MAP OF GHANA

showing position of

SUPOWMU DUNKWA.

Introduction

Travelling on the Cape Coast - Sekondi road, chiefly in these modern days by motor-vehicular conveyance, one comes suddenly upon a cluster of sun-baked mud-wall buildings stretching fairly parallel to the motor road for about two hundred yards and about the same number of yards deep towards the left. Suddenly, because of a sharp bend of the road less than 300 yards from it and because of the thick forest which half-conceals it.

Supowmu Dunkwa is the name of this little village, and by the time he reaches it the traveller has covered thirty miles from Cape Coast and a further one mile from the well-known Beposu steel suspension bridge. On the roadside of it he sees women and children selling their farm produce - plantains, coco-yam, cassava, banana, pineapple and many other kinds of foodstuff - which they have harvested from the farms.

To the north-east of the village runs the river Pra, from which the inhabitants fetch their water for drinking and washing purposes, and it is a common sight to see men, women, children, in their canoes bringing in their produce from their farms across it, or up-stream or down-stream.

About fifty years ago, the people of Supowmu Dunkwa lived on an island on the river Pra, about half-a-mile down-stream. This former abode was Supowmu (meaning 'island') which as a village no longer exists. Every year, during the heavy rains, the river had flooded the inhabited part of the island, and was gradually washing that end away till nearly all the houses on it fell. The people had, therefore, to move out, some to Wowoase, Beposo, Atwereboana, and some to our village Supowmu Dunkwa. The old island of Supowmu does still exist, with an area of about twelve acres left, and, especially during low tide, can clearly be seen from quite a good distance, as shown in Picture No. 1.

To get to the island, I was rowed down in a canoe by a young man who was very helpful to me all through my investigation.

As already indicated, Supowmu Dunkwa is a small village with all the houses built of swish, but most of them with cement floors and corrugated iron roofs. Incidentally, the houses near the motor road have recently been

ordered by Government to be demolished so as to allow for the widening of the road. The village is kept very clean, though a number of the mud houses are showing signs of falling. The largest building in it is the chief's house, which is situated at the southern end of it, and there on my first visit I was taken to pay my respects to the Chief. He with his elders, after the customary forms of introduction through a granduncle of mine who was himself one of the emigrants from Supowmu, and exchange of greetings, kindly supplied me with much valuable information for my purpose, and gave me permission to visit his people in their homes. Picture No. 2 shows the Chief and his elders after our meeting.

The people of Supowmu Dunkwa were very friendly indeed, and every evening when I had to return to Cape Coast - I paid about ten visits - many mothers and children came to the main road to see me off. I am very grateful to them all, and will always remember with thanks the happy times I enjoyed with them in their village.

Picture No 18: Supowmu again.

Picture No 1: The Island Supɔwmu during low tide.

Picture No 18: Supɔwmu again.

Picture 2: The chief and his elders.

Picture 2B: The elders in front of the chief's house

Picture 3: A scene in Supaworsu Dunkwa.

Chapter 1.

Attitude towards Child-Bearing.

The people of Dunkwa, like all Akans, consider it a great blessing and honour to have many children, and, therefore, arising from this and not unlike the Jews of old, a great curse and reproach not to bear a child. To them the child is a boon, and material progress and ease in life are dependent upon having children. No marriage is considered complete if the couple do not have at least one child.

Childlessness is regarded as a grievous fault and short-coming. The barren woman is despised, sometimes ridiculed and calumniated; and should she be involved in a quarrel, the keenest insult that could be thrown at her is that she is sterile. Because of this, a woman will embark on the most nefarious practices to be able to have a child. She will go to any lengths to avoid, and give the lie to, the suspicion and stigma that she had uncovered (i.e. 'broken') her virginity and led a loose life before her marriage. It is worth recalling in this connection that the Akan name for a young unmarried female is 'akatasia', which means one who keeps her virginity covered or intact.

The cause of a childless union, whatever it might have been, is not always attributed to the woman. Often a parent, father or mother, has demanded a daughter back from a husband who has had no child with her.

After a year's marriage, the couple are expected to bear a child. Failure to satisfy this expectation often compels them to resort to the quack herbalist, who doles out to them bowls of concoction to drink and bath with, and, as the old women of the village in their lifelong credulity told me, the concoction often cures sterility. If no favourable results follow, the couple have to reconcile themselves to the contempt and ridicule of their fellows, or the union is broken up.

To the people of Dunkwa, indeed to Akans in general, birth control is an unheard-of thing. If a couple think they have had enough children, the only thing to do is for the woman to go and live in her own home. But this is a very rare occurrence, since generally there cannot be too many children to a marriage.

There is no social discrimination against children born of unmarried parents. If a married woman has a child by any man other than her husband, of course, this is considered a disgrace, and her husband may put her away; or if a woman has a different father for each child, she is treated with contempt and branded a prostitute. But no unmarried mother is scorned because she has an "illegitimate child", nor is there an illegitimate child as such in the social set-up. The only snag is that when the unmarried mother gets married to a man not the father of the "illegitimate child", the new husband may not want the child of another man in his home, and the child will have to live with his or her grandparents or other relation. But, again, such cases are rare.

There is no social disapproval against polygamy, because the more wives a man has, the more help he gets on his farm. In Dunkwa, for example, farming is the chief occupation of the people, and the women, who often have their own farms, carry foodstuffs from theirs and their husbands' to sell in the market.

Orphans are well cared for by the mother or father, sister or aunt or any willing relation of the deceased. They are often petted to make up for the loss of their parent. The foster-mother, if she has children of her own, does not differentiate between her own children and the orphan. Often, the orphan may never know that the guardian is not really his or her mother, and anybody who reveals to the child his real parentage is severely reprimanded and scorned for being a gossip-monger. There are no ceremonies performed and no legal papers are signed for the adoption.

Chapter 2.

Pre-natal Period.

Pregnancy is a happy state to be in among the people of Dunkwa. The happy couple are congratulated by relations and friends.

When a woman becomes sure that she is pregnant, she informs her husband, and he goes with her to a herbalist, who gives her a concoction of herbs to drink, bath with or use for enema. She is told what to eat and what not to eat, according to the herbs given her by the herbalist. If she goes to a fetish priest - there are not many in Dunkwa - she may be given amulets and charms to wear round her waist, neck or wrist. She is told not to help any other pregnant woman to put a load on or off her head, as the spirits of the unborn babies may not agree and one may dominate the other.

Normal house and farm duties continue throughout pregnancy. The woman is kept to her usual tasks up to the last day, and, as an old woman told me, it is not uncommon to see a pregnant woman returning from the farm with a new-born baby on her back and a load of foodstuffs on her head. All believe that labour pains are not so severe if during pregnancy a woman does hard manual work. A woman who looks on pregnancy as illness and does not do any work is often taunted.

There is no change in the mode of life in relation to diet, except when a woman has been forbidden to eat certain foods by the herbalist or the fetish priest. Pregnant women often develop a passion for a particular food and, therefore, eat it more often. Palm-nut soup is considered good for the blood and is believed to improve the breast milk.

There is no fixed time for the cessation of marital intercourse. It differs with different people. In some cases it may continue till the woman's abdomen is so enlarged as to make marital intercourse impossible.

In Dunkwa, pregnant women continue to live with their husbands and do not go to live with their mothers. There are no precautions taken by the father or any other members of the family to insure the well-being of the child at its birth. It is believed that if the expectant mother climbs over her husband while getting out of bed,

the latter becomes sluggish and sleepy for the day. This infection, for so it is believed to be, is called "Ason".

About half-way during pregnancy, the woman starts preparing and procuring requisites for the baby at its birth; she buys bowls and other things for the baby's toilet, scrounges old rags from friends and washes them ready for use as the baby's napkins, has a few clothes made by the village seamstress, and collects dried chewed sponge to use as powder puffs for the baby.

Delivery usually takes place in the husband's room. There is no qualified midwife in the village, and babies are normally delivered by an experienced old woman in the family, or the patient's mother, who in any case is usually present to assist, while the husband sits outside straining his ears for the first sound of the baby's cry - an announcement that the baby has arrived and is well.

Chapter 3.

Birth.

The people of Dunkwa look upon labour pains as a natural phenomenon, but if the pains are very severe, some kind of herb is mixed in water and given to the suffering woman to drink to make delivery easier, for which purpose also the old midwife often makes the patient blow hard into a bottle or a native syringe to help the muscles to expand. Again, sometimes when labour pains are very severe and delivery delays, they are believed to be due to adultery, and the poor woman is urged to confess. As an old woman made it out to me, immediately after the confession delivery was easy and simple. Sometimes too, delayed delivery is attributed to the woman's having quarreled with or wronged the husband. In this case the husband is sent for and implored to wash his feet in water with which the offending wife washes her face, or dips his feet in dust and stamps them on the woman's forehead. After this ceremony accompanied by libation, delivery takes place.

After delivery, the midwife cuts the baby's cord and dresses the navel. The placenta and cord are buried where ants cannot get at them. It is believed that if ants get and eat the cord, the child will have continual pains in the navel.

On delivery, the baby is washed very carefully with water, sponge and soap, great care being taken to see that water does not get into the navel. The baby is scrubbed and washed thoroughly, because it is a belief, supported by real factual experience, that if the baby at its birth is not so treated so that the slimy substance on its body is not completely cleansed, he or she will for life carry a body odour.

To ensure the well-being of the new-born child, the herbalist or the fetish priest is sent for, and he puts powdered herbs into cuts which he incises on the wrist, forehead, round the waist and chest of the baby, who may also be given amulets to protect it from evil spirits.

It is usual for the fathers to prefer boys, because they help them on their farms, and the mothers to prefer girls, because they assist them in their household duties and carry foodstuffs from their farms to sell.

If a mother has lost two or more babies in unbroken succession, the next child she bears is given, at its naming ceremony, names with offensive and disgusting meaning - Efua Wangar, Abena Donko (slave), Ama Aponkye (goat). It will also have mutilations inflicted on its body, in order that it might escape the unwelcome attentions of the spirits who want to take him back. Such offsprings are classified as Kosamba, meaning 'goes and comes'.

Chapter 4.

