

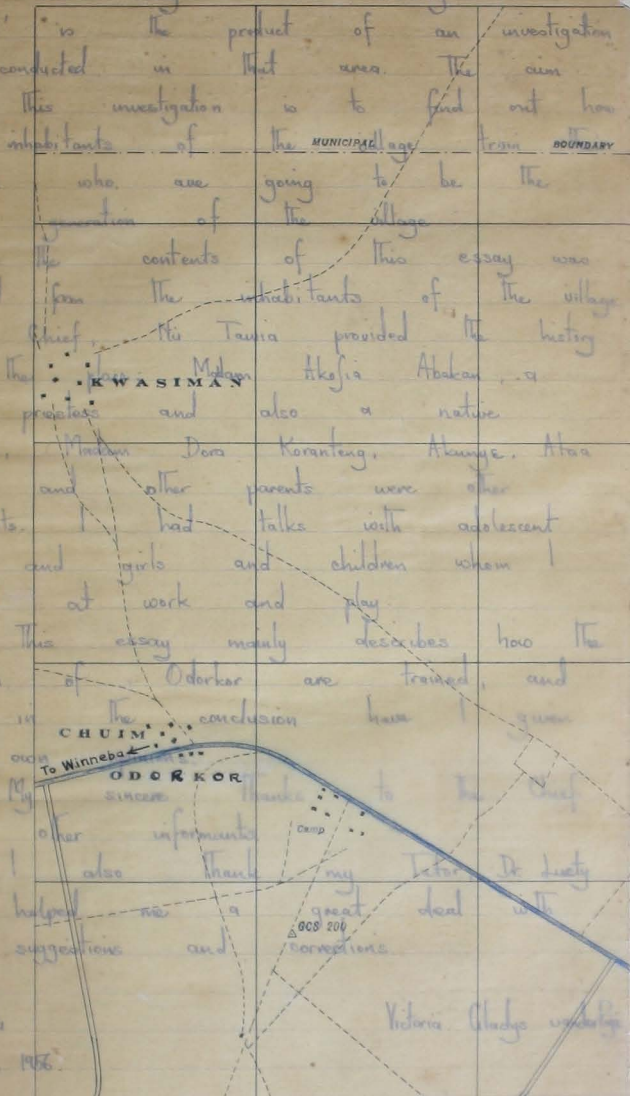
PREFACE

ODORKOR

This essay Child Training in Odorkor is the product of an investigation I conducted in that area. The aim of this investigation is to find out how the inhabitants of the ^{MUNICIPAL} village train ^{BOUNDARY} the children who are going to be the future generation of the village. The contents of this essay was collected from the inhabitants of the village. The Chief, the Tansi provided the history of the place. Malan Ikefia Abakan, a fetish priestess and also a native midwife, Malan Dora Koranteng, Akunyie, Abaa Awudu and other parents were other informants. I had talks with adolescent boys and girls and children whom I watched at work and play. This essay mainly describes how the children of Odorkor are trained, and only in the conclusion have I given my own opinion. I thank the Chief and other informants who helped me a great deal with their suggestions and corrections.

Victoria Gladys Uwakolaye

April, 1956



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I also thank my Tutor, Dr. Lucy who helped me a great deal with her suggestions and corrections.

Achimota
April, 1956.

Victoria Gladys Vanderbijc

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INTRODUCTION

Odorkor is a village in the Accra district. It is situated in the north-western part of Accra, and it is bounded on the northern and western parts by hills, one of which is called 'Maykata Gog' after Sir Charles MacCarthy, a British Governor of the Gold Coast in 1822. A lorry road passes through the village thus dividing it into two. The northern part of the village known as Chum is bigger than the southern part.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

The people who first inhabited the village came from Accra - one of the seven quarters of Accra. There were only two of them Lantei and Akushia. They were given land by the then reigning chief of that quarter, and they decided to make the place their abode. People discouraged them by saying there were so many vultures in that quarter and the place is too isolated. This happened in 1890, for as related by the present chief the two men came to Odorkor ten years before Premeh of Ashanti was taken prisoner to Seychelles in 1900.

After those two men had made the place a little habitable, they brought their wives with them. They gave the name 'Chum' to their place, meaning 'Courage'; for only courageous people could live there. The village in time flourished, and people brought goods from Ada and Winneba to sell there. When they had to leave in the evening

They left the remaining goods with the wives of the two men. They had plenty to eat and were often telling their friends that "Waye te doko" which means 'We are living in comfort'. It was through this saying that the name Odokor was got.

GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

Odokor lies approximately five and a half degrees north of the equator. It has a hot climate. There are two seasons.

The wet season starts from April to July, although there is some heavy rainfall during the year which cannot be given a set time as to when it occurs. The dry season or the Harmattan occurs from October to February, and it causes the people a lot of discomfort. For at first they could not get water from the 'Lafi' - a pond about three hundred yards away from the village.

The vegetation is as will be found in most areas round Accra, a grassy plain with some few bushes and one or two trees studded in here and there. These bushes are full of leaves and roots used in the preparation of medicine. They provide the villagers with firewood too.

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

Taking the life of the people generally, it is quiet. Few of the men who hold jobs in Accra and other bigger suburbs, leave early in the morning by bus - about two buses have been provided by the Accra Municipal Council for travelling to and from the



Bird-hunting with a
catapult.

village. They return home in the evening about six o'clock.

Those who do not hold jobs in Accra leave for their farms or the lagoon. Others less busy are found sitting under some trees discussing family matters and the events of the day. The men are very fond of doing this.

The women are to be found in the market selling and buying things. Most of them go home to cook for the family, and those who stay in the market to sell their wares often do their cooking there. Most of the young girls stay at home to help their mothers; the more fortunate ones who are very few, go to learn how to sew. The children are found playing all through the day. They play such games as hide and seek, one party seeking for a 'lost' party, wrestling and playing football, which takes place on the street at times. They go bird-hunting with their catapults, the boys especially do this.

Life in the evening is more interesting. By this time most of the villagers have returned from work. The two stores in the village are filled with men drinking beer, and there is music provided by a gramophone. This tends to make the atmosphere lively. Groups of people would be found here and there having lengthy conversations. Boys and girls are found walking in pairs in places where they are not liable to be caught by their parents. The boys and girls sometimes sit in groups singing folk songs, and telling folk tales. The evenings are most enjoyed when the moon is up.

Occupation

Most of the men in the village are farmers, and few of them tend to hunt or fish from the Sakum lagoon, which is about half a mile from the village. The farmers grow such things as vegetables, rice and fruits of which pawpaw is the most popular. They start farming during the dry season when the grass is all dried up, and it is very easy to ^{for the fire} travel and burn easily. During the part of the year round the village is always burnt off, and one can hear all sorts of noises made by rats, lizards, partridges and snakes trying to escape the danger. This is followed by the ploughing of the ground. The villagers use the hoe for the work, and it takes a number of days to work a small plot of land. The sowing is done as soon as the rains start. The sowing is done in September or October generally, but most of the vegetables are harvested as soon as they are ripe.

These that must bring home such animals as land squirrel, bush fowl, partridge and cutting-grass. The hunters and farmers have one or two fifiers, and seamstresses. Most of the young men like sewing as much as and draw. The girls take to sewing and it is the next popular one after trading which is done by the elderly women. They go to experienced people to learn how to sew, and they must be provided with a sewing machine before they

come to be taught. They complete their training after two years.

TRADING - As has been said before, the older women do most of the trading. There are two stores which sell beer and spirits and other imported goods. Tinned food can be bought from smaller stores in the village. The market place is an open place with two stalls, under which the sellers sell their wares - brooms, kenkey, foodstuffs and other things. They buy materials for clothes from Accra as they consider them cheaper in the village.

THE HOMES OF THE PEOPLE.

Quoting from the 1948 census there were 144 houses, and 347 inhabitants; 182 were males and 165 females. Number of persons per house was 2.4, and number of persons per room was 1.2. The number of rooms were 300.

This shows the people have adequate amount of rooms and are therefore not crowded in their rooms.

The houses are built with mud and bricks. They are plastered with mud, and washed with either white lime or solignum. Some of the houses are plastered with cement and washed with yellow ochre. There is yet another type of house erected by building a framework first with wood, and mud is piled up on each side of the framework to form walls. These have thatched roofs whilst the rest are roofed with corrugated iron sheets. The floor of the last type of house is smooth and it is kept clean by a fresh mixture of mud and water on the floor with a rag. In the older days,

I was told, cowdung mixed with water was the favoured application. There is one very well built house in the village. There is even a pond in which water lilies grow and mudfish are kept. There are rabbits, guinea fowls, turkeys and guinea pigs kept by the owner of the house. People often visit the house to look at the pond with the mudfish which are attracted to the surface with bread crumbs.

GENERAL CLEANLINESS.

The village is on the whole clean, owing to the fact that Sanitary Inspectors visit the houses and issue summons on the people who keep their houses very dirty. They weed round their houses where necessary, and parts of the village are kept free of overgrowth of grass by municipal labourers.

WATER SUPPLY.

There are two water pipes in the village. One is just by the main road, and the other in the village itself.

RELIGION

Most of the community are pagans and worship gods such as 'Tigari'. I was wandering round the village one day when I came upon the place of worship for one of the gods. A space has been cleared, and stones washed in white had been used to form an oval. On one end of the oval was a box also washed in white, and supported by four white stones. On the box was a black pot with skeletons of dogs and other animals I could not identify. There were also cowries

and a short beam and dry creeping plant called 'nyangra'. The chief was bent upon getting some people to start missionary work in the village; and said he is looking forward to the day on which the whole village would be turned into Christians. He is a heathen himself and old too.

EDUCATION

There is at present a Primary School up to primary three. I was told by the chief that about forty years ago, a European missionary from Basel, Switzerland, came and established a school there. The site of the school was near the present market. He began teaching the children of the village. This he did for six years, after which he caught malaria and died. Nobody took up the work he left, and so the school broke up, much to the disadvantage of the villagers. The few who had received minimum education went to Africa to work under European masters and the whole village was left illiterate again. He went on to say that the village had coursed the village to remain backward, and has aim of present is to see the improvement of the present school which is under the supervision of a pupil teacher. He was also very keen on the establishment of a Presbyterian Church, as there is only a Methodist Chapel in the village. Very few people even attend church in it. In this form of background, a child

of Odorkor grows to take up his place in
the world. ✓

ATTITUDES TOWARDS HAVING CHILDREN

It is the ardent desire of every married couple to produce children. The children of the marriage take the name of the father as their surnames. Thus a man by name Amarty, who has got two children a boy and a girl, Armah and Dodua respectively, will be known as Armah Amarty, and Dodua Amarty. It is the pride of both parents to see their children growing up and having themselves called the mother and father of the children as 'Armah Jē', which means Armah's father, and 'Armahnyē', meaning Armah's mother. At other times the name Armah's father is not used, and Papa is substituted. To be called Armah's father and 'Papa' is considered as an honour and an addition to his pride, as he has then proved his manhood.

A man's status in social life is enhanced by his children, and he gains the respect of the villagers. He then knows that in his later years he would be supported by his children; and thus his fears of poverty and loneliness during the latter part of his life are erased. It is also the custom of the people here that after the death of the father the children should provide the coffin. It is a disgrace to the dead body lying for several days with disputes going on as to who should bury the coffin. When a man has married and there are no children, after his death, the wife is given to a younger brother of the deceased to produce children for his dead brother; and sometimes

The first child, if he is a boy, is named after the deceased. Thus the patrilineal line is continued.

One of the happiest and most unforgettable moments in a woman's life is when she sees her first-born child. It is therefore, the sole aim of nearly every woman and girl in this village to produce children, for without bringing forth children one is prone to the most humiliating infamy which is often the burden of barren women. The woman with a child becomes proud, for she can boast of her children, and she also no more need the help of other children in the upkeep of her house, as her own children will help her in doing the household jobs. She can send them on errands, and is so sure as the man that her old age will not be lonely, and spent in poverty. There is a very old woman in this village without a relative, and it is a pity to see her. She had one daughter when she was in her teens, but the daughter died when she was about six years old, and she did not get another child after her, so in her old age, she is living a pitious life. There are children she helped to look after, and they help a bit with her upkeep.

INHERITANCE

Inheritance is patrilineal in Odorok, and therefore it is the duty of the father to look after the children who will bear his name in the future. The father also expects from the children an extra amount of help in farming, hunting, and carrying his things for him when travelling to a certain place.

IMPORTANCE OF CHILDREN

During this investigation, two old women who were giving the writer some interesting facts about the advantages and disadvantages of having children, asked if the writer was married. They were astonished to hear she was studying, and advised her to marry and have children as soon as possible. This shows how high they hold the opportunity of going birth to children, and they consider the children to be their dearest possessions. As children are so important to the people in this village, it is not considered a disadvantage of all having them but rather a blessing. One woman said "The children will trouble you with their mischief - making and quarrels when they grow up, but checking and guiding them on to the right path are some of the joys of parenthood."

FOYGAMY

Foygamy prevails in this village, for when a couple gets married, everyone awaits that the newly married woman is expecting a baby. If after a year or two the woman is still unproductive, then the man is advised, mostly by his friends, to marry another woman and prove his manhood. This is then done by the man. As the number of children enhances the social prestige of the man, he is liable to get as many wives as possible to produce children.

SIZE OF FAMILY

The number of children in the family is not limited. The women mostly prefer to have

ten or more children, in accordance with the saying, "Mafo nyozma, ni mawo nyozma saa no;" meaning, "I will bring forth ten and sleep on the bed of ten." On having a tenth child a special ceremony is performed to honour the woman. On this occasion, the mother is given a sheep - the 'nyozma too' - sheep for the tenth child, two bottles of rum or gin, a number of cloths, and an amount of money ranging from ten pounds (£10) upwards. The father of the mother at times give his daughter a sheep and some money, although this is not enforced by practice.

How the Nyozma Too Ceremony takes place:- The day before the great day appointed for the ceremony, the sheep is slaughtered and hung up for use the next day. Very early the next morning, relatives and some very close friends come to help with the cooking of the various kinds of food. Part of the meat is cut into pieces, and very dear friends and relatives are given a portion, and the remainder is used for the cooking. In the afternoon, the relatives and friends all neatly dressed, sit with the mother, father and the ten children round a table which has been laid for the occasion. The parents and the children dress in white and most of the invitees choose to dress in the same colour. A hearty meal is served, followed by drinks of all sorts. Merry-making and donations to the parents follow the meal until late in the evening. On the following morning the mother and the grownup children go about thanking the people who came and gave donations. This ends the ceremony.

CHILDLESSNESS.

Childlessness is regarded in his community as one of the greatest misfortunes ever bestowed on man, and childlessness may lead a man to destruction. Often he takes to drinking, as he cannot bear the taunts of his friends and relatives. In very rare cases the man commits suicide. Wives of such people often leave them on the grounds that they are unproductive.

Childless women are worse off than the men for they are miserable thinking of the faults of the other women, some of whom may be their rivals. They do not give their opinions concerning the bringing up of children, for they would be told to bring forth their own. The word 'kene' meaning barren, is often used to describe such a woman, and in guards, one would not help hearing "Kene in be bi," being used to remind the woman that she has not got a child of her own. A barren woman often consults fetish priests and 'Klamfai-Mohammedans' to help them get children of their own. A great deal of money is wasted by the women in seeking the aids of these warts, and so if often happens. The children never come.

DEVICES FOR OVERCOMING STERILITY

Sterility in this village is believed to be due to three causes. First, by what is commonly known as 'Gbeji', which is an evil spirit. Every one is supposed to have this 'gbeji', but in some they are more powerful, and tend to make the lives of these people unbearable. When the cause of sterility is attributed to

'gbefi', Then there is a ceremony performed to drive it away, and cause the individual to become fruitful. The ceremony is done by taking the individual to a fetish priest who puts on his head a bowl full of certain leaves and things which are thought to drive the spirit away. Drums are beaten and then the man begins to sway, and afterwards gets up and runs. He is followed by some members of the community to the outskirts of the village, where he is expected to throw the bowl with its contents down, and so get rid of the evil spirit. This custom is gradually dying out.

The second cause is witchcraft. The person in question, who is mostly a woman, is taken to the fetish priest who examines her, or at times looks into his 'pot' - an earthen pot, filled with water and which is supposed to reveal everything to the priest; and tells the consultant that a relative or some other person is causing the harm. She is told at times that her womb has been taken and buried in the 'Oyaa', the silk-cotton tree; and to redeem it she has to bring a sheep, or a white fowl, illicit gin or rum, and an amount of money. The priest is supposed to give these things to the one who placed the womb in the tree who in turn should give up what he had seized. There are so many people who have turned to this sort of belief, that nearly all the known cases of sterility today are attributed to witchcraft. Sometimes the woman is told that a curse has been laid on her by a relative or her own parents owing to misbehaviour towards them. Libations are then poured, and the spirits of the people who had laid the curse, are called upon to free the

girl from that condition. An informant told the story of a girl who had the bad habit of laughing at people, and showering abuses upon them. It happened that one day she passed by a house where a deformed boy lived. On seeing the handicapped child, she burst into her usual laughter. The mother of the child heard it and she cursed the girl, that whenever she had the luck of producing a child, she would produce a worse child than what she had laughed at. She then started to abuse the mother who left the place after she had cursed her. The girl on reaching a marriageable age, was given to someone to wed. She became pregnant and gave birth to an idiot, and she did not get another child after that one. Everyone said it was because she had been cursed. A witch doctor was consulted, but he said the spirit of the wronged woman was so furious that nothing could be done, unless the woman herself was consulted, and asked to take back her words. The woman was called and asked to do so, but she said she was so hurt by the words of the girl that she would never agree to do so. The informant said the woman and her child died some few years later.

The third cause to immorality on the part of the girl before she married, and after marriage, it is a belief that when a girl practices immorality before marriage, she suffers from 'Yer shela' renal diseases, and which cause her to become sterile. The girl in this case is taken to the fetish priest, who makes a demand of a white fowl and four shillings (4/-). He in turn gives the girl a medicine to drink. If a woman

does not bear a child a year or so after her marriage, it is taken by the people the wife had practised immorality before marriage, or she is being unfaithful to her husband. In such a case she is taken to a fetish priest to confess her sin and to be made pure through the slaughter of a fowl and the pouring of libation.

LIMITING THE FAMILY.

Since big families are the pride of the people in the village, nothing is done towards limiting the size of the family. The only time when it is necessary to limit the size of the family is when the woman has difficult labours. She is then advised to stop going to birth to more children, and to do that she has to sleep in a separate room. Modern ways of limiting the family by using contraceptives are not known to most of the people in this village. It is with adolescent girls that abortions take place, as they are afraid of being pregnant before marriage. The old women speak about this with disgust, and they say such a thing was not known in their days. The girls in such a position often use certain herbs, or drink a packet of sugar mixed with a little amount of water as possible, or washing the mixed with fruit-juice, preferably that of the pineapple and oranges, to remove the unborn baby. I was informed that about four years ago, a girl of fifteen caused an abortion, and very nearly died, and that it was a good example to the rest of the girls in the village, to let them see how dangerous it is to cause an abortion.

Very few of the married women take up such a practice to limit the eyes of their families.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

Children considered to be illegitimate in the village are those whose fathers are not known, mainly because the mother has kept it a secret or the father did not own up the child. In such a case the father or grandfather of the mother takes the responsibility of looking after the child, who is named after the father or the grandfather. In other cases the father may be known, but he is considered by the parents of the girl to be unfit in social status to marry their daughter, so he is deprived of any responsibility towards the child. He is not allowed to call the child his own, nor to visit him. The mother is severely warned not to have any private meetings with him. When it comes to inheritance, both legitimate and illegitimate children are treated alike.

DETHANS

When the father of a child dies, the widow stays in the house until all the funeral rites have been observed, and then she is sent away by the relatives of the deceased. If a house has been built for her by her late husband she goes to live there, if not, she goes home to her parents or relatives. In the case of a widow who during the lifetime of her husband, has been staying in a separate house, she goes on staying there. The children are provided for by the successor, who is usually a brother or sister of the deceased. In many cases, the successors do not look after the children properly, for only a few months

after the death of the father, they would stop caring for the children, and leave the responsibility on the shoulders of the mothers. When the mother desists, the children are cared for by the relatives of the mother, or by a sister of the father, until the children are of such an age that they can be cared for by the father himself, say at the age of ten onwards. In other cases the father is financially responsible for the children. He often visits them when they are not with him, taking such things as oranges and sweets with him to be given to the children, just to be sure they are happy and are not missing their mother.

Special care is given to children whose mothers die, and it is seen to that they do not become ill. When they do get ill, it is believed that the mothers have come for them. There was such a case in the village some time ago when the mother of a child died. The child fell ill, and was being taken to the hospital at once, when the people taking the child along were comforted by a man who asked them whether the mother of the child was among them. They said no, and the man told them that they were being followed by a woman with outstretched arms, and who had been weeping all the time. He therefore advised them to take the child to a fetish priest, and to call the spirit of the mother and ask it to leave the child alone. This was done accordingly and the child survived. Where the child is often sickly, he is petted and becomes a spoilt and selfish child, owing to the many pettings he gets

from all quarters.

ADoption

Adoption is not very much practiced in the village except in rare cases when a wife gets pregnant by another man. The other men is brought before a court, usually a native one, and charged with 'Gulf' meaning he has committed adultery. He is made to pay an amount ranging from three pounds ten shillings (£3 10s) to ten pounds (£10). Part of the money is given to the husband and part is distributed to the whole family, and the rest is given to the wife, who uses it to buy a sheep to pacify the husband. The sheep is slaughtered and eaten by the family. The skin is kept by the husband, and anytime a quarrel ensues, the husband takes out the skin and shows it to the wife to remind her of her infidelity.

A child born in such a situation is cared for by the husband, and he has the same rights in the home as the legitimate children.

