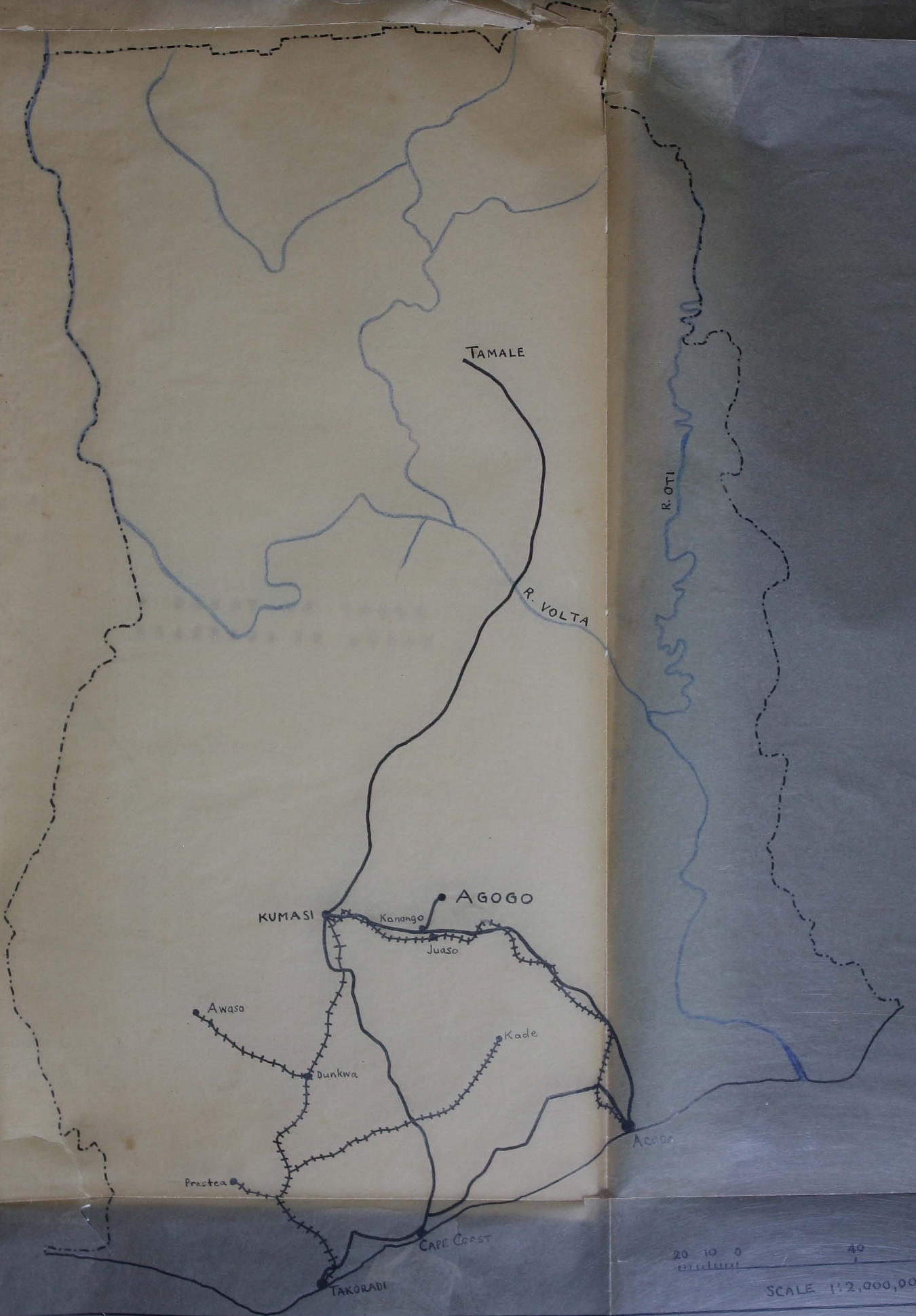


THE GOLD COAST SHOWING THE POSITION OF AGOGO.



TAMALE

R. VOLTA

R. OTI

KUMASI

AGOGO

Kanongo

Juaso

Awaso

Dunkwa

Kade

Prestea

Accra

CAPE COAST

TAKORADI

20 10 0 40

SCALE 1:2,000,000.

AGOGO and its SURROUNDING IMPORTANT TOWNS.

Chapter 1

ATTITUDE TOWARDS HAVING CHILDREN.

PRE-NATAL PERIOD.

BIRTH.

FEEDING.

WEANING.

ELIMINATION.

WALKING DEVELOPMENT.

HEALTH.

PHYSICAL CONTACTS, MASTURBATION, SEX SENSATION.

CLOWNING AND SELF-EXPOSURE.

SEX DISTINCTIONS.

RELATIONS WITH BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

RELATIONS TO PARENTS.

RELATIONS TO ADULTS OTHER THAN PARENTS.

RELATIONS TO...

RELATIONS TO...

RELATIONS TO...

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RELATIONS TO...

RELATIONS TO...

RELATIONS TO...

AGOGO



KUMASI

KONONGO

JUASO

To ACCRA

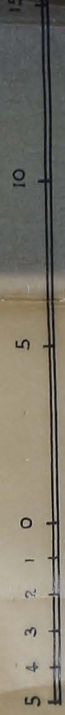
To TAKORADI

To CAPE COAST

KEY
GOLD COAST GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS

MOTORABLE ROADS

15 MILES



SCALE 1 : 50,000

A STUDY OF CHILD
TRAINING IN AGOGO

CHILD TRAINING IN AGOGO

Chapter	1	INTRODUCTION.
"	2	ATTITUDE TOWARDS HAVING CHILDREN.
"	3	PRE-NATAL PERIOD.
"	4	BIRTH.
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"	11	PHYSICAL CONTACTS, MASTURBATION, SEX PLAY.
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"	17	POSSESSIONS.
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"	22	CONCLUSIONS.
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I N T R O D U C T I O N .

This essay is written about Child Training in Agogo.

This place is a village in the Ashanti Akim District on the north eastern side of Kumasi ^{and} about forty miles from the latter. Also, it is eighteen miles away from Konongo, a gold mining town on the Accra-Kumasi Railway line. Agogo is situated on the Kintampo-Koforidua range of mountains and thus its climate is fairly cool. The village is more or less surrounded by hills and, there is a clear view of it obtainable from the Government Rest House on one of these hills, on the northern side.

From there a person can see that the village is very well planned. There are mud huts and concrete houses. The following can be seen: a market in the centre of the village; a church with spire and its square; smoke from incinerators; solitary buildings which are latrines; schools; buildings embedded in their green lawns on the outskirts of the town, and, above all, the blue sky above the faintly discernible people moving in the houses and open spaces.

The history of this village goes as far back as 1660 when Obiri Yeboa, the Uncle of Osei Tutu was ruling over the Ashantis. The first chief of the Agogos, called Ofori Kobon, and two brothers of his, Fekai and Nto Nipa, were living at Esumenja in Ashanti. During this time, they heard of the Kingdom of Atara Finam, a great Guan chief who was ruling over all the Afram Plains. The three brothers gathered forces and fought against Atara and defeated him and his people. They, therefore, divided up the land: Fekai took lands round Kumawu; Nto Nipa those around Kwaman and Ofori Kobon those of Agogo. Each founded his town on his land, and the inhabitants of these three places have ever since been on friendly terms.

Foodstuffs such as cocoyam, yams, plantain, cassava, ^{and spices such as} tomatoes, pepper and onions are produced. The cash crop of the place is mainly cocoa. There is a handful of people who pursue such occupations as carpentry, masonry, blacksmith, goldsmith, tailoring, shoemaking, snail hunting, petty-trading, pottery, driving and clerical jobs. The drivers ply between Konongo and Kumasi

because Agogo is a road head, and apart from Konongo which is the only important Railway Station for Agogo, there is no proper road to any other place.

There is a hospital in this town, which was started in 1930. It is run by Basel Missionaries and the staff is made up of German and Swiss Doctors, Laboratory workers, nursing sisters and midwives and African dispensers, nurses and ward assistants. Since this is a mission hospital, the constant preachings, singing and praying have done a lot to uproot some of the superstitions connected with the lives and illnesses of the people in the town.

Patients from all over the Gold Coast attend the hospital and are for some time the guests of one or the other of the townsfolk. Such people having other cultures and modes of life also have influence on the life of Agogo people.

Another great force of influence in this village is that of the Presbyterian Women's Training College along with the Girls' School. In it, school girls and students from all over the country are trained. They go to the town every Sunday for service and therefore influence those they see in form of dressing, singing and other forms of manners. The Red Cross members and the Girl Guides from the School and College have contact with the townsfolk through their different activities i.e. bathing dirty children on the streets, teaching both young and adult illiterates to read and write, teaching young adolescents how to sew, and dressing of children's sores etc.

With respect to religion, there are about six denominational churches in the village. They are listed here according to their importance and magnitude in the town. Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Methodist, 'Faith', Jehova Witness, Christ Apostolic. Fetishism is still in existence but is not as dominating as it used to be some twenty years ago. Usually, the children tend to take up the kind of religion that their parents practise. School pupils who have heathen parents are, however, faced with both the Christian religion and fetishism.

For the children of Agogo, there are four Primary Schools and two Middle Mixed Schools. All these were put up within the

last twenty years. Because of that, education as a whole is in its infancy in this village. Many children have the opportunity of attending schools now, whereas their parents did not have that chance. They therefore meet educated teachers at school and illiterate parents at home and are thus torn between two opposing attitudes towards life. This then is the setting of the home-training of the Agogo children.

CHAPTER 1.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS HAVING CHILDREN,

Child bearing is the ardent desire of every male and female in the village of Agogo. The mere fact that one possesses children is enough to make one respected by others since one is considered to have fulfilled the purpose of marital life.

As such, as soon as there is a marriage in the village, the relations of the girl watch anxiously for the conception of the newly married girl. If she fails to show signs of pregnancy within the first six months, they begin to worry and to find medicines for her. They take her either to a medicine man or a doctor in town. They are so infatuated with the fact that the advantages of having children far outweigh its disadvantages that they press on to find all the possible means of making the girl capable of bringing forth. When the first child is born, the married couple and their relatives become happy and think that the marriage will last.

A woman is particularly happy to have children; because she is then not considered to be barren and she knows that people will neither gossip about her nor abuse her as "a barren woman" whenever there is a quarrel between herself and another person. She can boast of the children she has. She needs her own children to help her in doing domestic work such as fetching firewood, water, pounding fufu and cooking. Women in this village try to have children who might look after ^{her} and maintain them in their old age. There is a typical case of a certain old woman in this place who has never given birth to children. As a result of that she is really miserable in her old age. She lives all by herself in a very old and nasty hut which is breaking into pieces and she has no money, no food, no ~~clothing~~, no firewood, and above all, nobody to care for her. She has no one to talk with.

Because of her poverty, the Red Cross members in the Presbyterian Girls' School carry food to her every day, although her house is about a mile away; and they give her cloth, firewood, and money. Though this is an extreme case, it is the misfortune

ATTITUDE TOWARD BORN CHILDREN

Child bearing is the greatest desire of every male and female in the village of Kogi. The new fact that one possesses an offspring is enough to make one respected by others since one is considered to have fulfilled the purpose of marital life.

An epoch, as soon as there is a marriage in the village, the relation of the girl with and away for the conception of the newly married girl. It is the father to show signs of pregnancy with in the first six months, they begin to worry and to find medicines for her. They take her either to a medicine man or a doctor in town. They are so infatuated with the fact that the



This woman is happy to have children.

There is a special age of a certain old woman in this place and has never given birth to children. As a result of that she is miserable in her old age. She lives all by herself in a very old and partly broken down house in this place and she has no money, no food, and no one to care for her. She has no one to talk with.

Because of her poverty, the Red Cross members in the Treasury Station at the school carry food to her every day, although her house is about a mile away and they give her cloth, tinwood, and money. Though this is an extreme case, it is the misfortune

childlessness has brought unto a woman in this village. Whatever number of adopted children a woman has, she is not satisfied because she knows that they will not like to serve her as willingly as they would if she were their own mother, nor can she control them as much as she would like. An old man said that one's own children would feel very willing to do even the meanest jobs for their parents and explained it with a proverb in Twi - "Awoo ne wo yam" (meaning, "birth is what comes from your own womb").

Inheritance is matrilineal in the Agogo Society. The women therefore think that if their family is to continue in existence, they should bear many children. Because of this, a married woman, has no greater joy than to have her compound full of her own children and grandchildren.

Not only the wives are happy, but the pleasure of having children is shared by the husbands too since they feel a sort of pride. Men who have no children are called Papa Kwasi, Papa Kwadwo, Papa Yaw as the case may be; whereas if they had children, their own might call them 'Papa'. In this village, it is the custom that husbands name their children after their own relatives, dead or alive. They therefore are aware of the fact that if their family names are to live, and not die out they should have children who will hand them down from generation to generation. When a man has children he is sure to get protection from his enemies for it is the duty of children, although maternal inheritance is practised, to support and protect their fathers in all circumstances. When there are riots or even wars children are expected to fight near their fathers to ensure their safety.

When there is a meeting at the chief's court, or at any important public place, the elders of the chief ask their own children to carry their stools to the place, and a childless man would have to beg somebody else's children to carry it for him. When a man has children, he knows that when he dies his children will buy a coffin and cloths for his burial and is thus relieved from the anxiety that he might impose unnecessary burdens on his relatives. At times fathers from Agogo travel to villages near-by and have their children carry their luggage and walk in front of them.

Since this village is an agricultural one, the parents like to have children to help them in farming, especially in weeding, planting, breaking cocoa pods and drying the cocoa. During the snail season the children can make a lot of money for their parents. Although, today, most of the children attend school, they are expected to help their parents on those lines during Saturdays and holidays.

The people of Agogo do not allow a childless man to succeed to the stool. Their reason is that a childless person has not had much experience with children and so he may be cruel to the inhabitants if he is elected chief.

There is also a belief that there is a similarity of a parent in the child and therefore even if the former dies the latter would be considered as a 'photo' as they put it.

Owing to this attitude which they have about child-bearing, they very often advise us female teachers who have been on the field for some five years to stop teaching and to get married quickly, to get children who might be of use to us as theirs are to them.

People in this village know that in spite of all the advantages of having children, there are also a few disadvantages. This is what a woman said: "Once a person has children, she is never free from thinking and being anxious about them. I have a daughter in the school and whenever I go there, I get startled at the gate knowing that I am going to hear about some mischief that she has done. And because of my children I spend about two thirds of my income buying food, clothes, medicines and sending them to the hospital when necessary." A man also said he had to do all this for his children and also to marry his son to a wife. The latter might cost him some twenty pounds (£20, which he said was a disadvantage).

The opinions of the people vary greatly as to the desirable size for the family. In the olden days, ^{writer} ~~he~~ was told, it was a pride to have as many children as from ten to fifteen, the reason being that in those insanitary days when there was no hospital

here infantile mortality was great and a family of 13 children might well get reduced to four; and as an old woman put it, to be on the safe side, one had to bring forth as many as possible.

As matters are in this village today, the white man and his medicine have made great changes in the attitude of the people to the size of the family because some enlightened parents have come to realize that the rate of infantile mortality has been greatly reduced. Five to six children are preferred by such enlightened people because apart from knowing that modern science will sustain their children, they have to face the responsibility and the burden of bringing them up and educating them to a reasonable standard.

To the great majority, there is the desire to get as many as God_g will give them. This may be anything from five to thirteen. They explain that it is God's will that they bring forth all children that are in the womb.

When there is a marriage ceremony, libation is poured and the gods and spirits of the ancestors are asked to grant the newly married couple many children.

As such, women who have children are honoured and are very greatly honoured. Any woman who has nine children is urged on by her relatives to try to crown the enterprise with a tenth one. Until today a woman of ten children can boast of them, and she is congratulated during a public ceremony called "Badu - Guan" (Sheep for the tenth child) which is held in her honour. With the Badu - guan ceremony, a sheep is killed and a great feast is held on behalf of the fortunate woman who has given birth to ten children as well as for the tenth child.

Childlessness on the other hand is considered as a great misfortune and a married couple without children is always pitied by others. Because of that they are often asked to try divers medicines which at times make the situation worse. This is what a man said:-

"Even since I got married with these two women I have never got a single child and every month I expect my wives to

report their pregnancy to me but its all in vain. I have consulted the fetish priests and promised them a fat sheep if a child is born to me; my expectation is frustrated. I have been to the hospital and I have got a series of injections but all my attempts have been in vain. Ao! How I wish I had once got a child who had died. Even that would free me from the great shame I am undergoing now. I know for certain that it is the power of witches that has made me barren; and what troubles me most is that my nieces and nephews ^{often} refuse to carry out my errands; you know, I nearly feel like hanging myself or going without food for weeks". On the other hand, a man who has only one child is almost considered to be barren because people might think that the wife might have had a fruitful intercourse with a former lover.

About devices for overcoming sterility. Since the motive of marriage in this village is reproduction and the up-bringing of children, much is done in the attempt to overcome sterility. In each case the root of the trouble is found and the cause may be either disease or that "the blood of the couple does not meet" as they put it. To the unenlightened the causes would seem to be a long practice of immorality, misconduct to parents, offences against the soul of a husband and Witchcraft.

With regard to the diseases, syphilis and gonorrhoea are the two main ones which cause sterility in both men and women and if treatment is started in the hospital in time with injections and tablets the couple may bring forth. There is also another disease called 'odaye' which shows itself in painful menstruation. This is said to be caused by a developed tissue in the womb, and is commonly known as something which causes sterility. The native midwives and medicine-men have several prescriptions of herbs and roots for this, but the commonest known is the root of a forest tree called 'Bontodie', which is cut in pieces, boiled and given to the patient to drink.

If people find that the "blood of a couple does not meet" the marriage is dissolved and new partners found, and in many cases, new marriages result in having children. It is a belief that

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girls who practise immorality for quite a long time before their marriage do not get children when married, and this provides one of the reasons why a young boy's relations make investigations about a girl's previous life and character before they give their consent to the marriage. If a girl commits a grievous offence against her parents or any close relations and does not make atonement before the people concerned die, it is believed she stands the risk of being sterile. When a girl faces such a misfortune, she is taken to the fetish priest who interprets the entrails of a fowl and then gives her an appropriate prescription including talisman. A sheep is slaughtered to pacify the angry spirits of the dead and the girl can therefore bear children. A woman who has been unfaithful to her husband and is believed not to be bearing children because of this is taken to a fetish priest, and after she has been made to confess the offences and unfaithfulness to her husband, or failure to carry out all the taboos of her husband's taboo, she is asked to purify her soul with money, eggs or fowl or even a sheep and to pacify her husband. There was a woman who said she had undergone this treatment about thrice and then given birth to a child.

Witchcraft is considered to be the principal cause of sterility, and old women especially are considered to be the agents. Should witchcraft be considered the cause of sterility the unfortunate ^{woman} is put under the care of an idol and a fetish priest, and the old witch is brought by magic and made to confess that she has removed the ova of the barren woman or turned the womb in the opposite direction or has put a pot into the womb to collect the husband's semen. The witch or wizard is then made to restore the womb of the woman to enable her to bear children. Up to recent times, there was a humiliating custom called 'Krawa' for barren men to enable them to have children.

The Krawa Custom.

Friends of the barren man decide secretly to perform this custom on the man and so, one early morning, he is taken unaware, his cloth is stripped and things such as plantains

and the fibre of plantain are hung round his neck. He is beaten, pushed this way and that, taken out into the streets, and abusive words are poured on him. Other people, including children, join in and everyone shouts 'Krawa ee, ma me nwo ba!' which means 'Krawaee, let me bear a child'. Krawa is the name of a kind of monkey which is notorious for displaying its genitals. He is led through the streets to his wife's house where he is again ill-treated, receiving slaps, abuses, etc. before his wife. If the wife finds that unbearable, she escapes and after sometime, the man is set free and, believing that this will make him bear children, gets some afterwards.

Limiting the size of the family.

A few married women sometimes try to limit the number of their children when they think they have had enough - they do that by refusing to sleep in the same room as their husbands. On the other hand if a woman has a very difficult labour, her relations in addition to her husband and herself get permission from the Government Agent and then ask the hospital doctor to cause the woman to be fruitless. Contraceptives are not widely known at all, but some old people said they were disgusted on learning that some school girls cause abortion with the juice of pineapple mixed with washing blue which they drink or have an enema with undiluted evaporated milk or with a more concentrated washing blue called King Blue. The girls do this to get rid of the newly formed child so that they can go on pursuing their studies. Until quite recently if people wanted to limit the size of their families, with the consent of the rest of the family the woman would be taken to a fetish called 'Akwagya'. There libation is poured and among the many things that are said, the idol is entreated to grant that the woman should never give birth again. It is believed that once that is done, the woman never bears child again.

Among the people of this village illegitimacy is understood to apply strictly to a child whose biological father has not been disclosed by his mother. In such a case, the child is named after his uncle or any one of his maternal side and is

brought up in his maternal home.

Since matrilineal inheritance is practised here, the mothers always urge their brothers to help in bringing the children up. These children are at times looked after by their grandmothers while their grandfathers or uncles serve as guardians. In some very bad cases, when the mother is said to have had intercourse with five or six men before her delivery and could therefore not choose out the father of the child the relations punish her by not caring much for the child although he lives in their house. Such an illegitimate child suffers insecurity and goes about in rags and is not well fed at times.

Orphans.

When the father of a child dies the widow is expelled from the man's house, if they had been staying together; and therefore the relations of the mother look after the orphan. If the mother was formerly living in the house of her relatives with her child she continues living there. The child is cared for by the mother's relations, i.e. uncles or grandfather or mother.

When the mother dies first, the child stays with her maternal aunt or grandfather. If the father likes he can take the child to his house and live together with him there. Very often what happens is that the fathers prefer their orphans to live with their maternal relatives while they the fathers provide for their material needs. When some parents are about to die, they give their consent as to whom they want to take charge of their children when they die. This wish is very often carried out faithfully. They do things to prevent their children from being given to people whom they know would in the long run not care to look after the orphans at all. When an orphan dies people often think that it is because of the ill-treatment he has been receiving from his deceased mother's relatives that the ghost of his mother has taken him away. However much attention an orphan gets from people, a difference is always to be noted between him and

other children in respect to leanness, poor clothes, etc. and it is not seldom that they are heard bemoaning their fate and saying painfully this proverb in Twi 'Wuni wu a na wobasua asu' ('When your mother dies that's the end of your family').

Adoption.

When a woman has an illegitimate child, and she marries, the husband adopts the child and such a child is called 'abanoma'. The people in this village have a proverb which runs thus: "Abanoma nsen oba pa", "an adopted illegitimate child is not better than one's own child". In many cases such a child is not well cared for; for however better he is than the couple's own children, he is made to feel inferior. He can be the cause of many quarrels in the home, and if his mother does not exercise patience she gets divorced. An aunt or an uncle can adopt a niece or a nephew if it is the wish of his parents. Grandparents and mothers can also adopt their grand-children. Adoption is therefore mostly done between relatives in the same family. In some cases, the foster-parents look after the children well, give them food as they would to their own children, see to it that the children get the right training, and send them to school if necessary. But they very often do all these at the expense of the child's own parents. In some cases where the child's parents are poor and therefore cannot afford to spend much on their child, he is often ignored by his foster-parents since they also have got some children to look after. Occasionally, they will buy him some clothes so that he doesn't appear all naked because they consider it only fair 'to do something', as they put it, to show that they are living with the child, and they do not wish to be hadly thought of.

PRE-NATAL PERIOD.

The feelings of pregnant women differ widely in this village and they can be classified under three main categories.

(1) The feelings of a pregnant newly married girl, or of a mother who intends to have more children, (2) Those of a woman who has unexpectedly got pregnant after suffering a long time of sterility. (3) Those of a woman who has wanted to limit the size of the family, or of girls who are not expected to have children at a particular time of their life. When the newly married girl or the mother who intends to have more children gets pregnant she has a feeling of a joy because she looks forward to getting a child who will help in running the home and being useful to her, as already stated under the advantages of having a child.

The feelings of the pregnant woman who has been barren for some time is actually indescribable. She is really very happy and thinks that, after all, she has been freed from the shameful misfortune. On the other hand there is the woman who has wanted to limit the size of the family and has found that she is pregnant. She becomes angry at the idea and hates to think about it and feels a sort of disgust towards having another burden in the form of nursing a new thing. Greater feelings of disgust are harboured by the woman or the girl who illegitimately gets a child. This refers mostly to school-girls and to girls who have not undergone the puberty rites. For these people it is considered an absolute shame to be seen pregnant and therefore they try to hide all signs of pregnancy. They become very much afraid, unhappy and disgusted at the idea of producing a child. Sometimes the whole thing ends in abortion.

Although the feelings of all the pregnant women described in the three cases may differ, there is one feeling which is common to all of them; and that is fear. They know that to be pregnant means to stand between life and death and therefore they may be either dead or alive at the end.

They also think of the unborn baby and his welfare and wonder whether it will be a 'she' or a 'he' and whether it will be normal or not, and without any physical defect. As such they often pray that God or their gods may help them through the fight.

Some changes in mode of life take place during pregnancy in relation to diet and some other things. A queer lust for food is developed by them, sometimes for ordinary foods and at other times for strange and unusual things such as sand soil and squirrels. A pregnant informant said that whenever she saw anybody with food she felt like begging for some of it to eat and if she felt shy, she would buy the same food and cook it for herself. If she really wanted to get the food from the owner, she would show these with gestures and behaviour, and the other folk, understanding what those meant would give her some of it. Another informant said, "Once when I was going to the latrine I saw a piece of stool. It smelt so pleasant to me that I smelt it and tied it in the corner of my cloth so that I could smell it at any time. Can you even imagine that even rat soups are palatable for me? When I am not pregnant it is rather disgusting".

Almost every pregnant woman in the village either consults the native doctor or the hospital doctor and in any case gets a new prescription for better food to ensure the well-being of the child. In the case of consulting a native doctor or midwife, a number of medicinal foods are prescribed. These are mainly soups made of a certain number of ^{oil} palm nuts, usually seven or multiples of three, of snails, pepper, smoked meat, and some sort of green herbs (the commonest ones being the tender leaves of the silk cotton, 'Awaha', Nkesene kesene' and pine leaves.) All these are prepared into soup and eaten with fufu made out of 'slender' plantains. This medicinal food is to ensure the well-being of the child after and before birth, for it makes the child strong, makes him grow well, gives him a well-shaped body and prepares him for delivery. The prescriptions they get in the hospital involve vitamin-giving foods

such as more greens, eggs, etc.

Marital intercourse is not restricted during the first four months. It is believed that the semen is very important for the development of the unborn baby. Besides that fact, the desire of pregnant women for marital intercourse is remarkably keen. This is what an old man said, "Even if I am on the bed with my pregnant wife she feels so much to have the intercourse that she asks for it because she is not shy, but there are other pregnant women who ask to have the intercourse through their gestures and actions."

At first, the pregnant woman is expected to work hard in order to give her exercises for the well-being of the child. She should not be lazy but fetch water, cook food, fetch firewood and go on caring for her children if she has any. If she does not work hard, her husband's relations will reproach or slight her. After the third month, she is not expected in any way to do extra-hard work such as chopping firewood, since that causes miscarriage.

