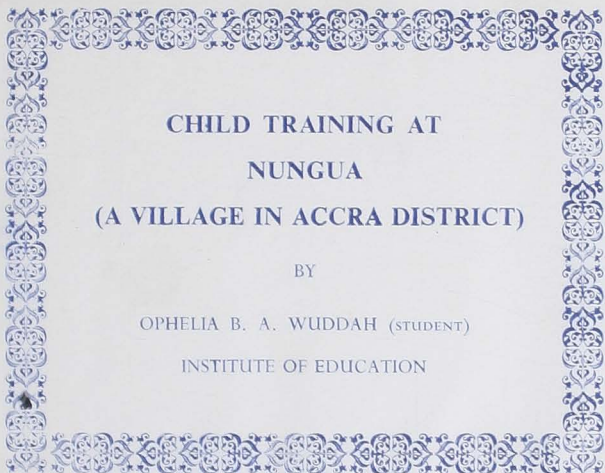


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CHILD TRAINING AT
NUNGUA
(A VILLAGE IN ACCRA DISTRICT)
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1956 - 1957

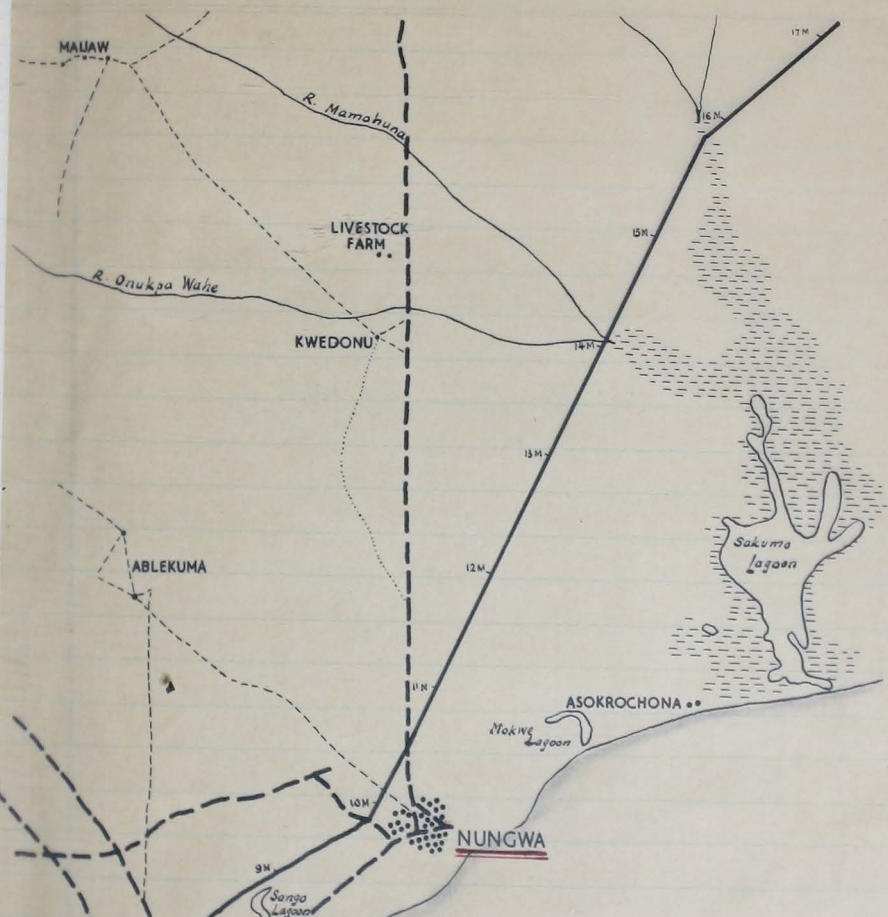
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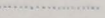

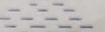
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POSITION OF NUNGWA



- FIRST CLASS ROAD 
- THIRD CLASS ROAD 
- FOOTPATHS 
- HUNTERS TRAIL 
- RIVERS 
- AREA LIABLE TO FLOODS 

INTRODUCTION

In a land dispute a few years ago the chief of Nungua claimed that Nungua had no boundary with Teshie, Kabadi, and Osu, it was only with Accra itself that Nungua had a boundary and that boundary was somewhere in the area where the Government Printing Office in Accra now stands. Here this extravagant claim is significant for two reasons: there was the further suggestion that the people of Nungua arrived on the coast some years before the other groups headed by the people of Accra. It was the people of Nungua who allotted land to those who arrived under the Ga rantse. This is not the proper place to go into the merits of the claim. The claim merely attracts the investigator who will like to know what sort of people the Gas at Nungua are especially since conditions in Nungua stand in great contrast with those in the other Ga towns to the event mentioned earlier on. Of these Nungua which claims to be the oldest is the least developed. It is surprising to find such a wide contrast between Nungua and Kabadi or Christiansborg for this matter. The town has shown little progress. It has grown little in size, surprising again to note that although the main road which links Accra and Ada is only about some 440 yards from Nungua, it was just 4 years ago that the town began to expand towards this main road.

The same old swish buildings have been maintained and the fetish groves have stood on the same spots. There is ample evidence of the

conservatism that prevails among the people. Whilst even at Teshie which is a couple of miles from Nungua, the occupation of the people is undergoing constant change, the people of Nungua are still known as fishermen, carpenters, goldsmiths and sawyers. Children generally follow the occupation of their parents and things continue like that.

The powers of the fetish priests are in no way diminished. Such is the environment into which children are born and brought up.

The forces of superstition and conservatism are so strongly established that progress is bound to be slow. This spirit permeates the economic, political, social, religious activities of the people. Let us see how far the facts will support this generalisation.

A SHORT HISTORY OF NUNQUA

Nunqua is a coastal town in the Ga District and is 10 miles east of Accra.

The present inhabitants sprang from two sets of families who lived at first in two sets of villages which spread within a 4 to 5 miles radius of the present Nunqua.

The 2 sets comprise the Ga speaking immigrants from Nigeria and the Accra immigrants who were descendants of Bokete Lawe, the priest of Gbobre the chief god which had ever remained since they settled.

The ancestors settled at Wodoku, north of Labadi and after a series of quarrels with the Labadians they deserted their village to establish a town which would form a suitable base for warfare.

Nunqua was the chosen site. A new Gbobrekoy (the home of Gbobre) was built at its outskirts for the gods worshipped at Wodoku. In addition to these Gigo, there were elements said to be of Akwamu origin. Their ancestors were supposed to be the refugees from Akwamu after the break up of their state. The traditional leader is said to be Odai Akoto the priest of the God Ofwei.

Social Structure of the town.

The town was divided into sections called 'akutsei' (quarters). The descendants of Bokete Lawe lived at Amafa and Sayjifi was the quarter for Odai Akoto's descendants.

The Gbobre Wuloroo (priest) was always chosen from Bokete Lawe's descendants.

The Ofwei Wuloroo who is also the mektse was elected alternately from the two houses Adzegwe

and Ajikeuwe; these are in Odai Akoto's line. Thus one half of the town was responsible for the spiritual welfare of the state and all religious affairs and the other half for the stool ritual.

Not long after their establishment the Sangjifi section was joined firstly by a party from Teshie; these were called Odaitseweli; another group came from Accra (Semp) to form the Moiwe family. All these were attached to Odai Koto's house. The Moiwe family provided a body guard for the maytse in war and they were so outstanding that they became the house from which the chief Captain or Akwajoytse was chosen.

Occupation

Most of the male inhabitants are fishermen. In their canoes they go out in numbers for both deep sea or shallow sea fishing. They travel sometimes to Ada 63 miles east, stay there for a month or two to fish.

When the season is over they take to raising of crops such as okro, tomatoes, groundnuts, beans, partly for local consumption. Those who find fishing too hard and can afford leave the town for other commercial towns where they work as goldsmiths or artisans. The people of Nungua are noted for their skill in carpentry and the working of gold.

The women naturally help their husbands, ^{they} either sell the fish fresh or smoke the bit and send them to other towns for sale. It is their duty also to sell the farms produce and the jewellery that the husbands make. They render accounts at the end of the season. Quarrels usually arise

when the time for rendering accounts come.

Educational Background

Until 1917 there was no school at Nungua, all who wished to attend school were sent to Teshie, 2 miles away. There was no means of transport and the school children in cloth or half-naked walked all that distance.

In 1917 a school was established by the Presbyterian Church under one Mr. Akrong who was the only teacher. Boys and girls who were willing to be educated made up the first three classes.

Classes were held in the Chapel and mats were used instead of desks. After their primary education the pupils continued their education at the Presbyterian Senior School, Teshie. Mr. Heman Annan succeeded Mr. Akrong and the next helper was Mr. Kwaku. It was in 1921 that they had Primary Class 4, but still there was only one teacher in charge of all the classes. Mr. Bortali took up teaching and Mr. Nortey came next. All these combined church and school work. Mr. A.A. Wuddah was there in 1941 as Catechist and teacher and was lucky to have one junior teacher. With the help of Church members they built up a school block themselves consisting of three Classrooms for Primary Classes 4, 5 and 6. Owing to scarcity of water this work took some time and it was unfinished when he left after a year. The middle school was founded in 1952; an Anglican School was started the same year by Mr. Borquaye and today the two schools are facing each other. It was in 1954 when Mr. Nortey was Headmaster that the middle school was recognised and was placed

on the Assisted Schools list of the Education Department. Grants were voted and solid buildings were erected to accomodate both Primary and the Middle Schools. More teachers were recruited and today educational facilities in Nungua are not far behind those in big towns such as Accra.

Religious Background.

Christianity was brought to the town in 1902 by a carpenter Nii Kpakpo Sraka and his wife Mary Botso who were trained by the Basel Missionaries in Accra. The Presbyterian Church was the first established church at Nungua. The foundation members were converted and were sent to their hometown with the word of God. The mas at first used one of his rooms as a place of worship; the membership was

Before the advent of Christianity the inhabitants like all Gas believed in a supreme inaccessible being called "Mawu", whose existence is manifested by the fact that he gives rain - Rain water in Ga is "Nyosyms nu" - God's water. The people of Nungua had a mediator "Gbosu" who was the chief God; it had 98 wives, sons, and servants.

Gbosu's mouthpiece was the chief priest "the Gbosu Wuloro" who in the older days was the supreme ruler of the people. The Gods even today belong to the whole town and are thus worshipped together by all the people at their annual festival - "Kpledzoo"

The children have a special part to play in the annual festival. They imitate forms of worship, dancing, drumming and singing at

their leisure, especially at play times. Today children from both pagan and Christian homes are influenced by such performance at their festivities.

Any minor ailment, any disease is presumed to have been caused by a witch "Aye" or the fetish man.

There are so many cults that children as well as grown ups are highly superstitious. Thus the situation has been worsened by the rise of three pagan pseudo - Apostolic sects in Nungwa. The use of drugs is prohibited by these; the result is an increase in death rate among the members.

School children are given Christian education by the Presbyterians and the Anglican Churches; but whether their home influence will not prove stronger is a matter on which one cannot be positive.

Social Amenities

For a long time water was got from wells owned by individuals; these wells were some miles away from the town. Pipe borne water was introduced only in 1955; the supply is not in great quantity.

Swimming is the chief recreation for both children and adults. This is done regularly on Saturdays and Sundays. Those who choose to do go to the beach as early as 5 a.m. and others go in after lunch between 2 p.m. and 6 p.m. The numbers are usually great when the tide is low.

Occasionally football matches are organised by the young men in town. Some adventurous young

men attend the cinema show in Accra, Christiansborg and Adabraka.

There are no public places of convenience, the inhabitants use the outskirts of the town and a-long the sea shore for the purpose.

Very often there are traditional dances for the illiterate adults - Adowa for women and Tsirey and Asoyko for men. These are played after the day's hard work on the farms or at sea.

CHAPTER I

Attitude towards having children

Children are considered a great blessing to a family and special favour of God. The couple who normally have as many children as ten or more are considered extremely lucky. A custom is performed for a couple when they have their tenth born. The wife gets special presents from the husband. It is an honour each wife covets. Women are told when they enter marriage "Ofọ nyigma ni obaawo nyigma saa no" - "Have ten children and sleep in bed for the mother of ten". There are special rights for all others following the tenth child.

There are special names apart from the family names given to these children. For example the tenth born is called Badu derived from Twi 'Edu' which means ten.

There are economic advantages in having many children. They are of great help in the normal occupation of the parents, fishing or farming. Many girls mean special blessing to the mother who feels girls are more important to her than boys. Indeed they help her in her trade, and they help in carrying the younger ones while she does the daily house work. Many boys are a joy to the father, it is an advantage, for he has people who can help on the farm and in his fishing career, in the goldsmith's shop and in the smithy.

The children's education was no problem to parents who thought the classroom was not the right place for them.

Parents practise no birth control.

Polygamy is practised and so families tend to be large.

Childlessness

This is the greatest curse and is regarded as a social disgrace to a couple. Hence a tremendous amount of money is spent on native herbal treatment and in most cases a breach in marriage. An impotent man may arrange with a close friend for secret sexual relation with his wife. But this friend is treated as an adulterer by the public. He is either taken to a head of a family or to a native court for public disgrace. He is usually made to pay a definite amount which is "Ayifale" in addition to a fine of drinks and a sheep. Sometimes the woman is publicly divorced and the second man marries her.

If the original husband still prefers to live with the woman after the public disgrace he comes to a compromise with the friend and still allows the free contact between the two. Children of such contacts are for the true husband and are recognised legitimate. In such delicate matters people hardly know anything about the bargain apart from the three concerned. It is really a top secret.

A child of an unmarried woman or of a woman who is not sure of the man with whom she had the sexual intercourse is regarded illegitimate. It happens that the woman has so many "husbands", that she is unable to say which particular person is responsible. Such issues are adopted by the mother's father who gives him or her a name. The child is either given the name that

the mother's brother or what should be given to his own children. The child would be named as though he was the grandfather's own child. Thus the child is a sister or brother to his or her own mother. That is if the grandfather has four children already, then the child will be the fifth one. The child joins the family and is legitimate.

Provision is made for the care of children who may have lost one or both parents. When it is the father who is dead then an uncle takes up the responsibility.

Adoption

If a child loses the mother, it is the husband's responsibility. When both parents are dead then it is the duty of the father's family to adopt the children and arrange within the family for their upbringing. If mother dies immediately after labour the child may be given to a willing woman in the family or the mother's sister. Such children are sometimes given to the father's sister who is either a widow or childless. At other times they are given to the father's mother or a willing maternal aunt. When a father dies his younger brother is asked to adopt them. An elder brother adopts the children if the younger brother is not of a marriageable age. Where child's father has no brother then a cousin is approached.

If the rightful people refuse the responsibility then any willing well-to-do person either from the father's or from the mother's family may look after them. The wife of the deceased is customarily given to the husband's brother

to marry. There is no force here, either party can refuse to enter into the contract. If the brother has wives already but still desires to marry the widow he can do so. A child from such a union if he is a boy is called "Doku", which means a child born for husband's brother after husband's death. A girl is also called "Dokuyoo".

Devices for Sterility

Barren women are called "Kenei". Sterility could be overcome by consulting a native herbalist who gives treatment as he thinks best. Native medicine prepared by the herbalist is drunk. Rascally herbalists use their offices to have sexual contacts with their patients. When they happen to be pregnant they remain their wives. These women are sometimes taken to the "Gbolukoy" during the yearly festival or to the sacred grove of the God for special prayers. They carry pots of water or "Imadaa" and some sacrifices in the form of drink or money to the Wuloro before the prayers. It is believed that when certain ceremonies are performed by the chief priest then the woman may bring forth the following year at least before the next "Kpledzoo" or festival.

The herbalists and priests claim that if the instructions are properly followed the desired result is achieved.

A midwife from Teshie now visits the town, on her advice a few of these unfortunate women go to the Colonial Hospital to consult the doctor; but the majority maintain their strong belief in their Gods.

CHAPTER II

Pre-natal Period

A woman I interviewed at Nungwa told me that in the pre-natal period, it is important that the pregnant mother is in good health both in her own interest and in the interest of her baby. Pregnancy is a natural process, but supervision is desirable to watch for any effects of physical strain. If the expectant mother is already weak any slight additional strain may cause a breakdown, unless appropriate precautions are taken. Special care is taken of the mother's needs and her mode of life during the pregnancy. At this stage the expectant mother is impatient and easily irritated. She may even be wild, sometimes she behaves like a child. She is disgusted at the sight of any unpleasant things, such as refuse and blood. Strong odours cause vomiting and she feels like eating any food she sees. At this stage she feels lazy. She loves taking lumps of soil or food without pepper.

