

A Qualitative Study Exploring Factors Contributing to Gender Inequality in Rural Ghana

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Abstract

Gender inequality hinders the development efforts of countries worldwide, especially developing countries. Despite Ghana government's efforts to address gender inequality, the issue continues to prevail, and invariably retards development mostly in rural communities. This qualitative study, explored factors that perpetuated gender inequality in Kyebi, in the Ashanti Region of Ghana. Purposive and convenience sampling techniques were utilized to recruit twenty-five participants and in-depth interviews were conducted to gather data for the study. The findings of the study revealed that deep rooted patterns of culture and socialization continue to perpetuate gender inequality in rural communities denying women equal access to services as well as to physical and social capital. Based on the findings of our study, we draw attention to the need for research and policy interventions that would reduce gender inequalities and ensure women's active participation in social and economic development.

Keywords: *Culture, Gender, Ghana, Inequality, Rural Community.*

1. Introduction

Globally, the discourse on inequalities between males and females has attracted concerns over a considerable period of time. These concerns arose due to a shared understanding within the development community that development policies and strategies that fail to take gender inequality into account and do not address disparities between males and females will have limited effectiveness and grave cost implications (World Bank, 2003). Considering that insufficient allocation of resources to gender inequality issues is a barrier to development (United Nations Population Fund, 2008), researchers, policy experts, and practitioners cannot claim genuine progress in development (Potts, Ryan, & Toner, 2003) if they do not ensure that gender equality is emphasized in development intervention programs, especially in rural communities.

Gender inequality cannot be ignored in international, regional and national efforts because there is no region of the world, especially in developing countries that women and men are equal (World Bank Gender and Development Group, 2003). In Ghana as in many countries in Africa, women have more limited opportunities to improve their economic, educational and health conditions and access services than do men (Zuckerman, 2002). Echoing her concern, Rasmussen (2008) concludes that inequality is growing in large parts of the world, and is grossly related to poverty and other social problems. Gender inequality often creates gender gaps in access to and control of resources, in economic opportunities and political voice (World Bank Policy Research Report, 2001). The report further notes that while women and girls bear the largest and most direct costs of these inequalities, the costs ultimately harms everyone because it cuts broadly across society.

Gender is a set of roles which, like costumes or masks in the theatre, communicate to other people that we are feminine or masculine (Cleves, 1993). The author further notes that this set of particular behaviors encompasses all aspects of our lives, such as appearance, personality, sexuality, family commitments and work, altogether form our gender roles. Differences in gender roles and behaviours often create inequalities whereby one gender becomes empowered to the disadvantage of the other (World Health Organization, WHO, 2009). As noted by Kimmel (2000),

gender is not simply a system of classification of biological males and females but also expresses universal hierarchy, power, and inequality between females and males. Gender inequality according to Schalkwyk, (2000) is a social construct that is transmitted through culture, and has perpetuated over time. The World Bank Policy Research Report (2001) suggests that societal institutions like social norms, customs and laws as well as economic institutions shape roles and relationships between men and women and influence what resources women and men have access to and in what forms they can participate in the economy and in the broader society.

Even though gender inequality is not confined to particular areas of a society, most often it is rife in rural populations, where culture is revered and greatly cherished. The defence of culture and tradition is often used by men to rationalize practices that limit women's life chances and outcomes (Reeves & Baden, 2000). Efforts to challenge power imbalances are often denied legitimacy, or where an international agency is involved, denounced as western interference or cultural imperialism (Reeves & Baden). Women's domestic role and place within rural communities, both reinforces and is reinforced by dominant rural beliefs and practices (Little, 1987). Generally in rural settings, compared to men, women hold positions that are secondary or marginal in importance (Bandiaky, 2008), which underpins the notions and expectations regarding household chores, responsibilities and decision making in families. Paechter (2003) asserts that in order to sustain gender power differentials in families and communities, males and females are required to behave in particular ways and they are recompensed or punished for conformity to, or deviance from the norm.

While globally, rural women contribute through different livelihood strategies to lift their families and communities out of poverty and hunger, their potential to do so is hindered by various and diverse constraints due to systematic and structural gender differences (Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, MOWAC, 2012). These gender disparities often prevent women from enjoying their economic, social and other rights outlined in the reports of the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women and the Millennium Development Goals (MOWAC). These restrictions adversely affect agriculture productivity and ultimately rural development, given that in most developing countries like Ghana, women are mostly rural dwellers who engage in agricultural production.