Feeding

Nursing: Soon after birth, when the mother has rested and has had her bath, the child is put to the breast, even though it may not be ready or willing to suck. In some cases when the mother's milk is not ready, the new-born baby goes without food for a day. It is, nevertheless, not separated from the mother who, if she is too weak after the delivery to care for the baby, has her mother or sister near her to care for it. But as soon as the mother feels strong enough, the child is given to her to care for.

Nearly all children are breast-fed, including orphans who are sometimes given to nursing mothers to feed. Often when a child's mother is away, the child is entrusted to another nursing mother to feed.

During feeding, the mother usually sits down; the child is laid in her arms with its head resting on the mother's one arm while the other arm is employed to hold the breast in the baby's mouth. Sometimes the mother may feed the baby while she is walking, in which case the baby is supported on one side of the hip and fed as the mother walks on.

The child is not fed at fixed intervals; but whenever it cries, irrespective of where the mother may be, ~~and is~~ When a child is unwilling to go to sleep, the mother puts the breast in its mouth to suck till it falls asleep. When a baby refuses to feed, the mother forces food into its mouth by pressing or squeezing some of her breastmilk into a cup and holding the baby's nose so that it must open its mouth to get breath; she pours the milk into her hollowed hand, which she presses firmly against the child's mouth, and thus forces it into the rebellious creature.

When a baby stops feeding, the mother puts the nipple into its mouth again, and if the child refuses it, she assumes that it has had enough.

A mother enjoys nursing her baby, and has no fear that it will ruin her own figure. It is considered a privilege and an honour to be able to nurse one's own baby.

When a mother has too little milk in her breast, the baby may be fed on tinned milks like Lactogen and Klim, or it may be given to any nursing mother to feed. Cohabitation is restricted during nursing, as it is believed that, if practised, the mother's milk will lose

quality, and the feeding child may sicken and die. Usually cohabitation is not resumed until the latest child has begun to walk, and parents who function for another pregnancy before that time are often ridiculed and mocked.

Weaning: There is no fixed age for weaning a child. Weaning is effected according to the child's reactions, and sometimes this is not done until the mother is pregnant again. But at a very early age, sometimes when it is only four months old, the child is given "akasa" (corn-dough porridge) in addition to the breastmilk till eventually it prefers the akasa to the breastmilk. No pacifiers are given, as children are allowed to feed from the breast till they are disgusted with it.

Mothers are not concerned if their babies overfeed. They believe that a child stops sucking when it has had enough, especially as, commonly, the child goes on sucking till it falls asleep with the nipple still in its mouth.

Teething: The children in Dunkwa are not usually provided with objects on which to help teething, but when a child's upper teeth look like appearing first, it is given a bone, preferably a chicken's thigh-bone, to rub its lower gum on, so that the lower teeth may appear first. It is considered unfortunate and unnatural for a child's upper teeth to appear before the lower teeth.

Thumb-sucking is regarded as a sign of bad character, and so the child's thumb is sometimes rubbed with bitter herbs to discourage it from sucking it, or the thumb is cut or incised so that the child should find it painful to put it into its mouth.

Solid Food: No definite time is fixed for introducing solid food. The child is sometimes started on 'fufu' before it is completely weaned. It is first given akasa, later mashed yam or rice, then bits of meat prechewed by the mother, till gradually it is put on more solid food, chiefly fufu. These are offered by hand or by spoon, till the child is able to feed itself. There are no fixed times for feeding; the child is fed whenever from its cries it is suspected to be hungry, and mothers are pleased when a child desires food as they believe it shows good health.

As an old woman told me, any food that the mother can eat is good enough for the child at the age of one year - fufu, plantain, cassava, kenke, and fruits. Very young

children are not given cocoyam, as it is believed to cause 'kookoo' (piles), nor over-ripe plantain, as it causes stomach upsets.

Usually, young children, as soon as they are able to feed themselves, eat with their mothers from the same plate, till they are old enough to eat with their brothers and sisters. The whole group of them sit round and eat from one common bowl or 'yaba'. Occasionally there are fights over the biggest piece of meat, but they are quickly settled by the children themselves. Children are usually fonder of meat than vegetables, and often the mother promises it or fish if they eat the vegetables too.

When a child repeatedly refuses to eat, the mother becomes worried and suspects stomach disorder, and so the child is given an enema of ground 'mpatowansoe' (a water storing leaf). This is believed to clear the stomach of impurities and restore appetite.

Using food as a reward for good behaviour, or withholding it as punishment for misconduct, is a common practice in Dunkwa. When, for example, a child refuses to go to the farm with his father, the mother denies him food, sometimes for the whole day; and to make him sorrier still she gives his brothers and sisters more food than usual. If a child is serviceable, he is often rewarded with an orange or other fruit, or sugar to suck.

The age at which children are supposed to feed themselves differs with different children. Some can feed themselves at the age of eighteen months, others at the age of two years. If the child is not a good eater, the mother, sister, or any relative in the house, feeds it occasionally to make sure that it is getting enough to eat.

In Dunkwa, during the morning, the children have their meal while the mother is busy with her household duties; at lunch time when on the farm, they have bits of food to eat while working. But, after mother, father and children have all returned from the farms, - the women usually come earlier than the men in order to cook the main meal for the day, commonly fufu - the children eat at the same time with their parents. This is the time when table manners are taught. A child is not allowed to eat until he has washed his hands; he should not make any noise while eating or drinking; he should not bolt his food or soil his clothes or the clothes of the others eating with him; he should sit up while eating, lest the food gets into the head; and he should never

eat with the left hand. Through many stories the mother teaches the children eating manners. One story which is often told is that if a child bolts his food and swallows a bone or seed, it will grow in his head. One found that the people in this village were more particular about eating manners than in the urban towns.

Picture 4: A mother breast-feeding her baby.

Picture 5. Siblings eating from a common bowl.

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Picture 5. Siblings eating from a common bowl.

Chapter 5.

Elimination.

Like any other children in any part of the world, children in Dunkwa wet their beds when they are very young; nature's process works in every age and clime. The mothers put clean old rags underneath them when they are asleep in bed to act as a sort of mackintosh. When the child is being carried either on the back or in the arms, a rag passed between the thighs and through the back of beads on the waist, acts as a napkin.

As soon as the child is able to sit up, toilet training is begun. The mother puts the child on the pot and makes a hissing sound which in time it learns to associate with micturition. Gradually the mother is able to make it urinate into the pot without the persuading hissing sound. Some mothers sit the baby on the hollows of their feet which are held closely apart, and it eliminates on the sand, which she then collects with a broom and throws into the pit latrine. Most mothers now provide the pot. They themselves wash and wipe dry the child's buttocks and wash the soiled napkin.

Some time after toilet training has begun, or as soon as a child can indicate his desires by meaningless or meaningful sounds it is expected to ask for the pot or get it himself, when it wants to eliminate. If it fails to do this and soils the floor, it is scolded or sometimes spanked. There are no differences in bladder and bowel training, but it is not considered so serious to mictuate on the floor as to evacuate the bowels on to the floor.

Up till the age of three or four years, the mother continues to put rags under the child so that he can urinate while asleep without wetting the bed. She seems to think that the child is not, even at this time, old enough to be able to control his eliminatory organs. But, if after attaining the age of four years the child continues to wet his bed, he is severely scolded, mocked, and often beaten. If this persists, on the morning after the child has wetted his bed, the mother will make him roll up his mat and carry it on his head to the front of the house, where she will smear him with red clay mixed with water, and wrap the wet mat round him. Then all the other children in the house and those in the immediate neighbourhood who have collected on invitation, shout mockingly at the offender, "Suankye krobon anyow wee" ("Bed wetter, shame!), and push and drag about the weeping child to the river, where they forcibly dip him and make

him wash himself clean of the red clay. He then scrubs and washes the mat, and is led back home. This ceremonial procedure is believed to have a deterrent effect on the child's laziness as well as a curative effect on a weak bladder. If, however, the child continues to wet his bed after this treatment, he is taken to the herbalist, who gives the mother ground herbs to apply to the genitals. This as the final treatment available is believed to provide a complete cure.

When the child is very young, the mother regularly and critically examines the quantity and quality of the stool, looking particularly for signs of worms and constipation or diarrhoea. These diseases are usually cured by giving the child castor oil or an enema of soapy water or of mpatowansoe. Mothers do not demand promptness in elimination; the child is allowed to eliminate when it feels like it, but if the mother finds that the child has not been doing so regularly, she may become worried and give him an oral purgative or an enema.

When I asked the people in Dunkwa which sex learnt toilet manners quicker, the men insisted that the boys did so, while the women claimed the honour, and so I was unable to come to any impartial conclusion.

There is no special toilet language for the children, who, for example, often ask for the pot in a crude expression, though naturally they do not know then what is crude and what is cultural. By the age of three years children are expected to carry out elimination privately, but they still talk about it in public among friends of their own age. As they grow older, however, they learn to use more polite words such as, "Moroko mfikyir", I am going to the bush, referring to the days when there were no toilets, and elimination was performed in the bush; or "Moroko dua do", I am going on the tree, referring to the logs covering the pit latrine. Adults usually perform eliminatory functions privately and not in front of children, but it is not an uncommon thing to see men or women, especially the former, mictuating by the roadside or eliminating in the bush near the farms in the presence of children.

Wind-breaking in public is considered socially rude. Among children, the guilty one is found out by making each child pick one stick from a group held by one of them. The one who picks a stick with a knob at the end is accepted to be the guilty person, and all the others hoot at ~~him~~

him and sometimes beat him. If a child breaks wind during a meal, the plate or bowl of food is placed on his head while the rest eat from it, and he washes the plate after the meal.

Hiccoughing is not considered bad manners but dangerous. When a sick person starts hiccoughing it is believed to portend death, and when a baby starts to hiccough, a piece of thread from its napkin is placed in its hair to stop it. Among adults it is believed that a sudden knock on the back will stop it.

Not much notice is taken of belching. Among school children you will often hear "sorry", or "excuse me" when a child belches, but the parents think belching is a sign of satisfaction and pay no attention to it.

Chapter 6.

Motor Development

Very little clothing is worn by the children of Dunkwa, so that clotnes do not at any time restrain movement. Babies often have calico dresses on, but when children are able to walk, they often go about naked. Some fathers hate seeing their children going about naked, and threaten to inflict severe punishment on them if found without their cloths on.