An elderly woman who looks after pregnant women said that generally when the stomach protrudes excessively then the mother must expect twins. When the body especially the limbs get swollen then the child would be a boy. When mother is easily excited then it is a girl.

These prophecies she says do not always come true anyway.

While most pregnant women like taking sugar cane, others feel there is too much sugar in it

and that it would cause abortion. Before any pregnant mother goes to see the doctor, she is protected against evil spirits. This rite is called "Kolebu". The pregnant mother is asked to collect particles of food from the market and water is got ready for her bath. The things collected are used in preparing soup for her, herbs are put into the water and she has her bath on the outskirts of the town, preferably where the rubbish heaps are. After this she is forbidden to do certain things. She has no right to help another pregnant woman in performing any task for it is believed the powers are easily transferred. She has nothing to do with a widower and should not accept any offer from other pregnant women.

There is no specification of special diet for already they exhibit extraordinary appetite for all sorts of things not necessarily food.

There was a woman who said she always showed an appetite for lumps of soil and ate that alone to her satisfaction at that stage.

Another woman said for the whole period she never took any food because she vomited anything that went down her throat. She brought forth three babies, triplets, but they were bony and tiny. Two of them died after three days and only one survived. That one is eleven months old but when I saw him I thought he was still too small. If the mother had really fed herself properly she would have nourished the blood sufficiently for these babies.

Sexual intercourse I understood can be indulged in throughout the whole period of confinement. The belief is that it is necessary at early stages because it helps to strengthen the baby. The women have keen appetite for sexual intercourse during pregnancy. They act like men; they take the initiative and the men are often thrilled at their behaviour. The woman prefers having daily contact with his man until last day of the ninth month just before birth. A few respond to this behaviour of pregnant women but most of the men as soon as the wife is pregnant cease to long for any sexual intercourse but they are forced to when the woman so desires. Some men pretended to be moody and often quarrelled with their wives when they see any sign of sexual desire.

A woman who has a great love for the husband and wants her child to resemble the father has the husband always in mind and would like him to sit before her all day or come to her very often. Where that is impossible she looks at the husband's picture.

In every house there is an elderly and experienced woman who looks after or takes care of the pregnant woman. She is responsible for her food and for her general welfare. Such women are called "home doctors" as they know much about native medicine.

CHAPTER III

BIRTH

These are now giving way to Midwives and Doctors. Most pregnant women now consult midwives at Teshie - 2½ miles away.

A religious sect with an enrolment about 300 people has its own arrangements for members in the family way. These are lined up each in a white cloth and marched to the beach for a sea bath. The leader prays for them; it is believed the sea bath gives protection against evil spirits and its as powerful as "Kolebu", as described in an early paragraph is supposed to do. However, the women are rushed to the hospital or to the midwife when during childbirth there are difficulties. In such cases their disbelief in the efficacy of medicine is shelved for the meantime.

Mothers during childbirth are expected to endure the labour pains without much complaint. They are beaten in the primitive way with brooms in the face when they cry. They swear bitterly that they would never bring forth again. Midwives utter encouraging words during labour and are stern only when the woman is not making any effort to deliver quickly and safely. Some curse their husbands and with rage beat them, scold them for their condition. But as a rule men are not allowed to be present when their wives are about to deliver. After delivery the first thoughts of the young mother naturally are directed towards the newly born baby. For some weeks, she must

depend on someone else to care for her baby. After a couple of weeks she assumes her responsibility in full and shows a mother's love towards the baby. She sees to give the baby all the nourishment necessary for its health.

When a mother unfortunately dies during labour she is buried in the evening with all her belongings, the child is removed by operating on the mother and the two are buried separately. Certain rights are performed secretly before burial. However, no one is allowed to shed tears.

If she dies immediately after birth, then the baby is given to the mother's sister or the grandmother to look after.

Husbands offer rum, fowl and money to congratulate a wife for enduring the pain.

Precautions are taken to ensure good health to both child and mother. Many go to native doctors for the purpose. Black beads are worn on the waist, incense is burnt at all times. A piece of string is tied round the neck, wrist or knee. A talisman is put under the child's pillow, or hung on the cot or anywhere in the room provided it is near the child's bed. At times black powder is rubbed into cuts made at the joints of the baby.

Elderly women usually the husband's mother or the wife's mother look after the baby and mother. At Nungwa most of these young mothers remain with their mothers and the husbands visit them daily.

The outdooing ceremony "Kpodziemo" is

performed in the father's house exactly when the baby is a week old or on the eighth day. The child's grandfather on the paternal side gives the name.

Sometimes the child is named after a particular person in the family for example his great grandfather especially when the baby has features that resemble those of the particular person he is being named after.

When both grandparents are dead the father consults a responsible elderly man in the family who gives the appropriate name.

This is the time when the baby's father showers gifts on the wife and supplies the needs of the baby.

He must send these — a bucket, 1 bath, 12 dresses, 8 chemises, 12 knickers (pioto), powder, vaseline, comb, brush, towel, blanket, a large towel for wrapping baby, £2 2s. for the mother to be kept under her pillow, to be spent if she needed anything, 3 native cloths and a big kente cloth for tying the baby on the back. Friends send in their gifts too.

When the husband is young and cannot afford the things mentioned, it is his father's or maternal uncle's responsibility to supply them.

When the parents are poor and cannot help then the husband can approach any relatives or friend to help.

There are different attitudes towards different children in the family. The first born is usually regarded dull and is often called "Dede bunlu or Tete Kwafia" - "Dede the idiot or Tete the foolish". It is perhaps the result of Dede's tolerance to the younger siblings. This "nickname" is used for anybody who is a first born.

The third boy - Mensah or girl Mansa is always a favourite, and special rites are performed when they are young. This arose from the belief that heroes are always the third in the family.

Twins are regarded as sacred, they are believed to have both superhuman powers and to possess brutal strength. They receive special rites and treatment right from birth. They are adorned and feared. In most cases the over-indulgence tends to spoil them.

A mother who had twins told me that she could not look after her twins because their father died early and there was no one to help for they were such strange beings.



A young mother feeding her baby.

CHAPTER IV

FEEDING

The baby is fed on milk 6 hours after birth. After the third day it is fed at any time. The close contact with her baby and the feeling that she alone can give what is so urgently needed in the way of comfort and nourishment brings her mother happiness and satisfaction. The mother carries the baby on her lap and feeds it from her breast. Breast is removed when the child starts to breathe quickly, or when the stomach is hard when touched or when the child stops sucking. The baby's jaw is supported by the forefinger, to remove the strain in the down movement. The child is fed anytime it cries and there are no fixed feeding times. This practice upsets the stomach very often and the child cries at random. The advice of the midwife on feeding times is often ignored. In cases when the mother is seriously ill and cannot feed her baby, it is taken to a mother who has a new baby. If the sickness is prolonged, the child is given to that other mother to feed if she is willing to do so. Some use the feeding bottles at such times. Solid food such as kenkey, garri, boiled rice - "Oms ni atsi", dzidzi, fufui, riped plantain, and cassava are given to the baby rather early. Some start giving the baby solid food after four months but others earlier. Most children continue to suck the mothers breast even when they are two years old. Such children are subjected to severe attacks of fever, stomach troubles and other diseases. They become lean, bony and unhealthy. These children give a

lot of trouble when the mother is under conception again. Where possible such children are isolated from the mother. Such children are called "Kwajicks".

Weaning

This is an important transitional period between dependent boyhood and the increasing independence of childhood. During the first nine months of his life the baby is weaned gradually from breast-feeding to living on solid food.

The success or failure of the weaning process depends on the method adopted. If the mother is not tactful she encounters many difficulties which may not be easily overcome. The baby cannot easily and suddenly relinquish the breast and take food from the spoon. Some mothers adopt some harsh methods in weaning difficult babies. The juice of sour herbs or a quantity of quinine is rubbed on the nipple in order that the bitter taste might discourage the child. If this is repeated for some days, the child refuses breast milk altogether. The naughty, or one may say, the clever ones attempt to clean the nipple with a wet towel. When the mother substitutes a favourite food it is quite easy to wean him.

Occasionally the child is given a rebuff as soon as he attempts to hold the breast.

Though harsh methods are not to be encouraged it is clear that if the mother persistently refuses to breast feed the child, weaning does not prove all that difficult; especially if the

baby has not been made to expect breast feeding each time it cried.

2



Dede on her chamber pot. She is shy and has therefore covered the pot with her dress.

CHAPTER V

ELIMINATION

Toilet training begins as soon as the child sits down alone and can support itself. Earlier than this is wicked because mothers say that the child's neck is not strong enough to stand erect and can easily break. There are many methods of giving toilet training, when it is being put on legs, the training starts about the fifth month. Between 6 and 7 months the child is put on a small-chamber pot on which it can sit while an elderly person supports it on the back. Later the child learns to take the chamber pot when it feels like easing itself. Children have special words for urinating on the legs or on a chamber pot. It is "sui" but for ease the groaning is "m, m, m". Children feel very uneasy and rather uncomfortable when there is no toilet, even if it spends hours on the chamber pot.

Children are often praised by the mother though a child barely understands the mother's p and expression - "A - a - no, ahekoo". How can the mother tell if her child wants to ease itself? With boys this could easily be seen for mothers say that the penis shrinks and contracts; but for a girl the legs are kicked now and then and for both as soon as they urinate then mothers suspect that toilet will follow. These are true signs of what the child wants to do, or the state in which he is. Some parents very often become annoyed for the extra washing they will be undertaking. They scold the child or the child's father for wetting the bed.

It is unusual at times for a child to wet his bed and on these occasions thoughts of the child's sickness occupy the mother's mind.

Some parents scold and beat their children on the back when they wet their mats at the age of one and a half years. Urinating is objected to from the age of 2 years.

Other adults express disgust at the child's dirty habits. When the child at the age of 6 still continues to urinate it is treated with special punishment. It is sometimes wrapped up in its wet mats and hooted at. Other children of the same age shout at him "jams to".

Training is especially done outside with the mother an elderly brother when a boy and an elderly sister when a girl. Maidsewants also perform this as their special duty. At times the child does it on the ground in the house and is removed by the mother and carried off by the sister wrapped up in a piece of cloth.

A mother of 10 children told me that her children often groan for both bowel and bladder complaints and as mothers cannot tell which is which training for both is the same.

If the child is feverish, the faeces are often examined to see if the child is stomachache, but if the child is normal there is no need for faeces examination.

Children are always given their own times for elimination. The testis of boys are watched for faeces elimination, so training is based on this for boys but for the bladder there are no differences in sex. Mothers worry and attribute the cause to teething, stomachache, diarrhoea or

to witchcraft.

For that woman's children there is no special age for private elimination, but this is often done by the child himself when he starts removing his chamber pot or hiding away from others for the purpose. Observation shows that it starts from about the age of seven. Wind-breaking is treated as stomach trouble and one of the causes for elimination.

3



She carries her little sister on the left.

4



This young girl carries her sister on the right

5



A maidsewant carries a baby on her back

6.



This girl is carrying her sister on the shoulder.

CHAPTER VIMOTOR DEVELOPMENT

Clothes do not restrain movement but are worn according to the weather and condition of the child in some cases. If the child is ill heavy clothes are provided to keep it warm, and to protect it from catching cold.

Boys are provided with locally made toys such as drums, tops, lorries and animals. They play also with snail shells, wheel barrows, skipping ropes and windmills and

Babies are either in bed when asleep or in some cases awake in the arms of their mothers. Children on the whole are a pleasure to the whole household.

The degree and amount of holding therefore depends on the whole house. Both men and women carry the baby but there are different ways of carrying it.

A man for instance has not got the initiative and can only carry the baby on the shoulder. But elder sisters and brothers are taught how the baby should be carried on the shoulder with hand as a support at the back of the head as the child's neck is not strong enough to be left alone. Babies

are also carried on the side especially on the right side. Elder siblings are usually taught to carry babies on the back. When the child is a week old it is not tied with cloth to the back because that usually gives the baby a backache or a strained neck.

Grandmothers carry children very often, at least when they cry. When the child is seated for the first time pillows are arranged in heaps and it sits in between.

One who walked early is the only person allowed to help the child to sit. If that happens then mother is confident that her child will walk quickly and in time

7.



This is a 6 month old baby crawling
using both feet and hands.

After this the child is expected to start crawling. Free mobility is allowed at the age of one. The child finds its own support and these are chairs, tables, buckets and all other things it sees around it. Crawling on the other hand, starts at the age of 7 to 8 months. The process is not taught except when the position is injurious. Some children start crawling by dragging the buttocks on the ground, others lie on their stomach in a prone position. But most children use the legs and hands in a crawling position. Children are often given encouragement by both mother and others in the house, when they see signs of the child's wanting to crawl or walk. The child who is about to walk is held up by both hands and an adult pulls it gently along saying "taa taa". The adult faces the child, walks backwards and the child imitates forwards by stepping as the adult. Walking starts from 9 to 12 months depending on the person who first seated the child. Children who do not walk after 12 months are treated in either of the following ways: by digging a hole and standing on the child in and covering its legs with sand. It is taken out after some time and this is done several times alternately for short periods. Sometimes a certain thread from a medicine man is tied to the knee. It is sometimes given a mixture of herbs to drink to strengthen the joints. When failure of walk is attributed to ill health the mother does not worry, but rather exercises patience. Parents who can afford the wheel provide it when they see signs of its willingness or readiness to walk. A mother of four births told me that of her four children two did not walk in time and the reason was that they attempted to talk when they were about to

CHAPTER VII

SLEEP

The next vital thing in a child's life is sleep for it is while the child is resting that growth takes place. During activity all the available energy is being used, kicking of legs, turning side to side, feeding, bathing are all very necessary, and only while the body is at rest can this energy be utilised for growth. Excessive muscular activity at any age will cause loss of weight. But in the early years of childhood when growth and weight gain is rapid, far more rest is necessary than in adult life. For the first few days or weeks after birth, the baby is required to be awake only for his feeds and necessary toilet, adjusting himself to the new surroundings, he therefore sleeps at least 20 hours out of the 24 hours of the day. After the second month he begins to take interest in his own activity and in the doings of the unknown world around him, so that he needs only 18 hours sleep. Gradually more of his time is spent in learning to live in a new world, and his rate of growth becomes less rapid, so that by the time he is a year old, he sleeps 12 hours at night and only 4 hours during the day. As he grows, his activities increase and time for rest during the day is only 2 hours, whilst he keeps up the 12 hours at night. This is not a schedule, however, followed by every parent.

The child who does not want to go to sleep is not forced to. He is left to play about and

if he feels tired nobody asks him to stretch and rest. It is the unhealthy child that keeps awake all through the night and in the daytime.

Mothers who do not get their children to sleep do worry a lot about them. The mother tries to put him to bed through threats, inducement and by telling him frightening stories or by allowing him to suck his thumb. Usually children sleep with their mothers so there is no question of transfer to mother's bed but mother takes him to bed, sleeps beside him, sings, pats him or uses her cloth in covering him. He is caressed and the last inducement is to give him the breast to suckle. If it is left in his mouth he dozes and within a short time he is satisfied and sleeps.

If the mother takes ^{her} breast out of his mouth, the child gets up and will not sleep. The whole game is started over again. Young ones in addition to this enjoy the lullabies which are either sung by mothers or by the older ones who carry them on the back. A child's sleep depends on his early training. Some cannot sleep without the breast, others most of them will only sleep if they are carried on the back; a few of them will sleep if they lie near their mothers and others will sleep when they are well fed and are satisfied. On a hot day most of them sleep as soon as they are bathed with cold water.

Threats are employed when the child is a bit older about 2 years old. The usual threats are about a big man, a sanitary

inspector, a mask (kaakaa motoli), kokoo (any kind of animal) or the pussy cat. The mothers often call these to come and carry them away; and the father in a strange voice may imitate any animal to the child's hearing. It is frightened, cries and embraces the mother with the eyes closed, there and then it starts to sleep and even refuses to open the eyes until at last it falls asleep. The child sleeps in the parents bedroom, either with both parents or with the mother on the same bed. This is done just because the child cannot be left alone to sleep by itself, it is too young or just to give him access to the breast anytime it wakes up in the night. On the other hand the child can sleep with any of the sisters or brothers he is very fond of. This transfer is done when the child is 2 years and above. About 5 years he wants to be in company with older children, brothers and sisters who play about and continue such buffonery even late at night in their own beds and with the lights out. When there is a new baby the mother prefers lying with the new baby, but some older ones refuse to be left out, and to satisfy them a mat is prepared near the mother's and it lies between them.