2. The Ghanaian Context

To better understand the influence of gender inequality on development in rural communities in Ghana, it is essential to provide some background information on the status of rural women's livelihoods. Although there is a growing urban population, Ghana's population continues to be largely rural and agrarian. The 2010 population and housing census provided by the Ghana Statistical Service (2012) indicated that women constitute 51.2 percent of the total Ghanaian population of 24,658,823 and are mostly rural dwellers engaged in agricultural production, which is the backbone of the Ghanaian economy. Rural women in Ghana produce about 70% of food crops and are key stakeholders in agro-forestry, fisheries, and major actors in processing and food distribution (Ministry of Food and Agriculture, MOFA, 2010; MOWAC, 2012). While agriculture continues to be the backbone of Ghana's economy, its gendered facets, such as the sexual division of labor; sex-differences in access to land, labour, technology and credit; and differences in marketing of produce, have not received much attention and thus continue to obstruct the development of the sector (Boateng, Adomako-Ampofo, Flanagan, & Yakah, 2006; MOWAC, 2012). This will eventually hinder women's development and wellbeing in rural areas because their inability to have access to both farm and non-farm activities could reinforce their poverty.

There are various traditions in Ghana that promote stratification of gender roles and are reinforced by passing these traditions from one generation to the next (Boateng et al., 2006). Rural households in Ghana are therefore shaped by several factors because they are complex, culturally varied, and guided by dynamic institutional arrangements (MOWAC, 2012). In Ghana, culture plays an important role in the organization of domestic and communal activities. The behavior of males in their families is influenced by expectations of their fellow men about what it means to be a man in the community in which they live and conformity with certain norms and practices and these expectations perpetuate masculine tendencies among boys and men (Boateng et al). Additionally, in order to ensure that males and females recognize and respect their appropriate gender positions in society, proverbs are often used in daily discourse to explain, describe and reinforce stereotypes about men and women (Adomako-Ampofo, 2001; Boateng et al).

In the economic and social spheres, men are often assigned responsibilities that involve leaving home and the emphasis in their training is on public activities while girls' tasks are home based (Boateng et al., 2006; Barry, Bacon, & Child, 1973; Nabila, 2001). As Boateng et al argue, girls are taught to look up to men and boys as stronger, wiser, and more responsible and boys are socialized to lead and control women. In view of this, girls carry the greater burden of domestic work and boys are permitted more time for play and to be away from home. The assigned male and female roles that are expressed in community norms and values are often used to maintain social control over females (Nukunya, 1992; Abu, 1991). Boateng and colleagues (2006) therefore conclude that though there are constitutional and

legal guarantees in Ghana, the reality on the ground does not measure up to equal rights for both males and females, especially in rural areas.

Ghana as a country has shown commitment to conventions and laws that aim at ensuring gender equality by ratifying them and making local provisions in laws and policies to meet the standards set by international conventions. Some of the conventions and laws that Ghana endorsed are the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the African Charter on people's rights (Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2005). This notwithstanding, gender inequality continues to prevail in Ghana, especially in rural communities due to lack of law enforcement and cultural barriers that have confined most of these laws to rhetoric and as a result never function on the ground.

At all levels of Ghanaian society, women are often held to a higher level of cultural compliance than men because many forms of discrimination against women are practiced in the name of culture (Women's Manifesto for Ghana, 2004). This perpetuates gender inequality which undermines Ghana's efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, as well as the development aspirations of the nation. Although gender inequality often denies, especially rural girls and women equal opportunities and choices and limits their ability to realize their potentials, most research studies have concentrated on gender inequalities in urban settings. This study, which is part of a larger project, however goes beyond extant studies to explore factors that contribute to gender inequality in a rural community in the Ashanti Region of Ghana. This study is important because gender inequality conflicts with the fundamental tenet of human development that emphasizes the broadening of people's choices and building human capabilities (UNDP, 2006).