Aunts and uncles can also adopt their nephews and nieces, if it is the wish of both the children and the parents. For at times the parents are willing to give their children to their aunts and uncles owing to the large size of the family, but the children refuse to go. With this kind of adoption, the parents can visit the child, taking them all sorts of things, ranging from food to clothes. The child in turn visits his parents and relatives. The child is well cared for by his aunt and uncle, and where the right care is not given to the child he is taken by his parents back to his

home, or he runs away to his parents himself

CHAPTER TWO

PRENATAL PERIOD

SIGNS OF PREGNANCY

A woman usually knows she is pregnant when her monthly flow ceases. The husband is not informed until the sixth or seventh week, for then the woman is sure it is not a late menstruation. Relatives and neighbours are just left to discover it for themselves, which they often do owing to the many signs which show themselves out from the first month. The first after the cessation of the monthly flow is the morning sickness, which may occur as early as the first week after conception, and continue until the eighth or twelfth week. Some do not suffer from this symptom at all, and others suffer from acute pains. Cases occasionally occur in which the vomiting continues without interruption in spite of all the remedies which can be employed; sometimes wearing the life out of the patient before pregnancy is completed. A case was reported of a girl who continued vomiting until the third month. Her sides had to be supported when she is vomiting as it comes on so violently. After every meal she vomited out what she had eaten, even if it was water. Her sides had to be massaged morning and evening. The vomiting at this period is considered to be sympathetic.

At the end of the sixth or eighth weeks the breasts begin to enlarge, the nipple becomes more prominent, and the dark ring round it becomes more distinct. The little protuberances on the nipple become prominent too. The skin becomes pale, and this is easily noticeable where the hand and feet are concerned. There is also the tendency

To grow lean, and this makes deflection easier. Before these signs even show themselves, some people especially middle aged women and old women, who have the gift of detecting whether someone is pregnant or not. They claim to have the gift of seeing through the person. One old woman boasted of being able to tell correctly when a woman is pregnant for a week or two.

TYPICAL FEELINGS OF PREGNANT WOMEN

The feelings of pregnant women are those of joy mixed with a little fear, and in very rare cases where the woman has too many children or difficult labours, the idea is disgusting, and she becomes unhappy. - and the probable end of this is abortion. This is not so in the case of a young woman who is pregnant for the first time, for she is always thinking of the day when she will hold her own baby in her arms and nurse him. She often thinks of the time when she will be dressed in beautiful white clothes, with her baby at her back, and parade in the village. Thanking those who had given her presents and donations. One informant said, "Pregnant women are always looking forward to the day when they will have their perfect babies, and receive presents and money from their husbands, friends and relatives." When a woman who had been sterile for quite a long time finds herself pregnant, her feelings are indescribable. She soon spreads the good news, and is able to hold her head high, for she feels she has been freed from the malicious tongues of her neighbours, and the shame of being called 'kame' meaning a sterile woman.

Although the feelings of a majority of pregnant women are that of joy, there is one thing that lingers in the thoughts of all of them, and that is fear. Why and what makes them afraid? They are afraid, an informant said, "Because they know they are between life and death," which is expressed as, "Eka gale ke dard" "One other fear," she continued, "is whether the child will be born perfect or not. With this in mind, they take precaution not to laugh at any deformed babies, the fear of having a difficult labour period, and any conversation which is carried on with, or near them, with a mention of deformed or stillborn babies or difficult births drives them away. They think this will have an effect on the children they are expecting. Witchcraft, which will be fully dealt with later on, is one of the chief fears of pregnant women.

One of the commonest feelings of pregnant women is the desire for all sorts of food. They crave for what they have not got, and often after getting it, the food is vomited out. A woman told the writer of her experience when she was having her second child. I was buying things in the market when I came across a fish seller cooking gyan (cumpoo), and dried salted fish stew, in which were some eggs. The flavour looked to my nose, and I was unable to do anything but stand and watch. I could not bring myself to ask for some, so I bought the ingredients, came home and prepared this dish, instead of cooking for my husband. I ate to my satisfaction, only to bring it

all out after ten minutes.

Some of these desires are very unusual, for some indulge in the eating of dried earth or mud, mostly what had been used in building the houses, and at times white clay. "Snails and mushrooms are my favourites," an informant said. "I just cannot do without them. The snails are easier to get, and I go to great ends to get them when they are not in season. The mushrooms too if they are not in season, I take all the money I have to buy some in tins. I just cannot do without them in my soup." Another informant said, "I smoke a pipe most of the time and food is a secondary thing. This desire to keep on smoking keeps me awake most of the night."

Pregnant women tend to become very hot-tempered, and are often irritable to stay with. Every word uttered by them is an abuse to people, but they are understood, for people nod their heads and say "Ho gbaa enaa le", which means the conception is what is troubling her.

CHANGES IN THE MODE OF LIFE

4. DIET:

Most of the pregnant women here attend the antenatal clinic in Accra, to be given the correct kind of diet to follow, which they rarely do. Often they go to the fetish priest to seek information as to what to take. The woman is then advised by the priest to make palm-nut soup, using palm-nuts in multiples of seven, any fish except the herring, very little pepper, 'tey sayoo' or ferns, and a kind of leaves called 'Koo mli basi', which means 'leaves of the forest'. During the latter part of pregnancy, snails may be substituted for fish. This soup is always

FACTS:

Pregnant women are expected to work hard in the home, or to continue whatever work she has been doing outside the home. They continue to work until the eighth month. The exercise for the mother and the child. It also ensures an easy birth. If the pregnant mother does not work hard she is liable to a stream of abuses from her husband's relatives. Hard work such as beating fufu, chopping fwood and carrying heavy loads, are not allowed after the fourth month, although daily household chores and outside work continue until the eighth month.

Work.

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1. MARITAL RELATIONSHIPS

to be taken with fufu prepared from three fingers of a kind of plantain called 'ampema'. This kind of food is supposed to make the child very strong and healthy, and to make delivery very easy.

The mother takes certain precautions. The most important one which is thought to guard the pregnant woman from all evil is the 'Bawaro ceremony'. It is now commonly known as 'Kolaba'. The woman goes to the market and collects all sorts of things - washing blue soap, bones of fish and other animals, vegetables, pieces of cloth and many others. All these are placed in an earthen bowl called 'Ka', and filled with water. On top of these is placed the leaves of a climbing plant called 'nyanya', and a creeping plant called 'avate'. The priest presses his fingers down into the palm, two coming a sound to encase the is done over the bowl. A little 'ilic gin' is poured on the leaves, a prayer is said to make it effective, and the woman carries it home. Bathwater is prepared for the woman, and after the bath she pours the water from the bowl on her body, and fills the bowl again for her next bath. The first time she bathes with the 'Kolaba', she is powdered from head to toe with talcum powder or white clay. Bathing with the 'Kolaba' goes on for seven days, after which the mother can buy the bowl with its contents from the priest, or give it back. The pregnant woman should not chop wood, or this is considered to cause a miscarriage, or able to divide the head of the baby in two. Some children are born with such a defect, and this is said to be caused by the mother chopping wood when she was pregnant. She should not laugh at people, especially deformed ones, as I have already explained. She is not allowed to dress beautifully and to wear ornaments. This is supposed to avert

dangers which would come upon her. She is often seen in old clothes, with an oiled face and bare feet. The custom is gradually dying out, and the pregnant women are now seen well dressed.

Expectant mothers are not to reveal their breasts and navel in public. She should not see, eat and drink in public. All these are done to protect the child from harm.

WITCHCRAFT AND PREGNANCY.

As has been already said, one of the vital fears of pregnant women is witchcraft. One of the uses of witchcraft is to cause barrenness in either a man or a woman, so if a wife succeeds in becoming pregnant, she is still afraid of whether her birth will be successful. The fear is greater when the man has other wives who are jealous of the pregnant mother, for they can eat the child in the mother's womb. There was a case here I was told, when a mother gave birth to a stillborn child. The baby was deformed in several places, and everyone in the house attributed its cause to witchcraft, for witches are capable of eating the babies before they are born.

To get rid of the power of witches, a pregnant woman bathes in water containing pieces of all kinds of food; and whilst bathing she says, "I am your own food, if you eat me, you die." Thus she frees herself from witches.

CHAPTER THREE

BIRTH

PREPARATION FOR THE BABY.

When the period of confinement draws near, the expectant mother begins to prepare for it. This preparation starts from the seventh month. A number of old clothes, rags and blankets are gathered by the mother, who washes them and puts them away. The mother does this so that she would not be given old clothes by her mother-in-law after the birth, as this is considered to be shameful. These old clothes and rags serve as blankets and sheets for the baby, for they are both soft and comfortable. Soap, washing blue, tiny chemises, dresses, pomade, powder and comb are also got ready by the mother. In some cases the sewing of the dresses and chemises are done discreetly and put away in a safe place, for if the mother or the grandmother of the expectant mother happens to find the clothes, they are taken away, as it is supposed evil will come to the mother when she bears her baby. The mother is therefore expected to wait until the birth of her baby, before she starts getting clothes for it.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS LABOUR PAINS.

Women in this village know very well from what they have heard from the older women, their friends, and what they have seen of women in labour, that childbirth is always accompanied by pains. With this in mind, they await the day of confinement with a cool attitude. An informant said, "It is the young girls, who follow the lusts of their bodies who cannot bear the pains of labour courageously. Even before the worst part of the pains are due, they begin to shout and

mean they will no more have sexual intercourse with a man, and neither will they have babies again. But, she continued, "The next couple of years will find them in the same situation, repeating what they said two years ago." What is feared in the village is protected labour pains. If the labour pains are intensified there over, an informant said, "I will not mind it so much, but having to lie down for three days or more suffering from pains is more than I can bear. Your friends are sorry for you, and you have to bear their pitiful glances, and the worst lot comes from your enemies who rejoice to see you in trouble. They make jokes of it mimicking the way you shout and act. The father's attitude towards labour pains is one which is indescribable. They are very anxious about their wives, for they are worried whether their wives will survive or die with the child. A father informed me, "I was sitting with my wife when her labour pains began. Not long after the bag of water burst, and I knew then that the critical moment was quickly drawing near. I had to fetch transport to take her to the hospital. I was very much afraid all the time; my hands were shaking, and I tried to hide them in my cloth. When my wife was safe in the hospital I came home and got myself drunk to drown my thoughts. I was very glad to hear early the next morning that my wife had given birth to a baby boy. The father prays to God if a daughter, of whom there are few in this

The Use Of ANAESTHETICS

The village, the officers pray to their gods to escape the labour of their wives. In many cases the father prays not only for the wives comfort, but also against the heavy expenses that will be the consequence of a difficult birth, which he will find difficult to bear.

The attitude of other people towards labour pains differ according to their relationships with the expectant mother. Those who have a liking for the mother encourage her to be brave and to press the birth in hand and win the fight as the birth is sometimes referred to. They lend willing hands in the preparation of the room for confinement, and the boiling of water. On the other hand those who do not like her, shout at her and reproach her for being a coward. "Keep quiet, my tell her, "Are you the only person who has ever given birth? Many have given the same way before you, and they did not act as you are doing. When you were having that marital relationship with the man, you enjoyed it, didn't you? Keep quiet and press, press again. Some may even go to the extent of beating her, to make her press.

When the birth takes place in the village anaesthetics are not used, for they are quite unknown to the villagers. Those who go to the hospital are given anaesthetics when their labours are difficult. On informant said, "When I was taken to the labour room, something was placed near my nose and I was told to inhale which I did. After that I knew nothing. When I woke up the nurse told me my labour was a difficult one, so perhaps were used to pull



A Fetish Priestess who acts
as the village Midwife

The baby down. This resulted in a tear, and even after I had been discharged from the hospital, I had to go there to be treated daily. She brought the said baby and on his forehead was a mark which she said was made by the forceps used during the birth.

In the hospital, apart from the hospital staff no one is allowed to be present. The relatives are not even allowed on the hospital compound if it is not visiting time.

WHERE THE BIRTH TAKES PLACE.

The birth of the child takes place in the expectant woman's mother's home. This is because the mother looks after the new mother and child until she is able to care for the baby without her help. The native midwife is called in, or the girl is taken to her house, when the birth is close at hand. The mother of the girl, her grandmother, an aunt or an elder sister, may be present in the room—two to three people is the number allowed, to lend a helping hand. Men are usually not allowed to be in the room, for they are supposed to have no idea about how to handle situations like this.

When the birth takes place in the midwives home, the expectant mother is put into a spacious room, where there is not much furniture. In the middle of the room is an old mat which had been used for ages to serve the purpose of a labour-bed. There is another mat in one corner of the room on which the baby is laid when it is born.

When the birth takes place, the navel cord is cut at once. A piece of string

or raffia is tied about three inches from the
 body, and another one is tied again, which is
 of the same length as the first one. The
 is not accurately measured, and there are no
 ill-effects because of this. The cord is cut
 between the two. The baby is then
 held up and slapped at the back to make
 it cry. If it does not, he is tickled
 under the feet, or beaten on the back
 until he does. If all these methods are
 applied and still the baby does not cry
 this is considered dumb, or tested to see
 whether he is still born.
 The mouth, nose and eyes are cleaned with
 wet cotton wool, and the baby is bathed for
 the first time. She is scrubbed to clear off
 any matter which is on the body. It is
 believed that when you are not properly bathed
 at this stage, you suffer from an unpleasant
 odour which perpetuates until death. A towel is
 used to wipe the baby clean and dry.
 Chewed sponge which has been dried and made
 into balls, are used to dry the body for
 the second time. White clay (ayil) or myrrh
 (kiboo) is smeared on the body. Marks are
 made with the 'kiboo' on the child's wrists
 and forehead. Sometimes the bark and leaves of
 a tree called 'Saddo' are ground and smeared
 on the child's body. This is believed to make
 the baby grow fat, for the tree is a
 big and mighty one. The mat in the corner
 is covered with rags, and the baby covered in
 straw. The mother is now attended to. It is expected
 that the placenta will have by this time been

THE KPOZEMO CEREMONY

expelled from the womb. If not the midwife
 her hand on the abdomen, feeling where the
 placenta is, and pressing it down gently. Or
 the midwife pokes her hand into the mother's
 vagina to draw the after-birth gradually. It is
 then placed in a bucket or in rags. The blood
 is then wiped from the mat, and the vagina
 is cleaned with some of the rags. Clean rags
 are placed on the mat and the mother
 lies on it. Big rags are used as sanitary
 pads by the mother, which are changed as they
 get soiled.
 The child is given to its mother for
 the first feed, after which they
 leave for their home, where the baby is
 put on the same bed as the mother.
 Well-wishers come to the house after they have
 been informed with the commonly used expression,
 "Edewa to", meaning she has broken the bottle.
 They offer their best wishes, saying, "Akoko" which
 shaking the hands of the mother. The word
 akoko is said to a person who is working
 or who has done hard work, and the mother
 is greeted with this because she had performed
 a difficult work. Some of the friends bring
 with them food and clothing and playthings for
 the baby.
 The baby is not considered a human being
 until it is a week old. During those seven
 days after its birth, it is thought to be
 going through seven misfortunes. If it is able
 to survive then a special ceremony is performed
 to ensure the well being of the new-born
 child.

The father who had been informed as soon as the child was born, sends rum or gin to those people who helped at the birth, this is called 'Deforms da', hand-washing drink. The father then gets ready for the 'Kpodziems' ceremony. He has to provide a bath, bucket, soap, sponge, dresses for the baby, a lantern and kerosene, cloths for the mother and money too.

Before the eighth day, the mother and child are not allowed to leave their room. On the eighth day, a week after the child's birth according to native calculation, the 'Kpodziems' or Outdooring ceremony takes place. It is on this occasion that the child is presented to relatives and friends. They all meet together in the child's father's home, or in his paternal grandfather's home. at four o'clock in the morning. They sit on the compound with the mother who is dressed in white and is holding the baby. The baby is not dressed, and is only covered with some cloths. A person of good character is chosen from either of the two families, to hold the child, and it is expected that the child will grow up having the same character as the one who held him during the ceremony. A man is mostly chosen to hold a male child, and a woman a female child.

The person takes the child in his arms and lays him down on the ground, under the eaves. Water is sprinkled on the eaves and it falls on the baby. This is done three times. Each time the child is stepped on by the one who placed him there, and he says, 'Ko minai', which means 'take my foot', or follow in my footsteps. He is then given to the

Mother to be dressed in older member of the family gets up and says the following prayers and asks for a blessing on the child:-

Iwa, Iwa, omanye aba

Iwa, Iwa, omanye aba

Iwa, Iwa, omanye aba

Mo sei yi ahi

Mo bla: yi adi

Mo ba: kuta wape

Mo ba: hu waze nu

Mo ba: wada wokozzi and adza wo

Mo ba: in ba k eji yi ana wada

Enye Y: ama wada

Ese fu, ehe fagu

Eyi aba gbo obay

Ese aba halay

Wekunai waji faa nu wafa le,

Eboju eha wo nu waje,

Eko adaji nu eko aba,

Ga huuu le koyo Iwa nu ewuo

ewoo nu

Iwa, Iwa, Iwa, omanye aba.

Iwa, Iwa, Iwa, omanye aba.

Translation into English:-

May the gods give us their blessing (Iwa).

A child has been born, and we have

circled round it.

Whenever we dig a well let us come

upon water, and when we drink of it

may it be health and strength to us.

May the strangers father be long.

May the mother live long.

May it ever be forward and never turn

back.

May it have respect for the aged.

May it be obedient and do what is right.

and proper.
May the family always forgive him
May if work and earn something for the
family to live upon.
Let some stay and some move on.
May he be truthful and honest, and not
gossip.

May the gods favour us with their blessing.
After the prayer 'Madaga', a kind of drink
made with fermented corn, is served. The child is
given his name, and a drop of gin is put
in his mouth to let him taste some of his
outstanding drinks. Donations are given to the
parents and the child especially. The ceremony ends
at six o'clock in the morning, or later, according
to how grand the parents make it.

In many cases amulets are loorn round the
wrist or neck, to guard the child from evil.
These amulets come in the form of a feather,
a leather case containing some powder, a kind of
medicine called 'Kave' and black, white and red
beads.

When parents have successfully lost their
children during pregnancy or birth or infancy,
the advice of a fetish priest is sought, and in
most cases the issue of such a consultation
survives. The following is the custom which the
child undergoes after its birth.
All children who have survived after the
death of preceding ones have a common name
'Gbeba' meaning these with marks on their faces.
When the child is born he is taken to
the fetish priest's house, and there he, the fetish
priest orders the parents to follow certain taboos,
or else the child will die. The child has

should not be cut until the age of puberty. The child should bring a bottle of rum, per his parents, to the god when it is celebrating its yearly feasts. The priest then hangs round the neck of the child, a middle bone of a python, a round black bead and a cowry. All these are supposed to drive away all evil. About eighteen marks are made with a knife on the child's face by the priest. An unusual name is given to the child, and this is used instead of the one which would be given when he is outdoored. Names such as 'Wu'-Fowl, 'Aje Afo' - Throw it away, 'Tumo' - incenerator, 'Ijafu' - Ant, are some of those given to these children.

When the child attains the age of puberty, he is taken to the fetish priest's house, to let him lift him, or free him from the taboos. The boy takes with him a sheep, fowls, pieces of cloth and an amount of money as a present for the priest. The hair is cut and the necklace is removed; he is then free to lead a normal life, although the cuts on his face, and his ridiculous name still remain.

Twins are also given the horns of a wild pig. The children are believed to have come from the family of this animal, for they use their foreheads when fighting. Every Friday, the horns are rubbed with white clay, dried and put away again. A custom is followed every year on Friday just before Homowo. Saturday, when twins celebrate the 'Hwadzi Ayeleyeli' - The yam eating of the twins.



Feeding the baby.
Breastmilk is much appreciated.

CHAPTER FOUR
FEEDING

NURSING.

When the baby has been given its first bath and the mother has been attended to, he is given to the mother to suckle. He may take a little or none at all. Sometimes the mother's milk fails to flow and there is no use putting the baby to the breast to suckle as if it makes the nipple sore. Another mother is looked for and requested to nurse the baby until such time as the mother is able to nurse it herself. If a foster mother is not found, he is given a little water sweetened with sugar. This is given in a teaspoon, but in the older days they used the fingers. The mother is given special food made of palm-nuts, fish and herbs, to strengthen her and make the milk flow.

The villagers feed their babies with the breast and if it is considered a misfortune if the babies are bottle-fed. The mothers consider it less expensive to breast-feed their babies than to buy a bottle and powdered milk or condensed milk, and breast the mother is very ill and cannot nurse the baby, and a foster-mother is not found, then the baby is bottle-fed.

On feeding the baby the mother sits on a low stool. The child is placed on her laps, with his head resting on one of her arms. The mother takes hold of the breast with the hand supporting the baby's head, and with the free hand she cleans the nipple. At times the mother uses the free hand to take the breast and put it into her mouth to clean

The nipple, or she may clean it before taking the baby. The nipple is then put into the mouth of the child. He is allowed to suckle for sometime then he is changed on to the other breast. He suckles until he drops the breast. This is taken to mean he has had enough. Most babies by the time they stop suckling they have had enough and are asleep.

TIMES FOR FEEDING

There are no regular times for feeding the child; whenever he cries, he is taken up, played with, and put to the breast. The least noise made by the baby is taken as an indication of want of food. The breast is then put into his mouth. This sort of irregular feeding results in the child crying to be fed in the night. The mother has to get up and feed the baby, or else it will never stop crying. He is fed until he drops off to sleep. The mother at times sleeps and leaves the baby suckling. One mother complained of having restless nights owing to her crybaby.

When the breasts overflow with surplus milk the child is quickly brought to suckle, because the mother does not want to waste the milk, and she would like to lighten the weight of the breasts. It is also a sign believed to show that the child is hungry.

Sometimes babies refuse to eat. This happens when they are satisfied and are given food. When a child is crying and has been given the breast and he does not suckle, the child is examined by the mother to see what is wrong. The back of the hand is placed on the forehead and throat to see whether it

is fever. Or, the belly is examined for constipation. He is constipated. The child is given an enema of soap and water. Fever is taken to the hospital or the physician prescribes a medicine for use. Quinine if there is any in the home, is given to the child in case of fever.

