

REPORT ON
A
SOCIAL SURVEY
OF
SEKONDI-TAKORADI

By

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REPORT ON
SOCIAL SURVEY OF
SEKONDI-TAKORADI

INTRODUCTION

In order to present a coherent picture of some of the more important aspects of the social life of the town of Sekondi-Takoradi, the Social Survey was designed to encompass Housing, Occupations, Married Life, Training at School, Municipal Government, Group Associations, Juvenile Delinquency, and other indices of social maladjustment. The relevant section of my Interim Report No. S.S. 1/40 of the 23rd March, 1948, dealing with the Terms of Reference and the Scope and Method of the Survey are quoted in Appendix A for reference. C17
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A Social Survey of this type is, in fact, Applied Social Anthropology, since it is designed to elucidate the practical problems with which the Administration is concerned, and not primarily as a study of the nature of the Social Structure of the town, in order to discover laws or fundamental principles of social integration.

The aim has determined the selection and treatment of the material. Not only have the facts been as briefly stated as possible, but also a rigorous selection of data has been exercised, and only facts which help to throw light on practical problems have been included.

The facts have, as far as possible, been illustrated by statistics ; but these are only bare bones, and an effort has been made to show the interlocking and inter-twining of the social relations which constitute the life of the town, and which alone can give meaning to the statistical data.

Bearing the purpose of the Survey in mind, I have made suggestions at the close of each chapter on some of the practical problems that stand out from the analysis. (See Appendix B).

The Sekondi-Takoradi Municipality was selected for the first study, because the opportunities for employment offered by Trade and Commerce, the Railway Works, the Harbour, and during the War (1939-1945), the Army, have attracted a large, heterogeneous population, and the process of urbanization has advanced sufficiently for the problems of town life to be thrown into bold relief.

As may be gathered from the above, the municipality owes its growth and importance to three interrelated developments : gold-mining, the railway, and Takoradi harbour.

The first attempts to carry out gold-mining in the country by the use of machinery were made in 1880, but these attempts were abandoned in a few years, owing to the lack of railway facilities.

In order to provide such facilities, the construction of a railway line which had been contemplated in 1879 was begun in 1898. The line was to link Sekondi to Tarkwa, the centre of the gold-mining industry, a distance of 39 miles from Sekondi. The commencement of its construction gave a fresh impetus to the mining industry, and new ventures were started.

Owing to the outbreak of the last Ashanti war, and the difficulty of recruiting labour, progress was at first slow, and Tarkwa was not reached till 17th April, 1901. Thereafter, the extension of the line was more rapid. Obuasi 124 miles from Sekondi, the headquarters of Ashanti Goldfields Corporation Ltd., was reached in December, 1902, and Kumasi, the capital of Ashanti, in 1903.

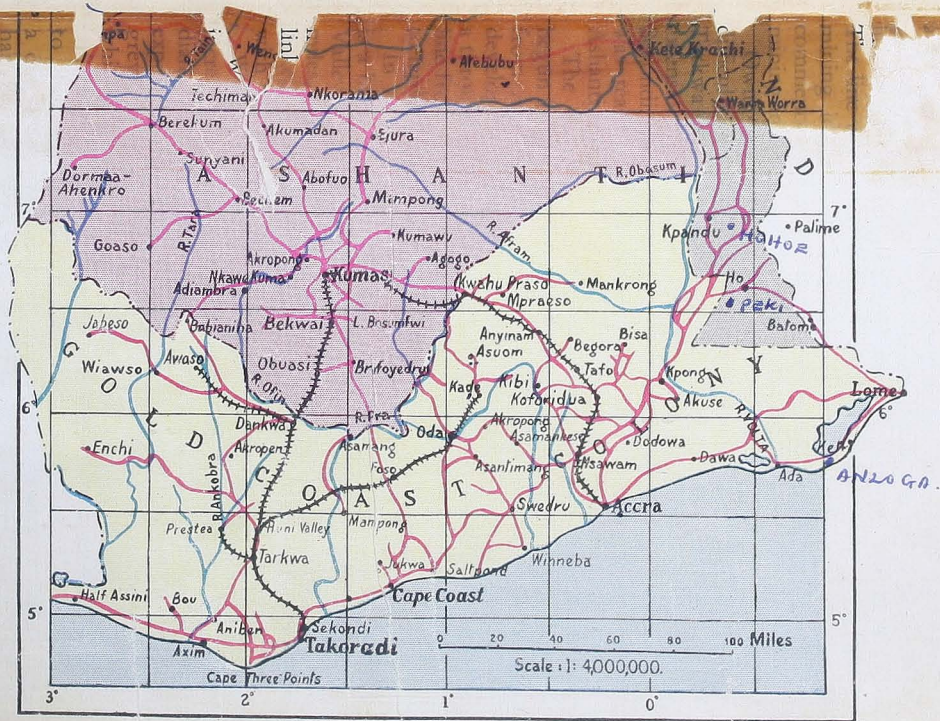
The construction of another railway line from Accra was begun in 1905. This reached Nsawam in 1910, and Tafo, 64 miles from Accra, in 1917. The first World War held up further development, and it was not until 3rd September, 1923, that a through train ran from Accra to Kumasi. Meanwhile, a branch line from Tarkwa to Prestea (18 miles) had been opened in 1911 to tap another gold-mining area.

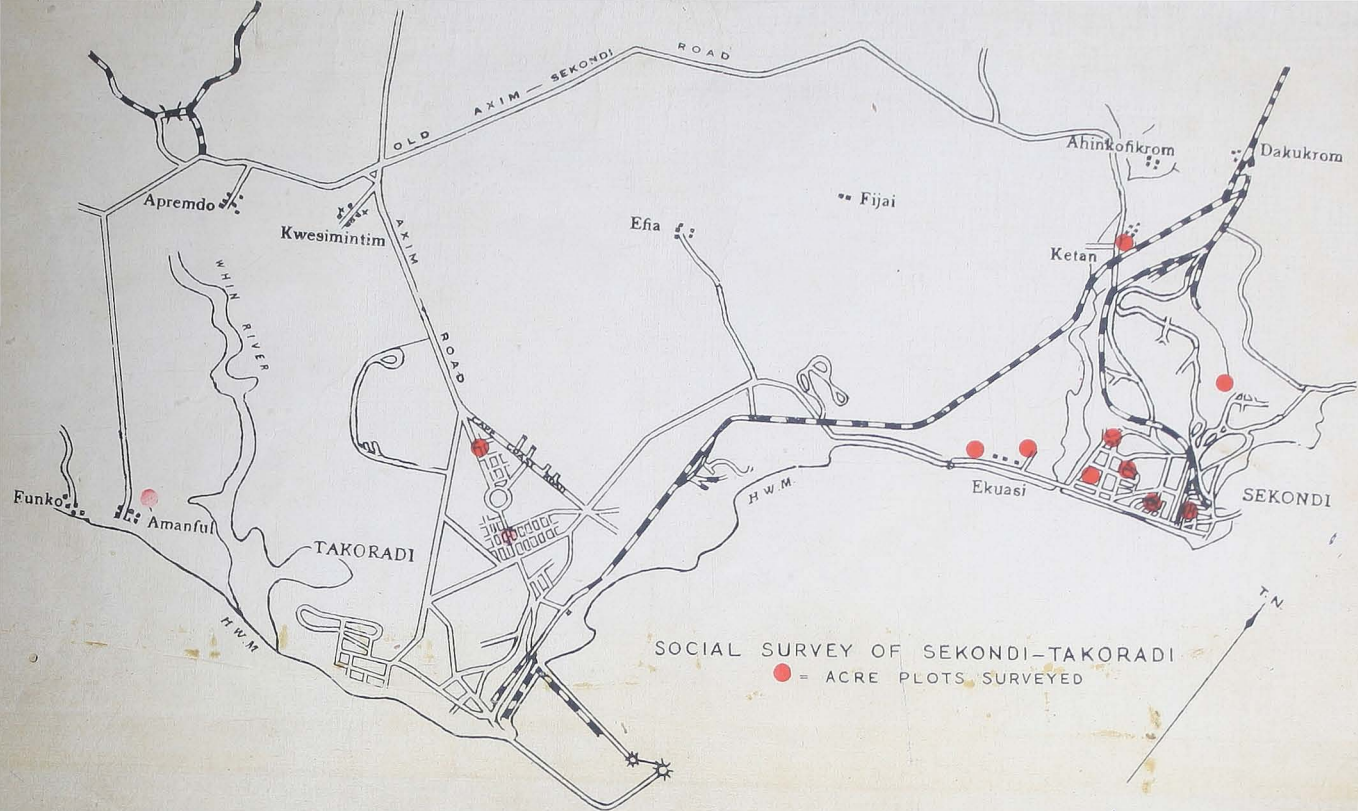
In 1923, the Central Province railway line was begun. This is a branch line running in a north-easterly direction from Huni Valley on the Sekondi-Kumasi line to Kade, a distance of 99 miles. With its completion in December, 1927, Sekondi was linked by rail with the Central Province from which it is supplied with locally grown foodstuffs.

With the discovery of manganese at Insuta in 1915, the increased activity in the mining of gold, bauxite, manganese and diamonds, the rapid expansion of cocoa, and recently of timber exports, railway traffic acquired increasing importance, and Sekondi grew in consequence as an industrial and commercial centre on which the railway communications of some 490 miles converged.

The old town of Sekondi is yielding in commercial importance to Takoradi, the newer half of the municipality. A site for a deep-water harbour was selected at Takoradi in 1920. The harbour was constructed within eight years, and was opened on 3rd April, 1928. It is connected by a double line of track which joins the main line about two miles from Sekondi.

The municipality of Sekondi-Takoradi is also connected by road to Kumasi, Accra (via Cape Coast) and the forest belt of the Central Province.





These advantages have attracted considerable trade, and commercial firms and various industrial agencies have established branches in Sekondi-Takoradi.

All these offer opportunities for employment, and account for the large, heterogeneous population that has congregated there.

The population of Sekondi-Takoradi at the last Census (1948) was 44,130, and there were 3,996 houses (1947), according to the registered list of assessed premises compiled by the Town Council.

It is regretted that it was not possible, with the Staff available, to conduct a Census of the racial and occupational distribution of the Municipality. It was, however, anticipated that such data would be obtained from the general Census which was taken under the direction of the Census Commissioner while this study of Sekondi-Takoradi was in progress.

I have communicated with the Census Commissioner who has explained that the material is still being analysed, and that it will be some time before the information I require can be supplied.

In general, there is no quarter of Sekondi-Takoradi that is exclusively inhabited by any one tribe or race of the medley of peoples of all races that live in the town.

All the sixty-two tribal divisions drawn up for the last Census are represented in the town as follows :—

LIST OF TRIBAL DIVISIONS

1 Adangme	16 Ga	31 Busanga	47 Mamprusi ✓
2 Ahanta	17 Guan ✓	32 Chokosi	48 Moshi
3 Akim ✓	18 Gwira	33 Dagarti ✓	49 Nankani
4 Akwamu	19 Jaman	34 Dagomba ✓	50 Nawura
5 Akwapim ✓	20 Krobo	35 Frafra ✓	51 N'Chumuru
6 Aowin ✓	21 Kwahu	36 Fulani	52 Sissala
7 Asante ✓	22 Mo	37 Gao	53 Wala
8 Banda	23 Nzima	38 Gonja	54 Wongara ✓
9 Bawule	24 Sefwi ✓	39 Gruma ✓	55 Zabarima ✓
10 Brong	25 Wasaw	40 Hausa ✓	56 Zugu
11 Cherepon	26 Adeli	41 Kassena	57 Liberian
12 Effutu	27 Adjuati	42 Kado	58 Mandingo
13 Evalue	28 Basare ✓	43 Konkomba	59 Nigerian (South)
14 Ewe ✓	29 B'Moba	44 Kotokoli ✓	60 Nigerian (North)
15 Fanti	30 Builsa	45 Kusasi	61 Sierra-Leonian
		46 Lobi	62 Europeans and other foreigners

Certain tribes do predominate in certain quarters. Europeans live mostly in the Residential areas of Sekondi and Takoradi; Syrians and Indians live principally in the Commercial centres of Sekondi and Takoradi, along Yensuado-Esuekyir and Poasi Road, Sekondi, and Prince of Wales Road in Takoradi; the indigenous

Ahanta predominate in Anafo, Ekuasi, Nkontompo, and Upper and Lower Takoradi ; immigrants from the Northern Territories in the Zongo quarters, and so on ; but the general picture is that most quarters are common to the medley of foreigners of all races and tribes that live in the Municipality.

Though the Europeans and foreigners of other races interact and meet with Africans in terms of their complementary economic interests, or political and legal roles, and to a small extent socially, attention has been focused throughout the Survey on the African population.

In conclusion, I would like to tender my sincere thanks to all Government officials, School teachers, parsons, chiefs, elders, secretaries of associations, and the many men and women who have helped me in collecting information and data.

I have had a Staff of four throughout the period of the Survey (September, 1947 to December, 1948) as follows :

- (1) Mr. M. W. K. Chobbah, Field-Assistant.
- (2) Mr. R. K. Abaka, Field-Assistant.
- (3) Mr. A. Koompon, Messenger.
- (4) Mr. Atta Mensah, Typist (from 1/10/47 to 30/12/47).
Mr. J. A. Andorful, Typist (from 30/12/47 to 30/4/48).
Mr. R. Mensah, Typist (from 3/5/48 to 30/8/48).
Mr. H. K. A. Darquah, Typist (from 1/9/48 to 31/12/48).

to all of whom I owe special thanks for their willing co-operation.

CHAPTER I

HOUSING

A realistic picture of housing conditions cannot be adequately conveyed through statistical data.

It is, for example, easy to count houses, and the rooms contained in them ; but a Table giving these figures would not throw any light upon the size of the rooms and therefore on the amount of space available.

As rooms vary so greatly in size, figures on numbers of persons per room also give an imperfect representation. A statement in a Table that a room was occupied by 4, 6, 8, or 12 persons conveys no adequate meaning unless the size of the room is also given. The following examples of overcrowding may be given from the Survey in illustration :

FLOOR SPACE OF ROOM	NUMBER OF OCCUPANTS
45 sq. ft. (9' × 5')	4
63 " " (9' × 7')	6 (two families in one room)
91 " " (7' × 13')	8
130 " " (10' × 13')	12

Even on the Colony's very generous legal standard of 36 sq. ft. of floor space per person, these rooms are heavily overcrowded, though this would not have been so apparent if the sizes of the rooms had not been given as above ; but it is impracticable to carry out or tabulate measurements of every room in this way in the course of a comprehensive Survey.

Nor is it possible to show by figures the ventilation and constructional inadequacies, or the different standards of cleanliness or furnishing of the houses in the Municipality. In one house, the windows are small, and always shut ; sheep, goats, chickens and little children scramble in mud and dung in the congested yard ; the leaking roof of iron sheets is supported with shovels and odd implements to keep out the rain ; the interior of the rooms are bare of furniture, and musty with stale odours of food and clothing. Another house has wide open windows, a clean and spacious yard, a substantial roof, whilst the rooms are airy and fresh, and tastefully furnished. These differences in standards of living are not easily susceptible to statistical treatment.

The dwellings themselves present a wide array from dilapidated and cluttered swish buildings worth no more than £30, to imposing edifices of brick or cement valued at £4,000 or more.

These definite limitations to the picture that can be conveyed by statistics are recognised; but short of detailed descriptions on a scale that is quite impracticable, statistics offer the most convenient way of presenting the facts.

The majority of the people in the Municipality are tenants, and only a few own the houses in which they live. The houses are usually large ones sheltering more than one family.

Appendix 1 (a) gives details of a Sample Census comprising acre plots selected from different areas of the Municipality. This method was adopted in order to get a representative Sample of the whole Municipality, and also a basis for comparing different quarters in respect of crowding.

In order to obviate differences as much as possible, the areas selected were built-on areas with no wide open spaces; but allowances have to be made for differences in the nature and height of the houses.

The Sample Census given in Appendix 1 (a) covered 12 acre plots containing 193 houses or 1454 rooms (an average of 7.5 rooms per house), sheltering a total population of 3,025 people.

The densities of population on these acre plots will be seen to exceed 160 in every case, and in the Anafo area, it is as much as 547 persons to the acre. This illustrates the crowding of too many houses together on a given area.

As between the two sections of the Municipality, Takoradi is a new town built as recently as 1926, and the buildings are on the whole cleaner and better spaced than in the old town of Sekondi; moreover, the quarters provided by the Railway Administration and Elder Dempster Lines for their employees, though often overcrowded, set higher standards than prevail in similar quarters in Sekondi.

It will be observed that there was a total of 159 kitchens in the 193 houses in the Sample in Appendix 1(a). Some houses had no kitchens at all, and in many of those that had them, the communal kitchens were too small for the number of tenants that had to use them. So the women cooked in their living rooms, open verandahs, in the yard, or even outside the houses, close to public thoroughfares.

The bathrooms were similarly inadequate. Many houses did not provide them at all; where one was provided, the bathroom was very often a narrow passage enclosed by iron sheets, or a room so small that it could not be used by all the tenants. We

found tenants who regularly had their baths in their single living rooms, or along the beach, or even in the streets at night. Some used the public bathroom where one was provided.

Only 32 out of the 193 houses had private latrines. The majority of houses had no latrines, and the tenants used the public latrines, or the beach.

In certain houses, especially in Takoradi, the landlords had converted latrines and kitchens into living rooms so as to be able to take in more tenants, thus making the shortage of kitchens and latrines more acute.

Apart from the crowding of too many houses on a given area, and the inadequate provision for cooking and sanitation, there was a crowding of too many persons in the houses.

Overcrowding is assumed to exist, according to the definition adopted by the Census Authorities of the United Kingdom, in any house which contains more than two persons per room, understanding by a room, a living room or bedroom. Sculleries, landings, lobbies, bathrooms, warehouses, and shops being excluded. In our census, we counted as "rooms" halls and shops which were slept in; but even so, the nature of the overcrowding in the Municipality can be observed from the fact that by this standard, the 193 houses in the Sample, containing 1,454 rooms, occupied by 3,025 persons showed a general overcrowding, even if no account were taken of the rooms not used as living rooms or bedrooms.