3. Research Methods

3.1 Research Design

A qualitative research methodology was employed for the study. Qualitative research methods give an understanding of the situation in its uniqueness, presenting what respondents perceive about the situation and what their meanings are (Patton, 2002). Specifically, a phenomenological approach was used because it provides a description of what people experience and how they experience what they experience (Patton, 2002). The phenomenological paradigm was useful because it provided complex descriptions of how respondents experienced the phenomenon being studied (Mack, Woodsong, Macqueen, Guest & Namey, 2005). This study adopted an exploratory approach with the aim of seeking the thoughts and perceptions of rural households on gender inequality. The respondents were allowed to freely recount their lived experiences in relation to the objectives of the study.

3.2 Study Area

Ghana is a country located along the coast of West Africa and is a typical hot and humid tropical country. It comprises of a large number of ethnic groups giving rise to a variety of sub-cultures in the country (Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2005). The study was conducted in Kyebi, which is located in the Sekyere Central district. The district is one of the twenty-seven administrative districts in the Ashanti Region of Ghana and its strategic location fosters trade with other districts within the region. Kyebi is a rural community with unique cultural systems and the predominant occupation of the inhabitants is farming.

3.3 Participants

For this study, a total of twenty-five respondents were recruited through a purposive sampling method. The respondents comprised of 10 men and 10 women within the community and five key informants made up of the assembly man (a community representative at the District Assembly), one official each from the desks of governmental and non-governmental organizations involved in gender issues, the head of the community clinic and the head of community development for the Sekyere Central district. This allowed for the selection of individuals whose experiences were useful for the purpose of the study (Patton, 2002).

The age of the participants ranged from 30 to 60 years with most of the participants aged between 50 and 60 years. Older persons who had lived in the community for a long time were purposively selected because they had experience regarding culturally relevant norms related to gender issues. The participants were mainly farmers who engaged in subsistence farming. A few of the participants who engaged in cash crop farming on a large scale were men. Some women participants who engaged in large scale cash crops farming also had joint farms with their husbands. Some of the participants were petty traders.

3.4 Data Collection Procedures

Data was collected from respondents through in-depth interviews using open-ended questions. The open-ended questions allowed respondents to express themselves freely and enabled the researchers and participants to discuss emerging issues in much detail. Additionally, the data collection method allowed the researchers to probe participants' responses for elaboration and to explore key issues raised by respondents, which were useful for the study. The consent of the respondents was sought before the in-depth interviews were conducted. Participation in the study was voluntary and participants were assured of anonymity and confidentiality regarding the information they provided.

3.5 Data Analysis

The data gathered from the interviews using a voice recorder was played and listened to several times before the actual transcription was done. Also, because most of the in-depth interviews were conducted in Twi (local language) the data was translated into English language by the researchers who are fluent in the Twi language. The raw data was analyzed inductively because it enabled the dominant or significant themes to emerge without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies (Thomas, 2003). The transcribed data was categorized into themes by looking for fits and recurring patterns in the data. The researchers analyzed specific statements and searched for possible meanings that made the information more meaningful (Creswell, 1998). The most illustrative quotations were extracted and used to support important points that emerged from the data gathered from respondents.

4. Findings and Discussion

The findings revealed four factors that entrenched gender inequality within the Kyebi community. These were cultural and traditional practices, gender socialization, poverty and discrimination in access to land.

4.1 Cultural and Traditional Gender Roles

Respondents' perceptions regarding culturally assigned roles of females and males were explored and culture was the major factor that was found to perpetuate gender inequality. The findings showed that, culture prescribed authoritative roles for males whereas females were responsible for caring roles within the household. These stereotypes place greater emphasis and value on the role of men and boys in public life and in the work place, as opposed to women's role in unpaid family labor, care giving and community work (Marinova, 2003). Majority of the respondents indicated that traditionally, women were responsible for maintaining the household by performing chores such as sweeping, cleaning, preparing food and bathing children. During the interviews some respondents said:

"The duty of the man is to ensure that all the needs of the children are met, for instance providing money for the feeding of the kids." (Female respondent).

"The man is the head of the family, it is his responsibility to take care of his household, if he is married he has to take care of his wife and children, especially the education of his children." (Male respondent).

"A woman has several responsibilities . . . does everything in the home, the man's role is just to put money down for the household, but the woman takes care of the house, sees to it that the children take their bath, their clothes are washed, cleans the rooms, provides what to eat and takes care of the general up keep of the home." (Female respondent)

"It is the responsibility of the woman to prepare food for the family, she also has to fetch water for the man to take his bath and sweep and clean the house." (Male respondent).