From 8 years onwards girls and boys are separated. If they are not given separate rooms then they sleep at different corners in the same room. Alternately girls sometimes sleep in the mother's room and boys either in their father's room or on a verandah if there

is any. Fathers choose to sleep with their favourites.

Children do not go to bed early at Mungua. Sometimes evening meal is prepared late and where all the children are not in the house then the mother is not prepared to share out the little stew they have. The young ones are fed early in order to sleep early and in order not to listen to the stories told at night.

CHAPTER VIIIHEALTH

The maintenance of health in the child is the primary object of all parents and all who are concerned with child welfare. It is not enough to provide the requirements necessary for the healthy growth of the child, but the earliest signs of any departure from the state of good health must be noticed immediately. Regular medical inspection by a doctor, midwife, or the health visitor will discover the presence of any symptoms and treatment can be procured at an early stage before developing into serious trouble.

Parents believe that children's diseases are caused by a witch or "a Sulo" (wicked person) and even in some literate Christian homes this notion is prevalent. When a child is seriously ill instead of consulting a health visitor, doctor, or midwife, parents waste time in finding the cause of the illness from a "juju" man. They suspect the old woman who comes in every morning to say how do you do and they feel she is damaging the child. They still seek help from the "juju" man who charges them heavily but nearly always gives little or no help. As a result of this delay children often die from pain and late treatment or the usage of strong native medicines which affect stomach, eyes or other parts of the body.

Mothers, especially young mothers do not know the signs of illness in a baby. They fail to realize that the healthy child is

active, eats, and sleeps well, and is happy in its play so that when it appears listless and fretful, refuses to eat and is restless at night or wants to lie down and sleep at unusual hours during the day, then there is something wrong with him and needs to be investigated.

Some of the common ailments which are considered the chief dangers to the health of the baby are the following :-

The mouth - Ulceration of the mouth and gums occurs most frequently in undernourished children and may be associated with general illness.

Thrush appears in the mouth as white patches but cannot be removed. It is seen in bottle fed babies as a result of using dirty bottles and teats or from the mother's nipples which are not properly cleaned before feeding.

Teething causes irritability, loss of appetite, disturbed sleep, high temperature, frequent stools and sometimes skin rashes or fever, and swollen gums.

Hiccough in a baby is usually the result of incorrect feeding, either in the method or in the constituents of the milk mixture. Too large a feed or one taken too quickly, or prolonged sucking, particularly at half empty bottles, will cause an excessive air to be swallowed. A piece of cloth is usually placed on the head or vaseline used to massage the centre of the head to stop it. Water is given to the child which may stop it too.

Vomiting occurs readily in babies and young children and may be due to errors in feeding, tight binding of the child associated with over-feeding and ulcerated mouth. Persistent vomiting or sudden attacks of vomiting should always be investigated by a doctor as it is usually accompanied by stomach ache.

Wrong feeding injures the bowel causing abnormal stools. Examples - loose green stools, watery stools, stools containing tough and white curds, and black stools.

Diarrhoea is caused by digestive disturbances, or general illness or infection in body such as sore throat, excessive heat or cold.

Skin rashes are also caused by excessive heat and over exposure to sunshine. They use dusting powder or methylated powder, or babies powder to rub after each bath.

Constipation - a child who passes one, three, or four stools which are hard is said to be constipated. It may be caused by lack of or incorrect training, regular use of laxatives, incorrect diet, malnutrition and pain at the anus. Adequate training from early infancy to form the regular habit of a daily bowel action, a well balanced diet, avoidance of the routine giving of laxatives will prevent constipation. When the child is being bathed the water that runs down the mother's thigh is collected and poured over the stomach. It is believed to soften the stool.

Nasal obstruction or cold develops in mal-nourished children, particularly those living in overcrowded and unhygienic conditions,

thumb sucking which encourage mouth breathing. Regular nose blowing can clear this. Mothers use the two forefingers to do it and sometimes the mother puts her mouth over the baby's nose and draws out the mucus to keep the passages clear.

Infection of the ears is caused by dirt in the ear, or water which gets into the ear when bathing the baby. Cotton wool must be used to clean the ear. There again mother uses her mouth in drawing out water or pulling out dirt. Ear discharge is serious and must be treated at once.

Scurf on the Scalp is common in young babies. This is the result of inadequate washing.

Soreness of the buttocks may be caused by neglect in changing wet and dirty napkins, irritation from loose stools, irritation from urine, and from rough dry napkins.

Boils are caused by malnourishment and uncleanness of the body and clothes.

Recurrent boils are to be referred to a doctor.

Ringworms attacks the skin or the scalp. It is very common with young children and it is infectious, spreading from child to child by direct contact or using the same sponge and towel or even using the same bucket; also by using each other's brush and comb.

Convulsions are most prevalent in young children because their nervous system is unstable. Parents do not know the cause of this disease and usually say it is caused by "jwei", something from lightning which gets into the hands and feet to make them stiff. It is called

"Abekelri ahela" - (children's illness). Old women use herbs to cure it. They rub it and squeeze the water into the nose and massage the hands and feet with the leaves. But it is often safe to take the child to hospital.

Accidents such as cuts, scratches, burns, scalds and falls are frequent in children. Falls may cause a green stick fracture.

Burns and scalds often happen through carelessness of the mother.

Swells on the eye can be cured easily and foreign bodies on the eye, nose and body can be removed easily.

Children frequently swallow things. If it is small and rounded it passes down without trouble but if the object is pointed and sharp, such as a pin then the child should be taken to hospital.

Choking is also common but it can be treated by holding the child upside down by the ankles and shaking him.

Measles and whooping-cough are infectious so parents are always serious about their treatment.

The sick child is often cared for by the grandmother or an experienced mother. Hot water is used on the body with a towel and juice of lime is used in coating the whole body. After that shea butter is used for massaging the body. Native herbs are cooked for drinking; for these are supposed to cure sores in the stomach and help digestion.

The sick child is always carried on the back well covered and head tied with a headkerchief.

The mothers believe in ginger and lime as medicines for headaches and for cooling down high temperatures, and for douching.

MASTURBATION

This is a natural gratification practised by most children to some extent. It has been realised by parents and teachers that the only harm comes not only from masturbation but from making the child feel guilty or anxious about his actions. Some wise and sensible parents ignore the fact that their children masturbate, and are not concerned. It is not proper to tell the child not to do it, because it is an action the child performs sometimes quite unconsciously, for he feels he needs an outlet for some inner strain or want. Parents remove the strain and provide for the child's needs, by giving him the affection and understanding that he craves and the kind of play materials, occupations and companionship suitable to his age. It is only when the child is helped to develop various skills and playing with other children that he can acquire the real satisfactions in the outside world and thereby leave out masturbation, which becomes a substitute for his real and active life.

Little boys from the age of four may be seen imitating coition. The boy either makes a hole in sand for this or else he folds his palm to hold the penis just right at a later age.

At the beginning the desire of the boy is primarily to embrace someone of the opposite sex in close contact; the idea of penetration is not important at this stage, it is sufficient merely to rub the penis anywhere on the lower portion of the girl's body.

It starts with children of the same household but not with brothers and sisters, except in very rare cases. The children may not be aware of the physiological differences between the sexes at this stage. The story is told of a boy who about five who took a younger girl round a corner and was astonished to discover such a "big sore" on her body and at a conspicuous place when he exposed her and so he gave up the original intention and told her he hoped her sore would soon heal. He said this quite innocently having no idea of the girl's organ and how it looked like.

There is some reason to believe that the domestic animals are responsible for making the first suggestions to the young children. I have seen a boy and a girl between five and six stooping naked at a corner back to back with buttocks touching after the fashion of the dogs. Now and again little boys are seen when taking the fowls to their sleeping places holding one fast against his male organ. The commonest form is sodomy among boys. This is viewed as a rather mild misconduct in some homes. A father once remarked that it widens the rectum and thus eases excretion during constipation.

Mothers feel ashamed and disgraced if their children masturbate. A mother thinks her child has done something horrid and unnatural as well as something physically, mentally and morally injurious, and she tries to impress on him by threats and punishments the fact that he must never do it again.

Mothers beat their children severely, occasionally mercilessly for those masturbatory activities.

They threaten them, tie up their hands, punish them, and very often by inserting pepper into ^{the} girls' vagina or eyes and deprive them of things they like. They even threaten that the penis will be cut off if the habit is not stopped.

Threats and punishments rather increase this activity which in future the parent becomes more and more powerless to stop completely. This causes such unhappiness in childhood that it is difficult for a child to make the natural and necessary sexual adjustments in later life. Children had in their early years associated guilt and fear with their genital organs.

SEX GAMES

Children curiously and interestingly indulge in sexual plays. It usually occurs at the age of four and it may take the forms of games in which a child acts as mother and another as father, some as doctors and patients examining each others bodies and finding out or discovering their differences.

When children are playing the game of "Mami ke Papa", the "mother" goes out to fetch the vegetables for the stew while the "father" goes to the farm to fetch cassava. The "mother" sweeps the compound, draws water from a well and performs the home activities and does the cooking. After a good meal the "children" are sent to bed when one pretends to weep or cry. "Mami" ke "Papa" sleep at a different place leaving the children out of sight and embracing each other. Children when left alone also seize the opportunity here to practice the sex act. The mother at times fills the stomach outwardly with clothing to show she is pregnant, she brings forth after a few moments and the baby cries "jee, jee, jee" while father looks on and pats the baby. The baby is bathed and the so called parents practise what exactly happens at home when they themselves are being looked after.

Other games played by children between the ages of eight and eleven are designed to afford opportunities of learning the life of elders. Among these are "Okeeyelio", "hide and seek" and "Atsake mama" - In the latter the practice is cloth changing in which one person

8



A boy and two girls playing in sand.

is sent away while the others quickly change their cloths and lie down covering the whole body from head to toe. The odd man now comes and he must be able to spot someone by merely studying the forms with his hands

Parents do not object to their children taking part in these games. Children participating in such games are not scolded and they therefore do not feel guilty, as a result they feel perfectly natural and have great interest in doing these things. Children between the ages of four and eight may be quite ignorant that it is wrong to practise the sex act. The story of a boy may illustrate this point.

A boy of six once persuading a girl of the same age to come round for the act, but the girl said she would be beaten by her mother if they were caught. Just then the boy saw the girl's mother and therefore asked her to go and ask for the mother's consent. The boy sat patiently and anxiously expecting his partner to come back. To the boy's disappointment the case was reported to his mother. However, there was no fuss about this because the parents could understand this behaviour between two innocent heads. There was another boy of five and a girl of five who were once caught on the act in the boy's father's room and on his bed. The children used the father's big cloth to cover themselves and they started, the boy inserting his penis into the girl's vagina. They were seen by the boy's sister who never said anything. As soon as they had seen the sister they were ashamed and they stopped immediately.



This girl is three years old. She has taken off her "pioto" to wash.

10



Today she does not feel to put on her dress. She walks all day in "pioto". She helps her grandmother in drying cake tins.

11.



These boys are playing at the tap. One is naked but he is not bothered about his nakedness. The other one is wearing a singlet and a pioto.

CLOTHING AND SELF EXPOSURE

The child is taught to feel ashamed to appear naked at the age of three and above. In order to avoid any sex plays boys are taught to put on "pioto" while playing with girls and it is sometimes thought safe if the girl puts on just the beads and the red bandage or "tekle". However, parents feel strongly that in addition to that the girl must also put on "pioto". The girl is tempted to pull the penis when she sees it hanging. In the home where there are several children with different parents, girls are often taught to put on chemise and "pioto" so that their husbands may not see their nakedness and likewise boys are asked to hide the penis in the pioto so that their wives may not see them. Grandparents often call their granddaughters wives and grandsons husbands respectively. Boys are threatened with circumcision whenever they go about naked and girls are threatened by douching with pepper or ginger if they go about without the red bandage "tekle or boi". From childhood they use the beads but they learn to use the bandage when they start walking and they are warned that without it sand and many other things may penetrate into the vagina and will cause harmful diseases when they grow up in future. The child is helped in dressing from childhood up to school going age. The child is still helped to dress up in the lower primary but is left alone in the upper primary when parents only help in combing the hair or

12



Grandma is very fond of her
grandson. They go to church hand in
hand every Sunday.

parting for them. The child is not helped at all in undressing but it is helped in putting away his dresses decently for future use.

Lapses from modesty are treated differently for the different sexes. It is believed that a girl who continues to be naked and who does not care how she behaves in public will grow eventually into a bad girl and thereby to be morally weak.

Yes, parents undress before the child when it is under five. It is very common because children at this age are always with their parents and would not leave them even if they are bathing. The mother when she wants to undress has no alternative and therefore the child is quite near when she undresses. Usually the boy takes his bath with the father and the girl with the mother. But there is the case where the girl loved the father so much that even the girl at the age of 15 was still bathing with her father, they dressed together, ate together, shared the same bed and had everything in common. The father died when the girl was 17 but she complains that if the father had been alive she would continue to be very close to him and would only stop this only when she is married. Parents are not particularly careful about such contacts, some encourage their children. I am told there is a man who has many wives and they come to sleep in turns but the man shares his bed with his favorite son who was then about 7 years old. On the same bed when the boy was supposed to be fast asleep they had sexual

intercourse. This happened for years and sometimes the boy shared the joke, he enjoyed seeing such contacts. The result was that the boy grew to be morally weak and started sexual intercourse with girls who were above 15 when he was 8 or 10.

As soon as the child starts walking mothers think it is decent to clothe it in romper. There is no difference in boys' and girls' dresses. Girls are dressed in short simple frocks, beads are put around the waist, neck and knee and they wear earrings. The beads will be kept on until school going age when the girl at her own choice cuts them out. Formerly the beads were worn on the waist till the girl's marriage. At school when the cane was used girls often broke their beads into pieces so now they feel ashamed to put on beads. Formerly mothers competed in finding out who would put on the most beautiful and the most expensive beads round their children's waist.

Boys often put on a frock or a jumper until 10 or 12 years before they start to wear knickers. Nowadays they are dressed in shorts and simple shirts which are either tucked in or worn on the shorts. They appear very smart in these. On Sundays or on special occasions girls are dressed in simple frocks, shoes and hats, native cloth (mama ke kabafet) and boys in long trousers, tie and shoes or native cloth.

From infancy till four years dresses are very similar but later they are differentiated.

Even boys at six could say that some dresses belong to girls and they are not prepared to wear girls' dresses. There is a boy who will never wear a dress with sleeves as he thinks those were only meant for girls alone.

13



Two boys shoot their catapults and the rest play at a game of chance - "Atfoa".

14



Fixing two palm branches for a high jump.

15



Playing by herself.

16.



Trapping crabs at the sea shore.

49

CHAPTER XI

SEX DISTINCTIONS

Boys and girls are supposed to behave differently in games between the ages of 6 and 10. Between these ages girls are ^{not} allowed to mix up with boys in play or otherwise. The excuse given is that girls are expected to be with their mothers to help carry or play with the baby if there is any or to help the mother in the kitchen by driving away the chicken. When this fear is driven into the children they often sit with parents or on the other hand play alone. They are not given dolls and other playing things so they build in the wet sand — they build up ovens and make cakes of sand of bread and "abodo" or make buildings where they are supposed to be staying. They go to the extent of washing their own clothes — "pioto" and the "tekle" or handkerchiefs and pieces of cloth. Girls often sew for their dolls.

Boys on the other hand go out to find playmates, they fight and indulge themselves in all sorts of play. Sometimes they use their clothes for making sails, they tie a knot on the waist and hold the two ends of the cloth and run against the direction of the wind. At six they are helped by their elder brothers who are eight, nine or ten to fly kites which are made from news-papers pieces of sticks and, if they can afford, a reel of thread. Girls do not join in these but they stand far away to admire boys who can fly their kites higher in the sky. Boys and girls together jump the "tuu ma tu", a game which could be enjoyed

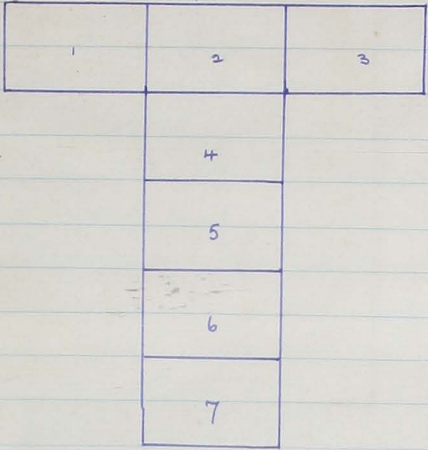
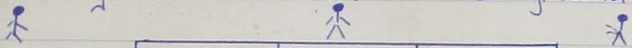


These boys are trying to play the "tuu ma tu" game but they cannot do it. They cannot even draw the diagram.