By the standard, overcrowding existed in 51.6% of the houses in the Sample; in the Anafo area 72%, and at Amanful and New Town Essikado, 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ % of the houses surveyed were overcrowded.

Appendix 1(b) consists of a selection of crowded houses from different areas in the Municipality to illustrate the type of overcrowding due to too many people living in one house, and it may be added, sharing inadequate cooking and sanitary amenities.

Of the 1,454 rooms in the Sample, 1,235 were used as bedrooms or living rooms. Appendix 1(c) gives the distribution of persons per room of the rooms that were occupied.

There did not appear to be large numbers sleeping in one room, as only eleven out of a total of 1,235 rooms were occupied by more than eight persons each. But the rooms were generally not large.

A better idea of the housing situation can be had from Appendix 1(d). 524 of the rooms or 42.4% were occupied by families who had just the one room. These families represented

51.6 % of the population in the Sample, and varied in size from 2 to 10.

From a Survey of 250 other houses not included in the Sample of acre plots, it was seen that many families in Sekondi-Takoradi, 40 % of the number of persons in the Sample, live in single rooms in which they store all their belongings, eat, sleep, and sometimes even cook.

This partly accounted for the large numbers that regularly slept out in the streets at nights, or under open verandahs. A series of counts taken at different times in the following quarters of Sekondi gave an average of 200 people sleeping out in the open in these areas alone ; First street, Second Street, Zongo, Tenth Street, Eleventh Street, Poasi Road, and Asafo Street.

As has been illustrated above, there are three types of overcrowding in the Municipality :

- (1) Too many houses built on a given area.
- (2) Too many persons living in a house.
- (3) Too many persons living in a room.

* Appendix 1(e) gives a summary of the statistical data, and illustrates all these points.

The Table shows the number of houses built on each of 12 acre plots, the total number of rooms in the houses on each acre plot, the total number of persons per acre, and the number of persons per room as shown by the distribution of the total of 3,025 persons in the Sample.

The Sample was widely scattered, and gives a representative picture of housing conditions in the Municipality, but some additional information may be given to throw further light on the situation.

The communal kitchens, as has been previously observed, are inadequate ; many of them are open to the rain, and there are no lockers or storing rooms provided for food and cooking utensils. These are kept in the rooms which in some instances are also used for storing the water which the majority of the women have to fetch from public stand-pipes.

The inadequacy of latrines, baths, and washing facilities encourages insanitary habits of which children are the worst victims. The public latrines being too far away, the mothers provide the children with newspapers or chamber-pots, or sometimes they defecate in the yard or rooms to be cleaned up later by the busy housewife. The yards are often wet or muddy with water, owing to the lack of bathrooms or washing places.

• The Public Septic Tank Latrines so far provided are unpopular and offensive. This is because they are used by too many people. At the Zongo, for example, a latrine built for 600 is visited by about 2,000 daily.

• In Ekuasi, Essiaman and Nkontompo more people appeared to use the beach than the public pit latrines. The latrines provided at Nkontompo in particular were not only inadequate, but primitive, difficult and dangerous to approach, and covered with flies and filth.

These places have been aptly described in previous reports as slum villages. In addition to congestion, advanced erosion has cut deep gullies in the slopes, and made the villages difficult to clean. ✓

Rents in the Municipality vary from 10s. to 26s. per month for a single room, according to size and quality. The general complaint is that the rents are high. ✓

There were also complaints by house-owners at Ekuasi, Essiaman, Nkontompo, and Ketan that the Land and Water Rate Assessments were too high. ✓ These places became part of the Municipal area with the passage of the Sekondi/Takoradi Town Council Ordinance in 1945. ✓

Having regard to the condition of the houses, and the amenities that the Town Council provides for these areas, the complaints seem justified, and a revision of the assessments seems necessary.

Examples of the House and Water Rate Assessments are given in Appendix 1 (f).

Short descriptions of a few houses may further illustrate the housing situation :—

Example 1 : 10 living rooms. 33 occupants. Rents £1 to £1 6s. One latrine for the use of all the occupants. Built on cement blocks. Floors cemented. The halls had been converted into living rooms. The two small kitchens were inadequate, so the women cooked in the yard.

Example 2 . Four rooms. Seventeen occupants. No kitchen, bathroom or latrine. The women did their cooking on a narrow uncovered verandah facing the street. There were no tables. All the food, and cooking pots stood on the floor and open to public view. When it rained, the cooking was done in the living rooms.

Example 3 : Eleven rooms. 45 occupants. One kitchen, one bathroom, no latrine. All the rooms were leaking. The roof of room 10 was supported with a spade. Swish walls, floors not cemented. Rents 10s. to 20s. a single room. One room had 8 occupants, but two of them regularly slept under a tree near the house.

Example 4 : Eight rooms, 13 occupants, no kitchen, latrine or bathroom. Occupants cooked in the verandah, and had their bath behind a pile of cement blocks. Swish walls, cement floors, roofs of corrugated iron sheets, all the rooms leaked.

Example 5 : Twelve rooms. 22 occupants. One kitchen, one bathroom, no latrine. The women cooked in a small, congested, stony yard ; the one kitchen, being too small, was stored with cooking pots, firewood, and cow-hides. Sheep and goats were bred in the house, and their dung littered the yard.

Example 6 : Six rooms. 19 occupants. One kitchen, one bathroom, no latrine. Swish walls, cement floors. The women cooked in front of their rooms. The yard was small, and congested with an oven, and temporary sheds under which cooking utensils were stored. One room, with a floor space of 10' $\times$ 10', had no window, and was occupied by five people.

Example 7 : Seven rooms, 26 occupants. One kitchen, one bathroom, no latrine. Swish walls ; cement floors ; sheep bred in the yard where the cooking was also done. The rooms were dark. Bathroom about 10 yards from the house.

Example 8 : Sixteen rooms, 52 occupants. No kitchen, two bathrooms, one latrine. Rents, 10s. to 20s. The occupants cooked in the yard, some of them quite close to their living rooms. Three rooms meant for kitchens had been converted into living rooms and let at 10s. a month each. One room with a floor space of $9\frac{3}{4}$ ' $\times$ 7' was occupied by a man, his two wives, and three children, and stored with all their belongings and their food.

Example 9 : Six rooms, 24 occupants. One kitchen, one bathroom, no latrine. Swish walls, floors not cemented. Small bathroom with no door. Cooking done in the yard. One room with a floor space of 10' $\times$ 10' served as a carpenter's shop, and sleeping room for five unmarried men.

Example 10 : Eleven rooms, 35 occupants. One kitchen, one bathroom, no latrine. Walls and roof of iron sheets. Floors not cemented. Cooking, storage, and sleeping in the same room. Small bathrooms and kitchens, cooking mostly done in the stony yard.

There were houses which kept higher standards than those described above, but the examples better portray the conditions under which the majority of the population of the Municipality live.

Complaints about landlords were frequent, but when the tenants were told that they could complain to the Rent Assessment Committee, the usual reply was that an offended landlord could make life so intolerable that it was better to endure the

leaking roofs, dirty walls, unrepaired doors and windows, rigid control of the use of lights, and the stifling smoke, than to incur his displeasure. There were cases in which the tenants would not disclose the amount of rent they were being charged, for fear of being subsequently ejected by the landlord. Behind the bald facts and figures lie many discomforts and inconveniences, and in some cases, definitely low standards of living.

Government Quarters

Some more details may be given on the Quarters provided in Sekondi by the Government for members of the Junior Civil Service. These include the Prison Staff Quarters, Police, and Clerks' Quarters.

At the Prison Staff Quarters, each Warder has one room. There are three sizes of rooms. The majority have a floor space of $11' \times 11'$, but a few measure $11\frac{3}{4}' \times 11'$ or $12' \times 12'$.

The total population of men, women and children living in the 60 rooms provided was 264, for the Warders were all married, and had their families living with them. The average of over 4 persons to a room indicates how crowded the quarters are. There were 24 families of 4 persons each, 12 of 5, 7 of 6, 2 of 7, 1 of 8, and 1 of 10, each family living in a single room.

All the residents at the Quarters shared one latrine of eight pans; the women and girls using one section of four pans, and the men and boys the other section also of four pans. This worked out to an average of 35 males and 37 females to one pan.

No kitchens were originally provided for the men's Quarters, but kitchens have been improvised from wooden boxes.

All the men use one bathroom which has a floor space of $10' \times 6'$.

The matrons have similarly one living room each. The four rooms had a total population of 11 at the time of the Survey.

The matrons' Quarters have neither bathrooms nor kitchens. They cook in front of their rooms, or inside when it rains. They are expected to share a bathroom measuring $10' \times 6'$ with the Warders' wives and children, but to avoid long queues and quarrels, they usually bathe behind their rooms at nights.

They similarly share a latrine with the Warders' wives. To get to it, they have to walk about 100 yards through the men's quarters.

As the figures and Tables in Appendix 1(g) bear out, the living room accommodation as well as the sanitary services at these quarters are inadequate.

The Police are similarly provided with a single room each. Conditions at the Main Barracks in Sekondi may be given in illustration.

There are 31 rooms, each measuring $9\ 11/12' \times 8'$. Fifteen of the rooms were occupied by the General Police, and sixteen by the Escort Police. As shown in Appendix 1(g), only four Policemen at the time of the Survey lived singly in their rooms; the rest shared their rooms with their families.

Wives of the General Police had one kitchen measuring $20\ 1/6' \times 10\ 1/6'$. It was stored with chop-boxes, Dutch stoves, commonly called coal pots, and cooking utensils; but some of the children of the Constables slept there at night.

Wives of the Escort Police cooked on a verandah adjoining the kitchen. The floor was cemented and sheltered, but it was open to rain.

There was only one latrine for the 31 Constables; this measured $6' \times 5\ 1/2'$, and had 3 pans.

The bathroom for the use of the 31 Constables measured $8\ 7/12' \times 5\ 1/6'$ and could conveniently contain only four persons at a time.

Similar quarters for the Police were provided at the Beach and the Zongo. In all, we surveyed 57 rooms for Constables. The total number of persons living in these rooms was 214, again a high average. In one case, a family of 10, and in another, a family of 11, used the small single room.

At the Hospital and Clerks' Quarters, two-roomed houses are provided; in some cases the kitchens, bathrooms, and latrines are communal, and in others, separate kitchens and bathrooms are provided for each two-roomed block.

Even in the two-roomed quarters, the men with families found the accommodation inadequate. One room is usually used as a bedroom and boxroom; the other has to serve as a sitting room, dining room, office, as well as bedroom for the grown-up children.

The tenants find it no easy problem deciding on what furniture to have for a small room which is to be put to so many purposes. An educated housewife, who had to cater for a family of eleven in one of these two-roomed houses, told us of the many difficult problems connected with maintaining decent standards of furnishing and cleanliness in these circumstances.

Housing Estates

To relieve the congestion in the Municipality, the Government has constructed two Housing Estates, one at Adiembra,

(begun in 1943) and the second at Effia Kuma, still being built up.

The Adiembra Estate consists of 1,175 rooms made up as follows :

(a)	"A" Type room (1 chamber 11 5/6' × 9 3/4')	..	..	930
(b)	"A" " " improved Type (1 chamber 12' × 12')	..	..	168
(c)	"B" " " rooms (1 chamber and 1 hall)	..	..	56
(d)	Workshops	..	..	9
(e)	Shops	..	..	5
(f)	Bakeries	..	..	7

Tenants of "A" type quarters use communal latrines, bathrooms and kitchens ; but the kitchens are divided into sections, one being allocated to each room.

The Type "B" quarters consist of two-roomed Blocks, each having its own bathroom and kitchen, but there is one septic tank latrine to two blocks.

A Sample Census of 66 single-roomed quarters (Type "A") showed that 36 of the rooms were occupied by families varying in size from 2 to 8. There were 199 persons living in the 66 rooms, all except 23 being occupied by more than one person each.

A census of nine two-roomed (Type "B") quarters showed them to be occupied by 41 persons ; eight out of the nine were occupied by men with families.

For the Type "B" quarters, the provision of one latrine to two houses seemed inadequate, for we found the latrines cluttered, and giving out an offensive stench, from their being used by too many people.

For many who live in the Type "A" quarters, the communal latrines are inconveniently placed, especially for use at nights.

The communal bathrooms were similarly placed too far away for some of the tenants. The additional fact that they were not provided with water, and that the tenants had to carry their own water from distant stand-pipes was an additional deterrent to the use of the bathrooms.

So, in practice, some of the Type "A" tenants were found to have their baths in the open, or in the kitchens. This is not only because the kitchens are nearer their rooms, and are therefore more convenient, but also because in some cases they are not being used as kitchens. The section allocated to each room is small, there is no room for storage, nor are doors provided to enable things to be left in the kitchen in safety. So, although it is contrary to regulations, the women cook on Dutch stoves near their rooms where their stores and cooking utensils are more easily accessible.

The Estate at Effia Kuma has not yet been completed, though the completed buildings are in occupation. There are three types of buildings: "A" and "B" are similar to the types so designated on the Adiembra Estate, and a third type, "C," which consists of two rooms, a hall, a boxroom, a kitchen, a bathroom, and a detached latrine. The detached latrines have already been complained about by the tenants. They have been built in rather prominent places, two houses having their latrines under one roof. Some of the tenants can only get to their latrine by walking across their neighbours' compounds.

A Sample Census of 68 Type "A," 6 Type "B" and 7 Type "C" quarters at Effia Kuma was taken. This showed, as at Adiembra, that the rooms are occupied mostly by men with families. Of the 68 single rooms, housing 195 persons, 45 were occupied by men with families varying in size from 2 to 8; 5 out of the 6 Type "B" quarters, and all the 7 Type "C" quarters in the Sample were similarly occupied by men with families varying in size from 5 to 14. The figures indicate the extent to which these Estates are relieving congestion in the Municipality.

The rents recently fixed for the Housing Estates are as follows:—

Effia Kuma

Type C	..	£2 15s. od.	less 9d.	£2 14s. 3d.
„ B	..	£1 13s. od.	„ 6d.	£1 12s. 6d.
„ A	..	£0 9s. od.	„ 3d.	£0 8s. 9d.

Adiembra

Type B	..	£1 6s. od.	less 6d.	£1 5s. 6d.
Old „ A	..	£0 7s. 9d.	„ 3d.	£0 7s. 6d.
Improved „ A	..	£0 9s. od.	„ 3d.	£0 8s. 9d.

The reduction shown is in lieu of light.

The tenants contend that these are high and have petitioned the Governor against them.

The information on the Estates is summarised in Appendices 1(g), 1(b), and 1(i).

CHAPTER II

OCCUPATIONS AND EARNINGS

The dense population has congregated here, because of the opportunities afforded for employment. The most striking thing about the town is its economic life.

Day by day, the inhabitants are busy getting their living by many different occupations. Some of the men and women are busy producing things. A few who are farmers grow cassava, corn, sugar-cane, and various foodstuffs in the nearby villages; fishermen supply fish from the sea; some women bring in the charcoal and firewood needed for fuel; some craftsmen fashion wood into furniture, metal into ornaments, or leather into footwear and bags of all descriptions; others of the building trade provide the houses in which the people live.

A large number are busy buying and selling quantities of food, clothing and other articles made by other workers in other parts of the country, or imported from Europe. Only to a very small extent does the Municipality grow the food it eats, or make the clothing it wears, or the many things it uses. There is no longer a local self sufficiency. The town has become a part of a world-wide economic system, and there is a wide gap between the things the people do to get a living, and the things they actually consume.

The numerous shops, small and large, scattered all over the Municipality and along the principal streets, and the crowds always thronging in and out of these shops and markets, testify to the predominance of buying and selling among the economic activities of the town.

Some of the townspeople engage in transporting people and goods by road and rail to and from other towns and villages, helping the distribution and exchange of the products of labour.

There are others who prepare the food eaten in the homes or restaurants or markets, or who by personal service provide for other people's needs and comforts.

Many are in the Public Services, helping to maintain law and order, organizing community activities, making and improving regulations, so that the production and distribution of goods and services, and the whole life of the town can be carried on in an orderly fashion.

Then there are the people in the professions : doctors, nurses, teachers, lawyers, and ministers who look after the health or the mental or moral welfare of the community. ✓ professions

These broad occupational groups of Production, Commerce and Finance, Transport and Communication, Personal Service, the Public Services, and the Professions, form the cluster of activities by which the people in the town get their living. }

A few of the workers are themselves employers of Labour, such as the timber merchants and transport owners, or the small shopkeepers and craftsmen with a single or several assistants.

Some are independent workers. These include Professional men like barristers ; and artisans, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, or fitters ; or petty traders and hawkers working on their own account. ✓

But the majority of the workers in the town are employees, earning salaries, or wages, or takings from casual employment. ✓

✓ In the villages, the men and women are still mostly independent workers, tilling their own farms, and spending most of their working hours out of doors. In the town, many of the workers are employees, and an increasing number of them work indoors in workshops and offices. These are two of the changes that have taken place with the development of town-life.

Within the six broad occupational categories given above, there are many different kinds of workers.

✓ Those producing and making things include farmers, fishermen, blacksmiths, carpenters, gold and silver smiths, shoemakers, tailors, seamstresses, builders, masons, painters, labourers, etc.

✓ Those engaged in Commerce and Finance include shopkeepers, clerks, petty traders, auctioneers, hawkers, foodstuff sellers, money lenders, fishmongers, salesmen, accountants, shorthand typists, compositor operators, printers, messengers, watchmen, book-keepers, cashiers, managers, timber merchants, etc.

✓ Workers in Transport and Communications include transport owners, lorry drivers, fitters, porters, chauffeurs, mechanics, electricians, welders, locomotive drivers, guards, plate-layers, locomotive foremen and firemen, linesmen, wiremen, telephone operators, messengers, coach-attendants, dockyard workers, customs officials, ships' agents, etc.

✓ The Public Services include many different kinds of workers employed by Government in its many Departments : The Post Office, Police, Administration, Public Works, Railways, Customs, Lands, Judicial, Labour, Agriculture, Town and

Country Planning, Medical and Health, Prisons, and employees of the Town Council and Native Authorities.

✓ The Professional Class includes all those whose occupation requires specialized intellectual training by which they give skilled advice or service to others in return for a definite fee or salary. It includes doctors, lawyers, ministers of religion, teachers, dispensers, midwives, nurses, technicians, etc.