As indicated in the responses, compared to women, men had more authority over the affairs of their households. Within rural households, men were responsible for the upkeep of their families and as a result provided money for the family needs. Women on the other hand were responsible for domestic chores. Our finding corroborates Boateng and colleagues' (2006) assertion that the responsibilities of being man in a marital relationship include being a provider for wife and children, and authority over his nuclear family. Also, Amu (2005) concluded that in Ghana as well as in other African countries, women's roles and participation have been defined and shaped along biological and cultural lines. We would therefore argue that cultural and traditional practices play an important role in the perpetuation of gender inequality

as it prescribes decision making and caring roles for men and women respectively. As a result, males are revered by females who usually have limited opportunities to influence decision making in their households.

Even though some men recognized the immense pressure that emanated from their role as household heads, they equally recognized this responsibility as in conformity with traditional practices and norms. The following statements from some respondents illuminate this finding:

"... the responsibility of men is to only suffer because if you are a man then you have lots of trouble and problems to deal with..." (Female respondent)

"... a man must always show his worth, he is the person who marries a woman, has to take care of her and all their children, it is not an easy task at all but what can we do? ... as men, we are doing our best..." (Male respondent)

In many societies in Ghana, traditionally men are expected to protect their families by being strong even in the face of adversity. As Boateng et al (2006) argue, male characteristics that are respected and encouraged in Ghana include virility, strength, establishing authority, power and leadership qualities, the ability to offer protection and the ability to bear physical and emotional pain. In this study, it was found that language played a very important role in the respondents' perceptions about gender roles. Given that language is closely entwined with culture, it plays a vital role in it. Some respondents used expressions and proverbs to portray and explain their beliefs about the roles and responsibilities of men and women in their community. Boateng and colleagues (2006) assert that proverbs are often used to explain, describe and hold in place stereotypes about women and men. Two respondents, a female and male noted respectively:

"... a woman is there for a man and the reason why I am saying this is that in everything men take the leadership position, even if you see a scary animal and can't kill it you will call for the help of a man to come and kill it".

"If anything happens it is a man that has to tie a cloth around his chest as the old people say, we use humans to establish a nation, we use humans to tie a community together and use humans as Kings ... humans represent men."

The assertions made by respondents suggest that compared to women, men were honoured and revered in the rural community. Reynolds and Herman-Kinney (2003) observed that the sheer amount of talk in a situation and the object of the speaker indicate who is important and who is not. In most societies, language reflects culture and is influenced and shaped by it because it is the symbolic representation of a group of people and comprises their historical and cultural backgrounds, as well as their approach to life and ways of living and thinking (Jiang, 2000). Culture and language are inseparable for the reason that language is part of culture and culture is part of language and the two are intricately interwoven in a way that the two cannot be separated without losing the importance of either language or culture (Brown, 1994). Given that the language of a people reflects the realities of their lives, the findings of this study indicate that people in the rural community used daily discourse to support masculine proclivity which perpetuates gender inequality. This suggests that intervention programs that aim at promoting gender equality would be an illusion, unless cultural and traditional practices and beliefs are taken into consideration.

4.2 Gender Socialization

Another factor that was found to perpetuate gender inequality in the Kyebi community is gender socialization. The study explored key aspects of socialization processes to find out how they influenced the expectations, responsibilities and roles played by females and males in the community. As Marinova (2003) opines, socialization processes and belief systems influence adherence to particular gender stereotypes and patterns of behaviour. In their responses, participants did indicate the different ways in which they raised their male and female children as reflected in the responses below by a female respondent:

"... for the boy I teach him how to manage my business and be serious about it, because sometimes I leave the shop and go home to cook ... be serious about all that he does because at the end of the day he will have to marry a woman and take care of her. He is not a female that someone will come and marry ... be serious about his education since it is his future and that is what will help him."

"... the most important thing is to teach my daughter how to take care of the home, for instance, she must learn how to scrub the toilet and the bath house, prepare food and the rest ... anyway, her education is also relevant and she has to study."