When a baby stops feeding it is taken to a sign that he has had enough. The breast is then taken out of his mouth and put away. There are other people who, although the child has stopped, continue pushing the breast into his mouth. The mothers attribute towards nursing is often a joyful one. The is expressed mostly when the child cries; the mother hurriedly goes for him and starts feeding him. A mother is not ashamed to lay her chest bare in public when the child has to be fed. When the child is being carried at the back and it starts to cry in the market, the mother takes out the breast and start to feed the child. This happens at the doctor has stop too.

A mother with very little milk is regarded as one who has led a bad life during the age of puberty, and after, or suffering from a kind of illness. Ground medicine is sucked on the breast after each bath to hasten the flow of milk. For the first five to four months the mother, after the birth of her baby, is not allowed to have marital relationships. It is also because of this that she stays with her mother or grandmother. During that time she is treated for her sores she received during the birth. The mother is



Bath-time for the baby.
Grandmother takes delight
in doing it.

made to sit on a bucket of hot water, the vapour of which does much good to the face. Hot fomentations are applied at times. If sexual intercourse takes place during this period of treatment, the vagina would be affected, and would take a longer time to heal. The mother and child goes home after three months have elapsed, and from that time onwards sexual intercourse can successfully take place.

THE BABY'S BATH

The baby is given two baths a day - one in the morning and one in the evening. For the first month, the baths are given by the grand mother or any experienced relative. Much time is spent in giving the child his daily bath. Separate parts of the body are first attended to, like the eyes, nose, mouth and genitals, before being given a general one. The body is well cleared in order to free the baby from an unpleasant odour - "Qasamghara", which will emanate from the body till the end of his life. When the child is being bathed, the towel used is dipped into his bathing water and placed on his mouth. There the significance of this is to make the child truthful, closing his mouth against gossiping. This is known as "Afafawa". When a grown up is a liar or likes to gossip, this is said to him, "Awa onaa afata", to show that his tongue was not bridled when he was an infant.

WEANING.

There is no fixed age at which weaning is effected. The mother weans the child at her own convenience, and very often when another

child is on the way. There is a common thought that the milk at this stage - when the mother is pregnant again - is full of blood and has less milk, and the child is liable to suffer from many diseases if allowed to suckle. The mother gets thin and anaemic if she allows the child to suckle, but in spite of this there are cases where the child is put to the breast until the young one arrives, and he is then transferred on to the breasts of his grandmother. When the child is weaned very early because the mother is pregnant, the child becomes very difficult to handle. He cries most of the time and will not be pacified in any form. He grows lean and pale, and he is said to be suffering from "Kwajikor." The child suffers from this disease not because the mother is pregnant, but because he is not given the proper care and food. The villagers say the child is jealous of the future baby.

HOW THE CHILDREN ARE WEANED.

Most of the mothers here wean their children when they start biting their breasts. This is done in anger, for the mother gets angry when the child starts pulling and biting the breasts. The mother then decides not to put him to the breasts again. Several measures are taken to distract the child's attention from the breast. The juice of the bitter leaves of "Tatjo" is squeezed on the nipples and the areolae. The child is put to the breast, but he quickly puts it off after tasting the bitter juice. Quinine, cascara, meperidine (ground and mixed with water) are other things rubbed on the breasts.

Polamen, bogeys and Havaa men one also used to report the child from the breast. The child cries a lot when treated in this way, but the mother comforts him by promising him all sort of nice things, some of which are provided but others are not. One mother told me, "When my child who is now four years old was a baby, I liked carrying her on my back, or letting her lie on my laps most of the time. She is my first-born and I took great delight in doing everything for her. As soon as I heard the cry of the baby, I rushed to the room where she was to see whether she wanted me. I fed her at odd times to make her fat, and to make my neighbours adore her. She grew up to know that she should be carried by me alone, and so would not go to anyone willingly to be carried. She continued sucking the breast of eighteen months, and however much I tried to wean her, it was of no use. After I have tried several methods and found them of no avail, I gave up. She ~~would~~ get up in the night pull my breast the way and that and cry very loudly if I refused to let her suckle. She was actually a nuisance. I became pregnant again when she was three years old. All my neighbours complained that I was becoming thin and ugly. I therefore sent my troublesome daughter to my mother, and I became free to look after myself and the coming baby. I have received never to treat this young one, and those who will follow, as I did the first one. For I have learnt my lesson the hard way. Children are given pacifiers to suck before

They are weaned. An old woman one of my informants said, 'The pacifiers used to be in the form of wooden objects, but now that there are so many imported ones, the mothers have put away with the old ones, and turned to rubber and plastic objects.'

The children are not given objects on which to bite when teething. A child is allowed to put all sorts of things ranging from a bone to a cotton reel into its mouth. This would not be allowed at an earlier age, but when the child is about to teeth, he is given this freedom, for as a mother said, 'The gums become irritable, and the child wants something to loosen the irrtability.' Grown-ups often put their fingers into the babies' mouths to let him get a satisfying effect after 'chewing' the finger. When the child is weaned of an early age, it is thought to make him weak, and to cause him to suck his tongue until he is grown up, so the villagers mostly wear their babies at a later age.

THUMB-SUCKING.

When there is a cry-baby here, the thumb is placed in his mouth to serve as the breast, and to keep him from crying. Thumb-sucking is not regarded as something grievous to be checked until the child is about five years old, and is still sucking his thumb. During babyhood, mothers rather encourage the babies by 'putting' their thumbs into their mouths, to serve their own convenience. When the child is five years old and is still sucking his thumb, steps are taken to put an end to the practice. The bitter leaves of a certain plant



The children eat together.
A bucket serves as a table.

which were used to repel the child from the breast, are again used to ward him off from thumb-sucking. Adhesive tapes, bandages, incisions on the finger, throat, are all applied to make the child stop the habit. There was one girl with a big corn on her thumb, the cause of which was applied to thumb-sucking. Every possible method was applied to make her break the habit, but they all proved unsuccessful, and she left off in her own time.

SOLID FOOD

Solid food is introduced to the child long before weaning, to be sure there is something to offer him after weaning. The child is at two or three months, and the children of the village are well known for their big shiny stomachs, which seem to pull them down when they fiddle about when a grown-up is eating and the child smiles, she says, "Look, the child is smiling, he wants some of the food or drink." Then he is given some which he takes. Now is given if he seems to like it, but if he spits it out, he is not given again. Normally, the child is first started on 'koko', a kind of porridge made with cornmeal, and mixed with milk and a little sugar. Maslin gum, rigid and very soft cooked rice is given to the child in some homes. In other homes they are given boiled or roasted ripe plantain, slice of cocoyam and yam, kenny and fried or smoked fish to eat.



Meat time. No table is provided.

The child is generally fed with the hand until he is one and a half years old, when he is expected to learn how to eat by himself. Indigent mothers feed their babies when they are even four years of age. There is no occasion on which the mother prechews the food before giving it to the child. The food if heavy, is made light with the fingers, and mashed in bowl before it is given to the child.

In houses where there are children already, the child is allowed to eat with them at meal times. They all sit round one bowl of food and eat together, and share the meat or fish after the meal. There are instances where the child is poorly fed, because he gets less food as he is eating with grown-up children. Mothers often ignore this and do not attribute the causes of the numerous diseases which have their source from underfeeding to this, and rather say they were caused by worms.

TABLE - MANNERS.

Although the children here do not sit at table when eating, they are taught how to behave at meals. The child is taught to wash his hands before he eats, and after the meal, to offer his seat to a grown-up, to eat slowly and to wait for his share of meat or fish. A child who eats quickly or greedily is expelled from the group, after he has been warned several times as thus: "Mean pa gome off! nke, too no foo; which means 'Why are you eating so greedily, eat a bit slowly'.

TIMES FOR FEEDING

The child is not fed at regular intervals, for the time in between the three principal meals of the day is filled with eating toffees, twisted cakes, doughnuts and other sweet things, which the mother buys for him when he points at them. The child is given food at any time when he goes to the house of a relative or a friend of his mother. The mother does not always finish cooking at the same time every day, and all these prevent the child from getting regular meals.

When a child refuses to eat the mother tries to find out why he does so. It may be that the child is sick, or satisfied already or playing an interesting game. The mother tries through questioning to find out what is wrong, if it is fever, he is given quinine or "Odideo", medicine made by cooking the leaves of the nim tree, or certain kinds of roots and bark with pepper and ginger added. Fresh water is added to the 'odideo' everyday, to make sure there is some more ready to be drunk. The leaves of the guava tree are also cooked and used as medicine for fevers. The child may also be given an enema of soap and water, and if the fever still persists after three days, he is taken to the Childrens' hospital at Accra, or to a native doctor. There are instances where food is forced into the child's mouth. This is called "Abaamo le Ajigbe" and the child's lower jaw is held and the food is forced into it. Children who refuse to take 'Koko' are treated in this way, for it is easily

swallowed.

OVEREATING

Overeating is not considered as something which should be given a thought. Children are given all sorts of food, and they eat to their fill. The children here are great eaters, and one can answer whether they are underfed or overfed, by looking at their bellies.

FOOD GOOD FOR CHILDREN

'Koko', rice 'banku' (the rice is boiled until very soft, then it is made into a ball with a stick specially made for such purposes, or a spoon); bread and mashed yam are considered to be good for a child, because they are soft and easily digested.

Fruits are considered bad for children especially mangoes which are said to cause diarrhoea. "Citrus fruits cause constipation," the children are told, and are not allowed to take them, unless the parents offer them themselves. All kinds of food taken by the grown ups are palatable to the children. Unpalatable ones are those forbidden by the fetish priest or native doctor, and which all the members of the family are not allowed to take.

FOOD AS A REWARD

The children here are not often rewarded with food, they like for eating those they dislike. They have to eat what the mother has cooked. If a child refuses to partake of the food his mother has cooked, he is given money to go to the market to buy another kind of food, or he is left alone and not given food. In rare cases the mother gives him his special food for taking in something which he does not like. He is then given his usual dish in the evenings.

When a child has behaved exceptionally well, he is rewarded with sweets such as toffee and dainties, or a penny to buy what he likes, which is mostly 'sops' - crumbs. Children in the village like rice very much, and a child who has behaved well is given a big plateful of rice and stew, which is not to be shared with anybody. In the case of a child who has behaved badly like behaving his elders, not going on errands, or not doing his share of the household, he is not given food. When the meal is ready, the other children bring the bowl which is filled for them. They are told not to call the naughty one. He is sent to bed without food. If he continues in the same way the next day he is given a good beating by his father or any relative. The child's diet is the same as the adults. The child is given the food his mother cooks, and therefore they both eat the same thing. It is supposed to be able to feed himself at the age of one and a half years, to two years. When he is two he is expected to be able to eat on his own or with the older children. Some children prefer to be fed by the mother or other relatives, but this happens where the child is an only child. When there are many children and the child wants to be fed, he is abused or left alone by the parent to feed himself, and the food is left in front of him.

CHAPTER FIVE

ELIMINATION

TOILET TRAINING

When the baby is about three months old, the mother starts to train him to acquire good habits in toilet. He is put on the pot in the morning, afternoon and evening to urinate or defaecate. The mother makes a sound 'suisui' or 'sumui', to make the child urinate. The mother puts under the baby an amount of rags on which to eliminate when the pot is not in use. When he cries he is made comfortable by having his rags changed. The child learns from this time - to cry when he has soiled his rags in order to be changed and made more comfortable.

The mother praises her child when he does not soil his rags after a good night's sleep or an afternoon nap. She praises him by saying, "Mo osumo ni eto ni, ni make samba hi," meaning, "You do not want me to get tired with washing, or even to buy soap. Well done."

A child of one to four years is not scolded when he wets his rags or mat. It is thought he will get over it when he grows up. If at the age of six he is still wetting his bed, steps are taken to end it. The child is not allowed to drink water in the evening, and is therefore given his evening meal very early. He is called in the night to eliminate. He is abused when he does not stop bedwetting after he had received the first two treatments.

TREATMENT FOR BEDWETTING.

When every possible method has been used and

proved Franco, his last method is reported to and it is hoped it will cure the child completely. The child is told that if he urinates on a certain day, he would be brought to shame before his mother. If on that particular day he urinates in bed, the mat is crumpled round him and tied in the middle with a belt. His face is smeared with red clay and charcoal mixed with water. The mother calls his playmates, and they follow to the outskirts of the village singing so they go. "Zamto adido gbo, yawa asa jawe, which means "Better, your water container is broken, go and fetch your fathered mat." He is thrown down when the reach the outskirts of the village. He should have been thrown into a pond, but as there is none in the village itself, water is poured on him. His mother runs away and awakes him return to the village. With his wet mat and smeared face he is made the figure of fun in the village, and is laughed at without pity. His mother humiliates him and he urinates never to wet his bed again. Soiling the bed with faeces is very rare, and if it is on such occasions when the child is afraid to call his mother, that the act is done. He is then warned to call when he wants to defecate.

Adults express their disgust over a child's dirtiness (especially playing with urine and faeces) and they make remarks such as "Meba pa n' oke oke" which means "Why do you act like a pig." No mother will reprove when her child called a pig, and she fears from then



Bowel training.

on to make the child form better habits. The tidy child is liked and adored by everybody, and all mothers like to hear their children praised. The pit latrine is what is used here and the child is not allowed to squat on it until he is five or more, since it is likely that he will fall into it, or soil the upper part. The baby who has not been trained to use the pot is put on the feet of the mother to eliminate. The mother sits on a low stool, and brings her feet together, turning them sideways to allow a space in between. The child is placed on the feet and allowed to eliminate. Most of the children with this training do not leave off to the pot but continue until the age of three or four to eliminate by squatting on the ground. The child defecates in the bushes round his home, or in the yard, in which case the mother sweeps it up. Piles of paper and rags would be seen covering faces in the surrounding bushes. There are many flies round about, and the air is foul. The child is not given toilet paper to use, instead, both adults and children use rags, corn-cobs, cement wrappers and newspapers after eliminating. At times the children use their hands secretly for a child is beaten when it is found out that he has been using his hands after defecating. The child's toilet training is supposed to be completed when he is able to clean himself, that is round about the age of five. After this age he will be allowed to use

The adult latrine The female child will be introduced to the female p.t. latrine, and over very. Care is taken not to soil or fall into the latrine.

BLADDER TRAINING

Bladder training starts at the very early age of two weeks, when the child is urged to pass water by making a hissing sound 'suan'. This is done before or after every feed, and in due course the child learns to evacuate before or after her meals. The child is allowed to urinate in any place, either on the compound or outside the house. |

BOWEL TRAINING

This starts at three months when the baby is put on the pot or on the feet of the mother as already described. The child cries when he wants to perform the eliminating function, on which occasion he is taken up and put to the breast first to see whether he is hungry, or placed on the pot or feet to eliminate. The child, when he can walk is shown a place where to put his pot or just squat and defecate. This is done to avoid interference from the local Sanitary Inspectors who occasionally go round from house to house. The child is later on introduced to the adult p.t. latrine. The child's faeces is not normally always under the scrutiny of the mother's eye. When the stool is inadequate, slimy, loose or discoloured, the mother carefully examines it to see what is wrong. With babies the term "B. free" is used to describe the loose greenish matter they sometimes pass out, when the mother is thought

to have taken the child out of night's
 when dew is falling. The term Bo fe means
 dew faeces. The mother is warned when the
 child consistently passes out such a matter,
 not to take him out of night. When the
 stool is slimy and mixed with blood, there
 is said to be an ulcer in the stomach,
 and 'adido' is given to the child to cure
 it.

The makers here do not give much
 attention to the care of the child who
 wants a pot for elimination. When the
 children become tired of asking, they cease
 themselves in inappropriate places, and they are
 scolded or beaten for such acts. Our child was
 reported who who jagged at her mother's cloth to
 give her a pot, and receiving no attention
 went to where the laundry was being done on
 the ground, and eliminated on one of them.
 The mother was furious when she saw it
 and she beat the child severely.

Girls are more easily trained than boys.
 A mother said, "When I put my child on the pot,
 it is at that moment that a thought comes to
 him that he is a long driver. He will
 drag the pot under him on the compound
 shouting, 'vun vun', the base of the pot wears
 away in no time, and then I have to
 buy a new one. I do not like children
 who evacuate on the compound, so I hear
 the expense of buying a new pot. The girls
 are better, they eliminate and wash with lome
 to clean them, and then they go away."
 When a boy has eliminated in the wrong
 place, he usually runs away when he is

being admonished.

CONSTIPATION AND DIARRHOEA

Mothers here are not greatly worried about constipation. It is rather a joy to the mother when the child is constipated. It is expressed in the following how they take this: - "Eetia fee ni eke da," which means 'Constipation will make him grow fat.' The child is not given anything to free the bowels until the fourth day, when a purgative is given. Diarrhoea on the other hand is greatly feared, its cause being mainly attributed to witchcraft. The native doctor is called in to prescribe a new medicine. When convulsions follow - diarrhoea, the native doctor puts a charm round the child's neck or waist; and he makes incisions on the face, chest and wrists, filling them with black powder. The child is sometimes taken to the Children's hospital at Accra.

A child is taught to use some polite expressions for elimination purposes. They are taught to say 'Mafe buu' for the passing of waste matter, and 'Mafe sui' for passing urine.

The child carries out elimination purposes privately when he is from five to six years of age. He feels shy of being watched by an older brother or sister.

On the public pit latrine, young children and adults squat together on the latrine. Adults are found in the evenings, eliminating in forbidden places, but the children have no right to say or breathe a word about it. If a child reports an older person for eliminating in a forbidden place, he is checked by his parents.

Wind-breaking is made light of by adults. When a child breaks wind he is said to have removed poisonous air from his body, and is encouraged to do more. In public he is given a look which tells him to put a stop to it as it is bad practice to break wind in public.

Among the young children themselves windbreaking is seriously considered as an offence, and they try in several ways to find out the offender. There are some of the methods:-

All the children line up, and song is sung, the older one goes from one child to the other pointing or touching them. The one who is being pointed to or touched is the offender.

1) The song :- Fito, fito, fiooi (twice)
 Ke adzabey nyeme gboo,
 Ke adzabey Ifeme gboo,
 Ke omu ke okée; fiooi.

Translation :

Fito, fito, fiooi (twice).
 If the parading women do not die,
 If the parading men do not die,
 If you have heard and do not
 want to say; fiooi.

2)

Or, with the same method of pointing and touching the following song is used:-

Sanku, sanku, sankuu
 Fee kukuli yitfo miwa che.

Translation :-

Sanku, sanku, sankuu
 The faces have got a headache.

8 The leaves of corn are torn into strips and a knot is tied at the end of one strip. They are put together and held by the older boy or girl for the rest to pick. The one who picks the knotted one is the offender.

7 The children are lined up and the eldest child goes from child to child sniffing their cloths and backs. The one with an unpleasant odour which is the same as the one working, is brought out as the offender.

In each of these cases the offender is hooked at and called 'Zak' - windbreaker by his playmate. The offender of times may say he did not do it, all the same he is treated in one of these ways.

Hiccoughs

Hiccoughs in babies are given special treatment. The rings forming the baby's bed, have a piece of iron placed on the baby's front. and this is supposed to put an immediate stop to the hiccough. Part of the baby's dress is used. Seven drops of water given to the baby is supposed to stop it.

Belching

Belching is supposed to be vulgar, and although it signifies the deer to be well fed or satisfied, it is not accepted in public or even amongst the family.



The child is carried on
the back.

CHAPTER SIX

MOTOR DEVELOPMENT

The child is carried in the arms of the mother until he is four to six weeks old. When the mother goes out after this period to thank people who had given donations during the offering ceremony, she carries the baby on her back. He is bound up well from neck to toes, to make him safe. The neck is not strong enough to hold the head at this time and so the child has to be bound very well in order not to break his neck. The child is carried on the back by his mother, grand mother, aunts or other relatives living in the house. Where there is an older sister, she enjoys carrying the baby on her back most of the time. The baby is at the earliest stages placed on the mothers back and tied with a cloth. Another cloth which is the same as the mother has already put on, is again used to bind the baby. Those who can afford put on an extra length of velvet or 'kente' - a native woven cloth, to make them look more elegant. After three months when the child is able to balance head owing to muscular development, the two arms are released. A mother puts on an 'atofi', which is made up of rags tied in a head kerchief, and tied round the waist. This is for the child to sit on when being carried. These with wide hips are advised not to use it, or else the child will develop bow-legs. The child is placed on the back, each arm in the armpits of the carrier, and each leg on either side of the hips. A cloth is put on the baby's back, leaving the arms



The child is left to play
whilst mother goes about her
daily tasks.

free or fudging them in. The cloth is brought forward, one end to the right and one to the left, then it is tied securely on the chief. Another one is tied at the waist with the two ends that are left. Another doll is used to cover this and make it look more decent. This one is tied only at the top. The children are carried about where there are people willing to do it. If not she is placed on a mat in a shade where the mother can see her, whilst she goes about her daily tasks. A child is never left in a room alone for long, for it is believed witches give them drugs to drink when the mother is not there, so a mother always places him where she can see and watch him easily. When the mother is going a short distance the child is carried with his head on the mother's shoulder, and the mother puts her right hand on her back to support him. The legs hangs limp. When a child is being put to sleep he is also carried in the position. When the child is about to walk he is provided with a wooden triangle on which to try his first steps. Children are not carried by adults all day long, they are put on their mats and left to play. The child sucks his thumb, or kicks his legs about, making some gurgling sound as he does so, or at times puts his face into his mouth by pulling his leg forward. When the baby is six weeks old, he is put on the ground for the first time. Failure to do this, if it is believed, will make the child unable to walk, or if he does, he will take a longer



Ito Ito crawling.

time to do so. After that a mat is laid on the floor, the baby is put on it, and four pillows are laid round him to make him sit upright and to prevent him getting bruised if he had a fall. The child is taken care of by another child, preferably one who walked at a very early age, say about eight or nine months, who sits behind him, and hold him.