Those who give Personal Service include cooks, stewards, washermen, housemaids, waiters and waitresses in restaurants or hotels, and all who make various kinds of food: kenkey, bread, garri, cake, and the cooked foods sold in the street or market.

The list of occupations could be added to and sub-divided indefinitely. ✓ It shows how diversified and specialized have become the ways in which the people in the Municipality get their living. This increased differentiation and specialization of economic activity is yet another noticeable change from village to town life.

The Employers' Returns (December, 1947) showed that the Government and the Commercial Firms between them employed most of the workers in the Municipality, the Government being far and away the biggest employer.

Government employees numbered 5,523, the biggest Departments being :—

<i>Department</i>	<i>Employees in Sekondi-Takoradi only</i>
Gold Coast Railways	3,276
Medical (Health) Dept. (Sekondi and Takoradi)	797
Public Works Department (Sekondi)	654
Takoradi Harbour	507

The Commercial (Trading, Engineering, Banking, and Timber) concerns employed 3,050 workers, the largest employers being :—

<i>Company</i>	<i>Employees in Sekondi-Takoradi only</i>
General Engineering and Construction Company	615
Takoradi Coaling and Lighterage Company	454
United Africa Company	341
R. T. Briscoe (Timber Mills)	271
Oil Storage Company of Takoradi	253
Compagnie Française De L'Afrique Occidentale	180

The employees are mostly men, though a few literate women are employed as teachers, nurses, midwives, and telephone operators.

Many women, literate and illiterate, married and unmarried, work on their own account as petty traders in indigenous foods and fish, and other local products, as well as in a wide range of imported goods: utensils, cotton goods, imported foods, cosmetics, etc. The trade at the markets is almost entirely in the hands of the women. They also form the bulk of the credit customers of the big importing firms. The woman petty trader, part-time or full-time, is a conspicuous link in the chain of the distribution of goods to the final consumer.

With the diminishing importance of Agriculture in the Municipality, many of the men who have no specialized trades also set up as petty traders, so that a large proportion of the independent workers in the Municipality are busy buying and reselling small quantities of goods, thus raising prices to the final consumer from whom each seller makes a small profit.

Wage Rates

Government rates of pay range from £450 to £1,000 per annum for posts in the Senior Service, £84 to £550 per annum for the Junior Service, and rates varying from a minimum of £22 10s. a year for non-pensionable employees.

The Wage rates paid by Private Companies to different categories of workmen for the year ending December, 1947, are shown in Appendix II (a).

Working and Living Conditions

To earn these emoluments, many of the workers begin work between 6 and 8 in the morning, and close between 4 and 6 in the evening, with a break of one or two hours' duration at midday. Some who work at night have different hours, but seldom does the working period exceed an average of eight hours a day for the working week.

Independent workers have no fixed hours. They work for four hours or ten, as they think desirable.

Many of the workers in the town are immigrants from other places, and have taken rooms wherever they have found accommodation.

The place of work may be at one end of the town and the dwelling place at the other. Some people living in Sekondi work

in Takoradi, six miles away; others with homes in Takoradi work in Sekondi; residents of the Housing Estates at Adiembra and Effia Kuma work in Takoradi and Sekondi, and the journey to work has become a prominent feature of life in the town. By train, by bus, and on foot, the workmen get to their places of work in the mornings, and back to their dwelling places at nights. The cost of these journeys varies from 4s. to 13s. a month. 173

Some of the workers, such as dock-yard workers and common carriers are really casual labourers; some who are independent workers, such as carpenters, fitters, tailors, gold and silver smiths, etc., have irregular work, with periods of unemployment; others, like the fishermen, suffer from seasonal unemployment; petty traders generally depend on imported goods which since the war have been in short supply, and their earnings have consequently been uncertain and irregular.

There are families which, to adopt Rowntree's definition, live in "primary poverty," their "total earnings being insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency."

There are others which would come under Rowntree's "secondary poverty" since their "total earnings would suffice for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency were it not that some part of it is absorbed by other expenditure either useful or wasteful."

The difficulty of making ends meet was emphasized again and again in discussion by different groups of workers.

The standard adopted by Rowntree as allowing the maintenance of bare physical efficiency included the cost of food, rent, clothing, fuel, light, and household sundries such as cleaning materials. The amount of necessary food was estimated by the careful planning of a diet just providing sufficient fuel energy for the worker and his family.

Spending habits differed too widely owing to differences in incomes and conventions to allow a uniform standard of diet to be adopted for the purpose of this Survey.

But Tables were compiled of actual monthly expenditure by households of Food, Rent, Fuel, and Lighting. These fall short of Rowntree's Bare Physical Efficiency Standard, in that clothing and household sundries are not included, but they are sufficient to show that standards of living are low.

The Sample covered the households of 120 unmarried, and 100 married men in different income groups, each group being represented by a random selection of 20.

The results are tabulated below :

<i>Income Group Single Men</i>	<i>No. in Sample</i>	<i>Description of Units</i>	<i>Average No. per Household</i>	<i>Expenditure on Food, Rent, Fuel, Lighting per Month</i>		
Under £2	20	Casual labourers with no dependants	1	£	s.	d.
£2-£4	20	Single men with no dependants	1	1	17	6
£2-£4	20	Single men with dependants	2.5	2	15	10
£4+-£7	20	Single men with no dependants	1	2	18	4
£4+-£7	20	Single men with dependants	3	3	16	7
£7+-£10	20	Single men with dependants (none with no dependants)	3	4	2	5
<i>Married Men</i>						
£2-£4	20	Married men with dependants	4.4	3	19	1
£4+-£7	20	„	5.75	4	13	0
£7+-£10	20	„	6	6	2	6
£10+-£15	20	„	8	8	11	0
£15+-£25	20	„	8.25	12	4	0

It was seen from the data collected that 16 % of the men in the Sample did not earn enough money to cover even these items, and 45 % of the married men declared that their wives contributed to the household expenses. The percentage of husbands receiving assistance from their wives is in fact higher than this, as some of the men were averse to declaring their wives' contributions, and, moreover, the sample covers only men in regular employment earning fixed wages or salaries.

It was found that many wives in the town were expected to trade, or engage in some gainful activity in order to help to feed and clothe the family. The instances in which the sums of money given by husbands for feeding the household were inadequate were many, but the wives were expected to make them up from their earnings.

An extreme example of this is the case of a well-to-do man who owns a big house in the town. He has three wives who take turns in preparing his meals, each one cooking for a month. The wife whose turn it is to cook receives 30s. a month, the other two receive 10s. a month each. One of the wives has a maid, and three children, the other two have two children and a maid each. All the wives are traders. One in fish, another in tobacco, and the third in miscellaneous articles: pots, cloth, headkerchiefs, etc. For the months in which the wives' purchases of food were

recorded, the three of them spent £8 10s., only £2 10s of which was provided by the husband. — *a cheap husband*

There were other instances in which the responsibility of providing the food was entirely shifted on to the wives. In such cases, it was found that the husband had advanced an initial capital of £10-£25 for the wife to trade with, and she was expected to provide the food for the household from her profits. It is therefore a common feature for the wife to earn money independently of the husband, and take a large measure of responsibility for the upkeep of the home.

In a sample census covering 300 wives, both literate and illiterate, 9 in every 10 were engaged in petty trading or some gainful employment, and many of them contributed more than their own subsistence to the family exchequer.

The Table of Household Expenditures given above bears out certain significant facts about the society.

The figures collected show that expenditures on food, lighting, and fuel alone account for an average of 84% of wage-earners' incomes and 65.8% of salaried workmen's incomes; the range being from 41.2% to as much as 110% and over, for there are some who do not earn their keep. Although employers generally complained that labour costs were high in relation to output, the evidence of very low standards of living among workmen tends to support their contention that their wages were inadequate. Many workmen have little Residual Income, and some have none, after paying the cost of food and housing.

06 It will be observed, however, that the number of dependants increases with rises in salary. Even amongst unmarried men, not a single one of those in the sample earning more than £7 was found to be without dependants. Only two out of the 100 married men in the Sample had no dependants besides their wives. The rest all had dependants, their number increasing with increases in salary. This partly explains a fact, not uncommon in the society, and often the subject of popular comment, namely, that men earning comparatively high wages are often in financial difficulties. There are many workmen who are in debt.

✓ The average increases in the expenditure on Food, Rent, Fuel, and Lighting are not accounted for solely by the increases in the number of dependants. There is a tendency to increase expenditure on the more expensive foods when there is more money available. Usually more is spent on meat and fish, of which many people, especially the young, seldom have enough, and on imported foods like milk, sugar, butter, tea or ovaltine.

Further light is thrown on the cost of living in the Municipality by the fact that none of the married men in the Sample was found to be earning less than £3 a month. Amongst those in the £3-£4 group, the average contribution made by wives to the household exchequer (from those that were declared) was found to be £2 5s. a month.

The expenditure on clothing has not been included, because the spending habits varied too much to give any common basis for comparison. The purchase of clothing is governed more by the competitive desire for social recognition than by the physical necessity for warmth and protection. ✓ long

The same consideration governs the purchase of clothing in other countries, but it is to a much more exaggerated and pointed degree true of this country.

The aim, especially of the women, is to have as many changes of dress as possible, some of which is merely held as treasure.

So much social value is set on getting well dressed that many spend more than they can afford on clothing, with the result that they go short of food, or live in dingy, unhealthy homes. Gay clothing conceals much abject poverty. True ✓
False

Though injudicious spending on clothing, marriages, rites connected with child-birth, funerals, picnics, church parades, and other public functions brings many families within Rowntree's category of "secondary poverty," the high cost of food contributes largely to the low standards of living. This is due to one of the changes already alluded to. "Very little of the food required to feed its large population is grown in the town itself. Some of it comes from the neighbouring villages whence the women walk several miles daily to bring it to the markets in the town; but the greater bulk of the food comes from the more distant places by road and rail. No family in Sekondi-Takoradi grows all the food it needs; in fact few families grow any food at all. The extent of the dependence of the town for food from outside may be seen from the three Tables in Appendices II (b) to II (d) showing the sources of the food that comes in by road and rail. It was not possible to obtain the weights of the food-stuffs imported, as no such records are kept, but the bulk is much larger than is grown in the town. " ✓ Dependent

It is noteworthy that besides the fish coming into the town from coastal villages, some fish also comes in from inland towns like Tarkwa, Kumasi and Koforidua. This is explained by the methods of distribution. A lot of the fish obtained in Axim, for example, is sent by fishmongers direct to their inland customers at Tarkwa which also receives fish from Sekondi. The fish is

sometimes cheaper there than in Sekondi owing to a temporary glut in the market, and it pays fishmongers to re-export it to coastal towns. The same position occasionally occurs at Obuasi, Dunkwa, Kumasi, Koforidua and other places to which fish is exported direct from the coast. The price obtained in the inland towns is generally higher than along the coast, but is very sensitive and fluctuates with the supply of fish.

It will be seen from the Tables that certain goods in general use come long distances: Kumasi is the chief source of supply for yams; onions come mostly from Ada; corn comes from many places far and near, some as far away as 200 miles; much of the plantain comes many miles by rail from the forest belt; cattle and sheep come from Nigeria or the Northern Territories; in addition, large quantities of tinned meat and fish and other foods come from European countries.

With so much of the food eaten in the Municipality coming from outside at high transport costs, and passing through several sellers before it reaches the final consumer, prices are maintained high, and many workers have to spend a high proportion of their earnings on feeding themselves and their families.

The signs of poverty and low standards were plainer from the actual living conditions of the people than can be conveyed by figures. It showed itself in various negative phenomena, such as juvenile delinquency, discontinued education, malnutrition, and poor housing conditions.

In some quarters of the town, such as the Zongo, Anaafo, Essikado, Ekuasi, Nkontompo and Essiaman there were many insanitary houses, and small, dark rooms; people slept on mats spread on the floor; the food of many families was often poor in quality, consisting of little else besides disproportionate quantities of cheap, starchy foods. Some, especially at the Zongo, were scantily clothed.

We found labourers sleeping as many as five in a small room in order to reduce expenses by sharing the rent of 15s. a month. Some of these men were seen at nights weaving mats or handbags in order to supplement their wages. They explained that weaving mats did not pay as a full-time job, because it took two to three weeks to weave one which sold for five or six shillings; but the little extra they earned from weaving in the evenings enabled them to pay their rent which they could not otherwise pay, as their wages barely sufficed for their food.

The conditions of the fisherfolk told the same sorry tale. Many of them lived in single rooms with their large families. The fishing tackle usually took most of the room, and all their

other belongings were packed on the wooden bed, which was often the only piece of furniture there. What space remained served for bedroom, sitting room, and kitchen.

In addition to the seasonal nature of their work, and the risks to which they were subject, the fishermen suffered from having to buy their fishing materials at black-market prices from middle-men. At meetings with representative groups at Sekondi and Takoradi, they themselves gave this as the major cause of their poverty.

At the prices they were paying it would have required £227 9s. 9d. to buy and rig one fishing boat. This would cover the cost of one boat, one net, cord, eight oars, lead bars, and a bag. If they were able to buy the articles at the controlled prices the boat and rig as detailed above, would cost £140. α

They usually borrowed the capital or bought the net on credit from fishmongers, and many complained that they were always in debt.

We found similar conditions of hardship amongst other workers: clerks, especially the unmarried ones in the £4-£7 a month group, married men and Government pensioners with incomes less than £7 a month, and other families depending on irregular profits from small trading ventures.

✓ There is a growing practice of having one main meal a day in order to cut down the cost of food, or because the family cannot afford more than the one meal a day. We found some families which were in such grip of poverty that they could not buy enough food to eat, and they were habitually underfed.

Many parents expressed real concern about the future of their children. They pointed out that they could not pay for primary school education for their children, let alone secondary school education; and yet, they pointed out, the School Certificate was now the minimum qualification required for Government employment.

✓ We found, also, a great deal of unemployment. Many people had come to the town in the hope of finding jobs at the Harbour, or Railways, or with one or other of the Commercial Firms. There were much fewer vacancies than there were workers seeking jobs. So there was unemployment amongst boys and girls who had just left school, and older ones, literate and illiterate, who had drifted into the town from other places seeking clerical, skilled, or unskilled work carrying a regular wage.

Having failed to find jobs, some of them had hopefully remained in the town, depending for their maintenance on friends and relatives in employment, thus bringing down the standards of living.

There are some workers who are well-to-do. Some of the shopkeepers and managers of the big Trading Firms are usually pointed to as being well-to-do ; as well as some professional men, successful independent businessmen, and highly paid Government Officials. Some of these live in comparative comfort, or even luxury. But they form a small proportion of the workers in the town. *Statistical income*

It is not possible to illustrate this with statistical data, as, with the Staff available, a full census of occupations and incomes could not be undertaken, and sampling methods were not satisfactory for the purpose.

But from observation, and the data collected, it appears evident that the standards of living of the majority of the people are not high, and that low wages or earnings, casual or lack of employment, responsibility for large families or dependants, the high cost of food, and injudicious spending, are the principal causes of such conditions.

X Occupational Associations

With the many economic activities has emerged a new kind of social organization in the form of occupational associations.

These started from a concern either with the supply and the prices of commodities in which the members traded, or with their status and remuneration as workmen ; but in a number of instances, the economic objects have failed, and the associations remain for certain social purposes only.

The Fish Sellers' Union which consists entirely of women is said to have a membership of 300, covering all fish sellers at Nkontompo, Ekuasi, and Sekondi. Members pay an entrance fee of 2s. 6d. per head. *admission*

The main activity of the Union seems to be connected with funerals. When a member dies, contributions of 6d. per head are raised for the funeral. The Union presents £2 2s. to the relatives of the deceased, together with a ring costing £1 1s. for the deceased, and one dozen bottles of lemonade and one dozen bottles of beer for the mourners. *Too known*

Any balance remaining out of the contributions is spent on drinks for the members themselves. The mutual help given at funerals seems to be the only group activity holding the Union together. *Do you know more that the learned Dr.*

But in addition to this, some of the members of the Union club together in fours and sixes to raise money to buy fishing nets. At the black-market prices at which they were able to obtain, cords, these nets were estimated to cost £170 each.

The group then sells the net to the fishermen on agreed terms. A fisherman who receives a net sells his catches during the fishing season to the creditor group, and the value of the fish is reckoned against the cost of the net. If a fisherman is able to pay for the net in one season, it becomes his own, but during subsequent seasons, he continues to sell his catches to his former creditors who now become his regular customers. In this way, the women are able to obtain the fish on which their livelihood depends.

It is seldom that a fisherman is able to pay for the net in one season, and often he has to work several seasons before the net is paid for

The Fish Sellers' Union has a "Chief," "Spokesmen," and "Elders" who settle disputes amongst the members. Most of the disputes settled relate to debts owed to members.

There is a Bread Sellers' Union with a membership of about 90. Members join by paying an entrance fee of 2s. per head. The Union was formed in 1945, when supplies were very short, with the object of acquiring flour and sugar from the importing firms for distribution amongst the members, all of whom held Bakers' Licences from the Sekondi-Takoradi Town Council.

The main object failed, as the importing firms preferred to distribute through their old customers singly, rather than through the Union.

The Union continues to exist, because the members help one another at funerals. When one of their number dies, each member subscribes 1s. for the funeral. This covers the cost of a ring valued at £1 10s. for the deceased, thirty shillings' worth of bread for the mourners, and a donation of £1 1s. to the bereaved relatives.

The Union also offers large loaves of bread at Church Harvests.

Its present activities appear to be confined to these social functions.

✓ The Foodstuffs Sellers' Union has a membership of 196, mostly women, and includes sellers of corn, plantains, palm-nuts, pepper, garden eggs, oranges, cassava, yam, rice, and various other vegetables.

Its original aims were :

- (i) To amalgamate traders of all the above crops so as to regulate and control prices.
- (ii) To create a fund for making loans to members (interest was to be 5 %).
- (iii) To settle disputes among members.
- (iv) To encourage production.

The Union set about the first aim by attempting to restrict trade in foodstuffs at the Sekondi market to its members only. This did not gain official support, and so the Union failed in its economic objects.

But it has settled disputes among members, assisted them in recovering debts due to them, and, like the other Unions, it has given help at funerals. On the death of a member, contributions of one shilling a head are raised, and the Union provides a ring valued at £3 for the deceased, and one dozen bottles of beer and a dozen bottles of lemonade for the mourners. These social functions have kept the Union in being, though its economic objects have failed through lack of experience and proper organization.

