is putting up about thirty (30) of them. Some of the sites include Kintampo Water Fall, Dr Nkrumah’s (was the first Prime Minister and President of the Republic of Ghana) birthplace and tomb, that is the original place at “Nkrofo” near Axim, in the Western Region of Ghana. Assin Manso, the slave routes, Assin Mpreaso is one of them. Salaga in the Northern Region is one of them, Picolo is one of them, Gualow, where we have the slave defence wall is also one of them and there are several sites. Dr. Busuah’s Museulem in Wenchi in Brong Ahafo Region, is one of them, Gualow, apart from the slave defence wall, Dr Hilla Limann’s (President of the third Republican Ghana) burial place is also being developed as a tourist
attraction place. So you realised that we are killing two birds with one stone, honouring our past leaders and at the same time promoting tourism and bring wealth to the local people. Because, when people go to visit these sites, it is local people who provide meals, they sell souvenirs and so on and so forth, so in a nutshell this is what is being done. Training is also very important, because tourism is hospitality and tourism is about service and there is a lot of training institutions in the country at the moment. As at now, it is Cape Coast University at the tertiary level, which has some tourism training, but even that is not enough, because the students who go through that course, do basically, academic work, and academic tourism, and there is a need for the university to expand so that they can specialise in various aspects of tourism, like tourism administration, tourism marketing, hotel administration, hospitality management, leisure studies, travel and tour. This is what we are currently getting the University of Merryland in the United States to help us to develop a new curriculum for Cape Coast University, But government has gone further to Ghana Institute of Management Public Administration (GIMPA) has also set up a hospitality training school. They are putting up a hundred bed rooms training hotels, which will take care of training at that level, the higher level. Then, government has also acquired hotel Eridech at Koforidua, in the Eastern Region to be turned into a training institution for tourism and the hospitality services, And that one, government want to make it or turn it into West African Training Institute. And this will be in addition to what
private sector is doing at the moment. So this is what tourism in
Ghana is doing, I won’t say that we’ve gotten there yet, we are still on
our way, but we are getting somewhere and at the same time we are
marketing the country, through fairs and exhibitions. We will be at
World Travel Marketing in London, in November this year.

You said the government is going to launch the strategic plan.

Yes, the final bit is being put together and then it will be launched. Of
course, the paper has been finished but there is the need to review it
and make sure that everything is in place.

When is it going to be launched?

It will be launched this year, I don’t what to give the exact date, but it
will be launched at all cost, this year.

You said so much about tourism development in the country;
does the tourism development in the country have specific roles
for women?

Yes, women should always be seen as the base of tourism because
when you get to the tourist attraction sites, normally, it is women,
who provide almost all the services. At the ecotourism site at Tobiaba
for instance, when you go there, you realised that is women, who
provide the food, so there is no discriminations against women as
such. In fact, women play major role in tourism.

Do you have any gender policies that encourage both genders to
get involve in tourism development in the country?

Yes, the gender policy is government’s policy that is why the
government has set up the Ministry for Women and Children Affairs.
The policy is to encourage women in every sphere of endeavour and tourism definitely is one of them you need to empower the women first, you need to let them go to school. If they acquire the skills, then it means they can fight with the men for every thing.

**So in this wise, are you saying that lack of education is a barrier to women’s development to tourism development in the country?**

Well, I will say that not just women, the whole tourism development in the country is suffering from lack of adequate training for the proper skills, but of course like in every area in our country, women are of more disadvantages when it comes to training and education. But, then if you look at hospitality set up, catering for instance, you realised that most caterers are women. They go to the polytechnics to learn institutional management; they learn home science, so on that level, I can say that there are a lot of women playing a major role. Now, you also realised that even when it come to ownership of tourist facilities and service providers, like travel and tours, women are playing a major role. Fredina’s tours is one of the strongest tour operators and is operated by a woman Expert Travel, Monica Biata is a woman, and they’re several of them in the country. Even for hotels, there are several hotels I can mention like Eastoment Quest House, Hotel Georgia, Hotel Kumbaya, that are being run by women. A woman also runs Manet. So women are not actually inhibited in any way.

**You talked about the strategic planning policy; It is possible for me to get one?**
As at now, because the plan has not been launched, I can’t promise you one, because it is in its formulation stage. But when it is launched, it becomes a public document, and everybody will have assessed to it. Because, tourism mindedness is something you don’t just, you can’t get, you need to inculcated in the people, You need to let realised that they all believe in tourism, When you go to a more advanced tourism developed countries, nobody tells you that you have to behave properly, because, you want tourism to boom. Because, you realised that the country’s very existence depends on tourism, so you have to do the right thing. So as so as it becomes a public document, everybody will have assess to it.

**Do you also encourage local or domestic tourism?**

The point is that we all know that tourism is based on disposable income. When you talk about disposable income, you realised that in Ghana, our economy is not very strong and there are so many thing buying for the little money people earn. So what happens is that will want to choose between paying your child’s school fees or transportation and tourism, so it makes it a bit difficult for domestic tourism. Domestic tourism is hindered by lack of disposable income. But still people do domestic tourism, because when you talk about tourism, the reason is so many, even when people cross over to other places for funeral is some kind of tourism. We are now encouraging the Tour Operators Union of Ghana (TOUGHA) to actually do a lot of domestic. They are doing and they have started with the schools and want to go to work places.
Thank you very much for your time and knowledge.

Interview No. 7: Professor George Pannin Hagan, Director, Ghana National Commission on Culture: Accra, Greater Accra Region
What is your opinion of the role and involvement of women in tourism development in Ghana?

Before you go on, you just mentioned about women being offered as sex products to tourists. What about men, because I have read about male prostitutes but most often, the emphasis is only on women, why?

In most European countries, prostitution is legalised. In Ghana, there have been moved to legalised prostitution to protect the health of those involve as well as the moral standard of the country?

I want you to look at it in the context of the social and cultural norms of the country?

I want you to look at it in the context of the social and cultural norms of the country?

Having said that, how does the country involve women to promote tourism?

Interview No. 7: Professor George Pannin Hagan, Director, Ghana National Commission on Culture: Accra, Greater Accra Region

INTERVIEW SEVEN

Friday, April 2, 2004
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

Professor George Pannin Hagan, Director, Ghana National Commission for Culture

If you look at the tourism, what I have seen or notice is that we have as something unique, something that gives us special niche in the tourism industry and that is our cultural. Community organisations, our way of life, issues on our environment, entertainment, and the way we show hospitality. People come to Ghana, though they are impressed, not by the parks and animals and the beautiful cities we have, there are more beautiful cities in Europe than anywhere you go, but the kindness and our way of life our hospitality, sense of humour this I think is what we have as a people. Now if you look at the tourism industry, it is a commercial thing, as selling second products, and here, women play, two important roles. On the one hand is women who are at the front desk, if you talk of hotels, women are at the front desk. If you talk about the tour guide industry, those who are organised to receive tourists, a lot of these groups, are either owned or run by women. Women are managing the groups and they are the tour guides. They receive people at the airport. At the airport itself, if you look at the steward and stewardess who process people through out the country, the desk officers, are women. So in terms of the contact with the outside world, women play a key role in the industry. So when you are talking of the tourism industry, if we look at it as a something that we are selling, then women constitute very significant role of those who are selling the tourism products. In fact, I have mentioned the tour groups, now look at the hotels, go from hotel
to hotel turns to employ women and not just employing women, but
cleaners because they are
less likely to steal from their guest. In Ghana, I should one of the
earliest training establishment to train people in he hotel industry,
was established by a woman. So the training institutions, specially,
those who have really acquired top skills in the hotel industry turn to
be women. In terms of catering, if you go round Accra for an example,
most (Chop Bars) eating-places are run mostly by women. Now the
other said I mean the commercial products are predominantly women.
Now if you look at the products that we offer tourists, though we can
talk about our forest, animals and hospitality, and such, we have to
talk about sex. Even though, we are trying to discourage sex, because
we are truly sensitive about the value we attach to women and
morality, I am afraid, when you come to tourism development, women
seems to be looked at as part of the products that we offer to tourists.
So when it comes to that, immediately touches the sensitive areas of
our moral social values and fibre.

Before you go on, you talked about women being offered as sex
products to tourists, what about men, because I have read also
about male prostitutes but most often the emphasis is only on
women, why is it so?
Yes, there are male prostitutes, but in Ghana and many parts of Africa, we do not really get to see too many male prostitutes.

In Gambia I think.

In Gambia, yes and this is something that is associated very much with Islamic countries because of very strict separation between male and female. There are more homosexual relationships there. And if there are male prostitutes in Ghana, they don’t advertise themselves as much as the females. Go round Accra, in the evenings, almost every dark corner; you will see the ladies advertising themselves for sex. And prostitution should not be confined only to those who have raised their flags; students engaged in it, ministry workers indulge in it to beef up their salaries; you go to the universities and there people complaining a lot, where some female university students are into full time, where they are invited to accompany high class business executives.

In most European countries, prostitution has been legalised, for either to the health risk or those involve; and as it is the oldest traditional industry in the world and on one can do away with, is it wise for us in Ghana also call for legalisation of prostitution so that the health and the moral standards of women will be protected?

Legalisation of prostitution is a very difficult subject.

I want you to look at it in the context of the social and the cultural norms of the country.
There are two sides; if you take it as the word prostitution and therefore you want to take an objective look at the Ghanaian immoral standard on it, then you ask yourself if this is a commercial enterprise what will do to safeguard public health, what will do to reduce it impact to protect others who may not be interested. And then if you are taking an immoral look, you are looking at it as selling of some commodity, that is in high demand therefore has some prize to pay forth, then how do you protect the health of the clients and those who engaged in prostitution. Let us legalise it or if we are not legalising it let us make it less shameless so that those who practice it can seek medical attention and reduce the health hazards, both to themselves and to the clients. That is one way of looking at it, the other way of looking at it will be what will be the likely impact of legalisation on the promotion of prostitution itself. On the promotion of prostitution itself on tourism, obviously, a lot of people when they go on holidays go for sexual excitements, whether they are married or unmarried; when they leave their husbands and wives behind they want to enjoy themselves. And sex provides one way of exciting enjoymnts; so that one is to be taken for granted. But in terms of the morals and the cultural values of the people, you want to ask yourself if we legalise are many more men not going to engage in it and when they do and engaged in it, are they not going to influence others to follow their examples, that spreading the thing. If we legalise it, are we not going to reduce the number of women who will like to engage in healthier less morally sensitive occupations. How secure will be our marriage
institutions. Are you not going to have many more children without proper parental care? Children with out recognised fathers, children without recognise home because prostitutes usually and I have heard this, that I quickly have a child and gave it to my mother because my mother was insisting I should have a child, so I have satisfied my mother. I have given my mother one child to look after, one “nana” or two “nananom” to look after and now I am free to go to Germany, I am free to go to Italy do my business.

These questions that you are asking do they also have bearing or reflect on socio-cultural norms of the society?

Obviously, morality when you are taking of morality, you are talking of the values of under pin every culture in terming the choices in life. It is your values which determine your choices in life. Something that perhaps I cannot do because I am a catholic, if you are a Methodist or Protestant, or perhaps a Moslem, you can do, that is part of my catholic culture. I cannot marry a second woman, if I am a Moslem and earn a good salary, why not I should be able to have a one or two wives. So values are part of our cultural, of our identity, our way of life, out attitudes and our practices; So as soon as you begin to challenge the basic values of people’s culture, the basic values that they hold on, then you are actually undermining, you are attacking the entire fabric of social relationships. Because, a prostitute cannot be convinced to stable in marriage; so immediately, you are defining the relationship that this woman will find acceptable. To a prostitute, family doesn’t mean anything; you are attacking the basics institutions, basic
relationships in the family. So values are very, very crucial, values do not exist in a vacuum. Some values are universal, but however universal; you contextualised them within a particular society and within a particular culture. And there are differences in how people articulate universal values. As soon as you attack a particular way in which they perceive their values, then they begin to ask you why. Let me tell you a story that I got from my former studies. I made my doctorate research in Winneba, in the Effutu Traditional Area in the (Central Region) culture has not been documented so I studied their culture over three or four years the Effutu Culture. There is a very sensitive traditional culture in Winneba. In Winneba, traditionally, women were brought up in women’s homes and boys started their early lives with their mothers in “embafe or ojasi” at the very early age four, five six, seven, depending on the health of the boy, he was gradually wined off from the women’s home and attached to the father. Now, before marriage, the women have a very restrictive contact with the opposite sex, so the traditional marriage ceremony put emphasis on chastity. If on your first night, you do not give evidence that your husband found you a virgin, the marriage ceremony stops there. He may have had sexual intercourse with other women, but, the white Lillie does not provide any evidence of blood, this was the chastity of putting your family into shame. After a while, it was discovered that the girls who were found virgins and were raised and paraded throughout the town, do not bare children. So they were saying that envy of the people from the town dwellers had made the girls infertile.
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

So then, whether a person gave the evidence trust of virginity or not, it was all “shoo, shoo”. And once morality is not supported by public sanction became different whether you are a virgin or not. And one thing that came up from exactly at this point, it appears that many more women “were discovered to have been deflowered” before marriage than were actually found virgins. That situation have merged during the period when winenba, that is before Takoradi and Tema become national ports cities, when Winneba was a port, a lot of visitors were coming and sleeping with the women around. Women, who were loose morally, acquired wealth and influence in society and were described as strong women. So, that was a turning point in the Effutu Traditional cultural norms and beliefs. So once the cultural sanctions have been removed, that public jubilation that you for the virgin, the public shame for the deflowered girl was removed as standard practice, chastity becomes question to be accepted as an essential value, particularly when there was a perception that those who were praised for the first time sex, do not bear fruits, were bewitches.

I have also noticed that, especially.

The same thing, the same process, I have determined, as in the catholic church, you can’t flown on marital sex and therefore become a woman pregnant, but then there were rumours that when you go to the alter with your womb empty, people will bewitch you so before going to the alter; people want to do it, have sex with their boy friends and get pregnant. So you can see how, morality reflects on cultural
patterns or behaviour. And any change on public perceptions on any implications on the moral norms will lead people to begin challenging the validity of morals within the contest of changing world’s situations and societal situations. So now nobody; at times you hear them saying, oh, when I was growing up, in the sixth form, people will say that “if you don’t sleep with a woman, then you are classified as a stupid person”, of you can’t study well, your brain is clot and if you were a virgin, they say you are deft.

**But which was not true.**

Which of course was not true, until the age of twenty-seven years (27 years), I have not touched a woman. It enabled me to concentrate on my work, I was not distracted, I was not worried about anything or concerned with any pregnancy or forced of claims of any pregnancy, as I said I concentrated on my academic work. But if you are not careful peer pressure and forces around you, who tell you it is better to use your tail rather than with your tail hanging in between your legs and you will be caught in a trap and all that so of thing. So it is very sensitive issue, to me the moment the cultural support sanction for a moral value is reduced, morality becomes a majority private matter of choice. So once you legalised this thing,

**Legalised what?**

So, once you legalised prostitution, for whatever reasons, what stops even married women to break marriage vows but to practice a little prostitution on the side and there is no shame attached to it any more. By this, they have every right to practice it and no policeman will
come and arrest them, if the husband discovers too bad. If you watch American TV, married women practiced prostitution and then the “Sprinters Show”, I don’t know whether you watch it, they come out to say that today I want to tell my husband I am interested in prostitution. And then the husband says why can you do that, do you give me money, who pays the rent, if I don’t do it, can you look after me, can you give money, can you pay the rent, no peace and it is no longer a shame to practice prostitution, so it create an impact on society how long can you estimate the long tract effect on society.

Having said that, how do we get women involve in promoting tourism?

So this is the paradox, we need women to promote tourism but women are likely to be victims and be degraded through tourism.

So in that wise, what are you suggesting, if women play very important role, in terms of involving and all that so what suggestions are you giving?

In terms of what; I don’t know.

I can’t suggest anything, I am here to explain the situation and when it comes to the legalisation of prostitution, I have given the two dimensions of it, the advantages and disadvantages. It is left for civil society to take a stand. I would wish that prostitution, wouldn’t exist, not to encourage prostitution, and one way of not encouraging prostitution is to make sure that every girl is well educated and given her some professional skills, professional co-education so that they
can be gainfully employed. But that said and done, sin is there and people will gravitate towards having free sex and all that. One thing saying that I have a husband and attracted to so and so and I will have a free range with him and I have a wife and attracted to so and so and. It is one thing saying that and other thing saying it is legal to do that therefore I can do anything I like, which is too bad.

**Thank you very much for sharing your time and knowledge with this research.**
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

Interview No. 8: Mr Abease, Executive Director, Ghana National Investment Promotion Centre (GNIPC): Accra, Greater Accra Region

- What is the role of your organisation in the promotion of tourism in Ghana?
- What is the role and involvement of women in tourism development in the country?
- In your opinion, do you think finance is a barrier or problem for women to develop their talents towards executive position?
- Do you think education is also a barrier to women’s advancement to executive positions in tourism?
- So what do you suggest must be done in terms of promoting the interest of women to executive position in tourism development in Ghana?
- Do you think that the cultural and traditional norms also help to set women to assume background position?

Interview No. 8: Mr Abease, Executive Director, Ghana National Investment Promotion Centre (GNIPC): Accra, Greater Accra Region
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

INTERVIEW EIGHT

April 2, 2004

Mr Abease, Director, Ghana National Investment Promotional Centre

Ghana Investment Centre is mandated with all investments, with the exception of investments that are going into petroleum industries and also the mining. All other investment is supposed to be handled or championed by us, so we cover quite a wide area. In the past what we have done has been to do general investment promotion. Since I got here, we have changed the approach, because I believed that it is not effective to do general investment promotion, you need to do targeted investment promotion. So you need to target the sectors that you want to focus on as well as the countries where you think you can get those types of investments. And even sometimes the companies, for instance, if you want to target Microsoft, find out more about Microsoft, find out what it is that they look out for in locating their offices and works towards it. So that is some of the things that we are trying to do. Now you find that in Tourism, because of the most of the branches of tourism, the initial investment is high, it is been difficult to get a focus promotion on the tourism industry. The tourism ministry itself has over the years been playing with tourism developments strategy, tourism development plan for ten years, twenty years and so on. They
have never really focus on a short-term strategy that we could run
with. So even though, we do promote tourism on our missions, we
promote it as just as one of various sectors. It is only, recently that we
are highlighting on the useful benefits and incentives that we can offer
it. That is the background to the tourism development promotion here.
Then you have Tourist Development Board and Ghana Tourism
Company in addition to the Ministry. All these are intended to give the
impression that they are okay by way of development and promotion;
so not much efforts have been put directly into tourism development
or promotion. Now, we’ve started another initiative, and we are
hoping that when we finish and develop the tourism policy, we will be
able to use them. But in all these, you will find out that, women play
very big part in tourism because, the activities in there in tourism are
more women oriented. Food is the major aspect of tourism, the hotel
food, food outside, the indigenous food; all these are things that are
handled by women. So in that sense women play quite a big role there.
But I think we need to structure it properly, because it is only a few
section of the general sector that the women, more or less congregate
that. And again, because in the tourism industry, hotels play an
important part and you find that women are playing major role there.
They are the people who take care of the rooms, they are the people
who take care of the food, even the entertainment, and they are the
people who take care of those things, right down to the management,
except that as you go up, usual, their involvement is less. Because we
haven’t trained enough women to take up executive posts and I think
that is something that we have to make a conscious effort to promote that. If you talk about Ghana in particular, now you have the Ghana Tourist Operators Foundations or corporation, that is one of the associations that handle tourism, I can see that it is heavily loaded at the top with women, which is a good sign. This shows that the women are now asserting themselves; so the women play a major role in tourism industry, except that it is only in the sections that don’t require too much capital. The other sections, where that capital is involve, that is building hotel infrastructure itself is male dominated, because, getting the fund to set up the hotel for instance is not easy. And the pressure, the anxiety and difficulties you go through getting money to put down the infrastructure, is such that it is enough to put the women off.

Do you think on finance as a major barrier for women to develop towards to executive positions; what about education. Do you think education is also a barrier to women’s advancement to executive positions in tourism?

Yes, education is a barrier to people, getting right to the top, but in the middle and lower levels, it is not a barrier at all, because, you don’t need too much education to get in there, especially, if you went into vocations it makes it easy, if you went into catering, it put you straight into that industry. But getting to the top, is where the problem is; management, the women have not been trained; many of them have not been trained to that level, therefore it is a problem and a challenge getting them and pushing them to that level. But even
there, we seeing a change, because when you go to La Palm Beach Royal Hotel, for instance, the General Management is a lady, and that is encouraging. If you go to Golden Tulip, the Banquet Manager is a lady. So gradually, they are becoming aware; people are going to get an impact in terms of education. In Ghana, for instance, we only have one school, Hotels and Catering Training (HOTCAT). We need to raise the level of education and also institutions that do training

So what do you suggest must be done in terms of promoting the interest of women to the executive positions in tourism development in Ghana?

Well, it starts with education, women for the past, for instance, have been scare of science subjects but with the maths and science education workshops that have been organised over the years, now a lot more girls are getting interested in science and mathematics and that is a good step. And that will take them up, because, if you have English, you have maths and science, you should be able to do all right; so gradually, if you have more women getting there.

And then, do you also think that the cultural and traditional norms also help to set the women to the background.

Well, that, you will find everywhere; yes our culture is set that we turn to keep the women in the back. But it is changing, and it is changing with more education. When you educate them, then they are able to see that there is a bigger horizon and that even elsewhere, women are doing certain things, and they will be encourage to get involve.
Thank you for sharing your time and knowledge with this research.
Interview No. 9: Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, Former First Lady, Fourth Republic Ghana and President of 31st Women’s Movement: Accra, Greater Accra Region

- As the former first Lady, does the country have gender policy?
- How far is the country’s journey of developing a gender policy?
- In your own opinion, what is the role of women in festival celebrations?
- You just mentioned that the present government is not interested in pursuing gender policy started by the previous government. Can you please explain further?
- What is your opinion of media report on the image of women?
- What is your opinion of media report on the image of women?
- How can Ghanaian women over negative media image?

Interview No. 9: Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, Former First Lady, Fourth Republic Ghana and President of 31st Women’s Movement: Accra, Greater Accra Region

INTERVIEW NINE

March 18, 2004

Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, Former First Lady, Fourth Republican Ghana.
There are a lot of political harassments going on and that makes it clear that the new government does not understand the gender issue, does not understand the issue of the development of women, and does not seem participating democratic system of women’s involvement as an important factor of human development and nation development. And if you take that position of whom ever they work with must be the same party as they are then, I am afraid, you are limiting yourself to a situation, where you are not going to get everybody’s mind being brought forward when it comes to women’s issues. When I was First Lady, whenever I was made to host a functions or something, I always make sure that everybody was invited; I ask the National Council on Women and Development (NCWD) to invite the women. I won’t ask them, who this person? Is this person an NPP or NDC, I don’t care, but for me, women’s issues cut across board, so it doesn’t matter, what political divide you are on. And, then, secondly, the developments of women always shows the development of a country, whether the country is going on well, or is not, it tells from the women is they are doing well. So if leave a section of the women, and ground them as political enemies, then there is a problem of your understanding of what gender is all about. And any way, it is not every woman who is gender sensitive and definitely, Mrs Asmah is not a gender sensitive person at all. Because if you hear her screaming at the women whom works with and so on, they may not be ministers, but if they don’t have a common purpose and wanting to improve on the livelihood of women, they won’t be where they are. And in that
respect, they are allies and not enemies but she treats everybody as if, apart from her, she must be a “queen being” what I mean is that when somebody is described as queen being, no other female should be around, they beat you up. But let me get back to our work, the movement’s activities has been slowed down because of political interference and harassments. A lot of the NPP women have NGOs also but they don’t harass them. There are so many letters that we have receive, even today, the World Bank boss invited me to an interview and I took copies of all the documents of harassments to him, because he had heard and he knew what I was doing, to let people from other African countries to come and learn what we are doing. Learning what we were doing, because, he said that like me, he believed that if the women in Africa will be empowered in all aspects, you know, all round and be able to stand up and help their communities and so on, the development of the African countries will grow faster than if the women were left out and that is how he saw that Ghana was making it. Because I have taken the women’s side and encouraging them and propelling them into action, in that way, it was able to help what the men were doing to place them up. But believe me, if you are developing the country and you leave the women behind, the women will pull you down, you can’t win, you can’t move. So we tried to do improve on women’s lives and they are trying to bring issue of women down, and you can’t play lip service too, like once in a while you see her appears on TV; it is an everyday thing, it is an going it, because this kind of discrimination. An example was a
case where a gentleman here didn’t know he has done anything wrong; we have changed the administrator here because she is a woman, he the accountant is sending her to take a letter around for him. When there was a man who was the administrator, he never dares to send the man, so you see, it is discriminatory, but he didn’t see it at all. He said, he holds woman like eggs. But I said you not got the point here; what will make you send a woman when you will never dare to send a man, and he was the administrator, you know what I mean. So the issue of discrimination is deeply embedded in the culture and a lot of women themselves have accepted certain positions which, they should not accept, because she herself should have told him, why are you sending me, I am not the right person to sent your letters to the bank, but she didn’t because he is a man and bigger, so she took it and went off. You understand me, so we have a lot of subtle discriminations, both overt and subtle, you find this in every part of the society, we are fighting it but we must continue to fight it, except now, we don’t have a voice to fight it, we don’t, we have to do subtle, not we as the 31st, but as women of Ghana, there is nobody fighting for us. But I continue to go to the regions to talk to the women, we are still doing our projects, we have a number of projects that we are constructing and so on but since they told news people not to give us coverage ever, they don’t give us coverage, but it is Okay because, sometimes, it is better to work quietly than do it with coverage, so we been working but not with a lot of injections. And to try and take us completely off people’s mind, they even took programmes like “By the Fire Side” and
“Story Time”, they took them off the air because it was sponsored by 31st Women’s Movement, which is a shame because it shows how small minded men are, aided on sometimes by women. However, let go back on your issue on festivals; I think that if you look at our traditional festivals, you will see that women play a very important dominant role in the festivals. Sometimes, not in the organisation of the festivals, sometimes, in the organisation; when it comes to the dancing and singing, you see that they call the women to be part of it.

But when it comes to actually planning the festivals, men think that they have the right to plan the festivals, but without the women, the festivals will not really materialised, because they make the festivals to become festivals. And if you have annoyed the women in a certain village, they sit down and watch you when you are doing the festivals and you see the festival fall flat. I know that, but I am not too sure about the Akwasidie festival, but I know it is planned in the palace by the Asantihene and his chiefs and then they just tell everybody what to do and people are supposed to follow the line. In a lot of other places too it is like that, but I think in the Ga area, the Ewe area and certain parts of the Northern areas, the Magajis and the Queen Mothers take a very dominant role and interest in what festivals are going to be performed and how it will be performed. So after they have done that, then they give the details to the chiefs, who then accept it, sanction it, so they take part in it, but all in all I think the Majorities of the festivals in Ghana, are planned by the men. But, without the women, participating, and if you look at the involvement of men, it is
usually through participation in the cultural aspect of it, the singing aspect of it and may be just helping to make it a happy occasion for the day, that is where you see the involvement of the women. Other wise, the men thinks it is their birth rights to organise festivals. You can go to a Fanti area, a Twi area, Ewe area and Northern area and see whether what I am saying is right or wrong.

I think you are right because, I just had focus group discussions this afternoon with some selected men and women sellers in Accra, the outcome of the discussions were that women play very dominant role in festivals. And that it is women who do the cooking, the washing up ups, the cleaning the dancing, while the men are seen sitting down; either doing nothing or drinking palm wine under the trees.

Absolutely, during festivals, women are seen to be very busy cleaning, singing and cooking, while the men sit under the palm tree drinking palm wine and that is a shame.

Later during the discussions, I asked the women what should be done to get women out of the oppressive position or what messages do they have for the government to change the situation. Have you asked yourselves what you will be doing in ten to fifteen years from now; are you going to continue this sort of life? They said yes “we do not have a choice; society has made us think that women do not play any important role rather we are suitable for background role positions”.

Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions
Appendix 1

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When we were shorting that women should be side-by-side men, where were they?

They were young then.

And their mothers didn’t hear them, didn’t hear the message.

I think they did hear; but the question now is; the previous government, I don’t want to any government by name, I mean the previous government did made a move by trying to encourage affirmative action. Was it the media report that stated that the enrolment of women at the tertiary institutions now in the country has fallen and asked the National Council on Women and Development (NCWD) representative I spoke to about what the council is doing because I knew that the previous government had 40 per cent affirmative action across board for all female to be enrolled into all tertiary institutions? In response, she said it sad because right now “we do not have a policy document on gender, rather a draft policy, which I do not know when it will be implemented”.

Have you spoken to the Minster for Women and Children’s Affairs on that issue?

That was what I am going to ask her, I have booked an appointment to speak to her, I have not been successful, I will still push forward and see how it goes before leaving the country.

With a laugh, she said it will be good to ask her.

No, I am going to do that, I have spoken to everybody I wanted to and that is why I have been able to have these background
information on women in the country; and is surprised to hear that every where I go; I went to tourism and asked whether they have a gender policy, Mrs Katricku, Director of tourism said since she took over, she has been pushing for gender policy but to no avail.

This government is not interested in gender issues, I am sorry. **If they are not interested, why then should they set up a ministry for women and children’s affairs?**

Let me tell you something, the United Nations said that all countries should stop setting up women’s ministries. This government is behind everybody in the world, by twenty years and more. The reason why the United Nations said that countries should not have women’s ministry is that it is men who takes the decisions, so if you have a women’s ministry every thing concerning women’s issues, they will say, take it to the women’s ministry and yet, they will not fund it, will not equip it, they will not give you good personals, they will not care, because, men usually don’t care but they will just tell you that take it to the women’s ministry. What do you want us to do? Ministry, the building, that is the end, are we going to eat the building. In 1995, at the world meeting for women, Beijing China it was a anonymous thing that all countries that have women’s ministry came out to say it was a bad policy, so the UN adopted it and said no country should have women’s ministry because it does not work, rather, they should have a women’s department under the Head of States should be created and every ministry should have something on gender so that in every
ministry, you have somebody responsible for the issue of gender. Unfortunately, even in our time, and I used to complain to my husband, even in our time, even though they did this, the ministers, then started looking around for women to be in charge of gender issues. It is not everybody who is a gender sensitive person or women; it is not every woman who is gender sensitive. Some women don’t even understand the issue of gender and are against women but there are some men who are very, very gender sensitive, so you can put a man in there and if you don’t anybody, pick somebody from the ministry, send them for training on gender issues and put them there. So I used to say, why are putting people on the women’s desk as they call it instead of gender desk and then looking for women to sit there. Why, and the minister feels that he is finished his work, he has put a woman there, and the woman, could be anything from a clerk to deputy director., who will not be able to go the minister and say you’ve taken this decision in this country and I think it will be wrong for women and it will affect women to have women’s ministry. And I object to it and this is my paper on it copy to the Head of State who have women in charge of women affairs. It didn’t happened and a copy to NCWD and it didn’t happened and we had three years of doing that – 1997 that the women’s desks were set up. Setting up a women’s ministry is against UN policy on how women’s issues should be dealt with. They asked me the first day they set up the women’s ministry and I said I don’t want to comment on somebody who has come to taken over a country and comment on his policies. But I think if you
go through the UN documents, you will see that UN itself is against
women’s ministry. The next day, 35 newspapers reporting that Mrs
Rawlings is against women, Mrs Rawlings says that the women’s
ministry is this, Mrs Rawlings is against Mrs Asmah because of this,
and I said, look, if the media is going to behave in a way that raise the
moral fibre of this country down, God help us, because, right now,
between you and I, Miss Gibson, the media has become part of the
elitist groups that is fighting those of us who are saying that the
nation’s asserts are more important than personal asserts and they
have join the group that is saying personal gratifications self
enhancement is better than national interest. So it is a matter against
the wills and without, that is what is happening now, it is a class war.

There is nothing I can say more, Madam, because since I came,
three weeks ago, and my first reaction was I wanted to talk to the
Minister of Women and Children’s Affair, because I saw it on the
Internet and I was asked what a knew about women’s situation in
the country, I said I don’t want to comment now, because left the
country, now in my fourth year now in the UK and therefore do
not know much. But when I was in Ghana, I know there was a
strong women’s movement fighting for the course of women and
for that reason those of us were nowhere, began to look at
ourselves and assert ourselves and because of that, we were able
to think that after all I would be able to do something to change
my situation and that led me to write my masters on “Women in
politics” and again looked at “the low media coverage of women in leadership positions” and I cited you as an example, In fact I got very bad media, it was a deliberate thing because they know that woman’s votes counted and that will bring the women down. I cited you as an example and looked at other women in power like former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Mrs Golder Meir and few others and to me it was good for me, because I had this woman as my supervisor at the journalism school in the UK, who was then head of the department. So out of conversation, I asked her what is really happening, because when you look at the bottom line, there are a lot of female at the bottom and when you move up there are few women. I spoke to the Director of the Ghana Institute of Journalism, he said the same thing and then I knew before I left that there was this affirmative action for women at tertiary education and coming back again, the 40 per cent affirmative action has fallen, which off course I believe will affect the in take of women. So I spoke to Kojo Yankah, today, since he is the International Chairman for PANAFEST Foundation, I asked him the same question if this affirmative action issue is not addressed, I am afraid that all the work of the previous governments have done, since 1975 , since the establishment of NCWD will affect not only women, but also increase teenage pregnancy in the country and in the long run affect the social system of the country. It looks like everybody agrees to what my observations. I had focus group discussions this afternoon with
women hawkers, about eight of them and all said the same thing, 
not from me, not from a politician, not from the minister or any 
public figure but from the people on the street, who normally are 
described as grassroots and they all said the same thing. Their 
arguments are that because of the traditional and cultural norms 
really pushing the girls to the background position. One of the 
participants lamented that “I have been carrying my baby on my 
back hawking and I do not know what the future holds for us” 
I have three daughters and there are culture norms around but I do 
not allow my children to entangled themselves with cultural nonsense, 
You know, cultural is Okay, but when it turns into traditions: 
traditions are created by men, cultural is Okay but tradition is created 
by men; I mean, cultural is a way of life but traditions are norms that 
people creates so that it either binds you or opens you up. Most of the 
time, it binds women and opens up gates for men. And in bind us up, 
it becomes eminical to our health. So I always tell my children that the 
sky is not your limit, now you see that the Americans have gone to the 
moon, the Russians are there, the Chinese are gone, everybody is gone 
beyond the sky, so the sky cannot be your limit everybody is staying 
on the sky, go beyond it. My father use to tell me the sky is your limit, 
just because he didn’t know that you could go beyond that, so now, 
we should be telling our daughters, you inclusive that everything a 
man can do women can do better; not women can not do it, no, I tell 
my children, if you have a gay in your class who is topping the class
that is your target, (wo kotwenu), you have to beat him academically,
oh yes and I mean it.

Madam, this is a well expressed taught and I must say that I am a
victim of my male colleagues at both universities I attended in
Cardiff in the United Kingdom. When they heard that I was doing
my Mphil/PhD word went round the Ghanaian community that
she can’t do it, she can’t make it, to the extent that my two
supervisors at the Mphil/PhD level doubted whether I could write.
But when I started writing, they were amazed. This is the
Ghanaian attitude of pulling colleagues and friends down the
ladder instead of pushing him or her up the ladder. They always
want to see your down fall and it is even more difficult when you
are a woman. A woman has to prove herself by working three
times harder than a man for society to believe, trust and accept
her capabilities, they are always in doubt.

Ghanaians like destroying each other, it is such a shame, you don’t
see Nigerians doing that.

Thank you, madam.

You don’t see Nigerians doing that, I meet Nigerian people, they
become my friends and they are even propping me up, it is a shame
and very sad to see Ghanaians doing that. We are hypocritical,
ungracious and ungrateful people. You know, it is such a shame. Look
at the people running this country, my goodness, small minded
approach to everything.
I know and I am so sad and that will not deterred from reaching my goal and going beyond the sky, the moon, now is my target and thank you for that. I always say that you are my role model.

You know my kids, Zanata has finished her medical exams and now she is doing her internship, yesterday, she called me and said mummy, I have taken an exam for surgery and I have passed and I am starting my surgery specialization. It is nice to hear that as a mother. You know I did economics; Yaa Asantewa graduated in economics and mathematic, she called me and said I can see we don’t have good press, so she want to do media and mass communications and so on so that she can defend us. I said, Yaa, you don’t have to defend us but she said you need somebody to defend you. So I am leaving the economics and moving into the area of media and I said Okay, so she has applied to do media in some where I don’t know in England. Amean is doing economics and computer, she has stopped because she thinks we need a lawyer, so she took a law exam and she has passed and now she is gone into a law school. You know what I mean, so they know they have challengings ahead of them and they have to get themselves and tell me about it and that is the only thing, gratification that we get from having females, because they take initiatives. AS you are doing it yourself, you are encouraging your daughter too.

O yes, and thank you very much Madam for your time and knowledge.
## Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

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Interview No. 10: Kohain Nathanyah Halevi, Rabbi, Executive Secretary, PANAFEST Foundation, Cape Coast, Central Region

- What role do women play in PANAFEST festival celebrations?
- Does the PANAFEST foundation co-pt men and id it does, what role do they play in terms of organisational planning?
- Who is responsible for the seating arrangement during the PANAFEST festival celebrations, regarding the Akan Queen Mothers and the chiefs/kings?
- In your own opinion, what is your perception of media coverage and presentations of Akan Queen Mothers?
- Does PANAFEST Foundation have a gender policy?

INTERVIEW TEN

March 24, 2004

Kohain Nathanyah Halevi, Rabbi, Executive Secretary, PANAFEST Foundation.

To begin with, I guess the opening statements that I will make will be more generalised because I am sure you need more detail is that for the most part, as you said PANAFEST international festival has involved members of the African families of all works of life, and we actually understand and know that women do play a part in the
aspect of the organisation, implementation of the PANAEST festival
and have done that since its inception in 1992. Of course I am sure by
now I know you have gone into the history of PANAFEST and realised
that the actually idea of PANAFEST was conceptualised in the mind of
Efua Sutherland, a very prominent Pan Africanist. From her vision,
initiative, we found that the whole ideal of PANAFEST evolved. So we
can say from its origin and to its current position here that women
have play and still remain to be the major part of the PANAFEST
organisation, PANAFEST Foundation and PANAFEST festival. On our
board, we have representation, involve of Mr Sutherland and Esi
Sutherland in her own right in the Pan African Community and the
intellectual community have been a member of the board since its
founding stages have been cooperating on the part of the government,
and even when she was part of the government she played a major
role as part of one its board members. We realised on our
international board, we have representation, women representation on
our international board we have women representation on our
national executive committee and we have women represented on our
local planning and all organising committees. And then right down to
our local committee structure, which actually handles logistics of the
implementation of the programmes, we have women representation.
Pragmatically, we have always try to at least since 1997 have a
specific days set aside for our women to identify the problems that still
face the African women in trying to make strides the progress within
the over all male dominated society, try to also be sensitive to the
concerns that narrowly the general public and the African family sensitise as relate to women issues. And also to encourage women who are involved in positive progressive activities to continue to be such and to try to find mechanisms of additional support systems that can assist them in those initiatives. So it is something that is organised basically totally by women. The programme itself consisted of women and of course it is complement with men from invitation from those women. But on that day, the subject matter of the day, the colloquial matters discussed, the papers presented, entertainment presented, refreshment prepared, the fellowship that is going on, basically is all women issues.

At this point, I should have asked him; where are the co-opted men and what do they do in terms of organisational planning?

I say that to say that day is not the only involvement of women have within the PANAFEST programme but I say to emphasis the further importance that we put to women issues being addressed and have decided to delegate a whole day to programming during the regular PANAFEST schedule to compliment the involvement of our African sisters, mothers aunties and daughters in the over all organising planning and implementation of the PANAFEST festival.

In that wise; you realised that when it comes to festival celebrations such as durbar for both Chiefs and Queen Mothers, the focus is always on men and not on the women. I don’t know who make the sitting arrangements or take photographic images,
or take pictures of dignitaries at the durbar grounds; the focus is always on men, why?

Again, even though, I claimed that in Ghana women are so powerful in terms of social and family matters but when it comes to public functions and activities, women are seems to take background position. Do you have something to say in terms of that?

Well yes, of course I will like to say the resource that you came in contact with has much as it is a good web site, put together and organised, it is unfortunate that was an area that may have shown some deficiencies but it was not to intend and I think that is associated with women and it is the absent minded and ignorant that is involved with how our women have been often been ignored that is most offensive, I don’t offer that as an excused but I do say that there was a photographer who was present during PANAFEST who actually was the one who short at our web site. He could have those basically from his own collections of photos and that has reflected on how we document PANAFEST or how we appreciate our women. Because any grand possession of Chiefs and Queen Mothers, which we choose to call, we make sure that our Queen Mothers are identified. So it is not just a durbar for Chiefs, it is a durbar of Chiefs and Queen Mothers, that talking about royalty. Our Queen Mothers are well prominently displayed, those festivals in 1997, 1999, where we have the opportunity for our Chiefs to be very well financially supported, we have Queen Mothers and chiefs being carried in palanquins being
prominently exhibited and displayed. In the subsequent ones, 2001 and 2003 we had funding was not very lucrative, our Queen Mothers were very much part of the procession but it became a financial matter of whether they will be able to ride in palanquins or not only the Queen Mothers but all the chiefs to compromise the palanquins and walk in a role of procession but still prominently display and certainly documented, in terms of the presence. So I will think that, more or less not being a fair representation of how we documented PANAFEST or how we are have given accreditation to those personalities that are paramount, our women are appreciated and we always try to give them credit for the support they gave us in front of the scene, as well as behind the scenes.

In terms of the media, you have answered question on how women and queen mothers are prominently and presented in photographs, which made our women to be shown at the backgrounds. This you have explained to be the perception of men on how our women are treated. So, in your perception or in your own view how do you see PANAFEST in terms of social, traditional and cultural norms of the country in the role of women?

I see PANAFEST as a platform for being able to bring the forefront and creating the forum for what I call women’s issues in transition. We can all bear witness that when we address women’s issues today, it is an issue of gender, it is a transition of state, because we are leaving a traditional classification of women into a more progressive,
redefinition of women’s role in our society and effectively we see that;
of course in African societies, it is not so much as we defining the
roles because we are not making that roles, we a recreating those
roles that they play in giving them support in climbing for higher
heights. Because we are people in transition in society, cultural in
transition, we need more platform, more forums to discuss those
issues so that we make very clear level headed decisions on what we
accept as part of our new progressive culture. What we are told to
maintain is part of our rich ancient culture and how do we meet that
little part, and PANAFEST, certainly been one of the institution that
platform and that venue for Africans and the African families to come
together to discuss issues of gender as relate to our past and our
future. So it is a matter of providing a forum for the discussions of
issues, but as I said, we are in a transition. I don’t think we have
landed yet, I think we know that our women are on the move and they
are marching forward, I know that, We all know that they come from
somewhere and we all know that they are going somewhere but we
have not landed yet, because we have not landed yet, everyday we are
trying to find new ways to understand where we are going and how we
get there. And PANAFEST try to be those paths and one of those
forums and venues, whereby it can be defined and more clarified in
the minds of those of us we are part of the African families and friends
of the African families.

So in these wise, how do we see women’s role in terms of
tradition and social norms in PANAFEST celebrations.
Well, as again as I am saying because PANAEST in itself is trying to rediscover, what we will consider our ancient, African traditions and culture and that is why something will emerge as African civilisation. And civilisation is made up of culture and traditional practices and norms. And so we realise in that search and discovering, as well as education, women have played a major role, we ask them to continue to play a major role in the research and discovering as well as repackaging and presentation. And women have the right to define for themselves what their roles have been in the past, and what major progressive contributions they have made in the past and what that foundation should do in terms of building a stronger presence in the future and win respect for their presences for the future. And PANAFEST pull on that strength from our women constituencies to try to help, to clarify for all of us, as well as to define for all of us and what those roles have been and what those roles will be or should be.

So in terms of education, do you think education has any part to play?

Yes. It has a major part to play, I think there is lots of progressive movements that we see today are as a result of more and more women are being more formally educated. I think women have always been educated but not so much academically in the former institutions. But I think the fact that we have a larger number of our women coming out of our former education of institutions, are better able to represent themselves in issues that were predominantly dominated by males; even what we need is a woman. So I think education, has played a
major part in the progress and we see currently going on and on. And for that progress to be sustained and for greater heights to be achieved and then education will also have to be improved and reach more women and education opportunities have to come to for the female gender.

What about finance, one realises that most women are not economically sound as men and for that reason, they find it very difficulty to push their ideas into male dominated areas. Do you find finance as a barrier to women’s progression?

Oh yes, finance is definitely has been a barrier, and it is a barrier to both male and female. But because of the traditional structures of our family in our society, that is why I said we are a society in a transition. Society and families sometimes have to make hard decisions around the priorities of the siblings and children education and more often than not, because of the structure of our society, men are seen as the potential bread winners and male child is given a predominately priority position in education of children and family and choices have to be made. When the family are financially buyer able, and no choices have to be made, both male and female receive equal opportunities. But when finance is not available and choices have to be made and priorities, then the female, more often than not, ends up being not the priority and last on the list of those who have that opportunities. So certainly, the removing of financial restrains certainly opens up more doors for our female child to have great opportunities and to have more corridors to walk down.
In terms of benefits, do you think, in future the celebrations of PANAFEST will benefit the society in any way?

I think it will as it has; I think it will benefit the society in enormous ways. PANAFEST has basically sensitised the general public to many issues that is relate Pan-Africanism, as it relates to the power of our potentials if we are unified as an African family. A lot of the conflicts that we see on the African continent today are to do with ethnic conflicts and African don’t understand themselves as family and see each other as treat and strangers. The PANAFEST has a lot to elevate the misperceptions of ourselves as being different from others and uncommon and things we do indifference. As I related earlier, the fact that we have youth day and women ‘s day brings Africans together from all over the world to discuss issues that are pertain to our women issues, issues that are pertain to our youth, issues that pertain to economic- social and spiritual welfare of African peoples. So these are issues that no other forum is providing on the level and unto the magnitude to the PANAFEST has and it is providing. I think that when we talk about the economic conditions on the continent, PANAFEST also in the past provided opportunities for investors and investments opportunities to be identified on the African continent. So it is on going, long arranged relationships have been developed by the virtue of the festival that last longer than the festival. And the idea of heritage and cultural tourism has it and is now being called. We are also introducing a HEALTH to be promoted by PANAFEST that will allow a more and more Africans in the Diasporas to travel home to
Mother Africa to see and what ways they can assist Mother Africa. These are all initiatives that have been promoted and reinforced by virtue of PANAFEST. So PANAFEST is a lot more than intended by the festival that is celebrated within a schedule programme. But is an initiative that continues to expand and reach higher heights and global audiences as it continues to grow in its reputations and the years of experience that it has. We have entries in immediate area of venues; Cape Coast and Elimina are the actual permanent hosts of PANAFEST. During and since PANAFEST inception, it has encouraged major tourism development in this region (that Central Region) we more than triple four times the number of hotels rooms, the standard of hotels have risen tremendously, our restaurants are tourists’ attractions, and all these have been spots by PANAFEST and the anticipations of more PANAFEST coming on and more businesses coming on to develop the infrastructural development to be able to receive the number of visitors and business that are coming here and such business men and women who come to celebrate with us are exposed to various activities that goes on at PANAFEST celebrations and the emancipation day.

**Do you have a policy on PANAFEST?**

We have a statement of purpose that could be said to house policy statement

**In the statement of purpose, do you have a potion that addresses the issues on gender?**
No, not per say, I cannot say that we do, no we don’t, because as we say that policy is more of a mission statement than a policy. And I will say that if it should take more of a policy form, there be that particular statement that assures equality and gender respect, I should say equal opportunity. I should say, it is not a policy on its form; it doesn’t manifests itself in that way.

In that view, do you hope to develop a statement policy that will have gender policy to ensure equal opportunity for both men and women?

Yes, I will say that given the present climate, these issues are very important to establish a point of focus that will be something that will be consistence with the over all spirit of PANAFEST. I don’t see it as something not happening but something that is naturally happening; we call it natural flow of PANAFEST spirit celebrations.

Thank you very much sir, but before I leave you, is it possible for me to get copy of whatever policy statement or mission statement you have.

That is not a problem; this is a copy of our mission statement

And then, the mission statement, does it include members of the planning committee of PANAFSET or whatever.

Yes, it is possible for you to get one.

Thank you very much.

Least I forget, what do you have to say on the media production of PANAFEST festivals?
PANAFEST media production is handled by an independent media production agency, of which we contracted all those services out. And even though presences of the directors of these media production were male, and those workers in the office do a lot of the detailed work and day to day work were actual women that were in the office. Our office here, we have majority of women that actually do our work here in the PANAFEST office.

Pause; go on please;

So this year, we are looking to hand over a lot of that work from within our office, so working with professionals we will like to work within our office because were not too please with the performance of the agencies we contracted to last year. So, we will be looking this year to kind of working with specialised individuals that will be able to work along with this, I mean PANAFEST festival celebrations.

So, I hope you will involve women as well.

Yes, by all means

So that women will be able to focus, the reason why I am trying to gear my attention on women is that if more women see themselves as part of PANAFEST celebrations, that is a suggestion I am making, probably, it will prompt other less fortunate or privileged women, will help them to rethink about themselves and then assert themselves in terms of national development.

Yes, you are right, I think this is important, whenever we get a chance, to showcase our women; they do so, not only for their own
professional purpose, being qualified to do so but for inspiring and
send messages to other women for the confidence that they have and
that they can achieve because they are women and to see other
women in those kind of positions; it is influential and encouraging.

I am saying this because with all the women and the men that I
have spoken to since I came, it looks like women’s roles are
geared towards preparation of both food durbar grounds for the
festivals. But nobody is actually interested or speaking or trying
to say something on the professionalism of women or how women
can be encouraged to aspire to greater heights or into the
professional medal of PANAFEST festival celebrations.

Well, our women are no small women so all those who are involve are
involved in some influential way. I will say that Nana Ayaba Amba,
Queen Mother and also the President of the Queen Mothers
Association of the Central Region, Auntie Esi Surtherland, the dauther
of the idea behind PANAFEST, Madam Efau Surtheland of blessed
memory, again no small person, one of our dynamic progressive
woman, Ekuasi Swanzy, she runs and own chains of restaurants in
the region. They not only active community members, they are forceful
and powerful, so they are not just sit back women, but women who
are very involving.

In all, how many women do you think are very vocal and
involving in PANAFEST festival celebrations?

Well, we can say in one sense, because we haven’t numbered them,
they are not few, but there are significant numbers. We respect their
opinion and when it happens, it is not something that we can keep quite or push aside. We don't seek to but even if that is our mind, it is hard because these women are very dynamic and powerful.

Thank you very much sir, but before I finish off, it is unfortunate I couldn’t get Nana Ayaba Amba, the Queen Mother to talk to. But I will be grateful if on my behave tell her that if she can find time, even when I am off to the United Kingdom, I will call her wherever I am and interview her on line.

Oh, excellent, I will give you her number.

Then again if she can send by post, the policy document or statement of mission the Association of Queen Mothers because I have not got time to talk to her due her tight schedule and my as well and is it possible for me to have the necessary document on PANAFEST.

Yes, you can have these

Again, I say thank you sir for your time and sharing your knowledge on PANAFEST with m.
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

Interview No. 11: Mr Emmanuel Kow, Director, Cape Coast Centre for National Culture, Cape Coast, Central Region

- As the former Deputy of PANAFEST planning committee in Accra, were there any woman serving on the committee?
- Do your office has any policy document that addresses gender issues?
- You mentioned the media, do you think the media is actually championing the course of women?
- Do you think cultural and traditional practices affect Ghanaian women in any form?

INTERVIEW ELEVEN
MARCH 24, 2004

Emmanuel Kow, Director, Cape Coast, Cultural Centre

DIRECTOR, CAPE COAST CULTURAL CENTRE

Good after Sir, I am here purely for academic purposes, that is a research student from Uwic University School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management. The research is basically on the Representation and Presentation of Ghanaian Women in festival celebrations, PANAFEST, as a case study. I am looking at the paradox of Queen Mothers, the problem that queen mother and women in Ghana faces in terms of tradition and culture; and their involvement in festival celebrations. This a bit of all about my research; and as the head of Cape Coast Culture Centre and Cape Coast being one of the base of PANAFSET celebrations, can you please tell me what PANAFEST IS ALL ABOUT?

PANAFEST came about as a result of a resource paper that was written by Efua Sutherland on holding of a dramatic historical theatre that is theatre drama based on historical events; so we have history on slavery and some other things. And actually, the first PANAFEST celebrations, was held along that line, a dramatic historic theatre festival. But it was after holding the first one some where in 1994 that this whole idea of expanding it came up. Because I remember that all the groups that performed during that time were all groups that were based in Ghana and one or two groups from outside and that there
was a big committee in Cape Coast that did a lot of the ground work and events were held in Cape Coast Castle. So after that initial one, the idea of opening it up and inviting many other people to join up came about. But to opening it up, it also has so many elements that were brought to bear; art exhibition as part of it, national and international women’s day, forum for the discussions of papers and so on.

So that is how it involved and it ruled. In 1997 when I was a Deputy Director, we run it along the same line.

**Deputy Director of what?**

Deputy Director of PANAFEST secretariat; we have the Accra office and the Cape Coast office, the Accra office was the planning part of it and the Cape Coast office was more or less like implementing the activities of PANAFEST celebrations. When it came close for the festival, we all move from Accra to Cape Coast and actually supervise the day to day running of the festival.

**But before you go on, the Accra Planning Committee was there any woman on the planning committee?**

Yes, at the committee level, there were women; somebody like Esi Sutherland – Addy, the daughter of Efua Sutherland, was very instrumental in nearly all the PANAFEST festivals up to date. She is a member of both the national and international planning committees and certainly some women have made their way to the committee level.

After 1997, the question of PANAFEST secretariat turning it into a foundation came up. So those of us, who worked for PANAFEST in
those days, were drafted from various organisations, various cultural
and heritage organisations to work both in Accra and in Cape Coast.
But after the 1997 festival, there was this idea of turning the
secretariat into a foundation. This means that we all have to go back
to our mother institutions. And then the foundation was born out of
Cape Coast here; and we went on from there onwards, that resulted in
the change in personals and the secretariat, that is those who used to
work for the previous PANAFEST.

So, how involving are our women in the planning stages of
PANAFEST?

If you look at all the programmes that we have, women are very
involving, because I know they have a women’s day, they have always
have a women’s day, and women’s committees sitting in the main
committee. And on top of that too they will be planning the festival of
a lot of activities of that women’s day. If at any point I am able to show
you some of the copies of the previous book on the PANAFEST festival,
I have a file here, you will see some of the activities. Specially, the last
one they have, if you compare it with the previous ones, the
differences are not very much, the strategies are just about the same.
As I was saying, from the records you will see there have been a lot of
activities involving women in the women’s day; it is a whole day
activity, different aspect of that particular programme I can show you
some of the reference.

Do you have any policy document on culture that addresses
gender issues?
In a typical Ghanaian situation, some of these gender issues are very; very tricky issues that some times it is not look at proper perspective by policy maker, people in authority and elders in the country. And the other part of it, which I personally think is that, I believed the women too are not making their voices heard, this can be quote or unquote. Because the policy cannot go on certain directions without people reacting to it; so even if it is a very good policy, we expect the women to react. They themselves should also come up and show something as their reaction to what is going on. But the policy goes, and whatever the ideas comes from, “this co male kind of thing and the women just don’t react and they say ho it is an accepted norms or that kind of thing”. Over the time, how can we tell that whether some of these policies are really doing the women good or not, especially if the women themselves are not reacting?

So here, are you saying they are not reacting because they are not well educated or educated enough to understand the issues of the cultural and the traditional norms that affect their lives.

The things that affect their lives are to be looked at in two different perspectives. There are some knowledgeable women who should take up some of these challenges on behalf of the less knowledgeable women. But what I have found out is that I thing the knowledgeable women have managed to take themselves out of the situation and they have kept quiet and sort of not relating back to these other less educated, less privilege, or less fortunate women. So who is going to champion their course of the people who cannot speak for themselves?
There is one group that are sort of seen the light and sort of and struggled out of it and they just kept quiet and they are not looking back to out other sisters there and how they are reacting. And in the same vain, I think that the other sisters are look up to these other ones for some kind of inspiration but they can not reach them; the privileged ones are not coming back and these ones who are not privileged are not reaching out to those privileged ones to find out what the privileged people are doing.

**So, what do you suggest?**

I think we need a very vigorous kind of education from both sides, the privileged people; people who understands some of these issues and people who are making all these suggestions should not just stay in the big cities and the capitals and make noise but rather should go back the rural areas to find out what is happening to their other sisters who are less privileged may be come from more rural areas. Because, of course it is only in the capital towns and the big cities that when you short, people will here of you through the media, how about these other women who do not have the privilege of the media; so somebody has to turn attention to them so that whatever the problems can also be heard at that level.

**You mentioned the media; do you think the media is actually championing the course of women?**

Sometimes I have my doubts; sometimes they speak to it but I wonder whether they are speaking loud enough because if you have these big seminars on gender issues and it is in the capitals, and you stay in a
nice hotels and make the nice decisions, when does it take for these other people to benefit from it, our rural folks, rural women and the less privileged women, How are they going to hear of this kind of things; when TV (television) does not get that far; nowadays the FM radio stations are all over the place but whether some of these issues will be a matter of policy for some of these stations to be dealing into gender affairs. Most of the stations play a lot of music, they do a lot of sports, they do a lot of current affairs and things but I do not see any of them that talk on specialised gender issues as regards. So I do not know when and how the media can still be part of some of these issues. Because, as I said the irony of the thing is that they stay in Accra (the capital of Ghana), they stay in Cape Coast with these big meetings in these big hotels and after that who is carrying whatever information, what is the place between them and the women down there.

**So what do you suggest then?**

I suggest a stronger bridge to be build between both sides; these other sides ought to be able to reach out or get to these people down; that is the less privileged women and people. The less privileged people ought to have to find an access of letting these privileged people listen to them, because if they listen to them I am sure it might shape some of the policy decisions, their discussions that are held in some of these big places. Most of the time, I think and wonder the amount of input that these less privileged people (women) make into the kind of discussions that these people have.
So are you calling for some sort of advocacy?

The advocacy, some advocacy is there already, existing but as I said it is just the bridge between both sides of the world, it is two sides of the same world, whether there is a bridge across to get to each other, privileged to less privilege and less privileged to privileged should be there and that is what I think.

Here, being a cultural centre, how do you think that cultural and traditional norms affecting women in the Ghanaian society

Some of them are serious set back to the development of women;

What is the seriousness about it?

Some of these cultural practices are serious set backs, traditional practices because they have been accepted over the years and have became a cultural phenomenon. But sometimes when you look at the whole it the irony is that the people who are propagating these things are again themselves are the women. Some of these widowhood rites, I am sure that we have noticed that some of them are really so out of date and are no longer necessary but you will be surprised to find that is the women who lead to these things and they tried to give possible reasons as to why these things must stay and they are some the people who are championing some of these causes as to a continued observance some of these negative acts. I am not saying it is the women who are doing that to our people, but there some negative scenes, like traditional practices that seriously ought to go away with. The other side of the coin is that there are some women who are leading in the gradual dissolution of some of these traditional
practices. There is a woman in Cape Coast here who is called, she did a project with school female children and they were using the horn (menson is normal thought that it is male, it is a horn that is used to herald the arrival and the departure of chiefs and very important people in the society. And more so it is been a male kind of thing and this women took school children use this “menson” and decided to break away from this thing just to find out or make a statement that women could be very instrumental in breaking down some of these traditional norms. And that group worked and that group is still up till today. They have played so many important functions, when Bill Clinton came to Ghana, they were the part of the team that entertained the President and when parliament was inaugurated they were also there. So I think this is a very bold thing that has been initiated by a woman; by this woman I am talking about completely break away or dismantled some of these negative traditional practices.

This woman you are talking about is it possible for me to meet her. Oh it is unfortunate I am leaving on coming Saturday and have a lot to do.

Yes, I have her contact number and I can arrange for you to meet her.

Coming back to my main point, does the Cape Coast cultural Centre has a gender policy?

We are supposed to have a working document in a form of a cultural policy that is still in a draft state.

Is it ok to have a copy of the policy?
That draft is a big document and it speaks about the entire spectrum of our cultural heritage and certainly has made room, but certainly does not discriminate against women. I never read anywhere in that document where it says women should be pushed to the background but I can let you see that document. And you yourself will deduce from it that if that document is passed as a cultural policy for Ghana, that document will be good for the advancement for women. Because as I said, I have never read anywhere, were women are supposed to delegated to the background that cultural policy document.