Consistently, the respondents mentioned that for female children, teaching them caring roles and how to do household chores was very important. These were emphasized by both men and women because they believed it was essential for every girl, who hopes to get married and have children. In most societies, especially in Africa, there is deep stereotypical belief that only women can take care of children (Marinova, 2003). In consonance with this point, Boateng and his colleagues (2006) asserted that, girls carry the greater burden of domestic work while boys are geared towards more productive work and are permitted more time for play and to be away from home. In most societies, women are restricted because their mobility is curtailed in public spheres as they are confined mostly to domestic activities and reproductive responsibilities (Kabeer, 2008).

More importantly, the knowledge children acquire through socialization further entrenches the inequalities that exist between men and women as they are likely to hold these views throughout their lives. Some traditions in Ghana encourage stratification of gender roles and are reinforced by passing these traditions down from one generation to the next (Boateng et al., 2006). Not only are children taught but they also observe what unfolds at home and other environments like the school. Even though the process of socialization begins before school, it is an environment that conscious socialization takes place (Marinova, 2003). In this study, it was found that the education of boys was considered to be very important. With regard to the education of girls, majority of the respondents were concerned about teenage pregnancy which according to them, negatively affected girls' progress and completion of school.

4.3 Poverty

It is vital to examine the links between gender equality and poverty because norms, values, divisions of assets, work, responsibility, power and control make poverty a gendered experience (Sen, 2008). In addition, gender norms and practices tend to worsen the effects of scarcity in a way that most poor women enter the labour market with lower levels of health, nutrition, education, skills and fewer productive assets than poor men (Kabeer, 2008) especially in rural communities. Moreover, the impact of poverty does not only make a distinction between women and men, but also differentiates how care work burdens and responsibilities are experienced by different women (Sen, 2008). For instance, Sen (2008) further argued that for poor women, time is often the most valuable resource for the reason that their time is so much taken up by caring work that they can remain caught in a vicious circle of poverty.

From the findings of this study, it became evident that, in most poor households men strictly maintained their positions as heads of family and treated women as subordinates since they did not engage in paid work and were unable to contribute to the family income. Wadesango, Rembe, and Chabaya (2011) suggest that role differentiation and expectations in society relegate women to inferior positions which have colossal implications for vulnerability and exclusion. During the in-depth interviews, a male farmer who cultivates crops and rears animals on a small scale and had nine children recounted:

"... as a man, I work and bring in all the money, I am in charge of the household decision making... women just play a minor role. For instance, if there is an issue you can choose to inform the woman or not, but the man is the one who plays an active role by taking care of the woman, family and even the woman's extended family"

Affirming the above statement other female respondents said:

"... in my house, my husband controls everybody. He provides money for the entire family so what he says is final..."

"... as you can see we are poor people... advice my daughter to be careful of boys in this community... she has to get married to a wealthy man who will help her reduce her burden rather than become a burden herself if she becomes impregnated by any of the boys in this community"

"... my prayer is that one day my daughter will get a rich man to marry, a man who can take care of her and even our entire family and that will be the end of all our worries..."

The responses provided by participants of this study affirm the World Bank's (2002) assertion that poverty has significant gender dimensions in Ghana, where women dominate among the core poor. As revealed in the study, although women were responsible for domestic chores, since men were primarily the breadwinners, they had power in influencing household decisions. Marinova (2003) concludes that patterns of production and reproduction are indicative of gender relations that reflect traditional images and expectations related to men's and women's roles, such as those of breadwinner, care giver, or head of household. These specializations lower women's earnings potential and reinforces established gender dynamics and dependency on male breadwinners at household level (Heintz, 2008). Even worse,

some women in our study expected their daughters to marry wealthy men as a means of reducing poverty. Although this could develop into new and deeper forms of gender inequalities, this practice is acceptable in most rural communities in Ghana because women's access to income could change gender roles and household norms and values. These norms and values are part of culture and therefore would be difficult to change.

Given that compared to men, women often have primary responsibility for unpaid, non-market housework and caring labour, they are normally constrained in their choices in terms of labour force participation and access to both formal and informal paid employment (Heintz, 2008). The constraints indicate that women are likely to face more challenges than men in translating their labour into paid work (Kabeer, 2008). Many households are able to stay out of poverty because women participate in the labour market and have access to decent paid employment (Heintz, 2008). However, this is not the case in most rural communities in Ghana because access to employment has implications for individual freedoms, power, capabilities and dignity (Heintz, 2008), which are normally considered male characteristics and have implications for intra-household gender relations and dynamics.