There are many occupational associations of this type such as the Unions of Carpenters, Shoemakers, Drivers, Seamen, Sugar Sellers, Cooks and Stewards, Gold and Silver Smiths, all of which offer to their members, as a principal benefit, the assurance of a decent burial.

A burial attended by large crowds is a much desired thing, and there are many who join different societies, so that they can be sure of a good turn-out when they die. Much money is usually spent on funeral rites. Actual expenditures collected in two recent celebrations were £85 14s. 10d., and £87 12s. respectively. The details are shown in Appendices II (e) and II (f). *Sign mental under debt.*

Trades Unions

In addition to such associations as have been described above, Trades Unions, primarily concerned with wages and conditions of work have recently been formed under the guidance of the Labour Department of Government. Some of these consist only of workers in the town, others are Regional Unions, with members in other parts of the Country besides those in the town.

The emergence of this new feature of social organization based on occupational groups is another change in social structure marking the growth of town life, and of industrialization.

These occupational associations either seek to secure for the town-dweller, now living outside his village or tribe, services, such as the arbitration of private disputes, or the provision of a decent burial, formerly guaranteed by his membership of his kinship-group or tribe, or to meet new situations, such as the employer-employee relationship, or the system of prices and exchanges of the new monetary economy and world trade.

The following Registered Unions have members in the Sekondi-Takoradi Municipality :—

<i>Regional Unions</i>	<i>Paid Up Membership</i>
Western Province Motor Drivers' Union (Headquarters, Sekondi)	37
Gold Coast Railway Employees Union (Headquarters, Sekondi)	5,560
Gold Coast Mercantile Employees Union (Headquarters, Sekondi)	807
Western Province Tailors' Union (Headquarters, Sekondi)	20
Post Office Employees Union (Headquarters, Sekondi) ..	1,300
Gold Coast Plantation Workers' Union (Headquarters, Sese)	180
Union of the Public Works Department	4,400
Gold Coast Banks' Employees Union	200
Western Province Cooks and Stewards' Union (in process of Registration)	200
<i>Local Unions</i>	
Sekondi-Takoradi Municipal Employees' Union	800
Sekondi-Takoradi Gold and Silver Smiths' Union	250
Oil Storage Company of Takoradi Employees' Union	252
Union of Employees of the General Engineering and Construction Company, Takoradi	150

These Unions are all members of the Trades Union Congress which has a membership of about 38,500.

CHAPTER III

MARRIED LIFE

In a broad Survey of this type, family life could not be studied in detail, and attention was consequently focused on certain significant aspects of family structure in the town.

Most houses in Sekondi-Takoradi provide accommodation for more than one family. A "family" usually consists of father, mother, children and other dependants.

✚ The activities of each family are concerned with sex, child-bearing and rearing, food, clothing and sleep. These activities centre round the institution of marriage.

The change from a small-scale to a large-scale social structure is having a revolutionary effect on African marriage in its legal, economic, as well as conventional aspects. ✓

The tension is more noticeable in towns like Sekondi-Takoradi where there are general complaints about the instability and high cost of marriage.

✓ A Sample Survey of 333 families covering a representative cross-section of the community showed that 30.6% of the marriages were inter-tribal.

Although this growth of inter-tribal marriage is likely to become a permanent feature of urbanization, the evidence is that there is a strong feeling against such unions at the present time. There is often friction between a parent and a son or daughter who contemplates such a marriage. People prefer to marry from their own tribe, and public opinion encourages the practice. ||

✓ A parent who would not consent to his daughter marrying a man of another tribe advanced the reason that the two tribes had different laws of inheritance. In his daughter's case, the children would derive their social status and property rights through their mother, to whose lineage they should belong. In the man's case, inheritance was patrilineal, and the children would be expected to identify themselves more closely with the father's lineage.

The force of public sentiment is illustrated by the case of a girl who has declined to marry a man of another tribe, on the ground that her friends would jeer at her for marrying outside her tribe.

The different tribal areas for which the partners feel an attachment, the absence of any personal relationships between their

respective families, and sometimes differences in language and custom, are factors which make inter-tribal marriages unpopular, and tend to make them unstable.

Statistical data cannot be given to support the instability generally complained of, as there are no official records kept of marriages or divorces under Native Customary Law under which most marriages are contracted. But divorces are frequent, and under Native Customary Law, easy, and lend support to the popular view that marriages are unstable. It is most probably true that, as compared with the country, marriages in the town are more unstable; because in the country, the traditional restraints exercised by families and tribal authorities still have considerable effect; but in the towns, these restraints have either been weakened, or have ceased to operate as sanctions. Marital instability in the towns is a phenomenon of the social change from small, homogeneous village communities to large heterogeneous urban communities.

Traditional Marriage

To illustrate the changes in the economic and other aspects of African marriage, it would be best to consider the traditional marriage rites of one of the tribal groups in the town. For this purpose, the indigenous Ahanta tribe is selected.

In general, where different tribes live in one town, as in Sekondi-Takoradi, the practice is for the prospective bridegroom to conform to the rites of marriage of the tribe of the prospective bride.

Chief Kweku Ekraay II of Anoe was my chief source of information on the traditional marriage rites of the Ahanta. Chief Ekraay II, now a blind man, was born in August, 1869. He is literate, and has been a Government Road Overseer, a Catechist in the Methodist Church, and Okyeame (spokesman) to the Omanhene of Essikado (1905-1938), and Chief of Anoe since 1938. He is a recognized authority on the customs of his tribe.

According to Chief Ekraay, in his youth, a boy did not choose his own wife. A father sought a wife for his dutiful son.

When a father found a suitable girl, he approached her father and ascertained from him what he thought about a marriage between their respective children. If the girl's father was agreeable, formal steps were taken.

The boy's father then sent formally to the girl's father to ask his daughter's hand for his son. He sent two women, one his own wife, the son's mother, and the other, his kinswoman, or

any respected friend, or neighbour. They took 4s. 6d. in money. This was Abow-mu-bo Nsa (literally, door-knocking wine, i.e., on first enquiry).

When the girl's father agreed (he would have talked to his wife and daughter about it before this), he accepted the money, and the two bottles of rum which the two women also took. This was the "Pen Nsa" or "Abisa Nsa" (wine received on consenting, i.e., to marriage). Formerly the rum cost 2s. 3d. a bottle. The acceptance of the drink signified agreement to the marriage. The girl's father sent a bottle of the rum to the daughter's maternal relations.

After he had accepted the rum, the girl's father was asked to say what else required to be done to complete the marriage. He would indicate that the "Tsir Nsa" (literally, Head Wine) was to be paid. This was £1, and was paid in money. This validated the marriage. (Iyi ko ana awar esi pow). After this, the young man could visit the girl regularly, and ask her to do him certain services, such as washing his clothes.

Next, the "Tsir Sika" (literally, Head Money) had to be paid. This was £7 4s. (Benda). The boy's father sent £1 of this sum to the girl's maternal relations.

After this, it was for the young man to say when he would take the girl to his home. If some time elapsed before this could be done, he helped to maintain the girl. He would give her access to his farm to collect foodstuffs, and pay a small sum, say 2s. a month for the purchase of meat; alternatively, the girl could sell some of the foodstuffs to purchase this.

When the bridegroom was ready to receive the bride in his home, he sent her the customary presents. These included 4 changes of cloth, 2 headkerchiefs, lavender, soap, pomade, mirror, loin cloth, towel, and comb. These were packed in a brass pan and sent to the bride's house. If anything customarily required was left out, her relations demanded it. If the bride had already had her puberty rites performed (Nhyehye), she was ready to go and live with the bridegroom. If this had not been done, the bridegroom was asked to contribute towards the ceremony. He would pay £1 or £2 as his contribution. When the ceremony was over, he sent for his wife. He gave a bottle of rum to those who lived in the same house with the bride (Pramafo) before he took her away. He also paid a customary fee of 2s. 3d. (Sekan) to her brothers. Next, the bride's maternal relations sent a present to the bridegroom. This consisted of food, cooked, or uncooked; yams, eggs, chickens, pepper, onions, salt, garden-eggs, sponge.

The bridegroom had a feast with his friends and neighbours. This concluded the ceremony.

The customary obligations are still the same, except that the brother's fee (Sekan) is not often demanded separately nowadays in cases of marriages under Native Customary Law, but is included in the Tsir Sika (Head Money). In most cases, the sums customarily paid are now higher. The Abow-mu-bo Nsa (wine on first enquiry) is now 10s. 6d. The Abisa or Pen Nsa (wine received on consenting to marriage) is the same: two bottles of rum. But the price is now 15s. 6d. a bottle instead of 2s. 3d. The Tsir Nsa (Head Wine) is still £1 1s. plus a bottle of Whisky. The Tsir Sika (Head Money) is still Benda £7 4s.

If the woman has had a previous husband from whom she is divorced, or is a widow, the sum is reduced to £5 8s. On a third marriage, it is further reduced to £3 12s.

The price of clothing has gone up; and in addition to the things listed above, a tin trunk is now also demanded.

If after the payment of the Tsir Nsa, the bridegroom is not ready immediately to take the bride to his home, he allows her 10s. a month for subsistence in the meantime.

For the puberty rites, the prospective bridegroom now contributes £4.

It is in the expenditure on the customary presents of cloth headkerchiefs, etc., which the bridegroom must provide for the bride that the changes in price levels between 1880 and 1948 are most noticeable. Whereas in the 1880's, £4 would have sufficed for the articles customarily demanded, in 1948 the minimum sum required is £10 to £12. *in 1900, 90% customery, Chariman Rawlings Production day speech*

The figures of actual expenditures incurred in ten recent marriages in the town contracted under Native Customary Law have been collected. The lowest cost was £14 7s., and the highest £54 18s. 11d. The average cost of the ten marriages was £35. These marriages were between illiterates who conformed closely to the traditional custom. The customary payments made, and the cost of getting married under Native Customary Law, are illustrated by the bill of the actual expenditure in a recent marriage tabulated in Appendix III (a).

There are now two ways of getting married: under Native Customary Law as described above, and under the Provisions of the Marriage Ordinance. The latter is described below in connection with the marriage of educated women. Though it is principally literate women who are married under the Ordinance, many literate girls in the town have been married under Native Customary Law; and some of them are wives of polygamous husbands.

Marriage is usually patrilocal, though in a few instances, owing to housing difficulties, a husband may be found living in his wife's home. *(cheap man!)*

Traditionally, a high degree of companionship is not regarded as essential for marriage, and the community places much greater emphasis on the economic and procreative functions of marriage. The chief function of marriage is the procreation and care of children, and the lack of children is held to be sufficient cause for dissolving it. Divorce on this ground is the most common under Native Customary Law. Next to this, as a cause for divorce, comes inability to support a wife. A husband who is unemployed, or is unable to meet his financial obligations to his family, cannot hope to keep his wife for long.

Native Customary Law allows polygamy. In a representative sample of 264 husbands, 51 or 19.3 % had more than one wife, i.e., about two out of every ten husbands were polygamous.

A certain relationship between economic activity or financial ability and polygamy appeared from the fact that the polygamous husbands were principally shopkeepers, goldsmiths, or shoemakers who could afford to keep more than one wife, or fishermen or washermen who needed the wives to assist them in their work. *✓ indeed!*

Puberty Rites

Reference has been made to the puberty rites for the celebration of which the bridegroom is expected to make a contribution.

The rites are called "Nhyehye," locally translated "adorning" or "going out of doors," from the fact that the girl goes out during the rites, gorgeously dressed in silk or velvet, and heavily adorned with gold, to greet her kinsfolk and neighbours.

They are, in fact, puberty rites formerly observed on a girl's first menstruation; but amongst the Ahanta it has now become usual to postpone the celebration until a girl is betrothed, or until enough money has been obtained for the rites. This may be several years after the first menstruation.

It is considered a great disgrace and the breach of a taboo for a girl to conceive or be married without having the puberty rites performed, and any girl who is so married is often reproached with the fact.

A detailed description of the celebration of the puberty rites need not be given here. The central rite takes place at the seashore where the girl is shaved and bathed. This is followed by a ceremonial meal of mashed yam and oil, some of which is

offered to the spirits of the ancestors who are besought to assist the girl so that she may have a successful marriage.

After this, the girl and an attendant both in gorgeous attire call on kinsfolk and neighbours who offer gifts of money.

Nowadays, those who are members of a Church also go to Church during the celebration of the puberty rites, dressed in the gorgeous attire they wear for the occasion.

Formerly, procuring the food and things necessary for the festivities during the rites was the responsibility of the girl's father and mother, whose kinsfolk helped by bringing gifts of food.

Nowadays, part of the burden, in some cases the whole of it, is passed on to the bridegroom, and the cost of the puberty rites has now to be regarded as part of the cost of a marriage under Native Customary Law.

As has been stated above, the bridegroom is expected to contribute at least £4. His payments often exceed this amount. In two recent cases for which figures were obtained, the bridegrooms spent £6 5s. and £19 5s. 9d. respectively

The total cost of the rites varies. In a recent case the mother spent £71 2s. 9d. on the entire ceremony. This included amounts spent on clothing, trinkets, and food. When the girl visited her kinsfolk and neighbours, she received gifts in money totalling £26. The cost could have been reduced by hiring the cloth and trinkets at a charge of £2 to £4, depending on the value of the articles hired, and the time they were used. A girl undergoing the rites of puberty may keep up her gorgeous dressing for a maximum period of three weeks.

As may be interpreted from the strong sentiments attaching to the celebration of the puberty rites, a heavy taboo supported by law, and by religious and popular sanctions formerly rested upon pre-marital sexual relationships. These have, however, considerably relaxed. Pre-marital sexual relations are common, and the celebration of the puberty rites is no longer indicative of virginity.

Household Duties and the Housemaid

Activities connected with the buying, preparation, and eating of food occupy a central place in the housewife's life; added to these is the daily run of cleaning and washing, caring for the children, and in the majority of cases engaging in trade or some economic activity to earn money independently of the husband.

Their economic activities make the women very mobile. They throng the markets, buying and selling. They wander from shop

to shop in the town, buying things, and from place to place, selling them. Their babies and young children are either carried on the backs, or left at home to the care of an older relation, or housemaid.

A significant feature of home life in the town is the indispensability of the housemaid. It is considered essential for every housewife to have the assistance of a housemaid, and most women on getting married take one or several of them. The housemaid is usually an unmarried girl between the ages of eight and twenty. Often she is a relation of the wife or husband, but there are instances in which the housemaid is not related to either of them.

Sending one's daughters away to live with neighbours or kinsfolk was a recognized form of training for marriage in the old African society. An old literate chief, during a discussion of the question, expressed the view, emphatically, that the practice produced more stable marriages than now. Most girls were sent away by their parents to live with respected neighbours, or kinsfolk, so that they might be trained in the performance of their domestic duties. The old chief remarked that in this way the girls were brought up to be industrious, and they were thus not frightened of the arduous tasks of housekeeping when they got married. Nowadays, complained the chief, many girls are not trained in this way, and as they do not get used to hard work they find married life strenuous and soon seek divorce. ✓

✱ Though what may be described as a Housemaid-system has existed for a long time in the society, as one of the ways of conditioning a girl for adult life in the community, it is now justified primarily on the grounds that the housewife must have assistance with her domestic duties, either because her duties are many and exacting, or to set her free for earning money. Some of the men, nevertheless, complain that some "lazy" wives leave everything: marketing, cooking, and the care of children to the housemaids, while they themselves "do nothing"; though there are such extreme cases, the housemaid has, in fact, become an important part of the structure of home life.

She is usually not paid, but is fed, clothed, and taught housekeeping in lieu of her services. When parents give their girls to known neighbours for training, the girls are generally well-treated; but there are some cases of housemaids receiving very inadequate care, and in other cases, what can properly be described as cruel or callous treatment.

It was admitted in public discussions that pawning was still practised in the society, and that some housemaids were obtained from this source.

A member of a family may borrow money and send a young girl to the lender to serve as a housemaid, in lieu of interest, or as a pledge. In some instances, the girl's services are reckoned to pay off the principal debt at the rate of £2 or £3 a year. In such circumstances, the lenders try to get all they can out of the housemaid. They do not like to provide her with clothing, because this would entail further expenditure of money, whilst, in fact, the girl's services are in lieu of payment of principal or interest. Girls in this category are often ill-treated. They are poorly fed, are not given adequate clothing, often sleep without pillows, on mats, rags, or the bare floor, in kitchens or verandahs, and may work continuously from 4 a.m. till bed-time, which may be as late as 10 or 11 p.m.

Case histories collected on some of these housemaids may be given in illustration :

A married couple, the husband literate, the wife illiterate, have a housemaid, A., a girl 10 years old. She is related to the husband. A. sleeps in the kitchen which is full of rats. She used to be allowed a mat and pillow, but because she was a bed-wetter, she was deprived of them, and she now sleeps on a sheet of brown paper and has no pillow. She has two changes of cloth. She does the marketing, and assists in cooking, cleaning, and washing. She is frequently given corporal punishment. On one occasion, she had red pepper rubbed into her eyes for coming home late from an errand. She begins the day's activities at 5 a.m. and is usually up till after 10 p.m.

O.¹ a girl, and H., a boy, are servants of a literate, married couple. O., who is 15 years old, is related to the wife. She does not attend school. H., also 15, is related to the husband. He goes to school. H. helps with domestic work before and after school. He sleeps on a mat, but has no pillow. When there are guests, he has to give up his mat and sleep on the floor. The husband provides 3s. a day for the household of eight. This is considered insufficient and H. often goes to school without breakfast. He has one cloth in addition to his school uniform. He gets up at 5 in the morning, and is seldom in bed before 10 at night. The girl O. does the marketing and cooking. Corporal punishment is frequent. She has two changes of cloth. There are no specified meal times, and O. complains of being often hungry and underfed. She also gets up at 5 a.m. and seldom goes to bed before 10 p.m.