All mothers in Ghana love carrying their babies from the time they are eight days old up to the age of two years. The navel and the cut of circumcision, if a circumcised male child, would have healed sufficiently to allow carriage on the back, which is the most usual and convenient method of carrying babies. Young children are not allowed to carry the baby in its early months, as it is then delicate and easily hurt. When it is able to hold up its head, it may be given to the older children, who often strive for the privilege of carrying it, either in their arms or on the back.

During the first two or three months, the child is wrapped up to the neck with the cloth tied round it, because it cannot hold up its head. When it is able to do so, the cloth is tied up to its waist only, and it can now move its head, arms and the upper part of the body freely.

There is no discrimination as to who should carry the baby, although the parents naturally have the right and first choice, but anyone who wishes to carry it is allowed to do so. Even strangers who come to the house are permitted that privilege, even though the mother may not be happy about it because she fears that the stranger may be an evil spirit disguised who may harm the baby.

The mother carries the baby about whenever she goes out, but it isconsidered unhealthy to take the baby out in the night. The early morning air, on the contrary, is believed to be good, and so the mother often goes for walks in the early morning carrying the baby on her back with its head wrapped in a headtie to protect it from the cold morning dew.

When the child begins to walk, he is not carried so often, but occasionaly just from affection, and he loves it.

Children in Dunkwa, as no doubt elsewhere in the hot climate, start to crawl between the ages of five and seven

months. When a child is able to sit up, the mother often places it on the floor with an attractive object placed directly in front of it and just out of its reach, so that the natural curiosity in it may urge it to move to and take this object, and thus help development of motion. In its first attempts it often falls on its face, but that catastrophe does not deter or discourage it. Rather, it persists and persevers till it has reached and taken hold of the object, after which, by graduation this or some other equally attractive object is moved farther and farther away until the child can move on its haunches with ease and confidence. By this time the legs have gained more strength, and the child soon begins to raise itself up by holding on to things. Children are very troublesome at this time, for they are attracted by and pull at dangling objects, which more often than not are upset or broken. They are not punished for this; rather, mothers are pleased to see their children trying to be active.

As soon as the child is able easily to stand up by holding on to things, it is provided with a scooter to assist walking. It is allowed to move about on this freely in the house, but it is kept away from the fire, though the mother sometimes allows it in the kitchen. To warn the child against fire, the mother puts her hand near the fire and takes it away quickly, pretending to wince and cry to indicate pain, or she takes the child's hand near enough to the fire so that it can feel the unwelcome heat. With a knife, the mother pretends to cut herself and to cry out in pain.

When the child starts to walk, it may move about in the house or just outside it, but the mother often threatens that if it wanders off by itself the 'sasabonsam'(devil), or 'bronyi' (white man), or 'abowa' (beast) will carry it off, and it will never see mother or father again.

In connection with the inducement of motion by attractive objects and the scooter, one may say here that the variety of supports for children to encourage motor development is much limited. In addition to the two methods described above for the child's early years, there are, after its scooter days, those rhythmic musical lines to encourage walking without dependant physical support:-

tataa tataa tataa (toddle toddle toddle)
begye wo kyirefua (come here and get your egg).

They refer to the traditional boiled egg which is given to the child as a reward for completing its training for independent walking.

Mothers are very proud when their babies start walking earlier than the usual time of 12 - 15 months. The quick child is encouraged, praised and petted, while the slow child is scolded and called "onyiahanyi" (idler) or "betar famu" (sticking to the ground).

It is considered very unusual for a child to sit still all the time. The normal child is expected to be active, fidgety and playful. The child who keeps sitting still and quiet is called "tsintsinto" (idiot), and is scolded by his parents and ridiculed by his friends, who always bully him. There are, of course, times when the child is required to sit still, for example, when a stranger visits the house, and he is sent for to greet him.

The child is allowed to play any games he likes, so long as they are not the kind likely to cause harm. ~~They~~ He plays with sand, stones, water, sticks and any other things he can lay hands on. Sometimes, he gets an iron hoop, which he rolls along with a stick, or a big branch off the coconut tree to push along. At times too, he plays what the English people call "mini mono"; the children sit with their legs stretched out while one of them sings and touches the legs of the others, keeping to the rhythm of the song. The person whose leg is touched just before the song ends moves away that leg; and the first person is the one who has both legs touched first, and he falls out. This continues till the last person is left.

The child of Dunkwa has not much in the way of personal property or furniture. He may have a scooter made for him when he begins to toddle, but this is taken away from him as soon as he can walk without it, and is stored away for the next child. He often has a small stool made for him which he keeps till it is either damaged or becomes too small for him. He sits on it for his meals and uses it as a car by sitting on it and propels it along by means of his legs. A few of the mothers who can afford them buy toys for their children, dolls, toy lorries and trains and others, and the children are allowed to take them out of the house to play with with other children.

Picture 6: A girl carrying her younger brother on her back.

Picture 7: A baby learning to crawl.

Picture 8: A mother teaching her baby to walk.

Picture 9: A mother bathing her baby.

Picture 10: A child learning to bath.

Chapter 7.

Sleep and Health.

Sleep: There are no fixed hours for sleep, and the children sleep at any time they like during the day. In the night, mothers normally put their children to bed between 7 p.m. and 8 p.m., but some children do not go to bed until the mother has done so. These children are often induced to go to bed at the proper time by promises of sugar, toffee or meat the next morning, and such inducement fails, as it often does, they are frightened by stories that the devil, ghost or beast will come and carry them away.

Very young children sleep in their parents' room on the mother's bed, but when they are about 4 years old they sleep with all the other children on mats on the floor. If there is only one room, the parents share it with them, otherwise the siblings sleep together in another room.

Health: Children in Dunkwa have the common ailments which affect all children anywhere, stomach troubles, eye and tooth affections, and skin diseases, and most of these are attributed to wicked spirits and malevolent people.

The chief endemic diseases are internal disorders caused by worms, crawcraw or scabies, and convulsion. Convulsion is considered the most deadly disease that can ever afflict a young child, as this usually brings death. The people are still sceptical about a cure by medical science, because they believe it to come from the gods above and, therefore, call it "sor adze" (something from above). When a child has convulsion, he is taken to the herbalist or juju man, who gives him all sorts of herbs and amulets, which are believed will cure the child.

As there is no pipe-borne water supply, and the inhabitants fetch their drinking water from the Pra river, the children, and the adults too, often have worm diseases. These are cured by starving the child for a day and then giving him a purgative or an enema.

The children of Dunkwa often have skin diseases and conjunctivitis, owing perhaps to the drinking water fetched from the same place as the people bath and wash their dirty things in. As Sekondi is only sixteen miles away, mothers from Dunkwa often take their sick children to the hospital there for medical treatment.

To safeguard their health, children are given amulets by the juju man to put round their waists and necks, and

have mixed herbs vaccinated into them at the wrists, nape of the neck, forehead, chest and round the waist. These are believed to protect the child from evil eyes.

Chapter 8.

Physical Contacts, Masturbation and Sex Play:

When the child is young, it is stroked, kissed, fondled, cuddled, embraced and sat on the lap and rocked by the fond mother and other relatives. It is made to feel that it is loved by everbody, and itself loves all these expressions of endearment. This continues until the mother has a new baby.

As the child grows older, fondling and cuddling gradually ceases. It is neither encouraged nor required to kiss others, but as mothers often kiss their babies children copy them and kiss small babies when playing with them.

Mothers pay very special attention to the genitals when they bath their children. It is believed that if these are not properly cleaned the child may suffer from irritation and "egyepu"(whites).

During early babyhood, the child's genitals are regularly wiped with a towel dipped in hot water, and as it grows older the genitals are soaped, washed, wiped and powdered. When it wets or soils its bed, the genitals are at once washed and powdered. The young girls usually have loin cloths covering their genitals to protect them from dust, dirt and cold, which from its physical sanitary purposes gives the moral signification to the term "akatasia". There are no special children's words for genitals in Dunkwa; the children use the terms which they hear adults use.

As an old man told me, masturbation is unheard of in Dunkwa. He said that it was only in the big towns where there was contact with the white people that masturbation and birth control were practised. When asked whether the children in Dunkwa ever played with their genitals, he said that they did, but that that was not masturbation. He told me that if a child was ever found playing with his or another's genitals, the mother promptly smeared the genitals with pepper or ginger as a punishment, and threatened to cut off or mutilate them. Young girls sometimes put sand and stones into their genitals, and when they were discovered, they were given a severe beating, or they had pepper or ginger pushed into the genitals after the objects had been removed. All whom I asked about this strongly maintained that the children in Dunkwa never play sex games.

Chapter 9.

Clothing and Self-Exposure.

When children are quite young, they usually go about nude, both in the house and outside it, without feeling any sense of shame. A very young child wears a calico kimona at times, but as soon as it is able to walk it is given a cloth to wear.

The young girl has beads round her waist and a loin cloth is passed between the thighs and tucked into the beads from the front to the back. This is often the only piece of clothing she has on. The child loves going about nude, and a mother finds great difficulty in getting it to wear any clothes even when it is older.

On festive occasions, children put on their best cloths. The young boys tie the top ends of the cloths round their necks, and the girls, like all Akans, wear their cloths tied round their waists with a cover-shoulder on top. All these are sewn by the village seamstress who on order by the mother also supplies a more expensive dress for such special occasions as Christmastide.

At the age of eight years, children are considered too old to go about naked, but I found quite a few of that age and over walking about naked with their cloths hanging purposelessly over their shoulders. Nobody seemed to care except perhaps the fathers who threatened to smear the genitals with pepper or cut them off, if they found their children naked again after warning. I found the girls were just as bad when they went about their household duties, or fetched water, or played about with only a loin cloth on them. Children attending school, as there were, were a little better and put on pitch knickers or cloth, when they were out of the house.

At the age of six, a child is considered old enough to dress without help, except on festive occasions, when the mother who wants people to remark on how well dressed her children are will dress them herself. She will soap and wash the children well, powder their bodies with talcum powder, put vaseline or shea butter or palm-kernel oil in their hair and on their feet and arms, comb, part and brush their hair, and put on their cloths. The girls have earrings in their ears and beads round their knees, wrists and neck. The knee beads are supposed to improve the shape of the knees. Quite a few of the girls who attend school wear dresses in the house or when they are going to Church, and the boys shorts and jumper.