Yes, you have raised a very important question about the delegation of women to the background position at social and state gatherings. At any social gathering, especially at durbar grounds of chiefs and queen mothers, one realises that the seating arrangements are made in a way that the chiefs and their entourage, who are mostly men are seated in the front role, where the media cameras are always on them while women are placed at the background positions and are not even seen in the picture.

Why is it so, why, why, can you please explain why?

In our traditional political systems, there supposed to be the female counterparts of the chief, who is this woman called the “Obahene” or the Queen Mother who represent women’s interests; Then one step further, there is a collections of chiefs and they have association at to point that they have a regional house of chiefs and then they have a national house of chiefs; but you just can understand it why women are not part of some of these structures, it is so strange. But the little
encounter I have with some of these traditional leaders is that ho, they
don’t suddenly want to give them too much political power or
deliberations or whatever it is, But when you look at the underline
bases, these are the opposite sides of the female because they take
care of female interest in the traditional political system. And it is
strange that they don’t want to give some or equal traditional status
and I think they should elevate the status a little bit. But again, I
think if a group of hard working serious queen mothers form an
association, which now I have seen a few queen mothers in some
traditional areas, I am they should be able to step up their activity
level so that they can also, it is not a challenging the chiefs but raising
their status a little bit so that they can be heard much more than they
are doing now. Because as you are saying it is right, the camera is on
the chiefs. The chiefs sit in the front and the women counterparts, a
few of them just near them or they sit in the background; they don’t
seem to pick on the sensitivity on the women chiefs as well, which for
me I think is not right. But again, if you look at the structure of the
political system, you see that the women, the “Obaheneba”, the
structures they have it is not the mass kind of thing, because the
queen mother has one or two chaperons, and basically that is that
and may be a few other women who may be there but the entourage of
the male chief are bigger and stronger and say a lot more. Even if you
look at the symbolic things they use, the umbrellas, the male, the
Omanhene (Chiefs), their umbrellas are huge and big and the
Obaheneba the umbrella is not that big, but it is small. All these they
are saying things that I think that simply just means that you can’t
have power or that recognition up to my level, you can have something
which existing but the women themselves would have to again fight
for their cause, they should relay their activity levels a little bit, we
don’t want them seemed to be championing, challenging or overriding
them but they should raise up their levels a little bit.

This sounds very interesting, I did a research and read about the
Akan society of which the people of Cape Coast is part of the
Akan society is established or founded by female mythical
ancestors but strangely, they assumed lesser positions in the very
society they founded; can you tell me why?

You see, I tell you something, it is so surprising, whenever since I
since I started working here, there is a little insight I have done into
the social and the family structures, for example in Cape Coast here,
the line of succession, which is the matrilineal line of succession has a
lot to offer these women. But the men are not making a positive
impart that is not on the political traditional system but that is on the
family structural levels. The thing is that you take after your mother
even the educated men are certainly don’t look after their children
very well with the hope that the children belong to the woman because
of the matrilineal kind of succession and so therefore the women are
actually struggle to keep up children and to raise their families and
things. But what the men don’t realise is that their influences are
becoming lesser and lesser and are not being recognised. So the
women have, when I go to any social programmes or gatherings and
look around women seem to be much more heard and seen and the
are always relegated to the background to the point that there is a
Minister in this area who is a woman and I see a trend that if the men
don’t assert themselves a little bit, a long time to come, we may have
only women parliamentarian from Cape Coast.

This is strange.

That is the thing I have noticed because if you go to their weddings,
their funerals and things the women speak with some certainty, the
men are a bit nip because the economic contributions they make are
not strong enough simply because this question of line of succession
is there and the women have to take up the responsibilities of raising
their families so the men have almost neglected their responsibilities
of the traditional things that they are supposed to do. And I am telling
you that it is a serious issue even the educated men, some of them
are not seriously looking after their families. So I looked through and
looked through and I have seen that trend even comes up in the
politics of the day. They have a woman Member of Parliament and if
they don’t take care women MP will continue to come from Cape Coast.

This is because women here have asserted themselves. This does not
compare to the traditional political systems, this is just compares to
the family structures that are there. And that is what I looked at and
look at. Because as supposed to where I come from, it is a patrilineal
kind of succession.

Where exactly do you come from?
I come from Ga and Ewe and both are patrilineal; so when you go to any social function, is the men who take the decision, that is everything evolves around the men, they form the decision makers and it is the exactly the opposite when you come to Cape Coast. And you even see it at the Church, where the women are more vocal than the men. Whether it is the orthodox or the “charistimatic churches” the born again churches, you see a gradual trend; the women by numbers are more than the men. I am not saying that the matrilineal system is not good, it has it own strength and weakness but the little study I have made and what I have noticed is that because of the matrilineal system, the way I expect the men to be, up and doing is not what I find in Cape Coast here. It has gradually crept into family and social affairs here in Cape Coast. I don’t know whether people realise it but women are more assertive than the men.

What is you name?

**Well, Mr Emanuel Kow thank you very much, I told you I won’t take much of your time and promised to be within 20 –30 minute time limit again I say thank.**
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

Interview No. 12: Mr. Ishmeal Otto, Co-ordinator, Centre for National Culture, Cape Coast, Central Region

- You spoke about the importance of festival and the role of women, why should women take background role?

- Can you please explain why Queen Mothers assume background position?

Interview No. 12: Mr. Ishmeal Otto, Co-ordinator, Centre for National Culture, Cape Coast, Central Region

INTERVIEW TWELVE

March 24, 2004 – Ishmeal Otto, Head of the Literally Department and Co-ordinator, Centre for National Culture, Cape Coast.; - this interview was taken to make up for all female focus group discussions in Cape Coast and is allowed to use the local language.

This interview technique is to get maximum information and allow him to express himself freely without fear or intimidation.

If you look into our ancient history and the Bible, women are not allowed to be fore bearers. If you look at it critically, you realise that women are always not counted and for this reason women are not seen in front roles or fore bearers. The same principle applies the
people of fanti-land. The black seat is for our chiefs and women are not allowed to sit on it, not even the Queen Mothers. However things have changed and even 100 per cent if these days with the wave of allowing women to be in the lime light if they are to sit on the black seat as the chief; and this is the more reason why women always assume background or lesser positions in public and social functions. The change is due to enlightenment and it all started right here in Cape Coast to allow our women to assume some level of front role positions.

You know what, before coming down to Ghana; I conducted a research on Queen Mothers in Ghana, in Akan society for that matter. It came up that the Akan society of which I belonged to was founded by mystical female ancestors and no attempt have been made to trace their origin. And what amazes is that even though they are the founders of the land, yet, they assume lesser positions in public. I also came out that it is the Queen Mothers who nominate a suitable candidate to assume chieftaincy position and if so why do Queen Mothers assume lesser position if the land belongs to them, do you know why and can you explain further?

You are perfectly right, if you have a critical look, the land is name after a woman that is “Assesi Afua” in fanti and in twi is “Assesi Yaa”. If you do a detail research, you may get the truth but not all. For this reason, we the akan believe that the akan society is founded by a woman and this is the more reason why we the people of akan always give power to our women. In all gatherings in akan society, we allow
the older woman to make the first utterance before the rest of members of the society can also speak. The same applies to the Queen Mother she make the first utterance then follows by the rest of the members of the family. The most important of it all is when there is a problem to be solved and the problem solver is the old lady in the family and this is the power given to women in our akan society. However, what I have noticed or observed and it is not fear, but I believe this is how women are created and ordained by God that women should stay behind and support who ever is in the lead. There is an adage saying, “Behind every successful man, there is a woman”. A man can only be successful in live with the help of his wife or partner.
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

Interview No. 13: Mrs Lewisa Constance Aggrey, Female Lecturer, Mfantispim Secondary School: Cape Coast, Central Region

- What is the role of Akan Queen Mothers in Festival celebrations?
- What is Fetu festival, can you please explain?
- What is the role of women in festival celebrations?
- How can you blend tourism and women’s development, focusing on PANAFEST festival as the key issues?
- Do you think education and finance is a barrier to the development of women?
March 25, 2004

This interview took place at the campus of the Mfantispim Secondary School, Cape Coast. Mrs Lewisa Constance Aggrey, Head of the English Department, Mfantispim Secondary, Cape Coast

Have you in any way observed any festivals since you started your work as a lecturer at the Mfantispim Secondary, here in Cape Coast. It is all about the role and involvement of women in festival celebrations; focusing on PANAFEST as an international festival that brings together all Africans and African descents in the diasporas. So will please tell me about the local festival here as against the cultural, traditional and social norms of the society.

Well, when we talk about festivals, in the first place, we are looking at a situation where the people are united under one social factor, and that is a festival and this is a happy reunion. Now during the festivals, we ask for prayers for good harvest to come in the same year and then we give thanks for the harvest that we had hard. And during this season, all family members come home and so it a happy reunion. And then that is the time, the entire community also asks for blessings. Now, during this period we have the women playing very important roles, in the chief’s palace for instant, the women are there, they are there to cater for the chief’s welfare; they are there to ensure that there is enough for everybody to eat and festivals deals with abandons of food for everybody. And so you realised that the women, the chiefs, the “Obaheneba” (Queen mother) they play very active roles.
because they must ensure the unity of the entire community. Now this
goes on, the “Fetu” for instant;

**Well the Fetu, what is it?**

That is the festival for the Cape Coast people festival for instant;

**Can you please give me a little background information of the “fetu” festival?**

Well, the “fetu” festival high lights on how the fantis came to be, especially the Capes Coasters, how they got to the coast and I believed that they have this festival in honour of the spirits that guarded and protected them to this present site. This was believed that they arrived from Tachyiman, the fantis arrived from Tachyiman and lodged at “Efuttu”. Efuttu is closed to Kakum, if you are going to Kakum national park the Central Region of Ghana, you find Efuttu somewhere there, and from Efuttu, they came over here. And when they settled and found that they were content, they found that there must be something to unite them and that is the “Fetu” festival. So out of this, several people have been reunited. But I believe, I found out that during the colonial era, the festival was band and it was revived, I think in 1964 or 1965. When it was revived, it became a communal affair, all Cape Coasters, abroad wherever came home, it was a happy reunion for them. And of course, when it comes to this, you realised that the women, especially the mothers are mostly happy and always busy, making sure there is this food and there is this fish and there is this and Cape Coasters we have this traditional fish, “Tilapia” the lagoon, the “faso” lagoon produces this tilapia and they
say that the tilapia has a very good taste. And all those who come home during the festival would want to eat tilapia. Well, Effua Sutherland, is Cape Coaster, she was born and bred in Cape Coast and she was into tradition, so when in the early 1960’s, soon after independence, Kwame Nkrumah realised that most Ghanaians have been alienated from their traditions because most of them who were highly educated have to go abroad to study in Europe and come back. It was like when they came back, they were just imitating, trying to imitate whatever lifestyle they saw in Europe and Nkrumah became a bit disturbed so he launched this African Personality and charged people to research into their lost cultural identity and to ensure that it exposed and we relearn our traditions. So we had Nkrumah charging those who were good at writing, creative writers just delve into our past and compose dramatic piece and get it produced for people to see themselves, get themselves ridiculed, helped them to learn and relearn their Ghanaian identity. And that was also the time that Kwame Nkrumah introduced the idea of African personality. So Kwame Nkrumah introduced the pouring of libation at social and state functions, wearing of “Kante” clothes at state functions, so just in a way of trying to help us relive our traditions. Now out of this, Kwame Nkrumah charging people to research, write and produce our cultural, Efua Sutherland, who then had a flair in writing, also did a research and came up with plays like the marriage of “Anasua”, Oforiwa and some other plays. And she also ensure that she gathered some children, she had a group of children at Ekumfi Etwue and Efua
Surtherland was using these groups to ensure that she has a group that can help and sustain the traditions that we have lost. Then again, I believed that also understand that Efua Surtherland had some Americans sponsorship so out of that she built a drama studio, which has now been transported to the University of Ghana, Legon campus and its place we have the national theatre. And as these went on, I believed that with Efua Surtherlands connections and relationships with the Americans, this idea of Pan-Africanism kept on ringing and more over because she was an active and was writing, she was just visualised a future that will bring down our brothers and sisters in the diasporas through the act. So Efua Surtherland came up with the idea of Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST), so she wrote a paper on it, it went to the Ministry of Education and Culture, they studied it and they felt that yes indeed, Efua was on the right track. So I think we had a mock on PANAFEST in 1991 at the Cape Coast Castle, we use the local groups and then in 1992, we had the first Pan-African Historical theatre Festival (PANAFEST). Now, being a woman, and then seeing Efua Surtherland, coming up with this idea, in fact, I really got enthused about this whole thing for a woman to come up with this, then this tells us of the depth of our tradition, it tells us of the dept of her love to bring back our brothers and sisters who are in the diasporas back home. It also highlights on her love to see all people united under one culture. And so fortunately, the Government of Ghana embraced that idea and the Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST) is a biannual programme.
I believe it has got on well with Europeans sisters and brothers. And our Queen Mothers active role and I think, everybody within the traditional set up is giving is given the support that is needed to be given. Of course may I have this information because I was working with the Centre for National Cultural; I was with them for some time.

Oh I see, I was going to ask you, because your knowledge on it is too much enormous.

Of course, we know we have traditional roles as women, but then looking at the contemporary society, if we mean to go by our traditional norms, then we will also be left behind

Why do you say that?

Traditionally, as it is in the Bible, we are looking at marriage, the family, the nucleus family, women be submissive, men love their wives and that has been given an interpretation that woman must always bow “mewura” that means, (my lord) and if you are to be there to always say the “mewura” (my lord) my lord, my lord that kind of thing, nothing will get going. This is the time that the woman and the man must work to support the family. Gone when the days when it was felt that man must work, the man must own large parcels of land, the woman must support the man on the land and must have several children to weed and produce and feed them, now it is not possible. Having so many children is a burden in the first place for the woman, going in for the tenth child in order to be given a goat or a sheep doesn’t really give any thing better than health hazards. So now with education, formal education now firmly in place, people now
understanding that they need to be formally be educated, we realised that when you go through education, it delays so many things. Because you are educated you are so enthused about earning this, going there, doing this and so you realised that by the age of 25, 26, 27 you are now coming out of the university and you are now fully confident that yes I have had enough and then I will want to settle and marry. So, then, when you marry late, definitely you are going to have fewer children. Definitely, because of your education, you will want to ensure that your children also have better education, therefore, you will only want to give birth to the children that you can carter for. So now going at the traditional role and the contemporary role now, I believe that we should have a perfect blend, we don’t have to throw away our tradition, we should know where we have come from. We should make some consultations but then we must also have the wider world in mind where we can fit in every situation other wise we just be there and I believed that most of our Queen Mothers are now educated and so they can have public speeches, they attend meetings, they also talk and come out with their ideas. Now they are thinking of Queen Mothers Associations, because they think that the chiefs have left them behind for far too long, because they must also be behind them, they must always come out with suggestions, so this traditional idea when there is knotting or difficulty issues to be solved “ekobesa aberewa ab” (let go and ask the old lady) and the “aberewa” (the old lady) is the Queen Mother who must also be in the background for consultations. At this time, they must come forward, they must let
their feelings be heard, they must be seen to directing people to ensure that, yes, this people know where they are going to must fit them selves into the modern society. So I believed that women, generally if we are aware of ourselves, if we are aware of the power of we can control, then I think we will have a better nation if we should have women in the lime light.

**How can you blend tourism and women’s development, focusing on PANAFEST as the key issue?**

Tourism and women’s development, we have this adage, travel and see, so it is when you travel that you get the experience and you stand in a better position to improve on your own situations. But then, if we are fortunate enough to have tourism well developed then the most fortunate thing is that people from all works of life are coming over and as they come, they come with different norms, cultures and ideals all together. So when the women have the opportunity to interacting with them, it opens them up, it help them to see and to understand people better, to understand general behaviour better and to understand world issues better. So I believe that is tourism in a way trying to link people within the world, trying to bring together to make the world much smaller. Because on your own as a woman, may be because of the children, may be because you must take care of your husband, you must take care of the extended family, travelling most of the time will be a problem. So if you are fortunate for the government to bring people all over the place for you to deal with, then I believe that it serves as an eye opener, to the woman, and at least it also
offers the woman something to aspire to; they come, they see them, they interact with them, new ideas develop and you want to do something else, so I believe that promotion of tourism is a way of helping the woman to also improve on herself.

Do you think education and finance is a barrier to the development of women?

Looking at it in the Ghanaian context, I will want to look at our traditions, gone are the days when the boys are given preference over the girls when it comes to education, but at least they have been hammering give your girl child the chance, send your girl child to school, so even those who never had formal education now understand that the girl must also go to school. But then, of course, if we have irresponsible fathers, who won’t want to really do much to benefit the children, the mothers are always saddled with that problem of sharing that the children are better off. And if they are not in any good employment, then the problem will be they won’t have enough money to take them to school. The desire may be there but because of a poor financial base, because of lack of formal education, because the person can not really fit into some other jobs that will pay well they have that problem; they can’t send the children to school. And these are the people who can not say no and they can not control the number of births that they should have and so they are saddened with that problem. Now, we have this education and family planning and all this kind of things, I believe most women are aware but because of lack of formal education, “well if my husband want it why
shouldn’t I, and so the children keep on coming. But the educated ones we know how to control ourselves, whether you want it or not, if the woman says that I want two children, she will definitely get two so these are some of things and finance indeed is a barrier to the development of women in all disciplines. First you need money to do everything you want to do; for instant if you don’t have enough to eat, how do you think of sending a child to school, you may not like it but out of the two choices, you will want to eat first.

Thank you very much Madam for time and sharing your knowledge with me again I say thank.
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

**Interview No. 14:** Ekow Yamson, Director, Regional Museum, Elimina Castle, Central Region

- What are the roles of women in festival celebrations?
- What are the significant of Bakatue festival and the role of women?
- If women are very visible in festival celebrations, why should they take background position?
- Why should Ghanaian society give prominence to men rather than women?
- Why PANAFEST a big festival in the Central Region and what role do women play?
- In terms of education, what is the level of education of the people of the Elimina, especially the women?
- Do you have any policy on gender and affirmative action?

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**March 25, 2004, this interview took place at the Elimina castle.**

**Mr Kwo Yamson, Executive Director, Elimina Castle**
Good After noon Sir, I am a Mphil/Phd research student at the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, University Institute of Wales, Cardiff (Uwic). My research is topic is on Representation and Presentation of Women in Tourism, using PANAFEST as a case study. Currently I am looking into the role and involvement of women in festival celebrations, especially as Elimina being a tourism destination. The allocated time for this research is between 20 to 30 minutes and promise to be within the time limit; having said that, will you please comment on the role of women in festival celebrations.

Actually in our cultural set up all stressed is equally between the men and the women. The unique aspect of about the women, for example is it come to the dancing and the area that you portray our cultural heritage, the women are actually are very prominent. For example, during “Bakatue” the opening up of the river, apart from the other things that will be done at the forum when they come to the lagoon, when you have these women mobilise to put in the canoes. Actually, they will be the people who will be portraying the cultural aspect in the form of dancing, showing actually how the whole it started. The men also have their parts to play but the women are very prominent when it comes to the dancing and this aspect of it.

What is the significant of “Bakatue”? 

Bakatue is basically the opening the lagoon, it is celebrated once every year in June, that is, the second week of June. This is where we are at advantage to lay a ban on fishing at the lagoon and to release the
generation of fish and the norms of the area are also observed. On the formal day, when the ban is lifted that is when we say that they are opening the lagoon; so Bakatue is the day when we formal lift the ban on fishing.

You made mention about the parts both men and women play during the Bakatue festival, the women, you stated categorically, what are parts the men play?

Whatever it is, it is for all of us we all do it together but when it comes to this aspect, when we are laying emphasises on the dancing and the other things, the women are much better, they are much more visible as compared to the men.

If the women are very visible in festival celebrations as you have just stated; according observation and small research I carried out, the women are very vocal and active at social gathering but on durbar grounds, women are not as visible as their male counterparts you see the seated at the background or delegated to the back, why is it and can you please explain further?

Well, they are not actually fully relegated to the background, for example, is you come to the durbar grounds; you have somebody like the Queen Mother, who will be seated at the same place the Omanhene (the chief) will be seated, so they have their role. But in terms of kingship, we turn to give much more prominence to men than women. But there are areas in Ghana today where we have
women actually also acting as defector chiefs but in the main, we almost always turn to give much prominence to the men.

Why do you give much more prominence to the men than the women?

This comes out of the cultural set ups and traditional roles. Even though it is the woman in form of the Queen Mother, who select a chief or Oamnhene to be, time past, right from the beginning it is always the men who have been fulfilling these roles. So I should think that in our historical past, even though we have very prominent women like the Asanties having Yaa Asantiwa. Yaa asantiwa actually came to fit in situation when the men of Asantis were found wanting during the colonial administration war with the people of the Asantis in the Asanti Region, when the King was exiled to the Seychelles Islands and they were finding problems, actually getting quality leaders to fill in the position of the chief, but traditional, it has always been the men. So it got something to do with our traditional set up.

Why PANAFEST a big festival celebration in the central region?

To actually bring all Africans together, the emphasis is that there are quiet a lot of Africans in the Diasporas, so at this point in time, all those in the Diasporas and still those of us who are still here, have the opportunity to come together to relate and to actually look at our past so that we can talk about the future.

What are the advantages and disadvantages of having the PANAFEST here in Eilmina as one of its celebration destination?
Since PANAFEST came into being we have had more relationship and interactions with our brothers in the Diasporas to the extent that some of them have now come home. Even in the Elemina community, we have some of them who have came back and settled among us, so bring us back together there is this integration. We no longer see ourselves as different people living in different parts of the world, like African, Jamaicans or Africa African -American, but we now see ourselves as one people with common goal and aspiration.

**What other advantages has PANAFEST brought to the people of Elemina apart from bringing together families and friends in terms of jobs and education?**

Actually, in terms of benefits, you can talk about benefits in the form of relationships and seeing us as one people but financially, it is the hotels and those in the hospitality businesses who have been having big day. Those in the communities might some little effect but this is not much because most of them come in small groups and spend a couple of days, actually they just walk through the community now and then but the impact does not actually go down right to the people.

**Why do you then say that it is the hotels that are making money?**

It is the hospitality industries, for example, when they come, that is where they spend their money, we may have some small effect on those who sell the locally produced handicrafts like tie and dyes, those who make our traditional clothing, crafts and all those sorts of things but that is not very much but if you look at the charges at the hotels
and the sort of people you see, the bulk of the money is deposited there. Some that goes to the community actually are very marginal.

Then again, if it is marginal, that is it really has something to do with the environment, because one may ask that what are their perceptions when they are here in Elimina and do we have good hotels that can really accommodate them and make them feel comfortable as they are used to in their countries?

That is it we have few hotel quality hotels in Elimina, three stars there about.

How much do they charge, do you have an idea?

Very significant, about 60 or 70 dollars per a night, so I am looking at a situation where probably we have the capacity to accommodate people like this in homes so that peoples and families will bring them in and some moneys could be generated, which will be going directly to them. Unfortunately, we do not have the capacity of our own living environment, so we may not be able to attract them to areas where the people in the communities will get the direct benefit from the boom of the PANAFEST when we have so many of them coming to witness the festival.

What are the significant of women in the celebration of PANAFEST celebrations?

Actually, when it comes to PANAFEST celebrations, we cannot actually look and talk about who is who, we all doing what ever has to be done equally and I will say that our women are very prominent during such occasions. Because, when it come to the bazaars and whatever goes
with it, when you go out to the grounds, we have the significant of the people there, those who are dealing with traditional crafts in the clothing and the fashions things that you have, it is always women and they are very prominent.

**In terms of education, what is the level of education of the people, especially among your women folk; do both have equal education and if not, what are the reasons?**

In terms of education, what is the level of education of the people, especially among your women folk; do both have equal education and if not, what are the reasons?

**In most cases, the men turn to be better educated than the women, but a conscious effort is being made this time.**

**Who is making the conscious effort?**

Well, the government is playing its part, when the men are sufficiently educated, and families become aware of the significance of educating women they also will be at advantage, also there is actually a very strong affirmative active being taking this time to win back women into education ladder, even though it is not up to scratch but now conscious effort is being made.

**Do you have any policy on gender and affirmative action?**

No, not that I know of;

**If no, what is your out fit doing in terms of gearing towards the progression of women as well as putting in place affirmative action not just to benefit men, but to strike an equal balance between men and women in terms of education and at public places.**

Well, we actually, at this point whole contact with people that come in to visit us, and so we are on actually in the community. But from as
time went and from what we see from people who visit us, especially
those in the first and the second circle schools, we see that very
significantly, you see almost all the boys and girls coming in those
from the schools coming daily, those from the schools and from these
numbers are what I speak off. So this is the standpoint in which I say
that quiet a lot of effort is being made to address the balance of
education between men and women.

So, thank you much, Mr Kwo for your time and granting me such
a wonderful interview
Interview No. 15: Mr. Ben. Yawson, Tour guide:  
Elimina Castle, Central Region

- What is the main festival celebrations in Elimina and why?
- What specific role do women play in PANAFEST festival?
- You made mention that PANAFEST festival celebrations empowers women financially. In your opinion, does education also empower women as well?
- Are you saying that the traditional and cultural norms in the country have really relegated women to background position and why?

INTERVIEW FIFTEEN

March 24, 2004 – This research interviewed Ben Yawson, worker at the Elimina Castle is to make up all female focus group discussions. He spoke fanti, his local language. He started off by saying that he is not from Elimina but live and work at Elimina Castle. With the initial problem of recruitment, the research decided to speak to him while the male focus group is prepared. I am here this afternoon to research into the role and involvement
of women in festival celebrations, focusing on PANAFEST celebrations. To begin with, what sort of festival is celebrated here at Eleimina?

The people of Elimina celebrates the Bakatue festival and this festival takes place every in July, that is the first Tuesday in the month of July.

Is it the first week in July?

Yes, first week in July. This is the time that people from Elimina who have travelled outside Elimina, both home and abroad come home and sometimes too they come home to marry and sometimes they come to divorce and if there is a dispute in the family, the Bakatue festival is an occasion to settle all disputes. Again, during this time, women play very important role. They as mothers, sometimes if the men are not cooperating,

If the men are not cooperating in what sense, can you please elaborate?

If there is a divorce, and if for example, the women are at fault, the mothers sit down the men to talk thing over, so that there could be a compromise. So as you know, women always have positive thinking, when it comes to marriage. So as I have already said, during the festival, every person goes to the family house to greet the family head. They all together to sit down and eat together, so if there is a dispute, that is there that they settle, so that there can be a peaceful coexistence, so that there will be progress and use this occasion to plan ahead for what they want to do next year.
In that wise, you have seen PANAFEST festival celebrations, what significant role do women in Eleimna play?

PANAFEST celebration is the time that people from all over the world come here, during this time, women play important role. The women cook, they display their locally made batik materials and those from outside who come here will buy from them. So in a way, this help develop the financial aspect for the women and it also empowers them.

You made mention of PANAFEST celebration empowering the women financially, does it educationally empowers the women as well?

Educationally, yes.

In what sense, can you please explain further?

For example, when some of these Africa-Americans come, some of them have actually endeared themselves in developing women’s education and sponsor some of them, so I think in a way they have to inculcate that idea of good education in women. You know our setup women are always at a disadvantage, but these days, they say no, men should also be at the kitchen and both sexes should be at the kitchen and at school.

So in a way, are you saying that the traditional and cultural norms have really relegated the women to the background, why?

It is always said that women should home and be at the kitchen because of the children, but we are saying that if woman is taken to school, education, empowers the woman more and through her
education, she is able to take good care of the children. So women’s education has helped to develop our women more than before.

*You think that, now the fight for educating women, should continue;*

Yes, this campaign for educating women should continue seriously and that will actually help develop the people. Because, you know, at one time, this son of Africa Kwageri Aggrey said, “if you educate a man, you have educated an individual, but if you educate a woman, you have educated a nation”. So if you empower women through education, academically, this will help the lady to take care of her children and since the woman knows the importance of education, she will take the child to school and ideally, will also help the children to look decent.

*Thank you for your time and the shared knowledge, you mention, PANAFEST, education and the role and involvement of women in festival celebrations here in Elimina, again I say thank you.*
Interview No. 16: Mr. Kwesi Agyeri, Director, Centre for National Culture, Kumasi: Ashanti Region.

- What are the roles and involvement of women in festival celebrations?
- You mentioned the importance of the Akan stool and why should it belong to the Akan Queen Mothers?
- Please I want to know if it is a normal practice for the Ahanti King/Chief to be the son of the Queen Mother?
Mr..... Director, Kumasi Cultural Centre

What are the roles and involvement of women in festival celebrations?

To begin with, I will want to look at the role of women, their prominent role of women in our society. You know we operate a matrilineal system and therefore the women are very, very important because they own the stools, which is the most important of it all in any community. The stools belong to the Queen Mothers;

Why should the Akan stool belong to the Queen Mothers? And Why should they assume lesser positions in your society?

Why, because it is the Queen Mother who chooses who should be on the throne or enstooled as a chief, by virtue of that because that person is also a family member, she has the first choice, or option of who should be a chief, that tells you that the throne is fro the Queen Mother; The King of Ashanti so that gives you the position of our women in our society,

Before you go on, is it a normal practice for the King of Asanti to be the son of the Queen Mother?
Yes, I think this is about the second time the late King (Otumfo Opoku Ware 11- died in 1998/99) was the sister of the Queen Mother, because they are all from the same family, it can also happen. Like I was saying, the Queen Mother is very important, apart from choosing, she also has the option of the first choice who should rule the throne. Because of the fact that here we belong to our mothers, I am an “Esonam” that is the clan of my mother.

**How do you relate the role of women in festival celebrations?**

Women play very important role in festival celebrations and their leadership role in the fact that they are in charge of the home.
FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Eight unstructured group interviews (Focus Group Discussions) held in Accra, capital of Ghana, Greater Accra Region, Cape Coast and Elimina both in the Central Region. The Accra one is the most successful because this research managed to get all the three groups, namely, all female, all male and both male and female groups. However, it was very difficult to assemble all the three groups in both Cape Coast and Elimina and two individual interviews were held in place of all female focus group discussions which was supposed to take place in Cape Coast and Elimina respectively. Unfortunately, the Kumasi focus group discussions was not feasible due to technical problems.

However, all the eight focus group discussions were done in the local languages. This is to allow free flow of information, especially when majority of group participants had informal education and this allowed them to communicate effectively in local language and not in English. This research technique is to allow openness and to avoid complaisance but also to allow each and every one in the various groups equal opportunity, especially the women and the less confident ones among the groups due to...
lack of formal education to speak their mind and freely contribute to the discussions without fear or intimidation.

ACCRA - GREATER ACCRA REGION

FIRST UNSTRUCTURED GROUP INTERVIEWS /FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS


Good Afternoon, ladies and gentlemen, I am here as a research student from the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, University Institute of Cardiff, Wales (UWIC). I am a Ghanaian by birth and here to research into the role and the involvement of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations. This discussion is purely for academic purposes and will be grateful for equal contribution. This I mean I want each and every one of you to speak freely without fear or intimidation. Thank you answering to my call without reservations, I promise the time limit for this discussion will be between 20 to 30 minutes.

I am here this morning to research into the role and involvement of women in festivals celebrations, as well as how Ghanaian
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

women are presented and represented in festival celebrations in relation to tourism development in Ghana. I will be grateful if you elaborate more on local festivals like Akosidai, Homowo, Bakatwe and PANAFEST. I will like you to start the discussion with local festivals and end it all with PANAFEST, which we all know draws large audiences from both the country and other parts of the world. I will not make a lot of talking but will ensure the coordination of proceeding in order to allow participation of all present and free flow of information, without fear of intimidation as earlier stated, will somebody set the ball rolling. Please let use the local language to ensure equal participation and equal share of information and be reminded that time limit is between 20 to 30 minutes, thank you.

First Female Speaker – To my knowledge and understanding festivals are meant to bring people of all shades together, by ensuring oneness or unity by reminding us of our roots through tradition, culture and customary practices left for us by our ancient ancestors.

First Male Speaker – PANAFEST is not just celebrated only by Ghanaians but by people of Africa descents who were taken away to foreign countries, like Jamaica, West Indices through slave trade. To many of these people in the diasporas home coming is very important because it gives them the sense of hope and joy to know their roots and also to learn more about the tradition and the customary practices of the Ghanaian culture as well as the history of the slave trades of the people of Africa to the new world and else where in the
world which actually started here in shore of Ghana, the then Gold
Coast. Not only that and it is not only Ghana that has tradition,
culture and other customary practices; when you look at the continent
of Africa, there are diverse traditions, cultures and customary
practices in all African countries like Nigeria, Tanzania and Northern
Africa. All these African countries mentioned above and many more
come together to celebrate PANAFEST in Ghana and this bring unity
and also help people of Africa to understand the diverse traditions,
cultures and customary practices in these African countries and more
importantly to understand and come to terms with different festivals
celebrations in other parts of the African continent. Africa traditions
and cultures are very important in the sense that dance and songs
have meanings and there can be exchange programmes on dances
and songs among Ghanaians from other parts of the country so can it
be among country to country on the African continent. PANAFEST is a
period of home coming for Africans in the Diasporas, Africa African
Americans to give account of them and to learn from each other.

**Second Female Speaker** – PANAFEST, I must say is a remembrance
day to call home our sisters and brothers in the Diaspora to join us to
celebrate all this important festival. The Africans in the Diaspora and
the Africa African Americans their first point of call on their arrival to
Ghana is to visit the slave tomb in a town near Cape Coast and the
dungeons in the castles, that passage through which their ancestors
were transported to the New World and other parts of the world
including Great Britain. This places mentioned reminds the Africans
in the Diaspora and Africa African Americans of the pain and sorrows
afflicted upon their fore fathers and mothers by then Colonial
Administrators to sell them into slavery. This Remembrance Day is
very important for the Africans in the Diaspora and the Africa African
Americans who come to Ghana to celebrates PANAFEST, for them it is
a moment of soul searching, joy and sorrow and helps heal the
wounds suffered by their ancestors in the hands of so called slave
trades people.

How involving are women in PANAFEST celebrations, do you
think women have any specific roles to play?

Third Female Speaker – Yes, women have special roles to play in
PANAFEST celebrations. For example, during any festival celebrations
in the country, women play very significant and special role. The
programmings of festivals are the sole work of women, which of course
include preparation of food, that include special meals for festival
celebrations. Homowo is a festival celebrated the Ga people of the
Greater Accra Region of Ghana. During Homowo festival, special corn
meal and palm nut soup is prepared by the women and this includes
selected good sea fish to make the food very enjoyable and tasty.
Women also make sure to special cloths to mark the occasion and to
make the occasion very colourful and a day to remember. During
festival celebrations, the Queen Mothers for instead are dressed in
traditionally in their traditional kente and edikra cloths and hairdos
like taakoua in fantiland in Cape Coast and Elimina in the Central
Region and dansikran in the Asanti Region. All these are things done
by women to present and represent themselves through tradition and
culture to the outside world at festival celebrations, in variably;
women are the eye and key of the success of our traditional festival
celebrations, which of course include PANAFEST. The decoration of
women during festivals add colour to both PANAFEST and all
traditional festivals. This demonstrates the importance of the role and
involvement of women in festivals and how Ghanaian women are
presented and represented on such festive occasions.

Please, does anyone have something to add?

Fourth Female Speaker – On festive occasions like festivals, although
men take the leading role in programme planning on what should be
done and who does what on occasions like festivals, the bulk of the
work depend on women. Without women, there won’t be any
meaningful work done regarding to preparation of festival food and
many others. Normally on festival occasions, women add colour by
ensuring that all those who takes part in the festival celebrations wear
the same festive cloths with matching hairdo, beads, earrings and
necklaces. Apart from that, traditional foods like “papale” is a
traditional corn powder meal cooked at a certain degree, mixed with
palm oil to give it that red/yellowish colour with palm nut soup that is
sprinkled for the gods as a symbol of thanks giving. “Papale” as
already mentioned is a traditional food for the people of Ga in the
Greater Accra Region. It is a festive food prepared in every Ga home to
celebrate the Homowo festival in the beginning of the month of August.
During the Aboakyere Festival by the people of Winneba in the Central
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

Region, rice water and other traditional food like kenkey with fried fish grounded fresh tomatoes and paper is also prepared by women to serve everybody present at the festival Aboakyere festival. All these festive foods and the wearing of traditional cloths are prepared by women to ensure successful festival. So to me, women play very significant role in festival and their role and involvement is second to none.

You have all spoke at length on the role and involvement of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations and that they play very significant and important role, now let us look at how women are presented and represented at durbar ground. My research and observations has shown that even though women’s involvement and role in festival celebrations in Ghana is second to none, they always assume lesser positions in public and social gatherings like festivals and PANAFEST. Can any of you, please explain why?

Fifth Female Speaker – The reason why women assume lesser positions in public and social gatherings are that in our traditional and socio – cultural sets ups, in everything we do men are allowed to take the lead. This set up of allowing men to take the lead is equated to the Holy Scriptures where is stated that men are the head of the family. This statement from the scriptures has perpetuated into our traditional believes and this norm of male domination and taking front role position has eaten into our traditional set ups and has over the years become an accepted norm which is very difficult to change. It is just recently that women in Ghana are fighting back to change the old
tradition of men always taking leading position and oppressing women
to be at background position or staying at home and cooking at the
kitchen. Now Ghanaian women are crying out to say no to old
tradition of women always being pushed to background position or
assuming lesser positions in society and are now asking and pressing
for equal opportunity in Ghana society. Especially in education where
we as women have come to realise our learning potentials and when
given opportunity could assume greater heights than men. Ghanaian
women assuming lesser or taking background position in the past is
done in the name of tradition and now in modern Ghana, women are
saying enough is enough and are asking for equal opportunity and
equal right, that is the right for women to assume front role positions
and this I believe can be achieve through education. Again there are a
lot of advocacies campaigns for women to assert themselves. These
advocacies have been initiated both at national and international
levels supported by the government and engineered by various women
groups in the country. And government of Ghana has instituted an
affirmative active in all government institutions that requires 30 per
cent for both women, and girls to be taken either in employment,
school at both lower and higher learning institutions. In short, we
women in Ghana will make our presence felt at all levels of
institutions we might find ourselves.

Do any of you have something to add, please?

Second Male Speaker – In support of what the other speaker was
saying, in the past, when we say we are going to war, women were war
leaders, they lead the war, but now women stay at home during wars. One typical example of women warriors was Yaa Asantiwa, and since her, I do not remember or recollect any woman or women who have boldly decided to lead a war as Nana Yaa Asantiwa did, just a few women but where are they. In our social system, we regard our women as very precious and for that reason, if there is war, we prefer our women to stay at home and we the men take a front role positions. In such war-like situations we say “meberima bra, meberima bra”, which literal means men where are you that is calling on men to enrol and be listed into war women are therefore asked to stay at home. What I have also noticed at festive occasions is that we have spectators who normally take background position and those who take key roles in festival celebrations are seated at front role positions. Not only men who take front role seats on festive occasions like festival celebrations. Sometime the master of ceremony is a woman, also when it comes to distributing the programmes for festival celebration, on several occasions you will see women doing the distributions. On festival celebrations, there are other things which normally women are supposed to do and there are others that men are expected to do. We know and accept the fact that women are capable of doing work that were traditional male dominated but what normally happens are all these work are evenly distributed for equal share of work and on one is prevent any body for that matter women to take up traditional dominated male work, if that is what women want, so be it. Now both men and women take equal share in doing everything,
on like in the past where women are pushed behind the scene is no longer the case in Ghana.

**Why, no longer the case now that is the situation where women are pushed behind the scene? Can somebody please explain the reason behind this sudden change of pushing women to take background position or assuming lesser role in our society?**

**Sixth Female Speaker** – Now our elders have sat down and realised that women have certain potentials and if given the opportunity and pushed forward like their male counterparts, they will be in better positions to use such talents and potentials to help to develop, community, towns and the nation at large. Because women are always pushed behind the scene, we the women are not able to realise our potentials, talents and our important we are. Just as my other colleagues have already stated, society is now recognising the potentiality of women and it is up to women themselves to realise such potentials and allow themselves to be educated to a level that such talents and potentials will be put in good use.

**First Female Speaker** – We attended a conference called “brain –G Conference” where women are encouraged to assert themselves in society and for such encouraging move, more women are asserting themselves and taking up front role positions. Main issues discussed during the conference is what is called in English language as gender balance because organisers of the conference have realised that if women are involve in everything we do there are always positive
results. This one of the reasons why women are asserting themselves and making their voices heard.

Second Female Speaker – The assertive of women stated long time ago through a Ghanaian educationalist called Kwegeri Aggrey, who worked in Ghana, Kenya and South Africa. He once stated, “when you educate a man, you have educated and individual but when you educate a woman you has educated a nation”. Then again we have the Beijing conference held in China on women developments and other conferences on women have all moving towards women’ development and progress. Such conferences on women’s development have helped developed, establish, founded and created other women groups of which when you come to the media, we have “the Association of Women in the Media (Aswim), when you come to the legal, we have FIDA (Federation of Women Lawyers) and many NGOs (Non Governmental Organisations). All these groups are advocating for women’s right in Ghanaian society as well as supporting and helping women to be very positive thinkers and assert themselves. These supporting groups have created awareness and I must say that most of our women are very learned and doing very well in different areas like doctors, Engineers and many others. Encouraging women to assert themselves have really demonstrated when women are give equal opportunity and the chance to develop their talents they are more capable as their male counterparts.
Queen Mother/ Journalist GNA – she spoke in Ga language because she is one of the Queen Mothers in the Greater Accra Region, capital of Ghana.

In anything we do, if women are not included it will never be successful. Women are involving and play very important role in the selection and nomination of candidates for the post of chiefs in the Ga Traditional area in the Greater Accra Region king When it comes to festivals celebration women are the one who are asked to prepare festive food for the gods and the guest. And such festive foods include the preparation of “papale for the Homowo festival and all these are indications of the importance of the role women play. But when it comes to sprinkling of the food for the gods, it is the men who do the sprinkling and women just follow the procession. During the procession to thank the gods of the land, it is the chief and his entourage who take central position and take the lead followed by women but behind the scene, it is women who do the bulk of the work that is playing all the important roles. These behind the scene role-play by women are done to create unity among the two sexes as lay down traditional, cultural and customary practices. However, things are changing in the sense that the world has recognise the role and involve of women in all aspect of human endeavour and has called for equal opportunity for both sexes. For that reason, Ghanaian women are now fighting for their rights for equal recognition in very part they play in national and community development and this is being done through equal education for both male and female.
Third Female Speaker – There is an adage that if there is a problem to be solved, we turn to ask the old lady in the house because we believe she is full of wisdom and traditional knowledge. We never say let go and ask the men on how to solve the problem. This is a full indication of the importance of women in problem solving techniques. Again, there is a saying that behind every successful man there is a woman and in this regard, women deserve some of the honours when men make it to the limelight because it is through the blood and sweat of women that most men are able to succeed in life. However, when the credit comes, it all goes to the men, women also deserve some of the credits after all it is a women who sat behind the scene to support their husbands and partners and so need such recognitions in public.

The last speaker mentioned that women should share their husbands and partners credits when they are successful in life. However when you look at law makers in parliament, men out number our women, can anyone explain the low numbers of women in parliament?

Fourth Female Speaker – Nothing stops women from becoming members of parliament but what happens is that if a woman proves to be very strong character, telling the truth and trying to make society aware of what is within you and your capabilities, society turns to look at you in a different eye and calls you by all sorts of names like she is a witch, a woman in a man’s worlds, iron lady, you name them. Women are most often than not are not very comfortable when they are called or given all sorts of name; however, times are changing and
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

3852 women have come to realise that all these names are used by men to
3853 stop women from progressing to the top and be in equal position with
3854 them. Now modern world has proved that women do well in education
3855 and all aspect of life if given equal opportunity and pushed like their
3856 male counterparts. And my advise to women is that never allow your
3857 first failure in life to dampen your spirit, life I believe is a continuous
3858 process and never say die until you make it to the top.
3859
**Any more comments**

3860 **Third Male Speaker** – Now we know that women have more
3861 capabilities than men and can do much better when given opportunity.
3862 I do not think that there are any written documents that stops or
3863 prevent women from aspiring to higher level of education. Rather it is
3864 up to women to prove their capabilities by working harder and prove
3865 society wrong. Nobody is stopping women as I have stated earlier, but
3866 the problem is fear, many of our women are afraid of failure and afraid
3867 of what society will say if they are not able to make it to the top as
3868 they may have wish. I must say that woman who is griped with fear
3869 and afraid of what society may say about her when she makes a move
3870 forward may even be more capable in terms of enlightenment and
3871 more knowledgeable than her male counterpart she may be competing
3872 on the same level. The fear of what society will think about them is
3873 what is hindering women to take bold steps to enter politics and
3874 become Members of Parliament. Again women are said are their own
3875 enemy because most often than not women turn not to support each
other, now is the time for breaking all odds and start supporting any woman that takes a bold step to be in male dominated society.

**Fifth Female Speaker** – I am very glad that my male colleague has mentioned that women are their own enemy. We have women who are prepared to stand as politicians and run for elections to be eligible elected Member of Parliament. The problem is the fear that her female colleagues will not support her, let alone vote for her into parliament and the ridicules and different names that she may be called if she makes such attempts to stand for election as Member of Parliament. If you are not called names, the other problems are how to sustain your marriage and prevent broken homes, because if this happens it is the children who suffer. These identified problems I believe are the most standing block for the progression of women to the top or making them become Members of Parliament. I therefore suggest that it is about time women support their fellow women who are aspiring to become either Members of Parliament or chief executive because if these women who have the desire and aspiration are able to reach the top ladder, their achievement affect their women in the low income bracket of life because they will be our spokes women and advocate for a positive change.

**Sixth Female Speaker** – In support of what the last speaker just said, I do not like the type of politics that are practiced in the country, because if there are competitors, it looks as if they are enemies. In the course of the campaign, painful insults and lies are levelled against each other. And there are many women are not able to stand such
insults and disgrace, some of such insults include calling a woman who is bold to stand for election as a prostitute. No woman woman in her right thinking will allow herself to be called names and be ridiculed by people, especially with low social standings. Women find it very difficult to run for election due to the nature of politics in the country. Politics is also about money, you need to dish out money to entice voters to vote for you. However women have financial problems and that is a major set back even though they may have political potentials, sensible, intelligent and capable for running for elections. As I have already stated, politics is all about money, and women need big financial capital to campaign and run for elections, after all politics is a dirty game and no woman will want her name to be drag in mud.

First Female Speaker –Family set up is also a major political set up for women who have a desire to enter into politics. When you look into our family set up, the responsibility of raising up of children is basically the duty of women. Looking after children from child birth to adulthood is all the responsibility, running the home and making sure the children are healthy, helping them with their academic working from nursery to university are all the responsibility of women. In this wise, it is very difficult for women to have time to ready a newspaper to know what is happening around her and about what is happening in the world. This in a way is a set back that prevents women to enter into politics and to run for elections. Women are too busy to think and focus on issues that are basically out side their jurisdiction that is
their home. I believe that running the home and raising up children should be the responsibility of both parents, but in our country Ghana, in most often this responsibility always fall on women and this leave the men enough time to educate themselves on national issues, be in politics and run for elections. Again, when it comes to education, the preference is always on the boy so is running the house; girls are made to do all house chaos while the boys playing football or doing their academic work. This alone pushes the girls to background positions and let them assume lesser positions in public life later in their lives. I suggest the while the children are still young, I mean both boys and girls must be given the same training at home and education, regardless of their sex, since if given equal opportunity, both sexes will aspire to achieve their dreams in future.

**Fourth Male Speaker**- I am a perfect example when it comes to giving equal opportunity to both boys and girls. My first three children were boys and I made sure they do all the house chaos. I do not think that there are any special reasons stopping men and boys from helping the house. In support to what the other female speaker just said, I think it is important for both sexes to have equal share of house chaos, this is a good training and I believe such training does not only help the girls but the boys as well , especially when they grow into adulthood.

**Queen Mother** – Women assume lesser positions in public and social gatherings because of what society has proscribed for them through traditional, cultural and customary practices laid down by our ancestors. Formal education has indeed set our women backwards,
This that not means that are stupid because literacy is not just classroom education but it goes beyond that. I must say that most of these illiterate women are very intelligent and sensible because most of them run their own business but the only problem is communicating effectively in English language which of course is not our mother tongue but communicate much better in their own individual local languages. I therefore call on educated Ghanaian women to advocate on behalf of their less fortunate sisters so that their voices. Rather, to encourage them to use their own local language when the needs arise and not allow the English language be a barrier when they are to speak at public places and social gathering. I also suggest that both our local languages and English language be an acceptable mode of communication by all sundry at all public, private and social places so that these women can speak out and contribute to national development.

**Second Female Speaker** – Some years gone by our elders used to say that the place for a woman is in the kitchen, for these reason if a family has two children or more, the parents of these children ensure that the boys in the family are sent to school., these are the factors that over the years have affected the educational progression of women. Some women are very intelligent but because of lack of formal education these less educated women are afraid to attend public and social functions and worse of it all when they are asked to communicate in English language and then they will not attend such functions. Nothing prevent parents to send both boys and girls to
school because research has shown that what the boys can do the
girls when given the opportunity can do much better. My advise to my
fellow women is to strive hard and educate themselves and also
ensure that the young ones, that both sexes are given equal
educational push right from the one go. Let start them early to ensure
a better place for our boys and girls in future through formal and
informal education.

Thank you very much for the immense knowledge that you have
demonstrated on role, involvement, presentation and
representation of women in festival celebrations in Ghana.
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SECOND UNSTRUCTURED GROUP INTERVIEWS

(FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS)


Good Afternoon, ladies and gentlemen, I am here as a research student from the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, University Institute of Cardiff, Wales (UWIC). I am a Ghanaian by birth and here to research into the role and the involvement of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations. This discussion is purely for academic purposes and will be grateful for equal contribution. This I mean I want each and every one of you to speak freely without fear or intimidation. Thank you for answering to my call without reservations, I promise time limit for this focus group discussions will be between 20 to 30 minutes.

First Male Speaker – Women’s contributions in festival celebrations are in various forms. To start with, a man is born through women and in every festival; women are the ones who take the lead role for a
successful festival celebration, especially in festive food preparation.

This is what I can say in women and festival celebrations.

**Any more contributions, please**

**Second Male Speaker** – Food prepare is very important in festival celebrations and women are very good in such areas, their contribution help festival celebrations to be very grand. The role and involvement of women in festival celebrations is second to none in the sense that festivals are more enjoyable when foods are in abundance. One other area that women do very well during festival is garment making to fit all sizes for both men and women. During festivals, various members of clans decide on wearing the same garments and these garments are sworn or made by women. Again, men concentrate on playing drums, while women do the various forms of dancing with their male partners.

**Third Male Speaker** – My contribution is that women’s role, involvement and contributions start from dancing procession from the chief palace to durbar grounds; you will see women groups in their various uniforms dancing and leading the procession and these different garments, cloths and dresses wore by our women in the procession add beauty and colour to festivals. When chiefs are performing traditional rituals to apiece the gods, women play major role by performing different songs and dances till such rituals are finished. Even though men play major roles in festival celebrations, it is women who play very active roles to make festivals very colourful and successful.
Fourth Male Speaker – Traditional dresses for festival celebrations are all done by women. It is the role of women to teach the youth how to dance different traditional dancing, especially dancing in the chief’s palanquin.

Fifth Male Speaker - Ritual foods for the gods are prepared by women who wake up at dawn and make sure all these ritual foods are ready for chiefs and their entourage to sprinkle as thanksgiving for prosperity and blessing for the years ahead. In a nutshell women hold the key to all successful festival celebrations in the country.

Sixth Male Speaker - In most cases the joy of festival celebrations is to go and watch women display our traditional and cultural identities through customary practices. These traditional and cultural displayed are portrayed through the various traditional dances performed by our women. And it is through these cultural displays that our young children are taught for future posterity. Women are the joy and centre for attraction in all festival celebrations, because we men go to festivals just to watch women displaying all ancient traditional and cultural characters of our ancestor.

You have all agreed that women play very important role in festival celebrations. But many at times in our socio-cultural set ups, women always assume lesser or background positions at social, public and state functions, why?

Seventh Male Speaker – In my home town if we are going to visit the deities, women are not allowed because it is a taboo. This is an old age tradition that cannot be changed. And should women be part of
the team, such women should not be in their menstrual period. Then again, those particular women are strictly never allowed to be too close when rituals are being performed to the deities.

**Eight Male Speaker** – I will like to pose a question; what is tradition and what is culture. Every community in Ghana has its own traditions and culture and these customary practices differ from town to town, community to community and clan to clan.

**Can you please explain what exactly you mean by tradition and culture and what are the differences?**

Tradition is laid down rules and regulations that have been passed on to us by our ancestor that is the tradition goes on, while culture is our way of life. These include the way we dress, the way we speak and pronunciations of words, the type of food we eat and so on and so forth all these mentioned above can help you trace the ancestral tree of different people in the country despite where the person is born. In most cases the reason why women assume lesser positions or take background seat is the traditional sets up of our culture. Typical example is what happens at our traditional courts, men sit in front and women take the back role position. All these are laid down traditional rules and regulation that are very difficult to change over the night. Another example is at funeral grounds, men take the front role seats, while women sit at the back. All these examples are traditional setup that we have all come to accept as a way of way and that cannot be change as already mentioned.

**Are you saying these traditional setups cannot be change?**
Oh yes, it is very difficult to change over night as I stated earlier on because they long aged laid down traditional rules and regulations with for ages have become our way of life. It can only be change if women themselves realises the negativity of our traditions that is drawing them back and embark on social change. The change is for women themselves to rise and take a big move for social change that will in future transform the way of life of future generations.

**First Male Speaker** – Tradition can not be change, especially in the way men are nominated and selected as candidates to contest for chieftaincy. This is a traditional accepted role of the Queen Mother’s duty to nominate and appoint a candidate for acceptance by the people through traditional election. This can not be change because it is an accepted social norm laid and passed on to us by our ancestors through tradition, as the saying goes, the tradition goes on.

**Second Male Speaker** – It is the Queen Mother’s duty to nominate or select a candidate to fill the post for the chief, should it become vacant as a result of the death of a chief.

**Why should it be the Queen Mother’s duty to nominate and select as candidate to fill the post of a chief should it become vacant as a result of death?**

The Queen Mother is the mother of the national and the land belongs to her. Some times the chief’s sister, cuisine or the mother can be the Queen Mother depending on a given situation. And she, the Queen Mother, by traditional rules and regulations laid down by our ancestor has the sole rights to nominate, appoint or select a suitable candidate
as a chief; this is our tradition and therefore can not be changed. If you look at the population of the country Ghana, women out number the men and again women are more than men in the world demographic figures. Are women not more than men in the country?

I don’t know, you are saying.

Yes, I am sure of this, when you look at the statistics of national demographic figures; women are more than the men in the country. However when it comes to our traditional, cultural and customary practices, women are treated as inferior and fall short of so many things, even though they out number the men on the national level.

Why do you think women fall short of so many things?

Third Male Speaker - Women falling short in so many things started from the beginning when women fall short in the sense that women are not very courageous like men. An example is a woman goes to buy a sheep to be slaughtered for sacrifice; it is the woman who goes to buy the sheep for sacrifice but when it comes to slaughtering the sheep, the task of slaughtering is handed over to the men. Not that woman is inferior or fall short but it all started from the beginning when women themselves began to hand over important tasks to men. This they did from generation to generation, passing it on as tradition and gradually becoming a cultural norm for women to assume lesser positions in public and social gatherings. But invariably, women are more powerful in our society than men. Women give birth to men and also take the responsibility of grooming the boy child from into childhood to adolescence to adulthood and this is the more reason
why the Queen mother as the mother of the land and the nations has the traditional right to select a person to run for the post of a chief should it become vacant through death. The other reason is that, the woman as the mother knows the character of each of her children and therefore can easily nominate the one with upright character to become a chief and lead his people to success.

**Fourth Male Speaker** – The deities believes that menstruation is a bad omen and that women in their menstrual period should not be allowed closer to where the rituals are being performed. Women should not be allowed there because the problem is that the gods will not be happy if women in their menstrual periods are permitted to the ritual grounds. This is very unforgivable offence and this is what we call tradition passed on to us by our ancestors from generation to generation and very difficult to change the minds and hearts of those who are involve.

*I still want to know your mind on this very issue of not allowing women in their menstrual period to enter the deity room when ritual performance are being carried out. Are you saying that this can never be change or it can be change depending on future events and circumstances, can you please elaborate?*

This is a very difficult thing to say, especially dealing the deities, because the god the chief is worshiping is there and any new chief will come and worship the same god. Selected people are allowed to entering the deity room and they normally say “we are entering the big house or room” and this is purely tradition and therefore women are
not allowed in. Should a women disobey and enters “the big room” and something happens to her, then she has herself to blame.

**Fifth Male Speaker** – Ironically, it is only in Africa that women are exempted from certain things in the name of tradition and culture. This does not happen in any European country, women are not exempted from any thing. An example is Great Britain, where the Head of State is a woman, in the name of Queen Elizabeth the 11, for those reason women are not exempted or excluded in anything they do. It is only in Africa that women are always pushed behind the scene and exempted from public and social functions. The problem of exempting or excluding women from certain things is only in Africa, pushing women behind the scene and making them believe that they are inferior being. I must say, this is not fair on our women because in Europe, women and men are treated the same.

At this point, there was division of taught on the exclusion of women in certain things in Africa and other school of taught about the inclusion of women in all aspect of life as being practiced in Europe. One school of taught holding on to tradition, while the other calling for the modernisation and change of certain aspect of Africa traditional systems. This is an enjoyable moment of observation of different ideas and taught of how Ghanaian women or African women should be treated, one letting the tradition goes on or modernisation of our traditional and cultural systems or call for change on certain African traditional systems that inhibit women from progressing in life. Here you
see and hear men arguing on how African women should be treated on modernisation of African traditional system of life or allowing the tradition to go on as always been the case.

Seventh Male Speaker – That is their culture and a way of life that they have inherited over the years. I think our tradition should go on to exempt women from certain things, this is our culture and our way of life and this is our tradition and can not be changed.

Eight Male – Speaker – I think other wise, in the sense that in Cape Coast where I was born, women are Head of State and women to some extent are allowed some sort of liberty.

First Male speaker – I think The European culture that allows women to compete with men on equal grounds I believe is based on their Christian religion from the word. The advent of Christian religion had helped in the liberation of women in Europe. But here in Africa, women are oppressed through the name of African traditional systems and idol worship, hence, hindering the progression of women and pushing them to back ground position. This practice over the years has become part and parcel of our cultural and customary practices and here we are in modern society refusing to let go for the sake of traditional posterity. The only way this can be turn around is making sure we have a firm gripped of Christian religion and enlightenment of modernisation to make our elders and chiefs to reason and look into negativity of our traditional and cultural and customary practices that hinders the progression of women. This I believe will in a way prompt our chiefs to start thinking and to change such traditional negativities
that inhibit women to move forward and call for positive change to help the progression of our women to put them on equal level with the men. The only way this can help is allowing Christian religion to be our base of religion and making play more roles.

Thank you for sharing your knowledge and time with me.

GREATER ACCRA REGION

THIRD FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

March 23, 2004: – Held at staff common room, Ghana News Agency, Accra, Greater. Accra Region. Accra Focus Groups Discussions comprising eight persons, four females from the local market.

Good Afternoon, ladies I am here as a research student from the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, University Institute of Cardiff, Wales (UWIC). I am a Ghanaian by
birth and here to research into the role and the involvement of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations. This discussion is purely for academic purposes and will be grateful for equal contribution. This I mean I want each and every one of you to speak freely without fear or intimidation. Thank you answering to my call without reservations, I promise the time limit for this discussion will be between 20 to 30 minutes.

First Female speaker – During festivals, there is a long procession of the people with the chief sitting and dancing in a palanquin to the durbar grounds and then move on to the river to pay homage to the gods and perform rituals to the deities of the town.

Please, during your festival celebrations, are women parts of these celebrations?

Please, yes, women and children, I mean everybody is part of the processions that carry the chief in his palanquin to the river and stay there till the chief finishes all the rituals and return to the durbar with the chief and his entourage to beginning the festival celebrations. At the durbar grounds, the chief uses the occasion to thank all his citizens for supporting him and also wish all and sundry good wishes for the coming year. The chief again appeal to his people who are travelling out side the country and other parts of the country to remember to come back home to help to development the town.

Second Female Speaker – Women play a major role in festival celebrations in my town. At this period, it is women who assemble all
the drums and start singing and dancing to attract other members of
the community to the festival grounds.

Please, any more addition;

**Third Female Speaker** - Festival celebrations is the same as already
said by the last speaker.

And in unison the rest of the focus group members agreed with
the first and second speakers by saying that women play major
roles and are more involving in festival celebrations.