B. was a girl 10 years old, staying with a married couple, the

i. In all case histories in this Report, the alphabets do not bear any relation to actual names, but the facts are as stated.

man literate, the woman illiterate. The couple had four children who were left to B.'s care. She bathed and fed them regularly. She also did the marketing and cooking. She had her meals off what was left after the couple and their children had dined. She was provided with two changes of cloth. A short time ago, she became ill, but had to carry on with her duties until she was too weak to do so. No medical attention was sought for her. One afternoon, she fainted, and then the husband sent for some patent medicine from a nearby drug store. The girl died before the medicine was brought. — *The couple will roast in hell forever.*

C., about eight years old, is a housemaid to an illiterate woman. The woman has four daughters and three sons all grown up, but it is C. who does the greater part of the domestic duties. She has to get up at 5 a.m., when all the others are asleep, to fetch the water, light the fire, and clean the cooking utensils. Two of the sons attending school use some of the water for their baths, before morning school. The woman is a cloth-seller, so C. takes her cloths to the market in the mornings, and returns home with foodstuffs. She then assists one of the daughters in the preparation of the food. She has only one cloth which she is instructed to discard when she is at home busy with her domestic duties; so she is naked for the greater part of the day. At nights, she sleeps in the kitchen on a worn-out cloth, and uses a collection of rags for a pillow.

It is under such harsh conditions that some of the housemaids in the Municipality live.

The Young

Many mothers leave their young children to the care of the housemaids, who are often too busy to give them proper attention. It is quite common to see children between two and four years old wandering in the streets unattended, or dragging toys precariously along thoroughfares used by motor traffic. ✓

When they are of school-going age, but do not go to school, the girls usually assist their mothers at their work, but the boys roam idly about the streets, both day and night, and are a potential source of juvenile delinquents.

With the diminishing importance of agriculture, and the increasing specialization of money-earning activities, there is no institutional way of conditioning the young town-dweller who does not go to school for adult life in the community. The old method of learning through participating in the father's activities is no longer adequate, except in a few crafts like fishing and carpentry.

Life has become more complex, and the family is no longer the school for giving the child all the education he requires for his life in the community.

The relation of this to the question of employment is significant, for many town-bred boys remain unemployed, or only find work as apprentices to various tradesmen: drivers, fitters, carpenters, blacksmiths, etc.

Only a few of these apprentices eventually qualify as master-craftsmen; the rest remain apprentices for many years without making serious efforts to complete their apprenticeship.

The Educated Woman

Marriages under the provisions of the Ordinance have also special features of their own, but before these are noted we might review briefly some aspects of the social situation created by the education of women.

In the Chapter on "Training at School" below, more detailed information is given on the home conditions of schoolgirls.

Many of them live with only one parent, more frequently with the mother, some with relatives or friends, and some with both parents.

In the majority of cases, only one parent, usually the father, is literate; the cases in which both parents are either literate or illiterate being fewer.

The illiterate mother who has a daughter attending school is faced with a situation in which she is uncertain of the cultural standards to which to bring up her daughter. This uncertainty is not confined to the illiterate mother, though the general opinion is that it is she who usually spoils her daughter.

The traditional standards of child-rearing were conceived in terms of teaching the child to conform to the approved ways of the community. These approved ways do not always meet the new situation, and the lack of definite standards makes parental supervision diffident. Parents blame teachers, and teachers the parents for the "misbehaviour" of schoolgirls, though sometimes "misbehaviour" just means non-conformity to the ways traditionally approved by the community.

The daughter who goes to school is already "Awuraa Aba (Lady Aba), or Awuraa Akua (Lady Akua)" and is treated differently from other girls in the house. The housemaids, or her illiterate sisters, do the more difficult housework. This discrimination, as some women teachers pointed out in discussion,

My girlfriend is Annua Adwaa

makes the schoolgirl feel superior, and she becomes less amenable to discipline.

Another way in which the uncertainty about cultural standards is expressed is in the amount of clothing and luxuries that the schoolgirl is permitted to have, frequently at the expense of the other members of the family, who have to do with less.

When the girl enters school, many agencies draw her away from home, and with the diminishing place of the home in her life, the authority of the parent diminishes too. The daughter who goes to school has a wider measure of freedom from parental discipline and control than her illiterate sisters; she may go where she likes between morning and afternoon school; she has many excuses for leaving home in the evenings: to study in a friend's house, to attend choir practice, or a meeting of some club or society.

This premature emancipation from parental restraint is one of the social conflicts surrounding the education of girls. Older people disapprove of girls of 12-16 behaving like grown-ups, and deplore the pre-marital sexual adventures of the schoolgirl, discussed in the next chapter.

When the girls leave school, the conflict is often intensified.

Some mothers, as shown in the next chapter, experience much difficulty in meeting the cost of educating their daughters; indeed, the financial pressure is sometimes so great that the girls are withdrawn from school, and there are many girls in the town who left school between Standards IV and VII, before the end of the Primary School Course, for this reason.

Whether the girls complete the Primary School Course or not, they are expected to justify their education by earning some money.

This is the more necessary, owing to the standard of dressing set for the educated girl. It is a standard which requires many changes of European as well as African clothes.

Few girls on leaving school can earn the money to maintain this competitive standard of dress display, and the educated girl continues to be dependent on her parent or guardian for her clothing.

But with this economic dependence is her assertion of her new social status. She is restive to parental control, and demands a social freedom which sometimes flouts traditional standards. She claims the right to go out when she likes, to attend a dance, or the cinema or a social party, or to choose her friends or husband. This leads to accusations and misunderstandings, and to strained family relationships which are indices of the new situation. The

✓ social emancipation of the educated woman is in conflict with her economic dependence as well as with some traditional standards. ✓

Nor is it with regard to her role in the home alone that there is a conflict. The community is equally critical of her new social status, as the following extracts from recent newspaper articles bear out :

(a) "One fact that should not be lost sight of is that education has made hybrids of our women : in social life they are Africans and Europeans at one and the same time. They go in African or European dress at one time or another as it may suit their purpose, they enjoy both European and African foods. This puts them in a special class and makes them expensive so that only well-to-do men may succeed in any marital attachment with them.

"If education of women will serve its purpose in this country, it is absolutely necessary that girls are educated along African lines. Verity. Accra." (*African Morning Post*.)

(b) "Educated women will do well to realise that it is a great folly if they patronize only social functions where dancing and other diversions have full sway ; or if they think that the chief end of their education is personal adornment. They will prove themselves real assets to the country if they take part in national movements and activities that matter." (*Gold Coast Observer*.)

At a mixed Discussion Group which I met once a week for six months to discuss problems connected with the education of girls, the ladies agreed that it had been very difficult to run Women's Literary Societies or similar clubs where the girls could continue their education, or discuss political and national affairs. Interest in such societies quickly flagged.

An example was given of a Women's Society which catered not only for literary interests, but also for sewing, cooking and knitting. It was begun with great enthusiasm, but the attendances were not kept up for long. Other Women's societies and clubs which had met the same fate were cited. Cliques were quickly formed, there were backbitings and bickerings, and memberships dwindled or ceased altogether.

The "social functions where dancing and other diversions have full sway" are supported, because they do not require much sustained effort to keep them going.

As regards "activities that matter," the occupations in which educated girls have mostly found openings are teaching, nursing, midwifery, the telephone exchange, and printing. A large majority of them, however, become petty traders and seamstresses.

Whatever occupation the girls take up, most of them desire to get married eventually. This is encouraged by social approbation, and many of them eventually do get married, either under the Native Customary Law, or under the provisions of the Marriage Ordinance. Some of the questions and tensions surrounding the latter must now be discussed.

Marriage Under the Ordinance ✓

A marriage under the provisions of the Ordinance consists of the ceremonial exchange of verbal pledges by a man and woman before a Marriage Officer, or a Registrar of Marriages in the presence of witnesses, in a Registrar's Office, or a place of worship licensed for the celebration of marriages.

The woman drops her surname for that of her husband and they become "Mr. and Mrs. X."

The chief attraction of this form of marriage is that it enhances the social prestige of the couple. So much is this desired that wedding ceremonies have become competitive public displays for social recognition and approval.

There is now general complaint about the high cost of marriages under the Ordinance. This is so, however, not because of the provisions of the Ordinance, but because of social convention.

Besides the fulfilment of the obligations required by Native Custom, it has become conventional for a lot of money to be spent on dress, parties, photographs, and public display, in connection with marriages held in Church or in a Registrar's Office.

Moreover, the parents of educated girls not only expect higher sums of money in respect of customary payments, but also desire the expensive public functions, because they thereby gain in respect and social esteem.

Details representative of the items of expenditure of a bridegroom married under the Ordinance are given in Appendix III(b).

In four recent marriages contracted under the provisions of the Ordinance, the bridegrooms' expenses totalled £160, £155 6s., £183 14s., and £117 12s. respectively, giving an average of £154 3s. All these were comparatively "moderate affairs," but in every case the expenditure exceeded the annual salary of the bridegroom. Some previous marriages were said to have cost considerably more, and figures varying from £200 to £500 were quoted.

This high cost of marriage has resulted in many literate young men delaying their marriage. The average age of the four bride-

high cost
of marriage
leading
to delay
in marriage
contracts

XX

grooms in the recent marriages referred to above was 35. Most people who marry under the Ordinance have to wait till they are thirty years old or more, owing to the high cost of the marriage; in spite of this delay, many still need to borrow money for their marriage, and there were many who owned to have started their married life in debt.

The high cost of marriage has had another result. There were examples of literate men who were first married to illiterate girls under Native Customary Law, and later when they were able to afford to marry literate girls under the Ordinance, they divorced their illiterate wives. The practice is not uncommon, and affects marital relationships, as well as the care of the children of the first marriages.

Native Law and Custom permit polygamy, but the provisions of the Ordinance do not, and "except by a valid judgment of divorce, if either of you before the death of the other, shall contract another marriage while this remains undissolved, you will be thereby guilty of bigamy, and liable to the punishment inflicted for that offence."

It is also expressly stated that any person who is married under the Ordinance shall be incapable, during the continuance of such marriage, of contracting a valid marriage under Native Law and Custom.

The Ordinance also provides that where a person dies intestate, his personal property shall be distributed or descend in the following manner:

"Two-thirds in accordance with the provisions of the Law of England relating to the distribution of the personal estates of intestates in force on the 19th of November, 1884, any native law or custom to the contrary notwithstanding; and one-third in accordance with the provisions of the native law which would have obtained if such person had not been married under this Ordinance."

As a matter of fact, however, married life in the Gold Coast, whether under the Ordinance or not, is strongly influenced by Native Law and Custom which derive from the social usages and values of the community.

Before a couple are subsequently married in a Registrar's Office, or in Church under the provisions of the Marriage Ordinance, the obligations imposed by Native Custom are first fulfilled, as may be seen from an examination of the representative list of expenditure given in Appendix IIIb. Thus, in practice, a marriage is first made valid in accordance with Native Law and Custom,

before it comes before the Registrar or Marriage Officer to be made valid under the provisions of the Marriage Ordinance.

The couple therefore, in effect, contract their marriage under two sets of rules : the one, after the standards of the society in which they live, and the other, under the provisions of a foreign law. The former brings into operation the legal and customary sanctions of the community, the latter only the legal sanctions backed by the force of an alien Government.

The resulting conflicts of this situation are in evidence in the society.

It is not too rare to find in the town a man married under the Ordinance having another wife or wives married under Native Customary Law. The latter would not be "valid," according to the provisions of the Ordinance, but there are "lawful" wives married under the Ordinance who have accepted such a situation. This is because polygamy has the sanction of Native Law and Custom.

It was stated above that owing to the high cost of a marriage under the Ordinance, some literate men first marry illiterate girls under Native Law and Custom, and then divorce them later when they can afford to marry literate girls under the Ordinance. It was found that some of the men continued their relationship with their old wives shortly after their marriage under the Ordinance. This was more frequently so where the man had children by the first wife.

It must be pointed out that, in any case, many literate men have to marry illiterate women, because there are many more literate men than women, the proportion being about four literate men to one literate woman.

The social situation affects marriages under the Ordinance. The educated woman married under the Ordinance finds a pattern for her married life set by the standards accepted by the community, and operating in the majority of unions. She expects a companionship and equality which the illiterate woman does not expect, and which society does not demand of a husband married under Native Law and Custom. Comparisons unfavourable to her are drawn : "The illiterate woman works harder," "she is less expensive to keep," "she does not expect so much." Many of the women married under the Ordinance in different ways expressed their struggles in their claims for companionship and equality. The tension results from the enforcement of monogamy by an alien law, and by Christian teaching, in a society which permits polygamy ; for the customs which were evolved to meet the conditions of a polygamous society persist, and set standards

sometimes prejudicial to the success of a monogamous marriage.

✓ In marriages under Native Law and Custom, the couple remain members of their respective "families." As the majority of the tribes here are matrilineal, this means they remain members of their respective maternal lineages. They owe to their respective lineages separate obligations recognized by custom. Whether these obligations are recognized by the provisions of the Ordinance or not, their breach tends to disrupt the marriage. The wife, for example, may be called upon to pay funeral subscriptions on the death of a member of her "family." The husband, on the other hand, is expected to maintain certain members of his "family." Considerable friction arises from such situations. Often, a husband's relatives complain if he spends less on them after, than before his marriage, and blame it on the wife. There is always a latent tension between a wife and her affinal relatives.

✓ The effect of monogamy as enforced by the Ordinance and by Christian teaching is to strengthen the bond between husband and wife at the expense of the strong sibling bond in the old matrilineal society. The social conflict in the new situation shows itself in quarrels and misunderstandings between a wife, and her husband's sisters or mother. When their respective "families" take sides, the happiness and stability of the marriage are endangered. People married under the Ordinance frequently point to the "interference of families" as one of the causes undermining the happiness and stability of their marriage. Thus the family system which in the old situation was a stabilizing influence keeping the married couple together, becomes a disrupting influence in the new.

* The cause is primarily economic, for the conflict usually bursts out in relation to property and finance.

Many wives admitted that they did not know how much their husbands earned, and few husbands would discuss their financial responsibilities or the disbursements of their salaries with their wives. Their "families" would strongly disapprove such disclosures.

The wives, in consequence, suffer from a sense of insecurity, and this is another reason why they engage in trade to earn their own money. Some confessed to a constant dread that on a husband's death they and their children may be turned out homeless and penniless by the husband's kinsmen. Examples of this happening even in the cases of marriages under the Ordinance were cited. Custom appears a more effective sanction than the force of an alien law which operates only after expensive and protracted law-suits.

Nevertheless, educated women strongly favour marriages under the Ordinance. They aver that it gives them and their children security with regard to the inheritance to the husband's property. The security is however, uncertain, for whenever a man is well-to-do, his kinsmen usually claim inheritance of his property, and compel the wife to fight expensive legal battles. The wife may have foreign law on her side, but the kinsmen invoke Native Law and recognized custom which the community understands better.

It cannot be proved whether marriages under the Ordinance are more unstable than those under Native Customary Law, or less so; for no records are kept of marriages under Native Customary Law.

The evidence is that marriages under the Ordinance are few, as the following figures testify :

Year	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947
Marriages under the } Ordinance	13	26	23	17	21	10	23
(Sekondi-Takoradi only)	(Average : 19 a year)						

Comparative figures are not available for marriages under Native Customary Law, but we might compute the average to be 490¹ marriages a year for the town. Marriages under the Ordinance would thus be about 3.9 % of the total.

Divorces granted under the Ordinance over the same period were :

Year	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947
Divorces under the } Ordinance	4	2	1	2	3	3	4
(Sekondi-Takoradi only)	(Average of 3 a year)						

Compared with the number of marriages, these figures are high.

Even the comparatively high number of divorces granted under the Ordinance does not give the complete picture of the state of marriages under the Ordinance. It is expensive and difficult to get a divorce under the Ordinance, and more partners separate without seeking a divorce in the Courts than those that do.

1. We arrive at this figure thus : the population of Sekondi-Takoradi is 44,130. We assume the adult population to be 22,065. The average expectation of life, according to the vital statistics cannot be more than 45. It is not possible to calculate this exactly owing to the wide Age Groups under which the deaths are shown. Most deaths occur every year within the 25-45 age group, and more before, than after, this age group. So the average falls within the 25-45 age group. We assume that every adult marries once a lifetime. This would give the annual average to be $22,065 \div 45 = 490.3$.

The separation may be due to one of the grounds accepted by the Courts in support of a plea for divorce: "Cruelty," "adultery," "desertion," or "non-support"; but sometimes it is one which Native Customary Law and not the provisions of the Marriage Ordinance would recognize, such as that the couple have had no children, or that there have been violent disagreements between their respective "families," i.e., kinship groups. The latter again showing the influence of Native Custom on such marriages.

Many an educated girl desires to be married under the Ordinance, and educated men undergo it because it enhances their social prestige; but as a social institution, the evidence is that it is still an alien intrusion around which there is considerable social conflict.

Several families sharing a home, increase in inter-tribal marriages, the decreasing influence of traditional sanctions, increase in divorces, and in the cost of marriage, the wife earning money independently of the husband, the increasing dependence of the housewife on the services of the housemaid, the practice of polygamy, conflicting with newly-introduced ideals of monogamy—these are the most salient features of married life in the town.

CHAPTER IV

TRAINING AT SCHOOL

At the 31st March, 1948, there were 4,743 pupils (3,319 boys and 1,424 girls, or approximately 12 boys to 5 girls) attending School in the Municipality (Appendix IVA).

Ages

Over 2,000 pupils representing all the Schools in the Municipality gave their ages in answer to a Questionnaire. But their figures turned out to be very unreliable, as many pupils either did not know their correct ages, or tended to reduce them by a year or two, especially in the top classes.

The average ages in the Sekondi Catholic I/J/S Boys' School which gave the most reliable figures were :

<i>Standard</i>				<i>Average Ages</i>
1	..	..	..	11.1
2	..	..	..	12.1
3	..	..	..	13
4	..	..	..	14.7
5	..	..	..	15.9
6	..	..	..	16.2
7	..	..	..	17

Generally, the children go to School at 6 or 7, and remain till the age of 16 or 17, if they stay to complete the Primary School Course.

Tribal Distribution

Of the boys and girls attending school in the Sekondi-Takoradi Municipality, only 23.6 % belong to the indigenous Ahanta tribe. About 40 % of them are Fantis, from other parts of the Colony. One third of the Fantis come from Elmina.