Till the child is about six or seven years old the mother or elder sisters or brothers wash his clothes. At such age the child is considered old enough to be able to wash them himself, which he does at the river-side. The children do not iron their clothes. Normally, they put them on as soon as they are dry. A few of them fold them tightly and put them under their pillows to straighten out the creases.

The mothers often have their baths with the young children, and children see grown-ups undressed and bathing in the river. Mothers do not mind undressing before the children, and the children do not seem to think it strange.

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Picture 11: People fetching drinking water from the River Pra while others wash and bath in it.

Picture 12: A mother playing with her baby.

Picture 13: A boy and a girl both in cloth.

Chapter 10.

Sex Distinctions and Relations with Brothers and Sisters.

Very young children play together quite harmoniously, but when they reach school age, that is, between six and seven years, the boys dislike playing with the girls, and often a boy would beat his sister if she tried to join in his play. Girls are expected to be more interested in helping the mother in the kitchen than in playing vigorous games with the boys. When a girl is active and vigorous and inclined to play with boys, she is laughed at and called "banyin basia", literally meaning "boyish girl", a tomboy; a feminine boy is called "basia banyin", a girlish boy.

Girls and boys are not consciously separated at any time, but as children grow up they tend to prefer the company of their own sex. The boys play their own games by themselves, while the girls have theirs separately. On the farms, the boys usually work with their fathers while the girls work with their mothers. The girls are not allowed to go out of the house as often as the boys, who are allowed even to sleep out so long as the parents know where they are.

The boys have more contact with the fathers than with the mothers; when the fathers meet publicly for deliberations, it is usually the sons who carry their stools to the meeting place for them. The girls stay in the house and learn how to cook, clean the house and care for the baby in training for the time when they will themselves become wives and mothers.

Both men and women told me that the children never show any curiosity when they see the mother's abdomen unusually enlarged, and they do not ask the cause. It would be considered very improper if a child was so curious as to ask why the mother's abdomen was so enlarged or where the new-born baby came from. But from my observation, children hear adults talk about pregnancy and marital relationships when they are quite young, and, therefore, do not bother to ask questions about birth. When they see a woman with an enlarged abdomen, they know that she is expecting a baby. I asked a child of four why a woman who was passing by had such a big stomach, and he answered promptly, "onyinsen" (she is pregnant). When I asked him how she became pregnant, he replied, "me papa na ohyee ne yafun" (my father filled he stomach). I asked him how, and he said, "Ei, onye no

dae" (literally meaning that he slept with her, but in sense, he had sexual intercourse with her). So, though parents prefer to believe that their children do not take any notice of pregnancy, I think that the children do notice it, and get to know somehow. Since the parents often sleep in the same bedroom with the children, it is possible that the performance of marital intercourse is seen by them.

No child is ever allowed to be present at the birth of a new baby. While the mother is in labour, the child is usually cared for by the grandmother, aunt or any other relative, and may be called to see the new-born baby after the latter has been washed. When he sees his new brother or sister in the mother's arms, he is often jealous and sulks and cries, but the mother tries to pacify him, or the relatives make it up with him by petting him and telling him he has now a new playmate. After this, he takes keen delight in playing with the baby, kissing it and affectionately calling it "mo nua" (my brother, or sister). He becomes very jealous and objects to anybody else calling it "mo nua". He will proudly and jealously fetch the toilet requisites or layette for the baby's bath time, and will want to be allowed to carry the baby.

Mothers show greater fondness for the new-born baby, calling it "me ba" (my baby), and the older children do not seem to be hurt, but accept it as a matter of course and quite natural. The new arrival is caressed and fondled by the parents and other members of the family. The mother calls it by the endearing name of "m'abakyiba" (the baby who comes last).

The older children usually do all the work in the house while the young ones do practically nothing. The older ones sweep the house, fetch water, do most of the washing, and sometimes carry the baby, but with the right and privilege of sending the younger ones on errands and ordering them about.

Children often peck at each other, and siblings sometimes have disagreements ending in quarrels and fights. A younger child may be rude to an elder brother or sister, and may be hit. The mother usually scolds the elder child as being a bully,- "panyin ntoto" (an elder who behaves like a child) - or, if she hears the younger being rude, she scolds or beats him herself. When there are quarrels and fights among children of nearly the same age, the mother ighores them. As children tend to play with those of their own age and sex, they do not have so much cause

to quarrel or fight with those of younger age or of the opposite sex. Occasionally, there may be a fight between a boy and a girl, but when this happens, the boy is mocked, ridiculed, and told, even by his own friends, that only cowardly boys fight with girls.

Chapter 11.

Relations to Parents

During early infancy, the responsibility for the care of the child is chiefly the mother's. Other grown-ups in the house can correct, rebuke or punish, but it is the mother who is blamed if her child is badly behaved. Grandmothers are well known for petting and spoiling children, and pleading for them when they are being punished for doing wrong.

When the child is very young, it does not have much contact with its father, though the father may sometimes carry it in his arms and lull it to sleep; but as the child grows older, especially if it is a boy, the father takes increasing interest in him, and often takes him with him to his farm. The girls have very little contact with the father, as they are mostly with the mother on her farm, or with her helping with the household duties.

The children are often afraid of the father, because he shouts at them when they are naughty, and is more severe in punishments than the mother. Moreover in Dunkwa, the father is the head of the house, and his word is weightier than the mother's. When the man has more than one wife, the children tend to be more afraid of the father. This is because every mother wishing to impress the father that her children are better behaved than those of the other wife or wives, instils fear for the father in her children by saying, for example, "do not speak when your father is in the room". Many are the dont's.

Although the father has the final say in the disciplining of the child, the mother is the main agent of discipline. It is she who teaches the child from its early age what it should do and what it should not do. When it is naughty, she scolds and beats it, and sometimes threatens to report it to the father.

In monogamous homes, most of them Christian, the parents regularly discuss the child's behaviour and decide together what should be done, but in polygamous homes, the mothers often conceal their children's bad behaviour from the fathers, so that the father may not be prejudiced against their children. In some monogamous homes too, when the mother is weak in her control, and thinks the father is too severe in discipline, she conceals her children's misdemeanours from the father. And often the mother will say to the child, "If you fetch me a kerosine-tin full of water,

I will not tell your father about what you did this morning when he was away", and the child will run to perform the task at once.

The parents do not bother to put on their best behaviour when the children are about. It is common to see a fight between a man and his wife, and the children either weeping or trying to separate them. The parents discuss their private affairs regardless of the presence of the children. Owing to this children learn a good many things about sex and marital affairs which they are not supposed to know.

Like all Akans, parents in Dunkwa feel that they owe it to their children to provide all their needs for them. The feed them, clothe them, send them to school, find jobs for them, and even marry for them. In return for all these, the children are expected to show their gratitude by taking care of them financially and in all other respects, when they start earning money. The most important duty a child has to perform is to bury his father or mother when he or she dies, that is, to provide or pay for most of the essential things for burial. When the father dies, the "ebusua" ask for "esiedze", shroud and other essentials and a gold ring for the deceased to wear to the grave. If the father did not care for the child when he was alive, the child is not bound to 'bury' him.

Usually, when the child starts earning money, he gives his first pay to the father, who distributes it among the relations in appreciation for their help in teaching discipline to the child when he was young. Libation is poured to the gods, praying them to guide and protect the son in his ways.

Unlike the big towns, where nearly every parent wants his or her son to be a doctor, a lawyer or a clerk, in Dunkwa the parents do not force their children to any jobs they do not like. Naturally, every father hopes that his child will follow his trade and carry on his work. This is especially so if the child is the eldest or only son; the father will persuade him to stay at home and learn his trade and take over from him when he is too old to carry it on. Most of the children become farmers. A few go out to work in the big towns and learn tailoring, for example, or nursing or teaching, but I found that nearly all of them came back, when they were on leave, and worked on the farms.

According to the old men of the village, quarrels between parents and children are very uncommon. There is, sometimes, exchange of words between a father and his child

over money, or over the child's behaviour, as for example, when he drinks too much, or when he refuses to marry and settle down, or when he is not keen on either doing farming or learning a trade.

When a child is very rude and insulting to the father, the father may disown him - "onye no twa amodzin mu." The father cuts a broom into two to signify his separation from the child from that moment, and pours libation, swearing that he will never again call him son. The child is then turned out of the house to fend for himself. If ever reconciliation is sought, the child finds two or more elderly people, who go and implore the father's forgiveness. If the father is willing to forgive, the young man is asked to slaughter a sheep. He and the elders go to the father's house, where he prostrates before his father and begs his forgiveness. The sheep he provides is then slaughtered over a broom, and libation is poured cancelling the oath of separation and disownment. Then the father receives his child back, either by shaking hands with him or by embracing him. In the case of a mother disowning her child, at reconciliation the mother puts her breast in the child's mouth to signify that he is once more her child.

Parental authority continues to be exercised till death, but where the son or daughter is married, this authority diminishes in extent and degree, but does not altogether cease. For example, in the case of any misunderstanding or quarrel between a married couple, the decision of the parents of either of the couple is accepted and obeyed without demur. And for the name of a newborn babe, the father of the child consults his father or mother, and obeys his or her directions.

Chapter 12.

Relations to adults other than parents:

In all Akan homes the family is larger than the English concept of a family. Grandparents, uncles, aunts and distant cousins, all play prominent roles in the child's life.

As the wife always lives in the husband's home, she has to live with the husband's family, usually consisting of his father and mother, grandparents, uncles, aunts, sisters and cousins. Though the couple usually have a room to themselves, they have to share the kitchen and the bathroom, if there is any, with the other members of the family. There is not much privacy in these family houses, and people get on each other's nerves, tempers are frayed, and there are frequent quarrels and fights.