Yes. they are throwing stones trying to pluck some mangoes.

by both sexes but girls are often driven home when seen by any elderly person passing by. This diagram is drawn on the ground, the players



"Tuun ma tu"

are two, three or four who stand outside the diagram. One plays at a time and the aim is to see how many squares each player could possess. The first player throws a piece of cloth into a square and follows up the squares until he comes to the cloth, picks, finishes the jump and throws it again. A players must be careful not to step any square belonging to a friend.

Boys do climb trees especially any hanging branch just for fun or for plucking fruits such as mangoes, "abodsi abodsi" or cashew nuts. They run after one another and kick either balls or their clothes tied at one end. Girls have a few of these games which occupy them if they are forbidden to play with the boys. A girl who behaves boyishly and who is seen always in company of boys is regarded as one who is morally weak or would be a harlot when she grows to womanhood. Sometimes they

such a girl would not be a rival to any woman and that she is a tigress and would always fight with people. She is called "Yoo kakals" ni hie edzoo (Strong, wild woman) or "Yoo nuu" (manly woman). Boys who behave girlishly are thought poorly of in a family. They are called "nuu feeto" or "nuu gbeyeto", "Yei ahe mlai", "nuu yoo". They are easily beaten by girls when playing, they weep and run to their mothers instead of defending themselves. When girls recognise such a boy, they always threaten him and to guard himself he prefers to join girls in doing everything, in play and in work. They even like putting on girls clothing, and they are fond of powdering their faces. They are always with their mothers and are therefore called "Yei abii".

At school boys and girls are not separated. They go about together in the school and in the performance of all school activities - physical education, carrying of sand, gardening and of course in classroom work. Girls are not exempted in any work which teachers think hard. Some of the girls even prove stronger than some boys. It is only in these modern times that girls are separated from boys for physical education but formerly they had those rigid exercises together irrespective of sex.

Parents generally prefer children of the opposite sex. For girls are generally liked by mothers for a period, only when they are useful to them and can help in the kitchen or help in selling kenkey or bread or in carrying the younger ones.

19



Three boys helping on the farms.

20



These boys have gone to the sea shore to help carry the nets home. Notice the little boy sitting on the boat he is just keeping their company; he cannot carry anything.

Apart from these helps they are not favourites of the mothers. Boys are favourites to mothers because they feel a boy is capable of maintaining the mother as soon as he starts working to earn a few shillings.

On the other hand some boys help their fathers on the farms and in carrying fishing nets to and from the shore. They sweep the rooms for their fathers and run errands for them. They are loved for doing these things. The boy is a pride in the family if he is educated and does well and proceeds to, say, the university college for higher education.

Mothers feel proud too - but when a girl gets on well at school wanting to continue, the mother feels unhappy about it and objects strongly because she is no more useful in the home and entertains the feeling that she would not get married in future. Mothers delight in carrying their grandchildren and would prefer her daughter to marry.

The child has more contact with the parent of the opposite sex in most cases. The women do not stay together with their husbands in the same house, therefore both girls and boys are brought up in early years by the mothers. Boys stick to their mothers and it is only when they are being driven to go to the father's house for food that they become aware that they have a second home. Mothers pet their children so boys feel delighted in their mother's company rather than being shouted at by the father who usually has a harsh commanding voice. Especially the fisherfolk

are noted for these unpleasant voices which drive their children away from them.

The boy therefore prefers the mother and the girl in rare cases prefers the father whose voice she hears occasionally and therefore appreciates him. In early days children like mothers but from about seven and upwards when they start doing the odd jobs at home then they turn to like or love the father.

Boys when grown, from twelve and onwards have a motherly love which surpasses the father's because the father is not very useful then. From school the boy sees that it is only the mother that can feed him but does not take into account ^{the fact} that the money was supplied by the father who caters for the whole family.

CHAPTER XIIRELATIONS WITH BROTHERS AND SISTERS

When a new baby is expected it is kept a secret from the child even from the grown ups of the family. The child is informed at the arrival of the new born baby. They tell him a new baby is born for the mother and that he is old enough to keep away from the mother. He must now go and play with the other children. The arrival of another baby in the family always creates new problems for the older child especially if he has once been the only child. If the child does not know beforehand that a baby is coming and suddenly sees a new face he feels he is being displaced in his parent's affection. It is so hurt that it does not share with its mother the pleasure and responsibility of having a baby in the house. He is displeased and therefore does not help in the care of its new brother or sister, the inevitable jealousy is intense. At this age in order to regain his mother's love and attention he refuses to eat and reverts to its infantile habits such as bed wetting and thumb sucking. A new baby was born in a family where there was an only son. As soon as the baby was born the boy ceased to go into his mother's room and would not like to see the mother with the new baby not even when he was invited. He was miserable and could only search for his father for comfort. Five days after the baby died and was buried immediately, the boy did not know this but for the first time

went to his mother's room and realized there was nobody with the mother. He thought he could re-adjust himself and stick to the mother once again as a baby.

The child who has brothers and sisters is fortunate in its opportunities for companionship and learns more readily to share possessions and the affection of parents with others. There are often quarrels and jealousy but these difficulties are dealt with sensibly without favouritism and no child is allowed to feel a left out. Each child is left to develop his own independence and yet he has a place in the family team. The child after his second year knows he is a member of a big group. Sisters are always jealous of brothers and the brothers in turn feel the same about sisters. In play the younger child tends to be destructive and that annoys the older child. Mothers are sometimes harsh on the older ones and try to comfort the younger more than is strictly necessary. This increases the elder's jealousy and strengthens the younger who gets the idea that tears will bring him extra loving.

Some adults in the family such as the aunt takes great interest in the younger child, this also breeds jealousy and children often fight for their right. He is helpless if the aunt is absent. Two sisters can be jealous of each other when more attention is given to one. In dressing, sometimes particular dresses are supposed to be more fitted if they are sewn for the elderly but the young disagrees and causes mischief, tears the dress or cuts it

when nobody her.

Boys try to protect their sisters, they do not allow sisters talking to other boys, this is just a matter of interest, but the girl hates the idea thinking her brother is preventing her to talk to other boys thereby missing or loosing her chances. Young boys do this quite innocently. It is rather difficult with twins who are presumed to be extraordinary beings who need extra care. Parents therefore clothe them in the same dresses, shoes, and hats; dresses must be sewn in the same style.

Parents have favourites and therefore do not treat children equally in the family. Special care is taken about the first born, twins, tenth born and the "knee child" (nakutsoy bi). The knee child is always a pet to the parents and other members of the family. His or her name is used to call the father Bokete nye or Bokete tse (Bokete's mother or father). The name indicates whether the first born is male or female. On the other hand when children die when they are born parents do not use the family name but they use either the name of a fish or any other thing such as Odai, Nyametse. One cannot easily tell the position of the child in the family.

CHAPTER XIIIRELATIONS TO PARENTS

Yes, the mother is chiefly responsible for the early care of the child. The mother is solely and entirely responsible for the training and upbringing of the child whilst the child too depends on the mother when helpless and young. It is only when the mother expects a new baby shortly that care is transferred to a relative entirely until the new one is born. This relation who is either an aunt or grandmother stays with the parents usually but sometimes she takes the child to her own home to join other children.

The father is seldom at home, and the moulding of the child's character is normally the business of the mother. The "all day through" association between mother and child tends to make the mother lenient, and as a result where strong disciplinary measures, such as whipping, are to be undertaken, it is left to the father to perform these. Children definitely fear their fathers more than their mothers.

Fathers use the cane only on rare occasions but rather severely, and children are often frightened and they always escape.

At this stage mothers sympathise with children and try to comfort them by offering sweets and by carrying them on the back. This encourages the children to realise that fathers are harsh and do not love them, for they punish them when they do wrong and mothers forgive and treat them nicely. The father is therefore the main agent of discipline. In most cases mothers decide that

the children should be punished and the father carries the punishment. At times too children in ways that cannot be tolerated by both parents, and mother recommends on such occasions suitable punishment for the offence. Before any severe punishment is inflicted on any child, it is given the warning that certain acts on his part will incur a penalty.

Yes, parents usually inform each other about the child's bad behaviour. They joke about any misconduct on the child's part trying to accuse each other that he or she indulged in those mischiefs when young. In other words the child is either following the footsteps of the father or the mother. This depends on the kind ~~on~~ of behaviour. When the child refuses to run an errand, the father remarks that it was the mother who did not do it when she was young. But children are often irritated and worried when they are not forgiven or when parents do not forget completely their misdeeds for which they had been punished. The naughty child is miserable when parents continue to talk about his naughtiness and this is reported to aunts and uncles. Mothers report only if the child's behaviour is accumulated to ^{such} an extent that she has become tense and irritable. Some however conceal the misbehaviour just to prove to other parents that their children are perfect and cannot offend anybody. This is a credit to the mother and shows how well she is training her children.

Usually the mother may be the child's ally in concealing its behaviour from the father or the

rest of the family. There was a mother who knew perfectly well that his son was a thief, who stole the father's money, her own money and things belonging to others. One day his father lost \$40 and about 6 months which someone had given for safe keeping. The father suspected his boy because he was the only person who had access to his safe. When this was mentioned to the mother she was trying to defend the boy. About three days after, an outsider reported to the parents that he had seen their boy gambling and also selling some watches. The mother did not believe this until a witness set in who had actually brought a watchlet from the boy. Later on the mother was blaming the father that he would not supply the needs of the boy and he would not have given him the money if he asked. Therefore the boy was right in breaking the safe for that amount.

Mothers tend to hide their daughters' misbehavior and they treat sex matters secretly. They do this because they feel that if the girl is sexually weaker than is the pattern of the mother, and fathers here blame the mothers for being weak disciplinarians who would not check their daughters when they go wrong. Mothers sometimes gain from the friends of their daughters who offer little presents now and then. Mothers therefore feel obliged to conceal such relationships from the fathers.

Parents are well behaved in presence of their children, it is only when they are light tempered or when the father is hopelessly drunk that they

fight, scold each other, slap or use bottles and disgrace themselves openly before the children. As parents do not stay together in my village of study the couple rarely quarrel or fight. They do at times but its either late in the evening when the woman goes to sleep in her husband's house or early in the morning when she is about to leave. They quarrel about late meals, husband's drunkenness and bad habits, wife's neglect of children, wife's untidiness and when the man goes after or is interested in other women. But the common cause is when the father refuses or is unable to give reasonable chop money for cooking or for catering for the children. Children are often driven to their father's office or home if they need money to buy anything.

Though parents feel that it is their duty to provide for their children yet the children are expected to be grateful to their parents when the occasion arises. Parents think it is the child's responsibility to look after or care for the siblings when he starts to earn some money. They are in such a hurry to hand over or transfer such power to the elder children that as soon as they complete their middle school, they are not encouraged to continue their education but to find jobs and to start their role as parents. As soon as they are settled the younger ones are informed that the elder ones are responsible for them. Therefore they should always approach them when in need. Not all parents believe in this way but others ^{are} parasites on their son's scanty salaries. This is why

parents attach so much importance to procreation. In these modern times parents tend to wish that their children get the highest qualifications and the best education in order to own cars which they can also use. At the same time they do not like to see their children as ignorant as themselves, but rather that they should know how to read and write and to be able to look after their properties especially landed property. They feel also that if their children are well educated they will become prominent and be more important than their neighbours and rivals' children. Parents are also ambitious that their children, girls, especially should get married as early as possible in order to see or "carry" their grandchildren before they die. They pray that their daughters get good husbands, who can look after them or that they become educated enough to become ladies who may work in offices as clerks, become teachers or seamstress and finally go to the United Kingdom for the overseas experience or to the highest institution in Ahara, our University College.

There are often bitter quarrels between parents and their children; these quarrels take various forms. They may be staged publicly or they may be hot exchanging of words in the house. Children are always quiet at first listening to parents scolding them and to parents who would not respect their views. Children in turn squeeze their faces, frown or leave the house or refuse to carry out their fathers' orders. Children may not like the way the fathers treat their mothers, when they put up a protest the fathers

are not prepared to tolerate them and this results in quarrel. Daughters quarrel with parents when they are checked or advised not to flirt with particular boys for reasons best known to the parents. If the girls are not prepared to conform to parents' suggestions, they leave the house and go to either aunts or uncles who are in favour or rather decide to stay with their boy friends. Quarrels are resolved sometimes, when children are asked to shun the company of some friends who are recognised as bad characters, and as a result a bad influence. Mothers quarrel with children who do not give them money and would not buy anything for them and for the other children.

After a quarrel between a parent and a child the atmosphere in the house turns to be quiet and tense. Very often the child leaves the house and goes to its grandmother, aunt or uncle, brother or sister who can intercede for it. It stays there for a couple of days and relates the story to him or her and asks him to intercede on its behalf. The child is always found guilty even if his case is understood. He is asked to apologise to the parent concerned and not to misbehave again and to ask for forgiveness. Again he is warned against recurrence and is thereby forgiven. The parents readily forgive but sometimes ^{the} child is asked to bring a bottle of wine, gin or about 4/- four shillings to pacify the parents. A few parents do admit they are wrong but if they know that they are, they try not to repeat or try to satisfy somehow by giving the

children extra services.

Quarrels are uncommon in Christian homes where children are trained in such a way that they hardly offend their parents. If they do they apologise there and then and they try to avoid any exchange of words. They think such behaviour is unbecoming of a well trained person. Some parents drive out children who quarrel openly with them. They feel it is a disgrace and will not tolerate such behaviour. Others forgive when the child repents because there is the saying that "ke obi wa juie ofus no le ofoo otsee ofoo" (when your child wets your lap you do not cut the flesh there to throw away). They find it useless to drive disobedient children out of the house, they had better reform them and try to mould their character properly, for they are to blame in all circumstances.

Generally, parental authority lasts till the child is married or has been employed in a job. Even then parents still exercise their authority and continue to treat them as little babies. Some even persist in budgeting for them when they are working. Yet they find no means to controlling their sons if they are married to wives who would not tolerate any interference from the husband's parents.

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A great grandmother with her grand child.

CHAPTER XIVRELATION TO ADULTS OTHER THAN PARENTS

As the child grows older it comes into closer contact with adults who are either relatives who are interested in its family or friends who are regular visitors of the household. In the child's early life these people play a very important role. The most prominent is the child's maternal grandmother, then comes the aunts, friends of the family and older siblings and of course the housemaids. The child's grandmother as already said may come to settle with the family for some time before the birth of the child or during its illness. It is then that the child's mother needs help and this is willingly given by her own mother whose right it is to take care of the young mother. It is said that the young mother may not know how to take good care of the newly born baby, she may not even know how to bathe the baby.

Usually they are told when they are still expecting the baby but it is necessary that the mother demonstrates practically how to bathe or feed the baby. It is advisable that first she must depend on someone else to care for her baby. This must continue until she is confident and competent in the different techniques and advice given to her. In the first three months the mother watches whatever help may be given by her mother. The young mother is informed about the strange and irregular habits of the child and the signs of ill health. For instance if a child is suffering from a hicough "siksiks", a piece of cloth is to be placed on the head, in bathing, the hands are to be placed together on the baby's back.

and massaged to make them flexible; finally water under the thigh is to be collected by the hand and poured over the body to make it grow fat. The young mother must know these minor things. Any other relative who is interested in the young mother can volunteer to give this help if the grandmother is not alive. Some grandmothers do not like staying with their sons-in-law, they therefore require their children with the husband's permission to come to them to deliver. Before she goes back she is more or less perfect and had learnt a lot about the care of her own baby.

There is a disadvantage in the upbringing of the child though. Grandmother or auntie is not easily persuaded to conform to the young mother's ideas and there are often conflicting standards of behaviour imposed on the child. This is not very serious because either the young mother or the grandma has a short period to stay with each other or with the young child. As the child grows all friends who are interested in the family contribute or rather help in its training. It is never far from somebody's observation and not neglected or left alone. It is believed that children reared by their grandparents are "spoiled" children - "ale ame fofole" - they have been trained with soft hand. They also have a saying that "mokome fɔɔ si dzee mokome lɛɔ" - one brings forth but many help in the training - "mokome fɔɔ ni ake too maɲtse", which means - only one person brings forth a chief or king who is head of a town. These sayings are true and parents try to encourage this by asking as many friends as possible to correct their

children if they see them doing anything wrong. Some children see no reason why adult should speak them when they misbehave. Do soon as they are corrected they mutter, or say aloud such phrases as "Bo oles mi?" (Do you feed me?); "Shi le ebo" (Am I one of your children?); they mean nobody has a right to correct them or no one has control on them except their parents.