A Questionnaire answered by 2,769 children from all the schools in the Municipality showed the following tribal distribution :

<i>Tribe</i>			<i>Number in Sample</i>	<i>Tribe</i>			<i>Number in Sample</i>
Ahanta	..	..	23.6%	Nzima	..	..	3.6%
Akim	..	..	1.2%	Wassaw	..	..	2.0%
Akwapim	..	..	1.4%	Kwahu	..	..	0.7%
Ashanti	..	..	4.7%	Northern Territories	..	..	0.3%
Adangbe	..	..	1.2%	Liberia	..	..	0.6%
Effutu	..	..	2.2%	Nigeria	..	..	2.0%
Ewe	..	..	5.8%	Sierra-Leone	..	..	0.1%
Fanti	..	..	40.0%	Non-African	..	..	0.1%
Ga	..	..	10.5%				

Guardianship

The question of parental control or guardianship is an important one in the training of the children.

A Questionnaire answered by 2,646 pupils as to who their Guardians were showed the following distribution :

10.51%	lived with their mothers.
20.975%	„ „ „ fathers.
40.36%	„ „ both parents.
13.76%	„ „ their uncles.
5.33%	„ „ „ brothers or sisters.
4.42%	„ „ „ other relations.
4.57%	„ „ „ guardians to whom they were not related.
0.75%	„ by themselves, without supervision.

Nearly all the pupils in the Infant and Junior Schools lived with one or both parents, and it was among the older pupils in the Senior Schools that those living with other relations, or with guardians who were no relations of theirs were found.

In some cases, the persons with whom the pupils lived were not solely responsible for their fees, food, and clothing. The responsibility was shared by two or more relatives.

A few quotations from pupils' answers may be given by way of illustration :

No. 1 (Boy), age 14. Standard III. Born in Axim. "I live in Sekondi with my mother. My uncle pays my fees and buys my books and uniforms."

No. 2 (Boy), age 13. Standard IVA. "I come from Manso Wassaw. I live with my father's friend. My father pays for my books, clothing, and fees. My uncle pays for my food."

No. 3 (Boy), age 14. Standard V. "I am a Fanti. I live with my aunt. My father pays my fees."

No. 4 (Girl), age 15. Standard V. "I live with my uncle. My father pays my fees and buys me my clothing."

No. 5 (Girl), age 15. Standard VI. "I live with my uncle. My father pays for my food, clothing, fees and all I need."

No. 6 (Girl), age 17. Standard VII. "I come from Elmina. I live with my grandmother. My grandmother gives me food. My father sends money for my clothes and fees."

Though the Akan family system of joint responsibility and reciprocity is seen at work here, the evidence is that generally the mothers or fathers or both are responsible for the education of their own children, and it is in comparatively few instances that the responsibility is shifted on to the other relations or is shared with them. This is in line with traditional custom which recognized a father's responsibility for teaching his son a trade.

But attention should be drawn to the fact that a good many pupils lived with only one parent. Of the 2,646 answering the Questionnaire, 71.8 % lived with one or both parents, but 43.8 % of these or 31.5 % of the total lived with only one parent.

There are various causes accounting for this. Marriage is unstable, and divorces are frequent; some husbands and wives live in separate houses because they are unable to obtain suitable accommodation where they can live together; men with more than one wife prefer not to live with all the wives in the same house; a fourth factor is that there are many children who are born out of wedlock. These children are usually left to the care of the mother or her relations.

It is also noteworthy that a high proportion of the pupils living with their mothers alone are girls. This is a fact of some significance regarding the morality of the senior schoolgirl mentioned later in this Chapter.

Housing Conditions

Housing conditions are difficult, and few schoolboys and girls have rooms of their own, or a place where they can read and write comfortably at home. Many of them share crowded and poorly furnished rooms with adults and other children.

Such conditions drive many boys and girls into the streets, or into the houses of their more fortunate friends. This is another factor in delinquency amongst schoolboys and girls.

The results of a Sample Survey covering 120 pupils of ages varying from 7 to 19 were as follows :

19	slept	1	in a	room
49	"	2	"	"
23	"	3	"	"
12	"	4	"	"
8	"	5	"	"
3	"	6	"	"
4	"	7	"	"
2	"	8	"	"

The "rooms" slept in included kitchens, verandahs, halls, and chambers. Several slept on the bare floor, many on local mats without blankets, some had no pillows, and only very few slept on beds.

The Journey to School

For many children, going to school entails a journey varying from 2 to 12 miles daily. A Questionnaire answered by 2,336 pupils showed that 89.6 % lived under 2 miles, 4.2 % from 2 to 4 miles, and 6.1 % over 4 miles from their respective schools. (See Appendix IVc).

One hundred and seventy, or 7.3 % of them travelled to and from school by the Municipal buses, at a cost of 5*d.* or 10*d.* a week. Most of those travelling to school by bus lived in Takoradi, where the vacancies in the one Senior School were inadequate to meet the demand.

The need for Senior Schools in this area was again reflected in the number travelling from Takoradi and Sekondi, and further afield to the two Senior Schools at Apowa, 4 miles from Takoradi, and 10 miles from Sekondi, as shown in Appendix IVd.

School Feeding

Closely connected with the journeys to school, and the occupational structure of the Municipality, is the question of School Feeding on which I submitted a Report in my letter No. S.S. 1/33 of the 9th December, 1947, shortly after the commencement of the Survey.

Many children find it too far to return home at midday for their meals. In some cases too, both parents would be away, the father at work in Sekondi or Takoradi or the Railway Location, and the mother in the market engaged in some money-earning activity.

Many of the men do not go home for a midday meal, but have a snack lunch of plantains and groundnuts or sandwiches, or kenkey and fish.

In consequence, the schoolboys and girls either take their lunch to school or buy it from the market, and eat it in any convenient place they can find : under trees, in school compounds, on verandahs, along the beaches, in the market, or streets.

As reported previously, of the 2,334 children that answered a Questionnaire on the subject, 667 or 28.6 % stated that they bought their meals from the market. (See Appendix IV E).

In the Senior Schools, the proportion of pupils that bought their lunches varied between 40 and 60 % of the total enrolment, and gives a better indication of the size of the problem.

Most of these children had only twopence to spend, and the money was generally put into starchy foods, usually garri. At the prices prevailing in the Sekondi market, there was no doubt that the children did not get sufficient nourishment from these meals, as the cooked food they could get was poor in quality and insufficient in quantity. Of the 667 children who bought their meals, 21.1 % spent less than 2d., 66.4 % spent 2d. or 3d., and 12.4 % spent 4d. or more daily on their midday meals. (See Appendix IV F).

Only those children spending 4d. or more could buy adequate meals. There was, however, a great deal of unwise spending, and often the money went into sugar-cane and sweets. There is thus malnutrition from lack of food as well as from bad choice.

Three hundred and thirty-six of the pupils who answered the Questionnaire reported that they went to school without breakfast ; but only four stated that they did not have anything to eat at midday.

As I indicated in my previous letter on the subject, the evidence shows that the question of school meals is a serious social as well as educational problem. In the absence of a regular school medical service, it is difficult to produce evidence of the effects of malnutrition ; but it is clear that many of the schoolchildren in this area do not get the balanced diet they need for their physical and mental development.

After-School Activities

Many of the schoolboys and girls on arriving home from school plunge straight into a round of domestic duties : fetching water, cooking, washing, cleaning, or doing errands. Many of them are sent out into the streets to sell things. It is a common feature to see schoolboys, and more often schoolgirls, roaming the streets between 5 p.m. and 10 p.m. selling various articles : fruit, cooked food, cake, bread, biscuits, confectionery, milk and

sugar, tinned meat, or articles of clothing. This again is significant for the appreciation of the complaints regarding the morality of senior schoolboys and girls.

X. Some schoolboys earn their own pocket money by acting as Tennis or Golf boys, mostly at European Clubs, or making Dutch Stoves, distributing newspapers, or trapping crabs.

In all these ways they are introduced to the cluster of activities associated with the acquisition of money, this being the predominant feature of town life.

It will be observed from the above that the general environment of many of the schoolchildren is not conducive to a healthy growth. Ill-lit, ill-ventilated and crowded rooms, and a poor diet can be serious handicaps to the boy or girl at school.

Moreover, most of the schoolboys and girls are underslept. The Board of Education Handbook "Health Education" issued for English School recommends that children up to 12 years of age should have 12 hours in bed every night, and younger children as much as 14 hours, and that they should be encouraged not to eat heavily before retiring.

Few School children in the Municipality fulfil these conditions. Many of them do not have their main meal of the day till 7 p.m. or later, as they have to wait till the older people's meal-time. This evening meal is the substantial meal of the day, since breakfast and lunch, according to the evidence, are generally light meals. Many families have the substantial meal of the day in the evenings, and light snacks at midday to keep the cost of living within their means.

Apart from being put to bed late, those children who share rooms with adults or older boys and girls who come in late are frequently disturbed; this is specially so where, as is not infrequent, a whole family shares the one room. There is also the fight against late and noisy street-life.

There are also many children who sleep in the hall where the adult members sit until late, and the children have to wait until they retire to allow them sleeping space.

The effects of insufficient sleep have been classified as malnutrition, lassitude, and mental fatigue; these probably exist, causing strain and discouragement to pupils and teachers alike.

Added to all this, in some cases, is evidence of unhappiness at home, or the lack of effective parental control, which are the chief causes of delinquency.

These general statements are based on a large collection of case histories, a few of which may be given in illustration

Case 1. Age 15. Senior Boys' School. Standard 5. School

closes in the evening at 4 p.m. He arrives home at 4.30 p.m. He fetches two buckets of water which his father and mother use for their baths. After that he helps his mother to prepare the evening meal, by pounding the fufu. Then he sets the table, and waits on his father. After his father has eaten, he has his dinner too, off what his father leaves. Then he washes and dries the plates. After that he visits his friends with whom he sometimes goes to the Cinema Show. His usual bed-time is 10 p.m.

Case 2. Age 16. Senior Boys' School. Standard 6B. Arrives home at 4.15 p.m. He sweeps his uncle's room, and fetches water for him to bathe with. Then he goes to his uncle's wife's house, and collects his uncle's food which he takes to his uncle's house. His uncle has his meal, and leaves the rest for him. After he also has eaten, he washes and dries the plates, and takes them to the uncle's wife. He returns to the uncle's house to do other odd jobs. He is usually free by 7 p.m. and often goes to the Rex Cinema with his friends. Usual bed-time is 10 p.m.

Case 3. Age 19. Senior School. Standard 5B. Goes to the Post Office after school, and collects copies of the *Ashanti Pioneer*, which he distributes every evening to 41 subscribers. He earns 10s. a month from this. His uncle, who is his guardian, collects the money out of which he pays his fees and buys his books. He is given 4s. a month, which he deposits in the Post Office Savings' Bank. The distribution of papers is usually over by 6.45 p.m. He then goes home to begin his domestic duties. He lays the table for his uncle's dinner. When the latter has finished eating, Case 3 has his dinner with the maidservant. At 9 p.m., he starts fetching water from the water pipe near by. He usually finishes this at 9.45 p.m. He has little time to study, and has been in the same class for 3 years.

Case 4. Age 15. Girls' School. Standard 5. Arrives home at 4.30 p.m. She helps her mother in preparing the father's food. After that she has her dinner. She then attends Choir Practice, returning home by 7 p.m. Next, she assists her mother by going out to sell cigarettes, candles, etc. She returns home between 9 and 10 p.m., and goes to bed at 10 p.m.

Case 5. Age 15. Boys' School. Standard 5. Arrives home at 4.30 p.m. He first fetches a bucket of water for his bath. After that he washes the plates and pots used at the midday meal. Then he has his dinner, and goes to Choir Practice at 6.30 p.m. He returns at 8 p.m., and sets the table for his father's dinner. After his father has eaten, he clears the table, and washes the

dishes. He then fetches some more water to be used for baths and cooking in the morning. Bed-time, 10 p.m.

Case 6. Age 16. Girls' School. Standard 5. Arrives home at 4.30 p.m. Is living with her father. When she arrives home, she fetches water, and prepared dinner for herself and her father. After that she has her bath, and goes to Choir Practice. She returns at 8.30 p.m. She leaves home again to go to study in a friend's house. She returns at 10 p.m. to sleep.

Case 7. Age 14. Boys' School. Standard 5. Living with his aunt. Gets up at 5.30 a.m. to get tea ready for the aunt's husband, who leaves home for work at 6 a.m. He then has his bath and breakfast, and leaves home for School at 7.45 a.m. He goes home for lunch, and walks back to School. He arrives home from School at 4.30 p.m., and helps with the cooking. He goes out to sell his aunt's bread, and returns home at 9 p.m. to go to sleep.

Case 8. Age 13. Boys' School. Standard 3B. Stays with his mother. Is good at Arts and Crafts. After afternoon School, he makes doormats, Dutch Stoves, local fans and baskets. From the money earned, he buys his tickets to the Cinema, or football matches, or pays School contributions, e.g., class photographs, or hires bicycles for joy-rides. He has a Post Office Savings' Bank account. He has no domestic duties and spends all his spare time at his crafts.

These accounts, selected from a large number given by the children themselves throw light on the way they employ their time outside School hours.

Cost of Primary School Education

The data collected on the cost of educating children at Primary Schools in the Municipality included written answers to a Questionnaire submitted to parents, and figures compiled at interviews with parents and children.

In addition to school fees are the cost of books and school uniforms, bus fares in respect of about 8 % of the boys and girls attending school in the Municipality, and various additional fees charged by the Mission Schools for such items as Sports, Equipment, Building, Needlework, Domestic Science, or Handwork ; and about 50 % of the pupils received sums varying between 1*d.* and 6*d.* daily from their parents or guardians to buy their breakfast, or lunch, or both.

The average annual expenditures compiled from Representative Samples for all schools and classes (80 in each Sample) at the prices prevailing in 1947 were :

BOYS

<i>Class-Std.</i>			<i>Fees</i>			<i>Books</i>			<i>Uniforms</i>			<i>Total</i>		
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Class	I	..	0	18	0	0	12	0	1	10	0	3	0	0
„	II	..	0	18	0	0	10	0	1	10	0	2	18	0
„	III	..	0	18	0	0	10	0	1	10	0	2	18	0
Std.	I	..	1	16	0	1	0	0	1	10	0	4	6	0
„	II	..	1	16	0	1	5	0	2	0	0	5	1	0
„	III	..	1	16	0	1	10	0	2	0	0	5	6	0
„	IV	..	2	7	0	1	15	0	2	0	0	6	2	0
„	V	..	2	8	0	2	10	0	2	0	0	6	18	0
„	VI	..	2	8	0	2	15	0	2	0	0	7	3	0
„	VII	..	2	8	0	3	15	0	2	0	0	8	3	0

GIRLS

<i>Class-Std.</i>			<i>Fees</i>			<i>Books</i>			<i>Uniforms</i>			<i>Total</i>		
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Class	I	..	0	18	0	0	8	0	1	10	0	2	16	0
„	II	..	0	18	0	0	12	0	1	10	0	3	0	0
„	III	..	0	18	0	0	13	0	1	10	0	3	1	0
Std.	I	..	1	16	0	1	0	0	1	10	0	4	6	0
„	II	..	1	16	0	1	5	0	2	0	0	5	1	0
„	III	..	1	16	0	1	10	0	2	0	0	5	6	0
„	IV	..	2	8	0	1	15	0	2	0	0	6	3	0
„	V	..	2	8	0	2	10	0	2	10	0	7	8	0
„	VI	..	2	8	0	2	15	0	2	10	0	7	13	0
„	VII	..	2	8	0	3	15	0	2	10	0	8	13	0

The additional fees payable by pupils of the various schools varied between 1s. and 17s. per boy per year, and 2s. and £2 12s. per girl per year, in addition to certain contributions, e.g., to building funds which are not recurrent. (See Appendix IVG).

To these have to be added the bus fares for which on the average pupils pay 10d. a week, and the cost of breakfast or lunch which again averages 10d. a week.

The data collected on clothing other than School Uniforms at 1947 prices showed the average annual expenditure to be as follows :

<i>Boys</i>				£	s.	d.
Infant Classes	..	..	..	2	10	0
Junior	..	..	..	2	19	0
Senior	..	..	..	3	8	0
<i>Girls</i>				£	s.	d.
Infant Classes	..	..	..	4	7	6
Junior	..	..	..	5	5	6
Senior	..	..	..	7	9	7

These are in addition to the amounts spent on uniforms. The social standards are such that it costs more to provide for girls than boys in the matter of clothing.

Taking the school year as of 40 weeks' duration, the total average expenditure on a Senior School pupil attending school in the town would be :

A. *Boy—Std. 6—(Travelling to School by Bus)* (Calculated from Average Expenditures)

							£	s.	d.
Bus fares (10d. a week for 40 weeks)	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	13	4
Money for breakfast or lunch 10d. a week	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	13	4
School fees	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	8	0
Books	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	15	0
School Uniforms	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	0	0
Additional fees (sports, equipment, etc.)	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	3	0
Clothing other than School Uniforms	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	8	3
Total	..	..	..	..	..	..	£14	0	11

B. *Girl—Std. 6—(Travelling by Bus)* (Calculated from Average Expenditures)

							£	s.	d.
Bus fares (10d. a week for 40 weeks)	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	13	4
Breakfast or lunch (10d. a week)	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	13	4
School fees	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	8	0
Books	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	15	0
School Uniforms	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	10	0
Additional fees (Domestic Science, etc.)	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0
Clothing other than school uniforms	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	9	7
Total	..	..	..	..	..	..	£19	10	3

These exclude the cost of meals at home, and other expenditure on the pupil in respect of illness, holidays, church dues, pocket money, etc.

There were other "concealed" fees of which we had information but no reliable check.

These included Desk fees, "voluntary" contributions to buildings, School bands, Church harmoniums and organs, and "presents" from parents to headmasters and teachers for the admission or promotion of their children.

There was evidence of the existence of such contributions, but being irregular, one could not assess their extent or value. All that can be said is that some parents do incur some expenditure in addition to those stated above.

According to the evidence, many children were cared for by their mothers only. Some of these women were responsible for the education of several pupils, and in the course of the Survey, we came across many who were finding it a real hardship to earn the money to pay for their children's schooling. Most of the women earned the necessary money by trading in fruit and food-stuffs, or selling imported articles. The income, though uncertain, had to provide the food, rent, clothing, and all the other necessities of life.