At this stage the child holds on to the pillow cases, stretching them and leaving that part to another part. As he grows older, he is able to hold play thing such as rattles. He picks up anything which is not heavy and lying in his reach.

CRAWLING

The age at which children learn to crawl differs greatly in this village. Some crawl at five months others at seven, and some at eight. By seven months all normal children should have started crawling. As soon as the child is able to sit upright, he is attracted by all sorts of objects to make him move from where he is sitting to take that particular thing. He tries by stretching his arm, and in doing so falls flat on his tummy. When he is able to crawl a bit, he is tempted to move farther on by placing an attractive object or toy in a place he cannot reach unless he crawled. The younger children stand round him shouting and encouraging him to pick up the object quickly. When he had done this successfully, he is put farther away from the object. Crawling is a stage which worries the mother very much. The child without the mother's knowledge, crawls to the



Tei pushing his wooden
tricycle

scalp and gets himself burned, or he opens the meat safe, playing with the things in it. To punish the child for such deeds, he is hard to the mother's back.

A child is expected to walk shortly after he has learnt to crawl. Every possible device is used to make him walk. A wooden triangle is bought for him to make the process quicker, but this method is gradually giving out. He is encouraged to stand up by holding on to his fathers or mothers cloth, a table or a chair. A child who does this is often thought to be able to walk in a short time. He is encouraged with the words "Fama fataq, aby mama", which means "Walk, and you will be given a cloth to put on."

If after two years the child is still unable to walk, he is given treatment. The leucos of a certain plant are pressed and ground. The child's legs are smeared with it, and as it makes the skin itch, the child scratches his legs, and moves them from side to side, but he is not able to stand up. or walk. The feet are also rubbed till they become hot, during which process the child will be crying all the time. The feet are pricked with any sharp instrument having many pointed edges, to make him capable of walking. The lam, etc. holding, is used to describe the child who has remained on the ground for a long time, without walking. His legs, and the other parts of the body will be normal, but he cannot walk, owing to the body growing at a high speed with the leucos too weak to support it. Such



A toddler with his newly found
freedom wanders on the
compound.



A competent car driver

a child walks later. The child who walks early

receives praise and things from his mother

and relatives. When relatives come to visit the

family and are told that the child has

started walking, they give him coins, and

some send other presents later on.

A felder is more difficult to deal with

than one who has crawled. He may be found

wandering in odd places, even as far as the

main street. This is what a mother said, "My

far year old boy safe me wandering round the

village everyday. He returns into neighbours houses,

where he is given food, and thus he

overfeels himself. He throws waukers onto the street

Because of all the passing vehicles.

There is one day feed him by the legs

to a mango tree in the house, he threw

himself down on the ground and shouted loudly.

He brewed himself, and for fear of his

being badly hurt, I removed him from that

place. I tried keeping him in bed, but he

got out as soon as my back was turned.

He is so crafty, that he finds a way

out in whatever situation I put him.

The children play such games as lory and car

drivers. For the lory and cars they use

empty sardine tins, match boxes, empty sugar

cans. They have a hole at one end and push

a string through it. The lory is then filled

with sand or gravel and dragged along. A

child has no special limits here, so he wanders

off to where his interests take him.

Warning Children Away From DANGERS

A child is warned away from a stove

by saying "Haram", which the child understands



Children playing in the sand.



A group of children at play.

as meaning he. He himself will repeat when

he comes near the stove, coal-pot or fire, the

word 'Haan'. When the child plays with a

knife or any sharp-edged tool, it is taken

from him, or is asked to put it down so

it will cut him. Children often driven by their

instincts of curiosity wander off into the

street or take to the footpath leading to the

next village which is about 600 yards away.

They are gone after and brought home, not

without the mother worrying over the lost child.

If the child is above four, and he wanders

off in his way, and is found, he is

given a good beating, and scolded for having

kept the family in suspense. If a child is

found by the chief's men and brought to the

chief's house, the parents have to pay a given

or two to redeem the child. The parents are

given a good talking to, and then given their

child. Because of this a child is warned not

to wander off to lonely places, or else the

big man round the corner, the white man or

the Haan man will catch him.

A child still is asked what to

wrong with him, so children are restless beings.

If he is ill, he is given treatment. The

quiet child, who is so by nature receives no

attention when he sits still, but the restless

child, who becomes quiet unexpectedly, is asked

what the matter is. There are times when

children are expected to be quiet, for

example when the green-ups are coming, or

after farming workers.

MOTOR FEELS ENCOURAGED BY PARENTS

The children are allowed to play freely round



Toto sets off with his lorry.



Amata with his crab traps.

The house, in order not to inconvenience the mothers. It is not rare to find the playing of 'homes', where there is mother, father and children. They imitate the daily events which happen in the home such as children being sent on errands, mother going to market and coming home to cook, and father going to work. They play at being in a school; there is the headmaster, a teacher and a class. They are taught the alphabet, how to write, and they are taught to sing simple songs by those attending school. Playing at being cooks, with the children forming kenkey balls out of soil mixed with water, and wrapping them in corn leaves. They cook all sorts of dishes, by lighting a fire made of twigs, and cooking leaves and left-overs of meat or fish, in milk or cigarette tins. This sort of play is called 'Alagba alagba'. Girls imitate their mothers bathing the baby by bathing their dolls, whilst the boys enjoy a game of football - lemon being used as a ball. They also enjoy a game of wrestling and seek is another play enjoyed by

no prov
children



Playing 'Alagba alagba.'



The child can suck and later
on sleep in the mother's bosom
for a time, until she wakes
up again.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SLEEP

Children in this village do not all sleep at the same time, it varies in the different homes, but in all they are shooed off to bed at seven, or latest at eight o'clock in the night. Babies are not under this rule, for they sleep most of the time, and the mother sees to it that there is no disturbance whatsoever from the older members of the family. The child is allowed to sleep most of the afternoon, as he is known to become fretful at night when he does not get a good afternoon's sleep.

When the child is about six months to one and a half years, he is carried on the back until he goes off to sleep. The mother paces up and down the compound, or a nearby lane, and sings softly to the child, rocking him a little. If the child refuses to go to sleep still, he is threatened with ghosts or bogeys, and he is at times beaten and sent to bed. After crying for some time he becomes tired and drops off to sleep.

There is no provision for a child's nursery. The children sleep with the parents in one room. If there are about four children, then they are given a room to themselves. Each child has his or her mat and sometimes a pillow. Although they sleep on individual mats, they can be seen huddled together on one side of the room because they are afraid of the dark. If there is a spare room available, the parents prefer to let the children

step there, for the children get into the habit of telling their playmates what they heard from parents said and did.

HEALTH

getting wet, malnutrition, infection, insect-bites, dirt and over-exercising, are some of the things which cause ill-health, and they are considered to be the chief causes of children's ill-health.

When a child gets himself wet, his dress is taken off and a new one is put on; for if it is believed that if the wet one is left on, he will develop a cold. When he is dirty, he is bathed and his clothes changed. The children wear pinch knickers in the afternoon owing to the heat.

Baths are given twice a day, during which the child is well bathed and taught to bathe himself too. These daily baths keep them clean, healthy and comfortable. The child's mouth is cleaned by the parent and later he learns to do it himself.

When a child is sick he is given a great deal of attention, and is fussed over. During the period of his illness, he is given all the kinds of foods he had wanted when he was well. The mother is anxious to make him well again. The food is given down his throat and watched how he swallows it. When a bit better, he is encouraged to take walks. Some mothers take the child to a native doctor, who gives the child a kind of black powder, or barks for 'odido'. The mother administers it with pleasure.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PHYSICAL CONTACTS, MASTURBATION AND SEX PLAY

On the whole, kissing is not very much indulged in, in this village. Few parents do it, and it is done when the child is about four months to twelve months. The child is kissed on the cheek and lips by his parents, and at times by close relatives. The mother usually kisses the child after the breast-feed, when she plays with her. The relatives play with the child when they come to visit the family. The child is stroked, tickled and put on the lap when he is three to four months old. This is done when the child is being by the parents or relatives. Stroking and tickling induces the child to laugh, and this intensifies the actions on the part of the adult who is carrying him. When put on the lap he is rocked up and down, which he seems to enjoy. Children who are over a year and therefore able to walk, are embraced by relatives who have long been separated from them. The embrace is preceded by "awaa, awaa" and then with the word 'atuu', the child finds himself in the grown-up's embrace. He is then carried and fondled by the adult. This sort of embrace goes on through life except the carrying and fondling, for the child cannot be carried when he grows into a boy, by a relative. Kissing is stopped gradually and no trace of it is seen when the child is two years old. Stroking and rocking are stopped about the same time as kissing, but putting the child on the laps is continued until the child

is four. Girls are inclined to keep near their mothers for a longer time, whilst boys start having adventures at an early age. The child is not encouraged to loo into relatives and parents. He may show his love for them by going to them and winding his arms round their necks, or just go and be fondled by that adult. A child who is seen kissing his playmates or an adult, is checked on the spot, as it is believed he will grow up into a woman-chaser. Likewise a girl who indulges in this act is also checked to prevent her becoming a prostitute.

CARE GIVEN TO THE GENITALS

The genitals of the child are given special attention. From the first time a child is bathed if the child is a girl, attention is first given to the genital before the rest of the body is cleaned. The child is laid on the lap with the feet kept well apart. For conveniences sake the head of the child is turned to the left. An open cigarette or milk tin, with a hole at the bottom, is filled with hot water, at a temperature which the child can bear, and held over the vagina. The water trickles into it, not without the child crying. This is done to treat the sore, as it is said, and after this treatment the vagina is cleaned with soap and water. The boy is also treated in this manner when uncircumcised. When the child is a week and a half old, men, preferably from the family are invited to circumcise him. This is done early in the morning, and the mother is told to use home-made palm kernel oil in treating the sore. When the sore is healed, much care is

not given to the male genitals.
 Special words are used by children for the
 genitals, for example "koko", "didi", "b.b" and
 "Nii". The children are not allowed to use
 the correct words for the genitals, and the
 child is quickly checked when he utters it.
 Grown ups use the words freely, and at times
 even in front of the children.

MASTURBATION

Masturbation in children is recognised to
 be common, although ~~we~~ adults do their best
 to check them. A child of one year will
 be found examining her vagina with her fingers.
 Boys pull their genitals, turning them the way
 and that the toddler will be seen examining
 the breasts and genitals of a playmate, especially
 one of the opposite sex. Adults feel that such
 things are disgusting, and anyone who finds
 himself a spectator of such a sight, takes the
 opportunity of checking the children there and
 then. Girls who indulge in such acts are
 often believed to be the sufferers of 'adoxum',
 and any girl who suffers from the disease,
 gets long, thoughtful glances from the elders in
 the home, who think she has been leading
 a bad life. Instead of bringing the disease
 to light and having it treated, most girls
 hide it, and all because of being thought
 of as a bad girl.

When the parents have left home, and the
 children are left alone, they go into the quiet
 corners of the house, such as the kitchen,
 bathroom, hen-coops and the surrounding bushes,
 when they indulge in the acts of examining the
 bodies and those of their playmates. Some even go



Old tins filled with sand
serve as lorries.

SEX GAMES.

Children who are caught in the act of sexual intercourse to the extent of indulging in sexual intercourse. Children who are caught in the act of a beating, and better still, fresh pepper is ground and poked into the genitals and the rectum. The children of times cover themselves with a cloth and masturbate. On most evenings when the children go out to play, masturbation and homo-sexuality is carried on at a great scale. I was informed of a man who masturbated a great deal in his childhood. He is now an adult who cannot walk three yards without flicking the genitals. Mothers being anxious not to let their children act in the same way, try several methods to stop their children from masturbating.

The child who masturbates is beaten, or pepper is poked into his genital. To prevent masturbation in girls, beads are threaded and put round the waist. A red cloth "belly" about an eighth of an yard, is passed through the beads of the front and carried between the thighs to the back where it is securely tied. The child dressed in this manner is not likely to put his fingers in her genital, and neither will her playmates remove it. The boy is dressed in patch knicker but care is not taken to put it on for him everyday. Therefore he goes about of times wearing nothing.

Children enjoy playing sex games of all sorts, like doctor and home, under the cover of a cloth, or in a shady corner. The doctor deceives the work the examines mostly the genitals of his playmates, especially those of the opposite sex when playing 'home', the mother and father sleep



Marching and singing round the
village.

together, and the children in another place. This sort of play is carried on at night when the children sleeping in the same room have been sent to bed. Girls play with their dolls, which they make from mango seeds, or have wooden ones bought for them. Nowadays there are cheap plastic and rubber dolls, so the mothers buy those for them instead of the wooden ones. Stools, banana, plantain or old powder tins, are all carried at the back by a child to serve as a baby doll. The baby doll is put to bed, spoken to, slept with and washed.

Boys like acting the Sanitary Inspector, drivers, and policemen; and it is a great fun to sit and watch them marching round as soldiers. The boys beat old kerosene tins, and flutes made from pawpaw leaf stalks are played. The girls sometimes join, and they march and sing joyfully imitating at times old men and women singing and marching. They sometimes play at being masqueraders, and the whole village is disturbed with their singing and dancing, although the adults like watching them.

Sex games are regarded as something good as the child does not disturb his mother, and keeps from hurting himself. A mother remarked, "When my child stays at home with me all the time, she is sure to become a coward, so I send her out to play, where she learns to fend for herself; and is therefore able to keep up with her playmates in anything they choose to do. My child is now quite a brave girl." Amoko who is just the opposite of this one is always at her mother's heels. She never goes out to play, which worries her mother

very much. She said, "I invite children to the house, give them food in one bowl, and tell Amko to join, which she never does; rather she puts her head into my laps and start beating me. I do not know how to handle her at all. Well, may be she will grow out of it in due course."

Where sex games are carried too far, such as to end in sexual intercourse, the punishments for masturbation are applied to end the practice.



On the arrival of visitors, or on being sent to other villages, the child is expected to put on a cloth and cover-shoulder.



The child is scantily dressed

CLOTHING AND SELF EXPOSURE

A baby is well covered from the neck downwards to keep him from colds. From the third month onwards the child is not dressed with the same care as during the first months. At the age of five he seems to have developed an attitude which makes him feel ashamed when he appears naked in public. Until that age he does not mind whether he is naked or not when at home, and neither do his parents too. The child is actually not taught to feel ashamed when he appears naked, rather he takes to the life of the people in the house. If the other children and the parents are always in modest clothes, the child will without difficulty take to that kind of life. On the other hand, in a house where the children are not properly clothed, and are allowed to go about naked, a child will remove any clothes put on him in order to feel one of the group. Most of the children in this village are scantily dressed, but they are expected to appear properly dressed when a stranger is in the house. When he appears naked he is told, "Efe ba hiegle ake gbo ye bie ni onye nke?", meaning "Are you not ashamed of appearing naked in front of a stranger?" The child will then bow his head and go for a pair of knickers or a dress.

At five years of age, the child does not like the members of the house to see him naked

and even when being given his daily bath, which takes place on the compound or yard, he will insist on being taken to a corner or the bathroom. He usually covers the genitals with his hands when being bathed in the yard.

When the child fails to put on a dress, he is forced and dressed, if he insist on putting off his clothes, he is beaten and warned that a policeman would come to catch him. The dress consist of a pair of knickers, or a magyar dress. Although the children who roam about naked are caught and their mothers fined in Accra, the act is not carried out strongly in this village, so the children on the average are not properly dressed when at home. Few of the children go about nearly dressed. Although some of the mothers insist on pulling on a dress for a child, the apparently run away. But by the age of six they feel ashamed and put on clothes.

Girls become conscious of themselves and feel ashamed to be found naked by a stranger, at a very early age. Boys take a longer time, for the naked boys outnumber the girls. Even though a girl will go about without a dress, she will be found wearing her red nupkin (koi), which has been had securely at the back to prevent it from falling. It is considered a big disgrace when the falls down, and it calls for a lot of jeers from playmates of both sexes. Girls are often found eliminating in the proper places, or hiding behind some bushes to

pass water, while boys stand anywhere on the

compound to urinate. They are found near the

walls of houses urinating, and not a word

is said against it by parents by, except by

the inmates of those particular houses. A

girl who is seen urinating publicly will be

saddled, or jeered at or even hooded at.

The attitude of the villagers towards nakedness

do not differ according to the child's sex.

Girls are urged by examples from their mothers

to keep themselves covered properly.

The age at which children get help in

dressing or undressing, differs mostly according to

sex. When a boy is five years old, he

is given a cloth - a little over a yard,

to use in covering himself, and so a

sleeping cloth. He has to cover himself with

it and tie the two upper ends in a

knot behind his neck. He unties it when

taking his bath or when going to sleep. Usually

during the day he wears pants, which is not

difficult except when it comes to tying the knot,

which he learns to do later on. A girl of

two wears a one-piece dress, which eventually

turns into a two-piece - a cloth and a

cover-shoulder. This is more difficult to put on,

and it takes some time before she is able

to put it on by herself. Until such a time

she is helped by her mother to dress and

undress. Such helps continue until she is five

or six.

The attitudes of parents undressing in front

of the children differs from house to house,

but in most houses the women undress before

the children without embarrassment. After marketing

when the children are sitting or playing in the yard, it is not rare to find a woman removing her headkerchief, upper cloth, cover-shoulder, chemise, if any, and the lower cloth, leaving only the one underneath, which is put there to give shape to the lower cloth, and to the wearer. A cloth is tied round the waist and the upper part of the body is exposed. The men remove their big cloth leaving their knickers underneath, or roll their cloths and tie it with a big knot at the waist. A parent, especially mothers, will be found bathing with her five year old daughter or son. Some parents abhor such a thing, as they feel their children will go and describe them to their friends; and if they have any disfigurement, people are likely to get to know it, and they would use it in abusing her.

CHANGING FROM BABY CLOTHES TO OTHER CLOTHES

A child is encouraged to walk with the promise of a cloth, "Tataa abu mama"; so as soon as the child, a girl preferably, starts to walk, a cloth and cover-shoulder are sewn for her, and she starts using them. She does not all at once stop wearing her baby clothes, she wears them until she outgrows them, and she wears the cloth and cover-shoulder in between wearing baby clothes. If they do not out the baby dresses, they wear them until the dresses are worn out. At the ages of two and three they have put away those childish clothes and they look like miniature forms of their parents.

STYLE OF BABIES' DRESSES

Babies of both sexes put on the same

style and kind of dress. The style continues to be the same until the children start to walk. Boys are then dressed in magyar dresses - having round necks, and tucks on the shoulders. A cord is passed through the hem of the neck and tied neatly at the back. Sometimes he is given a cloth to put on and tie at the back. A girl is given a dress made up of two separate pieces joined together at the waist, and which has sleeves too. A girl's dress is more stylish than a boy's, although they may be cut from the same material. Some time later, a girl is given a cloth and a cover-shoulder, which happens when the girl starts to walk, and when she is two to three years old. When they are of school age, the boys wear khaki knickers and shirt, whilst the girls wear dresses, which are simpler than what they wear at home, and which are uniform with what the rest of the girls in the school are wearing.

SEX DISTINCTIONS

Almost all the children in this village seem to behave in the same way when they are two years old, for at that time it is interesting to note their ways of behaviour according to their sex. During this period, the boys are often after such toys as toy-guns, torres, and beet liked of all, balls. The girls are also noted for their preference for dolls. When a girl is carried on her mother's back to market, and a doughnut seller who delights in cutting funny shapes, is spotted, the girl stretches her hand with the intention of picking the one shaped like a doll, commonly known as "Beebi nte".

After the age of two onwards the girls imitate their mothers cooking, which they play in a group. Sometimes they play at being sellers, shouting out their wares for people to buy. ^{of} ^{the} ^{trading} ^{seller} ^{is} ^{the} ^{shout} ^{of} ^{the} ^{trading} ^{seller} ^{have} ^{been} ^{long} ^{practised} (Note the way the words have been longpractised to attract people's attention). She sells her kente, which she makes out of mud, or stale corn-cough which had been thrown away. Money which came in the form of grain or broken china plates, are used to buy the kente. Another player takes to selling rice and beans; another one sells vegetables. Sweeping the compound in exactly the same way as mother does it; helping her to sew and cook, are some of great joy to the girls.

The boys are more interested in games and football, tree climbing and bird hunting, and they

are seen pushing old bicycle wheels through the village using a stick. This play annoys the mothers very much, although they confess it makes the child when sent on an errand, to reach home quickly. The writer was informed that few children do this nowadays, compared with the number of former years. When it comes to games the boys tend to copy the older boys' way of fighting, and they may be found fighting or wrestling with each other in a friendly manner. They play football, using either a tennis ball or a lemon; and stones set some feet apart serve as goalposts. Girl play games as 'ampe', 'Kwaani kwaani', 'Amawoo' and 'Kpokplomadzed'. The boys play games which need lots of running whilst the girls like quiet plays and games.

When a boy or a girl likes the company of the opposite sex, and therefore plays with a member or members of that sex, she is always under the scolding tongue of the mother. A boy who delights in being with girls and playing with them, is called, "Yei ahe niai"; meaning, "Flea of women," and with a girl, "Hii ahe niai"; which means, "Flea of men," because they attach themselves so much to those of the opposite sex.

The boy or girl to whom this expression is used becomes ashamed in due course of time, and he gradually leaves the company of the other sex. But as there is an exception to every rule, there happens to be one boy in an informant's house, who has taken a great liking for sewing. He will be found joining little pieces of cloth together to form handkerchiefs; and he sews all his torn clothing and those of his sisters.