**Fourth Female Speaker** – In the early hours of the morning, the
women in the town tidy up the durbar grounds arrange chairs and
table for the durbar to begin. Then the chief and his entourage arrive
to the durbar grounds to perform rituals of thanksgiving ceremony,
pour libation to the gods and thank all the people for helping and
supporting him all the year round. The chief again ask the gods
blessing for good harvest in the coming year and we all disperse to our
various homes. This is how festival in my hometown is celebrated.

Any more contributions;

**Fifth Female Speaker** - Oh, it is the same.

Why the same, no two festivals are the same. What type of
festival do you have in you home town and why is it the same?

**Sixth Female Speaker** - We celebrate Akweisidai;

If you celebrate Akwesidai, then talk about it and tell us how
Akwesidai festival is celebrated in your hometown; By the way,
where do you come from?
Seventh Female Speaker - I come from Asanti Beikwai in the Asanti Region;

If you came from Asanti Beikwai, then tell us how Akwesidai in Asanti Beikwai is celebrated. What about the rest of you, where do you all come from; you are Oakyeman, you come from Kwahu, and you hail from Asantiman. This means that you can all tell me how festivals in your places are celebrated?

Eight Female Speaker - I come from Asanti Beikwai and we celebrate Akwesidai

Tell me all about Akwesidai and its the history.

Eight Female Speaker – Akwesidai is festival to remember the dead. During this period, all the women gather to select one festive dress. Then comes in dancing and drumming in a long procession to the chief's palace where they are joined by the chief in his palanquin, followed by his entourage to the durbar grounds for thanksgiving ceremony. Dancing and drum continues till we all retire to our various home. Then the next day, the elderly women among us prepare meals, which are dished out to any person who happen to be there.

Here we are talking about women and festivals, I want your knowledge on how women are presented and represent in festival celebrations in your various towns and birth places.

First Female Speaker – Women play major role in festivals but their roles end at the preparation of food because women are not allowed to carry the chief shoulder high in a palanquin.
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

Second Female Speaker – Menstrual period is a taboo and women in their periods by traditional laws; women are not permitted to carry out certain function like going too close to the traditional stool of the chief. These exemptions are what I believe hinders women to progress to heights in life.

Third Female Speaker – We all know that by use women’s menstruations to prevent women from entering the deity room and describing it as a taboo and abomination is in a way cheating on the women and robbing women of their birth relegating them to assume either lesser or background positions at public and social functions. This we believe is very on fair on women but there is nothing we can do because this is our tradition and our way of life passed on to us by our ancestors and therefore very difficult to alter or change anything. What about education, don’t you think that women’s lack of education also hinder our progression of life?

Fourth Female Speaker – Yes, lack of education is also a problem, in the sense I do not think educated women will be asked not to prepare males for their husbands because they in their menstrual period. And I believe this is what the men have used over the years through the name of tradition to suppressed women. As women, what do think we can do to prevent the situation of always being pushed to background positions?

Fifth Female Speaker – I think equal educational opportunities should be given to both boys and girls so that through education, women will be in position to compete with their male counterparts.
Sixth Female Speaker – I think one reason women are pushed behind is their physical strength and biological set up. Men are much stronger than women and this can be compared with slaughtering sheep or goat, women are not strong and bold enough to hold down these animals for slaughtering, whiles it is much easier for men to do so.

Seventh Female Speaker – Other problem I believe is from the beginning where our parents have preference over male children and therefore deciding on which of the two sexes will be sent to school should they have both sexes. The preference of boys over girls by our parents, which started by our ancestors with believes that girl will be married off and her place is in the kitchen and producing babies. Again because majority of us women are never sent to school, society thinks women are stupid, can not think properly and nothing good can come out of a woman. Such derogative comments and attitudes by our ancestors passed on to our elders has been transcended into Ghanaian traditional and socio-cultural norms have made many to believe the in capabilities of women making this a major set back for women to aspire to greater heights and to gather the courage to compete equally with men. There is a big gap between men and women and the only way to bridge that gap is to start giving both boys and girls and women and men equal education and work opportunities. This means that preference clause should be deleted from our vocabulary. Lack of women’s formal education has also prevents most women to attend and speak at public and social
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

functions, especially if such speeches are being presented in English language rather than the local language. So I rather suggest that such speeches should be done in our local languages for women or people with low educational level or background will be able to contribute effectively towards national developments.

Can any one explain why women are suppressed by their men; do you think men suppressed women to raise their ego or afraid of the capabilities of women; one area of concern is women not supporting women who are very out spoken in society. Worse of it all is that such out spoken women are called all sorts of name like iron lady, witch or prostitute, you name them – do you know why?

Oh yes, women of such calibre are called names and society turn not to support them.

All eight participants of the all female focus group discussions, third in the series, again answered the last question in unison. If yes, can you explain further?

Eight Female Speaker - It is all right for men to be out spoken in society but not women.

Why should men be out spoken than women?

Women are always afraid of what society says about them. Society describe out spoken women as iron women, witches, prostitutes and worse of it all or most affected women are those who for one reason have never married before and can not produce children. This is how society perceives such women.
What are your opinions of women supporting other women who have already made it to the top and are seeking your vote for elections?

First Female Speaker – It is important for women to support and push other women who want to aspire to greater heights and become Members of Parliament but society does not allow it. Just imagine if my parents have sent me to school, do you think I will be selling biscuits in the market? No I do not think so; I will have become somebody better than what I am now.

Are you a registered voter?

No.

Why?

Because I am too busy selling my biscuits in the market.

If no, how can you vote for a woman, should a woman stand for election?

I think elections and politics are for men.

I can see you have a child; what future plans do you have for the child?

I will work very hard and earn enough money to support my child through formal education so that my children will have a brighter life than what I have now. I have also noticed that there are women who have no formal education but are very sensible and intelligent in all they do. I believe that less fortunate women should emulate the example of such women and try their best to support such women and aspire to become like them. It is not just formal education, others
have made it through informal sector and society must appreciate the
effort of such people.

Thank you very much ladies for your time and knowledge, and
hope to call on you again in future.
CAPE COAST – CENTRAL REGION

FIRST FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

March 24, 2004: First Focus Group Discussions held at board room; - Cape Coast Centre for Culture, Central Region.

The Cape Coast Focus Groups Discussions is made up of eight persons, four females and four males.

Good Afternoon, ladies and gentlemen, I am here as a research student from the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, University Institute of Cardiff, Wales (UWIC). I am a Ghanaian by birth and here to research into the role and the involvement of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations. This discussion is purely for academic purposes and will be grateful for equal contribution. This I mean I want each and every one of you to speak freely without fear or intimidation. . Thank you answering to my call without reservations, I promise the time limit for this discussion will be between 20 to 30 minutes.

First Male Speaker - The little that we know is that, we are Fantis and are called Eguafa, here in Cape Coast. And every town has a different way of doing things, especially in their way of tradition and culture. During the celebration of our festival, we do a lot of rituals and programmes and this has gone far and wide therefore attracting people from all over the country and the world at large to witness our annual festival. Our tradition and culture are well respect. When it is time for the festival, we have “Bakatue, which gives the people of Cape
Coast and its surrounding villages a moment of joy and happiness. During the festival, our women play a very significant and since some of our women are here, I will not go into details, rather allow the women among us to speak for themselves the role and involvement of women in festival celebrations. I know for fact that during the period of the festival, the channel to the river is closed and the women play special role during the opening of the lagoon.

During opening of the lagoon, women fetish priestess play very significant role, they perform most of the rituals and opening ceremony, the rest of the women play important role by ensuring the success of the festival. Some the roles include preparation of ottuo (cooked yam, mashed and mixed with palm oil to give it red-yellowish colour plus eggs). Ottuo is always used as ritual food for the gods of the land. And our women prepare this ritual food plus other traditional foods. Most of the women on such occasion, fashionably dressed in traditional hairdos called “takuoa” (is a form of wig made of strides of black silks that are weaved on the head of the woman and decorated with beautiful gold ornaments) and dressed in rich kente clothing or attires. The parading of our women in such fashionably manner adds colour and beauty to the festival celebrations.

First Female speaker – I will add to what my brother has just said. We have three or four different types of festivals here in Cape Coast and these are, the festival of “Owooakwa” we have the festival of ndobaaba (festival of food), we have the festival of Remembrance Day of great men and women in our community.
Please, you just mentioned owooakwa, what is the meaning?

Owooakwa is a day set aside to remember the dead, especially those who help in building our communities. If we go the Asanti land, Nana Yaa Asantiwa is one person who is always remembered for her great achievements. During these festival, we have three things are performed publicly by women, these include the preparatory programmes for the festival, programmes of activities for the period of the celebrations of the festivals and aftermath programmes of accountabilities. Women carry out all these programmes of activities mentioned. If we go to other parts of fanti land, in our preparation for the celebrations of the festival, the chambermaid for the chiefs wife is the only person allowed to prepare food for the chief and his wife, because the chief is the mouth piece for his people and his safety is well guarded for owooakwa (dead) and atisesifo (the living).

During this period, it is very important the chief withdraw from things that will prevent him from celebrating or being part of the celebrations of the festivals. The women also celebrate the festival of adonteng, during this period; it is the duty of the women to move into the woodlands and fetch fire woods for the preparation of food. Fetching of water is done by women, on the festival day itself, most of the activities that goes on are carried out by women. All the burden of the festival, before, during and aftermath are all on the shoulders of the women. Therefore women can be described as the custodians of festival celebrations because they hold the key to all the problems and the answers. I am saying this because they are the very one who
ensure the safety of the chiefs, ensure that all guest at the festivals are catered for and so forth and so on. The women also ensure that there are abundant of food to serve the official guests and food to sell to the public and these include water, different ranges of drinks from alcohols to pop. After the celebration of the festival, the women again ensure all rubbish generated during the festival celebrations is cleared. During the festival, some of the women, who are lucky, are married off.

**Second Female Speaker** – During the festival, individual dress code determines the sort of person he or she, the clan she comes from and the family background. The symbolism for such dress codes, as already stated determines who you are your clan and family background and also helps others who do not have the chance to look for approachable clans and family members have more than enough to offer to less fortunate members of the society, in a way, the festival brings togetherness, renewed friendship, joy and happiness.

**Second Male speaker** - The old, who came, I believe is the woman;

**Who is the old lady?**

The old is, as already stated, we have different clans and the Queen Mother of my clan is the person I refer as the old lady.

**Third female speaker** – To explain further, the old lady is the mother of the clan. As it has always been stated, women are the key developers of every nation and men are just helpers or caretakers. The existence and development of all akan nations always depends on the strength of women. So if the other male speaker says an old lady, literally means that women are the foundation of a nation. To explain
further, in our Akan communities, for that matter, in this Fanti land we believe that women are the owners of the land, the sole founders of the Akan communities. The old lady, simply is the Queen Mother, who is the founder of the Akan societies, literally, this is the meaning of the word the “old lady”

**Second Male Speaker** – As the years go, even though we have both men and women in a clan, it is the duty of the women to ensure development of their individual clans, therefore will not allow in any outside to detect to them on how a particular clan is run. As the years develop, the Queen Mother of a particular clan begins to groom the young girls one of whom will in future succeed her. This demonstrates the importance of our women in our traditional and cultural ritual performance and their roles and involvement in festival celebrations are very symbolic.

**Third Male speaker** – The role, involvement hand importance of women comes to bear when young girls reach the age of puberty. There is a special ritual performance for girls on their first menstruation. The celebration of puberty for our young girls brings to bear our rich traditional and cultural customs and this tells us that women play important are more involving and play important role in out cultural and traditional heritage. The reason is that when a girl reaches the age of puberty and has her first menstruation, the puberty rites that are performed reinforce the rules and regulations regarding our ancient way of living. The performances of puberty rites in public demonstrate to the general public, world, especially local,
national and international tourists who for one reason happened to be presence the traditional and cultural of preserving their customary heritage. For this reason, our women are very important in the preservation of our tradition, culture and customary rites. This helps our women in every endeavour in their lives.

You just mentioned that the performance of puberty rites for young girls is very symbolic and has help to keep and protect the tradition, culture and customary practices of puberty rites from the olden days to this present day and as such put the women in a very important position; can you please explain why?

The reason why the women are very important in festival celebration is their significant role they play to preserve our cultural and customary heritage. There is certain ritual performance that requires only the presence of women and is other one that also requires the presence of men. Both sexes have their roles to play and each compliments each other during festivals.

I am born here and my observation from my childhood to my adulthood is that women are always at the background position.

Now, education has taken me to a foreign land and back again to my root to research into the position, role and involvement of women in festival celebration, how women are present and represented. Then again you are saying to me that women play very significant role in festival celebrations. If women are that important and involving in our society and play very significant roles to preserve our tradition, culture and customary heritage,
why then should they always take background positions, especially during public gatherings, such as state functions and traditional durbars?

I disagree with the point you just made regarding the positioning of our women to the background, because the Queen Mother always sits at the right hand of the chief. Probably, the problem start from the general public, among them some are women who come in as spectators and decide to stay at the back and watch the ceremony from the background position. In this case, as one will say, such women do not play any concrete role in the celebrations of the festival.

The Queen Mother as I have already said is part of the important dignitaries who are allowed by the nature of her position as the mother and founder of the akan society to sit along side the chief on the front roll.

Please for give me and with all due respect to our elders and Queen Mothers; My next concern is, how many Queen Mothers do we have in the Cape Coast municipality for only one Queen Mother be allowed to sit at the right hand position of the chief. Apart from the Queen Mothers, do other women who play other important roles to ensure the success of the festivals. I may be wrong but correct me if I am, the reason fro my concern is not only about the seating arrangements, but on the media aspect as well. From what I have gathered so far, little or no media attention is given to the achievements and the roles of women in this country, let alone the Queen Mothers at royal palaces. At the
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

beginning of this research, I come across media materials (photos taken on the Internet) on one of the durbars on PANAFEST celebration, you cloud only see the women seated at the background and the men on the front roll. What do you say about it?

Fourth Male Speaker - The little I know about this is that in our traditional and cultural set up even though women play important and the Queen Mothers are custodians of our heritage, the men are more revered in our society than the women. Simply because, men are men and are supposed to lead the woman and regarded as the head of the family. The man as the head of the family is regarded as the power behind the woman. We may say the Queen Mother is the founder of the land and therefore very powerful but at social gatherings, is the chief who is suppose to in the lead, followed by the Queen Mother. So when it comes to seat arrangements at all social and public gatherings, the chief takes his seat, followed by the Queen Mother who sits at the right hand of the chief, this I will say is the traditional seating arrangement. At such social and public gatherings, the chief demonstrates his power and manhood and there is no way such arrangement will be altered for the Queen Mother to take a front role position, if this happens, then the authority and power of the chief is undermined. To avoid this happening the traditionally, the chief should always assume a front role position and the queen mothers sits beside him as a way of respect for her authority. The presence of queen mothers are felt at public places and social gatherings but
According to the tradition, culture and customary practices of the Akan society, no Queen Mother will assume a leading role if the chosen chief is alive and effective, unless on rare occasions and this usually never happens. Queen Mothers as we have always known in Akan society will rather prefer to take lesser positions and give the chiefs the chance to assume the higher position and rule his subjects, while the Queen Mothers stay behind and assume lesser position and give the chief all the moral supports he needs to do his work effectively.

A young man may be enstooled as chief to assume higher position than the Queen Mother who nominated and gave her consent for him to assume the chieftaincy position.

Any more contributions, my other observation is that women are not speaking up as men and some of our attitudes draw us back and allow men to take front role position because women are always afraid to assume leading position. Not that we as women are not clever but we are afraid to speak our minds and always allow the men to assume leadership role as usual. We have two types of intelligence, the educational intelligence and the common sense intelligence, academically, women may not be academically inclined due to their lack of formal education but that can not be said of common sense of which women are more endeared than the men. I you may allow me to say what the legend Kwagryi Aggrey, who I believed was born here in Cape Coast once said 2if you educate a man, you have educated an
individual but when you educate a man, you have educated a
nation”. So please, women speak up;

First male speaker – Unlike the olden days, now things are not the
same as before, therefore making our Queen mothers to look like little
children in the eyes of their own people. As it were in the olden days,
all Queen Mothers hold prominent position; as she sit besides the
chief and there is a difficult decision to make, the chief has no other
choice than to turn to the Queen Mother for advice. The chief may be
seen in public as the leader or taking leadership position, but in
reality it is the Queen Mother who holds the authority to the stool and
as already stated she is the custodian of our customary heritage.

Fourth Female Speaker – In the past our old ladies are referred as
the Queen Mothers because they are the ones who nominate a
candidate to contest as a chief or she has the first option to select a
suitable male from her clan for the nomination as a chief. No member
of the community or the clan disputes with her choice as already
stated by other members of the group, the land belongs to her. There
are many factors or reasons why our old ladies or Queen Mothers,
since time immemorial have always takes lesser positions because of
their age and the custodians of our traditional, cultural and
customary heritage and to avoid violent situations. In times of war,
regional conflicts, or clashes that result blood shade, our old ladies,
our Queen Mothers for that matter are protected by not allowing them
to take front role positions at places that may cause their sadden
death or injury. To avoid such situations traditional, cultural and
customary duties at state functions, local, national and international
that will require the old ladies presences are in a way delegated to
younger women and men who represent and present the views of old
ladies (Queen Mothers) to the public. This in a way is to protect and
preserve our traditional, cultural and customary heritage of which
these old ladies (Queen Mothers) are endowed with; passed on to them
by their ancestors from generations to generations. This is what is
described as oral traditional knowledge passed on to us by our
ancestors through the wisdom of our old ladies (the original Queen
Mothers). It was this idea of preserving and protecting our
traditional and cultural heritage that our old ladies (Queen Mothers)
decided in the past or olden days to take or assume background and
lesser positions at state, social and durbar functions. However, when
it comes to critical moments of problem solving and decisions taking
on issues affecting the community, the young men and women (lesser
Queen Mothers) who are appointed and nominated by the old lady,
(the older Queen Mother) who by age for one reason or another can
not appear in public for fear of losing her life through violent
situations that may suddenly occur to represent and present her
views to the public at state, social and durbar functions. The older
woman, the original sources of data bank of our traditional, cultural
and customary heritage in the clan, is the original Queen Mother and
she is always protected from violent acts that may occur in future.
These oral folk tales narrated to us by old ladies (older Queen Mothers)
are protected and preserved by the solid protection we provide them in
times of wars and regional and zonal conflicts. However, with advent of education, I mean formal education and the campaign by our government and NGOs on the call on the importance of education, things have change. Situations where women are asked to stay at home is no longer the issue, rather the call is on us the women to be in formal education and compete with our men on equal level and to ensure the retention of our young girls and girl child in school. Although these old Queen Mothers assume lesser positions at states, social and durbar grounds, as already stated, they have decided to delegate a younger Queen Mother to represent her and present her views to the public as and when it is appropriate for her to issue statements in the interest of the entire communities.

First Female Speaker – My observation is that on certain occasions, if the chief feels he cannot attend a function for one reason or another, he, the chief in most cases delegates the young Queen Mother to represent him. The chief delegating Queen Mothers to represent him at state, social and durbar functions is something relatively new move because in the past, such practice of the chief asking the Queen Mother to represent him in public was never allowed and deemed it as a taboo. At the same time, the Queen Mothers are also allowed to attend and speak at social and public gatherings with out the consent of the chief.

We have spoken at length on traditional, cultural and customary roles of the Queen Mother, now I want us to shift our attention to PANAFEST celebrations. Truly speaking Cape Coast is the centre
or root of PANAFEST celebrations, in our own opinion can you comment on the role and involvement of women in PANAFEST celebrations?

Second Female Speaker – At the beginning of every PANAFEST celebrations, it is the duty of the women to ensure that all the places are tidy. In addition to tiding up the venue for PANAFEST celebration, the women also make sure food is in abundance to serve the invited guest and to sell to the public. During PANAFEST celebrations, the local women from Cape Coast gather all the women from the Diasporas who are in Cape Coast for the celebration show them around and teach them various handicrafts that are produced locally. Some of these locally produced handicrafts like baktic tie and dye, preparation of locally produced food like fanti kenkey and fried fish, fanti-fanti and many others.

Please be specific, what other things?

Many other things like what we have already discussed concerning our traditional, cultural and customary practices left behind by our ancestors, which are passed on to us through oral tradition by our old ladies (the original Queen Mothers) of our land. The women among the new comers or arrivals from the Diasporas are ignorant of these traditional rule and regulations that bind the people together. So in this wise, it is the duty of Cape Coast women to show them around and teach them what is expected to them during their short visit.

Do any of you have something to add?
Third Female Speaker – During PANAFEST celebrations, a day is set aside as “Women’s Day” and it is this day that women of African descents and Africa African American women are taught how to ware traditional cloths, traditional hairdo (taakoua), ritual performance of puberty rites. These women are also taken through foods like importorpor (mashed yam/coco yam mixed with vegetables like tomatoes, paper, fish and palm oil), enkykywu (dried gravy), fanti kenkey (corn meal) and fried fish. All these are traditionally prepared meals performed to demonstrate to our sisters from the diasporas what we have, what we can offer them in terms of food and in traditional, cultural and customary practices and all that I mentioned is a demonstration of the important role and involving our women in the celebrations of PANAFEST and other traditional festivals we have here in Cape Coast.

Second Male Speaker – What I have to say is that all the meal prepared during PANAFEST celebrations are ate by all and sundry on the celebration and also to teach others how these food are prepared. During this period, lifetime partners are made, it also creates friendship between both local and those from the Diasporas and some of these friendships end up in marriage. In this regards, our women play very significant role from the preparation, during and after the PANAFEST celebrations. All this are done to demonstrate the different levels of our traditional, cultural and customary practices and are exported back to the Diasporas to show to love one they left behind what they have learnt at PANAFEST. It is the duty of our women to
ensure that the entire town community is clean during and after the celebration. There is group display of cultural and traditional performance by our women; I must say that the role and involvement of the women is very significant and important, this is all I could add.

**Have any of you more to add**

**Third female Speaker** – PANAFEST celebration is a learning ground for our sisters and brothers living in abroad and those Africans, Africa – Americans in the diasporas, this is because most of them come home to learn the basics way of African lives, like washing, cooking, treading the hair, traditional way of dressing, preparation of traditional food festive food.

**Ladies and gentlemen thank you very much for you time and the knowledge you have shared with me, again I say thank you.**
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

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CAPE COAST – CENTRAL REGION

SECOND FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

March 24, 2004 ;–

Focus Groups Discussions is made up of eight persons held boardroom, Cape Coast Centre for Culture.

Good Afternoon gentlemen, I am here as a research student from the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, University Institute of Cardiff, Wales (UWIC). I am a Ghanaian by birth and here to research into the role and the involvement of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations. This discussion is purely for academic purposes and will be grateful for equal contribution. This I mean I want each and every one of you to speak freely without fear or intimidation. Thank you answering to my call without reservations, I promise the time limit for this discussion will be between 20 to 30 minutes.

First Male Speaker – This is my view on the role of women, ironical, I do not accept the fact that some women want to play the role of men. But when it comes to festival celebrations, some of the roles that women play include the cleaning of the town, on this particular role, I do accept and agree with the women. When it comes to the procession of taking a cow to the castle, to apiece the gods, it is the duty of the women to ensure that the castle is tidy. It is also the duty of the
women to herald the beginning of all festivals celebrations by creating a lot of excitement in town. Women play important role in organisational programmes for traditional festival in Cape Coast. At this point of ushering in the festival, there are a lot of drama groups and dance ensembles of which women to belong to. People go out just to watch the performance of women in these dramas and dance ensemble groups. This is all I can say on the role and involvement in festival celebrations in Cape Coast.

Second male Speaker - I also know that at the durbar day, groups of women match from “kotocroba” to Victoria park in Cape Coast, Ghana. There are women association, unfortunately, I do not know their names but I know for fact that they stand behind the chiefs and queen mothers to sing for the up lifting of the programme. There is this special group just for women only they are well performing group that attract a lot of funs. Women’s contribution on festival celebrations in Cape Coast is well appreciated but for them to assume a leading position when men are around, I totally disagree.

Third Male Speaker - Women play very key role in festival celebrations and we need their contributions to have a successful festival, without them there is festival. A saying by our elders is that a cock knows the beginning of the dawn but it is the hen that herald the day. Many a times it is women, who take the lead in everything but because of their biological features, not physical strong like their male counterparts, we take that advantage and push them to the background position. Most often, in our lives style, women are not
very forth coming like men and most often majority of women are afraid to take or assume leadership role or position. So if one looks at our traditional, cultural and customary practices, the men usually assume leadership roles than women. But when it comes dressing up for festival, example is Anomabo Okyre festival, (is a festival normally celebrated to tidy up the town, that is they community hate dirt and women celebrate mostly it. Again in Twiffoman, before a chief celebrate a festival, as already mentioned by a colleague, is about to celebrate it is only one woman who is allowed to serve the chief.

**Fourth Male Speaker** – Women’s role and involvement in festival celebrations are enormous and every little part them play count and deemed very important. Women are part of all the festival, some engaged themselves in canoe riding, some in preparation of food for serving the guest and for sale, some go round the festival ground selling ice water and soft drinks. All these go a long way to make the festival very successful.

**Fifth Male Speaker** – During cleaning up campaign, it is our women who do the cleaning and gather all the rubbish in town ready for the festival. The cleaning up programme is very exciting and is part of festival celebration because all the children and the youth play their part by disposing off the rubbish, and all this is organised by women. By the morning of slaughtering the sheep or cow to apiece the gods, it is the women who do the preparatory ground work. When it comes to performing of the ritual, most of the fetish priests are women and this is very symbolic. With this observation, I think women play very
important role and their involvement in festival celebration is very significant; without them, there will be no festival celebration.

**Sixth Male Speaker** - The Aboakyere (is dear hunting festival) festival in Winniba is the men who lead the way into the bush for dear hunting but the women also support the men by providing them food and dance around the men from the woods to the chief palace.

**Seventh male speaker** - The dawn of the morning of the dear hunting, it is the responsibility of the women to ensure that men had enough to eat and drink. This is to ensure that the men are strong enough for the task before them. So if there are no women, we are sure of the fact that the men will go hunting on an empty stomach and this is not good enough.

**Eight Male Speaker** – My contribution to the role and involvement of women in festival celebration is that the women ensure that there is unity among all and sundry present at the festival. Two days to the end of festival celebrations, the women make sure every dispute in town is settled amicably so that a new chapter of celebration for the next will be open without hate or remorse but will be a celebration full of joy and happiness.

We have spoken a lot on the role and involvement of women in our traditional, cultural and customary practice; our next attention is on PANAFEST celebrations. Why PANAFEST celebrations here in Cape Coast, can any of you explain?

We are lucky to have PANAFEST celebration here in Cape Coast, Elimina and its surrounding town and villages. What PANAFEST
organisers were looking at is the roots and passages that our ancestors were transported to America and other parts of the world through slave trades. From explanation given to us through oral tradition, it was obvious that majority of our ancestor were transported through the dungeons at Cape Coast castle (Cape Coast in the past used to be the seat of the government, British Administration in Ghana, then Gold Coast) and the Elimina Castle. So when Efua Sutherland invented the concept of PANAFEST and we realised if PANAFEST celebration is going to be held outside this two place, I mean order than Cape Coast and Elimina where most of the slaves were transported to outside world, then it is wrong. Upon investigation and serious taught and considerations, the government and the organisers of PANAFEST in consultations with heritage foundation in both Cape Coast and Elimina then decided to have PANAFEST celebration here in Cape Coast and Elimina which are the two historical roots that our ancestor were transported as slaves to America and to other parts of the world. So this is the main reason why the PANAFEST celebration is held here in Cape Coast and Elimina, it is all because of its association with the slave trade.

Any more contribution, if no, looking at PANAFEST celebrations again, what are the role, involvement and contributions of women?

Women have multiple roles in PANAFEST celebrations; I am saying this to honour our young girls and women for their great contributions in the idea of the preparation of food called fast food. Through PANAFEST celebration one can see the springing up of fast food
restaurant in every street corner in Cape Coast. The advent of fast
food in Cape Coast and Elimina has reduced the rate of hunger in
these two places in that one can easily buy quick meal with out
resulting in the preparation of our traditional meals that takes long
period to prepare. There have been a lots of job creation for our
women and this is through the establishment of PANAFEST
celebrations here in Elimina and Cape Coast. A lot more jobs have
been created as I said earlier on and majority of our women are into
fast food business. In a nutshell, PANAFEST in a way has helped both
Cape Coast and Elimina generated income activities for their people.

Can you please explain further the type of jobs that the coming of
PANAFEST has generated?

PANAFEST has helped created jobs like the manufacturing of African
fabrics, I mean, baktic tye & dye and our women are very much
engaged in sewing and selling finished products of these African
fabrics into beautiful and colourful booboos to our sister and brothers
in the Diasporas who come home for PANAFEST celebrations. Like the
fast foods, many sewing shops have spring up at every vantage point
and most often you will find our women doing brisk business in the
sewing industry. There are advantages and disadvantages of
PANAFEST, although it has created lots of income generating activities,
it has its side effects. And some of the side effects include, what we
call sex tourism is where some foreigners come in just to have sex
with our people. However, the advantages of PANAFEST out weigh the
disadvantages.
Thanking you very much for your time, knowledge and immense contribution you have made by sharing all these knowledge with me.
CAPE COAST – CENTRAL REGION

THIRD FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS – EIGHT FEMALES

March 24, 2004: – First Focus Group Discussions held at board
room; - Cape Coast Centre for Culture, Central Region.

The Cape Coast Focus Groups Discussions is made up of eight
persons, four females and four males.

Good Afternoon, ladies and gentlemen, I am here as a research
student from the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure
Management, University Institute of Cardiff, Wales (UWIC). I am a
Ghanaian by birth and here to research into the role and the
involvement of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations. This
discussion is purely for academic purposes and will be grateful for
equal contribution. This I mean I want each and every one of you
to speak freely without fear or intimidation. . Thank you
answering to my call without reservations, I promise the time
limit for this discussion will be between 20 to 30 minutes.

First Female Speaker - Women’s involvement in festival is that at
every festival, women seen gathering the children and teaching them
the importance of our traditions, cultural and customary practices,
which include how to wear the traditional cloths and dressed up for
such festive occasion. The older women also teach the youth the
various forms of dances and their meanings. There are special dances
festive occasions and for mourning; all these various dances are
taught by women. “Osoodaa” is a dance performed at moonlight by
women to welcome home their men after heavy fighting.

Second Female speaker – Festivals are celebrated to remember many
things like the dead, to outdoor the birth of a child, to enstool a new
chief and many more. The most important of it all in the past when
men went to war, women were left at home and they dance at
moonlight to comfort themselves. It is at these moments that dance
like ompaa, Osoodaa, oroadzie, are performed till husbands who were
away in war returns home to meet their loved ones. Women have
always want men around them and when their men are at war is a
moment of loneliness and these women sing and perform these dances
till their husbands and loved ones return from war zones. And to keep
the tradition, culture and customary practices going, at festival
celebrations, the women gather the youth and children as already
stated and pass on to them the oral tradition through performing arts
like dancing.

Third Female Speaker - My understanding on festival celebration is
to bring togetherness, unity and settle conflicts. During festivals
celebrations, the dead is remembered and prayers are said for those
living abroad and ask ancestry spirits to guard and protect them till
they return to their native lands.

Fourth Female Speaker – In support of what the other speaker just
said it brings togetherness and unity, it is true, festivals brings unity
and majority of bring about these unity and togetherness are
performed by women. I am saying this because women are patient and
the spirit endurance of bringing people together. The patience of women can be equated to the period of pregnancy to child birth and this is what we call the spirit of endurance that ensures that there is peace and unity in the community at all times. Young women of marriage age are taught and schooled by older women on traditional duties of women. Some of things these do to bring these young women to traditionally accepted standard of marriage include teaching them how to behave publicly, cooking, how to wear traditional cloths and tell other members of the community, which of course include family members of the preparedness and readiness of these groomed young women into marriage. And it is at these festivals that these young women of marriage age are publicly advertised to suitable suitors.

**Fifth Female Speaker** — The celebration of PANAFEST is a recent added festival to our traditional one we know of. But if one looks at the role, involvement and contributions by our women is very enormous. Without these contributions, these festivals can not progress to the next stage. If you look into the history of slave trade and those transported to the new world, majority of them were women and a lot more were those who went there to have children. Apart from those who were transported to the new world through slave trade, the advent of PANAFEST has indeed brought a lot of work to women in Cape Coast and its surrounding areas.

**Can you please explain the type of jobs that has been generated through PANAFEST?**
Some of the incomes generating activities that PANAFEST has brought to Cape Coast include the processing of traditionally baktic tie & dye materials used to make beautiful and colourful garments for both men and women. Others are, the styling of traditional hairdos called “taakuo “and sewing of kaaba and slit for women and making of booboo for both men and women. These are all income generating activities that most of the women in Cape Coast are involved in during all festive occasions including PANAFEST celebrations. Women play major roles in PANAFEST and their contributions and involvement can not be measure or quantify because during this period, it is women take most of the visitors, both in the country and those from the diaspora through oral tradition of our culture and customary practices as puberty rites, traditional naming ceremony, traditional marriages, widowhood rites and many more.

**Sixth Female Speaker** - I will suggest that the government and other women groups like the Queen Mothers Associations will vigorous campaign be made on puberty rites because is a way of preventing teenage pregnancy and other venereal diseases like AIDS. In the past because it is a customary practices for every girl to go through the performance of puberty rites, these traditional rites helped those young women in the past to preserve their virginity till the ages between 18 -20 or more before they are married off. Now the situation is different because of so called enlightenment, these traditional performed puberty rites are gradually dieing off and thereby increasing the risk of early sexual activities among these girls.
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

therefore resulting in early pregnancy. And we all know the social consequences of early pregnancy; let to me alone and as I have already stated I will appeal to advocacy agencies through our Queen Mothers to re-instate the traditional performed puberty rites to honour our young women before entering into marriage and also preventing them from venereal diseases which may one day affect their reproductive systems. Going back to our roots is not something bad at all; rather this will help protect our young girls to grow up into mature young women of about 18 to 20 years, as already stated before asking their hands into marriage as it used to be the practice in the past. The customary puberty rites practiced in the past by our ancestors were to protect us the women to get good husbands as well as preventing venereal diseases and avoiding teenage pregnancy among the youth.

**What is the formal educational level of women here in Cape Coast?**

**Seventh Female Speaker** - Formal educational level for women is not something very desirable in Cape Coast in the sense that in the past, women were not allowed to be in school. And for this reason, women are far behind in so many ways because majority of us are not able to progress further in life and not been able to stand on our feet as we should as women. This I mean relegating most of the women to background positions and this lack of formal education has indeed affected women in every aspect of life.

**Eight Female Speaker** – I think that female education is very important in the sense that if a woman is educated and married with children, she in a way will be in a better position to support her
husband without leaving allowing the man in the house to shoulder all financial burdens. Again, women who are married off with no education are most treated with disrespect and contempt by their husbands. Their husbands always threaten them if they refuse to abide by their husbands rules. However, if women are educated, they intended support their husbands, and do not panic whenever they attend public functions. When women are educated, they are able to read sign posts for further directions when they are not sure of where they are going. Through education, women again are able to read newspapers, listen to the news and know what is happening around them and in the world at large. Education of women in my mind helps them to develop strong confidence and eliminate fear and intimidation.

First Female Speaker – In the past, women are more educated than men but now it is the other way round.

**Why other way round, in terms of education of women, can you please explain further?**

The reason for saying this is that if you look into our lives and the works and burden-involving child bearing, to birth and to dead are all done by women. A women at birth, the bringing of that child, how to feed the child, how to bath the baby, groom the child to adulthood and worse of it all is when dead strike and its preparation for burrier are all done by women. And all these procedures from conception, to child bearing to death are educational period for women. In this wise, traditionally, women are more talented and educated than men.

However, with advent of formal education, men are now in the lead.
and pushing women to the background positions and forcing them to assume lesser role in public and social functions. We the women have come to realise that it is wrong to only educate men and allow them to take front role position because formal education is not just for men but for both sexes; after all what men can do women can also do the same only when both are given equal opportunity. In recent year, through education, we have women drive aeroplanes, women as computer programmers. These fields used to be men domain but now we have both sexes doing the same thing because of equal educational opportunity. Support equal education for both sexes, especially female and suggest that the campaign for girl child education will be advocated by our Queen Mothers and other women groups in the country. I strongly believe that in this country we have highly educated women whom I believe can champion the course of equal education for both sexes, especially women so that the governing of the country will one day be on the lap of women.

**Thank you very much for your time and sharing your knowledge with me and hope that whatever we have share together today will go a long way to enrich my academic work, again I say thank you.**
ELIMINA – CENTRAL REGION

FIRST UNSTRUCTURED FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS -
TWELVE MEN

Unstructured focus group discussion held at the fore grounds of Elimina Castle, involving twelve men. Good Afternoon gentlemen. I am here, this afternoon as a research student from the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, University Institute of Cardiff, Wales (UWIC); I am a Ghanaian by birth and here to research into the role and the involvement of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations. This discussion is purely for academic purposes and will be grateful for equal contribution from each member of the group. This I mean I want each and every one of you to speak freely without fear or intimidation. Thank you for answering my call without reservations and promptly and promise a time limit of discussion between 20 to 30 minutes. The main theme for this discussion is on the role and involvement of women in festival celebrations, focusing on PANAFEST celebrations.

First male speaker - I believed that our “Edina” (is the English version for Elimina) Bakatue, is today that things are not right, there are a lot of problems but in the olden days,
Why things not right and problems you are facing; can elaborate further?

Things are not right and we are facing problems because of continuous chieftaincy disputes in Elimina municipality. These continuous chieftaincy disputes has erupted the organisational programmes of the Elimina Bakatue festival celebrations over the years. During the process of the festival,

Can you please explain further the sort of process that goes on before the Bakatue festival celebrations?

Before the celebration of Elimina Bakatue festival, members of the community develop programmes to ensure the smooth running of the festival. During this period, people, who are born in Elimina and living in all parts of the country and abroad come, unfortunately, because of the chieftaincy disputes, those who are born in Elimina and are residing in other parts of the country and the world, refuse to come home and those who manage to come to witness the Bakatue festival are those living in and around Elimina and a few residing in other parts of the country and the world. During the Bakatue festival, the women are made to dress as brides and made to sit in palanquins, play around and pictures are taken of them. The parts that these women play during the Bakatue festival make the festival very fashionable and delight to watch. Sometimes three or four canoes are used to pack women who are fashionably dressed in traditional hairdos called “takuoa” (is a form of wig made of strides of black silks that are weaved on the head and decorated with beautiful gold...
ornaments) and dressed in rich kente clothing or attires. These beautifully women are then paraded in town, prior to the opening of the lagoon, which symbolises the end to the ban on fishing from the lagoon or the closure of the lagoon. The lifting of the ban is a moment of joy and celebration and these beautifully dressed young Elimina women in fashionable traditional hairdos and rich kente cloths are centre for tourist attraction, they look very beautiful and add colour to the Bakatue festival celebrations. The parading of richly dressed young women in fashionable traditional hairdos and kente cloths has gain recognition from the government of Ghana, the entire Ghanaian community and the world at large. The Bakatue festival has gain both national and international recognition. The PANAFEST festival celebration is a recent one and meant to bring together Ghanaians living abroad and all Africans and Africa African Americans in the Diasporas home to their roots.

Second male speaker – During the Bakatue festival celebration, usually, it begin with a durbar day on Saturday, where we see our women in “takuoa” hairdos and dressed in rich traditional kente cloths and attires. The personalities to the durbar include the Paramount chief of Elimina townships and its surrounding villages. Some of the activities for the day include boat racing, parading of beautifully dressed women and it is at the podium at the durbar grounds that prizes are given to winners of the boat racing competition to climax the Bakatue festival.
Please, you made mention of the durbar ground, that all chiefs and their entourage, the Queen Mothers and their entourage and of course the beautifully decorated women, when they finally assemble at the durbar grounds, what are the seating arrangement, and where are the women seated. Are they seated among the special dignitaries, such the chiefs on the front roll or at the back roll?

On such occasions, special seat arrangements are made for sort of state dignitaries. The beautifully decorated women in their rich takuoa hairdos and traditionally rich kente cloths have separate seating position and the chiefs and their entourage also have their special seating positions.

Can you elaborate further on the seating arrangements on the durbar grounds, are both men and men women seated on the same roll or are there any special seating arrangement for both men and women; - what I mean is are both sexes treated differently or equally when it comes to seating arrangements on durbar grounds?

On such occasion, both sexes are treated equally, special when it comes to the chiefs and the Queen Mothers seating arrangements, both are seated on the front roll and this gives prominence and respect to our women and Queen Mothers.

Third Male Speaker – When it comes to the role and involvement of women in Bakatue festival and PANAFEST, the women play very important role. I believe all these festival celebrations begin at
individual homes when it comes to the decoration of women for the occasions. Regarding to the seating arrangements, both chiefs and Queen Mothers are seated on the front role and there is a mixture of seating arrangement for the rest of audiences or spectators and this is my little contribution.

**Fourth male speaker** – What I also know about the Bakatue festival is that it is a festival that helps the development of Elimina Township. During the festival, we the people of Eleimna have symbolic moment were we call upon all the gods in Elimina. At this point in time, the fetish priests perform some traditional rituals to call on the gods of the land to reveal whether there will be good fishing harvest for the coming fishing season. At this point, the traditional high priest performs the ritual and call on the chief of Elimina to sit on the stool and it is at this moment that the high priest reveals to the chief what the gods of the land have to say regarding to good fishing harvest for the next fishing season. During traditional ritual performance from the fetish priest, it is the hope of the people to hear positive message regarding to the fishing season. In some of these ritual performances, the gods in revealing their messages to the fetish priest in sign language to the chief who then interpret the message to his subjects. In occasions like this, sometime, the gods in most cases promises good fishing between eight to ten tons of fishing and this of course bring happiness and joy to the people of Elimina since fishing is their life hood; it also happens that most of these predicts are true and the people of Elimina do have good fishing harvest.
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

Please, does anyone of you have some addition or subtraction regarding to our last speaker?

Fifth male speaker – During the Elimina Bakatue festival we have several and different dancing groups who perform to add colour to the festival and to entertain the guests and audience. Some of these performing arts include “Sosoja”

What type of group is this and who are eligible to be in the group?

“Sosoja” is dancing that involves both men and women and ushers the beginning of the Bakatue festival, three weeks before the actual day for the opening of the lagoon and the end of the ban on fishing. The women start dancing by beating the men with stick and the men respond by using pieces of firewoods to chase them out.

Are you saying that sosoja is dancing session for courtship?

Exactly, it is a period that draws both sexes together and some lucky one are able to have life partners. Men perform the other dances. And what happens is that the men tread red pepper and piece it through the ears of the women and also describe as some way of courting. The Bakatue festival calls courting season, a period for settling dispute and uniting the community

In your opinion do you think our traditional and cultural norms relegate women to background position?

Sixth male speaker - To be honest, our traditional and cultural norms always helps to relegate our women to background position. The culture is our way of living and expects our women to stay at home and raise the children, as well as looking after the family. In
addition, as part of our culture, society expects the women to be in the kitchen and cook for the family. Traditionally, the women take the front role position when it comes to festival celebrations of which PANAFEST is no exception. Because during these two festival celebrations, the Bakatue and PANAFEST, our women play very significant role by ensuring that all guest have something to eat, adding colour to these two festivals and also under taking small business that helps to boost family income. Typical example of the role and involvement of women in Bakatue festival, women play very important role and as already stated, without their contributions the festival will not be successful. In short, the success and the full development of the both festivals depend on the full involvement of women and their contributions are highly appreciated by the men folks. On such occasions, both men and women play equal part, even though their roles may be different, This means that both sex play important role for a successful festival.

In a way, are you saying that the traditional norms do not relegate women to the background position as compares to the cultural norms.

Yes, exactly, now things are not the same as it uses to be because in the past, it is the young girls or women who usher the chief from the chief palace to the opening of the lagoon that is Bakatue. On naming ceremony at PANAFEST celebrations, it is the responsibility of the women to prepare the food, especially “otuo, which is sprinkled around as a symbol for thanks giving to the gods of the lands of
Elimina. In all cases, we compliment each other efforts, without the other, one can not exist.

Seventh male speaker – During the opening of the lagoon, which s Saturday morning, rituals are perform and these rituals involve the sprinkling of mashed yam and eggs, simply called “otuo” (otuo is a boiled yam mashed and mixed with palm oil to give it red – yellowish colour plus eggs)

In your opinion, what are the benefits of PANAFEST to the people of Elimna and the community as a whole?

Eight male speaker – The answer is yes and no; yes in the sense that in the beginning of PANAFEST celebrations, there is a boom of sales due to the influx of visitors to Elimina in a short time that the festival last, but there is no long term benefit. Because two days of the ten days PANAFEST celebrations are what takes place here in Elimina and therefore very difficult to measure the level of developments and benefits it comes with.

Can any of you give specific number of tourists visit to the Elimina castle?

Tourists visits to the castle are all year round, however, the same can not be said about PANAFEST because it is a biannual affairs, which bring with it influx of local, national and international tourists to the castle during PANAFEST celebrations. The peak of tourists visit to the Elimina castle is in the months from July, August and September, these are the peak season of tourists visit to the castle. Apart from
this, we have what you call business tourists who come in for official
duties. We also have “Black Week” celebration is a week set aside for
all Africans, Africa – Americans in the diasporas to remember the
history of the black culture. It is always celebrated in the month of
April and is not on a massive scale as compared to that of PANAFEST.
The Black Week celebration is gradually being drifted to Europe and
the United Kingdom. As already stated,

Has there been any development in Elemina since the
celebrations of PANAFEST?

Eight male speaker – The answer is no, if there is any development,
we are yet to see but at the same time I believe the town of Elimina
will only develop if there is a conscious effort by the government to
connect the Africans and Africa – American in the diasporas for a
dialogue of togetherness. This dialogue, I believe will bring some
connection of understanding that in future will help promote
development in Elimina and this should not be interpret as an
opportunity for exploitation.

Thank you very much gentlemen for your time and sharing your
knowledge with me, which I believe will enrich my academic work.
March 25, 2004 – Held at the playground of the Elimina Castle, Central Region

Elimina Focus Groups Discussions comprising twelve persons, six females and six males. Good Afternoon, ladies and gentlemen, I am here as a research student from the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, University Institute of Cardiff, Wales (UWIC). I am a Ghanaian by birth and here to research into the role and the involvement of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations. This discussion is purely for academic purposes and will be grateful for equal contribution. This I mean I want each and every one of you to speak freely without fear or intimidation. Thank you answering to my call without reservations, I promise the time limit for this discussion is between 20 to 30 minutes. To begin with, it is appropriate for us to know each other; I have already introduced myself and therefore appropriate for each and every one here to mention your name, what you do and which part the clans in Elimina you belong to. I am here for a good course that is to find more about the role and involvement of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations, using PANAFEST as a
case study. I will also be looking into the cultural and traditional norms in our society that inhibit the development of our women.

Even though I have mentioned PANAFEST, I believe there is an annual festival that is celebrated here by the people of Elimina.

First female speaker – we have Bakatue festival

Can you, please explain to me what brought about the festival of “Bakatue”

The celebration of the festival of “Bakatue” begins in the first week of July, every year. I am sorry I cannot continue, I rather ask the other speaker Auntie Esi to talk and explain the origin of Bakatue. The reason being that she is born and bred in Elemina, I am not and therefore believe is the appropriate person to give a full account of the origin of Bakatue since she is born and bred here.

First male speaker – through my education, what I know about “Bakatue” means the traditional ritual performance of the opening of the river for more fish catch. This festival start in the first week of the month of July and brings all the people of Elimina and its surrounding villages together including the chiefs and Queen Mothers of all the various communities come together to perform the ritual of the opening of the river “Bakatue”.

Second Male speaker – I am a cultural dancer and during this period, the chief calls on all the dancers to drum the “frontufrom”. The “frontufrom”is a giant speaking drums normally used to herald the arrival of chiefs and Queen Mothers to durbar grounds and social
gatherings. It is also used to interpret the chief’s message to his subjects, as he dances around, beating his chest and throwing his arms in the air to dance in accordance to the tune and beat of the giant frontufrom drums that tend to interpret such gestures as demonstrating his power and authority. Such moments are very symbolic as it draws the chief to his people or subjects.

**Do you have any special festival that you celebrate and if you do what are the roles and involvement of the women?**

**Second Female speaker**— during this period, some of the women dressed in old fashioned clothing that involves the use of “kente” cloth and “takua” hairdo with traditional ear rings and necklaces to go with as well as colouring the occasion by dancing the “Akatekate” dance to entertain the audience.

**What is “akatekate” dance?**

“Akatekate” dance is a special dance that the dancers use sticks to dance around. The dance goes back to the past, some centuries ago, where it stated that the people of the Cape Coasters and the people of Elimina went to war. At the end, the people of Eilimna were the winners. The female speaker said, according to legend, the Cape Coasters were beaten up and all their ornaments taken from them and to crown it all was “akatekate” dance.

**You have mentioned the role of women in the “Bakatue” festival, what about the PANAFEST, do women of Elimina play any significant role? if yes, what are the level of their involvement?**
Third Female speaker - during the PANAFEST festival celebrations, the women play very significant role. They help in the preparation of food, marketing and handicrafts for sales. She mentions some of the handicrafts as traditional beats, ear rings and necklaces, tie and dyes, all these, she said are done by the women to demonstrate to the outside world the capabilities of the Ghanaian women.

Can any one of you, please explain the importance of PANAFEST to the people of Elimina?

Third Male speaker – PANAFEST brought togetherness and friendship, not only that it also ensure internal and international trade. During the celebrations of PANAFEST, some of he locals accommodate the African Americans; to them it is some sort of a homecoming. Not only that the people of Elimina also ensure that those Ghanaians who have been away for long period of time are given heroes welcome, because to them Elimina is the root and need to be welcome home. During such periods, both those in the Diasporas and the locals who have travelled abroad help in the development of Elimina township and its surrounding villages, such moves helps in the development of the country as a whole. Apart from the good developments PANAFEST has brought to the people of made us realised that it is equally important to give equal education to men and women, boys and girls since girls are equally good as the boys if given equal opportunities in terms of education. For this reason, most parents are now very willing to send their girl child to school for them
Appendix 1: Transcripts of unstructured interviews and translated focus group discussions

to be well educated for the future development of the people of Elimina and the town as a whole.

Now, Mr Gentleman, you did make a point and I want you to repeat it.

Fourth Male speaker – Throughout the media, there have been a lot of media report on the advancement of women and the education of the girl child, it is true that the boys are ahead of the girls, but nowadays, media reports and government backing on girl child education, I believe that in the near future, if care is not taken, the girls will be ahead of the boys. If this happens, there will so many things that will be left behind

Like what will be left behind, can you explain further?

I mean, the education of boys will fall behind and that I believe will in future affect the development of the Elimina and nation as a whole. Such developments if left in the hand of the girls or women alone will not be as perfect as the boy. So you see the thing is the call on parents by government and Non-Governmental Organisations NGO should be equalised fro both girls and boys.

Do any of you have something to add to what the gentleman has just said?

Third female speaker - Yes, in addition to what the gentleman just said is that what I have noticed is that the youth are not interested in formal or informal education because the money they make when they do go out of fishing, to them, education is waste of time. During the fishing seasons, the money the youth make is even more than what
their parent will provide them in their life time. I also blame parents
who refuse to send these children to school. Most of these parents are
themselves fisher men and mongers find it very difficult to understand
the wisdom of educating their children The youth on the other hand
make over 20 or more thousand cedis on a single on catch or booty as
compared three thousand cedis their parents will provide as pocket
money for school, in this regard, they will prefer fishing.

Cedis is the name for the Ghanaian currency and 20 thousand
cedis is roughly about one pound thirty pence. Thank you very
much Ladies and Gentlemen for your time and knowledge you
have shared with me, again I say thank you.
KUMASI – ASANTI REGION

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS NOT APPLICABLE

Could not go to Kumasi because the gatekeeper in Kumasi in the person of the Director of the Kumasi Cultural Centre was already in Kumasi for a conference.
APPENDIX 1

TRANSCRIPTS OF UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEWS
AND TRANSLATED FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS
Forty introductory letters were to key individuals, institutions and organisations that I believed would help with information gathering on women and the Akan queen Mothers and their roles and involvements in festival celebrations, two months before my arrival date in Ghana. Some of the individuals, organisations and institutions I wrote to include the National Council on Women and Development (NCWD); the 31st December Women’s Movement (DWM), the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) Ghana, the Association of Women in the Media (ASWIM), the Ghana Tourist Board (GTB), the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC), the Minister for Tourism and the Minister for Women and Children’s Affairs.

Fieldwork Limitations

However, out of forty targeted individuals, organisations and institutions, only sixteen formally educated men and women from organisations mentioned above, responded to participate in my research data gathering. Organisations, which were not available for interview, include the Ministry for Women and Children Affairs, The Federation of Women Lawyer (FIDA), Federation of the Association of Women Entrepreneurs (FAWE), as well as some selected chiefs and Akan Queen Mothers in PANAFEST festival destinations.
The breakdown: of the sixteen unstructured individual interviewees are:

Accra in Greater Accra Region has nine men individual interviews made up of three female and five male

Cape Coast in Central Region has four individual interviewees made up of three male and one female

Elimina in Central Region has two male individual interviewees, while Kumasi had one male individual interviewee

Focus Group Interviewees

No introductory letters were sent out to any of the unstructured focus group interviewees because for effective group interviews identified participants must be identified on the spot to avoid impersonations and such groups should be Akan speaking origin. In addition, such groups should be indigenous Akans with informal education background who are prepared and without reservation to openly discuss the traditional and cultural practices that relegate women to assume background position in relation to the role of women Queen Mothers in festival celebration and tourism development and
management in Ghana. The overall participants of unstructured
group interviews or focus group discussion were eighty-four (84).

The breakdown was:

Accra – Greater Accra Region
Accra has three unstructured group interviews totalling thirty-six (36)
informally educated men and women. The first group is made up of
twelve men only, second is made up of mixed group of twelve men and
women and the last is twelve women only.

Cape Coast – Central Region
Cape Coast has three unstructured group interviews made up of eight
all men, eight all women and eight mixed group of informally educated
men and women, totally 24.

Elimina – Central Region
Elimina has two unstructured group interviews made up of twelve
men only and twelve mixed up of both men and women, totally 24.

Gaining Access into Natural Data Collection Environment

Gaining accessing into natural setting of PANAFEST festival
destinations needs careful planning and consideration to win the
hearts and minds of the unknown interviewees in Ghana. For
maximum results I identified a gatekeeper, through whom I was able to reach out to all the identified gatekeepers in other PANAFEST festival destinations. The study used one month to gather the data in three PANAFEST festival destinations; however, Kumasi focus group interviews as planned were cancelled due to technical problems.

**Ethics**

Participants of the unstructured individual and group interviews were assured of anonymity and coding of respondents are not in any particular order. Food and drinks were provided, especially to the unstructured group interviewees as according to Ghanaian Akan traditional and cultural and practices.

**Data Gathering Techniques**

The study used audiocassette recorder and audiovisual equipment to record interviews. The interviews generally lasted between 20 to 30 minutes. There were two segments of interviews as mentioned earlier, which were unstructured individual educated men and women and focus group interviews. Unstructured focus group interviews were carried among informally educated men and women. Participants of focus group interviews constituted traders, from the local market in
Accra, traditional dance groups from Cape Coast and in Elimina artefacts traders and museum workers. Members of focus interviews comprised of twelve to six participants.

Self – Introductory Message to Both Individual and Group Focus Interviews

Good Morning, I am here as a research student from the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, University Institute of Cardiff, Wales (UWIC). I am a Ghanaian by birth and here to research into the role and the involvement of Akan women and Queen Mothers in festival celebrations, PANAFEST in particular. I will also be looking into the cultural and traditional norms in our society that inhibit the
development of our women. This discussion is purely for academic purposes and will be grateful for your contribution. This I mean I want you to speak freely without fear or intimidation.

Interview No. 1 – Mr. Bright Blewu, Executive Secretary, Ghana Journalist Association (GJA): Accra, Greater Accra Region

Question:

What is the significance of festival and the role and involvement of women?

Answer:

I begin by observing that the Ghanaian society, for that matter the African society, the women or womanhood is always placed in the
background and that applies when it comes to festivals and significances of festivals and how they are even organised. And if we take for instead the Hobetostosho of the Aworoes for instead, which is been their commemoration of their fleeing from their dictatorship of their Chief, Agocolee. You would always find that on the durbar grounds women are dressed with beads; so you noticed that when it comes to festivals, women only play a background role – they don’t play concrete roles. They are depicted as ‘embellishments to a festival’ embellishment in the sense that ear rings, bracelets so they just add colour to festivals.

**Question:**

**What is the Significance of Festivals?**

**Answer:**

For every festivals, whether it is the Owira, whether it is the Hobetostosho whether it is the Ga Homowo celebrated by the Gas’, you would always find the chiefs with the umbrellas, they are surrounded by men and they play the role; they sprinkles the “Papale”, you know, so the focus is on men. Now, I think the reason I have already given. African society is male dominated and it transcends through everything including the celebrations and commemorations of important event. You know, that is all festivals are all about.

**Question:**

**How can the problems of male dominated society and the media n rectify the situation?**
Now, this problem would take a long time to overcome and as it was recognised the media has a very important role to play. But don't also forget that the media that is to be informing and educating the people, also already suffers from this strain of male domination. But I must also admit that the situation in the media is getting better because the tool for correcting the situation is education. But when it comes to festival; festival is not an issue of an education.

**Question:**

**In your opinion and what do you suggest we can do to solve the problem facing women today?**

**Answer:**

It is an issue of history and societal development. So when you look at all the festivals; how can we place women at the centre; for me in my kindly opinion, it is a tough task we will face.

**Question:**

**What do you think about PANAFEST and the role of women in festival celebrated here in Ghana?**

**Answer:**

Re-assigning roles for women and making that role important; for instance, I would like to give you an example; if we have anything to commemorate the slave trade, for instance; PANAFEST it is about, you know giving recognition to the black race and yet, the focus is mostly on men. Not because the organisers seek to place emphasis on men
but your history has determined that. Let me give you an example, when they were taking women as slave out of this continent, what it is that they didn’t to women, the governor for instance will pardon women. You Know, women would be those who would be pardoned, if you were lucky and the governor slept with you. You understand, so it is not only even in Africa, even with Europeans when they came; that role that surrogated the woman to the background was there. They will deal ruthlessly with the men when slaves were stubborn and they were men, they treated worse than they treated stubborn women slaves. So you see, it’s something that we all have to overcome in society. Even though I must admit that is more pronounced in Africa. So your accession is right.

**Question:**

**How can the media help in changing the perceptions of Ghanaian society about women?**

**Answer:**

It means that we have to refocus; for instance why don’t we pick on more important achievements of women like “Nana Yaa Asantewa”. Why don’t we celebrate, have you asked yourself why when it comes to festivals we have never celebrated the achievements of our great women --- pause ---

Ashantis celebrates “Owiera” Yaa Asantewaa was an Astanti, but I am sorry to say that I don’t remember a day or I can’t recall any festival that has actually focus on the role that women play in fighting the
colonialists, which was what Yaa Asantewaa did. Is there any day like that? No!! So you see it means that the media must be begin to help society pick on some of the positive aspect; no matter how minute, no matter how small, for society to recognise that women too play important role. Even as we sit down now, apart from Yaa Asantewaa, I think there are others, you know, that can fall on others within the ranks of other ethnic groups that women play roles. But if the media does not bring these up, that is one, the media has a role, the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs and the Minister Cultural and Tourism also has to; if these thing is to be documented, it is not a question of the media saying we are going to find out a lot about what Yaa Asantewaa did. I understand the wife of Prempeh the Third when he was banished to Seychelles Islands; the wife was very aggressive, we need to bring out some of these things. You know and that was how come that they have to take the man all the way to Seychelles. She kept on saying, where is my husband, you know she was very aggressive. All these are positive aspect of womanhood that you see your husband in trouble and yet you are ready to die for this man and to fight for. So what it means and all I am saying is that yes it is true that what you have said is true that women have been kept in the background. But don’t forget that it is not only in culture, it transcends all factors of our society even modern this like journalism now, like I tell you now we are yet to have a general secretary of the GJA who is a woman. Not yet, you saw the hula balloon when a woman become the president of GJA for the first time in fifty years,
and yet when she became president, look at the gains that associated
with her leadership. It is a sign that women have a potential that you
see, if society is not forced to recognise that how then can we in our
culture; - considering the fact that at the base of all this is culture.
You see, I can assure you that if we are able to focus well on the
achievements and the contributions of women in our cultural heritage,
it will permeate through journalist, engineering quickly.