Even the grandparents who are indulgent suffer these from their grandchildren. However, grandfathers are supposed to give best training to their grandchildren. They are strict and do not leave the children loose. They are punished ~~them~~ when they deserve it. They endeavour therefore to satisfy these old men. The children are on the other hand required to be polite, obedient to any person who is elderly, whether or not that person is a member of the family.

The children are not excluded when they pay visits to their parents, because these visits are not frequent but once in some months. When the children are taken to visit relatives or friends, they are expected to be well behaved, quiet and not to disgrace the parents. The children are taught to greet the relatives or respond to their greetings example - "Te oyo teji" (How are you?) "Miye dzoogbany." (I am well, thank you) and to answer any questions politely and to be audible. The children should say "Thank you" if they are offered anything and should say "goodbye" when leaving. They should not interrupt the elder's conversation, should not cry or jump about to disturb. If they do any of these then they are unmanly and unmodest. Usually the children are left outside

to play with other children when the parents converse with their friends. They are taught to address seniors with care such as "ofai ne manu nu fio" - Please, can I have some water to drink? Children are also warned not to take anything without permission.

CHAPTER XV

POSSESSIONS

Definitely the child is taught not to take things belonging to others; the child reforms when instructions are given politely and gently too. Correction and the way of doing it depend on the circumstance which induced the stealing. The term "steal" is applied on any occasion when the child takes something which does not belong to it. With two children, when one snatches something from the other, one is said to be wild and is made to give it back or that is done for him. The mother takes it from her child and gives it back asking the other not to take any notice of its friend. If they are a bit older between 2 or 3 years mother shouts at him "kaa fo nii le ye ede" - Do not take it from him. "fo" is more refined than "dzuu" which means "steal". "Kadzu dogg, onu" - Do not steal again, this time he is threatened with the cane, or told his fingers will be cut off if he does that again. He is beaten if there are no traces of the thing or the article stolen had already been destroyed. He is slapped on the face when he is seen just stealing or taking something which does not belong to him. All these methods are however not effective, for children rather continue the bad habit. Young children do not stop getting things from their friends. They feel they must do it when they like to possess the thing belonging to the other. They delight in doing mischief.

The child is warned that when it goes near a fire or a hot iron it will be burnt. Sometimes it is left to have the experience and would not dare to go near any hot iron again. When a thing is fragile it is told it will cut itself if it breaks it and will see something red coming out (blood) or the mother says "all mummy's plates and glasses will break and daddy will beat mamma", so the child should be careful, and must stop if it does not want daddy to have cause to beat mamma.

Yes, the child has its own possessions namely, plate, cup, bucket, towel, sponge, basin, stool. It is not allowed to play with these things and as a result it will also prevent anybody from touching them. Children are generally regarded as destructive because they will leave nothing untouched if only the things are within reach. Such things are therefore locked up in cupboards or kept in the kitchen and if possible out of sight.

There is a boy in that village (Nungwa) who is 19 years old now who has scars all over the body and he has crooked fingers. A kettle with hot water in it was left about, there was nobody there, he was then 6 months old a child who had just started crawling; he went straight to the hot kettle not knowing what was in it poured the hot water on his body. Immediately the whole body was covered with blisters, but the mother could not give any first aid. It was after five months that he recovered. He could not stretch his fingers when he was a year old, they are the same today. The mother

since then had been careful not to leave things about.

Children love manipulating things, various objects at different ages. Just about 4 or 5 months children begin to manipulate anything which is nearby or things they could touch. They keep on touching things, big objects, chairs, stools, mother's head. When they are 11 to 12 months old they crawl and are attracted by the household objects, chair, basin, stone, bowl. As they cannot grasp them firmly or lift them they feel them but do not keep to one thing for a long time. They drag objects on the ground, pull chairs about, dipping their hands into buckets of water, enjoy eating sand and the mouths are ready to receive any dirty things which are taken from the ground. At 4 or 5 months they can lift up light things and household objects, cups, enamel plates, or cooking utensils. Children in trying to wear their own clothes at such an early age put them on wrongly. Dresses are worn with neck turned to the back having the opening to the front. The two feet are often put into one leg of the "pijama" or pants. Girls remove their beads, take their baths and try to dress up using powder on the face and parting the hair. Girls seem to have interest in their bodies and they try to appear nice. There is a girl who at four takes her bath about six times a day and each time she changes her dress and puts on a new one. Each operation, bath, toilet and dressing takes about 40 minutes. Though she plays with boys of her own age, at times she appears to feel

shy and finds it difficult to go near them. These feelings of shyness come on irregularly, and on each occasion, she buries her face in her hands when she realizes she is being observed.

CHAPTER XVI

SPEECH

All kinds of cries by children are heeded, whether they are cries of hunger, pain, rage or loneliness. The adult's attitude is that children should not be left to cry at all and therefore they try to avoid this by all means. Early infancy crying is a reflex and is part of the general aimless movement of the waking baby. It may occur as a response to fear and the feeling of insecurity if the baby is carelessly handled or picked up roughly when asleep or if subjected to sudden loud noises. The baby begins to be aware of its surroundings after a week or two, and of the adult response to its crying. Adult's response comes on immediately with the result that he is made comfortable and fed. But the baby who is picked up and fed whenever it cries soon becomes troublesome and a disturbing element in the family. Careful mothers soon distinguish the types of crying and the cause is sought.

The normal cry is a lusty yell, accompanied by waving of the arms and legs. This means he is awake and bored and would like some attention and it is about time it is fed. This cry often stops suddenly and is replaced by a smile when the baby's attention is attracted by some moving object, a familiar voice or signs of preparation for the feed. A continuous cry punctuated by screams of exasperation is always a cry of hunger or temper. The baby gets red in the face and draws up his arms and legs in a tense of spasm of movement. Occasionally

there are short silences when it seeks comfort from sucking its fist and sometimes it is pacified temporarily with a drop of water.

Pain and discomfort causes a fretful cry, working up to a sharp scream if there is intermittent pain as in ear ache or cholera.

It may be annoyance at being restricted, or at being too hot or lying in a wet or dirty napkin. A cry of discomfort is rather continuous and it is only stopped when the wet or dirty napkins are changed and replaced with dry ones.

The sick baby may be too weak to cry loudly, but a plaintive, whimpering cry will repeatedly interrupt its sleep.

It is not good to leave a baby to cry persistently. Mothers think if it is picked up he will be spoilt if he has previously been well managed. The baby needs some mothering and should not be left in this state of frustration and picked up only to be washed and fed.

The baby does not like to be left alone; as soon as it realizes that it is alone in a room or outside it weeps. If it falls down, it is picked up, pitied, and carried on the back or on the shoulder. It is asked to spit into the hand to beat the ground or whichever thing caused the fall. As soon as it sees that any adult sympathizes with him it stops crying.

Children cry for something which another baby holds, maybe a doll, a piece of bread or any playing thing. If the child cries in order to possess any of these the mother gives a substitute and it forgets about the other.

On the other hand if it refuses to accept a substitute it is left to please itself. Threats and punishments are also employed to teach the child not to cry for anything that does not belong to it. Any child who cries or stretches forth its hand for food or a toy or to get something belonging to someone else is called "siselo". It is teased and shouted on "o o o "Siselo" and beaten, sometimes the hands are tied with a piece of cloth.

A child who cries at random about anything is called "aye libio" - a small witch.

Things which remain legitimate occasions for crying include a heavy fall with or without injury, loud noise, for example the noise which the aeroplane makes, the start of a lorry, or when it falls on fire or on hot water or hot oil for frying. It is entitled to show what has happened by giving the longest cry.

Yes, a girl is not expected to cry for food, for she is told she is a girl and can cook so she should not cry when hungry. A boy who cries for food is regarded weak for men do not cry for food. Even if he falls they say he should not cry for a man is strong and can beat anybody so he should rather get up to fight with the stone or tree or the older sister or brother. He should also try to endure the pain as a man.

The baby's earliest vocalisation is encouraged. It is the mother's pride and joy to hear her baby making earliest vocalisations, and she repeats these things to Daddy when he comes home. Some of the earliest vocalisations are

"a", "a", "ma", "mama", "pa", "pa", "papa", "i ye".
 These sounds are usually repeated after it and if it utters "papa" as soon as papa is seen the mother or the children shout "papa", it becomes aware and repeats several times with a smile "papa". Baby's talk is regarded as amusing. Adults are often amused and try to imitate baby talk. Later the child tries to say words, followed by actions which give right meaning, and tells the adult what the child wants. An example is "daa" which means "sleep", it says "daa" and puts its head on a mat or on the ground. When it is being fed with solid food, mother says "a a a nu". Afterwards if food is far from the mouth it repeats "a - a - a - nu" until food is put into the mouth. When it feels thirsty or wants to take its bath it says "ba, ba". A child was carried on the back to the sea shore one day, when the adults were having a sea bath, it was left in the sand to play by itself. It remained there watching them closely; after the bath they all came round and set off. On the way the child could not help saying "ba-ba - m - m - m" it repeated these several times knocking here and there but the adults did not understand it. At last they reached home and the child who was a year old sat there swaying his head left to right saying "ba-ba - m - m - m" which meant they threw themselves into the sea and with the hands and feet swans left and right. Anytime he wanted to drink it said 'baba' but for a bath it added "m - m - m"

③

wo beeli wo

m|r,r:d|m,r,r:d|m:s,s|f,f:m

m:f,f|r,r:s,s m,m|f,f,r,r,s,s,m,m

m:r,r:d||

The mother or the grandmother talks with the baby first and it is later that the father continues. He helps only after business, after the day's work when he comes home. When the child starts crawling and has many playmates like its siblings and the maidservants, it is taught to talk because they are all interested. The others play with it and they sing to him —

① Taa, taa, tee, yee, yee, yee
Aafio mba, yaa, yaa, awifio".

Sometimes he stops crying or falls asleep when such a song is sung to it.

The child is talked to in connection with petting. For instance when it is crying others talk to it and they pet it to stop by reciting the following: -

② "Baby, baby kaafo, kaafo ni
moko KEJE oday, sika KE gBE
ye oday."

Baby, baby, do not cry, do not allow anybody
to look into your mouth.

There's a pot of jewels in your mouth.

③ Wo baby wo, wo baby wo
otse Ie KEED toi,
onye Ie hosoo tso fio ko
ni lams anyo ono
wo baby wo

Sleep baby sleep

your father looks after the sleep

your mother will lull you to

sleep, baby, sleep.

Children are taught to modulate their voices. They are taught to talk softly to their friends, when they are in a room or elsewhere. When they make mistakes they are corrected. Adults are strict when children are vulgar, but they are not particularly interested in their daily speech and in what they say. Children are not asked to be factually precise in what they say. Most adults ignore minor mistakes of grammar but occasionally they do correct the use of wrong words and expressions. For example "Kaaya dzense" (Do not go there) "Yaa bie" (Go here). Children think "kaaya" and "yaa" are the same but "kaaya" is the negative form of "yaa". "Hansi eko" (Give me some) "Maha bo eko onu" (I will give you some) The child stretches forth the hand and says the latter but it means the former. This is usually corrected by repeating the correct one when the occasion arises.

Children make reports to parents on their return from the market or from the farms. Some children do not start talking until they are asked such questions as - who came here?, what did he say? what did you eat? Did you leave the house? Some of the reports given by children are treated with respect but in most cases they are hushed when they start talking. Parents add this "Dzee dzense, nams ebi bo sane" (Get away, who had asked you a question?) It is only when the parent is prepared to listen to the child that it accepts and enjoys the questions, the short stories and the answers to the questions. Parents at their own leisure call the children round and teaches them "anansi".

songs, hymns and extracts from the bible and some bible stories.

The children have difficulty in distinguishing between reality and make-believe, so there is no cause for anxiety when they tell long and impossible stories about things they have seen and done. But they are aware of the difference and they know when they are only pretending when they reach the ages of four, five, or six. It is unjust to punish a child for lying especially when it is at the age when the gap between memory and imagination is barely perceived. Punishment may only make it more careful and clever in its lying.

Children have various reasons for lying and these must be considered. It may be due to excessive restriction of their activity, too strict a control and discipline or harsh treatment.

They tell lies as a result of fear or the anger which confession of the truth will bring forth. Sometimes the lie is just a boast to make the child concerned feel superior in company.

Adults are quick in detecting if the children are telling lies, they are asked to call witnesses or cross examined with trickish questions which are misleading. In trying to defend themselves they commit blunders. Some children who are timid readily admit a lie and apologise; others swear they have witnesses who on tracing are found to be out of town.

Most educated parents review these things politely and the child involved feels ashamed, repents and never repeats.

In one of the houses a school boy about 8 years

old got into trouble one day. He was always first in his class when they were tested. In a terminal test once he was at the 9th position. Fearing what would happen at home, ^{he} took his test card and rubbed off the nine and wrote second instead. As soon as he brought the card his educated mother detected, he was asked quietly why he did that. It was pointed to him that such behaviour was deceitful and very serious indeed. He promised he would never repeat that and the boy is now in the university, but since that time he has never dreamt of repeating his trick. If the mother had beaten him or punished him severely perhaps he would have repeated it once again.

Parents expect children always to tell the truth but they themselves tell lies to their children. A parent who has credited goods from a neighbour's shop will always warn the child, if she knows the seller would come for her money, that she is out but would be hiding in her room. Some children make the blunder by telling the other woman "Oh mummy says she is gone out", as soon as she comes out of mother's room. Whenever they are resting and a visitor comes they will send a message through the child that they are asleep, but the child interprets it just as it likes. "Mummy says she is asleep". Children learn to tell lies through petty petty lies and in future they become notorious liars who are never caught. Children on the other hand learn to distinguish between fact and fiction and truth and lying through observation of the behaviour of parents and other adults.

CHAPTER XVIISCHOOLING

Now that a few day nurseries are opened in the country, mothers who are obliged to go out for work, to the market, to school and other offices send in their children in the morning to these nurseries and collect them after business in the evening. Children under 5 are admitted to these nurseries. If there is a nursery at Testie which is 2 miles from Nungya, the mother takes the child in before going to sell in the Odera market. This is a valuable opportunity for training children in good behaviour and how to behave in a community and to learn how to do things for themselves. The health of the children is under continuous care and attention. But co-operation with parents is an important feature of the education value of nurseries. The mother must realize that while she is out at work, she knows that her child is safe and is gaining benefit from the skilled care given in the nursery. She has also in the nursery, staff, understanding friends to whom she can turn for help in problems concerning the child.

The effect of the regular, routine and training received and the provision of good food is seen in the improvement of general health and behaviour which is noticeable in the majority of children after they had been in the nursery for a few months.

This foundation helps a lot and prepares them for the primary school activities in which they automatically find themselves engaged at the age of 5 or 6. Mothers who understand this early

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Here are some school children ready for the camera.

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She likes skipping and she will always do it with a hat on.

training continue to help their children as such, in that they still stick to the good behaviour and the instructions they had received from the nursery teachers at that early age.

There are two schools at Nungwa presently, therefore the children start school at their own village.

Circumstances have changed from those of the older days when the children had only primary classes 1 to 3 and had to continue at Teslie.

The parents are proud of their children when they are educated and become gentlemen and ladies. They feel their neighbours will respect them the more by the number of children they can look after to complete the elementary school and to continue at a Training College or Secondary School. Parents are well thought of if their children get as far as to the university. However, they would that their children work in time to look after the younger brothers and sisters and themselves as said before.

There are differences in the training of boys and of girls. Some 8 or 10 years ago girls' education ended at primary 6 and were asked then to learn to sew or to trade. But now they are allowed to complete the Middle School and possibly go further to a Training College for the Teacher's Certificate "B". Now that nobody is permitted to enter a training college straight from the middle school, parents allow daughters to become pupil teachers but very few advise their girls to go in for further training. It is very rare for girls in this village to enter into a Secondary School. Parents feel it a waste of time on the part of the girls. In other words

they have little value for the higher education of women. But there can be no real civilisation if the women of the race are left uneducated. Quoted from "the Keystone".