4.4 Discrimination in Access to Land

Within the Kyebi community, as in many rural communities in Ghana, land is a major resource that determines the livelihoods of people. This is because majority of people in Ghanaian rural communities are farmers who depend solely on agriculture (Women's Manifesto for Ghana, 2004). Gender discrimination in land is a common phenomenon because there is a wealth of evidence showing that fewer women own land (Alsop & Healey, 2008). In sub-Saharan African countries like Ghana, while the majority of women work in the agricultural sector, patriarchal traditions and practices often deny them the right to own and manage the land they cultivate (Drechsler, Jütting & Lindberg, 2008). Also, although different categories of land users face problems of access and control, women are most vulnerable, either as family members or wives due to discriminatory customary practices in Ghana (Women's Manifesto for Ghana, 2004).

It was found in our study that there were three major ways through which people had access to land for farming in the community and these were through (a) family, (b) hiring, or (c) a partnership agreement. It was very difficult for women in the community to either hire or enter into partnership because both required huge capital investment which they did not have. In this regard, it became evident that most women farmers in this study acquired land through their extended families where the family heads of the various clans in the community distributed the land prior to the farming season. In the words of some respondents:

"Every clan has its own farming area . . . for instance, Oyoko people have their own area for farming so when the year comes to an end and we want to farm we sit down and discuss, having discussed we go to the land and share accordingly . . ."

". . . when it is farming season, we meet and everyone is given a portion of land to farm but as you know farming is for men, so we give men more land to farm . . ."

". . . since my husband passed on, things have been very difficult, now I don't have capital to farm on a large scale as my husband did. He controlled everything; the land, money, customers and everything . . . it is difficult for me to start all over again, I have a small portion of land on which I farm in order to earn some money for my children and myself . . ."

Although most of rural dwellers in Ghana are farmers, and majority of those who engage in farm related activities are women, the study findings indicated that compared to men, women were discriminated against in access to land. The discriminatory practices ensure that women are often given land of poor quality and size because those who control land gain social and political power and authority (Women's Manifesto for Ghana, 2004). Unequal access to land could adversely affect opportunities rural dwellers, especially women could harness within their communities and would likely plunge them into poverty and consequently perpetuate already existing gender inequalities.

While there are constitutional provisions that protect women's land rights in Ghana, women continue to face diverse forms of discrimination in access to land, among others (Food and Agriculture Organization 2012; MOWAC, 2012). Most rural women face constraints than men in access to land and other structures and processes, such as credit, labour and appropriate technology that increase agricultural productivity (Augustin, Assad & Jaziri, 2012; MOWAC, 2012). This gender gap hampers women's productivity, reduces their contributions to the agriculture sector and hinders their achievement of broader economic and social development goals (Food and Agricultural Organization, 2011). In this regard, closing the gender gap in access to land and other related farming needs could increase the productivity of rural women, which would reduce their poverty and ultimately enhance their well-being.

5. Conclusions

Evidently, findings from this study and others indicate that gender inequalities exist in many countries including Ghana. Regrettably, this has led society to place greater emphasis and value on the role of men and boys in public life and in the work place, as opposed to women's role in unpaid family labour, care giving, and community work (Marinova, 2003). Since factors that perpetuate gender inequality, especially in rural communities are manifold (e.g., cultural practices, traditional gender roles, gender socialization, poverty and discrimination in access to land) they have implications for policy and research.

Gender inequality represents an untapped source for stimulating economic growth and advancing social development (Marinova, 2003). Thus, there is a pressing need for policy makers and actors to better understand how prevailing patriarchal gender stereotypes and expectations about men's and women's roles negatively affect women and design interventions that would reduce such practices. This is essential because it is an issue that seems to be poorly understood and greatly neglected. Furthermore, given that reducing gender inequalities implies benefits not only for women but also for all vulnerable persons and groups (Costa & Silva, 2008), research should focus on structural inequalities that continually deprive women of having equal access to social and economic opportunities and services. This is essential because gender inequalities could have both short and long-term consequences not only for women but the entire society.

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