The couple are not normally expected to provide food for the other members of the family, except when the wife of the husband's father is disabled or dead or when the husband is responsible for his sisters or nephews or nieces. The other members of the family interfere very much with the life of the wife and children, calling the wife "bedsii adze" (come to spend); she is considered a stranger who has come to spend their kinsman's money. The man's sisters especially make things very difficult for the wife and children. They have a right to punish the children when they are naughty, and to send them on errands when and where they like. If a child is ever rude to any of the man's relatives, the mother is blamed for it. If the man has more than one wife, the sisters take sides usually with the wife who kowtows to them and gratifies every whim of theirs, against the other wives, and cause troubles, which sometimes result in fights.

When the wife is away, a sister or any other of the husband's relations takes control of the children. At such times she is very severe with them, and if the children show any objection she tells stories about them to their father.

Since the wife and children are not members of the father's "ebusua", their presence is not sought at meetings of the family, at which family affairs are discussed and how the man should care for his sisters and nephews instead of his wife and children.

Sometimes the children are taken out to visit relatives and friends of either parent, and on such occasions the mother takes special care to dress the

child well. On such visits, the child has to greet all the elders, "mema wo akye, egya." It is considered very impolite to say "mema wo akye" (good morning) without "egya" (father) or "nana", depending on who he or she is. The host or hostess may put the child on his or her lap, and the child is expected to sit still and silently while the elders carry on their conversation. If he is given anything, he must say, "meda ase, egya" (thank you, father).

Chapter 13.

Possessions and Speech.

The parents are very particular to teach their children not to take things belonging to others. If a child is found with someone's belonging, he is told to return it. If he persists in taking other people's things, he may be beaten or starved or, as a last resort, his fingers are incised by the mother and smeared with pepper to warn him against stealing.

When a child grabs something from someone, he is made to give it back at once. If he refuses to do so, the mother will take the property away from him and give it back to the owner.

Children have very few possessions that they can call their own. They may have one or two changes of clothing and a few toys - marbles, sticks, empty tins, hoops, and miscellaneous articles that they have collected themselves These they keep jealously, and will allow no one, except their favourite friends, to play with them. The children are allowed to do whatever they like with their own toys. If ever toys are bought for them, they are made to understand that they will not get new ones if they lose or destroy them.

As children are known to be destructive, all fragile or precious things are kept well out of their reach. If they are found with things which are useful in the household, these are promptly snatched from them. A child is not given any objects to manipulate. Any objects he ~~uses~~ uses are things which he himself has collected.

Mothers gradually learn to interpret the different cries of their babies to mean hunger, anger, discomfort or pain. When the child is very young, nearly all its cries are attributed to hunger, and is put to the breast whenever it cries. When, after being fed, the child still cries, the mother tries to find the cause, which she often discovers to be a wet or soiled bed or napkin. She then learns to differentiate between cries signifying hunger and cries signifying discomfort.

Whatever may be the cause, the baby's cries are never ignored. It is believed that if a child is left to cry for a long time unheeded, its spirit will run away - "no sunsum bo guan" - or the ghost of an ancestor may come for the child's spirit. As soon as the baby starts crying it is lifted up and carried in one arm, or on the back

if the mother is busy with her household duties.

As the child grows older, he is not expected to cry so often, and when he continues crying for a long time, the mother loses her temper and either frightens him with stories about bogeys or beasts, or spanks him. When a child is able to speak, he is not expected to cry for his needs but express them by the spoken word. Mothers wishing to encourage their children to talk will ignore them when they cry, and only attend to them when they say what they want.

Young boys are encouraged not to cry by being told that only girls and cowardly boys cry. Sometimes, of course, the mother feels that the child is justified in crying, such as when he falls and hurts himself, or when he is frightened by a sudden loud noise like the clap of thunder or when someone hits him. Actually, a child is considered stubborn and rude if he does not cry or run away when being beaten by an elder. When his cry is considered justifiable, the mother picks him up, cuddles him and pacifies him by promising to punish the offender. For example, when a child falls down, the ground becomes the offender, and the mother asks him to spit into her hand so that he may hit the ground with it. He does not actually spit, but blows into the hand, and the mother hits the ground for daring to hurt her baby. Usually this pacifies the child, and he stops crying.

When a child is about four months old, he starts making meaningless sounds, such as "tut tut", "ba ba", and as time goes on he learns to say "mama" and "papa". His early vocalisation is encouraged and applauded by all the members of the family. The mother repeats whatever he says, smiles to him and cuddles him. Then gradually, when he is about a year old, he starts picking up words, which at first he is not able to pronounce properly. He says "nhyu" for "nsu" (water), "bonom" instead of "mebonom" (I will drink). Children often find it difficult to sound 's', for which they use 'sh' or 'th'. Such faults are ignored, as parents know that, unless the child has a physical lingual defect, he will acquire the correct sounds as he grows older. During this period, everybody talks to him, and visitors to the house are proudly told how well the child can talk, and they try to talk to him, using such simple commands as "bra" (come), "kyia me" (shake hands). Mothers talk to their babies a good deal at this time, though they know quite well the baby will not understand; but they believe that it will in due t

pick up all the words; and indeed, the child soon picks up a few words and uses them frequently, though he may not understand them.

When the children are young, they are not taught to modulate their voices, nor are they held to any grammatical correctness. They are requested to speak loudly, and if they shout, nobody seems to worry.

About the age of six years, the child is expected to stop baby talk and talk properly like an adult; he is laughed at when he uses baby talk; he is told "wo ano nntsewee" (you cannot talk properly) and he cries at this.

People often talk to the child and listen in return to him talking, but no child is expected to join the conversation of his elders, especially when there are visitors. At such times, he is expected to sit still and speak audibly and politely when spoken to, or leave the room.

When the child is about seven years old, he is expected to be able to distinguish between fact and fantasy, and is often unjustly punished or at least laughed at for relating his imagination as a fact. A child suspected of lying is severely scolded or beaten by the parents and made to stand with his face against the wall, or is hooted at by others who call him "kohwinyi" (liar). Sometimes a more tolerant mother will tell him stories about how a child who told lies suffered in the end. All this rarely stops him from lying, because he does not realise that he is telling lies when he tells them. Sometimes too, unscrupulous parents request their children to tell lies for their own benefit. This is a story that a young man told me about mothers expecting their children to be truthful, yet making them tell lies for their benefit: A woman owed a friend some money, and while cooking one day she saw the friend coming, apparently to demand her money back. Knowing that she had no money to pay her back, and as there was no time to run out, she hid behind a big drum in which she kept water, and told her daughter to tell the friend that she had gone to the farm. When the friend came to the house, she immediately saw the debtor's feet peeping from the corner of the drum, but she asked the child, "Where is your mother?", and the child replied, "She has gone to the farm." The crediter friend smiled and said, "When your mother returns, tell her to take her feet with her when going to the farm", and went away. I do not know whether this is a true story, but it surely illustrates the point.

Chapter 14.

Schooling:

There are two primary schools in Dunkwa, the Presbyterian and the Methodist schools. I visited the Methodist school, and the headteacher, who lived in the Methodist Rest House, the finest building in the village, but which unfortunately is to be demolished as explained in my introduction, took me round his school, and explained his aims and difficulties.

The school building, which was built by the villagers themselves, was of swish. It consisted of four classrooms and the headmaster's office. There was quite a large expanse of land in the front of it. The children had their games there.

The villagers are very keen on educating their children, and they even asked me to write a petition to the Prime Minister on their behalf, imploring him to send them funds to build a middle school. I advised them to raise the matter up at their Local Council meetings. As primary education is free, all the parents want to send their children to school. More boys are sent to school than girls because of the idea prevalent in most villages that, it is useless educating girls, as they always end up in the kitchen; but here the number of girls quite exceeded my most hopeful expectation. The ratio of girls to boys was quite satisfactory and very gratifying.

The teachers in the school were all male, because the villagers did not like female teachers. According to them, women teachers who had been there before were too lenient with the children and taught them practically nothing except singing, which they could, in fact, very well learn at home.

I found that the teachers were very friendly with the children, owing perhaps to the fear that the latter might not want to come to school, if they were treated harshly. I found too that the children liked and respected their teachers. A good number of them told me that they would become teachers like teacher Obeng, when they left school. There was no conflict between school and home disciplines, and the parents admired the manner in which the teachers were able to get the children to behave better than they could make them. Some parents told me that the only thing they did not like was that whenever they took a naughty boy to the school for the headmaster to thrash he would refuse and would tell them to do that

of home.

at home.

Occasionally, the headmaster told me, a parent would come asking him to permit his or her son or daughter to be absent from school for a couple of days to help on the farm, and he usually complies with such requests.

There is a more friendly relation between parents and teachers than can be found in the towns. Parents seldom dispute school decisions, but they often ask the teachers about their children's academic progress. Children are not punished at home for poor performance in school work, but they are encouraged, and promised presents, usually clothing, if they work hard.

No one had as yet reached Middle Form One, the highest class then being Class 6, so that, as the villagers complained, if they were not able to find money to build a middle school by the following year, their children would have to go to Beposo or Sekondi after primary six.

Chapter 15.

Games, Stories and Songs:

Children everywhere love playing games, and the children of Dunkwa are no exception. Every leisure time is occupied in playing informal games. Young boys and girls play such games as "Sisiisii" (mini moni), "Amahyehye", "Kwaakwaa (hide and seek), "Adow Kyekyeekye" and "Adwengo bodambo".

It has already been mentioned that as the children grow older, the boys tend to play by themselves, and the girls by themselves. Boys' games are very vigorous and require physical strength and dexterity; they play such games as wrestling, apepa nan, akokompe, soldiers, marbles and osibi. The girls, on the other hand, prefer games which do not require too much exertion, but which involve singing and dancing like "odo hanketsi", "anto ekyir", "ampe", "adow kyekyeekye, and ring games. Some of these games can be played by boys and girls together on moonlit nights, namely "eban no ho abon", "amahyehye", "sisiisii", "tubomtubom", "adwengo bodambo", "kyekyekule".

The following are descriptions of some of the games that I have mentioned:

Kwakwa: One child is chosen the seeker, and the others hide, while the former shouts a few sentences to which the latter respond:

Seeker or Leader	:	Response
Kwakwa	:	Yayee
Alata mpuwa	:	Yenyimi dzi
(Nigerian bananas)	:	(we know how to eat)
Manimaningo	:	Maningo
Me ba a mebekye ahen	:	Bekye du
(how many shall I catch	:	(you shall catch ten)
Abofra ba o, panyin o, mensa ka no a mebekye no.	:	
(I will catch child and adult alike)		

As this goes on, everybody runs and hides, and the seeker tries to find them. While he is trying to find them, those in hiding run back to the centre and cry out, "akayee". Anyone who is caught before reaching the centre and saying 'akayee' becomes the seeker, and the game is resumed.