During pregnancy, a woman is not expected to dress very beautifully since she is between death and life as it were; if she did, she would run the danger of her baby or herself being harmed by the witches or by some medicine-men either killing the child or deforming him with a disease called "asram". She is expected not to ask people in water-places to help her to lift the pot on to her head, otherwise the child may suffer from 'asram'. They are expected not to eat bread since their children when born will then speak with nasal tones. They are also not to pick the stalks of the little pepper called 'Nyeraa', for, if any pregnant woman does this she gives birth to a six fingered child which is a complete blasphemy in this village. In the 8th month pregnant women are not expected to dig up yam since they might miscarry. If there is any meat which the father keeps away from as a taboo, the wife should also keep away from it because the soul of the child is supposed to have been made up of that of the man and that of the woman, and so that child may be killed by its soul when the mother

eats something the father hates. All these restrictions are considered to ensure the well-being of the unborn child. All are observed by the mother. Nothing particular is observed by the father and other members of the family. What they do is to remind her of what she should do and to find medicine for her if possible.

BIRTH

After the seventh month, the expectant mother begins to prepare for confinement by heaping up firewood, drying pepper in the sun, and collecting plantain fibre which she will need when she delivers. The reason for this is that she does not want to be a burden to other people during her confinement. One vital thing which she collects together ^{is a} supply of old cloths or rags which will ~~be used~~ serve as blankets for the little baby.

When it comes to labour pains, opinions differ widely in this village. The hospital sister said that out of the many expectant mothers whom they get for delivery cases, it is most frequently the Agogo women who show great signs of pain and shout very loudly. But on the other hand, there are a few who know that such pains at child birth are inevitable and, therefore, try to bear them bravely.

One woman remarked that she does not fear to face the terrible pains but it is protracted labour that she hates because it draws the attention of the public and makes her rivals rejoice. Those who have such a good attitude towards labour pains call upon God or their gods as the case may be; but those who have a contrary attitude weep and think that the child is cruel and curse the day they were born and their husbands. Some even resolve never to get pregnant and bring forth again. But there are cases when such people have come for another delivery after a year and a half or two. Women having their first delivery are frequently ignorant as to how painful the whole thing is and consequently some of them really get a shock.

The father's attitude towards labour pains is one which is really indescribable because they are so anxious about their wives, and apart from sharing the pains with them spiritually, there is also the fear that the woman might 'lose the war' as they put it. This is what an informant said: "Six days to the delivery of my wife, I pretend to have a business somewhere and go on a journey because I dare not stay and bear the whole frightful affair. All the time that I am away I do not eat anything - I

just lose all my appetite. When I hear that all is well, I come back and through the grace of God, I have never heard any bad news (i.e. of death) about my wife." Another informant said; "I do not travel to a place since I am very anxious to hear the result whether good or bad, just when it happens. In this world there is nothing that I fear more than my wife's delivery. During that time, I pace up and down in my own house and in hers and all the time ask whether the new one has arrived. As I pace I drink wine - more of it when my expectation has not yet been realized. The reason why I become so impatient is that if it happens that she loses the fight, with the child undelivered, it is going to entail many long undesirable and very frightful operations before the child is taken out of the womb of the poor woman".

The attitude of people other than the husband and the wife varies greatly according to how much they like the expectant mother. These who have the right attitude urge and encourage the toiling women to press hard and to win the fight for that is the way ^{of 5000} 10000 have gone. This is what they would say. "Oh mia wo ani, nhwe ne yaw no na tanfobi ante yan nka". This means 'Oh persevere, do not consider the painfulness. Try so that no enemy hears about us". On the other hand there are such people who shout at the woman in travail and reproach her and say "Are you the only woman who has ever given birth to a child? You knew how painful it is to labour before you had the sexual inter-course; if you do not try and you die you die alone, Oh let us alone".

In cases when delivery takes place in homes in the village, anaesthetics are not known at all; and when it takes place in the hospital, it is allowed to take the natural course as much as possible. But when there are difficulties and complications and doctors have to operate on the expectant mother, then anaesthetics are used. The hospital Sister said: "We use anaesthetics only when there are complications and that is only done under the supervision of the doctor. Always we use that one which would

not harm the mother or the child. The commonest one we use is Ether which is inhaled in a mask making the patient's nerves become less active for sometime. It is during that time that the operation takes place." On being asked whether it has any effect on the child she replied that there is none.

At the hospital, the people who are allowed to be present at birth are the hospital sister, and two female nurses. If it comes to a critical moment when the doctor's help is needed, he is called in. During all this time, some relations who are the attendants of the labouring women will be standing outside the ward because when they are allowed in they become very impatient and tell the woman to press at wrong times. The Senior hospital Sister said: "There is only one woman in the whole Agogo village whom I ask to be present in our labour ward when her relations are delivering children; because she is so calm and good and she tries always to encourage them on; and indeed she is really a help". The delivery in the hospital takes place in a labour ward which is under the supervision of the nurse, sisters and doctors. Consequently it is a very clean place and such things as a labour-bed, a table, screen, cupboards with hospital instruments, clean aprons, mackintosh and everything necessary for delivery are kept there. The expectant women are asked to lie on the labour-bed and to give birth there, but in the travail, some ask to be allowed to lie on the ground since on the bed they feel too warm. In some difficult cases, ^{such as} when the woman should undergo a caesarean operation the birth takes place in the hospital theatre.

Child-birth in the village often takes place in the girl's mother's home. People who are present are about four or five members of the family i.e. the girl's mother and her aunts and a native midwife who will have been invited for the purpose. If the birth is delayed for some time others are called in to advise on the subject or to lend ^a hand. Men are not often allowed to go in because it is considered that child-birth ^r is a woman's concern.

the ^{writer} was taken into a room in which many delivery cases had taken place. It was a fairly spacious sleeping-room with one door and a closed window. There were boxes and big basins arranged on one side of the room and a bed on the other side. An old dirty mat was lying in the centre of the room and it was this that was considered to be the labour-bed. The conditions in the room were rather insanitary and the room, ^{writer} ~~the~~ ^{he} thinks, was only swept some three days before. It was likely that a delivery at such a place would result in an infection. After the first bath and the first treatment of the mother, the child is given to her and both lie on the same mat or the child lies on the arms or lap of his mother. She is expected to keep her child indoors at least for a week since it is believed that he can be conjured by any wicked one who has 'Asram' (as stated above) which could cause his death or deformity.

When the child-birth takes place in the hospital, after the child has had his first bath, he is put into a baby's cot and placed near his mother's bed. She therefore has access to him at anytime that she likes. It is only when the nurses bathe the child in the adjacent room that he is separated from the mother. Sometimes, a woman wants to sleep with the child and so she takes it out of the baby's cot, spreads a mat on the floor and sleeps there with him. On hearing the nurse's footsteps she puts the child back quickly into the cot and gets on to her own bed.

What a christian mother would do to ensure the well-being of a child is to pray to God to keep him safe, and to consider all her troubles and pains for the nine months and to let the child to grow up to be of service to her. Likewise, the heathens would call upon their gods and idols to keep and preserve the child, let him grow so that they will always have worshippers. A little string supposed to contain the power of preserving one from the devil is put round the neck of such a newly born child who is thus put beyond the power of the devil. People in this village feel that a child with a sixth finger is a cursed or unlucky child and therefore liable to die at anytime in his infancy, and so at the hospital

the doctor is entreated to operate upon such a child's finger immediately and not to let any body hear about the shameful disfigurement.

The attitude about having either boys or girls differs from person to person. A couple who have had all girls already for example, would like their next new baby to be a boy and the opposite is also true of those who have got a number of boys. A mother who gives birth to three consecutive girls or boys is congratulated. The second is called 'manu' meaning the second boy or girl as the case may be and the third 'mansa' for a girl or 'mensa' for a boy. Consequently, if a woman has two boys already it is her wish to get a child of the same sex to complete that set. If she fails to do that, people feel that it is unfortunate and that the odd 3rd child of the opposite sex is a blasphemous one and it is called 'Konto'. In such a case, immediately after the delivery of such an unfortunate child, the mother and all at the birth in the home become sad and worried since it is not very much accepted in this community. They feel that the birth of such a child announces the death a member of the family.

Alternate births of boys and girls are liked by people because they feel that people in a house should neither be all men nor all women since there are some tasks assigned to women and others to men. On the whole, the parents' attitude to having female children is a more joyful one since they know that they practise matrilineal inheritance and that without girls in the house, their family would die out. Owing to this, immediately after child-birth, a mother asks whether it is a boy or a girl and when it is what she likes, she becomes happy and thanks her gods or God if a christian. But if it is of the unwanted sex i.e. a babyboy, she only shows her dislike through gestures but does not either curse or say that the child is a blasphemous one. If she utters any uncomplimentary statement, it is believed, that it may result in sterility in the mother or in the death of the child.

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FEEDING

Immediately a child is given its first bath, a few drops of gin are put into its mouth by his grandfather, mother or the native midwife. In the case of the members of the royal family, a special silver spoon is used to signify the royalty of the child. This gin is given with the idea of "forming" the child's voice. When an informant was asked why the voice has to be "formed", she said: "Although every one has been given a voice by nature, we want our children to have special ones to be able to speak clearly and give melodious solos in our folk dances." She continued; "Husks of groundnuts were used in the olden days instead of spoons" adding that the change has been brought about by the influence of the hospital. She explained that the hand is not used because hands may be dirty.

In the hospital here, no gin is given to newly born children, the first things to enter their stomachs being water and breast milk. The hospital rules that generally newly born babies should be fed in about twenty four hours after their birth. The reason for this is that during this time they feed on certain internal substances. However, here in the tropics, the hospital sister said that the newly born babies perspire and quickly lose these substances and therefore in spite of the ruling they have to be fed before the twenty four hours are due.

When a child is born with the help of a native midwife, he is breastfed after he has had his bath and the gin. The reason assigned to this is that the child is out of the woman's womb and is feeling hungry. It is noted in this village that generally the mothers' breasts do not start to function the day the child is born and therefore the child may be given either to a close relative or to a friend to be breast-fed until the mother's breasts are capable of giving milk. If there is no relative or friend to do this, the child is fed on sweetened water. This is done not by means of a bottle but with a spoon. During this same time the child is put to the breasts to induce the flow of milk but the nipples get blistered if this is done too often. What women in

this village do to get milk in to their breasts is to put two lumps of salt on either side of their shoulders and then eat them.

Shea butter can also be smeared on the breast to induce the flow of the milk. The woman may further be advised to take some of the herbal soup prepared with some leaves called 'sosoromasa' in Twi.

With the introduction of the hospital here, there are a few who bottle-feed their children but generally, breast feeding is prevalent. The mother sits on a low stool and puts the baby on her lap, supporting his head with one arm. Then after cleaning the breast by sucking it herself she takes it with her free hand and inserts the nipple into the child's mouth. After a while he is turned to the other breast. Sometimes during that time the mother examines the child, or pats it. If he is bottle-fed, he is held in the same way.

There are no regular times for feeding the child, whenever the child cries or makes a loud noise he is taken up and at times thrown up and down, played with, and put to the breast. At times he is fed to relieve the mother of the superfluity of milk in the breast. When a child cries during the night and troubles the mother and keeps her awake, the mother inserts the breast in the child's mouth and may fall asleep herself, allowing the child to suckle till he has had enough. On coming from the farms and carrying heavy loads, when the child is causing trouble on the back, ^{the women} put the child to their side, supporting it with one hand, and allowing it to suckle. One informant who was once a house maid of a Swiss lady's said, "Oh when I was staying with Mrs. X she fed her baby at regular intervals but at present my mother will not allow me to do that and moreover the breasts belong to the child and so whenever he cries I just give them to him". Some children spend their first week at the Basel Mission Hospital and even here the mothers are not advised to feed their children regularly. This is done because most of them are accustomed to irregular feeding times and they would keep to these and try to do so behind the sisters and nurses backs as long as they were at the



The woman is feeding the baby on the way.

hospital, and would go on doing the wrong thing when they went home. "Because of this," said the sister, "it is a waste of time and energy to try to educate them within the very short space of a week that they spend with us. What is more, I have heard that there is a new system in a part of America where children are fed at irregular times."

Sometimes babies refuse to eat. This happens when they cry and are given food, when they are really satisfied already. In this case the breasts are taken away and the mother tries to discover why the child is crying. It might be due to a desire to eliminate and, if so, it will be given a rag on which to do so. In most cases if a child refuses to eat, this is ascribed to illness. In such a case, besides the refusal, he will cry loudly and thus show that he is uncomfortable and from this the mother detects that he is sick. She feels the body and the stomach with her hands and if he is feverish, gives him an enema of key soap and water or of the solution obtained from straining the mixture of water and mashed tender leaves of the silk cotton tree. There are other drugs like quinine and diluted phenic which are given.

When a baby stops feeding, this is usually taken as a sign that he has had enough and so a majority of women stop him from continuing with the suckling by taking the breasts away. On the other hand, there are a few people who would go on pushing the breasts into the child's mouth even if he has stopped. This is what such an informant said "Well, a child does not know how to talk so he does not know what is right for him. If he stops suckling and I do not urge him on, he may not have had enough and may die of hunger." At times some people go to extremes in the feeding until the child vomits the breast milk.

The attitude of mothers towards nursing is often a joyful one except in rare cases. They have a great joy in looking after and caring for the child. This is what an informant said, "If I go out on a visit to some friends or even to the market, I see other women carrying their babies who they have nursed and dressed beautifully and so I wish to do the same. For if I don't

I shall receive public reproach to the effect that I am playing the lady and my child is suffering. However, there was one of my children whom I did not want to nurse for a long time because he worried me a lot and suckled me so much that I grew lean and my cloth wore out quickly. Because of that I hated to nurse him. Except for that naughty one, I have always enjoyed the nursing period because it is often during that time that my children smile nicely at me while lying on my arms and, curiously enough, it is at just this period that the children in spite of being so small - recognise me as their mother. I get great pleasure also from their infantile expressions and develop great love for them."

To a great majority, a woman who has very little milk in her breasts is considered to be a victim of satan. Alternately this is attributed to witches, wizards and men and women possessed of the devil. It is believed that one of the above mentioned wicked people does not wish the baby to grow up well and is preventing him from getting the right amount of milk, by influencing the mother in some way such as to make her unable to produce much milk. When a woman is having such a difficulty she is advised to take the medicinal soup described above, made with some herbs called 'aprapraemono'.

Marital intercourse is by custom not permitted during the first three to four months because in the first place the wound caused in the woman's vagina during delivery is still painful. In order to allow it to subside it is dressed with hot water and herbs, ginger, pepper and the seeds of a particular bush plant. All these are ground together and mixed with a little water, and some old woman in the family heals the patient by treating the wounds with hot water, and squeezing liquid from the mixture into the vagina. Sometimes hot stones are put into hot water and the mother is asked to sit or stand over the steam so that the wounds may be heated quickly. In spite of the fact that this is a very painful treatment, most of the women here have to undergo it. After sometime the young woman treats herself and eventually becomes better. During the period of this treatment, if any marital intercourse

takes place, the man will soil himself with blood and the mixture, and the wound sustained in the vagina is likely to develop into an inflammation. Usually, when a woman gives birth to a child, she stays in her mother's house where the husband does not gain any access to sexual intercourse with her. But when he thinks that the child has been nursed for quite a long time, say about 3 - 4 months, he introduces the matter like this "I feel that I want my newly born daughter ^{in my} ~~in my~~ ^{house.} Ama, can you bring her to sleep at my house to-night?". The husband says this with the intention of inviting both the baby and the mother in order to have sexual intercourse with her.

Until recent times, mothers did not wean their children until they became pregnant again; but now-a-days mothers wean their children before they get pregnant again. They think that the breast milk of the expectant mother is not healthy for the children because it seems as if it were poisoned in some way and a child taking this might be sick of diarrhoea and fever and swollen limbs and face. Some mothers feel that during all the time that the child suckles, the child pulls the breasts this way and that and therefore makes her lean. In such a case the mother can wean the child at her own convenience. There are others who wean their children because they often bite the breasts and cause them pain. There is not any particular fixed age at which weaning is effected. A woman said "I have six children and I weaned each at a different age, some according to their own reactions of refusing the breast milk when they were fairly big boys, and others at my own convenience because they would suckle almost all night, bite me and pull the breasts to make me go thin." "There was an interesting case when (not twins) an informant said; "I did not wean one of my children; when I was pregnant, and when I gave birth to the other one both of them suckled together."

The weaning has a relation to teething and biting because some children get a few teeth before they are weaned and therefore they can bite easily. Some mothers think that if they do not wean their children shortly after they have got teeth, the mother's milk will cause the ends of the teeth to break off and the rest will go mouldy and develop some greenish matter which may cause them to decay. Weaning is done more or less gradually, because as soon as the baby is capable of eating some solid food, he is given some of that and yet at times is still put to the breast. The number of times of breast feeding is cut down gradually by increasing of feeding with solid food. This goes on for some time until one day, the mother either knowing that the child knows how to eat solid food, or thinking that the baby is getting too troublesome and not allowing her to sleep; biting and pulling her breast about, decides never to give him the breast again.

Breast milk is then withheld from him forever. This makes the children weep a lot and sometimes they ask for breast milk. However much they crave and cry for the milk, they are only given bread, rice, or any other thing they like. At times, a child may refuse to eat for a long time. In such a case, the mother coaxes him, carries him on her back and promises him many things such as big dolls and fine clothes which in fact she will never get for him. She does this just to make him stop weeping. When he does not stop, next the mother tries to repel the child from the breasts by telling him that they have been poisoned and that the milk is bitter. Then she may ask the child to suckle, having smeared her breasts with a bitter herb called 'Awhwene' (*Vernonia amygdalina*) or with quinine, or with 'apakyi'aba' or Cascara Sagrada. The child, on tasting the bitterness of the herb, draws back and goes on weeping. Now he is told that the policeman will come for him or that the white man at the hospital will inject him. There are other similar threats. Also he may be told that these two people have touched the breast, and he there by driven off.

Children are given pacifiers to suck when they are very young and cannot move about a lot. This is what a woman said "I give pacifiers to my children when they are of not more than 3 months old and capable of playing. This is given long before I wean my child. I buy a rubber one or an ivory one of a bright colour which will appeal to him. I hang it round his wrist and then he starts putting it into his mouth and playing with it. When I was a child, I used to play with one, but that was a locally made one, made out of the bark of a certain forest tree called 'Okuo' which was made into the same shape as those I buy from the market for my child."

Children are not given any particular objects on which to teeth. People in this village believe that it is a taboo to have a child's top teeth appear first before the lower ones. So, instead of giving them an object to teeth on, the mother rubs her fingers on the top gum to blunt them so that the lower teeth may appear first. The effect of weaning on the child shows itself in much crying, which at times ends in illness.

In the first days of weaning, the child craves for the breast-milk, and since he has been elaborately repelled from the breasts, threatened, and ⁱⁿ these ways refused it, he becomes sad and weeps a lot, kicking his legs about and making as much noise as he can. The time when his crying is most troublesome is during the night when he disturbs all others from sleeping. For such times, some solid food such as rice is put aside for him to eat, which he may or may not refuse. This makes the mother sit up during parts of the night and makes her weak with fever and headache during the day time and not very fit for vigorous work. This crying resulting from the weaning makes the children irritable and unhappy and those who cannot resist illness become ill. They become pale and feverish and their hair becomes reddish and their eyelids become infested with certain insects which make the eyelashes start falling out. Such children are often taken to the hospital for treatment. Before, during and after the treatment (whether at the hospital or at some native medicine-man's house) the children tend to substitute thumbsucking for suckling.

This is believed to be a taboo because it is considered that it can be the cause of the death of any relative. This is what an informant said: "In this village, one of the things which we hate to see is a child who is sucking his finger because it is a very bad habit. In the first place it deforms the finger and besides the child takes to childish behaviour all the time. Even if he grows he still feels like a baby who is still suckling. Finally it is considered to be a taboo which may cause a person's death. I had a stranger in my house at one time who was an out-patient at the hospital. She had a child who was all the time sucking his finger and I often ~~warned~~^{warned} her child ~~not to do~~ so otherwise I would send them away from my house because I couldn't afford to allow death to occur in my family. Whatever efforts we made, the child did not stop it, and so, I took a knife, made little cuts on the thumb in order that he might feel pains when sucking it. From that day he stopped doing so."

Solid food is introduced gradually to the child before weaning in order that he will be able to eat something when he is weaned. At first, he is given light porridge made out of corn-dough or agidi which is a softer kind of kenkey. The mothers usually use spoons in feeding the children, but at times when a spoon is not available they shape their hands like a cup and pour the porridge into it and hold it close to the child's mouth so that he may drink from it. There is no occasion when the mother prechews the food before giving it to the child because they think that such is a dirty habit. The baby generally sits on his mother's lap when she is eating, and on seeing her do so stretches his hand for some of the food. So the mother mashes some quickly in her palm for him. He takes it and eats it, at times smearing some round his lips and on his mother's clothes. Thus he eats with the mother. When he can sit very well and support himself, he sits and eats from the same pot as his mother.

During such times the mother directs his attention towards the right way of eating. Some fathers prefer to eat with their older boys from the same dish in order to get acquainted with them. The child can eat with any relation in the house. So at times he eats with a grandmother, at times with a group of aunts, at other times with a group of children, some older than himself. In most cases he eats all alone, when the mother puts his food into a little dish bought for the purpose. They do this because they think that children quarrel a lot during meals, especially over meat. He is not fed at regular intervals because in the first place his mother does not finish cooking the meals always at the same time everyday. Secondly, the child may at anytime come to be eating with any relative who happens to be himself doing so; since if the latter refuses to let him, he finds himself considered as a cruel person. The child can also ask the mother at any time they are walking on the lanes or near the markets to buy him toffee or bread or twisted cakes or anything he pleases. The child may wake up at different times in the night and ask for food which he is of course given. All these things encourage him to take food at irregular times even when he is not hungry.

When a child refuses to eat or does not eat enough, the mother tries to find out the reason why he behaves like that. It may be that he is angry with somebody or that his attention is distracted by a toy or by a game that he is playing or that he is ill. Whatever it may be, the mother tries to find the cause of the refusal to eat (or of the desire to eat little) because she knows that if the child keeps on taking no food, or little food, he will suffer from ill-health and eventually die. In such a case, the woman reserves some food for the child so that he can eat wherever he has got over his anger or has finished playing. But if it so happens that the child for a long time refuses to eat the mother gets worried and tries to coax him and feed him herself and if he still refuses, she may question him as to which other food he would like to eat. On hearing that the mother would buy or cook that quickly for him, if he still refuses to eat, then the cause of his refusal is attributed to illness. She then starts questioning the child to find exactly what is wrong. Often it is either pains in the stomach, headache, or fever. In either of these cases the mother may try to cure him by buying such medicines such as Macleans Stomach Powder or Phensic or Quinine from the local shops. Or she may give him an enema with 'onunum' and give him some liquid from herbs to drink. If she finds that he is not getting better she takes the sick boy to the Basel Mission Hospital where with the help of scientific methods the particular sickness is found. The hospital sister there said that such illness in children can be the effect of the presence of worms. So the boy is given a worm treatment and becomes better again and able to take his meals joyfully and happily.

On the whole, over-eating is not much minded in the village for children take in their heaviest meals in the evenings and to some extent it is understandable that they take in so much. For, since most of the population of the village are farmers, the parents spend the greater part of the day in the farms. Before they go to the farms, they feed the children on some spinach along with either plantains or cocoyam or both - all of these boiled - and then leave them in the house to play. The children may



These children are eating together.

roast some plantains and eat them by themselves at lunch time. For this reason, they feel that they have been starved during the day and so in the evenings they take large meals at their mother's as well as from other relatives. They eat enormously, and so most of them have bulging stomachs. An informant said: "If my child over eats, I do not mind it much so long as he is not taken ill. After all, if he doesn't eat very much, he will not grow up a strong man. It is only occasionally that I make a remark about his bulging stomach."

Foods which are considered specially good for children vary greatly in this village, but the commonest ones are 'oto' mashed yam mixed with palm oil, and 'koko' (i.e. corn dough porridge mixed with a pinch of salt and sugar). The reason why these foods are considered suitable for children is that they are soft, and so children can eat them without having any stomach disorders. On the other hand beans are considered as a bad food for children.

^{worker}
 The was told that some children refuse to take it, and even after they have eaten it they suffer from bowel disorders. Citrus fruits and mangoes are also considered to be bad for children, because when such fruits are in season children go about eating ripe and unripe ones, thus getting diarrhoea, sometimes changing into dysentery. Food such as boiled rice, boiled yams, and boiled or roasted ripe plantains, bread, and boiled cocoyams, are palatable for children. Whenever a child sees any of these foods anywhere before or after his meal, he stretches his hand for some of it just to enjoy it. Foods that are unpalatable differ from child to child and whilst it might be beans for some children, it might also be 'fufu' (i.e. beaten boiled plantain or cocoyam served with soup) for others. There may not be any reason for a child not liking some particular food perhaps he just cannot just bear the taste or the smell of it.

In this village children are very often not rewarded with foods they like for eating those they dislike. This is what an informant said: "My daughter Akosua does not like eating 'fufu' (described above). Although it is the staple food in this town,

I do not care much about it. If she refuses it in her childhood she may perhaps take it when she grows and therefore I do not force her to eat it. I always give her other stuff". It was only in one case that ^{writer} he heard that a child ~~was~~ rewarded with food he liked. That was by one of the few hospital nurses whose home town is the village. She said: "I want Kwaku to grow fat and so I give him corn dough porridge mixed with a little sugar and a little bit of raw beaten egg. Since he doesn't like the scent of the latter, he refuses it but I speak to him and persuade him to eat it and reward him with boiled yam and spinach."

Every mother knows what her child likes best and, therefore, she promises to reward him with his favourite food when sending him to fetch water or firewood, or asking him to sweep. Such foods like meat or toffees or twisted cakes or bread or rice may be promised and the promise may be fulfilled or not. When a child misconducts himself or behaves badly, for instance wandering very often, or not attending to errands, or not wishing to wash his bowls after meals, he is sometimes denied food. In that case after cooking the meal the mother will call all other children, with the exception of the naughty one, to bring their bowls and then give them food. Then she will tell the naughty one that because of his bad behaviour he will have no food.

The child's diet on the whole is not in any way different from the adult's. This is what a mother said about it, "I give my child exactly the food that I eat. If it is fufu, I give him some of what I am eating. If it is a piece of boiled yam, or cocoyam, ¹⁰⁰ likewise. Although now he is a child he must learn to eat our various dishes from infancy so that he can continue doing that when he grows. It is only in the cases of very little children that I give mashed ^{instead of a sliced yam.} I mash it to facilitate their chewing of it". Most children are able to feed themselves when they are a year or a year and a half, and by two or two and a half they are considered definitely to be able to feed themselves. The response to this training is different from child to child. While some children prefer to feed themselves at an early age, there are some sickly or childish ones who wish to be fed by adults

even at the age of three years.