Boys are on the other hand encouraged to continue their schooling to reach the University standard. There are a few boys from Nungua who are in the University now. Quite a number of them are in the Secondary Schools, a few are on the cocoa farms and a handful are goldsmiths, a common occupation of most fathers. Quite a number are carpenters who are at the same time skilled masons. Most of them are sent to trade schools to learn their trade, hoping to become good carpenters and competent builders. It is rather strange that boys at Nungua at an early stage learn to own farms, but never become farmers when choosing their future trade. Quite a number of them start their trade after they had completed their middle school course. There is a boy from Nungua who is doing agriculture. I am sure he will attract more to follow his footsteps.

The teachers in their schools are usually men. About 10 years ago they were old catechists with some experience in teaching. But recently when the course expanded to the middle school level, there have been young teachers, a few females in the Primary school. Most of these female teachers are married and they have no higher qualification than the post primary teachers Certificate "B". The headmasters and headteachers are experienced teachers and are competent in their management. All the teachers are admired by the children because they are approachable. Quite a number in town

are Christians and therefore some of the school children come from Christian homes where the parents are particular about their behaviour and attitude towards elders, respect for parents and all. The elders themselves admire and have high respect for the teachers, as a result children also follow these sound habits and their good example. The school children do not fear the teachers, they respect them after the fashion of their parents.

There is a common understanding between parents and teachers on the basis of which they may be able to cooperate for the children's mutual welfare and the welfare of their society. Home discipline is the same as school discipline but occasionally school discipline is severe. The cane is used at school but its rarely used at home. At home the parents believe in calling the children and in advising them to do of good behaviour. As most of them are uneducated they find it difficult to cane their children especially where they are school children and are in Middle East. Dutiful and conforming behaviour in school is admired by everybody who is interested. It speaks well of the home background and teachers are very fond of such pupils who set a good example. These children are helpful to the teachers and they like them. Most of the teachers have no quarters or accommodation in the town and therefore travel each morning from Deera, Labadi, Christiansberg or Techie to school. The bus service is irregular and unreliable. If a teacher wishes a fine he has to wait for an hour for the next. Teachers are therefore sometimes late to school.

24



These boys are kicking a ball.

25



Anxiously expecting a visiting team.

Dutiful pupils are always ready to help in keeping order, seeing to daily work and the tidiness of the classrooms before teachers arrive. Some are really good at their jobs and are placed in posts of responsibility. The others are normally willing to help too. Boys often help girls outside the classroom. They help them to mark their netball pitches and pump balls for the game. In the garden they share the work equally, and the girls enjoy doing these especially to show that they can as well keep a decent garden of vegetables. Girls undertake the duties of selling the harvest from their garden, the okra, garden eggs, corn, sweet potatoes and tomatoes in the market. The money is spent in buying school equipment or kept in the school fund and occasionally at the end of the term there is a tea party given or group photographs taken.

The pupils compete in all sorts of school activities which are either sectional or departmental, in games, in classwork, and in their manual work. They organise football and netball matches and are always serious about and interested in their affairs. There are competitions on neatness and tidiness of dresses and of the body. Deductions of heavy marks from sections help to make the pupils keen and to take great care in all they do. Competitions which are friendly to start with turn to be hostile especially when groups or teams do not get on well and are always below the required standard.

There are no gangs in the lower primary but there are in the Upper Primary and serious

ones exist in the Middle School. These gangs are formed with able leaders who escape from school on certain days and from manual work in turns. They challenge the authorities of the school, and are not prepared to tolerate any nonsense from any colleague, they defy teachers and detest any disciplinary action against them. Pupils form these gangs to throw stones at teachers they do not like, they break desks and beat girls who refuse to befriend any member in the gang. They file up notices in public lavatories against teachers and girls and compose songs the words of which are nasty. They do a lot of damage to school property. Sunday services in the mission schools are compulsory but they boycott church going. Members of the gangs are truants but so clever that they are never caught on any bad act. When one is suspected, he is called and advised, if that one is influential he tries to get the others round and their mischievous ways are discouraged.

There are some intense friendships among some school children from the Primary School till the end of the Middle School Course. Some of these friendships have solid foundations and are never broken down by any devils in the schools. There are friends who are study mates who are inseparable. They move from house to house revising things done at school. Some become friends because their parents are also friends. There are some school friends who try to break up the friendship of some other close friends. They do this by telling vague stories

about the other and try to make false statements just to annoy one party. A friend who is light headed does not ask of any explanation, takes action at once and that ends the friendship. Others go deeply into whatever false news are spread about them. They reconcile and remain good old friends the whole of their school career. A few friendships have continued. There are quarrels among such friends but these are easily patched up. The two of them however, are able to come together once again.

In the later years of the Middle School between the ages of 16 and 17 sex differences begin to affect friendships. Two boy friends may fall in for the same girl and when one succeeds in winning the girl then the other retreats and he ceases to befriend the other. However, some try to go in for the same girl and there the trouble starts, the girl accepts one and the other friend gets annoyed. The same things happen among girls who may fall in love with one boy, as soon as one girl discovers that the boy is rather interested in her friend, she immediately breaks up the friendship.

Two boys or two girls may cease to be friends if one realizes that one is more intelligent and he or she is usually praised by teachers. Jealousy sets in and they are no more friends, they despise each other.

Boy-girl relations are very common at the ages of 16 and 17. The boy who has no girl friend is laughed at, teased and snubbed. It exists among girls too who discuss their boy

friends and do backbite some other's friends. Boys choose their friends from girls who are clever in class or good at games, neat in appearance or good looking girls who are active in school and those who take part in all school activities. Some boy-girl relationships are not detected until they leave school. If parents hear of such friendships, they are stopped at once by giving them strong warning. They exchange gifts and the girl or boy concerned feels so proud to use the handkerchief, pen or book received from his or her school friend.

Sex gangs are formed but they are strongly antagonistic to the opposite sex. Sometimes the boys gang apply a penalty if a boy from their group talked to a girl they did not like. Secret signals are made and initiation ceremonies are common. Very often these gangs of boys and girls indulge in mischievous or illegal activities. Boys gang occupations are raiding of mango gardens, pulling down fences, smoking clubs formed within the gang. But most of these things are socially disapproved. It seems most of these gangs are formed to play and revolt against adult domination and enjoying some assertiveness with the added delight of close companionship.

26



It is a Saturday and Afole is enjoying the cooking while the others look on.

27



This little girl is helping to pound the "fufu"

WORK

Children begin to work on their own rather early from 4 years onwards. At 4 or 5 years they can sit and help the mothers in the kitchen, not doing any hard work.

They really start some light jobs at 6 the school going age. They can sweep the small and narrow verandahs, they can fetch water with their little buckets and they can help to make hot water by fanning the fire in the coal pot.

They also help to collect bits of wood for their mothers to make fire for the cooking. They are not really helpful at this age because they cannot even look after themselves. Children are still bathed and their clothes are washed for them.

But they do wash their handkerchiefs, pants and singlets in a playful way on their washing days.

At the age of 7 both boys and girls know exactly what part they play in the various jobs in the house.

Girls do the sweeping and help in the kitchen whilst boys wash plates, lay table for father and accompany him to the farms. At this age every boy is given a cutlass and a hoe by custom which shows he is of age to make his own farms and help his father as well on his farms.

Girls help to prepare the baby's meal or the family meal and feed the baby. They help to wash the cooking utensils after each meal and accompany their mothers to the farms to help carry the food stuff home.

Whilst mothers do handwork at home, looking



The happy boys on their way to farm.
One is carrying a bucket of water.

29



Today they are very busy on their individual farms.

30



These are washing at a well.

after the children, cooking for the family, washing for the family, and general management of the household left in her hands, the girls when young are entrusted with the light jobs at home. They are not to work too hard to break down because they are by nature feeble. Boys are supposed to be strong and therefore have all the difficult work assigned to them. They are obliged to make farms and are themselves to harvest and to sell their crops. They grow things like okro, tomatoes, cassava and beans. Apart from this they help their fathers who are also fishermen. They help to carry the nets to the boats at the sea shore. They as well as the girls help to carry the fish from the shore to the market for sale.

Some ten years ago there was no pipe borne water at Nungwa. Prominent people owned wells which are dug about a mile or two from the town. Late in the evening, in the afternoons and in the mornings children, grown ups and practically all the household were to walk in a convoy to fetch water. The water runs out slowly and therefore the family waited for 3 to 6 hours at the well before everybody had filled his or her bucket, kerosene tin or a pot. There was a time when only pots were carried to the well, for they said the Gods did not like anything enamel or silver. People were forbidden to carry kerosene tins or buckets to the wells. They were taken to the native court when any was caught breaking this taboo.

There are rewards and punishments for every

31



They are helping in the carpenters shop.
Odai is using the saw to divide the
wood.

kind of job in and outside the house. Reward and punishment depend on how work was carried out. When the girls are sent out to sell "kakra", kenkey, or cloth, there is a reward for any one that sells most or brings plenty of money home. If any of the articles are missing or lost, the seller is punished severely. She is either caned or sent out of the house for the night or until ^{the} money is recovered. Boys are always flogged for any offence be they the breaking of plates while washing or failure to return from school in time to do some work or to lay the father's table. In this village boys too walk through the town selling bread or kenkey. Boys between 9 and 12 years are often seen doing this kind of work to help their mothers.

Parents' attitude towards child's employment is a happy one. There is good companionship and a wholesome atmosphere in the house when their children are employed. Parents often train their children to be interested in their own occupation. A cloth seller would like her girl to keep to that trade when she grows, and she is trained to do it efficiently. A kenkey seller does the same. The fathers would also like their sons to follow their footsteps in trade. A carpenter is always with his son in his shop teaching him that trade. The goldsmiths are always with their children instructing them to make earrings, necklaces, and many other jewellery. When they start training young, they grow to like the father's job and they do it perfectly too. They are

sent to villages and towns with a box full of jewels and trinkets to sell. They travel for weeks, and when they succeed in selling they come back with fresh orders. They help their fathers to finish quickly and then they leave once again to distribute the orders to those interested. Sometimes the wives do the selling and if a son is to do it at all he must be about 18 years or even more.

Though parents would be happy if their children followed up their trade, children are not forced to against their will and especially if they had attended and completed their schooling. Children make their own choice. In a few cases suggestions are made but the majority sees that they are carried out.

CHAPTER XIXADOLESCENCE

Fleming, in the Social Psychology of Education, writes this in the development of the child:

"Healthy mental and physical growth comes almost imperceptibly to the child who receives adequate nourishment - physical and intellectual - in an atmosphere of trust and serenity and against the background of orderly living. During these middle years the child builds up some knowledge of the virtues of truthfulness, honesty, cleanliness and decent conformity to customs of various kinds. He also acquires the essential skills of reading, writing and counting; and learns habits of concentrated endeavour which make possible the later conquest of more difficult forms of learning. The inner confidence and security which accompany a reasonable measure of success in such activities serve to fortify his courage in the subsequent years of transition from childhood to manhood.

The period commonly called adolescence coincides with this period of transition - measurable roughly from the onset of puberty to the time of recognition by society as an independent and responsible adult.....

During adolescence there comes ^{to} the youngster an increasing awareness of himself as an individual - a member of a group but distinct from the group. In boyhood he attained some degree of power and of mastery over the routine of living. Now he seems to proceed to the discovery of himself."

There is a transition signalised by private admonitions, changes in mode of life, in dress, rites-de-passage and decreased freedom of action. Boys and girls now want an increased freedom of action; this is not permitted or sanctioned by the parents and therefore results in rebellious moods. They are treated differently according to sex. There is now marked distinction between the boy and the girl. The girls become conscious of their sex and the boys begin to realise they are boys. In the home the girls are more responsible as indicated by the mother. They learn to cook for the whole family, they perform mothers' duties more frequently, looking after the young brothers and sisters. Consequently they are the most important, the central figure in the home and the parents extend a special kind of respect to them, making them aware of the fact that they can also play a very vital parts in the family in their stead. The girls are conscious of such responsibilities and respond to the promotion in the home. They feel there are obligations that they must fulfil in the right way or otherwise prove themselves worthless and lose parents' confidence. The boys re-adjust themselves to the social life and feel they are now men and have rights of independence. The sex maturity arouses new and baffling impulses and emotions, but it is for them to adjust themselves to new situations. Many boys at the beginning of the adolescent period have a peculiar attitude towards girls: they seem to be indifferent towards girls and hate to see the other boy who approaches girls often.

later there is a difference. The boys show very intense devotion to the opposite sex, this interest growing extensively for the rest of the time. It is generally a happy period though there may be some trying or the unhappy moments when there are feelings of disgust.

In the "Normal Child" on the chapter on "adolescent child" Valentine states that in a questionnaire he gave to some 220 university graduates 38% of men said they had had "serious" thoughts of suicide, and 29% of the women thought the same, 40% of the men had also contemplated running away from home and so had 33% of the women. Indeed those were the hectic times and moments.

If there is a period of unhappiness at all, the home could be the chief source of unhappiness to the adolescent. In spite of these desperate moods which crop up at times, it is the time when there are glorious feelings and expectations of the future.

Attitude towards parents are remarkable - there are marked changes which are common but varied. Though in early adolescence boys realize their responsibilities to their parents, yet they later change their attitude. They feel they are grown ups and can have their own way, and their friends may influence them. They contradict, argue, with their parents and become very stubborn and intolerant. If this continues, then comes the critical times when parents who are more realistic take action and adolescents too in turn become impossible and hard to control. A feeling of distaste on both sides occurs. Parents are

irritated, they are distressed to see their children in those rebellious, defiant moods at that stage. But if they do not approach them tactfully, the adolescents may decide to leave them and settle on their own, thinking there would be no barrier on their way through life and that parents will cease to be a nuisance.

Both boys and girls have no pre-knowledge about the changes that come at this stage. Physical and emotional changes are all unknown to them. To the girls, development in the breast is thought of as a change that should come once she is growing to womanhood. She is not informed of the menstrual period but fortunate ones who had been to girls boarding schools have concrete proofs and therefore are not taken by surprise when they reach that state. But then girls are supposed to be told and to be prepared for all these changes that come into their lives. The girl is expected to inform the mother when she menstrual period occurs for the first time, in order that the mother might perform some rites. That really marks the time when the girl reaches womanhood, but mothers even fail to tell the girls that at these regular intervals any sexual intercourse will lead to pregnancy or rather any time during that period is dangerous for any girl who gets into contact with any man. They are not warned and the vigorous life of these girls lead them astray, and spoil their lives entirely. The only official part our parents play is just to give a present of a boiled egg and "oto" to the girl who has menstruated the first time. This particular girl is given some rags

which could be used as pads, she is instructed how to use them and that is the first and only instruction received from both parents. The mother and the father discuss the girl and are quite happy she has attained womanhood but there is not even the private and secret discussion of how and who should disclose or break the news. She is left in the dark until such time that she herself learns of the advantages and disadvantages of that period. Girls are not told of the consequences of hiding any secrets from their mothers, as a result a lot of girls pass through the first period of menstruation and they fail to inform parents. Yet, nothing happens to them, they get to know of all they ought to know from friends who had passed that stage and the educated ones read from books. Likewise the boys receive no instructions and no warning is given them in preparation to those remarkable changes. Incidentally they notice the sudden break in the voice, some of them experience the "wet dreams" but they cannot fully account for them. Apparently the unexplained differences in behaviour, inflexing in body and the emotional tensions are strange and exceptional occurrences. The boys' chief sources of knowledge about sex during adolescence are several but are mainly obtained outside the home. They have at adolescence special friends in whom they confide and among them are some secrets which no one can share with them. Each narrates his experience the day he first met his girl friend. What the contacts are can only be imparted to this personal friend. He collects the information, acquaints

himself with their news knowledge, and then reports his experience to his friend. They exchange ideas about the sexual drive and they make confessions. Some read from books, knowledge of the sex is acquired but most of them learn from the screen. They are often interested in Romantic films where they could see and learn the art of kissing which leads to a more serious affection.

There are some elderly women and men who discuss their husbands, wives or friends with other people. They may not plan to converse to the boys leaving, but if the boys happen accidentally to be about the place, they learn the art of loving and treatment given to some wives. The elderly people navigate the different stages step by step up to sexual intercourse. As soon as these sayings are overheard, and since practice makes perfect boys decidedly commit themselves to the course.

Boys who stay with uncles, brothers and sisters are easily taught through the evenings they run. A man told me that when he was young he stayed with his elder brother who had a girl friend who travelled weekly to him at the week ends. At one time the girl came and when she was about to leave the brother asked him to take her or help her with her bag to the station. But before then his brother sent him to a friend with the intention that by the time he returned the girl would be ready. On his return he did not find the bag where he last saw it. He was curious and wanted to know whether the girl had left. He entered into his

brother's bedroom and saw the two in bed. He went back immediately but peeped through the door and saw what he described as some dancing feet in the air. The boy tried this act with his girl friend later.