Probe:

How and where do we begin?

Answer:

You see, if we begin from there, and how do we begin, for me I think
that me as a media person, that is what I find to be perhaps the
biggest challenge of development. Because most of the negative and
the defectives stance we take is because we haven’t overcome some of
our cultural perspectives that push women and leave them behind.
So how do we if we can overcome this things, in terms of culture,
women play the role in the fighting colonial administration. We need
to sit down and think of all these things. For me I think that for the
media, I can also assure you, that the media cannot do it alone
because they themselves are also victims.

Question:

How is the media a victim?
Answer:

They are victims because, for instance, why did it take us so long to vote a women to be GJA president it is because society is male dominated, is cultural, you want to give a role to a women, go to the kitchen, kwaku you go and learn, why is it that the two of your children, daughter and son, you don’t make the two to go and learn, it is because you think that the man is the person who must climb up the educational ladder. So already all are victims and trying to overcome it. So how can we bring out of this shell. Before even we tackle the real problem which for me is cultural because if we don’t overcome it there is not much we can do. I can assure you, the cultural is like an envelope which conceal a letter, and not until we can break that envelop and see inside what points you have got saying you are tackling other aspect of life. So I only say that it is a task that the media alone cannot perform, it is a concerted effort we are making to. Because the media can only educate people if they have the facts and so far, the facts for me is not positive it does not give a lot of us it were credit to the contributions that women have made. You see, these things need to be; not necessarily documented but you must get people who would research into this aspect.

Question:

Are you saying it is all about money then?

Answer:

I don’t think money will be a problem; but you see, that is not the beginning. The beginning is even the principle, the intention, the
commitment, and the belief that this is the problem. That I have located the problem, now after you have located the problem; what do you do to solve that problem? Money then could come up but as far as I am concerned, I don’t think we have fully identified the problem. Because we are all still victims of male dominations, by and large we believe in male domination. We go to PANAFEST is only the chief alone in the palanquin who are dancing to the tune of drums and talk about the chiefs. How many times do they allow women but the women are dressed and virtually follow the chiefs entourage as if they don’t have any important role to play. The media will not be of any great assistance if the national psychics are not change. The problem must be a national problem because cultural is the way and life of the people. The media has a role to play but cannot do everything.

**Question:**

How then can it be? You have spoken about the cultural aspect of the Ghanaian society; what is the tradition then?

**Answer:**

Cultural only becomes a tradition when you believe that is a positive aspect at a particular time that the tradition goes on. It means that you have accepted the cultural norms that the culture is that fewer women should go to school. Now you believe and then you can say it is the tradition that fewer women should go to school; that is for women not to go to school and rather give preference to men. That is when society has accepted that it has become the norm of the tradition. Culture is what our ancestors left behind. And that is our
culture but when you accept is and says some thing like a principle becomes the tradition. And people will tell you can break tradition but not culture because it is a bit difficult. That is why they say it is our culture. I don’t know, but as a journalist, breaking culture and overcoming some of the challenges of the negative aspect of culture it work of the national psychic. You see, we as a people are government institutions that are why I mentioned the ministry of culture and tourism, a journalist cannot start writing but the people must agree that we have not given enough credit to our women. What do you know about Yaa Asantewaa. But I tell you there is no festival celebrating her. How many time do we celebrates our women. No one, so you see, the national psychic is important. The country itself, all of us must agree that women have contributed to national development and begin to celebrate them and that is when we can begin to bring them at pair and then the media can begin to fuel the media’s role but I don’t see it happening because culture can be a very difficult thing to break. It is not like some other thing like international relations. It is the way of life of the people but tradition if the belief that society have accepted norms that becomes part of the culture of the people as time goes on,

Thank you very much for your contribution
Interview No. 2- Professor Owusu Benpon, Department of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon: Accra, Greater Accra Region
Interview No. 2 - Professor Owusu Benpon, Department of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon: Accra, Greater Accra Region

- What are the role and involvement of women in festival celebrations in Ghana?

- Why should Ghanaian women take background position?

- Why should upbringing of children be part of cultural and traditional norms of Ghanaian society?

- What about economic empowerment of women in Ghana?

- Why should women control the Ghanaian market system?

In terms of festival, or all kinds of festivals, we have limited participation kind of festival. We are talking about initiations ceremonies. Usually, what the Akans called the puberty ceremony or “bragoro”. That one is specifically for women. And women have important role to play. Because is the women who have to determine when the girl going through menstruations. And the women will inform the father and what the father does is that, in the early days, the father will buy bullets and secure guns for hunting and go to the bush and hunts for game for the festival for the daughter. Usually, the men will go and bring a lot of games and then they smoke it and the women will prepare meals or food for the festival. Then the rest of the festival, like a cleansing the women, you know, preparing the “ootto” or mashed yam mixed with red palm oil, I think, I have written about it and that one is a women’s affair. They have to beat the drum and dance around the candidate. All that is the women; sometimes the
young maidens will go and stood in public and greet people but the role of men is the game (bush meat from the forest) but everything is more of women’s affair.

**Can you please explain what Appoo festivals is all about?**

When it comes to state festivals, “Appoo” festivals for instances is the festival for men I call it “democratic. It is a festival that really allows people to “la poll” or to task against their superiors and their inferiors. It is a democratic way of people expressing themselves. Appoo is to reject bottlenecks in the society. And that one, before, there are so many rituals involve. The first rituals, which women play part is called “shira koo”. Shira is clay and koo is going for clay. And that part going for clay is the women who have, sometimes they go in processions. They line up and they sing songs and they will carry their pans and you know, and they go to the river side, which is about a mile or two away from town and then they go and get the clay. And when they are coming, they will also sing their songs and they take the clay to the “High Priest” or the “Okomfo” at his palace, the chief of the high priest. And here, it is the women who will white-washed, they use the clay to tidy up the whole palace in preparation for the festival. But then you know, it doesn’t mean that, women also play very important role in most of the festivals, especially when it comes to the preparation of the “ootto”. In most cases, the women will prepare the oottoo. Cut the yams and boil it and mashed the yam, the white oottoo is the plain one and the red oottoo is when a red palm oil is added. And that is what is used as a sacrifice for the deities or (gods) and their ancestors.
So women play important role in festivals. Sometime there are some women who will not play certain roles in festivals, especially, during menstruations. The women are not supposed to go to the palace or to the deities’ houses when they are in their menstruation or periods. This is a “taboo”. And women who do that will not participate in the festival instead; they will rather pick up something the elderly women who have reached menopause who will play that kind of role. Even sometimes queen mothers will not enter the stool room to perform libation, especially the young Queen Mothers, because they all do that but after that then they will play their role in festivals.

Do you know the reason why women always in our society take the background role or assume lesser position?

Well, it doesn’t means that women are under dogs or something, but it just that women only give respect. There are certain roles that women play. It doesn’t mean that they play inferior role, actually, they respect. After all it is women who gave birth to men. So, it is a matter of, sometimes mothers will even tell their young men, don’t behave like a women. A woman behaves little bit milder, you know, than the men. A man is supposed to be masculine and a little wild and so a woman is supposed to be calm and respectful. So it is not that they are inferior. In western terms, is not that; But there are women too who are like men physically; and that sometimes in the olden days they are accused of being witches but these days, you know I think it is normal to see women, who have the energy and play role like men. Like me, my own nice is a Queen Mother. She is a very hard workingwoman,
(Woman building contractor) she has a built swimming pool, and she has also built a palaces for the whole village. So somebody like that is normal. But in certain situations she comes down and in certain situations she is up, because she knows how to play the role. It doesn’t mean that when she is playing the down role, she is inferior or so. And sometimes in certain situations when you play the down role, it means you are polite and you are respected. And in certain situations if you don’t play the down role, and you try to play up role it means you have not been brought up well. So up bringing of children in our society is very important.

So in this wise do you think up bringing can be part of cultural and traditional norms of the people.

Well as for the way people a raised, you cannot really take it out of culture. So it is part and parcel of culture and culture is behaviour so the way people are brought up take a great deal of the person’s image. Example, if you are kid and you are told you are like this, you grow up to be like that. Well if people are saying that you are symbol of your grandfather or grandmother who was like this, then they encourage you to become like that. So up bring you cannot take it out of culture, because it was what, who is bringing you up. That person who is bringing you up, even the language you are speaking, you know has been laid down for a long, long time. If speaking and giving you dirty language all the time, you know, and then you are picking that up, because it becomes part and parcel of you. If he is giving you a polite language, especially in a court, I was raised in a palace; you are
taught how to speak. All the same, you learn. It becomes part and
parcel of you.

**So do you think education has something to do with the**
**progression of women and financing their progression in society?**

Well education and finance; education is very important. But you
have to think of what kind of education.

**Formal education, please**

It doesn’t mean that before the white man we never had education or
the school system came, in fact there are some people there, what we
call the educated fools. If you are really a book oriented person and
you know all the books, and if you don’t bring the traditional values to
it, then you become a stupid person. So if you are educated woman
and you think; that the western values or norms are the only ideal;
and then you throw away your own cultural system then you are
being a fool. There are certain things that your cultural is dynamic
and is changing all the time, but then, you don’t have to be a radical
to think that your own culture is not good, your own language is not
good. Because the language we speak alone is one important aspect of
culture. How polite is the language that you speak and you are taking
somebody languages that even you don’t even understand. I think to
be schooled does not only mean only western education. To be
schooled can become traditional as well as western education I will
call foreign ideas. If you call, we learn, we learn from each other we
cannot really say that our cultural should be static. We have to at
least borrow, learn from others, especial things that are good from others and add it to ours. Every culture is unique by itself.

**What about economic empowerment of women in Ghana?**

Well, economic empowerment in terms of women, I mean. I think, where I come from, women are more powerful economically. I come from “Takyiman “has one of the biggest markets in West Africa. And women control the market system.

**Why the market systems controlled by women?**

In fact if you are man and you go the market systems. They have union and unions. The women will swallow you. In a sense, the women are so powerful that men cannot really penetrate through the market system. Because from the beginning women took it up. But for a man even to move into the market system, you have to gradually move with a woman. Because, we have the yam sellers union, we have pepper sellers union, meat sellers union, we have salt sellers union, we have plantain sellers union and we have all these unions and they are all have Queen Mothers. They don’t have kings for yam sellers, and they control, although they use men, as secretaries or finance officers, but they control the systems. So where I come from, though a traditional area, the women are always economically very powerful.
Interview No.3: Mrs. Joana Opere, National Programme Manager, United Nations system for Promoting Gender Equality: Accra, Greater Accra Region

- What do you know about gender and tourism in Ghana?
- What is the role and involvement of women in festival celebrations in Ghana?
- What is the significance of Dipo/Begro festivals in Ghana?

INTERVIEW THREE

I am happy to be associated with little work of yours, because it focuses on gender issues and I am really concern about tourism and gender. What there is in there and as we know especially, tourism analysis, in almost every aspect of life, you get people at disadvantage over there. And since in Ghana, we want to develop the tourism sector, to ensure that it becomes the number one foreign exchange earner I think we got to look at things at gender perspective. Now having spoken to you about your topic, it just strike me that the Mayah
Kroobo Queen Mothers Association, could be a good target for comparison in what happens in the Akan lands. In that I know they have big Queen Mothers Associations over there and there are more than about 150 people in that association. We have been working with them and they have integrated programme combating HIV AIDS and they looking mainly at HIV AIDS, Gender and Poverty. I don’t think may be the programme for them started like that, now it is involving and I am always happy to share what our Queen Mothers are doing. Some where in the seventies, they started the programme down there and they found out that they are very affected by the HIV AIDS, a lot of their young ones have to leave there and travel to Ivory Coast and wherever to indulge in sex trade and came back with the virus. So their young ladies started dying and leaving orphans. These Queen Mothers decided to take up the orphans and look after them in their homes. So they provide for the orphans in their homes and through that somewhere along the line, there have been a lot of Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) involved, United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). Of late, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has also joined. There have been NGOs like Family Health International and others that have been there. What we are doing as a programme for them at the moment is; - we went on board when the Queen Mothers approached us to support them in training some of the young girls they have targeted and this is being done so that these girls would get occupied and will not have to involve in sex trade. So they started giving them some skilled training, “batique tye
& die” beads and soap making, etc. After training them, they said they needed support and we went in and did some analysis and found that there was a need to incorporate into training – HIV AIDS education, productive health and puberty rites and gender issues so we supported them with that training. After that they came and said that well, the girls are clean, they are ok. Now they need something (financial support) to start life. And so again we went in to do an analysis on what ever they wanted and we were able to give them loan ranging from five hundred thousand cedis (500,000.00) per girl, they were about 40 of them. We can’t disburse the loan to them, have to do feasibility studies and involve the Rural Bank in the area. And for guarantors, the Queen Mothers are the guarantors, as well as their parents of the loan beneficiaries. We all have consultancy to monitor them how these loans are being used. I am glad to say that the girls have started paying back the loans and some of them have completed their loans less then a year. They are happy and outwardly, you can see a lot of them change physically and they are looking very well. And I taught it is something we could share. I have become a member of the “Dipo” Planning Committee and the Queen Mothers promise that the next “Dipo Festival”, it will not be like the others, where the girls were display naked to the public. This time round Queen Mothers wish the girls are covered with “Kente” or local cloth, so that they don’t expose their bodies to the public. This means that education that has been going on there over these years has been successful and achieve its aims and they have accepted it and they are well supported.
by the chiefs Nene Secketey, the second of the place and also the
other sub chiefs there support the use of cloth to cover the girls
during the Dipo festivals. So they are a force to reckon with. So far as
development is concern, they have developed a lot of beads, “tye & die”
and I think the one I am wearing was made by the girls. I have Batiqe
materials which, were made by the girls; I tell everybody that this is
from “Mayah Kroboo”. If our girls can produce this, we can help them
to give it a good finish. Why can’t we export this to also promote the
tourism industry in the Ghana?

**What is the significance for covering the young girls during Dipo” festivals?**

Well they explained that when a girl is of age they do the “dipo”. The
reason for doing is to prepare the girls for marriage. You are getting of
age and there are men around so and so on. So it is like, now they
understand that you don’t need to do that. To actually to initiate a girl
into adulthood or into womanhood; you can do it without exposing
their nakedness. So this is where we are with them now. We are
thinking of targeting another batch of 40 and I think they are about
starting the training themselves. What I like about them is that they
are using their own initiatives and they are not that educated; few are
either schooled, but they are together as a group and been able to
help these young ones.

**When was this thing started?**

The whole programme started I think somewhere 1986 or so. We got
in two years ago (2002).
Thank you very much Madam for your time and knowledge.

Interview No. 4: Honourable Gladys Boateng, International Relation Officer, National Commission on Culture: Accra, Greater Accra Region

- What are the roles and involvement of women in festival celebrations?
- Do you have reasons why women play a background role?
- Are there any specific reasons why most women refuse to stand as MP or for elections?
- What are the normal ridicules in politics about women?
- What suggestions will you give to women who enter politics in future?
- What is the role and involvement of women in PANAFEST festival celebrations?
- How can you relate culture and tourism development in Ghana?
INTERVIEW FOUR

What are the role and involvement of women in festival celebrations?

The role of women are defined – to me in the Bible, after reading the Bible a little bit and I realised that even when they are choosing the ideology, they mentioned some, is once in a while before they will mention a women. And something I think had been handed down. Women are always taken at the background role. When it comes to festivals, they have to prepare the place, if they have to clean, is the women who do the clean ups, clean the house, they have to make sure there is food for the festivals, they look for the food, they cook the food, and then they have to make sure that children and even their both husbands and brothers are all clean by washing their cloths. And then again, when there are durbars, they put them there to fill the place. If it is festivals, like the “Homowo”, the women will cook the food, but when it comes to the sprinkling, it is the men or the chiefs who will do it. So to me, generally, the women play a background role.

Do you have reasons why the woman or women generally play a background role?
It looks as if in Africa, for that matter, Ghana, we have accepted that background role. Even when they are bringing up children, if the boy and the girl are playing, the girl is always scolded; go back home and help your mum in household chores, the girls place is in the kitchen and the boy will be allowed to just go and play around. And so you grow up with that thing. All the household chores are the ladies responsibility. And you will be surprised. Those of us who say we are liberated find ourselves doing these things automatically. Yesterday the same thing happened in my own case where we were serving lunch and two directors, mine plus another one director were put in one bag. My colleague said that he wasn’t going to eat his food. So he wanted an envelope and I said give it to me before I could realise, I have taken an envelop to wrap it even though he was prepared to do it and I was fastening it and I said you see, we been doing these things automatically and now look at me. I said I am liberated and I find myself serving you, even when you haven’t asked me to do it. So the up bringing is such that you accept to do second fiddle those things. And we grow up being so shy and I believed that is why even sometimes we are given the chance, we say no. I remembered when I was a Member of Parliament (MP) in my constituency I just tried something. I put a ballot box down and just told my people that they want somebody to represent us in Accra. And so, let nominate two people. That is one man, one lady. When we met, there were more women than men and I made sure I selected a woman who was better educated than the man. You know that when we finished, the man
won. And I said what is going on, and why? Even though, he could bearing speak English, and that lady has finished university and has the poise and everything, they decided that it is the man who should represent us. So I don’t know, should I say it is in born. So it is not easy. It isn’t easy at all. We have grown up to accept the roles, because they started nurturing us with it and we accepted it automatically. And that is why I have to confess this liberty in Ghana is slowed down a little bit.

**This what?**

I mean women’s liberation, has slowed down a little bit. I don’t know, when you came haven’t you noticed that it slowed down.

**I have noticed that but still I what you to continue with what you were saying**

But what I was trying to say when we meet and realised that mistake, I think we should accepted it and then see how we solve and then we can move forward. But this thing that happened at my set me aback; are just talking and then when we go back to our homes, we go back to our words, then how should it be. So I think there is a knot there, which we have to un knot, even when we put our heads together, we will know what to do. You ask somebody to stand for election and she says, no, no my husband won’t allow me to.

**So there is another set back.**

Meanwhile, this person encouraging another person to go, saying you are better, why don’t you go, she is refusing, saying my husband will not allow me to run for elections.
Are there any specific reasons why most women refuse to stand as MPs or for elections?

One, they are very shy, two they don’t want to be exposed to the normal ridicules in politics.

What are the normal ridicules in politics? Once you have been there, you can tell.

You remember when we were in parliament; they said all the women in parliament are single that was why they have been able to make it. And even people pass comments that those there have left their husbands, that is why, they were able to make it. So it is not easy in a society like this, where everybody expected the women should be at the back and suddenly, you pup your head up, society will not accept that. You have to do the work everybody is doing two, three times and it happened to me I have to really work hard. You know, so some women cannot stand this.

What suggestions can you give to women, who will be entering into politics?

I think when we are bringing-up the children everything starts from the home. We should look at the way we assign duties at home. My mum used to assign duties to everybody regardless of sex, and we were rotating. I believed that was very good training. So let us not leave the little girls feel that they are inferior to the boys because the boys are stronger, just assign the same roles to them. And then again I think that if there is a problem, the solution lie on us, the women. It is our problem and we should come together sincerely to tell ourselves,
this problem is out. Now, we are prepared to solve the problem. If you see a woman trying to come up; push her. Don’t help the men to bring the woman down. Because, sincerely, the men have something to hide; they know we can do it, they know we can manage, so they are always praying we should not come up where they are. You mark it on the wall, it is time a woman becomes a head of state in Ghana. The time has come but then again, which woman you think, will come up and thus, are we really, really ready to vote for. Forty seven (47) years, we’ve given the men the chance, we manage homes, the day you leave home for your mother’s place, and some even chase you to bring you back, because they can’t manage that small home. Then we are telling ourselves they can manage all of us. We must start telling them look we think it is the turn of the women. You give us four years and if we are not able to do it don’t try again.

**Do you think men are intimidated by fact that women can do better when given the chance?**

We can make it. I believe strongly that we can make it; that is if we can support each other. That support is what I am talking of.

**Do you meaning supporting each other?**

I mean support. Even common voting, are we prepared to vote for our women, sisters

**Then again going back to the festivals: the role of women in festival celebrations;**
I wish we could bring out one festival like Homowo or the PANAFEST; again you find the women in fashion. But if it comes to speech giving and that kind of things, I don’t normally see the woman.

**What about the day set aside for women celebrations; what really happens?**

Have you observed any thing like the organisation of the day, something spectacular?

On PANAFEST celebrations, we see women like Esi Surtherland –Addy giving speeches and I respect her. She is learned and she is so cultured and very nationalistic. As I said on this day, women normally go into the grafts, display of grafts wares, like beads, like braiding of hair, hairdressing and then clothing and textiles and then the dancers. I think the women are the custodians of most of our performing arts.

**What is the role of the Commission on Culture; in terms of PANAFEST celebrations?**

I believed that PANAFEST was initiated here. But because of the international nature of it, they turn it into a foundation now.

**Why the foundation?**

I think if it is a foundation, it will be easier to source for funding and people will feel freer to join. Because people have this perception it is government thing. Either they won’t be serious or they feel that when they go out for funding they will not get it and that will affect participation. So I think if it is a foundation, it gives it a non-governmental touch and people from all walks of life can join. You know we are not too matured in democracy and we are still at the
winner takes all kind of thing. Even though it is “you go” they will accept it. They will not have anything to do with if it is a particular government, but if it is a foundation, then it is O’ Kay.

**What is culture?**

I think culture is in born, so no matter what other strange cultures you get into contact with, naturally, you still feel comfortable with the culture in which you were born. So when it comes to governance for example, I still find narrowly we should try to involve our own sort of democracy, our own kind of democracy out of our local, should I say chieftaincy set up. It is democratic and I will cite the Ashanti Region as an example, when it was time to enstool somebody, there were six contestants. Finally, when they nominated one person, the others tooled the line put their structures, which was already there, they just sharpened them properly and now they are developing, because it is what they are used to. So to me when it comes to the national level; we should try something and involve our own cultural way of leading the people. Every Ghanaian believes in one leader. Go to all the villages and we know the chief and when the chief beats the gongo, everybody response. They don’t say the chief belongs to group A, and therefore will not respond. So in the same vain, if we are able to that in the national level, we will still be democratic. Let us have people who think they can lead us, they should present themselves, we vote for them and then finally if one person wins, I believe it will be easy to really all of them or everybody behind him. And then to me there will be “Unigov”.
Can you relate that to tourism development in the country?

Tourism!

Yes

In what sense

When you talk about tourism, then you have to reconsider the culture aspect of it. People really think that the importation of tourism into the country is trying to destroy the traditional and cultural norms of the country; what do you think?

I think it depends on how as a country we want to package our tourism industry. You ask yourself, what does the tourist want, what kind of tourist do you want to visit your country? And I believe the average tourist go to a place to look for something new, adventure. So it depends on how we package. If it is ecotourism, how do you want it done; are the people just coming to see animals at “Kakum”, our virgin forest and if it is the cultural aspect, how are we going to package it. The souvenirs they buy, are we producing souvenirs, even though these are cultural norms, if it is our cultural dances and festivals, I don’t think we are bring in foreign. May be the only foreign about it is the hospitality industry. I am not too happy with them because if it comes to primary art that is the food. They are trying to import something like Chinese food and instead of rather promoting ours. You look at Ghana, from north, south, east and west; we have various traditional foods, which if one package properly can sell because most of our foods don’t have sugar, for example. To me health wise, it is better. But rather, we prefer import. You go to our hotel and they are
all serving western food or eastern food at the expense of ours. Then again, the accommodation, I think we should try and also present something more cultural by high rising hotels are coming up, it is as if we want to satisfy them. I don't think we have any hotel here that is higher like what we have in London, Hilton, that kind of thing. Let us try and introduce what we have here once it is nicely package. So if there is any intrusion, I think we are rather inviting it. Other wise the tourist who is coming, is prepare to share with whatever we have here. The only thing is packaging. It is food make it neat.

Thank you very much for our time and knowledge.
Interview No. 5: Honourable M. Kojo Yankah, former Deputy Minister Ministry of Information, formal Ashanti regional Minister and now Executive Chairman, PANAFEST Foundation: Accra, Greater Accra Region

Could you please tell me the role and involvement of women in PANAFEST festival celebrations?

Can you tell me at the committee level, how members were made up? The criteria for the selections and how many women were involve, from regional to sub regional levels?

Can you tell me how many people constituted the board members and out of this number, say how many women were represented in the International Board?

What about the national level, how many women are involved?

What about the national level, how many women are involved?

You made mention of the Queen Mothers, what specific roles do the Queen Mothers play during the PANAFEST celebrations?

Surprisingly, when you look at or compare it with the social and traditional norms of the country at Durbar grounds, you realise that women are always placed at the background. Does it really reflect on what is happening at PANAFEST celebrations?

From deliberations that I have so far, it seems that traditional and cultural norms of the country have set the women to be at the background position. What do you say about that?

And would you say also that barrier is due to educational and financial power of women?
Mr. Chairman, you being the chairman of PANAFEST foundation, could you please tell me the role and involvement of women in PANAFEST celebrations?

Well, we in PANAFEST give pride and place to women first and foremost because the festival itself was given birth to by a woman and we have always at all the editions of PANAFEST have paid tribute to the memory of Dr. Efua Sutherland who had scripted the first proposal for the celebration of PANAFEST. And we have also recognised the importance of having women on our board and therefore, her daughter, Esi Sutherland-Addy, we also have some others from outside of the country who are members of the board. But that is only at the board level. At every planning of PANAFEST programmes there is a strong involvement of women. Why, because there is always the women’s day and there is also the importance of having Queen Mothers at the durbar. You know, our programmes range from the durbar, through the rite of passage, through women’s day, youth day and other day’s programmes, through to emancipation day and then we also have various activities in the evenings like
theatre, performances, concerts, drama, and so and so forth. And all
these are weighing heavily on the women. If you talk about the bursar
that we hold, it is almost 70 per cent women who are trading at the
African market. So we have heavy involvement of women and I think
that by and large it is the interest of women that has helped this
festival.

**Can you tell me at the committee level, how members are made up? The criteria for the selections and how many women are involve, from regional to sub-regional levels?**

Let me say that we have at the highest level, the International Board: -
The international Board is normally made up of representatives of
various constituencies that have supported PANAFEST. Ghana, of
course is one, Southern Africa is one, the Caribbean is one, The
Americas is one, the United Kingdom is one, and lately, we are taking
one from Nigeria. In fact we want to consider it as a West African
Region. Apart from the group in Nigeria, our board members, which is
made up of two eminent men, all the other regions have women on
their boards, on the committees, which all constitute the international
board. Then, here at the local level, we have the main planning
committee, which is national; people normally come in from the
various offices where they work like, Ghana Airways, Ghana Tourist
Board, Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, hat one
depends on who they nominate. At Cape Coast itself, Cape Coast and
Elimina where the local committee is we have the Queen Mothers are
heavily represented; we also have women on the exhibitions, women
on the bazaar, almost all the programmes have women on them. So it is quite spread. I do not want to pretend that for that reason there is certain bias. It is just that it is out of interest that we have the women in the various committees. It is not because we want to give any special privileges to women.

Can you tell me how many people constitute the board members and out of this number, say how many women are represented in the international board?

Let me say that we have just reconstituted the board, but in the past, I think I can quickly say that out of fifteen (15), five (5) were women.

What about the national level; how many women are involved?

The national level, as I said people come in because of the offices they occupied. Not because of their personal interest, so depending on which organisation nominates whom. So there is no specific gender equation there.

You made mention of the Queen Mothers; what specific roles do the Queen Mothers play during the PANAFEST celebrations?

PANAFEST is a festival about the achievements of peoples of African descents. It is a celebration of people, it is a celebration of our history, our culture, our theatre, and it is a celebration using the various legal of the programmes to manifest our achievements. Now they (Queen Mothers) come in because most of the expositions, which we talking about say, the durbar, everybody who comes to PANAFEST what to know what is the role of Queen Mothers. They learn a lot. They don’t come and look at the spectacle, but they what to find out what each
person role is, which definitely is of great importance to the people from the Diaspora. Secondly, when we hold the women’s day, we give them (Queen Mothers) the opportunity to look at themselves and that gives them specific roles to play. The changing role of women in the whole PANAFEST movement actually depends on the theme that we’ve chosen for the edition of PANAFEST and they discuss what can do. And you should see some of these meetings of women from all over the world, you know, literate, non literate: all meetings at the Cape Coast University auditorium, African- American, Caribbean, Nigerians, from all over just discussing issues among themselves. It gives them the opportunities to exchange positions, exchange views, exchange ideas from where all of them are coming from, and it is very helpful. Again, when it comes to the art and crafts, and the bazaar and so on, because, you know, traditionally in Africa, it is the African woman, so you find Nigerian women, Liberians, Bukinabes doing a lot of very brisk business during that time. So I believe that by and large we have not set out a definite role for women, no! No, we do not want to make it seem as if we want to pamper the women, no, they have found their own roles, if I should say so in the movement and we encourage them to hold that positions.

Surprisingly, when you look at or compare it with the social and traditional norms of the country at durbar grounds, you realise that women are always placed at the background. Does it really reflect on what is happening at PANAFEST celebrations?
Absolutely, we don’t change roles when it comes to PANAFEST. They play the natural roles they play in their local settings. So the Chiefs, are normally, wherever, they are in a procession they are companied by their Queen Mothers. When they sit, the Queen Mothers sit next to them and so and so forth. We do not want to break that one up. No we want them to be as real as they have been and that what people want to learn about.

From deliberations that I have so far, it seems that traditional and cultural norms of the country have set the women to be at the background position. What do you say about that?

Well, I do not know of specific cultural norms setting the women behind, what I suspect is happening is that people perceive women retrogressing as a result of men holding on very strong to the positions they hold in traditional or cultural sectors. I must say that yes, this is true, but there is also a lot of evidence of women, breaking through that barrier without waiting for men to dictate what they should do. And if you go around, you will find like, gas stations, women are serving if you go to places that they repair vehicles, there are a lot of mechanics, all over the places, there are drivers, there are number of people (women) who are doing very well in male dominated professions. It is true that there are prejudices in work places but I would not consider that those are deliberates. If a manager has a prejudice against women, because they go on leave several times, in their work life that is his own problem. The point is that women must go on leave, whether you like it or not, But at the same time, I don’t
think the society has denied any woman who has reason to her position to her rightful place we have women who are chief executives in various places.

And would you also say that barrier is due to educational and financial power of women

No, I think, if it is being broken it is because there has been a women’s movement that has brought awareness and to a lot of people. We need to sustain that kind of awareness. It is easy for women to accept that was how their grandmother was treated you know it is very easy. But if over the years, there have been a lot of awareness about women standing on their own and breaking the barriers and getting out of that domain in which they have, I think it has made a lot of impact on women. Now, you know, look at radio phone- in; women call in and really make their voices heard. They are not left behind at all.

Thank you very much Sir for your time and knowledge.
Interview No. 6: Mr. Owusu Mensah, an Official from Ghana

Tourist Board (GTB): Accra, Greater Accra Region

As the main implementing agency on tourism development, what stage is the country at the moment?

You mentioned fast track, what exactly do you mean?

Can you please elaborate what you mean by receptive facilities?

You just mentioned that the government is about to launch tourism strategic plan, do you have any specific date for it?

You have spoken length on tourism development in Ghana. What specific role do women play?

Does the Board have gender policy, if yes, does it encourage both genders to get involved in tourism development in the country and if no, why?

You just mentioned that lack of formal education and training is a barrier for women in tourism development, can you please explain?

Does the Board encourage local or domestic tourism?

INTERVIEW SIX
Mr Owusu Mensah, is an officer at Ghana Tourist Board

The Ministry is the one that looks after the policy and the board is the main implementing agency.

As the main implementing agency, can you please tell me what stage tourism industry is in at the moment in Ghana?

When you talk about what stage, what do you really mean?

I mean, I think I had in on the Internet that tourism development in Ghana is the fourth foreign exchange earnings of the economy. And those tourism earnings are about 16% of the total earnings of the Ghanaian economy. Is it true? My point of interest is to know whether this percentage has been increased or decreased.

O, Kay, I think it is not in terms of general earnings but in I think it is in terms of foreign exchange earnings. And I am not sure about the sixteen percent rather it is about four per cent (4%). Well, the point is that government want to use tourism as a vehicle for improving the economy and for stabilising the economy and also for creating wealth and jobs and for poverty alleviation. It is because tourism is done at the local level committee levels. It affects the lowest of the people, I mean, it goes down well to the people and it is believed that if tourism is properly developed; it should affect the lives of the local people and the well being of the poor people. The government has put in place a plan to as it will realise its dream of making tourism one of the pillars of the economy. And this was put together in 1996 by the government and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Ghana.
with support from World Tourism Organisation (WTO), which is the umbrella body of tourism organisations in the world and has even now become a specialised agency of the United Nations (UN) and also with support from the United States (USID). This is what we called the 15 years National Tourism Development Plan (NTDP), so it is on going. The planning is on going: I mean it is being implemented in phases and so on. But when the current government took over in 2000, there was a need to fast track tourism development.

**What is fast track?**

Fast track, means move it at a faster pace. So the government decided that there should be, we should put together a strategic plan out of the 15-year National Tourism Development Plan. The Plan has now reached its final stage and we hope that any time soon it will be launched. According to the strategic plan, we have to revise out target, so we are saying that now we expect to have one million visitors annually by 2007 that is the end of the strategic plan period. And we expect earnings to go up to 1.5 billion US dollars by the same time. And we also expect that three hundred thousand people be employed in the tourism industry by the end of the plan period so you realised that these as quite lofty objectives. We have to work very hard to attain that. But we know also that tourism basically, is not a government job, not a government activity. What government has to do is to create the environment in what we call popular in Ghana, “the enabling environment”. Government should facilitate the development of tourism. And government will be able to do that by making sure
that the necessary infrastructure is laid, and then the private sector will then take up, because tourism is basically a private sector led activity. It is not the business of government to run hotels. The government should leave that to the private sector. It is the private sector which should run tourist transportations, private sector which should put up souvenir shops, private sector, which should provide catering facilities, private sector which should provide high way restaurants and so on. But the private sector will not be expected of course to make a road. The strategic plan actually has put together all this things but how to improve access to the tourist attractions sites in Ghana, how to make them attract investments and investors. Because you asked me most of the tourist attractions are in the rural areas. You ask me to go and put up facilities which would cost let say about five million US dollars and I go and put it up there only for it to be under utilised because there is no proper access to the place. I don’t think any investor will like to do that, so the strategic plan takes care of that. In fact, it was drawn with representation from all the agencies and ministries and organisations from tourism. So even though, the main stream tourism and the ministry of tourism and the Tourist Board and may be the training schools and tourism development companies, the stock holders like wild life division, museums and monument board, Ministry of Roads and Transport, Ministry of Works and Housing, we have to talk about water and so on, Ministry of Railways and Ports and Harbour because we believe that some it like Volta Lake, we are under utilising the recreational and
leisure aspect of it. They were all brought in and we have come out
with this programme. Even though the programme is not launched yet,
we are still doing bits and pieces of it. As soon as the programme is
launched, I can say that we still talk to the other agencies to help
when there is the need; but as it is launched, we will see that yes,
there is a sense of oneness and purpose and we all put our hand
together to get tourism going in the country. We cannot also discount
the role of Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are playing in
tourism. In fact, at the moment, we have what we call, Community
Based Ecotourism Projects seabeds. The Tourist Board is doing it and
an NGO called Nature Conversation Research Centre (NCRC), with
support from USPCALL, USAID and with the concern of the District
Assemblies in the areas. Fourteen ecotourism sites are being
developed. You know, when we talk about ecotourism, we are talking
about responsible tourism. So these sites are being developed and
then being managed by local people. You know we have put together a
tourism management team at the local level. Some of these sites are
Boabeng Feamong Monkey Centaury at the Brong - Ahafo Region
Tafoatusmey Monkey Centaury in the Volta Region Bobery Forest
Reserve and Butterfry Centaury in the Ashanti Region and Siregu
Pottery and Architectural, it is a women’s groups which is doing
traditional architectural, traditional pottery in the Upper West Region
and Crocodile Pond, in fact in all there are fourteen of them. We are
just about to even start the second phase and we will add a few more
to them. On government’s own sites two, government is not just
putting up or providing the infrastructures, in addition to that, government has decided to do some receptive facilities at tourist attraction sites.

**What are Receptive Facilities?**

When you go to a tourism attraction sites, it is not just the raw attraction you want to see, you go there to see the beautiful waterfalls you go and look at it. So it is that the end, your experience will not be complete if you cannot come back to a point where they can even sit down for a meal, buy a souvenir, local souvenir there and if there is a museum, you want to know about how the museum came into being and so on and so forth. So a place where you can sit down and relax after you have visited the attractions and have something to eat and ask questions about information and collect resiciquate information and so on and forth. So this is what we call Tourism Receptive Facilities. And government is putting up about thirty (30) of them. Some of the sites include Kintampo Water Fall, Dr Nkrumah’s (was the first Prime Minister and President of the Republic of Ghana) birthplace and tomb, that is the original place at “Nkrofo” near Axim, in the Western Region of Ghana. Assin Manso, the slave routes, Assin Mpreaso is one of them. Salaga in the Northern Region is one of them, Picolo is one of them, Gualow, where we have the slave defence wall is also one of them and there are several sites. Dr. Busuah’s Museulem in Wenchi in Brong Ahafo Region, is one of them, Gualow, apart from the slave defence wall, Dr Hilla Limann’s (President of the third Republican Ghana) burial place is also being developed as a tourist
attraction place. So you realised that we are killing two birds with one
stone, honouring our past leaders and at the same time promoting
tourism and bring wealth to the local people. Because, when people go
to visit these sites, it is local people who provide meals, they sell
souvenirs and so on and so forth, so in a nut shell this is what is
being done. Training is also very important, because tourism is
hospitality and tourism is about service and there is a lot of training
institutions in the country at the moment. As at now, it is Cape Coast
University at the tertiary level, which has some tourism training, but
even that is not enough, because the students who go through that
course, do basically, academic work, and academic tourism, and there
is a need for the university to expand so that they can specialise in
various aspects of tourism, like tourism administration, tourism
marketing, hotel administration, hospitality management, leisure
studies, travel and tour. This is what we are currently getting the
University of Merryland in the United States to help us to develop a
new curriculum for Cape Coast University, But government has gone
further to Ghana Institute of Management Public Administration
(GIMPA) has also set up a hospitality training school. They are putting
up a hundred bed rooms training hotels, which will take care of
training at that level, the higher level. Then, government has also
acquired hotel Eridech at Koforidua, in the Eastern Region to be
turned into a training institution for tourism and the hospitality
services, And that one, government want to make it or turn it into
West African Training Institute. And this will be in addition to what
private sector is doing at the moment. So this is what tourism in Ghana is doing, I won't say that we've gotten there yet, we are still on our way, but we are getting somewhere and at the same time we are marketing the country, through fairs and exhibitions. We will be at World Travel Marketing in London, in November this year.

You said the government is going to launch the strategic plan.

Yes, the final bit is being put together and then it will be launched. Of course, the paper has been finished but there is the need to review it and make sure that everything is in place.

When is it going to be launched?

It will be launched this year, I don't what to give the exact date, but it will be launched at all cost, this year.

You said so much about tourism development in the country; does the tourism development in the country have specific roles for women?

Yes, women should always be seen as the base of tourism because when you get to the tourist attraction sites, normally, it is women, who provide almost all the services. At the ecotourism site at Tobiaba for instance, when you go there, you realised that is women, who provide the food, so there is no discriminations against women as such. In fact, women play major role in tourism.

Do you have any gender policies that encourage both genders to get involve in tourism development in the country?

Yes, the gender policy is government’s policy that is why the government has set up the Ministry for Women and Children Affairs.
The policy is to encourage women in every sphere of endeavour and tourism definitely is one of them you need to empower the women first, you need to let them go to school. If they acquire the skills, then it means they can fight with the men for every thing.

**So in this wise, are you saying that lack of education is a barrier to women’s development to tourism development in the country?**

Well, I will say that not just women, the whole tourism development in the country is suffering from lack of adequate training for the proper skills, but of course like in every area in our country, women are of more disadvantages when it comes to training and education. But, then if you look at hospitality set up, catering for instance, you realised that most caterers are women. They go to the polytechnics to learn institutional management; they learn home science, so on that level, I can say that there are a lot of women playing a major role. Now, you also realised that even when it come to ownership of tourist facilities and service providers, like travel and tours, women are playing a major role. Fredina’s tours is one of the strongest tour operators and is operated by a woman Expert Travel, Monica Biata is a woman, and they’re several of them in the country. Even for hotels, there are several hotels I can mention like Eastoment Quest House, Hotel Georgia, Hotel Kumbaya, that are being run by women. A woman also runs Manet. So women are not actually inhibited in any way.

**You talked about the strategic planning policy; It is possible for me to get one?**
As at now, because the plan has not been launched, I can’t promise you one, because it is in its formulation stage. But when it is launched, it becomes a public document, and everybody will have assessed to it. Because, tourism mindedness is something you don’t just, you can’t get, you need to inculcated in the people, You need to let realised that they all believe in tourism, When you go to a more advanced tourism developed countries, nobody tells you that you have to behave properly, because, you want tourism to boom. Because, you realised that the country’s very existence depends on tourism, so you have to do the right thing. So as so as it becomes a public document, everybody will have assess to it.

Do you also encourage local or domestic tourism?

The point is that we all know that tourism is based on disposable income. When you talk about disposable income, you realised that in Ghana, our economy is not very strong and there are so many thing buying for the little money people earn. So what happens is that will want to choose between paying your child’s school fees or transportation and tourism, so it makes it a bit difficult for domestic tourism. Domestic tourism is hindered by lack of disposable income. But still people do domestic tourism, because when you talk about tourism, the reason is so many, even when people cross over to other places for funeral is some kind of tourism. We are now encouraging the Tour Operators Union of Ghana (TOUGHA) to actually do a lot of domestic. They are doing and they have started with the schools and want to go to work places.
Thank you very much for your time and knowledge.
What is your opinion of the role and involvement of women in tourism development in Ghana?

Before you go on, you just mentioned about women being offered as sex products to tourists. What about men, because I have read about male prostitutes but most often, the emphasis is only on women, why?

In most European countries, prostitution is legalised. In Ghana, there have been moved to legalised prostitution to protect the health of those involved as well as the moral standard of the country?

I want you to look at it in the context of the social and cultural norms of the country?

I want you to look at it in the context of the social and cultural norms of the country?

Having said that, how does the country involve women to promote tourism?

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**Interview No. 7: Professor George Pannin Hagan, Director, Ghana National Commission on Culture: Accra, Greater Accra Region**

**INTERVIEW SEVEN**

**Friday, April 2, 2004**
If you look at the tourism, what I have seen or notice is that we have as something unique, something that gives us special niche in the tourism industry and that is our cultural. Community organisations, our way of life, issues on our environment, entertainment, and the way we show hospitality. People come to Ghana, though they are impressed, not by the parks and animals and the beautiful cities we have, there are more beautiful cities in Europe than anywhere you go, but the kindness and our way of life our hospitality, sense of humour this I think is what we have as a people. Now if you look at the tourism industry, it is a commercial thing, as selling second products, and here, women play, two important roles. On the one hand is women who are at the front desk, if you talk of hotels, women are at the front desk. If you talk about the tour guide industry, those who are organised to receive tourists, a lot of these groups, are either owned or run by women. Women are managing the groups and they are the tour guides. They receive people at the airport. At the airport itself, if you look at the steward and stewardess who process people through out the country, the desk officers, are women. So in terms of the contact with the outside world, women play a key role in the industry. So when you are talking of the tourism industry, if we look at it as a something that we are selling, then women constitute very significant role of those who are selling the tourism products. In fact, I have mentioned the tour groups, now look at the hotels, go from hotel.
to hotel turns to employ women and not just employing women, but
cleaners because they are
less likely to steal from their guest. In Ghana, I should one of the
earliest training establishment to train people in he hotel industry,
was established by a woman. So the training institutions, specially,
those who have really acquired top skills in the hotel industry turn to
be women. In terms of catering, if you go round Accra for an example,
most (Chop Bars) eating-places are run mostly by women. Now the
other said I mean the commercial products are predominantly women.
Now if you look at the products that we offer tourists, though we can
talk about our forest, animals and hospitality, and such, we have to
talk about sex. Even though, we are trying to discourage sex, because
we are truly sensitive about the value we attach to women and
morality, I am afraid, when you come to tourism development, women
seems to be looked at as part of the products that we offer to tourists.
So when it comes to that, immediately touches the sensitive areas of
our moral social values and fibre.

Before you go on, you talked about women being offered as sex
products to tourists, what about men, because I have read also
about male prostitutes but most often the emphasis is only on
women, why is it so?
Yes, there are male prostitutes, but in Ghana and many parts of Africa, we do not really get to see too many male prostitutes.

**In Gambia I think.**

In Gambia, yes and this is something that is associated very much with Islamic countries because of very strict separation between male and female. There are more homosexual relationships there. And if there are male prostitutes in Ghana, they don’t advertise themselves as much as the females. Go round Accra, in the evenings, almost every dark corner; you will see the ladies advertising themselves for sex. And prostitution should not be confined only to those who have raised their flags; students engaged in it, ministry workers indulge in it to beef up their salaries; you go to the universities and there people complaining a lot, where some female university students are into full time, where they are invited to accompany high class business executives.

**In most European countries, prostitution has been legalised, for either to the health risk or those involve; and as it is the oldest traditional industry in the world and on one can do away with, is it wise for us in Ghana also call for legalisation of prostitution so that the health and the moral standards of women will be protected?**

Legalisation of prostitution is a very difficult subject.

**I want you to look at it in the context of the social and the cultural norms of the country.**
There are two sides; if you take it as the word prostitution and therefore you want to take an objective look at the Ghanaian immoral standard on it, then you ask yourself if this is a commercial enterprise what will do to safe guard public health, what will do to reduce it impact to protect others who may not be interested. And then if you are taking an immoral look, you are looking at it as selling of some commodity, that is in high demand therefore has some prize to pay forth, then how do you protect the health of the clients and those who engaged in prostitution. Let us legalise it or if we are not legalising it let us make it less shameless so that those who practice it can seek medical attention and reduce the health hazards, both to themselves and to the clients. That is one way of looking at it, the other way of looking at it will be what will be the likely impact of legalisation on the promotion of prostitution itself. On the promotion of prostitution itself on tourism, obviously, a lot of people when they go on holidays go for sexual excitements, whether they are married or unmarried; when they leave their husbands and wives behind they want to enjoy themselves. And sex provides one way of exciting enjoyments; so that one is to be taken for granted. But in terms of the morals and the cultural values of the people, you want to ask yourself if we legalise are many more men not going to engage in it and when they do and engaged in it, are they not going to influence others to follow their examples, that spreading the thing. If we legalise it, are we not going to reduce the number of women who will like to engage in healthier less morally sensitive occupations. How secure will be our marriage
institutions. Are you not going to have many more children without proper parental care? Children without recognised fathers, children without recognise home because prostitutes usually and I have heard this, that I quickly have a child and gave it to my mother because my mother was insisting I should have a child, so I have satisfied my mother. I have given my mother one child to look after, one “nana” or two “nananom” to look after and now I am free to go to Germany, I am free to go to Italy do my business.

These questions that you are asking do they also have bearing or reflect on socio-cultural norms of the society?

Obviously, morality when you are taking of morality, you are talking of the values of under pin every culture in terming the choices in life. It is your values which determine your choices in life. Something that perhaps I cannot do because I am a catholic, if you are a Methodist or Protestant, or perhaps a Moslem, you can do, that is part of my catholic culture. I cannot marry a second woman, if I am a Moslem and earn a good salary, why not I should be able to have a one or two wives. So values are part of our cultural, of our identity, our way of life, out attitudes and our practices; So as soon as you begin to challenge the basic values of people’s culture, the basic values that they hold on, then you are actually undermining, you are attacking the entire fabric of social relationships. Because, a prostitute cannot be convinced to stable in marriage; so immediately, you are defining the relationship that this woman will find acceptable. To a prostitute, family doesn’t mean anything; you are attacking the basics institutions, basic
relationships in the family. So values are very, very crucial, values do not exist in a vacuum. Some values are universal, but however universal; you contextualised them within a particular society and within a particular culture. And there are differences in how people articulate universal values. As soon as you attack a particular way in which they perceive their values, then they begin to ask you why. Let me tell you a story that I got from my former studies. I made my doctorate research in Winneba, in the Effutu Traditional Area in the (Central Region) culture has not been documented so I studied their culture over three or four years the Effutu Culture. There is a very sensitive traditional culture in Winneba. In Winneba, traditionally, women were brought up in women’s homes and boys started their early lives with their mothers in “embafie or ojasi” at the very early age four, five six, seven, depending on the health of the boy, he was gradually wined off from the women’s home and attached to the father. Now, before marriage, the women have a very restrictive contact with the opposite sex, so the traditional marriage ceremony put emphasis on chastity. If on your first night, you do not give evidence that your husband found you a virgin, the marriage ceremony stops there. He may have had sexual intercourse with other women, but, the white Lillie does not provide any evidence of blood, this was the chastity of putting your family into shame. After a while, it was discovered that the girls who were found virgins and were raised and paraded throughout the town, do not bare children. So they were saying that envy of the people from the town dwellers had made the girls infertile.
So then, whether a person gave the evidence trust of virginity or not, it was all “shoo, shoo”. And once morality is not supported by public sanction became different whether you are a virgin or not. And one thing that came up from exactly at this point, it appears that many more women “were discovered to have been deflowered” before marriage than were actually found virgins. That situation have merged during the period when winenba, that is before Takoradi and Tema become national ports cities, when Winneba was a port, a lot of visitors were coming and sleeping with the women around. Women, who were loose morally, acquired wealth and influence in society and were described as strong women. So, that was a turning point in the Effuttu Traditional cultural norms and beliefs. So once the cultural sanctions have been removed, that public jubilation that you for the virgin, the public shame for the deflowered girl was removed as standard practice, chastity becomes question to be accepted as an essential value, particularly when there was a perception that those who were praised for the first time sex, do not bear fruits, were bewitches.

I have also noticed that, especially.

The same thing, the same process, I have determined, as in the catholic church, you can’t flown on marital sex and therefore become a woman pregnant, but then there were rumours that when you go to the alter with your womb empty, people will bewitch you so before going to the alter; people want to do it, have sex with their boy friends and get pregnant. So you can see how, morality reflects on cultural
patterns or behaviour. And any change on public perceptions on any implications on the moral norms will lead people to begin challenging the validity of morals within the contest of changing world’s situations and societal situations. So now nobody; at times you hear them saying, oh, when I was growing up, in the sixth form, people will say that “if you don’t sleep with a woman, then you are classified as a stupid person”, of you can’t study well, your brain is clot and if you were a virgin, they say you are deft.

**But which was not true.**

Which of course was not true, until the age of twenty-seven years (27 years), I have not touched a woman. It enabled me to concentrate on my work, I was not distracted, I was not worried about anything or concerned with any pregnancy or forced of claims of any pregnancy, as I said I concentrated on my academic work. But if you are not careful peer pressure and forces around you, who tell you it is better to use your tail rather than with your tail hanging in between your legs and you will be caught in a trap and all that so of thing. So it is very sensitive issue, to me the moment the cultural support sanction for a moral value is reduced, morality becomes a majority private matter of choice. So once you legalised this thing,

**Legalised what?**

So, once you legalised prostitution, for whatever reasons, what stops even married women to break marriage vows but to practice a little prostitution on the side and there is no shame attached to it any more. By this, they have every right to practice it and no policeman will
come and arrest them, if the husband discovers too bad. If you watch
American TV, married women practiced prostitution and then the
“Sprinters Show”, I don’t know whether you watch it, they come out to
say that today I want to tell my husband I am interested in
prostitution. And then the husband says why can you do that, do you
give me money, who pays the rent, if I don’t do it, can you look after
me, can you give money, can you pay the rent, no peace and it is no
longer a shame to practice prostitution, so it create an impact on
society how long can you estimate the long tract effect on society.
Having said that, how do we get women involve in promoting
tourism?
So this is the paradox, we need women to promote tourism but women
are likely to be victims and be degraded through tourism.
So in that wise, what are you suggesting, if women play very
important role, in terms of involving and all that so what
suggestions are you giving?
In terms of what;
I don’t know.
I can’t suggest anything, I am here to explain the situation and when
it comes to the legalisation of prostitution, I have given the two
dimensions of it, the advantages and disadvantages. It is left for civil
society to take a stand. I would wish that prostitution, wouldn’t exist,
not to encourage prostitution, and one way of not encouraging
prostitution is to make sure that every girl is well educated and given
her some professional skills, professional co-education so that they
can be gainfully employed. But that said and done, sin is there and people will gravitate towards having free sex and all that. One thing saying that I have a husband and attracted to so and so and I will have a free range with him and I have a wife and attracted to so and so and. It is one thing saying that and other thing saying it is legal to do that therefore I can do anything I like, which is too bad.

**Thank you very much for sharing your time and knowledge with this research.**
• What is the role of your organisation in the promotion of tourism in Ghana?

• What is the role and involvement of women in tourism development in the country?

• In your opinion, do you think finance is a barrier or problem for women to develop their talents towards executive position?

• Do you think education is also a barrier to women’s advancement to executive positions in tourism?

• So what do you suggest must be done in terms of promoting the interest of women to executive position in tourism development in Ghana?

• Do you think that the cultural and traditional norms also help to set women to assume background position?
INTERVIEW EIGHT

April 2, 2004

Mr Abease, Director, Ghana National Investment Promotional Centre

Ghana Investment Centre is mandated with all investments, with the exception of investments that are going into petroleum industries and also the mining. All other investment is supposed to be handled or championed by us, so we cover quite a wide area. In the past what we have done has been to do general investment promotion. Since I got here, we have changed the approach, because I believed that it is not effective to do general investment promotion, you need to do targeted investment promotion. So you need to target the sectors that you want to focus on as well as the countries where you think you can get those types of investments. And even sometimes the companies, for instance, if you want to target Microsoft, find out more about Microsoft, find out what it is that they look out for in locating their offices and works towards it. So that is some of the things that we are trying to do. Now you find that in Tourism, because of the most of the branches of tourism, the initial investment is high, it is been difficult to get a focus promotion on the tourism industry. The tourism ministry itself has over the years been playing with tourism developments strategy, tourism development plan for ten years, twenty years and so on. They
have never really focus on a short-term strategy that we could run
with. So even though, we do promote tourism on our missions, we
promote it as just as one of various sectors. It is only, recently that we
are highlighting on the useful benefits and incentives that we can offer
it. That is the background to the tourism development promotion here.
Then you have Tourist Development Board and Ghana Tourism
Company in addition to the Ministry. All these are intended to give the
impression that they are okay by way of development and promotion;
so not much efforts have been put directly into tourism development
or promotion. Now, we’ve started another initiative, and we are
hoping that when we finish and develop the tourism policy, we will be
able to use them. But in all these, you will find out that, women play
very big part in tourism because, the activities in there in tourism are
more women oriented. Food is the major aspect of tourism, the hotel
food, food outside, the indigenous food; all these are things that are
handled by women. So in that sense women play quite a big role there.
But I think we need to structure it properly, because it is only a few
section of the general sector that the women, more or less congregate
that. And again, because in the tourism industry, hotels play an
important part and you find that women are playing major role there.
They are the people who take care of the rooms, they are the people
who take care of the food, even the entertainment, and they are the
people who take care of those things, right down to the management,
except that as you go up, usual, their involvement is less. Because we
haven’t trained enough women to take up executive posts and I think
that is something that we have to make a conscious effort to promote that. If you talk about Ghana in particular, now you have the Ghana Tourist Operators Foundations or corporation, that is one of the associations that handle tourism, I can see that it is heavily loaded at the top with women, which is a good sign. This shows that the women are now asserting themselves; so the women play a major role in tourism industry, except that it is only in the sections that don’t require too much capital. The other sections, where that capital is involve, that is building hotel infrastructure itself is male dominated, because, getting the fund to set up the hotel for instance is not easy. And the pressure, the anxiety and difficulties you go through getting money to put down the infrastructure, is such that it is enough to put the women off.

Do you think on finance as a major barrier for women to develop towards to executive positions; what about education. Do you think education is also a barrier to women’s advancement to executive positions in tourism?

Yes, education is a barrier to people, getting right to the top, but in the middle and lower levels, it is not a barrier at all, because, you don’t need too much education to get in there, especially, if you went into vocations it makes it easy, if you went into catering, it put you straight into that industry. But getting to the top, is where the problem is; management, the women have not been trained; many of them have not been trained to that level, therefore it is a problem and a challenge getting them and pushing them to that level. But even
there, we seeing a change, because when you go to La Palm Beach Royal Hotel, for instance, the General Management is a lady, and that is encouraging. If you go to Golden Tulip, the Banquet Manager is a lady. So gradually, they are becoming aware; people are going to get an impact in terms of education. In Ghana, for instance, we only have one school, Hotels and Catering Training (HOTCAT). We need to raise the level of education and also institutions that do training

**So what do you suggest must be done in terms of promoting the interest of women to the executive positions in tourism development in Ghana?**

Well, it starts with education, women for the past, for instance, have been scare of science subjects but with the maths and science education workshops that have been organised over the years, now a lot more girls are getting interested in science and mathematics and that is a good step. And that will take them up, because, if you have English, you have maths and science, you should be able to do all right; so gradually, if you have more women getting there.

**And then, do you also think that the cultural and traditional norms also help to set the women to the background.**

Well, that, you will find everywhere; yes our culture is set that we turn to keep the women in the back. But it is changing, and it is changing with more education. When you educate them, then they are able to see that there is a bigger horizon and that even elsewhere, women are doing certain things, and they will be encourage to get involve.
Thank you for sharing your time and knowledge with this research.
Interview No. 9: Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, Former First Lady, Fourth Republic Ghana and President of 31st Women’s Movement: Accra, Greater Accra Region

• As the former first Lady, does the country have gender policy?
• How far is the country’s journey of developing a gender policy?
• In your own opinion, what is the role of women in festival celebrations?
• You just mentioned that the present government is not interested in pursuing gender policy started by the previous government. Can you please explain further?

What is your opinion of media report on the image of women?
• What is your opinion of media report on the image of women?
• How can Ghanaian women overcome negative media image?

March 18, 2004

Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, Former First Lady, Fourth Republican Ghana.
There are a lot of political harassments going on and that makes it clear that the new government does not understand the gender issue, does not understand the issue of the development of women, and does not seem participating democratic system of women’s involvement as an important factor of human development and nation development. And if you take that position of whom ever they work with must be the same party as they are then, I am afraid, you are limiting yourself to a situation, where you are not going to get everybody’s mind being brought forward when it comes to women’s issues. When I was First Lady, whenever I was made to host a functions or something, I always make sure that everybody was invited; I ask the National Council on Women and Development (NCWD) to invite the women. I won’t ask them, who this person? Is this person an NPP or NDC, I don’t care, but for me, women’s issues cut across board, so it doesn’t matter, what political divide you are on. And, then, secondly, the developments of women always shows the development of a country, whether the country is going on well, or is not, it tells from the women is they are doing well. So if leave a section of the women, and ground them as political enemies, then there is a problem of your understanding of what gender is all about. And any way, it is not every woman who is gender sensitive and definitely, Mrs Asmah is not a gender sensitive person at all. Because if you hear her screaming at the women whom works with and so on, they may not be ministers, but if they don’t have a common purpose and wanting to improve on the livelihood of women, they won’t be where they are. And in that
respected, they are allies and not enemies but she treats everybody as if, apart from her, she must be a “queen being” what I mean is that when somebody is described as queen being, no other female should be around, they beat you up. But let me get back to our work, the movement’s activities have been slowed down because of political interference and harassments. A lot of the NPP women have NGOs also but they don’t harass them. There are so many letters that we have receive, even today, the World Bank boss invited me to an interview and I took copies of all the documents of harassments to him, because he had heard and he knew what I was doing, to let people from other African countries to come and learn what we are doing. Learning what we were doing, because, he said that like me, he believed that if the women in Africa will be empowered in all aspects, you know, all round and be able to stand up and help their communities and so on, the development of the African countries will grow faster than if the women were left out and that is how he saw that Ghana was making it. Because I have taken the women’s side and encouraging them and propelling them into action, in that way, it was able to help what the men were doing to place them up. But believe me, if you are developing the country and you leave the women behind, the women will pull you down, you can’t win, you can’t move. So we tried to do improve on women’s lives and they are trying to bring issue of women down, and you can’t play lip service too, like once in a while you see her appears on TV; it is an everyday thing, it is an going it, because this kind of discrimination. An example was a
case where a gentleman here didn’t know he has done anything wrong; we have changed the administrator here because she is a woman, he the accountant is sending her to take a letter around for him. When there was a man who was the administrator, he never dares to send the man, so you see, it is discriminatory, but he didn’t see it at all. He said, he holds woman like eggs. But I said you not got the point here; what will make you send a woman when you will never dare to send a man, and he was the administrator, you know what I mean. So the issue of discrimination is deeply embedded in the culture and a lot of women themselves have accepted certain positions which, they should not accept, because she herself should have told him, why are you sending me, I am not the right person to sent your letters to the bank, but she didn’t because he is a man and bigger, so she took it and went off. You understand me, so we have a lot of subtle discriminations, both overt and subtle, you find this in every part of the society, we are fighting it but we must continue to fight it, except now, we don’t have a voice to fight it, we don’t, we have to do subtle, not we as the 31st, but as women of Ghana, there is nobody fighting for us. But I continue to go to the regions to talk to the women, we are still doing our projects, we have a number of projects that we are constructing and so on but since they told news people not to give us coverage ever, they don’t give us coverage, but it is Okay because, sometimes, it is better to work quietly than do it with coverage, so we been working but not with a lot of injections. And to try and take us completely off people’s mind, they even took programmes like “By the Fire Side” and
“Story Time”, they took them off the air because it was sponsored by 31st Women’s Movement, which is a shame because it shows how small minded men are, aided on sometimes by women. However, let go back on your issue on festivals; I think that if you look at our traditional festivals, you will see that women play a very important dominant role in the festivals. Sometimes, not in the organisation of the festivals, sometimes, in the organisation; when it comes to the dancing and singing, you see that they call the women to be part of it. But when it comes to actually planning the festivals, men think that they have the right to plan the festivals, but without the women, the festivals will not really materialised, because they make the festivals to become festivals. And if you have annoyed the women in a certain village, they sit down and watch you when you are doing the festivals and you see the festival fall flat. I know that, but I am not too sure about the Akwasidie festival, but I know it is planned in the palace by the Asantihene and his chiefs and then they just tell everybody what to do and people are supposed to follow the line. In a lot of other places too it is like that, but I think in the Ga area, the Ewe area and certain parts of the Northern areas, the Magajis and the Queen Mothers take a very dominant role and interest in what festivals are going to be performed and how it will be performed. So after they have done that, then they give the details to the chiefs, who then accept it, sanction it, so they take part in it, but all in all I think the Majorities of the festivals in Ghana, are planned by the men. But, without the women, participating, and if you look at the involvement of men, it is
usually through participation in the cultural aspect of it, the singing aspect of it and may be just helping to make it a happy occasion for the day, that is where you see the involvement of the women. Other wise, the men thinks it is their birth rights to organise festivals. You can go to a Fanti area, a Twi area, Ewe area and Northern area and see whether what I am saying is right or wrong.