When a boy behaves like a girl he is not called a 'sissy', as is done in English. However, rather he is called "Yoo nuu", which means literally, 'woman man', which is just like a man behaving as though he were a woman. In this case the boy is a girl, shy thing, who also most of the time he is hooded at when he cries, and is told when crying that, "Nuu fo" - "A man dees not cry". When using the word 'sissy' it applies to the elder sister, and if it is sister out short to give 'sissy', and when it happens this way, the real name of the person is forgotten, and 'sissy' is used instead. A girl who behaves like a man or boy is given the name 'Nuu yoo', which means literally 'Man woman'. Girls who fight and climb trees, are named not to behave like a man or else they are likely to become physically developed like boys, and will therefore look inflexible and ungraceful. When there are many children in the home they are given a room in which to sleep. It is about the age of six to eight, the boys are separated from the girls. The boys are put on one side of the room, and the boys on another. At that age they are supposed to know sex distinctions and to engage in masturbating with each other. During the day the girls stay at home to help their mothers, and the boys go to farm with their fathers, or remain at home to run errands, or go out to play. Girls do not join boys special games and over versa. When a girl draws near a group of boys interested in

something, they quickly send her away with threats.

Many often parents prefer children of their own sex, whilst the mother

prefers girls. A boy helps his father on the farm, carrying his cart, food and water,

and helping him to weed, sow and harvest. A girl helps her mother in the kitchen,

and therefore the mother delights in having girls and her boys are named after

their father, and they keep from ill death, and because of the patrilineal form of

inheritance, the father is overjoyed when a boy is born to him. When it happens of

that a couple has had four children of the male sex, then a female child is

desired, and vice versa. Men the same sex of children continue to be born, the help

of a father is sought to let them have the child they want.

At the age of six onwards, the child is mostly attached to the parent of the same sex.

The boys with the fathers on the farm, and in most of the homes where the

parents are not living together in one house, the children are always under the care of

the mother. They are allowed to visit the father of week-ends, and they see him sometimes

when they take him food. Boys are handed over to their fathers when they become unwell at

home. The child prefers the parent who lets him most, and the parent more often turns out to be the mother. She is not regarded as the

age of the family, for she is least
with the children when they are disobedient.
Punishments are rare where the mother is
Most children are afraid of their fathers
because the father has been turned into a
strict disciplinarian. He is the one who
administers punishments. It is bad boy or girl
to be brought before his father to be
be checked. The father sends them to bed
without food, or whips them. The father
is made unpopular with the children, and he
is talked about in whispers. The mother warns
the child every time, that he would be punished
by his father if he does something wrong.
The child grows up to learn that the
father is the executor of punishments, and he lives
in constant fear of him, at times even afraid to meet
him. The child stops misbehaving when he hears of
him as a warning from his mother.

They notice the likeness, and the unborn instinct
of mothering, make them feel closer to their
mothers than to their fathers. They may
confide in their mothers, and it is only
when adolescence is reached, that girls are
always at loggerheads with their mothers, for
their choice of boy-friends. It is this
question of choosing boy-friends that turns
the girl from her mother, for there is bound
to be a clash where the boy friend is
not approved of.

Although children prefer parents of the same
sex, certain conditions will cause the child to
turn against that particular parent. If a girl is
staying with her mother and she is always

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ill-treated, she is likely to leave her mother's house to live with her father. A boy might do the same.

CHAPTER NINE

RELATIONS BETWEEN CHILDREN OR SIBLINGS PARENTS RELATIVES AND FRIENDS

RELATIONS BETWEEN SIBLINGS.

When a new baby is expected the child is not told. He may notice the change in the size of his mother's belly, and may ask a number of questions about it. He may ask the mother herself, or the father, or other relations. More often than not, the facts are hidden from him, and he is told a number of stories to hush him up. The most common one told is that the mother is ill. A mother said her reply to the constant questions put by her son was that she has eaten unsoaked garri, which had risen in her stomach when she drank plenty of water. She therefore warned her child not to eat his garri raw, but to soak it in order to have it well digested. In this case the boy was very fond of unsoaked garri and palmnut soup.

WHAT CHILDREN ARE TOLD ABOUT BABIES

The child is not answered correctly when he asks such questions as "Where do babies come from." He is told at times that he comes from the mother's stomach, but that is very near the truth, and all details are omitted. The child is told not to ask any more questions. Sometimes he is told that someone gave the baby to his mother as a gift. He may then ask where mother's big belly has gone to, to which the answer of its having disappeared or lost would be given. Normally, the child is not allowed to ask so many

questions, he is hushed and sent out to play,

where he soon forgets all about what has

previously happened. The matter is sure to be

taken up by the child again, and he is

hushed up. A child censes when his mother

is in pain, and during the labour pains

of the mother, the child will be found

going near the mother to comfort her, or

to watch her awe-stricken. When the child

behaves in this way, he is sent to an

uncle or a nearby relative. A child may

trouble the mother sometimes, so he is kept

away from her, for when he becomes curious

he starts to fret and become unruly.

JEALOUSY: It is an accepted fact here that

older children show signs of jealousy when there

is a new baby. Even before the birth of

the new baby, whenever the child wants to

play with his mother, he is hushed off, and told he is going to hurt the child's belly. So before the new baby's birth, the child's mind is prejudiced against him. He also not receive the attention he had when he was a baby, and therefore he becomes jealous. What causes his jealousy is the appearance of the new baby. An informant said, "When I brought my new baby home, and we were having a rest, my elder child came to me and said I should throw the baby out of the window, and put her there instead. When I told her this was not possible, she cried and threw herself on the ground. I had to pick her up and let her lie beside me until she fell asleep. A child will beat or pinch a new baby until he cries. Often when a new baby

is crying, the older one goes into the room
where he is lying, and tells him to keep
quiet; if he goes on, he is shouted at
and told to keep quiet, or he is pushed
which makes him cry the more.
The child at such a period makes
unnecessary demands from the parents, and when
unheeded flies into tantrums. When the baby is
being fed, the older one will embrace the mother
and try to remove the breast from the baby's
mouth. He throws his toys at him, and
sometimes injures are sustained by the baby.
When the baby learns to crawl and later to
walk, he is pushed by the older one.

KWAZIGKO

Some children do suffer from Kwazigko. It even
attacks some of them when the mother is
pregnant. For, as it is, the children sense
that they are losing their positions, and as
a result, the mothers refuse to play with
them, and they are not allowed to suckle
the breast again. Children suffering from this
disease become sickly, and are easy to the
attacks of all kinds of diseases. When the
new baby is brought from the midwives, the
child 'kwazigko' changes into something worse
known as 'Samayoko'. The state of jealousy is
doubled, and the child refuses to eat whatever
solid food is given to him, except milk and koko
and sometimes tea. He may take meat or fish
as these appeal to his appetite. One of my
informants had a child suffering from this
Samayoko, and this is what she said. "I
treated Naa (the name of the girl) when she
was five months old, owing to an illness. I think

great cause of her, giving her milk and the
 kind of food advised by the midwife. She
 ate from whole heartedly. When I became pregnant
 again, she refused to eat any solid food, and
 I fed her on raw eggs, porridge and bread
 as the midwife told me. I had to leave
 my husband and go to my mother's house
 when the day of confinement drew near. There
 were many children here, and soon Ha was
 eating with them the same food cooked by
 my mother. She played and slept with them.
 After three months we all went back to
 my home; and there again she refused to
 eat. She had even stopped to speak the words
 she used with her playmates, and although she
 does not talk, she is growing fatter everyday.
 I am very much afraid, as she is bound to
 be a willing slave to any disease. The
 mother was so troubled with her daughter's
 situation, that she went on to say she will
 go to a native doctor to treat her daughter
 for her. The treatment given by the native
 doctor to such sufferers is puffing leaves and
 certain things in a bowl and filling it with
 water. The child is bathed with the water
 every day until she is well. During the ceremony,
 those present sing, "Samayak", down to "okpe",
 "faa m okpe" which means "Samayak"
 "steal meat or fish and eat, they have placed
 it somewhere, dig for it, and eat it."
 A child expressing such fits of jealousy is
 scolded or smacked by the mother, which of
 course worsens the situation. The child is not
 permitted to express his jealousy and go
 unheeded. When he behaves foolishly, he is checked

and told not to go near the new baby. Sometimes the child's jealousy is provoked. A child being wanted to run an errand will be told, "If you do not go, I will give you something which you won't get." The mother makes him jealous. Or, if he is playing with a toy, and the baby cries for it, the toy is taken and given to the baby. The mother gives to the baby. If the baby may develop a sense of insecurity in the child and will make him self contained, unless the mother allows him some of her time, and he is given treats of some sort.

PARENTS FAVOURITES.

Mothers have try their best to treat all their children alike, although some cannot help having favourites, but there is one exceptional case. I was told. A mother had two children. Some and Kotler. Some being the elder one was treated with all respect, and her every wish was fulfilled. Unlike some, Kotler was treated with such hate and contempt that she was always crying, and telling her friends that she did not think she was her mother's daughter. When the elder daughter did something bad, it was talked about in whispers; but let Kotler do something of the sort, the mother takes a kerosene tin and a stick, goes out with the lamp, and she beats the kerosene tin. By so doing she attracts a large number of people, and she tells them what her younger child has done. The continued with they grew up. Kotler got engaged and went to live in her husband's home. On a visit to her, she

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continued the story I had already been told. "When I touch the children of my elder sister, my mother starts to abuse me, and tells me to go and have some of my own. When my sister is pregnant, my mother looks after her until she gives birth, and is strong to take up her work again. She gives her rags for the baby, and new cloths to put on, and show off to her friends. When I gave birth, I was given food by my sister-in-law, although I was in the same house with my mother. I had to bathe the baby myself. Mother gave me some rags just after my birth to the baby, and a month later she came to collect them. From all these I collect she is not my mother, for if she is, she would at least like me a bit." This shows that parents have preference for a certain child of theirs. Those children who are mostly treated as favourites are the 'Nakutjo mli bi' - 'The knee children,' or the last born children. They get exceptional good treatment, and are often spoilt children. Parents are very reluctant in admitting their preference for a certain child. On my question about favourites an informant said she tries to treat them all alike. But most of my informants said much as they try to treat all alike, they cannot help having favourites. The physical appearance - facial features, and the manners of the child endears him to the parents, who try to protect him from the outside world, and make him feel secure. Normally it is the last born who is petted by parents and grandparents. Children are typed according to age and

sits, and apart from real names, they have other ones to mark their status. A firstborn is a 'Kloms'. During his infancy and childhood he is treated with great care. He is loved, pampered and spoilt to a certain degree, but after the arrival of the second child he loosens his position of honour. The advantages of being an older child are, he takes the lead in everything. When the children are eating, he shares the meat he takes the largest portion. He is offered a seat first when the children go somewhere. There are also the disadvantages of being a 'Kloms'. The child is regarded as a dull child, who is shy and afraid to be among people. A child who is not a 'Kloms' yet is asked "Meeba ofo Kloms neta" - "Why are you acting like a firstborn." Although the firstborns are regarded as being dull, they do most of the housework. He has to learn the hard way because there is no one from whom he can learn or who keeps him company in the house. These are some of the things that make him feel lonely and become quiet, and his grown-ups interpret as being dullness. The youngest child or 'Nakulo' is the baby of the family until he grows up. He certainly has someone in whose footsteps he can step, and therefore does not grow up to become a coward. He is pampered, and the rest of the children are afraid to raise a finger against him. He is the apple of his mother's eye. When it comes to his

relationships with his siblings, he is treated with contempt. He is not given his proper share of the meat. He is beaten when they are not playing near the home; as the mother will beat them for their action. He is very unpopular with them.

Children of both sexes are supposed to be closer to each other, because very often they live together, grow and play together in the same house. The males in the company of the father, and the females in the company of the mother. Children of the same sex converse and share secrets, thus making them close to one another.

Although quarrels arise at times, they are very soon put an end to by the parents.

QUARRELS AMONG SIBLINGS.

Children often quarrel with those of their own sex, and those of the opposite sex. Quarrels mostly arise over trifling matters. The writer observed some children at play, there were six of them, ranging from ten, eight, four, three and two two year olds. Among them were two sisters aged four and two. They were playing a school in the home of the two sisters. The girl aged ten was the teacher and the rest were her pupils. After ten minutes, they decided to go to the nearby bush to hunt for seeds to play 'a home'. The two year olds were left behind, and they began to cry. The elder sister started beating the younger one for crying. The mother heard of it and she came and took the younger one away, and beat the elder child. When she was leaving she tried in vain to force the

younger one along, but she refused and stayed

behind. She followed the not of the children and

then went and stood close to her sister who

was then crying, and said to her, 'Kaaf mam

daag, mam ethi kura', meaning, 'Do not mind

mother, for she is bad.' This indicates that the

anger of the children is short lived.

When the children are a bit grown say

about the age of eight to ten, the quarrels

become serious. It may happen that two children

staying in the same house, and have quarrelled,

do not speak to one another. They do not

touch each others belongings. At the worst point

they curse one another by taking a cup of

water, and whilst pouring it out, they say all

sorts of misfortunes they want to fall upon

the other party. This sort of quarrel is only

settled by an elder person, who gives a cup

of water or rum to the enemies, and they

say what they had already said, and ask their

gods to undo the curse. If this kind of

quarrel happens among older people, a sheep

may be slaughtered by the guilty party, and if

is cooked and eaten by all present. Fear is

reformed after this.

For reasons stated above, siblings of the

same sex are found together and therefore

quarrels arise between themselves, though not so

frequently with the opposite sex. The boys do

not quarrel so much as the girls. This is

due to the fact that the boys have to

fight openly when there is a quarrel, but the

girls go about abusing each other. More often

the girls become divided into parties, and each

party abuses the other one. If a number of

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Two girls were fighting, a
father separates them, and
takes his child away.

one party meets the other, they spit at each other and throw abuses in the air. This they call 'Kasayji'.

SETTLING OF QUARRELS.

When a parent sees her children quarrelling she calls the two of them, and asks them to explain what is wrong. The guilty one is told not to misbehave again. If perchance they happen to quarrel over a concrete thing this is taken by the mother and given to the younger one. The older one is pacified with comforting words, or given another toy to play with. If the thing happens to be dangerous e.g. a firework, the child is told that it is not good and something is given him instead. The children are then sent off to play. If the quarrel happens to take place between children of different parents, the parent who sees them first, beats her child in front of the other one, and takes him away. The reason for this is to keep him from fighting with the other child, and to keep peace in the community; for the mother who was not there might say her child was beaten and so raise a quarrel, which will then be a matter between adults. If quarrels become more frequent between the siblings they are beaten, and the fear of that makes them quarrel less frequently.

RELATIONS TO PARENTS.

The mother is responsible for the early care of the child, to satisfy his needs and to

from him in good behavior. If the mother
gave birth in the hospital, the child is cared for
by the nurses for a week. Where the mother
is not well after the birth, they stay there
for two to three weeks; after which they are
allowed to go home. From this time onwards
she takes full responsibility of looking after the
child, and she is helped by her mother
at times, especially when the baby is her
first one. The mother feeds the child, bathes
him, dresses him, changes his wet bedding, cares
for him in sickness and in all she is
concerned with the child's comfort.
If it happens that the mother dies at
birth or soon after, the child is given to
foster parents, who may be grandparents, sister or
any relative who is incapable of looking after the
children, or is unwilling to look after the
child. The child is very well looked after by
his foster parents, and if it happens that
child is adopted, very early by relatives who
like to care for the child simply because they
like him, the parent still looks after him. The
father visits him frequently, taking him to the
gifts of clothes and food. However, every mother
likes to bring up her child in a way she
thinks fit. When a child who has been given
to another person runs away from the place
if it means he was being ill-treated, or he had
been punished for doing something wrong. More
often the child, if a girl, stays there until
she is of a marriageable age, then she leaves
the house and goes to live with her
husband.

THE CHILD'S EARLY CONTACTS WITH HIS FATHER

The child's early contacts with his father is connected with play. Thus happens when the child is three months old. The child plays with him on the bed, and often, he takes him up, swings him to and fro, jogs him up and down and then puts him down. He may speak to him in baby language, and he flicks his cheeks and belly. A close contact is drawn between the child and his father, for the child recognizes another person who is so interested in him as his mother. He is encouraged by his father when he starts to walk and crawl. A father is found strolling in the evenings with his child on his shoulder, with his hand tucked into his father's big one, strolling or visiting friends. The child is seeing the father going away after visiting him, cries a lot. If the father happens to be leaving away from them the child is sometimes taken to his house to sleep there. The child sees much less of his father, as he is seen at home only in the evenings. When the child grows older, the father changes from the fun loving parent into a disciplinary one. The appearance of the father in the home demands discipline, and the best behaviour is put on by the child. When he goes back to school the child resumes his normal behaviour. A child may not be punished the whole day for misbehaviour, for he is reported to the father when he comes. The boy is told, "Bole ya na, mulla na! Keda! Gappa bole" which means his father are being accumulated, and he has got

to answer when his father arrives. This tends to draw the child from his father.

Although the father takes the upper hand in disciplining the child, the mother does it at times by beating the child. On occasions where the boys are two or more, they defy the mother's threats of beating them and are only afraid when father is at home.

The mother usually reports a case of disobedience to the father, and may even suggest the kind of punishment to be imposed upon the child. The father carries it out with full concordance. In very rare cases would one find a mother or father concealing the bad behaviour of a child from one another. If there is a case of this kind it might be because the father is brutal, and administers punishments in excess. An informant said she remembered one man in the village who after the death of his first wife married a second one. The second wife troubled the man a great deal with her nagging about money. He had a son by the second wife. Very unfortunately for him the second wife too died. Because of the treatment given to him by her, the sight of their son was enough to flare up his anger. The child had to live with him and his stepmother, who had to conceal the misdoings of the child from his father, as he was sure to punish him severely for a trifling offence.

When a parent discovers the alliance of two people to hide something from him, a quarrel ensues. Words are thrown from one

parent to the other, sometimes in front of the children, who stare at them from a corner.

a part of what is going on. A quarrel may also arise when one parent has committed adultery, or for not getting sufficient housekeeping money after many explanations of the rising cost of foodstuffs. Such quarrels happen openly and much attention is not given to the presence of children.

ADULTERY When the husband has committed adultery, and it has been found out by the wife, the husband passes the wife by apologising for the act; or he buys a cloth and headkerchief or beads for her. Sometimes he gives her money. When he is caught by the wife with another woman, an uproar is raised, and next-door neighbours come to witness the scene. The husband becomes shamefaced, and will for sometime become humble and hide himself at home. The other woman goes away, and not without jeers and tauntings from the neighbours. The same thing is done when the wife is unfaithful. More the parents are still in love the matter is settled quietly, and the term used for this way of settling matters is - 'eye le kulo naa kulo'. Misunderstandings occur frequently but are soon dismissed without being exchanged.

CAREFULNESS

Children are not expected to be grateful to their parents during childhood and early adolescence. The child is covered for by the parents, and every step is taken to see that the child has an adequate

amount of clothes. The child is given a new

clothes every customary year, during the

Christmas. When a child is not well dressed

on these occasions, the parents are blamed

by neighbours and they are said to be

They feel that it is part of their duty to

provide for the comforts of their children - a

mother would willingly go without food rather

than see her child suffering from hunger.

But in all these cases and decisions,

the child is expected to repay these kindnesses

by looking after the parents when he starts

to work. Every child has grown up with the

knowledge that he has a responsibility before

him, and to be able to fulfil this

responsibility he has to work hard.

PARENTAL AMBITIONS FOR CHILDREN

The parents are very anxious for their

children to attend schools, and to become

educated men and women. During this investigation

one of my informants, a half-educated woman

with three children, was very anxious to give

her children the very best of education. The

eldest child was a girl in Primary Four,

and she had failed in the final test for

promotion. The mother was worried and she

asked advice as to how she would be

able to train the child and those

coming after her to learn properly. She

said she asked the child to read a

portion from her reader on most evenings,

but the child had been unable to do so

and since she could not teach her, she

complained of the same position. She

The school which the child attends, which is

about (600) six hundred yards away from the

village. Most of the children attend school in

the nearby bigger villages of Karsahi, and

Abshey Okai. The parents are of the mind

that a person who does not attend school

is quite useless nowadays, and even if he

attends school, he should do better than

stop after having finished the Middle School.

There are boys and girls, both children and

adolecento who are not attending school, owing

to the poverty of the parents.

QUARRELS BETWEEN CHILDREN AND PARENTS.

Children below even years of age

quarrel with their mothers, but not very

seriously as the cause may be a very

minor one. The child will at times refuse

to do his share of household job, and

on being asked why he has neglected

his job, will mutter something. The mother

takes his as an offence and will start

scolding. The child. The child will then

answer. The mother tries to catch the child

and beat him at five p.m., and let

him apologise for the offence. Sometimes it is

referred to the father who gives the child

a good beating. Other things such as

washing the child's own clothes, being sent

on an errand, will start a quarrel

between a child and his mother.

Quarrels between parents and children of

different ages take quite a different form.

The cause may arise from the parent

being too strict, the choice of friends of

both sexes, the child finding to give his

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parents part of his earnings, or the boy leading an immoral life. When a quarrel arises from any of these causes, it is a very strong one, and the child may not talk to his parents. Such quarrels are mended by relatives who advise the child to apologize, as there is a saying "Onkpa tsi," which means, 'A grown-up never makes mistakes.' The child then apologizes and is united with his parents again.

RELATIONS TO ADULTS OTHER THAN PARENTS

The mother and child do not stay alone in one house; the grandmother and other relatives may live with them. There are neighbours too. Relatives who are living away from the village pay visits to the family. All these people live in close contact with the child and his mother. They can send the child on errands and correct him when he misbehaves. They give him presents and in all take an interest in his welfare.

The child is taught to know his parents' brothers and sisters. He is taught special names by which to call them, e.g. An elder brother of his father is called 'Dije Okpa'; the next one "Dije Ton"; and the youngest is called 'Dije Fio'. If there are more brothers they are called by their names or the places in which they live. The sisters are also called by their names. The sisters

of the mother are referred to as "eye Shp" and "eye Fio". The brothers are called by their names. A general name is given to the parents' brothers - 'Jekomer' and their

is one for their sides - 'Nykemer'. A child is taught to have a deep respect for his parents' brothers and sisters, as they

have the same authority over him as the parents. They will be responsible for the child after the death of his parents.