Children in this village, like a very ^{great} majority in this country, do not sit at table to eat; but there are still some manners that they should acquire. The first one which they are taught is to wash their hands before they eat. Even if a child forgets to wash his hands and starts eating, the mother stops him and makes him wash his hand to take away the dirt. In this village there is a proverb which runs thus: "S~~6~~ wuhu wo nsa hohoro a wo ne mpanyinfo didi." (if a child knows how to wash his hands, he eats with his elders). Most children, even if they are not left-handed, prefer eating with their left hands. In this village, generally speaking, cutlery is not often used and so the hand is used. It is customary and right to eat with the right hand only since the left hand is considered unclean on the grounds that it is used for cleaning the anus after elimination. Because of this fact, mothers abhor seeing their children eating with their left hands, and so they check them always and make them use their right hands. A child is taught not to put his left hand on the ground whilst eating with the right one because the eaten food is considered to pass ^o through his ^{left} hand into the ground and he would not have enough to make him grow fat. He is taught the right way of eating different foods e.g. fufu should be swallowed without chewing it first but, foods such as meat, boiled rice and cocoyam should be chewed first before swallowing. Mothers do not care much if the chewing is done with the lips closed or left open. Children are taught not to sing or talk a lot when eating because they might choke. This is done by telling them if they talk a lot or sing their mothers will die. Mothers are always particular about not allowing children to mess their mouths and their hands with spinach or soup and they teach the children to eat slowly and chew well and not to stuff their mouths with big morsels. Children who eat like that are called 'odidifo' (gluttonous children) and are checked. Parents show their child the houses where they may eat (i.e. relatives' house) and prohibit the child from eating in the others. A child who has been told not to eat in a certain house may go there and tell the people there; "My mother says

that I should not eat in your house." This may therefore bring a quarrel or enmity between both women. A child who goes from one unpermitted house to another house to eat is called "ohuafo" and is always checked by his parents. These manners are taught between the ages of one and four years when the child is learning how to eat and how to be independent. The parents teach their children by explaining to them what is good; and by asking them to stop a wrong thing they are doing and to start all afresh again. If children are found to be obstinate, they are scolded or beaten, after which they become better.

ELIMINATION

The baby's toilet training begins when he is only about one and a half to two weeks old. Early in the morning or at any other convenient time, the mother puts the child on her arms, draws both legs apart and at the same time makes a hissing sound "s-s-s-s" to imitate the sound which is heard when one is urinating. Whenever he starts urinating when not in the appropriate place and posture (say when ~~at~~ the back of the mother, or on the mat) he is quickly brought into this posture. Most children when put into this posture, thus know what is required of them, since they are accustomed to such treatment.

When children are old enough to know the value of praise, some parents praise them on occasions of good performance. This is what an informant said: "When I carry my baby at my back and he feels like urinating, he makes some physical movements to inform me of it so that I put him in the right posture for it. In such cases, I praise him by saying "mo amem, waye ade, wompe s wuni to samina bre." (Good boy well done, you do not want your mother to buy soap [i.e. for washing her clothes]). If he is older, I praise him for eliminating just at the place I have shown him, and sometimes even promise him such rewards as toffees which I may or may not in fact give." On the other hand there are some women who do not praise on occasions of good performance, their reason being that there is no time for such unnecessary praise.

All mothers, whether they praise infants or not, do not scold babies of about 3 months when they soil or wet their rags. Generally the Agogo woman thinks that a baby has no sense; and when he shows gestures of urination, or cries as a sign of wanting to ease himself, and is not heeded, it is understandable that he should wet or soil the rags. Consequently, he is not punished for doing these things.

Mothers, as do all adults, express disgust over older children's dirtiness. This is what an informant said: "My older child of about 2 - 3 years knows what is right now. She knows that she should eliminate in a pot. And therefore if she fails to make use of it,

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The baby's toilet training begins when he is only about one and a half to two weeks old. Early in the morning or at any other convenient time, the mother puts the child on her arms, draws both legs apart and at the same time makes a hissing sound "a-a-a-a" to imitate the sound which is heard when one is urinating. When ever he starts urinating then not in the appropriate place and posture (say when on the back of the mother, or on the mat) he is quickly brought into this posture. Most children when put into this posture know what is required of them, since they are accustomed to such treatment.

When children are old enough to know the value of praise, some parents praise them for doing what is expected of them. This is what and he feels inferior to other children. I praise him by saying "Good boy well done for waiting for the toilet." My soap (i.e. him for eliminating even praise



This child is defecating outside the house.

On the other hand there are some women who do not praise on occasions of good performance, their reason being that there is no time for such unnecessary praise. All mothers, whether they praise infants or not, do not avoid babies of such age.



This child is defecating in the pit latrine. The two friends are waiting to accompany him home.

and wets my laps and legs with urine, and walks through it, or plays with it with her hand, I become very angry, because it does not look tidy at all it is ugly, and sometimes I feel like vomiting at the sight of such filth. In such cases, I either abuse her or beat her. There are only two instances when I do not express disgust. One is when the baby is too young to know what is good, the other when she is ill. In the latter case, I feel very much for her, clean her quickly, make her warm, and find some medicine to make her well."

Until recent times, many children were trained by being taken outside the house and being shown a place in the yard at which to defecate. But one informant said that this system makes the yard and back yard become full of faeces and flies, and as a result parents are arrested by sanitary inspectors who bring them to court to be fined. Because of this inconvenience, and the loss of money, many children are now trained to eliminate in the pot, which is either kept in a corner, or if not, is removed quickly on the occasion so as to avoid arrest by the Sanitary Inspector. One informant said that her children are so used to the pot that one of them recently refused to eliminate on a leaf given to her for the purpose when they were in the farm. She waited until she came home, where she performed on the pot. However, there are some naughty boys who if they are put on the pot will get away from it and eliminate on the ground.

A child's toilet training is supposed to be completed when he is able to clean himself i.e. when he is four to five years of age. At this time, children are introduced to the male or female public pit latrines. The boy or girl is taken by the parent or by any adult of the same sex to see that he or she is safe on the pit.

Sometimes at this age although toilet training is supposed to be completed children still want to be accompanied to the latrines, which may be a hundred, or two or three hundred or even more, yards away from the house. This is because the children are afraid.

Bladder training starts much earlier than Bowel training. The former starts at about one and a half weeks after the child's

birth and the latter, when the child is about two months. Before this time, the child is allowed to wet or soil the rags which are spread under her. For bladder training, he is held in the arms, his legs put apart, and the hissing noise being sounded. Then he starts urinating. Later on, if he is being trained to use the pot, he is put on the pot with the mother sitting behind him and supporting him with her hands producing the same hissing sound "s-s-s-s-". For bowel training, when the ^{child} is about two months or older, ~~when~~ and when the mother finds that he has started to soil the rags, she sits down quickly, and takes him and puts him onto her own two feet, these being placed about 4 inches apart from each other. This forms a sort of pit latrine for the child to sit on and for performance of the eliminatory function. Some mothers, instead of doing this, put their children straight on the pots to evacuate. This is done during day-time as well as in the night, when the mother puts him, the child, on the pot when he starts to cry. On the whole the mothers are more strict about bowel than they are about bladder training because they know that if the children are not well trained to eliminate their stools in the right places, they (the parents) will be arrested by the Sanitary Inspector and incur the misfortune of paying a fine. Because of this older children can urinate anywhere in the yard of backyard; but they have to defecate only at the places appointed.

In this village, mothers do not normally examine and criticise the quantity and quality of the child's faeces, because most of them feel that to do so is a waste of time. "The only time," says an informant, "that I examine and criticise, is when I notice that the faeces are more than usual and are too loose. In such cases, if I find that they are somewhat mixed with a foamy substance, and have a queer scent, I start examining various part of the child's body. The eyes may be pale. The body may be hot. If I conclude that my child is sick, I take him to the hospital, where he is given a mixture to take, and put on an invalid soft diet."

Mothers who demand promptness in elimination from their children are only a handful. They are those who were once the housemaids of the Swiss ladies at the hospital or at the Girls'

School in the village. If the children of the others tell them that they feel like eliminating, the mothers go on with whatsoever house work they are doing, and take no notice. When the children speak up again, some of them then give them attention. But there are others who shout at them and tell them to stand aside. Only, perhaps, after another ten minutes do they give the children attention. When a child is treated like this, he may cry and then ease himself in some inappropriate place, which may cause the mother to scold and beat him. This treatment may go on up to the time when the child is five years of age, when he is able to go by himself to the public latrines.

Although the training of boys and girls in performing eliminatory functions is the same in all respects, there is a difference in the ease with which boys and girls are trained. For it is much easier to train the boys. Since the girls know that their mothers are of the same sex as they are, they tend to bluff them and to treat their orders as jokes, to chuckle or sob as they like without any adequate cause for such behaviour and even refuse to carry out at all orders which they have been given. This makes it difficult to train the girls easily.

Mothers do not worry much about constipation and, as an informant put it, "After all if my child is constipated it gives me less work to do because I do not have any stool to sweep from the backyard to carry away in the pot to the latrine." Once a Sanitary Inspector arrested a woman because her child's stool was found at the back of her house; and as the woman was going to the court, another woman who got to know about the case said: "Ho! why does your child do that, does it mean that she passes stools every day? Mine does not. The last one he passed was about four days ago. I am lucky, in that I don't have to sweep much, and in that I cannot easily be a victim of the Sanitary Inspectors."

Whilst most mothers do not mind much about constipation they are very much frightened when their children get diarrhoea. There are certain times connected with the child's maturation in which the children often suffer from diarrhoea; they are the times when the child is teething, crawling, and learning how to stand and walk

The illiterate mothers told me of the connection of diarrhoea with these developing of ages but could not tell me what was its cause. But an enlightened mother said, "oh! now I know the reason why they get loose bowels during these times, it is because they crawl all over the place and eat food which has fallen unto the ground and take such nasty things as the ~~feces~~ of fowls and goats and therefore develop worm diseases and get diarrhoea!" The women are very much worried when convulsions develop after the diarrhoea because it is not uncommon for children suffering from this to die. There is no preventive medicine for such attacks of diarrhoea. But if they come, the child is given an enema with the liquid from a herb called 'onunum' mixed with pepper or with white clay. When he does not become better, the child is taken to the hospital where he may get a mixture or an injection to clear up the trouble.

There is no special toilet language for children and so they use the ordinary expressions which adults use. They may in the course of time make up their own words such as 'kai' for defecation and 't t' for urination.

Children are taught to carry out elimination privately from four and a half years onwards. Up to five the child may ask his mother or an adult to accompany him to the latrine; but from five years onwards, usually he performs these functions without troubling anyone else.

Conditions in this village do not allow adults to refrain from performing eliminatory functions in front of children because there is only a handful of pit latrines in the town. There are some which are for the women and others for the men. All people of the same sex, no matter what their age or size, are allowed to use the same latrine. It is not uncommon to see a father and son or a girl and an elderly aunt squatting on the pit latrine at the same time and chatting together. If however, an old lady feels that a child is scrutinizing her, she will abuse her.

When a child breaks wind in informal places, this is not considered a serious matter, and adults and children may laugh when this is done. If however, a child does it purposely, with a loud

noise to disturb others, he is rebuked. If it makes the air foul and happens at frequent intervals it is considered as a symptom or disorders of the bowels and the child is then given an aperient or purgative. Mothers do not worry much about hiccoughs. When they come, mothers think that they constitute an exercise which expands the child's chests. In such cases, a few tea-spoonfuls of water are given to the child to relieve him.

Belching in children causes no alarm to mothers. It is simply considered as a sign that the child has had enough food. On the other hand, if a child belches very loudly to attract attention, he is scolded.



The woman is carrying her child.



The boy is carrying the child.

MOTOR DEVELOPMENT

A child of two weeks of age is considered to be strong enough to be carried on his mother's back. The mother knows that he is so weak that if he is not bound up well from neck to toes by an adult he is liable to bend his chest or his neck so as in either case, to break it as they put it. The first would cause him serious chest troubles showing symptoms in the sides first and possibly causing his death at any time. An informant said: "My child Akosua was still only lying on my lap so long as she was less than two weeks old, since she was so fragile. After this, because I noticed that she had little control over her head, I carried her behind me bound from neck to feet to prevent her bending and causing illness. I did this for the first three months. On seeing that she was able to carry her head erect over her neck, I went on carrying her, but now released her right hand from the swaddling clothes. I put out the right one so that she might start learning how to receive things from people with that one and not with the left hand. A month later, when she was considered to have developed more, and was able to balance herself better, had her other arm released too. But the legs were always bound until he learnt how to sit, because if, (say) on a visit to a friend, her legs had been seen on the way by any wicked man, such might have conjured her and made her lame."

Generally, there is neither movable nor stationary furniture specially provided for the child. The only thing which is provided (in some of the cases when the child has taken a long time to walk) is a wooden contrivance with three wheels. Apart from this, when children are seen pushing, lifting and climbing on furniture, this furniture is that which is being used by the adults.

After the two hands of a child are released and have developed sufficient muscular co-ordination to balance himself he is carried a lot especially by his mother, sisters, grand-mother, and aunts, as well as by his parents' friends. The female folk carry the child by putting him on their backs, head up, with face facing the carrier's back. First, arms are put into the adjacent armpits and the child's legs opened towards the two hips of the woman. Then, the

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The two older children are supporting the young ones.

female bending ^{forward} a little spreads a cloth over the back of the child, tucking in or not tucking in all the limbs according to her liking, and brining the ends of the cloth to her own chest. She ties it hard at two places: round the chest, and the waist. Usually when women are working in the house, they prefer their children to lie on a mat and play. But (after) when the child starts weeping, the mother rushes towards him and takes him, and gives him breast milk, and then carries him on her back. Thus, she goes about her work of splitting firewood, going for water, sweeping the compound and beating the fufu, ^{and} carrying the child at the same time. When she is going to have her bath, she gives him to an older sister, or to anybody available who may carry him on their arms. Sometimes when masculine members share in carrying him, they do it differently. A father may hold the child's trunk and put its head on his shoulder and allow the rest of its body to rest against his chest; then he puts one arm of his on its back to keep it in position. For very special purposes, such as for walking long distances, the father may carry the child shoulderhigh, as chiefs are carried.

Children are not all the time being carried by adults. Sometimes they lie on a mat; and when lying there, they are allowed to move in any way they are capable of moving. ^{writer} The _A observed a child lying awake on his mat and saw him grasp his foot and bring it to his mouth, put it back, stretch his arms, try to turn himself upside down, kick and extend his legs. ^{She} saw this boy at the age of three months when being made to sit on the ground for the first time. As the practice of the place is, he was placed on the ground by his mother, and relative (in this case and aunt) sitting behind him to support him, a folded cloth then being tucked between his legs to support him from falling down. ^{writer} The _A was told that sometimes for such purposes, the child is made to sit down on a mat and is supported by pillows all round him or by blankets. At times a low stool is turned upside down and the child put carefully onto it and left for sometime. He is supported by the sides of the stool. During such times the child turns this way and that, bends forwards and backwards, and lifts up his head and limbs according to his own liking.

The age at which children learn to crawl varies in this village and it depends mostly on the strength of the child. The crawling age ranges from four and a half to six months. "Crawling", said an informant; "is a natural process and therefore cannot be taught. It should be guided only by God". She then went on by describing how her child started to crawl. "My child at the age of 5 months started to crawl and he often struggled to sit up and started to cry whenever he failed. Whenever he awoke from sleep, he tried to sit up on the mat and to stretch his body and limbs. If he saw an object he wanted and couldn't reach it, he fell prostrate and wept. Some weeks later when he felt he could balance himself well he started moving his limbs. After a few days, he started to crawl on his hands and knees. At the age of six months to seven, he had developed sufficient muscular co-ordination to balance his body, and he crawled to all corners of the room. He pulled down hanging cloths. He crawled to the kitchen. He uncovered bowls to examine the contents. He crawled to boxes and emptied them whether the things were breakables or not, dropping them as he liked. However, at this age, I encouraged his crawling by holding either a bright object of some food at a distance so that he might crawl forward to take it. All the same, he tended to crawl to every place, packing and unpacking and causing all sorts of troubles and destroying valuable things. So I liked him to be restricted sometimes. I would take him to the verandah and give him an empty powder tin to play with; or I at times carried him on my back however much he pressed to go on crawling about."

The next stage in the motor development of the child is walking. The walking age varies and a child might be expected to walk between the ages of seven and eighteen months. During this time, the child can crawl on all fours like a quadruped and he tries to support himself so as to stand erect by holding the pole of a bed or holding on other furniture or even the cloths of adults. He starts by taking a few unsteady steps. Then the mother holding his hand tries to lead him on. All adults and older children take an interest, look at him, and urge him on with words. At this stage, a wooden contrivance with three wheels may be provided for him to give him practice.

During such practice, a young adult keeps closely near to help in case he should fall. In spite of the fact that the adults and especially parents take an interest in early walking, the child is not rewarded for having been able to walk. They feel that the joy he gets from it is sufficient enough. If because of illness it takes a child quite a long time to walk, say until he has already reached the age of 18 months, his parents become so worried that they start finding medicines and pricking his feet with a little red fruit which looks like a newly growing pine-^Papple in order to make him capable of walking.

When a child reaches the walking stage, he is very difficult to manage and can be seen toddling all over the house. In the house of one of my informants, ^{writer} The saw a boy aged (9) nine, who was walking on his own, going here and there in the house. He walked from one room to the other as if to discover something, and then to the kitchen and back to the yard. When he saw his mother going out of the house, he followed her to the gate and closed the gate quickly after her. He stood behind it and cried for sometime, but he was quickly comforted and then on hearing some noise in the bathroom, went there. He was allowed to go every where in the house except on to high verandahs or up high objects (from either of which he might fall easily) or near the fire place (where he might get burnt). It is when children are very happy that they go from room to room and from the kitchen to the bathroom - in other words, all over the house. An informant told me that once she found an old little brown travelling bag on the street and gave it to her grand-child of about a year old. The child was so glad that she explored every bit of the house on that day until very late, when he was told to go to bed. Knowing how children in this country have no limits in moving in the house, ^{writer} The was thrilled when, spending three weeks in a country house in Hereford, ^{writer} She saw a boy called James who was a year old and who could toddle about being kept from early morning till evening in a play-pen with his many toys around him. He was thus prevented the whole day long from moving about.

In this village, when children are driven by motor urges, they are ceaselessly on the move, walking, climbing and exploring. They do all this carelessly without thinking of the danger. Consequently, at times some walk a lot and wander far and wide. Others get near some dangerous things, such as fire, boiling water, sharp knives etc. In such cases, the mother tries to make the risk of danger less likely by (say) shutting the kitchen, where there is glowing fire or boiling water, when no one is present there. Likewise sharp articles are removed from the way of the boy. When parents find that such methods do not work, they employ others. Since they know for example that children want to explore the outside world, mother can ask an older boy to take the child out to help him whenever danger is near and to bring him home in time. Those who are older are threatened with punishment and indeed punished at times for being insolent and wandering off, going near fire places and touching dangerous things as knives. Children are sometimes warned by stories about children who did the same dangerous things and were caught by ghost, dwarfs, police and the white man. In this village, when a child wanders and is rescued and returned to the chief's house, the mother is questioned and fined. So mothers are very particular about their children.

One of my informants told me of a boy aged 8, Okoto by name, who was very fond of wandering. He said: "Okoto is an adopted child. His parents live in another village. He does nothing other than wandering. One day I sent him to buy me a box of matches at about 7 a.m. but by noon he had not returned. We sent people round to search for him because everybody in the house was upset and worried. We knew that he might go to some relatives' house for food, but all the same we had to search for him because if he was taken to the chief's house we might get into trouble. We nearly asked the chief's servant to beat the gong-gong so as to start a general search for him. It was 8 p.m. that he appeared in the house. When he came we threatened and scolded him, pushed hot pepper into his anus, with-held from him his meal, and told him frightening stories about children. We did all these, but it still did not work. He is still fond of wandering and even goes so far to say that it is



These children are engaged in play.

the bad boys who live longer than those who are good."

In this village, it is generally known that most children are always active and are always on the move and so if such active children are found sitting silently and still adults suspect that they are ill and find a means to help them to get better. There are some children who are quiet by nature and so if those children sit still and quiet somewhere in the house, adults do not mind it much. Children who busy themselves too much with quarrels and mischief and with making themselves dirty, are made to sit quiet and still for some little stretch of time. Another time when children are expected to behave like that, is when the adults are entertaining a visitor or are conversing with other adults. In such a case, the child is expected to keep mute, to sit still, to have nothing to say, and to do nothing that would disturb the adult until he leaves their presence, or until they finish their conversation.

In order that children will not always move about their parents or cause inconvenience, they are allowed to engage in motor plays which will keep them elsewhere and busy. The parents warn them against those which involve dangers such as falling, or breaking or cutting an arm; and so much running and wrestling is not allowed. ^{writer} The observed a child, one Afua Nyarko by name, two and a half years of age. She was playing with a cigarette-tin lid with which she fetched water, carrying it as adults do, on her head and pouring it into a bucket. After her mother had finished baking bread, Afua mixed some of the ashes with water, carried it, and started shouting 'Kookoo' (corn porridge) in imitation of those who seel it. She, like many other little girls, busied herself with play-cooking. Some girls who have dolls bathe them, feed them, and put them to sleep. At times they carry their dolls on their backs as if they were new born babies. Boys, on the other hand, play with things which appeal to their masculine taste. They make a simple 'lorry' with string threaded through an empty thread reel. And by holding the end of the string, they pull it about the compound or on the verandah. They make other complicated 'lorries' as they call them, with petrol cases, having a flat top and four wheels made of empty thread reels.

One of them sits on it and the others push him round. Another common lorry is got by making a wheel out of a big seed or from a tree, and by fixing a long pole of about **four** yards to it. The boys pull it about by pushing the free end of the pole. This kind of lorry is used for carrying water from the river, by hanging a bucket on a fixed nail in the middle of the long pole. Another spot where children are seen at motor play is in the sand. A child may be seen from the house, carrying or heaping or wetting or modelling the sand into any object he likes.

S L E E P.

Little babies normally sleep quietly and soundly at night, waking up every now and then to suckle, drink or eliminate. They also sleep a lot during day time.

However, as they grow older and learn how to walk, they sleep very little in the day time. They give much of their time to play, and being tired as a result of it sleep very soundly and deeply throughout the whole night.

When they are a little older, say between the ages of four and six, they learn to play outside. You will find them playing about on moonlight nights; and on such occasions mothers can scarcely persuade them to go to bed early.

Mothers find ways and means to make them go to bed. When the child is fairly young, say less than a year, the mother carries him on her back and sings to him. She may pace up and down slowly until the child sleeps. If the child is not weaned, the mother allows the child to suckle while lying by her side on a bed. The child may fall asleep soon afterwards. A child of over a year may be promised some favourite foods for the following day. If this fails, the mother resorts to story telling and in severe cases to threatening, and beating, after which a child normally cries and falls asleep.

On account of poor accommodation, children and parents share the same rooms. Some parents sleep on a bed, while the children are on a mat and in other cases, a parent may share the same mat or beds with them.

Where conditions are a little better, older children from nine onwards sleep in a separate room from that of the parents. This was approved of by the informants on the grounds that the older children might watch their parents when engaged in sexual intercourse. The older children usually sleep on mats in groups of twos and threes. It is often the enuretic or those who have chronic sores which should be out of danger that sleep alone. Such children are provided with their separate mats.

little babies normally sleep dutifully and soundly at night, waking up every now and then to suckle, drink or eliminate. They also sleep a lot during the day. However, as they grow older and learn how to walk, they sleep very little in the day time. They give much of their time to play, and being tired as a result of it sleep very soundly and deeply throughout the whole night. When they are a little older, say between the ages of four and six, they learn to sleep outside. They will then sleep playing about...



Some mothers make it a point to have their children bathed daily. The amount of bath administration, children and women... when the mother... children are... the same... there... like... this... other... introduced... of two... children... bath children are provided with their separate beds.

H E A L T H.

To all Agogo mothers, wetness and, to the enlightened, dirtiness are considered to be the main cause of ill-health in children. It is the common belief that if a child gets wet for a long time either by getting wet in the rain, or by lying in his urine, or by any other means, he will develop a cold, a cough or pneumonia or 'asabra'. If a child is suffering from 'Asabra' he becomes weak with a high temperature and at the same time gets spots all over the body.

The enlightened mothers know that children who play in the dust may catch scabies and that ^{those} who eat or drink contaminated food or water may catch worms.

Mothers are well aware that a child must be sent to the doctor as soon as he contracts any of these diseases. They quite appreciate the fact that a little delay on their part would lead to undesirable results.

Some mothers make it a point to have their children bathed daily; they realize that it is the habit of children to play in the sand so that it is essential that they are given a regular bath to keep them clean and healthy. However, there are others who do not bother themselves very much in seeing to it that their children have regular baths. The children of such mothers go without a bath for days on end. These children are therefore not very healthy. They suffer every now and then from rashes and other forms of skin diseases.

Apart from the precautions which mothers take to prevent their children from getting wet or dirty, they also warn them not to walk or play too much in the sun. It is believed that if a child walks too much in the sun, it will get sun-stroke, or become too weak.

Crying too often is also believed to be injurious to a child's health. Every means is therefore used to stop it. This may take the form of fulfilling the child's wishes or of caressing him.

Another thing which engages mothers' attention with respect to the health of their children is too much eating of mangoes

and oranges. They say that it will bring about diarrhoea and dysentery.

At Agogo also, mothers think it is their duty to keep the teeth of their children clean. Bad teeth in children, it is held, do not only cause stomach disorders but they reflect badly on the mother. Mothers who allow their children's teeth to decay are looked upon with contempt for neglecting their duty as mothers. Mothers are therefore particular about the cleanliness of the teeth of their children. Every morning, the child is given a piece of chewing stick with which to clean his teeth.

When a child falls sick, a native doctor is normally called in. The medicine which usually given for treatment of children consists of herbs, roots and bark. These are washed, chopped and later boiled. The solution which is obtained is mixed with small quantities of ^Ppeper and salt and is given from a calabash to the sick child in small doses.

Though the responsibility for nursing the child back to health rests with the mother, grandmothers frequently give their help.

The treatment which is prescribed by these native-men is generally successful. However, should the child's condition become worse he is sent to the Agogo hospital by his parents.

PHYSICAL CONTACTS, MASTURBATION, SEX-PLAY.

Kissing on the whole is not very much used in this village to express love. However, if it is done at all, it is the child of about 3 months of age who is kissed.

It is either the mother or the father or sisters or brothers or in very rare cases very intimate friends or relatives who kiss the child. The mouths are never kissed but the cheek may be kissed. This happens when the adult concerned is playing with the child and wants him to be happy. Sometimes the child's breasts are kissed and when this happens the child is found smiling even if he has started to weep.

When the child is about three months old, he can be stroked, sat on lap, tickled, and rocked by an adult who happens to carry him. By these and some other things such as handling and fondling, the adults try to show love to the child who responds with a smile. As far as embracing children is concerned it is only when either the child or the adult concerned has been absent for a long time that it is practiced. It is done by relations in the immediate 'family' or by an intimate friend. Both girls and boys are handled in the same way until they reach the age of nine or a certain age. When a child starts walking, some physical contacts such as kissing, stroking, rocking are stopped. But sitting on laps goes on for sometime until he is about two. Embracing goes on through life. The other physical contacts with girls go on for a longer period than that with boys, because they very often keep very close to their mothers whilst the boys develop a sort of independent attitude.

When the child is above two years, the sex organ is washed with water only and the hands are rubbed inside it to ensure cative cleanliness. In this village, there are no restrictions as such on physical contacts. In Agogo, people think that such things as kissing on the mouth are inappropriate.

For example, one of my female informants said "Even children know what is accepted in our society because yesterday I returned from a journey and on seeing my child of four, he ran up to me shouting: "me na oo" ("Haloo, mummy") I responded to him and he stretched his hands to be embraced so I embraced him,

after he had started telling me about some things that had happened in my absence (i.e. about his favourite food that he had eaten, about people that had called, about motor games he and his sisters and brothers had had). I made an attempt to kiss him on the mouth but he quickly turned his head away as a sign of refusing that way of showing love - whereas he thought the embracing good and appropriate".