I think you are right because, I just had focus group discussions this afternoon with some selected men and women sellers in Accra, the outcome of the discussions were that women play very dominant role in festivals. And that it is women who do the cooking, the washing up ups, the cleaning the dancing, while the men are seen sitting down; either doing nothing or drinking palm wine under the trees.

Absolutely, during festivals, women are seen to be very busy cleaning, singing and cooking, while the men sit under the palm tree drinking palm wine and that is a shame.

Later during the discussions, I asked the women what should be done to get women out of the oppressive position or what messages do they have for the government to change the situation. Have you asked yourselves what you will be doing in ten to fifteen years from now; are you going to continue this sort of life? They said yes “we do not have a choice; society has made us think that women do not play any important role rather we are suitable for background role positions”.

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When we were shorting that women should be side-by-side men, where were they?

_They were young then._

And their mothers didn’t hear them, didn’t hear the message.

I think they did hear; but the question now is; the previous government, I don’t want to any government by name, I mean the previous government did made a move by trying to encourage affirmative action. Was it the media report that stated that the enrolment of women at the tertiary institutions now in the country has fallen and asked the National Council on Women and Development (NCWD) representative I spoke to about what the council is doing because I knew that the previous government had 40 per cent affirmative action across board for all female to be enrolled into all tertiary institutions? In response, she said it sad because right now “we do not have a policy document on gender, rather a draft policy, which I do not know when it will be implemented”.

Have you spoken to the Minster for Women and Children’s Affairs on that issue?

That was what I am going to ask her, I have booked an appointment to speak to her, I have not been successful, I will still push forward and see how it goes before leaving the country.

With a laugh, she said it will be good to ask her

No, I am going to do that, I have spoken to everybody I wanted to and that is why I have been able to have these background
information on women in the country; and is surprised to hear that every where I go; I went to tourism and asked whether they have a gender policy, Mrs Katricku, Director of tourism said since she took over, she has been pushing for gender policy but to no avail.

This government is not interested in gender issues, I am sorry.

**If they are not interested, why then should they set up a ministry for women and children’s affairs?**

Let me tell you something, the United Nations said that all countries should stop setting up women’s ministries. This government is behind everybody in the world, by twenty years and more. The reason why the United Nations said that countries should not have women’s ministry is that it is men who takes the decisions, so if you have a women’s ministry every thing concerning women’s issues, they will say, take it to the women’s ministry and yet, they will not fund it, will not equip it, they will not give you good personals, they will not care, because, men usually don’t care but they will just tell you that take it to the women’s ministry. What do you want us to do? Ministry, the building, that is the end, are we going to eat the building. In 1995, at the world meeting for women, Beijing China it was a anonymous thing that all countries that have women’s ministry came out to say it was a bad policy, so the UN adopted it and said no country should have women’s ministry because it does not work, rather, they should have a women’s department under the Head of States should be created and every ministry should have something on gender so that in every
ministry, you have somebody responsible for the issue of gender. Unfortunately, even in our time, and I used to complain to my husband, even in our time, even though they did this, the ministers, then started looking around for women to be in charge of gender issues. It is not everybody who is a gender sensitive person or women; it is not every woman who is gender sensitive. Some women don’t even understand the issue of gender and are against women but there are some men who are very, very gender sensitive, so you can put a man in there and if you don’t anybody, pick somebody from the ministry, send them for training on gender issues and put them there. So I used to say, why are putting people on the women’s desk as they call it instead of gender desk and then looking for women to sit there. Why, and the minister feels that he is finished his work, he has put a woman there, and the woman, could be anything from a clerk to deputy director., who will not be able to go the minister and say you’ve taken this decision in this country and I think it will be wrong for women and it will affect women to have women’s ministry. And I object to it and this is my paper on it copy to the Head of State who have women in charge of women affairs. It didn’t happened and a copy to NCWD and it didn’t happened and we had three years of doing that – 1997 that the women’s desks were set up. Setting up a women’s ministry is against UN policy on how women’s issues should be dealt with. They asked me the first day they set up the women’s ministry and I said I don’t want to comment on somebody who has come to taken over a country and comment on his policies. But I think if you
go through the UN documents, you will see that UN itself is against
women’s ministry. The next day, 35 newspapers reporting that Mrs
Rawlings is against women, Mrs Rawlings says that the women’s
ministry is this, Mrs Rawlings is against Mrs Asmah because of this,
and I said, look, if the media is going to behave in a way that raise the
moral fibre of this country down, God help us, because, right now,
between you and I, Miss Gibson, the media has become part of the
elitist groups that is fighting those of us who are saying that the
nation’s asserts are more important than personal asserts and they
have join the group that is saying personal gratifications self
enhancement is better than national interest. So it is a matter against
the wills and without, that is what is happening now, it is a class war.

There is nothing I can say more, Madam, because since I came,
three weeks ago, and my first reaction was I wanted to talk to the
Minister of Women and Children’s Affair, because I saw it on the
Internet and I was asked what a knew about women’s situation in
the country, I said I don’t want to comment now, because left the
country, now in my fourth year now in the UK and therefore do
not know much. But when I was in Ghana, I know there was a
strong women’s movement fighting for the course of women and
for that reason those of us were nowhere, began to look at
ourselves and assert ourselves and because of that, we were able
to think that after all I would be able to do something to change
my situation and that led me to write my masters on “Women in
politics” and again looked at “the low media coverage of women in leadership positions” and I cited you as an example,

In fact I got very bad media, it was a deliberate thing because they know that woman’s votes counted and that will bring the women down.

I cited you as an example and looked at other women in power like former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Mrs Golder Meir and few others and to me it was good for me, because I had this woman as my supervisor at the journalism school in the UK, who was then head of the department. So out of conversation, I asked her what is really happening, because when you look at the bottom line, there are a lot of female at the bottom and when you move up there are few women. I spoke to the Director of the Ghana Institute of Journalism, he said the same thing and then I knew before I left that there was this affirmative action for women at tertiary education and coming back again, the 40 per cent affirmative action has fallen, which off course I believe will affect the in take of women. So I spoke to Kojo Yankah, today, since he is the International Chairman for PANAFEST Foundation, I asked him the same question if this affirmative action issue is not addressed, I am afraid that all the work of the previous governments have done, since 1975 , since the establishment of NCWD will affect not only women, but also increase teenage pregnancy in the country and in the long run affect the social system of the country. It looks like everybody agrees to what my observations. I had focus group discussions this afternoon with
women hawkers, about eight of them and all said the same thing, not from me, not from a politician, not from the minister or any public figure but from the people on the street, who normally are described as grassroots and they all said the same thing. Their arguments are that because of the traditional and cultural norms really pushing the girls to the background position. One of the participants lamented that “I have been carrying my baby on my back hawking and I do not know what the future holds for us” I have three daughters and there are culture norms around but I do not allow my children to entangled themselves with cultural nonsense, You know, cultural is Okay, but when it turns into traditions: traditions are created by men, cultural is Okay but tradition is created by men;, I mean, cultural is a way of life but traditions are norms that people creates so that it either binds you or opens you up. Most of the time, it binds women and opens up gates for men. And in bind us up, it becomes eminical to our health. So I always tell my children that the sky is not your limit, now you see that the Americans have gone to the moon, the Russians are there, the Chinese are gone, everybody is gone beyond the sky, so the sky cannot be your limit everybody is staying on the sky, go beyond it. My father use to tell me the sky is your limit, just because he didn’t know that you could go beyond that, so now, we should be telling our daughters, you inclusive that everything a man can do women can do better; not women can not do it, no, I tell my children, if you have a gay in your class who is topping the class
that is your target, (wo kotwenu), you have to beat him academically, oh yes and I mean it.

Madam, this is a well expressed taught and I must say that I am a victim of my male colleagues at both universities I attended in Cardiff in the United Kingdom. When they heard that I was doing my Mphil/PhD word went round the Ghanaian community that she can’t do it, she can’t make it, to the extent that my two supervisors at the Mphil/PhD level doubted whether I could write. But when I started writing, they were amazed. This is the Ghanaian attitude of pulling colleagues and friends down the ladder instead of pushing him or her up the ladder. They always want to see your down fall and it is even more difficult when you are a woman. A woman has to prove herself by working three times harder than a man for society to believe, trust and accept her capabilities, they are always in doubt.

Ghanaians like destroying each other, it is such a shame, you don’t see Nigerians doing that.

Thank you, madam.

You don’t see Nigerians doing that, I meet Nigerian people, they become my friends and they are even propping me up, it is a shame and very sad to see Ghanaians doing that. We are hypocritical, ungracious and ungrateful people. You know, it is such a shame. Look at the people running this country, my goodness, small minded approach to everything.
I know and I am so sad and that will not deterred from reaching my goal and going beyond the sky, the moon, now is my target and thank you for that. I always say that you are my role model.

You know my kids, Zanata has finished her medical exams and now she is doing her internship, yesterday, she called me and said mummy, I have taken an exam for surgery and I have passed and I am starting my surgery specialization. It is nice to hear that as a mother. You know I did economics; Yaa Asantewa graduated in economics and mathematic, she called me and said I can see we don’t have good press, so she want to do media and mass communications and so on so that she can defend us. I said, Yaa, you don’t have to defend us but she said you need somebody to defend you. So I am leaving the economics and moving into the area of media and I said Okay, so she has applied to do media in some where I don’t know in England. Amean is doing economics and computer, she has stopped because she thinks we need a lawyer, so she took a law exam and she has passed and now she is gone into a law school. You know what I mean, so they know they have challengings ahead of them and they have to get themselves and tell me about it and that is the only thing, gratification that we get from having females, because they take initiatives. AS you are doing it yourself, you are encouraging your daughter too.

O yes, and thank you very much Madam for your time and knowledge.
What role do women play in PANAFEST festival celebrations?

Does the PANAFEST foundation co-pt men and id it does, what role do they play in terms of organisational planning?

Who is responsible for the seating arrangement during the PANAFEST festival celebrations, regarding the Akan Queen Mothers and the chiefs/kings?

In your own opinion, what is your perception of media coverage and presentations of Akan Queen Mothers?

Does PANAFEST Foundation have a gender policy?

To begin with, I guess the opening statements that I will make will be more generalised because I am sure you need more detail is that for the most part, as you said PANAFEST international festival has involved members of the African families of all works of life, and we actually understand and know that women do play a part in the
aspect of the organisation, implementation of the PANAFEST festival and have done that since its inception in 1992. Of course I am sure by now I know you have gone into the history of PANAFEST and realised that the actually idea of PANAFEST was conceptualised in the mind of Efua Sutherland, a very prominent Pan Africanist. From her vision, initiative, we found that the whole ideal of PANAFEST evolved. So we can say from its origin and to its current position here that women have play and still remain to be the major part of the PANAFEST organisation, PANAFEST Foundation and PANAFEST festival. On our board, we have representation, involve of Mr Sutherland and Esi Sutherland in her own right in the Pan African Community and the intellectual community have been a member of the board since its founding stages have been cooperating on the part of the government, and even when she was part of the government she played a major role as part of one its board members. We realised on our international board, we have representation, women representation on our international board we have women representation on our national executive committee and we have women represented on our local planning and all organising committees. And then right down to our local committee structure, which actually handles logistics of the implementation of the programmes, we have women representation. Pragmatically, we have always try to at least since 1997 have a specific days set aside for our women to identify the problems that still face the African women in trying to make strides the progress within the over all male dominated society, try to also be sensitive to the
concerns that narrowly the general public and the African family sensitise as relate to women issues. And also to encourage women who are involved in positive progressive activities to continue to be such and to try to find mechanisms of additional support systems that can assist them in those initiatives. So it is something that is organised basically totally by women. The programme itself consisted of women and of course it is complement with men from invitation from those women. But on that day, the subject matter of the day, the colloquial matters discussed, the papers presented, entertainment presented, refreshment prepared, the fellowship that is going on, basically is all women issues.

At this point, I should have asked him; where are the co-opted men and what do they do in terms of organisational planning?

I say that to say that day is not the only involvement of women have within the PANAFEST programme but I say to emphasis the further importance that we put to women issues being addressed and have decided to delegate a whole day to programming during the regular PANAFEST schedule to compliment the involvement of our African sisters, mothers aunties and daughters in the over all organising planning and implementation of the PANAFEST festival.

In that wise; you realised that when it comes to festival celebrations such as durbar for both Chiefs and Queen Mothers, the focus is always on men and not on the women. I don’t know who make the sitting arrangements or take photographic images,
or take pictures of dignitaries at the durbar grounds; the focus is always on men, why?

Again, even though, I claimed that in Ghana women are so powerful in terms of social and family matters but when it comes to public functions and activities, women are seems to take background position. Do you have something to say in terms of that?

Well yes, of course I will like to say the resource that you came in contact with has much as it is a good web site, put together and organised, it is unfortunate that was an area that may have shown some deficiencies but it was not to intend and I think that is associated with women and it is the absent minded and ignorant that is involved with how our women have been often been ignored that is most offensive, I don’t offer that as an excused but I do say that there was a photographer who was present during PANAFEST who actually was the one who short at our web site. He could have those basically from his own collections of photos and that has reflected on how we document PANAFEST or how we appreciate our women. Because any grand possession of Chiefs and Queen Mothers, which we choose to call, we make sure that our Queen Mothers are identified. So it is not just a durbar for Chiefs, it is a durbar of Chiefs and Queen Mothers, that talking about royalty. Our Queen Mothers are well prominently displayed, those festivals in 1997, 1999, where we have the opportunity for our Chiefs to be very well financially supported, we have Queen Mothers and chiefs being carried in palanquins being
prominently exhibited and displayed. In the subsequent ones, 2001 and 2003 we had funding was not very lucrative, our Queen Mothers were very much part of the procession but it became a financial matter of whether they will be able to ride in palanquins or not only the Queen Mothers but all the chiefs to compromise the palanquins and walk in a role of procession but still prominently display and certainly documented, in terms of the presence. So I will think that, more or less not being a fair representation of how we documented PANAFEST or how we are have given accreditation to those personalities that are paramount, our women are appreciated and we always try to give them credit for the support they gave us in front of the scene, as well as behind the scenes.

In terms of the media, you have answered question on how women and queen mothers are prominently and presented in photographs, which made our women to be shown at the backgrounds. This you have explained to be the perception of men on how our women are treated. So, in your perception or in your own view how do you see PANAFEST in terms of social, traditional and cultural norms of the country in the role of women?

I see PANAFEST as a platform for being able to bring the forefront and creating the forum for what I call women’s issues in transition. We can all bear witness that when we address women’s issues today, it is an issue of gender, it is a transition of state, because we are leaving a traditional classification of women into a more progressive,
redefinition of women’s role in our society and effectively we see that; of course in African societies, it is not so much as we defining the roles because we are not making that roles, we a recreating those roles that they play in giving them support in climbing for higher heights. Because we are people in transition in society, cultural in transition, we need more platform, more forums to discuss those issues so that we make very clear level headed decisions on what we accept as part of our new progressive culture. What we are told to maintain is part of our rich ancient culture and how do we meet that little part, and PANAFEST, certainly been one of the institution that platform and that venue for Africans and the African families to come together to discuss issues of gender as relate to our past and our future. So it is a matter of providing a forum for the discussions of issues, but as I said, we are in a transition. I don’t think we have landed yet, I think we know that our women are on the move and they are marching forward, I know that, We all know that they come from somewhere and we all know that they are going somewhere but we have not landed yet, because we have not landed yet, everyday we are trying to find new ways to understand where we are going and how we get there. And PANAFEST try to be those paths and one of those forums and venues, whereby it can be defined and more clarified in the minds of those of us we are part of the African families and friends of the African families.

So in these wise, how do we see women’s role in terms of tradition and social norms in PANAFEST celebrations.
Well, as again as I am saying because PANAEST in itself is trying to
rediscover, what we will consider our ancient, African traditions and
culture and that is why something will emerge as African civilisation.
And civilisation is made up of culture and traditional practices and
norms. And so we realise in that search and discovering, as well as
education, women have played a major role, we ask them to continue
to play a major role in the research and discovering as well as
repackaging and presentation. And women have the right to define for
themselves what their roles have been in the past, and what major
progressive contributions they have made in the past and what that
foundation should do in terms of building a stronger presence in the
future and win respect for their presences for the future. And
PANAFEST pull on that strength from our women constituencies to try
to help, to clarify for all of us, as well as to define for all of us and
what those roles will be or should be.

So in terms of education, do you think education has any part to
play?

Yes. It has a major part to play, I think there is lots of progressive
movements that we see today are as a result of more and more women
are being more formally educated. I think women have always been
educated but not so much academically in the former institutions. But
I think the fact that we have a larger number of our women coming
out of our former education of institutions, are better able to represent
themselves in issues that were predominantly dominated by males;
even what we need is a woman. So I think education, has played a
major part in the progress and we see currently going on and on. And for that progress to be sustained and for greater heights to be achieved and then education will also have to be improved and reach more women and education opportunities have to come to for the female gender.

What about finance, one realises that most women are not economically sound as men and for that reason, they find it very difficulty to push their ideas into male dominated areas. Do you find finance as a barrier to women’s progression?

Oh yes, finance is definitely has been a barrier, and it is a barrier to both male and female. But because of the traditional structures of our family in our society, that is why I said we are a society in a transition. Society and families sometimes have to make hard decisions around the priorities of the siblings and children education and more often than not, because of the structure of our society, men are seen as the potential bread winners and male child is given a predominately priority position in education of children and family and choices have to be made. When the family are financially buyer able, and no choices have to be made, both male and female receive equal opportunities. But when finance is not available and choices have to be made and priorities, then the female, more often than not, ends up being not the priority and last on the list of those who have that opportunities. So certainly, the removing of financial restrains certainly opens up more doors for our female child to have great opportunities and to have more corridors to walk down.
In terms of benefits, do you think, in future the celebrations of PANAFEST will benefit the society in any way?

I think it will as it has; I think it will benefit the society in enormous ways. PANAFEST has basically sensitised the general public to many issues that is relate Pan-Africanism, as it relates to the power of our potentials if we are unified as an African family. A lot of the conflicts that we see on the African continent today are to do with ethnic conflicts and African don’t understand themselves as family and see each other as treat and strangers. The PANAFEST has a lot to elevate the misperceptions of ourselves as being different from others and uncommon and things we do indifference. As I related earlier, the fact that we have youth day and women ‘s day brings Africans together from all over the world to discuss issues that are pertain to our women issues, issues that are pertain to our youth, issues that pertain to economic- social and spiritual welfare of African peoples. So these are issues that no other forum is providing on the level and unto the magnitude to the PANAFEST has and it is providing. I think that when we talk about the economic conditions on the continent, PANAFEST also in the past provided opportunities for investors and investments opportunities to be identified on the African continent. So it is on going, long arranged relationships have been developed by the virtue of the festival that last longer than the festival. And the idea of heritage and cultural tourism has it and is now being called. We are also introducing a HEALTH to be promoted by PANAFEST that will allow a more and more Africans in the Diasporas to travel home to
Mother Africa to see and what ways they can assist Mother Africa. These are all initiatives that have been promoted and reinforced by virtue of PANAFEST. So PANAFEST is a lot more than intended by the festival that is celebrated within a schedule programme. But is an initiative that continues to expand and reach higher heights and global audiences as it continues to grow in its reputations and the years of experience that it has. We have entries in immediate area of venues; Cape Coast and Elimina are the actual permanent hosts of PANAFEST. During and since PANAFEST inception, it has encouraged major tourism development in this region (that Central Region) we more than triple four times the number of hotels rooms, the standard of hotels have risen tremendously, our restaurants are tourists’ attractions, and all these have been spots by PANAFEST and the anticipations of more PANAFEST coming on and more businesses coming on to develop the infrastructural development to be able to receive the number of visitors and business that are coming here and such business men and women who come to celebrate with us are exposed to various activities that goes on at PANAFEST celebrations and the emancipation day.

**Do you have a policy on PANAFEST?**

We have a statement of purpose that could be said to house policy statement

**In the statement of purpose, do you have a potion that addresses the issues on gender?**
No, not per say, I cannot say that we do, no we don’t, because as we
say that policy is more of a mission statement than a policy. And I will
say that if it should take more of a policy form, there be that
particular statement that assures equality and gender respect, I
should say equal opportunity. I should say, it is not a policy on its
form; it doesn’t manifests itself in that way.

In that view, do you hope to develop a statement policy that will
have gender policy to ensure equal opportunity for both men and
women?

Yes, I will say that given the present climate, these issues are very
important to establish a point of focus that will be something that will
be consistence with the over all spirit of PANAFEST. I don’t see it as
something not happening but something that is naturally happening;
we call it natural flow of PANAFEST spirit celebrations.

Thank you very much sir, but before I leave you, is it possible for
me to get copy of whatever policy statement or mission
statement you have.

That is not a problem; this is a copy of our mission statement

And then, the mission statement, does it include members of the
planning committee of PANAFSET or whatever.

Yes, it is possible for you to get one.

Thank you very much.

Least I forget, what do you have to say on the media production
of PANAFEST festivals?
PANAFEST media production is handled by an independent media production agency, of which we contracted all those services out. And even though presences of the directors of these media production were male, and those workers in the office do a lot of the detailed work and day to day work were actual women that were in the office. Our office here, we have majority of women that actually do our work here in the PANAFEST office.

Pause; go on please;

So this year, we are looking to hand over a lot of that work from within our office, so working with professionals we will like to work within our office because were not too please with the performance of the agencies we contracted to last year. So, we will be looking this year to kind of working with specialised individuals that will be able to work along with this, I mean PANAFEST festival celebrations.

So, I hope you will involve women as well.

Yes, by all means

So that women will be able to focus, the reason why I am trying to gear my attention on women is that if more women see themselves as part of PANAFEST celebrations, that is a suggestion I am making, probably, it will prompt other less fortunate or privileged women, will help them to rethink about themselves and then assert themselves in terms of national development.

Yes, you are right, I think this is important, whenever we get a chance, to showcase our women; they do so, not only for their own
professional purpose, being qualified to do so but for inspiring and
send messages to other women for the confidence that they have and
that they can achieve because they are women and to see other
women in those kind of positions; it is influential and encouraging.

I am saying this because with all the women and the men that I
have spoken to since I came, it looks like women’s roles are
geared towards preparation of both food durbar grounds for the
festivals. But nobody is actually interested or speaking or trying
to say something on the professionalism of women or how women
can be encouraged to aspire to greater heights or into the
professional medal of PANAFEST festival celebrations.

Well, our women are no small women so all those who are involve are
involved in some influential way. I will say that Nana Ayaba Amba,
Queen Mother and also the President of the Queen Mothers
Association of the Central Region, Auntie Esi Sutherland, the dauther
of the idea behind PANAFEST, Madam Efau Sutherland of blessed
memory, again no small person, one of our dynamic progressive
woman, Ekuasi Swanzy, she runs and owns chains of restaurants in
the region. They not only active community members, they are forceful
and powerful, so they are not just sit back women, but women who
are very involving.

In all, how many women do you think are very vocal and
involving in PANAFEST festival celebrations?

Well, we can say in one sense, because we haven’t numbered them,
they are not few, but there are significant numbers. We respect their
opinion and when it happens, it is not something that we can keep quite or push aside. We don't seek to but even if that is our mind, it is hard because these women are very dynamic and powerful.

Thank you very much sir, but before I finish off, it is unfortunate I couldn’t get Nana Ayaba Amba, the Queen Mother to talk to. But I will be grateful if on my behave tell her that if she can find time, even when I am off to the United Kingdom, I will call her wherever I am and interview her on line.

Oh, excellent, I will give you her number.

Then again if she can send by post, the policy document or statement of mission the Association of Queen Mothers because I have not got time to talk to her due her tight schedule and my as well and is it possible for me to have the necessary document on PANAFEST.

Yes, you can have these

Again, I say thank you sir for your time and sharing your knowledge on PANAFEST with m.
As the former Deputy of PANAFEST planning committee in Accra, were there any woman serving on the committee?

Do your office has any policy document that addresses gender issues?

You mentioned the media, do you think the media is actually championing the course of women?

Do you think cultural and traditional practices affect Ghanaian women in any form?
DIRECTOR, CAPE COAST CULTURAL CENTRE

Good after Sir, I am here purely for academic purposes, that is a research student from Uwic University School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management. The research is basically on the Representation and Presentation of Ghanaian Women in festival celebrations, PANAFEST, as a case study. I am looking at the paradox of Queen Mothers, the problem that queen mother and women in Ghana faces in terms of tradition and culture; and their involvement in festival celebrations. This a bit of all about my research; and as the head of Cape Coast Culture Centre and Cape Coast being one of the base of PANAFEST celebrations, can you please tell me what PANAFEST IS ALL ABOUT?

PANAFEST came about as a result of a resource paper that was written by Efua Sutherland on holding of a dramatic historical theatre that is theatre drama based on historical events; so we have history on slavery and some other things. And actually, the first PANAFEST celebrations, was held along that line, a dramatic historic theatre festival. But it was after holding the first one some where in 1994 that this whole idea of expanding it came up. Because I remember that all the groups that performed during that time were all groups that were based in Ghana and one or two groups from outside and that there
was a big committee in Cape Coast that did a lot of the ground work and events were held in Cape Coast Castle. So after that initial one, the idea of opening it up and inviting many other people to join up came about. But to opening it up, it also has so many elements that were brought to bear; art exhibition as part of it, national and international women’s day, forum for the discussions of papers and so on.

So that is how it involved and it ruled. In 1997 when I was a Deputy Director, we run it along the same line.

**Deputy Director of what?**

Deputy Director of PANAFEST secretariat; we have the Accra office and the Cape Coast office, the Accra office was the planning part of it and the Cape Coast office was more or less like implementing the activities of PANAFEST celebrations. When it came close for the festival, we all move from Accra to Cape Coast and actually supervise the day to day running of the festival.

**But before you go on, the Accra Planning Committee was there any woman on the planning committee?**

Yes, at the committee level, there were women; somebody like Esi Sutherland – Addy, the daughter of Efua Sutherland, was very instrumental in nearly all the PANAFEST festivals up to date. She is a member of both the national and international planning committees and certainly some women have made their way to the committee level. After 1997, the question of PANAFEST secretariat turning it into a foundation came up. So those of us, who worked for PANAFEST in
those days, were drafted from various organisations, various cultural and heritage organisations to work both in Accra and in Cape Coast. But after the 1997 festival, there was this idea of turning the secretariat into a foundation. This means that we all have to go back to our mother institutions. And then the foundation was born out of Cape Coast here; and we went on from there onwards, that resulted in the change in personals and the secretariat, that is those who used to work for the previous PANAFEST.

So, how involving are our women in the planning stages of PANAFEST?

If you look at all the programmes that we have, women are very involving, because I know they have a women’s day, they have always have a women’s day, and women’s committees sitting in the main committee. And on top of that too they will be planning the festival of a lot of activities of that women’s day. If at any point I am able to show you some of the copies of the previous book on the PANAFEST festival, I have a file here, you will see some of the activities. Specially, the last one they have, if you compare it with the previous ones, the differences are not very much, the strategies are just about the same. As I was saying, from the records you will see there have been a lot of activities involving women in the women’s day; it is a whole day activity, different aspect of that particular programme I can show you some of the reference.

Do you have any policy document on culture that addresses gender issues?
In a typical Ghanaian situation, some of these gender issues are very; very tricky issues that sometimes it is not looked at proper perspective by policy maker, people in authority and elders in the country. And the other part of it, which I personally think is that, I believed the women too are not making their voices heard, this can be quote or unquote. Because the policy cannot go on certain directions without people reacting to it; so even if it is a very good policy, we expect the women to react. They themselves should also come up and show something as their reaction to what is going on. But the policy goes, and whatever the ideas comes from, “this co-male kind of thing and the women just don’t react and they say ho it is an accepted norms or that kind of thing”. Over the time, how can we tell that whether some of these policies are really doing the women good or not, especially if the women themselves are not reacting?

So here, are you saying they are not reacting because they are not well educated or educated enough to understand the issues of the cultural and the traditional norms that affect their lives.

The things that affect their lives are to be looked at in two different perspectives. There are some knowledgeable women who should take up some of these challenges on behalf of the less knowledgeable women. But what I have found out is that I thing the knowledgeable women have managed to take themselves out of the situation and they have kept quiet and sort of not relating back to these other less educated, less privilege, or less fortunate women. So who is going to champion their course of the people who cannot speak for themselves?
There is one group that are sort of seen the light and sort of and struggled out of it and they just kept quiet and they are not looking back to out other sisters there and how they are reacting. And in the same vain, I think that the other sisters are look up to these other ones for some kind of inspiration but they can not reach them; the privileged ones are not coming back and these ones who are not privileged are not reaching out to those privileged ones to find out what the privileged people are doing.

So, what do you suggest?

I think we need a very vigorous kind of education from both sides, the privileged people; people who understands some of these issues and people who are making all these suggestions should not just stay in the big cities and the capitals and make noise but rather should go back the rural areas to find out what is happening to their other sisters who are less privileged may be come from more rural areas. Because, of course it is only in the capital towns and the big cities that when you short, people will here of you through the media, how about these other women who do not have the privilege of the media; so somebody has to turn attention to them so that whatever the problems can also be heard at that level.

You mentioned the media; do you think the media is actually championing the course of women?

Sometimes I have my doubts; sometimes they speak to it but I wonder whether they are speaking loud enough because if you have these big seminars on gender issues and it is in the capitals, and you stay in a
nice hotels and make the nice decisions, when does it take for these other people to benefit from it, our rural folks, rural women and the less privileged women, How are they going to hear of this kind of things; when TV (television) does not get that far; nowadays the FM radio stations are all over the place but whether some of these issues will be a matter of policy for some of these stations to be dealing into gender affairs. Most of the stations play a lot of music, they do a lot of sports, they do a lot of current affairs and things but I do not see any of them that talk on specialised gender issues as regards. So I do not know when and how the media can still be part of some of these issues. Because, as I said the irony of the thing is that they stay in Accra (the capital of Ghana), they stay in Cape Coast with these big meetings in these big hotels and after that who is carrying whatever information, what is the place between them and the women down there.

So what do you suggest then?

I suggest a stronger bridge to be build between both sides; these other sides ought to be able to reach out or get to these people down; that is the less privileged women and people. The less privileged people ought to have to find an access of letting these privileged people listen to them, because if they listen to them I am sure it might shape some of the policy decisions, their discussions that are held in some of these big places. Most of the time, I think and wonder the amount of input that these less privileged people (women) make into the kind of discussions that these people have.
So are you calling for some sort of advocacy?

The advocacy, some advocacy is there already, existing but as I said it is just the bridge between both sides of the world, it is two sides of the same world, whether there is a bridge across to get to each other, privileged to less privilege and less privileged to privileged should be there and that is what I think.

Here, being a cultural centre, how do you think that cultural and traditional norms affecting women in the Ghanaian society

Some of them are serious set back to the development of women;

What is the seriousness about it?

Some of these cultural practices are serious set backs, traditional practices because they have been accepted over the years and have became a cultural phenomenon. But sometimes when you look at the whole it the irony is that the people who are propagating these things are again themselves are the women. Some of these widowhood rites, I am sure that we have noticed that some of them are really so out of date and are no longer necessary but you will be surprised to find that is the women who lead to these things and they tried to give possible reasons as to why these things must stay and they are some the people who are championing some of these causes as to a continued observance some of these negative acts. I am not saying it is the women who are doing that to our people, but there some negative scenes, like traditional practices that seriously ought to go away with.

The other side of the coin is that there are some women who are leading in the gradual dissolution of some of these traditional
practices. There is a women in Cape Coast here who is called, she did a project with school female children and they were using the horn (menson is normal thought that it is male, it is a horn that is used to herald the arrival and the departure of chiefs and very important people in the society. And more so it is been a male kind of thing and this women took school children use this “menson” and decided to break away from this thing just to find out or make a statement that women could be very instrumental in breaking down some of these traditional norms. And that group worked and that group is still up till today. They have played so many important functions, when Bill Clinton came to Ghana, they were the part of the team that entertained the President and when parliament was inaugurated they were also there. So I think this is a very bold thing that has been initiated by a woman; by this woman I am talking about completely break away or dismantled some of these negative traditional practices. **This woman you are talking about is it possible for me to meet her. Oh it is unfortunate I am leaving on coming Saturday and have a lot to do.**

Yes, I have her contact number and I can arrange for you to meet her. **Coming back to my main point, does the Cape Coast cultural Centre has a gender policy?**

We are supposed to have a working document in a form of a cultural policy that is still in a draft state. **Is it ok to have a copy of the policy?**
That draft is a big document and it speaks about the entire spectrum of our cultural heritage and certainly has made room, but certainly does not discriminate against women. I never read anywhere in that document where it says women should be pushed to the background but I can let you see that document. And you yourself will deduce from it that if that document is passed as a cultural policy for Ghana, that document will be good for the advancement for women. Because as I said, I have never read anywhere, were women are supposed to delegated to the background that cultural policy document.

Yes, you have raised a very important question about the delegation of women to the background position at social and state gatherings. At any social gathering, especially at durbar grounds of chiefs and queen mothers, one realises that the seating arrangements are made in a way that the chiefs and their entourage, who are mostly men are seated in the front role, where the media cameras are always on them while women are placed at the background positions and are not even seen in the picture. Why is it so, why, why, can you please explain why?

In our traditional political systems, there supposed to be the female counterparts of the chief, who is this woman called the “Obahene” or the Queen Mother who represent women’s interests; Then one step further, there is a collections of chiefs and they have association at to point that they have a regional house of chiefs and then they have a national house of chiefs; but you just can understand it why women are not part of some of these structures, it is so strange. But the little
encounter I have with some of these traditional leaders is that ho, they don’t suddenly want to give them too much political power or deliberations or whatever it is, But when you look at the underline bases, these are the opposite sides of the female because they take care of female interest in the traditional political system. And it is strange that they don’t want to give some or equal traditional status and I think they should elevate the status a little bit. But again, I think if a group of hard working serious queen mothers form an association, which now I have seen a few queen mothers in some traditional areas, I am they should be able to step up their activity level so that they can also, it is not a challenging the chiefs but raising their status a little bit so that they can be heard much more than they are doing now. Because as you are saying it is right, the camera is on the chiefs. The chiefs sit in the front and the women counterparts, a few of them just near them or they sit in the background; they don’t seem to pick on the sensitivity on the women chiefs as well, which for me I think is not right. But again, if you look at the structure of the political system, you see that the women, the “Obaheneba”, the structures they have it is not the mass kind of thing, because the queen mother has one or two chaperons, and basically that is that and may be a few other women who may be there but the entourage of the male chief are bigger and stronger and say a lot more. Even if you look at the symbolic things they use, the umbrellas, the male, the Omanhene (Chiefs), their umbrellas are huge and big and the Obaheneba the umbrella is not that big, but it is small. All these they
are saying things that I think that simply just means that you can’t have power or that recognition up to my level, you can have something which existing but the women themselves would have to again fight for their cause, they should relay their activity levels a little bit, we don’t want them seemed to be championing, challenging or overriding them but they should raise up their levels a little bit.

This sounds very interesting, I did a research and read about the Akan society of which the people of Cape Coast is part of the Akan society is established or founded by female mythical ancestors but strangely, they assumed lesser positions in the very society they founded; can you tell me why?

You see, I tell you something, it is so surprising, whenever since I since I started working here, there is a little insight I have done into the social and the family structures, for example in Cape Coast here, the line of succession, which is the matrilineal line of succession has a lot to offer these women. But the men are not making a positive impart that is not on the political traditional system but that is on the family structural levels. The thing is that you take after your mother even the educated men are certainly don’t look after their children very well with the hope that the children belong to the woman because of the matrilineal kind of succession and so therefore the women are actually struggle to keep up children and to raise their families and things. But what the men don’t realise is that their influences are becoming lesser and lesser and are not being recognised. So the women have, when I go to any social programmes or gatherings and
look around women seem to be much more heard and seen and the
are always relegated to the background to the point that there is a
Minister in this area who is a woman and I see a trend that if the men
don’t assert themselves a little bit, a long time to come, we may have
only women parliamentarian from Cape Coast.

This is strange.

That is the thing I have noticed because if you go to their weddings,
their funerals and things the women speak with some certainty, the
men are a bit nip because the economic contributions they make are
not strong enough simply because this question of line of succession
is there and the women have to take up the responsibilities of raising
their families so the men have almost neglected their responsibilities
of the traditional things that they are suppose to do. And I am telling
you that it is a serious issues even the educated men, some of them
are not seriously looking after their families. So I looked through and
looked through and I have seen that trend even comes up in the
politics of the day. They have a woman Member of Parliament and if
they don’t take care women MP will continue to come from Cape Coast.

This is because women here have asserted themselves. This does not
compare to the traditional political systems, this is just compares to
the family structures that are there. And that is what I looked at and
look at. Because as supposed to where I come from, it is a patrilineal
kind of succession.

Where exactly do you come from?
I come from Ga and Ewe and both are patrilineal; so when you go to any social function, is the men who take the decision, that is everything evolves around the men, they form the decision makers and it is the exactly the opposite when you come to Cape Coast. And you even see it at the Church, where the women are more vocal than the men. Whether it is the orthodox or the “charistimatic churches” the born again churches, you see a gradual trend; the women by numbers are more than the men. I am not saying that the matrilineal system is not good, it has it own strength and weakness but the little study I have made and what I have noticed is that because of the matrilineal system, the way I expect the men to be, up and doing is not what I find in Cape Coast here. It has gradually crept into family and social affairs here in Cape Coast. I don’t know whether people realise it but women are more assertive than the men.

What is you name?

Well, Mr Emanuel Kow thank you very much, I told you I won’t take much of your time and promised to be within 20 –30 minute time limit again I say thank.
You spoke about the importance of festival and the role of women, why should women take background role?

Can you please explain why Queen Mothers assume background position?

If you look into our ancient history and the Bible, women are not allowed to be fore bearers. If you look at it critically, you realise that women are always not counted and for this reason women are not seen in front roles or fore bearers. The same principle applies the
people of fanti-land. The black seat is for our chiefs and women are not allowed to sit on it, not even the Queen Mothers. However things have changed and even 100 per cent if these days with the wave of allowing women to be in the lime light if they are to sit on the black seat as the chief; and this is the more reason why women always assume background or lesser positions in public and social functions. The change is due to enlightenment and it all started right here in Cape Coast to allow our women to assume some level of front role positions.

You know what, before coming down to Ghana; I conducted a research on Queen Mothers in Ghana, in Akan society for that matter. It came up that the Akan society of which I belonged to was founded by mystical female ancestors and no attempt have been made to trace their origin. And what amazes is that even though they are the founders of the land, yet, they assume lesser positions in public. I also came out that it is the Queen Mothers who nominate a suitable candidate to assume chieftaincy position and if so why do Queen Mothers assume lesser position if the land belongs to them, do you know why and can you explain further?

You are perfectly right, if you have a critical look, the land is name after a woman that is “Assesi Afua” in fanti and in twi is “Assesi Yaa”. If you do a detail research, you may get the truth but not all. For this reason, we the akan believe that the akan society is founded by a woman and this is the more reason why we the people of akan always give power to our women. In all gatherings in akan society, we allow
the older woman to make the first utterance before the rest of members of the society can also speak. The same applies to the Queen Mother she make the first utterance then follows by the rest of the members of the family. The most important of it all is when there is a problem to be solved and the problem solver is the old lady in the family and this is the power given to women in our akan society. However, what I have noticed or observed and it is not fear, but I believe this is how women are created and ordained by God that women should stay behind and support who ever is in the lead. There is an adage saying, “Behind every successful man, there is a woman”. A man can only be successful in live with the help of his wife or partner.
Interview No. 13: Mrs Lewisa Constance Aggrey, Female Lecturer, Mfantispim Secondary School: Cape Coast, Central Region

- What is the role of Akan Queen Mothers in Festival celebrations?
- What is Fetu festival, can you please explain?
- What is the role of women in festival celebrations?
- How can you blend tourism and women’s development, focusing on PANAFEST festival as the key issues?
- Do you think education and finance is a barrier to the development of women?
March 25, 2004

This interview took place at the campus of the Mfantispim Secondary School, Cape Coast. Mrs Lewisa Constance Aggrey, Head of the English Department, Mfantispim Secondary, Cape Coast

Have you in any way observed any festivals since you started your work as a lecturer at the Mfantispim Secondary, here in Cape Coast. It is all about the role and involvement of women in festival celebrations; focusing on PANAFEST as an international festival that brings together all Africans and African descents in the diasporas. So will please tell me about the local festival here as against the cultural, traditional and social norms of the society.

Well, when we talk about festivals, in the first place, we are looking at a situation where the people are united under one social factor, and that is a festival and this is a happy reunion. Now during the festivals, we ask for prayers for good harvest to come in the same year and then we give thanks for the harvest that we had hard. And during this season, all family members come home and so it a happy reunion. And then that is the time, the entire community also asks for blessings. Now, during this period we have the women playing very important roles, in the chief’s palace for instant, the women are there, they are there to cater for the chief’s welfare; they are there to ensure that there is enough for everybody to eat and festivals deals with abandons of food for everybody. And so you realised that the women, the chiefs, the “Obaheneba” (Queen mother) they play very active roles
because they must ensure the unity of the entire community. Now this

goes on, the “Fetu” for instant;

**Well the Fetu, what is it?**

That is the festival for the Cape Coast people festival for instant;

**Can you please give me a little background information of the “fetu” festival?**

Well, the “fetu” festival highlights on how the fantis came to be,
especially the Capes Coasters, how they got to the coast and I believed
that they have this festival in honour of the spirits that guarded and
protected them to this present site. This was believed that they arrived
from Tachyiman, the fantis arrived from Tachyiman and lodged at
“Efuttu”. Efuttu is closed to Kakum, if you are going to Kakum
national park the Central Region of Ghana, you find Efuttu
somewhere there, and from Efuttu, they came over here. And when
they settled and found that they were content, they found that there
must be something to unite them and that is the “Fetu” festival. So
out of this, several people have been reunited. But I believe, I found
out that during the colonial era, the festival was band and it was
revived, I think in 1964 or 1965. When it was revived, it became a
communal affair, all Cape Coasters, abroad wherever came home, it
was a happy reunion for them. And of course, when it comes to this,
you realised that the women, especially the mothers are mostly happy
and always busy, making sure there is this food and there is this fish
and there is this and Cape Coasters we have this traditional fish,
“Tilapia” the lagoon, the “faso” lagoon produces this tilapia and they
say that the tilapia has a very good taste. And all those who come home during the festival would want to eat tilapia. Well, Effua Sutherland, is Cape Coaster, she was born and bred in Cape Coast and she was into tradition, so when in the early 1960’s, soon after independence, Kwame Nkrumah realised that most Ghanaians have been alienated from their traditions because most of them who were highly educated have to go abroad to study in Europe and come back. It was like when they came back, they were just imitating, trying to imitate whatever lifestyle they saw in Europe and Nkrumah became a bit disturbed so he launched this African Personality and charged people to research into their lost cultural identity and to ensure that it exposed and we relearn our traditions. So we had Nkrumah charging those who were good at writing, creative writers just delve into our past and compose dramatic piece and get it produced for people to see themselves, get themselves ridiculed, helped them to learn and relearn their Ghanaian identity. And that was also the time that Kwame Nkrumah introduced the idea of African personality. So Kwame Nkrumah introduced the pouring of libation at social and state functions, wearing of “Kante” clothes at state functions, so just in a way of trying to help us relive our traditions. Now out of this, Kwame Nkrumah charging people to research, write and produce our cultural, Efua Sutherland, who then had a flair in writing, also did a research and came up with plays like the marriage of “Anasua”, Oforiwa and some other plays. And she also ensure that she gathered some children, she had a group of children at Ekumfi Etwue and Efua
Sutherland was using these groups to ensure that she has a group that can help and sustain the traditions that we have lost. Then again I believed that also understand that Efua Sutherland had some Americans sponsorship so out of that she built a drama studio, which has now been transported to the University of Ghana, Legon campus and its place we have the national theatre. And as these went on, I believed that with Efua Sutherland connections and relationships with the Americans, this idea of Pan-Africanism kept on ringing and more over because she was an active and was writing, she was just visualised a future that will bring down our brothers and sisters in the diasporas through the act. So Efua Sutherland came up with the idea of Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST), so she wrote a paper on it, it went to the Ministry of Education and Culture, they studied it and they felt that yes indeed, Efua was on the right track. So I think we had a mock on PANAFEST in 1991 at the Cape Coast Castle, we use the local groups and then in 1992, we had the first Pan-African Historical theatre Festival (PANAFEST). Now, being a woman, and then seeing Efua Sutherland, coming up with this idea, infact, I really got enthused about this whole thing for a woman to come up with this, then this tells us of the depth of our tradition, it tells us of the dept of her love to bring back our brothers and sisters who are in the diasporas back home. It also highlights on her love to see all people united under one culture. And so fortunately, the Government of Ghana embraced that idea and the Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST) is a biannual programme. And
I believe it has got on well with Europeans sisters and brothers. And our Queen Mothers active role and I think, everybody within the traditional set up is giving is given the support that is needed to be given. Of course may I have this information because I was working with the Centre for National Cultural; I was with them for some time.

Oh I see, I was going to ask you, because your knowledge on it is too much enormous.

Of course, we know we have traditional roles as women, but then looking at the contemporary society, if we mean to go by our traditional norms, then we will also be left behind

Why do you say that?

Traditionally, as it is in the Bible, we are looking at marriage, the family, the nucleus family, women be submissive, men love their wives and that has been given an interpretation that woman must always bow “mewura” that means, (my lord) and if you are to be there to always say the “mewura” (my lord) my lord, my lord that kind of thing, nothing will get going. This is the time that the woman and the man must work to support the family. Gone when the days when it was felt that man must work, the man must own large parcels of land, the woman must support the man on the land and must have several children to weed and produce and feed them, now it is not possible.

Having so many children is a burden in the first place for the woman, going in for the tenth child in order to be given a goat or a sheep doesn’t really give any thing better than health hazards. So now with education, formal education now firmly in place, people now
understanding that they need to be formally be educated, we realised that when you go through education, it delays so many things. Because you are educated you are so enthused about earning this, going there, doing this and so you realised that by the age of 25, 26, 27 you are now coming out of the university and you are now fully confident that yes I have had enough and then I will want to settle and marry. So, then, when you marry late, definitely you are going to have fewer children. Definitely, because of your education, you will want to ensure that your children also have better education, therefore, you will only want to give birth to the children that you can carter for. So now going at the traditional role and the contemporary role now, I believe that we should have a perfect blend, we don’t have to throw away our tradition, we should know where we have come from. We should make some consultations but then we must also have the wider world in mind where we can fit in every situation other wise we just be there and I believed that most of our Queen Mothers are now educated and so they can have public speeches, they attend meetings, they also talk and come out with their ideas. Now they are thinking of Queen Mothers Associations, because they think that the chiefs have left them behind for far too long, because they must also be behind them, they must always come out with suggestions, so this traditional idea when there is knotting or difficulty issues to be solved “ekobesa aberewa ab” (let go and ask the old lady) and the “aberewa” (the old lady) is the Queen Mother who must also be in the background for consultations. At this time, they must come forward, they must let
their feelings be heard, they must be seen to directing people to ensure that, yes, this people know where they are going to must fit them selves into the modern society. So I believed that women, generally if we are aware of ourselves, if we are aware of the power of we can control, then I think we will have a better nation if we should have women in the lime light.

**How can you blend tourism and women’s development, focusing on PANAFEST as the key issue?**

Tourism and women’s development, we have this adage, travel and see, so it is when you travel that you get the experience and you stand in a better position to improve on your own situations. But then, if we are fortunate enough to have tourism well developed then the most fortunate thing is that people from all works of life are coming over and as they come, they come with different norms, cultures and ideals all together. So when the women have the opportunity to interacting with them, it opens them up, it help them to see and to understand people better, to understand general behaviour better and to understand world issues better. So I believe that is tourism in a way trying to link people within the world, trying to bring together to make the world much smaller. Because on your own as a woman, maybe because of the children, maybe because you must take care of your husband, you must take care of the extended family, travelling most of the time will be a problem. So if you are fortunate for the government to bring people all over the place for you to deal with, then I believe that it serves as an eye opener, to the woman, and at least it also
offers the woman something to aspire to; they come, they see them, they interact with them, new ideas develop and you want to do something else, so I believe that promotion of tourism is a way of helping the woman to also improve on herself.

**Do you think education and finance is a barrier to the development of women?**

Looking at it in the Ghanaian context, I will want to look at our traditions, gone are the days when the boys are given preference over the girls when it comes to education, but at least they have been hammering give your girl child the chance, send your girl child to school, so even those who never had formal education now understand that the girl must also go to school. But then, of course, if we have irresponsible fathers, who won’t want to really do much to benefit the children, the mothers are always saddled with that problem of sharing that the children are better off. And if they are not in any good employment, then the problem will be they won’t have enough money to take them to school. The desire may be there but because of a poor financial base, because of lack of formal education, because the person can not really fit into some other jobs that will pay well they have that problem; they can’t send the children to school. And these are the people who can not say no and they can not control the number of births that they should have and so they are saddened with that problem. Now, we have this education and family planning and all this kind of things, I believe most women are aware but because of lack of formal education, “well if my husband want it why
shouldn’t I, and so the children keep on coming. But the educated
ones we know how to control ourselves, whether you want it or not, if
the woman says that I want two children, she will definitely get two so
these are some of things and finance indeed is a barrier to the
development of women in all disciplines. First you need money to do
everything you want to do; for instant if you don’t have enough to eat,
how do you think of sending a child to school, you may not like it but
out of the two choices, you will want to eat first.

Thank you very much Madam for time and sharing your
knowledge with me again I say thank.
Interview No. 14: Ekow Yamson, Director, Regional Museum, Elimina Castle, Central Region

What are the roles of women in festival celebrations?

What are the significant of Bakatue festival and the role of women?

If women are very visible in festival celebrations, why should they take background position?

Why should Ghanaian society give prominence to men rather than women?

Why PANAFEST a big festival in the Central Region and what role do women play?

In terms of education, what is the level of education of the people of the Elimina, especially the women?

Do you have any policy on gender and affirmative action?

INTERVIEW FOURTEEN

March 25, 2004, this interview took place at the Elimina castle.

Mr Kwo Yamson, Executive Director, Elimina Castle
Good Afternoon Sir, I am a Mphil/Phd research student at the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, University Institute of Wales, Cardiff (Uwic). My research is topic on Representation and Presentation of Women in Tourism, using PANAFEST as a case study. Currently I am looking into the role and involvement of women in festival celebrations, especially as Elimina being a tourism destination. The allocated time for this research is between 20 to 30 minutes and promise to be within the time limit; having said that, will you please comment on the role of women in festival celebrations.

Actually in our cultural setup all stressed is equally between the men and the women. The unique aspect of about the women, for example is it come to the dancing and the area that you portray our cultural heritage, the women are actually are very prominent. For example, during “Bakatue” the opening up of the river, apart from the other things that will be done at the forum when they come to the lagoon, when you have these women mobilise to put in the canoes. Actually, they will be the people who will be portraying the cultural aspect in the form of dancing, showing actually how the whole it started. The men also have their parts to play but the women are very prominent when it comes to the dancing and this aspect of it.

What is the significant of “Bakatue”? Bakatue is basically the opening the lagoon, it is celebrated once every year in June, that is, the second week of June. This is where we are at advantage to lay a ban on fishing at the lagoon and to release the
The generation of fish and the norms of the area are also observed. On the formal day, when the ban is lifted that is when we say that they are opening the lagoon; so Bakatue is the day when we formal lift the ban on fishing.

You made mention about the parts both men and women play during the Bakatue festival, the women, you stated categorically, what are parts the men play?

Whatever it is, it is for all of us we all do it together but when it comes to this aspect, when we are laying emphasises on the dancing and the other things, the women are much better, they are much more visible as compared to the men.

If the women are very visible in festival celebrations as you have just stated; according observation and small research I carried out, the women are very vocal and active at social gathering but on durbar grounds, women are not as visible as their male counterparts you see the seated at the background or delegated to the back, why is it and can you please explain further?

Well, they are not actually fully relegated to the background, for example, is you come to the durbar grounds; you have somebody like the Queen Mother, who will be seated at the same place the Omanhene (the chief) will be seated, so they have their role. But in terms of kingship, we turn to give much more prominence to men than women. But there are areas in Ghana today where we have
women actually also acting as defector chiefs but in the main, we
almost always turn to give much prominence to the men.

**Why do you give much more prominence to the men than the
women?**

This comes out of the cultural set ups and traditional roles, Even
though it is the woman in form of the Queen Mother, who select a
chief or Oamnhene to be, time past, right from the beginning it is
always the men who have been fulfilling these roles. So I should think
that in our historical past, even though we have very prominent
women like the Asanties having Yaa Asantiwa. Yaa asantiwa actually
came to fit in situation when the men of Asantis were found wanting
during the colonial administration war with the people of the Asantis
in the Asanti Region, when the King was exiled to the Seychelles
Islands and they were finding problems, actually getting quality
leaders to fill in the position of the chief, but traditional, it has always
been the men. So it got something to do with our traditional set up.

**Why PANAFEST a big festival celebration in the central region?**

To actually bring all Africans together, the emphasis is that there are
quiet a lot of Africans in the Diasporas, so at this point in time, all
those in the Diasporas and still those of us who are still here, have the
opportunity to come together to relate and to actually look at our past
so that we can talk about the future.

**What are the advantages and disadvantages of having the
PANAFEST here in Eilmina as one of its celebration destination?**
Since PANAFEST came into being we have had more relationship and interactions with our brothers in the Diasporas to the extent that some of them have now come home. Even in the Elemina community, we have some of them who have came back and settled among us, so bring us back together there is this integration. We no longer see ourselves as different people living in different parts of the world, like African, Jamaicans or Africa African -American, but we now see ourselves as one people with common goal and aspiration.

**What other advantages has PANAFEST brought to the people of Elemina apart from bringing together families and friends in terms of jobs and education?**

Actually, in terms of benefits, you can talk about benefits in the form of relationships and seeing us as one people but financially, it is the hotels and those in the hospitality businesses who have been having big day. Those in the communities might some little effect but this is not much because most of them come in small groups and spend a couple of days, actually they just walk through the community now and then but the impact does not actually go down right to the people.

**Why do you then say that it is the hotels that are making money?**

It is the hospitality industries, for example, when they come, that is where they spend their money, we may have some small effect on those who sell the locally produced handicrafts like tie and dyes, those who make our traditional clothing, crafts and all those sorts of things but that is not very much but if you look at the charges at the hotels
and the sort of people you see, the bulk of the money is deposited there. Some that goes to the community actually are very marginal. Then again, if it is marginal, that is it really has something to do with the environment, because one may ask that what are their perceptions when they are here in Elimina and do we have good hotels that can really accommodate them and make them feel comfortable as they are used to in their countries?

That is it we have few hotel quality hotels in Elimina, three stars there about.

How much do they charge, do you have an idea?

Very significant, about 60 or 70 dollars per a night, so I am looking at a situation where probably we have the capacity to accommodate people like this in homes so that peoples and families will bring them in and some moneys could be generated, which will be going directly to them. Unfortunately, we do not have the capacity of our own living environment, so we may not be able to attract them to areas where the people in the communities will get the direct benefit from the boom of the PANAFEST when we have so many of them coming to witness the festival.

What are the significant of women in the celebration of PANAFEST celebrations?

Actually, when it comes to PANAFEST celebrations, we cannot actually look and talk about who is who, we all doing what ever has to be done equally and I will say that our women are very prominent during such occasions. Because, when it come to the bazaars and whatever goes
with it, when you go out to the grounds, we have the significant of the people there, those who are dealing with traditional crafts in the clothing and the fashions things that you have, it is always women and they are very prominent.

In terms of education, what is the level of education of the people, especially among your women folk; do both have equal education and if not, what are the reasons?

In most cases, the men turn to be better educated than the women, but a conscious effect is being made this time.

Who is making the conscious effort?

Well, the government is playing its part, when the men are sufficiently educated, and families become aware of the significance of educating women they also will be at advantage, also there is actually a very strong affirmative active being taking this time to win back women into education ladder, even though it is not up to scratch but now conscious effort is being made.

Do you have any policy on gender and affirmative action?

No, not that I know of;

If no, what is your out fit doing in terms of gearing towards the progression of women as well as putting in place affirmative action not just to benefit men, but to strike an equal balance between men and women in terms of education and at public places.

Well, we actually, at this point whole contact with people that come in to visit us, and so we are on actually in the community. But from as
time went and from what we see from people who visit us, especially those in the first and the second circle schools, we see that very significantly, you see almost all the boys and girls coming in those from the schools coming daily, those from the schools and from these numbers are what I speak off. So this is the standpoint in which I say that quiet a lot of effort is being made to address the balance of education between men and women.

So, thank you much, Mr Kwo for your time and granting me such a wonderful interview
March 24, 2004 – This research interviewed Ben Yawson, worker at the Elimina Castle to make up all female focus group discussions. He spoke Fanti, his local language. He started off by saying that he is not from Elimina but live and work at Elimina Castle. With the initial problem of recruitment, the research decided to speak to him while the male focus group is prepared. I am here this afternoon to research into the role and involvement of women in PANAFEST festival.
of women in festival celebrations, focusing on PANAFEST celebrations. To begin with, what sort of festival is celebrated here at Elimina?

The people of Elimina celebrates the Bakatue festival and this festival takes place every in July, that is the first Tuesday in the month of July,

Is it the first week in July?

Yes, first week in July. This is the time that people from Elimina who have travelled outside Elimina, both home and abroad come home and sometimes too they come home to marry and sometimes they come to divorce and if there is a dispute in the family, the Bakatue festival is an occasion to settle all disputes. Again, during this time, women play very important role. They as mothers, sometimes if the men are not cooperating,

If the men are not cooperating in what sense, can you please elaborate?

If there is a divorce, and if for example, the women are at fault, the mothers sit down the men to talk thing over, so that there could be a compromise. So as you know, women always have positive thinking, when it comes to marriage. So as I have already said, during the festival, every person goes to the family house to greet the family head. They all together to sit down and eat together, so if there is a dispute, that is there that they settle, so that there can be a peaceful coexistence, so that there will be progress and use this occasion to plan ahead for what they want to do next year.
In that wise, you have seen PANAFEST festival celebrations, what significant role do women in Eleimna play?