Grandparents play a very prominent role in the child's life. Little parcels of food or sweets - or a dress - are found their way into the child's hand, and they are all from granne. They are very indulgent and

the children like being with them very much. A child is always delighted when the chance comes and he goes away to spend a week or fortnight with his grand parents, sometimes after the death of his parents a child is saved

for by his grandparents. The grandmothers come to live with the family for a time, and the children are happy when she is present, for they know she will interfere for them when they misbehave. When the mother gives birth

and the grandmother is not a resident of the house, she comes to stay there for a length of time. The relatives and friends and the neighbours lead to be very indulgent to the child. He can refuse food in his home and go to a friendly neighbour's house for some, and he will be given some to eat. A friend will cheer a child by telling

him to stop what he is doing, but will not

like to beat him, rather he reports to the

matter to the parents. The child is taught to polite to

every grown-up. He has to obey his elder

brothers and sisters. He is taught to respond

to their greetings - "Te ayo" "Miyee odzobang"

meaning, "How are you?" "I am alright." When visitors

come to the house, they ask for the

child, whereupon he is called to shake

hands with them. When they are leaving

the give the child a present of a

penning or a tin-pence. But

children are sometimes taken by their

parents to visit friends. He is expected

to put on his best behaviour. He is

not to talk or play in adult

conversation, and should not take food

when it is offered to him, unless the

parents tell him to. This is different

when a relative house is visited; there

he can partake of the food easily.

If he does not eat up to the

standards expected of him, he is not taken

but again until he learns to do

better. This is a story as told by

an informant. I took my youngest son

who was four at the time to visit

a neighbour. We did not have a

late lunch. I quickly advised my child

not to partake of the food. When we

were given seats, a plate of food was

given to him. I looked at him and to

take it. He looked at me and said

loudly, "Why are you looking at me, don't

you want me to eat the food. I was very much ashamed and resolved never to take him out again. The child is usually sent away to play with the children of the house, and the adults have their conversation in peace.

CHAPTER TEN

POSSESSIONS

Children from the ages of two to three

cannot not possessing anything he comes

across. eg. a doughnut, a toy, and other

objects. When a child sees another child with

a piece of bread or sweets, he immediately

tries to grab it away from him, and

when he fails to do so, he starts to cry

He also falls no mother to buy some

for him. Very often when the children are

taken to market, they cry at everything they

see, and poorer their mothers to buy them

for them. An informant said, "Since I do

not want to burden anyone with the care

of my child, I take her to the market

at least when I have a lot of things

to buy. Amko (the name of the child)

would cry whenever she sees a doughnut,

toasted cakes, and a bread seller. I buy each

of these things and she eats only half

of each. Sometimes when we get home and

I am removing her from my back, I will

find a stray dog, or garden egg, or pepper

or tomatoes, all of which she might have

taken whilst I was buying some from the

seller. My child is always taking other

people things and I am wondering

whether he will not turn out to be a

thief in the end. I cannot beat her

she is too young, and I hope she

will soon grow out of this habit, for

people tell me that this sort of thing is

predominant in many children."

When a child has taken something from another child, the mother, when she sees it,

takes it from him and gives it back to the owner. Most children cry out loudly when

the is done to them, and they are warned not to cry, when they overdo it.

A mother would beat her child severely if he happens to be cautious towards another child's possessions. This step is taken when

the child has become fond of doing that sort of thing. In the early stages

the toy is taken from him and given to the owner with these words, "Maha bo

eko ni ye fe fe ene. Eni le ehu." The meaning of which is, "I will give you a better one, this is not good." This

own toy is given to him and sometimes the mother keeps her prizes and buys

him a new one. A child who is in the habit of asking for food from children or

adults, is brought to realization by the mother or any relative pressing a hot

piece of roasted plantain, or any food into his palm. This makes the child

scream and it is often very effective, for the child becomes afraid to beg for

food again. When a child picks up something, for instance a toy belonging to another person, he is told to give them back to the owner, or put it where he found it.

The child is very reluctant in putting it down, and he sits down manipulating it after some few minutes. If a child

says he has picked up an object on the road or lane, he is not made to hand it over to the owner, for it is considered his luck, and he should keep it or else lose his good fortune. Things

such as trinkets or money are so valuable that the mother gratefully takes them without a lot of questions, for the only question asked at such a time is, "Where did you find it." The answer is, "Mi' ahnu - I found it by luck."

The child in all is taught to respect the possessions of others, and to lay his hands off them. The child is taught from the earliest stages not to touch a thing by saying, "Haraa", which means fire or anything hot. He learns to use the correct words for 'fire' and 'hot' later on. Sharp objects such as knives, blades and razors are kept out of the child's sight, and if he happens to come across one by chance, he picks it up, and is taken from him by his mother when she sees it. Children like using blades to cut their finger-nails as they see grown ups do, and they cut their fingers in the act. They are told not to handle blades by picking them up, but they take them up as soon as they come across them again. The child is not allowed to handle fragile things like china teacups. He is given an enamel cup from which to drink. He eats out of a tin plate, and is not allowed to touch the soup-pot

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Afale with me
hoop.

which is made of clay. The child therefore is not included where washing-up is concerned, for he might break some of the things.

A child in this village has possessions of his own. They are given to him by his parents and others from relatives. The possessions of a child consists of two housedresses, a native cloth and cover shoulder, a mat and a pillow. There may be one special dress for occasional wear. Some of the parents provide their children with toys, and where the child has not got one, he collects for himself pieces of sticks to make a catapult. An old bicycle wheel will serve for a lorry. He collects also a piece of string, chalk and rubber. In the case of us, a collection of broken plates, the person as money in their make-DESTRUCTIVENESS sardine and corned beef tins for use in cooking. These are kept in a corner of the yard. Pieces of cloth commonly called 'mamanas' are the greatest possessions of the girls here. They are very fond of cutting and sewing things for their dolls - some of which they make themselves. A girl is very proud of this possession, and the one who has a great deal is envied by her playmates. They sometimes meet in groups to sew things for their dolls. The child is allowed to play with his possessions when he likes except during mealtimes and bedtimes. During the day he is sent away to play with his

possessions, and with other children. When the child brings to the house a dirty old tin, the mother takes it from him and throws it away beyond his reach. If part of the compound is made unwholesome by a child or children at play, they are made to pick the bits up.

With the child's clothing he is given free choice after his bath to choose the sort of dress he would like to wear. From his scanty possessions he would always choose the clean one.

In the early stages a child is particularly jealous of his possessions and even those of his parents. A grown up holding a child's possession would be followed, his or her cloth tugged at, and sometimes the child cries out loudly trying to take his possession from the person.

CHILDREN'S DESTRUCTIVENESS.

Children are generally considered destructive. The time between eight months to two years are when a lot of destructions take place. A child who has crawled, goes from place to place picking up things. He picks up uncovered powder, pours it all over the floor and besmears himself with it. He does the same thing with pomade and washing blue. When he has started walking he does the same things and even worse ones. He pulls down a hanging table cloth, and if there happens to be breakables on top of the table, they come crashing on the floor. He removes things from his mother's baskets and bowls, and

scatters them on the ground. A mother told me that through her carelessness her four-year old daughter nearly tore her one pound (£1) note into pieces, because she did not know to use and value. On being asked what measures are taken to prevent the child from destroying things, the mother replied that nothing special could be done, except to keep harmful and valuable objects from the child's reach. She said that she only corrects them when the deed has already been done, or if she happened to see it being done, she prevented its progress.

The kind of things a child is following manipulate of various ages are the following. At five months, a child is able to hold such things as a rattle, spoon, baby's comb and brush, a pencil, a needle of thread and his own bedding which he sometimes pulls to cover his face. When he reaches the age of one to five years, he is able to play with bigger toys as lorrys made up of sugar cartons, tennis balls and sticks. A child of this age has bathing himself, and only the head, one arm and the belly are bathed. The rest are left until mother takes over. A girl of two age plays with wooden or plastic dolls, which she feeds, bathes, clothes, and puts to bed. Like the boy she likes bathing and only parts of the body are cleaned. The girl is found in the kitchen trying to remove scales from fish, pure gam or peel cassava or mother is doing, and of times

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putting a tin of water on the fire when mother is not looking, only to be flung away when mother turns round and finds out. Boys of six to seven years of age construct an object called "Ewili" a board on four wheels, which they use in carrying water. This sort of thing is brought on to the street or lanes; a player sits on it and he is given a push. The players all get a ride one after the other. A boy of this age is able to make a crab trap which he can use to catch crabs near the lagoon which is a bit far away.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SPEECH

Mothers are very particular about the cries of their babies. What is first expected of a baby when he is born is his cry. A child who fails to cry at this stage does not in many cases survive, or even if he does survive, he is predicted to become dumb. The cries of a baby is taken to be that of hunger and he is put to the breast. If after being put to the breast, he refuses to suckle, then parts of his body are examined to see what is wrong. It may be the bite of an ant, a mosquito, or his napkins being wet, or because he is not well. When the cause of the cries has been found, it is remedied and the child becomes comfortable again, and stops crying. Where the child has been potted and and carried on the back most of the time, he cries whenever he is put down. The cries of such a baby is not heeded at once, and may be left to cry for quite a long time.

The pitch of the voice during crying shows the mother why or for what the child is crying. If the child is crying on top of his voice, it may be that he is afraid of something, or he is hungry, or he has been bitten by an insect, or he has got a stomach upset. The mother attends to him at once. If it is a stomach upset, he is given an enema, or put face downwards on the mother's knees, with the

Stomach resting on the lap. He is patted with crying subsides. If it is an insect bite, vaccine is rubbed on the spot. The child is put to the breast if he is hungry.

A mother can detect when a child is crying in rage. The voice is shrill and the child throws his legs and arms about. This sort of behaviour occurs when the child has not sucked enough, and the breast is removed suddenly from him. When he is put down on a wet bed he cries in the same way.

A child expresses his want, fears and dislikes through crying, and so he grows older. It changes to pointing at the thing he wants, and finally to saying what he wants verbally. At the age of one year, a child points at things he wants, for example, boiled yam or rice. The mother then gives him some. If the food is hot or contains pepper, signs and sounds are made to show him that it is hot to the taste or too hot to be taken, and must be cooled a bit. At one and a half years

The child will be able to say "give" meaning "I want some food". He may show his dislike for the food by turning his head when it is offered to him. He shows his like of it by accepting it. And eating it. A spoonful should be cooked a bit. At one and a half

From three to four years, a child, when NOT TO CRY. he drinks may fly up tantrums when offered food.

especially a boy is taught not to cry, by telling him that a man does not cry - "Nuu foo." A girl is not told anything and will be allowed to continue crying until she stops when tired. When a girl cries persistently she is whipped, or frightened with bogeys, policemen and Hansamen. This produces the desired effects. Although the child is taught not to cry there are occasions on which it is legitimate. When the child is hurt, he is expected to cry, and he is comforted by his parents. When he is beaten, he is expected to cry; failing to do this he is considered to be stubborn.

The attitude towards crying is differentiated in the child's sex. A girl is allowed to cry over petty things, but a boy is not. If it happens that a boy cries over the loss of toys for a long time, he is given an extra beating to stop him from crying as he has been taught often that a man does not cry. So from infancy a boy is taught not to give vent to his feelings especially in public.

CHILD'S EARLIEST VOCALISATION.

The child who speaks well is accepted as an intelligent child, and he is complimented on his good speech. He is often referred to as "Abeke ni nana ji" - a child who speaks well. Because of this, every parent wishing to have their child receive such a compliment, encourages the earliest vocalisation of their children. It is never thought of as a nuisance or ignored when a child starts making speech sounds. Any sound made by

The child is repeated by the parent, or the

one carrying him at the moment. Meanings

one even given to the sounds he makes.

a parent may tell a few months old

child to smile; when he finally does smile

the parents says the child understands her

When a child says, "Ba ba ba", a

parent may say, "Eh, ba ba ba; or "Are

you scolding me? If perhaps the child says

"ba" again, the mother says the child

understands and is scolding her. What is

taken to be the scolding sound is "Ngun".

Any child who says two is said to

be scolding the person holding him.

When the child grows older, at the

age of eight months, one syllable words

would be said to him for him to

repeat. The child is made to say something

as adults find it amusing. From one to

two years, the child is able to use short

sentences and phrases such as "Pick me

up", "Gum" - "I want some water". The child

picks up the words he hears. Sometimes a

child may pick an expression outside his

home, and come to repeat it at home,

and the adults wonder where the child has

picked up that language. When a child

has been talked to he likes to repeat it

to others. If he has been told that he

would be beaten if he runs after the

chicks, when he finds some one with them, he

tells him he would be beaten if he

runs after them.

The baby is talked to by the people

living in the same house with the parents

or neighbours and relatives who come to visit them. They all speak to the child putting him and try to amuse themselves with his speech. When the child finds himself pelted in such a way, he becomes self-assertive and speaks so often as he could, and the more he speaks the more praise he gets.

MODULATION OF THE VOICE IN SPEECH.

It is considered a form of low breeding when a child talks loudly, and when in company of elders. When he is in the house alone with the parents, thought is not given to the loudness of the child's voice. When there is a visitor in the house or a social gathering, the child is expected to keep quiet, unless he is questioned. The child in order to become a good speaker is corrected when he makes grammatical slips, pronunciation mistakes or audibility of voice. They are not directly held to high standards of grammatical correctness during the early stages of speech but at the age of four he is corrected where necessary. The child who was idiosyncratic and prone to hold on to a high standard, although parents do not set out to teach their children these. Adults often listen to children when they come to tell them stories they have overheard, or when they come to report their playmate's behaviour. Children come to adults to tell them of their newest toys, dresses and favourite food. When they want to ease themselves, they ask the adult to help them to remove their knicker or dress or cloth.

When adults are together the child can talk quietly to his mother when he wants something, but he is not allowed to join in their conversation.

Children are asked to be precise in what they say, although the parents do not emphasize the precision very much. If a child says something which is unintelligible, the child is asked to say it again but clearly. He is made to understand that what he says cannot be grasped. A child once told her mother that her aunt was coming. The mother preparing cassava at the time stopped to welcome her, only to find out that it was untrue. She told her child not to tell such stories again. The child does not feel offended when corrected in this way.

DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN FACT AND FANTASY, TRUTH AND LYING

At the age of six a child is expected to distinguish between fact and fantasy. If a child of this age continues to live in a world of fantasy, he is told not to behave like a small child.

A child of the same age should know the difference between a truth and a lie. An informant said "I told my elder daughter not to meddle with the coalpot when I am cooking. I was cooking one day when I left to fetch something. On my return I found her playing with the fire by putting a broomstick into it and pulling it out again. She stopped and I went into the room again. I heard my

younger daughter telling the older one not to mind me because I am bad. I asked her what she said, and her reply was, "I was telling her not to play with the fire." I was surprised that a child of two was capable of saying such a thing. I did not do anything to her for I knew she was quite ignorant of lies."

Children who are old enough to differentiate truth and lies, are punished when they tell lies. Some of the punishments being that mashed pepper is pushed into the genitals, or corporal punishment. A child is regarded as one who tells the truth always, so his word is taken as true. A child of two to five years is believed when he says something, whilst a doubt accompanies the tale of a six or seven year old.

Parents lay emphasis on truth when the children are six to seven years onwards. A liar is a disgrace to the parents so steps are taken to stop the children from telling lies.



Boys at play with a
ball.



These two girls are playing
'ampe'.

CHAPTER TWELVE

GAMES, SONGS AND STORIES

Children in this village are very fond of playing games of all sorts. They are played at all times of the day when the children are free and have finished their household chores. Most of the games are played especially when the moon is up, and some are also played during the day. The games are played on compounds, lanes and in the open spaces in the village. These spaces are referred to as 'blohug', and the games played there - as 'blohug fwenzi'. These are played on moonlit nights. Children of all ages take part in the games played which sometimes is carried on well into the night. Children are encouraged to play these games for their physical wellbeing. During infancy the child is held by one limb, and then the other to exercise him. During childhood the exercise take the form of games. There are some of the games played by children in this village.

AMPE AND NTONSA

Ampe is played by girls only. The players form a semi-circle, and one player stands on the left end of the semi-circle facing another player. The two of them jump up, clap their hands and land with one foot forward. When the feet are opposite - right and left, then the player in the semi-circle loses a point; but when the feet are the same, e.g. right and right, then the inside player gains a point.

When the inside player loses twice with the same girl, she leaves and goes to the right end of the semicircle. The winner then comes to the inside to play. If no one beats her she goes on playing with each girl until she attains twenty or the set number. The points for the game ranges from ten to hundred. The one who is last in getting her points is made to turn her face to a wall and the rest of the players the back of her knees with theirs, singing as they do it in turns :-

Koko nana gbofu tono
 Yaye - na ke gbe
 Ke eko, ke enyo, ke ete, ke edwe
 ke enamo, ke ebpa, ke pkpawo, ke lpaanya.
 ke nechu, ke nyagma.

The first part of the song has no meaning and the last part is saying the number of points used in the game. After the last person has had her turn, the loser runs after the whole lot trying to catch one. The one who is caught suffers the same "Kokofins".

Ntonsa is played by boys only, and it is just like ampe, but the hands and knees are used. The game is played by two boys. They sit opposite each other and then pull their knees up, and use their hands in the same way as the girls use their feet. This is not followed by hitting behind the knees or "Kokofins".

KWAAKWAANI

A group of players are gathered

together. A circle is drawn on the ground with a stick. A player stands in the middle of the circle, his hands covering his eyes, and he shouts out:-

Player : Kwaanikwaan!

Group : Mooli mooli!

Player : Ne-e-egbe nye-e-e se?

Group : Wo-o-o se Ablofiri.

Player : Mi-i-i ba ee-e-e.

Whilst they were saying these things each player is trying to find a suitable hiding place. At the words 'Miiba eeee', the whole group keeps quiet, waiting for the centre player to search for them. When they had seen that he has gone out of the circle, they creep quietly from their hiding place and run into the circle shouting 'okeeye,loo'. Anyone who is caught outside the circle is made to chase the rest, and the game starts all over again.

ADEF

This is similar to 'kwaanikwaan' except that the players are divided into groups, and each group tries to find the others. Those who are caught join the victorious group.

AMAWOO

A piece of string is tied at both ends, and a player hides it in a mound of sand. The other players hold sticks, and try one after the other to take the string out. The one who finds it, hides it again. Boys play this, and the girls form

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together. A circle is drawn on the ground with a stick. A player stands in the middle of the circle, his hands covering his eyes, and he shouts out :-

Player : Kwaaⁿikwaani!

Group : Mooli mooli!

Player : Ne-e-egbe nye-e-e se?

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A TEE

This is similar to 'kwaanikwaani', except that the players are divided into groups, and each group tries to find the others. Those who are caught join the victorious group.

AMAWOO

A piece of string is tied at both ends, and a player hides it in a mound of sand. The other players hold sticks, and try one after the other to take the string out. The one who finds it, hides it again. Boys play this, and the girls form

of it is to let a player hide somewhere. In her absence a bead or any small object is given to one of the players. The one outside is called to come and find the missing article. The one with whom the thing is found takes her turn.

KPOKPLOMADZA

A number of players sit down with their legs outstretched in a line. One of them goes from one end of the line to the other, singing as he goes. The rest of the players join the singing which goes on as thus :-

Kpokplomadza, kpokplomadza, —
Woyaa Afaykotobian. — We are going to Afaykotobian
Koto vuuuuuuuu, —
Nyagmo lolo lolo Ijwaa — There is a storm blowing
Yaa kosee omaa bi oloo. — Go to the village

The one whose leg is touched when the song ends, raises it, and they go on again. If both legs of a player have been touched she is free to stand up and watch. They do it until one player is left; she is then asked to choose a partner either heaven or earth. The player then touches her leg, raises his hand as if touching the sky on the ground, until the song ends. If the one is unfortunate the earth or heaven may win.

NAMO YE LE AMUI

Players sit in a circle, each with a small stone. At the start of a song the stones are passed round in a



Playing 'Awale'.
(See appendix III)



Playing 'awale' with
the holes dug in
the ground. (see appendix III)

Songs.

The children are busy and away from the kitchen, where they are a nuisance. The children are not allowed to play when they can or leave their homework undone to join a group for a game. Children play these games for enjoyment, and their minds are often distracted from food when they are playing these games. If the games are played in the evenings they also go home exhausted.

In most of the games, sex differences determine the choice of the game. Some of the games can be played by both sexes eg. Kwara kwara or 'Nawa ye le aani'. There are others which are strictly boys eg. 'Nawa and 'a bafico'. There are also games which are strictly assigned to girls eg. 'Anpe' and 'Kpikpinda'. Girls like dancing the modern form of 'Kogkoba' which is 'baya'. They provide their own music and court their partners according to the rhythm.

Children are taught songs as soon as they begin to speak. A beginner is made on the moon termed as 'Joffobi'. 'Joffobi nebe oya? - Moon where are you going?' 'Miga Komehenge Kpafaj. - I am going to Komeh's mother's house. What are you going to do?' 'Dya ye bo mini - I am going to eat the fish. Ke fo ke fo. - fatty intestines of a fish.

This one is going to keep them from crying and they eventually learn it. Kafa, Kafa

Kofo ni mako kwe adag
Ni sika ke gbe ho asen.

Don't cry, don't cry.

Don't cry and let someone look into your mouth
And let a pot of gold block your throat.

3. Agwau, agwau, duade agwau
Ho mana eko maaye, maaye
Ataa kofi oo duade agwau.

Baked cassava, baked cassava,
let me have some to eat.
Father Kofi oo baked cassava.

4. Mele ni yaa ee
Damo si mafe bo ee :
Ole ke otee le yakee Mantje Tackie
Ake miibi le ee
Ke negbe woya
Woyya Adabraka woya mo gbe ee.

: Ship, which is going
Wait and take my message :
Tell King Tackie that I send him my
best greetings
If he asks where we are going
We are going to Adabraka to find a
suitable place.