It was not only the women who found things difficult. Many fathers said it was difficult to keep their children at school in addition to clothing and feeding their families. For example, one parent on an income of £90 a year found it impossible to keep his three children at school, and eventually withdrew one; another on £120 a year declared that keeping three children at school was a real strain on his finances; it should be noted, however, that there are many parents and guardians within the £60-£120 Annual Income group.

So it can truthfully be said that there are some parents whose children are not attending school because they cannot afford the expense of schooling. The fisherfolk and many of the artisans and unskilled labourers come within this category.

Those who do make the effort to educate their children regard it as a financial investment from which they expect returns. Proof of this was found in a practice which was said to be not uncommon in the Municipality. Some young people who had just started earning were expected to hand over their salaries to their parents at the end of the month. In the instances we came across, the parents continued to provide the young people with food, and gave them back a part of their earnings as pocket money.

We must therefore consider what the sacrifices of the parents enable the children to learn, and how they are prepared for life in the community.

The School Curriculum

There is no general syllabus provided by the Education Department for all schools. The nearest to this are the suggestions made in the Report of the Education Committee, 1937-1941.

For Infant-Junior Schools the Committee's recommendations were :

"The medium of instruction would be the vernacular. The essential aims of the curriculum may be represented as follows :

- (a) religious instruction ;
- (b) the study of the vernacular ;
- (c) a command of arithmetic sufficient for the needs of every-day life ;
- (d) habits of healthy living ;
- (e) a training in art, crafts and music based on and developing the traditions and aptitudes of the country.
- (f) the awakening of an intelligent interest in the environment of the Gold Coast citizen through (1) the teaching of Nature Study, Gardening and Agriculture in a thoroughly practical manner and (2) simple lessons on civic relationships of the individual in the family and the community ;
- (g) ability to speak, read and write simple English."

For Senior Schools, it was suggested that

"Provision for the teaching of the following should be made in the Curriculum of every senior primary school :

- (1) religious instruction and worship ;
- (2) English ;
- (3) a Gold Coast vernacular ;
- (4) writing ;
- (5) arithmetic ;
- (6) hygiene ;
- (7) agriculture and nature-study ;
- (8) art and crafts ;
- (9) music ;
- (10) the duties and rights of a citizen, history and geography ;
- (11) organised games and physical exercises."

Girls' schools add Domestic Science.

The Courses provided in the schools in the Municipality are in conformity with the recommendations of the Committee.

The Social Attitude to the School

In the course of the Survey, we recorded such statements and criticisms made by the people themselves as could be supported by evidence, in order that we may appraise the social attitude to the institution of schooling.

These may be grouped under three heads :

- (1) the content and Method of Education ;
- (2) the behaviour of schoolboys and girls ; and
- (3) the way Primary School education prepares pupils for life in the community.

(i) *The Content and Method of Education*

At meetings with teachers, parents, and old pupils the present standard of education in Primary Schools was often criticized as being low, compared with what it was some twenty years or so ago. The subject singled out for most criticism was English. The present low standard of English was attributed to the use of the "New Method" text-books which, some maintained, have so simplified things for both the teacher and the pupil as to do away with the need for real thinking and effort. This judgment appeared to be correct.

Criticism was also expressed to the effect that the subjects taught are not sufficiently integrated, nor related to the life and needs of the community. School and Community are in two different compartments. Education in the old African Society was the whole process by which one generation transmitted its culture to the succeeding generation, mainly through the child participating in the activities of the Community. The extended family was the school in which the child learnt, and throughout the period of learning, he remained a member of the Community. He was taught his social obligations and responsibilities, and he acquired the culture of the community through participating in its various activities.

This, the Primary school education does not do. It imparts information on various subjects to the child, but does not make him a member of the Community. As some teachers pointed out, this is because the school curriculum is not sufficiently related to the political, social and economic background of the country. The people have become aware of this dichotomy between school and community, though the criticism is variously expressed. It points to a need for change in the content and method of what is taught in the schools, so as to achieve an integration of the school with the community.

(ii) *Behaviour of Schoolboys and Girls*

In the old system of training, as explained above, much emphasis was placed on social behaviour. It is therefore not surprising that the behaviour of schoolboys and girls comes in for much criticism and comment.

The Municipality offers many temptations to schoolboys and girls. There are cycles to hire for joy rides, cinemas to go to, concerts and dances to attend. The presence of "pilot" boys with money to spend, and of well-to-do prostitutes, offer further allurements. Sophisticated "ladies" in fashionable dresses set false standards and heighten the desire of schoolgirls for finery.

Between noon and 2 p.m. and after 4 p.m., many schoolboys and girls go about their own ways without any supervision. There are few organized activities to fill in the time, and few interests to keep them at home. As has been seen, some of them are sent out into the streets to sell things; others are drawn away from home by the many attractions the town has to offer.

The lack of parental supervision is an important factor. As the statistical data showed, there are many cases of mothers and grandmothers or fathers in sole charge of children, and in a large proportion of these cases, the children are not adequately supervised.

Criticisms of laxity in sexual morality amongst school girls appeared to be well-founded, for it was not difficult to obtain evidence of this in the course of the Survey. There were instances of pre-marital sexual relations between schoolgirls and working men, as well as between schoolgirls and schoolboys. Authentic cases of conceptions and even abortions were reported. Though pre-marital sexual relations prevail, its extent appears to be much exaggerated by popular report; nevertheless, chiefs, and schoolmasters and mistresses frankly admitted its prevalence, and expressed great concern about it.

There were also instances of pilfering, and many complaints from parents, guardians, teachers, and the public about the disobedience, indiscipline, and unruliness of schoolboys and girls. These reflect the defects of family life, further proof of which is shown by the fact that some parents take their children to school to be punished for offences committed at home. Juvenile delinquency is dealt with in another section of this Report.

The unsatisfactory behaviour of the boys and girls is variously blamed on teachers, the Education Department, the Churches, or on the girls and boys themselves. It is a complex situation,

but its roots lie in the breakdown of the family system, and the general ineffectiveness of the religious, moral and legal sanctions which served to hold a homogeneous tribal community together, but are unable to sustain the rapidly changing heterogeneous community of the town. There are few common cultural values, but rather a conflict or dichotomy of cultural values. In such a situation, the common symptoms of a maladjusted society appear, involving juveniles no less than adults.

(iii) *Preparation for Life—Post-School Unemployment*

Most parents expect their children to find work after leaving school. This has become increasingly difficult in the Municipality. Many of the boys who leave school here want work at the Railways, the Harbour, or with one of the Commercial Firms, but there are no vacancies for all of them. In the course of the Survey 100 boys and 20 girls who had left school in the Municipality between December, 1945, and December, 1947, were interviewed.

As the schools do not keep records of the boys and girls who leave school, it was not possible to compile comparative statistics of those who find work and those who do not, and the 120 interviewed can only be regarded as illustrating the problem, rather than indicating its extent in exact terms.

A few extracts from the interviews may be illuminating :

Case 1. Aged 18½. "I left school in December, 1945. For the past 18 months I have been looking for a job. My uncle died two months ago. My mother is now looking after me. I have applied to the Railways for a job. I have had no reply yet. I have heard that people may be employed there two months hence. I want to learn shorthand and typing, but there is no school here, and I cannot get any help."

Case 2. Aged 19. "I left school in December, 1946. My uncle looked after me. I am now living on my own. My mother is in Kumasi. She sends me money at the end of each month. I have applied to the Oil Storage Co. Ltd., Takoradi, and to the Agent, U.T.C., Sekondi, but I have not got a job. I wanted to learn to be a fitter, but the U.T.C. did not accept me."

Case 3. Aged 17. "I left school in December, 1946. My father looked after me. He used to work at the Railways. He is now on pension. I wanted to become an Apprentice Fitter at the Railways. I applied, but I had no reply. I have also sent applications to the Senior Electrical Engineer, Takoradi ; the Health Department, Accra ; the Works Manager, Gold Coast

Railways. I have received no replies. I am now at home doing nothing."

Case 4. Aged 17. "I left school in December, 1946. My father who is employed in the Railways looked after me. I live with my mother now. She provides my clothes and food, etc. My mother is a petty trader in saucepans and basins. I want to become a Locomotive Driver, but there is no vacancy. I have applied to become a Policeman. At present I help my brother who is a fitter."

Case 5. Aged 18. "I left school in December, 1946. My mother looked after me. She is still looking after me, as I have not got a job. I have applied to T.C.L.C., Takoradi, U.A.C., G.B.O., S.C.O.A., and C.F.A.O., Sekondi, but I have not been accepted anywhere. My mother clothes me, and feeds me still. When I was at school, I earned £3 10s. in two years by making Dutch Stoves. I used to buy old tins at 3d. each; each tin made two Dutch Stoves which I used to sell at 6d. each. I made them on Saturdays. I made 3 or 4 stoves a day. I do not make them now. I am doing nothing."

Case 6. Aged 17. "I left school in December, 1946. My grandmother looked after me. I am staying with my uncle. I want to be a fitter. I have applied to the Mechanical Foreman's Branch, Takoradi, but I have not been accepted. I applied for work as a cleaner at Location, but I was not taken. I went to Kumasi for 3 weeks to try and get a job, but I was not successful. I often visit Takoradi to find work."

Case 7. Aged 21. "I left school in December, 1945. My cousin who is working at the Railways looked after me. I applied to many places in 1946, but I got no job. In February, 1947, I was employed as an apprentice to an Electrical Contractor at 1s. 6d. a day. His work declined, and so he discharged me in February this year (1948). My mother, who is a petty trader in sugar, etc., now looks after me. I have applied to W. Bartholomew, Elder Dempster Lines, T.C.L.C., Holland West African Lijn, C.F.A.O., Railways, and the Government Electrical Department, but there are no vacancies. I want to do clerical or electrical work."

Case 8. Aged 20. "I left school in December, 1945. My father looked after me. When I left school, I helped my father on his farm. My father died a few months ago, and my father's 'family' has turned me out. I have been in Takoradi for two weeks trying to get a job. It has been expensive, as everywhere

I apply, the clerks ask for money from me. I have not got a job yet."

These examples could be multiplied, but the story is the same : the pupils are unable to find work.

Many mothers with tears in their eyes told of their struggles to educate their boys and girls, and of the pain at having these children still dependent on them, two or three years after they had left school.

Some of the boys and girls told how humiliated they felt at having to write so many applications only to receive the same harrowing answer "Regret, no vacancy." It seemed as though the community had no need of them.

To what this can drive a highly-strung lad may be seen from an incident that occurred here. One boy, Case 9, left school two years ago. He applied for jobs at the Railways, and at several other places, and received the usual reply—"No Vacancy."

He got very depressed about this, especially as he was taunted at home with being a useless fellow. One day he told his mother he was ashamed of remaining unemployed and unwanted in the world. When he went into his room he took poison from which he subsequently died in hospital.

This is indeed an extreme case, but it throws the problem into bold relief. To the public, unemployment amongst those who have just left school is proof that the school does not prepare the boys for life in the community. Otherwise they would not be so "useless" on leaving school.

Without any vocational guidance, the boys and girls for the most part obtain work by taking advantage of some vacancy they or their families happen to hear about, or by sending applications to all and sundry.

It is expensive to obtain work under these conditions ; there was plenty of evidence that even when a vacancy existed the boy or girl had to find money to bribe a senior clerk or some influential employee, in order to obtain it. There was evidence of sums varying from £5 to £10 having been paid in this way both by boys and girls in order to obtain jobs that brought them £24 or £30 a year, or at most £48 a year.

This is the darker side of the picture. Nevertheless, there is a keen demand for education, and there are frequent and general complaints, borne out by the figures, that there are not enough schools, particularly Senior Schools, to take in all the pupils wanting to go to school.

CHAPTER V

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

All the activities of living go on peacefully because the people are protected, and to a certain extent constrained, by laws and regulations backed by coercive authority.

Within the town such authority is exercised by certain officers of the Central Government, the Native Authorities, and the Town Council. Their duties and powers are defined in ordinances, principally in the Native Authority (Colony) Ordinance, 1944, The Native Courts (Colony) Ordinance, 1944, and the Sekondi-Takoradi Town Council Ordinance, 1945. These may be briefly summarized in order to show how the town is governed.

The Native Authorities

There are four Native Authorities which have jurisdiction within Sekondi-Takoradi: The Native Authorities of British Sekondi, Dutch Sekondi, Ahanta, and the Ahanta Confederacy of which all the former three are members.

The jurisdiction of the Native Authority of British Sekondi covers Essikado, and extends to the Railway Bridge (London Bridge) just beyond the Post Office; that of Dutch Sekondi extends from there to Poasi, and the rest of the urban area from Poasi to Takoradi lies within the jurisdiction of the Ahanta Native Authority. The whole of the Municipality falls within the jurisdiction of the Ahanta Confederacy.

The British Sekondi, Dutch Sekondi, and Ahanta Native Authorities consist of 24, 36, and 39 members respectively. (Appendix VA.)

The Ahanta Confederacy consists of the Paramount Chiefs and State Councils of Ahanta, Upper Dixcove, Lower Dixcove, Dutch Sekondi and British Sekondi.

The Chiefs and their Councils are elected in accordance with Native Customary Law. A Paramount Chief is chosen from a particular lineage from several eligible candidates. His electors who form his Council are themselves similarly elected as representatives of lineages. Hereditary right and popular selection are thus combined.

I deem it unnecessary to present the material collected on this,

as much information on the election and installation of the chiefs in this area has already been recorded for the Government by special commissions.

The system fitted the social structure of the old, simpler society. Kinship was the basis of representation, and in a small, homogeneous community, the device enabled every member to be represented on the Council.

Traditionally, the single office of chief combined executive, legislative, religious and military functions. The office was essentially sacral, and the religious rites by which the community affirmed its sentiments of solidarity and continuity centred round the chief.

Within the town, the religious aspect of chiefship has tended to diminish in importance as few of the heterogeneous inhabitants participate in the rites.

The military duties which greatly enhanced the status of the chief have also ceased to be necessary.

It is his administrative functions that now have the greater social significance.

Though the chief continues to be elected and installed in accordance with Native Law and Custom, he must be recognized by the Government before he can exercise the functions of his office.

A Native Authority is established by order of the Governor who also prescribes its powers and duties. Generally, it is charged with the maintenance of Law and Order in the area of its jurisdiction.

For this purpose, it is given powers to make by-laws and issue orders and rules on certain specified subjects. It is also given judicial powers, the limits of which are defined in the order establishing Native Courts in the area of its authority; it has a Police Force, and may have a Prison; it is expected to establish a Treasury to meet its administrative costs and the provision of social services.

To enable it to fulfil these functions it is authorized to impose an annual rate and collect various tolls, fees, dues, and rents.

The powers of a Native Authority may only be exercised over a "person of African descent, provided that the mode of life of such person is that of the general community, and that such person is in his own country of origin subject to African Customary Law howsoever that Customary Law may be modified or applied."

The Native Authorities do not therefore exercise their powers over Europeans, Indians, Syrians, or people of nationalities

other than African resident in the Municipality. The Governor in Council may extend the powers of the Native Authorities over such persons, but this has not been done.

For the purpose of the Survey, it is necessary to consider only what powers the Native Authorities exercise within the Municipality, and what services they provide.

The Members of the Native Authorities and the Native Courts belong to the indigenous Ahanta tribe. The other tribal communities being "strangers" do not participate in their election, nor are they represented on these bodies, though they are subject to their jurisdiction.

The Native Authorities through their Confederacy Courts share in administering the Law both in Civil and Criminal cases.

Two Confederacy Native Courts sit in the Municipality: The Ahanta Confederacy Court A, and the Sekondi Court B. The former has a panel of 25 members, 48 % of whom are literate, and the latter has a panel of 20, 20 % of whom are literate. The Native Court is duly formed only if it consists of three or five members including the presiding member.

The limits of the respective jurisdictions of the Courts are defined in the Native Authority (Colony) Ordinance, 1944. (See Appendices VB and VC.)

Though some of the cases heard deal with Native Customary offences, the procedure in the Native Authority Courts has tended to conform closely to the procedure adopted in the Magistrates' Courts.

The cases most frequently brought before the Native Courts are civil suits relating to debts and real property; nuisance cases; assaults; defamation of character; breach of the peace; and divorce and adultery cases.

The Native Authority Police Force assists in the maintenance of public order, and serves and executes criminal and civil processes issuing out of Native Courts. It is also empowered to effect arrests.

The Dutch Sekondi Native Authority is responsible for the management of the Adiembra State School on which it expended the sum of £521 during the last Financial Year (1947-8).

The Ahanta Confederacy Education grants to Schools in the Municipality have been estimated at £1,007 for 1948. (See Appendix VD.)

The only rate which the Native Authority levies in the town is the annual rate of 4s. per man and 2s. per woman payable by persons ordinarily resident in or owning immovable property in the town. "Persons" here means those of African descent,

as defined above. The levy is paid begrudgingly. There are general complaints that the collectors are rude to the public, and that the levy is not justifiable since the Native Authorities do not provide any services for the townspeople.

Many who were liable to pay did not do so during the last Financial Year, as may be judged from the following figures :

<i>State</i>			<i>Approved Estimated Revenue from Annual Rate</i>			<i>Actual Amount Collected</i>		
			<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Dutch Sekondi	..	..	580	0	0	163	1	8
British Sekondi	..	..	320	0	0	82	0	0

The services which the Native Authorities perform in the town are those given through the Courts, the Native Authority Police, the Dutch Sekondi State Prison, and the Adiembra State School.

In performing these services, the Native Authorities are subject to the control and supervision of Government, exercised through the District Commissioner who supervises the work of their Courts, Treasury, Police, Prison and Schools, and advises on all aspects of their work.

The influence of the District Commissioner is felt in many ways.

He is the agent of the Central Government responsible for the maintenance of Law and Order in the town.

He sits on many Committees : Rent Assessment, Prison Visiting, Town Planning, Town Council, Finance, Bureau of African Industries, British Legion, Horticultural Board, and Social Welfare.

He is the authority for issuing Fire-arms, Warehouse, Steamer, Hunting and Letter Writers' Licences, as well as permits for drumming in the town.

In addition to reviewing cases and hearing appeals from the Native Authority Courts, he receives numerous complaints brought before him by residents over whom the Native Authorities have no jurisdiction, as well as by African natives and "strangers" who are within the jurisdiction of the Native Authority.