PANAFEST celebration is the time that people from all over the world come here, during this time, women play important role. The women cook, they display their locally made batik materials and those from outside who come here will buy from them. So in a way, this help develop the financial aspect for the women and it also empowers them.

You made mention of PANAFEST celebration empowering the women financially, does it educationally empowers the women as well?

Educationally, yes.

In what sense, can you please explain further?

For example, when some of these Africa-Americans come, some of them have actually endeared themselves in developing women's education and sponsor some of them, so I think in a way they have to inculcate that idea of good education in women. You know our set up women are always at a disadvantage, but these days, they say no, men should also be at the kitchen and both sexes should be at the kitchen and at school.

So in a way, are you saying that the traditional and cultural norms have really relegated the women to the background, why?

It is always said that women should home and be at the kitchen because of the children, but we are saying that if woman is taken to school, education, empowers the woman more and through her
education, she is able to take good care of the children. So women’s education has helped to developed our women more than before.

You think that, now the fight for educating women, should continue;

Yes, this campaign for educating women should continue seriously and that will actually help develop the people. Because, you know, at one time, this son of Africa Kwageri Aggrey said, “if you educate a man, you have educated an individual, but if you educate a woman, you have educated a nation”. So if you empower woman through education, academically, this will help the lady to take care of her children and since the woman knows the importance of education, she will take the child to school and ideally, will also help the children to look decent.

Thank you for your time and the shared knowledge, you mention, PANAFEST, education and the role and involvement of women in festival celebrations here in Elimina, again I say thank you.
Interview No. 16: Mr. Kwesi Agyeri, Director, Centre for National Culture, Kumasi: Ashanti Region.

- What are the roles and involvement of women in festival celebrations?
- You mentioned the importance of the Akan stool and Why should it belong to the Akan Queen Mothers?
- Please I want to know if it is a normal practice for the Ahanti King/chief be the son of the Queen Mother?
Mr..... Director, Kumasi Cultural Centre

What are the roles and involvement of women in festival celebrations?

To begin with, I will want to look at the role of women, their prominent role of women in our society. You know we operate a matrilineal system and therefore the women are very, very important because they own the stools, which is the most important of it all in any community. The stools belong to the Queen Mothers;

Why should the Akan stool belong to the Queen Mothers? And Why should they assume lesser positions in your society?

Why, because it is the Queen Mother who chooses who should be on the throne or enstooled as a chief, by virtue of that because that person is also a family member, she has the first choice, or option of who should be a chief, that tells you that the throne is from the Queen Mother; The King of Ashanti so that gives you the position of our women in our society,

Before you go on, is it a normal practice for the King of Asanti to be the son of the Queen Mother?
Yes, I think this is about the second time the late King (Otumfo Opoku Ware 11- died in 1998/99) was the sister of the Queen Mother, because they are all from the same family, it can also happen. Like I was saying, the Queen Mother is very important, apart from choosing, she also has the option of the first choice who should rule the throne. Because of the fact that here we belong to our mothers, I am an “Esonam” that is the clan of my mother.

**How do you relate the role of women in festival celebrations?**

Women play very important role in festival celebrations and their leadership role in the fact that they are in charge of the home.
FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Eight unstructured group interviews (Focus Group Discussions) held in Accra, capital of Ghana, Greater Accra Region, Cape Coast and Elimina both in the Central Region. The Accra one is the most successful because this research managed to get all the three groups, namely, all female, all male and both male and female groups. However, it was very difficult to assemble all the three groups in both Cape Coast and Elimina and two individual interviews were held in place of all female focus group discussions which was supposed to take place in Cape Coast and Elimina respectively. Unfortunately, the Kumasi focus group discussions was not feasible due to technical problems.

However, all the eight focus group discussions were done in the local languages. This is to allow free flow of information, especially when majority of group participants had informal education and this allowed them to communicate effectively in local language and not in English. This research technique is to allow openness and to avoid complaisance but also to allow each and every one in the various groups equal opportunity, especially the women and the less confident ones among the groups due to
lack of formal education to speak their mind and freely contribute to the discussions without fear or intimidation.

ACCRA - GREATER ACCRA REGION

FIRST UNSTRUCTURED GROUP INTERVIEWS /FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS


Good Afternoon, ladies and gentlemen, I am here as a research student from the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, University Institute of Cardiff, Wales (UWIC). I am a Ghanaian by birth and here to research into the role and the involvement of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations. This discussion is purely for academic purposes and will be grateful for equal contribution. This I mean I want each and every one of you to speak freely without fear or intimidation. Thank you answering to my call without reservations, I promise the time limit for this discussion will be between 20 to 30 minutes.

I am here this morning to research into the role and involvement of women in festivals celebrations, as well as how Ghanaian
women are presented and represented in festival celebrations in relation to tourism development in Ghana. I will be grateful if you elaborate more on local festivals like Akosidai, Homowo, Bakatwe and PANAFEST. I will like you to start the discussion with local festivals and end it all with PANAFEST, which we all know draws large audiences from both the country and other parts of the world. I will not make a lot of talking but will ensure the coordination of proceeding in order to allow participation of all present and free flow of information, without fear of intimidation as earlier stated, will somebody set the ball rolling. Please let use the local language to ensure equal participation and equal share of information and be reminded that time limit is between 20 to 30 minutes, thank you.

First Female Speaker – To my knowledge and understanding festivals are meant to bring people of all shades together, by ensuring oneness or unity by reminding us of our roots through tradition, culture and customary practices left for us by our ancient ancestors.

First Male Speaker - PANAFEST is not just celebrated only by Ghanaians but by people of Africa descents who were taken away to foreign countries, like Jamaica, West Indices through slave trade. To many of these people in the diasporas home coming is very important because it gives them the sense of hope and joy to know their roots and also to learn more about the tradition and the customary practices of the Ghanaian culture as well as the history of the slave trades of the people of Africa to the new world and else where in the
world which actually started here in shore of Ghana, the then Gold Coast. Not only that and it is not only Ghana that has tradition, culture and other customary practices; when you look at the continent of Africa, there are diverse traditions, cultures and customary practices in all African countries like Nigeria, Tanzania and Northern Africa. All these African countries mentioned above and many more come together to celebrate PANAFEST in Ghana and this bring unity and also help people of Africa to understand the diverse traditions, cultures and customary practices in these African countries and more importantly to understand and come to terms with different festivals celebrations in other parts of the African continent. Africa traditions and cultures are very important in the sense that dance and songs have meanings and there can be exchange programmes on dances and songs among Ghanaians from other parts of the country so can it be among country to country on the African continent. PANAFEST is a period of home coming for Africans in the Diasporas, Africa African Americans to give account of them and to learn from each other.

Second Female Speaker – PANAFEST, I must say is a remembrance day to call home our sisters and brothers in the Diaspora to join us to celebrate all this important festival. The Africans in the Diaspora and the Africa African Americans their first point of call on their arrival to Ghana is to visit the slave tomb in a town near Cape Coast and the dungeons in the castles, that passage through which their ancestors were transported to the New World and other parts of the world including Great Britain. This places mentioned reminds the Africans
in the Diaspora and Africa African Americans of the pain and sorrows afflicted upon their fore fathers and mothers by then Colonial Administrators to sell them into slavery. This Remembrance Day is very important for the Africans in the Diaspora and the Africa African Americans who come to Ghana to celebrates PANAFEST, for them it is a moment of soul searching, joy and sorrow and helps heal the wounds suffered by their ancestors in the hands of so called slave trades people.

**How involving are women in PANAFEST celebrations, do you think women have any specific roles to play?**

**Third Female Speaker** – Yes, women have special roles to play in PANAFEST celebrations. For example, during any festival celebrations in the country, women play very significant and special role. The programmings of festivals are the sole work of women, which of course include preparation of food, that include special meals for festival celebrations. Homowo is a festival celebrated the Ga people of the Greater Accra Region of Ghana. During Homowo festival, special corn meal and palm nut soup is prepared by the women and this includes selected good sea fish to make the food very enjoyable and tasty. Women also make sure to special cloths to mark the occasion and to make the occasion very colourful and a day to remember. During festival celebrations, the Queen Mothers for instead are dressed in traditionally in their traditional kente and edikra cloths and hairdos like taakoua in fantiland in Cape Coast and Elimina in the Central Region and dansikran in the Asanti Region. All these are things done
by women to present and represent themselves through tradition and culture to the outside world at festival celebrations, in variably; women are the eye and key of the success of our traditional festival celebrations, which of course include PANAFEST. The decoration of women during festivals add colour to both PANAFEST and all traditional festivals. This demonstrates the importance of the role and involvement of women in festivals and how Ghanaian women are presented and represented on such festive occasions.

Please, does anyone have something to add?

Fourth Female Speaker – On festive occasions like festivals, although men take the leading role in programme planning on what should be done and who does what on occasions like festivals, the bulk of the work depend on women. Without women, there won’t be any meaningful work done regarding to preparation of festival food and many others. Normally on festival occasions, women add colour by ensuring that all those who takes part in the festival celebrations wear the same festive cloths with matching hairdo, beads, earrings and necklaces. Apart from that, traditional foods like “papale” is a traditional corn powder meal cooked at a certain degree, mixed with palm oil to give it that red/yellowish colour with palm nut soup that is sprinkled for the gods as a symbol of thanks giving. “Papale” as already mentioned is a traditional food for the people of Ga in the Greater Accra Region. It is a festive food prepared in every Ga home to celebrate the Homowo festival in the beginning of the month of August. During the Aboakyere Festival by the people of Winneba in the Central
Region, rice water and other traditional food like kenkey with fried fish
grounded fresh tomatoes and paper is also prepared by women to
serve everybody present at the festival Aboakyere festival. All these
festive foods and the wearing of traditional cloths are prepared by
women to ensure successful festival. So to me, women play very
significant role in festival and their role and involvement is second to
none.

You have all spoke at length on the role and involvement of
Ghanaian women in festival celebrations and that they play very
significant and important role, now let us look at how women are
presented and represented at durbar ground. My research and
observations has shown that even though women’s involvement
and role in festival celebrations in Ghana is second to none, they
always assume lesser positions in public and social gatherings
like festivals and PANAFEST. Can any of you, please explain why?

Fifth Female Speaker – The reason why women assume lesser
positions in public and social gatherings are that in our traditional
and socio – cultural sets ups, in everything we do men are allowed to
take the lead. This set up of allowing men to take the lead is equated
to the Holy Scriptures where is stated that men are the head of the
family. This statement from the scriptures has perpetuated into our
traditional believes and this norm of male domination and taking front
role position has eaten into our traditional set ups and has over the
years become an accepted norm which is very difficult to change. It is
just recently that women in Ghana are fighting back to change the old
tradition of men always taking leading position and oppressing women
to be at background position or staying at home and cooking at the
kitchen. Now Ghanaian women are crying out to say no to old
tradition of women always being pushed to background position or
assuming lesser positions in society and are now asking and pressing
for equal opportunity in Ghana society. Especially in education where
we as women have come to realise our learning potentials and when
given opportunity could assume greater heights than men. Ghanaian
women assuming lesser or taking background position in the past is
done in the name of tradition and now in modern Ghana, women are
saying enough is enough and are asking for equal opportunity and
equal right, that is the right for women to assume front role positions
and this I believe can be achieve through education. Again there are a
lot of advocacies campaigns for women to assert themselves. These
advocacies have been initiated both at national and international
levels supported by the government and engineered by various women
groups in the country. And government of Ghana has instituted an
affirmative active in all government institutions that requires 30 per
cent for both women, and girls to be taken either in employment,
school at both lower and higher learning institutions. In short, we
women in Ghana will make our presence felt at all levels of
institutions we might find ourselves.

Do any of you have something to add, please?

Second Male Speaker – In support of what the other speaker was
saying, in the past, when we say we are going to war, women were war
leaders, they lead the war, but now women stay at home during wars. One typical example of women warriors was Yaa Asantiwa, and since her, I do not remember or recollect any woman or women who have boldly decided to lead a war as Nana Yaa Asantiwa did, just a few women but where are they. In our social system, we regard our women as very precious and for that reason, if there is war, we prefer our women to stay at home and we the men take a front role positions. In such war-like situations we say “meberima bra, meberima bra”, which literal means men where are you that is calling on men to enrol and be listed into war women are therefore asked to stay at home. What I have also noticed at festive occasions is that we have spectators who normally take background position and those who take key roles in festival celebrations are seated at front role positions. Not only men who take front role seats on festive occasions like festival celebrations. Sometime the master of ceremony is a woman, also when it comes to distributing the programmes for festival celebration, on several occasions you will see women doing the distributions. On festival celebrations, there are other things which normally women are supposed to do and there are others that men are expected to do. We know and accept the fact that women are capable of doing work that were traditional male dominated but what normally happens are all these work are evenly distributed for equal share of work and on one is prevent any body for that matter women to take up traditional dominated male work, if that is what women want, so be it. Now both men and women take equal share in doing everything,
on like in the past where women are pushed behind the scene is no longer the case in Ghana.

Why, no longer the case now that is the situation where women are pushed behind the scene? Can somebody please explain the reason behind this sudden change of pushing women to take background position or assuming lesser role in our society?

Sixth Female Speaker – Now our elders have sat down and realised that women have certain potentials and if given the opportunity and pushed forward like their male counterparts, they will be in better positions to use such talents and potentials to help to develop, community, towns and the nation at large. Because women are always pushed behind the scene, we the women are not able to realise our potentials, talents and our important we are. Just as my other colleagues have already stated, society is now recognising the potentiality of women and it is up to women themselves to realise such potentials and allow themselves to be educated to a level that such talents and potentials will be put in good use.

First Female Speaker – We attended a conference called “brain –G Conference” where women are encouraged to assert themselves in society and for such encouraging move, more women are asserting themselves and taking up front role positions. Main issues discussed during the conference is what is called in English language as gender balance because organisers of the conference have realised that if women are involve in everything we do there are always positive
results. This one of the reasons why women are asserting themselves and making their voices heard.

**Second Female Speaker** – The assertive of women stated long time ago through a Ghanaian educationalist called Kwegeri Aggrey, who worked in Ghana, Kenya and South Africa. He once stated, “when you educate a man, you have educated and individual but when you educate a woman you has educated a nation”. Then again we have the Beijing conference held in China on women developments and other conferences on women have all moving towards women’ development and progress. Such conferences on women’s development have helped developed, establish, founded and created other women groups of which when you come to the media, we have “the Association of Women in the Media (Aswim), when you come to the legal, we have FIDA (Federation of Women Lawyers) and many NGOs (Non Governmental Organisations). All these groups are advocating for women’s right in Ghanaian society as well as supporting and helping women to be very positive thinkers and assert themselves. These supporting groups have created awareness and I must say that most of our women are very learned and doing very well in different areas like doctors, Engineers and many others. Encouraging women to assert themselves have really demonstrated when women are give equal opportunity and the chance to develop their talents they are more capable as their male counterparts.
Queen Mother/ Journalist GNA – she spoke in Ga language because she is one of the Queen Mothers in the Greater Accra Region, capital of Ghana.

In anything we do, if women are not included it will never be successful. Women are involving and play very important role in the selection and nomination of candidates for the post of chiefs in the Ga Traditional area in the Greater Accra Region king When it comes to festivals celebration women are the one who are asked to prepare festive food for the gods and the guest. And such festive foods include the preparation of “papale for the Homowo festival and all these are indications of the importance of the role women play. But when it comes to sprinkling of the food for the gods, it is the men who do the sprinkling and women just follow the procession. During the procession to thank the gods of the land, it is the chief and his entourage who take central position and take the lead followed by women but behind the scene, it is women who do the bulk of the work that is playing all the important roles. These behind the scene role-play by women are done to create unity among the two sexes as lay down traditional, cultural and customary practices. However, things are changing in the sense that the world has recognise the role and involve of women in all aspect of human endeavour and has called for equal opportunity for both sexes. For that reason, Ghanaian women are now fighting for their rights for equal recognition in very part they play in national and community development and this is being done through equal education for both male and female.
Third Female Speaker – There is an adage that if there is a problem to be solved, we turn to ask the old lady in the house because we believe she is full of wisdom and traditional knowledge. We never say let go and ask the men on how to solve the problem. This is a full indication of the importance of women in problem solving techniques. Again, there is a saying that behind every successful man there is a woman and in this regard, women deserve some of the honours when men make it to the limelight because it is through the blood and sweat of women that most men are able to succeed in life. However, when the credit comes, it all goes to the men, women also deserve some of the credits after all it is a women who sat behind the scene to support their husbands and partners and so need such recognitions in public.

The last speaker mentioned that women should share their husbands and partners credits when they are successful in life. However when you look at law makers in parliament, men out number our women, can anyone explain the low numbers of women in parliament?

Fourth Female Speaker – Nothing stops women from becoming members of parliament but what happens is that if a woman proves to be very strong character, telling the truth and trying to make society aware of what is within you and your capabilities, society turns to look at you in a different eye and calls you by all sorts of names like she is a witch, a woman in a man’s worlds, iron lady, you name them. Women are most often than not are not very comfortable when they are called or given all sorts of name; however, times are changing and
women have come to realise that all these names are used by men to stop women from progressing to the top and be in equal position with them. Now modern world has proved that women do well in education and all aspect of life if given equal opportunity and pushed like their male counterparts. And my advise to women is that never allow your first failure in life to dampen your spirit, life I believe is a continuous process and never say die until you make it to the top.

**Any more comments**

**Third Male Speaker** – Now we know that women have more capabilities than men and can do much better when given opportunity. I do not think that there are any written documents that stops or prevent women from aspiring to higher level of education. Rather it is up to women to prove their capabilities by working harder and prove society wrong. Nobody is stopping women as I have stated earlier, but the problem is fear, many of our women are afraid of failure and afraid of what society will say if they are not able to make it to the top as they may have wish. I must say that woman who is griped with fear and afraid of what society may say about her when she makes a move forward may even be more capable in terms of enlightenment and more knowledgeable than her male counterpart she may be competing on the same level. The fear of what society will think about them is what is hindering women to take bold steps to enter politics and become Members of Parliament. Again women are said are their own enemy because most often than not women turn not to support each
other, now is the time for breaking all odds and start supporting any
woman that takes a bold step to be in male dominated society.

Fifth Female Speaker – I am very glad that my male colleague has
mentioned that women are their own enemy. We have women who are
prepared to stand as politicians and run for elections to be eligible
elected Member of Parliament. The problem is the fear that her female
colleagues will not support her, let alone vote for her into parliament
and the ridicules and different names that she may be called if she
makes such attempts to stand for election as Member of Parliament. If
you are not called names, the other problems are how to sustain your
marriage and prevent broken homes, because if this happens it is the
children who suffer. These identified problems I believe are the most
standing block for the progression of women to the top or making
them become Members of Parliament. I therefore suggest that it is
about time women support their fellow women who are aspiring to
become either Members of Parliament or chief executive because if
these women who have the desire and aspiration are able to reach the
top ladder, their achievement affect their women in the low income
bracket of life because they will be our spokes women and advocate
for a positive change.

Sixth Female Speaker – In support of what the last speaker just said,
I do not like the type of politics that are practiced in the country,
because if there are competitors, it looks as if they are enemies. In the
course of the campaign, painful insults and lies are levelled against
each other. And there are many women are not able to stand such
insults and disgrace, some of such insults include calling a woman
who is bold to stand for election as a prostitute. No women woman in
her right thinking will allow herself to be called names and be
ridiculed by people, especially with low social standings. Women find
it very difficult to run for election due to the nature of politics in the
country. Politics is also about money, you need to dish out money to
entice voters to vote for you. However women have financial problems
and that is a major set back even though they may have political
potentials, sensible, intelligent and capable for running for elections.
As I have already stated, politics is all about money, and women need
big financial capital to campaign and run for elections, after all
politics is a dirty game and no woman will want her name to be drag
in mud.

**First Female Speaker** – Family set up is also a major political set up
for women who have a desire to enter into politics. When you look into
our family set up, the responsibility of raising up of children is
basically the duty of women. Looking after children from child birth to
adulthood is all the responsibility, running the home and making sure
the children are healthy, helping them with their academic working
from nursery to university are all the responsibility of women. In this
wise, it is very difficult for women to have time to ready a newspaper
to know what is happening around her and about what is happening
in the world. This in a way is a set back that prevents women to enter
into politics and to run for elections. Women are too busy to think and
focus on issues that are basically out side their jurisdiction that is
their home. I believe that running the home and raising up children should be the responsibility of both parents, but in our country Ghana, in most often this responsibility always fall on women and this leave the men enough time to educate themselves on national issues, be in politics and run for elections. Again, when it comes to education, the preference is always on the boy so is running the house; girls are made to do all house chaos while the boys playing football or doing their academic work. This alone pushes the girls to background positions and let them assume lesser positions in public life later in their lives. I suggest the while the children are still young, I mean both boys and girls must be given the same training at home and education, regardless of their sex, since if given equal opportunity, both sexes will aspire to achieve their dreams in future.

**Fourth Male Speaker** - I am a perfect example when it comes to giving equal opportunity to both boys and girls. My first three children were boys and I made sure they do all the house chaos. I do not think that there are any special reasons stopping men and boys from helping the house. In support to what the other female speaker just said, I think it is important for both sexes to have equal share of house chaos, this is a good training and I believe such training does not only help the girls but the boys as well, especially when they grow into adulthood.

**Queen Mother** – Women assume lesser positions in public and social gatherings because of what society has proscribed for them through traditional, cultural and customary practices laid down by our ancestors. Formal education has indeed set our women backwards,
this that not means that are stupid because literacy is not just classroom education but it goes beyond that. I must say that most of these illiterate women are very intelligent and sensible because most of them run their own business but the only problem is communicating effectively in English language which of course is not our mother tongue but communicate much better in their own individual local languages. I therefore call on educated Ghanaian women to advocate on behalf of their less fortunate sisters so that their voices. Rather, to encourage them to use their own local language when the needs arise and not allow the English language be a barrier when they are to speak at public places and social gathering. I also suggest that both our local languages and English language be an acceptable mode of communication by all sundry at all public, private and social places so that these women can speak out and contribute to national development.

**Second Female Speaker** – Some years gone by our elders used to say that the place for a woman is in the kitchen, for these reason if a family has two children or more, the parents of these children ensure that the boys in the family are sent to school., these are the factors that over the years have affected the educational progression of women. Some women are very intelligent but because of lack of formal education these less educated women are afraid to attend public and social functions and worse of it all when they are asked to communicate in English language and then they will not attend such functions. Nothing prevent parents to send both boys and girls to
school because research has shown that what the boys can do the girls when given the opportunity can do much better. My advise to my fellow women is to strive hard and educate themselves and also ensure that the young ones, that both sexes are given equal educational push right from the one go. Let start them early to ensure a better place for our boys and girls in future through formal and informal education.

**Thank you very much for the immense knowledge that you have demonstrated on role, involvement, presentation and representation of women in festival celebrations in Ghana.**
ACCRA - GREATER ACCRA REGION

SECOND UNSTRUCTURED GROUP INTERVIEWS
(FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS)

Good Afternoon, ladies and gentlemen, I am here as a research student from the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, University Institute of Cardiff, Wales (UWIC). I am a Ghanaian by birth and here to research into the role and the involvement of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations. This discussion is purely for academic purposes and will be grateful for equal contribution. This I mean I want each and every one of you to speak freely without fear or intimidation. Thank you for answering to my call without reservations, I promise time limit for this focus group discussions will be between 20 to 30 minutes.

First Male Speaker – Women’s contributions in festival celebrations are in various forms. To start with, a man is born through women and in every festival; women are the ones who take the lead role for a
successful festival celebration, especially in festive food preparation. This is what I can say in women and festival celebrations. 

**Any more contributions, please**

**Second Male Speaker** – Food preparation is very important in festival celebrations and women are very good in such areas, their contribution helps festival celebrations to be very grand. The role and involvement of women in festival celebrations is second to none in the sense that festivals are more enjoyable when foods are in abundance. One other area that women do very well during festival is garment making to fit all sizes for both men and women. During festivals, various members of clans decide on wearing the same garments and these garments are sworn or made by women. Again, men concentrate on playing drums, while women do the various forms of dancing with their male partners.

**Third Male Speaker** – My contribution is that women’s role, involvement and contributions start from dancing procession from the chief palace to durbar grounds; you will see women groups in their various uniforms dancing and leading the procession and these different garments, cloths and dresses wore by our women in the procession add beauty and colour to festivals. When chiefs are performing traditional rituals to appease the gods, women play major role by performing different songs and dances till such rituals are finished. Even though men play major roles in festival celebrations, it is women who play very active roles to make festivals very colourful and successful.
Fourth Male Speaker – Traditional dresses for festival celebrations are all done by women. It is the role of women to teach the youth how to dance different traditional dancing, especially dancing in the chief’s palanquin.

Fifth Male Speaker - Ritual foods for the gods are prepared by women who wake up at dawn and make sure all these ritual foods are ready for chiefs and their entourage to sprinkle as thanksgiving for prosperity and blessing for the years ahead. In a nut shell women hold the key to all successful festival celebrations in the country.

Sixth Male Speaker - In most cases the joy of festival celebrations is to go and watch women display our traditional and cultural identities through customary practices. These traditional and cultural displayed are portrayed through the various traditional dances performed by our women. And it is through these cultural displays that our young children are taught for future posterity. Women are the joy and centre for attraction in all festival celebrations, because we men go to festivals just to watch women displaying all ancient traditional and cultural characters of our ancestor.

You have all agreed that women play very important role in festival celebrations. But many at times in our socio-cultural set ups, women always assume lesser or background positions at social, public and state functions, why?

Seventh Male Speaker – In my home town if we are going to visit the deities, women are not allowed because it is a taboo. This is and old age tradition that can not be changed. And should women be part of
the team, such women should not be in their menstrual period. Then again, those particular women are strictly never allowed to be too close when rituals are being performed to the deities.

Eight Male Speaker – I will like to pose a question; what is tradition and what is culture. Every community in Ghana has its own traditions and culture and these customary practices differ from town to town, community to community and clan to clan.

Can you please explain what exactly you mean by tradition and culture and what are the differences?

Tradition is laid down rules and regulations that have been passed on to us by our ancestor that is the tradition goes on, while culture is our way of life. These include the way we dress, the way we speak and pronunciations of words, the type of food we eat and so on and so forth all these mentioned above can help you trace the ancestral tree of different people in the country despite where the person is born. In most cases the reason why women assume lesser positions or take background seat is the traditional sets up of our culture. Typical example is what happens at our traditional courts, men sit in front and women take the back role position. All these are laid down traditional rules and regulation that are very difficult to change over the night. Another example is at funeral grounds, men take the front role seats, while women sit at the back. All these examples are traditional setup that we have all come to accept as a way of way and that cannot be change as already mentioned.

Are you saying these traditional setups cannot be change?
Oh yes, it is very difficult to change over night as I stated earlier on because they long aged laid down traditional rules and regulations with for ages have become our way of life. It can only be change if women themselves realises the negativity of our traditions that is drawing them back and embark on social change. The change is for women themselves to rise and take a big move for social change that will in future transform the way of life of future generations.

**First Male Speaker** – Tradition can not be change, especially in the way men are nominated and selected as candidates to contest for chieftaincy. This is a traditional accepted role of the Queen Mother’s duty to nominate and appoint a candidate for acceptance by the people through traditional election. This can not be change because it is an accepted social norm laid and passed on to us by our ancestors through tradition, as the saying goes, the tradition goes on.

**Second Male Speaker** – It is the Queen Mother’s duty to nominate or select a candidate to fill the post for the chief, should it become vacant as a result of the death of a chief.

**Why should it be the Queen Mother’s duty to nominate and select as candidate to fill the post of a chief should it become vacant as a result of death?**

The Queen Mother is the mother of the national and the land belongs to her. Some times the chief’s sister, cuisine or the mother can be the Queen Mother depending on a given situation. And she, the Queen Mother, by traditional rules and regulations laid down by our ancestor has the sole rights to nominate, appoint or select a suitable candidate
as a chief; this is our tradition and therefore can not be changed. If you look at the population of the country Ghana, women out number the men and again women are more than men in the world demographic figures. Are women not more than men in the country? I don't know, you are saying.

Yes, I am sure of this, when you look at the statistics of national demographic figures; women are more than the men in the country. However when it comes to our traditional, cultural and customary practices, women are treated as inferior and fall short of so many things, even though they out number the men on the national level.

Why do you think women fall short of so many things?

Third Male Speaker - Women falling short in so many things started from the beginning when women fall short in the sense that women are not very courageous like men. An example is a woman goes to buy a sheep to be slaughtered for sacrifice; it is the woman who goes to buy the sheep for sacrifice but when it comes to slaughtering the sheep, the task of slaughtering is handed over to the men. Not that woman is inferior or fall short but it all started from the beginning when women themselves began to hand over important tasks to men. This they did from generation to generation, passing it on as tradition and gradually becoming a cultural norm for women to assume lesser positions in public and social gatherings. But invariably, women are more powerful in our society than men. Women give birth to men and also take the responsibility of grooming the boy child from into childhood to adolescence to adulthood and this is the more reason
why the Queen mother as the mother of the land and the nations has
the traditional right to select a person to run for the post of a chief
should it become vacant through death. The other reason is that, the
woman as the mother knows the character of each of her children and
therefore can easily nominate the one with upright character to
become a chief and lead his people to success.

**Fourth Male Speaker** – The deities believes that menstruation is a
bad omen and that women in their menstrual period should not be
allowed closer to where the rituals are being performed. Women
should not be allowed there because the problem is that the gods will
not be happy if women in their menstrual periods are permitted to the
ritual grounds. This is very unforgivable offence and this is what we
call tradition passed on to us by our ancestors from generation to
generation and very difficult to change the minds and hearts of those
who are involve.

I still want to know your mind on this very issue of not allowing
women in their menstrual period to enter the deity room when
ritual performance are being carried out. Are you saying that this
can never be change or it can be change depending on future
events and circumstances, can you please elaborate?

This is a very difficult thing to say, especially dealing the deities,
because the god the chief is worshiping is there and any new chief will
come and worship the same god. Selected people are allowed to
entering the deity room and they normally say “we are entering the big
house or room” and this is purely tradition and therefore women are
not allowed in. Should a women disobey and enters “the big room” and something happens to her, then she has herself to blame.

**Fifth Male Speaker** – Ironically, it is only in Africa that women are exempted from certain things in the name of tradition and culture. This does not happen in any European country, women are not exempted from any thing. An example is Great Britain, where the Head of State is a woman, in the name of Queen Elizabeth the 11, for those reason women are not exempted or excluded in anything they do. It is only in Africa that women are always pushed behind the scene and exempted from public and social functions. The problem of exempting or excluding women from certain things is only in Africa, pushing women behind the scene and making them believe that they are inferior being. I must say, this is not fair on our women because in Europe, women and men are treated the same.

At this point, there was division of taught on the exclusion of women in certain things in Africa and other school of taught about the inclusion of women in all aspect of life as being practiced in Europe. One school of taught holding on to tradition, while the other calling for the modernisation and change of certain aspect of Africa traditional systems. This is an enjoyable moment of observation of different ideas and taught of how Ghanaian women or African women should be treated, one letting the tradition goes on or modernisation of our traditional and cultural systems or call for change on certain African traditional systems that inhibit women from progressing in life. Here you
see and hear men arguing on how African women should be treated on modernisation of African traditional system of life or allowing the tradition to go on as always been the case.

Seventh Male Speaker – That is their culture and a way of life that they have inherited over the years. I think our tradition should go on to exempt women from certain things, this is our culture and our way of life and this is our tradition and can not be changed.

Eight Male Speaker – I think other wise, in the sense that in Cape Coast where I was born, women are Head of State and women to some extent are allowed some sort of liberty.

First Male speaker – I think The European culture that allows women to compete with men on equal grounds I believe is based on their Christian religion from the word. The advent of Christian religion had helped in the liberation of women in Europe. But here in Africa, women are oppressed through the name of African traditional systems and idol worship, hence, hindering the progression of women and pushing them to back ground position. This practice over the years has become part and parcel of our cultural and customary practices and here we are in modern society refusing to let go for the sake of traditional posterity. The only way this can be turn around is making sure we have a firm gripped of Christian religion and enlightenment of modernisation to make our elders and chiefs to reason and look into negativity of our traditional and cultural and customary practices that hinders the progression of women. This I believe will in a way prompt our chiefs to start thinking and to change such traditional negativities
that inhibit women to move forward and call for positive change to help the progression of our women to put them on equal level with the men. The only way this can help is allowing Christian religion to be our base of religion and making play more roles.

Thank you for sharing your knowledge and time with me.

GREATER ACCRA REGION

THIRD FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

March 23, 2004: – Held at staff common room, Ghana News Agency, Accra, Greater. Accra Region. Accra Focus Groups Discussions comprising eight persons, four females from the local market.

Good Afternoon, ladies I am here as a research student from the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, University Institute of Cardiff, Wales (UWIC). I am a Ghanaian by
birth and here to research into the role and the involvement of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations. This discussion is purely for academic purposes and will be grateful for equal contribution. This I mean I want each and every one of you to speak freely without fear or intimidation. Thank you answering to my call without reservations, I promise the time limit for this discussion will be between 20 to 30 minutes.

First Female speaker – During festivals, there is a long procession of the people with the chief sitting and dancing in a palanquin to the durbar grounds and then move on to the river to pay homage to the gods and perform rituals to the deities of the town.

Please, during your festival celebrations, are women parts of these celebrations?

Please, yes, women and children, I mean everybody is part of the processions that carry the chief in his palanquin to the river and stay there till the chief finishes all the rituals and return to the durbar with the chief and his entourage to beginning the festival celebrations. At the durbar grounds, the chief uses the occasion to thank all his citizens for supporting him and also wish all and sundry good wishes for the coming year. The chief again appeal to his people who are travelling out side the country and other parts of the country to remember to come back home to help to development the town.

Second Female Speaker – Women play a major role in festival celebrations in my town. At this period, it is women who assemble all
the drums and start singing and dancing to attract other members of 
the community to the festival grounds.

**Please, any more addition;**

**Third Female Speaker** - Festival celebrations is the same as already 
said by the last speaker.

**And in unison the rest of the focus group members agreed with 
the first and second speakers by saying that women play major 
roles and are more involving in festival celebrations.**

**Fourth Female Speaker** – In the early hours of the morning, the 
women in the town tidy up the durbar grounds arrange chairs and 
table for the durbar to begin. Then the chief and his entourage arrive 
to the durbar grounds to perform rituals of thanksgiving ceremony, 
pour libation to the gods and thank all the people for helping and 
supporting him all the year round. The chief again ask the gods 
blessing for good harvest in the coming year and we all disperse to our 
various homes. This is how festival in my hometown is celebrated.

**Any more contributions;**

**Fifth Female Speaker** - Oh, it is the same.

**Why the same, no two festivals are the same. What type of 
festival do you have in you home town and why is it the same?**

**Sixth Female Speaker** - We celebrate Akweisidai;

**If you celebrate Akwesidai, then talk about it and tell us how 
Akwesidai festival is celebrated in your hometown; By the way, 
where do you come from?**
Seventh Female Speaker - I come from Asanti Beikwai in the Asanti Region;

If you came from Asanti Beikwai, then tell us how Akwesidai in Asanti Beikwai is celebrated. What about the rest of you, where do you all come from; you are Oakyeman, you come from Kwahu, and you hail from Asantiman. This means that you can all tell me how festivals in your places are celebrated?

Eight Female Speaker - I come from Asanti Beikwai and we celebrate Akwesidai

Tell me all about Akwesidai and its the history.

Eight Female Speaker – Akwesidai is festival to remember the dead. During this period, all the women gather to select one festive dress. Then comes in dancing and drumming in a long procession to the chief's palace where they are joined by the chief in his palanquin, followed by his entourage to the durbar grounds for thanksgiving ceremony. Dancing and drum continues till we all retire to our various home. Then the next day, the elderly women among us prepare meals, which are dished out to any person who happen to be there.

Here we are talking about women and festivals, I want your knowledge on how women are presented and represent in festival celebrations in your various towns and birth places.

First Female Speaker – Women play major role in festivals but their roles end at the preparation of food because women are not allowed to carry the chief shoulder high in a palanquin.
Second Female Speaker – Menstrual period is a taboo and women in their periods by traditional laws; women are not permitted to carry out certain function like going too close to the traditional stool of the chief. These exemptions are what I believe hinders women to progress to heights in life.

Third Female Speaker – We all know that by use women’s menstruations to prevent women from entering the deity room and describing it as a taboo and abomination is in a way cheating on the women and robbing women of their birth relegating them to assume either lesser or background positions at public and social functions. This we believe is very on fair on women but there is nothing we can do because this is our tradition and our way of life passed on to us by our ancestors and therefore very difficult to alter or change anything.

What about education, don’t you think that women’s lack of education also hinder our progression of life?

Fourth Female Speaker – Yes, lack of education is also a problem, in the sense I do not think educated women will be asked not to prepare males for their husbands because they in their menstrual period. And I believe this is what the men have used over the years through the name of tradition to suppressed women.

As women, what do think we can do to prevent the situation of always being pushed to background positions?

Fifth Female Speaker – I think equal educational opportunities should be given to both boys and girls so that through education, women will be in position to compete with their male counterparts.
Sixth Female Speaker – I think one reason women are pushed behind is their physical strength and biological set up. Men are much stronger than women and this can be compared with slaughtering sheep or goat, women are not strong and bold enough to hold down these animals for slaughtering, whiles it is much easier for men to do so.

Seventh Female Speaker – Other problem I believe is from the beginning where our parents have preference over male children and therefore deciding on which of the two sexes will be sent to school should they have both sexes. The preference of boys over girls by our parents, which started by our ancestors with believes that girl will be married off and her place is in the kitchen and producing babies. Again because majority of us women are never sent to school, society thinks women are stupid, can not think properly and nothing good can come out of a woman. Such derogative comments and attitudes by our ancestors passed on to our elders has been transcended into Ghanaian traditional and socio-cultural norms have made many to believe the in capabilities of women making this a major set back for women to aspire to greater heights and to gather the courage to compete equally with men. There is a big gap between men and women and the only way to bridge that gap is to start giving both boys and girls and women and men equal education and work opportunities. This means that preference clause should be deleted from our vocabulary. Lack of women’s formal education has also prevents most women to attend and speak at public and social
functions, especially if such speeches are being presented in English language rather than the local language. So I rather suggest that such speeches should be done in our local languages for women or people with low educational level or background will be able to contribute effectively towards national developments.

Can any one explain why women are suppressed by their men; do you think men suppressed women to raise their ego or afraid of the capabilities of women; one area of concern is women not supporting women who are very out spoken in society. Worse of it all is that such out spoken women are called all sorts of name like iron lady, witch or prostitute, you name them – do you know why?

Oh yes, women of such calibre are called names and society turn not to support them.

All eight participants of the all female focus group discussions, third in the series, again answered the last question in unison. If yes, can you explain further?

Eight Female Speaker - It is all right for men to be out spoken in society but not women.

Why should men be out spoken than women?

Women are always afraid of what society says about them. Society describe out spoken women as iron women, witches, prostitutes and worse of it all or most affected women are those who for one reason have never married before and can not produce children. This is how society perceives such women.
What are your opinions of women supporting other women who have already made it to the top and are seeking your vote for elections?

First Female Speaker – It is important for women to support and push other women who want to aspire to greater heights and become Members of Parliament but society does not allow it. Just imagine if my parents have sent me to school, do you think I will be selling biscuits in the market? No I do not think so; I will have become somebody better than what I am now.

Are you a registered voter?

No.

Why?

Because I am too busy selling my biscuits in the market.

If no, how can you vote for a woman, should a woman stand for election?

I think elections and politics are for men.

I can see you have a child; what future plans do you have for the child?

I will work very hard and earn enough money to support my child through formal education so that my children will have a brighter life than what I have now. I have also noticed that there are women who have no formal education but are very sensible and intelligent in all they do. I believe that less fortunate women should emulate the example of such women and try their best to support such women and aspire to become like them. It is not just formal education, others
have made it through informal sector and society must appreciate the
effort of such people.

Than you very much ladies for your time and knowledge, and
hope to call on you again in future.
**CAPE COAST – CENTRAL REGION**

**FIRST FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS**

March 24, 2004:– First Focus Group Discussions held at board room; - Cape Coast Centre for Culture, Central Region.

The Cape Coast Focus Groups Discussions is made up of eight persons, four females and four males.

Good Afternoon, ladies and gentlemen, I am here as a research student from the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, University Institute of Cardiff, Wales (UWIC). I am a Ghanaian by birth and here to research into the role and the involvement of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations. This discussion is purely for academic purposes and will be grateful for equal contribution. This I mean I want each and every one of you to speak freely without fear or intimidation. . Thank you answering to my call without reservations, I promise the time limit for this discussion will be between 20 to 30 minutes.

**First Male Speaker** - The little that we know is that, we are Fantis and are called Eguafo, here in Cape Coast. And every town has a different way of doing things, especially in their way of tradition and culture. During the celebration of our festival, we do a lot of rituals and programmes and this has gone far and wide therefore attracting people from all over the country and the world at large to witness our annual festival. Our tradition and culture are well respect. When it is time for the festival, we have “Bakatue, which gives the people of Cape
Coast and its surrounding villages a moment of joy and happiness.

During the festival, our women play a very significant and since some of our women are here, I will not go into details, rather allow the women among us to speak for themselves the role and involvement of women in festival celebrations. I know for fact that during the period of the festival, the channel to the river is closed and the women play special role during the opening of the lagoon.

During opening of the lagoon, women fetish priestess play very significant role, they perform most of the rituals and opening ceremony, the rest of the women play important role by ensuring the success of the festival. Some the roles include preparation of ottuo (cooked yam, mashed and mixed with palm oil to give it red-yellowish colour plus eggs). Ottuo is always used as ritual food for the gods of the land. And our women prepare this ritual food plus other traditional foods. Most of the women on such occasion, fashionably dressed in traditional hairdos called “takuoa” (is a form of wig made of strides of black silks that are weaved on the head of the woman and decorated with beautiful gold ornaments) and dressed in rich kente clothing or attires. The parading of our women in such fashionably manner adds colour and beauty to the festival celebrations.

First Female speaker – I will add to what my brother has just said.

We have three or four different types of festivals here in Cape Coast and these are, the festival of “Owookwa” we have the festival of ndobaaba (festival of food), we have the festival of Remembrance Day of great men and women in our community.
Please, you just mentioned owooakwa, what is the meaning?

Owooakwa is a day set aside to remember the dead, especially those who help in building our communities. If we go to the Asanti land, Nana Yaa Asantiwa is one person who is always remembered for her great achievements. During these festivals, we have three things are performed publicly by women, these include the preparatory programmes for the festival, programmes of activities for the period of the celebrations of the festivals and aftermath programmes of accountabilities. Women carry out all these programmes of activities mentioned. If we go to other parts of Fantland, in our preparation for the celebrations of the festival, the chambermaid for the chief's wife is the only person allowed to prepare food for the chief and his wife, because the chief is the mouth piece for his people and his safety is well guarded for owooakwa (dead) and atisesifo (the living). During this period, it is very important the chief withdraw from things that will prevent him from celebrating or being part of the celebrations of the festivals. The women also celebrate the festival of adonteng, during this period; it is the duty of the women to move into the woodlands and fetch fire woods for the preparation of food. Fetching of water is done by women, on the festival day itself, most of the activities that goes on are carried out by women. All the burden of the festival, before, during and aftermath are all on the shoulders of the women. Therefore women can be described as the custodians of festival celebrations because they hold the key to all the problems and the answers. I am saying this because they are the very one who
ensure the safety of the chiefs, ensure that all guests at the festivals are catered for and so forth and so on. The women also ensure that there are abundant food to serve the official guests and food to sell to the public and these include water, different ranges of drinks from alcohols to pop. After the celebration of the festival, the women again ensure all rubbish generated during the festival celebrations is cleared. During the festival, some of the women, who are lucky, are married off.

**Second Female Speaker** – During the festival, individual dress code determines the sort of person he or she, the clan she comes from and the family background. The symbolism for such dress codes, as already stated determines who you are your clan and family background and also helps others who do not have the chance to look for approachable clans and family members have more than enough to offer to less fortunate members of the society, in a way, the festival brings togetherness, renewed friendship, joy and happiness.

**Second Male Speaker** - The old, who came, I believe is the woman;

**Who is the old lady?**

The old is, as already stated, we have different clans and the Queen Mother of my clan is the person I refer as the old lady.

**Third Female Speaker** – To explain further, the old lady is the mother of the clan. As it has always been stated, women are the key developers of every nation and men are just helpers or caretakers. The existence and development of all Akan nations always depends on the strength of women. So if the other male speaker says an old lady, literally means that women are the foundation of a nation. To explain
further, in our Akan communities, for that matter, in this fanti land we believe that women are the owners of the land, the sole founders of the Akan communities. The old lady, simply is the Queen Mother, who is the founder of the Akan societies, literally, this is the meaning of the word the “old lady”

**Second Male Speaker** – As the years go, even though we have both men and women in a clan, it is the duty of the women to ensure development of their individual clans, therefore will not allow in any outside to detect to them on how a particular clan is run. As the years develop, the Queen Mother of a particular clan begins to groom the young girls one of whom will in future succeed her. This demonstrates the importance of our women in our traditional and cultural ritual performance and their roles and involvement in festival celebrations are very symbolic.

**Third Male speaker** – The role, involvement hand importance of women comes to bear when young girls reach the age of puberty. There is a special ritual performance for girls on their first menstruation. The celebration of puberty for our young girls brings to bear our rich traditional and cultural customs and this tells us that women play important are more involving and play important role in out cultural and traditional heritage. The reason is that when a girl reaches the age of puberty and has her first menstruation, the puberty rites that are performed reinforce the rules and regulations regarding our ancient way of living. The performances of puberty rites in public demonstrate to the general public, world, especially local,
national and international tourists who for one reason or other happened to be present in the traditional and cultural site of preserving their customary heritage. For this reason, our women are very important in the preservation of our tradition, culture, and customary rites. This helps our women in every endeavour in their lives.

You just mentioned that the performance of puberty rites for young girls is very symbolic and has helped to keep and protect the tradition, culture, and customary practices of puberty rites from the olden days to this present day and as such put the women in a very important position; can you please explain why?

The reason why the women are very important in festival celebration is their significant role they play to preserve our cultural and customary heritage. There is certain ritual performance that requires only the presence of women and is another one that also requires the presence of men. Both sexes have their roles to play and each compliments each other during festivals.

I am born here and my observation from my childhood to my adulthood is that women are always at the background position. Now, education has taken me to a foreign land and back again to my root to research into the position, role, and involvement of women in festival celebration, how women are present and represented. Then again you are saying to me that women play very significant role in festival celebrations. If women are that important and involving in our society and play very significant roles to preserve our tradition, culture, and customary heritage,
why then should they always take background positions, especially during public gatherings, such as state functions and traditional durbars?

I disagree with the point you just made regarding the positioning of our women to the background, because the Queen Mother always sits at the right hand of the chief. Probably, the problem start from the general public, among them some are women who come in as spectators and decide to stay at the back and watch the ceremony from the background position. In this case, as one will say, such women do not play any concrete role in the celebrations of the festival.

The Queen Mother as I have already said is part of the important dignitaries who are allowed by the nature of her position as the mother and founder of the akan society to sit along side the chief on the front roll.

Please for give me and with all due respect to our elders and Queen Mothers; My next concern is, how many Queen Mothers do we have in the Cape Coast municipality for only one Queen Mother be allowed to sit at the right hand position of the chief. Apart from the Queen Mothers, do other women who play other important roles to ensure the success of the festivals. I may be wrong but correct me if I am, the reason fro my concern is not only about the seating arrangements, but on the media aspect as well. From what I have gathered so far, little or no media attention is given to the achievements and the roles of women in this country, let alone the Queen Mothers at royal palaces. At the
beginning of this research, I come across media materials (photos taken on the Internet) on one of the durbars on PANAFEST celebration, you cloud only see the women seated at the background and the men on the front roll. What do you say about it?

Fourth Male Speaker - The little I know about this is that in our traditional and cultural set up even though women play important and the Queen Mothers are custodians of our heritage, the men are more revered in our society than the women. Simply because, men are men and are supposed to lead the woman and regarded as the head of the family. The man as the head of the family is regarded as the power behind the woman. We may say the Queen Mother is the founder of the land and therefore very powerful but at social gatherings, is the chief who is suppose to in the lead, followed by the Queen Mother. So when it comes to seat arrangements at all social and public gatherings, the chief takes his seat, followed by the Queen Mother who sits at the right hand of the chief, this I will say is the traditional seating arrangement. At such social and public gatherings, the chief demonstrates his power and manhood and there is no way such arrangement will be altered for the Queen Mother to take a front role position, if this happens, then the authority and power of the chief is undermined. To avoid this happening the traditionally, the chief should always assume a front role position and the queen mothers sits beside him as a way of respect for her authority. The presence of queen mothers are felt at public places and social gatherings but
according to the tradition, culture and customary practices of the Akan society, no Queen Mother will assume a leading role if the chosen chief is alive and effective, unless on rare occasions and this usually never happens. Queen Mothers as we have always known in Akan society will rather prefer to take lesser positions and give the chiefs the chance to assume the higher position and rule his subjects, while the Queen Mothers stay behind and assume lesser position and give the chief all the moral supports he needs to do his work effectively. A young man may be enstooled as chief to assume higher position than the Queen Mother who nominated and gave her consent for him to assume the chieftaincy position.

Any more contributions, my other observation is that women are not speaking up as men and some of our attitudes draw us back and allow men to take front role position because women are always afraid to assume leading position. Not that we as women are not clever but we are afraid to speak our minds and always allow the men to assume leadership role as usual. We have two types of intelligence, the educational intelligence and the common sense intelligence, academically, women may not be academically incline due to their lack of formal education but that cannot be said of common sense of which women are more endeared than the men. I you may allow me to say what the legend Kwagryi Aggrey, who I believed was born here in Cape Coast once said, if you educate a man, you have educated an
individual but when you educate a man, you have educated a

nation”. So please, women speak up;

First male speaker – Unlike the olden days, now things are not the

same as before, therefore making our Queen mothers to look like little

children in the eyes of their own people. As it were in the olden days,

all Queen Mothers hold prominent position; as she sit besides the

chief and there is a difficult decision to make, the chief has no other

choice than to turn to the Queen Mother for advice. The chief may be

seen in public as the leader or taking leadership position, but in

reality it is the Queen Mother who holds the authority to the stool and

as already stated she is the custodian of our customary heritage.

Fourth Female Speaker – In the past our old ladies are referred as

the Queen Mothers because they are the ones who nominate a

candidate to contest as a chief or she has the first option to select a

suitable male from her clan for the nomination as a chief. No member

of the community or the clan disputes with her choice as already

stated by other members of the group, the land belongs to her. There

are many factors or reasons why our old ladies or Queen Mothers,

since time immemorial have always takes lesser positions because of

their age and the custodians of our traditional, cultural and

customary heritage and to avoid violent situations. In times of war,

regional conflicts, or clashes that result blood shade, our old ladies,

our Queen Mothers for that matter are protected by not allowing them

to take front role positions at places that may cause their sadden

death or injury. To avoid such situations traditional, cultural and
customary duties at state functions, local, national and international
that will require the old ladies presences are in a way delegated to
younger women and men who represent and present the views of old
ladies (Queen Mothers) to the public. This in a way is to protect and
preserve our traditional, cultural and customary heritage of which
these old ladies (Queen Mothers) are endowed with; passed on to them
by their ancestors from generations to generations. This is what is
described as oral traditional knowledge passed on to us by our
ancestors through the wisdom of our old ladies (the original Queen
Mothers). It was this idea of preserving and protecting our
traditional and cultural heritage that our old ladies (Queen Mothers)
decided in the past or olden days to take or assume background and
lesser positions at state, social and durbar functions. However, when
it comes to critical moments of problem solving and decisions taking
on issues affecting the community, the young men and women (lesser
Queen Mothers) who are appointed and nominated by the old lady,
(the older Queen Mother) who by age for one reason or another can
not appear in public for fear of losing her life through violent
situations that may suddenly occur to represent and present her
views to the public at state, social and durbar functions. The older
woman, the original sources of data bank of our traditional, cultural
and customary heritage in the clan, is the original Queen Mother and
she is always protected from violent acts that may occur in future.
These oral folk tales narrated to us by old ladies (older Queen Mothers)
are protected and preserved by the solid protection we provide them in
times of wars and regional and zonal conflicts. However, with advent
of education, I mean formal education and the campaign by our
government and NGOs on the call on the importance of education,
things have change. Situations where women are asked to stay at
home is no longer the issue, rather the call is on us the women to be
in formal education and compete with our men on equal level and to
ensure the retention of our young girls and girl child in school.
Although these old Queen Mothers assume lesser positions at states,
social and durbar grounds, as already stated, they have decided to
delegate a younger Queen Mother to represent her and present her
views to the public as and when it is appropriate for her to issue
statements in the interest of the entire communities.

First Female Speaker – My observation is that on certain occasions,
if the chief feels he cannot attend a function for one reason or another,
he, the chief in most cases delegates the young Queen Mother to
represent him. The chief delegating Queen Mothers to represent him
at state, social and durbar functions is something relatively new move
because in the past, such practice of the chief asking the Queen
Mother to represent him in public was never allowed and deemed it as
a taboo. At the same time, the Queen Mothers are also allowed to
attend and speak at social and public gatherings without the consent
of the chief.

We have spoken at length on traditional, cultural and customary
roles of the Queen Mother, now I want us to shift our attention to
PANAFEST celebrations. Truly speaking Cape Coast is the centre
or root of PANAFEST celebrations, in our own opinion can you comment on the role and involvement of women in PANAFEST celebrations?

Second Female Speaker – At the beginning of every PANAFEST celebrations, it is the duty of the women to ensure that all the places are tidy. In addition to tiding up the venue for PANAFEST celebration, the women also make sure food is in abundance to serve the invited guest and to sell to the public. During PANAFEST celebrations, the local women from Cape Coast gather all the women from the Diasporas who are in Cape Coast for the celebration show them around and teach them various handicrafts that are produced locally. Some of these locally produced handicrafts like baktic tie and dye, preparation of locally produced food like fanti kenkey and fried fish, fanti-fanti and many others.

Please be specific, what other things?

Many other things like what we have already discussed concerning our traditional, cultural and customary practices left behind by our ancestors, which are passed on to us through oral tradition by our old ladies (the original Queen Mothers) of our land. The women among the new comers or arrivals from the Diasporas are ignorant of these traditional rule and regulations that bind the people together. So in this wise, it is the duty of Cape Coast women to show them around and teach them what is expected to them during their short visit.

Do any of you have something to add?
Third Female Speaker – During PANAFEST celebrations, a day is set aside as “Women’s Day” and it is this day that women of African descents and Africa African American women are taught how to wear traditional cloths, traditional hairdo (taakoua), ritual performance of puberty rites. These women are also taken through foods like importorpor (mashed yam/coco yam mixed with vegetables like tomatoes, paper, fish and palm oil), enkykywu (dried gravy), fanti kenkey (corn meal) and fried fish. All these are traditionally prepared meals performed to demonstrate to our sisters from the diasporas what we have, what we can offer them in terms of food and in traditional, cultural and customary practices and all that I mentioned is a demonstration of the important role and involving our women in the celebrations of PANAFEST and other traditional festivals we have here in Cape Coast.

Second Male Speaker – What I have to say is that all the meal prepared during PANAFEST celebrations are ate by all and sundry on the celebration and also to teach others how these food are prepared. During this period, lifetime partners are made, it also creates friendship between both local and those from the Diasporas and some of these friendships end up in marriage. In this regards, our women play very significant role from the preparation, during and after the PANAFEST celebrations. All this are done to demonstrate the different levels of our traditional, cultural and customary practices and are exported back to the Diasporas to show to love one they left behind what they have learnt at PANAFEST. It is the duty of our women to
ensure that the entire town community is clean during and after the celebration. There is group display of cultural and traditional performance by our women; I must say that the role and involvement of the women is very significant and important, this is all I could add.

**Have any of you more to add**

**Third female Speaker** – PANAFEST celebration is a learning ground for our sisters and brothers living in abroad and those Africans, Africa – Americans in the diasporas, this is because most of them come home to learn the basics way of African lives, like washing, cooking, treading the hair, traditional way of dressing, preparation of traditional food festive food.

**Ladies and gentlemen thank you very much for you time and the knowledge you have shared with me, again I say thank you.**
CAPE COAST – CENTRAL REGION

SECOND FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

March 24, 2004 ;–

Focus Groups Discussions is made up of eight persons held boardroom, Cape Coast Centre for Culture.

Good Afternoon gentlemen, I am here as a research student from the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, University Institute of Cardiff, Wales (UWIC). I am a Ghanaian by birth and here to research into the role and the involvement of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations. This discussion is purely for academic purposes and will be grateful for equal contribution. This I mean I want each and every one of you to speak freely without fear or intimidation. Thank you answering to my call without reservations, I promise the time limit for this discussion will be between 20 to 30 minutes.

First Male Speaker – This is my view on the role of women, ironical, I do not accept the fact that some women want to play the role of men. But when it comes to festival celebrations, some of the roles that women play include the cleaning of the town, on this particular role, I do accept and agree with the women. When it comes to the procession of taking a cow to the castle, to apiece the gods, it is the duty of the women to ensure that the castle is tidy. It is also the duty of the
women to herald the beginning of all festivals celebrations by creating a lot of excitement in town. Women play important role in organisational programmes for traditional festival in Cape Coast. At this point of ushering in the festival, there are a lot of drama groups and dance ensembles of which women to belong to. People go out just to watch the performance of women in these dramas and dance ensemble groups. This is all I can say on the role and involvement in festival celebrations in Cape Coast.

**Second male Speaker** - I also know that at the durbar day, groups of women match from “kotocroba” to Victoria park in Cape Coast, Ghana. There are women association, unfortunately, I do not know their names but I know for fact that they stand behind the chiefs and queen mothers to sing for the up lifting of the programme. There is this special group just for women only they are well performing group that attract a lot of fums. Women’s contribution on festival celebrations in Cape Coast is well appreciated but for them to assume a leading position when men are around, I totally disagree.

**Third Male Speaker** – Women play very key role in festival celebrations and we need their contributions to have a successful festival, without them there is festival. A saying by our elders is that a cock knows the beginning of the dawn but it is the hen that herald the day. Many a times it is women, who take the lead in everything but because of their biological features, not physical strong like their male counterparts, we take that advantage and push them to the background position. Most often, in our lives style, women are not
very forth coming like men and most often majority of women are afraid to take or assume leadership role or position. So if one looks at our traditional, cultural and customary practices, the men usually assume leadership roles than women. But when it comes dressing up for festival, example is Anomabo Okyre festival, (is a festival normally celebrated to tidy up the town, that is they community hate dirt and women celebrate mostly it. Again in Twiffoman, before a chief celebrate a festival, as already mentioned by a colleague, is about to celebrate it is only one woman who is allowed to serve the chief.

Fourth Male Speaker – Women’s role and involvement in festival celebrations are enormous and every little part them play count and deemed very important. Women are part of all the festival, some engaged themselves in canoe riding, some in preparation of food for serving the guest and for sale, some go round the festival ground selling ice water and soft drinks. All these go a long way to make the festival very successful.

Fifth Male Speaker – During cleaning up campaign, it is our women who do the cleaning and gather all the rubbish in town ready for the festival. The cleaning up programme is very exciting and is part of festival celebration because all the children and the youth play their part by disposing off the rubbish, and all this is organised by women. By the morning of slaughtering the sheep or cow to apiece the gods, it is the women who do the preparatory ground work. When it comes to performing of the ritual, most of the fetish priests are women and this is very symbolic. With this observation, I think women play very
important role and their involvement in festival celebration is very significant; without them, there will be no festival celebration.

**Sixth Male Speaker** - The Aboakyere (is dear hunting festival) festival in Winniba is the men who lead the way into the bush for dear hunting but the women also support the men by providing them food and dance around the men from the woods to the chief palace.

**Seventh male speaker** - The dawn of the morning of the dear hunting, it is the responsibility of the women to ensure that men had enough to eat and drink. This is to ensure that the men are strong enough for the task before them. So if there are no women, we are sure of the fact that the men will go hunting on an empty stomach and this is not good enough.

**Eight Male Speaker** – My contribution to the role and involvement of women in festival celebration is that the women ensure that there is unity among all and sundry present at the festival. Two days to the end of festival celebrations, the women make sure every dispute in town is settled amicably so that a new chapter of celebration for the next will be open without hate or remorse but will be a celebration full of joy and happiness.

We have spoken a lot on the role and involvement of women in our traditional, cultural and customary practice; our next attention is on PANAFEST celebrations. Why PANAFEST celebrations here in Cape Coast, can any of you explain?