In this society, kissing is little known and if it is done at all, it is adults who kiss little children either on the cheek or on the breasts, but a child is never required to kiss an adult or another child. If a child were to kiss anybody, he would be considered as a child who is having ^{low} moral standards. As such, adults do not in any way encourage those physical contacts in their children to bring shame on their family.

When a child is bathed, special attention is paid to the genitals and they are not only bathed but they are also treated with hot water, because mothers think that if this is neglected, a sore may develop there.

The vagina of an infant girl is cleaned with a towel, and lying on the mother naked, her feet are put well apart and warm water dropped into it; sometimes some herbs called "onunum" are heated on a hot stone, and when warm put on her genital. When an infant boy is bathed, the mother cleans his penis by lifting it and dropping warm water into it. After that, since males here are not circumcised, the fore-skin may be pulled backwards and cleaned with a towel or a rag.

There are no special children's words for the genitals. However when children are very young and are learning how to talk, they may in some cases coin some words of their own, but as soon as they understand adults' words, they use the adult names for them. Older children and adults speak freely of the genitals in conversations or orders or in quarrels.

¹ The woman's desire to kiss her child is peculiar to a citizen of that place. Perhaps she copied it from the few Europeans in the village.

For example it is not uncommon to hear such expression as: "oye me nuabea pee, yefi kote biako mu," meaning "she is my real sister; we come from the same penis". Therefore children do do not feel ashamed when they use the adult name for them and do not find the need to retain a coined word if they have one or of shaping one up.

Masturbation in children is recognised as being common.

^{writer} The_a was told that children often play unconsciously with their genitals, boys pulling and turning theirs and girls ~~stoking~~ or examining theirs. Adults abhor that sort of thing because they think that a child who engages in such activities in his infancy, turns to be of a weak moral character in adulthood. This is what an old man said, "My son Kwadwo is now well over twenty and I cannot compare him to anything other than a he-goat because he is morally very weak. I remember quite well that in his infancy, he often played with his genitals and would not listen to any advice given him." Another informant said ^{that} _a when ~~her~~ daughter Akosua was two years old, she engaged in masturbation and therefore got a disease widely known here as "Odeepua" (Leucorrhoea or the 'whites'). This is a disease which attacks females only and which causes a sort of discharge in the vagina.

In this village girls of about less than two years old and boys of about four years of age and less are often seen playing with their genitals and since the adults do not like that, a child's hand is taken away immediately he is seen putting it on them. In order to be able to prevent that properly, children are provided with pilch knickers which they are, as occasion arises, told to put on. Girls are taught from infancy to wear a red napkin over their vagina in order to prevent people seeing it and dirt getting into it and also to prevent masturbation. If however, in spite of all these preventives and advice, a child is seen playing with the genitals, other methods are employed to make them stop it. A mother may, for example, threaten her child to stop masturbating or otherwise the white man will inject her, or the dwarfs carry her away. If that method fails

the mother sometimes resorts to punishments such as beating or pushing mashed ginger or herbs mixed with paper into the anus or dropping the juice of ginger into the vagina. Hand-tying is not known in this village.

Shortly after children have started to walk, they start engaging themselves in all sorts of motor play and sex games. They go on doing these until they are about six to seven years of age. Some are done individually at home. Under that, a girl may be seen treating her doll as a human being, bathing it, powdering it, carrying it on her back and feeding it. If a bought plastic or rubber doll is not available, the child substitutes for such a plantain and the one they like the best is twin plantain that is, the one having two fingers. Only yesterday, ^{the writer} saw a child who was asleep but who had a dressed plantain toy supposed to be sleeping along her side. The children become so infatuated with their dolls which might be anything from stones, to dolls of human form. Then they try to talk to them and make them talk too. Ama is a girl in this village who is fond of talking to her doll, and, on one occasion, when her mother had arrived from the farm, she gave a shout of joy and asked her doll whether it was not going to do the same. Girls also busy themselves in doing a make-belief cooking. There are however some individual sex games for boys, for a boy may use any convenient round object as a steering wheel and turning it this way and that running about making the sound vuuuv-vuuuv, imitates the driver. Another one may have a toy gun and pretend to be a hunter for some time.

When the children are a bit older, from four years to five and a half or six, they concentrate on group sex games in addition to the individual ones at home. A group of children from six to ten comprising of both girls and boys may be seen busy engaging in sex games. The type of game the group does depends upon their environment. In the christian quarters, the game might be a scene at school in which a boy takes the lead as a teacher and lines the others up two by two, marches them through a line and

teaches them a song like: "Kofi ne Ama ko bepaw no so" which is equivalent to 'Jack and Jill went up the hill' in English. If the one acting as a teacher has been Primary Class one for some time, he starts teaching them the letters of the Twi alphabet. When things are not going well for the teacher, he just gives each a knock on their heads. Also in the Christian quarters one common sex play is "The brass band". The Presbyterian Church has got a brass band which plays during some Sunday services and so the children who are present during such times imitate them. A boy may conduct the others who may be singing and may be beating tins and pans with sticks as their brass instruments.

In the heathen quarters, the sex game may be fetish dance. All the players may smear ash on their bodies representing the white clay their elders smear on their bodies. One will be the fetish priest himself, dancing jumping about and turning his head this way or that and just trying to imitate the fetish priest himself. Some of the others may be singing, others clapping and the rest beating the tins with sticks to represent drumming. Besides these environmental sex games, there are some other group ones which are common in the town. Some groups, especially those of boys only, play an Army scene and a mixed group may also play driver and passengers. Others also play life in the home which they elect mother, father and children. The mother may dress just like a grown-up, wearing a headkerchief and substituting something for breast and wearing a second top cloth and carrying a doll on her back. The father puts on a cloth and puts on the air and the dignity of a father. The children, who are more often than not younger than their make-believe parents, behave childishly and expected to be petted or helped and looked after by the parents.

Sex games are regarded as something good so long as the child does not hurt himself with them. Since this is an agricultural town, parents often leave the children at home for their farms and it is during such times that the children engage in those things. As such the adults find it a blessing

that the children can alone occupy themselves in such a way rather than sitting quietly somewhere and weeping or going somewhere to cause mischief. It was said that with the exception of a few cases, the sexual instincts in children are so immature that they are not expected to indulge in sexual intercourse. With this view in mind, with the idea that the children do not damage anything or hurt themselves they can indulge in sexual games. One of my informants said: "I always like my daughter Afua, who is one and half years old to attend that of the school scene sex game because she learns a lot of songs in that way and comes home to sing them."

that the children can show curiosity themselves in such a way
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 things in that way."



This boy is naked

CLOTHING AND SELF - EXPOSURE.

When a child is born a few clothes are provided in which he can feel warm and with which he can cover himself. In early childhood, nobody bothers much if he is naked or not before people, but from five years onwards he is taught to feel ashamed when he appears naked. Some mothers are particular about dressing their children so that they do not appear naked before some other women because as an informant said, "women in this village gossip too much and if the child is deformed in any way, the news will spread in a few seconds." Other female children also should feel ashamed before men when naked, because, as an informant put it, that lapse from modesty betrays the weak moral character of the mother concerned. They are also taught to feel ashamed when naked before any strangers from outside the village, for being so they would be considered as having no manners. In spite of all this, there are some parents whose children go naked in the town. Either they haven't got time to see to it that the children dress, or they think that they are only children and therefore they need not feel ashamed. Such naked children are only made to feel ashamed when they are ten to eleven years of age.

The children are trained to dress before they begin to feel ashamed of being naked. When the children are young, say at the age of five, the mother often dresses them so that they may not be naked. This is what an informant said: "I always dress my child before he goes to bed so that he will get up in the morning dressed already." This she said, was a means of treating the lapse from modesty; and she said that her child is now so acquainted with its dress that whenever he hasn't got it on, he asks: "Mummy, where is my dress?" When a child purposely refuses a dress, he is warned against it. The mother might say "Ho! it is a shame to go about naked like this; if you do not put on a dress, I shall beat you." If that fails, the mother resorts to threats and punishments until the child agrees to wear the dress.

Attitudes toward nakedness differ according to the child's sex, for girls are taught to feel more ashamed than boys.

A christian informant said: "Even from the beginning of Creation, it was established that females should feel more shameful towards nakedness, because Eve, ~~on~~ seeing that she was naked, covered herself quickly. In this village, men are sometimes seen having their bath in the yard whilst women have to have it in an enclosed place.

It is accepted in this society that men can stand near any wall, even near the street to urinate whilst a woman doing this will be hooted at. And, although these customs concern adults, they are also followed by children too. Girls must always feel more ashamed when they are naked; because of that, the vagina should always be covered with a red napkin tacked into the waist-beads both in front of her and at her back; lapse from this at any age is considered immodest.

The age which the child gets help in dressing and undressing differs widely in this village and it may range from four and a half to even six years. It all depends on the ability of the child. Very often before this time, as soon as he gets up from bed or has his bath the mother puts his dress on for him. At times, wanting to put his dress on, he will perhaps turn the wrong side up, or turn the front of the dress towards the back; and therefore, until this time, he gets help in dressing and undressing. On the whole, boys spend a shorter period of their childhood getting that help, because the way in which they put on their cloth is much simpler than that of the girls. So at the age of five the boys do not get more help. Girls have to put on their cloth hanging from their waist, and then to put on a blouse. This is much more difficult than what the boys do. So they need help until they are about six years of age.

Parents' attitudes towards undressing before children vary greatly from house to house and from individual to individual. Some women undress before their children in their rooms; others while naked in the bathroom call their sons and daughters to bathe them; others feel free to walk half naked to the waist in the streets and expose their breast. On the other hand, there are some mothers who hate to undress before their children.



This is a female child with a piece of cloth round her waist.



This boy has grown out of baby's dress
of and he has put on a rumpen

This is what such an informant said, "I am always struck to see some women walk half bare in the market or streets. I cannot do that because children are not very wise; when they see you naked they would go and tell other people, even perhaps, those of whom you feel shy, all about your private parts. Even if I am given (£100) hundred pounds for it, I shall never strip myself naked before children." A father does not often strip himself naked before his children except when he takes his bath in the yard; and even at such a time as this he tries to hide his penis. Immediately after the bath, he may put a cloth round his waist to cover his genitals before walking across the yard. An adult in spite of what is written above, may be somewhat naked before a child, since all of them use the same public latrine.

The age at which changes from baby dresses to romper or other clothes are introduced differs according to the taste of the mother. For some mothers who are very fond of their children and want to make a fun of them by seeing them in adult dresses introduce them at an early age say at 3 years, but the common age at which the native custom is introduced is from four and a half to six years of age.

The similarity which is in the dresses of boys and girls below five years of age, is that the dresses can be made from the same material. It should be a soft one since their skin is so delicate. The difference only comes in the style of the dress. The boys dress is 'all in one' with short sleeves and the most important thing is that a cord should be put round the hem at the neck and after wearing it, both ends of the cord are pulled together and knotted together. The girl can have a blouse sewn onto the shirt and the sleeves gathered. After about four and a half years, these dresses are changed for native costumes and in some cases for European costumes. The boy gets a piece of cloth about a yard and a half which he is taught how to put on, wrapping it round himself and throwing the ends over his shoulder. If he is about to go to school he would be given khaki shorts and a shirt.

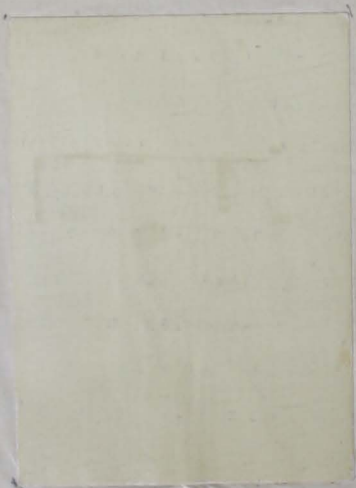
The girl is given a cloth and a kind of shirt. She is also allowed to wear European dresses especially when going to school.

Handwritten text in a non-Latin script, possibly Burmese, located in the middle of the page.

Handwritten text in a non-Latin script, possibly Burmese, located at the bottom of the page.



These boys are interested
in the lorry - (car)



The little girl is cooking
She is interested in feminine jobs.

SEX DISTINCTIONS

In this village, all children both boys and girls below two years of age have more or less similar behaviour and are not supposed to behave differently in any aspect. However the difference begins to appear after the second year when boys seem to be driven by some forces to behave in a masculine way whilst the girls increasingly become feminine. If a petty trader brought his wares into a house, the boy of two would ask his mother to buy such toys as a ball, or a toy gun or a toy lorry for him and would lie down and kick his legs and weep if a ball for instance was not bought for him. At the same time a girl of two, seeing the same wares, and having different interests would ask for a doll.

The boy of two may also run to a man who comes to the house on a bicycle and look at it in wonder - this being the first time - and then touch it, and if he is not hurt proceed to examine it. A girl of two may observe how the woman who sells corn porridge comes into the house and how she behaves, and will imitate her some hours or days later. When a bit older, boys start to whet knives or cutlasses and pretend to be weeding, whilst girls chop onions and practise make-belief cooking. When fighting, boys try to show manliness even if they are unable to beat the girls, because if they cry, they would be teased by adults sayings: "Ho! just fancy a boy who allows himself to be beaten by a girl." ^{writer} The observed a fight between two children in which the girl used a broom to beat the boy and the latter also ran after her and made an attempt to wound her with a cutlass he had in his hand. In games, the interest of boys is centred round manly activities, such as running up and down, chasing each other, throwing stones at birds and lizards, climbing trees, playing driver and passengers, playing football, jumping over obstacles, and high jumping. The girls on the other hand like such games as "amne", make-belief cooking, farming, and 'ahinta ahinta', a game in which a person hides and a second one goes round to seek her.

It is expected in this village that every boy and girl shall behave in a boyish and girlish way respectively.

But there are children who do not apparently do so. There was a boy, Yaw by name, 10 years of age, who was fond of smearing clay on the mud stoves in the kitchen and who also delighted to cook food and carry it to his father. This is what Yaw's mother said about. "This girlish behaviour is not good because when my boy is a man one day, no woman will want to marry him because women will see that he is very familiar with the kitchen and that he would never be satisfied with the work his wife would do. Consequently, I always advise him about this and warn, and even threaten and punish him at times. And now he is stopping it." There are some boys in this village, of whom the youngest one is four and the seniors and adolescents, who are sometimes seen patrolling the town in women's attire. No treatment is accorded these boys because people think that it is just to create fun. If some girls are seen doing boyish things such as chasing butterflies, throwing stones into trees to kill birds, hunting mice, setting traps or playing football, there are checked at once or beaten because the adult fears that they might develop manly flesh and would seem stupid. Such a girl is all the time ridicule by her fellows and reminded by her mother to be in the company of girls and to know how other girls behave and to copy them.

There are the words "sissy" and 'broor' in use here but only in a few homes. The word "sissy" is the shortened form of the English word sister, and brother here has deteriorated into 'broor', Tomboy is unknown here. In one of the homes in which the writer investigated into this matter, there was a woman, the mother of five children, who was called sissy by everybody in the house be it her mother, own child, nephew, niece, sister or brother, because she was called thus when a little girl by her brother, and now both young and old have joined in calling her "sissy". Thus her own children, one of twelve, one of eight, one of six, one of three, and the other of one and a half, call her "sissy" too.

About the age of eight, boys and girls are separated in certain respect: because at such an age, the boys very distinctly know that their sex is different from that of the girls, and vice

versa. At home for example, during the night two or three girls sleep on one mat while boys also sleep on a common boys mat. Even in doing house work, girls are separated by being given such jobs as sweeping, helping the mother, washing pots and helping to cook the meals. Boys have interest in chonning wood, carrying water, setting the table, and keeping away from the kitchen. At this same age, when children are playing on their own, say in the evenings, there are some games like somersaults which they think is strictly for boys and therefore automatically girls exclude themselves from them. At school at the age of eight, children are not very much separated. They have all their lessons, games and activities together, except such things as certain exercises in Physical Training e.g. Leap-frog. In this, the children stand in one long line in Indian file, stooping and having each successive last child in the line jumping over each of the rest. A teacher concerned said that at times when the girls are not properly dressed, the boys on seeing their sexual organs begin to giggle and make remarks. At the level of Middle School age, the boys form a complete group for purposes of Physical Training. Also, whilst the boys are doing Agriculture, the girls do House Craft. The preference of parents for boys to girls, or girls to boys, varies according to the parents' sex, each feeding to prefer children to be of their own sex.

In this village, maternal inheritance is practised and therefore it is the pride of every mother to have some female children who will increase the size of her family. In order that it might not die out. In spite of the fact that boys are of much use at home and on farms, since they do not continue the kinship they are not wanted as much as the girls are from the point of view. Once, the writer saw an old woman who was bemoaning the death of her only daughter and only child at the hospital. The discussed had left her own only child, a boy of about a year and a half. Since the sorrowful old woman knew that the child was a boy and did not count much in the matrilineal system, she did not care even to give him food and said "After all my child has died, what am I

going to do with this thing? I know I shall not bear a child again and so that is the end of my family." The woman was so deeply touched by the irreparable loss of her only daughter, and was so indignant towards the little boy, that she nearly became demented. Besides the given reason why mothers love children of the female sex, they are also aware that when boys grow a little older, they tend to help their fathers more on their farms and that it is their daughters who will help them to execute their household duties. The fathers, since, they are not connected with the matrilineal system have not much preference concerning the sex of the child, although they do know that their male children can give them help on their farms as well as give the fathers themselves protection in times of danger. Consequently the fathers tend, if anything, to prefer male children.

In this village, it so happens that married couples do not live together. The wife stays with her family and the husband in another house and therefore the child has more contact with the parent with whom he lives. Usually small children stay with their mothers, who care for them, and thus have contact with them from the beginning. During this time, the mother feeds, bathes them, protects them from dangers, listens to their little complaints, dresses them and does everything for their comfort. They might even not know that the money which is used on them comes from the father and consequently their love and contact with their mother becomes close and deep. The contact of female children with their mothers become even stronger. This happens because the girl stays close to her mother even after she has ceased to be a little child in order to learn household work so that she will know how to manage affairs if she marries one day. Consequently, she accompanies the mother to the market, farm, shop, her friends house. And she is the right hand of the mother. She helps in looking after the young siblings and helps in all matters in the house.

The contact which the older boy has with his mother suddenly changes when he realizes that he is not of the same sex as his

mother, and that he will not be expected to behave as she does in future. He therefore turns his attention and interest to his father. At first he pays longer visits at his father's house. Then some later the visits last so late into the night that he cannot return to his mother's house and therefore starts spending nights at his father's. The father feels obliged to take care of him; and then a deeper contact is effected between the son and father. As the boy grows he learns the proper way males should behave. He accompanies his father to the farm to work, and learns some skills that he might need in future. At this stage, the boy grows to like the father and appreciate his manly qualities because of the close contact.

On the whole, the children of Agogo prefer the parent of the same sex; because girls for example, for reasons that have been given above, stay with their mothers from their infancy until they marry. They therefore, in addition to the close contact they have with them, develop a sort of liking for them, try to be helpful in all ways and be free with them and confide in them too. The only time when girls are bitter towards their mothers is when they have reached the adolescent stage and want to make a choice of a husband or a boy-friend which the mother does not approve of. At such times, they find their mothers intruding, unsympathetic and harsh; but the mothers feel that it is their work to see to that their girls interest is directed into the right channel. Although boys stay with their mothers during infancy, yet as soon as they become bigger boys they leave and stay with their fathers from whom manly skills are learnt. Therefore the boys develop a deep liking for them and thus prefer them. Although generally speaking, boys and girls prefer parents of the same sex in this village yet there are some factors which determine some changes in some cases. For instance, if a child stays with the parent of the same sex and feels insecure in some respect of clothing, or because he is being ignored, or because of favouritism towards other children, or because of being forbidden his own

choice in respect of friends of the opposite sex, or in respect of employment, during the ages of adolescence, the child becomes embittered towards the normally preferred parent.

Often there may be quarrels and a clash which in serious cases may finally result in the child leaving to stay with the other parent of the opposite sex, or with any other relative.

RELATIONS WITH BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

When a new baby is expected in the family, the child is not told. He however sees a change in the size of his mother's abdomen and asks about it. There was a child called Kwasi, aged three years, who noticed such a change in his mother. He, Kwasi, was one of the children who over-ate and had therefore got a protruding stomach which his mother always ridiculed, telling him not to eat too much. One day when his mother was eating, he said "Mummy your tummy is so large nowadays but you are still eating. Did you not tell me that my stomach was protruding and that I should stop eating too much?" Mothers often hear such remarks from young children but they do not tell the children what is going to happen because they are so little and are not meant to know what adults know. The writer met a young Sierra Leone educated woman who had given birth to a little baby at the Agogo hospital, and asked how her two older children felt about the arrival of the third child. She replied, "Long before the size of my abdomen changed, I told my two little girls, Matina aged four, and Nene aged two, that there was a tiny baby developing in my abdomen. When my abdomen became bigger, I told them that that was the effect of the child growing bigger. If the little one made any movement in my abdomen when the two older ones were making unnecessary amount of noise, I would tell them that because of their noise the child was moving about. One day I left my house for the hospital at Agogo, but before that, I told Matina that the baby was about to come and therefore I was going to the doctor, who would take it out. Whoever called at the house after this was told by Matina that mummy had gone to Agogo so that the doctor would take the baby out of her stomach. When I was admitted at the hospital for delivery, every morning after getting out of bed, the two children would ask whether the baby had arrived. Consequently when it was born, they were very glad, and came over to the Hospital to carry her. Whenever they saw

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not to eat too much. One day when his mother was eating, he said
"Mama, your tummy is so large nowadays but you are still eating."

Did you not fall on your stomach was protruding and that I
should stop eating too much? Mother often told him to remain from
young children that they do not tell the children what is going
to happen because they



what child's face. The
woman who had given birth
and asked her how she
third child. The reply
changed. I told her two
eyes two, that there was
When my husband became
child of the child was
movement in my stomach
unusually soon of

The mother of the little girl is giving
birth to a baby. So she has been carried
away by this child.

The mother, who was taken to
after she had been told by her
that the mother said that she
was admitted at the hospital for delivery, every minute
getting out of bed, and the children would not another the body
had arrived. Unfortunately when it was born, they were very kind
and came over to the hospital to carry her. Whenever they saw

anybody, they shouted "Mummy has got a nice baby". - This is quite different from what often happens with the women and children of Agogo.

When the birth of the child is at hand either at the hospital labour ward or in a house in the village, the child is never allowed to come into the place. An informant said: "During such time of crisis when the expectant mother is in agony, the child should not be present to see the mysterious, and painful delivery. If this restriction was ignored, he might tremble with fear and might think that his mother was dying and cry aloud and perhaps be influenced by the fear and shock for a long time afterwards. Moreover, a child might trouble the mother, wish to lie beside her, and to suckle, and when the process itself was going on, see the mother's vagina and this would be highly undesirable".

After the baby has had its first bath and had its naval cord treated, and after the mother has been cleaned, the baby is put beside the mother. The older child, who perhaps has been frightened and crying because of being separated from mummy and who has been cared for by an older sister or aunt or grand-mother, now makes his way to the room where the newly born child and the mother are. Until now he has remained ignorant; but on hearing the baby's cry, or on seeing it, he begins to get curious. He then starts asking such questions as "who is this"? "Where does it come from" "Why is it not of a dark colour as I am?". The mother's child or any adult present tells him that this is his mother's child and that he comes from the mother's abdomen. If however, the birth coincides with the return of a familiar relation from a journey, the child's curiosity may be quenched by telling him that that relation bought it from the big town 'Kumasi'. If he afterwards asks where mummy's "big belly" has gone to, they are either not answered at all, if the answer given to the other question was a lie (such as the baby was from Kumasi) or they are told that the child comes from the abdomen, and that that is

why it has reduced to its normal size.

When a new child is born , the previous one does not get as much attention from his mother as before and therefore it is a thing practised here that an aunt or grandfather or older sister takes charge of him, at the expense of the parents.

The previously born child sometimes comes near his mother but suddenly notices that the mother's attitude towards him has changed tremendously. Whilst in the past, his mother was entirely his, wasting a lot of time on him, giving him food, giving him drink, putting him to the breast, allowing him to lie by her, and comforting him in all sorts of ways, now her attention is focused on "that weak little thing", as he no doubt would put it. Now if he wants to lie beside his mother , she only allows it at times. At other times she says "stop, stop, stop, do not kill my child for me". The mother does this for fear that the older one might hurt the tender newly born one. If this, of course, is the mother's attitude towards the previous child, then it is a not ^{an} unreasonable supposition that he will develop jealous attitude towards the newly born one. The child may show his jealousy in many ways. If the newly born one is being fed, the other will tell his mother to feed him now instead. In such a case if the child can eat solid food, he is given some to eat at once. Some children beat the newly born ones out of jealousy and ask their mothers to throw them away and to carry themselves on their back instead. In such a case an older child may carry the jealous one on his back. Sometimes when the child is alone with the new one in the room, he may pinch him, spit on him, or try to stand on his legs. On such occasions, the mother will take her time in talking to the child. She patiently explains to him that the child is his sister (or brother) and that it is his own child, and that it is weak and delicate and should therefore be treated with sympathy, love, and kindness. Sometimes, the child on hearing this decides to be nice to the new one and consequently at times goes to the extent of giving it more water than is necessary.

Expressions of jealousy are provoked unconsciously i.e. without the adults knowing about it. Thus, as written above, when the child gets near the new one, at first he may be scolded, and since matters were different in former times, when his mother gave him all her attention and care, he now starts developing a sort of jealousy which is of course provoked by the mother's changed of attitude towards him. If however, such an emotion is provoked, parents do not permit it to remain, because if they do, the child will be so embittered that he may harm the new one and he will not feel happy in the house, where he would always be fretful, or cause troubles in other ways.

Parents in Agogo know that all their children belong to them and therefore they try as much as possible to treat all of them equally, but at times they find this difficult. One of my informants said: "However much I should like to treat these four children of mine equally, I cannot because this boy, Kofi, aged ten is so disobedient that he will ^{neither} pound fufu, nor fetch water, nor carry his younger brother. And since he doesn't do what I like, I treat him differently from the others. I sometimes deprive him of his happiness by refusing to give him extra meat or the present the others are getting". Some parents may have a favourite amongst their children and such a child may be one who has a nice and striking complexion which wins the admiration of the public. Or the favourite may simply be the eldest or the youngest child of the family. Such favouritism goes on, if the striking thing goes on until the child is an adult, when parents may give him valuable things such as Cocoa farms.