Apart from these songs children learn the
latest songs from gramophone records.

STORIES

Children in this village are not told

stories by their mothers or fathers. Rather they learn to tell stories from their playmates, when they gather for a game. The stories best liked are Ananse stories. One girl or boy tells the story. It is started by the narrator saying 'Nta nye lee gkata nye?'; and the response is 'Woghwee no'; meaning 'Shall I tell you the story or not?'; The response, 'We are listening'. The story ends by 'Kemina eko mike tra nye toi wee.' meaning 'I have put one behind your ears. A parent on being asked what is the favourite story to tell children, narrated the following story:-

Once upon a time there lived Ananse his wife Konle and his son Kwakute. They made a farm and planted all sorts of things in it. When Ananse saw that it was nearing harvest time, he told his family that he was going to die, and they should bury him in the farm. His coffin should not be covered, and must be filled with cooking utensils. He died and was buried accordingly. He ate most of the farm's products at night, and his wife and son wondered who stole the food. They therefore made a wax statue and placed it in the middle of the farm. Ananse woke the following night, and on seeing the figure went to speak to it. The figure was dumb, and Ananse not knowing it was wax tried to beat it, and got stuck to it. He was found by his family and when he was removed, he fled into a corner of a room to hide. The significance of this story is to teach children not to

be selfish.

Riddles and tongue twisters often substitute story telling on most evenings. There are some of them.

Tongue Twisters :-

What is P.P.P.P - Patu Pletu Pempeoo.

- 2. Adziny Ife Ifu Adziny ni eyake dzin, beni Adziny baan emu dzin ni edzini.

Adzei was sent to buy gin for his father. On his return he had drunk all the gin and had become intoxicated.

RIDDLES

- 1. Oblayoo saa ko ke chigmei kome. - abui
A lady with one eye. - a needle.
- 2. Ifu ko ye ni samfle be he. - ewuwob.
- What is a house without a window - an egg.
- 3. Mife Ifu mi ni miyatje moko beni niba le mo le, eba momo. - abokooji.

My father sent me to call a person when I returned, the person was already there - a ooo nut.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

W O R D

Women are very fond of becoming mothers. They are very proud when they can send their children on errands. When a child of five is sent on an errand, the mother expresses her joy by saying, 'Mina bhagane', meaning she has now got a son. This is said with pride and whenever a visitor comes to the house, the mother tells him or her of the achievement of the child. The child is sent for little objects such as spoons, ladles, enamel cups and plates, his own dresses and toilet articles. Children of eighteen months who have started to walk are given tasks to do in the house, which are fetching light and small objects. He is never sent outside the house for fear of his wandering off into another house or into the street.

When he is three to four years old, he is sent outside the house to give short messages to friends or relatives, or to call them. In the home he is not given a job to do, but he is expected to start to learn how to sweep and wash his bowl after his meals. At the age of six, he is given his share of work to do, such as sweeping the hen-coop, or part of the yard, or throwing away the rubbish. The bathroom may be included. He fetches water for his mother, to be used in bathing and cooking.



A boy is given a plot of
his own to plant whatever
he likes on it.



Helping mother by selling tickets.

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and washing. The child is by this time very helpful in the home. Outside the home, he could be sent to Accra by bus or by foot. He goes to the farm to do his share of weeding. He may be given a plot of his own, to plant whatever he chooses in it. He can sell the products and keep the proceeds to himself, or can give the money to his parents for safe keeping.

SEX DIFFERENCES WITH REGARDS TO WORK.

There are sex differences with regards to work performed. There are jobs which are considered to be for girls only and vice versa. Since girls are considered future mothers of the village, they are trained to do feminine jobs. A girl of six learns how to grind ^{or} mix up ^{or} and peel yam, cassava and pane ^{roughout}. At nine she starts to learn how to cook. She can now make the fire to cook simple dishes like 'akasa' - porridge. She knows how to plaster the earthen stove with red clay, and keep the kitchen utensils clean. She is taught hawking by the mother, and is given wares to sell every morning and afternoon. If the mother is a petty trader in Accra, the girl accompanies her for the day's work. Before a girl reaches the age of puberty, she is already trained in cooking, laundry, housewifery and child welfare. They are indispensable to their mothers and therefore preferable than the boys.

Boys often tend to dodge their mothers when sent on errands, and are



The boy learns to wash
his own clothes



Helping mother to make palm kernel oil.
These two girls are cracking
palmkernels.

Therefore not liked very much by their mothers as the girls & boy helps has father on the farm, and lends a helping hand of household jobs, that need a manly hand, like repairing his sister's toys and the hen - coop. He helps in repairing parts of the house and in erecting a new house.

TIMES OF WORK

The children have no fixed times for working. The girls, since they help their mothers in preparing food, have to get up very early to prepare breakfast and sweep the compound. She plants the stove and washes the dishes. If a disagree to the womenfolk in a house, when the yard has not been swept at seven o'clock in the morning. The boys sleep until they are called to get up, which they do rather unwillingly. Throughout the day they are set on errands and they do their private household jobs besides. By five o'clock every child is in the home ready to help in preparing the evening meal. The child is pleased when he willingly does his job, and is encouraged to carry on in the same manner. Rewards are given to him and this might take the form of extra meat, extra rice, a toy or even a dress. Children who degenerate their parents in performing household tasks given to them are punished. They are given punishments to suit the sort of work they had refused to do. If the child had refused to fetch water, he is not allowed to drink or take his bath with the water in the house. If



Dee does her share of household
work by going to fetch water.

he did not pound fufu he is not given some to eat. Since boys are to be future breadwinners, or head of families, they are severely checked when they refuse to do their share of work, and with such children, their fathers are reluctant in helping them to find wives when they are of age.

CHILD EMPLOYMENT.

Children are not employed in this village, for the parents think it a petty disgrace to be told that they cannot support their child. The work they do is just helping in the house. Some of the children are given to people living away from the village to be trained in sewing or baking. The parents believe that when the child is far away from them, she will learn to live independently. Money is at times given to the parents by the guardians of the child for the help they are giving them at home. Such children are looked after until they have learnt their work, then they are sent home or allowed to marry.

Boys mostly follow the trades of their fathers, such as carpentry, black and gold smithy, shoe repairing and tailoring. The boy who is about fourteen years of age and is now ready for a job is taken to a craftsman. A drink in the form of a rum or 'Kno daa' is given to the man who takes the boy into his care and teaches him the arts of the trade. All this time the boy is serving as an apprentice; and when his period of apprenticeship is over, his father is informed

CHAPTER FOURTEEN
ADOLESCENCE

When a child reaches the age of puberty, which is round about the age of twelve onwards, though with some children it may be as early as the eleventh year, certain physical changes occur. Girls are apt to undergo these changes earlier than boys. The obvious changes in girls being the development of the breasts which is accompanied soon by menstruation. At this age the girl becomes interested in herself, especially with the breasts. She smears shea butter on to make them develop quickly. Sometimes a shaped stick used for making 'banku' - a kind of kunkey, is used by the girl to beat her breasts, with the knowledge that this will help develop them quickly. The breasts of the mother is secretly taken away into a hiding place and worn over the breasts, to see how it looks and feels like when she wears it. The boy of this age does not grow so fast as the girl, his physical changes come later at the age of fourteen even pass the heights attained by the girls of his age. His chin, armpits and round the genitals. His voice breaks, the penis becomes large gradually, and the development of semen in him is shown by the emissions of sperm at night. The changes from puberty to adulthood and therefore there are no final

times to mark when each change actually takes place in every child.

When a girl menstruates, a celebration in her honour is held in the home. In former times, I was informed it was held publicly, to show that the girl had then come of age and was ready for a husband. A girl is expected to report to her mother the first time she menstruates. This is not always the case for the girls are so secretive that the mother finds this out for herself. The girl's father is informed of the event and together with the mother they give the girl a change of cloth, beads and earrings. The mother cooks 'oto' - mashed yam and boiled eggs for her. She also gives her rags to use as sanitary towels, and instructs her how to put them on carefully. The girl is taught how to keep herself clean on these days. Relatives are informed and told that the girl is now of age - 'Eje yeiay'. They give the girl presents of eggs, sponge, yam and beads for the neck, wrists and waist. Sometimes a fowl is used in preparing a meal for her. All these make her realize that she has reached an important stage in her life. She is instructed to keep away from men, or she would soon become pregnant if she indulged in sexual intercourse with adolescent boys and adults. She is warned that if she fails to heed the advice, she is likely to give birth to a nameless child, or a good-for-nothing



Akwede helps mother to cook the evening meal.



An adolescent girl dressing
Note the plaited hair, and two cloths.

husband. Or she may suffer from venereal diseases and eventually become barren. The grand mother adds a few pieces of advice after the mother; she then carefully watches the movements of the girl with men.

The adolescent boy is not fussed over, as is done with the girl. To mark that a boy is now an adolescent, he is given a gun, but the writer was informed that this custom had died out, because hunting is not done on a large scale. The boy is advised not to go about with girls frequently, and he should not try to go after other peoples wives, as this brings about a lot of trouble and a heavy loss of money.

CHANGES IN THEIR MODE OF LIFE.

There are changes in the mode of life the adolescent during this period. The girl is now treated as a grown-up. She is taught to cook well if her cooking up till then had been unsatisfactory. The parents will be ashamed if the girl gets divorced when she marries because she cannot cook. The girl with a well-to-do father is given a small capital with which to trade. The girl buys fruits or friso plantain to sell. The profit is her own, and she can dispose of it as she likes. The industrious girl works hard, and is able to clothe herself with her own money.

The adolescent girl can now plait her hair, and wear a kente cloth over her usual clothing. later on, she wears



Learning to plait the hair.

have dolls of the same kind. When the girls starts wearing these dolls she expects every child to call her 'aunt'. and to 'boy'. her due respect. The girl means it if mark is called by her name only, special mark from adults. The kurtis worn a bigger cloth made from six yards of printed material, instead of his usual two or four yards. understanding

FREEDOM

The boy is given much freedom than the girl during the period. The girls are always under strict supervision by parents and grand parents. Whenever she is late in coming home in the evenings, she is reproached, and warned to take care of herself properly. She is often reminded of the fact that she will become pregnant if she does not stay at home. If she is found always in the company of other girls her freedom is not restricted, because the parents think nothing harmful will grow out of such relationships. The adolescent boy is freer to wander about and nothing is said to him if he does his share of household jobs. If he impregnates a girl, the responsibility is his to shoulder, because he has been spoken to several times and he did not listen. The boys can be seen on the street and lanes at hours when the girls are fast asleep. They whole the latest dance songs, or they

are found grouped together discussing their girl friends and events of the day.

The adolescent girl receives greater attention than the boy. The girl's transition to puberty is marked by a ceremony of her taking a special kind of food and receiving presents from parents and relatives. The boy's transition to puberty is not made a fuss of, and so the girl becomes the outstanding figure during this stage. Although this fuss is made of the girl she is strictly supervised and told to be careful of her associations with the opposite sex. The boy is made to choose a career though he normally follows the trade of his father.

GIRLS AND MENSTRUATION

The girls are not given talks on menstruation by the parents or relatives, before it starts, and even when it does, it is not fully explained. When the breasts start to enlarge the mother would say, "You'll menstruate soon so better stop your childish behaviour.", when the child does something out of the way. A girl might occasionally hear remarks on menstruation between her mother and a relative or friend. Apart from these she learns a lot from her friends. What she probably learns is that there is a flow of blood from the genitals each month. This lasts from three to six days, and it can either be painful or not felt at all. She should take her bath three times a day, during which she should wash

her sanitary towels, which take the form of clean pieces of rags. She should make it a point to bath before breakfast and should not take it until she has bathed.

The boy like the girl has no formal source of knowledge, except what he hears from friends. What the friends are unable to tell him remains a wonder to him, and he might go to several people trying to find out the meaning of certain changes in his body. Parents feel embarrassed to talk to their children on sex, they think sex talks should be kept from the children.

CHASTITY.

There is great emphasis laid on chastity in this village. Both the girls and boys are warned to refrain from lapses of modesty. The girls especially daily receive such pieces of advice, for they are bound to become pregnant when they indulge in sexual intercourse. The girl who becomes pregnant gives birth to a child whose father does not want him. The girl who does not want her parents to find out that she is pregnant causes abortion, which sometimes result in death. If a girl is found out having affairs with men, she is given a talking to, to amend her ways. The girl is told that anybody who wishes to marry her, would fish out knowledge about her, and if she carries on in such a way, she would not get a

good husband. If she has brought forth an illegitimate child, she would not get a husband who is willing to look after both of them.

The son is warned not to have illicit dealings with girls, as this will bring about heavy loss of money. The possibility of contracting venereal disease is explained to him, when he is found to enjoy the company of women. Before they do wander away from chaachiyi these talks are not given to them.

SEX ACTIVITIES

The most popular sex activity in this village is the one when on moonlit nights the young adolescents go walking in pairs with arms round each other, fondling as they go along. Sometimes they sit on a stump of a tree or on short pillars which people have erected to mark the boundaries of their lands. They hold long conversations before going to bed in their separate hennas.

When the girl is sent to market, she sometimes buys more than is necessary, adding some few pence she has got. On her arrival home she cooks the food for the family, and then cooks a quantity one for herself. Thus she puts into a nice dish and places it in a bowl, and covers it with a towel or a tablecloth. She takes her bath after she has had her meals and then secretly carries the bowl of food to her lovers' home. When the girl has got a small

brother or sister, he does the job of

carrying the food to the lover's home.

This is done mostly in the evenings when

there is no possibility of her being seen,

especially by the parents.

When there is a picnic in Agra, the

girls go in groups to witness the

procession. They come home walking in pairs.

Such activities are unknown to the

parents, and are therefore unsanctioned by

them. They gradually get their to know

of them and they do not give their

approval of such activities.

Boys and girls tend to befriend those

of nearly the same age. Boys prefer

girls who are slightly younger than

themselves; and girls prefer boys who are

older. The boys do not want to be

burdened with old wives, and therefore do

not befriend older girls. The girls likewise

say they like older boys who would be

able to look after them and understand

them.

Girls have bosom friends to whom

they confide all their secrets and often

to theirs. They advise each other on

how to behave towards their boyfriends, and

share their experiences at home with their

parents. The boys have friends too, but

they tend to share their secrets in a

larger group.

Adolescents are often said to be

disobedient, for they do not take orders

at home. The girl is closely guarded at

Recessions by people from the different

quarters, since they first go to the seaside.

BEHAVIOUR

is something in the name "given to the adolescents to make them very mindful of themselves in the way of dressing. 'Obla' means fashionable, so this has something to do with the adornment.

Adolescence is over when one's hand is asked in marriage and prepares for her future home. The boys become adults when they have finished their apprenticeship and are ready to work on their own.

CONCLUSION

The training and education of the children of Odorkor have the same ideals. The child is trained to be a good and useful person in the village. He is brought up in an environment in which he is expected to copy the ways of behaviour as those he has grown up among. He is not brought up to worship a different god, to speak a different language, to eat a special kind of food and to dress differently. His growth therefore follows that of the rest of the community. The child is trained not only by the parents, but by his relatives and other members of the community. He is corrected, praised and punished by anyone who is near when the child misbehaves, provided the person knows his parents.

He is taught from infancy to obey those older than himself. He is taught to respect the possessions of others, if he does not want to be regarded as a thief, or to arouse quarrels with people in the village.

From accompanying his parents to the farm he learns a lot about when to get the soil ready for planting, when to sow, when to weed and when to harvest. He learns the names of trees, birds, fruit and vegetables. He learns much about bird-life when he goes bird-hunting with his friends. He knows where to find their nests, and

which eggs belong to a particular kind of bird. From the occasional trips to the lagoon, he learns the names of fishes and how to catch them. He makes traps to catch the crabs round about the lagoon. This helps to develop his manual dexterity, also the construction of little lorries and the push-lorries they make for use at play.

The girl learns a lot from her mother. Since a girl who cannot cook and keep house is looked down upon and ridiculed, every mother tries to equip her daughter with the necessary knowledge of housekeeping. The daughter is made to do most of the family's cooking, and from this practice she learns a lot.

From infancy the best way of getting a child disciplined is through fear. He is made to be afraid of ghosts, bogeys and the madman nextdoor. When he grows up he finds all these things to be nonexistent, and he loses confidence in those who say them. They become afraid of the dark too, and would not go into an unlit room at night.

One other setback is the child not living with both parents in the same house. Some live with their mothers or fathers and this brings about serious disadvantages. A child may say he is going to his mother's house, when in reality he steals away to a friend's house and spends the night there.

When an infant, the child is treated with great care and attention; but as soon as the mother finds she is going to have

a baby, her attention is switched on to the coming baby. The child is treated in a different way, and is spoken to unlovingly. He wonders at the change in his mother's attitude, and feels his mother does not love him anymore.

The mothers are not particular about the diet of their children, and the result is the children are always suffering from stomach trouble. They are made to eat adult food before their systems are ready for them.

When a child wets his bed, he is treated in a way which tends to make him feel inferior. Instead of finding the reason why he wets his bed, he is made a laughing stock in front of his friends. This develops in him a feeling of inferiority complex, and he may never feel secure in life.

The child is brought up to believe a number of superstitious beliefs, such as "We do not talk when eating, or else our mothers will die"; yet he sees grown-ups talking and eating at the same time. He is told to avoid eating certain kinds of food, and to restrain from doing some actions. Pork is the most common thing people abstain from eating, and the child may find this very palatable, but as he had been warned not to partake of it, he has to obey his parents. The parents fail to explain the full meaning of these things to the children, and they live in fear of these taboos. They are told that the

breaking of these taboos end in death. The child is brought up to associate all kinds of illnesses with witchcraft, and to go to the fetish priest or native doctor for a cure.

A child who masturbates is normally treated by pushing pepper into the genitals. The parents are unaware of the fact that masturbation is not harmful in anyway, and that the children should not be given punishments when they indulge in it. They do not know that masturbation is often the result of a feeling of insecurity, and want of comfort.

Thumbsucking should also not be treated with such hard means, for the child will eventually put a stop to it.

The child's questions on sex and babies should be dealt with openly, and the facts should not be hidden from him. That is where the parents go wrong; for in thinking that the child's questions should be evaded, they are rather leading him on to seek information from his friends who know no better than himself, or from people who fill his mind with horrible ideas on sex. The child who is told off when he asks questions on sex, becomes embarrassed and ashamed of sex, and he shows signs of embarrassment when friends are talking of sex.

Growing up and learning what is to be found in his environment, is the business of living to the child of

Odoker. He follows the traditions and the pattern of life as set by former generations of the village. He is shaped by the customs and culture of the community, and he fits perfectly into the life of the village. He grows up to accept and appreciate the culture of the village and its people too. He is taught all these by his parents, relatives and friends. The parents in order to train these children well, and make them good and useful citizens, should learn to understand the child. This is what the parents lack. They should love the child and not have sudden changes of attitudes when a new child is expected. The child should also have sympathy from his parents in times of need. The parents should learn to treat him in different ways, according to the mood he is in, but should see to it that he is not overfed with love. The parents are willing to learn what they can from people, for the writer saw during this investigation that the parents want for their children a better life than the one they themselves had known.

THE END.

APPENDIX ICHILDREN'S FAVOURITE STORIES AND FACTUAL REPORTSFAVOURITE STORIES

1. Bosdu, 9 yrs

Once There lived Ananse, with his wife and children. He went to visit his mother-in-law. When Ananse got there his mother-in-law had prepared 'akplidzii' (a meal prepared from ground roasted corn and palmnuts.) He was asked to take some which he refused. When all the people had left the house, Ananse went and stole some of the 'akplidzii', and put it into his hat. The food was very hot and it made him perspire a lot. When he got home his wife asked him why he was sweating so much. He did not answer, and when his wife removed his hat, he had become bald. He was so ashamed that he ran to a corner and hid.

2.

Kwaku, 6 yrs.

Once There lived two sisters. One day They were sent to buy oranges, and on the way The elder sister killed the younger one and buried her. Her ghost came one night and sang behind their house. She (the elder sister) got up to punish her, and the ghost threw a big stone at her and she died.

Story of a bad boy.

Tete Koba, Egs.

Once there lived a boy who did not want to go to school. One day he went to the seashore instead of going to school. and he sat on a stone. When he tried to get up, he couldn't, so his mother came and buff a house round him. When bringing him food, the mother had to sing and then he opened him. A lion came and sang to him one day, he happened to open the door and he was eaten by the lion.

Story of a bad girl.

Marilyn Nys.

Once there lived two twins. Akwede and Akwoko. Akwoko was a thief and a liar. She went and stole some fish her mother had fried, and when they were asked she did not speak the truth. Their mother took them to the riverside and put the younger one, Akwoko, with the river, and sang a song to the gods to kill her if she was the one who had stolen the fried fish. She got out safely, and Akwoko was put in. He longer had the song ended than her and went home.

CHILDREN'S WISHES

Mate, aged four.

I should ask for bread and condensed milk.

- 2. Zefa, aged about 6 years.
I should ask for a beautiful dress.
- 3. Larkai, aged 7 years.
I should ask for a lorry to ride in.
- 4. Aku, aged 5 years.
I should ask for garri and beans.
- 6. Okailey aged 9 years.
I should ask for a big doll.
- 6. Kwakyawa aged 9 years.
I should ask for bread.

IV CHILDRENS SELF DESCRIPTION

Awudu; aged 6 years.

Interviewer : Awudu, tell me all about yourself.

Awudu : I am called Awudu. I am a good boy. When I am sent on errands I like it. My mother and father loves me very much.

Interviewer : Who is your mother?

Awudu : She is called 'Mami'. She is fond of sending me to buy things.

Tjoljoo, aged 5 years.

Interviewer : Tjoljoo, how old are you?

Tjoljoo : Three.

Interviewer : Who is your mother?

Tjoljoo : 'Imami'.

Interviewer : Tell me all you know about yourself.