Osibi: Two boys fold their arms in front of them, stand on one leg and face each other. Each tries to push the other with his folded hands, so that the other person ~~so that the other person~~ should lose his balance. The winner is the person who is able to force the other to

use both legs to balance himself.

Kyekyekuule: All the children stand in a big circle with one child in the centre, who puts his hands on his head and swinging herself from side to side, says the following meaningless sentences, which the others repeat: kyekye kuule, kyekye kofi sa, kofi kalanga, katakyi langa, kum adende. He moves his hands down to his shoulders repeating the sentences, and in turn touches his waist, knees and feet, he sits and finally lies down. The others repeat every action of his. Then he cries 'kokrokoo'twelve times while the others count aloud, kokrokoo - ekor (one), kokrokoo - ebien (two). At twelve, they all jump up, and the last person to do so is brought to the centre and hit by all to the time of the song A B C D up to M N O P. At P all run and stand in circles drawn on the ground. They then run from one circle to another, and this last person has to catch one of them when is out of a circle.

Eban no ho abon: This requires knowledge about the animals which are mentioned. One boy or a girl stands in the centre of a circle formed round him by a number of boys or girls. He mentions a number of fish wich have scales one by one, and the others respond, "abon" (scales). For example, for the herring he says "eban no ho abon" (the herring has scales), and the others respond "abon". After mentioning many fish with scales, he suddenly mentions one without scales, e.g., "wowonyan" (eel), and anyone who says "abon" is beaten by the rest and put in the centre to continue the game.

Ampe: This is the commonest game for girls, and to play it the girls stand in a semi-circle with one of them facing the rest. This one plays with each in turn. Both jump and clap their hands, and as they land each throws one foot out. If the feet do not meat, the challenging girl counts one, and goes on to the next girl. If their feet meet twice in succession, the challenger moves to the end of the semi-circle, and her opponent takes her place. The one who first gets twenty points is first, and the others play till only the last person is left. While they are playing the girls sing songs like "Ekaw yi nnye manko me kaw bi a, ekaw yi menye me jole kaw a (this is not solely my debt, it is the debt of my lover and me).

As the Pra river runs near Dunkwa, the children often swim in it or row on it.

Songs: Nearly all African songs were composed to be danced to, so singing is usually accompanied by dancing.

The girls dance more often than the boys, their songs being mostly about their lovers. They all form a circle and either dance or stretch their hands to clap with those on either side. Each one in turn then sings praises about her lover, while the others respond, Oho (No):

Mara me jole no a
Tuntum fata no no a.
Ne tam fata no no a

This all telling how good-looking her lover is and how attractive he looks in different things, cloth, shoes, etc. Then they all sing together: Minyi no gyina wo yaa me (twice) Minyi no wo ba a wotur no.
This means that she is ugly herself compared with him, and their child will be so attractive that every-body will want to carry it.

Other songs depict the habits of different animals. There is one about the vulture, which tells about someone calling the vulture to come for its meals. The vulture asks what food it is; it is told that it rice and stew, or fufu and palm-nut soup. It replies that the food should be given to children, as it is not hungry; but as soon as it is told that the meal is garbage it comes quickly.

Stories: Most of the stories are about Ananse, the cunning spider, and his wily tricks. Usually on moonlit nights, when the children are tired of playing games, they sit together and tell stories. The same stories are told over and over again, but nobody seems to tire of them. The story-teller begins by saying, "Kodzi wonngye nndzi o" (This is a story which is not meant to be believed) and the others respond "wogye sie" (it is meant to be remembered) Then the narrator tells his story, which is frequently interrupted by songs like the one about the vulture. Sometimes too, on rainy nights, when the children cannot go out to play, the father or any adult in the family assembles the children in the house and tells them stories, which teach a moral. Stories about sex are considered not appropriate for children, but somehow the children hear a lot of such stories and repeat them without shame.

The children have no story books apart from their text books, and, as most of the parents are illiterate, the children never have stories read to them at home.

Picture 16: Children playing marbles.

Picture 14: Children playing "siisiisii."

Picture 15: Children playing 'ampe'.

Picture 16: Children playing marbles.

Picture 17: Children playing "preprapreprа" (clapping hands)

Picture 18: A girl of 6 helping her mother to pound palm nut for soup.

Picture 19: Boys working on a farm.

Chapter 16.

Work:

Children are expected to be useful to their parents and take full share in the work of the family. So soon as the child is able to walk and to understand simple instructions, that is when it is about two years old, training to that end begins. Sometimes the child is left near the baby to keep it amused, or he fans the fire when mother is cooking, or he is sent to fetch various requirements like a spoon or a pan. As he grows older he is sent to fetch more fragile articles like a mirror, bottle of oil or an earthenware pot. From the age of three, he is sent on errands outside the house - to carry his father's stool to the meeting place, to deliver a message or a present to a relative, or to throw away refuse.

Training for the girls usually starts earlier than for the boys. It is a mother's bounden duty to train and prepare her daughter for womanhood. She must teach her how to keep house, i.e., clean the house, cook meals, do the washing, and also how to trade and how to work on the farm. When the girl is about three years old, the mother starts taking her to the stream to fetch water, which for a beginning she carries in a small container such as a cocoa-powder tin; when the mother is sweeping, she is given a small broom to sweep too. By the time she is seven or eight years old, she is quite proficient in housework, and she is given regular duties such as sweeping the kitchen and compound, throwing away the refuse, cleaning and preparing the hearth, fetching water and doing the washing up. As she grows older her duties increase, and she learns to grind pepper and other vegetables, make a fire, and peel cassava, plantain and cocoyam. At twelve years she can cook soup or any other food and pound fufu as well as any adult would.

At a very young age, when the child has performed her house duties, the mother leaves her to play with other young children in the village while she goes to the farm. Some boiled plantain and fish will have been provided them for lunch. On the mother's return from the farm, the girl makes herself useful during the cooking of the main meal for the day. When she is six or seven years old the mother takes her to the farm, where she learns to do some of the lighter work like weeding and putting seeds into holes. Gradually she is introduced to the heavier tasks till by the time she is twelve she can hoe, sow, reap

and carry foodstuffs and firewood home. When she returns home with her mother, she helps with the cooking, does the washing-up and baths her younger brothers and sisters before she can go out to play with her friends.

On Wednesdays, there is a taboo against going to the farm, and so she accompanies her mother to the stream to do the family washing or she goes to the market to sell some foodstuff.

As I have already mentioned, it is the bounden duty of every mother to prepare her daughter for the time when she will become a wife and a mother, when she will have to keep house and take care of her children. There is no adolescent girl in Dunkwa who is not capable of keeping house and cooking meals; it would be considered a big disgrace and a serious reflection on the efficiency and sense of responsibility of the mother, if her daughter were incapable of keeping a home by the time she had reached adolescence. Until the daughter is married and leaves her mother's home, domestic training never ceases.

The boys do not do much work in the house except to run errands and help pound the fufu. When they are about six or seven years old, they carry their father's tools - cutlass and hoe - to the farm, where they do such light work as weeding and sowing. On the journey back home, he again carries the tools and a bunch of plantain or cassava over his shoulder. Like the girl the boy is gradually introduced to the heavier work on the farm, such as hoeing, felling trees, burning the bush, planting and reaping, till he can manage by himself when the father is away. The boy continues working for his father till he is adolescent, when his father may give him a piece of land to cultivate for his living, and save from it enough money to marry and have a family. Or, if the boy prefers a trade, such as carpentry, tailoring, or driving, he is apprenticed to an experienced tradesman, with whom he lives and from whom he learns till his apprenticeship is over.

School children, of course, are not able to spend much time performing house duties or working on the farms. In the school, boys and girls are treated alike - both hoe and sow on the school farm, fetch water and carry loads. In the evenings when school is over, they are able to help in the house, and at week-ends and during holidays they help with the work on the family farms.

Parents are naturally very pleased when their children

are willing to help in the house and on the farms, and they show their appreciation sometimes by rewarding them with pennies or fruits or toys, or by praising them in such words as "Mbo! mbo! nyimpa annye adze onnkeye de aboa" (well done, even an inefficient human being cannot be as unuseful as an animal), or "Mbo! mbo! se mannwo wo!" (well done! if I had not brought you into the world), the unexpressed consequent in translation being some such words as, "what could I have done?"

When the child is made to know that his or her services are approved of and appreciated, he or she is encouraged to be yet more helpful. But sometimes when a parent interrupts a child's play to send him, he may do so grudgingly or refuse to go at all on the errand. If a child is unwilling to do his parent's bidding, the parent sometimes indicates that he will do it himself, and then the child is shamed into doing it. Sometimes the unwilling child is thrashed or is forced with a menacing stick or is denied his food.

The parents very much approve of child employment. They believe that the earlier a child is trained to be industrious and serviceable, the greater are his chances of success in life. Some of the girls make and sell toffee, doughnuts, fried plantain or rice and stew, and the boys straw bags and twig baskets. In this way they earn extra money to buy extra requirements like face powder, earrings for the girls, and marbles and knives for the boys. The parents encourage their children in these engagements so long as they do not interfere with household and farm duties, because they bring extra income to the family.

Picture 20: Mother and daughter returning from the farm with foodstuff.

Picture 21: A young girl learning to use a sewing machine.

Chapter 17

Adolescence:

All children pass through a period when they develop characteristics which clearly distinguish their sexes. During this development the body shows an orderly series of changes in size, proportion and functioning.

For girls, puberty begins at the age of 10 or 11 years, and during this period the girl's breasts start developing and pubic hairs appear under the arms and about the sex organs. She increases in height and weight, and her hips broaden. She takes keen interest in her development and compares her growing breasts with her friends' when she is bathing with them. After bath she smears her breasts with red clay or shea butter believed to hasten growth. During this time the girl likes to expose her breasts, and is more friendly with those of her own sex with whom she can discuss her physical growth.