Although some of the other children in the family may get favoured over and above certain others, even then, more often than not, the most favoured will be the youngest child of the family. He is often made the centre of attraction and interest. It is he who receives much love and attention from the parents and there is hardly anything done to cause him inconvenience. He is often

seen hanging about the mother who pampers him a lot. Children are named according to age and status and consequently the youngest of the family is called 'kaa akyire' (meaning, the last born). The first born, whether a male or female, is called 'peesie' (meaning, the first one who opened the womb). He is supposed to have saved his parents from the disgrace of sterility. When young, he is very much pampered and given a lot of attention and love. When he grows up and has sisters and brothers, still dignity is conferred on him. Thus when the children are being introduced to a stranger, the 'opiesie' or first born is addressed accordingly and is introduced first. Also, since he is the first born he is given the first and largest share when something is being distributed to the children. The above are the advantages of being the first born and are the good things that they enjoy; but on the other hand they do have certain disadvantages. Although he is so much liked, he is scolded very strongly when he is found doing something wrong, for instance, abusing an elderly person, or refusing to carry out an order, or being disobedient, or (when an adolescent) he tries to choose the wrong girl for a friend. Parents do this because they feel that he is the head of the lot so that if he goes wrong all the others will copy him, and bring unhappiness and disaster into their family. Secondly, the 'opiesie' has to execute all mean and undesirable jobs and duties such as emptying a pot of stools. By the other children, he is considered as a sort of fool in some way, who works and works and does mean things - all because he is head. "It is more advantageous to be the youngest child than to be the oldest", said one of the informants, "because your life is then easy. You have all the other older children to work for you. If you are being bullied, you always have your parents to protect you, you are always pampered and even when you grow up you usually have less responsibility than others to bear in your family". The disadvantages of being the youngest lie first with the older children who often



Children of the same sex are close
These girls live together



These boys live together.

try to bully the youngest one or to cheat him in some way because, in one way or another, they feel jealous when all attention and care of the parents go to the youngest one. He, enjoying his parents love and pampering, and wishing to encourage it, often runs to them to complain of wrong things done to him. These all are immediate disadvantages in the home. But there is a very serious one which comes in the way of the youngest children who have been so 'spoilt' as we put it. Later in life, they do not seem to fit in properly in any society since they always want to be treated with indulgence and to be petted and pampered.

Children of the same sex are supposed to be closer to each other because very often they live together and grow together on the same compound, the females with the mother and the males with the father. Because they live together, they will therefore work together, go to places of public meeting together, and eat on converse together. As they do all these together, they grow fond of each other and thus become close to each other, notwithstanding that there are little quarrels at times.

In spite of the fact that siblings get so close to each other, they are very often seen quarrelling over trifling matters. The writer observed three children, the first of four years, the second of five and a half, and the third of six years, eating from the same dish. The five and a half year old child, Kwadwo, wanted to add more salt to the soup to the dislike of the others and therefore the eldest, Kwame by name, said 'no' and tried to give Kwadwo 's hand a blow so as to spilt the salt on the ground but, Kwadwo took his hand away quickly and insisted on salting the food. So Kwame took the basin with the food and hid it behind him. Kwadwo became angry and started to cry. He went to tell his mother, but could not see her and so came back to quarrel with Kwame. He gave him a blow on his head. The latter got up and returned the blow and after this the two exchanged several blows. Kwadwo cried aloud. The youngest Afua, a female stood and watched them because it had been made plain to her that male children are

stronger and that therefore she should not enter into quarrels with them.

When both the boys were exchanging the blows, an older brother saw them and putting them apart, divided the food into two basins and allowed Kwadwo to salt his and the others to eat theirs. There are often such little quarrels over taking other people's toys, refusing to let a sister or a brother sleep on the same mat, thinking that the other is always favoured by parents, over one person refusing to take an active part in house hold work etc. The young siblings always show their anger by using physical means, for instance, giving blows, lying down crying, and kicking their limbs about. But a short time after the quarrel, they are seen talking or playing together. Their anger and quarrels last for a short time only.

For reasons explained above already siblings in any particular house are often all girls or all boys. It therefore so happens that quarrels seen are usually between children of the same sex, but children of the female sex are particularly frequently seen quarrelling. The reason for this is that the girls stay mostly with their mothers and since they become very dear to them they find their discipline rather lax.

When parents see children quarrelling, they often ask what the matter is if it isn't known to them. They try to find the one who is at fault and advise him not to do so again. Sometimes, the quarrellers may be contending for a concrete article, a toy for instance. In such a case, the parent would ask the older child to leave it to the younger one. If the concrete thing for which they are contending for is edible, it is shared between them by the parents who always wish to bring the quarrel to an end. If however, the quarrel takes place between a girl and a boy and the latter is seen crying, he might be teased by a parent saying: "Oh why do you, a boy allow yourself to be beaten by a girl"? If the quarrels are

too frequent, the children concerned are constantly given advice and warnings by the parents; but if they still go on and do not heed to the admonitions, parents resort to punishments, and if that fails the children are made^{to} live apart: one being taken to an aunt who lives in a separate house, to stay with her.

RELATIONS TO PARENTS

After the birth of the child, the native midwife or the hospital nurse, as the case may be takes care of him for about a week or a week and a half since the mother is confined to bed. Immediately afterwards, the mother becomes chiefly responsible for the care of the child. She feeds him, bathes him, puts him to bed, helps him in elimination, summons people to help when there is danger near the child, or when he is sick buys him clothes, sees that he is warm, and gives him all the attention needed to make the child feel comfortable.

If however, for one reason or another, such as the mother's death, or ^{through} any serious sickness of hers the mother is unable to give the child this care, a substitute, who is usually a sister (and in rare cases a female cousin) of the mother's, or is the grandmother of the child, takes care of him. The substitute will be required to give the child the best care she can; if she does not, people will remark that if he was her own child she would not have treated him as she does. If the child's mother is only sick, the substitute will look after the child simply until she has recovered; but if, unfortunately, the mother has died in child-birth, or dies during some sickness, then it will be expected of the substitute that she carries on with the care of the child till it eventually grows up and marries. The same responsibility continues until either the child or the substitute dies. He is therefore completely entrusted to her care. She must take keen interest in and make close supervision of his upbringing, schooling, home education, his employment, marriage, loss or gain, and everything connected with him. In such a case she is not even considered the substitute parent of the child but is simply called his mother.

The relation now is one of mother-child. The child's early contact with his father is one connected with play. Since the mother and the child live apart from the father the latter pays a visit every day to them. From the child's earliest childhood, the father takes a keen interest in him, and during his visits,

takes him up, carries him, smiles at him, jogs him up and down and mutters some words to him. Day by day, repeating this, a sort of close contact is developed between them, and as the child grows older, ~~the father~~ both of them ~~are to~~ part-take in the play. When the child starts to crawl, the father may help to encourage that, by playing with him, by holding a bright coloured object at a distance for the child to crawl in order to get it. When he starts to walk, the father may on his visit play with him by helping him to use the three legged contrivance, and saying "Tataa, tutu, Tataa, tutu." These are words to encourage his steps. When the child can balance himself a bit, the father will leave him alone with the contrivance and stand aside, smile, and clap and watch his unsteady steps. When he shows any sign of falling down, or is running into a ditch, he quickly rescues him, and saves him from his anxiety and fear by swinging him quickly from the ground and carrying him on his arms, smiling at him. The father also plays with the child by using speech; by sending him to fetch an article, say, an orange just to find out whether the child knows what it is. When after an evening visit the mother and child accompany the father to his house to spend a night there, the father may hold the child's hand and ask him to look at this or that as they go along. On the morrow, the mother may return very early to her family house to carry on with her household duties whilst the child sleeps on. At about nine in the morning, the father may ask a senior child to take him, back to his mother's house. The child can refuse to go, in which case he stays there sometime to play with the other children in the house. Later on the father may take him to the mother's house when on his visiting, and may occasionally buy some toys or sweets for him in the street.

The main agent for disciplining the child is the parent with whom the child stays. From infancy, both the baby boy and baby girl stay with the mother and so she has the responsibility of training the child so as to have a good character and to have good manners. She does it by correcting him when he goes wrong, first by a friendly talk, and then by resorting to threats

when the child is young, or when older to punishments. When the boy grows a bit older he usually goes to stay with his father who then takes up the discipline. The girl on the other hand, goes on staying with the mother even when she marries and therefore is always under her discipline. Sometimes some married women who do not behave well will even ^{be} slapped by those few mothers who are strict disciplinarians.

Although, in most cases, the mother is the main agent of discipline yet the chief authority of discipline rests with the father. Children sometimes find their mother very indulgent and therefore weak in checking them. A boy, Kofi, of seven years, refused one morning to fetch water. The mother threatened to punish him and the child said, "What can you do to me? The only thing you can ask me to do is to fetch water but I do not mind." If such a boy continues such behaviour for a long time, he is reported by the mother to the father, who warns the child or finally punishes him. It is always the serious offences and stubborn cases that are referred to the father, for which he uses his supreme authority to check or punish. He may in fact use simply the same device as are used by the mother to punish the children; yet his mere presence and mere command makes a great difference.

When a mother complains about her child's misbehavior to her husband, she does this with the intention that the father should warn or punish the child. Therefore whether she specially tells the father after the complaint to punish the child or not, the father already knows that the next step is either a warning of punishment.

A girl, Adwowa, of six and a half years always reported to her mother after returning from play on the streets on different occasions that she had either got a penny or ball or a spoon. She was often warned against this because sometimes after reporting, a penny or ball would be reported to have got lost in a room in the house. She paid no heed and went on. The mother therefore purposely asked her to accompany her to the father's house where she saw a group of children playing outside and took part in their game. The mother on seeing the father said: "Your child is

is now turning into a thief. She is always pretending to come home with different things, which really she has stolen from the house. She claims to have found these on the street." The father asked whether she had been warned, and the mother said: "Now I have come with her to you, but she suspecting I am coming to tell you about it has not dared come into the house." The father went out, took the child's hand, dragged her in, and gave her a thorough thrashing. Either the mother or the father can decide that the child should be punished and the punishment is carried out by the same person, or in cases of stubborn children or matters relating to adolescent children the punishment often rests with the father.

Usually, parents inform each other about the child's bad behaviour and the punishment which followed the incident. They do this since they both feel equally responsible for training the child. However some women find their husband so severe at times that they become the children's allies and conceal their behaviour from the father. Recently a father warned a mother that she should keep an eye on their adolescent girl who had been reported to have been going about and playing with boys in the evenings. The mother tried to warn her; but soon afterwards, news spread that the girl had a connection with a man. When the mother heard this, she was terrified since it would not be the stubborn adolescent girl only who would be scolded by the father. So she said to the girl: "I have been warning you about this sort of life. It is very disgraceful both to me and your father, but first and foremost to you. If you DARE let your father hear about it, well, it is your own look out." Consequently, the matter was not reported to the father, the chief authority and therefore the girl was not properly checked and could consequently not change from her bad ways. In this matter of discipline there is another way in which mothers act as their children's allies i.e. openly. An informant wanted to beat his child for having misbehaved. The child was inclined to run away. So the informant asked his wife, the child's mother, to hold him. As soon as he lifted the cane to beat him, the

mother however let the child run away.

There is also a third way: the mother on being the child's ally may be inclined to quarrel with the husband before the child.

The behaviour of parents towards each other before children may differ from time to time. When they are on peaceful terms, it is a friendly one. And vice versa. When there has not been anything to cause sensation and anger, the father visits the mother as usual and greetings between father and mother-in-law and mother are exchanged lovingly. Even if the mother has gone to fetch water, the father will take a seat and converse with the mother-in-law until she comes back. On greeting each other, the father may inquire about her health and that of the children. He may call the younger ones and play with them. The mother may sit beside him, or go on with the household duties still keeping the conversation going. The father will show keen interest in what his wife has planned to do that day (e.g. going to the farm or selling things on the market) and will also tell her his own plans for the day. The husband may thus spend about a quarter of an hour there, and then say "good-bye" cheerfully and go away to his house.

If there has been a misunderstanding between the man and his wife, the children can sense it at once because the parents cannot hide their feelings. If for example, the husband gets drunk and does not eat his wife's meal, or fails to visit the wife for about four consecutive days, or has been seen committing adultery with another woman, the wife gets terribly angry. Under such circumstances, even if the husband plucks courage to go to the wife's house, he knows for certain that the attitude of his mother-in-law, and especially that of his wife towards him will not be a pleasant one. On greeting the mother-in-law, she will just respond by muttering something between her teeth and not even throwing a glance at him. He then approaches the wife rather shyly, to greet her. The wife will not look at him, will not respond and will not notice him at all.

The husband, now ashamed, hangs about here and there talking to his children who have been looking on the scene and hearing all that was happening. If the man dares ask anything again, the wife may perhaps shout at him and point out frankly what he has done. The husband can ask any relation of the woman to step in to settle the case, after which the women turns gradually to be friendly again. It is not only the women who accuse the husbands. A husband can accuse his wife before their respective families - and incidentally may do so in the presence of her children. Parents can openly disagree about discipline, since one parent can be the ally of the child and even quarrel with the other parent in front of other adults and children saying that such and such a thing is not a wrong thing and the child should therefore not be punished for it. At other times too, they are seen quarrelling about other things, as described above. In the case where a wife catches a husband having sexual intercourse with another woman, the situation is even worse. The woman will shout, shriek and make such an awful noise, banging the door or the window of the room in which the act is taking place, and instantly summoning people to the spot with her shouts.

On the whole, children are not required to be grateful to their parents, because the latter feel they owe it to their children to provide for them. An informant said: "We parents have to give our children things. That is why we spend so much time in our cocoa-farms toiling, so that at christmas and at festivals our children will be dressed and provided for, just as others are. After all if a child is seen in rags, it is the father who is to blame for it. In view of this, it is only when the child likes, that he says 'thank you' when something has been given him -. Because it was given to him by nobody but his parents, whose very job as has been said, it is to provide for him. Another informant said on this topic, "He is your own child, When you give him something, why should he thank you for it?"

In this village the parental ambitions for the children are that every father and mother wants his or her child to be educated well, i.e. to be a scholar or a lady, just as some other people are. It is only a few of them who attach the importance of securing employment to that idea. Every parent wants his child to grow and have a family so that their family will live on after them.

Sometimes a parent especially a mother, and a child may quarrel over duties in the home. A child may be asked to sweep, fetch water from river-side and cook while other children of her ability may be present doing nothing. In such a case the child does some of the work and leaves the rest undone. When the mother asks why she has neglected the rest, the girl says, "I can't do it, there are so many of us; why should I only do all the work while Amma, Afua and Kwasi are playing and doing nothing?" The mother thinking this an insult scolds her and the girl may return the abuses. Other little quarrels between the parent and child can be caused by the former asking the latter to do some work such as weeding in the farm and the child then refusing delighting to linger on larger tree trunks; or such as washing pans and pots, with the child just refusing to do so and without any cause; or such as getting up early to sweep, with the child sleeping on; or such as whetting father's cutlass every morning, with the boy just refusing to execute that duty. Children below twelve are seen quarrelling on these minor points, but such quarrels do not often occur. Quarrels between parents and children are commonly seen between the former and children who have reached the adolescent stage. The quarrels are brought about when the parents disagree with an employment an adolescent chooses, for himself. For instance, some parents wanted their son X an adolescent boy, to learn blacksmithy and so gave him some money to pay his master. About a week later, an aunt of X who happened to know about the parents' intention saw him helping a driver as his mate. She reported the matter to the parents who asked X whether it was true. He then boldly told them that he had no interest in the work they had chosen for him and so

there was a quarrel between them, since the parents knew they had wasted money.

Another important factor^{which} brings quarrels between parents and adolescent children is the choice of their girl - or boy-friends. The writer, on one of her investigations, saw an adolescent boy who was raging with fury, carrying his box in his hand and talking angrily on the street and making for the lorry station, saying; "If my mother troubles me like that, I do not like it. Why should I not have this particular girl friend. If my mother had not befriended my father, could they ever have thought of marrying and of bringing me forth? Hmm.... Because of this terrible mother, I shall leave this town."

When an adolescent girl especially attends social functions such as dances, she is scolded the following morning. She may not return any abusive words but she will be sulky and refuse to be so friendly as she was at first.

RELATIONS TO ADULTS OTHER THAN PARENTS

When a baby is born, the native midwife, who is usually the baby's grandmother is the first to take him. She dresses the navel cord and bathes him and then gives him to his mother to suckle. She continues with these tasks for a weeks and a half, when the mother then takes them over herself. The mother stays in her family house and therefore all the close relations there start taking active parts in caring for the child, either carrying or bathing him. All these people live in so close a contact with baby and mother that they are frequently seen by them every day. When the baby gets ill, the mother's brother, who lives in the same house may be the one to bring him to a medicine man or doctor. Besides these close relations, there may be some intimate friends of the mother's who take delight in carrying the child and who try to make him happy. The father, who lives in quite another house, is but a visitor to the young baby at this state. Day by day, as the baby grows older, he tends to recognise all these people who come so close to him. Every day he learns how to be at ease in their company while he becomes very uncomfortable in that of other and unknown folks. As soon as the child learns how to eat solid food, he may be offered some by these relations or friends. Later he may be sent on an errand by any of them, or may have presents from some of them and he can spend a night with, or even be adopted by one of them. He may be named after one of them. Whenever there is a quarrel between the parents and the child, any of these relations and friends can step in to put matters right. When the mother or the father dies at anytime, these relations may help to comfort the child and help the parents who is alive in educating the child or effecting his general well-being.

The parents are less severe to their child than these relations, because they always feel that the child is their own 'blood'. Therefore even if the child is beaten or punished in any way, they feel it should be done ^{and} that's why they do it. This ^{is the} expression in vernacular, "yɛn nsono yɛyɛn ya" (their intestines pain them).

Also when the child is young, he may sleep with the couple when the woman is going to spend a night with the husband at the latter's house. Thus the contact between parents and child becomes so close that the parents can't but love the child more than the relations do, and consequently be more indulgent with him than they. More often than not, the child confides more in the parent than in the others and therefore the latter knows the secret difficulties of the former and understands him and so is more indulgent with him than they.

However severe the relations and friends may be to the child, he is expected to be polite towards them if only because they are adults, and every child in this village is expected to behave well towards grown up people.

As the villagers themselves put it "panyin nni hwee koraa a *owo* batwow." That is to say, if a grown up person has nothing at all, at least he has an elbow - that is, the wherewithal, with which to save a child. This is what an informant said about this topic. Relations, especially those on the mother's side with whom the child grows up, have a great say in his life and affairs, because although strictly he was born only of his father and mother, he still needs to be in a family - i.e. a group of relations. If however he shows any impoliteness, impertinence, and forwardness to any relative, he wants his own progress and spoils his own happiness, since no relative will have any keen interest in him while young, and when older and at the marriageable age, none of the relations will give a good testimonial about him if asked.

If for some reason some relations are living apart from the family house in which the child is and if one of these or if a friend comes to visit the parent, the child may or may not be excluded from the conversation. Since children are not expected to take part in adult conversation, they would not like to stay in their company unless wanted there in order to be asked something, or unless the visit is specifically about themselves. The visitor may be settling a quarrel involving the child or presenting something to them. If the visitor comes on an ordinary visit, he may just ask the parents how the child is faring in health

or at school; and the parent after answering him would call him to greet him.

When the child's parents take the child to visit his relatives or family friends, he is expected to be free and friendly with people, especially children, in that house "because", an informant said "that house is considered another home of his; since the parents have the same blood as the relatives and since the friend is also an intimate one". The child can be allowed to eat with the children there. If he refuses, it is a sign that his mother has given him instructions not to eat that particular house.

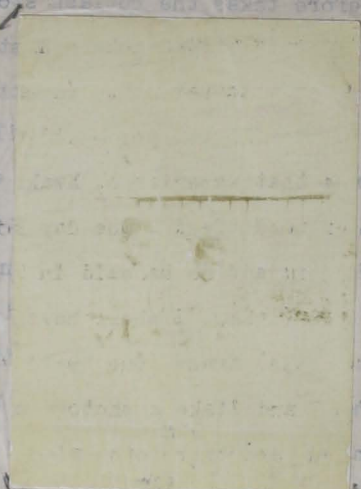
He can join other children in their motor play or sex games out side, follow a child in that house into any room, or accompany the children in fetching water. He can be allowed to refuse to go back to his own house and spend about one, two, three, or four days there. In some rare cases the child can decide to be adopted there if he likes. Conversely, he would not be expected to misbehave or quarrel or steal (for example meat from the kitchen). He would have to be careful not to show any disrespect to any adult. Lastly, even if he sits near the adults when they are conversing, he should never take part in their conversation unless he has been asked a question. Otherwise he would be considered to have no manners.

POSSESSIONS

"When my child sees something which appeals to him, he wants to be in possession of it. When he was very young, I sometimes carried him to the market. When he saw the different foods or a toy, he would point to them and start to cry. It is understandable that I could not buy him everything on the market that he liked. I therefore used only to buy him something like bread and would keep him busy with that, to distract his attention from other things. After he had reached about the age of two, he often walked to articles he liked ^{and} grabbed them. If such a thing was of the nature of food which could be divided it was shared between him and the owner who might be another child in the family; but if the other child was from another house, I would take my child away, intimating by gestures that the food which the other child had got was not tasting nice or was "smelling". With these lies the mother persuaded her child not to take food belonging to others. "When my child wanted to take a toy belonging to a cousin of his, I would give him one belonging to himself and tell him that his own was much better than that of his cousin. In fact, I talked to my child only when an occasion had offered itself; (when he was taking or grabbing the object) because if I were to talk or advise him before, he could not understand me. When he was above three years of age, I counted upon him as a person having sense and having had some training along these lines - not taking things belonging to others. Therefore whenever he grabbed them from someone else or when he simply happened to pick them up I scolded him very harshly. When he did it again, I resorted to slapping and other sorts of punishments; because if he did not stop doing these, both could lead the end into serious troubles. He could become a dishonest man, who would always take other people's possessions by force and would often appear before the court. Or if he was left to pick things up, that habit might develop into that of theft. But I shall not live to see my son imprisoned".

As a matter of fact, fragile objects such as looking-glasses, drinking-glasses, and saucers, and hot things, such as soup or fire and sharp objects, such as knives, are often taken out of reach of the child, because once he has hurt himself with any of these, many problems are bound to follow, and in the worst cases, end in the hospital. No warning or advice is given to the child before he is seen to be in danger due to the particular object. If, for example, a child of two years is seen holding a cutlass, the mother or any other person who knows what danger lies ahead rushes to the child and in a low voice explains to him that it could cut him. The adult therefore takes the cutlass slowly from the child for fear that it might cut his finger and substitutes for it food or a toy. Through this the child starts getting an idea that a cutlass is a dangerous thing. If a child of two and a half lifts up an earthenware pot after his elder sisters and brother had had a meal, the mother will snatch it from him. She will then tell him that it might break, and then turning to the older children scold them and ask them why they had allowed the youngest one to wash it. If a child wants to go near fire, the mother may put her finger near it and pretend to get burnt and to have a terrible pain. She will shake her hand about, and even pretend to weep, and thus explain to the child that if he comes near the fire, he will suffer similarly. Whenever he comes near the fire the mother will say "you will get burnt, you will get burnt, get behind." An old woman who was one of the informants on this topic said "Children of this generation are disobedient things. They never listen to any advice. Therefore, if they are seen in danger of any of these things, of course first they should be talked to, and if they do not pay any attention, they should be left to learn by experience."

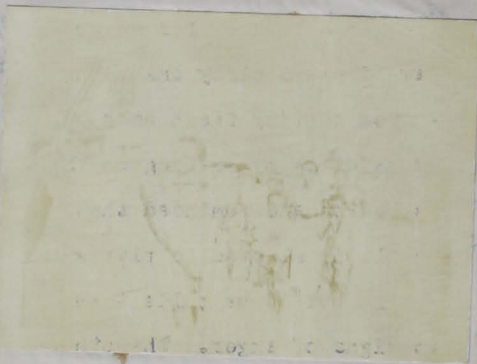
11 For, after ^{all,} experience is the best teacher. It is only when the object can cause their immediate death that they should be checked ~~and punished~~, beaten and punished. For example, if a three year old child always wants to jump into a stream which is in flood whenever he passes it, on ^{his way} going into the farm, he



These children are playing with these tins
which are some of their possessions.

should be shown as an example a piece of wood being carried away by the stream. That would make him know what would happen to him if he fell into the stream. If he still repeats that action of attempting to throw himself into it, he should be beaten and not be permitted to go that way again". To the people of this village injunctions in relation to objects which should not to be touched are mostly left to be derived from experience in such manner as referred to by this old lady. There was the case of Kwaku, who was three and a half, and was often warned not to play with the knife but who would nonetheless make that his chief toy. One day while at play, the knife cut his hand. His mother ran to him and after dressing the cut said; "Daa meka mekyerg wo se se wode sekan goru a ebetwa wo. Wo na wote yaw no". (I always tell you that if you play with a knife it will cut you - It's, of course, you who feel the pain"). From that experience, Kwaku dreaded the knife and as well as the Twi word "Twa". One day his uncle wanted to have a photograph taken of him and so he said in Twi "Kwaku metwa wo foto na siesie wo ho". (Kwaku, I shall have a photograph taken of you and so go and dress) Kwaku, one hearing the word 'twa' (which means both 'cut' and 'take a photograph' thought that his body was going to be cut and therefore cried for a long time and went to his aunt's house to hide there. When his uncle discovered what he understood by 'Twa' he was very much amused about it and said "Oh Kwaku, this is a process by which I only get a picture of you and do not cut your finger to give you pain; but if you now dread the word 'Twa' and the knife - that's all the better. You have had your lesson".

The Agogo child has possessions of his own. They are things given him especially by his parents and one or two added by a near relative of a friend. If he can make a small income by selling snail that he has collected, he can buy a few in addition to what he has been given. What a child usually possesses are the following: 'about four to six cloths, 3 dresses, a three pilch knickers, sponge, towel, a pair of native sandals, a mat, a pillow, a few toys consisting of tins, packets and sticks which have been collected, two occasional dresses, and if a girl three to four pairs of earrings, some beads for the neck and waist, bracelets



Children put on their best clothes on occasions.

and red napkins. Toilet objects such as combs, powder and pomade may be shared by all the children or may be privately possessed by those who can afford to buy them out of their own income. The cloths, dresses, pilch knickers etc. can be kept in a basket or in a fairly large basin or in a packing box purposely given to the child for that purpose. The mat and pillow are kept in a corner of the room and occasionally outside. The toys such as the empty tins, sticks and lories for the child are kept in corner of the house or in a room set aside for firewood or foods. The child is allowed a great amount of freedom in using his possessions, provided he uses them at the correct times. He can be allowed to make the choice of dress that he would like to put on after a bath or for an occasion. If a child of ten years makes many dresses dirty and refuses to wash them, the mother stops him from putting fresh ones on. If a child is fond of making his dress dirty by sitting on the ground, he is scolded and sometimes beaten and reminded that the mother has no soap factory. A child is allowed to play with the toys that have been bought for him; but if he pulls them to pieces or loses them the mother shows signs of anger. The other toys (ie. the empty tins, sticks etc.) can be used at any convenient time by the child, and no body minds if they get lost.

Children are considered as generally destructive and it is generally those between the ages of nine and eighteen months who can move about and who have not got much sense that destroy a lot of things. A child of this age can turn a glass full of water upside down, wet bed-clothes and even leave the tumbler on a height from which it may fall and break on the ground. He can empty a whole basket of things, can pack some things which ought not to be packed, give a great big slap with a stick, empty a powder tin and powder his face and hands white, pour a whole packet of washing blue into water and also contaminate a whole kerosene tin full of water with earth. There are hundreds such destructive things that the child can do. The mothers admit that the child does all these at first without knowing exactly what he is doing, in other words, ^{they admit} that he is destructive.