We are lucky to have PANAFEST celebration here in Cape Coast, Elimina and its surrounding town and villages. What PANAFEST
organisers were looking at is the roots and passages that our ancestors were transported to America and other parts of the world through slave trades. From explanation given to us through oral tradition, it was obvious that majority of our ancestor were transported through the dungeons at Cape Coast castle (Cape Coast in the past used to be the seat of the government, British Administration in Ghana, then Gold Coast) and the Elimina Castle. So when Efua Sutherland invented the concept of PANAFEST and we realised if PANAFEST celebration is going to be held outside this two place, I mean order than Cape Coast and Elimina where most of the slaves were transported to outside world, then it is wrong. Upon investigation and serious taught and considerations, the government and the organisers of PANAFEST in consultations with heritage foundation in both Cape Coast and Elimina then decided to have PANAFEST celebration here in Cape Coast and Elimina which are the two historical roots that our ancestor were transported as slaves to America and to other parts of the world. So this is the main reason why the PANAFEST celebration is held here in Cape Coast and Elimina, it is all because of its association with the slave trade.

Any more contribution, if no, looking at PANAFEST celebrations again, what are the role, involvement and contributions of women? Women have multiple roles in PANAFEST celebrations; I am saying this to honour our young girls and women for their great contributions in the idea of the preparation of food called fast food. Through PANAFEST celebration one can see the springing up of fast food
restaurant in every street corner in Cape Coast. The advent of fast food in Cape Coast and Elimina has reduced the rate of hunger in these two places in that one can easily buy quick meal with out resulting in the preparation of our traditional meals that takes long period to prepare. There have been a lots of job creation for our women and this is through the establishment of PANAFEST celebrations here in Elimina and Cape Coast. A lot more jobs have been created as I said earlier on and majority of our women are into fast food business. In a nutshell, PANAFEST in a way has helped both Cape Coast and Elimina generated income activities for their people.

Can you please explain further the type of jobs that the coming of PANAFEST has generated?

PANAFEST has helped created jobs like the manufacturing of African fabrics, I mean, bactic tye & dye and our women are very much engaged in sewing and selling finished products of these African fabrics into beautiful and colourful booboos to our sister and brothers in the Diasporas who come home for PANAFEST celebrations. Like the fast foods, many sewing shops have spring up at every vantage point and most often you will find our women doing brisk business in the sewing industry. There are advantages and disadvantages of PANAFEST, although it has created lots of income generating activities, it has its side effects. And some of the side effects include, what we call sex tourism is where some foreigners come in just to have sex with our people. However, the advantages of PANAFEST out weigh the disadvantages.
Thanking you very much for your time, knowledge and immense contribution you have made by sharing all these knowledge with me.
March 24, 2004: – First Focus Group Discussions held at board room; - Cape Coast Centre for Culture, Central Region.

The Cape Coast Focus Groups Discussions is made up of eight persons, four females and four males.

Good Afternoon, ladies and gentlemen, I am here as a research student from the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, University Institute of Cardiff, Wales (UWIC). I am a Ghanaian by birth and here to research into the role and the involvement of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations. This discussion is purely for academic purposes and will be grateful for equal contribution. This I mean I want each and every one of you to speak freely without fear or intimidation. . Thank you answering to my call without reservations, I promise the time limit for this discussion will be between 20 to 30 minutes.

First Female Speaker - Women’s involvement in festival is that at every festival, women seen gathering the children and teaching them the importance of our traditions, cultural and customary practices, which include how to wear the traditional cloths and dressed up for such festive occasion. The older women also teach the youth the various forms of dances and their meanings. There are special dances festive occasions and for mourning; all these various dances are
taught by women. “Osoodaa” is a dance performed at moonlight by women to welcome home their men after heavy fighting.

**Second Female speaker** – Festivals are celebrated to remember many things like the dead, to out door the birth of a child, to enstool a new chief and many more. The most important of it all in the past when men went to war, women were left at home and they dance at moonlight to comfort themselves. It is at these moments that dance like ompaa, Osoodaa, oroadzie, are performed till husbands who were away in war returns home to meet their loved ones. Women have always want men around them and when their men are at war is a moment of loneliness and these women sing and perform these dances till their husbands and loved ones return from war zones. And to keep the tradition, culture and customary practices going, at festival celebrations, the women gather the youth and children as already stated and pass on to them the oral tradition through performing arts like dancing.

**Third Female Speaker** - My understanding on festival celebration is to bring togetherness, unity and settle conflicts. During festivals celebrations, the dead is remembered and prayers are said for those living abroad and ask ancestry spirits to guard and protect them till they return to their native lands.

**Fourth Female Speaker** – In support of what the other speaker just said it brings togetherness and unity, it is true, festivals brings unity and majority of bring about these unity and togetherness are performed by women. I am saying this because women are patient and
the spirit endurance of bringing people together. The patience of women can be equated to the period of pregnancy to child birth and this is what we call the spirit of endurance that ensures that there is peace and unity in the community at all times. Young women of marriage age are taught and schooled by older women on traditional duties of women. Some of things these do to bring these young women to traditionally accepted standard of marriage include teaching them how to behave publicly, cooking, how to wear traditional cloths and tell other members of the community, which of course include family members of the preparedness and readiness of these groomed young women into marriage. And it is at these festivals that these young women of marriage age are publicly advertised to suitable suitors.

Fifth Female Speaker – The celebration of PANAFEST is a recent added festival to our traditional one we know of. But if one looks at the role, involvement and contributions by our women is very enormous. Without these contributions, these festivals can not progress to the next stage. If you look into the history of slave trade and those transported to the new world, majority of them were women and a lot more were those who went there to have children. Apart from those who were transported to the new world through slave trade, the advent of PANAFEST has indeed brought a lot of work to women in Cape Coast and its surrounding areas.

Can you please explain the type of jobs that has been generated through PANAFEST?
Some of the incomes generating activities that PANAFEST has brought to Cape Coast include the processing of traditionally baktic tie & dye materials used to make beautiful and colourful garments for both men and women. Others are, the styling of traditional hairdos called “taakuoa “and sewing of kaaba and slit for women and making of booboo for both men and women. These are all income generating activities that most of the women in Cape Coast are involved in during all festive occasions including PANAFEST celebrations. Women play major roles in PANAFEST and their contributions and involvement can not be measure or quantify because during this period, it is women who take most of the visitors, both in the country and those from the diaspora through oral tradition of our culture and customary practices as puberty rites, traditional naming ceremony, traditional marriages, widowhood rites and many more.

**Sixth Female Speaker** - I will suggest that the government and other women groups like the Queen Mothers Associations will vigorous campaign be made on puberty rites because is a way of preventing teenage pregnancy and other venereal diseases like AIDS. In the past because it is a customary practices for every girl to go through the performance of puberty rites, these traditional rites helped those young women in the past to preserve their virginity till the ages between 18 -20 or more before they are married off. Now the situation is different because of so called enlightenment, these traditional performed puberty rites are gradually dying off and thereby increasing the risk of early sexual activities among these girls.
therefore resulting in early pregnancy. And we all know the social consequences of early pregnancy; let to me alone and as I have already stated I will appeal to advocacy agencies through our Queen Mothers to re-instate the traditional performed puberty rites to honour our young women before entering into marriage and also preventing them from venereal diseases which may one day affect their reproductive systems. Going back to our roots is not something bad at all; rather this will help protect our young girls to grow up into mature young women of about 18 to 20 years, as already stated before asking their hands into marriage as it used to be the practice in the past. The customary puberty rites practiced in the past by our ancestors were to protect us the women to get good husbands as well as preventing venereal diseases and avoiding teenage pregnancy among the youth.

What is the formal educational level of women here in Cape Coast?

Seventh Female Speaker - Formal educational level for women is not something very desirable in Cape Coast in the sense that in the past, women were not allowed to be in school. And for this reason, women are far behind in so many ways because majority of us are not able to progress further in life and not been able to stand on our feet as we should as women. This I mean relegating most of the women to background positions and this lack of formal education has indeed affected women in every aspect of life.

Eight Female Speaker – I think that female education is very important in the sense that if a woman is educated and married with children, she in a way will be in a better position to support her
husband without leaving allowing the man in the house to shoulder all financial burdens. Again, women who are married off with no education are most treated with disrespect and contempt by their husbands. Their husbands always threaten them if they refuse to abide by their husbands rules. However, if women are educated, they intended support their husbands, and do not panic whenever they attend public functions. When women are educated, they are able to read sign posts for further directions when they are not sure of where they are going. Through education, women again are able to read newspapers, listen to the news and know what is happening around them and in the world at large. Education of women in my mind helps them to develop strong confidence and eliminate fear and intimidation. **First Female Speaker** – In the past, women are more educated than men but now it is the other way round. **Why other way round, in terms of education of women, can you please explain further?** The reason for saying this is that if you look into our lives and the works and burden-involving child bearing, to birth and to dead are all done by women. A women at birth, the bringing of that child, how to feed the child, how to bath the baby, groom the child to adulthood and worse of it all is when dead strike and its preparation for burrier are all done by women. And all these procedures from conception, to child bearing to death are educational period for women. In this wise, traditionally, women are more talented and educated than men. However, with advent of formal education, men are now in the lead.
and pushing women to the background positions and forcing them to assume lesser role in public and social functions. We the women have come to realise that it is wrong to only educate men and allow them to take front role position because formal education is not just for men but for both sexes; after all what men can do women can also do the same only when both are given equal opportunity. In recent year, through education, we have women drive aeroplanes, women as computer programmers. These fields used to be men domain but now we have both sexes doing the same thing because of equal educational opportunity. Support equal education for both sexes, especially female and suggest that the campaign for girl child education will be advocated by our Queen Mothers and other women groups in the country. I strongly believe that in this country we have highly educated women whom I believe can champion the course of equal education for both sexes, especially women so that the governing of the country will one day be on the lap of women.

Thank you very much for your time and sharing your knowledge with me and hope that whatever we have share together today will go a long way to enrich my academic work, again I say thank you.
Unstructured focus group discussion held at the foregrounds of Elimina Castle, involving twelve men. Good afternoon gentlemen, I am here, this afternoon as a research student from the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, University Institute of Cardiff, Wales (UWIC); I am a Ghanaian by birth and here to research into the role and the involvement of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations. This discussion is purely for academic purposes and will be grateful for equal contribution from each member of the group. This I mean I want each and every one of you to speak freely without fear or intimidation. Thank you for answering my call without reservations and promptly and promise a time limit of discussion between 20 to 30 minutes. The main theme for this discussion is on the role and involvement of women in festival celebrations, focusing on PANAFEST celebrations.

First male speaker - I believed that our “Edina” (is the English version for Elimina) Bakatue, is today that things are not right, there are a lot of problems but in the olden days,
Why things not right and problems you are facing; can elaborate further?

Things are not right and we are facing problems because of continuous chieftaincy disputes in Elimina municipality. These continuous chieftaincy disputes has erupted the organisational programmes of the Elimina Bakatue festival celebrations over the years. During the process of the festival,

Can you please explain further the sort of process that goes on before the Bakatue festival celebrations?

Before the celebration of Elimina Bakatue festival, members of the community develop programmes to ensure the smooth running of the festival. During this period, people, who are born in Elimina and living in all parts of the country and abroad come, unfortunately, because of the chieftaincy disputes, those who are born in Elimina and are residing in other parts of the country and the world, refuse to come home and those who manage to come to witness the Bakatue festival are those living in and around Elimina and a few residing in other parts of the country and the world. During the Bakatue festival, the women are made to dress as brides and made to sit in palanquins, play around and pictures are taken of them. The parts that these women play during the Bakatue festival make the festival very fashionable and delight to watch. Sometimes three or four canoes are used to pack women who are fashionably dressed in traditional hairdos called “takuoa” (is a form of wig made of strides of black silks that are weaved on the head and decorated with beautiful gold
ornaments) and dressed in rich kente clothing or attires. These beautifully women are then paraded in town, prior to the opening of the lagoon, which symbolises the end to the ban on fishing from the lagoon or the closure of the lagoon. The lifting of the ban is a moment of joy and celebration and these beautifully dressed young Elimina women in fashionable traditional hairdos and rich kente cloths are centre for tourist attraction, they look very beautiful and add colour to the Bakatue festival celebrations The parading of richly dressed young women in fashionable traditional hairdos and kente cloths has gain recognition from the government of Ghana, the entire Ghanaian community and the world at large. The Bakatue festival has gain both national and international recognition. The PANAFEST festival celebration is a recent one and meant to bring together Ghanaians living abroad and all Africans and Africa African Americans in the Diasporas home to their roots.

Second male speaker – During the Bakatue festival celebration, usually, it begin with a durbar day on Saturday, where we see our women in “takuoa” hairdos and dressed in rich traditional kente cloths and attires. The personalities to the durbar include the Paramount chief of Elimina townships and its surrounding villages. Some of the activities for the day include boat racing, parading of beautifully dressed women and it is at the podium at the durbar grounds that prizes are given to winners of the boat racing competition to climax the Bakatue festival.
Please, you made mention of the durbar ground, that all chiefs and their entourage, the Queen Mothers and their entourage and of course the beautifully decorated women, when they finally assemble at the durbar grounds, what are the seating arrangement, and where are the women seated. Are they seated among the special dignitaries, such the chiefs on the front roll or at the back roll?

On such occasions, special seat arrangements are made for sort of state dignitaries. The beautifully decorated women in their rich takuoa hairdos and traditionally rich kente cloths have separate seating position and the chiefs and their entourage also have their special seating positions.

Can you elaborate further on the seating arrangements on the durbar grounds, are both men and women seated on the same roll or are there any special seating arrangement for both men and women; what I mean is are both sexes treated differently or equally when it comes to seating arrangements on durbar grounds?

On such occasion, both sexes are treated equally, special when it comes to the chiefs and the Queen Mothers seating arrangements, both are seated on the front roll and this gives prominence and respect to our women and Queen Mothers.

Third Male Speaker – When it comes to the role and involvement of women in Bakatue festival and PANAFEST, the women play very important role. I believe all these festival celebrations begin at
individual homes when it comes to the decoration of women for the occasions. Regarding to the seating arrangements, both chiefs and Queen Mothers are seated on the front role and there is a mixture of seating arrangement for the rest of audiences or spectators and this is my little contribution.

**Fourth male speaker** – What I also know about the Bakatue festival is that it is a festival that helps the development of Elimina Township. During the festival, we the people of Elimina have symbolic moment were we call upon all the gods in Elimina. At this point in time, the fetish priests perform some traditional rituals to call on the gods of the land to reveal whether there will be good fishing harvest for the coming fishing season. At this point, the traditional high priest performs the ritual and call on the chief of Elimina to sit on the stool and it is at this moment that the high priest reveals to the chief what the gods of the land have to say regarding to good fishing harvest for the next fishing season. During traditional ritual performance from the fetish priest, it is the hope of the people to hear positive message regarding to the fishing season. In some of these ritual performances, the gods in revealing their messages to the fetish priest in sign language to the chief who then interpret the message to his subjects. In occasions like this, sometime, the gods in most cases promises good fishing between eight to ten tons of fishing and this of course bring happiness and joy to the people of Elimina since fishing is their life hood; it also happens that most of these predicts are true and the people of Elimina do have good fishing harvest.
Please, does anyone of you have some addition or subtraction regarding to our last speaker?

Fifth male speaker – During the Elimina Bakatue festival we have several and different dancing groups who perform to add colour to the festival and to entertain the guests and audience. Some of these performing arts include “Sosoja”

What type of group is this and who are eligible to be in the group?

“Sosoja” is dancing that involves both men and women and ushers the beginning of the Bakatue festival, three weeks before the actual day for the opening of the lagoon and the end of the ban on fishing. The women start dancing by beating the men with stick and the men respond by using pieces of firewoods to chase them out.

Are you saying that sosoja is dancing session for courtship?

Exactly, it is a period that draws both sexes together and some luck one are able to have life partners. Men perform the other dances. And what happens is that the men tread red pepper and piece it through the ears of the women and also describe as some way of courting. The Bakatue festival calls courting season, a period for settling dispute and uniting the community

In your opinion do you think our traditional and cultural norms relegate women to background position?

Sixth male speaker - To be honest, our traditional and cultural norms always helps to relegate our women to background position. The culture is our way of living and expects our women to stay at home and raise the children, as well as looking after the family. In
addition, as part of our culture, society expects the women to be in the kitchen and cook for the family. Traditionally, the women take the front role position when it comes to festival celebrations of which PANAFEST is no exception. Because during these two festival celebrations, the Bakatue and PANAFEST, our women play very significant role by ensuring that all guest have something to eat, adding colour to these two festivals and also under taking small business that helps to boost family income. Typical example of the role and involvement of women in Bakatue festival, women play very important role and as already stated, without their contributions the festival will not be successful. In short, the success and the full development of the both festivals depend on the full involvement of women and their contributions are highly appreciated by the men folks. On such occasions, both men and women play equal part, even though their roles may be different, This means that both sex play important role for a successful festival.

In a way, are you saying that the traditional norms do not relegate women to the background position as compares to the cultural norms.

Yes, exactly, now things are not the same as it uses to be because in the past, it is the young girls or women who usher the chief from the chief palace to the opening of the lagoon that is Bakatue. On naming ceremony at PANAFEST celebrations, it is the responsibility of the women to prepare the food, especially “otuo, which is sprinkled around as a symbol for thanks giving to the gods of the lands of
Elimina. In all cases, we compliment each other efforts, without the other, one can not exist.

**Seventh male speaker** – During the opening of the lagoon, which s Saturday morning, rituals are perform and these rituals involve the sprinkling of mashed yam and eggs, simply called “otuo” (otuo is a boiled yam mashed and mixed with palm oil to give it red – yellowish colour plus eggs)

**In your opinion, what are the benefits of PANAFEST to the people of Elimna and the community as a whole?**

**Eight male speaker** – The answer is yes and no; yes in the sense that in the beginning of PANAFEST celebrations, there is a boom of sales due to the influx of visitors to Elimina in a short time that the festival last, but there is no long term benefit. Because two days of the ten days PANAFEST celebrations are what takes place here in Elimina and therefore very difficult to measure the level of developments and benefits it comes with.

**Can any of you give specific number of tourists visit to the Elimina castle?**

Tourists visits to the castle are all year round, however, the same can not be said about PANAFEST because it is a biannual affairs, which bring with it influx of local, national and international tourists to the castle during PANAFEST celebrations. The peak of tourists visit to the Elimina castle is in the months from July, August and September, these are the peak season of tourists visit to the castle. Apart from
this, we have what you call business tourists who come in for official
duties. We also have “Black Week” celebration is a week set aside for
all Africans, Africa – Americans in the diasporas to remember the
history of the black culture. It is always celebrated in the month of
April and is not on a massive scale as compared to that of PANAFEST.
The Black Week celebration is gradually being drifted to Europe and
the United Kingdom. As already stated,

Has there been any development in Elemina since the
celebrations of PANAFEST?

Eight male speaker – The answer is no, if there is any development,
we are yet to see but at the same time I believe the town of Elimina
will only develop if there is a conscious effort by the government to
connect the Africans and Africa – American in the diasporas for a
dialogue of togetherness. This dialogue, I believe will bring some
connection of understanding that in future will help promote
development in Elimina and this should not be interpret as an
opportunity for exploitation.

Thank you very much gentlemen for your time and sharing your
knowledge with me, which I believe will enrich my academic work.
March 25, 2004 – Held at the playground of the Elimina Castle, Central Region

Elimina Focus Groups Discussions comprising twelve persons, six females and six males. Good Afternoon, ladies and gentlemen, I am here as a research student from the School of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Management, University Institute of Cardiff, Wales (UWIC). I am a Ghanaian by birth and here to research into the role and the involvement of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations. This discussion is purely for academic purposes and will be grateful for equal contribution. This I mean I want each and every one of you to speak freely without fear or intimidation.

Thank you answering to my call without reservations, I promise the time limit for this discussion is between 20 to 30 minutes. To begin with, it is appropriate for us to know each other; I have already introduced myself and therefore appropriate for each and every one here to mention your name, what you do and which part the clans in Elimina you belong to. I am here for a good course that is to find more about the role and involvement of Ghanaian women in festival celebrations, using PANAFEST as a
case study. I will also be looking into the cultural and traditional norms in our society that inhibit the development of our women.

Even though I have mentioned PANAFEST, I believe there is an annual festival that is celebrated here by the people of Elimina.

First female speaker – we have Bakatue festival

Can you, please explain to me what brought about the festival of “Bakatue”

The celebration of the festival of “Bakatue” begins in the first week of July, every year. I am sorry I cannot continue, I rather ask the other speaker Auntie Esi to talk and explain the origin of Bakatue. The reason being that she is born and bred in Elemina, I am not and therefore believe is the appropriate person to give a full account of the origin of Bakatue since she is born and bred here.

First male speaker – through my education, what I know about “Bakatue” means the traditional ritual performance of the opening of the river for more fish catch. This festival start in the first week of the month of July and brings all the people of Elimina and its surrounding villages together including the chiefs and Queen Mothers of all the various communities come together to perform the ritual of the opening of the river “Bakatue”.

Second Male speaker – I am a cultural dancer and during this period, the chief calls on all the dancers to drum the “frontufrom”. The “frontufrom” is a giant speaking drums normally used to herald the arrival of chiefs and Queen Mothers to durbar grounds and social
gatherings. It is also used to interpret the chief’s message to his subjects, as he dances around, beating his chest and throwing his arms in the air to dance in accordance to the tune and beat of the giant frontufrom drums that tend to interpret such gestures as demonstrating his power and authority. Such moments are very symbolic as it draws the chief to his people or subjects.

**Do you have any special festival that you celebrate and if you do what are the roles and involvement of the women?**

**Second Female speaker**- during this period, some of the women dressed in old fashioned clothing that involves the use of “kente” cloth and “takua” hairdo with traditional ear rings and necklaces to go with as well as colouring the occasion by dancing the “Akatekate” dance to entertain the audience.

**What is “akatekate” dance?**

“Akatekate” dance is a special dance that the dancers use sticks to dance around. The dance goes back to the past, some centuries ago, where it stated that the people of the Cape Coasters and the people of Elimina went to war. At the end, the people of Eilimna were the winners. The female speaker said, according to legend, the Cape Coasters were beaten up and all their ornaments taken from them and to crown it all was “akatekate” dance.

**You have mentioned the role of women in the “Bakatue” festival, what about the PANAFEST, do women of Elimina play any significant role? if yes, what are the level of their involvement?**
Third Female speaker - during the PANAFEST festival celebrations, the women play very significant role. They help in the preparation of food, marketing and handicrafts for sales. She mentions some of the handicrafts as traditional beats, ear rings and necklaces, tie and dyes, all these, she said are done by the women to demonstrate to the outside world the capabilities of the Ghanaian women.

Can any one of you, please explain the importance of PANAFEST to the people of Elimina?

Third Male speaker – PANAFEST brought togetherness and friendship, not only that it also ensure internal and international trade. During the celebrations of PANAFEST, some of he locals accommodate the African Americans; to them it is some sort of a homecoming. Not only that the people of Elimina also ensure that those Ghanaians who have been away for long period of time are given heroes welcome, because to them Elimina is the root and need to be welcome home. During such periods, both those in the Diasporas and the locals who have travelled abroad help in the development of Elimina township and its surrounding villages, such moves helps in the development of the country as a whole. Apart from the good developments PANAFEST has brought to the people of made us realised that it is equally important to give equal education to men and women, boys and girls since girls are equally good as the boys if given equal opportunities in terms of education. For this reason, most parents are now very willing to send their girl child to school for them
to be well educated for the future development of the people of Elimina and the town as a whole.

**Now, Mr Gentleman, you did make a point and I want you to repeat it.**

**Fourth Male speaker** – Throughout the media, there have been a lot of media report on the advancement of women and the education of the girl child, it is true that the boys are ahead of the girls, but nowadays, media reports and government backing on girl child education, I believe that in the near future, if care is not taken, the girls will be ahead of the boys. If this happens, there will so many things that will be left behind.

**Like what will be left behind, can you explain further?**

I mean, the education of boys will fall behind and that I believe will in future affect the development of the Elimina and nation as a whole. Such developments if left in the hand of the girls or women alone will not be as perfect as the boy. So you see the thing is the call on parents by government and Non-Governmental Organisations NGO should be equalised fro both girls and boys.

**Do any of you have something to add to what the gentleman has just said?**

**Third female speaker** - Yes, in addition to what the gentleman just said is that what I have noticed is that the youth are not interested in formal or informal education because the money they make when they do go out of fishing, to them, education is waste of time. During the fishing seasons, the money the youth make is even more than what
their parent will provide them in their life time. I also blame parents
who refuse to send these children to school. Most of these parents are
themselves fisher men and mongers find it very difficult to understand
the wisdom of educating their children The youth on the other hand
make over 20 or more thousand cedis on a single on catch or booty as
compared three thousand cedis their parents will provide as pocket
money for school, in this regard, they will prefer fishing.

Cedis is the name for the Ghanaian currency and 20 thousand
cedis is roughly about one pound thirty pence. Thank you very
much Ladies and Gentlemen for your time and knowledge you
have shared with me, again I say thank you.
KUMASI – ASANTI REGION

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS NOT APPLICABLE

Could not go to Kumasi because the gatekeeper in Kumasi in the person of the Director of the Kumasi Cultural Centre was already in Kumasi for a conference.
APPENDIX 2

EMERGING THEORIES FROM UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEWS
WOMEN AND FESTIVALS

The role of women in festival celebrations -

1 Observing the Ghanaian society and Africa in general, Women assuming background position in festival celebrations – (9-10).
2 It applies when it comes to significance and organisations of festival at the Hobetestosho of the people of the Awooners (the Ewes) of Ghana – (11-12).
3 Women are depicted as embellishments of festivals, that is wearing ear rings and bracelets to add colour to the festivals, (14-17).
4 Women prepare meals or festival food and the chiefs sprinkle the festival food (“otoo” is mashed yam mixed with palm oil and decorated with eggs for deities or gods.

SIGNIFICANCE OF FESTIVALS

The significance of festivals is about male domination

1 Is to show case the authority of the chief and the focus is on men (18-22)
2 This applies to all festivals in Ghana and transcends through everything including celebrations and commemoration of important events (23-25)

THE MEDIA AND SOCIETY

The media and male dominated society and how to effect change

1 Male dominated society will take a long time to overcome
2 Media has important role to play
3 Media’s role is to inform and educate
4 Media suffers from the strains of male domination
5 The issue is not festival but it is an issue of education (26-33)

PANAFEST (FESTIVAL) AND MALE DOMINATIONS

The role of women in PANAFEST festival celebrations and Colonial Administration
1. Re-assigning roles for women and making such roles very important (39-42)
2. PANAFEST festival is to commemorate the slave trade, but the focus is on men (43-44)
3. Not because the organisers of PANAFEST seek to place emphasis on men, but your history has determined that (44-45)
4. The history of Colonial Administration, the role played by the Europeans, that role surrogated women to the background (47-50)

MEDIA, WOMEN AND SOCIETY, SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE ROLE OF THE COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

The role of media in changing societal perception about women

- To re-focus media attention and pick up more important achievements of women (56-59)
- Using festivals to celebrate the great achievements of our women, that is the positive aspect like our women fighting the colonialists (Nana Yaa Asantiwa) (60-67)

MEDIA ADVOCACY FOR POSITIVE ACHIEVEMENT OF WOMEN;

- Through implementing agencies such as governmental and non-governmental organisation (68-70)
- Documentation of positive achievement of women with support from ministries such as Women & Children’s Affairs, Cultural and Tourism

MEDIA AND POSITIVE CHANGE FOR THE IMAGE OF WOMEN

- Media cannot do it alone because it is a victim of male dominated society (96-100) and need the support of the public.
- Re-assigning gender roles to give equal roles and opportunity to both sex
- The problem is cultural and traditional norms
- Proper documentation should be done and must be done through research (101-113)

MEDIA AND PANAFEST AND NATIONAL PSYCHICS
• Finance for the research is not the problem, the issue is to fully identify the problem and find solution to it because we are still a male dominated society (114-120)

• PANAFEST is male dominated festival and women are dressed to follow the chiefs entourage (121-123)

• Media can only effect change through the assistance of national psychics (124-126)
Appendix 2: Emerging themes from unstructured interviews

DR. OWUSU BENPON, SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW, INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF GHANA AND ALSO AN ANTHROPOLOGIST STUDIED IN USA ON FOLKLORES.

APRIL 2, 2004 (175 –298)

WOMEN AND FESTIVALS CELEBRATIONS

- Women and initiation ceremonies such as puberty or “bragoro”
- This is specifically for women because they determine when the girl is going through menstruation (181-194)

“APPOO” FESTIVAL OR STATES FESTIVAL AND ROLE OF WOMEN

- “Appoo” festival is festival for men and is very democratic
- It is allows people to “la poll” or task against their superiors and their inferiors.
- It is democratic way of people expressing themselves and used to reject bottlenecks in society (195-199)
- There are so many rituals involve festival celebrations in Akan Society and women play very important roles
- Such roles include “shira koo” (Shira is clay and koo is going to fetch clay) to white wash chiefs’ palaces and tidy up the town for the commencement of the festivals (200-209)
- Women are made to prepare festival foods but it is a taboo to even take part if a woman is menstruating and are not allowed at chief palaces and near the deities or gods (210-216)
- Elderly women who have reached their menopause are allowed to prepare food for the deities. It is taboo for young Queen Mothers to be allowed into deities’ room but even that they do play important role in festival celebrations (217-221).

WOMEN, SOCIETY AND BACKGROUND POSITION

- Women assume background position because of their respect for societal norms and not because they are under dogs (224-228)
Appendix 2: Emerging themes from unstructured interviews

- Man is supposed to be masculine and a little wild and woman is supposed to be calm and respectful (229-230)
- Rather, strong character women in the olden days are called all sorts of names and accused of being witches (232-237).
- Women are not inferior because they assume background position, women playing background role means they have good up-bringing and brought up well (238-242)
- However, it is very normal for women to be strong character

UP BRINGING AND CULTURAL AND TRADITIONAL NORMS

- Cultural and traditional norms determines one social up带来的 and cultural behaviour
- Up–bringing is part and parcel of culture and cultural is behaviour and they way people are brought up determines one’s personal image in future (245-248)

WOMENS’ EDUCATION AND FINANCIAL PROGRESSION IN LIFE

- Women’s education is very important but our cultural educational system is very dynamic and is changing all the time (257-268)
- Language we speak is culturally oriented
- To be schooled does not only mean western education, it can also be traditional as well as western education or foreign ideas (269-274).
- Cultural is dynamic and not static, and we learn and borrow from others and every culture is unique on its own (275-277).

WOMEN’S FINANCIAL POWER OR ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT
• Women are economically powerful, that is women control the market system (278-281)

• Men are only a fraction in Ghanaian market, there are lots of unions and women control such unions (282-284)

• Men can only penetrate the Ghanaian market system and establish himself by gradually moving or working with a woman because from the beginning women took the market system up (285-286)

• Unions like paper and tomatoes unions are headed by women and these unions have Queen Mothers as their leaders and not kings (287-290)

• Men can only be part of these unions as secretaries and finance officers, but women control the market systems (291-292)
MRS JOANA OPARE, NATIONAL PROGRAMME MANAGER FOR UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM FOR PROMOTING GENDER EQUALITY IN GHANA.

APRIL 2, 2004 (299373)

GENDER EQUALITY AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA

- Tourism development and gender issues must be promoted side by side because there are some people who will be at disadvantage (302–305)

- To make tourism number one foreign exchange earner it is important to look at things in gender perspective (306-307)

MAYAH KROBO QUEEN MOTHERS ASSOCIATION AND THE FIGHT AGAINST GENDER, POVERTY AND HIV AIDS

- The role of Mayah krobo Queen Mothers in combating poverty and HIV AIDS (308-313)

- Young women travelling to neighbouring countries like Ivory Coast to indulge in sex (prostitution) and coming back home with HIV AIDS virus, dying from the virus and living behind orphans (314-318)

Queen Mothers and UN Agencies to help stop sex trade and the spread of HIV AIDS through vocational training.

- Queen Mothers supporting the orphans by involving NGO’s like Family Health International, united Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to stop the sex trade among the young girls (319-327)

- Training skills in batique tie & dye beads and soap making introduced to the girls to stop them from travelling to neighbouring Ivory Coast to practice prostitution or indulge in sex trade (328-329)
Appendix 2: Emerging themes from unstructured interviews

- Each trainee is given five hundred thousand Ghanaian cedis (500,000.00 cedis), 40 girls to start with. Training include HIV AIDS education, reproductive health, puberty rites and gender issues (330-332)

**Queen Mothers as financial guarantors for loans given to young girls to start own business**

- Consultants set up to monitor the disbursements of loans
- Some girls have paid back loans in less than a year (336-340)

**“Dipo” planning committee set up for dipo festival (puberty festival)**

- “Dipo” festival is a festival in the Mayah Krobo district in eastern Ghana, where young girls are nearly displayed naked to the public.
- Queen Mothers in Mayah Kroboo area promise to cover the girls with “Kente cloth or local cloth rather than exposing their bodies to the public (341-346)

**Educational campaign on “dipo puberty rites celebrations**

- This move of covering the young girls have been achieved through educational campaign
- With vigorous media educational campaigns and the supports from chiefs in Maya Kroboo traditional areas (347-355)

**Significance of covering the girls and what is “dipo” festivals**

- Dipo festival is preparing young girls for marriage
- Or actually initiating young girls into adulthood or womanhood (356 – 361)
Gladys Boating, International Relations Officer, National Commission on Culture, Accra, Ghana.

March 31, 2004 (374-547)

The role and involvement of women in festival celebrations

- The role of women is defined even from biblical period
- From biblical ideological women are rarely or hardly mentioned
- This biblical tradition has been handed down to society from generation to generation and has set women to a background position or role (377-381)

Women are seen to prepare festival foods (“otto”)

- All festival foods are prepared by women as well as making sure the town itself is tidy (382-384)
- Women also ensure that the whole family looks tidy in terms of ensuring that family outfits for festival celebrations are washed, clean and ready to wear for the occasion (385-386)
- Sprinkling of festival food like the “Homowo Papale” (maize meal mixed with palm oil) is done by men or chiefs
- This really set women to a background role or position (387-389)

Societal norms and gender roles have set women to background role

- Up bringing of children and societal gender roles is a significant factor of pushing women to play background roles (390-398)
- Changing of societal norms and gender roles should start from individual homes (399-423)
Women, politics and societal norms

- Women refusing to stand for elections because afraid family matters and public ridicule (429-435)

- Normal ridicules of women in politics include most of these women are single or left their husbands to make it in politics (436-439)

- Society expect women to take background position and not front role and women cant not stand such ridicules (440-443)

Changing societal norms and re assigning gender roles

- Re-assigning gender roles should start from homes

- Duties should be assigned to everybody regardless to sex and this is good training where girls do not feel left out to be at background position (444-448)

Society and strong character women

- Society always not too happy about strong character women

- Society believes women can do much better when given the opportunity, men are somehow intimidated by such women

- Women should begin to support each other, especially in politics.

Women, PANAFEST and festival celebration

- Women are find in fashion and food

- Few women like Esi Sutherland Addy are seen giving speeches, the rest normally go into crafts, display of crafts ware like beads, braiding of hair, hairdressing, clothing textiles making and dancing (469-480)
Appendix 2: Emerging themes from unstructured interviews

Commission on Culture and PANAFEST as a foundation

- PANAFEST was first initiated at Commission of Culture but later turned into foundation because of its international dimension (481-484)

- If PANAFEST is a foundation, it will be easier to source for funding and people feel more comfortable to join if it is government sponsored (485-493)

Culture and democracy

- Culture is in born and people feel more comfortable with the culture they were born (494-496)

- Should develop traditional democratic system of governance that will involve all the people and sited the traditional democratic system of governance of the people of Ahantis in the Ashanti Region of Ghana (499-511)

Tourism development, traditional and cultural norms

- Tourism development depends on how the industry is package

- Key questions should be answered such the type of tourist the country wants to visit,

- Hospitality must also be well packaged to add traditional and local dishes

- Eco-tourism must also be considered when packaging the tourism industry in Ghana (512-547)
Mr Kojo Yankah, Executive Chairman, PANAFEST Foundation, Former Deputy Minister for Information and one time Ahsanti Regional Minister.

March 31, 2004 (548-672)

Role and involvement of women in PANAFEST celebrations

- PANAFEST gives pride and place to women because the festival was given birth by a woman (553 – 554)
- PANAFEST pays tribute the memory to Dr. Efua Sutherland who scripted the first proposal for the celebration of PANAFEST (555-556).
- Recognised the importance of having women as board members, especial her daughter, Esi Sutherland Addy as board member and other women from outside the country who are board members (557-559)

PANAFEST PROGRAMME OF ACTION

- There strong involvement of women at every planning of PANAFEST programmes and also the importance of having Queen Mothers at PANAFEST’S durbar (560-562)
- PANAFEST programmes ranges from durbar, through the rite of passage, through women’s day youth day, emancipation day, theatre, performances, concerts, drama ect., all these are weighing heavily on women (563-567)
- 70 percent of the bursar are women who trade at the African market and it is the interest of women that has helped PANAFEST festival (567-569)

Criteria of selection of board member of PANAFEST Foundation
Appendix 2: Emerging themes from unstructured interviews

International PANAFEST Planning Committee

- At highest level, the international board is made up of representatives of various constituencies that have supported PANAFEST (573-575)

- Countries that form international PANAFEST Board are Ghana, Southern Africa, the Caribbean, the America, the United Kingdom and Nigeria (576-577)

- The international board is made up of two eminent men, all the other regions have women on their board, on the committees that constitute the international board (578-580)

- Out of 15 International PANAFEST Planning Committee members, five are women (590-593)

National PANAFEST Planning Committee

- The main planning committee at the local level or national level, people are nominated from their various offices to constitute the national planning committee (581-582)

- Those nominated to constitute PANAFEST National Planning Committee come from offices such as the Ghana Airways, Ghana Tourist Board, Ministry of tourism, and ministry Foreign Affairs (582-583)

- Selection of women as National PANAFEST Planning Committee does not depend on personal interest but depends on which organisation nominates who and in this case, there is no specific gender equation (594-597)

Local PANAFEST Planning Committee

- At Cape Coast and Elimina, the Local Planning Committees, Queen Mothers are heavily represented. Women are on local committees such as the bazaar, the exhibition (584-586)

- Women are evenly spread at all the PANAFEST Planning Committees; no special privileges to have women at all committee levels, it is out of interest to have women at all committee levels (587-589)

Specific role of Queen Mothers at PANAFEST festival celebrations
People from the Diaspora have heard a lot about the role of Queen Mothers and are interested to know specific role they play (603-605)

Changing roles of women in the whole PANAFEST movement depends on themes that are chosen for the edition of PANAFEST (606-611)

On women’s day, Queen Mothers are given the opportunity to reflect on themselves and women all over world meet at Cape Coast University auditorium to exchange views and ideas (612-617)

Women from other parts of Africa engaged in brisk business, there is no definite roles and they find their own roles in the PANAFEST movement (618-622)

**PANAFEST and its sitting arrangements at traditional durbar grounds**

- PANAFEST does not change roles when it comes to sitting arrangements at traditional durbar grounds (623-628)
- During procession, chiefs are join by Queen Mothers and when they sit, Queen Mothers sit next to their chiefs (629-630)
- PANAFEST want the sitting arrangements chiefs and Queen Mothers to look real and does not want to break it up. This allows people from the diasporas to learn more about the life of the people (631 632)

**Traditional and cultural norms set women to assume background position**

- Suspect what is happening is people perceive women’s retrogressing as a result of men holding on very strong to the positions they hold traditional or cultural sectors (633-638)
• This is true, but there are a lot more evidence of women breaking through that barrier without waiting men to dictate what women should do (639-640)

• There are number of women doing well in male dominated professions (641-644)

• It is true that are prejudice against women at, especially at work places, that does not stop them from achieving their goals (645-647)

• Do think society has denied any woman to position herself, we have women chief executives (648-649)

**Education and financial power barrier to women’s progression or empowerment**

• The barrier is being broken because there is been women’s movement that has created awareness (650-653)

• That awareness must be sustained because it is easy for women to accept that was how my grandmother was treated (654-655)

• Over the years, there have been a lot of awareness about women standing on their own and breaking the barriers and getting out of the domain in which they have, this has made a lot of impact on women (656-657)

**Women and the power of media**

• Women use the radio-phone in services to make their voices heard, this means that women are not left behind (658-659)
Mr Owusu Mensah, an Officer, Ghana Tourist Board

April 2, 2004 (673-872)

Ghana Tourist Board as an implementing agency

- Ministry of Tourism is in charge of policy, while the board is implementing agency (675-676)

Annual foreign exchange earnings of Tourism Development in Ghana

- Annual foreign exchange earning is four per cent (4%) (680-687)
- Government of Ghana wants to use tourism as a vehicle of improving and stabilising the economy (688-689)
- To use Tourism for creating wealth, jobs for jobless and for poverty alleviation (689-690)

Government of Ghana Plan of Action for Tourism Development

- To make tourism one of the pillars for economic development (691-694)
- The plan was put in place in 1996 with support of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United State of America and World Tourism Organisation (WTO) (695-698)
- The plan of action is called the 15 years National Tourism Development Plan (NTDP). The plan is on going (699-700)
- This meaning it is being implemented in phases; however, when the current government took over in 2000, there was the need to fast track tourism development (701-702)

To fast track tourism development in Ghana by current government
Appendix 2: Emerging themes from unstructured interviews

- To fast track tourism development, has put together strategic plans out of the 15 year National Tourism Development Plan (NTDP), now in its final stage and will be launched soon (703-706)

- According to the strategic plan, the Ghana Tourist Board (GTB) has revised out a target that it is expected to have one million visitors annually by 2007, that is by the end of the plan (707-709)

- By the same period, GTB expect earnings tourism to go up to 1.5 billion, US dollars, 300,000 people to be employed in tourism industry (710-712)

**GTB thinks these are very lofty to be achieved and has to work very hard to attain them**

- Tourism basically is not government activity and all that it has to do is to create an enabling environment (713-715)

- Government of Ghana should facilitate the development of tourism and this it can do by making sure that the necessary infrastructures are laid (716-717)

- Then the private sector can take up because, tourism development is basically private sector oriented because tourist transportation, putting up souvenir shops, providing catering facilities and services are well run by private sector rather than the government (718-722)

**To attract investments and investors tourist attractions which normally is in the rural areas need good accessibly road and infrastructures**

- Needs the total supporting agencies in tourism industry that include GTB, ministries of Tourism, Roads and Transport, Works and Housing, Railways, Ports and Harbour

- Others are Tourism Development Companies, stake holders like Wild Life Division, Museums and Monument Board (723-735)

- The rest are Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in tourism development, Community Based Eco-tourism Project Seabed, Nature Conservation Research Centre (NCRC),
USPCALL, USAID and the District Assemblies in the proposed tourism developments sites (736-746)

- In all, 14 eco-tourism sites are being developed and managed by the local people (747-749)

- Some of the eco-tourism sites are Boabeng Feamong Monkey Centaury in Brong Ahafo Region, Tafoatusmey Monkey Centaury in the Volta Region, Bobery Forest Reserve and Butterfly Centaury in the Ashanti Region (750-752)

- And Seregu pottery and Architectural, a women’s group involve in traditional architectural and traditional pottery in the Upper West Region and Crocodile Pond (753-755)

**Second phase of the project will soon start and few more eco-tourism sites will be added**

- Government of Ghana is doing its part by deciding to provided 30 receptive facilities at tourist attraction sites (756-769)

- Some of the receptive facilities are Kintampo Water Fall, Dr. Nkrumah’s (was the first Prime Minister and President of first Republican Ghana) birth place and tomb, “Nkrofo”, near Axim in the Western Region (770-782)

**Tourism training institutions in Ghana (783-797)**

- Cape Coast University at the tertiary level in tourism training.

- The university does basic academic work but GTB is requiring it to expand it training service to specialised areas to include

- Tourism administration, Tourism marketing, Hotel administration, Hospitality management, leisure studies, travel and tour (783-789)

- Getting University of Merryland in the United States to develop a new curriculum for Cape Coast University (790-791)

**Government of Ghana is requiring some training institutions to expand and add tourism to their curriculum training into and hotels to turn into tourism training school**
• Government has Ghana Institute of Management Public Administration (GIMPA) to set up hospitality training school (792-794)

• Hotel Eridech at Koforidua in Eastern Region to be turned into training institution for tourism and hospitality services, which later will be turned into West African Tourism Training Institute (795-797)

• Date for launching strategic plan is yet to be announced (802-808, 838-847)

Women, Tourism Development and Gender Policy

• Women play major roles in tourism develop

• Women are seen as the base of tourism, in Tobiaba for instance, women provide all the services like foods

• No discrimination against women  (809-815)

• Yes, the gender policy is government’s policy that is why the government has set up the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs to encourage women in every sphere, especially in tourism (816-822)

Women, Education and Tourism Development

• The whole tourism development in the country is suffering due to inadequate tourism training (823-826)

• Women are more of disadvantage when it comes to training and education (827-828)

• There are lot more women as caterers who get their training from polytechnics in Ghana to learn institutional management and home science (829-830)

• More women are ownership of tourist facilities and service providers (831-837)

Local or Domestic Tourism
• It is very difficult to encourage local or domestic tourism because of the economic situation in the country (848-853)

• Domestic tourism is hindered by lack of disposable income (854)

• People do some sort of domestic tourism when they cross border to attain funerals in other towns or villages. Such movement is sometimes describe as domestic tourism (855-856)

• Government is encouraging Tour Operators Union of Ghana (TOUGHA) to start domestic tourism (857-858)

• TOUGHA has already started with the schools (858-859)
Professor George Pannin Hagan, Director, Ghana National Commission For Culture

April 2, 2004 (873-1072)

The people of Ghana have something unique that gives special niche to Tourism in Ghana

- This is about culture, community organisations, entertainment, environment, hospitality and the way of life of the people of Ghana. (876-882)

Tourism and the role of women

Women play key role in tourism industry in Ghana that is two important roles

- Women at front desk as tour guides and form the bulk of work force in hotel industries in Ghana (883-894)
- Most of these women are highly educated and are owners of some of these hotels (894-895)
- And there is a higher trust level associated with women (896-897)
- Women as cleaners and in food preparation (898-905)

Tourism, Women and Sex

Offering women as sex products (906-)

- This issue is very sensitive about the value we attach to women and morality (906- 907)
- Tourism development look at women as part of the products that it offers to tourist (908-909)
- And this immediately touches the sensitive areas of our moral social values and fibres (909-910)

Tourism, Men and Sex
Offering men as sex products (911-)

- We do not get to know male prostitutes in Ghana and in Africa (914-915)

- But other parts of Africa like Gambia, there are male prostitutes and this is associated with Islamic countries because of strict separation of male and female; there are more homosexual there relationship there (917-918)

- And if there are male prostitutes in Ghana, they don’t advertise themselves for sex (919-921)

Legalisation of sex tourism in Ghana is a difficulty subject (927-)

Looking at sex tourism in the context of social and cultural norms of the Ghanaian society (933-934)

- Legalisation of sex tourism (prostitution) is very difficulty issue, that has two sides; the moral side and sex as commercial enterprise (935-937)

Cultural identity, morality, religion and Tourism Development (962- 1044)

- Moral values under pin our cultural and therefore determines our choices in life (964-969)

- Legalisation of prostitution or sex tourism in a way will challenge the basic values of the people and therefore seems to attack the entire fabric of the peoples social relationship (970-1018)

- Legalising prostitution or encouraging sex tourism in the country will destroy the social values that is attached to morality, family and religion (1019 – 1044)

Role of women in tourism development (1045 – 1047)

- We need women to promote tourism, but women are likely to be victims and degraded through tourism
Mr Abease, Director, Ghana National Investment Promotional Centre

April 2, 2004 (1073–1173)

Tourism Development and Investment Promotion in Ghana

- Ghana Investment Centre is mandated with all investments in the country with the exception of petroleum products and do cover a wide range (1074-1078)
- The centre used to do general investment, the approach has now been changed to targeted investment promotion (1079-1085)
- There is the need to focus on short term strategy in tourism development that the Ministry of Tourism could run and promote its mission statements (1086-1096)

Tourism Policy

- Ministry of Tourism is yet to develop Tourism policy (1097-1098)

Women and Tourism Development

- Women play very big role in tourism because activities tourism is more women oriented (1099–1100)
- Food is one major aspect of tourism, hotel food, food outside or the indigenous food, are all handled by women (1101-1102)
- It needs proper structure because only at a few section that women are congregated (1103-1104)
- Women take care of food, seen in entertainment and right down to management, except that at the top, their involvement are less because there are less women trained to take up executive position (1107-1109)

Women, Tourism Development and Capital investment

- Women are heavily loaded at the Ghana Tourist Operators Foundation or Corporation; it is a good sign that women are asserting themselves a it does not require too much capital (1111-1115)
• Women are less involved in capital intensive areas like building hotel infrastructure, that is male dominated because of the anxiety and the pressure of getting fund to start (1116-1119)

**Women, Tourism, training and Education**

• Education is a barrier for women to get to the top but not in the middle and lower levels (1123-1127)

• It is easy with vocational training and they have smooth sail if the women have training in catering (1128-1132)

• Ghana has only one school in Hotel and Catering Training (HOTCAT) (1133-1135)

• The answer lies in more women getting involve in science subjects and that will push them further up the academic ladder and into managerial positions in tourism development and industries (1136-1143)

**Cultural and Traditional norms setting women to background position**

• Cultural and traditional norms of the country help to push Ghanaian women to background position (1144-1146)

• However, things are changing and the change is through formal education for girls and constant media educational campaign programmes.
Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, Former First Lady, Fourth Republican Ghana.

March 18, 2004 (1173-1447)

Women Movement and Political activities in Ghana

- Political differences is hindering the progression of women and gender development in the country (1176-1184)
- Women’s development reflects on national development (1185-1188)
- Mrs Asmah, Minister for Women and Children Affairs is not gender sensitive because of her attitude towards other women groups (1189-1197)

Women and Festival

- Women play important and dominant role in festival celebration as well as in the organisational planning (1240-1243)
- However, women are called to take part in dancing and singing and men do the actual planning of festivals but without women, there is no festival; men think it is their birth right to organise festivals (1244-1247), (1263-1272)

The role of Queen Mothers in festival celebrations

- Queen Mothers take a very dominant role and interest in what festivals are going to perform and how it will be performed (1248-1253)
- Then details of planned festival passed on to the chiefs, who then assume control of the festivals (1254-1259)
- Assume majority of festivals are planned by men but without the participation of women there is no festival; men think it is their birth right to organise festivals (1260-1262)
Appendix 2: Emerging themes from unstructured interviews

**Women and politics**

Minister of women and Children and women Affairs refused to speak to the researcher on issues concerning women and gender (1273-1297)

**Women, Politics and United Nations stand on Gender Issues**

- Current government of Ghana not interested in gender issues even though they have set up Ministry for Women and Children Affairs (1298-1303)

- The United Nations is against setting up of Women's Ministry by government all over (1304-1307)

- Government with Women’s Ministries turns to over look at problems women are facing and their progression and always refers such problems to women’s ministries without first identifying the problems and making an attempt to find solutions to such problems (1308-1312)

- In 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing in China, there was wide condemnation of setting up separate women’s ministries and referred as bad policy (1313-1314)

- Rather, the UN at the conference adopted the policy and asked all nations to have integrated policy on women that will have a department under the Head of State to over see all gender issues (1315-1322)

**Women and Gender issues**

- There few men who are very gender sensitive than some women (1323-1331)

- After the Beijing Conference in 1995, 31st Women’s Movement wrote a paper and a copy sent to NCWD; it took three years for the paper to be adopted and implemented (1332-1333)

- In 1997, women’s desks were set up in all government departments (1333-1334)

- Setting up women’s Ministry is against UN policy on how women’s issues should be dealt (1335-1338)
United Nations, Women and the Media

- 35 newspaper reports reacted on what Mrs Rawlings comments on having separate Ministry for Women, rather it should be an integrated one (1339-1340)

- Media report on such issues will raise the moral fibre of the country down and such media stand is ethically wrong (1341-1344)

- The media, under this issue has become part of the elite that is fighting those who are saying that the nation’s asserts are more important than personal asserts (1345-1347)
Appendix 2: Emerging themes from unstructured interviews

Kohain Nathayah Halevi, Rabbi, Executive Secretary, PANAFEST Foundation

March 24, 2004 (1448-1719)

Women and Origin of PANAFEST Foundation

- PANAFEST international festival has involved members of the African families of all works of life (1448-1453)
- Since its inception in 1992, women play important role in the aspect of organisation and implementation programmes of PANAFEST festivals (1454–1455)
- The actual idea of PANAFEST was conceptualised in the mind of Efua Suntherland, a prominent Pan Africanist (1456-1460)

PANAFEST Committees and the Role of Women

- On board is Esi Suntherland-Addy, daughter of late Dr. Efua Suntherland, brain behind PANAFEST Foundation (1461-1465)
- Women are represented on international, national and local levels (1466-1468)
- Right down to local committee structural level, women handles logistics of implementation of programmes 1469-1470)

PANAFEST, Women and African Male Dominated Society

- Since 1997, specific days are set aside for women to identify problems facing African women and strides in all areas that are presumed male dominated (1471-1474)

PANAFEST and the role of Women

- Women’s day is meant for women to support less fortunate women in African society (1475-1482)
- Women are very involving all issues affecting women and play important role and planning PANAFEST programmes ((1483-14890)
PANAFEST, The Role of Queen Mothers and the Media

- Queen Mothers are always identified at public places and it is unfortunate that media photographers chose to portray women at background position in the documentation on the web sites (1491-1499)

- In 1997 and 1999 Queen Mothers were well presented and prominently displayed (1500-1512)

- However, during the 2001 and 2003 PANAFEST festivals, due to lack of fund, Queen Mothers were not prominently displayed but were part of procession (1513-1521)

PANAFEST, the Role of Women, Gender and society in Transition

- PANAFEST is a platform that creates a forum for women’s issues in transition

- Women’s issues are gender issues and it is a transition of state leaving behind a traditional classification of women into more progressive redefinition of women’s role in our society

- PANAFEST is not redefining the roles but is creating such roles by supporting women to climb to higher heights (1522-1537)

PANAFEST, Culture, Tradition and Society in transition

- African society is a society in transition and PANAFEST provide the platform for forums to discuss issues and make decisions on what is acceptable of Africans new progressive culture (1538-1546)

- PANAFEST forums are venues that defines and clarified in the mind of Africans in the Diaspora as part of the African families and friends of the African families (1547-1552)

PANAFEST, Women and African Civilisation

- PANAFEST isrediscovering its ancient African traditions and culture in doing so, then emerges African civilisation; and civilisation is made up of cultural and traditional norms (1553-1558)
In search of these cultural and traditional norms, as well as education, women play very important role in the research and discovering, repackaging and presentation (1559-1560)

Redefining the role of Women through PANAFEST festival celebrations

- Women using PANAFEST as a platform to redefine for themselves what their roles have been in the past
- What major progressive contributions they have made in the past,
- And what the foundation should do in terms of building a stronger presence for women in the future and win respect for their presences for the future (1561-1564)

PANAFEST, Women and Education

- Education has major role to play in redefining the role of women in contemporary African society (1565-1566)
- More and more women are having formal education due to lots of progressive movements that we see today
- Women have always been educated but not so much academically in the former educational institutions
- Through education, a lot more women are able to represent themselves on issues that were predominantly dominated by men (1565-1578)

PANAFEST, Women, Finance and Society in Transition

- Lack of finance is seen as barrier to women’s advancement in life but a barrier to both men and women (1579-1583)
- African’s traditional family structure is a family structure in transition were hard decisions are made regarding priorities of education male and female children (1584-1586)
Appendix 2: Emerging themes from unstructured interviews

- Men are seen as potential bread winners and therefore male child is given more preference over a girl child or female children (1587-1588)

- Such decisions are based on financial position of family but when families are financially sound, no choices are made and both sexes are given equal opportunities in formal education (1589-1594)

**Societal Benefits and PANAFEST Celebrations**

- PANAFEST has benefited the society in enormous ways (1595-1597)

- It has sensitised the general public on issues related to Pan-Africanism (1598-1602)

- PANAFEST has a lot to offer in terms of elevating misconception about the Africans being different from other people (1602-1604)

- Women and youth forums provide platforms to discuss issues affecting Africans (1605-1608)

**PANAFEST and Its Economic Benefits**

- PANAFEST provided opportunities for investors and investments and investment opportunities to be identified on the African continent (1609-1611)

- Economic benefit through PANAFEST to African continent is ongoing and long arrange relationship that has been developed by the virtue of PANAFEST festival (16111-1613)

- PANAFEST is promoting health and other programmes that will allow more and more Africans in the Diasporas to travel home to Africa and assist in its development (1614-1621)

**PANAFEST and Tourism Development**

- Cape Coast and Elimina is the actual permanent host of PANAFEST (16221-1622)
Appendix 2: Emerging themes from unstructured interviews

- PANAFES since its inception, has encouraged major tourism development in Central Region of Ghana (1622-1623)

- Hotel industries in Central Region have tripled, standards of hotels have risen tremendously and restaurants are tourists’ attractions (1624-1625)

- PANAFEST has come with it more businesses to develop the infrastructure development of all PANAFEST festival destinations (1626-1630)

**PANAFEST Policy and Gender Issues**

- PANAFEST has no policy but does have statement of purpose (1631-1632)

- PANAFEST Statement of Purpose does not address gender issues (1633-1634)

- No, because the policy is more of a Mission of Statement than a Policy (1635-1639)

- Development of policy on PANAFEST, will depend on future direction of PANAFEST festival celebrations (1640-1645)

**PANAFEST and Media Production**

- PANAFEST media production is handled by individual media production agency contracted by PANAFEST secretariat, whose director is a men but do have women working in the offices (1653-1660)

- PANAFEST hopes to handle the media production because it is not too satisfied of private individual media production agency contracted (1661-1666)

**PANAFEST and Women’s Development**

- PANAFEST hopes to involve more women in its media production to help encourage other women to aspire to greater heights, as well as focusing on women’s development (1667-1678)
**Women’ and PANAFEST celebrations**

- Women who are involve in PANAFEST festival celebrations are very influential and educated women (1679-1692)

- Women who are involve are not numbered; they are not few but are quite significant number and they are quite dynamic and powerful women (1693-1703)
Mr Emmanuel Kwo, Director, Cape Coast Cultural Centre.