The boys therefore learn about sex from their friends, from adult conversation, from what they see secretly, from films and from books. There was another boy who slept with his father. Anytime however that his mother came in at night the boy was asked to occupy a different bed or was transferred to a mat on the floor. He started wondering, became suspicious and wanted to know what happened especially on those nights when he was shifted down. He always saw the father enjoying his mother's company and he pretended to be fast asleep, whilst in reality he watched them through his cloth. He came to know exactly what happened and started sexual intercourse with girls and women. He really wanted to know the difference between having contacts with a girl and with a woman like his mother.

Romantic love for a remote object is common. Adolescents have fantasies, and day dreams about the woman they would like to marry; or they easily fall in love with the beautiful film star they see on the screen who appeals to them. They never miss any show in which their imaginary lover figures prominently. There are no confidences about early love. A boy may befriend a girl when they are attending school together or when they are in the same class or in the same town. As soon as any of their

parents leave the place, then that ends the friendship and consequently their love affair. They may correspond or send messages for some time, but that does not even last, and one forgets the other or finds another friend. They forget about the old love.

First love objects are likely to be of the same age or younger. The boy makes the approach. It is believed that if the boy is older or of the same age as the girl then the approach is easier and both can talk freely to each other. Again they have the same interests and the relationship is cordial and simple. They can move about freely, but if a boy approaches a girl who is older, he is laughed at whilst the girl is teased by her friends who describe her as following the discreditable action of chasing a small boy, and that she must be ashamed of herself.

Yes, adolescents are supposed to go through a phase of "storms and stress". This often happens at home and with the parents or any elders who try to criticise or dominate or repress the adolescents' feeling. They rebel against authority and are unprepared to take in any advice given by any adult or any experienced person.

Earlier loves which had been encouraged continue and a few of them remain for a long time. When parents recognise the seriousness of the love affair, they set in and try to do all they can to influence the course of the affair. A study of the family background of the children is made by the

opposite parties. If the family background of the boy, for example, is found to be unsatisfactory, the girl's parents would do everything to stop the affair. It happens the other way round too. Normally, however, parents have to acquiesce in a marriage when the girl happens to be under conception. It is regarded a disgrace to the family if a girl brings forth without being properly married. Adolescents tend to become irreligious. Most of them say they were forced to attend services when they were young and could therefore choose to do what they like when they become adults. They are very often conscious of their moral weakness and feel they are unfit to lead the Christian life or to follow the Christians to worship. Parents would always want dutiful children with high moral standards to take part in the churches and to make faithful contributions. They will only be admitted into the churches when they fulfil certain obligations and principles of the church. They will there and then be admitted into the church as full communicants. If the church authorities know of any immorality that strains his or her character then he will just be an ordinary member of that society and will ever remain unrecognised.

Girls who become pregnant without possessing lawful husbands are treated badly in the family and in the church. They are threatened, beaten by the fathers and sent out or expelled from their homes. They were often banished from the town in the older days, because no other

family was prepared to accept such unclean people who had disgraced their parents. Boys who were involved in these acts were also driven out but that was uncommon. Presently girls who find themselves in that unfortunate state are leniently treated until birth. Mothers adopt these illegitimate children whilst the young mothers find some work to do.

Yes, adolescents are rebellious against authorities as said above. They rebel against home, school and many other responsible people. In the home they go against parents, elders, sisters and brothers or anyone who would take any keen interest in their activities or try to criticise them. They even rebel against adults who are friends to their parents, church authorities and refuse to listen or respond to any calls for advice. If a mother asks her child to call on any such person, he refuses and feels it is a waste of time. He ignores the mother's instruction, and never carries it out. If he is reported at school, it may not be effective, for he can only be advised to stop any ill-practices. The worse thing the school authorities will do is to inflict corporal punishment on him and to this he is immune. Punishment tends to make him furious and as a result, he grows worse in character and may even become a delinquent.

The following is a collection of ten folk songs which children learn at home. The songs are used as interpolations in Ananse Stories.

Duade Aguaw

①

Aguaw a guaw duade aguaw Aguaw a guaw duade aguaw itama na eko maye

Hama na eko maye maye a-ta Kofio Dua de aguaw

Miya Kpa mi dzole gbe

②

Mia Kpami dzole gbe be ne lo lo kple mans ke fo si

Onye tere Otse tere

③

O-nye te-re o-tse te-re a-ble ba dza tsu

ke ya wo no huyee

Nyongtsere ni edze

④

Nyong-tsere ni edze wo ba Swe wo ba gbo Nyongtsere ni edze wo ba

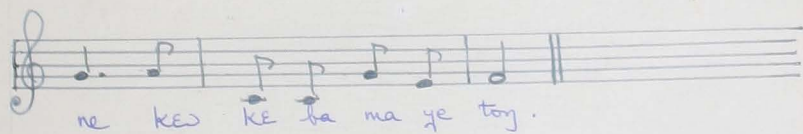
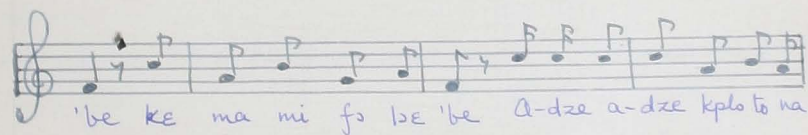
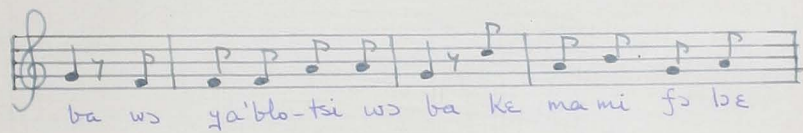
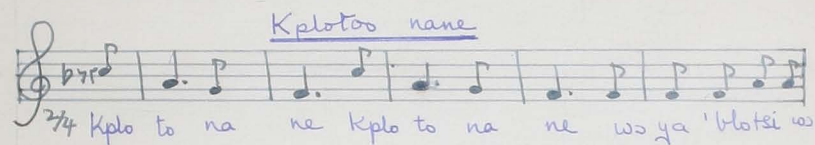
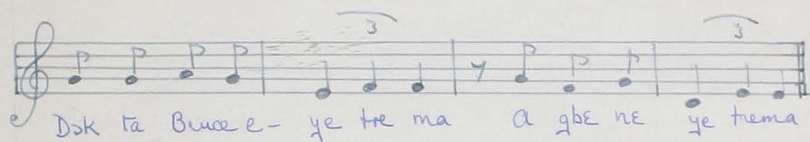
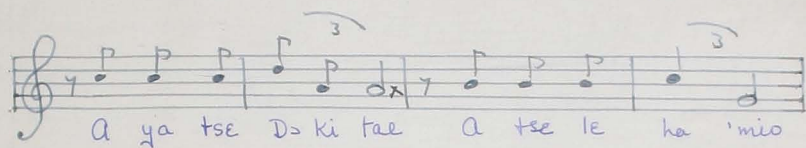
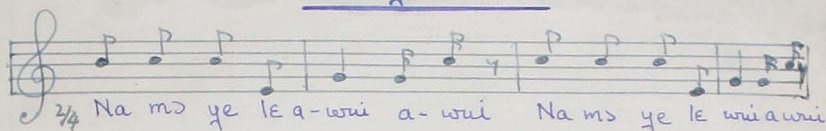
Swe wo ba gbo

Adene tse blofome bi

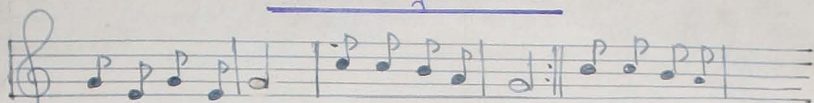
⑤

A de ne tee lai te A de ne tse gbo mo bi

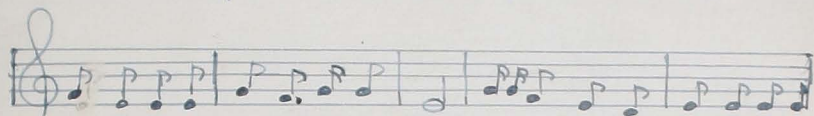
A de ne tse g blofome bi A de ne ya blofome may adene

Nams ye le awui

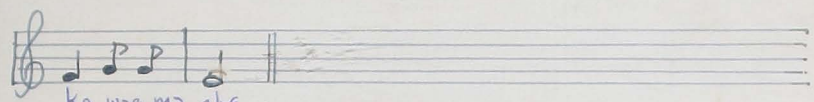
Mele ni yaa e ei



Mele ni ya-e! Dam si ma seo keo-te le ya

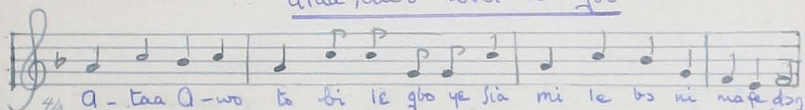


Ke matse Ta-kia-ke nibi leo kene gbe wo ya wo ya'dabra

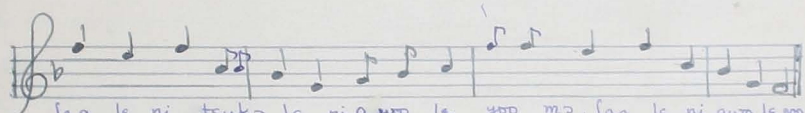


ka wa ma gbe .

Ataa, Awo toobi le egbo

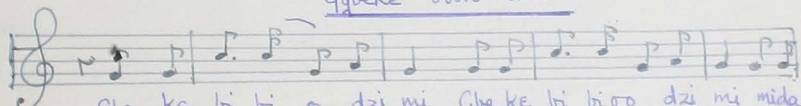


A-taa A-wo to bi le gbo ye sia mi le bo ni nape dogo

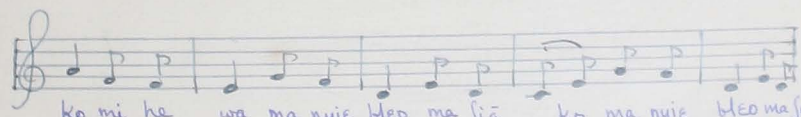


Saa le ni tsuko le ni awo le yoo mo, saa le ni awo le go.

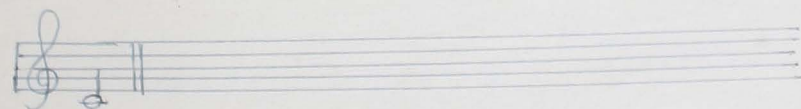
Gbeke bibio dzini



Gbe ke bi bi-o dzi mi Gbe ke bi bio dzi mi mida



ko ni he wa ma nyie bleo ma sia ko ma nyie bleo ma ja



ko .

32



African nine pins.

33



Wrestling at the beach.

34



A game -
"Timing, timing
nyamans."

CHAPTER XXGAMES, SONGS, AND STORIES

Some games are only played at daytime and these are played only in the evenings.

The popular game played by girls during the day is "ampe". It is equivalent in the case of boys to "Ntosa".

The "Mami ke Papa" in which boys and girls assume the role of parents running a home is usually played during the day.

Boys have their own games; they push their friends on skaters that is called 'pokopoko', they fly kites, make farms, build houses with mud bricks made to sizes of match boxes, sail little boats, catch sheep and goats and ride on them. They also imitate soldiers at war and use sharp pointed sisal shorts for guns. Each of these games is played during specific seasons. For instance boys spin tops when the rains start because then they can get the snail for its shell and sometimes they make tops from reed.

Older boys wrestle and do somersaulting on the beach. This is done at any time but not in the evenings because they are not allowed to go to the beach in the evening not even on moonlight nights when they are tempted to go.

Both boys and girls mix to play the game of throwing figs, this usually ends in throwing the figs at each other. Another daytime game common to both sexes is the game of "Oware" or "Awale". They have "Arsa" which is usually played in the sand with sticks and pieces of string. The string is hidden in the sand and the boy



The game of "agtwey".

36



Spinning tops.

37



Plucking mangoes.

whose turn it is tries to place the stick where he thinks he could pull out the string. He gets a point when he succeeds in pulling out the string. This game is sometimes called "Antwey".

Games played by girls are on the whole always an imitation of what their mothers do in the home mainly cooking, carrying babies and caring for them. One of the players pretend to be a baby; at times a toy or a piece of stick or an improvised baby made of wood is used. Such home activities as sewing of babies' clothes, fetching water, sweeping and plaiting of the hair are imitated. They often dress like the mothers, they put on cloth lower and top one and tie headkerchiefs.

The fibres of a mango seed or chewed end of a stick may serve as the hair to be plaited. It is usual to find the girls joining the boys in most of the activities. There is no strict division here; the boys and girls mix to play some of the games.

Girls also imitate fetish dances especially those watched at the "Kplodzoo" festival, and the boys do the drumming for them.

Both sexes dramatize school scenes and stories read or narrated to them.

In the evenings and especially on moonlight nights the boys and girls mix for all games except for some exclusive daytime ones that are repeated when the moon is up.

There are the brutal ones like "Akotogba".

A volunteer is blindfolded and hit on the head by any player. If he guesses right the person

that hit him, he is released and the "hitter" takes his place and gets ready for a knock too. So long as the blindfolded person is unable to guess the one who hit him he remains the victim. Those who cannot guess often weep bitterly for they receive too many knocks. At times their friends help by taking their places.

Minyemi Ogbame - Every player is armed with his cloth which is either tied into a big knot at the end or twisted into a stiff whip. There are two groups, one group calls and the other responds. The person who chooses to say the last word "koo", poses to fight the rest. When he realizes he cannot fight them, he runs away but chased by the others and when they are tired of chasing him, they come together to start all over again. The following are calls and responses for game.

CALL	RESPONSE
1. Minyemi Ogbame o o'	Yiel'
Minyemi Ogbame o o' tsitsi	tsitsi
Tsitsi yaamo ade	ade
Ade nansobili	bili
Bili naakopo	kopo
Kopo desumadetsi	detsi
Detsi okwabute	ate
Ate bedu okookoko	<u>koo</u> '
2. Tseneke, tseneke, apledzi	yeo
Tseneke, tseneke, apledzi	yeo
Aflaa	<u>Engoo</u>
3. Eko, enyo, ete, edzwe, enumo, ekepa, kpaawo, kpaanyo, neehu	<u>Nfajona</u>

leaving the brutal ones we come to those that give opportunity for sexual misconduct.

These are "Okeeyelo", "Atsake Massa", Abughrugbu.

Okeeyelo - Hide and Seek.

Two groups are formed. The first group shouts "Womoo nyoo" - we catch the moon - they hide the 2nd group says "Wo moo duy" - we catch darkness and they will search for the first group.

If the 2nd group is in difficulty in tracing their whereabouts, the 1st group shouts - "ke nyeloo" okeeyelo ke wotoo nye doyy e e e i i!" -

If you do not give us a clue we shall give up the search.

One person from the group runs across to another hiding place and shouts "Okeeyeli - o moko bi eladze e e e i" and quickly runs back to the original hiding place.

The players do not hide in one place but in different places, within a radius of 10 yards.

Boys and girls make previous arrangements and manage to be by themselves but they have to be quick with whatever they do because as soon as one in the group is found then all have to come out. If anyone exposes himself to the seekers the rest may refuse to come out and usually this spoils the game. Any one who is noted for letting out the others is usually not accepted by any group and finds it difficult to play together with them.

STORIES

There are stories told at the fireside - "Adena Tomo". There are often Anansa stories. At times the children indulge in riddles. Children have special names for Anansa and his family.

Bshii fee ni Anaanu kpete tsu kony

Tsie Anaanu ke Kuakute hifi ye akwasa ko. Amelee gws agbo ko ni amedu yedzii pii. Etsé pii ni Anaanu yaboi yedzi le faams. Daá deehi levi amebraya gws le mti le afams yele le ako. Beiko le ehi kuakute js amaga ko ni eke yama gws le mti. Bwii tsie anaanu tea ni eboi yedzi le faams pé ni era amaga le ni ehi ake, "Namo yoo dzeme le?". Etsi ehyeke ni etee le na gws keke ni evina ka, efee aahu kengfi emadzi asii fee pete nuu le ka, ehi kpmo. Etsi abams ake ke nuu le eymeé eka le etanyi le, ji efo eday. Etsé ni dze batsere, levi kuakute ke Knsle tee gws le mti le na tsie Anaanu keke ni amera ake anamoa, le efoa yele le daareé. Ni adzie le le ehi soyy ni gbo lewile efu ni epete tsu kony, notew ni ehi's tsu kony daareé le.