Such a child places no value on money and on time, and so does not know that the glass he breaks freely is bought with money and the water he contaminates is fetched from the riverside which takes some time. "How do you teach your child of a year old not to be destructive"? said the writer to one of her informants'. "Well", she said, "Since I do not know exactly what the girl is going to destroy next in the house I cannot take her all round the house to show her things and say do not destroy this, do not destroy that. There is no preliminary instruction. The instruction only comes in when the object has been destroyed. In this way, the child gets friendly instructions about different objects and behaviour and if she repeats behaviour on which she has had instruction, she is scolded and if it happens a third time, beaten. She may weep for some time, and I, being sorry that she is weeping, go to her and give her another friendly talk explaining the importance of keeping objects carefully. I am sorry that she is so young or I would make her fetch water to teach her what time it takes one to get kerosene tin full of water and how angry one cannot but be if a tin full is just contaminated for nothing".

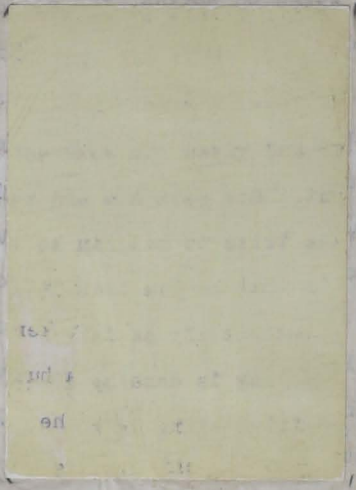
The kinds of things which a child manipulates at different ages are the following. A child who is six months old may only raise up and put down such very light objects as spoons, pencils, combs, and stones. When he grows older and is between the ages of a year and a year and a half, he bounces balls, eats with a spoon in a queer way, delights in wearing his mother's sandal dragging it along. He also uses pieces of chalk or charcoal to scratch the walls or the floor with. When he is between a year and two years, he may use a broom to sweep, or he may use a sponge to bath only one part of the body (say, the right hand) for a long time. While in the kitchen with the mother, he may use a knife in cutting plantain peels into pieces. Also, when he finds the door key on the ground he takes it up and fixes it into the key hole. With respect to toys, a female child may only be given a small doll which she will personify and treat as a human being, feeding it, bathing it, putting it to sleep etc. A boy may be given a toy

gun which he fires, is being satisfied by the mere noise it makes. When a boy of two or two and a half years possesses a 'lorry' made of an empty tin, fixed with a long tare and loaded with gravel, he pulls it about and shouts, 'pepee, pepee' to imitate the horns of real lorries. Large toys and things that can be taken apart and put together are not provided for the children of this village.

S P E E C H

Mothers are very particular about their babies' crying and a mother whose child refuses to cry right from birth gets alarmed since she knows that such a thing may lead to dumbness. She can become so sad about it as to take the child to a medicine man to give him medicine to make it cry. Besides this first interest that she takes in crying, she also tries to associate the child's needs to different degrees of loudness, or to variation in the cry. After analysing the cry, she attends to the child in accordance with her analysis. Every kind of cry is heeded to, because if the woman takes no notice, the child may go on crying and so develop a head-ache and a running nose in addition to his original complaint. It is therefore counted as hard-heartedness and cruelty to children when the mother does not give any attention to the infant. In such a case an old lady in the house, usually the mother of the young mother, slaps the latter and tells her to give attention at once. Before the mother reaches where the child is, she must be able to recognise the sort of cry and exactly the need of the child. If the child cries at the top of his voice, stops for about a minute and then shouts very loud again and then stops and then repeats, the mother knows at once that the child must be feeling some pain. It must be either suffering from an illness or from the bite of an insect. This sort of loud and short cries at intervals receives priority attention since the parents know that the child is in danger. On reaching the spot, the parent may see that the child is stretching his hands and making painful expressions on his face. The first thing she does is to lift the child at once and put her breast into his mouth to feed him. If the pain is a terrible one, the child will refuse the breast-milk, turn his head away, and continue crying. The mother now starts to examine the child to find where the painful spot is. Mothers interviewed, admitted that it is difficult to find this out but they said that if it was an insect bite, that spot might

Mother has very particular about their dress crying and
a mother whose child refuses to go to bed in the night
dressed alone and those that make a child cry lead to discipline
the can people be sad about it as to the child to a mother
and to give the mother to be angry. Besides this first time
and that the child in crying, she also tries to soothe the
child's needs so different needs of tenderness, or to variation
in the cry. After analyzing the cry, she attends to the child
in accordance with her temper. Every kind of cry is needed so



This child is crying furiously.

because if the woman... and so developed... original... and anxiety... to the infant... the mother of the... give attention... is, she does not... need of the child... hope for... alone and... must be looking... illness or... cried at intervals... know that... may not feel... expressions on... child at once... if the mother... wife... state to examine... mother's... out the... it was...

be thick and in some cases the child might be pointing more to that side or might kick that limb. An ointment could be used to rub onto the thick spot. If it was an internal pain, the mother might give him an enema - most mothers knowing that children's sickness such as convulsions (which they dread so much) start from the stomach. So the first treatment given would be, they said, an enema to clear the bowels.

On other occasions a mother may hear her child crying with sounds which are furious. The high pitch shows the child to be furious, and may also show facial expressions; and may kick his legs about. The mother may detect at once what this cry is about: perhaps she is weaning her child and has refused to give him breast-milk. In such a case, the mother takes the child up, carries him on her back and gives him some solid food such as a softer kind of dough nut. She pats him and rocks him and sings to him and in some cases tries to put him to sleep. If the reason for his cry and anger is that he has been left for too long on a mat, he stops crying immediately he is taken up from it.

The third type of crying is done by a hungry child. This is not so disturbing or so frightening as either of the above described sorts. At this time the child cries in a low voice. This sort of crying is not promptly attended to especially if the mother knows that the child has had his meal a short time ago. If the crying goes on, she may take him up, jog him^{up} and down, play with him, smile at him, put him to the breasts to suckle, and when he has had enough return him to the mat and then continue with her household duties. One of the informants on this topic said: "There are some children who just take delight in crying and if a housewife doesn't take care she will waste all her time on them. If such a child keeps on crying, without any physical pains or needs, the best thing is to ask an older sister or brother to sit near him on his mat or to carry him about until he stops. For he cries so much because he doesn't know how to converse or

sing, and crying is simply his version of those two ways in which adults express themselves".

Cries of fear (a fourth sort of crying) are similar to those of pain. In these two cases the child cries at the top of its voice. A mother on hearing this runs quickly and removes the feared object, after which the crying stops. To quote for a second time some words immediately above which the informant said when being questioned by the writer about how and when she instructed her children ^{to} not cry: "He cries so much because he doesn't know how to converse or sing and crying is simply his version of those two ways in which adults express themselves".

A young child expresses his needs to a large extent by crying. As he grows older, crying automatically decreases: He takes instead to gestures, and later on to speech. When for example, a child of three months should wish to express his need for food, he would cry. He would point at a basin of food, if he were between eight, and twelve months. He would ask for food verbally, were he between a year and a half and two. Normally there is no particular time for teaching a child not to cry. The teaching is done when the occasion arises i.e. when the child weeps unnecessarily. At the age of four and above the child is considered to have passed the 'frequent crying state' and is therefore warned in a friendly manner, and later on severely, not to cry. At this later stage, he is even threatened and perhaps punished for crying. Although the child is taught not to cry, there are some things which continue to provide legitimate occasions for crying. One of these things is getting an injection at the hospital. Children in this village dread the the syringe for injection so much so that even before it touches their skin, they start crying. They do this because this is one of the threats which their mothers frighten them with to make them behave well at home. As a result of this one of the Missionary Doctors at the hospital in his address

to the congregation told them that they should not threaten their children at home with ghosts or dwarfs or the police or above all, with injections because (in this last case) that made them cry very much at the hospital, and after all threatenings are not good for them in certain respects. Usually mothers expect a child who has had a bad sprain, or cut, or burn or fall, to cry, because, said an informant, "all these things are very painful, and even grown ups have to try to hide their tears". The accident itself may cause the child to cry but the treatment of it may be a better occasion for crying. Another opportunity which provides a legitimate occasion for crying is when a father is furiously beating a child. The writer observed a boy, Kwabena, by name, of about ten years old who had been playing truant, dodging his step-mother and not going to the farm several times. The boy, dodging one Saturday after his fathers's advice, was severely beaten by the father who used both stick and his hand. The thrashing was a thorough one, yet the boy did not move an inch and was standing there, hands by the side and just looking at the father without crying. The father said: "Of course you will not cry because you have no respect for me". The boy did not answer him but stood there with an angry face. Two of the women present scolded him and said that that was an occasion for crying, and that neglect of it showed great disrespect to adults. Children are also expected to cry when they miss something i.e. a dress, earring or football or, when struggling for something they like with a friend, and the object is seized and given to the opponent.

The manner of crying is differentiated according to the sex of the child. For there is a saying in this village which runs thus: "barima nsu" (man does not weep). Any body of the male sex is supposed to have a manly heart and is therefore expected to endure painful and sad things. Male children are told not to weep for a long period over painful things. Sometimes parents may say to young boys "Dear me! Behave like a boy. Are you a girl to weep

over petty things"? Boys continuously get this sort of instruction and so when older they deem it a shame to weep before other people. Girls can be expected to cry for longer periods and at frequent times.

The baby's crying is a pleasure to the mother as it removes her doubts concerning a possible dumbness of the child. But his earliest attempt to speak is even greater delight to her, because he is thus really proving his ability to use speech in the future. Because of this, his earliest speech is never thought of as a nuisance or ignored but is always encouraged. A four-month-old child may be heard saying "a, aaa" and later on 'pa'. Mothers take a great interest in such a word. When they play with the children, they repeat some of the words which are said. If, for example, a child is fond of saying 'ga ga ga ga', the mother will bear it in mind and when playing with the child say it to the child, who imitates her. If the child is able to say 'papa, papa, papa', an adult on hearing it may call the attention of the others, telling them that the child is now able to call his father ('papa' being a word used for father) whereas really he just babbled it. As the baby grows older, to the age of a year and above, the child's vocalization should improve greatly. He should now be able to use some words. Such baby-words, which may or may not be understood, are always amusing to adults. At about the age of fifteen and half months, the child is able to repeat words or phrases such as "bra ha" (come here) "beguare" (come and have your bath) "didi" (eat), and when a bit older he is able to repeat longer sentence e.g. "meko giare" (I am going to have my bath). It is always the case that the child uses only words which he hears. He may not say the word or sentence correctly or at the proper time, and it is often this which amuses the adults who may repeat the phrase and laugh about it. An informant cited an incident concerning a child of 2 years of age who ~~after~~ over-heard two women quarrel one day. The only words he could remember were "Wo kwaseabuo" (You consider people to be fools). Somedays later when his mother

was scolding him for grabbing a toy which did not belong to him, he looked at her and said "Wo kwaseabuo" i.e. just quoting exactly what the quarrelling woman had said some days ago. All present were surprised and laughed because they did not know that he had kept the clause in his mind. Another child of about one and a half years said "Meetete me nne" when he was playing. The mother on hearing this shouted it out for all the others to hear. They all burst into laughter because what he said did not mean anything. "Meetete" means 'I am plucking'. 'Me nne' means 'my voice'. Whether a child's talk means something or not, the mother takes great interest in it. In order to encourage children to talk properly all adults talk to them, but it is the mother who talks most with the baby. She does that especially in connection with the baby's needs. At bathing time, the mother can say, "come, I want to bathe you". Lift up your arm. Close your eyes so that soap doesn't get into them. Where is the towel?" At meal-time the mother can tell the child, "Oh! you haven't had enough, eat it all". Also, if he does something wrong, he may be scolded. In other words, the mother may use words. For example, she may say, "You are disobedient. How often must I tell you this? Naughty, as you are, you never seem to listen to advice". When he is fond of wandering, the mother talks to him as follows: "Now you know what it means to wander off and go without food. If you wander again, I shall beat you and the dwarf or the white man will take you away, or you will be given an injection by the doctor".

Parents have not much time to give instructions to children as to how they should behave or about things that they should take care. Consequently, the children go about ignorantly and do things which to their surprise is contrary to what their parents expect of them. In such cases they may first be warned in a friendly manner or scolded on the spot since the parents think that they have been disgraced somehow by the children's behaviour or have sustained

a loss through the children destroying something. The child is talked to more in connection with scolding than with loving. A parent always has much to say after a child's wrong deed, which the parent of course says in an angry tone. However, about half an hour later, the parent can be seen petting the child and trying to explain that what he had done was wrong and should not be repeated. An informant gave an account of a contrast she noticed when she and her husband visited a Swiss family in Kumasi during Christmas 1954. As guests, they were served some drinks and while conversing with the host and the hostess, the older child of the Swiss couple, aged six, went to her and took her drink and wanted to take it. The Swiss father went and took the hand of the child, kissed him on the cheek and started petting him and explaining to him in a friendly way that that drink belonged to their guest. He said that he would give him some in his own tumbler, which he did a few moments afterwards. The boy understood him and then behaved well. The informant said "When I saw that, I said to myself: Yes I have learnt one thing; petting does not make children unruly, it makes them gentle. If he had been an African father, he would have scolded him and would have sent him away sad".

Children are not taught to modulate their voices generally. When they talk at the top of their voices, the mother does not mind much because the child must have his own time of play and must not be interrupted too much. However if a child talks at the top of his voice while adults are conversing together or at a time when a guest is in the house he is then told to modulate his voice. When the writer went into a house to investigate into his matter she met about seven women all in the same compound who formed for her a sort of seminar. There were children about, some carrying on with their motor play, others eating. One of them Akua, who was about six years of age was so interested in the questioning and answering that she came and sat very near the writer. After a moment she spoke at the very top of her voice across the yard to another

child. It really disturbed the writer and her "seminar"; so the seven women, and a father present, started to shout at her almost at the same time. It was like this; One said: "Hee eei", another "haaa", a third "hoooo", all terminating in, "why are you shouting so much? If you can't modulate your voice while there is a guest here then leave the place. Do not disgrace us". In another moment the child disappeared. Children are not held to high standards of grammatical correctness. They can be allowed to say anything which occurs to them mixing future and past tenses together, i.e. 'Yesterday I shall go to the farm' etc. The women do not take much pains about this because they know that when the child grows he will pick up the correct ones gradually without being taught. What they do about grammatical mistakes is just to laugh and have them as they are.

Adults do not like to see a child sitting still and quiet, for such a thing might mean that the child is sick which would of course alarm them. Little children are often spoken to by adults and they are often seen telling adults what favourite food or toy they would like to have, or that they would like to ease themselves, and about other such needs. Older children who can take care of themselves are not often spoken to by adults because they are not allowed to take part in adult conversation. One of my informants said: "What I hate my boy for is how he convinces the petty trader on the market either to reduce the price or to give a few more of his wares after I have bought something. In such a circumstance, we are adults and he should stand still and listen. When he meets his mates, who are children, he can chat with them".

Children are asked to be factually precise in what they say. However adults do not stress the precision very much. When a child comes home and says something very impossible, the adult only retorts with some words to show him that exact facts are wanted from him. He is never scolded seriously for factual inaccuracy. A boy Kwasi, aged three and a half, one day returned from the streets and said

that he had seen a man standing on the top of a lorry with his arms sideways stretched and the lorry moving fast. Although the mother knew that such was impossible, she just smiled and said: "Do not be like 'Ananse' (the hero of twi fables) who tells false stories. How strange you are to say such a thing". The boy just went away without feeling much checked.

A child of four years whose mother had bought him a new cloth costing about seven shillings, a ball costing one shilling, and a cap costing about four shillings, was asked by an aunt, "Kofi, how much did the cloth cost". He answered, "Sixpence", "What about the ball," was the next question. "Sixpence," "and the cap?" "Sixpence". Then the aunt said, "Oh! Does everything cost sixpence on the market? That's curious enough".

At the age of six a child is expected to know and distinguish a fact from phantasy. If a child of above six were to say anything fantastic, he would be told not to behave like a child of four or five. A child of seven is also expected to be grown up enough to differentiate between a truth and a lie.

The emphasis put on truthfulness is more or less on the side of the child. If a child above seven tells a lie, he is scolded and even given corporal punishment at times. But if he is below six years, he is not much checked because adults know that children of this age cannot tell the truth always. Last week, there was an incident in one house where there were many young children. A woman saw a stool^{ie face} outside the bathroom very early in the morning. When^{she} asked the children about it, each one denied that it was his. An Uncle approached and said: "Oh! Are you asking after the one who did this filthy thing? As if you do not know children! They would never tell the truth." Then he added, "Ade bone nni owura" (a wrong thing has never got an owner). So the children were left alone.

Parents, on the whole tell lies to younger children for reasons of discipline. For example, a parent may tell a child, "If you

refuse to take this medicine, either a dwarf or the policeman or a ghost of the doctor will carry you away. But if you stop crying I shall buy you a new dress tomorrow." The child may refuse to take the medicine. But no policeman or ghost, or any of the threatening factors ever appears and even if he meets the doctor in the street or at the hospital he finds him one of the nicest people he has ever met. He may on the other hand stop crying; but he will never see any new dress on the morrow. Parents do not regard these as lies, but simply as fibs used as a means to an end. If a parent finds her child old enough to know the difference between lies and truth, and knowing that the doctor, for example, would not carry him away, the parent lays more emphasis on truthfulness on her own part and sticks only to facts.



These boys are playing
on the field



These two groups of children are
playing behind the house.

GAMES SONGS AND STORIES

In this village, children play some games at two different times of the day. The first one is from about eight o'clock in the morning until about two o'clock in the afternoon. When the adults leave them for their farms, they organize themselves in little groups, each led by an older boy or girl. The other time is in the evening, following their suppers. This time is played in principally on moon-lit nights. During such times, they play for so long a time that they even go to bed after the adults. These children play on the lanes, streets, and in the space between their house. In this place, there are no games assigned to children according to their ages. Children of all ages between three and a half and seven, or even eight, take part in the same games. However, about half the games children here play have this limitation - all the players have to be of the same sex. Here are some of them:-

Mesosodua

Twelve children of the same sex can play this game. They are divided into two groups and stand in two Indian rows, with two leaders facing inwards and thus facing one another. With both hands, each of the others holds the waist of the child standing in front of him or her. Let us suppose that both leaders are called As and the last in the rows called Xs. When the game starts, each A tries to catch the X in the opposite team. This X is protected by the players on his or her side. If one A succeeds, the captive is added to his or her group. The game goes on and on; and finally to find which is the winning team, the children on the both sides are counted. The side having the greater number wins.

Nenaam

About ten to twelve children sit in a small circle with their knees raised, leaving space between the thighs and the heels for the following manoeuvres. A rolled cloth is passed from individual to individual through the spaces under each person's knee. One child stands in the centre and tries to pick out the person who has got the cloth under his or her knee. If this child succeeds, that one picked out takes the place in the centre. This is a game often played in the evenings, and if the centre child finds it difficult

to point to the one who has got it, he or she is allowed actually to search in the space under the knees.

3. Hena Suro Kofi Babone

This game is played in the school - classwise. The teacher or any selected pupil takes the place of Kofi babone which means Kofi the bad boy. He or she is the leader with the whole lot of the children there, walking behind him. The leader asks: "Hena suro Kofi babone" (who is afraid of Kofi the bad boy?) The children respond: "Yensuro Kofi bab ne." (We are not afraid of Kofi the bad boy) The leader asks this question for about five times, Then he or she turns, runs after the others, and catches as many as possible. All the caught ones become Kofi babones. The game continues like this till there are only a few of the children left uncaught. Those then become the winners of the game.

4. Ampe

This game can be played by any number of girls, but - unusually - the fewer the merrier. Boys do not play it. They stand in a semi circle and one stands in the middle, playing with each of the others in turns. The one in the middle, and the one for the moment being played with, jump, clap their hands, and on landing each put one foot forward. If both two right legs are put forward, then automatically the players' outstretched legs do not meet. This means that the player in the centre wins a point. If the left leg of the player in the centre and the right one of the other player are put forward (or vice versa), automatically they do meet. If this alternative is had twice in succession, the second player takes the place of the child in the middle. The one recently in the centre stands at the end of the semi-circle having had her turn. The player standing in the centre always scores if her foot does not meet with that of the second player. Consequently, she goes on collecting points until defeated by a more skilful player or until reaching twenty. She then wins the game and can stay out of it.

3. Here Suro Kofi Bab ne

This game is played in the school - classwise. The teacher or any selected pupil takes the place of Kofi bab ne which means Kofi the bad boy. He or she is the leader with the whole lot of the children there, walking behind him. The leader asks: "Here suro Kofi bab ne" (who is afraid of Kofi the bad boy?) The children respond: "Yensuro Kofi bab ne." (We are not afraid of Kofi the bad boy) The leader asks this question for about five times. Then he or she turns, runs after the others, and catches as many as possible. All the caught ones pass Kofi bab ne. The game continues like this till those who are not caught are left. Those then become Kofi bab ne.



Boys take an interest in cycling.



These children are playing in their house.

In this place, there is no emphasis laid on sports performed by single individuals, such as swimming and bicycling. However there is a handful of children of both sexes between the ages of eight and sixteen who have a love for swimming. Since the only water here is a small stream, they swim during times when the stream is in flood. When the children want to swim, they go in groups so that in case one is getting drowned he can be helped by the others. New swimmers are taught by the experts. They swim only for the sake of enjoyment.

Bicycling is also only a minority sport here. There are only a few town and school boys between eleven and sixteen who take an interest in it. If ever a girl was seen to ride a bicycle, she would be considered a "rogue". Once the writer saw a certain mother talking to her adolescent girl on the subject. "If you are starting to ride a bicycle now, my daughter," she said "then you had better go to Kumasi and buy lipstick with which to paint your lips red. You had better paint your finger nails also red, paint your eye brows extra black, and go and live in Adum Street in Kumasi where the harlots are always to be seen." Owing to such an attitude on the part of the parents, it is only boys who are seen on bicycles. There they hire for a ld. for five minutes. These boys are seen riding through the village streets, on the main road and on the school fields.

Team games though informal, are more emphasised. Children in a neighbourhood in the village may gather together either in the morning or in the evening, and with a leader chosen unanimously from their number organise some of the games stated above. These games are played more or less everywhere in the town by the children of about three and a half to eight in the area concerned. They do this without the concern of the adults and if some are causing trouble the leader gives these ones knocks on their head. It is not infrequently that little quarrels spring up during such team-games. Such team-games are not discouraged by parents because they feel that they give their children a chance of meeting children from other houses. Also it keeps the children occupied,

whereas they might be at home causing trouble or hiding in a corner crying. The only thing they do not like is when their child refuses to do some particular work at home and escapes to join the team; or when he comes home with one or more, quarrelling with them. At school, there is still more emphasis laid on team games than outside. This is in order that the children may develop a team spirit.

The value placed on athletic skill differs from home to school. Swimming is only done for enjoyment or just for cooling the body on a hot day. Riding a bicycle is done only to acquire the skill, and so as to be able to ride to a village nearby when the necessity rises. The team-games or any athletic activity are done just to pass the time or just an entertainment or enjoyment. That is the value which both parents and children place on them. It is only in school, where a different value in addition to the above-mentioned ones is placed on these. The Physical Training Teachers assess the value of the athletic activities from the biological point of view. They feel that the items of sports (i.e. jumping, running, throwing the desk, creeping underneath obstacles, skipping, different games such as foot-ball, volley, net-ball, Kofi bab ne, Kyekyekule, and Physical Training items such as, the knees full bend, the crow hop, the caterpillar walk etc.) are exercises which strengthen the bodies of the children.

They complain of school children who escape athletic sports as feeble and sickly. Sex differences determine the choice of games for children in Agogo. Some of the games can be played by both girls and boys together. An example of this is 'hide and seek'. In this, one of the number of children playing is blindfolded and the remaining children hide somewhere. Then he or she uncovers the eyes and searches for the rest, exchanging places with the first one found. Then the game starts again. This game is traditionally considered good to be played by both sexes together because it does not involve such ^{things} as touching the sex organs.

There are some games which can only be played either by girl alone or by boys alone. An example of this is Nenaam which has already been explained under the common games. This is strictly



These children (girls) are playing 'Assw'. Since they are not many, they are standing in a semi circle.



Boys are interested in foot ball.

for either boys or girls only because the centre child can, with the help of his hands, feel in the space between the thighs and the legs to find the hidden rolled cloth. A naughty child faced with a child of the opposite sex might take advantage of this situation in order to search further than is required.

There are games which are only assigned to girls. One of these is Asiw. About ten or more girls stand in a circle singing and clapping rhythmically. One of them stands in the middle of the circle, claps twice with the others, then bends her body backwards quickly, coming to lean upon the girls standing immediately behind her, with her hands sideways stretched. These have to support her by holding her hands. She then moves on, doing the same thing from time to time according to the rhythm of the song and clapping. If the girl in the centre is not properly dressed round the waist, when she bends backwards, the children standing right opposite her will see her sexual organ. Therefore boys are not permitted to join the girls in this game.

A game such as foot-ball is strictly played by boys because on the whole they like games which involve adventure, running and physical strength. They like such games as somersaults. Incidentally the sedentary, they like what is a kind of chess. Girls like games which involve singing clapping, and dancing.

In the schools also sex difference determine the choice of games and athletic activities in general. Boys, being considered to have physical strength, play such games as foot-ball, and have such activities as the 440yds., long jump, the pole jump etc. Girls are given easier games, and shorter distance, (e.g. Net-ball, as w, 80yds, picking the lime, and the three legged race).

Children besides knowing some adult songs and some songs from gramophone records which are nowadays prevalent in the town, have some songs which ^{are} peculiar ^{are} to them. Some of these are unknown to the adults; because such songs are often sung when the children are having their games outside the house. Here are the words of some of them:-

1. "Soyiriwa Kwasi Buroni te abansoro.
Na gam 'shirt'; na no are na oshake ne ho, Soyiriwa"

(Soyiriwa, Kwasi white-man lives on a storey house and is making shirts, and is shaking himself Soyiriwa). s.p. Soyiriwa is a children's word which means nothing.

2. Eee wo a woampa ee wo to bor .

(Eii there are itches on the buttocks of the one who doesn't want to lift up her clothes.)

3. Bankye fufuu yedé; eyz. dè dodo; mede masi gya so rehyew mu; abofra betewa, panyin ka asam a woano perepere, kakraa a meba wo yi no, woressu.

(Cassava fufu is nice, it is indeed very palatable, I have set it on the fire, it is burning, You little child, when an older child is talking, you talk too, do you weep because of this little slap I gave you.

4. Cooase berante , wo maa me na wanhwéwo yiye sewoampalisha a meba wo asum.

(Gentleman of the cocoa plantation, your mother did not train you properly. If you do not powder your face I shall give you a slap in the ear).

In this village, adults do not often tell stories to children because, as an informant said, "There is not much time for that." The time when adults tell stories to children is when they have moved to little cottages far away in their farms where the children are cut off from all sorts of village enjoyment. Children listen to such stories as those about 'Ananse' the spider, who is frequently the hero of African folk stories. Since this is an agricultural area, stories about farming, marriage, chiefs, insects and animals are told. The writer asked the informant to recount the last story which he had told his children and which he thought was appropriate for them to hear. He thus started: "Ananse and Intikuma his son, lived once upon a time. Ananse had a round closed calabash in which all wisdom in the world was supposed to have been kept. He wanted to climb a tree. So he hung the calabash in front of him and began climbing. When his son Intikuma saw that the calabash was preventing him from climbing the tree easily, he said, "Daddy, don't you think that you could climb better if you hung the calabash on your back?" Ananse was surprised to find that there was wisdom in the head of his son, which meant that he had not been able to collect every bit of wisdom into the calabash. Consequently, he threw it on the ground. It broke; and wisdom spread, and thus spread to all people."