March 24, 2004 (1720-1990)

Origin of PANAFEST and the role of Women

- PANAFEST came about as a result of a resource paper written by Efua Sutherland on holding of a dramatic historical theatre drama based on historical events; it was about history on slavery (1725-1736)
- The first PANAFEST in 1994, was held on that line and the idea of expanding it came about (1737-1739)
- The first PANAFEST festival performance was held at Cape Coast Castle (1740-1742)
- The expansion of PANAFEST came with it so many elements as art exhibition, national and international women’s day, forum for discussions of papers and so on (1743-1747)
- The first expansion PANAFEST festival art exhibition, women and youth forums, national and international women’s day was held in 1997 (1747).
- Planning secretariat was set up in Accra and implementing the activities PANAFEST festival celebrations secretariat in Cape Coast (1748-1753)

PANAFEST Planning Committees

- Women are represented at PANAFEST committee levels, women like Esi Sutherland – Addy, the daughter of Efua Sutherland is a member of both national and international PANAFEST Committee (1754-1758)
- Some eminent women (Queen Mothers in Cape Coast) have gradually made their way to committee levels (1759)
Appendix 2: Emerging themes from unstructured interviews

PANAFEST Foundation

- After 1997 PANAFEST festival celebrations, the idea of turn it into foundation came about (1760-1761)
- Before the foundation was set up, committee members of PANAFEST secretariats were drifted from various government and private organisations and institutions in both Accra and Cape Coast (1762-1764)
- Various committee members working for PANAFST SECRETARIAT have to go back to their formal work after PANAFEST was turn into foundation in Cape Coast (1765-1767)

Role of Women in the planning stages of PANAFEST festival celebrations

- Women have always been very involving in all the PANAFEST planning programmes, especially on women’s day (1769-1779)

Policy document on culture that addresses gender issues

- In typical Ghanaian situation, some gender issues are very tricky (1780-1781)
- Decision makers, those in authority and elders in the country do not see gender as an issues to be addressed (1782-1783)
- “Women are not making their voices heard”. (1784-1785)
- Policy cannot go on certain direction without people reacting and expect women to react (1786-1787)
- Most policy makers in Ghana are men and their decisions do not reflect the feelings of society “this co male kind of thing and women just don’t react and they say ho, it is an accepted norms” (1788-1792)

Women, Culture, Tradition and Education

- There are two different perspectives, knowledgeable women with formal education and less knowledgeable women with less education (1793-1799)
Those with formal and in higher position should be seen championing the cause of less privileged women (1800-1802)

Knowledgeable educated women should be a source of inspiration to less educated women (1803-1808)

**Women Issues and The Media**

- Using the power of the media to educate the public on issues affecting women (1810-1818)
- The media is not doing enough to echo out the problems of women (1819-1825)
- It is a matter of policy for media channels to start speaking out issues affecting women and try to find solutions to them (1826-1834)
- A stronger bridge to be build between educated women and less educated women, this will allow both sides to listen to each other (1835-1842)
- More advocacy programmes are needed to bridge the gap between knowledgeable and less knowledgeable (1843-1847)

**Cultural and Traditional norms and Ghanaian Women**

- The country’s cultural and traditional norms are serious set back for the development of Ghanaian women because it have over the years been accepted and become a cultural phenomenon (1848-1853)
- An example of out dated cultural phenomenon is the widowhood rites and the perpetrators of these are women themselves (1854-1865)

**Culture and Gender Policy**

- There is no cultural policy, rather a working document which is in a draft state (1877-1883)
- The draft cultural document speaks about the entire spectrum of the cultural heritage of the Ghanaian society and has made room
for gender issues and certainly does not discriminate against women (1884-1887)

- And there is no page in that document that says women should be pushed to the background (1887-1888)

- The document can passed as a cultural policy for Ghana and will be good for the advancement of women (1889-1892)

**Queen Mothers and Traditional Political Systems**

- In traditional political system of Ghana, female counterparts of chiefs referred to or called “Obaheneba” or Queen Mother who represent women’s interest (1893-1902)

- There is a collection of chiefs, which further up is called National House of Chiefs and Regional House of Chiefs, however, women or Queen Mothers are not part of these structures (1902-1905)

- The reason for keeping women at bay these houses of chiefs do not want to give too much political powers or deliberations to women (1906-1907)

- However, at the other hand, Queen Mothers take care of female interests in the traditional political system and it is strange that the house is refusing to give women equal traditional status in the house of chiefs (1908-1910)

**Queen Mothers and Traditional Political Sitting Arrangement at public Arena or Social Gatherings**

- The chiefs sit in front and the women counterparts, few of them just near the chiefs or sit at the background (1916-1917)

- However, they do not seem to pick up the sensitivity of the women chiefs who are known as Queen Mothers (1917-1918)

- The traditional political system of Queen Mothers is not a mass structure, the Queen Mother has one or two chaperons and basically few women who may be at the gathering (1920-1921)

- The entourage of chiefs are bigger and stronger and say a lot more, chiefs or “Omanhene” their umbrellas are huge and big and these symbolises power, authority and recognition (1922-1926)
• The seizures of umbrellas speak for themselves, they are symbol of power, authority and recognition and up to women to fight for that recognition, authority and power (1927-1930)

**Social and Family Structure of Akan Society**

• The line of succession, which is matrilineal line of succession has a lot to offer the Akan women (1931-1938)

• In Cape Coast, the men are not making positive impart, on traditional political system, but on the social and family structural levels (1939-1940)

• The Akan society of Ghana has a matrilineal succession, that is the children belongs to the woman and her family that means the mean do not look after their children and women are struggle to keep up the children and to raise their families (1941-1944)

• What the men don’t realise is that influence is becoming lesser and lesser and not being recognised by the children and society (1945-1946)

• At social gatherings or programmes, women seem to be much more heard and men are always relegated to the background to the point that the Minister of State of Cape Coast is a woman (1947-1948)

• If men don’t assert themselves, Cape Coast will in future have only women parliamentarians (1949-1950)
Appendix 2: Emerging themes from unstructured interviews

Ishmeal Otto, Head, Literally Department and Co-ordinator, Centre of National Culture, Cape Coast

March 24, 2004 (1991-2039)

This interview is taken to make up for all female focus group discussions in Cape Coast and he is allowed to use his local language. This interview technique is to get maximum information and allow him to express himself freely without fear or intimidation

Women and Social Life in Akan society of Ghana

- According to ancient history of the Akan society and the Bible, women are not allowed to be fore bearers and therefore not countered to be seen as fore bearers, let alone taking front role position rather to assume background position (1991-1998)

- The same principles applies for the people of Fanti-land, for instance, woman, not even Queen Mothers are allowed to sit on the black seat in chiefs palaces, it is a taboo and that is the more reason why the assume lesser position at public functions (1999-2000)

- However, things have change and women are being allowed to be in the lime light and this is due to enlightenment and it all started here in Cape Coast (2001-2005)

The power and authority of Queen Mothers

- Lands in akan society are named after a women that is Assesi Afua in Fanti and Assesi Yaa in Twi (2006-2016)

- A detail research may get you the truth but not all (2017- )

- For this reason the Akans believe that the Akan society is founded by a woman and this is the more reason why the people of the Akan give power to the women (2018-2019)

- In all gatherings in Akan Society, older women are allowed to make the first utterance before the rest of members of the society can speak (2020-221)
Appendix 2: Emerging themes from unstructured interviews

- The same applies to Queen Mothers, they make the first utterances followed by the rest of the members of family (2021 – 2022)

- The most important of it all is when there is a problem to be solve, the problem solver is the old lady in the family and this is the power given to women in Akan society (2023-2024)

- Fear, women of Akan society do not assume lesser position or take background position because of fear, rather women are created and ordained by God to stay behind and support who ever is playing a leading role (2025-2026)

- There is an adage saying “behind every successful man there is a woman”; a man can only be successful in life with the help of his wife or partner (2027-2028)
Mrs Lewsia Constance Aggrey, Head, English Department, Mfantispim Secondary School, Cape Coast

March 25, 2005 (2040 – 2214)

This interview, to place at the campus of the Mfantispim Secondary School, Cape coast

The Role of Women in Festival Celebrations

- Festival is about uniting the social fibre of a society; festival brings about family reunion and the entire family and community ask for God blessing and guidance (2040-2055)

- Women play very important role in festival celebrations, they cater for the welfare of the chiefs, making sure there is enough food for everybody because festival is about abandons of food (2056-2059)

The History or origin of Fetu festival in Cape Coast

- Fetu is a festival for the people of Cape Coast, which highlight how the Fantis came to be, especially, the Cape Coasters (2062-2066)

- Fetu festival was in honour of the spirits that guarded and protected the people to this present site because history believes that the fantis arrived from Tachyiman and lodged at “Efuttu” (2067-2069)

- From “Efuttu” the fantis moved over to Cape Coast to settle and when they content, the people needed something to unite them and then came the “fetu” festival (2070-2073)

- However, the “fetu” festival was band during the colonial era and then revived probable in 1964 or 1965 and then became a communal affair to attract all those in and outside the country to come home to celebrate fetu festival (2074-2076)

- On occasion like “fetu” festival food is plentiful and the women make sure everybody at festival grounds have food to eat and the
traditional fish for fetu festival is “tilapia” (because of it good taste) from “faso” lagoon in Cape Coast (2077-2081)

**Society and Cultural Identity**

- Efua Surtherland was born and bred in Cape Coast and she was into tradition. (2081-2082)

- In early 1960’s, soon after independence, President Kwame Nkrumah, the First President of the First Republican Ghana launched the African personality (2083-2085)

- Nkrumah launched this African Personality because he realised that most Ghanaians have been alienated from their tradition because most of them who were highly educated studied in Europe (2086-2089)

- He launched the African personality and charged the highly educated Ghanaians with good research background and creative writers to research into their lost cultural identity (2090-2092)

- Nkrumah introduced the idea of pouring of libation to evoke on the spirits of our ancestors to help build mother Ghana at social and state functions, wearing of traditional kante cloth at state functions just to revive and maintain our traditions (2093-2096)

**The History and Origin of PANAFEST**

- The idea of Pan-Africanism came about because Efua Sutherland had connections and relationships with the Americans and that led her to come up with the idea and wrote a proposal on Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST) to the Ministry of Education and Culture (2097-2110)

- In 1991, at Cape Coast Castle local groups were used as a mock on the first PANAFEST festival (2111-2112)

- Then in 1992, the first international PANAFEST festival was born (2113-2114)

- The government of Ghana embraced the idea and from then on became a biannual international festival programme (2115-2124)
Appendix 2: Emerging themes from unstructured interviews

**Tradition, Role of Women and Family Structures in Akan Society**

- Traditionally, as in the Bible, looking at marriage, the family, the nucleus family, women are told to be submissive, while men are to love their wives (2125-2132)

- That has been interpreted as women must always bow “mewura”, meaning my lord to their husbands and if women should always say mewura or my lord to their husbands, nothing will go on in terms of women working to support the family (2133-2136)

- Gone out the days when women are expected to have large family to help the men on the farm and to support the family income (2137-2138)

- Things have changed and having too many children put the health of the women at risk and children also become economic burden, therefore leaving the woman alone to care for the children

**Women, Education and Family Structure**

- Formal education delays marriage and reduce their birth rate from 10 in the olden days to two or four at most because education gives the women confident and most them can decide for themselves and their family lives between the ages of 25, 26 and 27 (2140-2145)

- When women are well educated they are in position to decide the number of children they would like to have and those children are well catered for (2146-2152)

**Education, Queen Mothers and Queen Mothers Association**

- These day most of the Queen Mothers are well educated and can therefore speaks for themselves and are beginning to question the authorities of traditional political systems, that the chieftaincy and are asking for their voices to be heard (2153-2158)

- Queen Mothers thinking of using Queen Mothers Association to let their voices heard because they think they have been left to stay in the background for far too long (2159-2164)
• This, the Queen Mothers believe will put women in the limelight and developed the nation (2165-2166)

Tourism and Women’s Development

• If tourism in the country is well developed, it will opened up market because it will bring with it different norms, cultures and ideas (2167-2173)

• This will increase interaction between women, the locals and the tourists to interact and boost friendship, trade and market (2174-2185)

Education, Finance and Women’s Development

• Formal education is a barrier to women’s development and advancement in life (2186-2208)

• Lack of education increases the birth rate of women and thereby increases their financial burden on men, who most cases cannot stand the economic hardships
Mr Kojo Aygeri, Director, Kumasi Cultural Centre; This interview took place in Accra instead of Kumasi as originally planned.

March 2, 2004 (2215-2239)

The Role and Involvement of Women in Festival Celebrations

- Women play very prominent role in society, most importantly in a matrilineal system
- In matrilineal society, women own the stools, that is chieftaincy stools in Akan society belongs to Queen Mothers

Why should chieftaincy stools belong to Queen Mothers?

- Chieftaincy stools in Akan society belong to Queen Mothers because it is their birth right to choose who should be a chief or enstooled as a chief in Akan society
- The person who is chosen by Queen Mothers to become chiefs are also members of the family
- And as the head of the family, Queen Mothers have the first choice or option of whom they think is appropriate to be selected, nominated and eventually elected to become the chief

Is it a normal practice for the King of Asanti to be the son of the Queen Mother?

- Yes, that is about the second time in Ahanti History that the son of a Queen Mother has been nominated, selected and elected to be enstooled as chief of Asanti
Mr Kwo Yamson, Director, Elimina Castle

March 25, 2004  (2240 – 2388)

This interview took place at Elimina Castle, Elimina in the Central Region of Ghana.

Women, Festivals and Cultural Heritage

- Cultural set up of the people of Elimina is stressed equally between men and women
- Women are very prominent in displaying the Elimina cultural heritage through traditional dancing to portray the history of “Bakatue” festival
- Though men do play a part but women are more prominent and are more visible (2240-2258).

Significance of “Bakatue” Festival

- “Bakatue” festival is the opening of lagoon is the formal lifting of ban on fishing and therefore signifies the beginning of a new fishing season in Elimina traditional area.
- It is celebrated once every year in June to release generation of fish and also to observe the norms of Elimina Traditional Principality (2259-2264)

Traditional political system and the role of the Queen Mother

- Queen Mothers are never relegated to the background, they always sit besides the Omanhene (the chief)
- This signifies that both Queen Mothers and Chiefs have their roles in the traditional political systems.
- In terms of kingships more prominence is given to men, however, there are some areas in Ghana, where women act as defector chief (2265-2282)
Colonial Administration and the Role of Queen Mothers

- Giving prominence to men over came as a result of cultural sets ups
- Even though it is the Queen Mother in a form of a woman who nominates, selects and elects kings or chiefs, it is men who have been fulfilling the role of leadership
- Queen Mothers like Nana Yaa Asantiwa took over from the men because men at the period were found wanting during the war with the Colonial Administration in the then Gold Cost.
- Because the king of Ahanti was exile to Seychelles Islands (2283-2293)

Significance of PANAFEST and Africans in the Diaspora

- The significance of PANAFEST is to bring together all Africans, Africa Americans and those in the Diaspora to relate to the past, to share the present and talk about the future (2299-2298)

Advantages of PANAFEST in Elimina

- There has been more relationship between the people of Ghana, especially Elimina and have some coming to settle in Elimina community
- No longer see ourselves as different people living in different parts of the world, like Africans, Jamaicans or Africa African-Americans, rather we see ourselves as one people with common goal and aspirations (2299-2307)

PANAFEST and its benefit to the local people

- Those in hospitality industries like Hotel businesses in Elimina are the most beneficial of PANAFEST programmes and activities
- The visiting Africans in the Diaspora spends bulk of their money hotels bills and what goes to the community through traditional cloths, arts and crafts sales are very marginal (2308 – 2321)
Environmental under development of Elimina is a principality factor for the marginalised economic growth in Elimina during PANAFEST festival celebrations (2322 – 2335)

Education and Women Development in Elimina

- Men are better educated than women but the government of Ghana is making conscious effort to ratify the situation and allow equal education opportunities for both sex (2344-2354)

Gender Policy and Affirmative Action

- There is no gender policy, however, visitors to Elimina Castle are made up of both adults, students, first and second circle pupils
Kojo Ammissah, an Tour Guide official, Elimina Castle (2464-2488)

- Festival celebrations in Elimina and its environment
- Significance of PANAFEST festivals in Elimina
- The role and involvement of women in festival celebrations, PANAFEST in particular
- Celebrations of PANAFEST empower women financially and educationally
- Traditional and cultural social norms relegate women to background position
APPENDIX 3

EMERGING THEMES FROM FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS
FIRST Greater Accra Region Focus Group Discussions – Mixed Group

March 23, 2004 (2513-2883) - First Focus Group Discussions comprising twelve person, four females and four males was held at the staff room of the Ghana News Agency, Accra, capital of Ghana in Greater Accra Region.

Festival, Tradition and Culture (Female Speaker)

• Festival is meant to bring people of all shade together
• To ensure oneness or unity and reminding the of their roots
• This is done through tradition, culture and customary practices left for us by our ancient ancestors (2539-2542)

Significance of PANAFEST (Male Speaker)

• PANAFEST not celebrated in Ghana and by Ghanaians but by people of African descents taken away into slavery
• To may of these people, home coming is very important, because it gives them sense of hope, joy and belonging as well as learning about the African culture and customary practices.
• And it is all about uniting the Africans with the African Africa-Americans and all Africans in the Diaspora to help them understand the diverse African cultures and traditions (2543-2561)

Female Speaker - speak of colonial past

• PANAFEST is a remembrance day to call home sisters and brothers in the Diaspora to celebrate PANAFEST festival
• First point of call the home comers is the slave tome in a town near Cape Coast and the dungeons in the castle that is the passage through which the ancestors of the Africa African Americans were transported to the new world, great Britain and other parts of Europe (2561-2576)
Appendix 3: Emerging themes from focus group discussions

- And the treatment received under colonial administration

Role of women in PANAFEST celebrations (female speaker)

- Women have special roles to play in PANAFEST celebrations and other festivals in the country.
- Programming of festivals are sole responsibility of women, that include food preparation, tiding up of the town, making special cloths for the occasion, dancing and many more
- Decoration of women during the festival to add colour to the celebrations
- The role and involvement of women on festival celebration demonstrate how women in Ghana are presented and represented at public functions like festivals (2577-2597)

Role of women in festival celebrations (Female speaker) (2598-2616)

Women assuming background position (Female Speaker)

- The reason for women assuming background position is that in our traditional and socio-cultural set ups, men are allowed to take the lead
- And that is equated to biblical saying where men are said to be the head of the family
- This biblical statement has perpetuated into our traditional believes, therefore becoming an accepted norm for male domination
- Thus allowing men to assume or take front role and pushing women to background positions (2617-2630)

Women asserting themselves through positive change (Female speaker)
• Women are saying enough is enough and are calling for equal opportunity that most women believe can be achieved through education (2637-2642)

• National and International advocacy campaigners, such as women groups and UN Agencies and with the support of Ghana government are advocating for positive change for women to be assertive (2643-2545)

• To achieve this aim, Ghana government has instituted affirmative action in all government institutions, including the learning educational institution to require 30 per cent of their in take as women or girls of school going age (2646-2649)

**Women as Great Warriors (male speaker)**

• In the past, women are war leaders and typical example is Nana Yaa Asantiwaa, the Great warrior who led the people of Asanti to fight the Colonial Administration even though she was captured and sent to the Seychelles Island

• Nana Yaa Asantiwa and her fellow warriors were captured and banished from Ashanti Kingdom by the British Colonial Administration

• Women warriors like Nana Yaa Asantiwa are very few and society wants our women to stay at home and allow men to take front role positions

• In war men are called and listed to fight by saying to them “meberima bra, meberima bra” not women (2650-2661)

**Men and women are equal partners on festive occasion (male speaker)**

• On festive occasions, there are spectators who normal take background positions and that could be both men and women.

• Sometimes, master of ceremony and programmers are women

• Work done at festivals are equally shared by both men and women

• This is done to prevent women to take up traditionally male dominated work (2662-2673)
Potential of Women as community builders (female speaker)

- Our elders have now realise that women have great potential and must be supported to achieve their potentialities (2674-2686)

Women and gender issues (female speaker)

- A conference organised and called “Brain G Conference, society is urged to encourage and help women to assert themselves and take up front role positions in society

- Main issues discussed at the conference is creating gender balance because organisers of the conference have realised that if women are involve in everything society does, there are always positive results (2687-2693)

Women, assertiveness and empowerment (Female speaker)

- Assertiveness of women started ages ago by a Ghanaian educationalist, Kwegeri Aggrey, who worked in Ghana, Kenya and South Africa.

- He maintained that “when you educate a man, you have educated an individual but when you educated a woman, you have educated a nation” (2694-2697)

Advocacy women’s group for assertiveness and empowerment of women (female speaker)

- 1995 Beijing International; Conference on Women in China and other conferences on women have all moved towards women’s development and progress.

- such advocacy groups include, The Association of Women in the Media (ASWIM), the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) and many more Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) (2698-2710)

Queen Mothers as decision makers (Queen Mother and Journalist with Ghana News Agency- she spoke in Ga language)

- women are very involving in all spectrum of the Ghanaian society and without them nothing is successful (2711-2713)
Appendix 3: Emerging themes from focus group discussions

- in Ga traditional areas, of the Greater Accra Region of Ghana, women play very prominent role in selecting and nominating chiefs (2714-2715)

**Women as core figures of festival celebrations (Queen Mother (2716-)**

- Women are the core of festival celebrations in the Ga traditional areas of Ghana
- Women make sure all festive food for the gods and the guests are prepared the Ga’s festive food, include “papale” for the Ga Homowo festival
- However, the sprinkling of Homowo festive food, “papale” for the gods are done by the chiefs; it is the men who do the sprinkling and not women
- During thanksgiving, the chiefs and his entourage take central position and lead the procession while women follow behind (2716-2722)

**Behind the scene role of women during festival celebrations is to create unity among the people (2723-2730)**

- Women do the bulk of all festive work
- behind the scene role of women is done to create love and unity among both sexes
- This is in conformity of lay down traditional, cultural and customary practices of the Ga society of Ghana

**The world in transition for a positive change for women’s progress**

- The world through UN Assembly has called for equal rights and opportunities for both sexes to create gender balance
- Because the world has recognise the role, contribution and support of women to local, national and international developments
Appendix 3: Emerging themes from focus group discussions

- For this reason, Ghanaian women are fight for equal recognition and opportunity through equal education for both sexes (2723-2730)

Women as traditional problem solvers (female speaker)

- There is an adage that if there is a problem to be solved, we turn to the old lady in the house because we believe she is full of traditional knowledge and wisdom
- Never ask the men to solve the problem
- This is indication of the importance of women in our society
- More so we say, behind every successful man, there is a woman and women therefore deserve some honour when their men make it to the lime light and be recognised as such (2731-27400)

Women and politics (female speaker)

- Nothing stops women from entering into politics but what really happens is that society ridicules strong character women and calls them names
- Women very uncomfortable if they are given names like iron lady, witch and many more
- However, times are changing and women have come to realise that they have potentials and men can not stop them from reaching their dreams or goals (2741-2757)

Women, politics, education and society (male speaker)

- Women have more capabilities than men when given opportunity it is up to them to prove their capabilities by working harder and prove society wrong
- There is no written documents that stops or prevent women from aspiring to higher lever of education
- No body is stopping women but the problem is fear, many women are afraid of failure and what society will say if they are not able to make it to the top as they would have wish but fear of what
society will think of them is what is hindering women to enter politics and become Members of Parliament (2758-2773)

**Women and Politics (Female Speaker) (2774-2785)**

- glad male colleague stated that women are our own enemy (2774-2775)
- We have women who are prepared to stand as politicians and run for elections as MP, the problem is fear that her female colleagues will not support and vote her into parliament (2776-2778)
- The fear of ridicule and being called different names is what prevent majority of women to enter into politics (2778-2779)
- Women are afraid of entering into politics because it may break their marriages and homes and in the process the children will eventually suffer (2780-2781)

**Women, Politics and Finance (female speaker) - (2789-2802)**

- Women find it difficult to run for elections due to the nature of politics in country (Ghana)
- No women in her right thinking will allow herself to be called names and ridicule by people with low social standing
- Politics is all about money and women have to dish out money to win vote, this is a problem women can not afford to do due to their low financial status
- Women may have political potentials, sensible, intelligent and capable for running for elections but the big problem is money (2798-2800)
- Finance is a big setback for women to run for election, that means they need big financial capital support (2801-2802)

**Women, Politics, education and Family Affairs (2803-2823)**

- Family set up is a major political set back for women who desire to enter into politics because women are responsible for ensuring wellbeing of the family (2803-2808)
Therefore difficult for women even to read newspapers in the evening as their husbands or partners (2809-2810)

To remedy the situation, both boys and girls should be give equal educational opportunity and house hood chaos (2816-2823)

**Women, education, society, customary practices, traditional and cultural norms (female speaker – Queen Mother – (2831-2845)**

- Women assume lesser positions in public and social gatherings because of what society has proscribed for them

- Over the years through customary practices, tradition and cultural norms laid down by our ancestors (2831-2833)

- formal education has set our women backwards and this that not mean that our women are stupid because, literacy is not just classroom education, it goes beyond that (2834-2835)

**Women, communication and national development (female speaker – (Queen Mother - 2836-2845)**

- Ghanaian illiterate women are very intelligent and sensible because most of them run their own businesses

- The only problem is communicating effectively in English language, which is a foreign language (2836-2839)

**Call on educated Ghanaian women to advocate for less education women and let their voices heard (2840-2845)**

- Call on educated Ghanaian women to speak for the voiceless Ghanaian women (2839-2840)

- To encourage illiterate Ghanaian women to use their local language as means of communication and not allow the English language be a barrier

- Advocate for using both local and English language as mode of communication by all and at all public and social gathering

- This will help illiterate Ghanaian women to speak up and contribute to national development (2841-2845)
Appendix 3: Emerging themes from focus group discussions

Women, education and family affairs (female speaker -2846-2858)

- Years gone by, our elders used to say, the place for a woman is the kitchen, the reason is to make sure boys are sent to school for formal education and this has affected educational progression of women (2846-2850)

- Nothing prevent parents to send both boys and girls to school because research has shown that both sex can do better when given equal opportunities (2851-2855)

- Advised parents to start giving equal educational opportunity to their children when they are very young (2856-2858)

Assigning equal house chaos and educational opportunity to both sex (male speaker – (2824-2830)

- I am perfect example when it comes to giving equal opportunities to both girls and boys

- My first three children were boys and make sure they do all the house chores (2824)

- I do not think that there are any special reasons stopping men and boys from helping with house chaos (2826-2827)

- Both sex should have equal share of house chaos and this is a good training and help them when they grow into adulthood (2828-2830)
Second Greater Accra Region Focus Group Discussions – All Male

March 23, 2004 (2884-288901) - First Focus Group Discussions comprising twelve persons, all male was held at the staff room of the Ghana News Agency, Accra, capital of Ghana in Greater Accra Region.

Role of women in festival Celebrations (Male speaker – 2884-2901)

- Women’s contributions in festival celebrations are in various form (2898-)
- To start with, a man is born through woman and in every festival, women are the ones who take the lead role for a successful festival celebration, especially in food preparation (2899-2901)

Women, food, garment making and Festivals (Male speaker - 2902 - 2909)

- Food preparation is very important in festival celebrations and women are very good in that area (2903- 2904)
- The role and involvement of women in festival celebrations is second to none in the sense that festivals are more enjoyable when foods are in abundance (2905 – 2906)
- One other area that women do very well is garment making to fit all sizes for both men and women (2907-2908)
- During festivals, various members of clans decide on wearing same garments and these garments are sewn or made by women
- Men concentrate on playing drums, while women do the various forms of dancing with their male partners (2910-2911)

Women, dancing, garment making and Festivals (Male speaker – 2912 – 2934)

- Women's role and involvement in festivals start from dancing procession from the Chief Palace grounds (2912-2913)
During festivals, you see women groups in their various uniforms dancing and leading the procession in different garments, cloths and dresses, which add colour and beauty to festivals (2914-2916)

When chiefs are performing traditional rituals to appease the gods, women play major role by performing different songs and dances till such rituals are finished (2917-2918)

Even though men play major roles in festival celebrations, it is women who play very active roles to make festivals very colourful and successful (2918-2920)

Women, traditional garment or dress making and festivals (male speaker - 2921-2923)

- Women ensure that all traditional dresses, cloths and garments are ready to be worn by various dancing groups (2921-2922)

Women are traditional teachers (male speaker -2922-2923)

- It is the role of women during festivals to teach the youth how to dance the different traditional dancing, especially dancing in the chiefs palanquin (2922-2923)

Women, ritual foods for the deities (gods) and festivals (male speaker – 2924- 2927)

- Ritual foods for the gods are prepared by women, who wake up at dawn to make sure all ritual foods are ready for chiefs and their entourage to sprinkle around the town as thanksgiving for prosperity and blessing for the years ahead (2925-2926)

- In a nut shell, women hold keys to all successful festival celebrations in the country (2926-2927)

Women and the joy of festivals (male speaker – 2928-2934)

- The joy of festivals is to go and watch women display our traditional and cultural identities through customary practices (2928-2929)
These traditional and cultural display are portrayed through the various traditional dances performed by our women (29030-2931)

It is through these different cultural displays that our young children or young men and women are taught for future posterity (2931-2932)

Women are the joy and centre of attraction in all festival celebrations (2932-2933)

Because, we men go to festivals just to watch women displaying all ancient traditional and cultural characters of our ancestors (2933 -2934)

Women and menstruation periods, tradition and socio-cultural norms and practices (male speaker – 2935-2960) see (3010-3026)

- Women are not allowed to visit the deities or gods because it is a taboo (2938-2939)
- This is an old age tradition that can not be change and should a women be part of the team, they should not be in their menstrual periods (2939-2941)
- Then again, those women allowed in, are not to be too close to where the rituals are being performed to the deities (2940-2942)

The difference between tradition and culture (male speaker -2943-2960)

- Every community in Ghana has its own traditions and culture and customary practices of these towns and communities differ from town to town and from communities to communities and from clans to clans (2943-2946)

The difference between traditions and culture (male speaker)

- Tradition is laid down rules and regulations that have been passed on to us by our ancestors (that is tradition must go on)(2949-2950)
Culture is our way of life that include the way we dress, the way we speak, pronunciations of words, the type of food we eat and so on and forth (2950-29553)

All these mentioned can help one to traced his or her ancestral tree of different people in the country, despite where the person is born

**Reason why women assume lesser positions (male speaker 2954-2960)**

- The reason why women assume lesser position or background positions or seat in our Akan Ghanaian society is the traditional sets up of our culture (2954-2955)
- Typical example is what happens at our traditional courts, men sit in front and women take the back role position (2955-2956)
- All these are laid down traditional rules and regulations that are very difficult to change over night (2955-2957)
- another example is at funeral grounds, men take the front role seats, while women sit at the back (2958-2959)
- All these examples are traditional setups that we have all come to accept as a way of life and therefore cannot easily be changed as mentioned above (2959-2960)

**Tradition and Social Change (male speaker – (2961-2967)**

- As stated earlier on, it is very difficult to change traditional and social setups because they are long aged laid down traditional rules and regulation, which for ages have become our way of life (2961-2964)
- It can only be change if women themselves realises the negativity of our traditions that draw them back and embark on social change (2964-2965)
- The change is for women themselves to rise and take a big move for social change that will in future transform the way of life of future generations (2965-2967)
Tradition, social change and the role of Queen Mothers as traditional decision makers (male speaker – (2968-2982)

- Tradition can not be change, especially in the way men are nominated and selected as candidates to contest for chieftaincy (2968-2969)

- This is a traditional accepted role of the Queen Mother’s duty to nominate and appoint a candidate for acceptance by the people through traditional election (2969-2971)

- This cannot be change because it is an accepted social norm laid and passed on to us by our ancestors through tradition (2972-2973)

- It is the Queen Mothers duty to nominate or select candidate to fill the post for the chief should it become vacant as a result of death of a chief (2974-2976)

Why should it be the Queen Mother’s duty to nominate and select a candidate to fill the post of a chief should the stool become vacant as a result of death? (Male speaker- (2977-2982)

- The Queen Mother is the mother of the nation, and the land belongs to her (2979-2980)

- Some times, the chief’s sister, cursine or mother can be the Queen Mother, depending on a given situation (2980-2981)

- The Queen Mother by traditional rules and regulations laid down by our ancestor has the sole rights to nominate, appoint or select a suitable candidate as a chief (29881-2983)

Women and National Demographic figures in Ghana (Male speaker - 2983-2991)

- Women out number men and again women are more than men in the world demographic figures Are women not more than men in the country? (2983-2986)

- Yes, I am sure of this, when you look at the statistics of national demographic figures, women are more than the men in the country (2986-2989)
• However, when it comes to our traditional, cultural and customary practices, women are treated as inferior and fall short of so many things, even though they out number the men on national level (2989-2991)

**Women and African tradition, socio-cultural norms and practices (Male speaker; 2992-3009)**

• Women fall short in so many things because, they are not very courageous like men (2992-2995)

• Example is woman goes to buy a sheep for sacrifice but handed it over to a man to slaughter it (2995-22997)

• Not that women are inferior or fall short in society, but it all started or when women themselves began to hand over important tasks to men (2998-2999)

• This they did from generation to generation, passing it on as tradition and gradually becoming a cultural norm for women to assume lesser positions in public and social gatherings (2999-3000)

• But invariably, women are more powerful in our society than men (3001-3002)

**Queen Mother as decision makers and the power behind chieftaincy throne in the Akan society of Ghana (male speaker; 3002-2009)**

• Women gives birth to men and takes the responsibility to groom the boy child from childhood to adolescence into adulthood (3002-3004)

• This is the reason why Queen Mother, as the mother of the land and the nation, has the traditional right to select a person to run for the post of a chief, when the chieftaincy stool becomes vacant through death (3004-3006)

• The other reason is that, the woman as the mother, knows the character of each of her children and therefore can easily nominate the one with upright character to become chief to lead his people to victory (3006-3009)
Women and menstruation periods, tradition and socio-cultural norms and practices (male speaker – (3010-3026) see (2935-2960)

- The deities believes that menstruation is a bad omen and that women in their menstrual period should not be allowed closer to where the rituals are being performed

- Women should not be allowed because the gods or deities will not be happy if women in their menstrual period are allowed into the ritual grounds

- This is very unforgivable offence and this is what we call tradition passed on to us by our ancestors from generation to generation 3014-3016)

- And it is very difficult to change minds and hearts of those who are involve (3016-3017)

- It is very difficult to say and explain why women are not allowed, especially dealing with the deities, because chiefs come and go they all worship the same god or deities 93021-3023)

- Selected few are allowed in the deities and when they are entering the say, “we are entering the big house or room” (3023-3024)

- This is pure tradition and women are not allowed, should a women disobey and enters the big room, she has herself to blame for any thing the happens to her (3024-3026)

Women, African traditions, socio-cultural norms and practices (male speaker (3027-3036)

- it is only in Africa that women are exempted from certain things in the name of tradition and culture (3027-3030)

- This does not happens in any European country, women are not exempted from anything (3030-3031)

- An example if Great Britain, where the head of state is a woman, in the name of Queen Elizabeth the 11, and for that reason women are not excluded from any thing (3031-3032)

- It is only in Africa that women are bushed behind the scene and exempted from public and social functions (3032-3033)
• Pushing women behind the scene and making them feel inferior is only in Africa (3033-3036)

**European Christian Religion and African tradition and socio-cultural norms and practices (male speaker; 3037-3071)**

• European culture is their culture that they have inherited over the years (3049-3050)

• I think, our culture should go on to exempt women from, certain things; this is our culture and our way of life and therefore cannot be change (3050-3052)

• I think otherwise, in the sense that in Cape Coast, where I was born, women are Head of State and women to some extent are allowed some sort of liberty (3053-3055)

• I think the European culture that allows women to compete with men on equal grounds I believed is based on their Christian religion form the word go (3056-3057)

**Christian Religion and Advent of change in Europe (male speaker; 3058-3082)**

• The advent of Christian Religion had helped in the liberation of women in Europe (3058)

• But here in Africa, women are oppressed through the name of African traditional systems and idol worship, hence hindering the progression of women and pushing them to background position (3059-3061)

• This practice over the years has become part and parcel of our cultural and customary practise and here we are in modern society, refusing to let go for the sake of traditional posterity (3061-3062)

• The only way this can be turned around is making sure we have a firm gripped of Christian religion and enlightenment of modernization (3063-3064)

• This will help our elders and chiefs reason and look into negativity of our traditional, cultural and customary practices that hinders the progression of women (3065-3066)
• This I believe will in a way prompt our chiefs to start thinking for a change that will help women progress and be on equal level with men (3066-3069)

• The only way this can help is allowing Christian Religion to be our base of religion and allow it to play a major role (3069-3071)
Third Greater Accra Focus Group Discussions – All Female

March 23, 2004 (3083-3255) - Third Focus Group Discussions comprising twelve person, all female, was held at the staff room of the Ghana News Agency, Accra, capital of Ghana in Greater Accra Region.

Festival and the people (Female speakers)

- During festivals, there is a long procession of people with the chief either sitting or dancing with a tune of a music in a palanquin to the durbar grounds (3096-3097)

- Then move on to the river to pay homage to the gods and perform rituals to the deities of the town (3097-3098)

- At the durbar grounds, the chief uses the occasion to thank his people and asks the gods for blessing for the coming year (3099-3107)

Women and festival celebrations (female speakers – (3108-3123)

- Women play a major role in festival celebrations in my town, at this period, it is women who assemble all the drums and start singing and dancing to attract other members of the community to the festival grounds (3108-3111)

- Festival celebration is the same as already said by the last speaker (3112-3113)

- In unison, the rest of the focus group members agreed with the first and second speakers by saying that women play major roles and are more involving in festival celebrations (3114-3114)

- In the early hours of the morning, the women in the town tidy up the durbar grounds arrange chairs and table for the durbar to begin (3117-3118)

- Then the chief and his entourage arrive to the durbar grounds to perform rituals of thanksgiving ceremony, pour libation to the gods and thank his people for helping and supporting him all year round (3118-3121)
Appendix 3: Emerging themes from focus group discussions

- The chief asks the gods to bless his people and the town for good harvest next year round (3121-3123)

**Types of festivals – (Akwesidai Festival) Female speakers (3124-3144)**

- Akwesidai is a festival to remember the dead. During this period, all the women gather to select one festive dress or cloth (3138-3139)

- The people then come dancing and drumming in a long procession to the chief's palace where they are joined by the chief in his palanquin, followed by his entourage to the durbar grounds for thanksgiving ceremony (3139-3143)

- Dancing and drumming continue till we all retire to our various homes (3142)

- Then the next day, the elderly women among us prepare meals, which are dished out to any member of public who happens to be around (3142-3144)

**Presentation and Representation of women at traditional festival celebrations (female speakers – (3145-3156)**

- Women play major role in festivals but their roles end at the preparation of food because women are not allowed to carry the chief on shoulder high in a palanquin (3145-3250)

- Menstrual period is a taboo and women in their periods by our traditional laws, women are not permitted to carry out certain functions like going too close to the chiefs’ traditional stools (3151-3153)

- These exemptions are what I believe hinders women to progress to higher heights in life (3153-3154)

- We all know that by using women’s menstruations to prevent women from entering the house of the deities and describing it as a taboo and abomination (3155-3156)

- This, is in a way cheating on women and robbing women on their birth rights and therefore relegating women to assume lesser or background positions at public and social functions 313157-3158)
Appendix 3: Emerging themes from focus group discussions

- This, we believe is very unfair on women but there is nothing we can do because this is our tradition and our way of life, passed on to us by our ancestors and therefore very difficult to alter or change anything 3159-3161)

**Women and Education (female speakers – (3162-3172)**

- Lack of education is also a problem, in a sense, because I do not think a educated women will be asked not to prepare meals for their husbands because they are in their menstrual periods (3162-3166)

- And I believe this is what the men have used over the years through the name of tradition to suppressed women (3166-3167)

**What can women do to prevent the situation of always being pushed to background positions? (Female speakers (3168-3172)**

- I think, equal educational opportunities should be given to both boys and girls, so that through education, women will be in position to compete with their male counterparts (3171-3172)

**Women and their Biological setups (Female speaker -3173-3177)**

- I think one reason women are pushed behind is their physical strength and biological set up (3173-3174)

- Men are much stronger than women and this can be compared with slaughtering of sheep or goat (3174-3175).

- Women are not strong and bold enough to hold down these animals for slaughtering, whiles it is much easier for men to do so (3175-3177)

**Traditional preference of boys over girls (female speaker (3178-3181)**

- Other problem I believe is from the beginning where our parents have preference over male children and therefore deciding on which of the two sexes will be sent to school, should they have both sex (3178-3179)
The preference of boys over girls by our parents was started by our ancestors with the believes that girls will be married off and placed in the kitchen and produce babies, majority of us women are never sent to school (3180 -3183)

And society thinks that women are stupid and cannot think properly and nothing good can come out of a woman (3183 – 3184)

Such derogative comments and attitudes by our ancestors passed on to our elders, has been transcended into Ghanaian traditional and socio-cultural norms (3184-3186)

This have made many to believe that woman are incapable and therefore a major set back for women to aspire to greater heights and making it difficult for women to gather courage to compete equally with men (3186-31888)

Equal educational opportunities for both boys and girls (female speaker – 3183-3196)

There is a big educational gap between men and women and the only way to bridge that gap is to start giving both boys and girls, women and men equal educational and work opportunities (3188-3190)

This means that preference clause should be deleted from our vocabulary (3190-3191)

Lack of formal education for women has also prevented most women to attend and speak publicly at social functions, especially if such speeches are being presented in English language other than the local language (3191-3194)

I rather suggest that such speeches be done in our local language for women or people with low educational background be able to contribute effectively to national development (3194-3196)

Societal perception of strong character women (female speaker - 3197-3211)

Strong character women are called all sorts of names and society turns not to support them (3202)
All eight participants of the female focus group discussions, third in the series again answered the last questions in unison (3203-3204)

- It is alright for men to be out spoken in society but not for women (3205-3206)

- Women are always afraid of what society says about them. Society describes out spoken women as iron women, witches and prostitutes (3207-3209)

- Society is not very kind to women who never married and never have children (3210-3211)

**Women and politics – female speakers (3212-3224)**

- It is important for women to support and push other women who want to aspire to greater heights and become Members of Parliament but society does not allows it (3214-3216)

- Just imagine is my parents have sent me to school, do you think I will be selling biscuits in the market? (3216-3217)

- No, I do not think so; I will have become somebody better than what I am now (3217-3218)

**Are you a registered voter? – (female speaker – (3219-3224)**

- No

- **Why?**

- Because I am too busy selling my biscuits in the market

- **If no, how can you vote for a woman, should a woman stand for election?**

- I think elections and politics are for men
Family affairs and education (Female speaker (3225 - 3255))

- I will work hard and earn enough money to support my child through formal education, so that my children will have a brighter life that what I am having now (3225-3227)

- I have also noticed that there are women who have no formal education but are very sensible and intelligent in all that they do (3227-3229)

- I believe that less fortunate women should emulate the example of such women and try their best to support such women and aspire to become like them (3229-3231)

- It is not just formal education, others have made it through informal sector and society must appreciate the effort of such people (3231-3232)
First Cape Coast Focus Group Discussion in Central Region of Ghana – Mixed Group (3259 - 3577)

March 24, 2004 (3256-3577) - First Focus Group Discussions comprising eight persons, four males and four female, was held at Board Room, Cape Coast Centre for Culture.

The celebration of Bakatue Festival (Male Speaker (3256-3295))

- The little I know is that, we are Fantis and we are called Eguafo, here in Cape Coast (3272-3273)
- Every town has a different way of doing things, especially in their own sort of tradition and culture (3273-3274)
- During festival celebrations, we do a lot of programmes and rituals and this is gone far and wide to attract people from all over the country and the world at large (3274-3276)
- Our tradition and culture are well respected. When it is time for the festival, we have “Bakatue”, which means the opening of the lagoon for a new fishing season to begin (3277-3278)
- This brings joy and happiness to the people of Cape Coast and its surrounding villages (3278-3279)

Role of women in festival celebration (Male speaker – (3279-3295))

- Our women play very significant role, especially in the opening of the lagoon (3279-3284)
- During opening of the lagoon, women fetish priestess play very significant role by performing most of the rituals and opening ceremony
- The rest of the women play other important roles by ensuring the preparation of all festive foods like “Ottuo” and eggs for the gods or deities (3286-3290)
- The women are fashionably dressed in traditional hairdos called “takuoa” and very rich “kente clothing or attire (3290-3294)
• The parading of our women adds colour and beauty to the festival (3294-3295)

**Women and significance of different types of festivals in Cape Coast (Female speaker (3296-3303)**

• We have three or four different festivals here in Cape Coast and these are;

• The festival of “Owooakwa” (is a day of festival set aside to remember the dead, especially those who helped in building our communities

• We have the festival of “ndobaaba”, that is festival for food abandons

• We have festival of Remembrance Day of great men and women in our community (3296-3303)

**Three important things performed publicly by women during festivals in Cape Coast (female speaker (3303-3313)**

• During these festivals, there are three things that are performed publicly by women (3303-3304)

• Three main things performed by women during festivals are preparatory programmes for the festivals, programmes for activities for the period of the festivals and aftermath programmes of accountabilities (3304-3306)

• If we go to other parts of Fanti land, in our preparation for the celebrations of the festivals, the chambermaid for the chief’s wife, is the only person allowed to prepare food for the chief and his wife (3307-3309)

• The reason one women responsible for the chief and his wife is that the chief is the mouth piece for his people and is safety is well guarded “Owooakwa” (dead) and “Atisesifo” (the living) (3310-3311)

• During this period, it is important fort the chief to withdraw from things that will harmful and prevent him celebrating or being part of the festival celebrations (3311-3313)
Women and the Festival of “Adonteng” and the Custodians of Festival Celebrations (3313-3319)

- During festival of “adonteng”, it is the duty of women to move into the woods and fetch fire woods for the preparation of food (3313-3315)
- Fetching of water is done by women and most of the activities during festivals are done by women (3315-3316)
- Therefore women can be described as custodians of festival celebrations because they hold the key to all the problems and answers that may arise during and after festival celebrations (3318-3319)

Why women should be described as custodian of festival celebrations (female speaker (3319-3326)

- Women are the very one who ensure the safety of chiefs, ensure that all gust at the festivals are well catered for and also ensure that there are abundance of food to serve official guest and to sell to the public (3319-3323)
- After the celebrations of festivals, women again ensure that the whole town is tidied up and young women, who are lucky are married off 3324-3326)

Festivals and dress codes determines clan and families background (Female speaker -3327-3333)

- During festivals, individual dress codes determines the sort of person is, which clan he or she belongs to, as well as family background (3327-3328)
- The symbolism for such dress codes, helps others, who do not have to approach others who have enough to offer the less fortunate in our society (3329-3332)
- And therefore brings togetherness, renewed friendship, joy and happiness (3332-3333)

The old lady mostly referred to as the Queen Mother, Mother or owner of the land and founder of the Akan Society of Ghana (male speaker (3334-3353)

- The old lady who came, I believe is the woman (3334)
Who then is the Old Lady?  (Female speaker (3335))

- The old lady as already stated, we have different clans and the Queen Mother of my clan is the person I refer as the old lady (3336-3337)

- To explain further, the old lady is the mother of the clan. As it has always been stated, women are key developers of every nation and men are just helpers or caretakers (3338-3340)

- The existence and development of all Akan nations always depends on the strength of women (3340-3341)

- In our Akan communities, for that matter, Fanti land, we believe that women are the owners of the land, the sole founder of the Akan communities (3342-3344)

- The old lady, simply is the Queen Mother, who is the founder of the Akan societies and literally, Queen Mother means the Old Lady (3344-3346)

Women as Developers of Akan Land (male speaker (3347-3353))

- As the years go, even though we have both men and women in a clan. It is the duty of the women to ensure development of their individual clans (3347-3349)

- As the years develop, the Queen Mother of a particular clan begins to groom the young girls one of whom will in future succeed her (3350-3351)

- This demonstrates the importance of our women in our traditional and cultural ritual performance and their roles and involvement in festival celebrations are very symbolic (3352-3353)

Women as role models and preservers of the Ghanaian Akan Culture, tradition and customary heritage (Male Speaker (3354-3375))

- The role, involvement and importance of women comes to bear when young girls reach the age of puberty (3354-3361)

- The performance of puberty rites in public by our women, demonstrates preservation of our rich cultural and traditional heritage by our women (3362-3366)
Appendix 3: Emerging themes from focus group discussions

- The reason why women are very important in festival celebrations is their significant role they play to preserve our cultural and customary heritage (3367-33750)

The Presentation and Representation of women in Ghanaian Akan society, especially, women taking background positions at public and social functions (Male speaker (3376-3429))

- I disagree with the point you just made regarding the positioning of our women to background (3376-3387)

- Because, Queen Mothers always sit at the right hand side of the chief (3387)

- Probably, the problem started from the general public, among them are some women who came in as spectators and decided to stay at the back and watch the ceremony from background position (3388-3390)

- In this case, as one will say, such women do not play any concrete role in festival celebrations (3390-3391)

- The Queen Mother, as I have already said is part of the important dignitaries who is allowed by the nation of her position as the mother and founder of the Akan society to sit along side the chief on front roll (3391-3394)

Queen Mothers as custodians of traditional and cultural heritage (male speaker (3395-3429))

- In our traditional and cultural setups, even though women play important role, the Queen Mothers are custodians of our heritage (3407-3409)

- Men are more revered in our society than women, because men are supposed to lead women and therefore regarded as head of family (3409-3411)

- The man as the head of family, is regarded as the power behind the woman(3411-3412)

- We may say Queen Mother is the founder of the land and therefore very powerful, but at social gatherings, is the chief who is suppose to lead, followed by the Queen Mother (3412-3414)
• So are seating arrangements at all social and public gatherings, the chief, takes his seat, followed by the Queen Mother, who sits at the right head side of the chief, this, I will say is the traditional sitting arrangements (3414-3417)

**Authority and power of the chief is undermine when traditional seating arrangements of both chiefs and Queen Mothers are altered (3417-3422)**

• The chief demonstrates his power and manhood at social and public gatherings and there is no way such seating arrangements will be altered for the Queen Mother to take a front role position (3417-343419)

• The Queen Mother sits beside the chief as a way of respect for her authority (3421-3422)

**According to tradition, cultural and customary practices, no Queen Mother will assume front role position when the chief is alive and effective (male speaker (3422-3429)**

• The presence of Queen Mothers are felt at public places and social gatherings

• But according to tradition, culture and customary practices of the Akan society, no Queen Mother will assume a leading role, if the chosen chief is alive or effective (3423-3425)

• Queen Mothers in akan society as we already know, will rather take lesser positions and give the chiefs the chance to assume higher position and rule his subjects (3425-3427)

• Queen Mothers stay behind and assume lesser position and give the chief all moral supports he needs to his work effectively

• A young man may be enstooled as chief to assume higher position than the Queen Mother who nominated and gave her consent for him to assume the chieftaincy position (3429-3431)

**Queen Mothers as the brain, the power and authority behind traditional chieftaincy political system (Male speaker (3444-3456)**
Unlike the olden days, now things are not the same as before, therefore making our Queen Mothers to look like little children in the eyes of their own people as it were in the olden days (3444-3446)

Now, all Queen Mothers hold prominent position and therefore sit besides the chief (3446-3447)

If there is a difficult decision to make, the chief has no other choice, than to turn to the Queen Mother for Advice (3447-3448)

The chief may be seen in public as the leader or taking leadership position or role, but in reality, it is the Queen Mother who holds the authority to the stool and therefore the custodian of our customary and ancestry heritage (3448-3451)

The power and the authority of Queen Mothers (Female speaker (3452-3456)

In the past, our old ladies are referred as the Queen Mothers, because they are the ones who nominates a candidate to contest as a chief (3452-3453)

The Queen Mother, therefore has the first option to select a suitable male from her clan for the nomination as a chief (3454-3455)

No member of the community or clan disputes with her choice as already stated by other members of the group, the land belongs to her (3455-3456)

Reasons why Queen Mothers assume background positions (female speaker (3457-3460)

Queen Mothers in the past have assume lesser position because of their age, as custodians of traditional, cultural and customary heritage (3457-3460)

Queen Mothers in the olden day are protected from taking front role positions in times of national, regional and local war zones or conflicts to avoid sadden death or injuries (3460-3462)

In modern day Ghana, to preserve the rich heritage of our tradition, Old ladies or Older Queen Mothers are presented and represent at public places by delegating younger women to
represent and present the views of older Queen Mothers to the public (3462-3466)

- The only way to preserve and protect our heritage, passed on from our ancestors to our old ladies, from generation to generation to our old ladies if for our Queen Mothers to assume lesser or taking background positions in the eyes of their own people (3467-3479)

**Protection of Queen Mothers and the fight for social change through mass education (Female Speaker (3479-3492)**

- The older women is the original sources of data bank of our traditional, cultural and customary heritage of our clan is the original Queen Mother (3479 -3480)

- She is always protected from violent acts that may occur in future (3481)

- These oral folk tales narrated to us by our old ladies (older Queen Mothers) are protected and preserved by solid protection we provide them in times of wars, such as regional, local, and zone conflicts wars (3481-3484)

- However, with advert of education, I mean formal education and the campaign by our governments and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) on the call on the importance of education, things have change (3484-3486)

- Situations where women are asked to stay at home is no longer the issue, rather the call is on us women to be in formal education and compete with our men on equal level and to ensure the retention of our young girls and girl child in school (3486-3489)

- Although these old Queen Mothers assume lesser positions at state, social and durbar grounds, as already stated, they have decided to delegate younger Queen Mothers to represent and present her views to the public as and when it is appropriate for her to issue statements in the interest of the entire community (3489-3492)
Nominating or delegating Queen Mothers to represent the chief and present his view in public functions (female speaker 3493-3500)

- My observation is that on certain occasions, if the chief feels he cannot attend a function for one reason or another, he the chief in most cases delegates the young Queen Mother to represent him (3493-3495)

- The chief delegating Queen Mothers to represent him at state, social and durbars functions is relatively something new move because in the past, such practice of the chief asking the Queen Mother to represent him in public was never allowed and deemed it as a taboo (3495-3498)

- At the same time, Queen Mothers are also allowed to attend and speak at social and public gatherings without the consent of the chief (3498-3500)

PANAFEST Celebrations and the role of women (female speaker - 3503-3522)

- At the beginning of every PANAFEST celebration, it is the duty of the women to ensure that all the places are tidy (3506-3507)

- In addition to tiding up the venue for PANAFEST celebrations, the women also make sure food is in abundance to serve the invited guests and to sell food to the public (3507-3509)

- During PANAFEST celebrations, the local women from Cape Coast gather all women from the Diasporas who are in Cape Coast for the celebration show them around and teach them various handicrafts that are produced locally (3509-3512)

- Some of these locally produced handicrafts are baktic tie and dye, preparation of locally produced food like fanti kenkey and fried fish, fanti-fanti and many others (3512-3514)

PANAFEST, Women’s Day and Food Preparation (Female speaker (3523-3528)

- During PANAFEST celebrations, a day is set aside as “women’s Day and it is this day that women of African descents and Africa African American women are taught how to ware Ghanaian traditional cloths and hairdos (taakoua) and ritual performance of puberty rites (3524-3527)
These women are also taken through food preparation like mportorportor (mashed yam/coco yam mixed with vegetables, peper, fish and palm oil), enkykywu, (dried gravy), fanti kenkey (corn meal) and fried fish (3527-3530)

Traditional foods mentioned demonstrate to our sisters from the Diasporas of what we can offer them in terms of food and our culture as well as the important role and involving of our women in the celebrations of PANAFEST and other traditional festivals we have here in Cape Coast (3530-3534)

**PANAFEST and the role of women (male speaker (3535 – 3546)**

- All meals at the festival are prepared by women and are eat by all and the PANAFEST festival to teach those from the diasporas how these meals are prepared (3535-3537)
- During PANAFEST festivals, life time friendships are established, and some of our women are married off to some from the Diasporas (3537-3539)
- After PANAFEST festival, it is the duty of the women to tidy up the entire community 3543-3544)
- There is group display of cultural and traditional performance by our women to portray our rich heritage (3544-3546)

**PANAFEST, Women and Cultural Heritage (female speaker (3548-3577)**

- PANAFEST festival celebration is a learning ground for our sisters and brothers from the diasporas (3548-3549)
- Because most of them come home to learn the basic way of African ways of life (3550-3552)
Second Cape Coast Focus Group Discussion in Central Region of Ghana – all Male (3581 -3706)

Festival Celebrations and the role and involvement of women

- Some of the roles that women play in festival celebrations include the cleaning of the town and tidying up chief's palace (3595 – 3599)

- It is also the duty of the women to herald the beginning of all festivals celebrations by creating a lot of excitement in town. Women play important role in organisational programmes for traditional festival in Cape Coast. At this point of ushering in the festival, there are a lot of drama groups and dance ensembles of which women to belong to. People go out just to watch the performance of women in these dramas and dance ensemble groups (3599 – 3604)

- As part of the role women in festival celebrations, women stand behind the Chiefs and Queen Mothers to sing for the up lifting of the festive programme (3608 – 3609)

- Women play very key role in festival celebrations and we need their contributions to have a successful festival, without them there is festival. A saying by our elders is that a cock knows the beginning of the dawn but it is the hen that herald the day (3614-3617)

Significance of PANAFEST Celebrations in Cape Coast

- PANAFEST organisers looking at the roots and passages that our ancestors were transported to America and other parts of the world through slave trades (3662- 3665)

- From explanation given to us through oral tradition, it was obvious that majority of our ancestor were transported through the dungeons at Cape Coast castle (Cape Coast in the past used to be the seat of the government, British Administration in Ghana, then Gold Coast) and the Elimina Castle (3665 – 3668)

Income Generation from PANAFEST festival Celebrations

- PANAFEST has helped created jobs like the manufacturing of African fabrics, I mean, baktic tye & dye and our women are very
much engaged in sewing and selling finished products of these African fabrics into beautiful and colourful booboos to our sister and brothers in the Diasporas who come home for PANAFEST celebrations (3695 – 3697)

- Like the fast foods, many sewing shops have sprung up at every vantage point and most often you will find our women doing brisk business in the sewing industry (3698-3699)

**There are advantages and disadvantages of PANAFEST**

- PANAFEST has also created lots of income generating activities, however, it has its side effects. And some of the side effects include, what we call sex tourism is where some foreigners come in just to have sex with our people. However, the advantages of PANAFEST out weigh the disadvantages (3700 – 3704)
Third Cape Coast Focus Group Discussion in Central Region of Ghana - All Female (3730-3871)

Women’s involvement in festival Celebrations

- Women’s involvement in festival is that at every festival, women seen gathering the children and teaching them the importance of our traditions, cultural and customary practices, which include how to wear the traditional cloths and dressed up for such festive occasion (3746–3749)

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Significance of Festivals

- Festivals are celebrated to remember many things like the dead, to out door the birth of a child, to enstool a new chief and many more. The most important of it all in the past when men went to war, women were left at home and they dance at moonlight to comfort themselves. It is at these moments that dance like ompaa, Osoodaa, oboadzie, are performed till husbands who were away in war returns home to meet their loved ones (3752–3758)

- My understanding on festival celebration is to bring togetherness, unity and settle conflicts. During festivals celebrations, the dead is remembered and prayers are said for those living abroad and ask ancestry spirits to guard and protect them till they return to their native lands (3764–3767)

- In support of what the other speaker just said it brings togetherness and unity, it is true, festivals brings unity and majority of bring about these unity and togetherness are performed by women. I am saying this because women are patient and the spirit endurance of bringing people together (3768–3771)

Education of Women in Cape Coast
Appendix 3: Emerging themes from focus group discussions

- Formal educational level for women is not something very desirable in Cape Coast in the sense that in the past, women were not allowed to be in school. And for this reason, women are far behind in so many ways because majority of us are not able to progress further in life and not been able to stand on our feet as we should as women. This I mean relegating most of the women to background positions and this lack of formal education has indeed affected women in every aspect of life (3824 – 3830)

- In the past, women are more educated than men but now it is the other way round (3844 –3845)
First Elimina Focus Group Discussion in Central Region of Ghana – All Male (3879 - 4053)

Women and Festival Celebrations at Elimina

- During the Bakatue festival, the women are made to dress as brides and made to sit in palanquins, play around and pictures are taken of them (3910 –3912)

- The parts that these women play during the Bakatue festival make the festival very fashionable and delight to watch. Sometimes three or four canoes are used to pack women who are fashionably dressed in traditional hairdos called “takuoa” (is a form of wig made of strides of black silks that are weaved on the head and decorated with beautiful gold ornaments) and dressed in rich kente clothing or attires (3912- 3917)

Festival and it seating Arrangement

- On such occasion, both sexes are treated equally, special when it comes to the chiefs and the Queen Mothers seating arrangements, both are seated on the front roll and this gives prominence and respect to our women and Queen Mothers (3950 –3952)

- When it comes to the role and involvement of women in Bakatue festival and PANAFEST, the women play very important role (3953 –3954)

Second Elimina Focus Group Discussion in Central Region of Ghana – Mixed Group (4072 - 4178)
Appendix 3: Emerging themes from focus group discussions

Role of Women in Festival Celebrations, particularly, PANAFEST

- During the PANAFEST festival celebrations, the women play very significant role. They help in the preparation of food, marketing and handicrafts for sales (4131-4133)

Significance of PANAFEST festival to People of Elimina

- During the celebrations of PANAFEST, some of the locals accommodate the African Americans; to them it is some sort of a homecoming (4138-4139)

- Not only that the people of Elimina also ensure that those Ghanaians who have been away for long period of time are given heroes welcome, because to them Elimina is the root and need to be welcome home (4139- 4143)

- During such periods, both those in the Diasporas and the locals who have travelled abroad help in the development of Elimina township and its surrounding villages (4143- 4146)

Government to encourage Equal Education to both Genders

- Throughout the media, there have been a lot of media report on the advancement of women and the education of the girl child, it is true that the boys are ahead of the girls, but nowadays, media reports and government backing on girl child education, I believe that in the near future, if care is not taken, the girls will be ahead of the boys. If this happens, there will so many things that will be left behind (4153 –4157)

- Yes, in addition to what the gentleman just said is that what I have noticed is that the youth are not interested in formal or informal education because the money they make when they do go out of fishing, to them, education is waste of time (4165 – 4168)
During the fishing seasons, the money the youth make is even more than what their parent will provide them in their lifetime (4168–4169)

I also blame parents who refuse to send these children to school. Most of these parents are themselves fisher men and mongers find it very difficult to understand the wisdom of educating their children (4169-4172)

The youth on the other hand make over 20 or more thousand cedis on a single on catch or booty as compared three thousand cedis their parents will provide as pocket money for school, in this regard, they will prefer fishing (4172–4174)

Cedis is the name for the Ghanaian currency and 20 thousand cedis is roughly about one pound thirty pence. Thank you very much Ladies and Gentlemen for your time and knowledge you have shared with me, again I say thank you.

KUMASI – ASANTI REGION
FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS NOT APPLICABLE

Could not go to Kumasi because the gatekeeper in Kumasi in the person of the Director of the Kumasi Cultural Centre was already in Kumasi for a conference