Tjoljoo : I am a beautiful girl. My mother likes me. I like going to market with my mother. I like to wash my things when mother is washing. I like bread and tea and soup. I like to play too.

A CHILD'S LIFE STORY

Mii Boodu, aged 11 years.

Interviewer: Can you tell me something about your life, where you were born and what you have done until now?

Mii Boodu: I was born here and stayed here with my mother. When I grew up a bit, my father said I should come and live with him. My mother took me to his home.

Interviewer: Have you never seen him before?

Mii Boodu: Yes, I have.

Interviewer: Did you want to go and live with him?

Mii Boodu: Yes, very much.

Interviewer: Go on with your story.

Mii Boodu: When I went there, my father gave me tea and bread and I liked it. But I soon grew tired of the place because I had no playmates. I told my mother when she came to visit me that I want go on living here.

Interviewer: Where did you live with your father?

Mii Boodu: At Acora New Town, and I did not like the place. So I am now living with my mother and grandmother. I am very happy here. I see my father when he comes to visit us. Last he brought me a toy gun with cork-bullets. I frightened my mother with it, when she

was cooking and she was very angry and told me not to do so again.

IMAGINATIVE PLAY

The interviewer placed a doll, piece of material, a small bowl, a ball and a pair of scissors.

Ani aged 7 years.

Interviewer : Ani, I should like you to play with any of these things.

Ani takes the doll and fondles it. She started to examine the face and dress of the doll. She took a long piece of cloths and tied one end of it round the doll's head leaving the rest hanging behind it.

Interviewer : What are you trying to do?

Ani : She is going to be married and I am putting a veil on her head. I want her to have a long veil, so that people will hold it for her.

She took a piece of material and cut a big hole in the centre. She put it on for the doll.

Interviewer : What is this

Ani : It is her dress for the wedding.

She made the doll stand by holding its hands. She walked behind the doll still holding it and making it walk too. She said they were going to the church to get the doll married. The play ends.

Dodua, aged 5 years.

Interviewer: I want you to play with any of these things (exactly like the first one).

She takes up the doll and holds it as if it is suckling. She then took the bowl and a piece of cloth.

Interviewer: What are you going to do with them?

Dodua: She is going to have her bath, she is dirty.

She bathes the baby. She took a large piece of cloth and wrapped it round the doll. She started beating the doll.

Interviewer: Why are you beating her.

Dodua: She wants to suckle and I have just given her some. She is a bad girl. I am not going to give her any more food.

She spreads another piece of cloth on the ground and puts the doll on it.

She pats and sings to it to make her go to sleep. She beats the child again.

Interviewer: Why?

Dodua: She wouldn't go to sleep.

Interviewer: What must you do to make her sleep.

Dodua: I will carry her on my back.

Interviewer gives her a cloth to bind the baby. She carries the baby up and down to quieten her cries. She puts it down again.

Dodua: She is asleep at last.

The play ends here.

APPENDIX II
CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

Free Drawing

Dzagua



Sowa aged 10 years.

Favourite Drawing.

A C.P.P van which is not of the ordinary kind but a Jaguar model.



Mate aged 11 years.

A Favourite Drawing.

A cowboy on a horse.



Boadu aged 6 years.

A favourite Drawing.

A hen is going for a ride in a lorry.

a. The hen.

meele



Akwele aged 9 years.

A Favourite Drawing.

A ship on the sea.



Teiko aged 7 years.

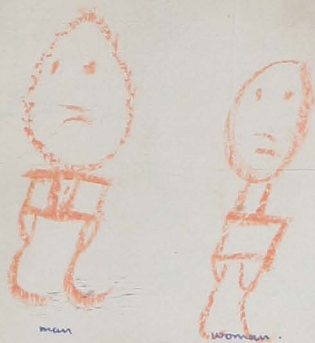
A favourite Drawing.

Mother and father walking near the sea. They
saw a ship, a butterfly and an airplane.

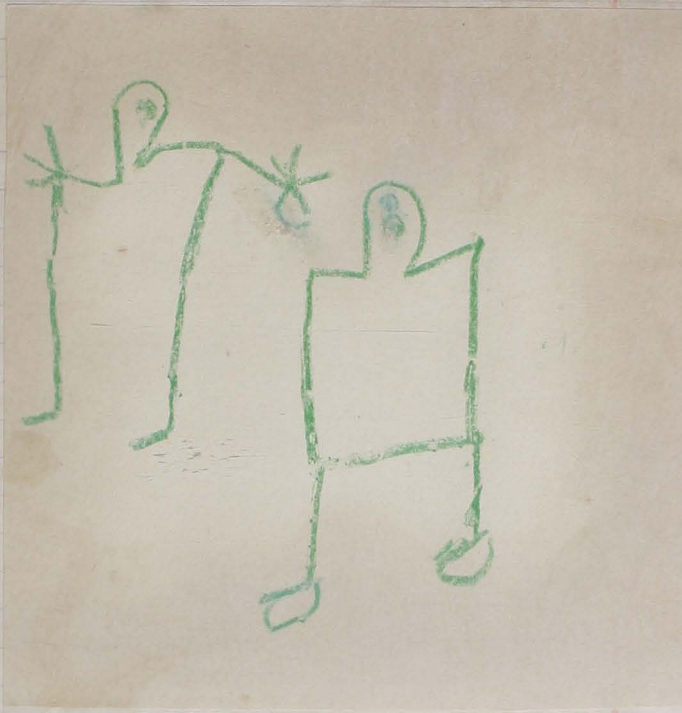


Kwakyewa aged nine years.

A man and a woman.



Adukwai aged 5 years.
A man and a woman



Kwaku aged 5 years.

A man and a woman.



Mboko, aged 10 years.

A man and a woman.

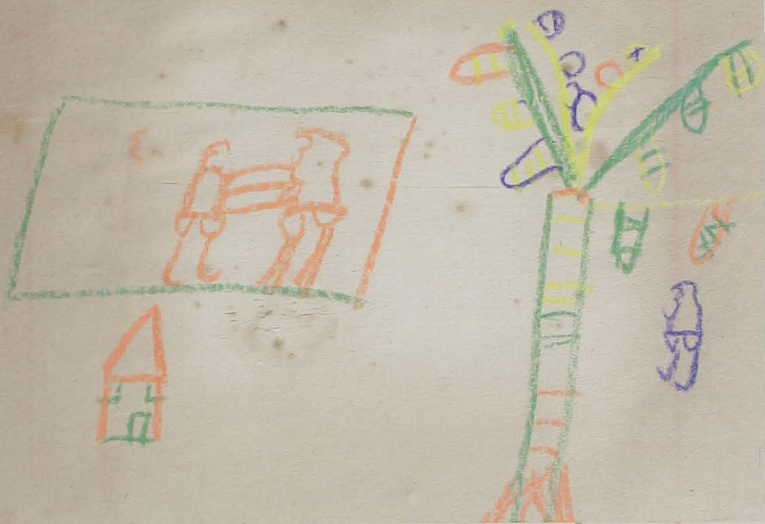


Oko aged 9 years.
A fight.



Kofi, aged 5 years.

Two men fighting. A duck runs past
and they turn to look at it.



Larfei, aged 10 years.

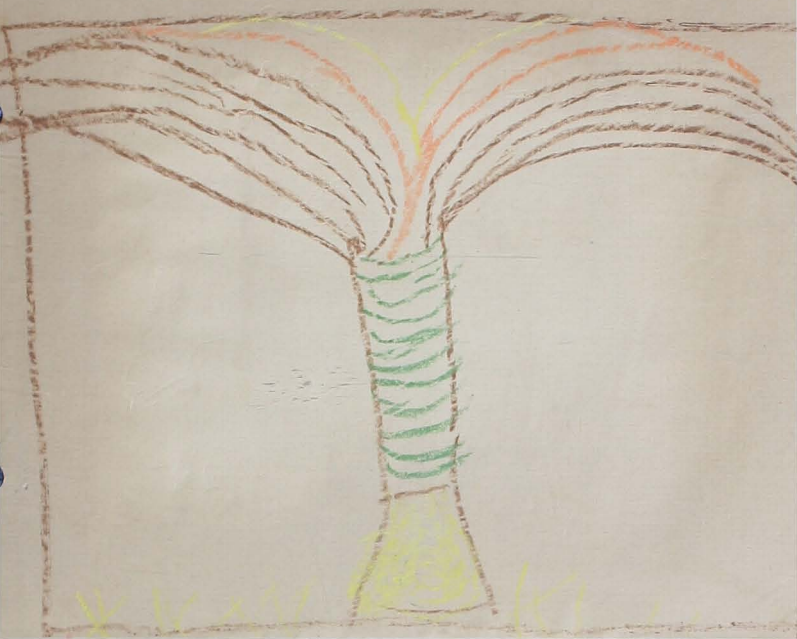
There is a fight in the house.
A man is coming behind the coconut
tree to put a stop to the fight.



Naa Awula aged 10 years.

The Most Pleasant Thing.

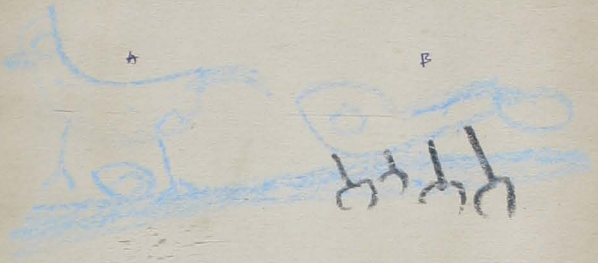
This is a house where I would like to stay. I would have two coconut trees planted on each side of the house. I like coconuts very much. I would like to have electric light too.



Naa Awula aged 10 years.

The most pleasant thing.

A coconut tree, for I like coconuts.



Aku, aged five.

The most unpleasant thing.

I am very much afraid of a duck
for a duck pecked at me some time
ago. I am afraid of a dog too.

A - a duck.

B - a dog.

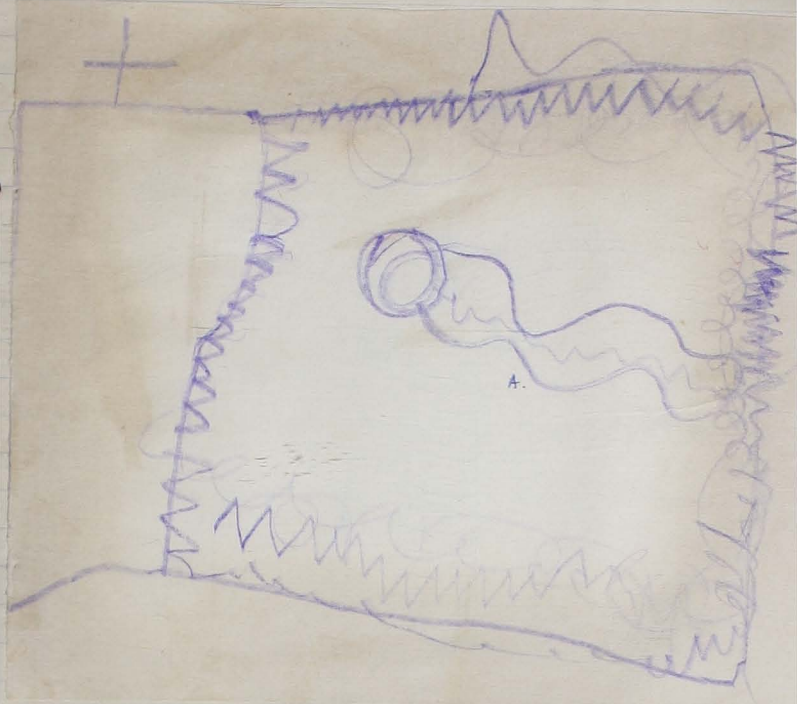


Akuzkor aged 8 years.

The Most Unpleasant Thing.

I don't like to see a cat at night.
It seems as if it is going to jump at
me. I don't like dogs and turkeys.

- A - a cat.
- B - a dog.
- C - a turkey.



Kaale, aged five years.
The most unpleasant thing.
A snake

A - a snake.



C



D



A



B

The Most Unpleasant Thing.

Kwaji, aged 6 yrs.

I don't like snakes and fast buses.

A snake is running after a man.

The fast bus is about to run into the house.

A - a house

B - a Bus

C - a man

D - a snake



Aku, 5 years.

Inside of the child's house.

Mother is in the room. A hen is going to mother to give her food. There is a lorry outside.



Aranaa aged 8 years. Inside of a child's house
Mother has just finished bathing the baby.
She has put her down to sleep. She
has left the room and is closing the door.



Fofo, aged 8 years.

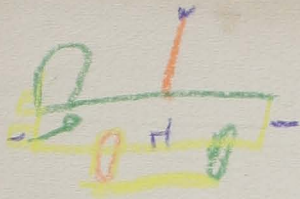
The Inside of a Child's house.



Ezra aged 7 years.
A favourite drawing.



Matcho aged 8 years. A Dream.
I was walking in the night
when I met a big man. He was
holding a big stick. I started to run,
but he soon came to my side and
started to beat me with his big stick.
I fell down and he went away. I
then woke up.



Ahujia, aged 7 years.

A dream.

I dreamt that I was lying in bed when a policeman came and said I should go to school with him. I followed him to the school, and saw only one of my classmates present. The policeman taught me arithmetic. He was about to beat me when I woke up.

APPENDIX III

MORE CHILDREN'S GAMES, SONGS AND RIDDLES

GAMES

Aaklo

The game of 'aaklo' is played mostly by girls. There are two players, and they use pebbles, palm kernels or any suitable seed for the play. There are seven of the objects. One player takes the seven pebbles and throws six on the ground and keeps one. She throws what she has retained into the air and when trying to catch it, she picks up one of the six pebbles. She throws the stone again until she has picked up all the six singly. She does it again picking the pebbles in doubles or pairs, then in threes, then four and two, five and one, and lastly, she tries to gather all the pebbles at once. If when she is picking the pebbles she touches another pebble, she has lost and it is the turn of the other player.

AWALE

Two to four people can take part in this game. There is a special wood with twelve grooves in it. The grooves are in two rows of six. Failure to get this thing for playing the game, one can make holes in the ground to look like the usual one. Four pebbles are placed in each groove. A player starts by taking the pebbles from one groove and putting one in each groove. He empties again the one which received the last pebble. He goes on until the last pebble

is put into an empty groove. Then it is the turn of the next player. When a player is playing he empties any groove with four pebbles in it and keeps them. The game goes on until all the pebbles have been collected. The players then fill the grooves with the pebbles to see who can fill the most. Pebbles, palmkernels, seeds of medium size and marbles can be used for this game which is played by both sexes.

'MINYEMI OGBAAME OO'

This game is a musical one. The leader sings and the rest repeat his last word. The last word of the last sentence should not be repeated, and the one who does so, is beaten in a friendly way by the group. It is played by both sexes. The song has no meaning, and it runs thus:-

Leader	Group.
Minyemi Ogbaame oo.	Yei.
Minyemi Ogbaame Ifiji	Ifiji.
Ifiji yigamo ade	Ade
Ade nanso bile	Bile
Bile nanks bo	Kobo
Kobo delfi ma delfi	Delfi
Delfi okwaabucte	Ate
Ate ofante badu	Badu
Badu okronkronk	Koo (not to be repeated).

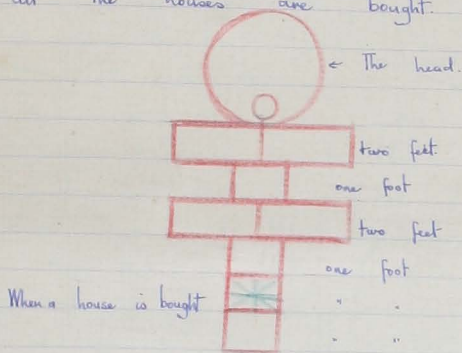
Tuu Ma Tu.

Any number of players can take part in this game which is played by both sexes especially girls.

A drawing is made on the ground and

18

a player stands at one end facing the sketch with the group behind her. She throws a wet rag or a ball of mud aiming it carefully into the first square, then she stops to pick it up. She proceeds to the second and then all the rest until she gets to the 'head'. She throws the rag there and hops through the squares to the head and picks up the rag, and comes back. She can then buy a 'house' by throwing the rag backwards, and the square in which it falls becomes hers. Nobody has the right to step in her 'house'. If on playing the rag falls on a line or she steps on a line, the next player takes her turn. The game is continued until all the houses are bought.



A sketch for Tuu Ma Tu.

SONGS

Here are some more of the songs often sung by children.

Adene tere lai ke

Adene Jjeeg gbooms bi

Adene Jje mi blofogme bi

Adene miya blofogme mag

Adene huu Adence.

English : Adene is carrying a load of firewood
Adene does not call me the offspring of
a pine human being.

Adene calls me the offspring of a
pineapple.

I am going to the land of
pineapples.

Adene it does not matter adene.

2 'Ijio, Ijio, Ijio keli

Miso Ijo ko no "

Ni okee mba tae bo, Kolu.

Ni mba mba tae bo "

Miya, miya, miya

Mi oko te nyisee, gbag;

Mihu oko Ijo ohigmei mli, gblu.

Ofo, yafo be mli hao.

Oola, lala be mli hao.

English I was sitting on a tree

When you called me to help you lift a load
onto your head.

I came and helped you, and went away.

You took a stone and threw it at the
back of my head.

I took a stick and pushed it into
your eye

Now you are crying, you should not do it.

" " " singing, " " " " "

3. These songs are used by children when
telling stories. They interrupt the story by saying,
'Ibite gye deen.' - "I was there on that day", and
then sing a song as:-

Araamu gfele bele ruuvaanaru ruu va.

A spider is smoking a pipe ruuvaanaru ruu va.

1

Odessa oflag nee kaa male.

If this is your story, do not tell lies.

Yoemo le naabu effe, Ifensa

Aybo, agbo, Ifensa.

The old use man's mouth has been cut off

a calabash,

A big, big calabash.

Here are some adolescent songs.

This one is specially sung on moonlight.

nyjifere ni ede / The moon has appeared

Wobajwe wababo. / We will play until we die.

Odumu ni g kple / Stars that are twinkling

Wobajwe wababo. / We will play until we die.

2

Atag obajye ee, le nnyo

Negbe etee " "

Ete Ablofi! " "

Mam eyafoe " "

Eyafee Jika ga " "

Keba ni wowo " "

Translation :-

That adolescent boy, only him.

Where has he gone? " "

He has gone to England " "

To do what? " "

To make a golden ring " "

For us to wear " "

him, only him.

3

Atag obajye ee affe le aham mabi le save. /

Eho enye mifi: n'affe le aham mabi le save.

Eho affe mifi: n'affe le aham mabi le save.

Atag obajye ee affe le aham mabi le save.

Atag obajye ee n'affe le aham mabi le save. /

Eho efe miji n'afie le ahani mabi le same
Ataa oblango ee naabu le weemo na po dso mi

Translation :-

- 1. ∴ Call me that adolescent boy and let me ask him
a question ∴
He is hiding in his mother's bosom, call him
and let me ask him a question.
He is hiding in his father's bosom, call him
and let me ask him a question.
Call me that adolescent boy and let me ask him
a question.
- 2. ∴ That adolescent boy, speaking with the mouth
hurts me a lot ∴
He is hiding in his mother's bosom, call him
and let me ask him a question.
He is hiding in his father's bosom, call him
and let me ask him a question.
That adolescent boy, speaking with the mouth
hurts me a lot.

3. Gbla he ndze, gbla he ndze.
" " " " " "
Ake nane kome baa hoo wonu ee
Gbla he ndze
Ake sog plete baa to fifi ee
Gbla he ndze

Translation :

Marriage is on the way, marriage is on the way
" " " " " "
A pig's foot would be used in making soup
Marriage is on the way.
A flat plate would be used under the dish
Marriage is on the way.

4. Nke bo nyie nyonyony,
 Beni nke bo nyie nyonyony,
 Beni ebaafee trobol,
 Okee ake fi dzee bog,
 Eee Adzagma we dza nke o tee.
 Adzagma we ee,
 Fee ee Adzagma we ee,
 Fee Adzagma we dza nke o tee.

Translation:

I am walking with you every night.
 When I am walking with you every night.
 When there is trouble
 And you say it is not you.
 I will take you to Adzagma's house
 Eee Adzagma's house
 Eee Adzagma's house
 I will take you to Adzagma's house.

5. Dya he duade, nya he duade
 Dya he duade mafi fufu
 Maha nyietje ni eye
 Koni gbeke maya dzeme koni efin fio
 Aya nya, aba gbaa, kono.

Translation:

I am going to buy cassava, I am going to buy
 cassava.
 I am going to buy cassava to prepare fufu for
 my lover to eat.
 Then I will go there in the evening for a
 conversation.
 They are going, I won't go.
 They are coming, I won't come.

RIDDLES

Riddles are started by asking 'Adzeṅ loo?' The response is, 'Adzeṅ baa'.

1. Baa gmoṅ nkpa, baa gbiṅ nkpa. —

Solution: Gbeke ngbo, onukpa ngbo

Meaning: Young or green leaves and dry leaves are falling.

Answer: Both young and old people are dying.

2. Miṣe hami Ifu ko ni samfedzi sṅṅ

Ans.: Yaa.

Meaning: My father gave me house full of windows.

Ans.: A net.

3. Oḃlayoo ko ye ni daane egba abii.

Ans.: Zingie.

Meaning: There is a girl who has always got a parting in her hair.

Ans.: Corrugated iron sheet.

4. Oḃlayoo saa ni efi odaku.

Ans.: Aklotia.

Meaning: There is a girl who has always got her hair piled into a bun on her head.

Ans.: A toilet pin.

5. Nu ko ye ni ahoo Ji daane eefwa.

Hebo: Ofo.

Meaning: There is water which is not put on fire but it is always boiling.

Ans.: The sea.

6. Miṣe hami nyṅṅ ko, ke eto le nuniye le mayi.

Hebo: Aklate.

Meaning: My father gave me a slave, when he does wrong. I could not beat him.

Ans.: Cactus.

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