Between the ages of 11 and 12, the girl becomes very self-conscious, and she is too shy ever to appear naked, especially to expose her breasts, so that she always wears her cover-shoulder. Her interest in her own sex decreases and she becomes more interested in the boys. This is the time when all the girls' games are predominated by love songs. Soon afterwards the girl experiences her first menstruation.

The acceleration of growth for a boy does not begin till he is 12 or 13 years old. Pubic hairs start growing under the arms and about the genitals. Gradually his chest broadens, and hairs start growing on his chest, arms, legs and the face. The sex organs begin to grow quickly, and the boy's voice breaks and deepens. With the development of his sex organs, his interest in the opposite sex grows, and he keeps himself clean and smart to attract the attention of the girls.

During this stage, both boys and girls resent authority, and are very sensitive to criticism and ridicule. Parents find them very difficult. In the case of the girls this is usually because the parents want to keep the girls at home till the puberty rites have been performed, lest they break their virginity; the girls feel they are old enough to take good care of themselves. With boys, this is not so difficult a period as they are allowed freedom to go out and use their leisure hours as they like.

When a girl's breasts start developing, the parents, especially the mother, are on the look out for signs of menstruation. Though the girls are never told about menstruation by their parents, they hear a good deal about it from older girls and when puberty rites for other girls are performed. On the first day of menstruation, the girl informs her mother or, if she is too shy to do so herself, one of her friends does so. The mother then informs the other members of the family that "Efua aye basia" (Efua has become a woman), and they all rejoice and congratulate the girl, who is then advised about how to keep herself neat and tidy, to bath three times in a day during her menstrual period, to keep away from the boys, and learn how to keep house in preparation for the time when she will be a wife and mother. During this time she may not hold any farming tools or go near the chief or any sacred things in the house.

The mother of the pubescent girl cooks mashed yam and eggs for the girl, some of it being first sprinkled on the ground for the dead. The girl is then given presents of towel, soap, sponge, pomade, comb and loin cloths. In the evening she invites her girl friends to the house, and they all eat from one common bowl. After this she may plait her hair and wear "akatado" (cover cloth), a second cloth not the same pattern as the lower one round the waist.

A girl is always expected to retain her chastity till the adorning ceremony which makes it known that she is of marriageable age. Very often now, the ceremony is postponed till the girl is betrothed, in which case the marriage ceremony follows immediately afterwards.

The parents borrow trinkets and rich kente, velvet or silk cloths and fix a day for the ceremony. In the morning the girl and her attendant are gorgeously dressed and adorned with a lot of trinkets, and her native head gear bedecked with many gold ornaments. Libation is poured to the ancestors to thank them for guiding and keeping the girl chaste, and to ~~thank~~ ask them to bless her with a happy marriage. The girl and her attendant go out to call on relations and friends, who congratulate her and give her presents. The celebrant and her attendant do this every day for a week, each time dressed in different cloth. Henceforth she is accepted as an adult member of the community. She may now wear "sor na ase", an upper and a lower cloth of the same material.

It is every girl's ambition to be adorned before pregnancy, and it is considered a disgrace if a girl is pregnant before she is adorned, and she is mocked and insulted with the fact by her friends. In the olden days, when this happened, the guilty couple were expelled from the town or village, and a sheep was slaughtered to appease the gods and ancestors. This custom, however, is now obsolete.

There are no puberty rites performed for the boys, and not much notice is taken of their development. Boys learn about sex activities from their older friends. A boy is considered an adult when he has worked hard to earn enough money to marry with, and then the father will find him a wife.

Generally, adolescence is regarded as quite a happy time when the boy or girl is accepted as an adult and a useful member who can take his full share in the life of the community.

Picture 22: Young girls selling in the market by the roadside.

Picture 23: An adorned girl.

Appendices

Children's self-descriptions:

(1) A girl Deborah Oyeo, aged 6 years:

I am in Class I. I do not know my age (her brother told me that). I have three brothers. I am the only girl in the family. My father is called Papa (prompted by brother Emmanuel); my mother is called Maame (brother said, 'Elizabeth'). My eldest brother is in Std. 2, he is called Gabriel, the next one is in Std. I, he is called Francis. I am called Deborah. I do not know my younger brother's name (brother said 'Zacchaeus). He is just beginning to walk. My father is a store-keeper, and my mother helps him in the shop. I attend Methodist School.

(2) A boy Beesi, aged 7 years:

I am called Beesi. I have black hair and white teeth. I have two eyes, two ears, two hands, two legs, one mouth, one nose and a tongue. I have a big scar on my face. It was made to protect me from bad spirits. I have a sore on my left leg; my mother always treats it in the morning, the treatment is so painful that I cry. I am a good boy. I always obey my father. I do not go to school.

(3) A boy, Joseph Panin, aged 9 years:

I am Joseph Panin. I am a boy, and I am fat and strong. I can beat any boy who tries to fight me. I have fine hair and brown ears. I am brown and black mixed together, and I am very handsome. I have no sores on my leg, because I am not dirty. I am in Class 4 and I am very clever.

(4) A girl, Mary Kwaku, aged 7:

I am an Eve girl, my mother is dead and I live with my father. He makes palm wine and illicit gin. I am short and thin. The girls in the village laugh at me and call me 'Nangananga' (meaning thin and weak), but I do not mind them. I sweep my father's house and help him to cook. Sometimes, he gives me some fresh palm wine, it is very sweet. I have no brothers or sisters, and I do not go to school. My father says he will take me to school when he gets enough money. I can say A B C very well.

(5) A boy, Gabriel Oyeo, aged 11 years:

I am called Gabriel Oyeo. I am fairly tall and fat. I am the eldest of my brothers and sisters, and I take good care of them. I have marks on my face, because I am a Nigerian. I have been to Sekondi many times. I saw a railway train and big stores. When I grow up, I shall go

there and be a shop keeper at U.A.C. When I get enough money, I will open my own shop, and I shall be a rich man.

Children's Wishes:

There had been a magic display in the village a couple of days ago, so I asked the children what they would choose, if the magician asked them what they desired.

Answers:

(1) Francis, 5 years old; he comes from a poor family and was very poorly dressed: "I would ask for enough money to buy anything I need."

(2) Bentsir, 7 years old; he is an only child and does all the work in the house: "I would ask for a servant to do the work in the house."

(3) Joseph, aged 5 years: "I would ask for rice and stew."

(4) Beesi, aged 7 years: "I would ask for toffee and a new cloth." (His cloth was rather old).

(5) Gabriel, aged 10 years: "I would ask for a belt and an aeroplane."

(6) Deborah, aged 6 years: "I would ask for a new cloth and a doll."

(7) Sunday, aged 8 years: "I would ask for a car."

(8) Ekua, aged 7 years: "I would ask for a camera to take photographs." (She had seen my camera, with which I had taken a snapshot of her).

Children's Stories:

The story of a naughty boy by Joseph, aged 10 years:

Once there was a woman who had a very naughty son. He was very disobedient, and always went out and did not come home for his meals. He went and lived in the forest by himself. His mother begged him to come home, but he would not; so everyday his mother took him some food, always standing at the door and singing,

"Boy, boy, come home"
Samantan reba o (The devil is coming)
Ye ntsem bra o (Hurry up and come).

The boy would open the door, snatch the food, and shut the door in the mother's face. One day Samantan assumed the voice ofthe mother and sang "boy, boy..." When the boy opened the door, he was killed by the Samantan, and that was the end of the naughty boy.

Description of a good boy by Gabriel Oyeo, aged 11 years:

A good boy is obedient, and always goes where his father or mother sends him. He sweeps his father's room, fetches water for his mother, and he does not hit his younger brothers and sisters. He does not use profane language, and he says 'please' to his elders, and 'thank you' when given a present. He washes plates in the house, and is never late for school.

A naughty girl by Ama, aged 8 years:

Once there was a naughty girl, and she did not help her mother in the house. Instead of learning to cook and keep house, she always went out to play when her mother was busy cooking. One day a devil disguised himself as a handsome young man and came to marry her. When he took the girl home, he told her that he was going out, and she should cook the meal. When he came back the girl was asleep, and there was no meal; so he swallowed her up. That was the end of the naughty girl.

A good girl by Ama Panyin, aged 10 years:

There was once a girl called Kesiwa, and she lived with her grandmother, who was very old. Every morning when the girl wokeup, she fetched water for her grandmother to bath with, and did all the work in the house. She was respectful to all the people in the village, and everybody loved her. One day when she went to the river to fetch water, she saw a girl who was being carried away by the current. She threw her kerosene tin away and dived into the river and saved her. Everybody came round to shake hands with her, and the girl's parents gave her a fat hen.

Imaginative Play:

I took with me to Dunkwa one day, two cloth dolls which I had made myself, some pieces of cloth, toy furniture, toy plates pans and cups, two wooden toy lorries made by two boys in my house, one 12 years old and the other 14, two packing cases, some nails, and big nuts from an old car. I borrowed a hammer from the village carpenter. I gave the dolls, cloth, toy furniture and toy utensils to two girls, Ama aged 8 years, and Deborah Oyeo aged 6 years.

Deborah: Let us play papa na maame (father and mother); these dolls shall be twins.

Ama: Yes, I have some raffia to put round their wrists -

(she sent her younger sister, Esi Akon, to fetch some from home; twins have raffia put round their wrists after certain customary rites.)

I will put Panyin and Kakra to bed, and you, Deborah, will be my eldest daughter. Go and fetch some water from the river.

Deborah: All right! (taking an empty fruit tin and going out. While she was out Ama arranged the furniture, and put the twins in the wooden cradle. Deborah soon returned) Maame, I have brought the water.

Ama: Mbo! Mbo! nyimpa annye adze (well done). Now fetch the bath things while I feed my babies. (Ama put each child to her breast for a few seconds; she hit Kakra suddenly crying out, "Agyee, she has bitten my nipple.")

Deborah: (bringing the bath things, consisting of a cigarette tin and rags) Maame, I have finished preparing the bath things.

Ama: Mbo! I will bath Panyin first (she baths the children). Deborah, fetch some firewood and make the fire. Your father will be coming from the farm soon.

(Esi Akon arrived with the raffia, which Ama tied round the wrists of the twins. Deborah returned with firewood, and they all set about preparing the food of sand and leaves).