Many of the "strangers" in the town usually have their disputes settled in arbitration by people of their own tribe, or some association or other which they have joined. But when this machinery

breaks down, they resort to the District Commissioner rather than to the Native Courts, which many of them consider to be extortionate and not always impartial.

The Town Council

The Sekondi-Takoradi Town Council was established in December, 1946. It replaced the Sekondi Town Council which had served the Sekondi town for 42 years.

The Council has a total membership of thirteen, composed of two official members nominated by the Governor, three nominated by the Ahanta Confederacy, one by the Sekondi and Takoradi Chamber of Commerce, and seven elected members representing the seven electoral Wards into which the town has been divided.

Anyone may be elected or nominated a member of the Council if he—

- (a) is entitled to be registered as a voter and his name is on the Register of Voters ; and
- (b) is the owner of real or personal property in the town of the value of at least two hundred pounds, or is the occupier of premises in the Urban Area of an assessed annual value of at least twenty pounds and pays the rate thereon ; and
- (c) satisfies the District Commissioner that he has a reasonable knowledge of the English Language and simple accounts.

The qualifications of voters are set out in the Ordinance as follows :

(1) Every person whether male or female shall be entitled to be registered as a voter for any one ward, and when registered to vote at the election of a member of the Council for such ward, who—

- (a) at the date of the publication of the notice by the Town Clerk has attained the age of twenty-one years ; and
- (b) for a period of at least six months immediately before the date of publication of such notice, has owned any assessed premises or has rented a living room in any assessed premises or has by virtue of his employment occupied any part of any assessed premises in such ward.

(2) The husband or wife, having at the date of such publication attained the age of twenty-one years and resided in the town for a period of at least six consecutive months, of a person entitled to

be registered as a voter and to vote as aforesaid, shall be entitled to register as a voter for any one ward and when registered to vote at the election of a member of the Council for such ward.

Despite this wide franchise, the list of Registered Voters up to date is :

Ward A	..	..	..	232
„ B	..	..	..	200
„ C	..	..	..	103
„ D	..	..	..	258
„ E	..	..	..	228
„ F	..	..	..	117
„ G	..	..	..	301
Total				1,439

The total population of Sekondi-Takoradi being 44,130, it is obvious that many of those entitled to be registered have not sought registration.

At the last election held on the 2nd December, 1946, five of the elected members were unopposed, and so no polls were taken in Wards B, C, D, E, and F. In the two Wards A and G where voting took place, the votes cast were 48 and 75 respectively, or 20.6 % and 24.9 % of the very small number of Registered Voters. This was the first Municipal election under the Sekondi-Takoradi Town Council Ordinance.

The Revenue of the Council is derived from the following sources :

Head I.—Licences and other Taxes

Spirit Licences
Wine and Beer Licences
Auctioneers' Licences
Dog Licences
Hawkers' Licences
Wheel Licences
House and Land Rates ($7\frac{1}{2}$ % of rated value)
Petroleum Licences
Entertainment Licences

Head II.—Fees and Dues

Pound Fees
Conservancy Fees
Cattle Kraal Dues
Market Dues
Slaughter House Dues
Lorry Park Dues

the Central Government, and supervised by Education Officers of the Central Government.

The Health and Sanitary services are provided jointly by the Town Council and the Central Government ; the latter provides all the Health and Sanitary services in Takoradi, whilst the Town Council provides the Sanitary and Conservancy labourers for Sekondi, and a proportion of the Junior Staff for Sekondi and Takoradi.

The Electrical Department provides the street lighting, but the Town Council pays for it.

The Council's resources are spent on the following items which also indicate the services it provides :

Head I	Municipal Services
„ II	Health Department
„ III	Municipal Works Department
„ IV	„ „ Annually Recurrent
„ V	„ „ Extraordinary
„ VI	Motor Transport Service (for Health and Sanitary Services)
„ VII	Sekondi-Takoradi Fire Services
„ VIII	Motor Bus Service
„ IX	Municipal Debt Charges (Repayment of Loans)
„ X	Railway Location Sanitation
„ XI	Pensions and Gratuities
„ XII	Miscellaneous

For the Financial Year which ended on the 31st March, 1948, the Council expended £69,742 9s. 5d. on these items.

In order to function more efficiently, the Council has established the following Committees to consider special subjects :

- (1) Administration and Finance Committee
- (2) Planning and Welfare Committee
- (3) Public Health Committee
- (4) Municipal Services Committee
- (5) Estimates Select Committee
- (6) Tender Board Committee
- (7) Central Advisory Health Board Committee
- (8) Scholarship Committee
- (9) Town Councils Conference Committee
- (10) Negotiating Services Committee
- (11) Town Planning Committee

The Committees are composed of members of the Council, and a Committee's findings are subject to the approval of the whole Council.

The principal Officers of the Council include the District Commissioner, the Medical Officer of Health, the Town Engineer, the Town Clerk, and the Accountant of the Council.

The District Commissioner who is one of the Governor's nominees acts as President and Treasurer of the Council.

The second nominee of the Governor is the Medical Officer of Health who acts in that capacity for the Council, though he is paid by Government, and not by the Council.

The Town Engineer has hitherto been a Government employee seconded to the Council, and paid by Government, but as from 1st of April next year, the Council is to employ its own Town Engineer.

The Town Clerk is appointed by the Council, subject to the approval of the Governor.

The Council has its own Accountant.

The powers and duties of the Council, as set out in the Ordinance, may be briefly summarized.

It is empowered to carry out the provisions of certain Ordinances :

- (a) The Auction Sales Ordinance.
- (b) Certain sections of the Criminal Code dealing with throwing rubbish in the streets ; impeding or injuring public ways ; stray cattle and dogs ; the slaughter of animals ; the regulation of traffic ; and the abatement of fires.
- (c) The Liquor Licences (Spirits) Ordinance.
- (d) The Liquor Licences (Wine and Beer) Ordinance.
- (e) The Mosquitoes Ordinance.
- (f) The Petroleum Ordinance.

Its duties include regulating the keeping of animals and birds ; providing for the treatment of congested areas ; the inspection of all meat, fish, vegetables, and other foodstuffs and liquids intended for human consumption ; the provision and supervision of slaughter-houses and pounds ; the maintenance of public latrines, urinals, cesspits, and dustbins ; the removal of refuse and night-soil ; the provision and maintenance of street lighting ; the prevention and abatement of public nuisances ; the maintenance and repair of all streets and sewers ; the regulation of any trade or business which may be noxious or injurious to public

health ; the regulation and use of public vehicles plying for hire within the town ; the control and spread of infectious diseases ; the provision and regulation of parks, gardens and other places of public resort or recreation ; the designing of lay-outs of streets and buildings ; the provision and maintenance of appliances for extinguishing fires ; the abatement of fires ; the regulation of bathing on the sea-shore, or in any lagoon, drain, watercourse, pond or river in the town ; the licensing of building draughtsmen, and generally " to undertake all other works, matters, and services necessary for or conducive to the public safety, health or convenience, as it shall think fit, or which the Governor may from time to time declare by notice in the *Gazette* to be transferred to the Council."

The Council may make by-laws, issue licences and permits, and impose fees and charges in respect of the services it renders.

Many of the townspeople regard the Town Council as a body that provides certain services, and collects various taxes, rates and dues. Little interest is taken in it as a governing body.

The small number that have registered as voters, or exercised their vote at the last election turns out to be a fair reflection of the popular attitude to the Council.

Tribal Associations

This is not only because Municipal Government is still in its infancy, but because many of the Africans who have come from other tribes and towns to live in Sekondi have other claims on their loyalties. They may be more or less permanently domiciled here, but they have strong attachments to their own homes.

This is a specially marked effect of the kinship ties which are the basis of African Social Organization. A person's membership of his lineage binds him for ever to the village where the lineage is localized. Wherever he may go, however long he may be away, he belongs to his lineage town or village. The economic and social obligations of kinship such as those connected with funerals, marriages, and divorce, as well as political allegiance and jural rights and status which are also tied up with kinship, keep alive his attachment to his native town or village. The town-dweller does not neglect his kinship obligations.

The result of this is that very few of the large population manifest civic loyalty or responsibility for the town in which they make their living. They may own property here, marry and have children, but they are always considered, and they consider themselves "strangers."

It is remarkable that all the African members of the Town Council belong to the indigenous Ahanta tribe.

A member of the Town Council explained this by saying that the other residents who were not Ahantas did not bother to vote, and do not take much interest in the affairs of the town.

A prominent non-Ahanta, born and educated in Sekondi, on the other hand, explained the fact by saying that the Ahantas were so cliquy that they would only have Ahantas on the Town Council.

There is some truth in both explanations ; the fact is that old tribal loyalties persist in the new situation of urban life, and put a brake on the development of Municipal Government along Western lines.

The intense tribal loyalties are manifested in the many tribal associations in the Municipality. Examples of these are the Oguaa Korye Kuw (Cape Coast Union), the Edena Korye Kuw (Elmina Union), the Fanti Korye Kuw (Fanti Union), the Shama Union, and the old Mumford Youngsters Association.

Though some of the members of these Unions have lived in the town for many years, they continue to take keen and active interest in the affairs of their lineage home.

The members of one of these Unions by monthly contributions raised funds which they sent to help start a new school building in their village 160 miles away.

The organization of the Oguaa Korye Kuw may be given as an illustration of how these Unions operate.

All Cape Coast people resident in the town are eligible for membership. There are 300 members on the roll.

The aims of the society are to bring the Cape Coast people in town together, to give members financial assistance when necessary, and to maintain an interest in the welfare of Cape Coast.

The Executive Officers consist of a President, Vice-President, Recording Secretary, Correspondence Secretary, a Financial Secretary, and a Treasurer. There is a separate Finance Board which audits the accounts of the Union.

Members pay a "Foundation Fee" of 10s. 6d. on admission, and a monthly contribution of 9d.

The Union meets once a fortnight, and all its affairs are conducted in Fanti. A general meeting opens with a hymn and prayer, and closes with a benediction.

When a member dies, the bereaved family receives from the Society a funeral benefit of £7 4s. When a member's wife, husband, father, or mother dies, the member is given £2 2s. A sick member receives a sick benefit of 5s.

One of the aims of the Union is to award scholarships to Cape Coast children, but there have not been enough funds to start the scheme.

There are branches of the Union at Takoradi, Tarkwa, Prestea, Bibiani, Bogosu and other places, and the issue of certificates of membership enables a member to transfer his membership to another branch.

Such Unions keep alive the sentiments of loyalty to the lineage town or village.

Similarly, the Kroo, Ewe, Ibo, Hausa, Northern Territory, Nzima, Ga-Adangbe, and Ashanti Communities have their own associations and tribal heads. The headmen usually have councils to assist them in the settlement of disputes among the members of the tribe.

The members of the tribal unions assist one another in many ways: over litigation, during illness or bereavement, or to find employment.

Most prized of all is the assistance the tribesmen give to one another in monetary contributions and in other ways at the burials and funeral rites of their members. The tendency to organize along tribal affiliations is strong and even in the new Housing Estates at Adiembra and Effia Kuma, tribal groups have got together and elected tribal heads to whom the affairs of the group are entrusted.

Tribal associations may be a hindrance to the development of a sense of civic responsibility by the "strangers" resident in the town, but they provide a means whereby people of similar interests are brought into social relationships; and more important still, through arbitration, and the control they exercise over their members, they are potent factors for the maintenance of law and order within the town. In this sense they form part of the governmental institutions of the Municipality.

At the Housing Estate at Adiembra, a Welfare Council which discusses matters concerning the Estate has been established. Recently, the Council has handled a case in which the tenants of the Estate complained against the rents charged by Government.

It is composed of four *ex-officio* members, and nine elected members representing the "blocks" into which the Estate is divided.

If no women are elected, two are nominated to the Council by the Estate Officer.

A similar Council is to be formed to serve the interests of the New Housing Estate at Effia Kuma.

These Welfare Councils are an experiment in dealing with areas which have no tradition of rule by a chief and a tribal council.

The Central Government

The strict control exercised by the Central Government over the Native Authorities through the District Commissioner has already been indicated.

The Town Council is similarly subject to the control of the Central Government through the Governor.

The Council may not enter into contracts exceeding £500 or alienate or dispose of any immovable property without the written consent of the Governor; it may not borrow or invest money without his approval; its annual estimates of revenue and expenditure must be submitted for his approval, as also the by-laws which it may make for carrying out its duties.

If the Governor has reason to believe that the Council is not exercising its powers or performing its duties properly, or that its accounts require examination, he may appoint a suitable person to conduct an inquiry. In these and other ways, the Central Government exercises control over the Local Governing bodies.

In addition to these controls, the Central Government, as has been indicated, provides certain Municipal services exclusively, such as Medical, and Water Supply; and other services jointly with the Town Council, such as Health and Sanitation, or with the Native Authorities, such as the administration of the law (Courts, Prisons, and Police).

Many of the townspeople have little contact with the tribal Native Authorities elected on the narrow kinship basis. The services which these Native Authorities provide in the town are, in fact, ancillary to those provided by the Central Government. More cases are heard at the Magistrate's and Judge's Courts than at the Native Authority Courts, and the former have a much wider jurisdiction. The Police of the Central Government are more in evidence, and carry more authority and responsibility in the maintenance of law and order than do the Native Authority Police.

As the ordinary citizen goes about his business in the town, it is the services provided by the Central Government or the Town Council that are obvious to him; and in many ways he is also reminded that it is the higher authority exercised by the Central Government that maintains social order among the heterogeneous population of the town, and secures for it an orderly community life.

CHAPTER VI

ASSOCIATIONS

In addition to the occupational and tribal associations to which reference has been made, there are other associations of many different kinds which cut across occupational or tribal classifications. The multiplicity of such associations is a prominent feature of the social life of the town.

They are so numerous and so varied in character that no attempt is made to enumerate them all, still less to give a complete survey of their activities, but a brief account is given here with the object of indicating that there is here a most important aspect of the social structure of the town.

The interests around which they have been formed may be classified as political, intellectual, social or religious.

Religious Associations

Prominent amongst them are the Religious Groups each representing some branch of the Christian Faith, and centring its worship in a separate building.

The figures collected indicate that about one third of the population are members of Religious Organizations. (See Appendix VIa.)

It should be explained that the definition of membership varies in the different Churches, and may not imply the same degree of attachment.

Besides those whose names appear on the Roll Books of the Churches, there are many more who would claim membership, though they do not fulfil all the obligations required of them, and are consequently not included in the lists of active members.

Within each Church are various associations providing not only for religious, but also for educational and social interests. The associations attached to the main religious bodies are tabulated in Appendix VIIb.

It is through these associations that the cultural and social influence of the Churches is asserted.

As has been indicated, the population of the town consists of many different tribes, all gathered here for the purpose of making

a living. There is little consciousness of civic responsibility, and no one is his brother's keeper.

In such circumstances, the Churches become important social agencies. The various Church Associations, Singing Bands and Choral Societies, Class Meetings and Sunday Schools, and Youth Associations attract many members and bring together people of different tribes who share the same faith; in this way they act as social agencies acquainting members of the community with each other. This makes up for the social isolation which some of the members would otherwise feel.

It is in the religious associations too that the Churches fulfil educational functions by teaching singing, reading, sewing and knitting, cleanliness, etc.; they also fulfil social functions by encouraging and sponsoring service to the sick and needy members of the community.

Attendance at Church Services and the meetings of the various associations connected with them is prominent amongst the leisure activities of the town. The Sunday aspect of the town suggests that the Churches have a hold on its life; according to the answers given to a Questionnaire on the subject, an average of 70% of those on the active membership lists attend services regularly.

In addition to the weekly meetings and services, there are special celebrations like annual harvests or picnics to which members pay no little attention.

So much enjoyment is derived from them that there is usually a great deal of money expended on clothing and bands in preparation for the celebrations and outings.

One of the most popular criticisms advanced against the Churches is that they encourage extravagance by providing a regular forum for competitive dress display, especially by the women. It is a fact that the women provide themselves with many changes of dress for the purpose of attending Church Services, and that there are some whose attendances fall off, if they are unable to have frequent changes of dress. In this sense, the Churches influence the standards and cost of living.

Although there is some rivalry amongst the different denominations, two inter-denominational societies both with large memberships have been formed. They are both of local origin. These are the "Hope Society" and the "Honesty Society." The former has 888 members and the latter 500 members in the town. There are junior and senior members of each society, and the membership is open to both sexes, literates, and illiterates alike. There are branches of these societies in other towns in the Colony and Ashanti.

Junior members pay an entrance fee of 5s. 6d., and a monthly contribution of 1½d., and seniors an entrance fee of 10s. 6d. and a monthly contribution of 3d. Both have distinctive uniforms, worn at meetings.

Their popularity is due to the fact that when a member dies, a donation, usually £3, is made to the bereaved family, and the Society turns out for the funeral. They are thus Burial Insurance Societies, guaranteeing a decent burial on which the community places a very high value.

In addition to this prime function, the Societies hold regular weekly meetings in which they have prayers, scripture readings and hymns, encourage friendships, and settle disputes amongst the members. Their annual picnics and church parades are also extremely popular, and a chief source of attraction to many members.

These associations fulfil two socially significant functions. In the first place, like the Churches, they bring together both literate and illiterate members of the community; in the second place they offer some sort of security from the hardships and isolation of town life to those who seek it, in Christian Associations founded on Christian Teaching.

Another inter-denominational association is the branch of the Y.M.C.A. at Takoradi. Its membership is open to Africans and Europeans and it stood at 80 at the beginning of the year.

The Association has a centre where a canteen is run; and for recreation, it provides Table Tennis, Billiards, and a Reading room. There is also an orchestra composed of members interested in music. There are services on Sunday evenings. As in other countries, the Y.M.C.A. caters for religious and social interests, and promotes Christian friendships.

Taken together, the activities of Christian Churches and Associations pervade in a significant way the life of the community.

But as one watches the daily lives and activities of the people, and takes account of the rites connected with marriage, birth, death, widowhood, harvests, or installations to traditional offices, one learns that a great deal of the normal communal activities of the converts lie outside their Christian activities, and that for all their influence, the Christian Churches are still alien institutions, intruding upon, but not integrated with indigenous social institutions.

Tigare

In this connection, the influence of the cult of Tigare should be noted. It has been established here recently as a rival Religious Association which has gained many adherents.