Anansa and his son and wife Knsle made a yam farm and noticed that somebody went into the farm to dig out the yam. Anansa showed himself puzzled. His son made a model of a human being and placed it on the farm. Anansa went on the night to find this and started shouting at it. He went round to find the fellow but got stuck to the doorway which had been coated with gum. In the morning his wife and son found him out. When he was released he was so ashamed that he ran and hid at the corner of the room - that's why Anansa is always found at

the corner of a room.

Such Ananse stories are very popular. These stories are often narrated so enthusiastically in such an interesting manner that all listen attentively to the storyteller. He exaggerates and the group sings songs to break up the monotony.

A listener will say.

"Abi le miye dzeme" - I was there on that day. He starts a song and the others respond or help to sing it.

"Tsie Anaamu baagbo e ei!" response "ebaagbo wo"

Mr. Ananse will die

or "Kwakute, kwakute tse loo le ekome"

response "ebaagbo wo", "hei anaamu tse loo le ekome"

They sing songs the words of which have connection with the story. The story is said to be nice when there are many songs in it.

The storyteller when he finishes says the following words and the listeners respond.

Storyteller - "Ke mina ekome le niketa Bkete toi see."

I leave the floor to Bkete.

Children - Ebe ntoi see, ebe ntoi see.

Bkete takes the floor and narrates any story.

If Bkete is not ready he tries to forge one, but that could be easily detected by children especially if the story is not familiar.

Adults like stories which are connected with the history of their village. They always like to hear where about their place of origin and their ancestors were. Usually the stories are told at open places outside the house.

The adults do not read aloud to the children any secular story. Short passages from the Bible are read to children in Christian homes and Bible

The following two stories are of the type which are accompanied with songs, the words of which more or less give the gist of the story.

The Two Sisters

Two sisters once lived in a village with their parents. The younger sister was so well-behaved and serviceable that the parents were very fond of her. For this reason the elder sister hated the younger sister very bitterly. The sisters fought very frequently but the parents were unable to discover the cause. One day these girls were sent to the farm to collect some foodstuffs. There was a quarrel over a trivial matter between them and the elder beat the younger sister to death. She buried her and went home. When she was asked where her sister was, she said she had not seen her. A search was made but she could not be found.

A hunter living in the same village used to pass through that farm every now and then and whenever he reached the grave of the murdered girl he heard a song

"Ataa gbobilo e e , gbobilo e e i
Kanaa mins %

Mike minyemi yatse fofoi

Ni egbe ni , ni efu mi ,

Kanaa mins."

Mr. Hunter , Mr. Hunter , do not tread on me .

I went with my sister to pluck flowers

And she killed me and buried me .

Do not tread on me .

As soon as the hunter, Ataa Kofi heard this song, he always scattered flowers on the grave. He spoke about this strange experience to some of his intimate friends. Soon the parents of the dead girl heard the story and suspected at once that the victim must be their lost daughter. The elder sister heard the story at the same time as the parents. Fearing that her secret had been discovered as the words of the song tell. She fled into the forest and was never seen again.

The quarrel between the little boy and the little bird.

A small boy used to be sent to fetch water at the river side. The every time took a rather big pot which he could lift when full only with the help of someone. One day there was no one at the bank to help him put the pot of water on his head. Fortunately, he saw a little bird and asked it to help him, but the bird refused. It rather shook its little tail and away it flew. The next day the boy met this same bird. On this occasion the bird helped him to lift the pot of water on to his head. Instead of thanking the bird for helping him, the boy threw a stone at it. In reply to this the bird got hold of a twig and pierced the boy's eyes with it. The boy started to cry, but the bird sang the following song and flew away:

"Tsi, tsi, tsi, tsi — keli

Miss Tso ko no — keli

Minga, Minga le — keli

Okee mibafere bo — keli

Mihu mitere bo - Koli

Oko te miyitso gbay

Mihu miko tso ohigmei gblu

Ofo yafo be mli has

Oola lata be mli dogg."

Tweet, tweet, tweet

I was perching on a tree - tweet

I wanted to fly away - tweet

You asked me to help you - tweet

I helped you lift your pot - tweet

You hit my head with a stone

I too pierced your eye with a twig.

Are you weeping? You have no cause
to weep.

Are you singing? There will be no more
Singing for you.

stories are told too. The friendship between David and Jonathan is always cited as good example for all children to follow.

Apart from the Mass Education literacy campaign and literacy classes there are no other means of adult education except Bible classes is held by the Catechist for men and women.

THE MAIN FESTIVAL

Children play an important part in the Annual Festival.

Kpladzoo loo Obenefimo - The Kple Dance

Four weeks before the festival a Wulomo is sent for corn from Oyibi a village whose inhabitants were from Nungwa. He comes back to sow the seeds without turning round to look behind. Afterwards the Wulomo goes round the town 7 times burning incense. This is known as Magtsukomo or town purification when the people follow and yell. He chants the following and the people chorus it after him -

"Awo, Awo, Awo" ?.

Agbaa e e i, bleku tsoo

Nsuo, o, Nsu, Enam, o, Enam

Manye o, Manye

Adibani kpotoo. "

Mother earth, mother earth

let birds of good omen appear

let there be water, let there be fish

let there be prosperity

let there be food in plenty.

Here are the titles of some of the songs.

1. Odai Amrabo eeba, etsey nigblafi.

Governor Odai is coming, wearing a long beard.

2. Nii Bskete, Awo le didoo ake le ba.

Nii Bskete was carried shoulder high.

3. Obene, Afere Kotopgy ebss wo no obene efe.

4. Anomaa amo krossai aya.

The tunes are similar to those of the kple dance. The following Monday is the New Year. Children are dressed in their best clothes. They go round the town from house to house to greet their relations and friends and to wish them a Happy New Year and long life.

38



Playing with a toy lorry.

39



Getting ready to go out for fishing.

40.



For a second time today, Bote is fetching water for his mother.



Name - Adotey Class: 3 Age: 9 years.
Free drawing : Arrival of the Duchess of Kent in Ghana.



Name - Bokete Bslali Class: 4 Age: 11 years

A man and a woman: The husband gives money to his wife to buy things from the market.



Name : Afote Lanyea Class : 6 Age : 12½ years

A fight : A fight between two boxers he said he saw at the cinema.



Name : Nii Botie Class : 1 Age : 6 years

The most pleasant thing : This child says that the most pleasant thing he thinks of is to own a car. He imagines a day when he will be in his car and a policeman directing him at the traffic.



Name : Odai Kofi Class : 5 Age : 11 years

The most unpleasant thing : Kofi says he thinks of a day when he will meet a tiger and will see a snake climbing a tree in the bush



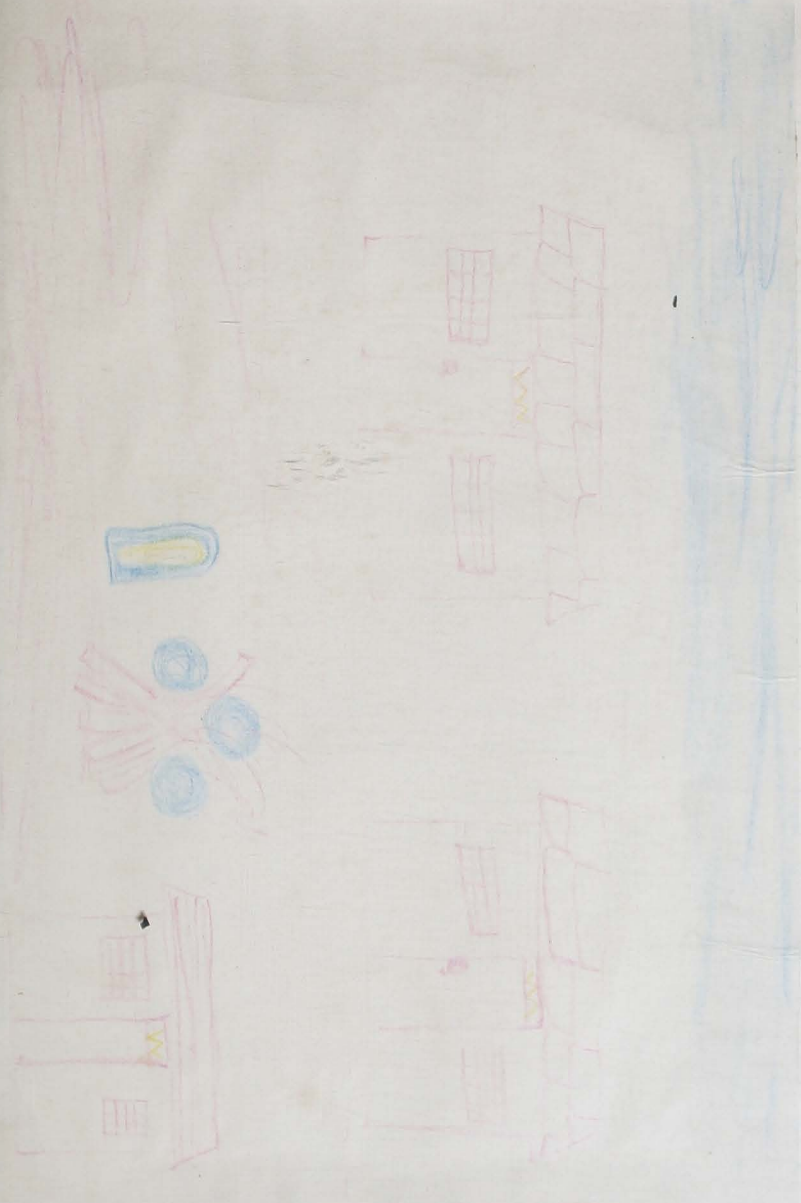
Name : Aku Kpakpo Class : 1 Age : 6 years

Something the child is afraid of: This girl heard the story of Ananse and the "head without body" - "yitso flo ni gborosoto be he" since then she is afraid of seeing a head out without the body.



Name : Adzei Nukpa Class : 4 Age : 10½ years

A dream : Adzei slept and dreamt of snakes in the room coming to his bed. He shouted and the father came but there were no snakes. It was a dream.



Name : Afole Lanya Class : 3 Age : 10 years

The inside of the child's house : A compound house showing the three swish buildings, the fireplace and a grinding stone.

The dog and his shadow

One day a dog stole a piece of meat. He carried it away in his mouth and set off for his home. On his way he had to cross a narrow bridge over a stream.

As he walked over the bridge he saw his own shadow in the water thinking that he saw another, he stopped and his shadow stopped too.

That dog has a good piece of meat he thought: "I should like it as well as my own."

He stayed and his shadow stayed back, then he snapped at the other piece of meat.

Alas! as he opened his mouth his own meat fell into the water.

By a boy - age 10 years - class 4.

The foolish man and the golden eggs.

There was once a man. He had a bird, the bird gave him one egg every day. They were golden eggs. He said, "I do not want one egg every day, everyday. I want all the eggs today".

So one day the foolish man took a knife and cut the bird open.

Of course that was the end of the bird and that was the end of the good eggs.

By a girl - age 10½ years - class 5.

A story about a bad girl

Olivia's mother gives her ten shillings each day to take to school. She gets on the bus but gets down on the way to school to spend the money. She comes home at 5 p.m. to greet her mother. This happened for three months and so her name was cancelled from the register. Olivia's mother was informed and took her to school. Olivia denied her being absent from school. Her mother begged the headteacher but then her name had been cancelled already. They went home and she never went to school again.

By a girl - age 12 years - class VI

A story about a good boy.

Orinda lives at a village very near a small lagoon. Every Saturday he helps his father on the farm. One day he went earlier than his father to the farm. As he went along he saw a small bag which he picked up. That bag contained a lot of coins. The boy was very unhappy when he saw the coins, because he thought the owner was looking for his lost bag. When the father went to the farm Orinda showed the bag of coins to him. But he suggested that both of them should go to the village to find the owner. The owner was very happy when he got his money back. Orinda's action is now favourably spoken of by all the villagers.

By a boy - age 11 years - class VI

The Child's favourite story

A crow was once very thirsty and found some water in a little pot. It tried all it could to drink from it but it could not. Finally it found pebbles nearby and so carried them one by one into the pot. Later on it found the water flowing on the surface of the pebbles and drank all of it.

By

A girl. - age 7½ years - class 2.

The wicked step-mother

One day a woman while her husband was away to work sent her rival's daughter to get something from the cupboard. In so doing she shut the cupboard and the child died. She cut the flesh into pieces and used it for cooking. The husband ate the food and left the bones. When his son was sweeping the bones a bird flew over and sang on a tree nearby. Later the song was interpreted to the husband.

It said - My mother killed me.

My father ate me.

My brother gathered my bones

Look at this beautiful bird flying.

By

A boy - age 13 years class 6.

Self - description

My name is Kwaku.

I am a boy.

I am short.

I am black.

I wear a white uniform.

I chew always in class.

Age $6\frac{1}{2}$ years - Class 1.

Life Story

I am Ama.

I live at Nungua

I live with my father and mother.

I go to school at Teshie.

Before I go to school, I sweep the house and go for water.

I go to school at 7 O'clock.

After school I go home to help my mother.

I have two brothers who are very young.

I have not any sisters.

Age $9\frac{1}{2}$ years - Class 5.

Imaginative Play

Tsotsoo - Korkzi, let's play at making cakes.

Korkzi - Yes, here is the flour (they collect sand and water.)

Tsotsoo - No, let us urinate for it.
(They make heaps of sand, use the elbow for making holes in them and they urinate into them and remove the so called cakes.)

Korkzi - Here is the tray - (she brings the lid of a kerosene tin and arranges the cakes) Hot cakes, hot cake, one for a penny!

Boole - let me buy some (she uses stone for money.)

(Korkzi sells all and takes the money home.)

Tsotsoo - Good. We shall bake some more this afternoon.

Korkzi - Yes, they are still asking for more.
By a girl - age - 6 years.

What the child would wish for if he were granted one wish.

Kofi was sitting down alone under the mango tree in his mother's compound. His grandmother asked him what he would wish for if he were granted one wish. He said "There are many things I would like to have. The other day I saw Adote and her sisters playing with toy carts, dolls, small buckets and spades. But I like a small bicycle. I shall ride it many times round this mango tree. All the boys in that compound will come to play with me. Give me a bicycle and I will be happy."

By a boy - Age 7 years.

CONCLUSION

"Every dark cloud has a silvery lining" as the conservative attitude of the people of Nungwa is not without its bright side. It is a fact that some of the Ga customs, traditions, folk lore and songs, riddles and plays are jealously preserved in Nungwa. It is claimed by the people of Nungwa with a fair amount of justification, that with all their "backwardness" the Ga spoken at Nungwa is the best. There is no doubt that some of the customs call for modification whilst others should necessarily be weeded out. On the other hand some of the beautiful songs and stories and plays have not been introduced into the schools. Those that have crept into the schools are the corrupt versions. The teachers know next to nothing of most of these and in Christian homes where the children are forbidden to take part in the festivals and even mix with other pagan children, the songs and stories, and traditions are unknown. Nungwa affords a fruitful ground for the sociologist and the anthropologist, who is interested in the Ga people. In spite of the difficulties I had in taking photographs owing to the vain beliefs in their gods, I think it is worth trying.

But conservatism carried to the extreme is definitely a clog in the wheels of progress. The town is definitely behind the other Ga towns on the coast as far as sanitation, and social matters are concerned. There are signs of progress but the rate is rather slow. Nungwa is now in the Municipality of

of Accra and the town is expanding towards the main road. Significantly enough part of "Gibbukoy" the sacred forest has been cleared for human habitation. New and modern houses are being erected near the main road and there is the hope that both the old and the new township would be linked in the next few years. Parents are realising the benefits of education and are sending their children to schools. Many of such parents are those who have settled in other towns. The children therefore stay with their old grandmothers, a circumstance which is detrimental to their education.

The efforts of the Mass education teams are being crowned with some success and the recent closer link with Accra, as well as the developments going on at Tessa seems to have made the people conscious of their unsatisfactory conditions under which they live. There are hopeful signs; however, one thing is clear and it is this, unless the people become less and less conservative and

their hopes most likely must be realised. What is needed to make the mass education drive and the efforts of the midwife and teachers a success is a change of heart in the people. Christianity and all it stands for has made all the difference between Nungua and the other towns. Unless the numerous fetish groves and priests lose their hold on the people's imagination the future will still look dark. This change cannot take place overnight, it is true, but the fact still

remains that the prosperity and rapid development of Nungua still depends on their acceptance of Christian principles and education.