(to Beesi, aged 7, who was watching them), Come and be father.

Beesi: Twea (silly), do you think I am a girl to play such silly games?

(He kicked at the food and started fighting the girls; I sent him away).

I told the girls to get on with their game, and went to the boys. There were Francis Oyeo aged 12, Joseph Panin aged 9, and Gabriel aged 11 years. I gave them the two toy lorries, packing cases, hammer and nails and nuts.

Francis: I will be the chief driver, Joseph will be my mate, and Gabriel the policeman.

(He takes one toy lorry and gives the other to Joseph, and they start pushing them).

Gabriel: (running to them) Driver, stop, stop, where is your licence?

Francis: Massa I begi you, I get no licence.

Gabriel: No licence, ah, I will take you to police station.

Joseph: Massa, we beg you.

Gabriel: (scratching his head) Well, if you will smear my palm with a shilling or two, I will release you.

Francis:(gives Gabriel a stone) Massa, take this two shillings. I will get licence tomorrow.

(Gabriel releases Francis, but still holds on to Joseph)

Francis: Oh, Massa, did you not say you would release us? I have given you two shillings.

Gabriel: No, I want another two shillings from Joseph.

Francis: Massa, we beg. The cost of living is very high now. Take the two shillings I gave you and go.

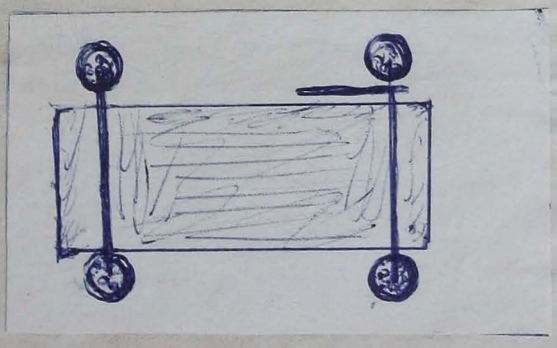
Joseph: Yes, Massa, we beg.

Gabriel: No, No, No. I will not agree.

Francis: Oh, go away. (He knocks Gabriel down and runs away with Joseph)

(I started laughing, and they all laughed too. I asked them what they could do with the packing case, hammer and nails, and they said they would make a toy lorry. Francis seemed to know how to build one, so I left them and went to take some photographs.

When I returned, they had broken up the packing case and made a flat board which they could push on the two nuts as wheels, and about four more children were all begging for a ride on it. Unfortunately there was no film in my camera, and so I could not take a photograph; but I have drawn a diagram of what their "lorry" looked like.



CONCLUSION

I have in the foregoing chapters tried to narrate the observations which I made during my visits to Supowmu Dunkwa regarding the development of the child from birth till adulthood.

I should like to point out that I have presented factual cases, and have not tried to give my personal criticism.

Some of the English used by the children of the village I have improved to make their meaning more easily understood by English readers, especially on pages 46 to 49.

Although, in general, my observations have been avowedly confined to Supowmu Dunkwa, it is to be remarked that such customs and beliefs as have been described in these chapters are common among all Akans of this country, now known as Ghana.

It is gratifying to note and feel that some of these old customs and beliefs are being modified and improved with the spread and advance of education. Others like parental control extending into the married life of off-springs, and the conception of the family as embracing not only the immediate blood relations, but also distant ones, for all purposes, will take some longer time to be affected.

Children's Drawings.

Picture 1: by Francis Oyeo, aged 12 years.

Topic: A man and a woman.

When I asked him how he could differentiate between the man and the woman he had drawn, he did the two small drawings, showing the man smoking a pipe.

Picture 2: by Joseph Panin, aged 12 years

Topic: Anything which interests me

He drew a lorry being stopped by a policeman

Picture 3: Nuana aged 12 years.

Topic: Anything which I like to draw.

He drew people carrying umbrellas. He told me that his father had two new umbrellas and that he would buy one when he had money.

Picture 4: Kweku Bentsir aged 9 years

Topic: My house

His house has a cross on it. Kofi, his elder brother can be seen inside it. Outside his house are his father's chair and table. A hen is walking by. Two boys are carrying a box into the lorry outside the house. A policeman is waiting to stop the lorry by waving his flag (He had seen a train guard with a flag at Sekondi). Three men are going to cut down the tree with a saw.

Picture 5: by Gabriel aged 11 years.

Topic: The inside of my house

His father was a shop keeper. The goods are arranged on the shelves. His father is lighting a lamp to

find a tin of corned beef for the customer who is standing at the door.

Picture 6: by D. K. Nuana aged 8 years.

Topic: A fight.

He said "Beesi and Oyoe are fighting. Oyoe is bigger than Beesi but Beesi is stronger. He will beat Oyoe. We are all watching; I am standing behind Oyoe. (in blue) We shall all carry the winner.

Picture 7: by Beesi aged 9 years.

Topic: The most Pleasant thing I can think of.

He said "We are playing football, Nuana, Panin and I. That is the most pleasant thing that I can think of.

Picture 8: by Muhammadu, aged 11 years.

Topic: Something that I am afraid of.

"A tiger has run into the road from the forest. A man is running away. Another one is driving a car. The tiger will jump into the car and gobble up the man.

Picture 9: by John Boadi aged 9 years.

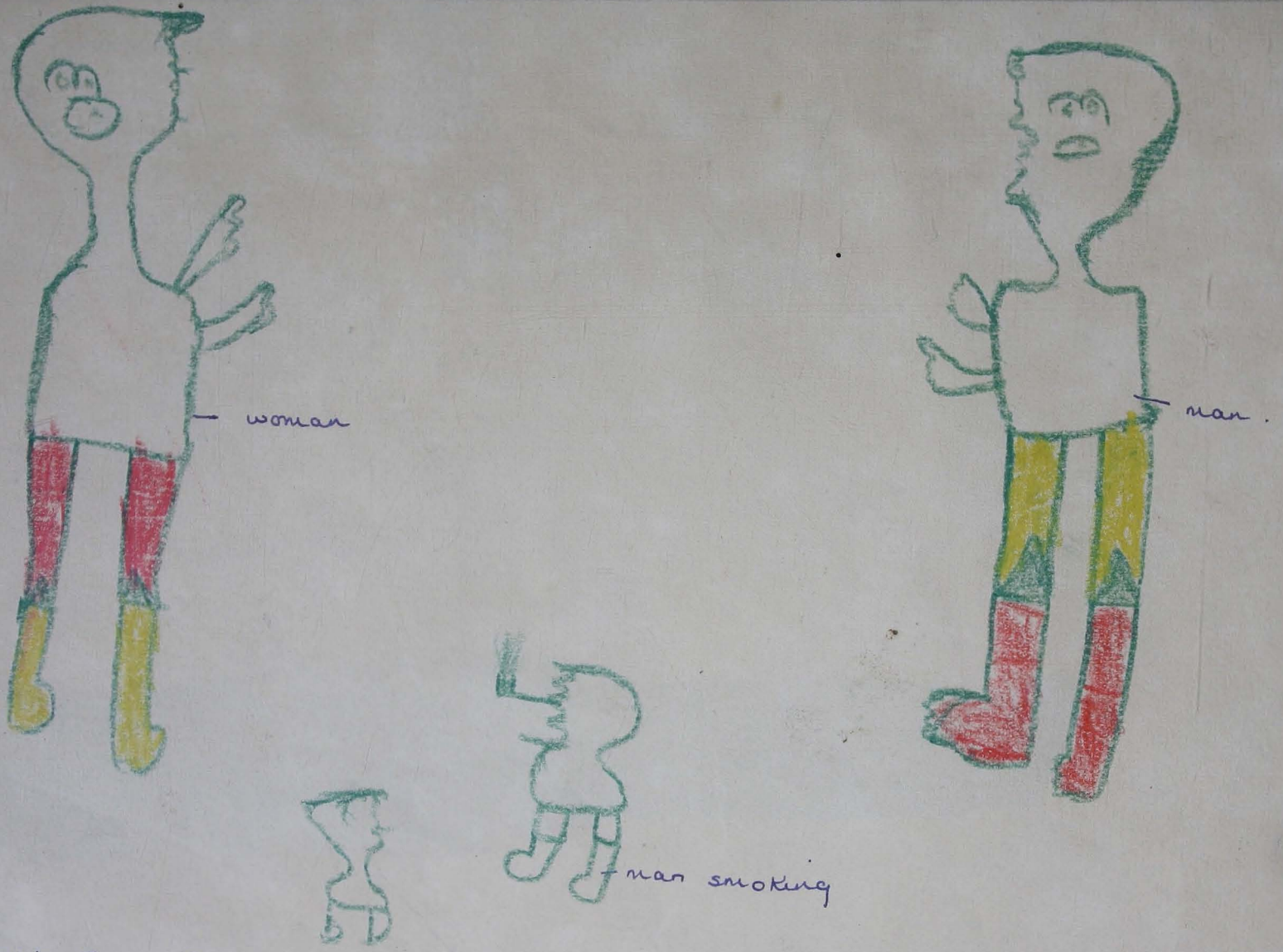
Topic: Anything I like.

"This shows our park near the road. We are practising for a football match. A lorry is going to Sekondi. The two people in front of the lorry are stopping the lorry because they want to go to Sekondi. The two men at the back of the lorry are watching the footballers and applauding the good ones.

Picture 10: by Kwabena Kum aged 10 years.

Topic: The most pleasant Thing I can think of

"I like bread very much. My mother is baking bread and I am carrying some on my head to sell"



Francis Oyeo 12 yrs.

Picture 1

Joseph Paris 12 years old.

A lorry, a policeman is trying to stop the driver

Picture 2.

I. K. Nuama 12 yrs.

People carrying umbrellas.

Picture 3.

Kwaku Bentser about 9 yrs old.

My house. near it is a lorry.

Picture 4.

Gabriel

The inside of my house.

Pictura 5.

A fight with many people watching

D. K Nuana 8 yrs.

Picture 6.

The most pleasant thing I can think of.

John Beesi about 9 yrs old.

People playing football near the church

Picture 7.


Kwesi

Picture 8.

By John Buadi
(9years)

Picture 9.

By Kwabena Kum
(10 years.)

Picture 10.