On being asked why he thought that was appropriate for his children, he said, "My second child aged ten always behaves as if he were the wisest person in the family. I wanted to teach him the lesson that wisdom is a wide-spread gift, and that he cannot claim to be alone in his wisdom." He continued, "Appropriate stories for children are those which give children a lesson such as does the one I have told you. Also at times it is good for them to hear frightful ones about dwarfs, thieves, fire and death, so that they can be threatened on the basis of these if they wander or are disobedient in any way.

On the whole, literacy in Agogo is just limited to the fortunate few, there are many adults who have no idea of all about the books that school boys and ^{girls} should or should not read inside and outside the school. So it is only the school teachers who forbid pupils to read certain books (i.e. those of which they themselves disapproved). A teacher concerned said that in their scripture lessons, and in morning prayers, they often tell the middle school children to believe in God because He is the Supreme Being over all others; in other words, that they should turn to their Bibles whenever in need of help. However very occasionally, he would find some Middle School Forms 2 and 3 pupils in private possession of the St. Anthony Treasure book and using it as an idol. He said that it would be covered with white paper, with a blue cord tied round it. When he looked into it, he would see a piece of calico and a bit of animals' skin and a piece of half-burnt incense.

After much questioning, the boys would admit that they used the books to invoke spirits to help them to learn well. Although they were not in the foot-ball team, whenever there was a foot-ball match between their Middle School and any other School, they would invoke the spirits to predict which the winning team would be.

The favourite childhood books which the handful of adult literates recall are mostly some of the class readers which they read at school. They had no private books of their own and no school libraries from which to choose books. A man of about 40 recalled the Nelson Readers, books I to III. He could still remember some sentences. He started with a smiling face quoting the following: "I go up, am

I to go up? No, go so. Ata has my cap; Aba has my map." The same informant told a story which he liked very much when a child.

It was about Ananse, who had collected all the world's wisdom into a calabash. (This story has been narrated here already).

Another adult literate, of about thirty eight years, said that his favourite childhood books were the Practical Reader II and a series of Twi books called "Twi Kenkan homa". He could not recollect anything from the Practical Readers, but remembered that he was very fond of the Twi books since they were full of stories. Here is his favourite childhood story. "Once upon a time there lived a man who said he would only worship God when he was on his death-bed. As long as he lived he would worship Satan. He lived making merriment all the time and behaving as an angel of Satan's. One day he was taken ill and knowing that he would die, he wanted to commend his soul into the hands of God. Since his mind, soul and body was full of Satan what he shouted was "Receive my soul oh Satan". A third literate adult, of about twenty seven, said that when he was an adolescent he really loved the book called "The Vicar of Wakefield", He said that because he was an adolescent, he was very interested in passages about marriage which he still remembered. With confidence, he started quoting the following. "It is ever of the opinion that the honest men who married and brought forth large families did more service to the population than those who continued single and only talked about population."

He also narrated his favourite childhood story. "Once upon a time there lived Ananse, who was sent on a errand by Ananse Kokuroko. The name of God in Twi fables. He, Ananse, had only one grain of maize on him. Night fell. He was taken in as a stranger in a house. When the hostess had asked him to keep his maize in the barn he said "Oh! no, I always want my maize to sleep with fowls." As a stranger, his request was complied with. On the next morning, he claimed one fowl, because his maize had been eaten by a fowl. He continued his journey and become a stranger among sheep theme. Instead of allowing his fowl to sleep with other fowls, he said that it should sleep with the sheep. Of course, the fowl was found dead the next morning and so Ananse claimed a sheep. With the same

trick he exchanged the sheep for a cow, and then on seeing that some mourners were going to bury a dead woman, exchanged his cow for the corpse. He then tied a cloth round the dead woman, and in the next house he told his hostess that his wife was in the cloth and was sick and that the only remedy for her particular fantastic disease was this - that she had to be beaten by a number of men. The hostess, taking pity on him, ordered a good number of men to beat the corpse, which they did willingly. On the next day, the corpse was found "dead" by the men, and Ananse pretending that its death had been their doing, claimed all the men who had beaten it. On the next day, they all followed him, hearing him sing and making mention of all the things he had exchanged. Whenever he reached, "I changed the cow for the corpse," he substituted for corpse "mmm". The men grew tired of him and beat him, and he jumped aside on the side of the foot path to save himself. That's why cobwebs of Ananse's are always seen there at the way side.

Literacy on the whole has not gained any footing in this village. There are only about twenty five adults who know how to read. Because of this adults do not read to children. Even the few literates do not read to their children. Either they do not find the time to do so, or do not find the need, or the right material, to read to them. The X chief and an old lady called Mame Akwaa were the only two people ever seen reading passages from the Bible to their children at home.

Children at the age of fourteen (i.e. in Middle Form Three) are capable of reading books such as Shakespeare. In classes they only read the prescribed books, such as Oxford Readers. If they read adult literature, they make the choice themselves from a School Library or a book-shop.

W O R K

Since there are no time-saving devices for work in this village, women have to do a great deal of the work by hand, which is of course a long slow process.

On account of this a woman may count on her children as helping hands to do the work. She therefore tends to like those children who are always helpful to her and do not wait to be told what to do. As early as a child is able to walk well, say at the age of two, he is sent on little errands and asked to fetch things, for instance spoons, sugar ladles and small unbreakables. Kwame Kra aged one and a half years was observed fetching water with an enamel cup for his father's use as soon as the mother put the food on the low table. It is not without interest that he had in fact started walking only two weeks before. Children between one and a half and two have their work limited to indoor tasks and also to light and less delicate articles. When the child is three or four years old he is entrusted with the carrying of more delicate articles such as calabashes, earthen ware pots and a looking glasses. He can also be seen mashing pepper which needs great care. He tries to peel food with a knife and he can also attend to little tasks outside the house such as calling an aunt from a house near-by, or carrying a light load to his uncle's house. At this age, he is supposed to know how to cross the lorry roads without running into accidents. Later, between the ages of six and seven, he may have so much contact with friends outside his own home that he may not like to stay there and work there when required to do so. From this time, onwards he will be given some specific jobs such as sweeping the bathroom every morning, or feeding the fowls or fetching water.

There are sex differences with regards to the work performed. In this society some work is assigned to the female sex, other work to the male sex; and if one is seen doing work belonging to people of the opposite sex, one is considered to be doing an improper thing. The girls will be one day be taking up the duties of mothers, therefore they concentrate on what are considered



The two girls have accompanied their sister to sell food.



These girls sell bread



The children are fetching water,



These children are learning how to weed

feminine household jobs. These follow the pattern of those of their mothers. The girl of about nine or ten years learns how to sweep properly, smear clay on the earth stoves, and clean the hen yard. She also makes fire, boils water, cooks food, fetches water from the water place, tends little babies, pounds fufu. She is taught how to make the bed, weed, plant things such as peppers, okros, maize and yams in the farm and she accompanies her mother to sell the latter's wares if the latter is a petty trader. The girls stay with their mothers from infancy till adulthood when they marry and therefore they serve as apprentices who acquire some skills in housewifery, laundry, cookery, trade and agriculture from their mothers to arm them for the future. Consequently the training for girls begins at an earlier age than does that of boys.

Girls are therefore more useful than boys and thus preferable to the mothers. As far as boys are concerned, their household jobs are limited to running errands, sweeping and fetching water and number of times from the water place (when below fourteen years of age). Also they pound fufu, and look after the babies when their mothers are busy doing some other work. And they carry fire-wood and food from the farms.

Since a boy is considered to be a future bread-winner, he is taught farming, which he can resort to when all else fails. Even from the age of nine, a boy often accompanies his father to the farm, where he is given lessons about the different farm crops and ways of attending to them, and also about traditional tools for hoeing, digging, sowing and harvesting, and also about times for sowing and harvesting different crops. He is his father's right hand when doing all these.. During the cocoa season, he collects the plucked cocoa and helps in breaking and heaping them for fermentation. He also takes an active part in drying and carrying it home. At times he may help his father or a brother in making and setting fish traps. If the father is a hunter and brings something home he helps to cut the meat into pieces. He may also bring sticks from the farm to repair some fence that is falling down or help to mix clay with water

if there is an extension being made to the house.

During the snail season, all children, both boys and girls, provided they are able to walk go out into the bush and forest to find snails. Even a three year old child can be taken to the bush to find them because they are in abundance here and are a second 'cashcrop' of the Agogo people. Children of either sex by doing such work are able to swell their own funds.

This is the work assigned to children in Agogo, and their working hours are the same as for children in other parts of the country. Girls rise up earlier in the morning than boys because they have got a lot to do in the home. They start their routine work at (say) six a.m. continuing (say) half past six in the evening with a few moments of rest sometime during the day. The boys starting work at about half past six, go through the work assigned for them and break off at about half past six in the evening. Usually, in either case, there is no regular afternoon rest because if a child is caught resting i.e. sleeping, he or she is scolded.

Judging from the above children are of much use in the home since they give all kinds of help ranging from running simple errands to doing tasks such as helping in the farm and swelling their own funds by finding snails, even buying some of their own necessaries from their income. In view of this, if it happens that a child does the work he is expected to do willingly, this is a great joy to adults, especially to his parents, who heap praises upon him. That in itself is a reward, but he is rewarded in other ways too. His parents always like him and protect him; and he is sometimes given some presents which the other children might or might not know about. All the rewards are very often connected with the good services he has rendered. For example if he is the one who always likes to pound fufu, while all others are dodging the mother, he is given extra meat when he is having his meal. If he has however helped her in selling her wares quickly, she buys anything he likes, for instance a cap, for him. This idea of giving rewards goes

on even till adulthood; for if a son had helped tremendously to make a cocoa farm successfully, the father may give him a portion of that.

On the other hand, children who dodge adults and parents in home and farm duties are punished, In the first place, they are the sort of children who are not liked very much by their parents. They are scolded at the least thing they do and are often termed 'lazy creatures'. Besides this undesirable treatment they receive at home, they are often punished in accordance with the services that they did not want to render. "One who refuses to help in preparing food is deprived of it because after all," said an informant: "she has not bought any slave to work or cook for her." Some fathers may be very unwilling to marry a girl for their sons because the boy has always been lazy and has not helped him at all to bring in an income by helping on the farm. The Agogo people think that it is understandable that parents either reward or punish in connection with work; because every work which a boy or girl may be asked to do is one to arm him or her for the future. As reason of that if a girl who is incompetent in household duties marries, the husband's relations might remark sadly, to him thus: "Your mother-in-law did not train your wife properly. She doesn't know how to make fufu or soup. She should better be sent back." Such remarks hurt a mother and so to be on the safe side she would train her girl.

If boys however often dodge their parents and are often lazy parents think that it is reasonable that they should be punished, because if they grow up with such habits, they may behave likewise when employed. They might therefore not bring in a good enough income to sustain a family when they marry, and even before the marriage comes about the proposed wife inquires into the past life of the man in question as to whether he is hard-working and would be able to sustain a family.

Parents have a healthy attitude towards the child's professional employment, because every parent deems it a pride if his older child is employed somewhere. The employment of children

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remark sadly to him thus: "Your mother knows did not train you. One of the occupations is driving. These two boys are driver-mates, repairing a lorry type.

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Parents have a healthy attitude towards the child's professional employment, because every parent deems it a crime if his older child is employed somewhere. The employment of children

in this village falls into two categories. In the first group we find that of the town's illiterate children. When such children are of age, they consult their parents as to what employment they should undertake. Occupations assigned to these children are farming, driving, blacksmithy, goldsmithy, carpentry tailoring, masonry, petty trading, sandal-making, and store-keeping. The parents choose the one which they think will bring the biggest income to their child and that also which would suit his health. An illiterate child may on the other hand make his own choice of occupation. If however, his selection is not in accordance with that of the parents, they tell him why they do not like it. If he still insists on it, the parents unable to force him to change his attitude, no longer bother about him. He is then refused any capital which he may ask for in connection with starting the work. They will not care whether he goes bankrupt or prospers in his undertaking. But if the employment is liked by the parents they will support him in all circumstances.

Only recently has a second employment category developed. Children in this group are girls and ~~them~~ who had reached at least Form Four, the top class of the Middle School. Such children and their parents think that it is below the dignity of an M.4 child; male or female, to be seen doing farming just like their illiterate contemporaries. The place of the educated ones is the office. When the writer was investigating into this matter, a stranger, an out patient of the hospital, asked what would happen in about fifty years from now when, it can be assumed, the literate folk would outnumber the illiterates. Would all of them leave the farms and work in offices and die of hunger? A father of a Middle School Boy retorted and said: "How can I waste all this amount to educate my child and then send him to work on the land? There are a few educated persons in this town and if they do not do the clerical jobs, who would take up the Local Council work etc?" Such is the attitude of the educated children and their parents towards the choice of employment.

For this last reason some of these youngsters take up the few appointments in the Local Council, in the hospital as nurses, and in the schools as pupil teachers. A greater number of them, however flock to the large towns Kumasi, Accra and Takoradi in search of clerical work as messengers, store-boys and clerks. The children and the parents have to agree upon the same clerical work but where a common decision is not arrived at the parent may enforce the child to take up an employment against his wish. In such a case the child's attitude towards it might not be a healthy one. There was an incident in this village when a tall adolescent boy, Atta wanted to join the Police Force. He was stopped at once by his uncle who wanted him to be a druggist. Atta, being humble, opened the drug store, but since he did not like that occupation. He did not feel happy there; for instance, in a day he was not able even to make sales of over ten shillings. There have been some cases just like that of Atta in which however the children also insisted on taking up the occupation that appealed to them. The parents of such children refused to have any further relations with them, and therefore the children left home without saying good-bye. Consequently, they are now considered as delinquent children.



Afua (above) is an adolescent girl.

ADOLESCENCE.

When a child is about twelve years of age, he develops certain characteristics which distinguish him from the opposite sex. During this time, he is supposed to go through a period of rapid physical growth whereby he develops long limbs and becomes sensitive to remarks. A little while after this the body directs its growing-power to new ends; to complete him and fit him for full adult life; the pubic hair which is a sign of sexual maturity begins to grow. With girls the breasts, and with boys the penis make themselves ready for their natural work. The boy's voice breaks and deepens into the voice of a man.

By these physical changes, the child begins to be aware that he is rapidly passing into adulthood. The child is also made aware by adults of the new state into which ^{he} is entering. Often remarks are made to that effect. He may either be reminded of his long legs, or his deep voice. A girl may be reminded of her growing breasts. At times the child dislikes such remarks and therefore becomes shy, excitable, moody and disobedient. He is often referred to as having reached adulthood. At this age, a girl becomes more interested in herself. She often wears the top garment to cover her breasts. By smearing much oil on her body, her skin becomes smooth and she begins to have more interest in boys especially those of her own age or a little above and wishes to win their admiration. Her adult relations keep on reminding her that she has reached an age when she can menstruate at any time, and she should therefore be careful in dealing with men so that she does not get pregnant before her first menstruation which by custom should be announced publicly.

The boy's pre-puberty is not as noticeable as that of the girl's and he also sees his contemporary girls growing faster and taller than himself. The boy's transition is not signalled by any custom since there is not a specific day when the transition takes place. On the other hand, the girl's menstruation is a land mark in her life which is celebrated.

When a girl menstruates, it is publicly proclaimed. If she thinks that she is too young for it, for example, if a child

menstruates at ten and a half years or sometimes at eleven, she does not have it announced till later fearing that it would not meet people's approval.

About the puberty rite, this was what an informant said. He described it as being a common practice in this village. He said, "When my daughter Yaa menstruated, her mother accompanied her to the Queen mother's house to inform her of the good news. The Queen-mother on hearing of it asked for a shilling and then ordered her maid to take Yaa into a room to see whether she was really discharging blood. This was done and luckily enough Yaa passed the test. There have been cases in which some girls failed such tests because they were declared pregnant without having had the ceremony of menstruation. Whereas they were pregnant without having gone through that puberty rite custom.

*Behaviour of this type is considered taboo and blasphemous. Such people are brought before the chief's court and after the hearing of their case made to pay twelve guineas. In the olden days, such immodest girls were executed.

However, before Yaa was presented to the Queen-mother, her friends had already been informed that she had menstruated. Consequently, a word was sent at once to them that she had passed, the test. They were very happy and had their hair shaved immediately. Yaa also had hers shaved too. She wore a white veil showing that she had won a victory and so she was adorning her soul with white. My daughter had a fiancee and so he was informed; to grace the occasion he gave her (£6) six pounds for buying all necessaries such as eggs, pomade, sponge etc. If she had had no fiancee I would have had to buy everything as her father. The mother saw to it ^{that} the following were bought: Towel, soap, powder, a basin, food stuff, salt and shea-butter. Many girl friends of the menstruated girl who had their hair shaved came to stay with her. There were ten of them. Their ages ranged from six to twelve. They were a sort of attendants to Yaa whom they always escorted to the river side twice daily to have their bath, then coming back home to smear a lot of shea-butter on their skins. Yaa's mother gave a boiled egg to her to eat without biting

it in pieces. Whilst eating, the former said: "May God help you and bless you. May he give you a husband worthy of yourself."

"The friends or attendants used to help to cook a delicious food, 'fufu', and all of them ate together. Yaa was then given a long stick to clean her teeth with. All this went on for a week. At the end of the week, they all had their bath for the last time in the river side, dressed in rich native attire and parolled the town in a group to thank people. They give thanks because God had helped Yaa to grow from childhood into adulthood. During these customary rites, I spent about twenty five pounds on the whole affair", continued the father. "When she went round to thank people, she was given some donations which amounted to about thirty pounds (£30)."

That amount was supposed to be the girl's capital and she is expected never to exhaust the whole amount. If my child Yaa was living in the Christian quarters, we could not have observed that custom for her because it is not allowed there. The Christian Adolescents are confirmed in the church and that marks the entry from childhood into adulthood, though at a girl's menstruation, she is given a boiled egg.

To round up such a custom, the adolescent and menstruated girl who has undergone the puberty rite is given pieces of advice by her parents in the presence of her friends. She is told to be careful with men, not to have intercourse with any man before her marriage. She should consider the amount of money spent on her and lead a good life so that she gets a good husband; and that it is only by leading a good life that she will get children after her marriage. She is told that she is now of a marriageable age and therefore if any man asks her hand in marriage she should inform her parents at once.

Adolescent boys are warned to be careful in choosing the right partners, not to have sexual intercourse with other men's wives since that brings a lot of money wasting and misery to such boys. They are also advised to work hard for their living, otherwise they may not be able to maintain a family and so would be deserted by their wives and perhaps children.

During such times, there are changes in the mode of life of the adolescent. The girl adolescent knowing that she has stepped from childhood into adulthood, expects people especially those who are younger than herself to address her thus: 'aunty'. She has the right to have her hair tied with black thread to wear a headkerchief and a top cloth to distinguish her from pre-adolescent girls. The adolescent boys also puts on a larger cloth of about six yards. If however, a boy or a girl in this stage behaves as a child either by weeping unnecessarily or by taking part in children's play he or she is reminded of the transition, its meaning and the responsibilities which it carries with it. Such a child is also expected to be more serious about life, to behave and do everything which will promote a successful future life.

The adolescent enjoys great freedom in most cases, and is allowed to use his or her initiative in taking action. He ^{or she} does this keeping in mind all the time that adults and especially parents are keeping an eye on him or her to see how he or she behaves with people of the opposite sex and the sort of partners he chooses. Whenever there is a lapse of modesty in this respect, the girl is severely warned and her freedom decreased. Parents do this with a view to escaping public reproach and also to have their child well recommended for marriage.

The adolescent girl receives a greater attention than the boy since her transition is marked by a specific occurrence of the monthly flow and a ceremony. Afterwards, however cruelly parents would like to treat adolescents, they feel that they should be more severe on the boy than the girl in relationship with his employment or apprenticeship. They feel that it is absurd to find a man who is unable to earn his living to maintain a family. In view of this the boys are made to work to equip themselves for the future. This is what an informant said about the subject: "Whereas I tighten my supervision over my adolescent girls relationships with boys, I always see to it that my boy works hard. I do not allow him to join the lazy boys of his age who play 'aware' (an African game) hours on end near

the street. If he is unable to earn a living in the future, he will depend on me all his life. But I may die at any time."

On the whole, girls are not given any formal talk about menstruation. They hear about it when their parents talk about it in passing. Before the rite, the mother always warns her daughter to have her bath before she takes breakfast in case she menstruates any day. For, it is believed that it is not proper for a menstruated girl to eat while she has not had her bath. This is more or less all about menstruation that a girl may hear from her parents. Any other things which she may hear comes from friends who are experiencing or have experienced the puberty rite. She learns that unexpectedly blood starts to flow from the genital organ at a certain time between the ages of twelve and fifteen. That is sometimes painful - that it may flow for about three, four, or five days and stop, that it repeats itself every month.

During such times absolute cleanliness should be observed. Adults constant supervision over, and advising of the girl at this age, make her have a hazy idea that there must be a relationship between menstruation and child birth. Parents think that ^{it} is an improper thing to talk about sex affairs to their adolescent children. It is believed that if a parent did so the child would show disrespect to him. Thus the son relies on his close friends or his elder brothers for information about sex. His 'wet dream' for example, otherwise remains a mystery to him.

In this village, there is a great emphasis laid on chastity. Adults are aware that an adolescent child's lapse from modesty invites public disapproval and consequently a reproach, and a great loss of money at times, contraction of diseases at other times, court cases, dishonour, illegitimate children, and abortion and many other kinds of vices are attached to this behaviour. By reason of all this, adolescent sons and daughters are warned to refrain from sexual intercourse. When parents find their daughter indulging in that practice, they warn her very severely, because shortly before her marriage, her spouse's relations will

fish for secret information and get reports and testimonials privately ~~from~~ about her. If however the testimonial is an unfavourable one, the spouse's father will say: "Well my son, you can't marry this girl since 'she goes here and goes there', she is a rogue." A similar thing can be said about a boy who goes after many women like a he-goat.

During adolescence, boys and girls become very much interested in sex affairs. They do not wish to stay at home in the evenings or go out for their games any longer. They feel that they are grown ups and therefore they should undertake adult activities. They meet in twos or fours and converse together on the streets especially on a moon-lit night. During such evenings they go for walks and stop in shady places to caress or fondle each other. During the Akwasidae ceremony of the Agogo state, the illiterate adolescents meet in the evenings and dance to clapping and singing. During such times, people from each sex try to win the admiration of others of the opposite sex either by graceful dancing or by curious contortions of the buttocks.

With the rapid growth and the interest and popularity of football matches in the Agogo village, adolescent boys and girls have another ground on which to meet and chat and laugh.

As the players go on with the game, the by-standers, especially their girls friends, cheer them till the end of the game, and then congratulate them when they are successful or comfort them when defeated. A grander ground for the adolescents is ball-room. Occassionally dances are organised in the town. Some girls attend them with their regular boy-friends, others with their brothers or cousins and the rest with some boy acquaintances. There they dance, converse, laugh drink and in short, enjoy themselves.

In the churches, there are some societies which adolescents can join. They are the Youth Guild; the Church Choir and the Singing Band. All these are considered to be activities or societies in the religious institution. In such places the adolescents are not expected to show any extra interests in people of the opposite sex there. However, at the close of a

meeting or singing, they walk in pairs or in groups to wherever they like to do what pleases them.

Some of these sex activities found in the Church Societies are known and sanctioned by parents. On the other hand, they may not know that their adolescent boy or girl goes out in the evening to converse with contemporaries of the opposite sex on the street until they happen to meet them or are seen by somebody who reports it to the parents.

The adolescents steal themselves out to do this since they know that their parents do not sanction such behaviour. During such activities, the boy may find his way with a little torch-light which they call "Me na reba" (my mother is coming). This name implies that a parent is coming so the torch light should be kept hidden quickly so that the lovers may not be spotted.

Some girls attend dances at the expense of their boy friends who invite them later on to spend the rest of the night with them at the close of the function. As a result of this, and from the fact that boys embrace the girls to arouse their feelings in the dance, parents do not sanction such activities at all.

There are romantic love affairs between boys and girls at this age. A girl may fall so deeply in love with a boy that she becomes unhappy when she doesn't see him. The lovers meet at different places to converse and enjoy themselves in other ways. The boy may promise the girl that he will ask her hand in marriage. Very often they go as far as to indulge in sexual intercourse which may result in pregnancy. Some boys carry out the obligation and marry such girls but on the other hand, there are those who refuse to have any further connection with the girl and leave her to look after herself and the developing child. Love for remote objects is not very common.

In spite of the fact that adolescent boys and girls have great interest and admiration for people of the opposite sex, they also have a few friends of their own sex. Thus a girl may

have a girl friend of approximately her own age in whom she confides all affairs about her early love or anything about her boy friend and what her parents think and say about it. Similarly boys also have special boy friends in whom they confide. While investigating, the present writer came across two girl friends who had befriended two friends of the opposite sex. They said that whenever one of them offended her lover, the other stepped in to settle the matter.

The first loved objects for boys are often of the same age or younger. A boy never wishes to befriend a girl who is older than himself. The reason for this is that, if because of an unexpected pregnancy he has got to marry her, it would look queer to have a wife older than himself. Girls on the other hand wish to love boys who are older than they are and in some cases of their own age. They do this because they think that such boys have more experience to guide them than the younger boys.

Very often some adolescents go through a phase of storm and stress. This results from the fact that their parents are over anxious to train them.

A father and a mother may like their son to be a carpenter but, he, disliking that job, may do something else. Another boy would, to the dislike of his parents, linger about on streets while others toil to earn their living. A girl^{who} may be given too much neglects part of it. Another one may be cautioned not to befriend this boy or that but she may be deeply in love with him and cannot stop easily. - All these generally bring a constant friction between parents and young adolescents. The adolescent girl feels that too much is being asked of her and that her freedom is being taken away from her; while the parents also think that the adolescents are disobedient, and that they are not as submissive as they were when adolescent.

When such a situation of disobedience or lapse of modesty crops up the adolescents become bitter against the parents because the latter call them and advise them not to do this or that. In severe cases, the child is punished. This is what

one of my informants had to say about the topic. "The puberty rite was observed for me about two and a half years ago. My parents have ever since been asking me to marry four different men each of whom wanted to ask for my hand in marriage. I refused because I have got another boy-friend, of course to their dislike. Whenever the tax collector comes in they start scolding me to the effect that if I had married, my husband would be paying my tax for me and not they. They pointed out that there is a girl of my age in the village who has got a child already. My mother would deny me of food if I went to watch a football with my boy friend.

In this village, adolescents do not become deeply religious. But they like attending functions where they can be seen by people of the opposite sex and where their dressing will draw attention. And with this motive behind their behaviour, they attend religious services in the Churches. After they have done this for sometime, some refrain from going to church, either because the service or because the prayer is too long. Even when they have been confirmed, it is only during those grand days when they have get new cloths and dresses that they like going to church. Occasion after occasion, their number at the Lord's supper decreases. In fact, if any at all, it is only a handful who are serious about the affairs of religion. In the heathen quarters, they join various social gathering, but have very little interest in the real meaning of such religious practices.

On the whole the adolescents in this village do not often rebel against authorities. However, it is not uncommon to hear of incidents concerning insolent adolescents who rebel against authorities. Children may rebel at home because of the parents disapproval of the children's employment or choice of a friend. In the schools, the adolescents very seldom renounce authority since they are afraid of punishments or degrading testimonials which would be given to them at the end of their course. As far as political affairs are concerned, they are generally law-abiding.

When a girl menstruates or the pubic hair of a boy begins to grow, she or he is considered to have entered into adulthood. Adolescence is therefore considered to be the threshold of adulthood. The following expressions are used to describe that transitional period. "Wadu mmaam", "Wadu mmarima mu" (literally meaning you have reached womanhood or manhood, as the case may be).

In spite of the strain and stress of adolescence, lads and lasses of Agogo regard that period as a happy time. The time for making love, the time for having a considerable amount of freedom, a time for pleasurable activities - a time of having joy from making merriments, and a time for making the choice probably of one's life-partner, a time for displaying physical strength - a time when one is in one's prime.

C O N C L U S I O N .

The training and education, both formal and informal given to the Agogo child, is to equip him to be a good citizen, and later to be a good and useful adult of the society. He is therefore trained in an environment in which he is expected to live as an adult. He in consequence tries to adjust himself to situations as they arise.

Besides imitating adults, the child's home training is given by employing admonition, questions, answers, instructions, ridicule, correction, praise and punishment. His unbringing is shared between parents and relations. Other adults both familiar and unfamiliar may take up the responsibility when necessary.

From his infancy, he is taught what he should and should not do. He learns the standards of behaviour and traditional customs from older children and adults and begins to have respect for them. Living in a forest and agricultural area, he is not only taught home and community life in the village but is introduced to farming, collecting of snails and hunting in some cases; and is taught the techniques as known in that place. When he grows older, he is taught trade or employment by which he can earn a living.

In this village, as well as many other Gold Coast villages, it is held that the place of the woman is the home. Consequently, the daughter is the right hand of the mother whom she helps day and night through rain and sunshine. She is taught cookery, laundry housewifery, and childwelfare as are practised there, farming as undertaken by women and the culture of their people.

It has been pointed out already that in most cases parents live apart; female children live with their mothers and older male children with their fathers. This mode of life, has however several serious disadvantages and set-backs. This affects discipline; for never can the parents fully share the disciplinary responsibilities over the child. This, sometimes causes the child to get off the 'rails'.

The basis of discipline is generally fear instead of love and affection. From his infancy, a child is taught to fear things such as dwarfs, bogeys, and ghosts which he will never see even when he becomes an adult. He is also made to dread the Policeman, doctor and the whiteman who he grows to find very kind and agreeable. When children grow up, they realize that all the agents used for threatening were lies. This makes them lose some confidence in the adults concerned. The punishment by which ginger or a mixture of pepper and herbs are inserted into the anus has its moral ill-effects. For primarily, it is used as a medicine and so if it is used as a punishment, it loses its value as a curing measure.

The child grows up to avoid certain actions and eating of some foods because they are taboos; and not because it is rational and beneficial for him to keep away from them. Parents fail to explain fully the origin and the significance of such taboos. This intensifies the child's fear. His home education lacks lesson on cause and effect and of natural forces; and the idea that ill-health depends, on a very large scale, on good home conditions, as well as a general village sanitation. Instead, he is taught to associate sicknesses and things such as sterility with witchcraft. The child is therefore planted in fear for which his parents and adults around about him are responsible. They do not implant the fear purposely but they do it out of great ignorance.

From infancy upwards, the child's informal educators are noticed to lack a complete understanding of dealing with him in developing his emotional, physical, moral and intellectual abilities. Their methods, though not deliberate, are crude and give rise to many ill-effects in the child's development.

For example, when a child is the baby of the family, he receives all love and attention from his parents. But as soon as another baby arrives in the family, the former relationship and love between himself and his parents decrease. The mother can for instance shout at him when he goes near the newly born baby: "No! no! no! do not come near my child; do not kill it

for me." Such a remark and others of the sort make the child unhappy and insecure.

A child's habits, such as masturbation, thumbsucking, left-handedness are abhorred and misunderstood by adults; and he is always reminded or punished to abstain from them. If parents understood that masturbation, for instance, has no ill-effects, they would not have given so much attention to correcting the child. To quote F. Powder-maker a Louise Grimes from 'The Intelligent Parents' manual'.

"The best medical opinion is united in its recognition of the fact that masturbation is a natural gratification practised by most children to some extent, and that it has no ill-effects in itself." On thumb sucking, they say: "It is both usual and natural for a child between two and three years, and even after three years of age, to suck his thumb, or his fingers occasionally. As at early ages, the times when he is most likely to do this are when he is tired, bored, discouraged or unhappy." Parents and adults on the whole, do not know that thumb-sucking is a substitute of bottle-feeding which formerly gave the child pleasure. In such a case, if the parents could understand the child and find occupations that are appropriate and entertaining for him, by removing any strain he may be under, and by making him feel especially loved and cared for, habits such as masturbation, and thumbsucking will disappear.

In this village too, there are many problems facing the adolescent. For naturally, at this stage, he becomes interested in sex and love affairs. Yet he dares not ask his parents the right way to go about them. He may get some information about them from a friend who may or may not wallow in ignorance. What the parents should understand is that the question of sex should be dealt with in a plain matter-of-fact way. That embarrassment of horribleness should not be shown when the child wishes to know something about sex and reproduction.

Undoubtedly, the constant conflict between parents and adolescents brings about unhappiness. Such conflicts are brought about by disagreements on the child's employment, his choice of

friends, a life partner, and from the fact that he wants to be independent. If there could be understanding between the parent and the child, most such troubles could be got rid of.

To the Agogo child, the whole business of living is growing and learning to imbibe most of what is to be seen in his environment. To quote Ruth Benedict from ^{Patterns of culture.} "The individual is first and foremost an accommodation to the patterns and standards traditionally handed down in his community. From the moment of his birth, the customs into which he is born shape his experience and behaviour. By the time he can talk, he is the little creature of his culture, and by the time he is grown and able to take part in its activities, its habits are his habits, its beliefs his beliefs its impossibilities his impossibilities."

Briefly, the child is directed to learn, appreciate and take part in the culture of the village. This, he cannot achieve without his educators. But what should be the qualities of the educators? In the first place, they should have a full understanding of the child they are dealing with. Otherwise they would seem as a common sailor on board who tries to steer a steamship across the ocean. Sooner or later, he is bound to get shipwrecks somewhere, because he lacks the understanding of the techniques of the engines and how they should be managed.

Secondly, they should have love and sympathy for the child so that they would not treat him like a little inorganic object.

Thirdly, they should apply different methods at different occasions to suit the nature and the training of the child. Otherwise they would seem as a doctor who made worse the disease he was meant to cure.

One impression which the writer, on investigating into the topic got, was that some of the informants were aware of the fact that there was a limitation lying somewhere in their child training. They therefore, as a reward for the information they had given demanded to know what should be done to a child who sucks his thumb, wets his bed, cannot or would not control his bowel movements, refuses food, sleeps badly, seems late in

learning to walk, talk or fend for himself; has night mares, is backward at school, is destructive, unsociable or even anti-social. - These informants were blind to the cure of all these mistakes yet they were ever-ready to apply any new solution to their problems.

It is hoped that with the influence of the women's Training College, Girls' School, the Basel Mission Hospital, and the spread of formal education and Christianity into the sons and daughters of Agogo, the standards of living in all walks of life would be raised to a higher plane. Thus equipping Agogo with the necessary 'UNDERSTANDING' they need for training the children.

S T O R I E S.1. A child's favourite story.Serebon 7 years.

Once upon a time, there lived a hen and an egg. There was famine in their town and so they both went out in search for food. They saw a ripe pawpaw. The hen asked the egg to climb and pluck them but the latter refused to do so. However, later on the egg consented to go up the tree to pluck them. Each time that he plucked the fruit the hen ate it. Then the egg shouted from the top of the tree: "If you eat the next one that I shall pluck, I shall come down and beat you." She plucked another one which the hen ate immediately. She decided to punish the hen by falling on her from above, but, unfortunately on throwing herself down, she fell on the ground and got broken. The hen wanted to tease her by laughing at her but half of her beak tore away. That's why the hen's beak is shaped like that.

2. A story about a bad girl.Abrafi 10 years.

There was a girl who often stole things but whose mother never checked her. So she went on stealing things. On one occasion, she was arrested; and when she was being taken away by the police, she requested to whisper some words to her mother. The mother came near to listen. The girl whispered nothing but bit her ear.

2b. A story of a good girl.Boatema 5 years.

Once upon a time there lived a good girl. Whenever she was sent she went. Whenever she was sent she went, running. She swept every morning and washed her mother's pots and pans. She fetched water from the river side. From there she washed the pans. When she finished washing the pans she arranged them in their places. When she finished arranging them she had her bath. She was liked by her mother.

2c.

A story about a bad boy.By Kwabena Twum.

Once upon a time there lived 'Kofi-ba-bone' (Kofi-the-bad-boy). He always refused to go into the farm with his mother. In his mother's absence, he provided music on the drum for hens and dogs to dance in the yard. On each occasion, on his mother's return from the farm, she asked why the yard looked so unbecoming. Kofi-ba-bone always replied that he had been sick in bed and so he did not know what happened there.

One day, the mother, being anxious to know what was done in the yard, told Kofi that she was going to the farm; whilst actually, she was going to hide behind the house. Kofi thought she had gone so he started his drumming and the dogs and hens began to dance. The mother, on seeing that, rushed into the house, and cut Kofi-ba-bone into pieces and buried the pieces in the stove. That is why the dog is sometimes seen scratching the centre of the stove. He is searching for his friend and drummer Kofi-ba-bone.

3.

Children's wishes.

- A. Akoto (girl) 13 years. £10
"I want to buy dresses and cloth because I have not many."
- B. Obeng (boy) 11 years, Blazer.
"I only want to wear it"
- C. Daaku (boy) 10 years, Storey Building.
"I shall hire the rooms to people, collect money from them for building another building."
- D. Adupo (boy) 9 years, Shoe
"I have no shoe but I want to put on one."
- E. Korantema (girl) 8 years, Earrings.
(No reason).
- F. Boatemaa (girl) 7 years, Corn Porridge.
(no reason)

G. Akosua (girl) 4½ years, Toffees.

She insisted that the interviewer should give her the toffees.

4. Self Description.

Kesewa - girl 10 years.

I am fairly slim and tall. I am not fat, my neck is long. My legs are long and thin, my ears are small likewise my mouth and my eyes. (She paused here but the interviewer reminded her of her hair, face, colour and dress). My face is not round it is a bit long; my hair is black and hard and I am a light coloured girl. At present I am wearing a red dress with white spots in it.

5. Life Story.

Daaku - 10 years old.

In 1945, my mother gave birth to me at the Basel Mission Hospital at Agogo. I spent a week there and was brought to my house I am the third child of eight children, I have five sisters and two brothers. My father is a brick-layer who worked in Konongo for sometime so I lived there in my infancy. I returned to stay here at Agogo, and after that I was adopted by an uncle at Kumasi for a year. I was just about to start school there but I had to return to Agogo owing to a sickness. I started school here at Agogo and have been living here since. Both my parents are alive so I am happy.

6. Imaginative Play.

The Interviewer placed 20 little brown dolls (which the Girl Guide Company had just ordered from Britain) on a low table, a piece of white chalk, little cards, pieces of strings and wool were put on the table and talked to Abrafi of 10 years of age.

Interviewer: Abrafi, we are going to have a play. Arrange the dolls in any way you like and use the other things in any way you wish and make up a scene.

Abrafi: All right, will a scene in the hospital do?

Interviewer: Yes! very good. Carry on.

Abrafi: Then I shall do the scene that I saw this morning. (She put fifteen dolls aside as patients. She took another and said, "this is the Doctor. " The next doll represented Mr. Ohene, (the hospital chaplain). Two of the remaining three dolls were made nurses and the last one a female nurse. She began to speak for the dolls.

Mr. Ohene: (Addressing the patients) Group yourselves under the tree for the morning service. (Patients do so) (She arranges them together)

Doctor: (Stands before the audience, accompanied by Mr. Ohene.)

Interviewer: Why should Mr. Ohene stand near the doctor in the Service?

Abrafi: Because he has to translate the Doctor's service from English into Twi. Doctor talks and Mr. Ohene talks too.

Interviewer: What is it that they say?

Abrafi: They talked about a man who was cured by Jesus. I cannot remember all; because when the service started when I was at the hospital, my sore began to pain me; so I could not listen much.

Interviewer: Now suppose they have closed the service, what next? (Abrafi goes on). (Doctor calls one patient in i.e. Doctor speaks through a nurse)

Doctor: Which part of the body are you suffering from?

Patient: Doctor, I have pains all over my body.

Interviewer: Did you see that in the hospital?

Abrafi: Yes, because I went in with that Patient who was my mother.

Interviewer: Then do you think you could add another doll to represent yourself?

Abrafi: Yes. (The doctor speaks through the nurse)

Doctor: What is wrong with your leg, little girl?

Abrafi: (doll) I have a sore.

The doctor writes on the card.

Abrafi & her mother -> go for medicine and walk off from the hospital.

Abrafi: The other patients will also get attendance and go away from the hospital.

Interviewer: Thank you very much, Abrafi, it has been interesting.

Records under which the work was done.

Drawing.

Because of lack of facilities for drawing in the homes, the drawing was done at school. Each worked separately. There were three boys who did not draw but delighted in going from child to child looking at what they were drawing.

Stories and factual reports.

These were recorded in the home. In each case, the interviewer first got acquainted with the subject, asked her a few questions of perhaps her family and what she had been doing that day. - She then went on. "I think you know many stories, do you think you could tell me i.e. one about a bad boy? Then after thinking for sometime, the subject started. One or two children in the house-hold joined to listen to it.

Boatema a aged 7. girl



This is a man.
He has a round belly.

This is a woman.
She has no belly.

A dream.

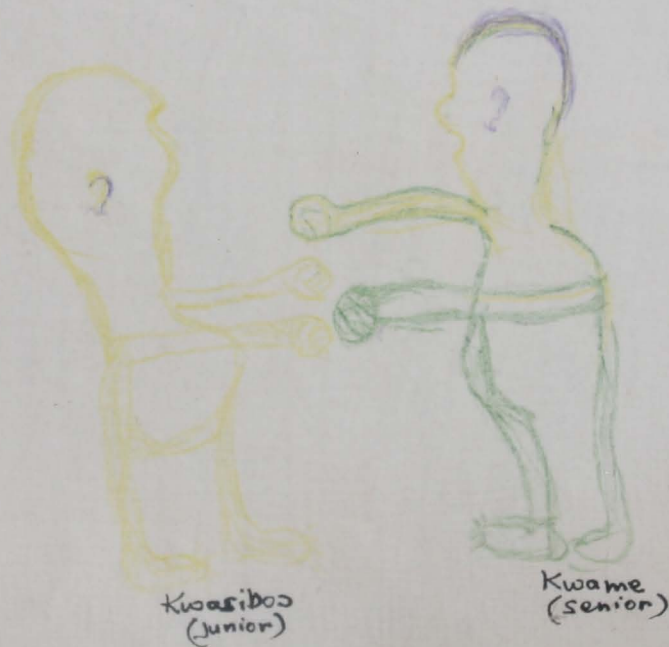
Daku 10yrs. old boy



The man has put
his hands into his
pockets.
He is gazing at the sky.

140
Here are Two people who are fighting.

Kofi aged 12



Kwasibos stole £2 from Kwame and so they have started to quarrel. Kwame will be beaten.

7
The most unpleasant thing I can think of.

Nyamekye
girl aged seven

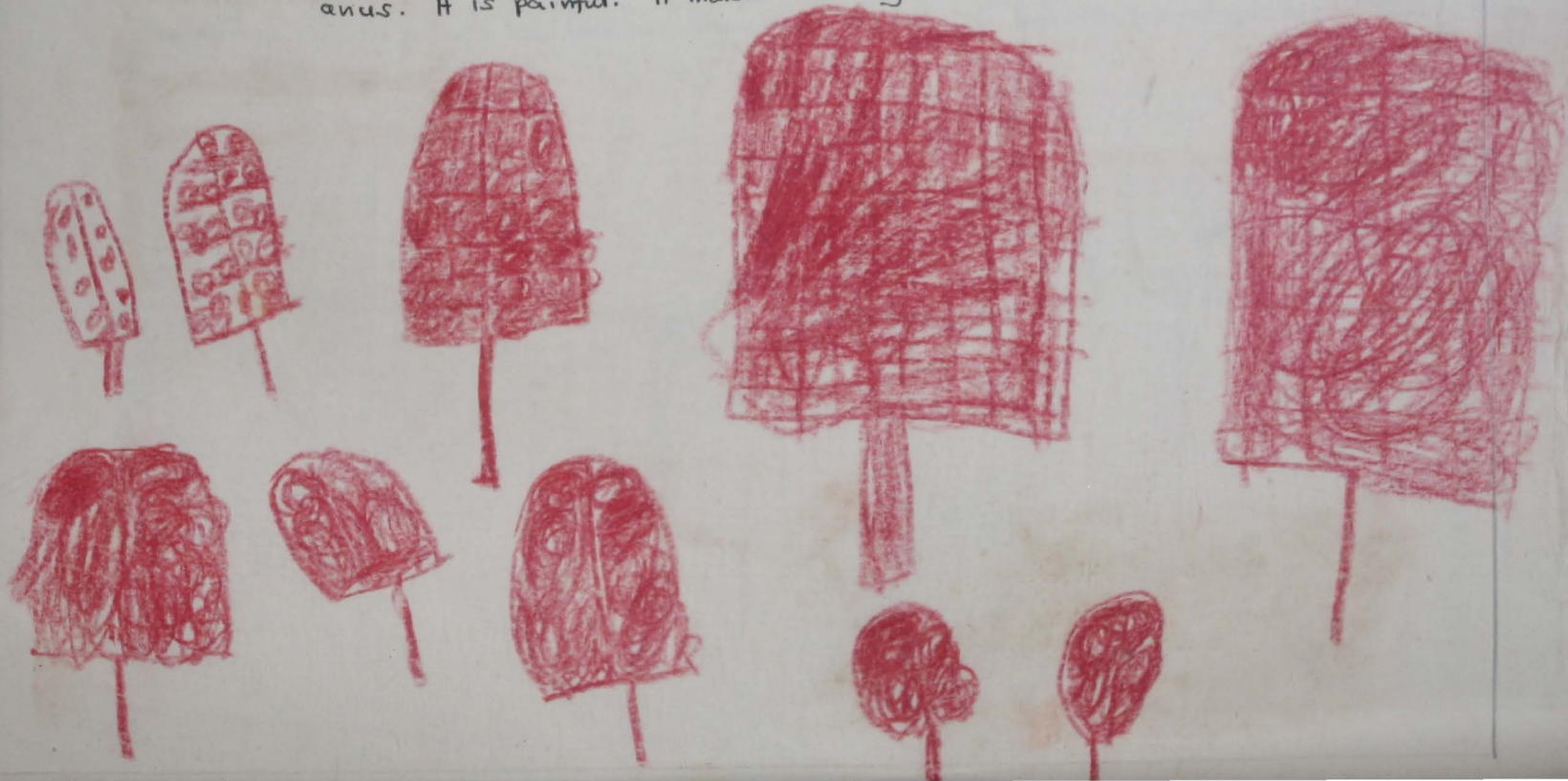
PEPPER



I hate and fear pepper
because it is pushed into my anus.
It burns terribly.

The most unpleasant thing I can think of - PEPPER Nyampa aged 8yrs. girl

The most unpleasant thing I can think of is pepper. It is pushed into the anus. It is painful. It makes me cry.

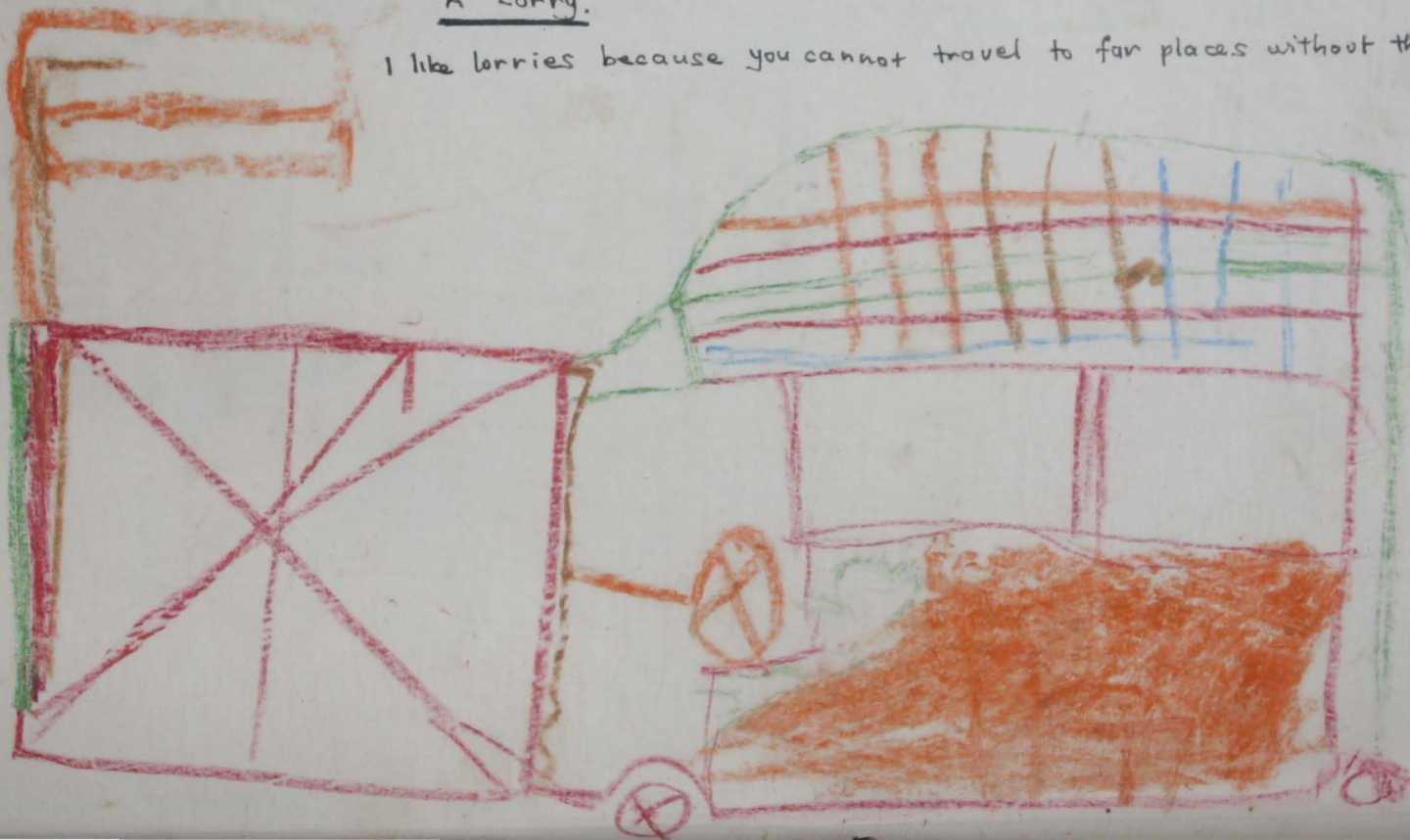


The most pleasant thing I can think of.

Dapaa 11yrs. Boy.

A Lorry.

I like lorries because you cannot travel to far places without them.



The inside of my house - Nyante - boy - 1998



A dream

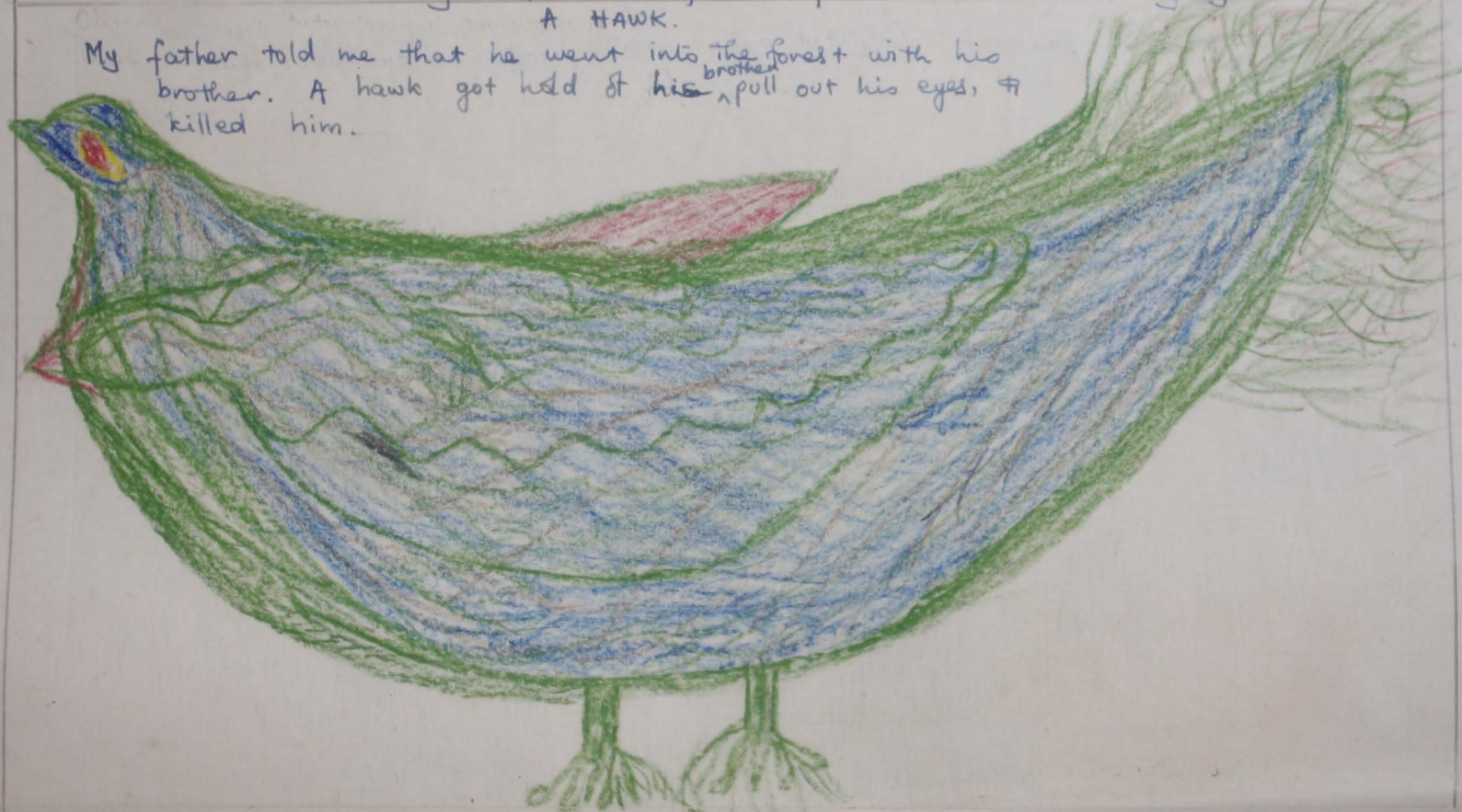
Kwabena Afra girl 7 yrs.
saw himself in a well but somebody went there to save him.



Something I am afraid of Kouto-boy Hys.

A HAWK.

My father told me that he went into the forest with his brother. A hawk got hold of his ^{brother} and pull out his eyes, & killed him.



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The Inside of my house -- Gifty 8yrs - girl

